

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF
THREE GUJARATI FOLKTALES

by

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ABSTRACT

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Folktales and myths are expressed through the linguistic form called narrative discourse. Linguistic analysis is only a part of the analysis of folktales. Discourse analysis is not complete without an accompanying analysis of the cultural setting and of the interaction between the culture and language. This study represents an attempt to place linguistic analysis in the cultural setting.

The linguistic aspect of this study is presented in the framework of discourse grammar following the model developed by Longacre (1976, 1983). Three Gujarati folktales are analyzed for their overall discourse structure which is found to include a stage (setting), episodes, and a closure. A

distinction is made between participant oriented narrative and event oriented narrative. The narrative structure develops to a narrative peak, which is the climax on the notional level. An attempt is made to represent the development of narrative structure in a form of profile.

Next, several peculiar features of Gujarati verb structure and sentence structure are discussed and a hypothesis is offered that these peculiarities have direct correlation with various levels of information in discourse. The verb structure, sentence structure, and certain aspect usages interact to provide surface structure clues to determine the relative importance of given information. Compound verbs, which usually occur at the end of sentences, present the most significant information in a discourse. The non-compound verbs occurring at the end of sentences present the information which has secondary importance. Non-final verbs with *-i* and *-i+ne* present information of lesser significance. Each of these features is viewed as forming a continuum in terms of the scale of information importance.

Next, I show how participants are introduced in discourse and how they are referred to after their initial introduction: whether a noun is used or a pronoun is used or whether the reference is left implicit. Nominal reference is used to refer to a participant when there is an involvement of more than one participant, when the story resumes after some background description, and after a paragraph boundary. Also the occurrences of pronominal reference and the absence of overt participant reference are analyzed.

In the analysis of the cultural setting the models of Levi-Strauss (1963, 1967, 1969, etc.) and Bastien (1978) are followed. In this section first I present binary oppositions found in the structure of the three

folktales as seen in the participants and events. The binary oppositions are grouped under social, economic, geographical, and cosmological/moral domains. Next I show how these binary oppositions relate to social, economic and cosmological/moral structures in the culture. I show that there is organized structure at every phase of Hindu society. The society is structured around a hierarchical arrangement of four castes. The home is structured around the hierarchical arrangement of authority. Individual's life is structured around four successive stages of life. A hierarchical structure is also seen in the supernatural realm where the gods are hierarchically arranged. The value system of Hindu society is based on the concept of *dharm*.

In the last chapter an attempt is made to correlate the linguistic structure of the texts with the cultural information. This is done mainly in two areas: participant reference in the narratives and overall narrative structure. In participant reference cultural factors overrule linguistic norms. In overall structure, the narratives present a message that is developed through a didactic structure and that reaches a climax following, but dependent on, the narrative peak. The narrative peak is expressed through linguistic signals, whereas the didactic peak is expressed through both linguistic features and cultural information. Here I show that the cultural information, the message presented in a folktale and the structure

of a narrative are interrelated. Satisfactory analysis of the narrative structure is not possible purely on linguistic basis. Linguistic analysis needs an added perspective into deeper level, more abstract level, to relate the language to society and to culture of which it is a part.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

acc	accusative
adj	adjective
ag	agent
caus	causative
Cl	closure
cmpl	completive
dim	diminutive
dur	duration
emph	emphatic
f	feminine
fut	future
impv	imperative
inf	infinitive
loc	locative
m	masculine
M	marker
n	neuter
neg	negative
nom	nominalizer
pass	passive
pcpl	participle
pl	plural
poss	possessive
pr	prominence
Prb	problem
pres	present
prg	progressive
Pop	post peak
PrP	pre-peak
psbl	possibility
pst	past
rsp	respect
S	sentence
Sol	solution
sg	singular
1	1st person pronoun
2	2nd person pronoun
3	3rd person pronoun
6	schwa vowel
<u>t</u>	dental consonant
<u>ã</u>	nasalised vowel
ɳ	retroflex consonant

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study presents an analysis of three Gujarati folktales. It deals with the linguistic form of narrative discourse with their cultural setting and with the interrelations between the cultural information and the linguistic structure. Folktales and myths are expressed through the linguistic forms of narrative discourse, and they are set in the medium of the culture. The assumption here is that discourse analysis is not complete until we place the discourse in its cultural medium. Discourse analysis needs to look at considerations that go beyond its purely linguistic structure; without considering cultural features we cannot account for all the details of discourse structure.

1.1. Framework and Scope of the Study

For the linguistic analysis of the discourse structure of the three narratives I have adopted as a theoretical basis the general framework developed by Longacre (1976, 1983). For the analysis of the cultural setting I have adopted the methodology developed by Levi-Strauss (1962, 1963, 1967, 1969, 1978, 1979) as further modified by Bastien (1978).

1.1.1. Beyond the Sentence

It has been the view of some linguists that there is no grammatical structure beyond the sentence. These linguists consider the sentence to be the highest level for linguistic analysis. Bloomfield was one of the first linguists who explicitly stated that "...each sentence is an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form" (1933:170). Chomsky took a similar position with his claim that the sentence is the highest grammatical level and that the study of syntax must revolve around the sentences of a language. He says: "The fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language L is to separate the grammatical sequences which are the sentences of L from the ungrammatical sequences which are not sentences of L and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences" (1957:13).

Halliday, a leading British linguist has been interested in text analysis and the analysis of semantic structure. However, he also has been reluctant to accept the existence of grammatical structure above the sentence level (Halliday and Hasan 1976). Like Halliday and Hasan, Burquest sees structure beyond the sentence level but argues that it is semantic information, not syntactic structure. He notes:

Text structure appears not to be as rigidly rule governed as structures at the sentence level and below. That is, there is much more variation possible in text structure than there is at lower levels; and while sentence, phrase, and other lower-level structures may be evaluated as "grammatical," or "ungrammatical," texts must for the most part be evaluated as simply rhetorically effective or ineffective. That is, what we deal with in text studies, it seems to me, is a study of tendencies, not behavior which is rigidly rule-governed (1981:100).

There has been a growing concern for discourse level analysis, and many linguists have developed discourse or text grammars (Grimes 1975, van Dijk 1972, 1977; Longacre 1976, 1983; Jones 1977, 1979; Larson 1978). Grimes accepts the existence of grammatical structure above the sentence. He says, "Although from one point of view it could be argued that these are relationships that are different in kind from the ones linguists work within sentence grammars, it is important to notice that they all relate to familiar concepts in grammar rather than being totally from without" (1975:8).

Van Dijk started with a generative-semantic approach for text grammar and proposed deep structure abstracts called 'macro-structures' from which texts are generated. He (1972) presented grammatical, empirical and methodological arguments in favor of text grammars. In his grammatical arguments he showed that certain grammatical phenomena, such as co-referentiality, pronominalization, tense and time reference, local reference, semantic relations between sentences, connectives, etc. cannot be handled properly without the framework of a text grammar. For his empirical arguments he presented psycholinguistic research showing the role of macro-structures in comprehension of a discourse. This is further developed in van Dijk and Kintsch (1978). His methodological argument was based on the assumption that discourses should be regarded as the natural domain of a grammar rather than sentences.

Rieser reports the findings of Petofi's survey of all the sentence grammatical models presented until 1971:

First, the existing sentence grammars could not provide a homogeneous treatment of such well-known linguistic phenomena as pronominalization or topic-comment relation. Secondly, nor could all other linguistic phenomena referred to by descriptively oriented text linguists be explained within the framework of existing sentence grammars (Rieser 1978:10-11).

In stratificational frameworks of Gleason and Fleming, as reported by Larson (1978), "claim that the tactics of grammar go only through sentence level and that all structures above the sentence, such as paragraph and discourse, are a part of semology only" (Larson 1978:18). However, Larson presents both grammatical and semological structure at discourse level. She notes, "In the semology there are discourse structures which are the deep structure basis of the surface structures. Even discourse genres have deep and surface structures which are distinct the one from the other" (1978:18).

Among tagmemicists, James Lloriot (1957) has been credited as the first to report the necessity of discourse considerations in solving field problems. Pike was one of the earlier linguists who proposed that there is structure in units larger than the sentence. He says:

A bias of mine--not shared by many linguists--is the conviction that beyond the sentence lie grammatical structures available to linguistic analysis, describable by technical procedures, and usable by the author for the generation of the literary works through which he reports to us his observations (1964:129).

Longacre has presented various arguments for the necessity of discourse analysis. He (1977, 1979c) argues that the following surface structure features can best be accounted for at the level of discourse: (1) Participant reference presented in various ways: with the indefinite article, with the definite article, or with a deictic. (2) Pronominalization chains that run through several sentences. (3) Tense, mode, and aspect of verbs. (4) Use of conjunctions and sequence signals. (5) Nominalization and topicalization. (6) Optional locational and temporal expressions which in the discourse

context are required at one point and excluded at another. (7) Variation in quoted speech—from pure narration to pseudo-dialogue to dialogue—and variation in quotation formulas. (8) Variation in amount of detail and elaboration at certain points of discourse. (9) Uses of types on any structural level, such as, clause types, or sentence types, or paragraph types. (10) "Mystery" particles—i.e., particles of uncertain meaning which the native speaker insists on using at certain points and not at others. Hwang presents philosophical, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and phonological reasons for the preference of discourse grammar over sentence grammar (1981:14-38).

I will conclude this section with Longacre's words (1979c:249):

It is not simply that systematic analysis and study of units larger than the sentence is possible, nor even that such analysis is desirable, but rather that discourse analysis is a rock bottom necessity, i.e., all linguistic structure must ultimately be related to the structure of context. In brief, to a text linguist or a discourse grammarian of this persuasion, discourse analysis is not a luxury but a necessity. It is something which we have done without too long to the detriment and impairment of the whole field.

1.1.2. Beyond the Discourse

In the preceding discussion some of the reasons were presented to show the necessity to go beyond the sentence in linguistic analysis. However, there is also a need to go beyond the discourse as well. Pike (1967) has long since argued for a broader context for the linguistic analysis, as indicated by his title "Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior" (1967, first edition 1954). Longacre notes, "Just as we cannot analyze isolated sentences apart from their linguistic

context, so ultimately, we cannot analyze discourses aside from the behavioral context which is relevant to them" (1983:4). He further notes in his concluding essay, Towards maximum context:

First of all, apparently, has come the realization that sentences must be studied in context if the study is to be meaningful. This germinal insight soon led to the demand that we inspect not simply the immediate context (e.g., the preceding and following sentence), but the structure of the whole surrounding discourse. It was increasingly realized that the whole determines many structured details of the parts, even as vice versa the former is inferred from the latter. Secondly, however, has come the growing realization that even all this is not enough. Discourses must also be studied in their behavioral/sociological/cultural/psychological--or what-have-you context. At this point text-linguistics crosses over the frontier from linguistics narrowly conceived and becomes interdisciplinary (1983:339-40).

Tagmemics has tried to include this broader context in the "referential hierarchy". Pike and Pike note:

Study of the referential hierarchy analyzes the content of what the speaker "wants to say" about some unit, element, situation, action; or speaker or hearer attitude, emotion, presupposition, evaluation, or belief that is communicated (intentionally or unintentionally) by the speaker about that statement or content of that statement, or that is elicited from the hearer about that statement (1982:321).

Woods at the onset of her dissertation notes:

...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 (1980:1).

Fukuda in his recent study, which is based on a tagmemic model, comments:

It is inevitable that we need help from other disciplines, such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive studies, and others. But one thing is clear: we cannot analyze a text in itself. We need to bring the entire communication situation into the study of discourse (1983:20).

Stratificational grammarians have also tried to incorporate the wider context into their analysis. Gleason notes:

From another, wider, point of view, the autonomy of a language within its own boundaries is only formal. While it can be described without external reference, the whole complex organization seems to be determined (in broad outlines) by the external phenomena contacted through their interfaces. It is, as it were, adjusted to its environment. At each end, a language must possess an apparatus able to produce a useful digital model for the largely gradient material outside itself. Between, the language organization must be such as to facilitate a transduction from one quantization to the other (1964:76-77).

Fleming (1978a, 1978b) includes the wider context in her Communication Situation Stratum. The communication situation includes referential realm, culture, language choices, social setting, social relationships, intent, attitudes and interests of both the communicator and the audience (1978b:308). Halliday notes how the social structure enters into linguistics:

...the social structure enters in through the effects of social hierarchy, in the form of caste or class. This is obviously the background to social dialects, which are both a direct manifestation of social hierarchy and also a symbolic expression of it, maintaining and reinforcing it in a variety of ways... In more pervasive fashion, the social structure is present in the forms of semiotic interaction, and becomes apparent through incongruities and disturbances in the semantic system... The social structure is not just an ornamental background to linguistic interaction, as it has tended to become in sociolinguistic discussions. It is an essential element in the evolution of semantic systems and semantic processes (1977:25).

Halliday notes further in different place:

Language does not consist of sentences; it consists of text, or discourse—the exchange of meanings in interpersonal contexts of one kind or another. The contexts in which meanings are exchanged are not devoid of social value; a context of speech is itself a semiotic construct, having a form (deriving from the culture) that enables the participants to predict features of the prevailing register—and hence to understand one another as they go along. (1978:2)

Gumperz emphasizes the need for a broader social context for the linguistic interpretation process. He notes:

It is generally agreed that grammatical knowledge is only one of several factors in the interpretation process. Aside from physical setting, participants' personal background knowledge, and their attitudes toward each other, sociocultural assumptions concerning role and status relationships, as well as social values associated with various message components, also play an important role (1977:191).

The call for broader context in linguistic analysis is not new. Firth (1968) refers to a linguist named Wagner who in 1885 called for the situational context. I will conclude this section on the call for reference to the broader context with Michael Silverstein's words:

There seems no way to do a grammatical analysis, let alone to justify it, without making its cultural prerequisites explicit. Since language is central to social life above all else, there can, of course, be no other conclusion (1977:151).

1.1.3. Levi-Strauss and Analysis of Myth and Folktales

The need for broader context suggested by many linguists noted above is especially true for the analysis of myths and folk literature. Folktales have cultural setting and without understanding the culture of which they are part, it is impossible to grasp their full meaning.

Claude Levi-Strauss is the foremost among those who have been concerned with the structural analysis of cultures. His model, which emphasizes binary oppositions in the structure of myths, has been deeply influenced by the European forms of structural linguistics. He applies the structural approach of the Prague school to the analysis of myths. However, he goes beyond the purely linguistic level and attempts to describe the underlying structures behind the surface data.

In the method of structural analysis introduced by Propp (1968) and known as the syntagmatic approach, the formal organization of a folktale is described according to the chronological order of the elements of the text. The structure of the tale is described in the same sequence as the elements reported in the text itself. On the other hand, the method of structural analysis introduced by Levi-Strauss and known as the paradigmatic approach, proposes a pattern of binary oppositions that underlie folkloristic texts. Instead of describing the structure of a text in its sequential order, as does Propp's method, this method takes the elements out of their given order and regroups them into one or more analytic schemata.

A major shortcoming of Propp's method compared to Levi-Strauss' approach, is that Propp does not relate his morphology to the culture. Whereas Propp's analysis deals with the structure of a text in isolation from its social and cultural context, Levi-Strauss' analysis relates the paradigms found in myth to other aspects of culture, such as cosmology and worldview. Dundes notes in his introduction to Propp's book:

The problem is that Propp made no attempt to relate his extraordinary morphology to Russian (or Indo-European) culture as a whole. Clearly structural analysis is not an end in itself. Rather it is a beginning, not an end. It is a powerful technique of descriptive

ethnography inasmuch as it lays bare the essential form of the folkloristic text. But the form must ultimately be related to the culture or cultures in which it is found. In this sense, Propp's study is only a first step, albeit a giant one (Propp 1968:xiii).

Levi-Strauss, on the other hand, aims to demonstrate that structural analysis is not merely an academic exercise; it has sociological value.

Douglas, commenting on Levi-Strauss' approach, notes:

...Levi-Strauss is not content with revealing structure for its own sake. Structural analysis has long been a respectable tool of literary criticism and Levi-Strauss is not interested in a mere literary exercise. He wants to use myth to demonstrate that structural analysis has sociological value. So, instead of going on to analyze and compare formal myth structures, he asks what is the relation of myth to life (1967:57).

Levi-Strauss' view of myth is that it is made up of constituent units which presuppose constituent units present in language on other levels, such as phonemes, morphemes, and sememes. However, these constituent units differ from those of language in that "they belong to a higher and more complex order." He calls these constituent units "gross constituent units." (1963:207).

The gross constituent units, which are distinctive features of myth, are not proposed as isolated relations (just as, in phonology, features are not isolated units of sound) but rather "bundles of relations" (as phonemes are bundles of distinctive features). As bundles of relations, gross constituent units of a myth may be combined to produce meaning somewhat as phonemes are combined into morphemes.

A goal of the structural analysis of a myth is to uncover the meaning of that myth's message through an analysis of its sequences in terms of the

relationships among its gross constituent units. Levi-Strauss further claims that the underlying paradigmatic pattern of organization is usually based on an a priori binary principle of oppositions. In analyzing the meaning of a myth, the analyst looks for pairs of oppositions among the situations and the frameworks which need to be resolved. According to Levi-Strauss "the task of the structural analyst is to see past or through the superficial linear structure to the 'correct' or true underlying paradigmatic pattern of organization" (Propp 1968:xii). Levi-Strauss says that many societies fluctuate between three structures of social organization which create certain contradictions. These contradictions are apparently resolved by a subterfuge logic expressed in myth (Levi-Strauss 1963:128-160).

Traditionally anthropologists posited dual organization as the basic structure for society. Levi-Strauss presents ethnographic material from South America to show that apparent dual structures are incorporated into triadic (hierarchical) and center to peripheral structure. Center to peripheral structure is intermediary because it incorporates diadic as well as triadic structures in that the concentric dualism reduce the two sides to the peripheral structure. Social contradictions follow the different structures: diadic represents equality, symmetry, and reciprocal exchange; concentric dualism often represents contradictions, like nature/culture, natural/supernatural, which are neither symmetrical nor asymmetrical but unifying; triadic structure is hierarchical and asymmetrical with clear difference of prestige, power, and wealth, as, for example, the castes. The myth deals with the paradoxes of these apparently contradictory structures by expressing them within a linguistic form. This linguistic form provides

continuity through its cultural symbols which create a metaphorical unity. The paradoxes of the three structures within the myth are isomorphic to similar structures within culture and society.

It is further assumed that such underlying paradigmatic patterns result from basic cognitive patterns which exist in the society, even though the people may not be consciously aware of them. Bastien points out that cataloguing binary distinctions within social and cultural categories is not enough. The analyst must also explain "how these pairs are composed into holistic frameworks unique to the culture" (1978:192). Patterns found in the structure of a myth are presumed to be expressed in subsistence activities and in the social and political organizations of society. Halliday notes, "By their everyday acts of meaning, people act out the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared system of value and knowledge" (1978:2). So, the analyst begins with the description of the structure of a folktale, following the methodology suggested by Levi-Strauss, and then discusses how this structure is further verified by being found in other institutions of the culture.

1.2. Organization of the Study

This study has three main aspects: linguistic analysis of the narrative structures of the three folktales, following Longacre's model of discourse analysis; structural analysis of the cultural information presented in the three narratives, following Levi-Strauss' methodology; and, finally, an attempt to interrelate the linguistic structure and cultural information.

The next three chapters will present the linguistic aspects of the study. In Chapter 2 I discuss the overall discourse structure of the three

narratives analyzing them into their major constituent structures: title, stage, pre-peak episodes, peak, post-peak episodes, and closure. I note the specific linguistic features associated with the surface structure and on the basis of these features draw a profile of each of the narratives which graphically shows the development of the narrative structure upto a peak and declining after that point.

In Chapter 3 I describe the discourse functions of certain features of Gujarati verb. Here I discuss such matters like eventline, background information, and multiple levels in the narrative as these relate to verb aspects and to Gujarati sentence structure. I discuss here some peculiarities of Gujarati sentence structure and how each of these is directly related to the multiple levels of information in narrative discourse.

In Chapter 4 I consider questions related to participant reference in narrative discourse: how participants are introduced when they appear for the first time in the narrative, how they are traced through narrative, how they are reintroduced after a brief absence, and when a participant is referred to by nominal reference, when by pronominal reference and when by zero anaphora.

The following two chapters will present a structural analysis of the cultural information found in the three narratives. Chapter 5 will examine some underlying relationships in the structure of the narratives, following Levi-Strauss' method of isolating binary oppositions and grouping these into syntagmatic clusters. It is assumed, as mentioned in the theoretical framework above, that structural relationships in the folktales result from

basic cognitive patterns in the culture. So Chapter 6 will show how the structure of the folktales is further verified by being found in other institutions of the Gujarati society.

In Chapter 7 I try to correlate the linguistic structure of the narratives, as discussed in Chapters 2-4, with the cultural information presented in Chapters 5-6. This is done in relation to two major areas: participant reference and overall structures of the narratives. Participant reference in these narratives reflects the social status and roles of the participants. Cultural information helps to get to the underlying message, and an understanding of the message, in turn, helps to verify the linguistic structure.

1.3. Studies in Gujarati Linguistics

Gujarati is an Indo-Aryan language. It is spoken by approximately twenty-five million people (1971 census) and is the official language of Gujarat state in India. It is also spoken in Maharashtra, a neighboring state to the south of Gujarat, and in other countries: Pakistan, Bangladesh, and South Africa.

Quite a large number of studies have been published on the language, both in Gujarati and in English. A few scholars have also written grammars of the language. Among these, Taylor (1893) and Trivedi (1917, 1919), written in Gujarati, have had great influence on a large number of other works. These grammars follow the mold of Sanskrit grammars and traditional English grammars. Tisdall's grammar (1892), as Cardona remarks, "is little more than a series of paradigms" (Cardona 1965:7). Among the more recent

works Lambert (1971) is a study guide for learning the language. Cardona (1965) is the first complete grammar of Gujarati written in English in the twentieth century. Mistry comments on this grammar that "this is the best descriptive grammar of Gujarati among the grammars so far attempted" (1969:4). Pathak (1965) and Kothari (1976) provide a brief introduction to the linguistic development of the language.

Also, there have been numerous studies treating specific features of the language published in last two or three decades both in phonology and in grammar. Pandit (1954, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1961, 1966) has worked extensively on Gujarati phonology. Recent studies treating features of Gujarati grammar and syntax include Mistry (1976, 1978), Durbin (1970), Joshi (1975), and many others.

Recent dissertations on the language are Mistry (1969) and Dave (1977). Mistry's work describes verbal forms of Gujarati and follows the transformational-generative model, giving primary attention to the syntactic and semantic characteristics of sentences in which these forms occur. Dave (1977) provides a phonological description of Gujarati following Roman Jakobson's theory of distinctive features and presents an acoustic analysis of Gujarati vowels and its dental and retroflex consonants on the basis of spectrograms.

All of these and other studies have contributed greatly to the development of Gujarati linguistics. However, most of them have treated isolated features of the language. There has been very little, if any, attention paid to discourse structure of the language.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERALL DISCOURSE STRUCTURES OF THE NARRATIVES

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the overall structures of the three Gujarati narratives in terms of their surface structure slots and notional structure slots within the theoretical framework presented by Longacre. In the overall surface structure the various parts of the narrative discourse function as Title/Aperture, Stage, Pre-peak episodes, Peak, Post-peak episodes, Closure, and Finis (Longacre 1968, 1972, 1976). Stage provides temporal and spatial setting and introduces at least some of the participants of the narrative. Closure brings the narrative to an end by some concluding remark on the main participants. Title/Aperture and Finis mark the formal beginning and end of the narrative.

The body of the narrative is divided into pre-peak Episodes, Peak, and post-peak Episodes. Once the Peak of the narrative is decided upon, we can label the sections surrounding the Peak as pre-peak Episodes and post-peak Episodes. Longacre remarks:

The value of the recognition of a peak in a discourse genre and type where it is appropriate (viz. Narrative genre, Climactic Narrative Discourse), is that once a Peak is recognized it can be used to

classify surrounding portions of the text. Thus we may recognize that a text has a peak, a pre-peak Episode, and a post-peak Episode, and label the surface structure of these stretches accordingly (1972:135).

However, the chief value of recognition of the Peak is not in conveniently labeling the sections of the narrative. The peak is recognized because of the special surface structure features that correspond to the Climax or Denouement in the notional structure. Longacre groups the essential devices used in marking peak in narrative under the headings Rhetorical underlining, Concentration of participants, Heightened vividness, Change of pace or vantage point, and Orientation (1976, 1983).

The plot structure is the notional component of the narrative genre. Longacre notes, "plot is the deep structure of narrative discourse in the same sense that case relations are the deep structure of the clause ..." (1976:213).

Longacre suggests the following constituents of plot (1976:214-15):

1. Exposition 'Lay it out'
2. Inciting moment 'Get something going'
3. Developing conflict 'Keep the heat on'
4. Climax 'Knot it all up proper'
5. Denouement 'Loosen it'
6. Final suspense 'Keep untangling'
7. Conclusion 'Wrap it up'.

Exposition often corresponds to a slot which we can call Stage in surface structure. Stage may be expounded by a short embedded expository discourse. In Gujarati narrative sometimes there is very extended

description, in the form of an embedded expository discourse, that serves as the Stage. Inciting moment and Developing conflict in the deep structure usually encode as surface structure Episodes. Climax and/or Denouement correspond to the episode-like unit marked by special surface structure features, the Peak. The Final suspense encodes as one or more post-peak Episodes. Conclusion corresponds to the Closure in the surface structure. The Title/Aperture and Finis, the formulaic beginning and ending of the discourse, are only surface structure features.

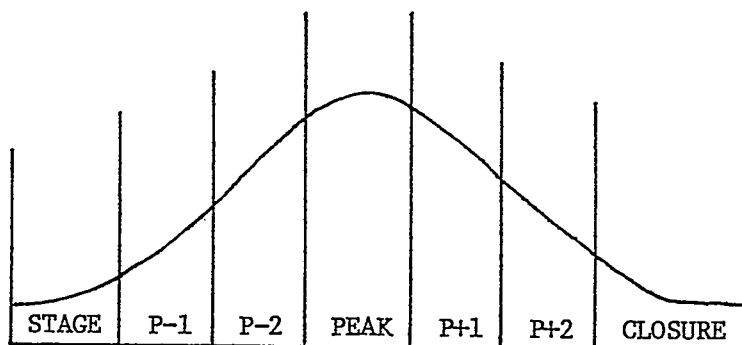
The surface structure features associated with a given part of a narrative help us to identify that part and its notional component. At the Stage we find temporal and locational expressions that place the narrative in a particular setting. This is the place where major participants of the narrative are introduced. The verbs used at this part are of existential and stative types with progressive aspect describing various situations.

In the main part of the story there is wide use of the past tense and completive aspect to report the events of the narrative. The use of past tense with completive aspect becomes more frequent as the narrative progresses toward its peak. This high point is where the most significant events take place. The events at this point are reported in quick succession and there is least amount of background information. This high point, the peak of the narrative, corresponds with the Climax or Denouement in the notional structure. Longacre (1976, 1983) notes that we can recognize the peak of the narrative because of the special surface structure features, such as, concentration of participants, more verbs in past tense with completive aspect to report fast moving actions, shift to more specific person (for

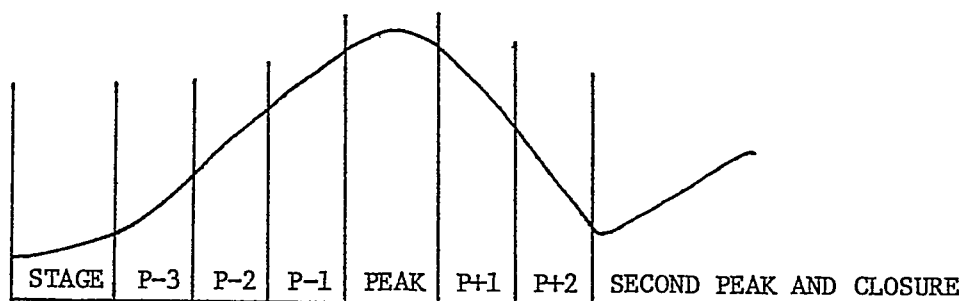
example, from third person to a second person); shift in tense and aspect, shift to a dialogue or drama, change of sentence and paragraph length, change in the number of conjunctions, change of vantage point, change in the use of particles, and increased use of onomatopoeia. All these surface features help us to identify the rise of tension leading to a climax of the notional structure of the narrative.

Depending on the presence or absence of certain nuclear tagmemes, there are three types of Narrative Discourse (Longacre 1968:7): The narrative is Episodic if it does not build up to a peak, but rather has episodes strung together without prominence being given to any one of them. The narrative is a one-peak narrative if it has episodes building up to a peak which corresponds to Denouement or Climax on the notional level. It is a double-peak narrative if it also has a second peak which corresponds with Climax, Anti-Denouement on the notional level. Some narrative discourses have a didactic (thematic) peak along with the main action peak (sec. 7.4.1.3).

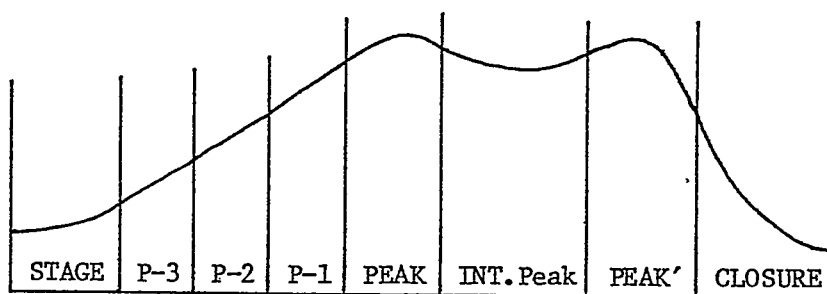
Longacre has used a new metaphor "Profile" which graphically shows the development of the narrative structure up to the peak and going down after that point. He (1981:356-57) presents for illustration profiles for the various narrative types mentioned above, except the episodic narrative (Figure 1).



Profile of a One-Peak Discourse



Profile with a Main Peak and Final (Didactic) Peak



Profile with a Double Peak

Figure 1. Different Profiles Illustrated by Longacre

2.2. Units in Narrative Discourse

Discourse is made up of episodes. Discourse consists of one or more such episodes and other slots, such as Stage which provides setting for the discourse and Closure which brings the narrative to an end. The episodes in the narrative discourse are usually expounded by paragraphs. Sometimes, an episode may be made up of more than one paragraph. In such a case the episode works as an embedded discourse.

A paragraph break in Gujarati is indicated by various surface structure and notional structure features:

1. Change in temporal setting. This may be signalled by a temporal expression or indicated by some other comment.

2. Change in spatial setting.

3. Change in theme. Grimes notes:

...as long as the speaker continues talking about the same thing, he remains within a single segment of the text at some level of partitioning. When he changes the subject he passes from one element of the organization of the text to the next element (1975:103).

4. Connective particles. These are related to the theme. Sometimes the connective particles indicate a new theme and thus signal a new paragraph. This is seen in at least one of the three narratives studied here where the antithetical connective પૃના 'but' signals a major change in theme and indicates a new paragraph.

5. Change in participant. Grimes notes for English that sometimes English paragraphs are divided on the basis of participant orientation (1975:105). This is also true in the Gujarati narrative. Introduction of a

new participant, or reintroduction of a participant previously introduced, indicates the beginning of a new paragraph.

6. Also, a change in the type of paragraph indicates a new paragraph, for example, from a narrative paragraph to a dialogue paragraph.

Usually there is more than one of the above features present at the beginning of a new paragraph.

2.3. Participant Oriented and Event Oriented Narratives

Before I can begin discussion of the overall structure of the three narratives, I need to make some general comments regarding some structural differences between the participant oriented narratives and event oriented narratives. The differences noted are based mainly on the three narratives studied here. However, a cursory examination of other Gujarati narratives consistently showed these same differences between the two types of narratives.

The major difference between these two types of narratives is that participant oriented narratives focus on the participants whereas in the event oriented narrative the focus is not on the participants but on events. The event oriented narrative concentrates on what happened, whereas the participant oriented narrative concentrates on who did it. The event oriented narrative does have a central participant who is involved in the major events of the narrative, but the theme of the narrative does not relate to the description of his character. Toba, in contrasting these two types of narrative, notes:

We can recognize an event oriented narrative discourse by observing the manner in which events are linked with each other. A sequence of events is united in one plot. In contrast to this, in a participant

focused discourse the events are used to describe the characters. Thus it is not important in a participant focused discourse to consider the mere sequence of events, but to relate the events to the participants (1978:157).

This difference is also reflected in the overall structure of narratives. Various constituent parts of discourse have different features depending on the type of the narrative. The Title of a participant oriented narrative is expounded by a noun phrase which includes the name or a social title of the central participant, as in "The Smart Merchant" and in "Harbham Bhuto". This was also seen in another narrative "The Hat Seller" (Christian 1980). The Title in an event oriented narrative, on the other hand, is expounded by a gerund phrase as in "Receiving Rewards." Schottelndreyer (1978:250) views verbal headings as a formal way of beginning an event oriented narrative in Sherpa.

The Stage of a participant oriented narrative generally has a considerably long description of the central participant. In the event oriented narrative, on the other hand, the Stage where the major participants are introduced is very brief, and the participants are simply introduced with little or no description.

There are structural differences in both types with regard to the overall structure of the narrative. The overall structure of the participant oriented narrative is somewhat like this: the Stage describes one or more characteristics of the central participant. In the body of narrative new participants are introduced who do not know the central participant very well, so they challenge the central participant, especially in the area of

the characteristic described in the Stage of the narrative. They fail once, but they try again, and each time they are defeated. The Closure of the narrative then takes note of their departure, completely frustrated. The overall structure of the event oriented narrative, on the other hand, is like this: the Stage describes the routine activities of the major participants of the narrative. In the body of the narrative a chain of events take place, which changes the situation. The narrative ends with a Closure which, like Stage, describes routine activities of the major participants of the narrative. But the events that took place in the narrative have brought a radical change in the life of the participants. So the routine activities at the Closure are very different from the routine activities at the Stage.

The difference between these two types of narratives will be exemplified as we discuss the various features of the narrative structure in the following chapters.

2.4. Discourse Structures of the Gujarati Narratives

The three narratives studied here are written by three different authors, taken from a collection of folktales (Jadav:1975). The source of the three folktales is the general area of north Gujarat. I have chosen to analyze a discourse from printed sources because a written discourse usually shows better structure than oral. Grimes (1975:33-34) notes, "The texts that yield most consistent analysis are edited texts... The principles that guide their editing behavior are likely ...to represent a replacement of expressions that are less consistent with the discourse as a whole by other expressions that fit the structure and the context better." Kerr, after

comparing oral and written discourses in Cuiva, comes to the conclusion: "The composed written discourses are shorter and better organized than the composed oral discourses" (1977:169).

The three narratives chosen for the study are folktales written mainly for adult readers. The following is a list of these narratives with their English titles. The full texts appear in the Appendix in transcribed form with morpheme-by-morpheme translations and free sentence-by-sentence translations grouped according to the Gujarati paragraphs.

1. Harbham Bhuto (HB)
2. The Smart Merchant (SM)
3. Receiving Rewards (RR)

2.4.1. Structure of "Harbham Bhuto"

The story of Harbham Bhuto is a participant oriented narrative which portrays the character of a brave young man who has very unusual strength. When four wrestlers² come to challenge the king of Kutch to fight with any wrestler, the king invites Harbham to take up the challenge. Harbham, an ordinary farmer from a small village, takes up the challenge and defeats each of the wrestlers twice, one of the wrestlers he drops straight to the ground and one of the others he kills by a heavy blow on the head with his iron-like fist. When the remaining three wrestlers follow him to his village to take revenge, they see Harbham breaking mud clods with an iron plow which is pointed and very heavy, weighing between 200 and 280 pounds. At this point they pick up their heels and quickly return to the place from which they came.

In its overall discourse structure this folktale consists of Title, a Stage, four pre-peak Episodes, Peak, a post-peak Episode and a Closure. Each of the episodes in the main body of the narrative is an embedded narrative.

In Gujarati written narrative, the Stage is regularly preceded by a Title. As noted above the Title of a participant oriented narrative is a noun or a noun phrase, as in this story "Harbham Bhuto." The Title of Gujarati narrative is brief, usually containing not more than three or four words.

The Stage in this narrative (S1-8) is an embedded expository discourse complete in itself with Stage, Closure, and Nucleus. It serves to introduce Harbham Bhuto as the central participant of the narrative. The opening sentence is actually the introduction of the embedded expository discourse as well as the opening of the whole narrative:

s̄nḡh6d ḡm-mā h6rbh6m bhuto name ek b6hadur
sanghad village-in Harbham Bhuto named one brave

yuwan r6he-t-o h6-t-o .
young man live-pst.prg-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg

'In a certain village named Sanghad lived a brave young man named Harbham Bhuto'.

As Hwang notes, it is not unusual to have a portmanteau Stage or Closure that simultaneously serves for both the embedded discourse and the overall discourse (1981:67).

The body of this embedded discourse, S2-7, provides a detailed description of the central participant. The description here, and also the description in the other participant oriented narrative studied, prepares the reader for what is coming in the main part of the narrative by emphasizing one of the leading characteristics of the central participant.

S8 is the Closure of this embedded discourse:

(HB S8)

am te-n-a nam-n-o d6k-o
 like this 3 m.sg-poss-m.sg name-poss-m.sg bell-m.sg
 wag-t-o .
 ring-pst.prg-m.sg

'In this manner, he was well known throughout the surrounding area'.

The Closure provides a summary statement concerning the unusual strength of Harbham. The summary particle *am* 'in this manner' suggests that he was known for his strength mentioned in S1-7.

The body of the overall narrative divides very clearly into two episodes of unequal size, each expounded by an embedded narrative discourse which displays a discourse structure of its own. The first episode is made up of a relatively brief narrative discourse (S9-29); and the other episode is formed by an extensive narrative discourse (S30-194) with four embedded narratives. Both the episodes are complete in themselves, independent of each other, and each a fully developed narrative.

Each of these two narratives has very similar structure except that the second narrative is very extensive. The beginning of each of these narratives is marked by a time phrase. The first narrative begins with a time phrase *ek w6kh6t* (S9) and the second with *ek war* (S30), both meaning 'one time' or 'once'. The Stage of each of the two narratives presents the participants and a situation which raises a problem. The problem in the first embedded narrative is that Harbham does not have any means to bring hay from his farm to his home. The problem in the second embedded narrative is

that there is no wrestler found in Kutch who can take up the challenge presented by the new wrestlers. A solution to each of these problems occurs to one of the participants in both the narratives and the problem is finally taken care of. In the first narrative the solution occurs to Harbham and he takes care of his problem by taking out a cart from his uncle's yard and by working all night. The problem in the second narrative is taken care of when Motichand the priest remembers Harbham and he is brought to Kutch to fight with the new wrestlers. Both narratives end with a dialogue paragraph where one of the participants expresses amazement at the unusual manner in which the central participant has taken care of each of the problems: bringing hay from the farm and defeating the wrestlers.

The overall theme which unites both of these narratives is the central participant, Harbham Bhuto, and his unusual strength. The first episode of the overall narrative presents an event in Harbham's life telling how he deals with a problem related to his farm and thereby demonstrates his unusual strength. The second episode presents another event in Harbham's life telling how he defeats the haughty wrestlers and again demonstrates his unusual strength.

The first episode is relatively brief, which is an embedded narrative discourse. The second episode which describes how Harbham defeats the wrestlers, is very extensive and is again divided into two major episodes, each of which is an embedded narrative discourse: Episode 1 (S30-166) describes the wrestlers' defeat at the royal court, Episode 2 (S167-188) describes their defeat at Harbham's farm. Episode 1 (S30-166) is again divided into three episodes, each of which is an embedded narrative: one in

which Harbham is brought to the royal court to fight with the wrestlers (S36-85), other in which he defeats the wrestlers in wrestling (S86-131), and the third in which Harbham defeats them in fist-fight (S132-166). This makes a total of five episodes in the overall narrative, each episode an embedded narrative: Episode 1 (S9-29) where Harbham demonstrates his strength in bringing hay from his farm; Episode 2 (S36-85) where Harbham is brought to the royal court; Episode 3 (S86-131) where Harbham defeats the wrestlers in wrestling; Episode 4 (S132-166) where Harbham defeats the wrestlers in a fist fight; and Episode 5 (S167-188) where Harbham defeats the wrestlers at his farm. S1-8 serve as the Stage for the overall narrative as well as for the first episode. S30-35 serve as the Stage for the second division. S189-194 is the Closure of the overall narrative as well as of the last embedded narrative. Episode 5 (S167-188) is the peak of the overall narrative, and the first four episodes are pre-peak Episodes. The hierarchical structure of the overall narrative is presented in Figure 2.

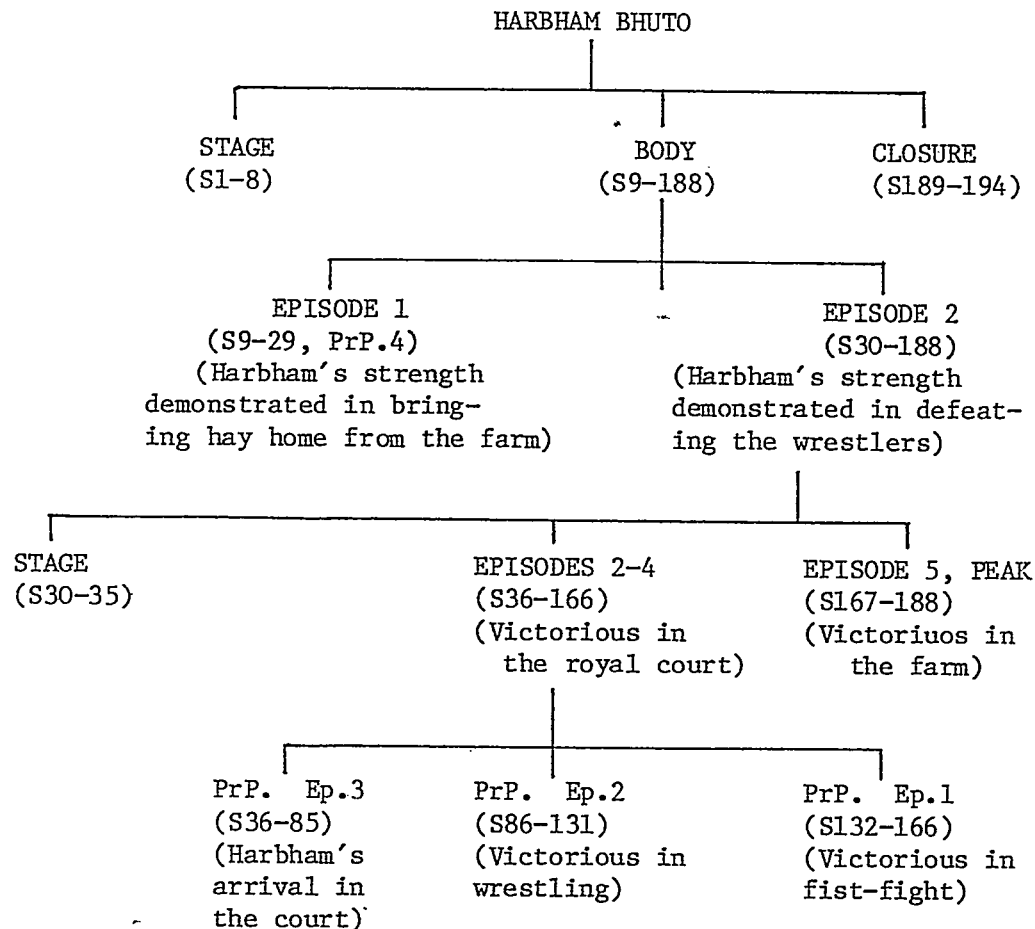


Figure 2. Hierarchical Structure of "Harbham Bhuto"

2.4.1.1. Episode 1 (Pre-peak Episode 4, S9-29)

The first episode of the narrative "Harbham Bhuto" is an embedded narrative discourse, complete in itself and independent of the rest of the narrative, united with the overall narrative on the basis of the central participant and the theme, as mentioned above. In the overall narrative this is pre-peak Episode 4, the fourth episode prior to the peak.

The structure of this embedded narrative has Stage (S9-10), pre-peak Episode (S11-14), Peak (S15-23), post-peak Episode (S24-28), and Closure (S29).

The time phrase *ek w6kh6t* 'one time' (S9) opens the episode. S9-10 set the Stage for the episode by describing the situation: at one time Harbham needed to bring the piles of hay from his farm to home. For this he needed a bullock cart.

The pre-peak Episode (S11-14) presents the problem: Harbham's own bullock cart was broken so he asked for one from his uncle. But his uncle answered that it would not be available for a few days. So Harbham was puzzled about what he should do. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the temporal setting *te w6kh6te* 'at that time' and by the introduction of the new participant, Harbham's uncle.

The next episode (S16-23) is the peak of this embedded narrative. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the change in the emotional state of the participant and by the temporal marker *akh6re* 'finally'. Suddenly a solution occurs to Harbham. He solves his problem of bringing the hay home from his farm by performing an unusual feat. Events take place in quick succession. He carries the bullock cart on his head from his uncle's yard during night (so that his uncle would not find out from the tracks of the cart that Harbham had taken the cart), brings it to his home, attaches oxen to it, and working all night stacks up the hay in his yard. Before the night is over he puts the cartback in his uncle's yard in the same manner he brought it out--by carrying it on his head.

The post-peak Episode (S24-28) is a dialogue paragraph. Various features signal the beginning of this episode. There is a temporal marker *s6wamã* 'in the morning' that indicates a different setting. Also, a new participant, Harbham's uncle who was only mentioned before, is brought on to

the stage. Also, S24 introduces a different type of paragraph, a dialogue between Harbham and his uncle. Here Harbham's uncle, amazed at seeing the hay stacked up in the yard, asks Harbham how he finished the big job overnight without a bullock cart. Harbham, with a smile, answers his uncle, adding to his amazement, how he did it.

The narrative ends with a Closure (S29), a summary statement about Harbham's unusual strength: 'such was Harbham's strength'.

The profile of this embedded narrative, following Longacre (1981), is presented in Figure 3. The profile represents the rise and fall of tension on the notional level as reflected in the surface structure features (sec. 2.5., chapter 3).

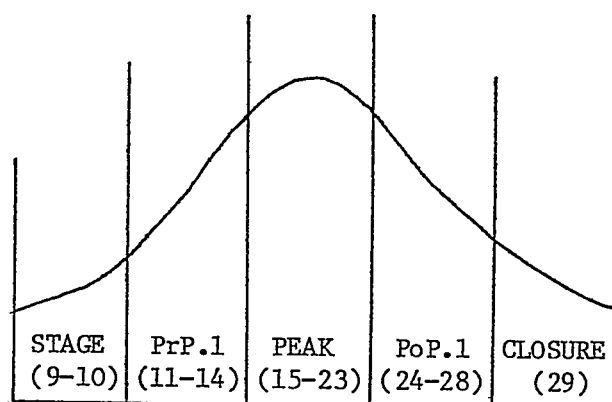


Figure 3. Profile of Pre-peak Episode 4 of "Harbham Bhuto"

2.4.1.2. Episode 2 (S30-194)

This episode, like the first one, is an embedded narrative, complete in itself. Unlike the first episode, this narrative is very extensive and presents within itself four embedded narratives.

Like the first episode, this episode begins with a time phrase *ek war 'one time'* (S30). The Stage of the narrative is set in S30-35 where the major participants, the wrestlers, are introduced.

The first pre-peak Episode (S36-85) presents the problem. None of the wrestlers of Kutch have come forward to take up the challenge presented by the newly arrived wrestlers. A solution is found when the priest in King Deshalji's court remembers Harbham and tells the king about him. Harbham is called up to fight with the wrestlers and he gladly accepts the challenge.

The second pre-peak Episode (S86-131) presents the actual fight of Harbham with one of the wrestlers. At the beginning of the fight, Harbham lets the other wrestler think that Harbham will be not able to defeat him, but later Harbham plays his trick and rolls him on the ground.

The third pre-peak Episode (S132-166) presents his fist fight with another wrestler from the group in which Harbham gives him such a blow with his iron fist that he falls to the ground dead. Harbham, puzzled by the wrestler's death, slips away from Deshalji's court and goes up to his village home.

The fourth episode (S167-194) is the peak of the second embedded narrative. Being defeated badly by Harbham, the remaining wrestlers follow Harbham to his farm to take revenge. But when they see Harbhambreaking mud clods on his farm by personally drawing a very heavy iron-pointed plow, they realize Harbham's great strength and turn back completely frustrated. Each of the four episodes is an embedded narrative.

2.4.1.2.1. Pre-peak Episode 3 (S36-85)

This is the third episode before the peak of the embedded narrative in the second higher-level episode, and is in turn an embedded narrative. The Stage of this narrative is set by the description of the newcomer wrestlers (S30-35). The Stage of Episode 2 also serves as Stage for the embedded narrative. The beginning of the first episode of this narrative (S36-45) is indicated by the introduction of a new participant, King Deshalji, with a brief description. There is also a change of setting, from Harbham's farm to the royal court in Kutch. This episode presents a problem: none of the Kutchi wrestlers come forward to take up the challenge presented by the newly arrived wrestlers. King Deshalji becomes puzzled.

The second episode (S46-66) presents the solution to the problem presented in the first episode. The beginning of this episode is marked by the time phrase te w6kh6te 'at that time' (S46). The beginning of this episode is also indicated by the introduction of a new participant, the priest Motichand. The episode contains an extensive dialogue between King Deshalji and the priest Motichand from his court, where Motichand informs King about Harbham and his unusual strength.⁴ So Deshalji makes arrangement to bring Harbham to the court.

In the next episode (S67-75) a chariot goes to Harbham's village and brings him to Bhuj, the capitol of King Deshalji. The beginning of this episode is marked by the time word, t6r6tj 'quickly'. Both the change in the locale, from the royal court to Sanghad village, and the change in participant orientation, from King Deshalji and priest Motichand to Harbham, indicate a new unit in the narrative. Harbham is reintroduced in this paragraph.

The last episode of this embedded narrative (S76-85) presents a dialogue between Harbham and King Deshalji. The beginning of this episode is indicated once again by a change of locale, from Sanghad village to the royal court. King Deshalji is reintroduced on the stage in this episode. Also, there is a change in the paragraph type, from a narrative to a dialogue. The king asks Harbham whether he will fight with the wrestlers and he gladly takes up the challenge. The last episode, and the embedded narrative, ends when Harbham leaves the king's presence to get ready for the fight on the next day (S85).

This embedded narrative is considered episodic in structure. One episode after the other is presented without any marked climax. All the four episodes are on an equal level. This episodic, non-climactic structure is reflected by the flat line in the profile of this embedded narrative (Figure 4).

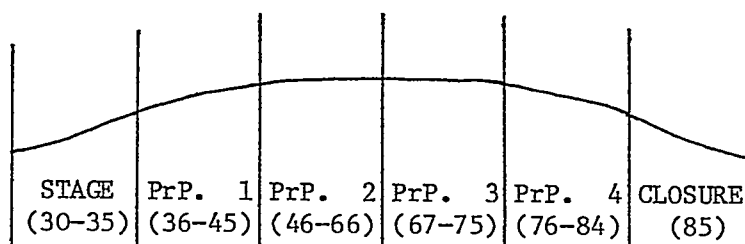


Figure 4. Profile of Pre-peak Episode 3 of "Harbham Bhuto"

2.4.1.2.2. Pre-peak Episode 2 (S86-131)

This is the second episode from the peak of the embedded narrative in the second higher-level episode. This episode, like the other episodes in the second division, is itself an embedded narrative.

The beginning of this narrative is marked by the time word *aje* 'today' (S86) and by a completely new setting, the wrestling arena. Its Stage (S86-93) is set by a very extensive description of the wrestling arena and of the different people, including King Deshalji, who have arrived to witness the great event.

The first episode of the narrative (S94-108) brings both the opponents into the wrestling arena. The action in this episode is very slow; very few events take place here: the wrestlers come up to the arena (S94), and Harbham also comes out (S99); one of the newly arrived wrestlers is chosen and he and Harbham get into the arena (S106); both contestants express their sportmanship (S107); then, beginning to wrestle, both stick to each other like leeches (S108). Only these five events take place in this fifteen-sentence episode. The episode has an extensive background description of the wrestlers, their behavior and attitudes, of the people and their fear about Harbham's losing the contest. This background description heightens the tension and excitement in the narrative and it builds towards the peak.

The second episode (S109-129) presents the actual fight of the two wrestlers and defeat of the Harbham's opponent. This is the peak of this embedded narrative. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the inceptive aspect in the compound verb in S109, 'that giant-body wrestler

began to apply (6jmawwa lagyo) his tricks one after another'. In this extensive episode, the action takes place only in the last two sentences (S128-129). The rest of the episode presents the background description of the actual fight. The extensive description of the fight (S109-127) slowly and gradually raises the tension, and when the tension reaches its peak, suddenly the action takes place: Harbham applies his trick and rolls the other wrestler onto the ground; and the wrestling arena roars up with its shouts of joy. The event of Harbham's rolling the other wrestler onto the ground is of such importance that the narrator takes a long time to prepare the ground for it.

The last two sentences of the episode (S130-131) are like a postscript. The wrestlers are shocked by the unexpected defeat. They express their protest loudly but are not able to do anything about it.

The profile of the embedded narrative is given in Figure 5. As noted above, in both of the main episodes of this embedded narrative there are only a few events. A large part of the narrative is background material. Only five events are presented in the first episode and only three at the peak episode of the narrative. However, the extensive background material which is presented here creates tension. The continual rising of the profile marker line shows the continual rising of the tension in this embedded narrative.

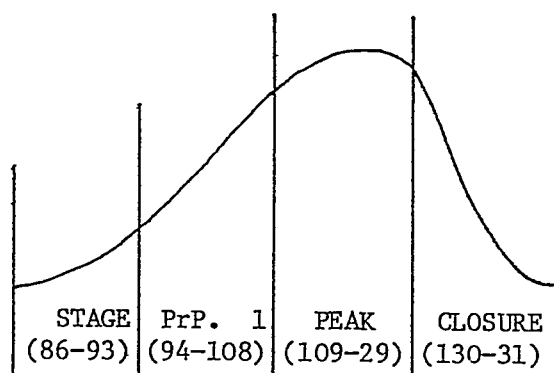


Figure 5. Profile of Pre-peak Episode 2 of "Harbham Bhuto"

2.4.1.2.3. Pre-peak Episode 1 (S132-166)

This episode is next to the peak of the embedded narrative in the second higher-level episode and is also an embedded narrative. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the inceptive aspect in the compound verb of S132:

k6cch, kathiyawad 6ne rajsthan-n-ā rajy-o-mā
 Kutch Kathiyawad and Rajsthan-poss-n.pl state-pl-in

wi6y-mal-ne w6r-wa-n-i t6m6nna-wal-a
 victory-garland-acc attain-inf-poss-f.sg eagerness-with-m.pl

m6ll-raj-o-n-a m6n-mā a p6raj6y d6kh-wa
 wrestler-king-pl-poss-m.sg mind-in this defeat sting-inf

lag-y-o .
 begin-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'The defeat began to sting in the minds of the great wrestlers who were eager to attain the garland of victory from the kingdoms of Kutch, Kathiawad, and Rajsthan'.

The Stage of this embedded narrative (S132-133) is set by the description of the emotional state of the wrestlers: the defeat began to sting in their minds (S132), and they were thinking about forming some new kind of plan (to defeat Harbham) (S133).

In the first episode (S134-146) of this embedded narrative, the defeated wrestlers file a complaint about the contest and request an opportunity for a fist fight with Harbham. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the temporal marker te w6kh6te 'at that time' and by the beginning of a dialogue between the wrestlers and the king and with the king and Harbham. Deshalji asks Harbham's opinion, and he gladly accepts the challenge.

The second episode (S147-166) is the peak of this embedded narrative. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the two compound verbs ut6ri p6dya 'got into' (S147), and daw khelwa lagya 'began to play (their) tricks' (S150). This episode describes the fist fight and defeat of the other wrestler. The background description in this episode is very brief; it describes the strength of both the contestants (S153-156). Then suddenly the fast-speed action begins. Et6lamã 'suddenly' (S157), marks the beginning of action:

'Suddenly, seeing an opportunity, Harbham gave such a blow, from his iron-like fist, to the head of the young wrestler that it created the appearance that his head was sinking into his body because of the blow of the fist. The wrestler...quickly rolled down to the ground. And he took his last breath. Suddenly the whole crowd became disorderly. Everywhere there was a great noise and uproar. Every one now began to slip out. The crowd began to scatter. Harbham also got puzzled. He slipped out from there without even showing his face to Deshalji. Quietly he reached his village, Sanghad' (S157-166).

The action moves very fast and the episode ends almost abruptly. The sudden rise of tension and abrupt end of the action is seen in the profile in Figure 6.

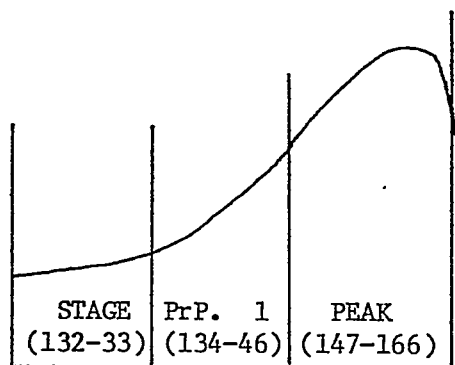


Figure 6. Profile of Pre-peak Episode 1 of "Harbham Bhuto"

2.4.1.2.4. Peak Episode (167-194)

This episode is the peak of the embedded narrative in in the higher-level Episode 2. This episode itself, like the other episodes, is an embedded narrative discourse, complete with Stage, pre-peak Episode, Peak and a Closure. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the time marker *h6we* 'now':

car-mā-thi h6we tr6n m6ll baki r6h-y-a
four-in-from now three wrestler left remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl

h6-t-a .
be-pst.prg-m.pl

'Now there were three wrestlers left out of four' (S167).

The Stage of the episode (S167-169) is set by the description of the emotional situation of the three remaining wrestlers; they were burning up

with the fire of anger and extremely impatient to take full revenge on Harbham.

The first episode of this embedded narrative (S170-179) brings the participants together at the scene. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the change of locale, from the royal court in Kutch to Harbham's village. The wrestlers come to Sanghad (S170), and Harbham is in his farm with his wife Hiru (S171). The rest of the episode is formed of the dialogue between Hiru and Harbham. Hiru expresses her worries about what is going to happen, but Harbham is cold with indifference. There is not much action in this episode but it is fire under ashes. Everything is ready to blow up at any moment. The tension is already built up.

The next episode (S180-188) is the peak of this narrative. Everything begins to move; the action suddenly explodes. The beginning of the peak-episode, and the beginning of the action in this embedded narrative is indicated by the time phrase p6chi t6r6t 'then quickly' (S180):

'Then quickly Harbham thought out a new plan. He released the oxen from the plow. (He) put both of them to graze on the edge of the farm. Also the yoke used on the shoulders of the oxen, (he) released from the plow and put it aside. Then taking the long pole of the plow into hand (he) began to break the mud clods in the field with the heavy iron point of the plow' (S180-184).

The quick action on the part of Harbham is paralleled by the quick action in the minds of the wrestlers:

'Seeing Harbham breaking the mud clods...the wrestlers...froze right on the spot. (They) quickly understood that Harbham, who was breaking the mud clods with the plow weighing between 200 and 280 pounds, could break both their heads in one moment with that same plow. Observing Harbham breaking the mud clods with the plow, both the wrestlers became embarrassed, understood (everything) and melted (with helplessness). Their feet became loose (they picked up their heels), and turning their feet they returned to the same place from which they had come' (S185-188).

Here the wrestlers are totally defeated. They go away forever never to come back again.

The third episode (S189-194) of this embedded narrative is the Closure. It is a portmanteau Closure both for this embedded narrative and also for the whole overall narrative, as was mentioned previously. The beginning of this paragraph is indicated by the reintroduction of Harbham's wife Hiru and by the change in the paragraph type, from the narrative to a dialogue. Like the embedded episode in the first division of the overall narrative, this episode of the second division ends with a dialogue between the central participant and one of his relatives. Here Hiru, Harbham's wife, in her amazement, asks Harbham what could have happened if the wrestlers had come near Harbham. Harbham responds with a smile that he would have had to break two more mud clods. He means to say that he could have broken their heads as easily as he was breaking the mud clods. The profile of this last embedded narrative is given in Figure 7:

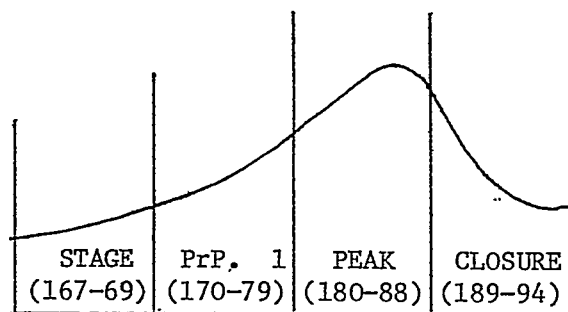


Figure 7. Profile of the Peak Episode of }Harbham Bhuto"

The Closure of the entire narrative (S189-94) is a dialogue paragraph,

a dialogue between the central participant and his wife. The Closure is actually Closure of the last embedded discourse as well as the Closure of the entire narrative.

'Harbham's wife, Hiru, when (she) saw (her) husband's miraculous act, put (her) hand on (her) mouth and laughed inside for a long time. "What if they both had come here?" Hiru asked Harbham. "What else could have happened if they had come here? Then I would have had to break two more mud-clods," Harbham answered with a smile'.

2.4.1.3. The Overall Profile of "Harbham Bhuto"

Considering the structure of each of the embedded narratives in both parts of the narrative, the overall structure of the narrative can now be represented as a profile (Figure 8).

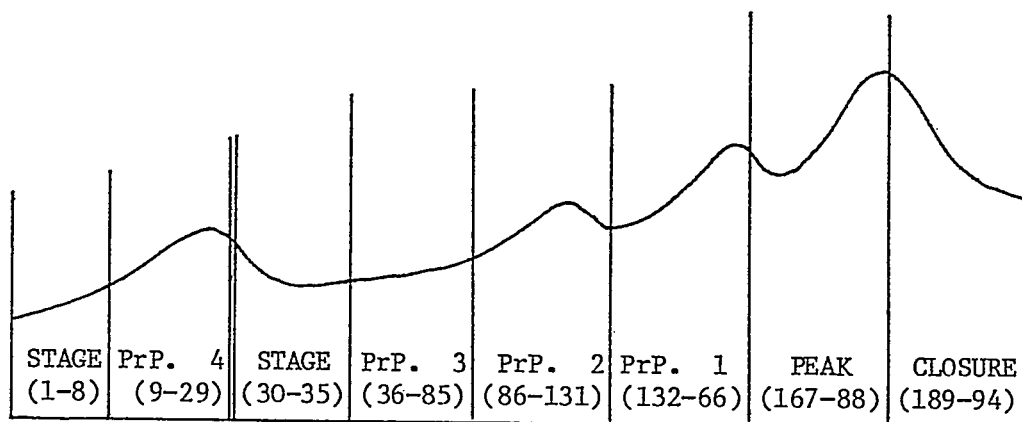


Figure 8. Overall Profile of "Harbham Bhuto"

This profile shows four peaks, one in each of the embedded narratives except in the second episode which does not have a marked peak. The peak of every subsequent embedded narrative is higher than the preceding one because the tension grows higher and higher as the narrative progresses. The peak of

the last episode is higher than all the others because it is also the peak of the overall narrative. This is where the wrestlers are totally defeated and leave the village never to come back again. Also the high tension on the notional level is reflected through the surface structure features: here there is concentration of compound verbs and ergative constructions (chapter 3). In the previous episodes Harbham defeats the wrestlers individually, first by simply rolling one of them down onto the ground and killing one of the others in the first fight. However, the remaining three wrestlers still hope to defeat Harbham. This leaves the narrative in tension. This tension is released only when Harbham defeats them totally.

Considering the internal structure of each slot of the narrative we see that different tenses, aspects, and forms of the verbs are used in different slot of the narrative (Chapter 3). The Stage of the overall narrative, as well as the Stage of each of the embedded narratives, is marked by past progressive and past perfective aspects *r6heto h6to* 'was living',⁵ etc. The "to be" verb is used most frequently in this part of the narrative to indicate continuing state.

The beginning of every episode has very slow movement. There is much background material and very few events. For example, as was noted above, in the second episode (S86-131), only five events are noted for the fifteen-sentence episode. Sometimes dialogue is used where action is slow and participants exchange ideas or information. However, lack of action at this initial stage of an episode does not mean lack of excitement. The tension is being built and everything is ready to explode.

Also, at the initial stage of each of the narratives, the events on the eventline are reported in simple past tense. These events provide details that help the narrative move further, but it is a slow movement. When the narrative reaches its peak the compound verb form is used. The verbs presented in compound form denote sudden and quick movement. And so, before the peak of each of the embedded narratives, tension gradually builds up with the events reported in simple past. Then suddenly the action picks up speed and the narrative reaches its peak. So near the peak of a narrative, there is a group of verbs of which most are in the simple past tense form. Then at the peak, there is a group of verbs in compound verb form. For example S11-15 describe activities on the eventline but not the peak: Harbham asked for a bullock cart, his uncle gave answer, Harbham got puzzled. In these sentences there is not a single verb in the compounded form. But then suddenly the action begins in S16 and all the events on the eventline are reported through the compound verb forms, clearly marking the peak of the embedded narrative (the use of compound verbs and non-compound simple past will be discussed in detail in the next chapter).

