

**THE MARIA GONDS
OF BASTAR**



HILL MARIA YOUTH AND GIRL
(Photograph by Baron E. von Eickstedt)

THE MARIA GONDS OF BASTAR

By
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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TO THE PEOPLES OF BASTAR
AND
TO MY COMPANIONS IN BASTAR
1927-31

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INTRODUCTION

IT is very remarkable that Indian administrators and British anthropologists should have had to wait a century for any detailed authoritative account of the Gonds of Central India. It may also be said to have been very unfortunate that we should have had to wait so long, though that misfortune is much mitigated by the excellence of the monographs that we have just received from Verrier Elwin and, in particular, from Mr. Grigson. What one regrets most is that an earlier study of the Gonds might have prevented much suffering and many misfortunes, at least, that is, if it had led to the taking of measures in their interests such as Mr. Grigson was able to initiate in Bastar State during the term of his office there as Administrator and Diwan.

It is hardly necessary for me to say anything of Mr. Grigson's qualifications for writing of the Maria Gonds of that State: those qualifications will be self-evident to the discerning reader of the book which follows. But it should be placed on record that Mr. Grigson has succeeded in initiating measures to restore the jurisdiction of village *panchayats*, to restrict the alienation of villages to foreigners from outside by abolishing the *thekadari* system, to put an end to oppressive and vexatious interference by police and other petty officials with the life of the Maria village. For it is the very high privilege of that altogether too rare individual the anthropologically-minded administrative officer, that he can often bring practical benefits to the subjects of his studies as well as informative benefits to the readers he instructs.

It is obvious that this monograph on the Gonds of Bastar reveals a fusion of cultures which has not only taken place in the past but is going on in the present. The author himself draws attention to the difference between the cultures of the Bison-horn and of the Abujhmar Marias, and ascribes them to successive waves of Gond immigrants, as well as to the more recent encroachments of Hinduism. But this is not the whole of the picture, and without offering any attempt at an analysis of the Bastar cultures it is perhaps permissible to point out certain parallels and to suggest an inference or two. Mr. Ramesh Chandra Roy, dealing in Appendix V with the physical side of the Gond problem, suggests the existence of three elements, a pre-Dravidian element conveniently labelled 'proto-australoid' by Sewell and Veddaic by others—Eickstedt calls it 'Veddid'—which is dolichocephalic, prognathous and

platyrrhine; a Dravidian element, which some would prefer to call Mediterranean—dolichocephalic leptorrhine; and a slight brachycephalic element, which Mr. Roy is clearly inclined to ascribe to an alpine or palaeo-alpine source rather than a mongoloid one. He states that, although he found instances of oblique eyes, he never found a case of the epicanthic fold in Bastar. Personally, I am still unconvinced. My own impression of the Marias is that there is a slight but definite mongoloid element. Of course, these impressions are merely the result of optical observation, and unsupported by any sort of scientific measurement, and it is possible that I have been prejudiced by a certain psychological resemblance between the Marias and their neighbours and the submongoloid hillmen of Assam.

Culturally, the parallels afforded by the Maria Gonds are often interesting and suggestive, though it is possible here to mention only a few. Some of them are definitely reminiscent of tribes farther south in the peninsula. Thus the use of separate huts or shelters for the segregation of menstruating women is a custom shared with several of the Travancore hill tribes, while the objection to performing the sexual act inside a dwelling is shared with the Kadar of Cochin State, and probably with other tribes. It may perhaps be referred to a period when, as with the Andamanese to-day, the only permanent dwelling-house was an unpartitioned communal hut.

Other traits there are which recall tribes of Munda affinities. The association of peacocks with the dead and the use of kettle-drums and dish-shaped gongs are shared with the Munda-speaking Sawara of the Madras Agency Tracts, and the use of the multiple cord belts for women with the Bondo Parja of the same area and with the Chagyik Konyak of the Naga hills in Assam, items of culture, of course, which may just as well have passed from west to east as vice versa, or which may merely have been drawn by various tribes from a common source. The practices of erecting a dolmen as a seat for a village elder, for the 'Village Mother' or for the ghost of a dead person to sit on, a circle of stones for the village *panchayat* and a memorial menhir in the village of ancestral origin, together with a belief in a collective clan soul and what amounts to a form of ancestor-worship recall very strongly the Sawara, Munda and Khasi cultures, while they link up with other similar practices of the megalithic cultures farther east, e.g. in the Naga hills, Mentawi, Farther Asia generally and even the Pacific. The same group of cultures is again suggested by the use of a communal bachelors' hall, of the sago palm and of grass rain-coats, by stilt-walking and by the making of fire by means of a fire-saw instead of a drill. This

particular fire-saw used by Mr. Grigson's Marias would seem to be much nearer the original implement than the saw-thong form used in Assam or (e.g.) Borneo, for the Maria fire-saw needs three men to manipulate it, while one Naga or Kayan can make fire with a thong worked by his two hands under a hearth held in place by one foot, the Mikir and Nicobarese types, usually worked by two men, forming links between the Maria and the Naga types. On the other hand, Maria ceremonial fire must apparently be obtained from an existing household fire; the Naga tribes, on the contrary, must employ thong-ignited need-fire, while their neighbours the Kuki tribes, who seldom use such an apparatus, may obtain it from flint and steel, but not from matches. One is tempted to infer a reminiscence of a time when the making of fire was unknown in the Abujhmar hills, as in the Andaman islands, and the importation of a primitive form of the fire-saw which has developed elsewhere into a simpler and more useful apparatus. In contrast to the fire-saw the Maria blacksmith's bellows have South Indian and African rather than Indonesian affinities, while the bamboo ideochord is not played by the Maria, as by the Thado or the Kayan, by plucking the raised bark 'strings' but by tapping them, making the instrument in their hands rather a xylophone than a guitar.

Reference has already been made to the megalithic culture of the Maria, now apparently rapidly decaying. Here again, much is suggestive of various Assam and Indonesian cultures. Menhirs are transported as by Lhota Nagas and erected as by the Angami, while stone cists are put up by the village path. Seed is fertilized with blood, suggesting not only the Khond *meriah* sacrifice, but also the general theory underlying the head-hunting practices of Naga, Wa, Kayan, Igorot or Taigal from Assam to Formosa. A water-dwelling snake-demon like that of the Maria pervades Thado superstition; shooting stars are 'star dung' alike to the Sema Naga and the Maria; like the Maria, the Ao Naga dances with bells on his buttocks. That incest and other breaches of taboo are visited on the offenders or their kin by man-eating tigers is a typical Naga belief, and the inheritance of his father's house by the youngest son a common Naga practice, though Mr. Grigson's account of it among his Gonds suggests that the reason is to be found in the small value of the building and site, which would certainly not hold good for the Angami. The capture of fish by beating noxious or intoxicating plant juices into the river, like the use of beetle grubs for food, is a very widespread practice indeed, but there is something particularly suggestive of Tibeto-Burmese affinities in the termination of so many Maria clan names in *-mi*, which in Naga or Kuki languages means 'men'. Indeed, several of these Maria clan names, e.g.

