LANGUAGES OF TRIBAL AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF INDIA

THE ETHNIC SPACE

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CHAPTER 10

THE GRAMMAR OF POETICS:
ON SOME LINGUISTIC TECHNIQUES IN
AN ORAL EPIC FROM THE GARHWAH
HIMALAYAS

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Introduction
In 1987 and 1989 I taped two oral versions of the Mahābhārata in the Garhwal Himalayas. The language of the epic is Bangāni, which belongs to the Western Pahāri subgroup of Indo-Aryan. The word also designates the speakers of this language. The region Bangāni is located at the border to Himachal Pradesh. It comprises a long ridge from south to north, which is enclosed by the rivers Tons and Pabar. There are several dozen villages in Bangāni, but the exact size of the population is unknown.¹

The dominant group are the Rajputs,² followed by the low-caste Koltas. There are only few Brahmins and members of artisan-castes. Most of my linguistic data I collected from Rajputs, Koltas and so-called Devals. Devals (devāl) are low-caste specialists for the transmission of much of Bangāni oral literature.³ There exists no written Bangāni literature.
The Bangani version of the Mahabharata is called pöduan. Both recorded versions have an approximate length of eight hours on the tape recorder. Though they were taped from different singers in different villages, they show a very high degree of conformity in their contents. Traditionally the pöduan is sung in February during a festive time. Every day the Devals go into another village on a prescribed route, and sing every evening on the village ground a section of the epic. Such a section is called stati ‘twig’.

**Salient Features of Bangani**

Before I start to describe some of the linguistic techniques used by the bards in order to ‘create’ poetic texts, I would like to present some of the most characteristic features of Bangani. This will help to understand some of the techniques used by the bards.

As a member of Western Pahari, Bangani shows the following salient features in its phonology with regard to OIA:

1. Preservation of two voiceless sibilants: s (dental) and š (postpalatal). In š both OIA sibilants s and š have merged.
2. Preservation of old consonant clusters, e.g. rs, rk, br, pr, tr, dr, gr, st, st. These are traces of r-metathesis, but they do not seem to be typical for Bangani (they are rather found in borrowed words). The old consonant clusters are especially well preserved inside words (and not initially, what normally is to be expected). In word-initial position there is a strong tendency for svarabhakti.
3. Preservation of medial m. Preservation of other single consonants in medial position is difficult to judge (in any case, there would be only a few examples).
5. There is no h and there are no aspirated voiced occlusives.
6. The class of occlusives and affricates comprises six articulatory positions: p, t, ŋ, k, c, č.

Many of the above-mentioned features are also found in other NIA languages outside the northwestern group. But taken all together, they separate fairly clearly Western Pahari from the other languages. On the other hand, Western Pahari has many affinities with the Dardic
group of languages, and both share a common vocabulary. With regard to the points 1 and 6, a number of Dardic languages have preserved three voiceless sibilants and seven articulatory positions (because of the phonemes ś and ṭ). Thus, Western Pahārī stands more or less between Dardic and 'standard' NIA languages.

Point 4 is specially interesting. Though all Western Pahārī dialects show a more or less pronounced tendency to either delete the aspiration of voiced occlusives or shift it within the sememe to another position, all of them nevertheless have a fourfold pattern of oppositions, e.g. p, ph, b, bh. The only exception seems to be Bangāni, which has p, ph, b. Bangāni shares this structural feature with Dardic dialects, especially the western ones.

This loss of aspiration has led to the development of tonemes. There are four tones, one 'high-level' and three 'high-falling'. The three 'high-falling' tones differ from each other by the 'steepness' or extension of their 'falling contours'. Further analysis has to show, whether or not they can be reduced, at an emic level, to less than four tonemes.

Regarding its vocabulary, Bangāni shows some peculiarities which still await a satisfactory explanation. Both in colloquial speech and in oral literature Sanskritic words are used, but the circumstances of their origin are unclear. Additionally, there are several dozen words whose etymologies seem to be Indo-European but non-Indo-Aryan. In comparison with the entire vocabulary, however, these two 'layers' make up only a few per cent. The problems posed by the Sanskritic words have to do with historical phonology and morphology.