Dialogue is used in the initial part of the embedded narrative to slow down the movement of the eventline and also to build up tension. For example, the dialogue between Harbham and his wife in the last embedded narrative (S175-180, peak of the overall narrative) expresses Hiru's fear and raises tension as to "what will happen now?" Dialogue is also used at the Closure of both the major embedded narratives in each division of the story. For the embedded narrative of the first division, about bringing hay from farm to home, the dialogue between Harbham and his uncle marks the Closure.

Similarly the second major narrative, Harbham's fight with the wrestlers, ends with the dialogue between Harbham and his wife. The dialogue at Closure serves the purpose of expressing amazement at the unusual strength demonstrated by the central participant. Harbham's uncle was amazed to see the great pile of hay stacked in Harbham's back yard overnight, Hiru was amazed to see the proud wrestlers turning back totally frustrated. So dialogue here serves to highlight the central characteristic of the central participant, in this case the unusual strength of Harbham and recapitulates the theme of the entire narrative.

2.4.2. Structure of "The Smart Merchant"⁶

The narrative "The Smart Merchant," like "Harbham Bhuto," is a participant oriented narrative. It describes the character of a merchant who was extremely careful about his property and very smart. Two professional cheaters, not knowing how smart the merchant is, attempt to cheat him on two different occasions. Both times the merchant makes fools of them, and the professional cheaters leave him never to remember even his name.

The overall discourse structure of the narrative is no different from the other participant oriented narrative, having a Title, a Stage, two pre-peak Episodes, a Peak and a Closure. The Title of the narrative is expounded by a noun phrase, as is the usual case in a participant oriented narrative. The Stage of the narrative (S1-21) is an embedded expository discourse. It serves to introduce the central participant, the merchant. The opening sentence serves both as the opening for the whole discourse and

as the Stage of the embedded discourse:

ek sheth h6-t-a .
one merchant be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp

'There was a merchant'.

The body of the embedded expository discourse at the Stage provides a detailed description of the central participant. The description prepares the reader for what is coming in the main body of the narrative by emphasizing one of the leading characteristics of the central participant. Thus the detailed description here serves as thematic stage for the entire narrative.

There are two characteristics of the merchant in focus here: he is extremely careful in spending his money (S1-14), and he is very smart, so smart that even professional cheaters cannot cheat him (S15-21). Both these qualities merge into one: he is extremely intelligent in taking care of his property so that no one can take anything away from him by cheating.

The use of adversative connectives provides cohesion within the embedded expository discourse at the Stage and with the body of the narrative. S2 introduces one fact about the merchant: he is a millionaire, but (p6a, (S3) he is extremely frugal. Then S4-14 describe how frugal he is. S15-17 introduce another fact of his life: he is very honest. The but in S18 brings out the contrast, 'but it was unbearable for him if someone else would cheat him'. Then S18-21 describe how smart he is. The adversative connective in S15, am ch6tã 'and yet' brings both these characteristics together: he was extremely frugal and yet did not cheat others, but extremely careful that no one should cheat him. The macrostructure (van Dijk 1972) of the embedded narrative can be formed by using the clauses with these major adversative connectives:

He was a millionaire (S2)

BUT he was extremely frugal (S3)

AND YET he was very honest (S15)

BUT could not stand it if someone would try
to cheat him (S18).

The entire Stage is connected with the body of the overall narrative by the use of an adversative connective: but there came two new cheaters (who did not know him very well).

The Closure of the overall narrative is a concluding remark:

th6g	nirash	th6-i	cal-y-a	
cheater	disappoint	be-cmpl	walk-pst.cmpl-m.pl	
g6-y-a	6ne	te	guru-n-ū.	nam
go-pst.cmpl-m.pl	and	that	teacher-poss-n.sg	name
le-wa-n-ū	p6a	s6dane	mate	bhul-i
take-inf-poss-n.sg	even	ever	for	forget-cmpl
g6-y-a .				
go-pst.cmpl-m.pl				

'The cheaters went away disappointed and never mentioned even the name of that teacher (lit. totally forgot even to take the name)'.⁷

The body of the overall narrative, similar to the other narrative, clearly divides into two higher-level episodes on the basis of the locale where the events of the narrative take place. The events in the first higher-level episode take place outside the town of the merchant. The events of the second episode take place around the merchant's home. The beginning of each of the two episodes is marked by the adversative particle p6a 'but'.

The second episode is again divided into two parts, each an embedded narrative. The first part describes the cheaters' attempt to humiliate the

merchant by grabbing his mustache and the second part describes their attempt to humiliate the merchant by trying to grab his nose. In this way the overall narrative divides into three episodes, each expounded by an embedded narrative. The beginning of each of the episodes is marked by the adversative particle $p6n$ 'but'. The binary structure of the narrative is presented in Figure 9.

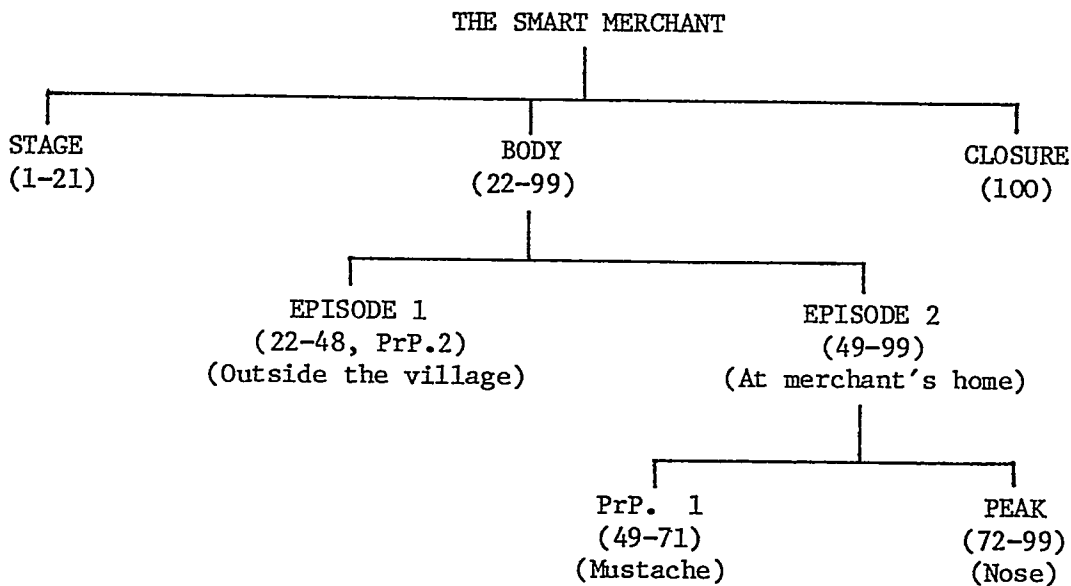


Figure 9. Hierarchical Structure of "The Smart Merchant"

The use of the adversative particle $p6n$ 'but' divides the major parts of the narrative, and at the same time provides tremendous cohesion to the discourse.⁸ The major divisions in the narrative, as well as some of the episodes in the embedded narratives, are indicated by the use of $p6n$. The Stage and the body of the overall narrative, as mentioned before, are connected by the use of $p6n$ (S22). Each of the paragraphs in the Stage (S3-14, 15-17, 18-21) begins with an adversative particle (S15 'and yet').

Each of the three major episodes begins with this particle (S22, 49, 72). The peak episodes of two of the three embedded narratives begin with p6n (S31, 88).

It has already been mentioned how the adversative connectives provide cohesion within the embedded expository discourse at the Stage. Similarly in the body of the narrative also the use of the adversative connective p6n divides as well as connects the major episodes. The first two episodes of the overall narrative, which are two embedded narratives, are connected by this adversative connective p6n (S49):

p6n sheth pach-a sha-n-a aw-e ?
but Sheth back-m.pl-rsp what-poss-m.pl.rsp come-pres

'But why would the merchant come back?'

Not only the two embedded narratives are connected by the adversative p6n, but also the major episodes of each of the two embedded narratives are connected by p6n. The two episodes of the first narrative (S28-36 and S37-48) are connected by p6n in S37:

p6n sheth-n-a kan b6hu s6rw-a h6-t-a .
but merchant-poss-m.pl ears much keen-m.pl be-pst.prg-m pl

'But the merchant had very keen ears'.

The major episode of the overall narrative begins with p6n (S72):

p6n c6tur waniy-o har kha-wa m3g-t-o
but smart merchant-m.sg defeat eat-inf want-pst.prg-m.sg

n6 h6-t-o .
neg be-pst.prg-m.sg

'But the smart merchant did not want to accept defeat'.

Also the peak episode of the third embedded narrative begins with this adversative particle (S88)

p6n much chut-y-i te-j ksh6n-e
 but mustache release-pst.cmpl-f.sg that-emph moment-loc

sheth pach-a h6t-i g6-y-a .
 merchant back-m.pl.rsp move-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp

'But the moment the mustache was released, the merchant moved away'.

The use of p6n in this narrative not only provides cohesion, but it also helps to identify each of the stages of discourse and indicates progression in the eventline. The adversative is used here at very crucial points of the discourse and indicates a turning point in the eventline. For example, the body of the narrative begins with p6n in S22. The main idea at the Stage is that the merchant is extremely careful to protect his property and is such an intelligent man that no one would even think to cheat him. But there came two new cheaters who did try to cheat him (S22). Similarly the first embedded narrative ends with the cheaters sitting and waiting for the merchant to come back. The second major episode begins with p6n: But why would the merchant come back? This leads into the development of the second episode where the cheaters have to go to the merchant's house for another attempt to cheat him. Thus the adversative particle p6n in this narrative provides the outline of the major points of the narrative. 2.4.2.1. Episode 1 (Pre-peak Episode 2, S22-48)

Like the main parts of Stage in the overall narrative, this episode begins with an adversative connective (S22): 'But the eyes (lit. sight) of two new cheaters turned toward this merchant'. The adversative particle p6n 'but' connects this episode, and the entire body of the overall narrative, with the Stage of the narrative, as was mentioned above.

The first episode (S22-27) of this narrative brings new participants, the cheaters, into the picture and their scheme to cheat the merchant is introduced. There is not much action in this episode. There are only two eventline verbs: 'sight of new cheaters turned toward the merchant' (S22), and 'the two cheaters went out (to cheat the merchant)' (S27). Between these two events the rest of the episode is reported speech introducing the plans of the cheaters to cheat the merchant.

The second episode of this embedded narrative (S28-36) describes the first attempt of the cheaters to cheat the merchant. The beginning of this episode is indicated by a description of the everyday routine activity of the merchant: (S28)

sheth roj sǎj-e loto l6-i kh6rcŭ
 merchant every day evening-loc jug take-cmpl latrine

j6-t-a .
 go-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp

'The merchant had a habit of going to the latrine every evening carrying a water jug'.

This sentence reintroduces the merchant after the brief description of the cheaters and also gives the background for the events that follow in this narrative where the cheaters scheme to snatch that water jug away.

S29-36 describe the actual attempt of the cheaters to cheat the merchant. Here also there is not much action, there is only one verb on the eventline that indicates some action: 'both the thieves sat by the wayside hiding behind a bush' (S29). The other eventline verb, 'seen coming', is passive and does not indicate any activity. However, the tension is being

built up as to what is going to happen. S31 reports that they begin to plan how to take the water jug away from the merchant. However, the plan is killed even before it is completely formalized.

The next episode (S37-45) is the peak of the embedded narrative, where the merchant in his trickery defeats the cheaters. The beginning of this episode also is marked by the adversative *p6n*. The adversative particle here marks the expectancy reversal: the cheaters are ready and eagerly waiting to grab the water jug. They whisper to each other in planning how to snatch that water jug away. But the merchant's ears are so keen that he overhears the cheaters' talk and the cheaters are not able to carry out their plans. Here there is much more activity than in the previous episode. The major events are reported in compound verb forms indicating sudden and quick activity: 'merchant heard' (*sābh6li g6ya*), in S38, he 'murmured' (*6b6di uthya*) in S40, and he 'turned away' (*w6li g6ya*) in S45. The rest of the episode includes the reported speech of the merchant to himself (S41-44), in which he misleads the cheaters by loudly speaking of his desire to go back home, and come back with a silver water jug.

The post-peak Episode (S46-48) of this embedded narrative reports the effects of the merchant's attempt to mislead the cheaters. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the shift of focus from the merchant to the thieves. Also, there is a change from the merchant's soliloquy to the thought process of the thieves. The thieves become extremely happy thinking that the merchant will come back with a silver jug that they will then be able to snatch away from him. There is not any activity in this episode except the quick change in the emotional state of the thieves, 'they suddenly became glad' (S46). Figure 10 is the profile of this embedded narrative:

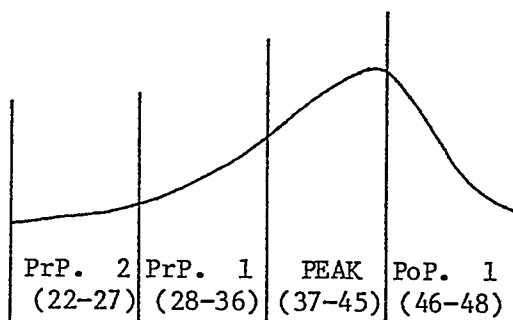


Figure 10. Profile of Pre-peak Episode 2 of "The Smart Merchant"

2.4.2.2. Episode 2 (S49-100)

Episode 2 of "The Smart Merchant" is further divided into two episodes, each of which is an embedded narrative.

2.4.2.2.1. Pre-peak Episode 1 (S49-71)

This is the second episode in the narrative; it is the episode before the peak. This episode is also an embedded narrative. The beginning of the episode is indicated by the adversative *p6n* 'but' (S49). The adversative separates the following episode from the preceding, as well as thematically glueing both the episodes together and giving overall cohesion to the discourse. Here again the adversative *p6n* marks the expectancy reversal. In the previous episode the merchant created the impression in the cheaters' mind that he would come back with a silver jug. So the cheaters are sitting and waiting for him to come back. But he did not come back. This triggers

the subsequent episode; because he did not come back the cheaters plan to go to the merchant's house. And the rest of the events in the narrative take place around the merchant's house.

The Stage of this embedded narrative is a rhetorical question raised by the narrator: 'But why would the merchant come back?' (S49); and the answer, 'If he came, he wouldn't be himself' (S50). The Stage indicates a failure of the cheaters in the previous episode to cheat the merchant. They were foolish enough to expect the merchant to return with a silver jug as he had mentioned in his soliloquy. But the merchant was smarter than the cheaters thought.

The first pre-peak Episode (S51-55) reports the movement of the cheaters; they came to the merchant's home. The beginning of this episode is indicated by this movement and by the new setting. There is not much activity here except moving towards the merchant's home. The first eventline verb thakya 'got tired' (S51) does not have any activity. The other two verbs on the eventline indicate the thieves' activity of moving; g6ya 'went', once they move towards the merchant's home (S52) and again to the back side of the home (S55).

The next pre-peak Episode (S56-60) provides the other side of the story. As in the previous episode, the thieves get ready to apply some other trick to cheat the merchant, the merchant also, in this episode, gets ready to challenge the cheaters. Here, too, as in the previous episode, there is not much activity. There is only one verb on the eventline, t6iyar th6i g6ya 'became ready'. The rest of the episode reports the understanding and thinking of the merchant that the cheaters are certainly going to try again.

Neither of these episodes involve much activity, as already noted above. However, there is much going on behind the scene. Both the cheaters and the merchant are loading up their guns, metaphorically speaking, to fight against each other. The tension is building up for the coming events.

The next episode (S61-71) is the peak of the embedded narrative. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the change of focus from the merchant's thought process to the activities of the cheaters. There is much excitement here and everything happens very quickly. Here the merchant finally comes into the cheaters' grip. Both the opposite parties are brought together in this episode. The merchant is not very active, he is trying to be safe and looking around to see if the cheaters have arrived. But the cheaters are actively involved in everything that happens: they come, they see the head of the merchant, they move away from the window, they see the mustache of the merchant fluttering in the wind, and finally one of them grabs the mustache. This is where the action rises to its peak. Suddenly the merchant is startled but quickly becomes alert. The episode ends with the narrator's remark that the hold on the mustache was so strong that the merchant might scream out (S71), he may have to give up. The profile of this embedded narrative is presented in the Figure 11.

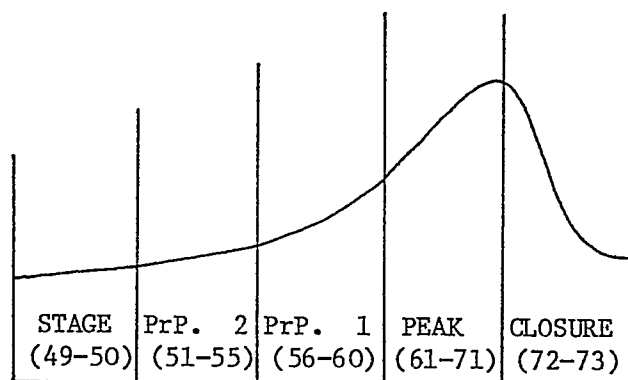


Figure 11. Profile of the Pre-peak Episode 1 of "The Smart Merchant"

2.4.2.2.2. Peak Episode (S72-100)

This episode is the peak of the overall narrative. This is an embedded narrative with a Stage, a Pre-peak episode, a Peak and a Post-peak episode. The Stage of this narrative is set in S72-73 where the narrator comments on the strong desire of the merchant not to give up but to teach a lesson to the cheaters.

The adversative *πρὸς* 'but' (S72) indicates the antithetical connections this episode has with the previous episode. In the previous episode the merchant is about to be defeated because the cheaters have grabbed his mustache. The hold on the mustache is so strong that he might have to give up. However, the adversative 'but' indicates that he was not such a man that would give up that easily. Instead he decided to teach them a lesson. This way 'but' works both ways; while it separates this episode from the previous episode, it also provides a thematic link with the previous episode and

suggests progression in the eventline of the narrative. The beginning of the pre-peak Episode (S74-87) is indicated by the change in the paragraph type, from narrative to a soliloquy. Here the merchant employs the same trick he had successfully employed before. He speaks out loud to mislead the cheaters. This time instead of talking to himself he addresses his wife who is not present at the scene. He tells her to bring a hundred rupees to give to the cheaters as a price for the mustache, because if they would grab his nose, he would have to give five hundred rupees. Hearing this the cheater releases the mustache hoping to grab the nose to gain four hundred rupees more. Tension is still maintained as to what is going to happen now. Would the thief be able to grab the merchant's nose and gain five hundred rupees or not?

The next episode (S88-94) of this embedded narrative is the peak where the cheaters attempt to grab the merchant's nose but are totally frustrated. The beginning of this episode also is marked by the adversative *pero*, 'but'. In the peak of the previous embedded narrative (S61-71) the merchant is not very active, but the thieves are, and the merchant is reported to be in the grip of the cheaters. In this peak both the merchant and the cheaters are reported to be active, but the merchant has the upper hand. This time he does not try to mislead the cheaters by his soliloquy but he takes very active measures. He takes a piece of burning wood and presses it upon the thief's hand which is inserted through the lattice to grab the merchant's nose (S93). The thief screams, pulls his hand out and moves away (S94). This peak is higher than the peak of the previous episodes, first because there is more activity here, and also because the cheaters are completely defeated.

The last episode of this embedded narrative (S95-99) is the post-peak episode. The beginning of this episode is indicated by the change in the paragraph type, from narrative to reported speech. It contains the merchant's victory speech addressed to the cheaters.

The last sentence (S100) is the Closure both for the embedded narrative and for the overall narrative. This is a narrator remark declaring total failure of the cheaters in their endeavor to cheat the merchant.

The profile of this embedded narrative is given in the Figure 12.

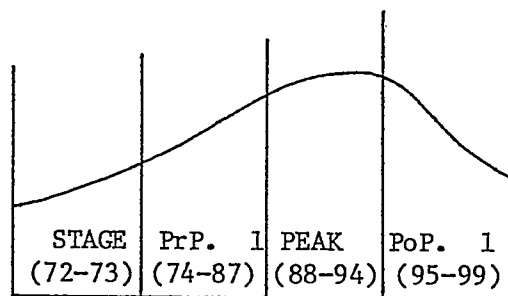


Figure 12. Profile of the Peak Episode of "The Smart Merchant"

2.4.2.3. The Overall Profile of "The Smart Merchant"

Considering the structure of each of the episodes and embedded narratives the overall structure of the narrative is represented in a profile form (Figure 13):

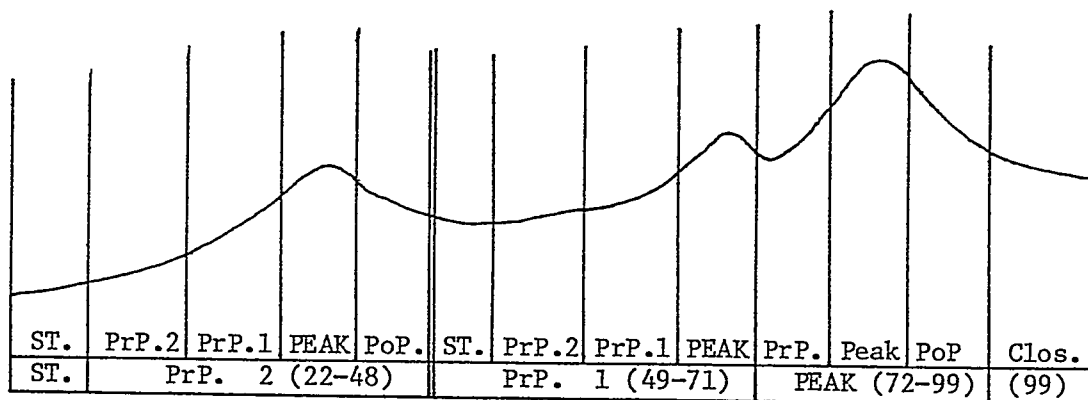


Figure 13. Overall Profile of "The Smart Merchant"

The first two episodes have a peak, but it is not the peak of the overall discourse. The peak of the third episode is the peak of the overall narrative. The three episodes' each one having its own peak, show three attempts by the cheaters to cheat the merchant. In each attempt they get more and more desperate and also more and more frustrated. So there is a progressive build-up of tension from the beginning of the narrative to the end.

In the internal structure of each slot of the narrative there is a similar situation to that found in the other participant oriented narrative "Harbham Bhuto." The Stage of the narrative is marked by past progressive and past perfective aspect. The compound verb forms, as in the other narrative, indicate fast action. However, in this narrative the compound verbs are diffused; there is not a chain of compound verbs which clearly mark the peak. The peak of Episode 1 (S36-45) is marked by using only two

compound verbs. The peak of the Episode 2 uses more verbs in simple past than the compound forms. However, the final peak of the narrative is clearly marked by absence of simple past forms and the use of compound verb forms (S93-94).

There is an interesting use of reported speech. In the first encounter with the cheaters the merchant talks to himself to mislead them. In the second encounter with the cheaters, the merchant loudly talks to his wife to mislead them. Finally, when the cheaters are totally defeated, he addresses them with his victory speech. Much of the action in the narrative takes place on an emotional or intellectual level. The cheaters plan to cheat the merchant and the merchant uses counter strategies to defeat them.

2.4:3. Structure of "Receiving Rewards"

In this narrative a god visits an old woman when her son, who is the central participant of the narrative, is not home. The god promises to give some rewards to the old woman because she was very nice to him. When the son comes back home and learns about the god's visit, he ventures out to search for the god to receive rewards. Before he finds the god, on his way he meets four different people, each one of whom shares with him a problem and requests him to ask the god about it. The boy finally meets the god. The god tells him the reasons for the problems of each of the participants the boy had met on the way. After meeting the god, the boy turns back to go home. On the way back he meets each of the participants he had met before and conveys to each one of them the god's message. Each of them in return gives him a special gift. At the end of the story the boy reaches home with four

rewards received from the four participants he had helped: an elephant as his servant, treasure pots, knowledge of various kinds, and a wife. He, along with his wife, pay respect to his old mother because of whose goodness all this has happened. The story ends with a note that he becomes a king of a small kingdom, receives praises from his people and experiences much joy.

Unlike the other two narratives, this is an event oriented narrative. Event oriented narrative, as mentioned before, has the events in focus: what happens in the narrative instead of who did it.

In its overall discourse structure, this narrative consists of a Title, a Stage, Body and a Closure. The Title of the narrative is expounded by a gerund phrase and indicates the central events of the narrative, but does not include the name of the central participant.

The Stage of the narrative is relatively brief (S1-4). The Stage introduces the major participants of the narrative and tells about their routine activities. It does not provide any information regarding the time and place of the narrative.

The Closure of the narrative (S243-245) is a concluding remark about the usual way of life for the boy and the mother after the boy returned home. The structure and content of the Closure is similar to the Stage of the narrative. Like Stage, the Closure describes the routine activities of the participants. Of course, the activities of the major participants at the Closure are very different from their activities at the Stage of the narrative because of what took place in the body of the narrative.

The body of the overall narrative divides into twelve episodes. The beginning and end of each of these episodes is indicated by a change of

locale and the introduction of a new participant in the story. The first episode (S5-29), which is an embedded narrative, takes place at the home of the central participant when he is away from home. The participants in this episode are the mother of the central participant, and the god who visits her as an unknown guest. The god promises to give the mother some rewards. The end of this episode is indicated by the sudden departure of one of the major participants of the episode, the god (S29):

bh6gwan ʃt6rdhan th6-i g6-y-a .
 god disappear be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp

'The god disappeared'.

Episode 2 (S30-43) also takes place at the home of the central participant. The beginning of this episode is indicated by a new setting and the appearance of a new participant on the stage (S30):

dosh-i-ma-e f6ri r6soi k6r-wa maŋ-y-i .
 old woman-f.sg-mother-ag again meal do-inf begin-pst.cmpl-f.sg

'The mother once again began to prepare the meal'.

et6la-mā dik6r-o aw-i p6h8c-y-o .
 that time-in son-m.sg come-cmpl reach-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'At that time the son arrived' (S31).

The participants in this episode are the boy, who is the central participant of the narrative, and the mother. The mother informs the boy about the god's visit and about the rewards he has promised. So the boy sets out in search for the god to receive the rewards. The end of this episode is indicated by the central participant leaving the locale (S43):

te-to nik6l-i p6d-y-o b6har .
 3 sg-prM get out-cmpl fall-pst.cmpl-m.sg out

'He set out'.

Episodes 3, 4, 5, and 6 are pre-peak episodes. These episodes take place when the boy is on his way to meet the god. On his way he meets four different participants, each one of whom shares one problem with the boy. Each of these episodes has a different locale. The central participant, the boy, is present in each of the episodes, but there is one other major participant which is different for each episode. The change of episode is indicated by the change of this major participant and of locale.

There is a common structure in these four episodes. The beginning of each is indicated when the central participant arrives at the place of the episode. Likewise, the end of each is indicated when he leaves the place of the episode. These four episodes also have a common surface structure. Each one has a dialogue structure where the two participants exchange information. Many of the eventline verbs are related to speech and hearing.

The subject matter of the conversation is also common in these episodes; the boy tells the other participant where he is going, the other participant informs the boy of his problem and asks whether the boy would ask the god why the participant himself has the problem and how it can be taken care of. Finally the boy promises that he will definitely ask the god about the problem and continues his journey further.

The beginning of episode 3 (S44-60) is indicated by the change of location and the introduction of a new participant (S44-45):

<u>dik6r</u> -o	cal-y-o	cal-y-o	ja-y
son-m.sg	walk-pres.prog-m.sg	walk-pres.prog-m.sg	go-pres.prog

ch-e .
be-pres

cal-tã	cal-tã	b6hu	dur	bij-a	raja-n-a
walk-durM	walk-durM	much	far	another-m.sg	king-pos-n.sg

ra_jy6-mǎ aw-i p6h8c-y-o .
kingdom-in come-cmpl reach-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'The son walked for a long time. After walking for a long time, he arrived in a distant kingdom of some other king'.

In this episode the boy meets a king who shares his problem of not being able to complete the bridge he has started to build.

In next episode, Episode 4 (S61-83), the boy meets another participant, the hermit who shares with him his problem: even though he is a very learned man, people have thrown him and his wife out of the village. He wanted the boy to ask the god because of what sin he had this problem.

The beginning of the fourth episode is indicated by the movement of the central participant from one place to another, by the change of setting, and by the introduction of a new participant in the narrative:

'The young man, taking the king's message, continues on his way. After walking for some time he came to a jungle. At the same time it became night. The young man stayed there overnight to rest. At that time a weak hermit was seen coming from afar' (S61-65).

The beginning of Episode 5 (S84-109) is indicated again by the movement of the central participant and his reaching a new place (S84):

w6li ag6l cal-tǎ ek sŭd6r s6row6r
again further walk-durM one beautiful lake

aw-y-ŭ .
come-pst.cmpl-n.sg

'Again, walking further he came to a beautiful lake (lit. there came a beautiful lake).'

In this episode, and also in the following one, there is a long description of the natural surroundings before the boy meets the major participant of the episode. This is probably because of the nature of the participants the boy meets in these episodes; they are non-human. In this episode the boy meets a tree who shares its problem of not being able to give any shade to provide a restful place for anyone. It requests the boy to ask the god because of what sin he has come to this situation.

Episode 6 (S110-136) begins with a long description of the natural surroundings, as noted above. The beginning of this episode is also indicated by the movement of the boy from one place to another (S110-111):

juwan-e-to musaf6r-i sh6ru k6r-y-i .
young man-ag-prM travel-f.sg begin do-pst.cmpl-f.sg

cal-tā cal-tā w6li ek j6g6l aw-y-ū .
walk-durM walk-durM again one jungle come-pst.cmpl-n.sg

'The young man now continued travelling further. After walking some time, again he came to another jungle' (lit. there came another jungle).

In this episode the boy meets an elephant whose trunk is stuck to a tree and he is not able to move. He requests the boy to ask the god in what manner he can be relieved of this misery.

The beginning of episode 7 (S137-197) is indicated by the movement of the boy and by the reintroduction of one of the major participants of the narrative, the god (S137):

juwan thodek g6-y-o tyā bh6gwan
young man little further go-pst.cmpl-m.sg there god

brahm6n-n-ū rup l6-i sam-a
Brahmin-poss-n.sg from take-cmpl in front-m.pl.rsp

m6l-y-a .
meet-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp

'The young man went a little farther, and there appeared in front of him the god in the form of a Brahmin'.

In this episode the boy meets the god and asks him about the problems told by each of the participants he met on his way; and the god answers him giving the reason for each of the problems. The king was not able to complete his bridge because he had not given his daughter in marriage even though she had reached her age. The hermit was thrown out of his village and the people did not respect him and provide for his needs because he was not giving his knowledge to others. The tree did not get any bloom or fruit because it was hoarding some treasure pots under its roots. And finally, the elephant's trunk was stuck to a tree because he had been roaming around freely instead of being of service to men.

This episode is an extensive dialogue between the two participants: the boy asking the god about the problem of each of the participants and the god answering him giving the reason for the problem. All the verbs reported on the eventline in this episode are speech and hearing verbs.

This episode functions as a thematic climax on the deep structure level. Everything up to this episode is leading to a climax. The tension is progressively built up as the young man keeps meeting various participants and each of them shares a problem with him. Finally this episode provides the reason for every problem the different participants have shared with the boy. Not only was there an answer for each problem the participants shared with the boy, but there were also included for the boy rewards that the god had promised. As the boy helps each of the participants, he is rewarded by a gift from each one. From now on it remains for the boy to return homeward and share the information with each of the participants on the way.

This episode not only is a climax on the thematic level, but it also is marked as the peak on the surface structure by the extended dialogue. Each of the episodes in the narrative contains dialogue between the central participant and one other participant. But in this episode the other participant is the god and the dialogue is very extensive covering the details concerning every other participant of the narrative. The episodes upto this point are pre-peak episodes and the episodes following this point are post-peak episodes.

However, the suspense is not completely relieved here and so this episode is not the end of the narrative. The purpose of the boy's coming to the god, to receive the rewards the god has promised, is not yet fulfilled. It is fulfilled gradually as he meets each of the participants again on his way back and is rewarded by each of them, one by one, for his help to them in solving their individual problems.

The end of this episode is indicated by the disappearance of the god (S197):

et6lŋ bol-i bh6gwan-to 6t6rdhan th6-i
that much say-cmpl god-prM disappear be-cmpl

g6-y-a .
become-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp

'With that the god disappeared'.

The next four episodes, Episode 8, 9, 10, and 11, are the post-peak episodes. These episodes take place on the central participant's way back. In these episodes the boy meets all the participants he has met before and shares with each of them the information the god has provided to solve their individual problems.

Like the previous group of four episodes (episodes 3, 4, 5, and 6) these four episodes have a common structure. The episodes begin when the boy reaches the locale of each of the participants, and end when the boy leaves the place. They also have a similar surface structure of dialogue, where the major participant of the episode asks the boy the outcome and the boy gives the information .

They also have a similar sequence of events: the boy reaches the place, meets the participant, and gives him the god's message. In response, the participant requests the boy to receive a reward. The boy gladly accepts the gift and continues his journey.

These four episodes are prefaced by the narrator's remark in S198-199: 'At first the boy thought how could he go home with empty hands. But his faith began to push him back (toward home)'.

The beginning of Episode 8 (S200-205) is indicated by the boy's leaving the place where he met the god and by the reintroduction of the elephant (S200-201):

chokr-o-to	gher	j6-wa	pach-o	f6r-y-o	ch-e
boy-m.sg-prM	home	go-inf	back-m.sg	turn-pst.cmpl-m.sg	be-pres
r6sta-ma~	pel-o	hathi	m6l-y-o .		
way-in	that-m.sg	elephant	meet-pst.cmpl-m.sg		

'Now the boy turned to go home. On the way that particular elephant met (him)'.

Here the boy gives the god's message to the elephant that if he would serve others his problem would be 'solved. The elephant, instead of looking for some other man to serve, presents himself to the boy as his servant.

The beginning of Episode 9 (S207-213) is indicated by the boy's moving further and by the reintroduction of another participant, the tree

(S207-208):

chok6r-o hathi p6r s6war th6-y-o ch-e
 boy-m.sg elephant on ridden be-pst.cmpl.m.sg be-pres

6ne s6pata-mā r6sto kap-e ch-e .
 and speed-in way cut-3 sg.pres be-pres

tyā r6sta-mā pel-ū zad aw-y-ū .
 there way-in that-n.sg tree come-pst.cmpl-n.sg

'Now the boy climbed (lit. has climbed) upon the elephant and speedily made (lit. cuts) his way (homeward). On the way he came upon that tree'.

Here the boy gives the god's message to the tree. The tree tells him that since he has done this much for it, he should take the treasure pots himself. The boy gladly digs out the treasure pots and stacks them up on the elephant.

Episode 10 (S214-225) begins when the hermit is reintroduced in the narrative (S214):

ag6l cal-tā pela sadhu m6ha-raj-n-i
 further walk-durM that hermit great-king rsp-poss-f.sg

zuṣṣ6d-i aw-y-i .
 hut-f.sg come-pst.cmpl-f.sg

'Going further ahead he came to the hut of that respected hermit'.

Here the boy gives the god's message to the hermit that if he would teach his knowledge to someone his problem would be solved. The hermit teaches the boy all kinds of knowledge. The end of this episode is indicated by the departure of the boy from the hermit's place: 'Upon his departure he gave one of the treasure-pots to him (teacher) as a gift for teaching him' (S225).

In Episode 11 (S226-238) the boy meets the king. The beginning of this episode is indicated by reintroduction of the king into the narrative (S226):

h6we aw-y-ū raja-n-ū gam .
 now come-pst.cmpl-n.sg king-poss-n.sg village

'Now came the king's village'.

The boy tells the king the story about the princess. The king responds to the boy, 'then, you are my most respected son-in-law' (S233). The king sends the boy to his home with the princess and a big dowry then the the bridge is built perfectly.

The last brief episode of the narrative, episode 12 (S239-241), brings the central participant back home where he started out. This episode reintroduces the initial participant of the narrative, the mother. The final comment in S241 ties the last episode with the first episode and presents the whole narrative as one unit: 'The son and the princess both touched the mother's feet. All these (good) things had happened because of the mother's kindness' (S240-241).

2.4.3.1. Chiastic Structure and Overall Profile of "Receiving Rewards"

In the narrative, grouping of the episodes as pre-peak Episodes and post-peak Episodes, as was mentioned for Episodes 3-6 and Episodes 8-9, provides a chiastic structure to the overall narrative:

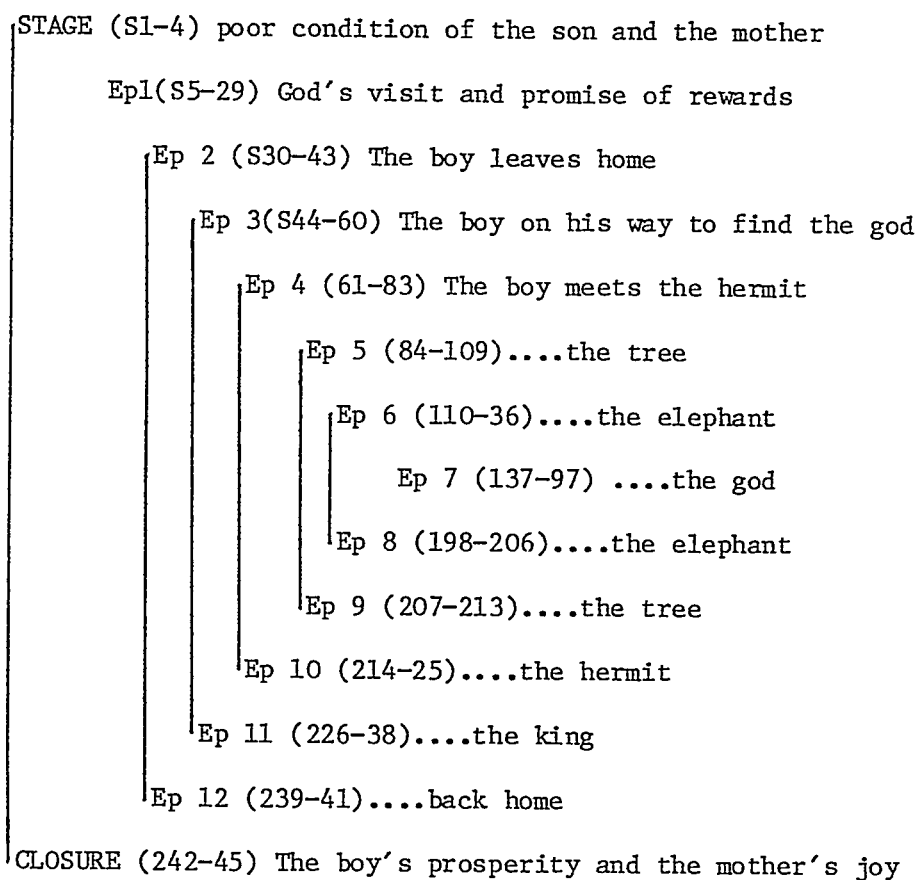


Figure 14. Chiastic Structure of "Receiving Rewards"

This chiastic structure shows episode 7, where the boy meets the god, in the center of the overall narrative. This is the thematic climax of the story as well as the surface peak, as mentioned above.

The chiastic structure not only shows episode 7 as the thematic climax, but also provides tight cohesion to the overall narrative. It shows how each part of the narrative is closely related to the others and placed in its proper place in the overall structure. It also shows that the Stage and the Closure of the narrative are very closely related to the body of the narrative. The Stage of the narrative provides the information about the

participants' poverty. Episode 1, with the god's visit and promises of rewards, changes that situation into the prosperity and joy which are mentioned in the Closure of the narrative.

2.5. Concluding Remarks

The overall structure of the three narratives studied is similar in that each narrative has Title, Stage, Body, and Closure. However, the internal structure of the narratives is different depending on whether the narrative is a participant oriented narrative or an event oriented narrative.

Considering the surface structure peak of the narratives, the situation is different in each of the narratives. The narrative "Harbham Bhuto" marks peak more clearly than either of the other two narratives. The following features mark surface structure peak in this narrative. These features are seen both in the peak of the overall narrative and the peaks of the embedded narratives:

1. Chain of events. Peaks of the narrative are marked by a long chain of events, happening in quick succession, performed by one participant, usually the central participant of the narrative. Action at peak takes fast movement, everything moves fast and events follow one after another in quick succession, for example S17-23 and S180-184.

2. The events at the peak, happening in quick succession as mentioned above, are presented in compound verb forms. Compound verb forms, as will be discussed later, mark highlighted events in Gujarati narrative.

3. Preceding the peak, tension is built up by the successive events presented in simple past tense (S11-15, S172-179).

4. The beginning of the peak of one embedded narrative is marked by an unusually long sentence (HB S157):

et6la-mā lag jo-i-ne h6rbh6m-e
 during-in opportunity see-pst.cmpl-pcpl Harbham-ag

nan-a m6ll-n-a m6st6k p6r w6jr6 jew-i
 young-m.sg wrestler-poss-m.sg head on iron like-f.sg

mutthi-n-o tew-o pr6har k6r-y-o ke
 fist-poss-m.sg such-m.sg blow do-pst.cmpl-m.sg that

mutthi-n-a gha-thi te-n-ū math-ū jane
 fist-poss-m.sg blow-with 3 sg-poss-n.sg head-n.sg as if

te-n-a dh6d-mā pes-i j6-t-ū ho-y
 3 sg-poss-n.sg body-in enter-cmpl go-pst.prg-n.sg be-psbl

tew-o dekhaw th6-i r6h-y-o .
 like-m.sg show be-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'Suddenly seeing an opportunity, Harbham gave such a blow from his iron-like fist to the head of the younger wrestler that it created the appearance that his head was sinking into his body because of the blow of the fist'.

5. Sometimes a peak is marked by a chain of actions performed by the central participant, as noted above. However, the peak of one embedded narrative is marked by a chain of various effects created by one action of the central participant. For example, there is great uproar created when Harbham kills one of the wrestlers in a fight:

'The wrestler, who was a skilled fist-fighter, quickly rolled down to the ground...suddenly the whole crowd became disorderly. Everywhere there was a great noise and uproar. Everyone now began to slip out. The crowd began to scatter'(HB S159-163).

The final peak of the other participant oriented narrative, "The Smart Merchant," is marked by a brief chain of events presented in compound verb

forms. However, in this narrative there is more internal action of scheming and planning to defeat and deceive the opposite participant. So there is not as extensive a chain of events as there is in "Harbham Bhuto." The peaks of two embedded narratives in "The Smart Merchant" are marked by a soliloquy of the central participant. In one instance he talks to himself (S41-44), and in the other instance he talks aloud to his wife who is not present at the scene (S76-82).

The third narrative, "Receiving Rewards," is an event oriented narrative. It presents the thematic climax as the surface structure peak marked by an extensive dialogue between two major participants. The other two participant oriented narratives have more than one peak depending on the number of efforts by the opponent to defeat the central participant. In the event oriented narrative, on the other hand, there is only one peak which is in the middle of the narrative.

Footnotes

1. Sometimes the participants in a narrative are not referred to by their proper name but by their social title. This title may be indicative of the social occupation of the participant, like *sheth* for the merchant, or the hermit and other participants in "Receiving Rewards."

2. The number of wrestlers in this story is confusing. It mentions the arrival of 'two' wrestlers (S30, 39) in the court of King Deshalji. Harbham kills one of them (S158-59). Then S167 notes: 'Now there were three wrestlers left out of four'. S170 reports 'three remaining' wrestlers go to Sanghad village. However, only two are reported to come to Harbham's farm (S172, 175, 185, 186, 187, 190, and 193).

It seems that there is a total of four persons. One of them is an old man, probably the father of the other three; and one of them is a very young man, not a wrestler but expert in fist-fighting. So there actually are only two wrestlers (S30). After the youngest person in the group, the fist-fighter, is killed there remain three persons who come to Sanghad village (S170). However, only two of them are the 'strong men' who come to Harbham's farm.

3. The episodes in the narratives are numbered in relation to the peak. The episode nearest to the peak has the lowest number and the one furthest away from the peak has the largest number. So the first episode in this narrative is the pre-peak Episode 4 and the episode just before the peak is pre-peak Episode 1. Similarly the episodes following the peak are numbered in relation to the distance from the peak; post-peak episode 1, 2, etc.

4. In this dialogue between the king and the priest, the priest does not mention the incident of the bullock cart reported in the first part of the narrative. The priest has heard about Harbham but apparently does not know him personally or any details of his life. The fact that the bullock cart incident is nowhere mentioned in the second part makes both the parts independent. These are two separate incidents placed side-by-side. However, the first incident prepares the reader for the greater event and thus serves as a preamble.

5. Gujarati narrative employs progressive aspect to indicate a state of living for a certain period of time. However, progressive aspect with the verb 'live' is not allowed in English. So this is to be translated as 'lived'.

6. "The Smart Merchant" is an idiomatic translation. The literal translation of the title would be 'the teacher of a professional cheater'. The word **guru** 'teacher' implies that he has gained supreme excellence in the skill he possesses. No one can overcome him in that skill. The skill the merchant possesses is of smartness. He is extremely smart and shrewd. The **th6gs**, professional cheaters, are considered to be extremely clever. They can cheat others by fooling them. However, the merchant is **guru** of even the professional cheaters. He surpasses everybody else in the quality of smartness, including the professional cheaters.

7. 'To take name' is an idiom. It indicates remembering someone with intention to take revenge, or to do something harmful to him. For example, if someone says, "Nobody can take my name," he means that he is such a

strong person that no one would dare to challenge him. At the end of a fight, the victor would say to the loser, "If you would take my name again, I would not leave you alive."

8. *p6n* is used between clauses, between sentences, and between higher levels of discourse. *p6n* used between clauses and sentences provides antithetical linkage. For example, *p6n* is used on the clause level in the following example (SM 69):

sheth	c6m6k-y-a		<i>p6n</i>	t6r6t	saw6dh
merchant	startled-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp		but	quickly	alert
b6n-i	g6-y-a .				
become-cmpl	go-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp				

'The merchant was startled but quickly became alert'.

In the following example it connects two sentences (SM 79-80):

much	p6k6d-y-i	ch-e	et6le	so		
mustache	grab-pst.cmpl-f.sg	be-pres	so that	hundred		
rupi-ya-ma-j	p6t-i	j6-she .				
rupee-pl-in-emph	finish-cmpl	go-3 sg.fut				
<i>p6n</i>	jo	nak	p6k6d-i	le-she	to	p6c-so
but	if	nose	grab-cmpl	take-3 sg.fut	then	5-hundred
rupi-ya	ap-wa	p6d-she .				
rupee-pl	give-inf	be necessary-3 sg.fut				

'Because he has grabbed my mustache, this will be over by (paying) only one hundred rupees. But if he grabs my nose (we) will have to pay five hundred rupees'.

We are not considering here the adversative use of *p6n* on the clause level or between two sentences, but only its use on a higher level connecting two or more episodes.

CHAPTER THREE

LEVELS OF INFORMATION IN DISCOURSE

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give an analysis of the discourse functions of verbal features in Gujarati narrative discourse. Traditional Gujarati grammars treat verbal constructions only in relation to verb morphology, describing the verbs as being marked for person, number, gender, tense, and aspect. These grammars primarily handle the verb phrase within the domain of individual clauses, dealing especially with various cooccurrence constraints. However, the tenses, aspects, and other related features of Gujarati verb have not been analyzed in relation to their functions in the language.

Mistry, while noting in his dissertation the deficiencies of the verb analyses of traditional grammars in regard to morphological features, does not go beyond assigning deep structure to these features. He says:

I have attempted to provide an account of the same aspects of the language (emphasis not in original) but have assumed that, in addition to the surface structure, these forms have deep structure. The deep structure of a sentence has formatives--as its terminal elements. These formatives are grammatical morphemes such as PAST, FUTURE, ABLE, etc. and lexical formatives which are either actual like dod 'run', kh6rid 'buy', etc. or abstract like TIME, PLACE,

+HELP etc. Thus the present treatment concentrates on two aspects in the formation of verbal constructions: i) the assignment of abstract representation made up of different kinds of formatives, and construction of rules of which the different verb forms are automatic consequences, and ii) the investigation of constraints on combinations of different formatives (1969:221).

Thus Mistry's treatment, even though he attempts to improve on previous treatments, does not go beyond the clause or sentence level.

It seems that the lack of a satisfactory analysis of the verbal features of Gujarati, and for that matter, of most languages of India, is due to a failure to consider these features in the context of discourse. The functions of tense and other verbal features of the language as a whole have never been described because much of the published material is based only on the study of isolated sentences.

Longacre (1968, 1976, 1980, 1983) and many others have noticed that different types of tense/aspect often function differently in different types of discourse. Longacre notes:

Each surface structure type has characteristic tense/aspect/voice features in the verbs that occur on its mainline. Thus narrative (story) discourse has some sort of non-durative preterite, or historical present, while narrative (prophecy) has a future tense, Procedural (how to do it) has a customary present, or imperative in most languages, while Procedural (how it was done) has a customary past tense. Behavioral (hortatory) has imperatives or some socially mitigated substitute for an imperative, while Behavioral (eulogy) reverts to a past or customary past. Expository discourse is generally quite distinct in its preference for existential and equational clauses--often with considerable nominalization. These various tense/aspect/voice characteristics of each given type are ways of forwarding a given discourse along its main line of development whether chronological or logical (1983:25).

Not only do different types of tense/aspect function differently in different types of discourse, but also in the same type of discourse different uses of tense/aspect communicate different types of information. As shown by Grimes (1975), van Dijk (1977), Hopper (1979), and others, there is some material in a discourse that is more important and some less important. Grimes distinguishes primary information in discourse, that is, that which is crucial to the development of the theme of the discourse and is on its eventline, from nonevents, that is, that which is not so crucial for the development of the discourse but which supports and aids in its development. Examples of the latter are setting, background information, evaluations, and collateral information. Longacre (1977) says that clauses which are on the eventline of a narrative discourse are restricted as to tense/aspect in accordance with the type in which they are found, whereas supportive and elaborative material may employ a variety of tenses, aspects, and mode in their clauses.

As indicated above, a narrative discourse is considered to have bipartite structure, composed of more significant and less significant events. However, Jones and Jones have found from investigations in native American languages that there may be more than two levels of significance of information. These levels are marked by different usage of tense/aspect in some languages. They propose a multiple-levels hypothesis, "...a structure of information in discourse which includes multiple levels of significant information which may be marked by specific grammatical devices in various languages" (1976:6). They note that various analyses of narrative discourse

indicate the possibility of grammatical marking of the following levels: background information, significant background information, ordinary events, significant events, very significant or pivotal events, and the most significant event or event sequence, called the peak.

Along the same line Longacre (1979a) has introduced the concept of a cline of events of discourse. Woods notes that "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" (1980:120). She finds eleven levels in Halbi narrative discourse: five for events, three for background information, and three for setting and terminus, each marked by grammatical and rhetorical devices in discourse. Longacre (1981) presents a spectrum of Hebrew clause types graded as to structural relevance in Biblical Hebrew narrative from more dynamic to more static. Similarly, Fleming's analysis of Greek (1978a) finds discourse functions of various different verb forms.

The purpose of this chapter, unlike that of traditional Gujarati grammars, is to go beyond the sentence level and relate tense/aspect and other features of verb constructions to levels of discourse, especially showing how these features relate to multiple levels in the discourse.

Before getting into an analysis of how tense, aspect, and other verbal features relate to the various levels of information in Gujarati narrative discourse, we must mention three peculiarities of Gujarati verb construction and the sentence structure.

3.2. Some Characteristics of Gujarati Sentence Structure.

3.2.1. Clause Chaining

One of the peculiarities of Gujarati sentence structure is that of clause chaining. Sometimes in a Gujarati sentence there are several clauses which are chained together where the last clause in the sentence has a finite verb and the preceding clauses have verbs that end either with suffix *-i* or with an additional suffix *-ne* along with the suffix *-i*. The last verb in the sentence is the main verb (here called the final verb), and the verbs in the preceding clauses which are related to and dependent upon the final verb are called the medial verbs.¹ The final verb carries the person, number, tense, etc. markers and the medial verb has the fixed form with the suffix *-i* or *-i-ne*. Lambert explains this construction: "When two verbs referring to separate actions carried out by the same agent occur in a sentence, the verb representing the first action in the time sequence is used with the invariable suffix *-ine*" (1971:102).²

Example 1

(HB 20)

a	rit-e	gad-ū	math-a	p6r	upad-i
this	manner-at	cart-n.sg	head-n.sg	on	carry-cmpl
gh6r	aw-i	gad-a-ne	b6l6d-o	jod-i-ne	
home	come-cmpl	cart-n.sg-acc	bullock-pl	attach-cmpl-pcpl	
sim-mā	pota-n-e	khet6r-e	p6h6c-i	g6-y-o .	
farm-in	self-poss-loc	field-loc	reach-cmpl	go-pst.cmpl-m.sg	

'Carrying the cart like this over (his) head, (he) came home, hitched the oxen to the cart, (and) went to the fields of his farm'.

The number of medial verbs in this sentence is three: *upadi* 'carrying', *awi* 'coming', and *jodine* 'attaching (hitching)'. However, there is no limit, theoretically, to the number of medial verbs that can occur in a sentence. In every such case the final verb carries the tense, person, and aspect markers. The medial verbs do not carry any of these suffixes; they are unmarked.

This feature is found in the Indo-European family only in the languages of India of Indo-Aryan descent. It is, as Longacre has noted, different from what we find in modern European languages, or most languages of Mesoamerica, in which sentence nuclei are commonly coordinated structures with verbs of equal rank found in the various clauses which constitute them (Longacre 1972:1).

However, this feature is not very different from the feature of clause chaining found in Papua New Guinea languages and in some languages of South America (Longacre 1972, 1983) in which a clause with a verb of distinctive structure occurs only once in an entire sentence, with all other clauses having verbs of different structure. The distinctive verb is called independent, or final, because it occurs at the end of the sentence; the verbs of the other clauses are referred to as dependent, or medial.

Longacre (1972:1-5) observes three features of clause chaining in Papua New Guinea languages: The first we have already noted above, i.e., that such a sentence has a final verb of distinctive structure and medial verbs of a different structure. Another feature involves the possible temporal relations between the clauses in such a sentence. This involves chronological overlap and chronological succession and sometimes also

expresses logical relations such as cause and effect or result. The third feature, which is a very crucial one in clause chaining construction, is the marking of the same or different subject in the clause which is to follow.

The first two of the three features mentioned above are found in Gujarati. However, Gujarati medial verbs do not give any indication whether the subject is the same or different in the following clause. This is because the chaining construction is found in Gujarati only where the same subject is performing all the actions which are indicated in the various medial verbs and the final verb in a sentence. Trivedi (1917:130) notes that the agent of the activity in the medial verb and of the final verb has to be the same. Otherwise, the sentence would be unacceptable. Lambert also points out that the separate actions are "carried out by the same agent" (1971:102). Thus, there is no necessity to mark change of subject. Where there are two different subjects in the clauses of a sentence, Gujarati uses the coordinate-subordinate type of sentence structure like other Indo-European languages. In the following coordinate sentence there are two different subjects in the two clauses; **wel** 'cart' in the first clause, and **welwan** 'cart' in the first clause, and **welwan** 'cart driver' in the second clause. So both the clauses have independent finite verbs:

Example 2

(HB 68)

wel-wad-i-mā-thi hathi jew-a
cart-place-f.sg-in-from elephant like-m.pl

b6l6d-o-n-i wel t6iyar th6-y-i 6ne
bullock-pl-poss-f.sg cart ready be-pst.cmpl-f.sg and

wel-wan-e wel-ne s6gh6d-n-a marg-e
cart-driver-ag cart-acc Sanghad-poss-m.sg road-loc

mar-y-i muk-y-i .
drive-pst.cmpl-f.sg put-pst.cmpl-f.sg

'From the chariot house, a chariot was prepared by attaching elephant-like oxen (lit. a chariot of elephant-like oxen got ready) and a chariot driver put the chariot (with great haste) on the way to Sanghad village'.

This feature of clause chaining is not peculiar to Gujarati. Rather, as Emeneau (1956) notes, it is a feature found in many other languages and language families, e.g., Japanese and Korean. Emeneau notes, "It is one of the syntactic features of Sanskrit that distinguishes it from other Indo-European languages, even though the actual forms used are relatable to Indo-European morphological material" (1956:9). Mistry also has observed, "...such a construction is a pan-Indian linguistic feature. It is also one of those linguistic traits that has been observed from very ancient languages to the modern ones, as well as from genetically different languages of India" (1969:197).

Most of the traditional Gujarati grammars have taken note of this feature. Taylor (1893), for example, considers the medial verbs to be connective past participles (s6b6ndh6k bhutkrud6nt). The medial verb to him is essentially an abbreviated subordinated or coordinated clause.

Trivedi (1917, 1919) considers the medial verbs to be indeclinable past participles (6wy6yi bhutkrud6nt). He observes that the activity in the medial verb has taken place prior to the activity in the final verb (1917:30). Thus he attributes a sequential relationship to the medial and final verbs.

Tisdall, like Taylor, considers the medial verb to be a connective participle. He notes, "The connective participle is like our perfect participle active, as ut6rine 'having descended'. It is indeclinable and has a shorter form (ut6ri) also" (1892:51).

Mistry (1969) considers medial verbs to be gerund forms and interprets them as adverbial participles. He proposes that in the underlying structure of a sentence with this type of construction there are two or more sentences. He also says that these gerund forms can be either time adverbials, indicating the sequentiality of the activities in the sentence, or manner adverbials, indicating how the activity in the final verb is performed. He notes that both these features may be present in one single sentence. He gives the following example: **bil khaine p6ysa kh6rcshe** (Bill-having eaten-money-will spend). He explains:

Here the gerund form khaine could be interpreted as indicating that the activity of eating precedes of spending--in which case the sentence is understood to mean "Bill will eat and then spend his money." The form could also be interpreted as indicating the means by which the activity designated by the main verb is performed. The sentence then means "Bill, by eating, will spend money" (1969:206-207).

There is one other relation between medial verbs and the final verb which none of the above-mentioned grammars seems to have noted: the causal relation. What Longacre (1972:2) has noted for Papua New Guinea languages--namely that temporal relations between medial verbs and the final verb sometimes shade off into result, etc. is also true for the Gujarati construction. The medial verb in a Gujarati sentence sometimes gives the reason or cause for the activity in the final verb:

Example 3

(HB 123)

tem s6m6j-i-ne te j6ra nishcit p6n
 such understand-cmpl-pcpl 3 sg slight careless also

b6n-i g6-y-o h6-t-o .
 become-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg

'Understanding this, he also had become slightly careless'.

Here 'understanding this' provides the reason for the other wrestler's becoming careless. The other wrestler became careless because he thought that Harbham did not have the ability to go on the offensive.

Thus almost all the Gujarati grammars take note of this verb chaining construction. They interpret it mainly as involving a connective participle which either represents activity prior to the activity in the final verb of the sentence or indicates how the activity in the final verb is performed. Here an additional function of the medial verb has been given—that is, to show logical relations. However, in any particular case, the choice of interpretation depends on the morphological structure, the sentence structure, and the semantic relation between the medial verbs and the final verb. In previous works no attempt has been made to examine the function of the chaining construction in discourse. There are several questions that remain unanswered: What is the relation of the medial verbs to the final verb on the discourse level? It has already been mentioned that this verbal construction has, in its underlying structure, two or more sentences (Mistry 1969). However, the question remains as to why the narrator uses this type of construction when he also has at his disposal the subordinate-coordinate

type of construction, a construction which he does utilize at other places in the narrative. Also, it has been noted that there are two alternate forms of this 'connective participle': the shorter one with the suffix *-i*, and the longer one with the additional suffix *-ne* (Tisdall 1892). However, the question remains: are these really alternate forms, or do they have different functions? Why does the narrator choose one form in one place and prefer the other in another place? These and other questions cannot be answered adequately until we look into the discourse structure of Gujarati narrative.

3.2.2. Compound Verbs

Another peculiarity of sentence structure in Gujarati and in many other languages of Indo-Aryan stock is a sequence of two verbs used for one single activity. The first verb in the sequence represents the activity in the clause, while the second verb expresses one of various 'aspects', such as suddenness or unexpectedness of an action or intensity of an activity.

The first verb in the compound has a fixed form and ends either with the completive suffix *-i* or with the infinitive suffix *-wa*. This is the main verb in the clause which represents the activity in the clause. The form with the suffix *-i* is much more common than the one with *-wa*. The second verb in a compound is inflected for any of the tenses and for person, number, and gender (depending on the tense of the clause and the type of the clause—transitive or intransitive).

The inflected final verb can also be used independently, and in such cases has different semantic characteristics. However, when used in a

compound, the final verb does not show the meanings regularly associated with its occurrence as an independent verb; rather, it functions as a modifier of the meaning of the main verb. Mistry observes:

What are recognized as sequences are definitely not a clustering of two verbs, having the meaning similar to the sum of the features of the two verbs. It ought to be emphasized that a verbal sequence contains two verbs, but the juxtaposition of the two verbs is only a superficial characteristic (1969:176).

The form of the main verb more commonly used in compounds is the form with the suffix *-i*, as noted above. This form is phonologically the same as the shortened variant of the medial verb (sec.3.2.1). Like the medial verb, the main verb in the compound is not inflected for person, number, or tense. However, the functions of the medial verb in sequences of clauses and those of the main verb in a compound are very different. The medial verb in a sequence of clauses represents an activity which chronologically precedes the activity represented in the final verb. In this way the medial verb and the final verb represent two separate activities, both performed by the same agent. The two verbs of a verbal compound, however, represent only one activity. The examples below illustrate the use of compound verb in various clauses:

Example 4

(HB 16)

akh6r-e te-ne ek n6w-o ilaj suz-i
end-at 3 m.sg-acc one new-m.sg solution occur-cmpl

aw-y-o .
come-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'Finally a solution occurred to him'.

Here **awyo** 'came' in the verb phrase **suzi awyo** cannot be translated literally. The narrator could have used a simple form of past tense verb **suzyo** 'occurred'. But the compound form with **awyo** has the added shade of suddenness or unexpectedness that cannot be translated properly in English.

Example 5

(SM 47)

sheth	gher	j6-i	h6we	cādi-n-o	lot-o
Sheth	home	go-cmpl	now	silver-poss-m.sg	jug-m.sg
16-i-ne	aw-she	et6le	te	p6d-aw-i	
take-cmpl-pcpl	come-3 sg.fut	so	that	take-caus-cmpl	
16-i-shū .					
take-cmpl-fut.1 pl					

'Now the merchant will go home and will return with a silver jug; then we will snatch it away'.

This example illustrates the use of compound verb in the future. Here the compound **p6dawi 16ishū** has the sense of taking complete and forceful hold of an item from another person. This example illustrates both types of medial verbs, **j6-i** 'go', **16-i-ne** 'taking', and also the compound verb **p6dawi 16ishū** '(we) will snatch away'.

Example 6

(RR 144)

te	k6he-wa	lag-y-o
3 sg	say-inf	begin-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'He began to say'

This example illustrates the compound with the suffix **-wa** in the main verb. The simple form of past tense of the verb 'say' would be **k6hyū**. However, the suffix **-wa** compounded with the verb **lag** 'begin' adds the aspectual shade of beginning of an activity of saying.

The phenomenon of a compound of two verbs representing a single activity is not unique to Gujarati. Hindi, for example, has the same phenomenon, as noted by Hook (1966, 1974). Southworth (1961) observes the same thing for Marathi, as also Abdulky (1974) for Nepali. Longacre notes (personal communication): "This, it seems to me, is a by no means infrequent development in Subject-Object-Verb chaining languages. What should be the final verb comes to be grammatically reduced to an auxiliary which has most of the verbal inflections." Mistry concludes that this phenomenon is one of the common features of the languages of India:

There are certain aspects of verbal system shared by most of the languages of India for which significant insight is not available at present. One such aspect is the verbal sequences in which a group of verbs, functioning either as tense-carriers (auxiliaries) or mode-carriers (attributives) or both, combine with other verbs to form a complex but subtle system of distinction (1969:171).

Traditional Gujarati grammars do take note of this phenomenon. Tisdall assigns three pages to the discussion (1892:73-75); Tayler, two (1893:102-104); Trivedi, two (1919:202-204). Cardona (1965), on the other hand, treats this phenomenon at considerable length, listing verbs that function as modals in different types of sequences. Bhayani also provides a list of verbs that occur as final verbs in such compounds (1969:12-22). However, none of the grammars provides any discussion of the function of this phenomenon of compound verbs in the language. Mistry explains:

The verbal sequence did not attract special attention because the primary concern in most of these works is morphological investigation, and the verbal sequences apparently do not involve any morphological detail different from other verb-forms. In most of the descriptions, therefore, one finds catalogues of such sequences and at times statements about the function of some of the compounds (1969:171).

However, even Mistry does not go much further in explaining the function of verbal compounds in the language, his primary concern being the transformational derivations of the sentences with the verbal sequences. Therefore, this chapter will attempt to provide an analysis of the compound verbs in the light of narrative discourse, find their function in discourse, and discover where they occur in relation to the eventline versus background material. That is, I will attempt in this chapter to show that there is a correlation between the occurrences of compound verbs and certain levels of information in narrative. It is my claim that the functions of the compound verb forms cannot be understood properly without placing them in the context of the discourse. The reason most traditional grammars have failed to provide an adequate explanation of the phenomenon in the language is that they have not examined it in relation to discourse.

3.2.3. Ergativity

DeLancy defines an ergative construction as "a transitive clause in which a special case form or adposition marks the semantic agent, or verb agreement is with patient in preference to agent" (1981:627). It is observed that ergative constructions in Indo-Aryan languages occur only in sentences with the perfective and completive aspects (simple past, past perfect, present perfect, and future perfect) and in sentences involving obligation. Other sentences are of the usual nominative-accusative type. This type of ergative system is generally called a split-ergative system. Dixon claims that all ergative systems are split ergative: "...there is no language with 100% ergative morphology. Every so-called ergative language

has a split case system (or whatever), mixing ergative with accusative, and/or with a three-way case assignment (having separate indicators for each of S, A, and O)" (1979:71). Pray (1976:197) notes two characteristics of Indo-Aryan ergative constructions: (i) They are restricted to past tense and sentences of obligation, and (ii) the subject of the transitive sentence (agent) is marked by an oblique case form or by a postposition. The postposition may be, but does not have to be, identical with the instrumental postposition.