Wachami, are so like those of Naga clans as to tempt one to infer a connexion from a similarity or even identity which is probably merely fortuitous.

More than enough has probably been said to indicate to the reader the interest and importance of the work that follows. It is only to be regretted that no written word, even of Mr. Grigson himself nor yet even his admirable illustrations, can convey the peculiar attraction the Maria has for the stranger that enters into his gates, an attraction sensible at once even to a casual visitor among them, such as I have been, and obviously felt very strongly by the author of the monograph that follows. Let him now speak for himself.

J. H. HUTTON

Cambridge

October 11th, 1936

PREFACE

THE Administration of Bastar State has generously subsidized the publication of this book, and for this practical sympathy I must thank Colonel Meek, the Agent to the Governor-General for the Eastern States, and Mr. E. S. Hyde, I.C.S., Administrator of Bastar State. I hope that it will not be the last book to be written about the Marias. More systematic field-work will without doubt correct and supplement many of my statements ; I shall be content if my book tempts any trained worker to visit the ethnologically unexplored lands of Bastar and Jeypore.

My four years as Administrator of Bastar State kept me busy in camp and office with administrative problems of all kinds. The primary object of my enquiries was to ascertain grievances, especially those caused by the adoption in a primitive State of criminal, civil and revenue laws framed for British Indian districts some centuries more ' advanced '. In getting the aboriginal to show me his house and his possessions, in watching his domestic and agricultural routine, and in attending his simple social and religious ceremonies I found the readiest path to his confidence and to appreciation of his real feelings about the administration. Question begat counter-question, and attempts to explain the domestic life of the English to Marias were interesting and amusing. If because I was primarily an administrator I have sometimes dwelt at length on administrative problems, I do not regret : for, despite such views as those advanced by Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. M. S. Aney in the Indian Legislative Assembly debate of February 18th, 1936, on the areas to be wholly or partially excluded under the recent Government of India Act, when they heartily damned all anthropologists as wishing to keep the primitive races of India ' uncivilized ' and ' in a state of barbarism ' as raw material for their science and ' in order to add to their blessed stock of scientific knowledge ', anthropology has a very practical value to all charged with the administration of other races if it can discover the thoughts and need of those races. The results of the divorce of administration from anthropology as seen in the system of land revenue, police and judicial administration applied to the Maria tracts of Bastar have been as strikingly revealed on a larger scale by the post-1919 attempts in Bombay and the Central Provinces to force prohibition upon the Bhil, the Gond and the Korku.

Few now are the regions of India where the white man is unknown, and fewer still those in which the Hindu has not yet

settled. The Hill Maria and part of the Bison-horn Maria country are such regions ; and often in our stay in Bastar my wife and I were able to recapture something of the surprise and variety of experience that our pioneer ancestors knew so much more than their descendants of these humdrum and standardized days. This alone would justify some record of what we saw.

For encouragement to attempt such a record I must first thank His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B.E., now Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man, for nine years Governor of the Central Provinces and in political charge of the Central Provinces States, to whom I owed my appointment as Administrator of Bastar, and who was the wisest and most helpful of chiefs and the best and most stimulating of friends. Mr. R. A. Wilson, who was then Chief Secretary to the Government of the Central Provinces, wrote to me suggesting a study of the Marias even before I went to Bastar. I am very grateful also for the advice and encouragement of three friends : Dr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., I.C.S., the last Census Commissioner for India, who has put me further in his debt by reading through my manuscript and contributing so interesting an Introduction ; Baron Egon von Eickstedt, Professor of Ethnology at Breslau University, who visited Bastar while I was there and has kindly allowed me to reproduce some of his excellent photographs ; and the Right Reverend Alex Wood, D.D., O.B.E., Lord Bishop of Nagpur, the doyen of Gondi scholars and sanest of critics. My interest in the Gond, first aroused by contact with him in the Nagpur, Seoni and Hoshangabad districts, was stimulated by early talks with Mr. C. G. Chenevix Trench, C.I.E., then serving in the Central Provinces Commission, the author of a fascinating Gondi grammar and of certain contributions to Blackwood which vividly portray the Indian aboriginal, and by that mine of ethnological material, Russell and Hiralal's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*. I have in the succeeding pages often disagreed with their statements on Marias in their article 'Gond' ; but theirs was a pioneer work, being largely a compilation of statements gleaned from a mass of papers contributed by officials, pleaders and others, supplemented by the personal enquiries of the authors and their wide knowledge of almost all that had been previously written on their subjects. Mistakes and mis-statements were thus inevitable ; but their great book is remarkable for its general reliability, its sustained interest and its power of stimulating further investigation.

I must state how I made my enquiries. Throughout my time in Bastar I kept notes and took photographs of what I heard or saw. Between 1927 and 1931 I made four long tours among the Hill

Marias, and paid several shorter visits to the fringes of their hills ; since 1931 I have three times revisited Bastar, seeing some Marias each time, and spending March 1934 in revisiting the Abujhmar hills villages seen in my 1929-31 tours, and the Bison-horn Maria villages above and below the Aranpur pass. I had similarly often toured before across the Bison-horn Maria country, and made many friends among the villages around the Bailadila hills, which, in return for a reduced assessment of land revenue, had the duty of sending relays of men up to the hills during the summer recess there of the Ruling Chief and leading State officials.

Notes and Queries on Anthropology, published by the Royal Anthropological Institute, was of constant value, even though, as explained in Chapter XIII, the poor memories of the Marias prevented me from getting the results expected from the geneological method. My work made it impossible for me to be in Maria villages at all seasons and to see all Maria ceremonies, and therefore I supplemented my enquiries by getting detailed reports from selected State officials whom I tried to train roughly for this by taking them with me during my personal enquiries on tour. I have almost always checked their reports by personal investigation ; and in the few cases where I could not so check them, I have repeated nothing reported by them unless it was confirmed by the independent reports of two or more other reliable observers. These enquiries did impose much extra work on them, but gave them a much-needed knowledge of the aboriginal and did much to raise the morale and co-operation of the enquirers and to raise the standard of the administration. I could not have had a happier and friendlier family of colleagues than those of all ranks who served under me my last two years in the State. All were helpful, but especially Pandit Ghasiram Dane, then a subdivisional officer, the late Mr. H. N. Dutt, then tahsildar of Dantewara, since a victim of black-water fever, Mr. Niranjan Singh, then tahsildar of Bijapur and manager of Kutru, now Assistant Administrator, Mr. Sant Prasad, formerly tahsildar of Konta, Circle Inspector Manbahal Singh of the State Police, and Mr. Dikshitulu of the State Medical Service, who did remarkable anti-yaws work in the Abujhmar hills in my second tour and in later independent tours.