There are, for instance, several Bangāni words which seem to have preserved OIA stops and certain consonant clusters in medial position. These words cannot easily be explained as (recent) borrowings. The following examples are only given to illustrate the problems, and not to offer definite solutions:

jotna 'to look, stare'. Related to OIA dyotate 'shines'.

uktā 'sunrise'. Probably related to OIA *uktāla 'going up or out'.

In the first case the -tn- is unusual; compare Hindi joinā 'to await, look for'. In the second example it is the cluster -tk-. If treated as a borrowing, it would be a borrowing of a reconstructed word.
The following preservations of medial consonant clusters are also fairly rare:

*biper* ‘foreign’. Related to OIA vipriya ‘estranged’.

*baryā* ‘bride.’ Related to OIA bhāryā ‘wife’.

Two more words from the pāḍaṇa may suffice to illustrate some of the problems of this Sanskrit ‘layer’: *patra* means ‘foot (print)’, and derives from untested OIA *padara ‘foot’. It has not only not lost the media but rather strengthened it into a tenuis. The expression madīṣṭa means ‘one’s own sight’, and apparently reflects OIA maddīṣṭa. How could one explain the origin of this old compound in Baṅgāni?

Concerning the words of possible Indo-European and non-Indo-Aryan etymology, I want to mention just two. Consider kir ‘head’, which may derive from PIE *kēr, kēro ‘head’ (cp. OIA śiras);” suni raja ‘sun king’ (PIE *sun- ‘sun’).

**Archaic Words and Poetic Techniques**

There is, of course, only a very indirect connection between archaic words and poetic techniques in an oral epic like the pāḍaṇa. The connection consists in the fact that the hards ‘work’ with the distinction between everyday (or common) and rare words. There are also archaic words used in everyday speech, but their archaic nature is not known to the speakers. But words like madīṣṭa or tarpato ‘the three worlds’ (related to OIA tripatha), or nirlāt ‘a pure forehead’ (a word composed of OIA nirāja ‘free from dust’ and OIA laḷīṭa ‘forehead’) are rarely, if ever, used in colloquial speech.

This first artistic technique, the use of rare words, serves, like all other techniques introduced below, to create poeticity. The distribution of such words in the epic corresponds to some extent to the dichotomy of prose passages (containing less rare words, being less poetic) and the songs (more unusual words, greater poeticity).

Both prose and song passages of the pāḍaṇa differ phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically from colloquial speech. Deviation and transgression are the (perhaps universal) means in creating poetic language. Some forms of morphological and syntactical deviations I shall take up later. Regarding the phonological system of Baṅgāni, the
bards use (among others) following techniques: I mentioned above that Bangâni has no phoneme ʰ. In the pāda, however, ʰ is used quite extensively, thereby increasing the ‘expressiveness’ of the text. The bards often do not distinguish whether the words originally contained such a consonant or not, e.g. ḫa ‘a magical power of the Koltas’ < OIA āpad ‘distress’; hum ‘the syllable om’; ghas ‘the god Ganesa’, etc. Sometimes this leads to a breach of a Bangâni syllable-structure rule, according to which a Bangâni word cannot contain more than one aspiration, e.g. in ḍhano ‘sixth’ (standard pronunciation ḍhâhu). Another way of ‘colouring’ the text is a frequent pronunciation of ə instead of ‘normal’ a, or of s instead of ś. This, I was told, gives a ‘touch of Hindi’ to the sound of the epic.

Reduced ‘Semanticity’
Now I would like to present another widespread principle, appearing in a number of different forms. It may be circumscribed as ‘a reduction in “semanticity” in exchange for an increase in sound-pattern expression.’ This reduced semanticity, created through elliptic syntax, through the use of rare or obscure words, or through various forms of echo-formations and alliterations may make it fairly difficult to understand a song. But what is gained, on the other hand, is an incantation-like quality of such passages. Thus, the ‘reduction in “semanticity”’ is compensated by an ‘increase in “spellboundness” (and an ‘increase in poetic expressiveness’). This may be illustrated with some lines of a song sung by a magic iron rod. This powerful rod is first in the possession of a giant and then captured by the Pandavas. In this moment the rod, which is somehow a living being, sings the following song:

ār na tirpato
thār na tirpato
ār na tirpato
thār na tirpato
giṭ nam nā tirpato
ek mile ki ekt ek
śāt mile ki śāt śāt
ai pur ki aũ sōkhia na manu

dai baũũ ki aũ sōkhia na manu.