However, ergative constructions in Gujarati are not limited to past tense only, but also occur with punctiliar and perfective aspects in other tenses and sentences of obligation. The subject of a transitive clause in punctiliar and perfective aspects is marked with the postposition *-e*. The verb in such a clause agrees in number (sg. or pl.) and gender (m., fem., or neu.) with the object noun. On the other hand, in intransitive clauses and transitive clauses in other than punctiliar and perfective aspects, where the subject is not marked with the postposition *-e*, the verb agrees in person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd), number, and gender with the subject noun. For example in the sentence below the person marker suffix *-o* agrees with Harbham who is the subject of the sentence:

Example 7

(HB 15)

h6rbh6m mūza-y-o .
Harbham puzzle-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'Harbham was puzzled'.

In the following example the suffix *-ū* in the verb *b6ndhawū chū* 'am having built' agrees with the first person singular pronoun *hū* :

Example 8

(RR 55)

"hũ ma-r-a gam-n-i n6d-i p6r ek
 1 sg 1 sg-poss-n.sg village-poss-f.sg river-f.sg on one
 pul b6dh-aw-ũ ch-ũ ."
 bridge build-caus-1 sg.pres be-1 sg.pres

'I am having a bridge built over the river of my village'.

Similarly in the two examples below the verbs agree with the subject

nouns:

Example 9

(RR 206)

"hũ t6m-ne t6m-ar-e gher p6hũc-t-a
 1 sg 2 pl.rsp-acc 2 pl.rsp-poss-loc home reach-pst.prg-m.pl
 k6r-ish ."
 do-1 sg.fut

'I will take you to your home'.

Example 10

(HB 95)

m6ll-o war-e-war-e pota-n-i dhing-i
 wrestler-pl time-at-time-at self-poss-f.sg muscular-f.sg
 jãg p6r hath-n-a p6j-a p6chad-t-a
 thigh on hand-poss-m.pl palm-pl strike-pst.prg-m.pl
 h6-t-a .
 be-pst.prg-m.pl

'The wrestlers were repeatedly striking the palms of their hands on their muscular thighs'.

In the sentences below, on the other hand, the subject noun is marked with the postposition -e and the verb agrees in number and gender with the

object noun. For example in the following example the neuter singular suffix \bar{u} on the verb agrees with the cart $gad\bar{u}$ and the agent is marked with the postposition $-e$:

Example 11

(HB 19)

$h\bar{o}rbh\bar{o}m-e$	$p\bar{6}cis$	\underline{tris}	$m\bar{6}n$	$w\bar{6}j\bar{6}n-n-\bar{u}$	$mot-\bar{u}$
Harbham-ag	25	30	40 lbs	weight-poss-n.sg	big-n.sg
$gad-\bar{u}$	$p\bar{o}ta-n-a$	$ma\bar{th}-a$	$p\bar{6}r$	$l\bar{6}-i$	
cart-n.sg	self-poss-n.sg	head-n.sg	on	take-cmpl	
$li-dh-\bar{u}$					
take-pst.cmpl-n.sg					

'Harbham picked up the cart weighing about 1,000 to 1,200 pounds on his head'.

Example 12

(SM 64)

$cor-e$	$sheth-n-\bar{u}$	$ma\bar{th}-\bar{u}$	$jo-y-\bar{u}$	$\bar{6}ne$
thief-ag	merchant-poss-n.sg	head-n.sg	see-pst.cmpl-n.sg	and
te	$baju-e$	$kh\bar{6}s-i$	$g\bar{6}-y-o$	
3 sg	side-loc	move-cmpl	go-pst.cmpl-m.sg	

'The thief saw the merchant's head and moved to the other side'.

This example illustrates both the ergative and non-ergative construction. The first clause is an ergative construction where the agent, cor 'thief' is marked with the ergative suffix $-e$ and the verb $joy\bar{u}$ 'saw' with the neuter singular suffix $-\bar{u}$ which agrees with the direct object $ma\bar{th}\bar{u}$ 'head'. The second clause is a non ergative construction where the masculine singular suffix $-o$ agrees with the subject, third person pronoun.

Example 13

(RR 25)

doshi-ma-e-to ākh-o bḥdh kḥr-y-i .
 old woman-mother-ag-prM eye-pl close do-pst.cmpl-f.pl

'The mother closed (her) eyes'.

This same structure, that is, the subject marked with the postposition -e and the verb agreeing with the object noun, is also seen in sentences of obligation:

Example 14

(RR 196)

mar-e tḥ-ne wḥrdan ap-wa-n-ā ch-e tē
 1 sg-ag 2 sg-acc reward give-inf-poss-n.pl be-pres that

tū gher pḥḥc-ish tyā-j tḥ-ne mḥl-i
 2 sg home reach-2 sg.fut then-emph 2 sg-acc receive-cmpl

jḥ-she .
 go-3 sg.fut

'I have to give you some rewards...'

As noted above, most transitive verbs in simple past tense require the ergative construction. However, there are a few transitive verbs that do not follow this pattern. For example, **bol** 'speak':

Example 15

(RR 104)

tē bol-y-o
 3 sg speak-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'He spoke' (cf. tēne kḥhyū 'he said').

This is also true of the verb **mḥl** 'meet'. These exceptions are found in other Indo-Aryan languages also. For example, Comrie notes that the same verbs do not require the ergative construction in Punjabi (1973:251).

Traditional grammars do not attempt to explain the function of the ergative construction in the language. Most Gujarati grammars take note of this phenomenon only in passing, calling the ergative and non-ergative constructions two different categories. Cardona, for example, calls them agential and subject constructions (1965:108-109).

Attempts have been made to explain the ergative construction on the syntactic level. Comrie believes that ergativity is essentially a syntactic phenomenon: "The fact that in some language semantic factors may play a role in determining the case of some particular noun phrase does not necessarily mean that syntactic criteria are irrelevant, or that they may not be sufficient in some other language" (1973:240).

Kachru, Kachru, and Bhatia attempt to provide a syntactic explanation for verb agreement in many Indo-Aryan languages. They make a generalization about verbal agreement: "If the subject is unmarked for case, the verb agrees with it; if the subject is marked for case (i.e. is followed by a postposition), the verb agrees with any other unmarked noun in the sentence. If, however, there are no unmarked nouns in the sentence, the verb occurs in its neutral form (masculine third person singular)" (1976:86). Mistry (1976, 1978) offers a similar explanation, specifically in relation to Gujarati. He notes that verb agreement is usually with the subject. However, when there is a postpositional marker on the subject, he says, it becomes unavailable for verb agreement. In that case the agreement is with the object.³

This chapter will attempt to explain the function of the ergative construction on the discourse level. Specifically we will ask on what level of information does this construction occur in the narrative discourse; does

the ergative construction appear predominantly in eventline information or in background information? If it appears only in eventline material (our assumption at this point is that it does) how does it differ from nonergative construction that occur in eventline material in discourse? These and other questions will be discussed in this chapter.

3.3. Levels of Information in the Narrative Discourse

The relative importance of the information presented in the narrative discourse in Gujarati depends mainly on two factors: i) aspect and ii) the sentence structure; the structural part of the sentence in which the information is presented. Both these factors intersect to signal the relative importance presented in the narrative discourse.

Aspect in Gujarati narrative can be divided mainly into two parts: punctiliar and non-punctiliar. The punctiliar aspect presents an event as completed at a certain point in time. The other aspects--durative/progressive, inceptive, perfective, projective (future)--are non-punctiliar. The events presented through these aspects indicate durative state, or a past event with continued effect to the present point, or a future possibility.

This division of aspects into two corresponds roughly to the division of the information presented in a narrative discourse as on the eventline information and off the eventline information or background information. In narrative discourse the punctiliar aspect presents information that is on the eventline and the non-punctiliar aspect presents information that is off the eventline.

Not all the information that is part of the narrative eventline is of equal value. The narrative utilizes several signals available in the language to distinguish the various levels. Likewise not all background information is of equal value. Here also, the narrative utilizes several devices to distinguish crucial background information from that which is less important. After the information is divided into on the eventline and off the eventline, the sentence structure and the verb structure help to organize the information into several levels depending on the structural part of the sentence where the information is presented, and on the verb structure.

It should be noted here that there is an apparent circularity in taking the surface structure features as criteria in deciding the relative importance of the information presented in discourse: (1) Certain information in the narrative is considered to be on the eventline because it is presented through punctiliar aspect. (2) Conversely it is argued that punctiliar aspect is used to present certain information because it is eventline material. This circularity can be mitigated by giving priority to the notional structure. Relative structural importance of the information is first roughly decided on the basis of the plot structure of the narrative. And then the analyst looks for the various surface structure features that correlate with such distinction in the discourse.

Another way this circularity is mitigated is by looking for levels of abstraction (macrostructure) based on given verb forms. Here the analyst groups the verbs in a narrative discourse according to their different surface structure forms. The set of verbs of a certain form that provides the best skeleton of a narrative is considered to be of the highest rank, i.e., as marking the most significant events.

3.3.1. Punctiliar Aspect, Compound Verbs, and the Primary Eventline

Eventline in the narrative discourse is a chronological succession of events that mark progression in the theme of the narrative. All these events, as noted above, are not of the same importance in reference to the overall plot development. Some are more significant than others. The surface structure of narrative provides some signals to distinguish significant events from the non significant ones.

The events on the primary eventline of a Gujarati narrative discourse are the most significant events for the development of the plot. The primary eventline in the Gujarati narrative is marked by the use of compound verbs (sec. 3.2.2) in completive aspect. Not all instances of compound verbs are part of the primary eventline. The following types of compounds are excluded from the primary eventline because they have other than completive aspects:

1. The infinitival suffix *-wa* on the first verb of a compound indicates both inceptive and durative aspect presenting an event that began at a certain point and continued for some duration. If the first verb in the compound has this suffix, the second verb is either *lag* or *mād*, both of which mean 'begin'. This indicates inceptive aspect. For example in the sentence below the compound *t6pas c6lawā mādyi* 'began to search' (lit. 'began to push the search' causative) indicates that the search that began at some point continued for some duration:

Example 16

(HB 38)

a	m6ll-o-ne	h6f-aw-e	tew-a	koi
this	wrestler-m.pl-acc	defeat-caus-psbl	such-m.sg	some

k6cch-i m6ll-n-i desh6l-ji-e t6pas c6l-aw-wa
 Kutch-loc wrestler-poss-f.sg Deshal-rsp-ag search go-caus-inf

mād-y-i .
 begin-pst.cmpl-f.sg

'Deshalji began to search for a Kutchi wrestler who could defeat these two wrestlers'.

Similarly in the example below gh6d-wa lagya 'began to form' indicates inceptive and durative aspect:

Example 17

(SM 31)

beu cor an6d pam-y-a 6ne loto
 both thieves joy receive-pst.cmpl-3 pl and jug

p6d-aw-i le-wa-n-o ghat gh6d-wa
 snatch-caus-cmpl take-inf-poss-m.sg plan make-inf

lag-y-a .
 begin-pst.cmpl-3 pl

'Both the thieves became happy and began to form a plan to snatch the jug'.

2. Another compound which is not a part of the primary eventline is the one which has the verb r6h 'remain' as its second verb. This verb, by its semantic nature, indicates durative aspect and so the compound formed with it is not part of the primary eventline. For example the compound verb m6ci r6hyo 'continued for a long time' (lit. 'remained continued') is not an event but background description:

Example 18

(HB 161)

car-e t6r6f ghøghat 6ne kolah6l m6c-i
 four-at side noise and uproar continue-cmpl

r6h-y-o .
 remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'Everywhere there was a great noise and uproar'.

3. One feature of compounds on the primary eventline is that they are always clause final.⁴ There is not a single case in the three narratives studied here where such a compound verb is followed by a negative morpheme or by any form of the 'to be' verb. The negative verb indicates not only collateral information (Grimes 1975), but it also indicates negative state. The 'to be' verb indicates the state of a participant or a describes an environment but never an event.

Another important feature of compounds on the primary eventline is that both of the verbs in the compound are marked with completive morphemes: the first one with *-i*, and the second with *-y-*. Furthermore, such compounds do not include the verb *r6h* 'remain', which indicates durative aspect, and *lag* and *mäd*, both meaning 'begin', which indicate both inceptive and durative aspects.

The emphasis in these types of compound verbs is not on aspect in the sense of punctiliar versus non-punctiliar but, rather on suddenness or unexpectedness of the event, or in some instances on the exhaustiveness of the activity. Some compound verbs describe events that happen suddenly or unexpectedly. Others show that an event is performed exhaustively. It is the sudden or unexpected events that give new information and significantly advance the eventline of the narrative. Such events, when they are marked by

a compound verb with punctiliar aspect, contrast with ordinary events which are marked by a non-compound form. The former have greater significance because the actions they present involve excitement and dramatic tension. Thus, they have a great impact on the events that follow.

Compound verb structures mark not only suddenness, unexpectedness, or intensity of an activity, but also fast progress in the eventline. Where these occur, important action takes place and the eventline takes off and picks up speed.

As will be seen in the following section, there is a secondary eventline which also marks progress in the narrative. However, the progress marked by the secondary eventline is somewhat slower. This can be illustrated from "Harbham Bhuto," where S11-15 represent events on the secondary eventline; Harbham asked for a cart from his uncle; his uncle answered that he would get it later; Harbham got puzzled. The events in these sentences are presented through non-compound verbs. Then, the action takes on fast speed in S16-22 where the compound verbs represent events that report events in quick succession: a solution occurred to him; he lifted up the cart on his head; reached his farm; brought the hay to his home; stacked it up in the yard, and formed a big pile. It is not surprising that the events at the peak of an episode or of the discourse, should be marked by this compound construction.

Because they accelerate the movement of the eventline, these compound verbs are never used at the beginning of a narrative. It is necessary that the groundwork be properly laid before the action actually takes off. The groundwork is laid in different ways depending on the type of discourse. In event oriented discourse, this is done by describing the routine, habitual

activities of the participants (RR 1-5). In participant oriented narrative, it is done by describing the central participant (HB 1-10; SM 1-21), and then by presenting events which are not on the primary eventline (HB 11-15; SM 22-35) and which are presented in non-compound verbs.

This type of compound verb may also be used at the end of a narrative. However, in this situation neither suddenness nor unexpectedness is implied, since nothing strikingly new or unexpected happens at the end of a discourse when the narrator is merely winding everything down. Only one of the three narratives here studied, "The Smart Merchant," uses this construction at the end. Here it is used in the last sentence in the sense of exhaustiveness or intensity of the event described. Thus, *calya g6ya* 'went away' means that the thieves went away for ever, never to come back again; and *bhuli g6ya* 'forgot' means that they completely forgot to mention the name of the merchant, never to remember it again.

The fact that compound verbs in punctiliar aspect mark the primary eventline is true for both event oriented narrative and participant oriented narrative. However, each type of narrative has a different pattern for grouping this construction. Event oriented narratives, at least the one studied here, do not have any event marked as the most striking event. Because of this, compound verbs, which mark the primary eventline, and verbs in the simple past tense, which mark the secondary eventline, are scattered and occur together in this type of text. In participant oriented narrative, on the other hand, the punctiliar compound verbs are found grouped at or around the peak of an episode or of the discourse. For example, in "Harbham Bhuto" S19-23 mark the peak of the first episode. In this section of the

text, all the events are expressed by punctiliar compound verbs; there is not a single verb on the eventline which is in simple past tense. A similar situation is seen at the peak levels of other episodes as well (HB 158-166; 180-188; SM 93-100).

3.3.2. Punctiliar Aspect, Noncompound Verbs, and the Secondary Eventline

The events that are most important in relation to the overall plot development are presented through compound verbs with punctiliar aspect. These events form the primary eventline of the narrative. The secondary eventline presents events that are significant for the overall plot development. However, these events are not as crucial as the events on the primary eventline. Nevertheless, these events are part of the eventline. The secondary eventline in Gujarati narrative is formed by noncompound verbs in past tense with punctiliar aspect. These events are more or less expected from the contextual structure of the narrative. For example, in the latter half of the narrative "Receiving Rewards" when the central participant, the boy, returns after meeting the god and recounts the events of his meeting to the other participants, his account is presented in the noncompound forms of simple past tense (RR 201-209). Even though these are new events and as such are on the eventline of the narrative, they do not present strikingly new or unexpected information. From the first half of the story it is expected that the boy will meet all the participants again and give them the god's message as they have requested. However, wherever there is something strikingly new in this second half of the narrative, it is presented in the punctiliar compound verbs. For example, the boy's becoming extremely happy when the tree offers to let him take the treasure pots (S212), the act of digging out

the pots (S213), and the loading the pots on the elephant (S213)--all of these events are presented in punctiliar compound verbs since they are new and not expected from the context of the narrative.

It should be noted here that both primary and secondary eventlines present material that is on the eventline and, thus, further the narrative. The difference is in the expected versus unexpected nature of the material.

The main functions of the secondary eventline are to slow down the action and to add more detail. The temporal sequence and the advancing of the main eventline continue, but at a slower pace. The slower motion builds up tension, which is finally resolved by the fast movement of the narrative where the compound verbs appear. For example, in "Harbham Bhuto" S11-15, the verbs in simple past form give details of Harbham's need for a bullock cart, his requesting it from his uncle, his uncle's response that he cannot give him the cart for a few days, and Harbham's resulting perplexity. All of these details build up tension because the reader does not know what is going to happen. Then, suddenly the events in compound verb forms present fast actions: Harbham carries the cart out of his uncle's yard on his head, he reaches his farm, he takes the hay to his home, he stacks it up in a big pile. These events resolve the tension.

Not only does the secondary eventline slow down the action and add more detail, but it also separates the more important, pivotal, events from the less important, ordinary ones. As noted in the previous section, events presented by compound verbs are strikingly new and unexpected and thus have high information value and great importance in the narrative. On the other hand, events presented in noncompound verbs are not especially striking, have less information value, and thus are less important in advancing the

eventline. In addition, a large number of the events presented in the secondary eventline are speech and awareness attribution events. Among the compound forms on the primary eventline, none indicates awareness attribution, and very few indicate speech attribution. Also, when speech attribution is presented in compound form, it is because there is something striking and unexpected in the situation. For example, in "Receiving Rewards" the quote formula for the tree is presented in a compound verb (S99, 107) because it is supernatural and unexpected for the tree to speak. (When the boy meets the tree again on his way back, the quote formula for the speech of the tree is in simple present tense--historical present used in place of simple past--because the speaking ability of the tree is no longer surprising).

3.3.3. Medial Verbs with -i and Suppressed Eventline

One of the peculiarities of Gujarati sentence structure is clause chaining. As noted before (sec. 3.2.1), in this structure the final verb in the sentence carries the tense, person, and other suffixes, while the nonfinal, or medial verbs have a fixed form with either the suffix -i or the suffixes -i+ne (Example 1).

It was noted that these two forms, one with the suffix -i and the other with the additional suffix -ne, are considered "alternate forms" by traditional Gujarati grammars (Tisdall 1961:51). However, I see two separate levels of narrative information presented by these two forms. The form with the suffix -i presents the third level of narrative material, whereas the form with an additional suffix -ne presents the fourth level (sec. 3.3.4).

The primary eventline, the pivotal events, is presented in the narrative by punctiliar compound verbs. The secondary eventline is presented by punctiliar noncompound verbs. In addition, there is a third level of information for material on the eventline. This I call suppressed eventline material. The events on this level are on the eventline of the narrative. However, they are not so significant in reference to the overall development of the plot structure. Events reported on this level are only weakly sequential and grade off into temporal overlap. Events on the suppressed eventline level are presented through medial verbs with the suffix *-i*.

Events presented on this level add further detail to the narrative by providing information about what happens before an event on the primary or secondary eventline takes place. For example, in "Harbham Bhuto" S20, cited as example 1 above, the pivotal event is 'he reached the farm'. In this sentence two medial verbs with the suffix *-i* (*upadi* 'carried', and *gher awi* 'came home') also represent two separate events. However, these events are not as central as the event presented by the compound final verb, 'he reached the farm'. They merely add detail to the narrative by describing step by step what happens. These two events here slow down the action and also make the central event more central. In "The Smart Merchant" there is a similar structure:

Example 19

(SM 40)

<u>r6sta</u>	w6cc-e	ubha	r6h-i	lot-a	<u>t6r6f</u>
way	middle-loc	standing	remain-cmpl	jug-m.sg	toward
jo-i	b6b6d-i	uth-y-a	.		
see-cmpl	murmur-cmpl	begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp			

'Standing in the middle of the road, looking at the jug, (he) murmured'.

Here the final verb *b6b6di ythya* 'murmured' given in punctiliar compound verb, expresses the pivotal event, whereas the two medial verbs, *ubha r6hi* 'standing' and *joi* 'seeing', present two separate events of lesser importance in the narrative. These are, however, significant events, and have to be on the eventline of the narrative because the purpose of the merchant's speech (deceiving the cheaters) cannot be achieved without them. Also; he does each of the actions purposefully; he stands there, looks at his jug, then murmurs. So this sentence cannot be translated as 'as he stood and as he looked he murmured'.

Thus, two of the functions of the suppressed eventline are to add detail to the eventline and to slow down the action. There is another, and probably more important, function of this eventline: to provide cohesion in the discourse. As was noted earlier (sec. 3.2.1), medial verbs have a sequential, and sometimes causal, relationship with the final verb. Medial verbs are always followed by a finite final verb and tell what has happened before the event of the final verb takes place. Thus, by connecting each event with the following event, medial verbs show cataphoric relationship. However, medial verbs also have anaphoric function. They look back to what has gone before and relate a preceding event with a following event. This way medial verbs always function in a chain of at least three events:

Example 20

(HB 19-20)

<i>h6rbh6m-e</i>	<i>p6cis</i>	<i>tris</i>	<i>m6n</i>	<i>w6j6n-n-ū</i>	<i>mot-ū</i>
Harbham-ag	25	30	40 lbs	weight-poss-n.sg	big-n.sg

<i>gad-ū</i>	<i>pota-n-a</i>	<i>math-a</i>	<i>p6r</i>	<i>l6-i</i>
cart-n.sg	self-poss-n.sg	head-n.sg	on	take-cmpl

li-dh-ŭ .
take-pst.cmpl-n.sg

a rit-e gad-ŭ math-a p6r upad-i
this manner-at cart-n.sg head-n.sg on carry-cmpl

gh6r aw-i gad-a-ne b6l6d-o jod-i-ne
home come-cmpl cart-n.sg-acc bullock-pl attach-cmpl-pcpl

sim-mā pota-n-e khet6r-e p6h6c-i g6-y-o .
farm-in self-poss-loc field-loc reach-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'Harbham picked up the cart weighing between 1,000 and 1,200 pounds on his head. Carrying the cart like this over (his) head, (he) came home, attached the oxen to the cart, and went to the fields of his farm'.

The two events presented by medial verbs in S20—*upadi* 'carrying (the cart)' and *gher awi* 'coming home'—connect the pivotal event in S20, 'reached the farm', with the pivotal event in S19, 'lifted up'. The first medial verb in S20 recapitulates the main event in S19 and connects it with the main event in S20.

Medial verbs can connect the main events in two adjacent sentences as seen above. Sometimes they can cross several sentences to connect two main events. In doing this, sometimes they skip over non-eventline material. For example, in "The Smart Merchant" the event in S75 is 'the merchant screamed loudly'. S76-82 present reported speech that is off the eventline. The next event on the eventline is found in S83: 'the thief began to think' (lit. 'he fell into thoughts', a punctiliar event). The medial verb in S83, 'heard' (or 'hearing this') connects the event in S83 (he fell into thoughts) with the event in S75 (the merchant screamed loudly). However, the chain of cohesion does not stop here. The next event on the eventline is found in

S87. The sequential events in S83 and S87 are interrupted by non-eventline material in S84-86. The event in S87, '(the thief) stretched out (his) hand', is connected to the preceding event on the eventline, '(the thief) fell into thoughts' (S83), by the two medial verbs in S87, 'understanding this', and 'releasing his hold on the mustache'.

Not all the events presented by medial verbs with the suffix *-i* are on the suppressed eventline. Some of these are not on the eventline at all but present background material. As discussed above, medial verbs are not independent of the final verb. They take whatever semantic features the final verb has. If the final verb on which a medial verb is dependent is on the eventline, the medial verb is on the suppressed eventline. However, if the final verb gives background material, the medial verbs are also in the background and present background detail. For example in the sentence below, the medial verb *l6i* 'taking' is not on the suppressed eventline, but rather provides additional information about the habitual activity of the participant:

Example 21

(SM 28)

sheth	roj	sāj-e	loto	l6-i	kh6rcŪ
merchant	every day	evening-loc	jug	take-cmpl	latrine

j6-t-a .
go-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp

'The merchant had a habit of going to the latrine every evening carrying a (water) jug'.

3.3.4. Medial Verbs with *-i+ne* and Minor Events

As already mentioned traditional Gujarati grammars consider the two different forms of medial verbs as alternate forms. It is true that in most cases it does not make any semantic or syntactic difference whether one form is used or the other. However, the reason one is chosen in certain instance and the other in others has to do with discourse considerations.

A medial verb with the suffix *-i*, as seen above, is one step removed from the secondary eventline and two steps removed from the primary eventline. The medial verbs with the additional suffix *-ne* represent material that is still further removed from the primary and secondary eventlines; they are presented as very distant from the primary eventline. The events presented through the medial verbs with this suffix are minor events, very close to being background material, but not really part of the background material.

The function of this level of the eventline is similar to that of the third level. Like medial verbs with the suffix *-i*, these verbs add further detail in the eventline. The difference between the two is a difference of category. These events are minor compared to the events presented by medial verbs with the suffix *-i*. The latter are separate events informing the reader what happened before an event on the primary or the secondary eventline took place, whereas events presented by medial verbs with the additional suffix *-ne* inform the reader how or why an event in the primary or secondary eventline took place. These events provide reason for or a manner in which the events on the primary or the secondary eventline take place.

For example in the following sentence h6sine 'smiling' shows the manner in which Harbham replied:

Example 22

(HB 27)

h6rbh6m-e h6s-i-ne j6wab ap-y-o .
Harbham-ag smile-cmpl-pcpl answer give-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'Harbham answered with a smile'.

Similarly in the following sentence the verb joine 'seeing' provides the reason for the event expressed by the final verb:

Example 23

(HB 45)

k6cch-i m6ll-o-ne hfm6t har-i j6-t-a
Kutch-loc wrestler-pl-acc courage lose-cmpl go-pst.prg-m.pl

jo-i-ne desh6l-ji mūza-i p6d-y-a .
see-cmpl-pcpl Deshal-rsp puzzle-cmpl fall-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp

'seeing the Kutchi wrestlers losing their courage Deshalji was puzzled'.

Also, in the following example the medial verb joine 'seeing' provides the reason for the event expressed in the final verb:

Example 24

(RR 46)

koi yuwan musaf6r-ne pota-n-a rajy6-mā-thi
some young traveler-acc self-poss-n.sg kingdom-in-from

j6-t-o jo-i-ne raja-e te-ne m6l-wa
go-pst.prog-m.sg see-cmpl-pcpl king-ag 3 sg-acc meet-inf

bol-aw-y-o ne puch-y-ū .
say-caus-pst.cmpl-m.sg and ask-pst.cmpl-n.sg

'Seeing some young traveler passing through his kingdom, the king called to meet him and asked'.

This example shows that the event presented through this type of medial verb is not a circumstantial event, even though I have translated it as a participle, but an independent event. In this example the event in the medial verb acts as an inciting event that triggers the event presented in the final verb.

Similarly in the example below the medial verb *l6ine* 'taking' is an event that is independent of the event in the final verb 'pressed on'. The taking of the burning wood from the fireplace is definitely an event but clearly not as significant as pressing the wood on the hand of the thief:

Example 25

(SM 93)

te-mā-thi *ek* *s6l6g-t-ū* *lak6d-ū* *l6-i-ne*
 that-in-from one burn-pst.prg-n.sg wood-n.sg take-cmpl-pcpl

jali-mā *nākh-el-a* *cor-n-a* *hath-mā*
 lattice-in insert-adjM-m.sg thief-poss-m.sg hand-in

cāp-i *dī-dh-ū* .
 press-cmpl do-pst.cmpl-n.sg

'From that (fireplace) (he) took one (piece of) burning wood and pressed (it) upon the thief's hand which was inserted through the lattice'.

Like medial verbs with *-i*, these medial verbs depend on the final verb for their tense, aspect, and other semantic features. Therefore, these are on the eventline at this level only when the final verb of the sentence is on the eventline. If the final verb presents background information, the medial verbs do not present events, but rather provide added detail about the background information.

In summary, then, verbs with punctiliar aspect present material that is on the eventline of a narrative. It has been noted here that verbs with punctiliar aspect are presented in various forms: compound verbs with *-i + -y-*, noncompound verbs with punctiliar aspect, medial verbs with the suffix *-i* and with the additional suffix *-ne* whose final verb is on the primary or the secondary eventline. It was noted here that each of these different verb forms represents a different level of eventline material: pivotal events, secondary events, suppressed events, and minor events—in that order.

It becomes clear from the discussion in this section that verb morphology and sentence structure have a direct correlation with the various levels of information in narrative discourse. Without the discourse perspective, it becomes almost impossible to see how different features of the verb function in the language.

Two of the three peculiarities of the Gujarati language discussed at the beginning of this chapter attain special significance when seen in the light of discourse: the compound verb structure functions to highlight the most important events in the discourse, and the medial verbs function to set apart those events which are of lesser significance. The third peculiarity in the language, ergativity, is discussed in the next section.

3.3.5. Ergativity and the Eventline

The ergative construction in Gujarati, as noted earlier (sec. 3.2.3), is limited to transitive clauses with punctiliar and perfective aspects. This includes simple past tense, and past, present, and future perfect tense. The majority of such clauses, however, are in simple past tense with

punctiliar aspect. Simple past is the characteristic tense for the eventline material of narrative discourse. Thus, there is a clear correlation of the ergative construction with eventline clauses. All ergative clauses in simple past with punctiliar aspect are on the eventline. A small number of ergative clauses, however, have present or future perfect. These tenses, because of their stative nature present material that is off the eventline. Also, a small number of ergative clauses involve obligation. These too, because they do not represent events, are off the eventline. Apart from these clauses, the other ergative clauses are in simple past tense and are on the eventline. Thus, the ergative feature in Gujarati is directly related to eventline material in narrative discourse.

Also, there is a correlation between the different eventline levels discussed above and ergativity or non-ergativity. The correlation with the ergative construction in simple past tense with punctiliar aspect is clear as seen above: all transitive clauses in simple past tense are ergative.

However, this is not the case with the other three levels of the narrative eventline. In the primary eventline, represented by compound verb forms, not all the transitive clauses have ergative structure. One of the features of compound verb structure is that even though the second verb in the compound does not represent the activity in the clause, it governs the structure of the clause. One of the ways the second verb affects the structure of the clause involves ergativity: if the first verb representing the activity in the clause is ergative, but the second verb is non-ergative (i.e., is intransitive), the resulting construction is non-ergative.

Example 26

(SM 38)

te a wat s̄bh61-i g6-y-a .
 3 sg-pl.rsp this talk hear-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp

'He heard this talking'.

Here, the first of the compound verbs, *s̄bh61* 'to hear', is a transitive verb which requires the ergative marker on the agent. However, 'go', the second verb in the compound is intransitive and does not require the ergative construction—i.e., the agent is not marked with the ergative marker. The suffix on the second verb of the compound agrees with the agent in person and number instead of with the object noun.

However, there are not many examples of this type of construction. Most compounds are formed with either both transitive verbs or both intransitive verbs.

One factor which was discussed in detail in the previous chapter needs to be mentioned again. This is the constellation of ergative verbs found at the peak of certain episodes. This grouping of ergative constructions in compound verbs correlates with high tension and fast movement in the narrative (HB S20-23, 179-184/⁵ SM 93-94).

3.3.6. Compound Verbs and Primary Background Information

It was noted previously (sec. 3.3.1) that not all instances of compound verbs represent material on the eventline. Only compound verbs in punctiliar aspect are on the primary eventline. Other compound verbs are not part of the eventline, but rather convey background information.

However, not all compound verbs off the eventline give primary background information. Some compound verbs present secondary background information (sec. 3.3.3). Compound verbs on the primary background information level are those which have the suffix *-wa* on the first verb and the suffix *-y-* on the second, or which have the suffix *-i* on the first verb and the verb *r6h* 'remain' as the second verb. Compounds with the suffix *-wa* on the first verb have as their second verb either *lag* or *mād*, both meaning 'begin'. This kind of construction always indicates inceptive aspect, as seen in examples 17 and 18. Compound verbs formed with the verb *r6h* 'remain' as the second member of the compound⁶ indicate durative aspect because of the semantic nature of this verb, as seen in example 19. Like compound verbs forming the primary eventline, these compound verbs are also clause final. Compound verbs that are not clause final but are followed by various forms of the verb 'to be' are part of the secondary background information.

The compounds which present primary background information are very similar to the compounds which form the primary eventline. They characteristically present something that involves a high level of excitement, but because of their nonpunctiliar aspect, they apparently do not represent events so much as background. Admittedly, some of the compounds formed with *-wa + mād* or *-wa + lag* represent activities and, in some cases, very intense activity. However, these activities are not events but show the active state of the participant involved. For instance, in example 17 cited above, the compound verb 'began to search' represents an intensive and desperate activity--a search for somebody who can take up the challenge presented by the newly arrived wrestlers. This activity is not, however, an event; nothing concrete has taken place yet. Rather, it represents an active

state of a participant for a certain period of time. Similarly, in the following example 'began to prepare a meal' indicates the state of the participant involved in a certain activity:

Example 27

(RR 30)

dosh-i-ma-e f6ri r6soi k6r-wa mād-y-i .
 old woman-f.sg-mother-ag again meal do-inf begin-pst.cmpl-f.sg

'The mother once again began to prepare the meal'.

Similar situations are found in other examples where the second member of the compound is either *lag* or *mād* (HB 112, 132, 163, 189; SM 31, 63, 65, 90, 95; RR 19, 144, 192, 199).

Some of the compound verbs on this level, formed with *-wa + lag* or *-wa + mād*, represent chains of actions that keep going for a certain period of time:

Example 28

(HB 109)

h6rbh6m-ne mhat k6r-wa pel-o pr6ch6d
 Harbham-acc subdue do-inf that-m.sg giant

sh6rir-dhar-i m6ll-raj ek p6chi ek pota-n-a
 body-with-adjM wrestler-king one after one self-poss-m.pl

daw 6jmaw-wa lag-y-o .
 tricks apply-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'...that wrestler began to apply his tricks one after another'.

Here, 'began to apply tricks' has the sense of repeatedly and constantly applying various tricks. It does not represent an event but a continuing activity of the participant.

Compound verbs that include the verb *r6h* 'remain' as the second member of the compound do not represent any activity, not even in the sense of the activities discussed above. These compounds represent states of the participants since these compounds employ the durative aspect which is inherent in the semantic nature of the verb *r6h*:

Example 29

(SM 48)

em man-i te tyā chupa-i-ne bes-i
that believe-cmpl 3 pl there hide-pst.cmpl-pcpl sit-cmpl

r6h-y-a .
remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl

'Thinking like this, they sat there hiding'.

Here 'sat' is actually 'kept sitting'. It does not indicate any activity, only the state of the participants. Actually it indicates a nonactive state of the participants. Similar situations are found in other examples where the verb *r6h* is used as part of the compound (HB 124, 157, 161, 187, 189; SM 48, 54, 61).

3.3.7. Progressive and Perfective Aspects and Secondary Background

Information

As described above background information which is conveyed by compound verbs of certain forms is of primary significance since it describes active states of the participants. On the other hand, secondary background information which is conveyed by the past progressive, past perfective, and present progressive tenses, provides a description of the participants--their nature, qualities, and their past actions with continuing effect--and of the environments in which the events of the narrative take place.

In Gujarati past progressive is marked by -t-. It indicates past time and customary or habitual activity. Past progressive is the predominant tense which marks background information in the Gujarati narrative discourse. This tense is used exclusively for background material; it can never be used for material on the eventline. It is found most extensively in the two participant oriented narratives. In both "Harbham Bhuto" and "The Smart Merchant," past progressive is used extensively to introduce the central participants (Sl-8 in "Harbham Bhuto" and Sl-21 in "The Smart Merchant"). As was noted in the earlier discussion, the central participant in a participant oriented narrative receives extensive introduction at the beginning of the narrative. In this introduction, past progressive—with a few occurrences of past perfect—is the predominant tense. In one instance, past progressive is also used to introduce a noncentral participant (Motichand priest in "Harbham Bhuto," S46-48).

While past progressive provides extensive introduction of the central participants of participant oriented narratives, it also at the same time prepares the stage for the entire narrative. While the introductory description of the central participant of a participant oriented narrative concentrates on one major characteristic of that participant, it also sets the stage for the theme of the entire narrative. For example, the introductory description of Harbham creates an impression of his immense strength. The events of the narrative are also organized to support that impression. Similarly the introductory description of the merchant in "The Smart Merchant" presents the claim that he is a very smart person and is extremely careful with his property. The events in the body of the narrative

support this claim. Because of these functions, past progressive is most extensively used in the participant oriented narrative.

In addition to its use in introducing the central participant and setting the stage for the entire narrative, past progressive is used for supportive material in the main body of the discourse. It provides information about what is happening in the background of the main event and helps to build up tension in the narrative. For example, in "Harbham Bhuto," before the wrestling event reaches its peak, there is a detailed background description using the past progressive tense: Deshalji was sitting on cushions (S90); the opposing wrestlers were striking their hands on their thighs as a symbol of challenge (S95); and the noise of striking their hands was making echoes around the walls of the royal fort (S96). The spectators were involved in various conversations; some were saying one thing and others another (100-103); Harbham was using all the techniques for his protection (S110). Meanwhile various tricks to defeat one another were going on (S113). At the same time, the spectators were feeling that Harbham would lose (S114) and were being overshadowed by a feeling of disappointment (S115). At another moment Harbham was knocking another wrestler down (S116). This background description in past progressive raises tension. Then, when the tension reaches its highest peak, the main events take place: Harbham applied his trick and knocked the other wrestler completely down (S128), the arena roared (with joy) (S129), the wrestlers cried out 'deceit, deceit' (S130).

A similar situation is seen also in the next episode in "Harbham Bhuto" when Harbham gets into a fight with another wrestler. S145-155 provide a long background description via past progressives, showing the strength and competence of the two wrestlers. When the episode rises to the

peak of tension, a long chain of events occurs, all presented in compound verb forms (S157-166). Another similar situation is seen in "The Smart Merchant" where, before the narrative reaches its peak, the background description in past progressive helps to build up the tension (S52-73).

In the other narrative, "Receiving Rewards," the background material is presented in a slightly different way. In this narrative, present progressive is used instead of past progressive for the background material. However, the function of the present progressive in "Receiving Rewards" is very similar to that of the past progressive in the other two narratives.

The present progressive here, like the past progressive in the other two narratives, is used to set the stage for the entire narrative. Because this is an event oriented narrative, the stage is not set by an introduction and a long description of the participants, but rather by a description of the routine activities of the major participants of the narrative (S2-4).

The present progressive, like the past progressive in the other two narratives, also functions to set the stage for the main event. For example, the long background description--description of the natural surroundings in S86-97--prepares the stage for the main event, the central participant's meeting and conversing with the tree (S99-107). Similarly, the background description in S112-115 prepares the stage for events on the eventline in S116-127.⁷

Past perfect also functions to present background information on this level. Background information presented in past progressive, as noted above, describes the state of the participants or of the environment at the time of the narrative. Background information presented in past perfect, on the other hand, provides information about the situation previous to the time of

the narrative. It describes actions previous to the events of the narrative and also actions that are out of chronological order. For example, the description of the new wrestlers who came to Kutch is presented in past perfect. It tells what they had done before they came:

Example 30

'They had arrived in Kutch after defeating great wrestlers in the areas of Marwad, Gujarat, and Rajsthan. They had developed a custom of receiving a golden bracelet from the king of each place as a token of their victory over whichever of the king's wrestlers they had defeated. In this manner, to this day, they had collected ninety nine bracelets. Now, to gain only the last bracelet (to complete the number of 100) they had entered Kutch' (HB S32-35).

Sometimes past perfect is used to provide minor background details for the main event. For example, in "Harbham Bhuto" the preparation of the wrestling arena is presented in past perfect:

Example 31

'People interested in wrestling had come great distances... The program was kept right in the royal fort. Also, the maids had taken seats behind the curtains. The wrestling arena had been prepared in the middle of strings which were around the four sides. The wrestling arena had been made clean by sprinkling water on it' (S88-93).

In both participant oriented narratives the past perfect is used to provide information about the emotional states of the participants, or about their intellectual thought processes and scheming:

Example 32

'The spectators by now had realized the strength of Harbham. Now in everyone's mind there was hope (lit. hope had been tied up) of

victory. Now Harbham had become familiar with the various tricks of that wrestler. Also, the other wrestler had understood that Harbham was expert in using tricks for protection, but he was not able to go further than that. Knowing this, he also had become slightly careless' (S117-124).

This background description of the participants' intellectual state or state of awareness provides background for the events that are to follow in the narrative, and thus prepares the reader for those events.

There is no ranking as to the significance of the background information presented through progressive aspect or perfective aspect. The progressive aspect presents the information about the present situation, about the routine or habitual activities or ongoing process. The perfective aspect, on the other hand, provides the background information about the activity of a participant in the past which has continuing effect in the present.

3.3.8. Medial Verbs and Minor Background Information

Medial verbs with the suffix *-i* and *-ine*, as noted previously, are not independent verbs; rather, they depend for all their semantic features on the final independent verb. In a sentence which presents eventline material, medial verbs are on the eventline and present material that is subordinate to the material presented by the final verb. Similarly medial verbs whose final verb is off the eventline present background information that is subordinate to information presented by their final verb. In either case medial verbs present material that has less importance than the material presented by the final verb.

Like medial verbs presenting suppressed eventline material, medial verbs presenting background material provide additional detail. Here, too, medial verbs represent sequential, causal, and adverbial relations with the final verb. Medial verbs having sequential relation with the final verb provide additional information about what the participant has done before reaching his present state:

Example 33

(HB 32)

marwad guj6rat 6ne s6urastr6-n-a m6ll-raj-o-ne
 Marwad Gujarat and Saurashtra-poss-m.pl wrestler-king-m.pl-acc
 h6raw-i-ne te b6nne k6cch-mā aw-y-a
 defeat-cmpl-pcpl that both Kutch-in come-pst.cmpl-m.pl
 h6-t-a .
 be-pst.prg-m.pl

'They both had arrived in Kutch after defeating great wrestlers in the areas of Marwad, Saurashtra, and Kutch'.

Medial verbs may also have a causal relation with the final verb, providing a reason for the state of the participant:

Example 34

(HB 123)

tem s6m6j-i-ne te j6ra nishcft p6n
 such understand-cmpl-pcpl 3 sg slight careless also
 b6n-i g6-y-o h6-t-o .
 become-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg

'Knowing this, he also had become slightly careless'.

Similarly, medial verbs may have an adverbial relation with the final verb as seen in the following example:

Example 35

(SM 21)

sheth koi rit-e 6kk61 c6l-aw-i
 merchant some manner-loc intelligence apply-caus-cmpl

b6ch-i j6-t-a h6-t-a .
 be safe-cmpl go-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp be-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp

'The merchant, by using his intelligence, used to escape somehow'.

3.3.9. Cline of Relative Importance of Information

The relative importance of the information in Gujarati narrative discourse is graphically presented in a cline form (Figure 15).

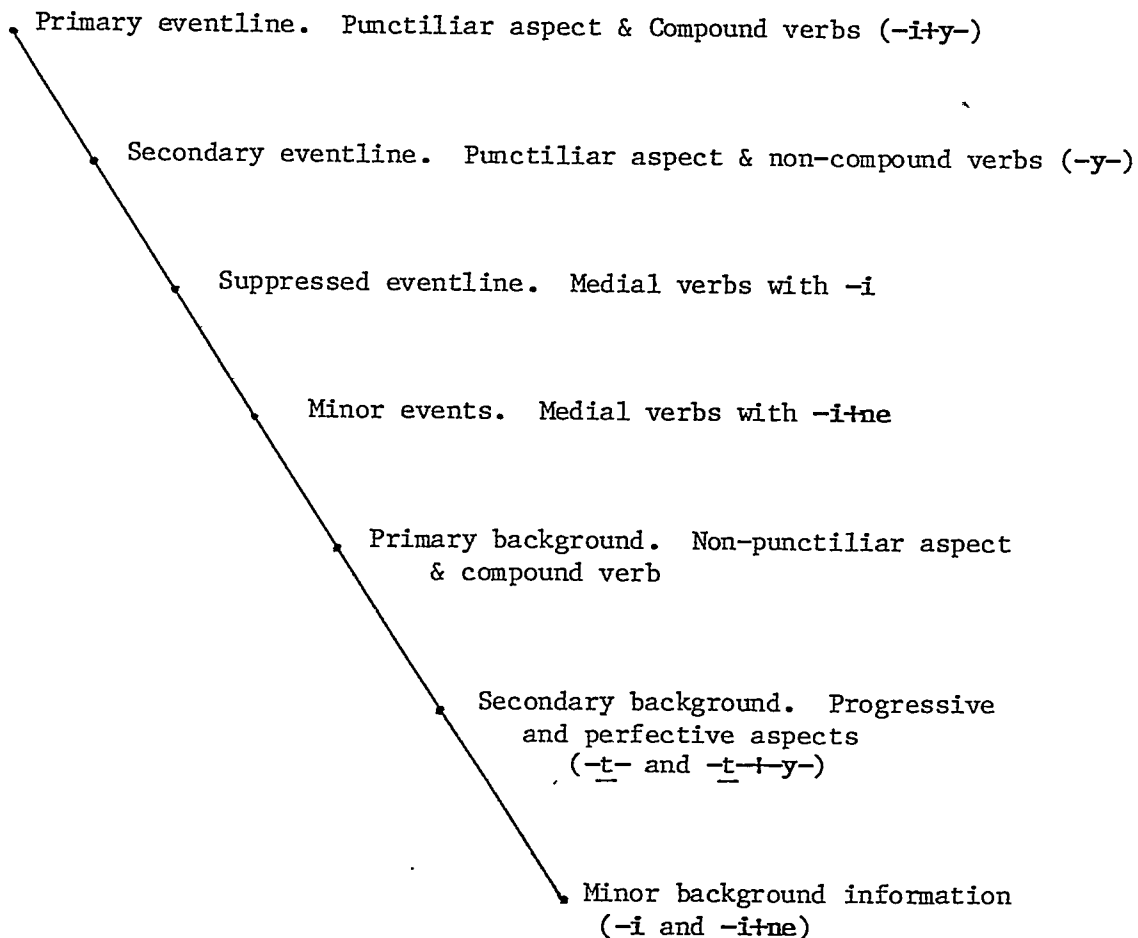


Figure 15. Cline of Relative Importance of Information

In the upper left hand corner we find the primary eventline carried by compound verbs with the punctiliar aspect. The lowest in the cline are the minor background events that are presented through the medial clauses of the sentences whose final verb presents background information. The validity of this cline and of the foregoing analysis is seen in the fact that different levels of information give macrostructures of increasing detail as we go down the cline and increasing level of abstraction as we go up the cline (see Appendix B for illustrative analysis of "Harbham Bhuto").

3.4. Concluding Remarks

It has been shown in this chapter that various features of the language, when seen in the light of discourse structure, manifest heightened significance, in that Gujarati narrative discourse utilizes these features to indicate various levels of information in discourse.

The primary eventline, or the most pivotal events, in narrative are presented by punctiliar compound verbs. The compound verbs, used as independent final verbs in a sentence, mark suddenness, unexpectedness, and intensity of an event. They present fast progress in the eventline; this is where the action takes place and the eventline takes off and picks up speed.

The secondary eventline in narrative is presented by the uncompounded verbs with completive aspect. The secondary eventline slows down the action and adds more detail which builds up the tension in the narrative—a tension that is finally resolved by the fast movement of the narrative when the compound verb forms appear.

The two different forms of medial verbs present two different levels of information. The medial verbs with the suffix *-i* present the third level of information, suppressed eventline material. Events presented on this level add further detail to the narrative by providing information about what has happened before an event on the primary or secondary eventline takes place. The medial verbs with the suffixes *-itne*, on the other hand, present minor events which are very close to being background material, but are not really a part of the background.

Similarly, the background information in the narrative can also be divided into different levels according to the importance of the information in the discourse, and on the basis of the different verb structures. Compound verbs which are not part of the primary eventline because they carry durative or stative aspect, present the primary background information. Verbs with progressive and perfective aspects present the secondary background information. Past progressive is used exclusively for background material. It is used in the introduction of participants, in setting the stage for a narrative, and also for supportive material in the main body of a narrative. In some narratives, present progressive also serves a function similar to that of the past progressive. The background information presented by past perfect provides information about the situation previous to the time of the narrative and actions that are out of chronological order. Minor background information is presented by medial verbs. Medial verbs, whose final verb is off the eventline, present background information that is subordinated to the information presented by their final verb.

Footnotes

1. The terms medial verb and final verb are adopted here from Longacre (1972). Various other terms have been used for the nonfinal verbs: gerund, indeclinable participle, conjunctive participle, adverbial participle, etc. Emeneau notes, "No really satisfactory term has yet been invented" (1956:9fn).

2. Two forms of medial verbs occur, one with the suffix *-i* and the other with the additional suffix *-ne*. Traditional grammars do not note any difference between these two forms and consider them alternate forms for the same construction (e.g., Tisdall 1892:51).

3. I do not intend to get into a detailed morphological discussion here. DeLancy has concluded that it is coincidence that agreement is with the noun that lacks casemarking. He observes that in perfect clauses with animate patients, where both agent and patient are marked for case, the agreement is still with patient. For example (my example):

man ₆ s-e	kut ₆ ra-ne	mar-y- <u>ū</u>
man-ag	dog-obj	hit-pst.cmpl-n.sg

'The man hit the dog.'

DeLancy claims, "Agreement and casemarking are independent of one another, though subject to some of the same governing factors (in particular, aspect)" (1981:632).

4. There is only one exception to this rule seen in the narratives studied: (RR 43) teto nik6li p6dyo b6har (he-emph, exit, fall out, he went out)

Here the compound verb *nik6li p6dyo* is followed by *b6har* 'out'. Here 'out' is placed in clause-final position, out of its normal order for the sake of extreme emphasis. However, this actually is not an exception to the rule above, because, unlike the negative morpheme or the verb 'to be' forms, 'out' does not disqualify the verb compound from being on the eventline. Carolyn Rensch mentioned (personal note) that in English such 'prepositions' used with verbs seem almost to form part of the verb itself, e.g., he went up and he came down.

5. In neither of these instances is the agent explicitly referred to, so, obviously, there is no ergative marker on the agent. However, the absence of explicit reference to the agent does not change the other features of the ergative clause. Verb compounds formed with two transitive verbs, for example HB 20-23, are marked for the number and gender of the object, as is usual for ergative clauses. The one nontransitive verb in S20, 'reached the farm', is marked for the gender and number of the subject, as is usual for non-ergative clauses. Thus zero anaphora does not affect the ergativity, or non-ergativity, of a clause.

6. There is only one example where the verb *r6h* is the first verb of a compound:

(HB 124)

<i>h6rbham-e</i>	<i>p6a</i>	<i>te-ne</i>	<i>te-j</i>	<i>bhr6m-mã</i>
Harbham-ag	also	3 sg-acc	that-emph	illusion-in

<i>r6he-wa</i>	<i>di-dh-o</i>
remain-inf	give-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'Harbham kept (continued keeping) him in that illusion'.

Here also both the verb *r6h* and *di* 'give', because of their semantic nature, indicate durative aspect.

7. This narrative, "Receiving Rewards," includes a large amount of quoted material. All the quoted material is in present tense, or in future tense when a participant talks about his future plans. In this study we are not dealing with the quoted material in any of the narratives. Beyond this usage for reported speech, present progressive tense is used in "Receiving Rewards" as the main background tense.

CHAPTER FOUR

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN NARRATIVE

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter the focus of our attention will be on how nouns, pronouns, and zero anaphora are used to refer to participants in narrative discourse. We are concerned with how participants are introduced and how they are tracked throughout the story until they move off the stage or until the story ends. We try to find out in each instance where they are referred to overtly, why a noun phrase or a pronoun is chosen.

4.2. Introduction of Participants

Two points must be noted before we can begin the discussion of participant introduction in Gujarati narrative. The first has to do with participant rank. In Gujarati narrative, whether participant or event oriented, participants are ranked as central participant, non-central major participants, and minor participants. The central participant of a narrative is the "hero," the most important participant of the story. The narrative revolves around him, and he is involved in all the major episodes of the narrative directly or indirectly. The non-central major participants are

those others who play a significant role in the narrative. Usually they are involved in one or more episodes of the narrative but not in all the episodes. The minor participants are those who appear in the narrative, make their contribution to the story, and then disappear. They are not involved in the narrative extensively. How a participant is introduced in a narrative, whether any of his background is revealed, and how he is referred to after his initial introduction depends on his rank in the narrative.

The other point to be made is that the method used to introduce participants in a story and to trace them through the story also depends on the kind of narrative it is. Participant oriented narratives introduce participants in a slightly different way from event oriented narrative (cf. Toba 1978).

4.2.1. Introduction of the Central Participant

Gujarati narrative usually begins with the introduction of the central participant. He is introduced by an existential clause with the indefinite pronoun *ek* 'one'. For example, the central participant of the narrative "The Smart Merchant" is introduced as follows:

Example 1

(SM 1)

ek sheth h6-t-a .
one merchant be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp

'There was a merchant'.

Sometimes the central participant is introduced in relation to his location but *ek* is still used, as, for example, in the narrative "Harbham Bhuto":

Example 2

(HB 1)

sŋgh6d gām-mā h6rbh6m bhuto name ek b6hadur
 sanghad village-in Harbham Bhuto named one brave

yuwan r6he-t-o h6-t-o .
 young man live-pst.prg-m.sg be-pst.prg.

'In a certain village named Sanghad lived a brave young man, named Harbham Bhuto'.

There is some difference, as noted above, between the introduction of the central participant in a participant oriented narrative and in an event oriented narrative. Event oriented narrative introduces its central participant with just an existential clause without any extended description of him. The participant oriented narrative, on the other hand, includes a long description of the central participant which provides some background information about him. For example, the stories of the merchant and of Harbham Bhuto, which are participant oriented narratives, provide detailed descriptions when the central participant is introduced in the story for the first time. The reward story, which is an event-oriented narrative, introduces the central participant with only an existential clause. Perrin (1978:108) has noted for Mambila discourse that the descriptive setting at the introduction of a participant sets him apart as the important participant in the narrative.

The events in participant oriented narrative are centred around the character of the central participant. The background information given in the introduction of the participant prepares the reader for the rest of the

story and creates an image of the participant in the reader's mind. The rest of the story supports that image. For example, the background description in "The Smart Merchant" creates an image of a man who is extremely careful in using his money and who is so smart that it is almost impossible to cheat him. The rest of the story describes two cheaters' attempts to cheat him and their complete failure, thereby supporting the image in the reader's mind that has been created by the extended description of the merchant at the beginning. In the same way, the extended description of Harbham at the time of his initial introduction (S1-8) shows his immense strength, and the events in the story support this description.

The Gujarati narrative usually begins with the introduction of the central participant, as noted above. However, sometimes a narrative may begin with the introduction of a participant who is not the central participant. Woods (1980) calls such a participant the initial participant and indicates that an initial participant functions principally to introduce the central participant of the narrative. She writes:

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 (1980:154).

In "Receiving Rewards," for example, the mother is the initial participant. However, the mother in this story not only functions to introduce the central participant of the narrative but also is thematic in the first episode of the narrative. This first episode prepares the background for the rest of the narrative; thus the mother is in the

background of the whole narrative. Everything that happens in the story happens because of what she has done in this first episode. Also, at the end the story returns to the mother when the son, after receiving many rewards, comes to her.

4.2.2. Introduction of the Non-central Participants

4.2.2.1. Introduction of the Non-central Major Participants

Non-central major participants are introduced in the Gujarati narratives in a way similar to that used to introduce central participants, i.e., with the indefinite pronoun *ek* 'one' and an existential clause, or with a descriptive noun phrase and an action clause, except that they do not receive an extended description:

Example 3

(RR 65)

tyā dur-thi ek dub6l-o sadhu aw-t-o
 that time far-from one weak-m.sg hermit come-pst.prog-m.sg
j6n-a-y-o .
 know-pass-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'At that time a (lit. one) hermit was seen coming'.

When there is more than one such participant treated as a group, these are introduced with a definite number:

Example 4

(SM 22)

p6n be n6w-a th6g-n-i n6j6r a sheth
 but two new-m.pl cheater-poss-f.sg sight this merchant
t6r6f w6l-y-i .
 toward turn-pst.cmpl-f.sg

'But the eyes of two new cheaters turned towards this merchant'.

Example 5

(HB 30)

ek war m6ha-raj desh61-ji-n-a d6rbar-mā
one time great-king Deshal-rsp-poss-m.sg court-in

rajsthan-n-a be b6l-wan kustī-baj
Rajsthan-poss-m.pl two strength-with wrestling-do

m6ll aw-i c6dh-y-a .
wrestler come-cmpl arrive-pst.cmpl-m.pl

'One time in the court of the great king Deshalji two strong expert
wrestlers arrived from Rajsthan'.

As mentioned above the introduction of a non-central major participant usually does not include a detailed description of the sort used in introducing the central participant. The non-central participants are introduced into the action immediately. However, in the participant oriented narrative, when a non-central major participant is a villain, he is sometimes described in detail. For example, the wrestlers in "Harbham Bhuto" are introduced with a long description (S30-35) of their unusual strength. This description makes Harbham's victory over them more significant and shows his super-human strength.

When a non-central participant is non-human and yet plays the role of a major participant, it is introduced with an extended description of the surroundings. Thus the elephant and the tree in the reward story are introduced after beautiful descriptions of the forest. In these instances the hero looks at the surroundings with great amazement, and his amazement is increased when the tree and the elephant address him directly. The

description serves the purpose of showing that the participant introduced at that point is not merely a prop, but is one of the major participants of the story. However, the tree and the elephant do not receive an extended description of themselves as participants.

As mentioned above, only the central participant in the participant oriented narrative receives extended description, for example, the merchant and Harbham. Apart from this, the villain may sometimes be described also (but more briefly) in order to bring out the contrast with the hero. Another exception is seen when a non-central participant has cultural significance. A culturally respected participant receives some description at the time of his initial introduction, even if he is not the central participant (Chapter 7).

4.2.2.2. Introduction of the Minor Participants.

The minor participants assume small, yet significant, roles in narrative. In Gujarati narrative they do not require any formal introduction. They simply appear, make their contribution to the story, and disappear from the scene. For example, in "Harbham Bhuto" the spectators in the royal court appear on the scene without any formal introduction:

Example 6

(HB 100)

gam6da-n-a ek ahir yuwan-ne awa p6ttha
village-poss-m.sg one Ahir young man-all such strong

p6helwan jode l6d-wa t6iyar th6-y-el-o
wrestler with fight-inf ready become-cmpl-adjM-m.sg

jo-i-ne preksh6k-o widh-widh pr6kar-na
see-cmpl-pcpl spectator-pl various-various kind-of

wartalap p6r c6dh-i g6-y-a
 talk(conversation) on climb-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl

h6-t-a .
 be-pst.prg-m.pl

'Seeing an Ahir young man from a village ready to fight with such strong wrestlers, the spectators began to say various things (about him)'.

Similarly, the cart driver in "Harbham Bhuto" appears on the scene without any formal introduction and disappears after he has served his purpose:

Example 7

(HB 68)

wel-wad-i-mā-thi hathi jew-a
 cart-place-f.sg-in-from elephant like-m.pl

b6l6d-o-n-i wel t6iyar th6-y-i 6ne
 bullock-pl-poss-f.sg cart ready be-pst.cmpl-f.sg and

wel-wan-e wel-ne s6gh6d-n-a marg-e
 cart-driver-ag cart-acc Sanghad-poss-m.sg road-loc

mar-y-i muk-y-i .
 drive-pst.cmpl-f.sg put-pst.cmpl-f.sg

'From the chariot house a chariot was prepared by attaching elephant-like oxen, and the chariot driver put the chariot (with great haste) on the way to Sanghad village'.

Like the minor participants, props do not receive any formal introduction, they are mentioned in passing and never mentioned again. They are only in the background of the narrative--for example, the chariot in the example above.

4.3. Reintroduction of Participants

When the narrator wants to make clear that a participant being reintroduced after a brief absence is the same participant who appeared earlier in the story, he does that by using the two deictics *peIo* (inflected for number and gender) and *a*. For example, in "The Smart Merchant" the thieves are first introduced in S22. After their planning and inner thoughts are reported the eventline resumes and they are reintroduced with the use of the deictic *peIo*:

Example 8

(SM 27)

aw-o . wicar k6r-i pel-a be th6g b6har
such-m.sg thought do-cmpl that-pl two cheater out

p6d-y-a .
came-pst.cmpl-m.pl

'Thinking like this those two cheaters went out'.

In the same way, when the boy in "Receiving Rewards" meets the god he is seeking, he refers to the hermit and the tree whom he has met on the way with the deictic *peIo*. On the way back, when he meets them again, each of these is reintroduced with *peIo*.

The deictic *peIo* indicates some distance, either of time or of space, between two introductions of the same participant. If a participant has been introduced in the story very recently, the deictic *a* is used. For example, in "Receiving Rewards" the boy, at the end of his long travel in search of the god, meets the elephant and soon after that finds the god. Therefore, during his conversation with the god he refers to the elephant with a 'this' and to the other participants whom he has met earlier on his way with *peIo* 'that'.

The deictic *pelo* is used to reintroduce a participant only in the case of secondary participants; it is not used to reintroduce the central participant. The deictic *pe* is used to reintroduce a secondary participant even after non-eventline material, as, for example in the case of the thieves mentioned above, whereas for the central participant it is not used even after very extended non-eventline material. For example, in "The Smart Merchant" the merchant is reintroduced by his first term of introduction even after a very extended description of him (S15).

It seems that the participant for whom the deictic *pelo* is used is always of secondary importance; thus *pelo* is never used for the central participant. However, there is no such restriction on the use of the other deictic *a* 'this'. This deictic indicates spatial and temporal proximity and, thus also indicates closeness of other participants in the narrative to the participant for whom it is used. Therefore this deictic is used also to reintroduce the central participant:

Example 9

(SM 22)

p6m be n6w-a th6g-n-i n6j6r a sheth
 but two new-m.pl cheater-poss-f.sg sight this merchant

t6r6f w6l-y-i .
 toward turn-pst.cmpl-f.sg

'But two new thieves saw and thought about this merchant'

The deictic *pelo* is never used for the central participant even when he reappears after some absence. For example, in "Harbham Bhuto" the central participant Harbham is mentioned in S29 by name. Then the story shifts

locale and new participants are introduced. After a long interval Harbham is brought back on the stage in S69, but he is simply mentioned by his first term of introduction H6rbh6m Bhuto.

The only exception to the deictic *pelo* being used exclusively for non-central minor participants occurs in the reward story when the king thinks about the boy who is the central participant: 'when will *pelo* 'that' boy come back?' S227). Although all the other non-central participants in this story--the hermit, the tree, the elephant--are reintroduced by the deictic *pelo* at one time or another, the king is never reintroduced by this deictic. Rather, he uses the deictic for the central participant of the narrative, the boy. Similarly, the king of Kutch and the priest Motichand in "Harbham Bhuto" are never reintroduced by the deictic *pelo* (Chapter 7).

4.4. Tracing a Participant Through the Discourse

A participant who has once been introduced in the discourse is subsequently referred to in different ways, depending on whether he is the central participant or of some other status. In this regard Callow notes that "the rule of thumb" is to use a pronoun after the initial introduction of a participant, and to use a noun wherever there is a possibility of some confusion as to who performed which action (1974:33). However, this "rule of thumb" has many discourse ramifications.

Once a participant has been introduced in a story, a further reference to him may be by name or by a pronoun. When a participant is referred to by name, the name may be his proper name, or a title of respect, or a noun phrase. Occasionally there is no overt reference; the participant is referred to by zero anaphora.

4.4.1. Participant Reference by a Nominal

4.4.1.1. Nominal Reference To Avoid Ambiguity

The main reason for choosing a noun or noun phrase for participant reference rather than a pronoun is to avoid ambiguity when there is more than one participant on stage.

4.4.1.1.1. Nominal Reference in a Sequence of Clauses

When there are two participants involved in a sequence of clauses within a sentence, both participants are overtly referred to by nouns to avoid ambiguity:

Example 10

(RR 46)

koi	yuwan	musaf6r-ne	pota-n-a	raju6-mā-thi
some	young	traveler-acc	self-poss-n.sg	kingdom-in-from
j6-t-o	jo-i-ne	raja-e	te-ne	m6l-wa
go-pst.prog-m.sg	see-cmpl-pcpl	king-ag	3 sg-acc	meet-inf
bol-aw-y-o	ne	puch-y-ū .		
say-caus-pst.cmpl-m.sg	and	ask-pst.cmpl-n.sg		

'Seeing some young traveler passing through his kingdom, the king called to meet him and asked him'.