Language was always a difficulty. Halbi is the *lingua franca* of Bastar. The differences between Maria dialects are great, and the very guttural hill dialect is so unintelligible to the Bison-horn Marias that at their rare meetings they communicate with Hill Marias through those of them who understand Halbi. And there are many variations of both the Hill and the Bison-horn Maria dialects. Of Halbi, everyone serving in Bastar must acquire some

understanding. Of Gondi as spoken in the plateaux of the Central Provinces I had a smattering, but the Maria dialects were as different from it as Spanish and Portuguese from Italian, and the Hill Maria gutturals are beyond the compass of an English voice. Yet one cannot but acquire a considerable vocabulary and power of following the gist of a speech from constant hearing of witnesses in court and association with tribesmen in village and camp; and thus, though never able to dispense with an interpreter, I could check his interpretation of replies, and see that he put my questions in my own way, and not in a leading form. Nothing needs more care than the training of interpreters. I am especially grateful for the help, as interpreter and as enquirer, of the late Circle Inspector Chaitan Singh, of the State Police, a Bastar Rajput with all the traditional virtues of the Rajput. Descended from an ancestor who had once narrowly escaped being sacrificed as a Meriah victim in Jeypore (Orissa), he was passionately interested in the aboriginal, knew all the '36' languages of Bastar, was a mine of information about Bastar customs, religions, songs, dances and games, and was, because he never did an injustice but was simple and reliable in all his ways, loved by the wild tribes of Bastar. His sense of humour, broad like that of the tribesmen, of whom at heart he was one, would overcome disappointment or the short temper bred of heat and exhaustion in gales of laughter; nor was it a respecter of persons, for his tales would chide the follies alike of raja or ryot, political agent or diwan. His sudden death soon after I left Bastar meant the loss of a dear friend, and of an Indian of a type more fitted to a past age but unlikely to be bettered in any succeeding generation. They say that in the forests around Kondagaon, where he shot so many man-eating tigers and organized so many successful tiger beats, the Murias already revere him as Chaitan Deo, a god of good hunting without whose favour no beat will yield game. Nothing could have appealed more to his sense of humour. Wherever he may be, may he have boon companions to laugh at his rhymes and tales, to drink from his silver glass, to take betel from his silver box, and to handle the hunting-knife and the silver-mounted cane given him by successive Governors, and may he live long in the folk memories of Bastar!

For other help I must thank Mr. K. L. B. Hamilton, C.I.E., I.C.S., Political Agent for the Central Provinces States when I went to Bastar, who has also kindly allowed me to reproduce some of his Bastar photographs; Mr. D. R. Rutnam, I.C.S., my successor as Administrator, who was my host in Bastar twice in 1932 and greatly facilitated my 1934 tour in various ways; Dr. W. P. S. Mitchell, M.B.E., for more than twenty years Chief Medical Officer

of the State, the best of companions in Jagdalpur and in camp, and contributor of an interesting account of a Maria fishing beat ; Khan Sahib S. R. Daver, Chief Forest Officer, for much information, help in arranging tours, identification of flora and constant interest ; Mr. D. J. Plumley, State Engineer, and his most hospitable wife for much help and kindness, especially in my 1934 tour, and for much information gathered in their long experience of Bastar ; Mr. Ramesh Chandra Roy, Joint Editor with his distinguished father Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.L.C., of *Man in India*, who at his father's request kindly went with me in my 1934 tour and took the anthropometric measurements on which he based the useful Appendix V. I have also had much help from Mr. K. B. L. Shrivastava and Mr. B. P. Dube, my Bastar stenographer and reader respectively ; from Mr. Sampat Singh, interpreter in 1932 and again in 1934, and from Mr. Kosre, my Nagpur stenographer, who kindly devoted a month's leave to helping Mr. R. C. Roy and me in March 1934. My mother-in-law, Mrs. Boyes, kindly drew for me the panther trap reproduced on page 157.

I owe thanks and apologies to many Maria friends and acquaintances, who have endured my probing curiosity and helped me to secure victims for measurement and photography, especially Kama Peda of Dugeli, for constant help at Bailadila ; Kalmu Boda of Pharaspal, *pargana* headman of Barsur, to whose steadiness some of us present in the tiger-beat described in Chapter VIII, Part B, may well owe our lives ; and to Usendi Moda of Orcha, whose reprieve by Sir Benjamin Robertson from sentence of death and subsequent virtual headmanship of Chhota Dongar Mar are excellent arguments against capital punishment ; I have had few more moving sights than the tears of pleasure on the smiling faces of him and his clansmen when they welcomed me back to Orcha in 1934 after an absence of four years.

I had hoped to offer this book to that charming lady, the Maharani Prafulla Kumari Devi of Bastar. But her untimely death has just deprived the State of one whom to know was to love. *Requiescat !*

W. V. GRIGSON

Polperro

September 19th, 1936

Postscript. I have also to thank the Government of the Central Provinces for a recent honorarium, thanks to which this book is more fully illustrated than it would otherwise have been.

Jubbulpore

March 1st, 1937

W.V.G.

PART I

**INTRODUCTORY. BASTAR STATE AND ITS PEOPLES ; THE HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING OF THE MARIAS**

APPENDIX I

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF BASTAR STATE

				<i>Area¹</i> <i>(sq. miles)</i>	<i>Population</i> <i>(1931 Census)</i>
TAHSILS :					
Jagdapur	..	..	..	1,996	198,640
Kondagaon	..	..	..	1,880	83,992
Antagarh	..	..	..	2,885	51,703
Dantewara	..	..	..	1,016	75,872
Konta	..	..	..	1,336	14,206
Bijapur	..	..	..	989	24,135
ZAMINDARIS :					
Kutru	..	..	..	1,360	14,836
Bhopalpatnam	..	..	..	720	17,596
Sukma	..	..	..	650	40,171
Kotapalli-Pamer	..	..	..	230	1,132
TOTAL	..	..	..	<u>13,062¹</u>	<u>522,283²</u>

¹ The areas are given according to the figures current before recent surveys. These surveys have only covered portions of the State, and will not be completed till 1944. In May 1934 the Survey of India, computing from the old maps of the Trigonometrical Survey (which I have often found surprisingly inaccurate for the wilder parts of the State) and from the revised figures of recent surveys, calculated the true area to be 13,725 square miles for the whole State. Revised calculations for each tahsil and zamindari are not available.

² The populations of each tahsil and zamindari given above were calculated in the State from preliminary census returns; but separate figures were not isolated by the Central Provinces Census Office. The true population of the State was finally returned as 524,721.