The word-by-word translation would be:
On this side are the three worlds
on the footing are the three worlds
the name of the rod is but three worlds
meet one, then only one
meet hundred, then only hundred
I do not count the number of the magical ai and pur powers
I do not count the number of cousins and brothers.

Indeed, these lines are also not easily comprehensible for the Bangānis as well. Their meaning is the following:

"The three worlds are engraved in the point of the rod, they are also engraved in its footing; the name of the rod is but three worlds. When my owner encounters one enemy, then I shall be one enemy against him; when he meets hundred enemies, then I myself shall be hundred enemies against them. I do not differentiate between Koltas and Rajputs, I do not differentiate between Pāndavas and Kauravas.

These utterances of the rod, expressed in a highly elliptic and obscure manner, stress her impartiality. As she contains everything she need not be biased, whether she is in the hand of a giant or a god.

Many other songs display a similarly reduced semanticity, sometimes to a lesser degree, but sometimes so markedly that they are hardly understood anymore by the locals. This holds especially true for the set of refrains and some songs which are regularly repeated with very little variation.

 Echo-Formations or Reduplications
The phenomenon of echo-formation with its great variety of repetition mechanisms over a wide range of morphemes and other syntactic units is extremely widespread in the languages of the subcontinent. Consequently, they involve a whole gamut of grammatical and semantic functions and changes. I shall therefore only quote a few examples where the primacy of the poetic is clearly present.

Some examples of 'symmetrical' reduplications—synonym, antonym, gradual, etc.—and their syntactic surroundings:
a) ḷūde-ṭāle 'they live-wake up,' i.e. 'they are fit as a fiddle' (< OIA ḷvanta-ṭvā/an). As in the following sentence: se ḷūde-ṭāle koકī, mūc na goe koκī 'they are fit as a fiddle somewhere; on no account they are dead or killed'. Here the echo-formation creates an allusive meaning which is 'more' than just the meanings of the two words added up.

b) boiri-śātā 'enemy-enemy', i.e. 'enemy' (< OIA vaiin-śatru). Almost at the end of the epic comes a description of the funeral for Karna: kario amarum tumam boiri-śātā kha śuko haro ēnten 'prepared were for our and your enemy dry and green sandalwood'. This example is more complicated than the preceding one, because here the duplication of 'enemy' is merely a semantic one, although carried-out 100%. boiri and śātā are semantically equal, but morphologically they are unequal. An additional aesthetic effect results from the emerging parallels: amar boiri, tumaro śātā 'my enemy, your enemy'. The construction of these symmetrical pairs is further strengthened through the following word pair śuko haro 'dry-green'. Thus, we have here a sequence of reduplications: pronoun-noun-adjective. Semantically, the adjectives śuko and haro are antonyms, and the nouns are synonyms. The pronouns, on the other hand, are opposing elements within a grammatical paradigm.

c) nalo-śole 'tubular bones/non-tubular bones,' i.e. 'all sorts of bones' (< OIA nado-śole), As in the following sentence: oke pūdā tē deke: nalo-śole guṭe durbānā 'when the other Pāṇḍavas look at her, she, (the fire-goddess) Durbansha, swallows down all sorts of bones'. In this example the reduplication is interwoven in several other sorts of relations. The preceding sentence of the one quoted here reads jāte biśṣa deke ćātārī kē kha harge. 'When she looks at Bhīmsen, she properly gnaws off the bones'. The context of these two sentences is this: The fire-goddess Durbansha, who is invited by the Pāṇḍavas for dinner, is actually demon-natured and thus very fond of eating bones. Only Bhīmsa is suspiscious—which she realizes. Consequently, when she and Bhīmsa look at each other she gnaws at the bones, and when
she and the other Pândavas look at each other, she indecently swallows them down. We thus discover in these two small and inconspicuous sentences a whole series of oppositional pairs, in which the nācśēśke forms just one functional unit within this aesthetical design. The two sentences convey: Bhima knows (her nature), but cannot see anything suspicious in her behaviour; the other Pândavas see her swallowing bones but do not comprehend the act. Durbarsha looks at Bhima; the other Pândavas look at her. In front of the one Bhima she gnaws at hāṅę 'bones' (one noun); in front of the four other Pândavas she swallows down nācśēśke (two nouns), not just bones, but tubular bones and non-tubular bones.