Here the king is introduced in S45, but he is referred to here overtly by a noun because of the involvement of two participants together. Also when a participant of one clause is involved with another participant in a joint action in a subsequent clause both these participants are overtly mentioned by name:

Example 11

(RR 4)

4. dik6r-a-ne aw-wa-n-o w6kh6t tha-y te
 son-m.sg-acc come-inf-poss-m.sg time be-psbl that
- w6kh6t-e doshi-ma baj6ri-n-a un-a
 time-loc old woman-mother millet-poss-m.pl hot-m.pl
- un-a rot6l-a 6ne shakbhaji 6g6r dal t6iyar
 hot-m.pl loaf-m.pl and vegetable or lentil soup ready
- rakh-e 6ne ma-dik6ro bhel-ā bes-i kha-y .
 keep-pres and mother-son together-n.pl sit-cmpl eat-psbl

'At the expected time of the son's return, the mother would prepare freshly baked loaves of millet flour and vegetables or lentil soup and (then) the mother and the son would eat together'.

4.4.1.1.2. Nominal Reference in a Sequence of Sentences

In a sequence of sentences there may be a switch of participants either by their joint involvement in some event or in the narrator's joint description of them. In such a case both of the participants are referred to overtly by nominal reference. For example, in the paragraph below every sentence has overt participant reference using a noun:

Example 12

(SM 27-31)

- aw-o wicar k6r-i pel-a be th6g b6har
 such-m.sg thought do-cmpl that-pl two cheater out
- p6d-y-a .
 came-pst.cmpl-m.pl
- sheth roj sāj-e loto l6-i kh6rcū
 merchant every day evening-loc jug take-cmpl latrine

j6-t-a .

go-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp

te t6k-n-o labh l6-i beu
that opportunity-poss-m.sg advantage take-cmpl both

cor sheth-n-a r6sta-mā jal-ā-n-i
thieves merchant-poss-m.sg way-in bush-n.pl-poss-f.sg

oth-e sōta-i-ne be-th-a .
behind-loc hide-cmpl-pcpl sit-pst.cmpl-m.pl

s6m6y j6-tā sheth loto l6-i aw-t-a
time go-dur merchant jug take-cmpl come-pst.prg-3 pl-rsp

j6n-a-y-a .

know-pass-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp

beu cor anōd pam-y-a 6ne loto
both thieves joy receive-pst.cmpl-3 pl and jug

p6d-aw-i le-wa-n-o ghat gh6d-wa
snatch-caus-cmpl take-inf-poss-m.sg plan make-inf

lag-y-a .

begin-pst.cmpl-3 pl

'Thinking like this, those two cheaters went out. The merchant had a habit of going to the latrine every evening carrying a water jug. Taking advantage of this opportunity, both the thieves sat by the wayside hiding behind a bush. After a while the merchant was seen coming carrying the jug in his hand. Both the thieves became jubilant and began forming a plan to snatch (that) jug'.

In the sentences above, pronominal references, instead of nominal ones, will create ambiguity. The number ending--plural versus singular--on the verbs does not solve the ambiguity because the third person plural suffix -a appears on each verb both for the merchant and the cheaters. The plural ending on the verb referring to the cheaters is because of their plural number. Plural ending is required also for the merchant, because he is

always referred to with plural for respect (Chapter 7). Even if the actions of the merchant had been referred to with a singular marker on the verbs, the sentences above would require overt participant reference by noun phrase because there is a participant exchange in every sentence. The third person pronoun te is the same for singular and plural numbers, so the reader would not be able to decide who the participant is till he reaches the verb and figures out to whom the pronoun refers.

4.4.1.1.3. Nominal Reference in Joint Involvement of Two Participants

When there is a joint action which involves more than one participant and the narrator wants to single out one of the participants to make a comment about him, that participant is overtly referred to by name. Foreexample, in "Harbham Bhuto" both the wrestling event and the boxing event involve two participants. Whenever the narrator wants to describe the action of one participant or wants to make a comment about one of them, he singles him out by name:

Example 13

(HB 119-120)

b6rab6r	tr6n	k6lak	l6gi	a	n6r-shardul-o-n-o
exact	three	hour	till	this	man-lion-pl.poss-m.sg
r6ns6gram	cal6-t-o			r6h-y-o .	
war	continue-pst.prg-m.sg			remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg	
h6rbh6m	p6n	pela	m6ll-n-a		jud-a
Harbham	also	that	wrestler-poss-m.pl		different-m.pl
jud-a	daw-o-thi	p6ricit	th6-i		
different-m.pl	trick-pl-with	familiar	become-cmpl		
g6-y-o		h6-t-o .			
go-pst.cmpl-m.sg		be-pst.prg-m.sg			

'For exactly three hours these three men continued fighting (lit. the contest of these three men-lions kept going on). Now Harbham had become familiar with the various tricks of that wrestler'.

Here S119 describes the joint action. In S120 Harbham is referred to by name to single him out for the purpose of making a comment about him.

4.4.1.1.4. Nominal Reference after a Narrator Comment

Even when there is not a two-participant interchange, a participant is referred to by name if the narrator's comment intervenes between two of his actions:

Example 14

(HB 125-127)

125. h6we m6ll-n-i j6ra
now wrestler-poss-f.sg slight

sh6rtcuk-n-i-j
careless mistake-poss-f.sg-emph

te rah jo-i r6h-y-o h6-t-o .
3 sg way see-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg

ek-bija-ne p6chad-i pad-wa-n-a daw
one-another-acc drop-cmpl drop-inf-poss-m.pl tricks

h6ju calu h6-t-a .
still going on be-pst.prg-m.pl

h6rbham h6we akr6m6n k6r-wa-n-i t6k
Harbham now attack do-inf-poss-f.sg opportunity

z6d6p-i le-wa t6d6p-i r6h-y-o
grasp-cmpl take-inf eager-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg

h6-t-o .
be-pst.prg-m.sg

'Now he was only waiting for the slightest careless mistake of the wrestler. The tricks used to drop one another down were still going on. Harbham was now eagerly waiting to grab an opportunity to attack'.

Here S125-127 involve only one participant, Harbham. But the narrator comment in S126 about the situation triggers the overt reference by name in S127.

4.4.1.1.5. Nominal Reference in Reported Speech

In a reported speech in speaker exchange a participant is referred to by name after another participant has spoken, except in an extended dialogue where the quote formulas are deleted. For example in the sentences below the participants are overtly referred to by name/title in the initial quote formulas, then the quote formulas are completely deleted but the terms of address are such that the speaker is unambiguous:

Example 15

(HB 50-66)

'Honorable, if I have (your) permission, I would like to request (something)', the priest said presenting his proposal.

'Well, reverend priest, why should you need permission? Tell me without any hesitation', Deshalji said giving his permission.

'I know a warrior who can break the heads of these wrestlers'.

'Reverend, if it is so, what else do we need? I myself was afraid that these wrestlers might destroy the reputation of Kutch'.

'Deshalji, beloved Kutch has not yet become such a coward. There are many men present in Kutch who can put such wrestlers to the ground. From these I will give you the name of one'.

'Well, reverend, who is he such (a man)'?

'He is from Sanghad village. His name is famous in the whole of Anjar county. If you order I will go to Sanghad village today and bring him (here)'.

'Most reverend, there is no need for you to take such trouble. Right now I will make the arrangement for a chariot to bring him (here)'.

4.4.1.2.1. Nominal Reference after Extended Background Description

A participant is reintroduced by name even without the intrusion of any other participant when the eventline resumes after some background description. This background description may be setting, background, evaluation, or collateral information as described by Grimes (1975). For example, in "Receiving Rewards" 'the young man' is overtly referred to in S98 after the long background description of the lake and the surrounding area. A similar situation is found also in S111-116, in the same narrative, where 'the young man' is overtly referred to after the background description of the jungle. Also, in "The Smart Merchant" the cheaters are overtly referred to by their title in S27 after a series of sentences (23-26) reporting their inner thoughts. S27 resumes their action on the event line.

4.4.1.2.2. Thematic Participant of a Paragraph

Paragraph breaks (sec. 2.2) influence the overt reference to participants by name. Grimes notes that paragraphs are sometimes divided on the basis of participant orientation. "There are stretches during which a single participant maintains a relatively high level of activity in relation to other participants" (Grimes 1975:105). The participant who maintains such a relatively high level of activity in a paragraph is considered a thematic participant for that paragraph. The thematic participant of a paragraph is referred to by a noun at the beginning of the paragraph. In the rest of the paragraph that participant is referred to either by a pronoun or by zero

anaphora unless the rules under Sec. 4.4.1.1. intervene. For example in S15-24 of "Receiving Rewards," 'the guest' is established as the thematic participant of the two paragraphs and referred to by name in S15. In the rest of the sentences the overt reference to him is only by pronouns.

That the thematic participant is referred to by name in the beginning of a paragraph and by pronouns in the rest of the paragraph is very clearly seen at the beginning of the two participant oriented narratives. The merchant story begins with a long description of the central participant, the merchant. He is introduced at the beginning 'there was a (lit. one) merchant'. Then in the rest of the description he is never referred to by his name until after the paragraph break at S15. The paragraph break at S15 is very clearly indicated by the adversative connective 'and yet':

Example 18

(SM 15)

am ch6-tā sheth wy6whar-mā pr6manik
 this be-pres-durM merchant conduct-in honest
 h6-t-a .
 be-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp

'And yet, the merchant was honest in his conduct'.

This is also seen in "Harbham Bhuto." The narrative begins with the initial identification of the central participant: 'In a certain village named Sanghad lived a brave young man named Harbham Bhuto' (HB 1). The rest of the paragraph refers to him with pronominal or zero reference. He is referred to by name again in S7, where the semantic theme changes from a description of Harbham's unusual strength to a statement about the inability of anybody else to stand against him, indicating a paragraph break.

There are numerous examples in the narratives which show that the participant is overtly referred to by name at the beginning of a paragraph, then by pronouns or zero reference. This fact is true not only in the case of the one central participant of a narrative, but also in the case of the other participants. For example, the phenomenon is found in relation to the thieves in "The Smart Merchant" in S51-55. Here the cor 'thieves' are the thematic participants of the paragraph. They are overtly mentioned in S51 by their original term of introduction. In the rest of the paragraph they are referred to only by pronouns, whereas every reference to the merchant is made by the noun *sheth*. The next paragraph (S56-60) has the merchant as the thematic participant, so it begins with overt reference to him using a noun. In the rest of the paragraph he is referred to by pronouns and a noun is used for each reference to the thieves.

The overt nominal reference to a participant at the beginning of a new paragraph is not only true for the central and non-central major participants, but also for the minor participants. For example in "Harbham Bhuto" in S40-41 and S42-44, the wrestlers in the court of Deshalji who were afraid to get into a contest with the newcomer wrestlers are the thematic participants. They are overtly referred to by their title at the beginning of both these paragraphs (in S40 and S42), and then by pronominal reference.

Sometimes a paragraph begins with a participant who is not a thematic participant of the paragraph. In this case both the non-thematic participant and the thematic participant are referred to by name at the initial reference in the paragraph. After the thematic participant is established, the rest of the paragraph refers to the thematic participant by a pronoun or zero

anaphora—unless there is a possibility of ambiguity—and the non-thematic participant is referred to by name. For example in "Harbham Bhuto" in S30-35, the paragraph begins with the initial introduction of King Deshalji. However, he is not the thematic participant of the paragraph. The next clause in S30 introduces 'the wrestlers from Rajsthan'. That the wrestlers are the thematic participants in the rest of the paragraph is indicated by the repeated pronominal reference. Never again in the paragraph are they referred to by a noun.

In the very next paragraph (S36-39) the king of Kutch, Deshalji, is the thematic participant. In contrast to the preceding paragraph, this paragraph uses pronouns for the king of Kutch, and each time the wrestlers are mentioned, they are referred to by name.

Sometimes there is more than one thematic participant in a paragraph. In this case both participants are referred to by pronouns, or by nouns when there is a possibility of ambiguity. For example in "Harbham Bhuto" the paragraph of S119-123 has two thematic participants: Harbham and the otherwrestler, both fighting in the wrestling arena. They are introduced in the beginning of the paragraph as 'two men-lions'. Throughout the paragraph both Harbham and the other wrestler are thematic participants. Pronouns are used for both of them, except in cases of possible ambiguity.

The fact that the thematic participant is overtly referred to by name at the beginning of the paragraph also means that a participant is overtly referred to at the paragraph break even when there is no change of participant and no possibility of ambiguity. Hwang notes, "Since by

definition paragraph assumes a break of some kind in the flow of discourse, it is not unusual to reidentify the participant in a new paragraph" (1981:197).

Example 19

(HB 13-16)

'Harbham did not like (his) uncle's response (S13). It was not possible to leave the hay unprotected on the farm for four days (S14)'.

'Harbham was puzzled (S15). Finally a solution occurred to him (S16)'.

Here, between sentences 14 and 15, there is a paragraph boundary marked by a change in topic so Harbham is referred to by name in S15.

Sometimes temporal and locational expressions indicate a paragraph break and trigger an overt reference to the participant by name. Currier (1977:63) has noted the same phenomenon in Bahasa Indonesia. Hwang has noted this also for Korean narrative:

...Temporal and locational expressions play important roles in demarcating elements from each other, often marking paragraph boundaries, and yet linking one paragraph to another as well. Thus they tend to provide conditions for overt marking of participants (Hwang 1981:200).

Nominal reference after a temporal expression is illustrated in the following example:

Example 20

(HB 9)

ek	w6kh6t	s6ngh6d	gam-n-i	sim-mã	h6rbh6m-e
one	time	Sanghad	village-poss-f.sg	farm-in	Harbham-ag

waw-el-i juwar-n-i k6d6b-n-a ogh-a
 sow-adjM-f.sg corn-poss-f.sg hay-poss-m.pl pile-m.pl

upad-i-ne gh6r-n-a wad-a-mā
 carry-cmpl-pcpl home-poss-m.sg yard-m.sg-in

kh6d6k-w-a-n-a h6-t-a .
 stack-inf.m.pl-poss-m.pl be-pst.prg-m.pl

'One time from the fields of Sanghad village, some piles of corn stalks, sown by Harbham, were to be brought and stacked in the yard of (his) home'.

There is an extended description of Harbham in S1-8 and then there is no participant switch between S8 and S9. Yet Harbham is overtly referred to by name because of the intervening temporal expression ek w6kh6t 'one time' which indicates a new paragraph by introducing a new setting. A similar situation occurs between S10 and S11 where e w6kh6te 'at that time' triggers the overt participant reference. So also in S24 with s6warmā 'in the morning'. In each of these instances a paragraph break is indicated also by a different situation setting.

However, not all the time expressions in Gujarati narrative indicate major breaks in the story. Some time expressions just indicate the continuance of the same event, and provide only a specific point in time. The time expressions beginning with the deictic te 'that' are such that do not indicate major shift in the narrative. te w6kh6te 'at that time' in S11, and te 6rsamā 'during that time' in S12 in "Harbham Bhuto" indicate the continuing of the same time period. The deictic te 'that' points back to the time expression mentioned last in the narrative, and indicates what else happened during that same time period.

Also the time expression *w6heli s6ware* 'early in the morning' in S23 in "Harbham Bhuto" does not indicate a paragraph break and so does not trigger overt participant reference. A major shift in time is not indicated here, the early morning is still a part of the night and the narrator uses this time expression simply to give more detail to the event. Furthermore, this sentence is a part of the peak of the episode which gives a long list of events all performed by the central participant, without any overt reference--nominal or pronominal. The time expression indicates how fast the hero has performed a number of actions in short time. Early in the morning, even before the night was over, he finished his difficult task and brought the bullock cart into his uncle's yard. The next time expression *s6wama* 'in the morning' in S24 does indicate a change of time and so requires a paragraph break and an overt participant reference.

In summary, a nominal reference to a participant is necessary when there is a possibility of ambiguity as to which of the participants is performing an action. The nominal reference is also required in other conditions: (1) when the eventline material resumes after some background description, and (2) at the paragraph boundary for the thematic participant of the paragraph and for the participant mentioned first in the new paragraph, even if he is not the thematic participant for that paragraph.

4.4.1.3. Form of the Noun Phrase in Nominal Reference

The particular form of the noun phrase used in participant reference is generally a repetition of the head noun of the noun phrase used for initial introduction of the participant whether it is a proper noun, like Harbham; a

social role noun, like *sheth* 'merchant'; a generic class term, like *cor* 'thieves', or *th6g* 'cheaters'; or a family relation term, like *doshima* 'old mother'; or *dik6ro* 'son'.

However, in the case of the central participant of a narrative the same form of noun phrase reference is not used every time the participant is overtly referred to by a nominal expression. The form of the noun phrase which is used to refer to the participant, or a descriptive phrase used along with his name to refer to the participant, in most cases has some cultural implications (Chapter 7).

Unlike the central participant, the other participants are always referred to by their original terms of introduction whenever they are referred to by a nominal expression--except when there is a change of role of the participant indicated. For example, in "Receiving Rewards" all the non-central participants are normally referred to by their original terms of introduction. However, when the hermit offers to teach the young man, the young man thinks of him as *guru* 'the teacher'. Likewise, in the same story, the god is mainly referred to by *bh6g6wan* 'god' except when he comes to the old mother's home as *6tithi* 'an unknown guest' and later as *m6heman* 'guest'. When he first meets the boy, he is introduced as Brahmin, because he meets the boy in the form of a Brahmin. Likewise in "Harbham Bhuto" the wrestlers are always referred to as *m6llo* 'wrestlers' whenever they are referred to by name.

A slight exception is seen in "The Smart Merchant," where the non-central major participants are introduced in the narrative as *be n6wa th6g* 'two new professional cheaters' and then in the rest of the story are referred to mainly by another term *cor* 'thieves'.

4.4.2. Participant Reference by a Pronoun

4.4.2.1. Pronominal Reference When There Is No Possibility of Ambiguity

The main reason for choosing a noun or a noun phrase rather than a pronoun for participant reference is to avoid ambiguity when there is more than one participant on the stage. Currier notes, "One of the most basic criteria for determining whether a nominal or a pronominal reference is appropriate for a participant is whether the referent is clear when the pronoun is used" (1977:41).

So the pronominal reference is used where the participant referred to is explicit enough, for example, when there is no other intervening participant. In this case there is no possibility of ambiguity, so the participant is referred to by a pronoun. For example in the paragraphs below the participant is referred to by pronouns after the initial reference:

Example 21

(HB 15-16)

'Harbham was puzzled. Finally a solution occurred to him'.

Example 22

(SM 36-40)

'These people were talking very softly. But the **sheth** had very keen ears. He heard this talking. He applied the technique of "**waniya**, **waniya** turn around". Standing in the middle of the road, looking at the jug, he began to murmur'.

Example 23

(RR 15-17)

'Alone, the guest sat to eat. What hunger he had'. He finished the meal prepared for both (son and mother).

Also, when a narrator's comment about the participant's emotional state or inner thoughts establishes a participant reference, a pronoun is used to refer to that participant in the following sentence if there is not any other intervening participant reference:

Example 24

(RR 212-213)

'The boy was exceedingly glad. He dug out the treasure pots and stacked them on the elephant's back'.

In "Receiving Rewards" the narrator's comment about the participant's emotional state is used often to provide additional background before introducing the quote formula. So, after the narrator's comment, the quote formula is introduced with the pronominal reference for the speaker:

Example 25

(RR 103-104)

'The young man felt very bad (about the tree). He said'.

Example 26

(RR 126-127)

'Seeing the elephant's tears the poor young man also became overcome with emotion. Then he said'.

4.4.2.2. Pronominal Reference for the Thematic Participant of a Paragraph

Paragraph breaks, as mentioned above (sec. 4.4.1.2.2), cause overtreference to a participant by name. However, once the thematic participant of the paragraph is established at the beginning of the paragraph, he is referred to by a pronoun, or a zero anaphora, in the rest of

the paragraph. Several examples were given of this phenomenon in the discussion of participant reference by name (sec. 4.4.1.2.2). However, one example is repeated below to illustrate the point here:

Example 27

(SM 51-54)

'The thieves got tired of waiting. It was beginning to be dark, so they went from there towards merchant's home. If an opportunity could be found to see what the merchant was doing, then they wanted to try out some new trick. For a little while they sat hiding near the merchant's gate'.

Here the 'thieves' in S51 are the thematic participants of the paragraph. After their initial reference in S51, in the rest of the paragraph they are referred to overtly only by pronouns, whereas every reference to the merchant is made by the noun *sheth*.

Hinds has noted this feature also in reference to Japanese paragraph structure and pronominalization. He proposes a condition to account for pronominalization within a paragraph:

Within a given paragraph, pronominalization is possible if (a) the referent is properly registered in the discourse registry, and (b) there will be no vagueness or ambiguity created because of multiple antecedents (Hinds 1977a:80).

4.4.2.3. Pronominal Reference in Long Description of the Central Participant

In a continuing long description of a central participant, that participant is referred to by pronouns after the initial introduction except when such description is longer than a paragraph where he is referred

to again by a noun at the paragraph break. This is true mainly for participant oriented narratives, since event oriented narratives do not give extended descriptions of their participants--simply introducing them with an existential clause. In "Harbham Bhuto" Harbham's name is mentioned in the initial introduction. In the rest of the paragraph he is referred to by pronouns or by zero anaphora. A similar example is found in the other participant oriented narrative, "The Smart Merchant". In this narrative there is very extensive description of the central participant, the merchant, in S1-21. The merchant is introduced at the beginning of the story, and then in all the extended description is referred to either by pronouns or by zero anaphora, except in S14 and S15.

S14 refers to the merchant by name. The last few sentences (S8-14) of the paragraph, although continuing the description of the merchant, center more around the rules and regulations of his house than on his person. There is no participant involvement, or there is no pronoun or noun used to refer to any participant. Although the merchant is in the background of everything, everything is described impersonally. Therefore, at the end of the long paragraph it becomes necessary to refer to him overtly by a nominal expression in order to bring him back into the foreground.

S15 refers to the merchant by name, instead of by a pronoun, because there is a paragraph break. The paragraph break is indicated here by the adversative particle *am ch6tã* 'and yet' which indicates discontinuity in the theme and brings a new point in the description of the merchant.

This correlates with the section on overt reference to a participant by name at paragraph break (sec. 4.4.1.2.2). Even though the same

participant continues as thematic participant for several paragraphs, he is referred to by name at the beginning of the new paragraph, as seen above in relation to S15 in the merchant story.

So then, participant reference is made by a pronoun when the participant referred to is explicit enough. Also, the thematic participant of a paragraph is referred to by a pronoun after his initial identification is established at the beginning of the paragraph. This is also true in extended description of a central participant in a participant oriented narrative where a pronominal reference extends to several paragraphs except at the beginning of a new paragraph he is referred to by a nominal expression.

4.4.3. Participant Reference by a Zero Anaphora

Zero anaphora is where the participant is not referred to by any overt linguistic signal; the hearer/reader is expected to know who the participant is from the context. Grimes notes:

The notion of zero or implicit identification helps to bridge the gap between identification and reference. There are many cases where the hearer is expected to know who the participants are by deducing it from the context; he is not told by any overt linguistic signal. (1975:50).

4.4.3.1. Zero Anaphora on Clause Level

Li and Thompson (1979) consider zero anaphora to be the normal, unmarked mode of noun-phrase anaphora in Chinese narrative on the clause level. This is also true for Japanese (Hinds 1977a, 1977b) and Korean (Hwang 1981) narratives.

Gujarati has a clause-chaining type of sentence structure where several dependent clauses are chained with an independent clause. The independent clause occurs last in the sentence. In this type of sentence structure, when all the clauses in the sentence have the same participant as the subject, he is referred to by name or pronoun only in the independent clause:

Example 28

(SM 40)

r6sta w6cc-e ubha' r6h-i lot-a t6r6f
 way middle-loc standing remain-cmpl jug-m.sg toward
 jo-i b6b6d-i uth-y-a .
 see-cmpl murmur-cmpl begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp

'Standing in the middle of the road, looking at the jug he began to murmur'.

This is also true in the case of sentences where multiple independent clauses are conjoined. In conjoined clauses with the same subject the participant is referred to overtly only in the first independent clause of the sentence. He is not referred to overtly in subsequent conjoined clauses or independent clauses if no other participant is mentioned in the sentence:

Example 29

(HB 128)

et6la-mā m6ll-ne te-n-i lap6rwahi-mā
 during-in wrestler-acc 3 sg-poss-f.sg carelessness-in
 bedhyan th6y-el-o jo-i h6rbh6m-e
 without attention become-adjM-m.sg see-cmpl Harbham-ag
 h6we akr6m6n-n-o pota-n-o daw 6jmaw-y-o
 now attack-poss-m.sg self-poss-m.sg trick apply-pst.cmpl-m.sg

6ne ek-j z6pat-e te-ne c6ttopat pad-i
 and one-emph strike-with 3 sg-acc straight drop-cmpl

di-dh-o .
 give-pst.cmpl-m.sg

'Suddenly seeing that the wrestler had become inattentive and careless, Harbham now applied his strategy for attack and in only one blow dropped him straight to the ground'

Zero anaphora on clause level is a very common phenomenon in Gujarati narrative.

4.4.3.2. Zero Anaphora Across Sentences

Zero anaphora is mainly seen on the clause level, i.e., within a sentence; it is very rare across sentences. However, there are some instances where no overt participant reference is made for two or, sometimes, more sentences. This is usually seen at the peak of an episode, when there is a chain of events performed by the thematic participant of the episode. There is no overt participant reference made after the participant is established in the first sentence. This is more common in the participant oriented narrative, since the whole narrative is centered around one participant, as for example, in "Harbham Bhuto":

Example 30

(HB 19-23)

'Harbham picked up the cart weighing about 1,000 to 1,200 pounds on his head. Carrying the cart like this over (his) head, (he) came home, attached the oxen to the cart, and went to the fields of his farm. Laboring all night, taking all the hay from the fields (he) brought it to his home and stacked it in the back yard. In just one night (he) stacked up a big pile of corn stalks. Early in the morning, carrying that same cart on his head, (he) very quietly returned it to uncle's back yard...'

Here, at the peak of the episode (Chapters 2 and 3), related events are chained together; once the participant is established in S19, he is not mentioned again. A similar situation is seen in S180-184 in the samenarrative, where, once the participant is established, the chain of events continues for several sentences without any overt participant reference:

Example 31

(HB 180-184)

'Then quickly Harbham thought out a new plan. He released the oxen from the plow. (He) put both of them to graze on the edge of the farm. Also the yoke, used on the shouldres of the oxen, (He) released from the plow and put it aside. Then taking the long pole of the plow into (his) hand (he) began to break the mud clods in the field with the heavy iron point of the plow'.

This is also seen in "Receiving Rewards" in the first episode:

Example 32

(RR 15-19)

'Alone, the guest sat to eat. What hunger he had! He finished the meal prepared for both of them (son and mother). (he) ate to the full. After drinking water and moving (his) hand over (his) stomach, (he) began to say to the mother...'

Thus, the overt participant reference is avoided on clause level where several dependent clauses are chained with the independent clause and in conjoined clauses which have the same subject. Zero anaphora is also seen across the sentences where there is a chain of events which are all performed by the same participant, usually by the thematic participant of the paragraph.

4.5. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have discussed how participant reference is made in Gujarati narrative: The form of the initial introduction of a participant depends on (1) the rank of that participant, whether he is the central participant, a major participant or a minor participant, and on (2) whether the narrative is event oriented or participant oriented.

It was also seen how the deictic *pelo* is used to reintroduce participants other than the central participant. The exceptions to this norm have cultural significance which is dealt with in Chapter 7.

Three different ways were noted by which the participants are traced through a narrative; by nominal reference, by pronominal reference, and by zero anaphora.

Nominal reference to a participant is made (1) when there is an involvement of more than one participant together and so there is a possibility of ambiguity as to which of the participant is performing an activity, (2) when eventline material resumes after some background material, and (3) after a paragraph boundary for the thematic participant of the paragraph or for the first participant mentioned in the new paragraph, even if he is not the thematic participant of that paragraph. It was also noted that the form used for the central participant is not the same every time. The form selected has some cultural implications, which will be discussed in detail later. However, unlike the central participant, other participants are always referred to by their original term of introduction whenever they are referred to by anominal expression, except when there is a change of role indicated.

Pronominal reference to a participant is made when the participant referred to by the pronoun is sufficiently explicit. The thematic participant of a paragraph and the central participant in extended description are referred to by pronouns after the thematic participant is established at the beginning of the paragraph.

Zero anaphora is mainly used on the clause level in dependent clauses or in independent conjoined clauses. Zero anaphora is also seen across sentences when there is a chain of events performed by one participant, usually the central participant of the narrative, at the peak of an episode. Thus if we take discourse structure into consideration, it becomes clear that the choice of participant reference, whether nominal, pronominal, or zero, is rule governed. The system of participant reference in the narrative is based on a small number of rules. To formalize these rules for the Gujarati narrative we have to take into consideration the rank of the participant, the type of material in the discourse, i.e., background material or the material on the event line, the thematicity of the participant, and the different parts, such as peak, of the discourse. This makes it clear that the form of the participant reference can not be determined without taking into account discourse considerations. Chang has appropriately noted:

Anaphoric process in Korean, as in other languages, may be adequately accounted for in the framework of discourse grammar and from the functional perspectives taking into account semantic and pragmatic aspects of communication. It may be futile to attempt to account for anaphora on purely syntactic grounds (1977:274).

CHAPTER FIVE

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE NARRATIVES

5.1. Common Background of the Narratives

The three narratives studied here portray the rural life style of Gujarat state. In spite of industrialization and urbanization, Gujarati society, as well as overall Indian society, remains predominantly agricultural and rural. About 80 percent of the total population live in rural areas in villages of less than 5,000 population (Area Handbook for India, 1975:78). In most villages there is no electricity, and water is obtained from a well in the center of the village or from a river flowing by the village. The major source of income is agriculture. All day long both men and women work in the fields. Everyone comes home before dark.

5.2. Hindu Mythology and Folktales

The principle source of Hindu mythology are the **purans** 'stories of the old days'. Dimmitt and van Buitenen comment on the term **purans**: "The word has become the broad term for a Sanskrit genre of works which profess to record these stories of antiquity" (1978:3). The **purans** consist stories about the Hindu gods, goddesses, and supernatural beings, and also stories about men, women, and seers.

Folk literature, on the other hand, is mainly an oral tradition handed down from one generation to another by a word of mouth and later recorded.

Levi-Strauss notes:

Myths are anonymous: from the moment they are seen as myths, and whatever their real origins, they exist only as elements embodied in a tradition. When the myth is repeated, the individual listeners are receiving a message that, properly speaking, is credited with a supernatural origin (1969:18).

Compared to the **purans**, the folk literature is geographically restricted. The **purans** are stories mainly of gods and goddesses. The folk tales, on the other hand, are stories of men and women, of animals and things in nature, of tricksters and local heroes, of superhuman acts of men and women, and of gods' interventions in human affairs.

Gujarati village has two groups of story-tellers. One group of story-teller is of Brahmins who mainly tells religious stories from the **purans**. The religious story-teller also performs the priestly services for his clients (**y6jmans**). He rarely leaves his home, except on very special occasions when he is invited by his clients for some priestly services. When people want to hear a story at the end of their day's work, they assemble silently in front of his house. The other group of story-tellers is of those who mainly tell the folktales. They travel from village to village and tell the folktales. Their main profession is story telling.

5.3. Structural Analysis of "The Smart Merchant"

"The Smart Merchant" is the story of a struggle between good and evil, between rich and poor, between one who conforms to social norms and those who

do not, on the contrary, rebel against it. The binary oppositions in this folktale fall under the following cultural categories: economic, social, geographical, and cosmological. These binary oppositions are revealed both through the main characters of the folktale and through its overall structure (Figure 16).

<u>Economic</u>	<u>Social</u>	<u>Geographical</u>	<u>Cosmological/Moral</u>
poor/rich	high caste/ outcastes	at home/ outside the village	good/evil performance of duty/avoidance of duty
non-productive/ productive	family man/ without family		
steals/protects own wealth	contributes to society/steals from society		reward/punish- ment
disciplined/ scoundrel	honest/cheaters		laughter/ pain
jug with hole/ silver jug	respected/ disdained		
mustache/nose			

Figure 16. Myth Themes of "The Smart Merchant"

5.3.1. Economic Oppositions

The participants of this narrative demonstrate binary oppositions in the economic domain. The central participant, the merchant, is rich; he is a millionaire (S2). However, he has not become rich by unethical means. He is very honest. He has acquired his wealth by his skill in business and has saved it by very careful living. The cheaters, on the other hand, are poor. They are so poor that they make a big effort to snatch the water jug from the merchant. However, they are poor mainly because they are lazy. They put all their energy into cheating and stealing from others, but do not want to work to make their own living.

The merchant is extremely careful and disciplined in the use of his wealth. He does not waste anything. The cheaters, on the other hand, are scoundrels. No matter how much they might get, they would never have enough.

There are two more oppositions in the economic domain that are presented symbolically. The symbolism will be discussed in the next chapter, but the water jug with a hole in it is contrasted with the silver water jug. The merchant makes the cheaters believe that the jug he has with him now is worthless, it has a hole in it. But the jug he has at home is made of pure silver, a very valuable item.

Similarly in the later part of the narrative the mustache is contrasted with the nose. Here too the merchant makes the cheaters believe that if they hold fast to his mustache, they will get only one hundred rupees. But if they can grab his nose, they will be able to gain five hundred rupees.

5.3.2. Social Oppositions

Binary oppositions in the social domain are extensively demonstrated in this narrative. Here also the oppositions are presented through the main participants of the narrative—the merchant and the cheaters. The merchant is a member of a high caste. He is a respected businessman from the Vaishya caste. The cheaters, on the other hand, do not belong to any caste. They have rebelled against society and given up their caste membership.

The merchant is a family man. He has a wife and home and wants to take care of his home properly and carefully. As a husband he has made some rules and regulations to govern his household, and he expects his wife to follow these rules. He also expects her to take care of the things in the home and

to manage the finances. He refers to his wife to mislead the cheaters, and asks why she had given him the water jug with a hole in it (S41-44), and asks her to bring money to pay for his mustache (S76-82). The cheaters, on the other hand, have neither family nor home. They live wherever they can find a shelter and eat whatever they can get.

The merchant, because he is a skilled businessman and a family man, contributes to society by fulfilling his role in it. While the narrative does not specify what kind of business he has, it is clear that he keeps his customers happy by his honest conduct. The cheaters, on the other hand, have rebelled against society and do not contribute anything to it. On the contrary, they steal from society. They have accepted cheating as their profession.

Because of the oppositions mentioned above, there is a further opposition in the way people view the participants of the narrative. The merchant is highly respected in the society because he fulfills his role and makes a significant contribution to society. This respect is expressed by honorific references throughout the narrative, where the merchant is always referred to by a plural form used to show respect--except, of course, by the cheaters, who refer to him with contempt. The cheaters, on the other hand, are disdained because of their profession. Society looks at them with extreme scorn and hatred, and tries to keep away from them as much as possible. This lack of respect for the cheaters is indicated by the use of a singular pronoun whenever one of them is referred to individually.

5.3.3. Geographical Oppositions

Geographical oppositions are displayed in this narrative in the locations where the events take place. The events occur at two different locations: outside the village and at the home of the merchant. The merchant goes for his daily activity outside the village where the cheaters are hiding. He does not want to confront them there, so he turns back. They then follow him to his home, where the rest of the events in the narrative take place. There is also an opposition between inside the house, where the merchant is and outside the house, where the cheaters are.

These geographical oppositions provide a binary arrangement for the structure of the narrative: events that take place outside the village and events that take place at the merchant's home. Events that take place at the merchant's home can again be divided into two: the event related to the merchant's mustache and the event related to his nose. This provides a binary structure for the narrative as was discussed in the previous chapter about the overall structure of the three narratives.

5.3.4. Cosmological Oppositions

Unlike the other oppositions mentioned above, the cosmological oppositions are not expressed explicitly in the narrative, however, they are clearly implied. There is the opposition between good and evil. The merchant represents what is good. He manages his household well, he is very skillful in his business, he is honest and does not want to cheat. The cheaters, on the other hand, represent what is evil. They are lazy and do not want to earn their living by doing the work assigned them by society. Instead, they are out to cheat others and to steal.

The other side of the good/evil opposition is the performance of duty/avoidance of duty. The merchant is not only doing what is considered good, but also, by doing good, performs the task assigned by the social structure. The cheaters, on the other hand, not only do what is considered evil, but also, by doing evil, they avoid the task assigned them by society.

The two oppositions, good versus evil and performance versus avoidance of duty, imply another opposition: reward and punishment. Good never goes unrewarded nor is evil ever unpunished. The reward the merchant gets in this narrative is the joy of defeating the cheaters. His joy is reflected in his loud laughter and his scornful address to the cheaters. The punishment the cheaters get for doing evil is the pain of defeat and total frustration. Instead of cheating the merchant, they themselves are cheated; instead of acquiring some material possession from him, they acquire the shame of defeat and the physical pain when he presses burning wood on the hand of one of them.

5.4. Structural Analysis of "Harbham Bhuto"

Similarly, in the narrative "Harbham Bhuto" there are binary oppositions expressed through the events and the participants. The binary oppositions here fall under the following categories: social, geographical, and cosmological (Figure 17). This narrative does not display the oppositions in the economic domain.

<u>Social</u>	<u>Geographical</u>	<u>Cosmological/moral</u>
high caste/ low caste king & priest/farmer family man/ without family	royal court/farm city/village	good/evil performance of duty/avoidance of duty reward/punishment laughter/pain
humility/pride performing his assigned task/ fighting for pride older generation/ younger generation kin/strangers husband/wife uncle/nephew		

Figure 17. Myth Themes of "Harbham Bhuto"

5.4.1. Social Oppositions

The social oppositions in this narrative are presented through participants: Harbham Bhuto, King Deshalji, the priest Motichand, the newly arrived wrestlers, Harbham's uncle, and the other members of the royal court of King Deshalji.

The main contrast in the narrative is between Harbham and the wrestlers who come to the royal court of King Deshalji. Harbham is a man who is well-known in his own village and in the surrounding area for his unusual strength. However, he is not boastful or arrogant about this physical

strength. He considers himself an ordinary farmer (S69,79). His main job is farming; wrestling is only a hobby (S79). The other wrestlers, on the other hand, use their physical ability to build up their pride. They go from one king to another to fight any wrestler in any of the kings' courts. They have traveled in and defeated the wrestlers of ninety-nine kingdoms. Their goal is to reach the number 100.

Not only is Harbham a humble man, but he also performs his assigned role in society very faithfully and diligently, contributing to society in this way. He does not use his unusual strength to terrorize other people or to show off his abilities. The other wrestlers, on the other hand, have avoided their assigned role in the society. Instead of performing their task, they go from one place to another to terrorize people in various kingdoms. Instead of using their physical strength to make some useful contribution to society, they use it to build up their own pride.

The other contrast between Harbham and the wrestlers concerns their family status. Harbham is a family man whose wife is helping him to perform his task, to fulfill his role in the society. She takes care of their home and prepares food and brings it to the farm where Harbham works all day long. The other wrestlers are either not married, or have left their wives and family responsibilities behind to travel from place to place.

Another binary opposition is that between Harbham and the members in the royal court, especially King Deshalji and the priest Motichand. Both the king and the priest belong to high castes; the priest is Brahmin and the king is Kshatriya. Harbham, on the other hand, comes from the Vaishya caste, which is lower than either of these castes.

The difference between the Vaishya caste and the castes represented by the king and the priest is not so wide since the Vaishya caste is only one grade lower than the Kshatriya caste. Also all three of these castes—Brahmin, Kshatriya, and Vaishya—are considered 'high castes' compared to the Shudra caste, which is considered 'low caste'. However, in this narrative the contrast between the two higher castes—Brahmin and Kshatriya—and the Vaishya caste is widened because of the very high status of Deshalji and Motichand. Deshalji is the king and Motichand is a very honorable priest in Deshalji's court. Harbham, on the other hand, is an ordinary farmer.

There is also a contrast between the older and younger generations, which is represented by Harbham's uncle and Harbham and his wife. This contrast between older and younger generations is also represented in the king and priest as opposed to Harbham and the wrestlers. Even in the newly arrived wrestlers, there is one who is old, the leader of the group (Sl34).

There is also a contrast between relatives and strangers. There is a kinship relation between Harbham's uncle and Harbham, and between Harbham and his wife. The other wrestlers are strangers. Also, there is a sort of kinship relationship seen on the social level as well as on the biological level. King Deshalji, the priest Motichand and other members of the royal court, along with Harbham himself form an intimate social relationship in contrast to the newly arrived wrestlers who are strangers. Harbham is ready to do anything, even to give his own life, to help the king because Deshalji is his king. The same social bond is demonstrated between Harbham and the spectators in the royal court in contrast to their relationship to the other

wrestlers who are outsiders. When saving prestige is at issue, the whole nation is bound together in a kind of kinship relation against the outsiders.

5.4.2. Geographical Oppositions

In this narrative, as in "The Smart Merchant," geographical oppositions are displayed in the locations where the events of the narrative take place. There is an opposition between the royal court and the farm, events that take place at the royal court and events that take place at Harbham's farm.

There is also geographical contrast between the city and the village, between the people from the urban area and the people from the rural area. The spectators in the royal court are from the city, whereas Harbham is a villager. The people from the city have found various jobs in the city and in the royal court depending on their educational skills. Harbham, on the other hand, is an uneducated farmer.

The geographical contrast is demonstrated also between the wrestlers in the court of King Deshalji (not the wrestlers from the outside) and Harbham. The wrestlers in the royal court have left their traditional work prescribed by their caste and have accepted various types of jobs in the royal court. They are weak and are not in a position to take up the challenge presented by the newly arrived wrestlers (S40-45). Harbham, on the other hand, is clinging to the old way of life. He has continued to work as a farmer. He is strong and robust and is not afraid to get into a fight with anybody or anything (S81).

Here again the location of the events provide binary structure to the narrative (sec. 2.4.1).

5.4.3. Cosmological Oppositions

There is cosmological contrast implicit in the events of this narrative. As in "The Smart Merchant," there is opposition between good and evil. Harbham represents what is good. He is strong and mighty, but does not use his strength to subdue others or to build up his pride. Rather he helps others with it. He is dedicated to his work and quietly performs his role in society. The newly arrived wrestlers, on the other hand, represent evil. They are out to subdue others in order to build up their own pride; they do not contribute anything to society.

This indicates another opposition: performance of duty/avoidance of duty. Harbham faithfully does his job of farming. He is a skilled farmer. His skill and physical strength are displayed in the first episode of the narrative where he lifts the bullock cart on to his head and completes his big job overnight. The other wrestlers, on the other hand, avoid their socially assigned role. Instead of doing their task, they want to build up their pride.

The contrasts between good and evil and between performance of duty and avoidance of duty bring out the contrast between reward and punishment. Harbham is not rewarded from the outside, but his reward comes from the inside, from the joy that results from a task well done. His joy is expressed in his carefree smile when he responds to his wife's question (S190-194):

'What if they had both come here'? Hiru asked Harbham.

'What else could have happened if they had come here? Then I would have had to break two more mud clods', Harbham answered with a smile.

The punishment for the wrestlers, on the other hand, is embarrassment and total frustration (S185-188):

Seeing Harbham breaking the mud clods with a very heavy plow made from acacia wood for the purpose of plowing the ground, both the wrestlers who had come to take his life, froze right on the spot. (They) quickly understood that Harbham, who was breaking the mud clods with the plow weighing 200 to 280 pounds, could break both their heads in one moment with that same plow. Observing Harbham breaking the mud clods with the plow, both the wrestlers became embarrassed, understood (everything), and melted (with helplessness). They picked up their heels, and turning their feet they returned to the same place from which they had come.

5.5. Structural Analysis of "Receiving Rewards"

The narrative "Receiving Rewards" is of a different type, as noted in previous chapters. Unlike the other two narratives, this one does not present conflicts between participants, but rather between concepts and consequences. This is the only one of the three narratives with an explicit moral, explicitly stating what a person should do and how he should behave in order to avoid bad consequences.

The binary oppositions in this narrative are subsumed under the myth themes economic, social organization, and cosmology (Figure 18).

<u>Economic</u>	<u>Kinship</u>	<u>Social</u>	<u>Cosmological/moral</u>
poor/rich	mother/son	host/guest	god/other beings
hoard/ distribute	father/ daughter	teacher/ disciple	good/evil
non-pro- ductive/ productive	husband/ wife	king/subject	performance of duty/avoidance of of duty
	father-in-law/ son-in-law	servant/ served	reward/punishment
	mother-in-law/ daughter- in law	giver/ receiver	
	single/married	hermit/ householder	

Figure 18. Myth Themes of "Receiving Rewards"

5.5.1. Economic Oppositions

The economic oppositions in this narrative are presented in terms of temporal changes: the person who is poor later becomes rich; the one who hoards later distributes his wealth; the one who is nonproductive later becomes productive.

These binary oppositions on the economic level correspond with the two halves of the narrative. The first half of the narrative presents a problem, an economical lack. The problem is solved, or the lack is overcome, in the second half of the narrative. In the first half the young man is poor. He has to go out every day as a peddler to earn just barely enough for daily

bread for himself and his mother. At the end, however, he comes back home with an elephant to serve him, with the treasure pots he has received as a gift from the tree, and with much wealth given by the king as a dowry.

The poor/rich contrast is seen not only in the case of the son and his mother, but also in the case of the hermit and his wife. The latter are so poor they do not have enough food to eat or clothes to wear, but at the end they are rewarded with treasure pots.

Both of the other two economic oppositions, nonproductive/productive and hoard/distribute, are related to the tree. The nonproductive/productive opposition is between the two wild trees. One tree is very productive; it is loaded with flowers. The other is nonproductive; it does not bear leaves or flowers or fruit.

These two economic oppositions are also related to two different time periods. The tree which is nonproductive, which does not bear leaves, flowers or fruit, later becomes productive—or at least this is assumed to be the case.

The nonproductive/productive opposition is directly related to the other opposition, hoarding/distributing. The tree is nonproductive because it is hoarding wealth under its roots. Later, when the tree gives away its hoarded wealth, it is assumed that it will be productive.

5.5.2. Social Oppositions

Social oppositions are more extensively expressed in this narrative than in the other two since the central participant of this narrative comes into contact with the various participants in different situations.

These social oppositions can be grouped to form a binary division: social oppositions related to family or kinship relations, and social oppositions related to society in general. The oppositions relating to family are: mother/son, father/daughter, single/married, and husband/wife. The mother/son opposition is seen in the relation of the central participant and his mother. As a mother, she takes care of the household duties; and as a son the young man takes care of the outside duties and earns the family's living. The father/daughter opposition is seen in the relation of the king and his daughter. The single/married opposition is seen in the central participant at two different periods of time. At the beginning of the narrative he is single; at the end he is married. Furthermore, his married state at the end of the narrative brings out another opposition: husband/wife. The husband/wife opposition is also seen in the hermit and his wife.

The oppositions related to society in general are expressed mainly through the different participants with whom the central participant comes into contact. The central participant is not involved in the first opposition, that of host/guest. This opposition is seen at the beginning of the story when the god visits the home of the old mother as an unknown guest. This host/guest opposition indicates another opposition: householder/hermit. The god visits the home of the old mother apparently in the form of a hermit who goes from household to household to receive his daily food. It is the responsibility of a householder to entertain unknown guests like the god. Here in this narrative the mother, as a widow, acts as the head of the household and entertains him. Another opposition where the central

participant is not involved is between householder and forest dweller which is seen between the king and the hermit who dwells in the forest. The king is still living as a householder; he has yet to fulfil his family responsibilities. The hermit has reached the age where he does not have any more family responsibilities, rather he has freed himself from those responsibilities and now lives in the forest with his wife. All the other social oppositions are seen in the relationship between the central participant and the other participants. The king/subject opposition is between the king and the young man. The young man is not actually the subject of this king, but the king treats him as such. The teacher/disciple opposition is between the hermit and the young man; the hermit teaches him the scriptures, and the young man in return gives him one of the treasure pots. The servant/served opposition is between the elephant and the young man, the giver/receiver opposition is between the tree and the young man; the tree gives the treasure pots to the young man.

The opposition giver/receiver also applies to the other social oppositions related to society. There is reciprocity involved in each of these oppositions; each person is both a giver and a receiver. In the host/guest opposition, the old mother is both giver and receiver in that she gives food and hospitality to the guest and also receives the promise of a reward from him. In the same way the guest, the god, is both a giver and a receiver. As a guest he receives food and hospitality, while at the same time rewarding her with his promise of a future favor. In the teacher/disciple opposition, the hermit receives a favor from the young man in that the young man asks the god about the hermit's problem. At the same

time he is giver in that he teaches the scriptures to the young man.

Likewise, the young man who receives the knowledge from the hermit; gives him the treasure pot as a reward. There are similar situations between the elephant and the young man and between the king and the young man.

Similarly, the young man does the king a favor by asking the god about the king's problem, and the king returns the favor by giving him his own daughter and great wealth.

Reciprocity is involved in both the social and the family oppositions. However, the reciprocity in the family oppositions is based on a love or kinship relation; it is not a case of returning a favor. The mother, for example, performs certain functions in the home just because of her position as a mother and because she loves her son. The son does not feel obliged to the mother because she has done these things, nor does the mother expect any reward from the son.

The instances of reciprocity on the social level, on the other hand, are based on obligation. It is a duty of a householder, for example, to entertain any guest that might arrive at his home. In the same way, it is the duty of a guest to give an appropriate reward in return for the services the host has performed.

The reciprocity broken on the family level would create more serious problems and evoke more severe criticism than reciprocity broken on the social level because family relations presuppose strong ties of love and responsibility; ignoring such responsibility may be assumed to break these ties. On the social level, on the other hand, the ties are not so strong

therefore a person is not required to do a favor for someone else. However, when somebody does receive a favor, it becomes his responsibility to reciprocate.

Other oppositions on the social level found in this narrative are: honored/neglected and useful/useless. The honored/neglected opposition is seen in the old hermit, who is neglected by society. In spite of his knowledge of all the scriptures, nobody cares to know anything about him (S76), and no one helps him and his wife. Later, when he comes to know the cause of their neglect and teaches the young man all the scriptures, it can be assumed that he gains respect in society. This opposition also involves reciprocity. The hermit has neglected his responsibility to society by not being willing to impart his knowledge to others. This is why society has also neglected its responsibility to honor him and to provide for his needs.

The useless/useful opposition relates to the tree. The tree feels useless because it is not able to provide fruit or shade to any traveler (S102). Later, when it comes to know the cause of its unproductivity, it presumably bears flowers and fruit and becomes useful to others. There is no reciprocity involved between the tree and society. Society does not give anything to the tree in return for its usefulness. The tree, however, has a sense of fulfillment when it is able to be useful.

5.5.3. Cosmological Oppositions

Cosmological oppositions are more clearly seen in this narrative than in the other two narratives. There is an opposition between god and other beings. Among the other beings are an animal and a tree as well as humans.

The animal and the tree are presented as living participants, so there is no opposition between human and animal or human and tree. All the other participants: human, animal and tree, are presented in contrast to the supernatural participant, the god.

The god is actively and directly involved in the affairs of society. He appears in human form, is entertained as a guest and answers questions on a one-to-one basis. Not only is the god actively involved in the social affairs of this narrative, but he also becomes a part of the social system of reciprocity. He receives a favor from the old lady and to return the favor promises a reward. However, he is not actually a part of the reciprocal system of the society. He does not have to seek favor from anybody else. He asks a favor of the old mother, not because he is in need of it, but because he wants to see whether the old lady will follow her cultural expectations by entertaining a guest without expecting any reward. Also, he is testing her social awareness because he is looking for somebody whom he can use to bring balance in the society. When he finds that this mother and her son are worthy instruments, he promises them a reward.

Not only is the god outside the reciprocity system but he is also above the society in every other way. He moves above the structure of the society to provide the harmony. He is aware of the lack in the society and also knows how the lack can be filled. However, he intervenes in society through a human being; through one who has proved to be a worthy instrument in his hand. He brings harmony into the society through a person who is performing his own socially assigned task. In this narrative he uses the son to bless others. However, the son himself is not blessed directly by the god. Rather, he is blessed through the others whose needs he has met. Therefore,

in the diagram, the arrow moves from the god to the son, from the son to others, and back from others to the son (Figure 19):

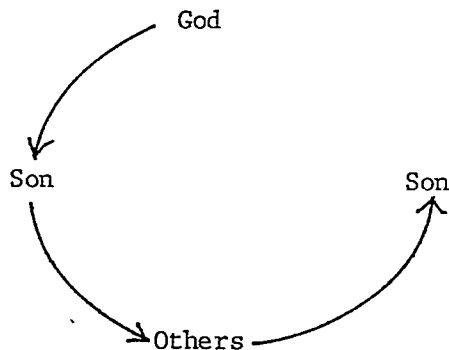


Figure 19. Mediation in Society

However, the arrow does not stop at the son. Finally it reaches back to the god, as is seen in the praises the mother (the inclusion of the son and the daughter-in-law is implied) offers daily and continually to the god. Thus, the blessings flow from the god to the son, from the son to others, and from others back to the son. The cycle is made complete when the god receives the glory and praise (Figure 20):

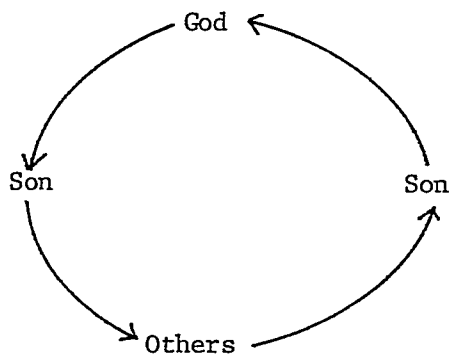


Figure 20. The God in Society

Other cosmological oppositions in this narrative which deal with the question of why there is suffering in society are good works/evil works, performance of duty/avoidance of duty, and reward/punishment.

The good works/evil works opposition is alluded to in the comment some of the participants make about pap 'sin'. For example the hermit (S78):

'When you see the god would you not ask him on account of what sin I have come to such a state?'

The tree raises the same question:

'I also wonder about the same thing. Who knows what sins I must have committed so that I do not get any blossom or fruit, nor do I get a growth of green leaves.'

The other side of the good works/evil works opposition is performance of duty/avoidance of duty. Evil works imply that a person does something bad that brings bad consequences in his life. Avoidance of duty implies that a person does not do certain things that he is supposed to do and as a result suffers bad consequences. The performance of duty/avoidance of duty opposition is clearly seen in the dialogue between the central participant and the god. In response to the questions concerning the problems of the other participants, the god informs the young man that their problems are caused by avoidance of their responsibilities. If they will perform their assigned tasks faithfully, he says, their problems will disappear. The king has a problem because he is not performing his duties as a father; the tree has a problem because it is not performing its duty of sharing its wealth; the elephant has a problem because he is not performing his duty as a servant.

The natural consequences of good works/evil works and performance of duty/avoidance of duty are suggested in the implied opposition reward/punishment. The god's explanation of the causes of the problems they face is that their suffering is punishment for avoiding their assigned tasks in the society. In the latter half of the narrative, when all of the participants begin to perform their duties as instructed by the god, they are rewarded. Not only is their punishment taken away, but they also receive joy and fulfillment, and in some cases material blessings.

5.6. Correlation of the Oppositions in the Three Narratives

The three narratives studied here are not related to each other. The participants in the narratives are from different backgrounds, and the narratives present different themes. In spite of these diversities, there is considerable overlap in the binary oppositions that are found in the narratives.

There is considerable similarity in the economic oppositions seen in "The Smart Merchant" and "Receiving Rewards": poor/rich and nonproductive/productive. "Harbham Bhuto" does not display any such opposition.

Most of the cosmological oppositions are identical from narrative to narrative. All three of them present the following concepts: good works/evil works, performance of duty/avoidance of duty, and reward/punishment. The cosmological oppositions are more explicitly expressed in "Receiving Rewards" than in the other two narratives. Also, "Receiving Rewards" has the additional cosmological opposition god/other beings. In this narrative god

is directly involved in rewarding or punishing the participants on the basis of their good works/evil works, or their performance of duty/avoidance of duty. In the other two narratives, the cosmological oppositions are not explicitly stated but are expressed through the acts of the participants and their consequences.

The two participant oriented narratives display very similar sociological oppositions. They have the common theme of contrasting a person who holds a reputable position in society, who contributes to society by performing his assigned task, and who is a well established family man, with persons who are disdained by society, who avoid their assigned task, and work for their own pride and gain rather than contribute to society, and who are not reputable family men.

The narrative "Receiving Rewards," on the other hand, does not present a contrast between participants; rather it presents a detailed picture of social relations both in the family and in society. These oppositions are not contrastive, as they are in the other two narratives, but are reciprocal.

Geographical oppositions are found only in the two participant oriented narratives. These geographical oppositions merge into social ones since the locations have social significance and relate to the social positions of the participants. In "Receiving Rewards," the locations move the story along chronologically, but they are not presented contrastively. They do not have any significance related to the theme of the narrative.

5.7. Concluding Remarks

I have attempted in this chapter to follow and to present the structure of the three narratives in frames of binary oppositions. In the two participant oriented narratives such binary oppositions bring out the contrastive characteristics of the participants. In the event oriented narrative "Receiving Rewards" binary oppositions express social relations both in the family and in society.

It has also been noted in this chapter that despite the fact that they have different themes and different types of participants, these three narratives have many oppositions that are strikingly similar. This similarity is seen especially in the cosmological and economic oppositions. The difference in the sociological area is because of the difference in types of themes between the participant oriented narratives and the event oriented narrative.

CHAPTER SIX

SELECTED PATTERNS IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

6.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter examined some underlying relationships in the structure of the three Gujarati narratives being analyzed. The approach followed was that of Levi-Strauss, an approach known as the paradigmatic approach, which looks for pairs of oppositions in the situations. However, it was pointed out following Bastien (1978), that cataloging binary distinctions within social and cultural categories is not enough. In order for the patterns found in the structure of narratives to be significant, they must also be expressed in the various organizations of society.

Each of the three narratives presents a different theme. However, they have a common background in that, as noted in the previous chapter, each of them portrays the rural life style of the area and presents essentially the same message whether implicitly or explicitly.

The message that the three narratives have in common is that harmony in society is preserved by everyone's doing his assigned task. There are people in society who rebel against the social structure, but they are not successful. Those who follow social norms are rewarded/those who do not are punished.

Because this message is inherent in all three narratives, they have a didactic function. They teach how one should conduct oneself in society.

Because of their common message, common social background and similar structure, the three narratives are representative of the social and religious structure of society. The meaning of all three is congruent with the structure of Gujarati society as well as with the interrelatedness of its institutions.

In this chapter I have not made any distinction between Gujarati society and Hindu society. The majority of the people of Gujarat, more than ninety percent, are Hindus. Therefore, socioreligious patterns discussed here are the same, generally speaking, for Gujarati society as for Hindu society.

Also, the findings about social structure discussed in this chapter are generally true for Indian society as a whole. About eighty-five percent of the total population of India follow the Hindu way of life; even those who are outside Hinduism are also sometimes affected by that structure.

6.2. Hierarchical Structure

6.2.1. Social structure

The three narratives studied provide deep insights into the structural organization of Hindu society in Gujarat. One of the contrasts between participants in the narratives as discussed in the previous chapter was high caste versus low caste. In "Harbham Bhuto," for example, Harbham comes from a lower caste than King Deshalji and the priest in the court of Deshalji.

This opposition between high caste and low caste provides deep insight into Hindu society and its structural organization. Hierarchical structure seen in the folklore and mythology reflects the hierarchical structure that exists in the society.

Status or hierarchical rank is the most basic ingredient in Hindu society. Hsu observes:

The stress on status or hierarchy, especially ritual status or hierarchy, permeates the entire Hindu social organization. It is the principle which regulates nearly all conduct and affects nearly all evaluation of it (1963:181).

The participants in Hindu society, as in the narratives, are ranked higher or lower according to their status, occupation, or membership in a particular caste. Ultimately, membership in a particular caste is the real basis of the person's higher or lower rank, since that decides his occupation and status in society.

The origin of the caste system goes as far back as the Rig Veda.¹ where the account of the creation of man is given:

Purusa (the cosmic person), having come to abide in **Prakriti** (the matter) by the workings of time, made lifeless matter come to life. Having broken the egg (the cosmic egg), this **Purusa** emerged from it, with a thousand thighs, ankles, arms and eyes, a thousand faces and heads. From his limbs the wise ones fashioned the worlds, seven downwards from his buttocks and so forth, seven upwards from his hips and so on. The head of **Purusa** is the Brahmin, the Kshatriya his arms; of the lord's two thighs are born the Vaishya, the Shudra from his feet (Dimmitt and Buitenen 1978:35-36).

Concerning the various duties of the members of these four castes the ancient lawgiver Manu notes:

For the sake of preserving the universe, the Being supremely glorious allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his

mouth, his arms, his thigh, and his feet. To Brahmins he assigned the duties of reading and teaching, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, and of receiving gifts. To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read, to shun the allurements of sexual gratification are in a few words the duties of a Kshatriya. To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scriptures, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, are the duties of a Vaishya. One principal duty the Supreme Ruler assigned to a Shudra, viz. to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depreciating their worth (Wilkins 1900:238).

Of these four the Brahmin caste is the highest. Manu comments on the supremacy of the Brahmin caste:

On account of his preeminence, on account of the superiority of his origin, on account of his observance of (particular) restrictive rules, and on account of his particular sanctification, the Brahmin is the lord of (all) castes (Manusmriti 10:3 in Radhakrishnan and Moore 1967:176).

Wilkins summarises the supremacy of Brahmins described in the ancient Hindu scriptures:

The Brahmin being the first-born, having sprung from the mouth of the Supreme, and being the rightful possessor of the Veda, is the chief of the whole creation. The birth of a Brahmin is said to be an incarnation of Dh6rm6 (religion). Whatever exists is the wealth of the Brahmin, since he is entitled to all by his primogeniture and preeminence; and it is through his benevolence that other mortals enjoy life. His ideal inherent qualities are quiescence, self-control, devotion, purity, patience, rectitude, secular and sacred knowledge, the recognition of spiritual existence and the disposition to serve Brahma. The Brahmin is the first-born by nature, the twice-born by the sacrament of investiture with the sacred thread, the deity on earth by his divine status (1900:239).

The other three castes, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra, are arranged hierarchically depending on their origin from the various parts of the body of the Supreme Being and depending on the tasks assigned to them.

The participants of the narratives discussed are always presented as members of a particular caste. In the narrative "The Smart Merchant" there are participants from two different castes. The merchant is from the Vaishya caste. He is a respected businessman. The thieves are from the Shudra caste.² They, instead of serving society by performing one of the tasks assigned to their caste, have rebelled against it and have ventured out to cheat others.

The participants in "Harbham Bhuto" represent each of the four castes. Motichand, the priest in the royal court of Deshalji, is a Brahmin. As such he is the spiritual advisor of the king. He is very humble and polite to the king, but the king acknowledges his higher status. King Deshalji is a Kshatriya. As such he rules over his kingdom and everything takes place by his order and permission. Harbham, the central participant of the narrative, is from the Vaishya caste. However, he is looked down upon because he is an uneducated villager, a simple farmer. The wrestlers are from the Shudra caste. They are members of a special group of people in Gujarat called *m611*, who travel from one place to another entertaining people with various physical skills like acrobatics and wrestling. The wrestlers in this narrative, however, are trying to build up their pride instead of doing their usual job of entertaining.

The participants in "Receiving Rewards" are ideally set up to represent all four castes. The hermit represents the Brahmin caste. He ranks highest in social status. As a Brahmin, he is well versed in all the scriptures. The king represents the Kshatriya caste, as does also the boy, the central participant of the narrative. The cultural status of the king is higher than

that of the boy, even though he and the boy are from the same caste. The king has higher status because he has attained the rank of royalty, while the boy has not. The boy has even lowered his status because, due to bad circumstances, he has accepted the occupation of peddler. When at the end of the narrative the boy, through attaining all the rewards, reaches a status that is equal to the king's, the king begins to respect him.

The above indicates that in each of the four castes of Indian society there is a gradation from higher to lower status depending on the occupation selected or attained. A person's selection of his occupation depends on his social skills and is made from among many available occupations for his caste. For example, a person from Kshatriya caste who has attained a kingship has much higher status than a person from the same caste who is a warrior in the king's army. Likewise, in the Vaishya caste a businessman or a merchant, like the one in "The Smart Merchant," has much higher status than an ordinary farmer of the same caste, like Harbham in "Harbham Bhuto."

The tree in "Receiving Rewards" symbolically represents the Vaishya caste, and the elephant symbolically represents Shudra. The Vaishya caste of the tree is indicated by the wealth it is hoarding. The Shudra caste of the elephant is indicated by his responsibility to serve others, as mentioned by the god to the boy (S188-191).

The hierarchical structure of Hindu society is presented in Figure 21:

Brahmin
Kshatriya
Vaishya
Shudra

Figure 21. Hierarchical Structure of Society

However, the hierarchy of Hindu society is not linear even though it appears so from the above diagram. In reality it involves a process by which the oppositions are merged together in such a way that finally it produces a unity, a complex holistic society. Brahmins are opposed to Kshatriyas, as mentioned above, since the Brahmins are priests and represent religious authority, whereas Kshatriyas are rulers and represent political authority. However, both these become united as a group who exercises authority or power over the society. This unity is seen in "Harbham Bhuto" where King Deshalji and priest Motichand work in cooperation. They respect each other with utmost respect, and each gives the other higher status than himself (S46-48, 50-54, 64-65). As a Brahmin and spiritual advisor to the king the priest has the higher status. However, he acknowledges the higher political status of the king and stands ready to follow his orders. The king, on the other hand, has the higher political status as a ruler. However, he acknowledges the higher spiritual status of the priest. They both work in such a way that there is no conflict of authority.