APPENDIX II

LISTS OF HILL MARIA CLANS AND BISON-HORN MARIA CLANS AND PHRATRIES, AND PEDIGREE OF THE HILL MARIA FAMILY HOLDING THE HEREDITARY HEADMANSHIP OF CHHOTA DONGAR PARGANA AND ORCHA VILLAGE

[(d) Signifies that the village was deserted in 1934]

HILL MARIA CLANS

Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Usendi	Chhota Dongar	Orcha Jaggunda Hoinar (d) Juwada Dugarli Bagom Thadur Machan Duseli Kejang (d) Uragonda (d) Michwada One or two villages	Wikir Hunga (kept at Jaggunda, but brought to Orcha for festivals)	Goat
	Kutru Mar Kirangal (not Hill Maria but Gotul Muria)	?	None ?	
	Chanda District	?	?	
Wadder	Chhota Dongar	Dhanora Jori Hikpulla Kodeli Perilmeta Rengabera (d)	Worship the Usendi god Wikir Hunga of Jaggunda	None
	Bhomra (Muria) Chanda District, and Kutru S. of Indrawati	Kurselhur Kaunde and others, and Madhepar and a few more in Kutru	Use Dokra of Kurselhur Kuwo-Gundo of Kaunde	
Korami	Chhota Dongar	Hirangai Verma	Worship the Usendi god of Jaggunda	None

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Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Dodi	Do.	Jhara Rajpur Idnar	Do.	None
Deda	Chhota Dongar	Kurmer Dedalur	Nule Harma or Eram Mo'itto of Kurmer	None
Parsal	Do.	Chalcheghi	Do.	None
Katlami	Do.	Jhori Hikpulla (shared with Wad- der)	Pandu Hunga of Jhori, elder brother of Wikir Hunga, the Usendi god	None
Jugho, <i>alias</i> Karme (plural, Jughalor)	Chhota Dongar Bhairamgarh Mar	Adeq Karanmeta (d) Akmeta (d) Maspur (d) Neianar Makawada Gomagal Hasnar Rainar Gapa (d) Itulnar	Worships the Usendi god Wikir Hunga of Japgunda Say would worship Wikir Hunga if still in Chhota Dongar <i>pargana</i> , but no need as now in Kutru zamindari	None ; the name Karme said to mean 'sunset', the ancestor of clan having been born then
Dhurwa (almost a branch of Jughalor)	Chhota Dongar	Share Goma- gal and Hasnar with Jughalor	Worship the Usendi god Wikir Hunga of Japgunda but have also his sister Oghal Muttai as their own god	None ; clan says it is elder brother of Jughalor

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Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Dol ('younger brothers' of Jughalor)	Do.	Kohkapaghai	Worship Usendi god Wikir Hunga	Called Dol because members started making <i>dol</i> drums
Matami	Do.	Teknar	Do.	None
Dugher	Do.	Maramnar	Do.	None
Potawi	Do.	Almost extinct; one house in Orcha	Do.	None
Poyami	Do.	Kundali (one house)	Do.	None
Gecha	Do. Mangnar	Udala Tondawada Wetekal (d)	Do.	None. Name means 'sluggard' clan
Neghal	Chhota Dongar	Bhera Tondawada	Do.	Panther
Ahkal	Do.	Gudadi	Do.	None
Ete ¹	Do.	Kondakoti	Nule Harma of Kurmer	? Crab
Boka	Do.	Dondrewada Bokalur		None
Kohla	Chhota Dongar	Mandali Kushnar Batwada Kostari Gumter Hoinger Devanar Kerinar Irpengar	Mu'ima Kohla Pen of Batwada	?
Padāl	Padalibhum	All the <i>pargana</i>	Gumtuli Muttai, of Adnar	None
Kumoti	Chhota Dongar	Almost extinct; 2 houses in Hasnar, 1 in Rainar	None	None
Jāti	Jātware	Most of the <i>pargana</i>	?	?

¹ Ete is probably the same as Yete, a Kutru Mar clan.

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Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Boter	Kutru Mar	Boter	None	None
Wachami	Kutru Mar and Ahiri (mostly Indrawati valley)	Kumharmeta Markanar Irkapal Karkelli Bodeli and some Ahiri villages	Wachami Moitto Pen of Kumharmeta	?
Mohanda	Kutru Mar	Lakka Hingmeta Bhuri Puslakka	A god at Lakka	?
Oyāmi	Bhairamgarh Mar	Komu Kalhaza Malahanar (d)	None	None
Mohke	Do. Chhota Dongar	2 houses in Kalhaza Albera (d)	None	None
Yete	Bhairamgarh Mar	Hoinar	None	Crab
Pungati	Do.	2 houses in Ader (Kutru)	None	?
Bardāl	Bardal Tapalibhum	Whole <i>pargana</i> Ranimarka	Hurra Mu'iyā of Kornār	None
Farsāl	Farsāl Bhairamgarh	Whole <i>pargana</i> (13 inhabited villages) Bheriabhum	Kodo Mo'itto of Dhurwada None	None
Gōtal	Hukkagotal Tulagotal Farsigotal	Whole <i>pargana</i> (9 inhabited villages) Whole <i>pargana</i> (9 inhabited villages) Whole <i>pargana</i> (5 inhabited villages)	Pāhanleya Muttari of Toinar in Tulagotal Do. Top Mudya of Mohandi, said to be younger brother of Pahanley's husband	None None None

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Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Tapa	Tapālibhūm (Chhote Mar)	Nearly all the villages of the <i>par- gana</i>	Riksa Pen of Dodrimar- ka in Tap- alibhum	None
Nughoti, <i>alias</i> Nuroti	Nurbhum Jātware Tapalibhum	All <i>pargana</i> but Turko Kohkameta Markawada Hachekote	?	None
Hichami	Nurbhum	Turko	The Nughoti god	?
Parlo	Kutru Mar	Dodmarka Karangul Nugur Ader (Kutru) Padmeta	Koruk Pen of Karan- gal and Nugur	Goat
Jātā	Kutru Mar Chhote Dongar	Jātalur Akdum (d)	None	?
Kohka	Bhairamgarh Mar	Kakowada, or Kakawoki	None	Kohka-marra the mark- ing-nut tree
Ark	Do.	Korowaya ; sold Itulnar to Jughalor	None	None
Jāte (plural, Jāterom)	Mangnar	Mornar	Pat Raja	The Jāte grass used for making brooms to sweep the god's shrine
Tokalor	Mangnar	Erpanar	Do.	The <i>toka</i> or flap of loin- cloth left to hang be- hind like a tail
Hukur	Mangnar	Erpanar	Do.	The <i>huk</i> or basketry ladle used to stir rice cooked at the god's shrine

Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Marvi	Mangnar	Tökhtöli Kuwer Modangwada Moghoi	Mära-mägh, Pat Raja's sister's son or <i>bāranjal</i> . They get leave from Pat Raja to hold his nephew's festivals	?
Tamo	Dantewara Mar	Tumirgunda Padmeta	Hurra Gunda Moitto of Tumir- gunda	None
Atami ²	Barsur	Chhota Karka Palawaya	Do.	?
Lekami ¹	Barsur	Batawada Ghotpal	Use Modia of Ghotpal	?