Some examples of 'asymmetrical' reduplications: In the expression raśpa raś 'night' (< OIA rāṛa 'night') the word raśpa is a sort of drawn-forth 'echo' without a meaning of its own. But at least a minimal echo-like character is recognizable here in the alliteration. There are cases, however, where there is neither a semantic nor a morphological repetition of whatever sort, but where a word is added to another one which has neither a meaning of its own nor a phonetic resemblance with the basic one. Examples are ōgaṇ bai 'fire', dāki mōgta 'drummer.' In the first example ōgaṇ 'fire' is related to OIA agni 'fire' but bai has no meaning; in the second example dāki 'drummer' derives from OIA* dūkka 'goblin' but mōgta has no meaning.

In another interesting example from the epic we can observe two counter-moving tendencies: on the semantic level towards asymmetry, and simultaneously on the morphological level towards symmetry: There is the expression saṅrath, - barāth, which still is known to the locals to mean 'Śatrūghna and Bhārata,' the brothers of Rāma. Also here the first element is a drawn-forth reduplication of the second one. Thus, the first brother's name Śatrūghna has almost lost its independent character and become a mere copy of the morphologically dominant barāth. But the loss of semantic independence is compensated by an increase in morphological symmetry.
The Grammar of Poetics

In the following two examples from songs of the epic there is both alliteration and echoing, with both techniques distorting the 'basic semantics' of the sentences:
  čaduri hāduri čauri čīṭāli.
  'You are a cunning cobbler-daughter of glittering appearance.'
And:
  jōra jaka-jēr nāšē di āhā hār hārē hārē bāle.
  'When (fire) will break out (in the place named) Jaka-Jar, let it burn, hey, in this difficult moment.'
In a short prose passage there is a description of how god Nārāyaṇa brews poison for certain purposes. The passage has several echo-formations, but this time the duplication of the words is not done through synonyms or antonyms, but through the change of concrete words into abstracts. The effect again is an increase in sound-pattern expression and an obscuring of meaning:
  naraṇī dēhī ne kī kēra kī: sājēr mējēr or rāt ke jōra duss ke jōra,
  čōha-cōēhi, hōka-hōēki,  ċōka-čōēki, kīdēra-kīēdiś sūt beta ajpal
  ke sājīre.

  'What did god Nārāyaṇa do: (out of the poisons named) Sazēr and Madzēr, and with the help of the night, with the help of the day, (with the help) of the fourness of the fourth, (with the help) of the momentariness of a moment, (with the help of) the noise of rattling, (with the help) of the intelligence of the intellect, the seven sons of (the god of poison) Ajpal were brewed.'

Breaking of the Normal Order
Like other Indian languages, Bangāni also uses the possibility of deviation from a normal or basic word order in order to express specific meanings. There exists a 'permitted' range of such deviations in colloquial speech, which are usually motivated by communication needs. And there exist other, sometimes, more drastic deviations, which are motivated by aesthetic 'considerations'. In the following prose sentence from the pāchāṇ the normal word order is heavily altered, and thereby transgresses the limits set by the rules for colloquial speech:
pāc pāša\textsuperscript{3} bule ti\u093f gīnā khūb nāj bani, jē\u0930 pāc dāunī\textsuperscript{1} manchāli
rū nāj gīnē bani\textsuperscript{3}.

‘The five Pāndavas, these simple ones, prepared fine food and brought it along; they prepare and bring along in five baskets such food that is suitable for human beings.’

It is possible to distinguish in this sentence milder forms of deviation from more severe ones. A mild deviation (but still possible in colloquial speech) is the reversal in the order of the verbal expression in gīnā ... bani resp. gīnē bani\textsuperscript{3}a. Both expressions are similar to Hindi constructions involving an ‘absolutive’\textsuperscript{3} verbal form and a second predicate. Frequently, these constructions express two verbal actions with the ‘absolutive’ action preceding the other one. In these Bangāli examples the normal order has been altered, and in the first one the main verb not just precedes the ‘absolutive’, but is separated from it through two more words (khib nāj). A more severe deviation is in the second part of the sentence, where pāc dāunī ‘five baskets’ should have appeared between nāj and gīnē. Such a deviation in word order would be considered as completely wrong in colloquial speech. But here, in the epic, the audience will appreciate it as the artistic talents of the bard.