Thus, Brahmin and Kshatriya together form one larger group--those who exercise authority--as opposed to Vaishya and Shudra, over whom the authority is exercised. Brahmins and Kshatriyas have power, both religious and political, whereas Vaishyas control material production and Shudras serve society. However, Brahmins and Kshatriyas group together with Vaishyas as **dhwijas** 'twice-born' and form one group, as opposed to Shudras, who are not **dhwijas**.³ Twice-borns are considered ceremonially pure as opposed to Shudras, who are impure.⁴ Because of this purity/impurity opposition, the upper three castes mix together socially and keep themselves apart from Shudras. Shudras

in many cases are considered untouchables. A physical contact with them defiles a person and he must go through purification rites.⁵

Thus, Brahmin, Kshatriya, and Vaishya together form one group of those who are twice-born and pure as opposed to Shudras, who are not twice-born and are not considered pure. However, twice-borns and not-twice-borns merge into a single group through the reciprocal system of society. Shudras serve the higher castes by doing menial work. The higher castes, in turn, supply all their material needs. Pratima Bowes notes:

...If the Shudras were required by 'sacred' law to be servants of higher castes, the higher castes were required by the same law to look after Shudras and their families as a matter of duty, infringement of which according to Kautilya was a punishable offence. Even Manu, who is quite severe on the Shudras in many ways, says that they, the Brahmins, must out of their own property give a suitable maintenance to the Shudra, considering his ability, his industry, and the number of those whom he is bound to support (1977:101).

Also, the origin of the four castes from the one body of the Supreme Being, as noted above, indicates the organic unity of that one body in spite of the differences among the parts. Bowes notes, "...the original varna (caste) idea with its four categories, as found in the Purusa Sukta (of Rig Veda), embodied an organic view of society which stressed unity in and through differences, not just unity of human society but that of the entire cosmos..." (1977:115).

The unity in diversity found in Hindu society is represented in the form of tree-structure in Figure 22.

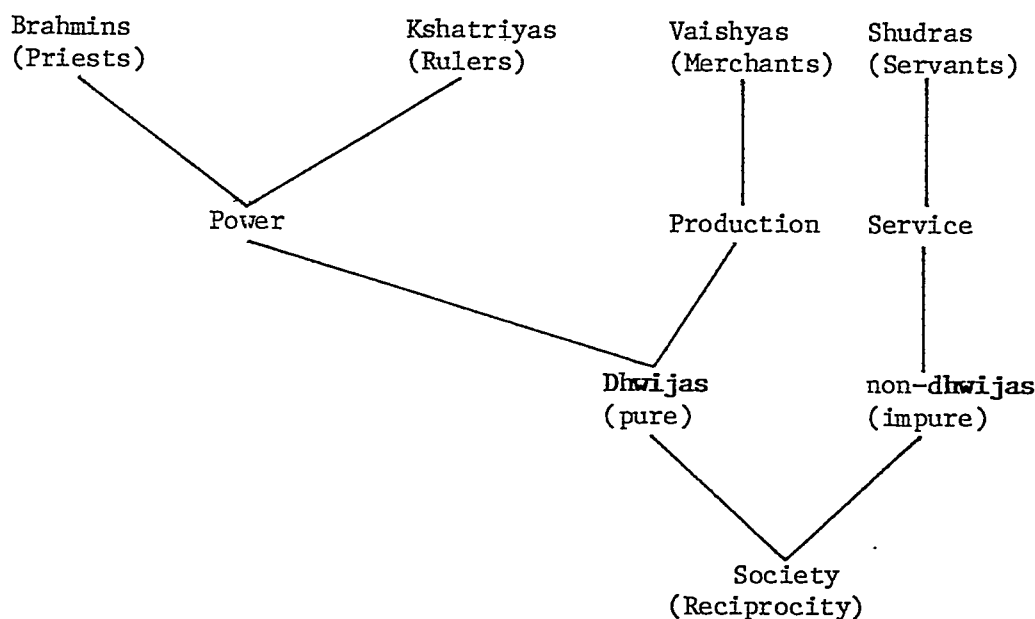


Figure 22. Unity in the Diversity at the Social Structure

6.2.2. Family Structure

The narratives studied present the hierarchical structure also in the area of home or family. Mandelbaum has observed how family structure in India serves both as module and as model for a person's social relations:

Relations within a family are in certain important ways similar to relations within a jati (caste) and in a community. We should scarcely expect it to be otherwise; no society can long endure a clashing incongruence between its smaller and its larger social groupings. But in India there is a particularly close nexus between family and jati. So that it is necessary to understand family life well in order to grasp the nature of jatis. What a villager does in his role as family member underlies his behavior as jati member. His family serves both as module and as model for his jati relations. It provides the matrix for the beginnings of his conduct and contains the ends, the purposes, of his social striving. It is his fundamental corporate group, the locale of much of his social action, and is also a main unit of attribution, by which expectations for his behavior are projected and judgements of his activities are made (1968:34).

The oppositions found in the narratives in the area of kinship are: mother/son, husband/wife, uncle/nephew, mother-in-law/daughter-in-law, father-in-law/son-in-law. The family unit in Gujarat is composed of a husband and wife and their unmarried sons and daughters. Parents, when they reach old age, choose to live with the family of one of their sons. This is illustrated in "Receiving Rewards" where the old mother is living with her son and continues to live with him even after he gets married.

In a family the man of the house, the husband, has the ultimate authority. He makes the rules for the management of the home and for finances and expects his family to follow them. This is illustrated by the merchant in "The Smart Merchant." The man also provides the spiritual leadership in his home. He, with help from his wife, organizes the religious rituals. "Priests do not have much to do with these rituals; they are usually planned, directed, and carried out by members of a family" (Mendelbaum 1968:35).

The man is the provider. He works at his occupation as illustrated by the merchant in "The Smart Merchant" and Harbham in "Harbham Bhuto." However, the rest of the family helps him by performing their own duties in the home. The wife frees her husband from daily household chores so that he can devote all his time to his work. Harbham's wife Hiru, for example, prepares food and brings it to Harbham at the farm.

In the hierarchical structure of the family, the wife ranks next to the husband. This may be the wife of the head of the home or his widowed mother, as seen in "Receiving Rewards." In matters relating to the management of the house and to the conduct of the female members of the family, her influence

is as great as that of the head of the household. She organizes the household and looks after the children and other matters of the home. She keeps vigils for securing the blessing of the gods towards her children (RR 244). It is her responsibility to receive guests and entertain them with utmost respect, as illustrated by the old mother in "Receiving Rewards."

The son, especially the oldest son, comes next in the family hierarchy. It is his responsibility to carry on the family occupation and religious rites after his father can no longer do it. He takes care of his parents in their old age, as illustrated by the son in "Receiving Rewards." In cases where aged parents live with their son, the son is the provider and carries out all the responsibilities of the head of the family. However, he is still under the authority of his parents; his position is a subordinate one. Even though the son earns the money by which the family is supported and his wife has a large share of the daily work of the home, they have little say in its management. The only recourse open to a daughter-in-law when her husband's family make things unpleasant for her is to complain at night to her husband and to go for a long or short visit to her father's home.

The lowest in the family hierarchy is the daughter, who carries out all the chores for the family. She is raised with the understanding that sooner or later she will depart from the family to become part of another household. It is the responsibility of her parents, especially of her father, to find a proper mate for his daughter before she is beyond marriageable age. In "Receiving Rewards" the king has neglected his responsibility as a father to find a proper mate for his daughter, so has to suffer the consequences of his avoidance of duty.

The hierarchical structure of the family is presented in Figure 23.

Husband

Wife

Son

Daughter

Figure 23. Hierarchical Structure of the Family

This shows that there are four levels in the hierarchy of the family as well as in the society. The head of the family corresponds more or less to the Brahmin caste in the society in that, like the Brahmins, the head of the family sets the moral and spiritual standards for the family. Similarly, the wife corresponds to the Kshatriya caste in that as a Kshatriya ruler rules his kingdom she manages her household. The son corresponds to the Vaishya caste. He works and supports the family financially. Finally, the daughter corresponds to the Shudra caste. Like the Shudra she is the servant in the family. She does not have any assigned responsibility, but she performs all the household chores. Thus, the hierarchical structure in the family corresponds with the hierarchical structure of society.

In "Harbham Bhuto" kinship relation outside the nuclear family is seen in the opposition of uncle/nephew. A nephew is not under the direct authority of his uncle. However, he respects his uncle because the uncle has a status somewhat similar to that of his father, being in the same generation. In the absence of his father, a man looks toward his uncle for help and guidance, as Harbham does. However, the uncle in "Harbham Bhuto" fails to fulfill his social obligation to his nephew in that he denies Harbham's request for help.

Father-in-law/son-in-law and mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships grow out of the husband/wife relationship. In the patrilineal society seen in the narratives, the relationship between father-in-law and son-in-law is an indirect one, through the wife. This relationship is one of mutual respect. In "Receiving Rewards," for example, the king accepts the boy as his son-in-law and immediately begins to address him with terms of utmost respect--i.e., second person plural which shows respect, and *raj* 'king'. The relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is a more direct one since in many instances they live together. The daughter-in-law is under the direct control of the mother-in-law.

6.2.3. Gods and Other Supernatural Beings

The three narratives studied do not involve many gods and supernatural beings. There is a god involved in one narrative "Receiving Rewards," but this narrative does not provide any detail about the Hindu concept of the supernatural beings. However, I will discuss the Hindu concept of the hierarchical arrangement of supernatural beings because this concept also correlates with the hierarchical structure of the society and of the family.

Bráhma is the creator god; he creates everything merely by willing. He has his own measure of night and day. In the half day when he is awake he creates the universe, which passes through four epochs, called *yug6s*. Each *yug6* lasts for 3,000 celestial years. However, one celestial year is the equivalent of 3,600 human years. Thus the four *yug6s* cover a span of 43,200,000 mortal years (Narayan 1964:5fn, Dimmitt and Van Buitenen 1978:19). The four *yug6s*--*Sat*, *Treta*, *Dwap6r6*, and *K6li*--possess righteousness in decreasing order and evil in increasing order.

In the other half day Br6hma falls asleep, and there is a total dissolution of everything. Br6hma sleeps for twelve hours. Then, he wakes up and the business of creation begins all over again and lasts for another full cycle of four epochs.

Beyond this cycle of creation and dissolution stands the Supreme Being, who is untouched by time and change. He is the Ultimate Godhead, sometimes called Br6hm6n (not to be confused with Br6hma or Brahmin), and sometimes called 'Indescribable That'.

For certain purposes this Timeless Being descends to the practical plane in the form of a trinity of gods Br6hma, Vishnu, and Shiv6--each of whom has a specific function. Br6hma is the creator god, as described above. Vishnu is the protector god. He sustains the universe by maintaining a balance between good and evil. He rewards good and punishes evil. When evil increases in the universe to the extent that it creates an imbalance between good and evil, Vishnu incarnates himself in human form in order to destroy evil and to reestablish good:

Whenever there is a decline of righteousness and rise of unrighteousness, O Bharata (Arjuna), I incarnate Myself. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked, and for the establishment of righteousness, I come into being from age to age (Bhagavad Gita 4:7-8 in Radhakrishnan and Moore 1967:116).

Thus, in "Receiving Rewards" the god who visits the old mother in the form of an unknown guest and who answers the questions of the young man in the form of a Brahmin, is evidently Vishnu in human form. Shiv6, who is known by hundreds of different names in Hindu mythology, is the destroyer god. The Supreme Being, Br6hm6n, is over and above every other god. Br6hma,

Vishnu, and Shiv6 come next in the hierarchy as the practical manifestation of the Supreme Being.

Next in the hierarchy of gods comes a group of gods who are headed by the god Indr6. These include Yam6 the Sun god, Vayu the wind god, Daksh6, Prajapati, M6mm6t6, and many others. Each of these gods has a special function. For example, Indr6 is the god of rain, Yam6 the god of death, M6mm6t6 the god of love, etc.

Last in the hierarchical order of supernatural beings are other beings which are created by the main gods to serve specific purposes. These beings serve gods under their control.

The hierarchical arrangement of Hindu gods is presented in summary form in Figure 24.

The Supreme Being-Br6hm6n

Br6hma, Vishnu, Shiv6

Indr6 and other gods

Other Supernatural Beings

Figure 24. Hierarchical arrangement of Hindu Gods

There is considerable correlation between the four layers in the hierarchical arrangement of gods and the four castes of Hindu society. The Brahmin caste, as the ultimate supreme authority in the society correlates with Br6hm6n, the Supreme Being. The Kshatriya caste correlates with the Br6hma, Vishnu, and Shiv6 trinity as rulers, protectors, and destroyers of the evil elements in the society. Likewise, the Vaishya caste correlates with Indr6 and his companion gods. As these gods sustain the universe, as Indr6 brings rain, as the Sun gives light, etc., so also the Vaishyas sustain

society by providing food and other necessities of life. The lower supernatural beings correspond with the Shudras in that they serve the other gods. Thus, the hierarchical structure of the society follows the hierarchical structure of the supernatural beings.

Figure 25 presents the correlation observed among the hierarchies of Hindu deities, of Hindu society and of the Hindu family.

<u>Supernatural Beings</u>	<u>Society</u>	<u>Family</u>
The Supreme Being	Brahmin	Husband
Br6hma, Vishnu, Shiv6	Kshatriya	Wife
Indr6 and other Gods	Vaishya	Son
Other Beings	Shudra	Daughter

Figure 25. Hierarchical Structure at Various Levels

This same hierarchical structure is also reflected in the structure of Gujarati villages, where the Brahmins live on one side of the village, the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in the middle of the village, and the Shudras on the other side (Figure 26).

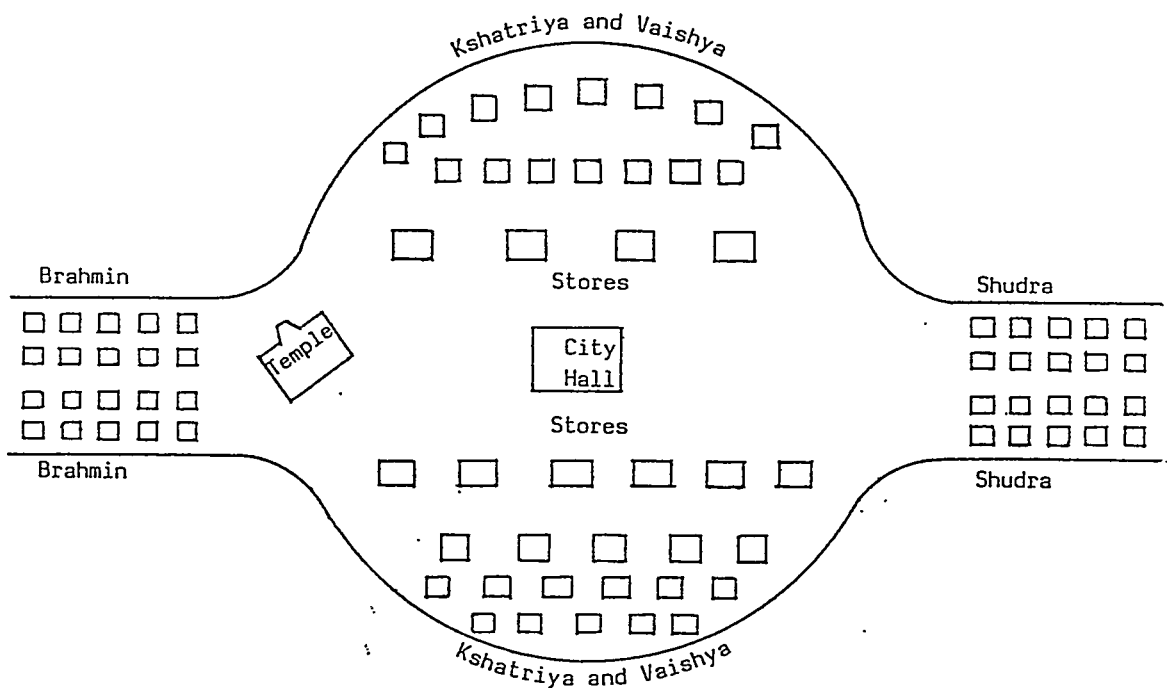


Figure 26. Structure of a Gujarati Village

Within the village plan and theology of sacred tradition is expressed (1) a hierarchical society with an asymmetrical structure, (2) center and peripheral structure (village center as opposed to peripheral), and (3) diadic structure (touchable/untouchable, *dhwijas*/non-*dhwijas*). This same structure is also found in the three folktales.

6.3. Four Stages of Life

The different stages of a man's life in Hindu society are indicated by the following oppositions in the three narratives: family man/without family (or married/single) and hermit/householder.

Hindu scriptures divide man's life into four stages of twenty-five years each called *ashramas*: *Brhmc6ry6* 'student' (lit. celibate), *Gr6h6sth6*

'householder', *Vanpr6sth6* 'forest-dweller', and *Sanyas* 'hermit' (Organ 1970:230-242; Sen 1961:22-26; Radhakrishnan 1975:59-66). In his first twenty-five years a man is supposed to study the scriptures in order to gain knowledge and wisdom. During this stage he must abstain from sex and all other sensual pleasures. Manu writes:

...A student who resides with his teacher must observe the following restrictive rules, duly controlling all his organs, in order to increase his spiritual merit: Every day, having bathed and being purified, he must offer libations of water to the gods, sages and manes, worship (the images of) the gods, and place fuel on (the sacred fire). Let him abstain from honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, substances (used for) flavouring (food), women, all substances turned acid, and from doing injury to living creatures. From anointing (his body), applying collarium to his eyes, from the use of shoes and of an umbrella, from (sensual) desire, anger, covetousness, dancing, singing, and playing (musical instruments), from gambling, idle disputes, backbiting and lying, from looking at and touching women, and from hurting others (Manusmriti 2:175-80 in Radhakrishnan and Moore 1967:178).

During the second twenty-five year period a man takes a wife, raises a family, and enjoys life as a householder. This stage is considered the most important stage because the other three stages depend upon it. Manu writes:

And in accordance with the precepts of the Veda and of the traditional texts, the housekeeper (householder) is declared to be superior to all of them (the other three orders); for he supports the other three. As all rivers, both great and small, find a resting-place in the ocean, even so men of all orders find protection with householders (Manusmriti 6:89-80 in Radhakrishnan and Moore 1967:179).

A man enters the third stage of his life when he has finished with the responsibilities of his home. In this stage he leaves society to live in the forest. If his wife shares his spiritual aims, she accompanies him to the forest. According to Manu, a person must enter this stage when he becomes a

grandfather, or when his skin begins to show wrinkles or his hair to turn gray. When the person's bodily powers wane, it is time to depart to the forest and prepare himself for the true life of the spirit. The main objective of this stage, as Radhakrishnan notes, is to escape from the bustle of life into the solitude of the forest in order to meditate on higher problems (1975:64).

The last twenty-five years of a man's life are spent in meditation as a **sanyasi** 'hermit'. Radhakrishnan writes:

The aim of the **sanyasi** is not to free himself from the cares of outward life, but to attain a state of spiritual freedom where he is not tempted by riches or honor, and is not elated by success or depressed by failure... These free men are solitary souls who have not any personal attachments or private ambitions, but embody in their own spirit the freedom of the world. They take on the wideness of the whole earth, dwell in love and walk in righteousness (1975:64-65).

Hindu society today does not strictly observe these four stages of life, rather, the second stage is in most cases extended up to the end of life. However, the first stage during which man acquires the skills needed for the rest of his life is not much changed. A man is considered to be in this stage as long as he is not married. So, if one chooses, he can extend this stage throughout his whole life. However, if a man chooses to be married, and most men do, he raises a family for the rest of his life. As he gets older and his family gets established, he gives more and more time to social service.

The central participant in "Receiving Rewards" is in the first stage of his life, but he is ready to enter into the second stage. However, one thing is lacking before he can enter into the second stage: he has not acquired

knowledge of the scriptures. Because of his poverty he has to spend all his time earning a living which is just enough for himself and his mother. Therefore, when the hermit offers to make him well-versed in all the scriptures, he gladly accepts: 'How nice if I could learn everything in just a few days.' (S221). When he returns home, he comes back a complete person: he has gained material wealth to take care of his household needs, he has gained knowledge of the scriptures so that he can have the wisdom to perform the household duties, and he has obtained a wife, without whom he would have remained an incomplete person.

The king in this narrative is in the second stage of his life. He is a householder. He has a daughter who has reached marriageable age.

The hermit in this narrative is in the third stage of his life. He has left society and lives in the forest. His wife has accompanied him to the forest. It is clear that he is not a hermit in the fourth stage of his life because he is still attached to society and is living with his wife. This is the stage in a man's life when he may invite students to come to him in the forest in order to teach them the scriptures. However, this hermit is not fulfilling this duty of imparting his knowledge to others, so society has lost respect for him.

The god who visits the old mother represents a Sanyasin, a hermit in the fourth stage of life. This is indicated by the manner in which he obtains food--going from home to home asking for food. According to the Hindu scriptures, a Sanyasi is not allowed to cook for himself, so he must depend on others for his food. Manu writes, "He shall neither possess a fire (for cooking), nor a dwelling, he may go to a village for his food..." (Manusmriti 6:43 in Radhakrishnan and Moore 1967:183).

The central participants of both the other two narratives, Harbham in "Harbham Bhuto" and the merchant in "The Smart Merchant," are in the second stage of their lives. They have wives and take care of their households and of their occupations.

The thieves in "The Smart Merchant" and the wrestlers with whom Harbham has to fight in "Harbham Bhuto" apparently have reached the appropriate age for entering the second stage of life. However, they have rebelled against society and have violated the social norm in that either they have not accepted married life or they are ignoring their duties as householders.

6.4. The Concept of **Dh6rm6**

The Hindu concept of **dh6rm6** is clearly implied in these narratives through oppositions in the cosmological, or moral, domain. The oppositions in this domain are strikingly similar. All three of the narratives display the following oppositions: good works/evil works, performance of duty/avoidance of duty, and reward/punishment. The narrative "Receiving Rewards" has an additional opposition under this domain: god/other beings. God in this narrative is directly involved in punishing those who do evil by avoiding their duty and rewarding those who do good by performing their duty. In addition, the other two narratives have the laughter/pain opposition, which indicates reward for performance of duty and punishment for avoidance of duty. It is implicit in each of these narratives that those who perform their assigned task, **dh6rm6**, are rewarded and those who do not are punished.

The term **dh6rm6** is derived from the Sanskrit root **dhṛ**, which means 'to form, support, sustain, hold, keep'. **Dh6rm6** is that which holds a thing

together and makes it what it is, its characteristic function, its peculiar property, its fundamental attribute, its essential nature. The Indo-European concept *ṛta*, which defined an embracing cosmic order, both moral and physical, is virtually absorbed into the meaning of *dharmā*.

In human affairs *dharmā* is the network of relationships by which society is held together through the proper functioning of its parts. Harmony in society is preserved through everyone's performing his *dharmā*.

Organ writes:

It is the cohesive ideal in society. Without *dharmā* there might be human individuals in various relations to each other, but there could be no human society. *Dharmā* is both the essence of society and the virtue that makes the good society... To show *dharmā* is to order one's thoughts, passions, and affections in accordance with a rule of a place for everything and everything in place (1970:212).

Thus the Hindu concept of *dharmā* is the positive side of the negative concept of *Azhi Cuzhazhi* expressed in the Malayo universe (Hoppe 1982). *Azhi Cuzhazhi* is "something which disrupts or upsets the normal operation of man, nature or supernatural" (Hoppe 1982:144). *Dharmā*, on the other hand, is something that preserves the harmony and holds the society and the whole universe together.

There is no equivalent term available in English to represent the concept of *dharmā*. Rangaswami Aiyangar notes, "*Dharmā* is used in so many senses that it eludes definition. It stands for nature, intrinsic quality, civil and moral law, justice, virtue, merit, duty and morality" (1952:63). Franklin Edgerton explains the comprehensive character of *dharmā*: "*Dharmā* is propriety, socially approved conduct, in relation to one's fellow men or to other living beings (animals or superhuman powers). Law, social usage,

morality and most of what we ordinarily mean by religion, all fall under this head" (1942:151). The term **dh6rm6** includes the whole concept of religious and moral duties, and Creel notes that considerable misunderstanding can result from the rendering of **dh6rm6** simply as 'religion':

One must avoid identification of **dh6rm6** as directly equivalent to any of the various components of its meaning, such as law, duty, morality, justice, virtue, or religion. All of these are involved, but we should cease looking for an equivalent for translation, inasmuch as premature identification with western concepts tends to blind one to the particular multifaceted structure of meanings in the Hindu **dh6rm6** (1977:2).

Sen also notes that **dh6rm6** and religion are not the same and that Hinduism is in fact a **dh6rm6** rather than a religion in the restricted sense of the word (1961:38). Similarly, Organ notes:

The term **dh6rm6** is almost impossible to translate. In some contexts words such as duty, morality, righteousness, justice, and benevolence seem appropriate; in other contexts words such as law, religion, essence, order, rule, nature, and truth seem to catch the meaning (197:211).

The concept of **dh6rm6** is expressed in the narratives through the participants--through their actions and beliefs. In its social manifestations **dh6rm6** is expressed as the **dh6rm6**--the duties or patterns--of one's caste and one's stage of life. In its social expression **dh6rm6** is the divine moral order by which society is established and by which it continues. **Dh6rm6** supplies structure and continuity in the lives of individuals such that the correct solution to every problem of behavior is found in the **dh6rm6** of the caste to which a person belongs and the **dh6rm6** of his stage in life.

6.4.1. **Dh6rm6** of an Individual as Member of a Caste.

In Hindu society every caste has its own **dh6rm6** which involves different duties. The organization of castes provides a system that is not based on competition but, rather, on harmony and cooperation. The castes are not allowed to compete with one another but, instead, serve one another. Each person is said to have his own specific nature (**sw6bhaw6**) which fits him for his own specific function (**sw6dh6rm6**). The Gita believes that the division of castes is in accordance with each person's character and aptitude. This is indicated by the phrase 'born of their nature' after the list of the duties for each of the castes in the following verses:

Of Brahmins, of Kshatriyas, of Vaishyas, as also of Shudras, O conqueror of foe (Arjun), the activities are distinguished in accordance with the qualities born of their nature.

Serenity, self-control, austerity, purity, forbearance and uprightness, wisdom, knowledge, and faith in religion—these are the duties of the Brahmin, born of his nature.

Heroism, vigour, steadiness, resourcefulness, not fleeing even in battle, generosity, and leadership—these are the duties of a Kshatriya, born of his nature.

Agriculture, tending cattle, and trade are the duties of Vaishya, born of his nature; work of the character of service is the duty of a Shudra, born of his nature. (Bhagavad Gita 18:41-44 in Radhakrishnan and Moore 1967:160-61).

So to avoid chaos in society and to preserve the social order, Hindu society provides strong sanction to see that members of one caste will not do the work of another. Again, the Gita notes, "Better is one's own **dh6rm6** though imperfectly carried out than the **dh6rm6** of another carried out perfectly" (18:47). Every participant in the three narratives is a member of a caste-group and is expected to carry out his specified tasks, his **dh6rm6** as assigned by his position in society.

6.4.2. Dharm of an Individual at a Particular Stage of Life.

A person is not only expected to carry out his duties as a member of a particular group in society, but he is also expected to carry out the dharm assigned to him at each of the various stages of his life. As discussed above, a person's life is divided into four stages, with each stage characterised by certain duties he is expected to perform. The participants in the narratives are at different stages of their lives. For example, the young man, the central participant in "Receiving Rewards" is in his first stage of life, whereas the king in the same narrative is in the second stage.

6.4.3. Dharm of an Individual as a Member of a Family.

Not only is there a dharm of each group in society and of an individual at various stages of his life, but there is dharm of an individual as a member of a family group. As seen above (sec. 6.2.2), each member of the family is assigned different tasks, and it is dharm of each individual to carry out these tasks.

Thus Hindu society is thoroughly structured on the basis of the concept of dharm. Dharm on both the social and the individual levels keeps the society going and also provides a sense of fulfilment for the individual. Dharm is the center of everything: it unites the individual, the home, and the society and serves as a unifying force. Creel notes:

The stress upon preservation of the social system was both an observable characteristic of Hindu life and the primary value presupposed by the view of society, structured around the 'eternal dharm'. High priority was placed on order in society--the order which holds society together by means of clearly defined functions of individuals and groups. Whole society is structured around subgroups

with particular duties; the intent was differentiation carefully specified that society was held together in functional interrelationship (1977:15-16).

The unifying nature of **dh6rm6** is expressed in Figure 27.

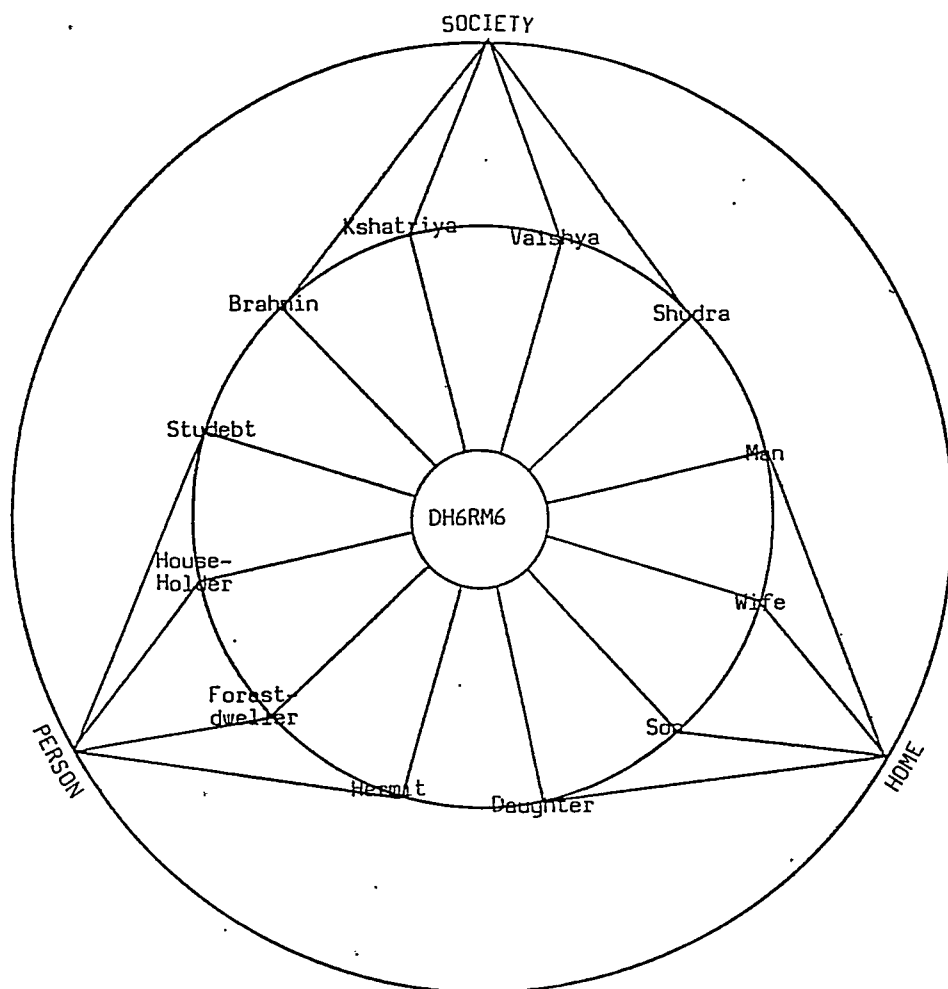


Figure 27. The Unifying Nature of **Dh6rm6**

6.4.4. The Concept of **Dh6rm6** and Reciprocity.

The social order governed by the concept of **dh6rm6** gives central place to the duties and responsibilities of individuals and of groups. **Dh6rm6**

means obligations, duties, responsibilities; there is no Sanskrit term that means rights. There are rights inherent in the system, but only as a counterpart of duties, as the reciprocal duties of groups and individuals to each other, and are never in any sense separate in status. If everyone follows his prescribed **dh6rm6**, everyone else's rights and requirements would be achieved.

However, there are people in society who do not fulfill their prescribed **dh6rm6**. This not only breaks the chain of reciprocity, but also disturbs the social balance. For example, the thieves in "The Smart Merchant," or the wrestlers in "Harbham Bhuto" are not following their socially prescribed **dh6rm6**. They have rebelled against society. Harbham's uncle in "Harbham Bhuto" is another example, although not as strong as that of the thieves and the wrestlers, of one who does not fulfill his social obligation. He denies help when asked for it. The reciprocity of the social system is best exemplified in "Receiving Rewards." None of the participants the young man meets on his way to find the god is fulfilling his assigned **dh6rm6**. The king has ignored his **dh6rm6** as a father; the hermit is not fulfilling his **dh6rm6** as a teacher; the tree is not following its social obligation to distribute wealth; and the elephant is not fulfilling his obligation to serve others. When anyone does not fulfill his **dh6rm6** the system of reciprocity breaks down and harmony in society is disturbed.

To mend this broken harmony in society the god intervenes and becomes a part of the reciprocal system of society. He seeks a favor, and when he is helped, he, as required by the system of reciprocity, promises a reward:

'Mother, you are very kind. I am very much pleased with you. I am a god. I ate your food, (and) you will certainly receive a reward for that' (RR S20-23).

However, the god is not actually a part of the reciprocal system. He does not need favors from men, he asks such favors only to see whether a person is willing to carry out his social responsibility. In like manner, he provides help not because of indebtedness, but because of his inherent **dh6rm6** of preserving harmony in society (Gita 4:7-8).

The son fulfills his **dh6rm6** in society as he helps all those he comes into contact with by taking responsibility to ask the god about their problems. As he is instrumental in solving their problems, they, in turn, solve his own problems by providing him with a servant, wealth, knowledge, and, finally, a wife. Thus, he is helped by helping others.

In the reciprocal arrangement of **dh6rm6** there is a combination of dyadic structure and a hierarchical asymmetrical structure. The hierarchical asymmetrical structure of **dh6rm6** is seen in the hierarchical arrangement of the social structure (sec. 6.4.1., 6.4.2., 6.4.3). The system of reciprocity expresses the dyadic structure of **dh6rm6**. So, in the concept of **dh6rm6** there is a combination of the hierarchical asymmetrical structure and the dyadic symmetrical structure.

6.4.5. Reinforcement of **Dh6rm6**

Because there are people in society who do not follow their prescribed **dh6rm6**, society uses certain means to reinforce the necessity of doing so.

6.4.5.1. Reinforcement of **Dh6rm6** Through Scriptures

Reinforcement of the need to follow one's **dh6rm6** is done by showing the reward/punishment consequences, both in the scriptures and in mythological

and folk literature. The scriptures note that faithfully following one's **dharm** will produce temporal benefits for a person, like material well-being, and will lead, through a series of incarnations, toward **moksh**, the ultimate salvation of the soul. Deviation from accepted norms, on the other hand, will lead to personal and social disaster. Various expressions of this view of the good results of **dharm** are found in Indian literature. Manusmriti describes the fruits of **dharm** as fame in this life and bliss after death (2:5,9; 4:156-58; 12:81). Manu speaks of **dharm** as a preserver. **Dharm**, when preserved, preserves man; when violated, it destroys man (8:15). The Bhagavad-Gita tells how Arjun's attitude of not following his prescribed **dharm** as a Kshatriya by fighting in a war will bring disgrace to him on earth and will not lead him to heaven, but if he performs his **dharm**, he will, if killed in the war, go to heaven, or if victorious, enjoy blessed life on the earth. (2:33-37).

6.4.5.2. Reinforcement of **Dharm** Through Mythical and Folk Literature

This concept of reward for following one's **dharm** and punishment for not following it is also expressed in the mythical and folk literature, as seen in the three narratives. Narratives like the ones studied here provide a strong incentive for following one's **dharm** faithfully by showing that those who fulfill their obligations are rewarded and those who ignore them are punished one way or the other.

The wrestlers in "Harbham Bhuto" and the thieves in "The Smart Merchant" have intentionally avoided their **dharm**. The wrestlers belong to the shudra caste, as mentioned above. As such, their socially assigned role

is to serve the three higher castes by performing various physical tasks. However, these men have ignored their prescribed **dharm**. They try to break down the hierarchically organized social structure by humiliating members of the higher castes: the Brahmin priest and the Kshatriya king. They have already successfully humiliated the rulers of ninety-nine other kingdoms. With this success behind them, they move on to the royal court of King Deshalji without any hesitation. In this way their attempt is to raise themselves, through the use of their unusual strength, as high as the king and the priest in the royal court, or else to bring the king and the priest down to their own level through the shame of defeat.

The thieves in "The Smart Merchant" are another example of those who have avoided their prescribed **dharm** intentionally. They have intentionally set out to go against society by accepting cheating and stealing as a profession. They too, like the wrestlers, attempt to bring down a respected member of a higher caste by challenging his social skill. Smartness is the trademark of the merchant's caste, no one can ever cheat a businessman. However, these cheaters challenge that skill by attempting to deceive the merchant, and try to prove that they are smarter than he is. Their aim is to show that they are not in any sense lower than a member of a higher caste in the social structure or else that the member of the higher caste is not higher than they.

The wrestlers and the cheaters have intentionally ignored their socially assigned **dharm**. However, neglecting one's prescribed **dharm** does not necessarily have to be intentional. The participants in "Receiving Rewards" have neglected their **dharm** unintentionally. As far as they know

they have not done anything that could bring them to their present situations. So, with all eagerness they try to find out the reasons for their miserable conditions. Because they have neglected their prescribed **dharm**, even though unintentionally, they have to suffer various consequences, including economic and physical problems.

However, there is considerable difference between neglecting **dharm** intentionally and doing it unintentionally. In the unintentional violations, the participants have failed to perform their social duties, they have not rebelled against society. They have not followed their prescribed **dharm** simply because they do not know it and they are eagerly seeking to know what they should do that would put them on the right track. They have a genuine desire to follow the social system. Because of this desire, the god, using a human instrument, informs them what their **dharm** is. Once they know this they immediately begin to follow through, and their problem is solved. Thus, their neglect of **dharm**, and also the miserable situation resulting from this neglect is only temporary.

In the case of intentional avoidance of **dharm**, on the other hand, the situation is more serious. These people—the wrestlers in "Harbham Bhuto" and the cheaters in "The Smart Merchant"—have avoided their **dharm** not because they do not know what their prescribed **dharm** is but because they do not want to follow it. Also, they go one step further. Not only do they not perform their own **dharm**, but they also interfere in the performance of **dharm** by others who are committed to perform their prescribed **dharm** in the best possible manner.

Harbham and the merchant are considered social heroes and are rewarded with the utmost respect and fame because they follow their socially

prescribed **dh6rm6** very faithfully. On the other hand, the wrestlers in "Harbham Bhuto" and the thieves in "The Smart Merchant" are held in utmost contempt and disdain because they do not follow their **dh6rm6**. The hermit in "Receiving Rewards" has lost the respect of society, and society in turn ignores its **dh6rm6** towards him because he has not fulfilled his **dh6rm6** by imparting his knowledge to others. Those who perform their **dh6rm6** faithfully not only receive fame as a reward, but are also rewarded materially, as are the merchant in "The Smart Merchant" and the son in "Receiving Rewards." Sometimes a person receives some kind of physical punishment as a result of not following his prescribed **dh6rm6**, as is seen in the case of the elephant in "Receiving Rewards" and the burned thief in "The Smart Merchant."

In "Receiving Rewards" not only are the four participants being punished for their neglect of **dh6rm6**, but also needs of the society as a whole remain unfulfilled. Thus, the lacks in the life of the central participant represent lacks in society. His needs remain unfulfilled because members of the society have ignored their prescribed **dh6rm6**, albeit unintentionally. He has not been able to acquire knowledge of the sacred scriptures because the Brahmin has ignored his **dh6rm6** of teaching. He remains unmarried because someone in the society has neglected his **dh6rm6** of giving a daughter in marriage. He is poor because the Vaishya has hoarded wealth instead of distributing it. He remains unserved because the Shudra has neglected his **dh6rm6** of serving.

Thus, when an individual in society neglects his prescribed **dh6rm6**, not only does that individual suffer punishment but also the whole society lacks. This is seen in Figure 28.

Individual's Neglect of his Dh6rm6	He is Punished	Lack in Society
The king does not give his daughter in marriage	He is not able to build his bridge	Remains without wife
The hermit does not teach	He is neglected by society	Remains without the knowledge of the scriptures
The tree does not distribute the wealth	It remains unproductive	Remains poor
The elephant does not serve	Gets physical pain	Remains unserved

Figure 28. Consequences of Neglecting **Dh6rm6**

However, when all of the individuals in a society follow their prescribed **dh6rm6**, they are rewarded, and at the same time the lack in the society is filled. When the elephant begins to serve, his physical pain is gone and the society is no more without its servant. When the tree gives away its wealth, it presumably regains its productivity, and the society is no longer poor. When the hermit imparts his knowledge to others, he acquires wealth and respect and the society is no longer without the knowledge of the sacred scriptures. When the king gives his daughter in marriage, he is able to build his bridge and the boy acquires his life-partner. Thus, when an individual in society fulfills his **dh6rm6**, not only is he rewarded but also a lack in society is filled (Figure 29).

Individual fulfills his dh6rm6	He is rewarded	Lack in society fulfilled
Elephant serves	Becomes free from physical pain	is served
Tree distributes the wealth	Becomes productive	is no more poor
Hermit imparts his knowledge	Regains respect and wealth	Gains the knowledge
King gives his daughter in marriage	Is able to build the bridge	is married

Figure 29. Result of Fulfillment of **Dh6rm6**

Each of the participants the boy meets represents a specific caste. On the way to the god he meets there participants in descending hierarchical order of the four castes, except that he meets the king, who represents the Kshatriya caste first, rather than the hermit, who represents the highest---Brahmin---caste. Similarly, on his way back he meets the participants in ascending order, except that he meets the king last rather than the hermit. This reversal of Brahmin and Kshatriya castes is not without significance. Man in this life passes through four stages (sec. 6.3). When he takes a wife, he enters the second stage. However, before he can enter that stage he has to complete the requirements of the first stage by gaining knowledge of the sacred scriptures. This is why the boy first meets the hermit and learns all the scriptures, thus fulfilling that ideal.

Also, it is significant that the boy gets his wife from the king because he himself is Kshatriya, as indicated by the fact that he becomes king at the end of the narrative (S 242, 245). The scriptural ideal is that a man should take a wife from his own caste, as Manu writes: "For the first

marriage of twice-born men (wives) of equal caste are recommended"
(Manusmriti 3:12).

6.5. Changing Patterns in Society

At present in India there is a conflict between the old social system and the changing patterns in the society. Modern industrialization has brought about many changes. Many people have moved to large cities to get higher education and to find jobs in offices and factories, depending on their educational qualifications rather than on the skills gained by their membership in traditional caste groups. Those who have moved to large cities, gotten higher education, and found good jobs consider themselves sophisticated and 'civilized'. They look down upon the traditional way of life with sneers and feelings of superiority.

This conflict between the old social system and changing patterns in the society is reflected in the narrative "Harbham Bhuto" in the city/village opposition. The people in the city, in the royal court of King Deshalji, look down upon Harbham as uneducated, untrained, and simple-minded. They are sure that he will lose the fight against the trained wrestlers because he is an unskilled villager (S100-103).

The result of people's moving to cities and looking at the old life style with a sneering attitude is that they lose their traditional skills. The wrestlers in the court of King Deshalji, for example, have left their old way of life and have adopted the easy and trouble-free city life. As a result, they have lost their physical skills, their strength has decreased, and they do not have courage to take up the challenge presented by the newly arrived wrestlers (S40-44).

However, the narrative reaffirms the superiority of the traditional way of life in that Harbham defeats the trained wrestlers. When the harmony in society is disrupted by someone's avoidance of his *dharm*, it is the traditional way of life that comes to the rescue. There is no one among those who have adopted the city life to defend their cause. They have to seek help from a villager who is faithfully clinging to the old tradition. Because of people like Harbham, the priest can assure the King that their beloved country has not yet become cowardly (S58).

6.6. Cultural Symbols

Some of the information in these narratives is presented symbolically. Such symbolism is seen in the economic contrast in "The Smart Merchant." The jug the merchant is carrying when he goes outside the village represents his material wealth.⁶ When the merchant makes the cheaters believe that the jug he has with him has a hole in it while the jug he has at home is made of silver, he is trying to indicate that the property he is carrying with him is worth nothing compared with the property he has at home. Similarly, his mustache is a symbol of strength and manhood. For example touching the mustache with the fingers is a way of showing off strength. It is more valuable for a man to show that he is a *man* than to have property. By grabbing the mustache of the merchant the cheaters challenge his manhood. The nose is a symbol of prestige. For example, in the other narrative "Harbham Bhuto," Harbham is idiomatically called nose of Sanghad village (S2), meaning that Sanghad village is well respected and well known because of his unusual strength. When the cheaters attempt to grab the merchant's

nose, they are trying to damage his prestige; and the merchant, a respected businessman, can never let that happen.

The interpretation that the water jug, mustache, and nose represent property, manhood, and prestige respectively is not far-fetched; it is clearly implied in the narrative. When the cheaters grab the merchant's mustache, he calls his wife to bring one hundred rupees, saying that if they were to grab his nose he would have to give five hundred. He says this only to mislead the cheaters so that they will release his mustache and try to grab his nose giving him time to move away. However, the thieves, knowing the cultural values, understand that a person's nose, which represents his prestige, is more important than his mustache, which represents his manhood. It makes good sense to them that the price of a person's nose would be five times higher than the price of his mustache.

Cultural symbolism is also seen in the geographical locations where the events take place. They represent the social statuses of the participants. The merchant in "The Smart Merchant" is a respected businessman, and his home is his place of business, his own territory. The thieves are vagabonds, and their territory is outside the village. They do not have a place in society. They make their home outside the village in an uninhabited area and steal from whoever comes there. They do not venture to enter the village during the day time (S52). When the merchant goes outside the village, he is in their territory. Here he is vulnerable and so, wisely, he avoids the conflict. He moves back into the village. But when the thieves come near the merchant's home, they are in his territory. Here he confronts the thieves and defeats them.

In "Harbham Bhuto" also the locations where the events of the narrative take place have symbolic significance. The farm is the place where Harbham feels most comfortable, as the merchant does in his home. It is his place of work and indicates his status and *dh6rm6* in the society. The royal court is the place where the wrestlers feel most comfortable. They have been to ninety-nine royal courts before and have successfully defeated many wrestlers in these courts. Harbham, because he is a confident wrestler, is not afraid to go to the court to take up the challenge. Even though he is undefeated in the court, the other wrestlers are not totally defeated. They follow him to his farm, just as the thieves in the other narrative follow the merchant to his home. Here at the farm, the wrestlers are completely defeated, they leave totally frustrated, never to come back again.

In "Receiving Rewards" some of the participants are symbolic. The tree represents the Vaishya caste, as mentioned before, because it is hoarding wealth. Wealth is a symbol of Vaishyas because they have the responsibility for producing and distributing wealth. Similarly, the elephant represents the Shudra caste as indicated by his responsibility to serve others.

6.7. Concluding Remarks

This chapter shows that despite their having different themes the three narratives analyzed present one and the same social structure. The oppositions presented in the structure of the narratives provide valuable and detailed information about the structure of the society. It can be seen from this that there is value in taking binary distinctions from the structure of narratives and applying them to social, political and supernatural aspects of

a society. This technique is even more valuable when done with the intuition of a native speaker rather than on the basis of conjecture. Thus, this chapter demonstrates the value of the study of folk literature to gain knowledge of the structure of a society.

This chapter also shows how rigidly structured the Hindu society is. The organized structure is demonstrated at every phase of that society: social organization, the family, the individual and even the supernatural realm. The society is structured around the hierarchical arrangement of four castes: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra. The home is structured around the hierarchical arrangement of authority: man, wife, son, and daughter. The individual's life is arranged around the four stages: student, householder, forest dweller, and hermit. A four-level hierarchical structure is also seen in the supernatural realm, where the gods are ranked hierarchically.

It has been seen in this chapter that the value system of Hindu society is based on the concept of **dh6rm6**. Every group and every individual in the society has an inherent **dh6rm6**. The same is true of each of the gods. It is expected that everyone will fulfill his **dh6rm6** and that the law of reciprocity will meet the needs of everyone. Harmony in the society will be preserved by everyone's fulfilling his prescribed **dh6rm6**. Thus, **dh6rm6** holds the society together as an axle holds a wheel.

It has also been seen in this chapter that the ideal of everyone's faithfully fulfilling his **dh6rm6** is not always realized in actual fact. One of the means the society uses to reinforce the necessity of fulfilling one's **dh6rm6** is folk and myth literature like the narratives studied here. Such

folk literature provides a strong incentive for faithfully fulfilling one's **dharm** in two ways: On the one hand, this literature shows that those who follow their **dharm** are rewarded and those who do not are punished. On the other hand, it pictures a positive ideal through folk heroes like Harbham, the merchant, and the young man, who faithfully follow their **dharm** and help others to do the same.

Finally, we have noted the conflict that exists between the old social system and the changing patterns of modern society. Here, again, the 'old is gold' principle is illustrated when the superiority of the old system is demonstrated through the victory of cultural heroes. This explains why India has been able to preserve her 3,000 plus-year-old social structure in the face of twentieth-century industrialization.

Footnotes

1. The Rig Veda is the most ancient of Hindu scriptures. It comprises 1,017 hymns divided into ten books. Commenting on the date of Rig Veda Radhakrishnan and Moore note:

The dates of the composition and of the collection of the hymns of the Rig Veda are unknown. It is believed, however, that a long period of time must have elapsed between the composition and the compilation of the hymns. There is evidence that the hymns were current fifteen centuries before Christ, somewhat in the arrangement in which we have them at the present time (1967:3-4).

2. The special group of people called **th6g**, professional cheaters, can be from any caste background. But most of the cheaters are either from lower Vaishya or Shudra caste. The cheaters are those who have rebelled against tradition and against society. They have accepted cheating or stealing as their profession because of their lack of skill to do their traditional job, or because they just do not want to work. They both cheat people and steal from them, whatever is opportune. So they are interchangeably called cheaters and thieves in this narrative.

3. There is a rite of passage among the Hindus that is performed only among the upper three castes but is prohibited for the Shudra. This rite is performed at the age of seven in which a thread, called **j6noi**, is wrapped around a person's shoulder diagonally hanging down to his waist. It is considered that when a person ceremonially accepts the thread he is admitted to the upper caste. A person, by his physical birth, is considered not any different from the Shudra. But this rite gives him the second birth into the higher caste. So he is considered **dhwi j6** 'twice-born'.

4. David Pocock (1957) considers that purity/impurity is the basic criterion for the division of the castes. He claims that the hierarchy in the caste system is the hierarchy of purity versus impurity:

Traditionally Hindu society has laid its primary stress upon the opposition of the pure to the impure; the priest is higher than the king. The opposition of purity to impurity is a polar opposition in the sense that the terms are contradictory and mutually exclusive; they allow no third term in between them... The nature of opposition being so, when society lays stress upon it and social life is organized in terms of it, it is not surprising that a hierarchy should emerge and that the nature of that hierarchy should be that at whatever point one chooses to put one's finger the fundamental opposition between the pure and the impure should be revealed. From the point of view of any one caste—high or low—both itself and all the castes above it are pure and all those below it are impure (Pocock 1957:23-24).

5. The purification rites in most cases are very simple. If a person comes into bodily contact with a Shudra, or if a Shudra touches his clothes, all the person would need is sprinkling of water on his body, or, at the most, a shower and the washing of his clothes. A person who is defiled by a touch of a Shudra is not allowed to touch anybody or anything, because he too is considered unclean, just like a Shudra, and the other person would need to go through the same procedure to make himself clean.

Also, the Shudra is not allowed to touch anything in the house. If he touches a metal utensil, that utensil must be thoroughly cleaned. If he touches a clay pot, it is either given away to a Shudra or broken and thrown away.

Even an indirect touch of a Shudra is considered defiling. A higher caste person would not allow a Shudra's shadow to fall on him. This is taken to such an extreme that after a lunar eclipse higher caste people clean their

metal utensils thoroughly and throw away their clay pots because the shadow of the earth on the moon during the eclipse includes the shadow of Shudras that live on the earth.

6. The water jug does not represent property in a symbolic way as the mustache and the nose represent manhood and prestige respectively. That is, a water jug is not a cultural symbol representing a person's property. But in this narrative it represents the merchant's property only because it stands with the other two cultural symbols.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CULTURAL INFORMATION AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

7.1. Introduction

In Part I of this dissertation a linguistic analysis of three Gujarati narratives was presented. It included an analysis of the overall structure of the texts, of verb structure, of levels of information in discourse, and of participant reference. In Part II an analysis of Gujarati (Hindu) culture as exemplified in the three narratives was presented on the basis of the binary oppositions in the narrative structure following Levi-Strauss' methodology and then deriving the cultural information following Bastien's (1978) methodology.

This chapter will attempt to show how the cultural information presented in Part II helps us to understand more about the discourse features of the narratives.

The correlation between cultural and linguistic analyses will focus mainly on two areas. One is participant reference in narrative. As seen in Chapter 4, the discourse structure uses specific techniques to introduce the participants in a narrative, to refer to these participants after their initial introduction, and to reintroduce them after a brief absence. These

techniques vary from one participant to another depending on their rank in the narratives--central or noncentral participant; major or minor participant. It was also noted in Chapter 4 that there are exceptions, cases where these norms are not followed. In this chapter it will be shown that on the basis of the cultural information gained in Chapter 6 we can provide some explanations for these exceptions and show that even they are rule-governed. These latter rules, however, are not linguistic rules, but cultural rules.

Another area where cultural information helps us to understand the discourse better is in the correlation between the message of the narratives and their linguistic structures. In some cases the message of a narrative is not clearly seen from its linguistic structure; it is possible to derive the message only if we also have the necessary cultural information. Without this cultural information we might interpret the final peak as the most significant point in the narrative. However, sometimes a part that is not significant from the point of narrative structure, is the most significant point from the point of view the culture.

Without the necessary cultural background not only would we be unable to grasp the significance of the cultural symbols through which much of the information in the narratives is presented, but also we would be unable to correlate the rise of tension on the cultural level with the rise and fall of tension on the linguistic level. The linguistic features discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 give us insight into what the structure of a narrative is, but knowledge of the culture gives us insight into why is it structured in that way. Cultural information provides additional clues that validate discourse analysis. It shows how surface structure features correlate with

what happens on the notional level of a narrative. It is on the cultural level that linguistic structure and semantic information really correlate.

7.2. Participant Rank in Society and Reference in Narrative

The participants in a narrative are members of a particular society. Their interaction in a discourse is not different from the interaction of similar types of participants in society. The participants in Hindu society, as seen in the previous chapter, are ranked higher or lower according to their membership in particular groups or castes. and the participants in Gujarati narrative are presented within this cultural setting: each is a member of some social group or caste. The status of a participant in society, and also his presentation in a narrative, depend on his caste membership. His role in the narrative is culturally defined, and his presentation in the narrative helps us to understand his role in the culture. Without understanding the cultural roles of the participants we cannot understand the full significance of the way they are presented in the discourse.

7.2.1. Participant Rank in Narrative

Not only are the participants in a narrative ranked as having higher or lower status in society, but also they are ranked according to their relative degree of involvement in the events of the narrative.

Participants in Gujarati narratives are ranked, as noted in the Chapter 4, as the central participant, non-central major participants and minor participants. The rank of a participant is revealed by various linguistic

features, such as the form of introduction of that participant, the presence or absence of background information about him at the time of his initial introduction, participant reference after the initial introduction, reintroduction after temporary absence, etc.

There is not always a one-to-one match between a participant's rank in society and his rank in a narrative. The central participant of a narrative may be from a lower caste than the non-central or minor participants. For example, in "Harbham Bhuto" the central participant is an ordinary farmer, a Vaishya, while one minor participant, Motichand priest, is a Brahmin and another, King Deshalji, is a Kshatriya. In such cases the narrator attempts to preserve the higher social rank of such minor/non-central participants by the use of some linguistic features which will be discussed below.

7.2.2. Correlation of Participant Rank in Society with Participant Rank in Narrative

7.2.2.1. Introduction of Participants

The central participant, especially in a participant oriented narrative, is introduced with an extended description—e.g., the central participants in the stories of "Harbham Bhuto" and "The Smart Merchant." Usually minor or non-central major participants do not receive this attention, even in participant oriented narrative. Rather, they are introduced directly into the action. However, when a non-central participant has higher social status than the central participant, he is introduced with some background description. A culturally significant participant receives some description at the time of his first introduction even if he is not the

central participant. For example, Motichand, the priest in the court of King Deshalji, receives a brief description at the time of his first introduction because of his higher social status and respected position in the court. Even the king addresses him as 'most reverend'. Even though he does not receive as extended a description as the central participant, the brief description at the time of his introduction (S46-48) shows that he is an important man in the society.

In event oriented narrative neither the central participant nor a participant with higher social status receives extended background description as seen "Receiving Rewards." In this type of narrative the higher social status of a minor or non-central participant is demonstrated by the use of other linguistic features to be discussed below.

7.2.2.2. The Use of Deictics for Reintroducing Participants

The deictic *pelo* 'that', as discussed in Chapter 4, is used to reintroduce a participant after a brief absence. However, *pelo* is used only to reintroduce a secondary participants, not central participants.

There are two exceptions to this rule found in the narratives studied: the first exception is where the deictic *pelo* is used for the central participant of a narrative; the other is where *pelo* is not used to reintroduce certain participants in a narrative. Both of these exceptions seem to be governed by cultural norms rather than linguistic norms.

The first exception, a case where the deictic *pelo* is used for a central participant, is found in "Receiving Rewards." Here the deictic is used when the impatiently waiting king thinks: 'When would that boy come back?' (S227). This is the only case found in the narratives studied where

the deictic *pelo* is used for a central participant. It is used because of the lower status of the boy in relation to the king. Even though the boy has higher rank linguistically in the narrative, being the central participant, the king has higher rank culturally/socially. The cultural status of a participant is always maintained, even if it means overruling the linguistic norms.

The other exception to the usual usage of *pelo* is the reverse side of the same coin. In the first case it is used for the central participant of a story where it would not be expected, while in the second it is not used for certain non-central participants, where it would be expected.

This deictic is not used to reintroduce King Deshalji or the priest Motichand in "Harbham Bhuto" nor to reintroduce the king in "Receiving Rewards." Although all other non-central participants in "Receiving Rewards," (the hermit, the tree, and the elephant), are reintroduced by *pelo* at one time or another, the king is never reintroduced by this deictic. Instead the king uses the deictic for the central participant of the story.

Here again, the cultural status of the participants is the reason that the *pelo* is not used. It seems that *pelo* indicates lesser importance/status of a participant. Therefore, it is normally not used for the central participant of a narrative, but is used for secondary participants since they have lesser importance. However, participants who have high status in the culture, like the priest and the king, are not reintroduced by this deictic because of this higher status, even when they have secondary status in the narrative.

Also, the use of the *pelo* to reintroduce a participant indicates that this participant is a person less wellknown, to the reader. Thus, the

central participant is not mentioned with this deictic because the reader is very familiar with him. In the same way participants who are culturally familiar to the audience are never mentioned with *pelo*, even when they play a non-central part in a narrative. Thus, when the king in "Receiving Rewards" uses *pelo* for the boy, the central participant, he is indicating not only the lower status of the boy, but also the fact that he is not very familiar with the boy. This is a further example of how discourse rules are governed by cultural norms.

7.2.2.3. Honorifics and Form of Address

Another way to indicate which participants in a narrative have culturally higher status, whether central or non-central participant, is the use of honorifics and certain forms of address. A participant with higher social status is addressed with a second person plural pronoun to show respect. When a higher-status participant is addressing a participant who has lower status, he can, and in most of the cases does, use the second person-singular pronoun. Here the cultural status of the participant overrules his discourse status, so that in many cases the central participant of a narrative is addressed by a non-central participant with the second person-singular pronoun, while the central participant addresses a non-central participant with the second person-plural pronoun.

Many examples of honorifics and plurals used for respect are found in "Receiving Rewards," since there are participants in this story from different social status/background. The central participant of that narrative, the boy, seems to be from the Kshatriya caste, since he, in the end, turns out to be a king. However, because of bad circumstances, he has

lowered himself to be a Vaishya, and is selling things to support himself and his mother. In the first half of the story he is treated like an ordinary boy (young man) who has not accomplished anything in life. The king addresses him with *ela chok6ra* 'hey boy' a term which indicates some disrespect, and uses the second person-singular pronoun (S59). However, when he learns the purpose for the boy's travel, he becomes polite and addresses him as *bhai* 'brother', a polite term used to address any unfamiliar male. This form of address is used for the boy by all the participants whom he meets on his way to find the god (by the king in S52, by the hermit in S70,80; by the tree in S100; by the elephant in S125,131). The use of *bhai* indicates politeness, but all the participants in the narrative also use second person-singular for the boy. This shows that, even though they are not disrespectful to him, they do not want to attribute to him higher status than he deserves.

In the second half of the story, when the boy returns home after meeting the god, we have a slightly different picture. In this part of the narrative all of the participants except the hermit use the second person-plural pronoun to address him. The hermit, who is from the Brahmin caste, maintains his high social status by addressing the boy with the singular form.

Each of the other participants in this narrative represents one of the other three castes, as mentioned earlier. The king represents the Kshatriya caste, the tree Vaishya, and the elephant Shudra. So, as the boy returns home, he moves from a person lower caste to one of higher caste. As he receives gifts from each of these participants, he attains higher and higher status. When he reaches the king, he has reached a status equal with that of

the king, so even the king addresses him with utmost respect: 'you are my most respected son-in-law' (RR S233). Although the Brahmin caste is the highest one, a king is practically over a Brahmin. Thus, the priest in the royal court works under the rulership of the king. That is why the order here is reversed: Shudra, Vaishya, Brahmin and Kshatriya, rather than Shudra, Vaishya, Kshatriya and Brahmin. However, the higher social status of the Brahmin is still seen in that the hermit, a Brahmin, uses the singular form of address for the boy, whereas the king, a Kshatriya, uses the plural form for him to show respect.

Another narrative, "Harbham Bhuto," involves main participants from three different castes. The central participant, Harbham is an ordinary farmer from the Vaishya caste. The two non-central major participants are from the higher castes: King Deshalji from the Kshatriya caste and the priest Motichand from the Brahmin caste. Because of his comparatively lower caste background, Harbham, the central participant of the narrative, is always referred to with the third person-singular pronoun, or, when addressed directly, with the second person-singular pronoun. The king and the priest are referred to with the third person-plural pronoun and, when addressed directly, with the most polite form of the second person pronoun. Both Harbham and the priest Motichand use the most polite form of the second person pronoun *ap* 'you, plural for respect' for the king (S64,84). The king and the priest receive equal respect from each other. The priest addresses the king with *bawa* 'honorable' (S50) and waits for his 'order'. The king addresses the priest as *gor6-ji* 'most honorable priest' (S49) and *puj* 'most reverend' (S56,61,65). As mentioned above in discussing "Receiving Rewards," the Brahmin accepts the royal authority over him and the king accepts the

most honorable position of the priest in his court. They both respect each other very highly. However, Harbham does not receive any respect from either of them because of his lower caste background, even though he has the higher status in the narrative, being the central participant.

In the narrative "The Smart Merchant" the merchant, who is the central participant, is from the Vaishya caste. The cheaters are probably from the Shudra caste. There is no use of second person pronouns in the narrative except at the end where the merchant addresses one of the thieves directly. Because of the lower social status of the thief, the merchant uses the second person-singular pronoun to address him (S96, 98).

In addition to second person pronouns, which indicate the social rank of a participant, there is a usage of third person-plural pronouns, mainly by the narrator, for a person who has high social rank. For example, in "The Smart Merchant" the narrator uses only the third person-plural pronoun for the merchant and only the singular pronoun when referring to one of the two thieves.

In "Receiving Rewards" the central participant is always referred to by the narrator with the third person singular pronoun, mainly because of his young age. His importance and status are raised when he returns after meeting the god. Then, all the participants except the hermit address him with plural pronouns to show respect. However, the narrator continues to use the singular form of the third person pronoun because for him there is no change in the status of the boy.

The mother in "Receiving Rewards" is always referred to with the third person-plural pronoun by the narrator (even though she is a minor participant

in the narrative), because of her old age and the respected position of old person in the society.

In "Harbham Bhuto" the central participant, Harbham, is always referred to by the narrator with the third person-singular pronoun because of his younger age and lower social status. The non-central participants, King Deshalji and the priest Motichand, are always referred to with third person-plural pronouns because of their higher social status.

7.2.2.4. Form of Reference/Noun Phrase

Another way the socially higher or lower status of a participant is preserved in narratives is by the form of reference, or the form of the noun phrase, used to refer to him. When the narrator needs to refer to a participant explicitly by other than a pronoun, he usually uses the first term of introduction. However, sometimes he uses a modifying phrase or a term other than the one used at the time the participant was first introduced in the narrative. He does this either to show the social status of the participant or to indicate a cultural stereotype characteristic of that participant.

In "The Smart Merchant" the central participant, the merchant, is usually referred to by his first term of introduction, **sheth**. **Sheth** is a term of respect. It indicates an honorable merchant who manages his business skillfully and honestly and uses his money carefully. A clause with **sheth** as its grammatical subject requires plural subject-marker on the verb to show respect. However, six times in the narrative another term **waniyo** 'merchant' is used to refer to the merchant. Unlike **sheth**, **waniyo** is a term of disrespect and indicates that a person is crafty and uses all kinds of tricks

to squeeze money from other people. It has the masculine singular ending -o and is never used with the plural for respect.

The term **sheth** is the unmarked term in the narrative. Each time the merchant is referred to by the other term, **waniyo**, it is to indicate the cultural stereotype of craftiness. This is very clearly seen where the merchant uses this term for himself:

Example 1

(SM 98)

tŭ th6g ch-e hŭ th6g-n-o p6n guru
 2 sg cheater be-pres 1 sg cheater-poss-m.sg even teacher

waniyo ch-ŭ .
 merchant be-1 sg.pres

'If you are a professional cheater, then I am a **waniyo**, a teacher of even a professional cheater.'