There were one or two Lekami houses in the Hill Maria villages of Handawada and Dunga.

Gume	Dantewara or Barsur Mar Bhairamgarh	Toinar Handawada Hikul Thakawada Paralnar Prinkapal Kodokal Hitawada Kunjewada Goti Dunga Pariakot	Verma Mo'itto Pen of Toinar. The <i>waddai</i> is Jätē by clan None	None
Alami	Mangnar	Nendur Gatia	Attend fes- tivals of Pat Raja, god of Jät- erom at Mornar	Chameleon (alām)
Nonde	Mangnar	Rotad	Do.	Rope

¹ Now, in culture, Bison-horn clans; but the Lekami intermarries with the Gume clan, and the Atami still worships the Hill Maria *pen* of the Tamo clan.

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BISON-HORN MARIA PHRATRIES AND CLANS

Phratry	Totem	Clans	Totem
1. Mārvi	Goat (Dantewara Jagdalpur) Cobra (Sukma and Konta)	Bārse Biryā Mārvi Chudalā Mārvi Dōdi Hēmlā Kuppē Oyāmī Pēdāmī Tamo	Tortoise
2. Kuhrāmī or Kadiārī	Cuckoo (<i>hadiārī</i>)	Budādi Gaddi Kartāmī Kuhrāmī (or Karāmī) Kunjāmī Lēkāmī Poriāmī Rawā Veko Wetti	Hornbill (<i>harol</i>) Do. Screech-owl (<i>hunje-piite</i>) Buffalo
3. Sōdī or Ōdī	Tiger	Biryā Sōdī Chudalā Sōdī Oikā	Buffalo Do.
4. Markāmī	Tortoise	Atāmī (or Atrāmī) Bālē Bōtē Bhōyāmī Biryā Markāmī Chudalā Markāmī Dūdhi Dumo Durro Gonche Kalmu Karte (or Kandte) Kikder Miryāmī Nēndi Nupo Poyāmī Tāti (or Tāmti) Tēlāmī Tikder Undāmī	<i>Atra</i> , the flower of the <i>phul-behari</i> grass Goat Buffalo

* The tiger was the original totem, and the clan is still spoken of as the tiger-race; but the tigers have broken the legendary rule that no tiger will attack a Sōdī, and the Sōdīs retaliate by joining in tiger-beats and adopting the buffalo as their totem instead of the tiger.

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Phratry	Totem	Clans	Totem
5. Kawāsi or Wanjāmi	Tortoise	Bertā Dirdōd Kawāsi Mochāki Murāmi Padāmi Urve Wanjāmi	

The following six clan names have not been attributed to their phratries :
Gonde, Kiske, Korsa, Punem, Rega, Savalam.

APPENDIX III

HILL MARIA TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

(These are terms of reference ; but see p. 244)

Father	<i>läppe</i>	Son	<i>māghī</i>
		Daughter	<i>miārī</i>
Mother	<i>talugh, awā</i>	Son	<i>māghī</i>
		Daughter	<i>miārī</i>
Stepfather	<i>kāhā</i> }	{ Stepson	<i>māghī</i>
Stepmother	<i>kuchī</i> }			{ Stepdaughter	miārī
Elder brother (m.s.)	<i>dādā</i>	Younger brother	
		(m.s.)	<i>tamō</i>
Elder brother (w.s.)	<i>dādā</i>	Younger sister	
		(m.s.)	<i>hellār</i>
Elder sister (m.s.)	<i>ākhā (ākhāī)</i>	Younger brother	} <i>tamō</i>
		(w.s.)	
Elder sister (w.s.)	<i>ākhā</i>	Younger sister	} <i>tamō</i>
		(w.s.)	
Father's elder brother	<i>pepī</i>	Younger brother's	
Father's elder		child (m.s.)	<i>māghī (m)</i>
brother's wife	<i>perī</i>	Elder brother's	
Father's younger		child (m.s.)	<i>miārī (f)</i>
brother	<i>kāhā</i>	Husband's broth-	
Father's younger		er's child	
brother's wife	<i>kuchī</i>		
Father's elder		Father's younger	
brother's son	<i>dādā</i>	brother's son	<i>tamō</i>
Father's elder		Father's younger	
brother's daugh-		brother's	
ter	<i>āngō</i>	daughter	<i>hellār</i>
Father's sister (elder		Brother's son (w.s.)	<i>pedā</i>
or younger)	<i>ālō</i>		
Father's sister's		Wife's brother's	
husband	<i>bachā</i>	son	<i>māmā</i>
Father's sister's	} <i>mariyō (m)</i>	Mother's brother's	<i>mariyō (m)</i>
child		} <i>mandārī (f)</i>	child	mandārī (f)
Mother's brother	<i>māmā</i>		Sister's child (m.s.)	bachā (m)
			<i>bachī (f)</i>
Mother's brother's		Husband's sister's	
wife	<i>ālō</i>	child	<i>hanemāghī (m)</i>
Mother's brother's	} <i>mariyō (m)</i>	Father's sister's	<i>mariyō (m)</i>
child		} <i>mandārī (f)</i>	child	mandārī (f)
Mother's elder sister	<i>perī</i>		Younger or elder
Mother's younger		sister's child	<i>māghī (m)</i>
sister	<i>kuchī</i>	(w.s.)	<i>miārī (f)</i>
Mother's sister's			
husband	<i>kāhā</i>	Son's son (m.s.)	<i>tamō</i>
Father's father	<i>iādō</i>	Son's daughter	
		(m.s.)	<i>hellār</i>
Father's mother	<i>bāpī</i>	Son's son (w.s.)	} <i>wandō</i>
		Son's daughter	
		(w.s.)	

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Mother's father	<i>ākō</i>	Daughter's son (m.s.)	} <i>ākō</i>
		Daughter's daughter (m.s.)	
Mother's mother	<i>kākō</i>	Daughter's son (w.s.)	} <i>wandō</i>
		Daughter's daughter (w.s.)	
Husband	<i>koitor, or mudyal (old man)</i>	Wife	<i>āy</i>
Wife's father	<i>māmā</i>	Daughter's husband (m.s.)	} <i>andē</i>
Wife's mother	<i>ālō</i>	Daughter's husband (w.s.)	
Husband's father	<i>māmā</i>	Son's wife (m.s.)	<i>koryāri</i>
Husband's mother	<i>ālō</i>	Son's wife (w.s.)	<i>koryāri</i>
Wife's elder brother	<i>erramiōgh</i>	Younger sister's husband (m.s.)	<i>erramiōgh</i>
Wife's younger brother	<i>errandi</i>	Elder sister's husband (m.s.)	<i>dādā or bātō</i>
Wife's elder sister	<i>ako'in</i>	Younger sister's husband (w.s.)	<i>pehā</i>
Wife's younger sister	<i>kōhkhōri</i>	Elder sister's husband (w.s.)	<i>dādā</i>
Husband's brother	<i>dādū</i>	Brother's wife (m.s.)	<i>koryāri</i>
Husband's elder sister	<i>ākhā</i>	Elder brother's wife (w.s.)	<i>ange</i>
Husband's younger sister	<i>kōhkhōri</i>	Younger brother's wife (w.s.)	<i>koryāri</i>
Wife's elder sister's husband		<i>aglā</i>	
Wife's younger sister's husband		<i>bātō</i>	
Husband's elder brother's wife		<i>ākhā</i>	
Husband's younger brother's wife		<i>hōllār</i>	
Son's wife's father		<i>p'ari</i>	
Son's wife's mother		<i>ākhā</i>	