This opposite evaluation holds also true for another linguistic phenomenon which, because of its unwieldiness, can only be described here without illustrative evidence. The case of anacoluthons. They are a natural phenomenon of all colloquial speech, and if they attract any attention at all, they are generally marked as mistakes. Not so in the pāduan where its able use proves the ability of the singer. Able use here means that he cuts short a sentence, continues with several other sentences, and then takes up the first sentence again.

There are other forms of breaking ‘compounds’, which can be illustrated more easily. In the first example—a line from a song—a noun is pushed between the normally unseparable bond between noun and postposition:

\textit{eki athē\textsuperscript{4} gotī ma, e eki athē\textsuperscript{4} käp}

‘In the one hand a small bell, hey, (in) the other hand a bowl.’
This is a quite severe case of lingual transgression, perpetrated through the insertion of gati ‘small bell’ between the normally unseparable athe ma ‘in the hand’. This poetic technique is driven even further in those cases in the epic where the bard has broken open the integrity of a sememe, or the normally unseparable unity of sememe and grammeme.

An example for the first case would be the name donatārjī ‘Dronācārya’. This form is occasionally changed by the bard into tarjī duna, a change which cannot at all be explained by etymology or word-formation rules. The ‘action’ of the bard rather has to be characterized as ‘creative violence.’

There are several cases where the grammeme expressing future tense has been ‘broken off’ its sememe and relocated somewhere else in the sentence. Consider the following example:

jū eske nā le balic’ to aī bi modāth korul kuch.
‘If he will not manage it, then I could help him a little bit.’

The normal way would have been to say na bācilc ‘he will not manage it.’ Moreover, the replacing of the future grammeme before its sememe affects the vowel length in the negation particle, which changes from short to long.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion I would like to quote a prose sentence, selected by me completely at random. I do this with the following intention. I think it is possible to compare the whole pūchāṇ metapborically with a net, whose threads (the pūchāṇ) are ‘spun’ more or less poetically. This net (the text as a whole) displays a continuous change and variation in the density of its texture, its poeticity, where it is often difficult to decide where ‘normal’ speech ends and lyric starts. Consider the following sentence:

khū jīn marāj, arām ko rōn sare, rōś na, jīd na, mitā na, kuch na, eki gole pānī jā

Translation: ‘They eat and just enjoy life, they all live in peace; (there is) neither anger nor jealousy, neither hostility nor greed, noth-
ing; through just one throat runs the water." This prose sentence almost asks for a graphical representation in the form of a poem. For instance like this:

\[ \text{khā ūṇ marāy} \]
\[ \text{arūn kā rūṇ sare} \]
\[ rūś na, rīś na \]
\[ jūl na, mīś na \]
\[ kučh na \]
\[ eki gole pāti jā \]

Abbreviations

\begin{itemize}
\item IA = Indo-Aryan
\item MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan
\item NIA = New Indo-Aryan
\item OIA = Old Indo-Aryan
\item PIE = Proto Indo-Aryan
\item < = deriving historically from
\end{itemize}

NOTES

1. According to a rough estimate the number of speakers should be somewhere between ten and twenty thousand.
3. All following transcriptions, written in italics, are based on the system used by Turner. Additionally, tones are written with the exponents 1 to 4. The word dēvāḷī probably derives from OIA dēvāpāla in the sense of ‘someone who controls the gods’. It belongs to a group of semantically cognate words found in the Central and Western Himalayas, all with the meaning of ‘bard’ or ‘shaman.’ In the Khashali dialect of Himachal Pradesh there is dīdāla ‘oracle priest’ (Varma, p. 51), probably deriving from OIA *dēvāpāla. Schiava has dēvat ‘priest of fairies’, which derives from OIA *dēvēpāla, and Garhwali has pāṇjūl ‘reciter of the Mahābhārata’ (Sax, p. 278), which derives from OIA *pāṇḍavapāla.
4. The contents, which will not occupy us further here, are very different from the story of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata. Although there are also the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas and their final battle in Kurukṣetra, most of the plots of the pāṇjūl are not found in the classical version.
5. I recorded both versions en bloc at other times of the year. The making of the records was extremely strenuous, as my informants and I felt never sure whether the singers would complete the whole epic or not. Moreover, I had to convince one of the singers through dialectic arguments that I had not come from the underworld, and that it was not my intention to cut down the world-tree.