Here the merchant says that he is a **waniyo**, one who can even teach the professional cheater some new tricks; he is much smarter than the professional cheater and could, if he wanted, even cheat the professional cheater:

Example 2

(SM 19)

th6g-ne p6n th6g-i ja-y te-j sach-o
 cheater-acc also cheat-cmpl go-psbl that-emph true-m.sg

waniy-o tem te man-t-a
 merchant-n.sg such 3 pl believe-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp

h6-t-a .
 be-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp

'He believed that the true **waniyo** is the man who can cheat even the professional cheater.'

The cheaters themselves are aware of this culturally accepted characteristic and consider it a test of their skill at cheating to try to cheat him:

Example 3

'They understood the fact that the waniyo was smart and could cheat even the professional cheater'.

Not only does waniyo indicate craftiness, but also it sometime indicates disrespect or even contempt for the person for whom the term is used. This is seen in one example where the thieves use this term for the merchant with adjective meaning 'rascal':

Example 4

(SM 86)

'The thief thought that this was a good opportunity to snatch a total of five hundred rupees by grabbing the rascal waniya's nose'.

In "Harbham Bhuto," where the central participant is referred to by name, he is usually called by his first name, "Harbham." Thus "Harbham" is the unmarked term of reference. His full name, mentioned in the initial introduction, is Harbham Bhuto. Harbham is his first name, and Bhuto is a nickname which indicates that he has a carefree life-style. Only one time in the story (S69) he is referred to by his full name after the first introduction. This occurs where he is reintroduced after a long absence.

One other time Harbham is referred to by a descriptive phrase, 'an Ahir from Sanghad village' (S98). Ahir is the name of the tribe to which he belongs. This tribe is known for ruggedness and fearless strength, so this

descriptive phrase indicates that no matter what the situation may be he is not afraid and is going to win.

Two sentences later (S100) Harbham is referred to by a similar phrase, 'an Ahir young man from the country'. The phrase noted above in S98 gives the narrator's opinion that Harbham is one who is not going to lose, no matter how strong his opponent. Here in S100, however, the narrator reports the skeptical thoughts of the spectators—their doubts and worries that Harbham cannot win because he is a simple farmer, inexperienced in such contests, untrained, uncivilized and unable to plan and think ahead. Lying behind the narrator's observation in S98 is the long description of Harbham given at the beginning of the story, where the unusual feat he performed in lifting a bullock-cart was reported. Lying behind the spectators' worries is the cultural view that a villager is a simple uneducated person, incapable of doing anything outstanding. So, the phrases in S98 and S100, even though very similar in words, are understood on the basis of the cultural information to express opposite meanings. One, S98, expresses strong confidence in Harbham's winning; the other, S100, expresses doubts—rather, assurance of his losing.

In both of the above cases, the case of the merchant in "The Smart Merchant" and of Harbham in "Harbham Bhuto," the marked term of reference indicates the feeling of "looking down upon" the participant, whether by the narrator or by participants in the narrative. Harbham is looked down upon as an Ahir from country by the educated city folks; they think of him as not having any skill because he is not educated. The term *waniyo* is always in the derogatory sense. A merchant is looked down upon by some people in society as miserly and crafty. The description of the merchant at the

beginning of the narrative supports this common belief. However, the narrator maintains respect toward him by specifically taking note of the fact that he is an honest merchant and does not cheat.

Participants of high cultural status are referred to in the narratives by forms that indicate great respect, especially when such participants have lower status in the narrative, being non-central or minor participants. For example, King Deshalji in "Harbham Bhuto" is introduced in the narrative with the phrase, 'The great king Deshalji'. After this initial introduction, whenever he is referred to by name, *ji*, the respect marker, is used. Likewise, the priest Motichand in the same narrative is always referred to either with this respect marker *-ji*, or with a term indicating very high respect: *motich6d gor-ji* 'the respected priest Motichand' (S102), or a *gorji m6haraj* 'this very honorable priest'.

There are certain terms which automatically demand respect without any use of a respect marker or a modifying adjective indicating respect. For example, the term *doshima* 'an old mother' (literally, an old woman mother) is a culturally fixed term of respect for an old woman. So when the narrator uses this term, he indicates the very respected cultural status of this particular participant.

Sometimes, at least in one of the narratives studied, the term of reference for a participant changes at different stages of the narrative. In "Receiving Rewards" the central participant is referred to by the narrator using three different terms of reference. At the beginning of the story he is introduced as *dik6ro* 'the son' (S2). When he sets out to search for the god, he is referred to as 'the young traveler' or simply as 'the young man'.

After he meets the god, he is referred to as 'the boy' until, at the end of the story, he returns home to his old mother, where he is again referred to as 'the son'.

There are both linguistic and cultural factors involved in changing the reference for the central participant of this narrative. In the discourse structure the narrative can be broken down into three major divisions, each of which has a different participant reference pattern for the central participant. The participant reference changes each time there is a crucial transition point. In the first section, where the mother entertains the god as an unknown guest, the central participant is referred to as 'the son'. In the second section when the boy is on his way to search for the god and meets the other participants with their problems, he is referred to as 'the young man'. In the final section where he meets the god, finds solutions for the problems, and returns home, sharing the solutions to the problems with the other participants, he is referred to as 'the boy'.

This is an event oriented rather than a participant oriented narrative. In event oriented narratives, events are at the center of the narrative rather than participants; what is happening is more important than who is involved. An event oriented narrative usually does not even refer to the participants by their names, but, rather by social terms of reference. The event oriented narratives like this one are not consistent in participant reference. The participants are referred to by different reference terms at different stages of the narrative. This is probably because event oriented narrative does not put much emphasis on participants.

However, these discourse oriented explanations do not explain why a particular term of reference is chosen at a particular stage of the

narrative. For that we need a cultural explanation. The term of reference for the central participant in "Receiving Rewards" changes at the different stages of the narrative because the narrator wants to bring out his social relationship--intimacy or distance—with the other participants he comes into contact with. The thematic participant in the first episode is the old mother. That is why the central participant of the narrative is referred to as 'the son' in this section, indicating his relationship to the thematic participant.

In the second part of the narrative, when the boy is on his way to search for the god, he is referred to as *juwan* 'young man'. *Juwan* is a formal term which indicates some social distance and lack of familiarity. The central participant meets all the participants for the first time in this part of the narrative. They are total strangers to him. This is why the narrator chooses to refer to him by this term.

In the third part of the narrative, when the central participant meets the god, he is referred to with the term *chok6ro* 'the boy'. The term *chok6ro* does not emphasize his youth, but, rather, indicates familiarity. This term indicates relatedness to someone, as in 'this is my *chok6ro*' or 'whose *chok6ro* is that'? It is usually translated as 'boy', but, depending on the context, it can also mean 'son' (Deshpande 1978:366). So, when the narrator refers to the central participant of the narrative as *chok6ro* he indicates an intimate relationship of the other participants with him. All the participants he meets now not only know him but also feel close to him because of the great favor he has done for each of them.

There is no contradiction in referring to the central participant as 'young man' in one part of this narrative and as 'boy' in another. There is

quite a difference of age between the boy and the other participants. He is not yet married, while the king is old enough to have a daughter of marriageable age, and the hermit is old enough to address him as 'son'. So, in relation to the other participants he can be referred to as **chok6ro**. However, in relation to his own age he can be referred to as 'young man'. He has already reached a sufficient age that the king offers him his daughter in marriage.

We have seen, then, that the cultural status and identification of a participant is preserved in narrative by the use of various linguistic devices, such as: longer background description for a culturally significant participant at the time of his initial introduction; the use or non-use of the deictic **pelo** for reintroducing a participant; the use of honorifics and certain forms of address; and the form of the noun phrase used to refer to a participant after his initial introduction.

The use of these features cannot be properly explained on the basis of discourse considerations alone. When the cultural parameters are taken into account, it becomes clear that they have special functions in the discourse and that they are not exceptions but, rather, culturally explainable usages.

7.3. Cultural Symbols and Narrative Structure

The analysis of narrative structure on a purely linguistic basis is not enough since much information in discourse is presented through cultural symbols. Understanding these cultural symbols brings more adequate understanding of the narrative structure.

In "The Smart Merchant" there is a progressive build-up of tension from the beginning of the narrative to the end not only on the discourse level

(chapter 2) but also on the cultural level. This progressive build up of tension is expressed through cultural symbols. The water jug, mustache, and nose represent progressively higher values in the culture (sec.6.7). The cheaters begin at the lowest level. They fail there, and keep moving to higher levels. They begin at the lowest level when they attempt to snatch the water jug. They go a step further when they grab the merchant's mustache. Their attempt reaches to its peak when they try to grab his nose. Thus, the profile of this narrative (chapter 2) reflects rising tension not only in the narrative structure, but also in the cultural domain.

These three cultural symbols and the cheaters' attempts to gain control of them one after another validate an analysis of the narrative structure which suggest that it has three peaks, rather than one which proposes two peaks, based on the two locations where the attacks take place, one outside the town and the other at the merchant's home.

Likewise, the geographical locations in the two participant oriented narratives have symbolic value, as mentioned before. The narrative eventline moves as the locations change and rises to its peak on the home territory of the central participants, where they defeat their opponents completely. While the cultural symbols in "The Smart Merchant" suggest the progressive daring of the attempts of the cheaters, the locations indicate the progressive defeats of the opponents. At the beginning of the narratives the opponents are defeated on their own territory, the locations where they feel most comfortable. However, that is not total defeat. They do not quit; rather, they follow the central participant with much stronger force and firm commitment to destroy him—in the case of the merchant, probably to steal a

large chunk of his property; in the case of Harbham, to kill him. The tension builds up to its climax and the narratives rise to their peaks when the opponents are totally defeated on the home territory of the central participants.

7.4. Cultural Information, the Message of the Narratives, and Narrative Structure

On the basis of the cultural information presented in Chapter 6 it is now possible to state clearly the message of the narratives. Knowing the message of the narratives and the manner in which it is presented, helps to confirm the analysis of narrative structure presented in Chapter 2. Thus, cultural information, the message of the narratives, and the discourse structure of the narratives are all interrelated; the discourse analysis is not complete until we have included all three.

In spite of having different themes and participants from different backgrounds, the three narratives present one common message: every individual and every group in society has a specific *dh6rm6*. Those who carry out their responsibility to the best of their ability are rewarded and become successful. Those who do not carry out their prescribed *dh6rm6* are punished.

7.4.1. Development of the Message

In some cases the message of the narrative is explicitly presented and its didactic peak coincides with its linguistic peak. This is the case in "Receiving Rewards" as will be seen below (Sec.7.4.1.3.2.). On the other hand, in other cases the message is not explicitly stated, but can be derived

from information about the culture. This is the case in the two participant oriented narratives. In these the message is presented through the symbolic significance of the geographical locations where the events of the narrative take place, through the manner in which the central participant defeats his opponents, and through the didactic peak which follows the narrative peak.

7.4.1.1. Geographical Locations

The geographical locations, as mentioned before, represent social status, specifically the occupation and caste background of the participants in these narratives. The introductory descriptions of each central participant provide information as to how well respected that person is in society and how well he does his job (HB 1-8; SM 1-21).

7.4.1.2. The Manner in which the Opponents are Defeated

Besides the fact that the status of each of the central participants is indicated by their geographical locations, the manner in which they defeat their opponents brings out the message in both narratives. Both of the central participants ultimately defeat their opponents by doing something that is directly related to their culturally assigned role: The merchant defeats the thieves by doing what is his special skill as a businessman, bargaining. He offers the price of his mustache to save his nose:

'Sheth shouted loudly, "Shethani, Shethani, run over here quickly. Bring a hundred rupees with you. A thief has grabbed my mustache. Because he has grabbed my mustache, this will be over by (paying) only one hundred rupees. But if he grabs my nose, (we) will have to pay five hundred rupees. It is a saving of four hundred rupees"' (S 75-82).

Although the merchant says this only to deceive the thieves, his performance indicates that he is able to defeat his opponents because he is skilled as a businessman. Thus he conquers his opponents by performing his socially assigned role.

Similarly, in "Harbham Bhuto" Harbham defeats his opponents by doing his usual farm work in an unusual manner. Instead of breaking up mud clods with the help of oxen, he does it by using the heavy iron pointed plow. When his opponents see that, they lose their courage and turn back, completely frustrated. Harbham is able to defeat his opponents because he is unusually skilled in performing his task as a farmer.

Thus, in both these narratives the manner in which the opponents are the ultimately defeated by the central participants brings out the message: if a person faithfully performs his socially assigned role to the best of his ability, he will be able to withstand any opponent, no matter how strong their opponent may be; those who are not faithful to their roles in society, but rebel against the social structure will ultimately be defeated.

7.4.1.3. Didactic Peak

Besides being presented through the symbolic value of geographical locations and the manner in which the central participants defeat their opponents, the message is also presented through the didactic peak of each of the three narratives.

The linguistic structure of the narratives moves along by the use of linguistic devices toward a peak (chapters 2 and 3). The didactic structure, on the other hand, moves along by the use of cultural features; it reaches its peak where the message is presented by cultural means.

The concept of didactic peak was first suggested by Woods (1980) in reference to Halbi. She contrasted action peak and didactic peak (Figure 30).

<u>Didactic Peak</u>	<u>Narrative Peak</u>
No chronological progression	Marked chronological progression
Cyclic structure	Forward movement
2 participants only and little description	Crowded with participants and much description
Crowded with props and extensive descriptions	Limited props and limited description
Dialogue	Events

Figure 30. Didactic Peak Contrasted with Narrative Peak (Woods 1980:281)

Most of the features of didactic peak mentioned by Woods are true also for Gujarati folktales. Chronological progression stops at a didactic peak and someone talks. The talk is presented both in a dialogue form, as in "Harbham Bhuto" and in "Receiving Reward", and in a monologue form, as in "The Smart Merchant." The cyclic structure is expressed in at least one of the three folktales—"Receiving Rewards." The other features of the didactic peak in the three folktales are discussed below.

7.4.1.3.1. "The Smart Merchant" and "Harbham Bhuto"

In "The Smart Merchant" and "Harbham Bhuto" the linguistic peak and the didactic peak do not coincide. The linguistic peak is expressed through linguistic features, whereas the didactic peak is expressed through cultural symbols. Together—the linguistic peak and the didactic peak—present the complete message.

The eventline of these narratives reaches its climax when the wrestlers and the thieves receive total defeat. This climax is expressed on the surface level peak (HB 167-188/SM 88-94) through such linguistic features as the use of compound verbs, fast movement indicated by the events happening in quick succession, and the absence of verbs in simple past tense withoutcompounded form (chapter 2).

The didactic peak in both of these narratives follows the narrative peak and is presented in a cultural way--through the laughter/pain opposition mentioned in Chapter 5. The pain is not presented explicitly, but it is clearly implied as the counterpart of the laughter. The laughter expresses not only the thrill of victory, but, more than that, the agony of defeat. In this way it brings out the message of the narrative. McLendon has noted the didactic function of laughter in Eastern Pomo folktales:

One can only laugh when a certain action is punished if one has accepted the notion of the inappropriateness of that behavior. One's laughter is tantamount to saying, 'I would never do anything as foolish as that' (behavior which elicits ridicule). This laughter is thus coopting since it serves indirectly to inculcate a certain ethical point of view (1977:170).

In "The Smart Merchant" the didactic peak is the episode which follows the final linguistic peak of the narrative (S95-99). It is the merchant's victory speech addressed to the thieves:

'Sheth laughed, "Khi, Khi, Khi", and began to say, "Well man, have you lost your senses? If I did not let even a jug with a hole come into your hand, then how have you come to get five hundred rupees? If you are a professional cheater, then I am a **waniyo**, a teacher of even a professional cheater. If you ever get into my hand (way) again, you will lose your life"'.
 1

Both the manner in which the speech is delivered—with loud laughter—and the content of the speech make the message very explicit. The pain and embarrassment of defeat and the total frustration of the thieves are very evident. The laughter and the implied pain of embarrassment make it clear that what the narrative is telling is, 'don't ever be as foolish as the cheaters'.

In "Harbham Bhuto" there are two didactic peaks since there are two different episodes in the narrative involving different participants. The first narrative peak in this story occurs when Harbham finishes his big job of bringing hay from his fields to his home without any explicit help from his uncle (S16-23). The post-peak episode is the didactic peak of this part of the narrative (S24-28) and is a dialogue between Harbham and his uncle. Harbham's uncle, amazed at seeing the big pile of hay stacked up in Harbham's yard, asks Harbham how he has done that without a bullock cart. Harbham responds with a big smile and tells him how he has finished his big task.

Here the laughter is tantamount to saying, 'See, I finished my job anyhow, even though you did not help me'. In a society where everyone needs everyone else's help at one time or another, it becomes everyone's *dharm* to give help when requested, especially when the one who is requesting it is a family member. Harbham's uncle fails to carry out that responsibility, so receives embarrassment in return.

The second, and final, didactic peak of this narrative occurs at the end following the final narrative peak, where Harbham defeats the wrestlers, who turn away totally frustrated and embarrassed (S167-185). The final episode, which is the closure of the narrative, serves as the didactic peak (S189-194).

Here again, the didactic peak is a dialogue. It takes place between the central participant, who has defeated his opponents, and his wife, who has witnessed the unusual way her husband defeated his opponents. Hiru, Harbham's wife, asks Harbham what would have happened if his opponents had come closer and carried out their intention to kill him. He, in a carefree manner, responds that he would have had to break two more mud clods. Before Hiru asks Harbham this question, the narrator comments, 'When she saw (her) husband's miraculous act, she put (her) hand on (her) mouth and laughed inside for a long time' (S189).

Hiru's laughter and the content of her conversation with Harbham bring out the message of the narrative. It should be noted that Hiru's laughter is not obvious to the wrestlers: she is laughing inside (mind-in-and-mind-in) with her face covered so that the wrestlers cannot see it. In the other two didactic peaks (SM 95-99, HB 24-28) the laughter is directed toward the opponents because of their foolish actions. Here the laughter is directed toward the reader, or the audience, to inculcate in them the ethical point that no one should be so foolish as to go outside the limit of his *dh6rm6*, as the wrestlers have done. If anyone does, the result will be great embarrassment.

Several features should be noted here which are common to the didactic peaks of these narratives. All three didactic peaks--one in "The Smart Merchant" and two in "Harbham Bhuto"—consist of dialogues between the central participant and one of the other participants. In general dialogues do not play any significant part in furthering the eventlines of these narratives since there is only an exchange of information and no important

event takes place. However, from the point of view of the message of the narratives dialogue plays a very significant part, as is evident from its use at the didactic peaks.

Since the didactic peaks of these narratives do not coincide with the narrative peaks, it would be interesting to make didactic profiles of them. There is considerable rise and fall in the narrative profile, reflecting rises and falls on the notional level. However, the didactic profile is usually straight, rising slowly to its peak near the end of narrative (Figures 31 and 32.)

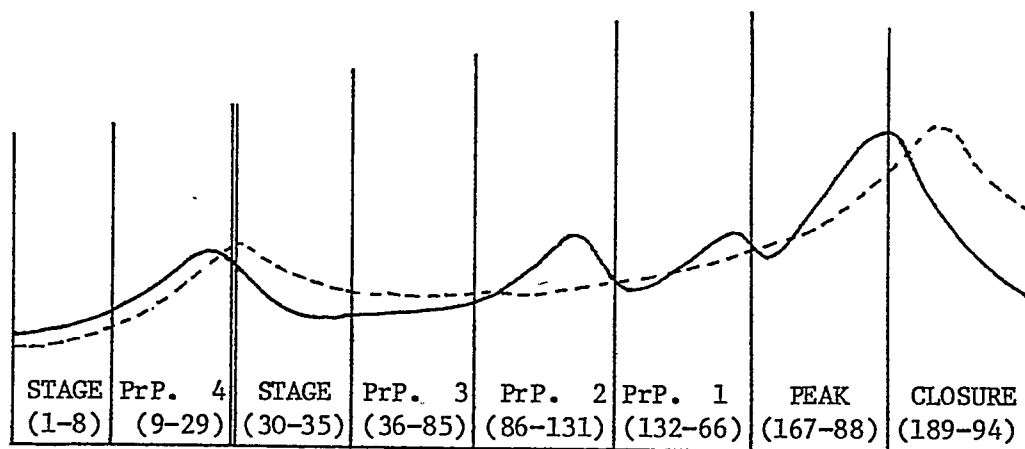


Figure 31. Narrative and Didactic Profile of "Harbham Bhuto"

—————Narr. Profile, - - - -Did. Profile

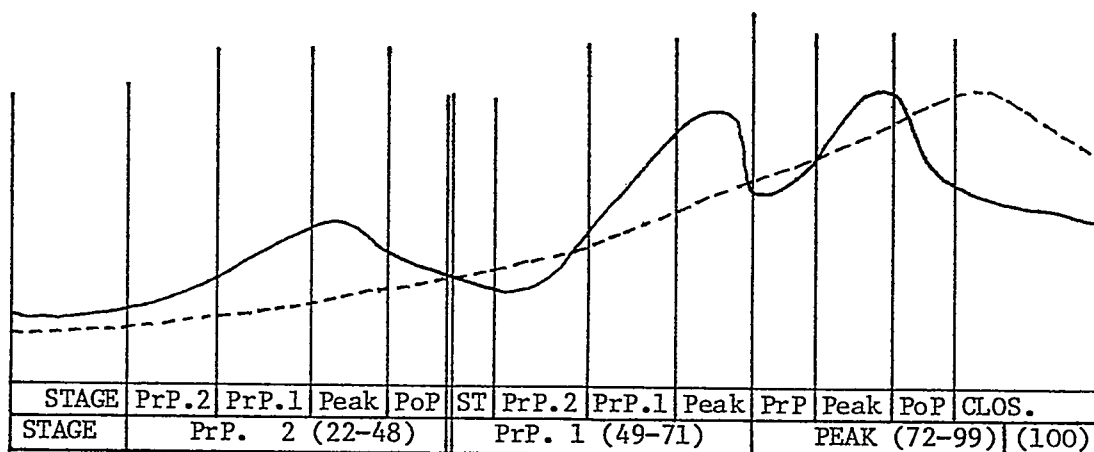


Figure 32. Narrative and Didactic Profile of "The Smart Merchant"

Another feature that the three didactic peaks have in common is that they are presented in a cultural way—in these two narratives through the use of laughter, which indicates inappropriateness, or foolishness, of the action of the defeated participant. The narrative peak, on the other hand, is revealed through surface structure features and the semantic eventline.

The didactic peak either coincides with the linguistic peak, as will be seen in the case of "Receiving Rewards," or follows the linguistic peak, as is the case in the other two narratives. This happens because the didactic peak follows from the narrative peak. It comes as a natural follow up. Therefore, it cannot precede the narrative peak. Possibly, of course, the message could be presented as a preamble, something like this: everyone should follow his assigned **dh6rm6**. Let me tell you a story to show what happens to those who do not fulfill their **dh6rm6s**.

Another common feature of didactic peaks is that there is one didactic peak near the end of a narrative, following the final linguistic peak. On

the other hand, there can be several narrative peaks, depending on the number of embedded narratives in the story. For example, there are three narrative peaks in "The Smart Merchant," but there is only one didactic peak which is near the end. We noted two didactic peaks in "Harbham Bhuto" because there are actually two separate narratives placed side by side, joined together and forming one overall discourse on the basis of the same central participant and the continuous theme of his unusual strength (chapter 2).

This leads us into a discussion of the significance of recognizing the didactic peak in discourse analysis: First, the didactic peak is a significant part of the narrative. As a matter of fact, from the point of view of the narrator and his purpose behind telling—or writing—the story, this is probably the most significant part of the narrative. If we were to stop at the narrative peak and let the didactic peak pass as an insignificant part of the narrative structure—only a closure or a post-peak episode—we would miss a very significant part of the narrative.

The purpose of the narrative structure is to entertain. The narrative reaches its peak when the excitement builds up to a climax. The purpose of the didactic peak, on the other hand, is to present a message that validates the culture's values. Discourse analysis of any narrative is incomplete until we recognize both of these peaks. This is especially true for folk narratives, since one of their major functions is to inculcate cultural values in the hearer.

In these two narratives the narrative peak presents the success of the hero and the defeat of his opponent, while the didactic peak presents the joy of victory and the embarrassment and pain of defeat. Both together present the message of the narrative. The narrative peak, without the didactic peak,

does not have any lasting value, except entertainment for a short time. The didactic peak, on the other hand, does not have any grounds for the value it wants to present without the narrative. The linguistic peak tells us what happened—for example, the defeat of the opponents in these two narratives. The didactic peak, using cultural means, tells us why it happened. In these narratives the reason for the defeat of the opponents is that they have rebelled against the social structure, they have done something foolish. Both of these together—the linguistic and didactic peaks—tell us what should happen. What happens in the linguistic domain is not the most important aspect of folk narratives; the most important thing is why it happened and what should happen. These three aspects—what happened, why it happened and what should happen—tie the whole discourse together and make it a cohesive whole. The combination of linguistic and didactic structures answers the questions what? and why? and adding a new parameter as well: should.

7.4.1.3.2. Receiving Rewards

In "Receiving Rewards" the didactic peak coincides with the narrative peak. As discussed in Chapter 2, the narrative peak here is expressed through extended dialogue. In the first half of the narrative the young man, on his way to search for the god, meets four other participants, each of whom shares with him a problem for which he wants the young man to seek a solution from the god. In the middle of the narrative the young man meets the god and inquires of him about the other participants' problems. The god tells him the reason for each of those problems and also how each of the participants can be released from his miserable condition. This extended dialogue between

the central participant of the story and the god forms the narrative peak. After this peak the narrative structure begins its descent.

This narrative peak is also the didactic peak. Each of the four participants suffers because he has failed to fulfill his prescribed *dharmas*. Once the participants begin to perform their *dharmas*, not only will the problem disappear, but they will also be able to make their necessary contributions to fulfill lacks in the society (sec. 6.6).

Thus, in this narrative the narrative peak coincides with the didactic peak. The extended dialogue which represents the narrative climax also brings out the message of the narrative. However, even though the narrative peak and didactic peak coincide, the linguistic structure and the didactic structure do not coincide. The two structures move in different directions. The linguistic structure indicates rising tension on the narrative eventline as the list of problems accumulates. The narrative culminates in the peak expressed through the extended dialogue. After that, the descending cline of the narrative begins as the central participant shares the information he has received from the god with each of the other participants (see the narrative structure in sec.2.2.3.).

The didactic structure, on the other hand, moves in a descending cline until the didactic peak and after that an ascending cline. The descending cline in the first half of the narrative and the ascending cline in the second half can be explained on the basis of the cultural information presented in Chapter 6. As the central participant of the narrative proceeds on his way to find the god he is going further and further down culturally. The rank and status of the participants he meets gets lower and lower as he proceeds. First, he meets the king, then the hermit, who is a Brahmin, then

the tree, who represents the Vaishya caste, and finally the elephant, who represents the Shudra, or lowest caste. He lowers himself further and further as he makes himself available to help participants of progressively lower rank, even to the extreme of associating with a Shudra.

In the middle of the narrative, which is the didactic/narrative peak, he reaches a level plane where he receives solutions to every problem. From there on he moves upward in the social hierarchy, starting from the Shudra and ending with the king.

He not only moves upward in the social hierarchy of the other participants, but also moves upward in his own status. As he shares the solutions with each of the participants, he receives rewards in return. Each of these puts him one step higher in his own social status. When he reaches the king, he has attained such a high status that the king himself goes out to meet him and gives him a royal welcome (S230; compare this with S47, where the king addresses him 'Hey, who are you?' in S239).

The upward cline of the story following the didactic peak is indicated also by the kinds of rewards the boy receives from the four participants. The rewards are more and more significant as he moves up. From the Shudra (elephant) he receives a servant; from the Vaishya (tree) he receives wealth; from the Brahmin he receives knowledge of the scriptures; and from the king he receives his wife.

The movement of the didactic and narrative structures in different directions is represented by placing the narrative structure diagram (chapter 3) beside the didactic structure diagram. The narrative structure is exactly the mirror image of the didactic structure (Figure 33).

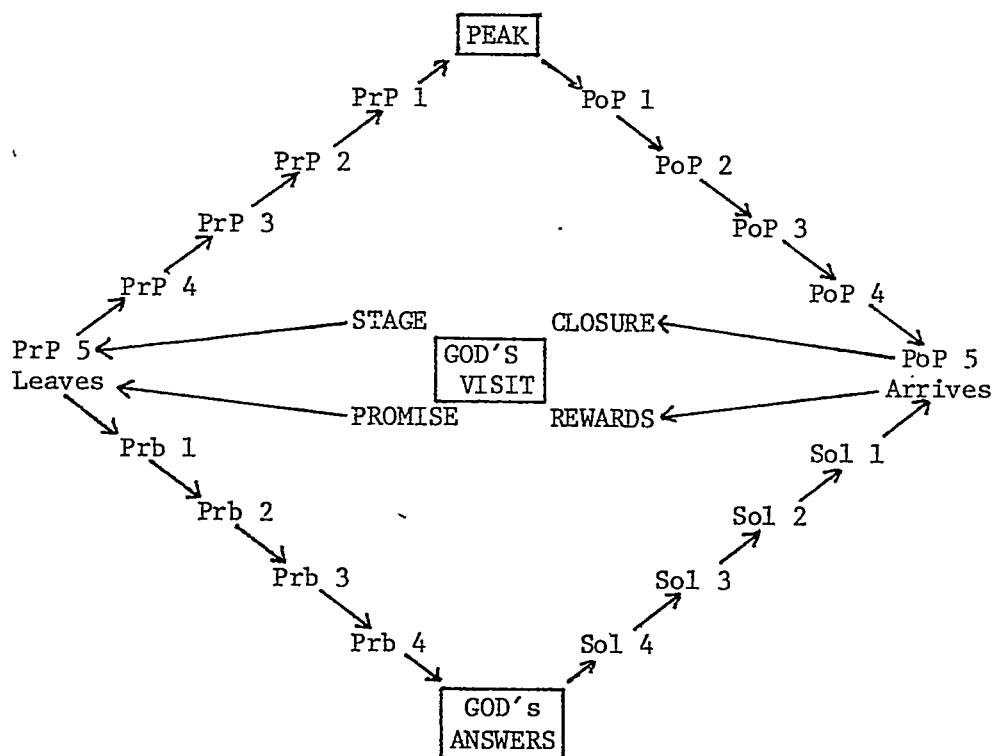


Figure 33. Narrative and Didactic Structure of "Receiving Rewards"

Discussion in this section has shown that cultural features, the message of the narratives studied, and their narrative structure are interrelated. Cultural information helps to delineate the message. Then, knowing the message helps to understand the narrative structure in two ways: First, it brings cohesion to the narrative. This cohesion results from expected cultural sequences made explicit. For example, it is expected in Hindu society that the hero, who represents good, is going to win and the villain, because of his rebellion against the prescribed norms of society, is going lose. The narrative structure, in turn, carries the text forward along the lines of the message.

Secondly, cultural information and knowledge of the message validates the linguistic analysis. It provides correlates for the surface structure analysis on the cultural/didactic level. It shows that the rising tension reflected at the surface structure peak correlates with underlying tension on the cultural/didactic level. For example, in "The Smart Merchant" the water jug, mustache, and nose which are cultural symbols, validate our three-peak analysis of that story, with the final peak being the most significant. In both of the participant oriented narratives the geographical locations correlate with rising tension and surface structure peaks. In "Receiving Rewards" the surface structure is an exact mirror image of the didactic structure.

The movement of the linguistic structure basically is linear. Whereas, the movement of the social structure of a myth is both linear and circular. Combination of both linear and circular is necessary because culture is basically not linear but also circular and associative. Linguistic analysis needs deeper level, or more abstract level, perspective to relate it with society and culture.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this study has been to analyze three Gujarati folktales in relation to their linguistic structure and their cultural context. In the analysis of their linguistic structure the folktales are studied in three aspects: (1) their overall linguistic structure, (2) features in verb and sentence structure which signal the relative structural information presented in narrative discourse, and (3) use of nouns and pronouns in participant reference.

In its overall linguistic structure each folktale has a title, stage, body, and closure. The body consists of episodes which are labeled as pre-peak episodes, peak, and post-peak episodes. Many times the episodes are themselves embedded discourses, showing a hierarchical arrangement of discourses within a discourse. The surface slots of a narrative--i.e., stage etc--correlate with plot-structure slots such as exposition, inciting moment, climax, and denouement. The surface structure features associated with a given section of a narrative help to identify the notional component of that section. The stage is marked by temporal and locational expressions and existential and stative types of verbs used with the progressive aspect. The climax of the story correlates with the surface structure peak and is marked

by compound verbs used in completive aspect, usually reporting a chain of events that happen in quick succession. The progression of the narrative structure as it leads up to a peak and then drops off is presented graphically in profiles. The highest point in a profile corresponds with the peak of the narrative, which in turn correlates with the climactic point in the plot structure. In addition to the profiles of overall narrative structure, profiles of the embedded narratives are also presented.

Further it was noted how sentence structure and verb structure interact with aspect usage to signal various levels of information in narrative discourse. There are seven levels: four in the material that is on the eventline and three in the material that is off the eventline. The primary eventline, which contains the most pivotal events, uses punctiliar compound verbs. The secondary eventline uses non-compounded verbs with punctiliar aspect. Medial verbs with two different forms present two different levels of information. Similarly, background information is also divided into various levels: compound verbs with non-completive aspect present primary background information. Non-compound verbs with progressive and perfective aspects present secondary background information. Medial verbs whose final verb is off the eventline present background information that is subordinate to the information presented by their final verbs.

With regard to the third aspect it was noted that the form of the initial introduction of a participant in discourse depends on the rank of that participant--whether he is the central participant or a non-central one--and on the type of narrative--whether an event oriented narrative or a participant oriented. Three different ways were noted by which participants are traced through a narrative. Nominal reference is used when there

is involvement of more than one participant, when eventline material resumes after some background information, and after a paragraph break. Pronominal reference is used for the thematic participant of a paragraph and for the central participant in extended description. Zero anaphora is used mainly on the clause level in dependent clauses or in conjoined independent clauses. Zero anaphora is seen across sentences where there is a chain of events performed by one participant.

With regard to the analysis of cultural information it was noted that, despite the different themes and despite their having participants from different social backgrounds, the three narratives are very similar in information structure. This similarity is seen especially in their economic and cosmological oppositions. There is a common message in the three narratives: harmony in society is preserved by everyone's doing his assigned task; those who follow social norms are rewarded and those who do not are punished. The narratives illustrate the organized structure observable at every phase of the Hindu society. That society is structured around a hierarchical arrangement of four castes: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra. The Hindu home is structured around a hierarchical arrangement of authority: man, wife, son, and daughter. An individual's life is arranged around four successive stages: student, householder, forest dweller, and hermit. A four-level hierarchical structure is also seen in the Hindu supernatural realm, where the gods and supernatural beings are ranked hierarchically. The value system of Hindu society is based on the concept of *dharm*. Every group and every individual in the society, as well as every god, has an inherent *dharm*. *Dharm* holds the universe together.

Finally, an attempt is made to correlate the cultural information with the linguistic analysis. This is done mainly in two areas: (1) participant reference and (2) the structure of narratives. Some exceptions to the usual system of participant reference in narrative can be explained by cultural information relating to the social background of participants. This culturally appropriate usage helps to reinforce the message. Knowing the message helps in the understanding of the narrative structure in two ways: first it brings cohesion to the narratives. This cohesion results from culturally expected sequences' being made explicit. Secondly, cultural information and knowledge of the message validate analysis of the linguistic structure. They show that rising tension reflected at the surface structure peak correlates with underlying tension on the cultural/didactic level.

This study shows that from the linguistic point of view studying a language from the perspective of discourse gives new insights into that language. Various features of the language, when seen in the light of discourse structure, assume heightened significance.

This study further shows that even the discourse perspective is not enough. Discourse must be studied in its sociological/cultural context. The meaning and linguistic structure of a text are governed by the culture.

This study attempts to combine two approaches and to show how these approaches are complementary to each other. Linguistic analysis of the surface structure of narrative discourse using Longacre's model is complemented by the cultural analysis of the underlying structure of the folktales using Levi-Strauss' and Bastien's models.

The major contribution of this study is to Indian linguistics. Some of the linguistic features of the Gujarati language discussed here are common in many other Indo-Aryan languages. So far, these features have not been satisfactorily explained because previous attempts have been only from the sentence perspective. This study provides a new perspective: it looks at these linguistic features in light of the total discourse. Further research should show how significant this new perspective is for explaining peculiar features of many Indian languages, especially the languages of the Indo-Aryan family.

1. H6rbh6m Bhuto

1. sŋgh6d gām-mā h6rbh6m bhuto name ek b6hadur
 sanghad village-in Harbham Bhuto named one brave
 yuwan r6he-t-o h6-t-o .
 young man live-pst.prg-m.sg be-pst.prg.
2. sŋgh6d gām-n-ŭ te nak g6nā-t-o .
 Sanghad village-poss-n.sg he nose consider-pst.prg-m.sg
3. te-na jew-o b6lwan akh-i
 3 m.sg-comp some like-m.sg strong whole-f.sg
 ōjar cowishi-mā m6l-w-o mushkel h6-t-o
 Anjar county-in find-inf-m.sg difficult be-pst.prg-m.sg
4. m6llkusti-mā-to te-ne koi āti ja-y
 wrestling-in-prM 3 m.sg.-acc someone overcome go-psbl
 tew-ŭ n6 h6-t-ŭ .
 such-n.sg neg be-pst.prg-n.sg
5. dur-thi dhŋg6l-a-n-o gha k6r-i-ne
 far-from doll-m.sg-poss-m.sg blow do-cmpl-pcpl
 sher6d-i-n-a sāth-a-mā
 sugar cane-f.sg-poss-m.sg stick-m.sg-in
 p6row-i de-w-o te-ne m6n r6m6t wat
 insert-comp do-inf-m.sg 3 m.sg.-acc mind play matter
 h6-t-i .
 be-pst.prg-f.sg

6. k6cch-i 6d6dh-o m6n kh6jur th6liy-a sikhe
 Kutch-loc half-m.sg 40 lbs. dates pit-m.sg with
- kha-i j6-w-i te-to te-ne m6n
 eat-cmpl go-inf-f.sg that-prM 3 m.sg.-acc mind
- matr6 shiram6n jew-ū h6-t-ū
 only snack like-n.sg be-pst.prg-n.sg
7. k6cchh-i b6khh-n-a m6ll-khad-a-mā k6m6r p6r
 Kutch-loc arena-poss-m.sg wrestling-pit-m.sg-in waist on
- s6dh6r-o bāndh-i-ne h6rbh6m ubh-o ho-y
 waist belt-m.sg tie-cmpl-pcpl Harbham stand-3 m.sg be-psbl
- t-oto bhagy-e-j te-n-i same bath
 ring-pst.prg-m.sg
9. ek w6kh6t s6ngh6d gam-n-i sim-mā h6rbh6m-e
 one time Sanghad village-poss-f.sg farm-in Harbham-ag
- waw-el-i juwar-n-i k6d6b-n-a ogh-a
 sow-adjM-f.sg corn-poss-f.sg hay-poss-m.pl pile-m.pl
- upad-i-ne gh6r-n-a wad-a-mā
 carry-cmpl-pcpl home-poss-m.sg yard-m.sg-in
- kh6d6k-w-a-n-a h6-t-a .
 stack-inf.m.pl-poss-m.pl be-pst.prg-m.pl
10. k6d6b-n-a ogh-a khet6r-mā-thi law-wa-n-a
 hay-poss-m.pl pile-m.pl field-in-from bring-inf-poss-m.pl
- ho-wa-thi mot-a gad-a-n-i j6rur
 be-inf-because big-n.sg cart-n.sg-poss-f.sg need
- h6-t-i .
 be-pst.prg-f.sg

11. te w6kh6t-e h6rbh6m-n-a gad-a-n-i
 that time-at Harbham-poss-n.sg cart-n.sg-poss-f.sg
- dh6r-i bhāg-i p6d-el-i ho-wa-thi te-ne
 axle-f.sg break-cmpl fall-adjM-f.sg be-inf-because 3 sg-ag
- te-n-a kaka pas-e gad-a-n-i mang6n-i
 3 sg-poss-m.sg uncle near-at cart-n.sg-poss-f.sg request-f.sg
- k6r-y-i .
 do-pst.cmpl-f.sg
12. te 6rsa-mā te-n-a kaka-ne pota-ne p6n
 that period-in 3 sg-poss-m.sg uncle-acc himself-acc also
- gad-a-n-i j6rur p6d-t-i ho-wa-thi
 cart-n.sg-poss-f.sg need fall-pst.prg-f.sg be-inf-because
- gad-ū car diw6s p6chi m6l-i sh6k-she tem
 cart-n.sg four day after get-cmpl possible-fut such
- j6wab ap-y-o .
 answer give-pst.cmpl-m.sg
13. kaka-n-o a j6wab h6rbh6m-ne g6m-y-o
 uncle-poss-m.sg this answer Harbham-acc like-pst.cmpl-m.sg
- n-hi .
 neg-be
14. car diw6s sudhi k6d6b-ne sim-mā redh-i
 four day till hay-acc farm-in unprotected-f.sg
- muk-i sh6k-ay tem n6 h6-tu .
 put-cmpl able-psbl such neg be-pst.prg-n.sg.
15. h6rbh6m mūza-y-o .
 Harbham puzzle-pst.cmpl-m.sg
16. akh6r-e te-ne ek n6w-o ilaj suz-i
 end-at 3 m.sg-acc one new-m.sg solution occur-cmpl
- aw-y-o .
 come-pst.cmpl-m.sg
17. te-j rat-e h6rbh6m chan-o-man-o
 that-emph night-at Harbham quiet-m.sg-hidden-m.sg

- f6ri math-a p6r upad-i-ne gup-cup
again head-n.sg on carry-cmpl-pcpl quiet-quiet
- kaka-n-a wad-a-mā pach-ū jem6-n-ū
uncle-poss-m.sg yard-m.sg-in back-n.sg as-poss-n.sg
- tem muk-i di-dh-ū je-thi gad-a-n-a
manner put-cmpl give-pst.cmpl-n.sg that-by cart-n.sg-poss-m.sg
- cil-a-n-ā nishan p6n n6 dekh-ay .
track-m.pl-poss-n.pl marks even neg see-psbl
24. s6war-mā h6rbh6m-n-a kaka-e te-n-a
morning-in Harbham-poss-m.sg uncle-ag 3 sg-poss-m.sg
- wad-a-mā jyare k6d6b-n-i mot-i g6j-i
yard-m.sg-in when hay-poss-f.sg big-f.sg pile-f.sg
- kh6d6k-el-i jo-y-i tyare te-n-a
stack-adjM-f.sg see-pst.cmpl-f.sg then 3 sg-poss-m.sg
- 6c6b-a-n-o par r6h-y-o n6-hi .
surprise-m.sg-poss-m.sg end remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg neg-be
25. kaka-e' te-ne puch-i jo-y-ū ?
uncle-ag 3 sg-acc ask-cmpl see-pst.cmpl-n.sg
26. 'h6rbh6m' p6chi gad-ū ko-n-ū l6-i
'Harbham' then cart-n.sg someone-poss-n.sg take-cmpl
- aw-y-o ?"
come-pst.cmpl-m.sg
27. h6rbh6m-e h6s-i-ne j6wab ap-y-o .
Harbham-ag smile-cmpl-pcpl answer give-pst.cmpl-m.sg
28. 'kaka' gad-ū t6m-ar-ū ne b6l6d m-ar-a
'Uncle' cart-n.sg you-poss-n.sg and bullocks 1 sg-poss-m.pl
- te-mā s6m6j-i ja-o-ne ."
that-in understand-cmpl go-2 pl.impv-rspM
29. a h6-t-i h6rbh6m-n-i takat
this be-pst.prg-f.sg Harbham-poss-f.sg strength.
30. ek war m6ha-raj desh6l-ji-n-a d6rbar-mā
one time great-king Deshal-rsp-poss-m.sg court-in
- rajsthan-n-a be b6l-wan kust-i-baj m6ll
Rajsthan-poss-m.pl two strength-with wrestling-do wrestler

37. agḥtuk mḥll-yuwan-o-n-i shḥrḥt
 coming wrestler-young man-m.pl-poss-f.sg condition
 sābhḥl-i-ne tem-ne nḥwa-i lag-y-i .
 hear-cmpl-pcpl 3 pl.rsp-acc surprise-f.sg strike-pst.cmpl-f.sg
38. a mḥll-o-ne hḥf-aw-e tew-a koi
 this wrestler-m.pl-acc defeat-caus-psbl such-m.sg some
 kḥcch-i mḥll-n-i deshḥl-ji-e tḥpas cḥl-aw-wa
 Kutch-loc wrestler-poss-f.sg Deshal-rsp-ag search go-caus-inf
 māḍ-y-i .
 begin-pst.cmpl-f.sg
39. pel-a be mḥll-o-n-i hathi jew-i
 that-m.pl two wrestler-m.pl-poss-f.sg elephant like-f.sg
 kaya ḥne sawḥz jew-i ākh-o jo-i-ne tem-n-i
 body and lion like-f.sg eye-pl see-cmpl-pcpl 3 pl-poss-f.sg
 sathe tḥkkḥr le-wa koi tḥiyar nḥ thḥ-t-ū .
 with challenge take-inf anyone ready neg become-pst.prg-n.sg
40. kḥcch-n-a mḥll-o te ḥrsa-mā mḥllkusti-n-o
 Kutch-poss-m.pl wrestler-pl that period-in wrestling-poss-m.sg
 karyḥkrḥm chod-i ḍḥ-i-ne deshḥl-ji-n-a
 program leave-cmpl give-cmpl-pcpl Deshal-rsp-poss-m.pl
 hḥjuri bḥn-wa lag-y-a hḥ-t-a .
 peons become-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-pst.prog-m.pl
41. etḥle tem-n-i takat hḥwe osḥr-t-i
 so 3 pl-poss-f.sg strength now decrease-pst.prg-f.sg
 jḥ-t-i hḥ-t-i .
 go-pst.prog-f.sg be-pst.prog-f.sg
42. mḥll-o-e pota-n-i a nirbḥlta-ne pichan-i
 wrestler-pl-ag self-poss-f.sg this weakness-acc know-cmpl
 li-dh-i hḥ-t-i .
 take-pst.cmpl-f.sg be-pst.prog-f.sg
43. tem-ne wicar-y-ū ke a rakshḥs jew-a
 3 pl-ag think-pst.cmpl-n.sg that this monster like-m.pl
 talim-baj-o sathe kust-i le-tā kyāk
 training-with-pl with wrestling-f.sg take-durM somehow

- har-i j6-wa-y to akh-a k6cch6-n-ũ
lose-cmpl go-inf-psbl then whole-m.sg Kutch-poss-n.sg
- nak k6p-ay ja-y .
nose cut-psbl go-psbl
44. tem s6m6j-i-ne k6cch6-n-a koi-p6n m6ll-e
such understand-cmpl-pcpl Kutch-poss-m.sg any-even wrestler-ag
- a h6rifa-i-mã ut6r-wa-n-i t6iyar-i
this contest-f.sg-in enter-inf-poss-f.sg readiness-f.sg
- b6t-aw-y-i n6-hi .
show-caus-pst.cmpl-f.sg neg-to be
45. k6cch-i m6ll-o-ne h1m6t har-i j6-t-a
Kutch-loc wrestler-pl-acc courage lose-cmpl go-pst.prg-m.pl
- jo-i-ne desh6l-ji mũza-i p6d-y-a .
see-cmpl-pcpl Deshal-rsp puzzle-cmpl fall-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
46. te w6kha6t-e tem-n-i k6cer-i-mã 6jar-n-a
that time-at 3 pl-poss-f.sg court-f.sg-in Anjar-poss-m.pl.rsp
- y6ti motic6d-ji haj6r h6-t-a .
monk Motichand-rsp present be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
47. motic6d gor-ji raja-n-a manit-a
Motichand priest-rsp king-poss-m.pl.rsp honored-m.pl.rsp
- h6-t-a .
be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
48. desh6l-ji-n-a wiswas-patr6 w6idy6
Deshal-rsp-poss-m.pl.rsp confidence-worthy doctor
- h6-t-a .
be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
49. bhuj-n-a m6ll-o-ne pachipani k6r-t-a
Bhuj-poss-m.pl wrestler-pl-acc backslide do-pst.prg-m.pl
- jo-i-ne a gor-ji m6ha-raj-ne ek n6w-i
see-cmpl-pcpl this priest-rsp great-king-acc one new-f.sg
- wat yad aw-y-i .
matter remember come-pst.cmpl-f.sg
50. "bawa huk6m ho-y to ek 6r6j k6r-ũ ."
honorable, permission be-psbl then one request do-l sg.pres

51. gor-ji-e pota-n-i d6rk^hast r6ju k6r-tā
 priest-rsp-ag self-poss-f.sg proposāl present do-durM
 k6h-y-ū .
 say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
52. '6re y6ti-dew, t6m-ne w6li huk6m-n-i
 well monk-god.rsp 2 pl.rsp-acc well permission-poss-f.sg
 j6rur ho-y kh6r-i
 need be-psbl really-f.sg
53. khush-i-thi k6h-o ."
 joy-f.sg-with say-2 pl.impv.rsp
54. desh6l-ji-e s6m6t-i d6rshaw-tā k6h-y-ū .
 Deshal-rsp-ag permission-f.sg show-durM say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
55. 'a m6ll-o-n-ū math-ū bhāg-i nakh-e
 this wrestler-pl-poss-n.sg head-n.sg break-cmpl drop-psbl
 tew-o ek m6rd ma-ra l6ksh-mā ch-e ."
 such-m.sg one warrior 1 sg-poss knowledge-in be-pres
56. 'puj, tew-ū ho-y to p6chi bij-ū
 honorable such-n.sg be-psbl then then other-n.sg
 shū joi-e
 what need-psbl
57. m6-ne-to dhast-i peth-y-i ke a m6ll-o
 1 sg-acc-prM fear-f.sg enter-pst.cmpl-f.sg that this wrestler-pl
 r6khe k6cch6-n-i ab6ru pad-i ja-y ."
 might Kutch-poss-f.sg prestige drop-cmpl go-psbl
58. 'desh6l-ji k6cch6-d-o h6ju sudhi tew-o
 Deshal-rsp Kutch-dim-m.sg now till such-m.sg
 kay6r b6n-y-o n6-th-i .
 coward become-pst.cmpl-m.sg neg-become-cmpl
59. aw-a m6ll-o-ne bhōy-bheg-a k6r-i
 such-m.pl wrestler-pl-acc ground-together-m.pl do-cmpl
 nakh-e tew-a 6nek n6r-wir-o k6cch6-mā
 drop-psbl such-m.pl many man-warrior-pl Kutch-in
 haj6r che .
 present be-pres

60. te-mā-n-a ek-n-ū nam hū ap-ne
 that-in-poss-m.pl one-poss-n.sg name 1 sg 2 pl.rsp-acc
 ap-ū ."
 give-1 sg.pres
61. '6re tew-o te kon ch-e puj ."
 well such-m.sg 3 sg who be-pres honorable
62. 'te ch-e s̄gh6d gam-n-o .
 3 sg be-pres Sanghad village-poss-m.sg
63. akh-a 6jar p6r6g6n-a-mā te-n-ū nam
 whole-m.sg Anjar county-n.sg-in 3 sg-poss-n.sg name
 pr6-khyat ch-e .
 well-known be-pres
64. ap huk6m k6r-o to hū aj-e
 2 pl.rsp order do-2 pl.rsp.impv then 1 sg today-at
 s̄gh6d gam-e j6-i-ne te-ne bol-aw-i
 Sanghad village-loc go-cmpl-pcpl 3 sg-acc call-caus-cmpl
 law-ū ."
 bring-1 sg
65. 'puj m6ha-raj ap-ne tew-i t6k6lif
 honorable great-king 2 pl.rsp-acc such-f.sg trouble
 le-wa-n-i j6rur n6-thi .
 take-inf-poss-f.sg need neg-be
66. hū h6m6nā-j te-ne bol-aw-i law-wa
 1 sg now-emph 3 sg-acc call-caus-cmpl bring-inf
 wel-n-o b̄d̄ob6st k6r-ū ch-ū ."
 cart-poss-m.sg arrangement do-1 sg.pres be-1 sg.pres
67. t6r6t-j desh6l-ji-n-o huk6m chut-y-o .
 quickly-emph Deshal-rsp-poss-m.sg order release-pst.cmpl-m.sg
68. wel-wad-i-mā-thi hathi jew-a
 cart-place-f.sg-in-from elephant like-m.pl
 b6l6d-o-n-i wel t6iyar th6-y-i 6ne
 bullock-pl-poss-f.sg cart ready be-pst.cmpl-f.sg and
 wel-wan-e wel-ne s̄gh6d-n-a marg-e
 cart-driver-ag cart-acc Sanghad-poss-m.sg road-loc

- mar-y-i muk-y-i .
drive-pst.cmpl-f.sg put-pst.cmpl-f.sg
69. h6rbh6m bhuto khet-i-n-ū kam k6r-nar
Harbham Bhuto farming-f.sg-poss-n.sg work do-nom
- ek khedut h6-t-o .
one farmer be-pst.prg-m.sg
70. te jew-o sh6kt-i-shali h6-t-o
3 sg like-m.sg strength-f.sg-with be-pst.prg-m.sg
- tew-o sah6s-ik p6n h6-t-o .
such-m.sg adventure-nom also be-pst.prg-m.sg
71. m6rdan-i r6m6t-o-n-ū nam p6d-e to te
manly-adjM game-pl-poss-n.sg name call-psbl then 3 sg
- patal-mā p6n p6h6c-i aw-e tew-o
underground-in also reach-cmpl come-psbl such-m.sg
- shokh-in h6-t-o .
hobby-adjM be-pst.prg-m.sg
72. m6ha-kay m6ll-o-n-i takat -n-i wat
big-body wrestler-pl-poss-f.sg strength-poss-f.sg story
- sābh6l-i hīm6t har-i ja-y tew-o
hear-cmpl courage lost-cmpl go-psbl such-m.sg
- n6 h6-t-o .
neg be-pst.prg-m.sg
73. desh6l-ji-n-i wel te-ne bol-aw-wa
Deshal-rsp-pos-f.sg cart 3 sg-acc call-caus-inf
- aw-y-i te jo-i te-n-a an6nd-n-o
come-pst.cmpl-f.sg that see-cmpl 3 sg-poss-m.sg joy-poss-m.sg
- par r6h-y-o n6-hi .
end remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg neg-be
74. te t6r6t-j t6iyar th6-i g6-y-o 6ne
3 sg quick-emph ready be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg and
- wel-mā c6dh-i be-th-o .
cart-in climb-cmpl sit-pst.cmpl-m.sg
75. wel s6ds6dat k6r-t-i bhuj-nag6r-i-n-a
cart hissing sound do-pst.prg-f.sg Bhuj-village-f.sg-poss-m.sg

- d6r^waj-a-mā dakh6l th6-y-i .
gate-m.sg-in enter be-pst.cmpl-f.sg
76. k6cer-i-mā aw-i h6rbh6m-e desh6l-ji-ne s6lam
court-f.sg-in come-cmpl Harbham-ag Deshal-rsp-acc. salute
k6r-y-i .
do-pst.cmpl-f.sg
77. 'h6rbh6m, t6-ne m6llkust-i-n-a daw
Harbham 2 sg-acc wrestling-f.sg-poss-m.pl tricks
aw6d-e ch-e ?"
know-psbl be-3 sg.pres
78. desh6l-ji-e pr6shn6 k6r-y-o .
Deshal-rsp-ag question do-pst.cmpl-m.sg
79. '6nn-data, ma-r-o dh6dh-o to
food-giver 1 sg-poss-m.sg job-m.sg prM
khet-i-n-o ch-e p6n
farming-f.sg-poss-m.sg be-3 sg.pres but
m6llkust-i-n-a daw khel-wa-mā m6-ne
wrestling-f.sg-poss-m.pl tricks play-inf-in 1 sg-acc
r6s ch-e .
interest be-3 sg.pres
80. '6hi aw-el-a m6ll-o sathe kust-i
here come-adjM-m.pl wrestler-pl with wrestling-f.sg
l6d6-wa-n-i ta-r-i hfim6t ch-e?"
fight-inf-poss-f.sg 2 sg-poss-f.sg courage be-3 sg.pres
81. 'kh6mma desh6l-ji-ne, desh6l-ji, t6m-ar-o huk6m
bless Deshal-rsp-acc Deshal-rsp 2 pl.rsp-poss-m.sg order
ho-y to bhut-iy-a kill-a sathe p6n
be-psbl then ghost-adjM-m.sg fort-m.sg with also
l6d-i b6t-aw-ū ."
fight-cmpl show-caus-1 sg.pres
82. h6rbh6m-n-o j6wab s6bh6l-i-ne desh6l-ji
Harbham-poss-m.sg answer hear-cmpl-pcpl Deshal-rsp
khush-khushal b6n-i g6-y-a.
glad-glad become-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp

83. 'thik tyare, aw6t-i kal-e t6iyar th6-i
 well then coming-f.sg day-at ready become-cmpl
 r6he-je ."
 remain-2 sg.impv.fut
84. kh6mma, ap huk6m k6r-o et6l-i-j
 bless (you) 2 pl.rsp order do-2 pl.impv.rsp such-f.sg-emph
 war ch-e .
 time he-3 sg.pres
85. 6ne desh6l-ji-ne n6m6n k6r-i-ne h6rbh6m
 and Deshal-rsp-acc bow do-cmpl-pcpl Harbham
 cal6-t-o th6-y-o .
 walk-pst.prg-m.sg become-pst.cmpl-m.sg
86. Bhuj-n-o d6rbar-gh6dh aj-e bhuj-nager-i-n-a
 Bhuj-poss-m.sg court-fort today-at Bhuj-village-f.sg-poss-m.pl
 n6ger-j6n-o-thi ubh6rai r6h-y-o ch-e.
 village-people-pl-by filled up remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg be 3 sg.pres
87. kar6n te h6-t-ū ke aj-n-i
 reason that be-pst.prg-n.sg that today-poss-f.sg
 m6llkusti ek j6bb6r sath-mar-i jew-i
 wrestling-f.sg one terrific oxen-fight-f.sg like-f.sg
 b6n6-wa-n-i h6-t-i .
 become-inf-poss-f.sg be-pst.prg-f.sg
88. ajubaju-n-a gamd-a-n-a
 surrounding-poss.m.pl village-n.pl-poss-m.pl
 kust-i-r6s-iy-a lok-o p6n aj-n-o
 wrestling-f.sg-interest-adjM-m.pl people-pl also today-poss-m.sg
 kary6kr6m jo-wa dur-dur-thi aw-i p6noc-y-a
 program see-inf far-far-from come-cmpl reach-pst.cmpl-n.pl
 h6-t-ā .
 be-pst.prg-n.pl
89. aj-n-a kust-i-j6g-n-o 6khad-o
 today-poss-m.sg wrestling-f.sg-match-poss-m.sg ring-m.sg
 raj-m6hel-n-i rani-o p6n jo-i sh6k-e
 king-palace-poss-f.pl queen-pl also see-cmpl be able-psbl

- tet6la mate a kary6kr6m d6rbar-gh6dh-mā-j
that for this program court-fort-in-emph
- rakh-wa-mā aw-y-o h6-t-o .
keep-inf-cmpl come-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg
90. desh6l-ji d6rbar-gh6dh-n-i cal-i-n-a n6w-a
Deshal-rsp court-fort-poss-f.sg ground-f.sg-poss-m.sg new-m.sg
- ot6l-a p6r resh6m-i gadi t6ki-ya p6r
stage-m.sg on silk-adjM cushion pillow-m.pl on
- biraj-man h6-t-a .
sitting-adjM be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
91. up6r c6k nakh-i-ne bādi-o p6n bes-i
on curtain put-cmpl-pcpl maid-pl also sit-cmpl
- g6-i h6-t-i .
go-cmpl be-pst.prg-f.pl
92. car-e t6r6f bādh-el-i dori w6cce
four-at around tie-adjM-f.sg string middle
- 6khad-a-nu medan rakh-wa-mā
arena-m.sg-poss-n.sg ground keep-inf-in
- aw-y-ū h6-t-ū .
come-pst.cmpl-n.sg be-pst.prg-n.sg
93. pani ch6t-i m6llkust-i-n-a medan-ne
water spray-cmpl wrestling-f.sg-poss-m.sg ground-acc
- sw6cch b6n-aw-wa-mā aw-y-ū h6-t-ū .
clean make-caus-inf-in come-pst.cmpl-n.sg be-pst.prg-n.sg
94. pr6c6d-kay m6ll6-raj-o la1 l6goti
giant-body wrestler-king-pl red loin-cloths
- l6g-aw-i-ne 6khad-a w6cce kh6d-a
apply-caus-cmpl-pcpl ring-m.sg center standing-m.pl
- th6-i g6-y-a .
be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl
95. m6ll-o war-e-war-e pota-n-i dhing-i
wrestler-pl time-at-time-at self-poss-f.sg muscular-f.sg
- jāg p6r hath-n-a p6j-a p6chad-t-a
thigh on hand-poss-m.pl palm-pl strike-pst.prg-m.pl

- h6-t-a .
be-pst.prg-m.pl
96. hath-n-a thapa-n-o jodar 6waj
hand-poss-m.sg inner part of hand-poss-m.sg strong sound
- d6rbar-g6dh-n-i diwal sathe 6thda-i-ne pota-n-o
court-fort-poss-f.sg wall with strike-cmpl-pcpl self-poss-m.sg
- p6d6gho pad-i r6h-y-o h6-t-o .
echo fall-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg
97. tem-n-o a 6waj-j tem-n-i sathe
3 pl-poss-m.sg this sound-emph 3 pl-poss-f.sg with
- h6rifai-mã ut6r-nar-n-a hãja g6g6d-aw-i
contest-in descend-nom-poss-m.pl courage drop-caus-cmpl
- de-wa purt-o h6-t-o .
do-inf enough-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg
98. p6r6tu s6gh6d gam-n-o ahir h6rbh6m
however Sanghad village-poss-m.sg Ahir Harbham
- m6ll-o-n-a a ad6b6r-thi d6r-i ja-y
wrestler-pl-poss-m.pl this show-by fear-cmpl go-psbl
- tew-o d6rpok n6 h6-t-o .
such-m.sg timid neg be-pst.prg-m.sg
99. te p6n t6iyar th6-i-ne aj-n-a
3 sg also ready become-cmpl-pcpl today-poss-m.sg
- kusti-s6gram-n-a medan-mã haj6r th6-i
wrestling-fight-poss-m.sg ground-in present become-cmpl
- g6-y-o .
go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
100. gam6da-n-a ek ahir `yuwan-ne awa p6ttha
village-poss-m.sg one Ahir young man-all such strong
- p6helwan jode l6d-wa t6iyar th6-y-el-o
wrestler with fight-inf ready become-cmpl-adjM-m.sg
- jo-i-ne preksh6k-o widh-widh pr6kar-na
see-cmpl-pcpl spectator-pl various-various kind-of

wartalap p6r c6dh-i g6-y-a
 talk(conversation) on climb-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl

h6-t-a .
 be-pst.prg-m.pl

101. koi k6he-t-a ke a bicara g6rib
 some say-pst.prg-m.pl that this poor destitute

gam6d-iy-a-n-a diw6s-o aj-e bh6ra-i
 village-adjM-m.sg-poss-m.pl day-pl today-at fill-cmpl

g6-y-a lag-e ch-e .
 go-pst.cmpl-m.pl seem-3 sg.pres be-3 sg.pres

102. koi k6he-t-a ke motich6d gor-ji-e
 some say-pst.prg-m.pl that Motichand priest-rsp-ag

te-n-o gh6d-o-lad6w-o k6r-wa tadhe
 3 sg-poss-m.sg pof-m.sg-ball-m.sg do-inf cold-by

pani-e kh6s kadh6-wa-n-i a yukti
 water-by boil(sore) remove-inf-poss-f.sg this thick

6jm-aw-i lag-e ch-e .
 apply-caus-f.sg seem-3 sg.pres be-3 sg.pres

103. am s6u koi pot-pota-ne m6n-faw6-ti
 like this everybody anybody self-self-acc mind-suit-adjM

wat-o-mā m6shgul h6-t-ā .
 talk-pl-in involved be-pst.prg-n.pl

104. h6we aj-n-a kusti-j6g-mā tew-o nirn6y
 now today-poss-m.sg wrestling-fight-in such-m.sg decision

k6r-wa-mā aw-y-o ke mot-a m6ll-o-n-i
 do-inf-cmpl come-pst.cmpl-m.pl that big-m.pl wrestler-pl-poss-f.sg

sathe h6rbh6m-e ek-j war kusti l6d-w-i .
 with Harbham-ag one-emph time wrestling fight-inf-f.sg

105. b6nne p6ksh-ne a nirn6y m6jur h6-t-o .
 both side-all this decision agreeable be-pst.prg-m.sg

106. kusti-mā ut6r-nar b6nne yoddh-a
 wrestling-in participate-adjM both warrior-m.pl

pot-pota-n-i khull-i sath6l p6r hath-n-a
 self-self-poss-f.sg open-f.sg thigh on hand-poss-m.sg

thapa 16g-aw-i t6iyar th6i
hand's inner part strike-caus-cmpl ready become-cmpl

g6-y-a .
go-pst.cmpl-m.pl

107. b6nne r6nwir-o-e pr6th6m hath mil-aw-i-ne
both warrior-pl-ag first hand join-caus-cmpl-pcpl

pota-n-i kheldili wy6kt k6r-y-i .
self-poss-f.sg sportsmanship express do-pst.cmpl-f.sg