APPENDIX IV
NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

(a) *Hill Marias*

MEN (215)		WOMEN (107)
Aitū (2)	Köhläl (3)	Bandi (4)
Arjähä	Kölä (2)	Birē (4)
Bāghū	Kōpā (2)	Bukē (2)
Baiyyā (2)	Kōplā	Būrgī (2)
Bandē (3)	Kōriā	Chērō (3)
Bangā (3)	Kōrkē	Dāmē
Banjar	Kōsā	Dōbē (2)
Barangā	Külē (2)	Dōpi (3)
Bhōsā (5)	Kūmal (5)	Dughō (3)
Birā	Kundi	Dūtī (4)
Bitāl (2)	Kurwē	Ewadō (2)
Borangā (2)	Kutkē (2)	Goghai (4)
Bōrkā	Kuttā (2)	Gudī (2)
Buchā	Lamrī	Hidē
Bungē	Mādi	Hirē (6)
Bungri	Mahrī	Ippō (4)
Burkā	Mallā (2)	Kāhpē (2)
Bursā	Mārā	Kānē (4)
Dabbā (2)	Māsā (5)	Kiringo
Dallu	Mēsā (2)	Kōhlē (4)
Dangi	Mēsō	Kōwē (2)
Dēlū (3)	Mīrsō	Kume (2)
Dōbā	Mōdā (3)	Kundi
Dōgā	Mōrlāl	Māsē (8)
Dōgū	Mukkā (10)	Mēnē (3)
Dūgā (4)	Mullā (2)	Mōri
Erkā (3)	Mullī (2)	Mūrī (4)
Gabā	Mūrā (16)	Mūsrā (2)
Gangā	Murrāl (3)	Nēndō (4)
Ghāsī (2)	Mūsrā	Pākli (3)
Gillē	Narangō (2)	Panō (2)
Gōndā	Nēndā (3)	Pōrai
Gudī (2)	Ōghā (3)	Pūsē (3)
Gudrā (2)	Pāndrū (3)	Rēkō (3)
Gurshā (2)	Pēdū	Sūtrī (2)
Hāghā	Pēndā (4)	Wanje (3)
Harmā (5)	Pōlā (4)	Wāghālī
Hiriā (2)	Rājū (2)	Wijjē (4)
Hungā (4)	Rāmā (2)	
Irkā (2)	Rēkā	
Irpā (2)	Sobrai	
Jallā	Sūkhā	
Kāmā (2)	Udsā	
Kandar	U'ilē	
Kandi	Ungal	
Kāpā	Usō	
Karēt	Ville	
Karpā	Wanjā (3)	
Kēsā	Wārangē	
Kēyē (4)	Watē	
Khuria	Wijjā (6)	
Kohla (6)		

N.B.—The numbers in brackets indicate the number of persons bearing the name indicated in the total 215 men and 107 women taken into account. No number is given when the name occurs only once.

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(b) *Bison-horn Marias*

MEN (236)		WOMEN (68)
Aitū	Khōjā	Aitū
Artī	Khōtlū	Bandē (2)
Bāghā	Kōhlā	Bangē (4)
Baihā	Kōlā (5)	Bhairē
Bakkā	Kōndā	Būchē (3)
Bandā	Kōpā (3)	Budhnī (2)
Bandī (14)	Kōsā (11)	Bullī
Bēlā	Kōyē	Dōmē (2)
Bhīmā (3)	Kummā	Ērē (4)
Bōdā (3)	Kuttā (2)	Galphē
Bōngrī	Lakhmū (2)	Gangī (7)
Bortē	Lakkā	Hirmē
Budhī	Lingā	Jimmē (3)
Bugrī	Mallā (2)	Kāmē (3)
Burrā	Mangrū	Kōsī (4)
Chalkī	Markā	Māsē (12)
Chamrū	Māsā (15)	Mukke (2)
Chēwā (4)	Mātā	Mukī (8)
Chūlā	Mēdhō	Mutti
Dēwā (9)	Mūkā (8)	Pillī (2)
Dbūrwā (6)	Mundā	Pirī (2)
Dōglī	Mundrā (4)	Sukrī
Dōgōrī	Muttā	Tōrkī
Dōkā (2)	Nādī	
Dōlē (2)	Nandā (4)	
Dōmē (2)	Nangā	
Dōrā (3)	Pāndū (3)	
Duggī	Pandrū	
Dullā	Pisōrī	
Dūmā	Pōdiā (2)	
Ediā	Pōnārī	
Gāngā (6)	Pōtā (2)	
Ghāslī	Rāmā	
Gōgē (8)	Rāmū	
Guddī	Risāmī	
Gundā	Rōdā	
Gūrdām	Saniāslī	
Harmā (10)	Sikkā	
Harrā	Simā	
Hiriā (2)	Singā	
Hirmā (7)	Sukrā	
Hungā (6)	Sūpā	
Hurrā (5)	Tāngrā	
Indāmōkā	Tikrū	
Indar	Tōkā	
Jōgā	U'ikā	
Jāngā	Ūsā (2)	
Kāmā (3)	Veddī	
Kānā	Vēlā (5)	
Kannā	Vētālē	
Kēsā (2)	Wāngrē	
	Wōdī	

N.B.—The numbers in brackets indicate the number of persons bearing the name indicated in the total 236 men and 68 women taken into account. No number is given when the name occurs only once.

APPENDIX V

ANTHROPOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF THE HILL AND BISON-HORN MARIAS

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Joint Editor, *Man in India*

I ACCOMPANIED Mr. W. V. Grigson in his March 1934 tour in the Hill and Bison-horn Maria country of the Bastar State, and was able to measure 100 Hill Maria and 50 Bison-horn Maria males; a severe attack of fever unfortunately prevented me from measuring as many Bison-horn as Hill Marias. I measured the Hill Marias in the Abujhmar hills camps at Orcha, Adeq, Itulnar, Hikul and Handawada from these and adjacent Hill villages in the *parganas* of Chhota Dongar Mar, Kutru Mar, Bhairamgarh Mar, and Barsur (Dantewara) Mar. The Bison-horn Marias were nearly all measured in the camp at Aranpur in Dantewara tahsil, near the head of the pass leading down from the Dantewara plateau to the Dorla country of the Konta tahsil; the men were mostly from Aranpur and Chameli *parganas*. I append tables summarizing the results of my measurements; space has forbidden the reproduction here of the long tables of individual measurements, which I hope subsequently to publish elsewhere. I have followed R. Martin's anthropometric technique.