6. According to local understanding, the bards are neither the authors nor the interpreters of the epics they perform. The ‘creative subjects’ are rather the epics themselves, which use the bards as media for their ‘incarnation’. The detailed implications of such an attitude will be described by me somewhere else.

7. For abbreviations see the end of the article.

8. The sound 浮现 here is an allophone of phonemic \( \text{'k} \).

9. This is, of course, the preservation of a MLA feature, and is also found in Punjabi and Lahnda.

10. Six positions are also found in Marathi and Konkani.

11. This is a voiceless dental affricate, its voiced counterpart is graphically represented as /j/.

12. Similar observations have been made by D.D. Sharma in two dialects in the Central and Western Himalayas, namely in Chinuli and Kinnauri (see References). It is interesting to see that these dialects are located at the northern fringe of the Indo-Aryan language area.

13. See my articles in MSS 42 and 50.

14. The word is not used in this epic but in colloquial speech and other oral texts.

15. See Turner 1720.

16. The change from /-v-/ to /-r/ is plausible, because this leads to the common form of a Bangla ‘agent’-suffix kār.

17. The regular development of /-pr- is to become /-pp/. (Masica, p.175).


19. See Turner 7756.

20. There exist more words in Bangla showing such phonetic strengthening.

21. For various reasons there are not many of them in this epic anyway.

22. The accent on the /k/ in kār, kāra indicates a palatalized voiceless stop. In OIA (but not in the so-called Kentum languages) the stop became a sibilant.

23. This does not mean that the bards would deliberately choose between various alternatives at their disposal. On the contrary, they are very faithful towards the traditional ‘correct’ form of the text. Moreover, they do not have such choices. As illiterate members of a low caste, they never encounter people with a knowledge in Sanskrit literature. But I want to say that the distinction between everyday (or common) and rare words coincides to a certain extent with the distinction between various styles of the epic.

24. It is very difficult to judge the ‘archaism’ of this Bangla word. From the point of historical phonology the whole expression is ‘normal’, except the unvoiced /-p/. The loss of one /-p/ is the result of haplogy. But again, the whole expression is a ‘rare compound.’

25. I shall not try to define this expression, but I would like to say here that the concept of poetics in the pāduan is not only associated with aesthetic qualities, but also with notions like ‘purification’, ‘rapture’, ‘the other world’, ‘presence of the divine’, etc.
In order to keep this article within a reasonable length, I shall also not describe the more common forms of rhyming. Seminal work in the field of poetic techniques in oral shamanic texts has been done by Strickland. His articles contain also further literature on this topic. For a more general discussion of the relations between grammar and poetics see Jakobson.

26. The word 'understand' becomes a very complicated affair in this connection. But instead of long discussion I would prefer to say simply the following: During the performance my informants were able in most cases to explain to me any word or passage I asked for. When they heard the epic later on the tape recorder, they had much more difficulties in understanding. And when they got read out the transcribed text, they often could not make any sense of whole passages. The situation is different, of course, with my native collaborator of long standing. But even for him some of the songs were difficult to understand.

27. The Bangâi word dai means more exactly 'sons of the fatherbrothers'.

28. These lines are sung twice.

29. This means that it represents or encompasses the three worlds, that is the whole universe. The rod (regarded as a female being) obviously represents a sort of world axis. Now she starts to talk about 'her' owner.

30. Who are the respective possessors of the magical ad and par powers.

31. Turner 5247.

32. For the sake of clarity I have given here the non-oblique forms of the possessive pronouns.

33. 'Symmetrical' reduplications mean, that there is some sort of similarity between 'origin' and 'copy'; 'asymmetrical' reduplications means the opposite: no or hardly any similarity between the two. This distinction, however, is perhaps too gross for the rather gradual 'estrangement' (be it morphological, semantical, conceptual, etc.) which can be observed in the relation between origin and copy in many examples. Moreover, the greater the 'estrangement' between the two, the more pointless it is to speak of reduplication or echo.

34. Turner 5541.

35. It is likely, however, that both bar and mâto originally had a meaning. But they are no more recognizable for the locals.

36. Speech errors are left out of consideration here.

37. Word-by-word: 'The five Pândavas, these simple ones, they brought much food after preparation, like five baskets human beings for food they bring after preparation.'

38. Usually formed through adding ad or ke to the verb stem.

39. This is a metaphorical way of expressing complete harmony and unity.

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