108. p6chi kust-i-n-i sh6ruat k6r-tā b6nne
then wresting-of-f.sg beginning do-durM both

ek-bija-ne j6l-o-n-i jem c6t-i
one-another-acc leech-pl-poss-f.sg like stick-cmpl

p6d-y-a .
fall-pst.cmpl-m.pl

109. h6rbh6m-ne mhat k6r-wa pel-o pr6ch6d
Harbham-acc subdue do-inf that-m.sg giant

sh6rir-dhar-i m6ll-raj ek p6chi ek pota-n-a
body-with-adjM wrestler-king one after one self-poss-m.pl

daw 6jmaw-wa lag-y-o .
tricks apply-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.sg

110. a t6r6f h6rbh6m matr6 b6c6-wa-n-i
this side Harbham only save-inf-poss-f.pl

yukti-o l6d-aw-i r6h-y-o h6-t-o .
trick-pl apply-caus-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg

111. jem jem w6kh6t j6-t-o g6-y-o
as as time pass-pst.prg-m.sg go-pst.cmpl-m.sg

tem tem p6la m6ll-ne khatri th6-t-i
then then that wrestler-acc conviction become-pst.prg-f.sg

g6-y-i ke h6rbham-ne mhat k6r-w-o te
go-pst.cmpl-f.sg that Harbham-acc subdue do-inf-m.sg that

chan-mā t6lwar c6l-aw-wa jew-ū ke lap6si-mā
manuar-in sword walk-caus-inf like-n.sg or wheat pudding-in

lit-a tan-wa jew-ū s6r6l kam n6-thi .
line-pl draw-inf like-n.sg easy job neg-be

112. h6rbh6m-ne h6r-aw-wa-n-a te-n-a t6mam
 Harbham-acc defeat-caus-inf-poss-m.pl 3 sg-poss-m.pl all
- p6t6r-a ek p6chi ek nish-f6l j6-wa
 trick-m.pl one after one without-fruit go-inf
- lag-y-a .
 begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl
113. n6r-wir-o a man6w-sath-mar-i-mã ek-bija-ne
 man-warrior-pl this man-ox-fight-f.sg-in one-another-acc
- h6f-aw-wa pot-pota-n-a daw khel-i
 tire-caus-inf self-self-poss-m.pl tricks play-cmpl
- r6h-y-a h6-t-a .
 remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-pst.prg-m.pl
114. gh6dik-mã th6-t-ũ ke harbham
 moment-in become-pst.prg-n.sg that Harbham
- g6-y-o g6-y-o .
 go-pst.cmpl-m.sg go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
115. 6ne te jo-i-ne k6cch-i j6n6ta-n-a
 and that see-pst.cmpl-pcpl Kutch-loc public-poss-n.sg
- w6d6n p6r ek nirasha-n-i chaya
 face on one disappointment-poss-f.sg shadow
- f6r-i w6l6-t-i .
 cover-f.sg cover-pst.prg-f.sg
116. p6n biji-j p6l-e h6rbh6m pela m6ll-n-a
 but another-emph moment-at Harbham that wrestler-poss-m.sg
- daw-ne gulãt kh6w-daw-i de-t-o .
 trick-acc rolling eat-caus-f.sg give-pst.prg-m.sg
117. preksh6k-o-e h6we a gam6d-iy-a jew-a
 spectator-pl-ag now this village-adjM-m.sg like-m.sg
- lag6-t-a h6rbh6m-n-ũ pani map-i
 seem-pst.prg-m.sg Harbham-poss-n.sg water measure-cmpl
- li-dh-ũ h6-t-ũ .
 take-pst.cmpl-n.sg be-pst-n.sg
118. s6u-n-a m6n-mã h6we k6cch-i pani-n-a
 all-poss-n.sg mind-in now Kutch-loc water-poss-m.sg

- wij6y-n-i asha b6dh-a-i g6-i h6-t-i .
victory-poss-f.sg hope tie-pass-cmpl go-cmpl be-pst.prg-f.sg
119. b6rab6r tr6n k6lak l6gi a n6r-shardul-o-n-o
exact three hour till this man-lion-pl.poss-m.sg
- r6ns6gram cal6-t-o r6h-y-o .
war continue-pst.prg-m.sg remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg
120. h6rbh6m p6n pela m6ll-n-a jud-a
Harbham also that wrestler-poss-m.pl different-m.pl
- jud-a daw-o-thi p6ricit th6-i
different-m.pl trick-pl-with familiar become-cmpl
- g6-y-o h6-t-o .
go-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg
121. am ch6tā 6tyar l6gi dekhaw-n-i yukti-o-thi
such being now till show-poss-f.pl trick-pl-from
- te ag6l w6dh-y-o n6 h6-t-o .
3 sg ahead progress-pst.cmpl-m.sg neg be-pst.prg-m.sg
122. pelo m6ll p6n s6m6j-i g6-y-o
that wrestler also understand-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
- h6-t-o ke h6rbh6m b6chaw-n-a
be-pst.prg-m.sg that Harbham safety-poss-m.pl
- daw-o-n-o kheladi ch-e p6n te-thi
trick-pl-poss-m.sg player be-3 sg.pres but that-from
- ag6l w6dh-wa-n-i te-n-i sh6kt-i
ahead progress-inf-poss-f.sg 3 sg-poss-f.sg strength-f.sg
- n6-thi .
neg-be
123. tem s6m6j-i-ne te j6ra nishcit p6n
such understand-cmpl-pcpl 3 sg slight careless also
- b6n-i g6-y-o h6-t-o .
become-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg
124. h6rbham-e p6n te-ne te-j bhr6m-mā
Harbham-ag also 3 sg-acc that-emph illusion-in
- r6he-wa di-dh-o .
remain-inf give-pst.cmpl-m.sg

125. h6we m6ll-n-i j6ra sh6rtcuk-n-i-j
 now wrestler-poss-f.sg slight careless mistake-poss-f.sg-emph

te rah jo-i r6h-y-o h6-t-o .
 3 sg way see-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg

126. ek-bija-ne p6chad-i pad-wa-n-a daw
 one-another-acc drop-cmpl drop-inf-poss-m.pl tricks

h6ju calu h6-t-a .
 still going on be-pst.prg-m.pl

127. h6rbham h6we akr6m6n k6r-wa-n-i t6k
 Harbham now attack do-inf-poss-f.sg opportunity

z6d6p-i le-wa t6d6p-i r6h-y-o
 grasp-cmpl take-inf eager-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg

h6-t-o .
 be-pst.prg-m.sg

128. et6la-mā m6ll-ne te-n-i lap6rwahi-mā
 during-in wrestler-acc 3 sg-poss-f.sg carelessness-in

bedhyan th6y-el-o jo-i h6rbh6m-e
 without attention become-adjM-m.sg see-cmpl Harbham-ag

h6we akr6m6n-n-o pota-n-o daw 6jmaw-y-o
 now attack-poss-m.sg self-poss-m.sg trick apply-pst.cmpl-m.sg

6ne ek-j z6pat-e te-ne c6ttopat pad-i
 and one-emph strike-with 3 sg-acc straight drop-cmpl

di-dh-o .
 give-pst.cmpl-m.sg

129. d6rbar-g6dh6-n-ū medan h6rsh-n-a pokar-o-thi
 court-fort-poss-n.sg ground joy-poss-m.pl shout-pl-with

gaj-i uth-y-ū .
 roar-cmpl become-pst.cmpl-n.sg

130. ag6tuk ubh6y m6ll-o-e thodi war to 'd6go
 coming both wrestler-pl-ag little time prM deceit

d6go' tewa pokar k6r-y-a .
 deceit such shout do-pst.cmpl-m.pl

131. p6n h6we tem-n-ū kāi cal-i
 but now 3 pl-poss-n.sg anything continue-cmpl

- sh6k-e tem n6 h6-t-ū .
possible-psbl such neg be-pst.prg-n.sg
132. k6cch, kathiyawad 6ne rajsthan-n-ā rajy-o-mā
Kutch Kathiyawad and Rajsthan-poss-n.pl state-pl-in
- wij6y-mal-ne w6r-wa-n-i t6m6nna-wal-a
victory-garland-acc attain-inf-poss-f.sg eagerness-with-m.pl
- m6ll-raj-o-n-a m6n-mā a p6raj6y d6kh-wa
wrestler-king-pl-poss-m.sg mind-in this defeat sting-inf
- lag-y-o .
begin-pst.cmpl-m.sg
133. p6raj6y-n-i kalima koi p6n pr6kar-e dho-i
defeat-poss-f.sg blackness any also manner-with wash-cmpl
- nakh-wa mate n6w-i yoj6na gh6d6-wa te-o wichar-i
drop-inf for new-f.sg plan form-inf 3 sg-pl think-cmpl
- r6h-y-a h6-t-a .
remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-pst.prg-m.pl
134. te w6kh6te m6ll-o-n-a s6rdar bapu-m6ll-e
that time wrestler-pl-poss-m.sg leader father-wrestler-ag
- desh6l-ji-ne win6ti k6r-tā k6h-y-ū .
Deshal-rsp-acc request do-durM say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
135. 'khudawifd, a kusti-n-a khel-mā
most honorable one this wrestling-poss-m.sg game-in
- 6m-ar-i har 6m-e swikarta n6-thi .
1 pl-poss-f.sg defeat 1 pl-ag accept neg-be
136. kar6n-ke kusti-n-a niy6m-o-n-o te-mā
reason-that wrestling-poss-m.pl rule-pl-poss-m.sg that-in
- bh6g k6r-wa-mā aw-y-o ch-e .
break do-inf-in come-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-3 sg.pres
137. et6le 6m-ar-i 6r6j ch-e ke
so 1 pl-poss-f.sg request be-3 sg.pres that
- 6m-ar-a a nan-a m6ll sathe
1 pl-poss-m.sg this young(small)-m.sg wrestler with
- h6rbh6m mushthi-yuddh khel-e .
Harbham fist-fight play-psbl

138. 6ne te khel-mā je kheladi-n-o wij6y
and that game-in which player-poss-m.sg victory
- tha-y te jit-y-o g6r-ay tew-o
be-psbl 3 sg win-pst.cmpl-m.sg count-caus such-m.sg
- ap huk6m k6r-o ."
2 pl.rsp order do-2 pl-impv.rsp
139. desh6l-ji-e h6rbh6m-ne bol-aw-y-o 6ne
Deshal-rsp-ag Harbham-acc call-caus-pst.cmpl-m.sg and
- k6h-y-ū .
say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
140. 'h6rbh6m, tū a nan-a m6ll6 sathe
Harbham 2 sg this young-m.sg wrestler with
- mushthi-yuddh khel-wa t6iyar ch-e ?"
fist-fight play-inf ready be-3 sg.pres
141. 'desh6l-ji t6m-ar-o huk6m tha-y to
Deshal-rsp 2 pl.rsp-poss-m.sg order be-psbl then
- hū j6m sathe p6r l6d-i le-wa t6iyar ch-ū .'
1 sg devil with even fight-cmpl take-inf ready be-1 sg.pres
142. h6rbh6m-e hf6t-thi 6num6ti ap-tā
Harbham-ag boldness-with agreement give-durM
- j6r-aw-y-ū .
know-caus-pst.cmpl-n.sg
143. b6s, nir6y th6-i g6-y-o .
enough decision be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
144. h6we mushthi-yuddh-mā je-n-o wij6y tha-y
now fist-fight-in which-poss-m.sg victory be-psbl
- te-ne-j w6r-mala w6r-e tewū n6kki
3 sg-acc-emph victory-garland attain-psbl such decide
- th6-i g6-y-ū .
be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-n.sg
145. nan-o m6ll mushthi-yuddh-mā par6g6t h6-t-o .
young-m.sg wrestler fist-fight-in skilled be-pst.prg-m.sg
146. te-n-i kush6lta 6ne calaki-n-o a
3 sg-poss-f.sg skill and swiftness-poss-m.sg this

s6m6y-e up6yog k6r-i le-wa-n-a irada-thi
 time-at use do-cmpl take-inf.-poss-m.sg intention-with

bapu-m6ll-e a yoj6na r6ju k6r-y-i
 father-wrestler-ag this plan present do-pst.cmpl-f.sg

h6-t-i .
 be-pst.prg-f.sg

147. ubh6y wir-o j6g-n-a medan-mā ut6r-i
 both warrior-pl fight-poss-m.sg ground-in get in-cmpl

p6d-y-a .
 fall-pst.cmpl-m.pl

148. h6rbh6m awa mushthi-yuddh-thi wakef h6-t-o .
 Harbham such fist-fight-with familiar be-pst.prg-m.sg

149. am ch6-tā te-n-i takat-mā te-ne puri
 such be-durM 3 sg-poss-f.sg strength-in 3 sg-acc full

shr6ddha h6-t-i .
 confidence be-pst.prg-f.sg

150. mushthi-yuddh-n-a kheladi-o b6mne pot-pota-n-a
 fist-fight-poss-m.pl player-pl both self-self-poss-m.pl

daw khel-wa lag-y-a .
 trick play-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl

151. h6rbh6m pota-n-a b6caw mate saw6dh h6-t-o .
 Harbham self-poss-m.sg protection for careful be-pst.prg-m.sg

152. mushthi-yuddh-n-o a khel gh6ni war
 fist-fight-poss-m.sg this game long time

cal-y-o .
 continue-pst.cmpl-m.sg

153. b6mne yuwan h6-t-a .
 both young be-pst.prg-m.pl

154. p6helwan h6-t-a .
 strong be-pst.prg-m.pl

155. citta jew-a calak h6-t-a .
 leopard like-m.pl swift be-pst.prg-m.pl

156. ek-bija-ne h6f-aw-wa-n-i t6k
 one-another-acc defeat-caus-inf-poss-f.sg opportunity

- jo-i r6h-y-a h6-t-a .
see-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-pst.prg-m.pl
157. et6la-mā lag jo-i-ne h6rbh6m-e
during-in opportunity see-pst.cmpl-pcpl Harbham-ag
- nan-a m6ll-n-a m6st6k p6r w6jr6 jew-i
young-m.sg wrestler-poss-m.sg head on iron like-f.sg
- mutthi-n-o tew-o pr6har k6r-y-o ke
fist-poss-m.sg such-m.sg blow do-pst.cmpl-m.sg that
- mutthi-n-a gha-thi te-n-ū math-ū jane
fist-poss-m.sg blow-with 3 sg-poss-n.sg head-n.sg as if
- te-n-a dh6d-mā pes-i j6-t-ū ho-y
3 sg-poss-n.sg body-in enter-cmpl go-pst.prg-n.sg be-psbl
- tew-o dekhaw th6-i r6h-y-o .
like-m.sg show be-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg
158. mushthi-yuddh-n-o kheladi m6ll t6r6t6-j
fist-fight-poss-m.sg player wrestler quickly-emph
- j6min p6r dh6l-i p6d-y-o .
ground on roll-cmpl full-pst.cmpl-m.sg
159. 6ne te-n-a pran p6rwar-i g6-y-a .
and 3 sg-poss-m.pl breath finish-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl
160. akha s6mar6bh-mā ekaek 6wy6w6stha fela-i
whole crowd-in suddenly disarray spread-cmpl
- g6-y-i .
go-pst.cmpl-f.sg
161. car-e t6r6f gh6ghat 6ne kolah6l m6c-i
four-at side noise and uproar continue-cmpl
- r6h-y-o .
remain-pst.cmpl-m.sg
162. s6u koi h6we s6rk-i j6-wa lag-y-a .
all anybody now slip-cmpl go-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl
163. med6ni wikhera-wa lag-y-i .
crowd scatter-inf begin-pst.cmpl-f.sg
164. h6rbh6m p6n māza-i p6d-y-o .
Harbham also puzzle-cmpl become-pst.cmpl-m.sg

165. desh61-ji-ne mhõ bõt-aw-ya wõgõr-j te
 Deshal-rsp-acc face show-caus-cmpl without-emph 3 sg
 tyã-thi põsar th6-i g6-y-o .
 there-from pass become-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-f.sg
166. chanomano pota-n-e gam sõgh6d phõc-i
 quietly self-poss-loc village Sanghad reach-cmpl
 g6-y-o .
 go-pst.cmpl-f.sg
167. car-mã-thi hõwe tr6n m6ll baki r6h-y-a
 four-in-from now three wrestler left remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl
 h6-t-a .
 be-pst.prg-m.pl
168. tem-n-a m6n-mã wer-n-o 6gni
 3 pl-poss-m.sg mind-in revenge-poss-m.sg fire
 bh6bhuk-i uth-y-o .
 flare up-cmpl rise-pst.cmpl-m.sg
169. mushthi-yuddh-n-a nishmat nan-a m6ll-ne
 fist-fight-poss-m.sg expert young-m.sg wrestler-acc
 mar-i nakh-nar h6rbh6m pase-thi pur-e-pur-o
 kill-cmpl drop-adjM Harbham near-from full-at-full-m.sg
 b6d6l-o le-wa tr6n-e m6ll t6lpap6d th6-i
 revenge-m.sg take-inf three-all wrestler eager be-cmpl
 r6h-y-a h6-t-a .
 remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-pst.prg-m.pl
170. h6rbh6m-n-õ kash6l kadh-i nakh-wa a
 Harbham-poss-n.sg obstacle take out-cmpl drop-inf this
 tr6n-e m6ll bhuj-thi up6d-i-ne sõgh6d
 three-all wrestler Bhuj-from start-cmpl-pcpl Sanghad
 gam-e aw-i p6hoc-y-a .
 village-loc come-cmpl reach-pst.cmpl-m.pl
171. h6rbh6m-to aj s6war-thi-j sõgh6d-n-i
 Harbham-prM today morning-from-emph sanghad-poss-f.sg
 sim-mã pota-n-õ khet6r khed-wa g6-y-o
 farm-in self-poss-n.sg field till-inf go-pst.cmpl-m.sg

- h6-t-o .
be-pst.prg-m.sg
172. te-n-i p6tni hiru bhat p6h0c-ad-wa
3 sg-poss-f.sg wife Hiru meal reach-caus-inf
- j6-t-i h6-t-i tyare te-n-e
go-pst.prg-f.sg be-pst.prg-f.sg that time 3 sg-poss-loc
- kan-e wat aw-y-i ke jad-a pad-a
eat-loc story come-pst.cmpl-f.sg that fat-m.pl buffalo-m.pl
- jew-a be dhing-a man6s-o gam-mā h6rbh6m-n-i
like-m.pl two strong-pl man-pl village-in Harbham-poss-f.sg
- shodh c6l-aw-i r6h-y-a ch-e .
search continue-caus-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-3 pres
173. h6rbh6m s6mj-i g6-y-o ke dhfg-a
Harbham understand-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg that strong-m.pl
- dh6d6b-a man6s-o bij-a koi n6-hi p6n
rough-m.pl man-pl another-m.pl some neg-be but
- p6raj-i-t b6n-el-a m6ll-o-j
defeat-pst.cmpl-pcpl become-adjM-m.pl wrestler-pl-emph
- te-n-ū wer wal-wa aw-y-a ch-e .
3 sg-poss-n.sg revenge take-inf come-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-3 pres
174. '6re te-to a cal-y-a aw-e .'
well 3 sg-prM this walk-pst.cmpl-m.pl come-3 pres
175. hiru-e b6nne-ne dur-thi aw-t-a jo-i-ne
Hiru-ag both-acc far-from come-pst.prg-m.pl see-cmpl-pcpl
- g6bh6rat-mā k6h-y-ū .
terror-in say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
176. 'aw-e ch-e to aw-wa de .
come-3 pres be-3 pres then come-inf let-2 sg.impv
177. tū g6bh6r-a-y ch-e shan-i #
2 sg fear-caus-pres be-pres what-f.sg
178. bh6le, te p6n mutthi-n-o swad cakh-t-a
well 3 sg also fist-poss-m.sg taste taste-pst.prg-m.pl
- ja-y .'
go-psbl

179. h6rbh6m-e th6da koth-e k6h-y-ŭ .
 Harbham-ag cold stomach-loc say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
180. p6chi t6r6t h6rbh6m-e n6w-o wicar k6r-i
 then suddenly Harbham-ag new-m.sg thought do-cmpl
 li-dh-o .
 take-pst.cmpl-m.sg
181. te-ne b6l6diy-a-ne h6l-mā-thi chod-i
 3 sg-ag bullock-pl-acc plow-in-from release-cmpl
 nakh-y-a .
 drop-pst.cmpl-m.pl
182. b6me-ne khet6r-n-a shedha p6r c6r-wa
 both-acc field-poss-m.sg edge on graze-inf
 muk-i di-dh-a .
 put-cmpl give-pst.cmpl-m.pl
183. b6l6d-o-n-i khādh-e muk6-wa-n-ŭ
 bullock-pl-poss-f.sg shoulder-loc put-inf-poss-n.sg
 dhŭs6r-ŭ p6n h6l-mā-thi chod-i-ne chut-ŭ
 yoke-n.sg also plow-in-from release-cmpl-pcpl free-n.sg
 pad-i di-dh-ŭ .
 put-cmpl give-pst.cmpl-n.sg
184. p6chi h6l-n-o lāb-o dād-o hath-mā
 then plow-poss-m.sg long-m.sg pole-m.sg hand-in
 l6-i-ne lodha-n-i kosh-wal-a w6j6n-dar
 take-cmpl-pcpl iron-poss-f.sg point-with-m.sg weight-with
 h6l w6de khet6r-n-ā dhēf-ā bhāg-wa
 plow with field-poss-n.pl mud clods-n.pl break-inf
 m6d-i p6d-y-o .
 begin-cmpl fall-pst.cmpl-m.sg
185. j6min khed-wa-n-a 6ti-bhare w6j6n-n-a
 ground plow-inf-poss-m.sg very-heavy weight-poss-m.sg
 baw6liya-n-a lak6d-a-n-a h6l w6de
 acacia tree-poss-n.sg wood-n.sg-poss-n.sg plow with
 h6rbh6m-ne dhēf-ā bhāg-t-o jo-i-ne
 Harbham-acc mud clods-n.pl break-pst.prg-m.sg see-cmpl-pcpl

- te-n-o jan le-wa aw-el-a b6nne
 3 sg-poss-m.sg life take-inf come-adjM-m.pl both
- m6ll-o tyā-n-a tyā-j thij-i
 wrestler-pl there-poss-m.pl there-emph freeze-cmpl
- g6-y-a .
 go-pst.cmpl-m.pl
186. s6mj-i g6-y-a ke pāc-sat
 understand-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl that five-seven
- m6n-n-a w6j6n-n-a h6l w6de
 40 lbs-poss-n.sg weight-poss-n.sg plow with
- dhef-ā-n-o bhāg-nar-o h6rbh6m
 mud clods-n.pl-poss-m.sg break-adjM-m.sg Harbham
- p6l-war-mā tena te-j h6l w6de tem-n-a
 moment-time-in that that-emph plow with 3 pl-poss-m.pl
- b6nne-n-ā math-ā tod-i nākh-sh-e .
 both-poss-n.pl head-n.pl break-cmpl drop-fut-3 sg
187. h6l w6de dhef-ā bhāg-t-a h6rbh6m-n-ū
 plow with mud clod-n.pl break-pst.prg-m.sg Harbham-poss-n.sg
- dr6shy6 jo-i-ne b6nne m6ll kh6siyan-a
 scene see-cmpl-pcpl both wrestlers embarrass-m.pl
- p6d-i s6m6j-i g6-y-a
 fall(become)-cmpl understand-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl
- s6ms6m-i r6h-y-a .
 sizzle-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl
188. tem-n-a p6g dhil-a p6d-i g6-y-a
 3 pl-poss-m.pl legs loose-m.pl become-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl
- 6ne jyā-thi aw-y-a h6-t-a tyā
 and where-from come-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-pst.prg-m.pl there
- pach-a p6g-e pach-a f6r-y-a .
 turned-m.pl legs-loc return-m.pl turn-pst.cmpl-m.pl
189. h6rbh6m-n-i gh6r-wali hiru-to p6ti-n-ū
 Harbham-poss-f.sg home-woman Hiru-prM husband-poss-n.sg
- a p6rakra6m jo-i modha p6r hath muk-i-ne
 this miraculous act see-cmpl mouth on hand put-cmpl-pcpl

m6n-mā ne m6n-mā h6s-t-i-j r6h-y-i .
 mind-in and mind-in smile-pst.prg-f.sg-emph remain-pst.cmpl-f.sg

190. 'te b6nne 6hi aw-y-a ho-t to ?'
 that both here come-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-psbl then

191. hiru-e h6rbh6m-ne puch-y-ū .
 Hiru-ag Harbham-acc ask-pst.cmpl-n.sg

192. '6hi aw-y-a ho-t to bij-ū
 here come-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-pst.prg then another-n.sg

shū tha-t #
 what become-psbl

193. mare be dhēf-ā w6dhu bhāg6-w-ā
 1 sg-ag two mud clod-n.sg more break-inf-n.pl

p6d-y-ā ho-t ."
 fall-pst.cmpl-n.pl be-psbl

194. h6rbh6m-e h6s-i-ne j6wab ap-y-o .
 Harbhan-ag smile-cmpl-pcpl answer give-pst.cmpl-m.sg

HARBHAM BHUTO

1. In a certain village named Sanghad lived a brave young man named Harbham Bhuto. 2. He was considered a nose (a symbol of great reputation) for the Sanghad village. 3. A strong man like him was difficult to find anywhere in the county of Anjar. 4. Especially in wrestling, no one was able to overcome him. 5. To insert a doll into a sugar-cane stick from a distance was a play thing for him. 6. To eat 20 pounds of Kutchi dates along with the pits was to his mind only a snack. 7. If Harbham would stand in a wrestling arena in the Kutch area, with a waist-belt tied around his waist, scarcely anyone would be ready to challenge him.

8. In this manner, he was well known throughout the surrounding area.

9. One time from the fields of Sanghad village, some piles of corn stalks, sown by Harbham, were to be brought and stacked in the yard of (his) home. 10. Because the corn stalks were to be brought from the field, there was a need of a large bullock cart.

11. At that time, because Harbham's bullock cart's axle was broken, he asked to borrow a bullock cart from his uncle. 12. During that time his uncle himself needed the cart, so he answered that (he) could get the cart after four days. 13. Harbham did not like (his) uncle's response. 14. It was not possible to leave the hay unprotected on the farm for four days.

15. Harbham was puzzled. 16. Finally a solution occurred to him.

17. That very night Harbham slipped quietly into the back yard of his uncle. 18. The uncle's cart was sitting in his yard. 19. Harbham picked the cart weighing about 1,000 to 1,200 lbs. up on his head. 20. Carrying the cart like this over (his) head, (he) came home, attached the oxen to the cart, and went to the fields of his farm. 21. Laboring all night, taking all the hay from the fields, (he) brought it to his home and stacked it in the back yard. 22. In just one night (he) stacked up a big pile of corn stalks. 23. Early in the morning, carrying that same cart on his head, (he) very quietly returned it to (his) uncle's back yard, just as it was before, so that even the tracks made by the cart could not be seen.

24. In the morning when Harbham's uncle saw a big pile of cor

29. Such was Harbham's strength.

30. One time in the court of the great king Deshalji, two strong expert wrestlers arrived from Rajasthan. 31. Both of them were very skilled wrestlers. 32. They both had arrived in Kutch after defeating great wrestlers in the areas of Marwad, Gujarat and Rajasthan. 33. They had made a custom to receive a golden bracelet from the king of each place as a token of (their) victory over whichever of the king's wrestlers they would defeat. 34. In this manner, to this day, they had collected 99 bracelets. 35. Now, to gain only the last one bracelet they had entered into Kutch.

36. The king of Kutch, Deshalji, was very fond of sports and wrestling. 37. He was surprised to hear of the condition proposed by the (newly) arrived wrestlers. 38. Deshalji began to search for a Kutchi wrestler who could defeat these two wrestlers. 39. Seeing those two wrestlers' elephant-like bodies and lion-like eyes, no one was coming forward to challenge them.

40. The wrestlers of Kutch, in those days, were leaving the program of wrestling and were beginning to become personal attendants of Deshalji. 41. And so now their strength was continually decreasing. 42. The wrestlers (of Kutch) had already realized that this was their weakness. 43. They thought that if they somehow lost while wrestling with these skilled monster-like (wrestlers), the reputation of the whole of Kutch would be lost. 44. With this understanding not one wrestler from Kutch showed his readiness to enter into this contest. 45. Seeing the Kutchi wrestlers losing their courage, Deshalji became puzzled.

46. At that time in his court Motichandji, a priest from Anjar county, was present. 47. The priest Motichand was respected by the king. 48. (He) was the confidant-doctor for Deshalji. 49. Seeing that the wrestlers of Kutch were backsliding, this respected priest remembered another matter.

50. "Honorable, if I have (your) permission, I would like to request (something),"

51. the priest said presenting his proposal.

52. "Well, reverend priest, why should you need permission?
53. Tell me without any hesitation,"

54. Deshalji said giving his permission.

55. "I know a warrior who can break the heads of these wrestlers."

56. "Reverend, if it is so, what else do we need? 57. I myself was afraid that these wrestlers might destroy the reputation of Kutch."

58. "Deshalji, beloved Kutch has not yet become such a coward. 59. There are many valiant men present in Kutch who can put such wrestlers to the ground. 60. From these I will give you the name of one."

61. "Well, Reverend, who is he, such (a man)?"

64. "He is from Sanghad village. 63. His name is famous in the whole of Anjar county. 64. If you order I will go to Sanghad village today and bring him (here)."

65. "Most Reverend, there is no need for you to take such trouble. 66. Right now I will make the arrangement for a chariot to bring him (here)."

67. Quickly the order of Deshalji was released. 68. From the chariot house, a chariot was prepared by attaching elephant-like oxen, and a chariot driver put the chariot (with great haste) on the way to Sanghad village. 69. Harbham Bhuto was an ordinary farmer. 70. He was as adventurous as he was strong. 71. He was so fond (of adventures) that if someone would name a manly game he would go even to the lowest of the nether regions (to participate). 72. He was not a man who would lose courage upon hearing the news of the strength of the wrestlers with giant bodies. 73. There was no end to his joy when he saw that Deshalji's chariot came to call on him. 74. He got ready quickly and climbed up on the chariot. 75. The chariot entered the town of Bhuj (speedily) making a hissing sound.

77. "Harbham, do you know the art of wrestling?" 78. Deshalji asked a question.

79. "Giver of food, although my job is farming, I am interested in the art of wrestling."

80. "Do you have (enough) courage to wrestle with the wrestlers who have come here?"

81. "Bless you, Deshalji; Deshalji, if you so order I am ready to fight even with a haunted fort."

82. On hearing Harbham's answer, Deshalji was extremely glad. 83. "Well then, be ready tomorrow."

84. "Bless (you), I am just waiting for your order."

85. And bowing to Deshalji, Harbham began to walk (away).

86. The royal fort of Bhuj became filled today with the people of Bhuj village. 87. The reason being that today's wrestling was going to be like a terrific oxen-fight. 88. Also, people interested in wrestling from surrounding villages had come great distances to see today's program. 89. This program was to take place right in the royal fort so that the queens of the royal palace could also see the arena for today's wrestling match. 90. Deshalji was sitting on silken cushions and pillows on the new stage on the grounds of the royal fort. 91. Also the maids had taken (their) seats behind the curtains. 92. The wrestling ground was prepared in the middle of strings which were around the four sides. 93. The wrestling ground was made clean by sprinkling water (on it).

94. The wrestlers with giant bodies came out wearing red loin cloths and stood in the middle of the ring. 95. The wrestlers were repeatedly striking the palms of their hands on their muscular thighs. 96. The sound of the palms of (their) hands (against their thighs= made a big echo after bouncing off the walls of the royal fort. 97. This sound was enough to shake the courage from the person contesting with them.

98. However, Harbham, an Ahir from Sanghad village was not such a timid man who would become fearful by this show of the wrestlers. 99. Getting ready for today's wrestling, he also came out into the arena.

100. Seeing an Ahir young man from a village ready to fight with such strong wrestlers, the spectators began to say various things (about him). 101. Some said "It seems that today the days of this poor destitute villager are over." 102. The other said, "It seems that the Motichand priest has used this trick of removing the boil with cold water to destroy him quietly." 103. Thus everybody was involved in saying whatever came to his mind.

104. Now in today's wrestling match a decision was made that Harbham should wrestle with only one of the (two) older wrestlers. 105. This decision was agreeable to both the parties. 106. Both the warriors participating in wrestling made themselves ready by striking the palms of their hands on their own open thighs. 107. Both the warriors first expressed their sportsman ship by shaking hands. 108. Then, beginning to wrestle, both stuck to each other like leeches.

109. In order to subdue Harbham, that giant-body wrestler began to apply his tricks one after another. 110. On the other hand, Harbham was applying tricks only to protect himself. 111. As time went by that wrestler became more and more convinced that to overcome Harbham was not as simple as poking a sword into fresh manure or drawing a line through a whole-wheat pudding. 112. One after another all his efforts to defeat Harbham were returning fruitless.

113. The warriors were continuously applying their own respective tricks to defeat each other in this oxen-like fight. 114. At one moment it would seem that Harbham would go (down). 115. Whenever the Kutchi public saw that, a shadow of disappointment fell upon their faces. 116. But at the very next moment, Harbham would roll the other wrestler down. 117. The spectators had by now realized the strength of Harbham who looked like a country bumpkin. 118. Now in every one's mind there was hope of victory for the Kutchi water strength=. 119. For exactly three hours these men-lions continued fighting. 120. Now Harbham had become familiar with the various tricks of that wrestler. 121. And yet until now, he had not progressed any further than using some tricks for show. 122. Also, that wrestler had understood that Harbham was an expert in using tricks for protection, but he was not able to go any further than that. 123. Knowing this, he also had become slightly careless. 24. Harbham also encouraged that illusion. 125. Now he was only waiting for the slightest careless mistake of the wrestler. 126. The tricks used to drop one another down were still going on. 127. Harbham was now eagerly waiting to grab an opportunity to attack. 128. Suddenly seeing that the wrestler had become inattentive and careless, Harbham now applied his strategy for attack and in only one blow dropped him straight to the ground. 129. The arena of the royal fort roared with shouts of joy.

130. The newcomer wrestlers shouted "Fowl, fowl," at least for a while. 131. But they were not able to do anything (about it).

132. The defeat began to sting in the minds of the great wrestlers who were very eager to attain the garland of victory from the kingdoms of Kutch, Kathiawad and Rajsthan. 133. To wash out the blackness of (their) defeat they were (already) thinking about forming some new kind of plan.

134. That time the leader of the wrestlers, who was the father, requested Deshalji saying: 135-136. "Most honorable one, in this game of wrestling do we not accept our defeat, because the rules of wrestling are broken in that (game). 137. So, it is our request that Harbham should enter into a fist-fight with this young wrestler. 138. And whoever wins in that game, he should be considered the winner, please, give such an order."

139. Deshalji called Harbham and asked: 140. "Harbham, are you ready to enter into a fist-fight with this young wrestler?" 141. "Deshalji, if you order, I am ready to get into a fight even with Yuma (the god of death)," 142. Harbham informed (him) giving his agreement with boldness.

143. It was enough, the decision was made. 144. Now it was decided that whoever wins the fist-fight, he alone can attain the garland of victory.

145. The younger wrestler was highly skilled in fist-fighting. 146. With the intent of making the best use of his (son's) skill and swiftness at this time, the father-wrestler had presented this plan.

147. Both the warriors got into the fighting arena. 148. Harbham was very familiar with this type of fist-fight. 149. Still, he had full confidence in his own strength. 150. Each of the players in the fist-fight began to apply their respective tricks. 151. Harbham was careful to protect (himself). 152. This game of fist-fighting continued for a long time. 153. Both participants were young. 154. (Both) were strong. 155. (Both) were swift like a leopard. 156. (They) were just waiting for the opportunity to defeat the other.

157. Suddenly, seeing an opportunity, Harbham gave such a blow from his iron-like fist to the head of the younger wrestler that it created the appearance that his head was sinking into his body because of the blow of the fist. 158. The wrestler, who was a skilled player of fist-fighting, quickly rolled down to the ground. 159. And he took his last breath.

160. Suddenly the whole crowd became disorderly. 161. Everywhere there was a great noise and uproar. 162. Everyone now began to slip out. 163. The crowd began to scatter. 164. Harbham also was puzzled. 165. He slipped out from there without even showing his face to Deshalji. 166. Quietly he reached his village, Sanghad.

167. Now there were three wrestlers left out of four. 168. A fire for revenge flared up into their minds. 169. The three wrestlers had become extremely impatient to take full revenge on Harbham who had killed the younger wrestler who was an expert in fist-fighting.

170. All the three wrestlers came over to Sanghad village from Bhuj to destroy Harbham completely. 171. Now, from early morning Harbham had gone to the fields of Sanghad village into his farm to plow. 172. His wife, Hiru, when taking the meal (to Harbham), heard the news that two fat, buffalo-like, strong men were searching for Harbham in the village. 173. Harbham quickly understood that (these) strong and rough men were none other than the defeated wrestlers who had come to take revenge on him.

174. "Oh, there they are coming," 175. Said Hiru with terror, seeing both of them coming at a distance.

176. "If they are coming, let them come. 177. Why are you afraid? 178. "Well, let them also taste the taste of (my) fist," 179. Harbham said with cold indifference.

180. Then quickly Harbham thought out a new plan. 181. He released the oxen from the plow. 182. (He) put both of them to graze on the edge of the farm. 183. Also the yoke, used on the shoulders of the oxen, (he) released from the plow and put it aside. 184. Then taking the long pole of the plow into (his) hand (he) began to break the mud-clods in the field with the heavy iron point of the plow.

185. Seeing Harbham breaking the mud-clods with a very heavy plow made from acacia wood for the purpose of plowing the ground, both the wrestlers who had come to take his life, froze right on the spot. 186. (They) quickly understood that Harbham, who was breaking the mud-clods with the plow weighing 200 to 280 pounds, could break both their heads in one moment with that 185. Seeing Harbham breaking the mud-clods with a very heavy plow made from acacia wood for the purpose of plowing the ground, both the wrestlers who had come to take his life, froze right on the spot. 186. (They) quickly understood that Harbham, who was breaking the mud-clods with the plow weighing 200 to 280 pounds, could break both their heads in one moment with that same plow. 187. Observing Harbham breaking the mud-clods with the plow, both the wrestlers became embarrassed, understood (everything) and melted (with helplessness). 188. Their feet became loose and turning their feet they returned to the same place from which they had come.

189. Harbham's wife, Hiru, when she saw (her) husband's miraculous act, she put (her) hand on (her) mouth and laughed inside for a long time. 190. "What if they both had come here?" 191. Hiru asked Harbham.

192. "What else could have happened if they had come here?" 193. "Then I would have had to break two more mud-clods," 194. Harbham answered with a smile.

2. The Smart Merchant

th6g-n-o guru
cheater-poss-m.sg teacher

1. ek sheth h6-t-a .
one merchant be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp

2. tem-n-i pas-e lakh-o rupi-ya-n-i
3 pl.rsp-poss-f.sg near-loc million-pl rupee-pl-poss-f.sg

milk6t h6-t-i .
property be-pst.prg-f.sg

3. p6n te bhare k6jus h6-t-a .
but 3 sg extremely miser be-pst.prg-m pl.rsp .

4. "c6m6d-i bh6le ja-y p6n d6m6d-i n6 ja-y "
skin-f.sg well go-psbl but penny-f.sg neg go-psbl

tew-i wat h6-t-i .
such-f.sg story be-pst.prg-f.sg

5. tem-n-i k6jus-ai wishe lok-o-mā
3 pl.rsp-poss-f.sg miser-nom about people-pl-in

jat-jat-n-i wat-o cal-t-i .
various-various-poss-f.sg story-pl walk-pst.prg-f.pl

6. te l6kh-p6ti ho-wa ch-6-tā m6l-ā k6p6d-ā
3 pl.rsp million-owner be-pass be-pres-dur dirty-n.pl cloth-n.pl

tut-el-ā khas6d-ā 6ne j6ripuran-i ch6tr-i
break-adjM-n.pl footwear-n.pl and old-f.sg umbrella-f.sg

- tem-ne khub g6m-t-ā .
 3 pl.rsp-acc much like-pst.prg-n.pl
7. khas6d-ā gh6s-a-y n6 ja-y mate
 footwear-n.pl wear out-pass-psbl neg go-psbl so that
- bh6r-unala-mā p6n hath-mā zal-i-ne
 middle-summer-in also hand-in hold-cmpl-pcpl
- cal-t-a .
 walk-pst-prg-m.pl.rsp
8. 6jwaliya-mā diw-o n6 pet-aw-wa-n-ū
 moon light-in lamp-m.sg neg light-caus-inf-poss-n.sg
- nim h6-t-ū .
 rule be-pst.prg-n.sg
9. shethan-i-ne diwas6li wap6r-wa-n-i
 merchant's wife-f.sg-acc match stick use-inf-poss-f.sg
- m6na k6r-y-i h6-t-i .
 prohibition do-cmpl-f.sg be-pst.prg-f.sg
10. padosh-mā-thi dew6ta law-i-ne cul-o
 neighborhood-in-from fire bring-cmpl-pcpl fireplace-m.sg
- pet-aw-wa-n-o niy6m h6-t-o .
 light-caus-inf-poss-m.sg rule be-pst.prg-m.sg
11. bari-barn-a-n-ā mijagr-ā gh6s-a-y
 window-door-n.pl-poss-n.pl hinge-n.pl wear out-pass-psbl
- ja-y māte war6war ughad-was k6r-wa-n-i
 go-psbl so that often open-close do-inf-poss-f.sg
- m6na h6-t-i .
 prohibition be-pst.prg-f.sg
12. matl-ā saw6r6n-i ne idhon-i jew-i
 water pot-n.pl broom-f.sg and head pad-f.sg like-f.pl
- cij-o warsa-mā m6l-y-i h6-t-i
 thing-pl inheritance-in receive-cmpl-f.pl be-pst.prg-f.pl
- te-j w6p6r-a-t-i h6-t-i .
 that-emph use-pass-pst.prg-f.pl be-pst.prg-f.pl
13. gh6ti-ne gh6sar-o n6 lag-e te mate
 grinding stone-acc wearing-m.sg neg happen-psbl that for

- at-o och-o wap6r-t-a .
flour-m.sg less-m.sg use-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
14. ghi j6w-i chis-o-thi c6rbi w6dh-e ch-e
butter like-f.pl thing-pl-by fat increase-pres be-pres
- te wat sheth s6mj-y-a
that matter merchant understand-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp
- h6-t-a 6ne shethani-ne s6mj-aw-i
be-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp and merchant's wife-acc understand-caus-cmpl
- cuk-y-a h6-t-a .
finish-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp be-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp
15. am ch6-tā sheth wy6whar-mā pr6manik
this be-pres-durM merchant conduct-in honest
- h6-t-a .
be-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp
16. gh6rak-ne th6g-t-a n6-hi .
customer-acc cheat-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp neg-be
17. hisab kitab chokkh-o rakh-t-a .
account book clean-m.sg keep-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp
18. p6n bij-o koi tem-ne th6g-i ja-y
but another-m.sg someone 3 pl.rsp-acc cheat-cmpl go-psbl
- to te w6s6m-ū lag-t-ū .
then that unbearable-n.sg feel-pst.prg-n.sg
19. th6g-ne p6n th6g-i ja-y te-j sach-o
cheater-acc also cheat-cmpl go-psbl that-emph true-m.sg
- waniy-o tem te man-t-a
merchant-n.sg such 3 pl believe-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp
- h6-t-a .
be-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp
20. gh6n-a cor t6tha th6g sheth-ne th6g-wa-mā
many-m.pl thief and cheater merchant-acc cheat-inf-in
- faw-y-a n6 h6-t-a .
successful-pst.cmpl-m.pl neg be-pst.prg-m.pl
21. sheth koi rit-e 6kk6l c6l-aw-i
merchant some manner-loc intelligence apply-caus-cmpl

- b6ch-i j6-t-a h6-t-a .
 be safe-cmpl go-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp be-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp
22. p6n be n6w-a th6g-n-i n6j6r a sheth
 but two new-m.pl cheater-poss-f.sg sight this merchant
 t6r6f w6l-y-i .
 toward turn-pst.cmpl-f.sg
23. waniy-o c6kor ch-e ne th6g-ne p6n
 merchant-m.sg smart be-pres and cheater-acc also
 th6g-e tew-o ch-e te wat te
 cheat-psbl such-m.sg be-pres that story 3 pl
 s6m6j-t-a h6-t-a .
 understand-pst.prg-m.pl be-pst.prg-m.pl
24. a sheth-ne th6g-i-e n6-hi tyā sudhi
 this merchant-acc cheat-1 pl-pres neg-be then til
 ap6-n-o k6s6b n6kam-o ch-e .
 1 pl-poss-m.sg skill useless-m.sg be-pres
25. te sheth-ne th6g-ai ke cor-i-thi
 that merchant-acc cheat-nom or steal-nom-by
 rupi-ya-r6da-n-ū muk6shan n6 k6r-i-e to
 rupee-pl-money-poss-n.sg hurt neg do-1 pl-pres then
 ap6ne th6g sha-n-a ?
 1 pl cheater what-poss-m.pl
26. sheth-ne saw kor-a chod-e to
 merchant-acc completely dry-pl.rsp leave-pres then
 th6g-n-i jat laj-e .
 cheater-poss-f.sg self be ashamed-pres
27. aw-o wicar k6r-i pel-a be th6g b6har
 such-m.sg thought do-cmpl that-pl two cheater out
 p6d-y-a .
 came-pst.cmpl-m.pl
28. sheth roj sāj-e loto l6-i kh6rcū
 merchant every day evening-loc jug take-cmpl latrine
 j6-t-a .
 go-pst.prg-3 pl.rsp

29. te t6k-n-o labh l6-i beu
 that opportunity-poss-m.sg advantage take-cmpl both
- cor sheth-n-a r6sta-mā jal-ā-n-i
 thieves merchant-poss-m.sg way-in bush-n.pl-poss-f.sg
- oth-e s6ta-i-ne be-th-a .
 behind-loc hide-cmpl-pcpl sit-pst.cmpl-m.pl
30. s6m6y j6-tā sheth loto l6-i aw-t-a
 time go-durM merchant jug take-cmpl come-pst.prg-3 pl-rsp
- j6n-a-y-a .
 know-pass-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp
31. beu cor an6d pam-y-a 6ne loto
 both thieves joy receive-pst.cmpl-3 pl and jug
- p6d-aw-i le-wa-n-o ghat gh6d-wa
 snatch-caus-cmpl take-inf-poss-m.sg plan make-inf
- lag-y-a .
 begin-pst.cmpl-3 pl
32. "sheth-n-a hath-mā-n-o loto tāba-n-o
 merchant-poss-m.sg hand-in-poss-m.sg jug copper-poss-m.sg
- j6n-a-y ch-e ."
 know-pass-pst.cmpl be-pres
33. ek cor-e dhime-thi bija-ne k6h-y-ū ,
 one thief-ag slow-by another-acc say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
34. "na, m6-ne pitt6l-n-o dekh-a-y ch-e ,"
 no 1 sg-acc brass-poss-m.sg see-pass-pres be-pres
35. bija-e k6h-y-ū .
 another-ag say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
36. a lok-o b6hu dhime-thi bol-t-a
 this people-pl very slow-by speak-pst.prg-3 pl
- h6-t-a .
 be-pst.prg-3 pl
37. p6n sheth-n-a kan b6hu s6rw-a h6-t-a .
 but merchant-poss-m.pl ears much keen-m.pl be-pst.prg-m pl
38. te a wat sābh6l-i g6-y-a .
 3 pl.rsp this talk hear-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp

39. "waniya waniya ferw-i tol " -n-i
 merchant merchant turn-cmpl think 2 sg.impv -poss-f.sg
 niti tem-ne 6jmaw-i .
 technique 3 pl.rsp-ag apply-f.sg
40. r6sta w6cc-e ubha r6h-i lot-a t6r6f
 way middle-loc standing remain-cmpl jug-m.sg toward
 jo-i te b6b6d-i uth-y-a .
 see-cmpl 3 pl.rsp murmur-cmpl begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
41. "6re sheth-ani-e aj-e p6n m6-ne a
 well merchant-wife-ag today-loc also 1 sg-acc this
 kan-iy-o lot-o ap-y-o ?
 hole-adjM-m.sg jug-m.sg give-pst.cmpl-m.sg
42. k6h-i k6-i-ne thak-y-o ke ma-r-i
 say-cmpl say-cmpl-pcpl tire-pst.cmpl-m.sg that 1 sg-poss-f.sg
 sahy6bi pr6mae cadi-n-o lot-o joi-e .
 wealth according silver-poss-m.sg jug-m.sg need-pres
43. ch6tā rād man6-t-i-j n6-thi .
 yet wench obey-pst.prg-f.sg-emph neg-be
44. 6b-gh6di pach-o j6-i cadi-n-o lot-o
 this-moment turn-m.sg go-cmpl silver-poss-m.sg jug-m.sg
 l6-i aw-ish tyare-j sheth-ani-n-i
 take-cmpl come-fut.1 sg then-emph merchant-wife-poss-f.sg
 san thekane aw-she ."
 sense proper place come-fut.3 sg
45. am k6h-i sheth pach-a wal-i
 such say-cmpl merchant back-3 pl.rsp turn-cmpl
 g6-y-a .
 go-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp
46. beu cor akh-micam6n-ā k6r-t-a raji
 both thieves eye-blinking-n.pl do-pst.prg-3 pl glad
 th6-i g6-y-a .
 become-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-3 pl
47. sheth gher j6-i h6we cadi-n-o lot-o
 merchant home go-cmpl now silver-poss-m.sg jug-m.sg

- 16-i-ne aw-she et6le te p6d-aw-i
take-cmpl-pcpl come-3 sg.fut so that take-caus-cmpl
- 16-i-shū .
take-cmpl-fut.1 pl
48. em man-i te tyā chupa-i-ne bes-i
that believe-cmpl 3 pl there hide-pst.cmpl-pcpl sit-cmpl
- r6h-y-a .
remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl
49. p6n sheth pach-a sha-n-a aw-e #
but merchant back-m.pl-rsp what-poss-m.pl.rsp come-pres
50. aw-e te bija .
come-pres that another
51. cor wat jo-i-ne thak-y-a .
thieves way see-pst.cmpl-pcpl tire-pst.cmpl-m.pl
52. 6dhar-ū th6-wa aw-y-ū h6-t-ū et6le
dark-n.sg be-inf come-pst.cmpl-n.sg be-pst.prg-n.sg so
- te tyā-thi sheth-n-a gh6r t6r6f
3 pl there-from merchant-poss-m.sg home toward
- g6-y-a .
bo-pst.cmpl-m.pl
53. sheth shū k6r-e ch-e te jo-wa-n-i
merchant what do-pres be-pres that see-inf-poss-f.sg
- t6k m6l-e to n6w-o daw
opportunity receive-psbl then new-m.sg trick
- 6jmaw-wa-n-i tem-n-i iccha h6-t-i .
apply-inf-poss-f.sg 3 pl-poss-f.sg desire be-pst.prg-f.sg
54. thodi war to te sheth-n-a d6rwaja n6jik
little time prM 3 pl merchant-poss-m.sg gate near
- chupa-i-ne bes-i r6h-y-a .
hide-cmpl-pcpl sit-cmpl remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl
55. p6chi sheth shū k6r-e ch-e te jo-wa
then merchant what do-pres be-pres that see-inf
- jan-wa mate tem-n-a gh6r-n-i
know-inf for 3 pl.rsp-poss-m.sg house-poss-f.sg

- p6chit-n-i ag6l g6-y-a .
back wall-poss-f.sg around go-pst.cmpl-m.pl
56. sheth gh6r-mā-j h6-t-a .
merchant house-in-emph be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
57. chor lok-o z6t (pota-n-o ked-o n6-hi
thief people-pl quickly self-poss-m.sg way-m.sg neg-be
- muk-e tem te s6mj-i g6-y-a
leave-pres such 3 pl.rsp understand-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
- h6-t-a .
be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
58. pota-n-i calak-i-thi chet6ra-el-a cor
self-poss-f.sg trickery-f.sg-by decieve-adjM-m.pl thieves
- bij-i t6rkib mate k6dac gher aw-e to
another-f.sg trick for probably home come-pres then
- n6wai n6-hi tem tem-n-ū man6-w-ū
surprise neg-be such 3 pl.rsp-poss-n.sg believe-inf-n.sg
- h6-t-ū .
be-pst.prg-n.sg
59. cor lok-o mate a ijj6t-n-o pr6shn6
thief people-pl for this prestige-poss-m.sg issue
- th6-i p6d-y-o h6-t-o te p6n
be-cmpl become-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg that also
- te s6m6j-t-a h6-t-a .
3 pl.rsp understand-pst.prg-m.pl-rsp be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
60. et6le tem-n-i same 6kk6l l6d-aw-wa
so that 3 pl-poss-f.sg against intelligence fight-caus-inf
- te t6iyar th6-i g6-y-a .
3 pl-rsp ready be-cmpl become-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
61. p6chit-n-i jali ag6l beu cor l6pa-ta
back wall-poss-f.sg lattice around both thieves hide-durM
- chupa-ta aw-i-ne ubh-a r6h-y-a .
hide-durM come-cmpl-pcpl stand-m.pl remain-pst.cmpl-m.pl
62. ek j6n-e jali-mā-thi n6j6r k6r-y-i .
one person-ag lattice-in-from glance do-pst.cmpl-f.sg

63. b6rab6r te-j w6kh6t-e sheth p6n jali ag6l
 exactly that-emph time-loc merchant also lattice near
- aw-i p6chit-e koi aw-y-ŭ to n6-thi
 come-cmpl back wall-loc anyone come-pst.cmpl-n.sg prM neg-be
- te jo-wa lag-y-a .
 that see-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
64. cor-e sheth-n-ŭ math-ŭ jo-y-ŭ 6ne
 thief-ag merchant-poss-n.sg head-n.sg see-pst.cmpl-n.sg and
- te baju-e kh6s-i g6-y-o .
 3 sg side-loc move-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
65. sheth 6dhara-ne lidhe cor-ne jo-i
 merchant darkness-acc account of thief-acc see-cmpl
- sh6k-y-a n6 h6-t-a
 be able-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp neg be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
- et6le b6har jo-wa lag-y-a .
 so outside see-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
66. sheth-n-i l6bi much jal-i-m6-thi
 merchant-poss-f.sg long mustache lattice-f.sg-in-from
- p6w6n-m6 f6rf6r-t-i h6-t-i .
 wind-in flutter-pst.prg-f.sg be-pst.prg-f.sg
67. te baju-m6 l6pa-i-ne ubh-a r6h-el-a
 that near-in hide-cmpl-pcpl stand-m.sg remain-adjM-m.sg
- cor-n-a jo-wa-m6 aw-y-i .
 thief-poss-m.sg see-inf-in come-pst.cmpl-f.sg
68. te-ne t6r6t much-n-o ched-o p6k6d-i
 3 sg-ag quickly mustache-poss-m.sg end-m.sg grab-cmpl
- li-dh-o .
 take-pst.cmpl-m.sg
69. sheth c6m6k-y-a p6n t6r6t saw6dh
 merchant be startled-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp but quickly alert
- b6n-i g6-y-a .
 become-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
70. cor gh6r sudhi aw-i p6h6c-y-a-n-i
 thief home up to come-cmpl reach-pst.cmpl-m.pl-poss-f.sg

- tem-ne khatri th6-y-i .
 3 pl.rsp-acc certainty be-pst.cmpl-f.sg
71. much-n-i p6k6d et6li jordar h6-t-i
 mustache-poss-f.sg hold such strong be-pst.prg-f.sg
- ke sheth cis pad-i bes-e .
 that merchant scream make-cmpl sit-pres
72. p6n c6tur waniy-o har kha-wa mäg-t-o
 but smart merchant-m.sg defeat eat-inf want-pst.prg-m.sg
- n6 h6-t-o .
 neg be-pst.prg-m.sg
73. cor-ne khod bhul-aw-wa-n-i tem-n-i
 thief-acc habit forget-caus-inf-poss-f.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg
- iccha h6-t-i .
 desire be-pst.prg-f.sg
74. tem-ne judi-j 6kk6l c6l-aw-i .
 3 pl.rsp-ag different-emph intelligence apply-caus-f.sg
75. sheth-e utaw6le bum pad-y-i
 merchant-ag loudly shout make-pst.cmpl-f.sg
76. "sheth-ani, sheth-ani, j6l6di dod-i
 merchant-wife merchant-wife quickly run-cmpl
77. sathe so rupi-ya le-t-i aw .
 along with hundred rupee-pl take-pst.prg-f.sg come 2 sg.impv
78. cor-e ma-r-i much p6k6d-i ch-e .
 thief-ag 1 sg-poss-f.sg mustache grab-cmpl be-pres
79. much p6k6d-y-i ch-e et6le so
 mustache grab-pst.cmpl-f.sg be-pres so that hundred
- rupi-ya-mä-j p6t-i j6-she .
 rupee-pl-in-emph finish-cmpl go-3 sg.fut
80. p6n jo nak p6k6d-i le-she to päc-so
 but if nose grab-cmpl take-3 sg.fut then five-hundred
- rupi-ya ap-wa p6d-she .
 rupee-pl give-inf be necessary-3 sg.fut
81. so rupi-ya l6-i z6t dod-i aw .
 hundred rupee-pl take-cmpl quickly fun-cmpl come 2 sg.impv

82. car-so rupi-ya-n-o n6fo th-ay ch-e ."

four-hundred rupee-pl-poss-m.sg benefit become-pres be-pres
83. cor a s̄bh6l-i wicar-m̄ p6d-i g6-y-o .

thief this hear-cmpl thinking-in begin-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
84. jo p̄c-so rupi-ya hath aw-t-a

if five-hundred rupee-pl hand come-pst.prg-m.pl

ho-y to sha mate j6-t-a k6r-wa +

be-psbl then what for go-pst.prg-m.pl do-inf
85. car-so rupi-ya ocha sha mate le-wa #

four-hundred rupee-pl less what for take-inf
86. k6mb6kht waniya-n-ū nak p6k6d-i l6-i

rascal merchant-poss-n.sg nose grab-cmpl take-cmpl

pura p̄c-so rupi-ya p6d-aw-wa-n-i

complete five-hundred rupee-pl snatch-caus-inf-poss-f.sg

a s6r6s t6k ch-e tem cor-ne

this fine opportunity be-pres such thief-acc

lag-y-ū .

feel-pst.cmpl-n.sg
87. am s6mj-i cor-e sheth-n-i much

like this understand-cmpl thief-ag merchant-poss-f.sg mustache

chod-i d6-i nak t6r6f hath l6mb-aw-y-o .

release-cmpl do-cmpl nose toward hand extend-caus-pst.cmpl-m.sg
88. p6n much chut-y-i te-j ksh6n-e

but mustache release-pst.cmpl-f.sg that-emph moment-loc

sheth pach-a h6t-i g6-y-a .

merchant back-m.pl.rsp move-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
89. te nak dh6r-i-ne cor sama ubh-a

3 pl.rsp nose hold-cmpl-pcpl thieves before stand-m.pl.rsp

r6h-e tewa mur6kh to n6-j h6-t-a .

remain-psbl such stupid prM neg-emph be-pst.prg-m.pl.rsp
90. cor-e jali-m̄ hath nakh-i sheth-n-ū nak

thief-ag lattice-in hand put-cmpl merchant-poss-n.sg nose

p6k6d-wa z̄aw-ā mar-wa m̄d-y-ā .

grab-inf struggle-n.pl attempt-inf begin-pst.cmpl-n.pl

91. te jo-i sheth-e n6w-i 6kk6l
that see-cmpl merchant-ag new-f.sg intelligence

c6l-aw-i
apply-caus-f.sg
92. same-j cula-mā lak6d-ā b6l-t-ā
in front-emph fireplace-in wood-n.pl burn-pst.prg-n.pl

h6-t-ā .
be-pst.prg-n.pl
93. te-mā-thi ek s6l6g-t-ū lak6d-ū l6-i-ne
that-in-from one burn-pst.prg-n.sg wood-n.sg take-cmpl-pcpl

jali-mā nākh-el-a cor-n-a hath-mā
lattice-in insert-adjM-m.sg thief-poss-m.sg hand-in

cāp-i di-dh-ū .
press-cmpl do-pst.cmpl-n.sg
94. cor-e ziri cis pad-i hath khēch-i
thief-ag small scream make-cmpl hand pull-cmpl

li-dh-o 6ne dur h6t-i g6-y-o .
take-pst.cmpl-m.sg and far move-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
95. sheth khilkhilat h6s-i p6d-y-a
merchant khi-khi-khi laugh-cmpl fall-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp

6ne k6he-wa lag-y-a .
and say-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
96. "bhai-la, ta-r-i 6kk6l gam g6-i ch-e
brother-dim 2 sg-poss-f.sg sense away go-cmpl be-pres

ke shū
or what
97. kan-o lot-o p6n mē ta-r-a
with hole-m.sg jug-m.sg even 1 sg.ag 2 sg-poss-m.sg

hath-mā aw-wa n6 di-dh-o ch6tā pāc-so
hand-in come-inf neg allow-pst.cmpl-m.sg yet five-hundred

rupi-ya kha-wa shū jo-i-ne aw-y-o
rupee-pl eat-inf what see-cmpl-pcpl come-pst.cmpl-m.sg
98. tū th6g ch-e hū th6g-n-o p6n guru
2 sg cheater be-pres 1 sg cheater-poss-m.sg even teacher

waniyo ch-ū .
 merchant be-1 sg.pres

99. f6ri ma-r-a ghat-mā aw-ish to jiw
 again 1 sg-poss-m.sg plan-in come-2 sg.fut then life

gumaw-ish ."
 lost-2 sg.fut

100. th6g nirash th6-i cal-y-a
 cheater disappoint be-cmpl walk-pst.cmpl-m.pl

g6-y-a 6ne te guru-n-u~ nam
 go-pst.cmpl-m.pl and that teacher-poss-n.sg name

le-wa-n-u~ p6n. s6dane mate bhul-i
 take-inf-poss-n.sg even ever for forget-cmpl

g6-y-a .
 go-pst.cmpl-m.pl

THE SMART MERCHANT

1. There was a merchant. 2. He had property worth millions of rupees. 3. But he was extremely miserly. 4. "Skin may well go but not a penny" - such was the type of person he was. 5. Various stories about his miserliness were going around among the people. 6. Even though he was a millionaire he liked dirty clothes, broken sandals, and an old, worn-out umbrella very much. 7. Because of the fear that his sandals might wear out (he) walked holding them in (his) hands during the middle of the summer.

8. (He) had a rule not to light a lamp during moonlit nights. 9. (He) had forbidden his wife to use a match stick. 10. There was a rule to light the cooking fire by bringing a fire from a neighbor. 11. Because of the fear that the hinge of the doors and windows would wear out (he) had forbidden the frequent opening and closing of them. 12. Water pots, brooms, head pads and similar objects were used only if they were received through inheritance. 13. Because of the fear that the grinding stone might wear out, (he) used less flour. 14. Cholesterol is increased by things like butter; the merchant had understood this fact and had already convinced his wife (of the fact).

15. And yet, Sheth was honest in his conduct. 16. (He) was not cheating customers. 17. (He) kept his account books in order. 18. But it was unbearable (for him) if someone else would cheat him. 19. He believed that the true member of the merchant caste is the man who can cheat even the professional cheater. 20. Many thieves and professional cheaters were unsuccessful in cheating (this) merchant. 21. The merchant somehow would escape by using his intelligence.

22. But the eyes of two new cheaters turned towards this merchant. 23. They understood that the merchant was smart and could cheat even the professional cheater. 24. "Our skill is useless until we cheat this merchant. 25. What is the use of our being professional cheaters if we do not cheat that merchant or hurt him financially by stealing? 26. As professional cheaters we would be ashamed of ourselves if we left the merchant untouched." 27. Thinking like this, those two cheaters went out.

28. The merchant had a habit of going to the latrine every evening carrying a water jug. 29. Taking advantage of this opportunity, both thieves sat by the wayside hiding behind a bush. 30. After a while the merchant was seen coming carrying the jug in (his) hand. 31. Both the thieves became jubilant and began forming a plan to snatch (that) jug. 32. "It appears that the jug in the merchant's hand is made of copper," 33. one thief softly told the other. 34. "No, it seems of brass to me," 35. said the other. 36. These people were talking very softly. 37. But the merchant had very keen ears. 38. He heard this talking.

39. He applied the technique of "Merchant, Merchant, turn around." 40. Standing in the middle of the road, looking at the jug he began to murmur. 41. "Well, again today (my) wife gave me this jug with a hole.

42. I am tired of telling her again and again that I need a silver jug in accordance with my wealth. 43. Yet the wench does not listen. 44. Right now (I) will return and come back with the silver jug; then certainly (my) wife will get some sense." 45. Talking like this, the merchant turned around and left.

46. Both thieves became more jubilant winking their eyes. 47. "Now the merchant will go home and will return with a silver jug, then we will snatch it away." 48. Thinking like this they sat there hiding.

49. But why would the merchant come back? 50. If he came, he wouldn't be himself.

51. The thieves got tired of waiting. 52. It was beginning to be dark, so they went from there towards the merchant's home. 53. If an opportunity could be found to see what the merchant was doing, then they wanted to try out some new trick. 54. For a little while they sat hiding near the merchant's gate. 55. Then to find out what the merchant was doing (they) went around to the back wall of his house.

56. The merchant was in the house. 57. He had understood very well that the thieves would not leave him so quickly. 58. It would not be surprising, he believed, if the thieves, deceived by his trickery, might come to his home to try out some other trick. 59. He also understood that for the thieves this had become an issue of prestige. 60. So he prepared to apply his wits against them.