Both Hill and Bison-horn Marias are generally of medium stature, though tall and short individuals are not uncommon. The mean heights of those measured were 162·7 cm. Hill, and 161·7 cm. Bison-horn Maria. They are very well built, with well-proportioned body and limbs. Their skin colour varies from pale wheat to light black (the actual figures were: out of 100 Hill Marias, 9 light brown, 60 brown, 16 dark brown and 15 light black; out of 50 Bison-horn Marias, 3 pale wheat, 5 light brown, 26 brown, 9 dark brown and 7 light black). They have a thick growth of hair on the head, but often cut it short or even shave it in front and round the peripheral region of the head, leaving a long crown-tuft. They have very little facial and body hair, and even those who can grow sparse beards and moustaches often have them clean shaved. The hair is black or dark brown, and is wavy or curly.

Their foreheads are retreating, but straight foreheads are not rare; of 100 Hill Maria foreheads 16 were straight, 57 slightly

retreating and 27 retreating. The corresponding figures for 50 Bison-horn foreheads were 4, 35 and 11. The supra-orbital ridges are not generally as well developed as those of some other Pre-Dravidian tribes.

The eye-slits are straight, but oblique eyes occasionally occur. I did not see a single epicanthic fold, or even a tendency to one. The eyes are generally black, often with a reddish hue, but grey and dark brown eyes also occur. The nasal root is slightly or moderately depressed, with a straight nasal bridge, though a concave nasal bridge is not uncommon. The nose is rather broad with fairly broad nostrils.

The lips are as a rule thick, but thin and medium lips are also occasionally found. The lower lip is often slightly or moderately everted, or tends to be everted.

The face is frequently oval and prognathous, and the malars and zygomatic arches are generally well marked. The usual chin is oval, but square chins occur. The mandibular angle is rather broad, and the face in consequence pentagonal, round or square.

The women have generally a round or oval face, concave platyrrhine noses and everted lips. Their nipples are very big and plug-like, resembling those of Negro women.

Indices Analysis of the metric data gives the following results¹ :—

Cephalic Index. The classification of the men measured was :—

		Hill Maria	Bison-horn Maria
Dolichocephalic	.. ..	75	30, or 60%
Mesocephalic	.. ..	22	17, or 34%
Brachycephalic	.. ..	3	3, or 6%
TOTAL	.. ..	<u>100</u>	<u>50</u>

The Hill Maria cephalic index averaged $76.16 \pm .22$, ranging from 67.5 to 83.2, and the Bison-horn Maria $76.21 \pm .27$, ranging from 68.8 to 86.0.

Length-Height Head Index. The classification of the men measured was :—

		Hill Maria	Bison-horn Maria
Hypsicephalic	.. ..	77	36, or 72%
Orthocephalic	.. ..	18	14, or 28%
Platycephalic	.. ..	5	Nil
TOTAL	.. ..	<u>100</u>	<u>50</u>

¹ For classifications, see Haddon, *Races of Man*, pp. 10-12.

Altitudinal Index averaged $65.11 \pm .24$ for Hill Marias, ranging from 55.3 to 78.3, and $64.81 \pm .31$ for Bison-horn Marias, ranging from 58.3 to 71.7.

Nasal Index. The classification of the men measured was:—

	<i>Hill Maria</i>		<i>Bison-horn Maria</i>	
Leptorrhine	8		1, or 2%	
Mesorrhine	58		30, or 60%	
Platyrrhine	34		19, or 38%	
TOTAL	100		50	

The Hill Maria nasal index averaged $81.51 \pm .48$, ranging from 61.1 to 97.7, and the Bison-horn Maria $82.9 \pm .65$, ranging from 65.4 to 98.0.

*Morphological Facial Index.*¹ The classification of the men measured was:—

	<i>Hill Maria</i>		<i>Bison-horn Maria</i>	
Hyper-europrosopy	11		5, or 10%	
Europrosopy	28		18, or 36%	
Mesoprosopy	31		18, or 36%	
Leptoprosopy	26		8, or 16%	
Hyper-leptoprosopy	4		1, or 2%	
TOTAL	100		50	

The Hill Maria morphological facial index averaged $85.63 \pm .33$, ranging from 73.4 to 97.4, and the Bison-horn Maria $84.6 \pm .36$, ranging from 76.1 to 96.7.

How far are the Hill and Bison-horn Marias alike in their physical features?

At first sight one notices that the Bison-horn Marias are a little lighter in skin colour than the Hill Marias. But if we look to the comparative tables (Tables I and II below) of the means with probable errors for the different absolute measurements and indices, we shall not hesitate to say that there is very little difference between the two. No doubt if we calculated the probable errors of the respective mean differences and co-efficients of racial likeness our calculations would reveal dissimilarities in most of their characteristics; but these dissimilarities would not be great enough to show any real difference between Hill and Bison-horn Marias. I have, however, refrained from calculating the respective probable errors of the mean differences and co-efficients of racial likeness, because if I

¹ Martin, *Anthropometry*, Vol. I.

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TABLE I

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS OF 100 ADULT MALE HILL MARIAS

Measurement	Unit	Mean	Probable error of mean	Standard deviation	Probable error of standard deviation	Coefficient of variation	Probable error of variation
ABSOLUTE MEASUREMENTS							
Stature ..	cm.	162.70	±.37	5.56	±.27	3.41	±.16
Head height ..	mm.	119.93	±.46	6.79	±.32	5.66	±.27
Head length ..	mm.	185.39	±.41	6.11	±.29	3.30	±.18
Head breadth ..	mm.	138.71	±.30	4.51	±.21	3.25	±.15
Least frontal breadth	mm.	101.66	±.29	4.44	±.21	4.36	±.22
Bizygomatic breadth	mm.	132.17	±.37	5.54	±.26	4.19	±.20
Bi-gonial breadth ..	mm.	88.03	±.40	5.93	±.28	6.74	±.32
Inter-orbital length ..	mm.	32.23	±.17	2.58	±.12	8.00	±.32
Bi-orbital length ..	mm.	94.62	±.30	4.38	±.21	4.63	±.22
Nasal length ..	mm.	48.97	±.23	3.45	±.16	7.04	±.34
Nasal breadth ..	mm.	39.68	±.17	2.46	±.12	6.20	±.30
Nasal height ..	mm.	16.33	±.12	1.78	±.09	10.90	±.53
Nasion-prosthion length ..	mm.	65.60	±.29	4.22	±.20	9.26	±.44
Nasion-gnathion length ..	mm.	113.22	±.43	6.30	±.30	5.56	±.27
Nasal arc ..	mm.	110.05	±.40	5.87	±.28	5.33	±.25
INDICES							
Cephalic ..	—	76.16	±.22	3.30	±.18	4.33	±.21
Altitudinal ..	—	65.11	±.24	3.57	±.17	5.48	±.26
Nasal ..	—	81.51	±.48	7.06	±.34	8.66	±.41
Facial ..	—	85.63	±.33	4.93	±.23	5.73	±.27