61. Both the thieves came sneaking around the back wall lattice and stood. 62. One glanced in through the lattice. 63. At the same time the merchant also came to the lattice and tried to see if anyone had come near the back wall. 64. A thief saw the merchant's head and moved to the other side. 65. Because of the darkness the merchant was not able to see the thief so he tried to look (harder) outside. 66. The merchant's long mustache was outside the lattice fluttering in the wind. 67. It was seen by the thief who was standing hidden on the other side. 68. Quickly, he grabbed one end of the mustache. 69. The merchant was startled, but quickly became alert. 70. It became apparent that the thieves had come up to (his) home. 71. The hold on the mustache was so strong that the merchant might scream out.

72. But the smart merchant did not want to accept defeat. 73. He desired to make the thief forget (this) habit (i.e., to come after the merchant).

74. This time he applied quite a different strategy. 75. The merchant shouted loudly: 76. "Wife, Wife, run over here quickly. 77. Bring a hundred rupees with you. 78. A thief has grabbed my mustache. 79. Because he has grabbed my mustache, this will be over by (paying) only one hundred rupees. 80. But if he grabs my nose (we) will have to pay five hundred rupees. 81. Run over here quickly with a hundred rupees. 82. It is a (clear) savings of four hundred rupees."

83. When the thief heard this (he) began thinking, 84. "If there is a possibility of getting five hundred rupees why should (I) let them go? 85. Why take four hundred rupees less?" 86. The thief thought that this was a good opportunity to snatch a total of five hundred rupees by grabbing the rascal merchant's nose.

87. With this understanding the thief released the merchant's mustache and extended (his) hand towards the nose. 88. But the moment the mustache was released the merchant moved back. 89. He was not such a stupid person that (he) would stand in front of a thief holding his nose forward. 90. the thief began struggling to grab the merchant's nose by putting (his) hand through the lattice. 91. Seeing this, the merchant used another trick. 92. Right in front of him, in the cooking fire, there was some burning wood. 93. From that (he) took a (piece of) burning wood and pressed (it) upon the thief's hand which was inserted through the lattice. 94. The thief pulled (his) hand away making a small scream and then moved away.

95. The merchant laughed, "khi, khi, khi" and began to say, 96. "Well, man, have your senses left you? 97. If I did not let even a jug with a hole come into your hand then how have you come to get five hundred rupees? 98. If you are a professional cheater, then I am a merchant - a teacher of even a professional cheater. 99. If you ever get into my way again, then you will lose your life."

100. The cheaters went away disappointed and never ever mentioned the name of that teacher again.

3. RECEIVING REWARDS

w6rdan-prapt-i
reward-receiving-f sg

1. ek h6-t-ā doshi-ma .
one be-pst.prg-f.pl.rsp old woman-mother
2. doshi-ma-ne ek-n-o-ek dik6r-o .
old woman-mother-acc one-poss-m.sg-one son-m.sg
3. dik6r-o roj s6war-mā uth-i-ne pase-n-a
son-m.sg everyday morning-in rise-cmpl-pcpl near-poss-n.sg
gam-mā feri-e ja-y 6ne chek sāj-e
village-in round-loc go-pres.prg and end evening-loc
gher pach-o aw-e .
home back-m.sg come-pres
4. dik6r-a-ne aw-wa-n-o w6kh6t tha-y te
son-m.sg-acc come-inf-poss-m.sg time be-psbl that
w6kh6t-e doshi-ma baj6ri-n-a un-a
time-loc old woman-mother millet-poss-m.pl hot-m.pl
un-a rot6l-a 6ne shakbhaji 6g6r dal t6iyar
hot-m.pl loaf-m.pl and vegetable or lentil soup ready
rakh-e 6ne ma-dik6ro bhel-ā bes-i kha-y .
keep-pres and mother-son together-n.pl sit-cmpl eat-psbl
5. ek w6kh6t-e doshi-ma sāj-e r6soi t6iyar
one time-loc old woman-mother evening-loc meal ready
k6r-i r6he-wa aw-y-ā .
do-cmpl remain-inf some-pst.cmpl-f.pl.rsp

6. et6la-mā ek 6tithi tem-n-e tyā
 that time-in one unknown guest 3 pl-rsp-poss-loc there
 aw-i c6dh-y-o .
 come-cmpl arrive-pst.cmpl-m.sg
7. 6tithi k6h-e
 unknown guest say-pres
8. 'ma-ji, b6hu dur-thi aw-y-o ch-ū .
 mother-rsp much distance-from come-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-1 sg.pres
9. m6-ne b6hu bhukh lag-i ch-e .
 1 sg-acc much hunger happen-cmpl be-pres
10. kāi kha-wa-n-ū ap-o'
 some eat-inf-poss-n.sg give-2 pl.impr.rsp
11. doshi-ma k6h-e
 old woman-mother say-pres
12. bh6le beta, aw .
 well son come-2 sg.impr
13. ma-r-a dik6r-a mate r6soi t6iyar k6r-y-i
 1 sg-poss-m.sg son-m.sg for meal ready do-pst.cmpl-f.sg
 ch-e te tū j6m-i le .
 be-pres that 2 sg eat-cmpl take-2 sg.impv
14. dik6r-a mate f6ri r6soi b6n-aw-ish .
 son-m.sg for again meal become-caus-1 sg.fut
15. m6heman-to j6m-wa be-th-a ch-e .
 guest-prM eat-inf sit-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp be-pres
16. te-ne bhukh to kāi bhukh ket6li
 3 sg.acc hunger prM some hunger so much
17. te to b6nne j6n-n-i r6soi j6m-i
 3 sg prM both person-poss-f.sg meal eat-cmpl
 g6-y-o .
 go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
18. dh6ra-i-ne kha-dh-ū .
 be full-cmpl-pcpl eat-pst.cmpl-n.sg
19. pani p-i pet-e hath ferw-i
 water drink-cmpl stomach-loc hand move-cmpl

- doshi-ma-ne k6he-wa lag-y-o .
old woman-mother-acc say-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.sg
20. 'doshi-ma t6me b6hu d6yalu ch-o .
old woman-mother 2 pl.rsp much kind be-pres.pl.rsp
21. hũ t6m-ar-a p6r b6hu khush th6-y-o
1 sg 2 pl.rsp-poss-m.sg on much glad be-pst.cmpl-m.sg

ch-ũ .
be-1 sg.pres
22. hũ bh6gwan ch-ũ .
1 sg god be-1 sg.pres
23. tem-ar-a rot6l-a m-ẽ kha-dh-a
2 pl.rsp-poss-m.pl loaf-pl 1 sg-ag eat-pst.cmpl-m.pl

te-n-o b6d6l-o j6rur t6m-ne m6l-i
that-poss-m.sg reward-m.sg surely 2 pl.rsp-acc receive-cmpl

j6-she .
go-3 sg.fut
24. t6m-e j6ra ăkh-o mfc-i d-o .
2 pl.rsp-ag slight eye-pl close-cmpl do-2 pl.impv.rsp
25. doshi-ma-e-to ăkh-o b6dh k6r-y-i .
old woman-mother-ag-prM eye-pl close do-pst.cmpl-f.pl
26. tej tej b1bakar th6-i g6-y-ũ .
light light bringt be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-n.sg
27. tem-ne-to sakshat bh6gwan-n-ă d6rsh6n
3 pl.rsp-acc-prM face-fo-face god-poss-n.pl appearance

th6-y-ă ch-e .
be-pst.cmpl-n.pl be-pres
28. doshi-ma ăkh ughad-i p6g p6k6d6-wa ja-y
old woman-mother eye open-cmpl legs touch-inf go-pres.prg

ch-e tyă-to k6i n6 m6l-e .
be-pres then-prM anything neg find-pres
29. bh6gwan 6t6rdhan th6-i g6-y-a .
god disappear be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
30. dosh-i-ma-e f6ri r6soi k6r-wa măd-y-i .
old woman-f.sg-mother-ag again meal do-inf begin-pst.cmpl-f.sg

31. et6la-mā dik6r-o aw-i p6hōc-y-o .
that time-in son-m.sg come-cmpl reach-pst.cmpl-m.sg
32. dik6r-o k6h-e
son-m.sg say-pres
33. 'ma aj-e r6soi-ne kem war th6-y-i ?'
mother today-loc meal-acc why time be-pst.cmpl-f.sg
34. ma-e brahm6n-n-i b6dh-i wat k6h-y-i .
mother-ag Brahmin-poss-f.sg all-f.sg story say-pst.cmpl-f.sg
35. dik6r-o k6h-e
son-m.sg say-pres
36. 'ma, jyare ap6n-e tyā bh6gwan
mother when 1 pl.poss-loc there god
- p6dhar-y-a 6ne b6d6l-o ap-wa-n-ū
arrive-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp and reward-m.sg give-inf-poss-n.sg
- k6h-y-ū tyare mar-e p6n bh6gwan-n-ā
say-pst.cmpl-n.sg then 1 sg-ag also god-poss-n.pl
- d6rsh6n k6r-w-ā ch-e 6ne b6d6l-o p6n
appearance do-inf-n.pl be-pres and reward-m.sg also
- te je ap-she te le-t-o
3 sg whatever give-3 sg.fut that bring-pst.prg-m.sg
- aw-ish .
come-1 sg.fut
37. h6we m6-ne j6m-wa-n-ū n6-hi bhaw-e .
now 1 sg-acc eat-inf-poss-n.sg neg-be like-psbl
38. hū-to ja-ū ch-ū b6har bj6gwam-ne
1 sg-prM go-1 sg.pres be-1 sg.pres outside god-acc
- shodh-wa .
find-inf
39. 6ne h6we-to w6rdan l6-i-ne-j pach-o aw-ish.
and now-prM reward take-cmpl-pcpl-emph back-m.sg come-1 sg.fut
40. ma-e s6mj-aw-y-o .
mother-ag understand-caus-pst.cmpl-m.sg
41. 'beta, j6m-i-ne ja .'
son eat-cmpl-pcpl go-2 sg.impr

42. p6n k6h-y-ũ kon man-e
but say-pst.cmpl-n.sg who obey-psbl
43. te-to nik6l-i p6d-y-o b6har .
3 sg-prM get out-cmpl fall-pst.cmpl-m.sg out
44. dik6r-o cal-y-o cal-y-o ja-y
son-m.sg walk-pres.prog-m.sg walk-pres.prog-m.sg go-pres.prog
ch-e .
be-pres
45. cal-tã cal-tã b6hu dur bij-a raja-n-a
walk-durM walk-durM much far another-m.sg king-pos-n.sg
raju6-mã aw-i p6hõc-y-o .
kingdom-in come-cmpl reach-pst.cmpl-m.sg
46. koi yuwan musaf6r-ne pota-n-a rajy6-mã-thi
some young traveler-acc self-poss-n.sg kingdom-in-from
j6-t-o jo-i-ne raja-e te-ne m6l-wa
go-pst.prog-m.sg see-cmpl-pcpl king-ag 3 sg-acc meet-inf
bol-aw-y-o ne puch-y-ũ .
say-caus-pst.cmpl-m.sg and ask-pst.cmpl-n.sg
47. 'ela, tũ kon ch-e
hey' 2 sg who be-pres
48. am kyã ja-y ch-e ?
this side where go-pres-prog be-pres
49. yuwan musaf6r k6h-e
young traveler say-pres
50. 'je j6gya-e bh6gwan r6h-e ch-e te 6janya
which place-loc god live-pres be-pres that unknown
mul6k-mã hũ ja-ũ ch-ũ .
place-in 1 sg go-1 sg.pres be-1 sg.pres
51. bh6gwan-n-ã d6rsh6n k6r-ish 6ne w6rdan l6-i
god-poss-n.pl appearance do-1 sg.fut and reward take-cmpl
pach-o f6r-ish .
back-m.sg turn-1 sg.fut
52. 'to to bhai, ma-r-ũ ek kam n6 k6r-e ?
then prM brother 1 sg-poss-n.sg one work neg do-psbl

53. 'bol-o-ne tha-y tew-ū h6-she to
say-2 pl.impr-rsp-emph be-psbl like-n.sg be-3 sg.fut then
- j6rur k6r-ish .'
definitely do-1 sg.fut
54. raja k6h-e
king say-pres
55. 'hū \ ma-r-a gam-n-i n6d-i p6r ek
1 sg 1 sg-poss-n.sg village-poss-f.sg river-f.sg on one
- pul b6dh-aw-ū ch-ū .
bridge build-caus-1 sg.pres be-1 sg.pres
56. te diw6s-e jet6l-o b6dh-a-y ch-e
that day-loc as much-m.sg build-pass-pres.prog be-pres
- tet6l-o rat p6d-e ch-e ke
that much-m.sg night come-3 sg.pres be-pres that
- t6r6t-j pay-a-mā-thi hal-i p6d-i
quickly-emph foundation-m.pl-in-from shake-cmpl fall-cmpl
- ja-y ch-e .
go-pres.prog be-pres
57. dur dur desh-aw6r-thi mot-a karig6r-o
far far country-other-from great-m.pl craftsman-pl
- 6ne shilpi-o bol-aw-y-a ch-e .
and artisan-pl call-caus-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-pres
58. p6n rat p6d-e ch-e ke pul pach-o
but night come-3 sg.pres be-pres that bridge back
- j6min p6r .
ground on
59. tū bh6gwan-ne m6l-e tyar-e tet6l-ū puch-i
2 sg god-acc meet-psbl then-loc that much-n.sg ask-cmpl
- jo-je-ne ke aw-ū kem tha-y
see-2 sg.fut.impv-emph that like this-n.sg why be-pres.prog
- ch-e .
be-pres
60. 6ne pul bādh-wa mate ma-r-e shū ilaj
and bridge build-inf for 1 sg-poss-ag what remedy

- le-w-o .
take-inf-m.sg
61. juwan-to raja-n-o sōdes-o l6-i
young man-prM king-poss-m.sg message-m.sg take-cmpl
- ag6l-ne-ag6l cal-y-o ja-y ch-e .
further-and-further walk-pres.prog-m.sg go-pres.prog be-pres
62. cal-tā cal-tā r6sta-mā ek jōg6l aw-y-ū .
walk-durM walk-durM way-in one jungle come-pst.cmpl-n.sg
63. tyā-j rat p6d-i g6-y-i .
there-emph night fall-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-f.sg
64. juwan-to rat-waso r6h-y-o ch-e .
young man-prM night-stop remain-pres.prog-m.sg be-pres
65. tyā dur-thi ek dub6l-o sadhu aw-t-o
that time far-from one weak-m.sg hermit come-pst.prog-m.sg
- j6n-a-y-o .
know-pass-pst.cmpl-m.sg
66. sadhu juwan-ne pota-n-i zūp6d-i-mā l6-i
hermit young man-acc self-poss-f.sg hut-f.sg-in take-cmpl
- g6-y-o .
go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
67. kh6b6r6t6r puch-y-i .
news ask-pst.cmpl-f.sg
68. te-ne p6n jan-i li-dh-ū ke a
3 sg-ag also know-cmpl take-pst.cmpl-n.sg that this
- musaf6r bh6gwan pase ja-y ch-e .
traveler god to go-pres.prog be-pres
69. sadhu k6h-e
hermit say-pres
70. 'bhai, mā-r-a p6r ek upkar k6r .' .
brother 1 sg-poss-m.sg on one favour do-2 sg.impv
71. 'hū w6li sho upkar k6r-ū .' .
1 sg well what favour do-1 sg.pres
72. juwan-e j6wab ap-y-o .
young man-ag answer give-pst.cmpl-m.sg

73. sadhu k6h-e
hermit say-pres
74. 'beta, hũ widhwan ch-ũ 6ne b6dh-ã
son 1 sg learned be-1 sg.pres and all-n.pl

shashtr-o-mã par6g6t ch-ũ .
scripture-pl-in well versed be-1 sg.pres
75. ch6tã m6-ne 6ne ma-r-i p6tni-ne lok-o-e
yet 1 sg-acc and 1 sg-poss-f.sg wife-acc people-pl-ag

6hĩ-thi dur kadh-i muk-y-ã ch-e .
here-from far send out-cmpl put-pst.cmpl-n.pl be-pres
76. 6ma-r-o koi bhaw p6a puch-t-ã
1 pl-poss-m.sg anybody information even ask-pst.prog-n.pl

n6-thi .
neg-be
77. kha-wa-n-ã-y sãsã p6d-e ch-e
eat-inf-poss-n.pl-emph difficulty fall-pres be-pres

6ne p6her-wa-n-ã pur-ã k6p6d-ã
and put on-inf-poss-n.pl enough-n.pl cloth-n.pl

p6a n6-thi .
even neg-be
78. tũ bh6gwan-ne m6i-e tyare tet6lũ n6
2 sg god acc meet-psbl that time such neg

puch-e ke k6yã pap-ne lidhe ma-r-i
ask-psbl that which sin-acc on account 1 sg-psbl-f.sg

aw-i d6sha th6-y-i ch-e
such-f.sg condition be-cmpl-f.sg be-pres
79. m6-ne shi rite sukh tha-y
1 sg-acc that manner peace be-psbl
80. bhai hũ ta-r-o pad n6hĩ bhul-ũ .'
brother 1 sg 2 sg-poss-m.sg gratitude neg forget-1 sg.fut
81. juwan k6h-e
young man say-pres
82. 'khushi-thi puch-i law-ish bapu .
gladness-with ask-cmpl bring-1 sg.fut father rsp

83. te-mā m6-ne sho bhar p6d-i j6-wa-n-o
 that-in 1 sg-acc what burden fall-cmpl go-inf-poss-m.sg
 h6-t-o ?'
 be-pst.prog-m.sg
84. w6li ag6l cal-tā ek sūd6r s6row6r
 again further walk-durM one beautiful lake
 as-y-ū .
 come-pst.cmpl-n.sg
85. juwan be gh6di thak kha-wa ubh-y-o .
 young man two moment fatigue take-inf stop-pst.cmpl-m.sg
86. ju-e ch-e to pani l6her-ā kha-y
 see-pres be-pres then water ripple-n.pl take-pres.prog
 ch-e .
 be-pres
87. sw6cch pani-mā r6g-be-r6g-i mach6l-ā
 clean water-in color-various-color-adjM fish-n.pl
 am-tem r6m6t k6r-i r6h-y-ā ch-e .
 here-there play do-cmpl remain-pres.prog-n.pl be-pres
88. dur b6t6k-o-n-ā tol-ā am-thi-tem dodadodi
 far duck-pl-poss-n.pl group-n.pl here-from-there running
 k6r-i r6h-y-ā ch-e .
 do-cmpl remain-pres.prog-n.pl be-pres
89. ketlāk tol-ā am-thi-tem ud-i r6h-y-ā
 some group-n.pl here-from-there fly-cmpl remain-pres.prog-n.pl
 ch-e .
 be-pres
90. dur ek b6g6l-o gh6di gh6di pani-mā cāc bol-e
 far one crane-m.sg moment moment water-in beack dip-3 sg.pres
 ch-e 6ne g6t6k d6-i-ne kāik
 be-3 sg.pres and gatak sound make-cmpl-pcpl something
 g6l-e utar-i d-e ch-e .
 throat-loc slip-cmpl do-pres be-pres
91. pani-mā soneri kir6n-o hal-t-ā dekh-a-y
 water-in golden ray-pl move-pst.prog-n.pl see-pass-pres-prog
 ch-e .
 be-pres

92. hśs-o-n-ā jod-ā pani p6r t6r-i
 swan-pl-poss-n.pl pair-n.pl water on swim-cmpl
 r6h-y-ā ch-e .
 remain-pres.prog-n.pl be-pres
93. car-e baju lil-ū kūjar th6-i
 four-loc side green-n.sg grove like be-cmpl
 r6h-y-ū ch-e .
 remain-pres.prog-n.sg be-pres
94. tyā juwan-e ek k6utuk jo-y-ū .
 then young man-ag one surprise see-pst.cmpl-n.sg
95. khakh6r-a-n-ā be zad jod-a-jod ubh-ā
 khakhar tree-pl-poss-n.pl two tree near-loc-near stand-n.pl
 ch-e .
 be-pres
96. ek kesud-ā-n-ā ful l6ch-i
 one saffron-n.pl-poss-n.pl flower-by loaded-cmpl
 p6d-y-ū ch-e .
 become-pst.cmpl-n.sg be-pres
97. sath-e-j ug-el-ū bij-ū zad ek p6n
 near-loc-emph grow-adM-n.sg another-n.sg tree one even
 ful w6g6r-n-ū thūtha jew-ū ch-e .
 flower without-poss-n.sg stump like-n.sg be-pres
98. juwan-to 6jay6b th6-i-ne jo-i
 young man-prM surprised be-cmpl.pcpl see-cmpl
 r6h-y-o ch-e .
 remain-pres.prog-m.sg be-pres
99. tyā-to zad-n-ū thūthu ro-ta sw6r-e
 that time-prM tree-poss-n.sg stump cry-adjM sound-loc
 bol-i uth-y-ū .
 say-cmpl begin-pst.cmpl-n.sg
100. 'bhai, m-ar-i d6sha jo-i-ne-j
 brother 1 sg-poss-f.sg condition see-cmpl.pcpl-emph
 t6-ne wism6y th6-y-ū lag-e ch-e .
 2 sg-acc surprise be-pst.cmpl-n.sg seem-pres be-pres

101. m6-ne p6a te-j tha-y ch-e ke
 1 sg-ag also that-emph be-pres.prg be-pres that
- m-ē kon jan-e shū-ye pap ker-y-ā
 1 sg-ag who know-pres what-emph sin do-pst.cmpl-n.pl
- h6-she ke m6-ne n6-thi aw-t-ā ful
 be-3 sg.fut that 1 sg-acc neg-be come-pst.prg-n.pl flower
- ke f6l ke n6-thi jam-t-i
 or fruit or neg-be develop-pst.prg-f.sg
- pād6d-ā-n-i gh6ta .
 leaf-n.pl-poss-f.sg grove
102. m-ar-a zad nice chāy-o th6-t-o ho-y
 1 sg-poss-n.sg tree under shade-m.sg be-pst.prg-m.sg be-pres
- to-j koi thak kha-wa ke aram le-wa
 then-emph someone fatigue take-inf or rest take-inf
- bes-e-ne ?
 sit-pres-emph
103. juwan-ne b6hu lag-i aw-y-ū .
 young man-acc much feel-cmpl come-pst.cmpl-n.sg
104. te bol-y-o
 3 sg speak-pst.cmpl-m.sg
105. 'hū bh6g6wan pase ja-ū ch-ū .
 1 sg god near go-1 sg.pres be-1 sg.pres
106. jo t6ma-r-i iccha ho-y to t6m-ar-a
 if 2 pl.rsp-poss-f.sg desire be-psbl then 2 pl.rsp-poss-n.sg
- dukh-n-ū kar6a puch-t-o aw-ū .
 misery-poss-n.sg reason ask-pst.prg-m.sg come-1 sg.pres
107. zad bol-i uth-y-ū
 tree speak-cmpl begin-pst.cmpl-n.sg
108. 'j6rur j6rur puch-t-o aw-je
 certainly certainly ask-pst.prg-m.sg come-2 sg.impv.fut
- bhai .
 brother
109. hū t6m-ar-o-to kot6lo upkar man-ū ?
 1 sg 2 pl.rsp-poss-m.sg-prM how much gratitude believe-1 sg.pres

110. juwan-e-to musaf6r-i sh6ru k6r-y-i .
 young man-ag-prM travel-f.sg begin do-pst.cmpl-f.sg
111. cal-tā cal-tā w6li ek j6g6l aw-y-ū .
 walk-durM walk-durM again one jungle come-pst.cmpl-n.sg
112. j6g6l-mā ek tek6ri aw-i r6h-i ch-e .
 jungle-in one hill come-cmpl remain-cmpl be-pres
113. te-n-a p6r f6l-ful-thi l6c-i p6d-el-ā
 that-poss-n.sg on fruit-flower-by loaded-cmpl fill-adjM-n.pl
 zad dekh-a-y ch-e .
 tree see-pass-pres.prg be-pres
114. 6d6r-thi koy6l-n-a kuhu kuhu 6waj
 inside-from cuckoo-poss-m.pl kuhu kuhu sound
 s6bh1-a-y ch-e .
 hear-pass-pres.prg be-pres
115. tyā ek hathi āba-n-a zad up6r
 there one elephant mango tree-poss-n.sg tree on
 pota-n-i suḥh bherw-i ubh-o ch-e
 self-poss-f.sg trunk hang-cmpl stand-3 m.sg.pres be-pres
 6ne thodi thodi war-e d6ya-m6n-i cis-o
 and little little time-loc pity-adjM-f.pl scream-pl
 pad-e ch-e .
 make-pres be-pres
116. juwan-to cal-y-o cal-y-o
 young man-prM walk-pres.prg-m.sg walk-pres.prg-m.sg
 p6hoč-y-o tek6ri p6r 6ne hathi pase
 reach-pst.cmpl-m.sg hill on and elephant near
 g6-y-o .
 go-pst.cmpl.m.sg
117. 'a shū
 this what
118. f6l-to at6l-ā b6dh-ā ch-e ch6tā a hathi
 fruit-prM such-n.pl much-n.pl be-pres yet this elephant
 te-ne kha-t-o kem n6-thi 6ne cis-o
 that-acc eat-pst.prg-m.sg why neg-be and scream-pl

- pad-e ch-e
make-3 sg.pres be-pres
119. te cis-o kem pad-t-o h6-she ?'
3 sg scream-pl why make-pst.prg-m.sg be-3 sg.fut
120. te-ne asc6ry6 th6-y-ũ .
3 sg-acc surprise be-pst.cmpl-n.sg
121. hathi-to a-ne jo-i-ne r6d-i p6d-y-o .
elephant-prM this-acc see-cmpl-pcpl cry-cmpl begin-pst.cmpl-m.sg
122. hathi-n-ã āsu te kãi āsu ket6l-ã .
elephant-poss-n.pl tears that some tears how much-n.pl
123. nice ek nan-ũ khabochiy-ũ bh6r-a-i g6-y-ũ .
under one small-n.sg puddle-n.sg fill-pass.cmpl go-pst.cmpl-n.sg
124. hathi k6h-e
elephant say-pres
125. 'bhai at6la mota j6g6l-mã ma-r-ũ dukh
brother such big jungle-in 1 sg-poss-n.sg unhappiness
- puch-nar t6me k6ya dev ch-o 6ne kyã
ask-nom 2 pl.rsp which god be-2 pl.rsp.pres and where
- ja-o ch-o .
go-2 pl.rsp.pres be-2 pl.rsp.pres
126. hathi-n-ã āsu dekh-i juwan p6n bicar-o
elephant-poss-n.pl tears see-cmpl young man also poor-m.sg
- g6lg6l-o th6-i g6-y-o .
emotion choked-m.sg be-cmpl become-pst.cmpl-m.sg
127. p6chi te bol-y-o
then 3 sg speak-pst.cmpl-m.sg
128. 'hũ bh6gwan pase w6rdan m6l6w-wa ja-ũ
1 sg god near reward receive-inf go-1 sg.pres
- ch-ũ .
be-1 sg.pres
129. je 6janya mul6k-mã te r6h-e ch-e te
which unknown place-in 3 sg live-3 sg.pres be-pres that
- mul6k shodh-i r6h-y-o ch-ũ .' .
place search-cmpl continue-pres.prg-m.sg be-1 sg.pres

130. hathi k6h-e
elephant say-pres
131. 'bhai a f6l shi rit-e kha-ũ
brother these fruits what manner-loc eat-1 sg.pres
132. a tek6ri p6r hũ f6l kha-wa aw-y-o ,
this hill on 1 sg fruits eat-inf come-pst.cmpl-m.sg
sũdh am nakh-y-i p6n
trunk like this put-pst.cmpl-f.sg but
tyã-n-i-tyã-j
there-poss-f.sg-there-emph
coŕ-y-i r6h-y-i ch-e .
stick-pst.cmpl-f.sg remain-pst.cmpl-f.sg be-pres
133. h6we n6-thi am th6-t-i ke n6-thi
now neg-be like this be-pst.prg-f.sg or neg-be
tem th6-t-i .
like that be-pst.prg-f.sg
134. ukh6d-t-i-j n6-thi .
release-pst.prg-f.sg-emph neg-be
135. am-ne-am gh6n-a diw6s-thi ubh-o
like this-and-like this many-m.pl day-from stand-1 sg.pres
ch-ũ .
be-1 sg.pres
136. shi rite a dukh-mã-thi hũ chut-ũ
what manner this misery-in-from 1 sg relieve-1 sg.pres
tet6lũ bh6gwan pase n6 puch-t-o aw-e ?
that much god near neg ask-pst.prg-m.sg come-pres
137. juwan thodek g6-y-o tyã bh6gwan
young man little further go-pst.cmpl-m.sg there god
brahm6n-n-ũ rup l6-i sam-a
Brahmin-poss-n.sg from take-cmpl in front-m.pl.rsp
m6l-y-a .
meet-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp
138. brahm6n k6h-e
Brahmin say-pres
139. ela chok6ra, am kyã ja-y ch-e ek6l-o ?
hey boy this side where go-pres.prg be-pres alone-m.sg

140. ḥhī-to s̄h, wagh ne w6ru jew-ā prani-o ch-e
 here-prM lion tiger and bear like-n.pl animal-pl be-3 pl.pres
 te t6-ne mar-i nalkh-she .
 that 2 sg-acc kill-cmpl throw-3 pl.fut
141. ag6l b6hu bh6yḥk6r jḥg6l aw-e ch-e .
 ahead much terrible jungle come-pres be-pres
142. dahy-o ho-y to gher pach-o ja .' .
 wise-m.sg be-psbl then home back-m.sg go-2 sg.impv
143. chok6r-o b6hadur h6-t-o .
 boy-m.sg brave be-pst.prg-m.sg
144. te k6he-wa lag-y-o
 3 sg say-inf begin-pst.cmpl-m.sg
145. 'bh6le-ne bh6yḥk6r jḥg6l r6h-y-ū .
 well-emph terrible jungle be-pres.prg-n.sg
146. m6-ne-to koi-n-i-ye bik lag-t-i
 1 sg-acc-prM anybody-poss-f.sg-emph fear feel-pst.prg-f.sg
 n6-thi .
 neg-be
147. hū nik6l-y-o ch-ū bh6gwan-ne
 1 sg come out-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-1 sg.pres god-acc
 shodh-wa .
 search-inf
148. tem-ne m6l-y-a w6g6r gher pach-o
 3 pl.rsp-acc meet-pst.cmpl-n.sg without home back-m.sg
 kewi' rite ja-ū ?'
 which manner go-1 sg.pres
149. bh6gwan-e te-n-o dr6dh nisc6y jo-y-o
 god-ag 3 sg-poss-m.sg strong decision see-pst.cmpl-m.sg
 et6le pot-e pr6s6nn th6-y-a 6ne
 so self-ag delighted be-pst.cmpl-m.pl.rsp and
 k6h-y-ū .
 say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
150. 'hū pote-j bh6gwan ch-ū .
 1 sg welf-emph god be-1 sg.pres

151. bol bh6gwan-ne m6l-i-ne tũ shũ k6r-wa
 say-2 sg.impv god-acc meet-cmpl-ptcp 2 sg what do-inf
 mǎg-e ch-e .'
 desire-pres.prg be-pres
152. 't6me bh6gwan ch-o te mar-e kewi
 2 pl.rsp god be-2 pl.rsp.pres. that 1 sg-ag which
 rite man-w-ũ .
 manner believe-inf-n.sg
153. te-wa-to t6ma-r-a jew-a b6hu-e man6s-o
 that-like-prM 2 pl.rsp-poss-m.pl like-pl many-emph man-pl
 bh6gwan ho-wa-n-o dhõg k6r-t-a h6-she .
 god be-inf-poss-m.sg show do-pst.prg-m.pl be-3 sg.fut
154. t6me-j bh6gwan ch-o te-n-i m6-ne
 2 pl.rsp-emph god be-2 pl.rsp.pres that-poss-f.sg 1 sg-acc
 khatri ap-o .
 proof give-2 pl.rsp.impv
155. bh6gwan-e pot-e brahm6a-n-a wesh-mǎ kewi rite
 god-ag self-ag Brahmin-poss-m.sg form-in which manner
 rot6l-a kha-dh-a h6-t-a te k6h-i
 loaf-pl eat-pst.cmpl-m.pl be-pst.prg-m.pl that say-cmpl
 b6t-aw-y-ũ 6ne chok6ra-ne ãkh-o mĩc6-wa
 see-caus-pst.cmpl-n.sg and boy-acc eye-pl close-inf
 k6h-y-ũ .
 say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
156. chok6ra-e ãkh-o b6dh k6r-y-i ch-e .
 boy-ag eye-pl close do-cmpl-f.pl be-pres
157. z6lh6l jyot-mǎ bh6gwan-e d6rsh6n di-dh-ã
 bright light-in god-ag appearance give-pst.cmpl-n.pl
 ch-e .
 be-pres
158. chok6r-o khush khush th6-i g6-y-o ch-e .
 boy-m.sg glad glad be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pres
159. te-to h6we bh6gwan-ne k6h-e ch-e .
 3 sg-prM now god-acc say-3 sg.pres be-pres

160. 'law-o tyare pel-ā w6rdan .
bring-2 pl.rsp.impv then that-n.pl rewards
161. bh6gwan k6h-e
god say-pres
162. 'te siway tar-e bij-ū kāi māg-w-ū
that without 2 sg-ag another-n.sg something ask-inf-n.sg

ch-e ?'
be-pres
163. chok6r-o k6h-e
boy-m.sg say-pres
164. 'ha .'
yes
165. p6helā te-ne raja-n-a dukh-n-i wat
first 3 sg-ag king-poss-n.sg misery-poss-f.sg story

keh-y-i .
say-pst.cmpl-f.sg
166. bh6gwan-e j6wab ap-y-o
god-ag answer give-pst.cmpl-m.sg
167. raja-ne ek kŭw6ri ch-e .
king-acc one princess be-pres
168. te umm6r-lay6k th6-i g6-i ch-e .
3 sg age-proper be-cmpl go-cmpl be-pres
169. ch6tā te-ne h6ju p6r6a-aw-i n6-thi .
yet 3 sg-acc yet marry-caus-f.sg neg-be
170. te-thi te-n-o pul b6dh-a-t-o
that-by 3 sg-poss-m.sg bridge build-pass-pst.prg-m.sg

n6-thi .
neg-be
171. raja-ne k6h-eje koi yogy6 mur6tiyo shodh-i
king-acc say-2 sg.impv.fut some proper groom search-cmpl

kŭw6ri-n-ū l6gn6 k6r-i d-o et6le
princess-poss-n.sg marriage do-cmpl do-2 pl.rsp.impv so

t6ma-r-o pul bhag-i n6-hi p6d-e .
2 pl.rsp-poss-m.sg bridge break-cmpl neg-be fall-psbl

172. chok6ra-e sãbh6l-i li-dh-ũ .
 boy-ag hear-cmpl take-pst.cmpl-n.sg
173. p6chi chok6ra-e pela sadhu-n-ũ dukh k6h-i
 then boy-ag that hermit-poss-n.sg problem say-cmpl
 b6t-aw-y-ũ .
 see-caus-pst.cmpl-n.sg
174. bh6gwan k6h-e
 god say-pres
175. 'sadhu khub widhwan ch-e .
 hermit very much learned be-pres
176. p6n pota-n-i widya koi-ne ap-t-o
 but self-poss-f.sg knowledge anybody-acc give-pst.prg-m.sg
 n6-thi .
 neg-be
177. mate te dukh-i tha-y ch-e .
 so that 3 sg unhappiness-adjM be-pres.prg be-3 sg.pres
178. te-ne k6h-eje ke ta-r-i widya
 3 sg-acc say-2 sg.impv.fut that 2 sg-poss-f.sg knowledge
 tũ koi-ne shikh6w-i d-e to sukh-i
 2 sg someone-acc teach-cmpl do-2 sg.pres then happiness-adjM
 th6-ish .
 be-2 sg.fut
179. p6chi pela zad-n-i k6th6ni chok6ra-e k6h-i
 then that tree-poss-f.sg story boy-ag say-cmpl
 s6mbhl-aw-y-i .
 hear-caus-pst.cmpl-f.sg
180. bh6gwan k6h-e
 god say-pres
181. te zad-n-a mul nice dh6n-n-a c6ru
 that tree-poss-n.sg root under treasure-poss-m.pl pots
 dat-el-a ch-e .
 bury-adjM-m.pl be-pres
182. te wat-n-i zad-ne kh6b6r ch-e .
 that matter-poss-f.sg tree-acc knowledge be-pres

183. dh6n sac6w-i-ne te bes-i reh-y-ū
 treasure protect-cmpl-pcpl that sit-cmpl remain-pres.prg-n.sg
 ch-e .
 be-pres.
184. koi-ne te dh6n-n-o up6yog k6r-wa te
 someone-acc that treasure-poss-m.sg use do-inf that
 ap-e to te-ne f6l ne ful b6dhū-ye
 give-psbl then 3 sg-acc fruit and flower all-emph
 aw-she .
 come-3 sg.fut
185. chok6r-o k6h-e
 boy-m.sg say-3 sg.pres
186. te-to b6dhū thik .
 that prM all well
187. p6a a bicara hathi-e sho wāk k6r-y-o
 but this poor elephant-ag what mistake do-pst.cmpl-m.sg
 ke te-n-i sudh zad-ne cof-i g6-i ch-e.
 that 3 sg-poss-f.sg trunk tree-acc stick-cmpl go-cmpl be-pres
188. bh6gwan k6h-e
 god say-pres
189. hathi-n-ū k6rt6wy6 man6s-ne up6yogi
 elephant-poss-n.sg responsibility man-acc useful
th6-wa-n-ū ch-e .
 be-inf-poss-n.sg be-pres
190. te k6rt6wy6 chod-i-ne te nir6kush
 that responsibility forsake-cmpl-ptcp 3 sg free
 f6r-e ch-e tethi te-n-a p6r a dukh
 road-pres be-pres so 3 sg-poss-n.sg on this difficulty
 p6d-y-ū ch-e .
 fall-pst.cmpl-n.sg be-pres
191. te-ne k6h-eje ke tū man6s-o-ne up6yogi
 3 sg-acc say-2 sg.impv.fut that 2 sg man-pl-acc useful
tha-y to ta-r-ū dukh t6l-i ja-y.'
 be-psbl then 2 sg-poss-n.sg difficulty destroy-cmpl go-psbl

192. chok6r-o bh6gwan-ne p6g-e lag-i k6he-wa
 boy-m.sg god-acc leg-loc touch-cmpl say-inf
 lag-y-o .
 begin-pst.cmpl-m.sg
193. 'dew, a d6rek w6ti hũ abhar man-ũ
 god this everyone for 1 sg gratitude believe-1 sg.pres.prg
 ch-ũ .'
 be-1 sg.pres.prg
194. bh6gwan k6h-e
 god say-pres
195. tũ h6we gher ja .
 2 sg now home go-2 sg.impv
196. mar-e t6-ne w6rdan ap-wa-n-ã ch-e te
 1 sg-ag 2 sg-acc reward give-inf-poss-n.pl be-pres that
 tũ gher p6h6c-ish tyã-j t6-ne m6l-i
 2 sg home reach-2 sg.fut then-emph 2 sg-acc receive-cmpl
 j6-she .
 go-3 sg.fut
197. et6lũ bol-i bh6gwan-to 6t6rdhan th6-i
 that much say-cmpl god-prM disappear be-cmpl
 g6-y-a .
 become-pst.cmpl-3 pl.rsp
198. chok6ra-ne p6helã-to th6-y-ũ ke khali hath-e
 boy-acc first-prM be-pst.cmpl-n.sg that empty hand-loc
 pach-o gher kem ja-u~.
 back-m.sg home kow go-1 sg.pres
199. ch6tã te-n-i shr6ddha te-ne pach-o dh6kel-wa
 yet 3 sg-poss-f.sg faith 3 sg-acc back-m.sg push-inf
 lag-y-i .
 begin-pst.cmpl-f.sg
200. chokr-o-to gher j6-wa pach-o f6r-y-o ch-e
 boy-m.sg-prM home go-inf back-m.sg turn-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pres
201. r6sta-mã pel-o hathi m6l-y-o .
 way-in that-m.sg elephant meet-pst.cmpl-m.sg

202. chok6ra-e hathi-ne bh6gwan-n-o s6des-o
 boy-ag elephant-acc god-poss-m.sg message-m.sg
 k6h-y-o .
 say-pst.cmpl-m.sg
203. hathi k6h-e
 elephant say-pres
204. 'hũ h6we bija man6s-ne shodh-wa kyā ja-ũ #
 1 sg now another man-acc search-inf where go-1 sg.pres
205. t6m-e-j ma-r-i pith p6r bes-i
 2 pl.rsp-ag-emph 1 sg-poss-f.sg back on sit-cmpl
 ja-o .
 go-2 pl.rsp.impv
206. hũ t6m-ne t6m-ar-e gher p6hũc-t-a
 1 sg 2 pl.rsp-acc 2 pl.rsp-poss-loc home reach-pst.prg-m.pl
 k6r-ish .
 do-1 sg.fut
207. chok6r-o hathi p6r s6war th6-y-o ch-e
 boy-m.sg elephant on ridden be-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pres
 6ne s6pata-mā r6sto kap-e ch-e .
 and speed-in way cut-3 sg.pres be-pres
208. tyā r6sta-mā pel-ũ zad aw-y-ũ .
 there way-in that-n.sg tree come-pst.cmpl-n.sg
209. chok6ra-e te-ne bh6gwan-n-o s6desh-o k6h-y-o
 boy-ag 3 sg-acc god-poss-m.sg message-m.sg say-pst.cmpl-m.sg
210. zad k6h-e
 tree say-pres
211. 'bhai, at6lũ b6dhũ t6m-e ma-r-a mate .
 brother this much so much 2 pl.rsp-ag 1 sg-poss-m.sg for
 k6r-y-u~ tyare t6m-e-j te dh6n-n-a
 do-pst.prg-n.sg then 2 pl.rsp-ag-emph that treasure-poss-m.pl
 c6ru n6 l6-i ja-w ?'
 pots neg take-cmpl go-2 pl.rsp.impv
212. chok6r-o-to raji raji th6-i g6-y-o .
 boy-m.sg-prM glad glad be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg
213. te-ne-to c6ru khod-i li-dh-a 6ne
 3 sg-ag-prM pots dig-cmpl take-pst.cmpl-m.pl and

- hathi-n-i pith p6r muk-i di-dh-a .
elephant-poss-f.sg back on put-cmpl do-pst.cmpl-m.pl
214. ag6l cal-tā pela sadhu m6ha-raj-n-i
further walk-durM that hermit great-king rsp-poss-f.sg
- zuṣṭd-i aw-y-i .
hut-f.sg come-pst.cmpl-f.sg
215. sadhu m6ha-raj k6h-e
hermit great-king rsp say-3 sg.pres
216. 'kem p6chi bh6gwan-e mare mate shū k6h-y-ū ?'
why then god-ag 1 sg for what say-pst.cmpl-n.sg
217. 't6m-e t6m-ar-i widya koi-ne
2 pl.rsp-ag 2 pl.rsp-poss-f.sg knowledge someone-acc
- shikh6-w-o to t6m-ar-u~ dukh
teach-caus-m.pl.rsp then 2 pl.rsp-poss-n.sg trouble
- ja-y .' .
go-psbl
218. 'tyare-to bhai tū-j thod-a diw6s
then-prM brother 2 sg-emph few-m.pl days
- rok-a-i n6 ja
stop-pass-cmpl neg go 2 sg.impv
219. hū t6-ne b6dh-ā shashtr-o-mā parṭg6t
1 sg 2 sg-acc all-n.pl scripture-pl-in well versed
- k6r-i d6-ish .' .
co-cmpl do-1 sg.fut
220. chok6ra-e wicar k6r-y-o
boy-ag thought do-pst.cmpl-m.sg
221. thod-a-j diw6s-mā b6dhū shikh-i lew-a-y
'few-pl-emph days-in all learn-cmpl take-pass-psbl
- to sarū-sto .
then good-prM
222. a guru-to sara lag-e ch-e
this teacher-prM good seem-pres be-pres
223. mar-y-a w6g6r b6dhū bh6n-aw-i de-she
beat-pst.cmpl-n.sg without all learn-caus-cmpl do-3 sg.fut

- item lag-e ch-e .
such seem-pres be-pres
224. te-to tyā rok-a-i g6-y-o 6ne b6dhi
3 sg-prM there stop-pass-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg and all
jat-n-i widya shikh-i li-dh-i .
kind-poss-f.sg knowledge learn-cmpl take-pst.cmpl-f.sg
225. j6-tā j6-tā guru-d6kshina-mā dh6n-n-o ek
go-durM go-durM teacher-gift-in treasure-poss-m.sg one
c6ru te-ne guru-ne ap-i didh-o .
pot 3 sg-acc teacher-acc give-cmpl do-pst.cmpl-m.sg.
226. h6we aw-y-ū raja-n-ū gam .
now come-pst.cmpl-n.sg king-poss-n.sg village
227. raja-to rah jo-i-ne-j beth-el-o ke kyare
king-prM way see-cmpl-pcpl-cmph sit-adM-m.sg that when
pel-o juwan bh6gwan-ne m6l-i-ne aw-e
that-m.sg young man god-acc meet-cmpl-pcpl come-psbl
6ne te-ne sh6ru k6r-el-o pul b6dh-a-i ja-y .
and 3 sg-ag begin do-adjM-m.sg bridge build-pass-cmpl go-psbl
228. chok6ra-e gam-mā pes6-tā p6he-tā raja-ne
boy-ag village-in enter-durM before king-acc
k6hew-daw-y-u~
say-caus-pst.cmpl-n.sg
229. 'hū bh6gwan-ne m6l-i-ne aw-y-o
1 sg god-acc meet-cmpl-pcpl come-pst.cmpl-m.sg
ch-ū .'
be-1 sg.pres.prg
230. raja utawlo utawlo same g6-y-o 6ne
king hurriedly hurriedly before go-pst.cmpl-m.sg and
dham-dham-thi juwan-ne raj-m6hel-mā ted-i
hustle-bustle-with young man-acc king-palace-in carry-cmpl
an-y-o .
bring-pst.cmpl-m.sg
231. chok6ra-e kūw6ri-n-i wat k6h-y-i .
boy-ag princess-poss-f.sg story say-pst.cmpl-f.sg
232. raja-e k6h-y-ū
king-ag say-pst.cmpl-n.sg

233. tyare-to t6me-j ma-r-a j6mai-raj
 then-prM 2 pl.rsp-emph 1 sg-poss-m.pl.rsp son-in-law-king.rsp

234. raja-e-to joshi-o ted-aw-y-a .
 king-ag-prM priest-pl bring-caus-pst.cmpl-m.pl

235. te-j diw6s-e gh6d-iy-ā l6gn6
 that-emph day-loc moment-adjM-n.pl wedding

le-w-daw-y-ā .
 take-pass-caus-pst.cmpl-n.pl

236. sāj p6d-y-i tyā chok6ra sathe
 evening come-pst.cmpl-f.sg then boy with

kūw6ri-n-o h6st-melap th6-i g6-y-o .
 princess-poss-m.sg hand-joining be-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg

237. raja-e khub p6heram6ni k6r-y-i 6ne sar-ū
 king-ag much dowry do-pst.cmpl-f.sg and good-n.sg

muhurt jo-i kūw6ri-ne sas6r-e
 moment see-pst.cmpl princess-acc in-law residence-loc

w6l-aw-y-i .
 send-caus-pst.cmpl-f.sg

238. p6chi-to pul tew-o b6dh-a-i g6-y-o
 then-prM bridge such-m.sg build-pass-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg

ke aj sudhi h6ju ubh-o ch-e .
 that today til yet stand-m.sg be-pres

239. chok6ro b6dho saman-s6r6jam l6-i gher aw-i
 boy all goods-luggage take-cmpl home come-cmpl

p6h6c-y-o .
 reach-pst.cmpl-m.sg

240. putr6 6ne raj-k6nya doshi-ma-ne p6g-e
 son and king-daughter old woman-mother-acc foot-loc

p6d-y-ā .
 fall-pst.cmpl-n.pl

241. a b6dh-ā wan-ā ma-n-i d6ya-n-e
 this all-n.pl things-n.pl mother-poss-f.sg kindness-poss-loc

lidhe th6-y-ā h6-t-ā .
 on account of be-pst.cmpl-n.pl be-pst.prg-n.pl

242. dhime dhime chok6r-o-to nan-a s6rkh-a
 slowly slowly boy-m.sg-prM small-n.sg like-n.sg
- ra_jy6-n-o raja b6n-i g6-y-o ch-e .
 kingdon-poss-m.sg king become-cmpl go-pst.cmpl-m.sg be-pres
243. ma-n-i ākh-mā h6rsh-n-ā āsu
 mother-poss-f.sg eye-in joy-poss-n.pl tears
- s6ma-t-ā n6-thi .
 contain-pst.prg-n.pl neg-be
244. dik6r-o ne w6hu sukhi r6h-e mate
 son-m.sg and daughter-in-law happy remain-psbl for
- roj bh6gwan-n-i stuti k6r-ya k6r-e ch-e .
 everyday god-poss-f.sg praise do-pres.prg do-pres be-pres
245. raja pr6ja-mā khub w6kh6n-a-y-o 6ne m6za
 king public-in much praise-pass-pst.cmpl-m.sg and joy
- k6r-e ch-e .
 do-pres be-pres

RECEIVING REWARDS

1. There was an old mother. 2. (This) old mother had only one son. 3. Every day in the morning the son used to go to a near-by village to sell (some things), and then return home very late in the evening. 4. At the expected time of the son's return, the mother would prepare freshly baked loaves of millet flour and vegetable or lentil soup and (then) the mother and the son would eat together.

5. One evening the mother was about finished preparing the meal. 6. At that time an unknown guest arrived at her place. 7. The unknown guest said: 8. "Mother, I have come from a great distance. 9. I am very hungry. 10. Please give (me) something to eat."

11. The mother said: 12. "Well, son, come. 13. (I) have prepared a meal for my son, that you can eat. 14. (I) will prepare another meal for (my) son."

15. Alone, the guest sat to eat. 16. What hunger he had. 17. He finished the meal prepared for both of them (son and mother). 18. (He) ate to the full. 19. After drinking water and moving (his) hand

over (his) stomach, (he) began to say to the mother:

20. "Mother, you are very kind. 21. I am very much pleased with you. 22. I am a god. 23. I ate your food, (and) you will certainly receive a reward for that. 24. Close your eyes for a while."

25. Happily, the mother closed (her) eyes. 26. Suddenly, everything became extremely bright. 27. In person, God appeared to her. 28. Opening (her) eyes, the mother tries to touch the legs (of the god), but nothing was there. 29. The god disappeared.

30. The mother once again began to prepare the meal. 31. At that time the son arrived. 32. The son said: 33. "Mother, why did it take longer to prepare the meal today?" 34. The mother told (him) the whole story about the Brahmin.

35. The son said: 36. "Mother, since god came to our place and told (you) about giving (us) a reward, so also I want to see god and therefore whatever reward he will give, that (I) will bring back. 37. Now, I would not like (any) food. 38. I am going out to search for god. 39. And only after receiving the reward will (I) return.

40. The mother tried to persuade (him): 41. "Son, go after eating." 42. But who would listen (to her)? 43. Then he left.

44. The son walked for a long time. 45. After walking for a long time, he arrived in the distant kingdom of some other king. 46. Seeing some young traveler passing through his kingdom, the king called to meet him and asked: 47. "Hey, who are you? 48. Where are you going in this direction?"

49. The young traveller said: 50. "To the place where god lives, I am going to that unknown place. 51. (I) will see god and return after getting some rewards (from him)."

52. If (you are going to god), then, brother, would you not do something for me?"

53. "Surely, tell me, and (if) it is possible, then I will certainly do it."

54. The king said: 55. "I am having a bridge built over the river of my village. 56. However, whatever is built during the day-time, that much, when the night arrives, quickly shakes from the foundation and falls. 57. From near and far (I) have called great craftsmen and artisans. 58. But as soon as the night arrives, the bridge is on the ground. 59. When you meet god, would (you) not ask him why it happens like this? 60. And what remedy should I take to build the bridge?"

61. The young man, taking the king's message, continues on his way. 62. After walking for some time he came upon a jungle. 63. At the same time it became night. 64. The young man stayed there overnight to rest.

65. At that time a weak hermit was seen coming from afar. 66. The hermit took the young man to his hut. 67. (He) asked (him) everything about his journey. 68. Now, he also knew that this traveler was going to god.

69. The hermit said: 70. "Brother, would you not do me a favour?"

71. "What kind of favour could I do?" 72. The young man answered.

73. The hermit said: 74. "Son, I am a learned man and am well-versed in all the scriptures. 75. And yet, the people have sent my wife and me away far from here. 76. No one even asks for any information about us. 77. It is very difficult even to get food to eat and also clothes to wear. 78. When you see god would you not ask him on account of what sin have I come to such a state? 79. In what way could I attain some peace? 80. Brother, I will never forget your gratitude."

81. The young man said: 82. "Gladly, I will ask, father. 83. It's certainly not going to be any burden to me."

84. Again, walking further he came to a beautiful lake. 85. The young man stopped for a while to rest. 86. While looking, (he) saw the water rippling. 87. In the clean waters, fish of various colors were playing here and there. 88. Far away flocks of ducks were running around here and there. 89. Some flocks were flying here and there. 90. Far away, one crane continually dipped his beak into the water and slipped something into his throat with a -gatak' sound. 91. Golden rays were seen moving over the waters. 92. Pairs of swans were swimming over the water. 93. All around everything was green like a grove.

94. Then the young man saw something surprising. 95. Two wild trees (*butea frondosa*) were standing side by side. 96. One was loaded down with saffron colored flowers. 97. The other tree, growing nearby, did not have a single flower and was like a stump.

98. The young man was astounded at this. 99. At that moment the stump began to speak with a crying voice: 100. "Brother, it seems that you are surprised seeing my condition as such. 101. I also wonder about the same thing that, who knows what sins I must have committed so that I do not get any blossom or fruit, neither do I get a growth of green leaves. 102. If only I could cast some shadow, someone could sit beneath me to relieve fatigue or to take rest, right?"

103. The young man felt very bad (about the tree). 104. He said' 105. "I am going to god. 106. If you want, I will ask about your misery."

107. The tree spoke (enthusiastically): 108. "Certainly, certainly, ask it, brother. 109. Oh, how could I ever thank you enough?"

110. The young man now continued travelling farther. 111. After walking some time again, he came to another jungle. 112. He came upon a small hill in the jungle. 113. On that hill were seen trees loaded down with fruits and flowers. 114. From the hill the 'kuhu kuhu& sound of the cuckoo bird was heard. 115. An elephant was standing hanging his trunk over a mango tree and was screaming pitifully at very short intervals.

116. Now the young man, after walking a short distance, reached the hill and went near the elephant. 117. "What is this? 118. Fruits are plenty here, but why does the elephant continually scream and not eat them? 119. Why is the elephant screaming?" 120. He was dumbfounded.

121. The elephant, seeing him, began to cry. 122. The elephant's tears, oh, how much they were! 123. They made a small puddle under (him). 124. The elephant said: 125. "Brother, in such a vast jungle which of the gods are you to ask my about my unhappiness and where are you going?"

126. Seeing the elephant's tears the poor young man also became overcome with emotions. 127. Then he said: 128. "I am going to a god to receive some rewards. 129. The unknown place in which he lives, that place I am looking for."

130. The elephant said: 131. "Brother, how could (I) eat this fruit? 132. I came on this hill to eat (some) fruits, put my trunk like this, but it is stuck in the same place. 133. Now (I) cannot move it to one side or the other. 134. It just won't release. 135. (I) have been standing in this same manner for many days. 136. Would you not ask the god in what manner could I be relieved of this misery?"

137. The young man went a little farther, and there in front of him appeared god in the form of a Brahmin. 138. The Brahmin said: 139. "Hey boy, where are you going alone? 140. There are lions, tigers, bears, and other animals like these here, they will kill you. 141. Farther ahead there is a more terrible jungle. 142. If you are wise go back home."

143. The boy was brave. 144. He began to say: 145. "I don't mind if there is a terrible jungle. 146. I am certainly not afraid of anything. 147. I have come to find god. 148. How can I go back home without meeting him?"

149. The god saw his strong decision, so he was pleased and said: 150. "I myself am god. 151. Tell (me), what do you want to do after you meet god?"

152. How can I believe that you are god? 153. There could be many people (in the world) like you pretending to be god. 154. Give me some proof that you really are god."

155. The god told him how he himself, in the form of Brahmin, had eaten loaves (at his home) and then told the boy to close (his) eyes. 156. The boy closed his eyes. 157. The god appeared to him in a very bright light. 158. The boy became extremely happy. 159. Now he tells god: 160. "Give me, then those rewards (which I have come for)."

161. The god said: 162. "Apart from that, do you want to ask anything else?"

163. The boy said: 164. "Yes."

165. First he told the story about the king's problem. 166. God answered: 167. "The king has a daughter. 168. She has attained the proper age (for marriage). 169. And yet (the king) has not given her in marriage. 170. Because of this he is not able to build his bridge. 171. Tell the king to find a proper groom and give the princess in marriage and then his bridge will not break down (any more).

172. The boy listened to this carefully.

173. Then the boy told about the hermit's problem.

174. God said: 175. "The hermit is very learned. 176. But he is not giving his knowledge to anybody else. 177. And so he is unhappy. 178. Tell him, 'If you teach your knowledge to someone, then you will be happy.'"

179. Then the boy told the story about that tree.

180. The god said: 181. "Under the roots of that tree treasure pots are buried. 182. The tree is aware of that fact. 183. It is sitting guarding the treasure. 184. If it gives that treasure to someone to use, then it will bear fruit and flowers and everything."

185. The boy said: 186. That is all well. 187. But what is the fault of this poor elephant whose trunk has been stuck in the tree:"

188. The god said: 189. "The elephant's duty is to be useful to man. 190. Forsaking that duty he is roaming free and so this difficulty has come upon him. 191. Tell him, 'If you will be useful to man then your difficulty will go away.'"

192. The boy, touching god's feet, began to say: 193. "God, on behalf of each one of these I thank you very much."

194. The god said: 195. "Now you go home. 196. I have to give you some rewards, which you will receive as soon as you reach home."

197. With that the god disappeared. 198. At first the boy thought how could he go home with empty hands. 199. But his faith began to push him back (toward home).

200. Now the boy turned to go home. 201. On the way that particular elephant met (him). 202. The boy gave god's message to the elephant.

203. The elephant said: 204. "Now, where would I go to search for some other man? 205. Now you get upon my back. 206. I will take you to your home."

207. Now the boy climbed upon the elephant, and speedily made his way (homeward). 208. On the way he came upon that tree. 209. The boy gave it the god's message.

210. The tree said: 211. "Brother, you have done this much for me, so, would you not, yourself, take away these treasure pots?"

212. The boy was exceedingly glad. 213. He dug out the treasure pots and stacked them on the elephant's back.

214. Going farther ahead he came to the hut of that respected hermit. 215. The respected hermit said: 216. "What then, did the god say about me?"

217. "If you teach your knowledge to someone, your problem will go away."

218. "Then, brother, would you not stay (here) for a few days?
219. I will make you well-versed in all the scriptures."

220. The boy thought: 221. "How nice if I could learn everything in just a few days! 222. And this teacher seems to be a very good one. 223. It seems (he) will teach me everything without spanking."

224. Then he stayed there and learned all kinds of knowledge.
225. Upon his departure he gave one of the treasure pots to the teacher as a gift for teaching him.

226. Now came the king's village. 227. The king was sitting waiting (wondering) when that young man would return after meeting the god and how he would be able to complete building the bridge he had begun. 228. The boy, before entering into the village sent a message' 229. "I have returned after meeting the god."

230. The king hurriedly went to see him and brought the young man into the royal palace with great hustle and bustle. 231. The boy told the story about the princess. 232. The king said: 233. "Then you are my respected son-in-law."

234. Then the king called the augurs. 235. On that very day the wedding was arranged. 236. Before the evening was over the boy was married to the princess. 237. The king gave a big dowry and sent the princess off at the solemn hour to her in-laws' residence. 238. And then the bridge was built in such a way that it is still standing today.

239. The boy reached home along with all the goods and luggage
240. The son and the princess both touched the mother's feet.
241. All these (good) things had happened because of the mother's kindness.

242. Gradually, the son became a king of a small kingdom.
243. The mother's eyes were filled with tears of joy. 244. (She gave praises to god every day that the son and the daughter-in-law would continue to be happy (forever). 245. The king received much praise from (his) public and experienced great joy.

APPENDIX B

ILLUSTRATIVE ANALYSIS FOR THE LEVELS OF INFORMATION
OF THE EVENTLINE IN "HARBHAM BHUTO"

	<u>Minor</u> -i+ne	<u>Suppressed</u> -i	<u>Secondary</u> -y-	<u>Primary</u> -ity-
11. He request			k6r-y-i did	
12. (Uncle) answer			ap-y-o give	
Harbham			mūza-y-o puzzle	
16. A new trick				suz-i aw-y-o occur come
17. HB yard in enter			th6-y-o become	
19. HB cart head on				l6-i li-dh-ū take take
20. This manner		upad-i carry		
to home		aw-i		
oxen	jod-i-ne			
to farm				p6h5c-i g6y-o reach go

21. Labor		k6r-i do	
all hay		upad-i carry	
at home			k6r-i di-dh-i do do
in yard			kh6d6k-i di-dh-i stack do
22. big pile			r6c-i di-dh-i form do
23. In morning on head	upad-i-ne carry		
as before			muk-i di-dh-i put do
25. Uncle-ag.			puch-i jo-yū ask see
27. HB-ag.	h6s-i-ne smile		
answer			ap-y-o give
30. Wrestlers			aw-i c6dh-y-a come arrive
37. Condition	sābh6l-i-ne hear		
surprise			lag-y-i arise
45. Wrestlers	jo-i-ne see		
Deshalji			mūza-i p6d-y-a puzzle become
49. Wrestlers-0	jo-i-ne see		
a matter remembrance			aw-y-i come

52.	Desh.-ag.			k6h-y- <u>u</u> say	
68.	A chariot ready driver-ag.			th6-y-i become	mar-i muk-y-i drive put
74.	He quickly ready in chariot				th6-i g6-y-o become go c6dh-i be-th-o climb sit
75.	Chariot enter			th6y-i become	
76.	In court HB-ag. salute		aw-i come		
78.	Desh.-ag. question			k6r-y-i do	
80.	HB's answer Desh. happy	sābh61-i;ne hear			b6n-i g6-y-a become go
85.	To Desh. salute HB walking	k6r-i-ne do			
94.	Wrestlers loin cloth present	l6gaw-i-ne put on		th6y-o become	
99.	HB ready present	th6-i-ne become			th6-i g6-y-a become go th6-i g6-y-o become go

107.	Hands	milaw-i-ne shake		k6r-y-i do	
	express				
108.	Both				c8t-i p6d-y-a stick fall
128.	Wrestler -acc		jo-i see		
	HB-ag.			6jmaw-y-o apply	
	him down				pad-i di-dh-o drop give
129.	Arena				gaj-i uth-y-ŭ roar arise
130.	Wrestlers -ag. shouts			k6r-y-a do	
135.	Wrestler -ag.			k6h-y-ŭ say	
139.	Desh.-ag. HB-acc.			bolaw-y-o call	
	and			k6h-y-ŭ say	
142.	HB-ag.			j6naw-y-ŭ inform	
143.	Decision				th6-i g6-y-o become go
144.	Sure				th6-i g6-y-o become go
147.	Wrestlers in arena				ut6r-i p6d-y-a descend fall
157.	Opportu- -nity	jo-i-ne see			
157.	Hb-ag. blow			k6r-y-o do	

158.	Wrestler on ground			dh6l-i p6d-y-o roll fall
159.	His breath			p6rwar-i g6-y-a finish go
164.	HB also			mūza-i g6-y-o puzzle go
165.	Pass			th6-i g6-y-o become go
166.	Sanghad			p6hōc-i g6-y-o reach go
168.	Fire			bh6bhuk-i uth-yo burn rise
170.	From Bhuj to Sanghad	up6d-i-ne start		 aw-i p6hōc-y-a come arrive
175.	Hiru-ag.	jo-i-ne see		
			k6h-y-ū say	
179.	HB-ag.		k6h-y-ū say	
180.	HB idea			k6r-i lidh-o do take
181.	He-ag. oxen			chod-i nakh-y-a release drop
182.	to graze			muk-i d-dh-a put give
183.	The yoke separate	chod-i-ne release		 pad-i di-dh-ū make give

184.	Plow hand	16-i-ne take			
	to break				mōd-i p6d-y-o begin fall
185.	HB-acc.	jo-i-ne see			
	wrestlers				thij-i g6-y-a freeze go
186.					s6m6j-i g6-y-a understand go
187.	The scene	jo-i-ne see			
	Both				s6m6j-i g6-y-a understand go
188.	Their feet				p6d-i g6-y-a fall go
	back			f6r-y-a return	
191.	Hiru-ag.			puch-y-ti ask	
194.	HB answer			ap-y-o give	

Translation of the clauses with compound verbs in the last column in the chart above provides the list of the highlighted events in the narrative:

Finally a solution occurred to him...Harbham picked up the cart on his head...reached his farm...brought (the hay) to his home...stacked it up...stacked up a big pile...cart put away...his uncle asked.

Once two wrestlers arrived in the court of King Deshalji...Deshalji became puzzled...chariot driver drove a chariot with great haste...Harbham quickly became ready...climbed up on the chariot...Dheshalji happy became...wrestlers came out...Harbham also came out...both stuck to each other...Harbham dropped him to the ground...the arena roared with shouts (of joy).

Descision was made...it was decided...both warriors got into fight...the wrestler rolled down...(his) breath finished up (he died)...Harbham fell into puzzle...he slipped out from there...reached his village.

In the other wrestlers' mind the fire of revenge flared up...they came up to Sanghad...Harbham quickly made up his mind...he released the oxen...put them to graze...released the yoke from the plow...the wrestlers froze...understood that Harbham can break their heads in a moment...embarrassed became...their feet became loose.

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