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TABLE II

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS OF 50 ADULT
MALE BISON-HORN MARIAS

Measurement.	Unit	Mean	Prob- able error of mean	Stan- dard devia- tion	Prob- able error of stan- dard devia- tion	Coeffi- cient of varia- tion	Prob- able error of varia- tion
ABSOLUTE MEASUREMENTS							
Stature	cm.	161.70	±.47	4.90	±.33	3.05	±.21
Head height ..	mm.	117.14	±.47	4.90	±.33	4.18	±.28
Head length ..	mm.	181.38	±.52	5.50	±.37	3.03	±.20
Head breadth ..	mm.	138.46	±.53	5.53	±.37	3.99	±.27
Least frontal breadth	mm.	100.16	±.36	3.77	±.25	3.74	±.25
Bizygomatic breadth	mm.	130.68	±.49	5.10	±.34	3.90	±.26
Bi-gonial breadth ..	mm.	86.50	±.43	4.54	±.31	5.25	±.35
Inter-orbital length ..	mm.	30.44	±.30	3.18	±.21	10.45	±.72
Bi-orbital length ..	mm.	92.82	±.34	3.60	±.24	3.42	±.23
Nasal length	mm.	49.04	±.31	3.24	±.22	6.61	±.45
Nasal breadth	mm.	39.84	±.25	2.57	±.17	6.45	±.44
Nasal height	mm.	15.86	±.17	1.74	±.12	1.10	±.07
Nasion-prosthion length	mm.	63.84	±.37	3.87	±.26	6.06	±.41
Nasion-gnathion length	mm.	110.40	±.46	4.81	±.32	4.38	±.30
Nasal arc	mm.	107.92	±.45	4.66	±.31	4.32	±.29
INDICES							
Cephalic	—	76.21	±.27	2.81	±.59	1.56	±.11
Altitudinal	—	64.81	±.31	3.23	±.22	4.98	±.34
Nasal	—	82.90	±.65	6.86	±.46	8.26	±.56
Facial	—	84.60	±.36	3.76	±.25	4.44	±.30

had been able to measure 100 instead of only 50 Bison-horn Marias, their measurements might have averaged the same as those of the 100 Hill Marias measured. Yet from the data obtained we can fairly say that on the average both Hill and Bison-horn Marias are dolichocephalic, hypsicephalic, mesorrhinic (leaning towards platyrrhine), europrosopic and medium-statured peoples.

What is the cause of the mesocephalic and mesorrhinic elements actually present in both the peoples? Is it not the outcome of the mixture of the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic elements on the one hand, and the leptorrhine and platyrrhine elements on the other, actually present in both? The dolichocephaly and platyrrhiny, the dark brown skin and other elements are probably the real characteristics of these pre-Dravidian (proto-Australoid) peoples. But how are we to explain the small proportion of leptorrhiny and brachycephaly and the large and mutually equal proportions of europrosopy, leptoprosopy and mesoprosopy in these two predominantly dolichocephalic and mesorrhine peoples?

Dr. Haddon¹ finds in the original pre-Dravidian Gond a Pareocean strain, which causes the brachycephalic head form, the broad prognathous face and the occasional obliquity of the eye-slits.² As against this theory it may be pointed out that there is an absence of the true epicanthic fold (at least I have found none), and of the yellowish skin, which are the main characteristics of the Pareoceans.³ Moreover, the leptorrhine element in the Hill and Bison-horn Marias cannot be explained by such an assumption.

It is interesting to note that a good percentage of Marias also conform to Dr. Haddon's Dravidian⁴ group in all essential characteristics, namely dolichocephaly, medium stature, oval face, mesorrhiny, plentiful wavy or curly hair, and brown skin of varying shades.

¹ Haddon, *Races of Man*, 1929, p. 20.

² Cf. Hutton, *India Census Report*, 1931, Vol. I: 'It also seems possible that the vague suggestion of the mongoloid, which is so often given by the appearance of the hillmen of Chota Nagpur, of Bastar State in the Central Provinces and of the Madras Agency tracts, may be due to a strain of Pareocean blood which has come in by sea from the east. One is insistently reminded in these areas of the Assam hill tribes, and both Haddon and Buxton have drawn attention to this strain, which struck the present writer quite independently and contrary to his expectations; and the admitted proto-australoid element in these tribes is no obstacle to this, since it must have extended at some period through what is now the archipelago to the Australian Continent, apart from the probability of its absorption on the mainland.'

³ Haddon, *ibidem*, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

It may thus not be unreasonable to infer that a basic pre-Dravidian (proto-Australoid) element in the Hill and Bison-horn Marias has been modified by a considerable Dravidian element, and tinged either with a Pareocean element, or, probably, with some Alpinic¹ element (cf. the presence of leptorrhine, hypsiccephalic and brachycephalic elements in both Hill and Bison-horn Marias), or with both a Pareocean and an Alpine element.

¹ Haddon, *Races of Man*, 1929, p. 26.

APPENDIX VI

LANGUAGE

IN Volume IV of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Maria is somewhat briefly discussed and considered to be a mere local dialect of Gondī, 'almost identical with the ordinary Gondī of the district'. The only authority on the language mentioned in the *Survey* is Glasfurd's *Report on the Dependency of Bustar* (Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. XXXIX, Calcutta, 1863); Appendix II of the report contains a 'Maria' vocabulary. But as Glasfurd called the Hill Maria 'Maree', his vocabulary obviously was not collected in the Abujhmar hills, but probably among the Bison-horn Marias of Dantewara and Bijapur tahsils. The specimen printed in the survey seems to me to be one from the Bison-horn Maria country, while the sketch of the Maria dialect at pp. 532-3 of Vol. IV of the *Linguistic Survey* deals obviously with the Bison-horn Maria dialect. In fact, I do not think that it has before anywhere been stated that there is a marked difference between the two dialects, so marked, indeed, that, as I have observed before, a Hill Maria and a Bison-horn Maria cannot understand each other's mother-tongue and have to communicate in Halbi. I am not qualified to speak in any detail of the differences between the two dialects. A collection of words will often show very marked similarities or identities, but the same word will often be very differently pronounced by a Hill and by a Bison-horn Maria. Inflections are different, those of the Hill Maria being more similar to those used by the Gond of the plateaux of the Central Provinces, though much gutturalized, while those of the Bison-horn Marias are, presumably, influenced by Telugu contacts. And in general towards the north of Bastar the Hill Maria and the Muria indent on Hindi for words wanting in their mother-tongue, while the farther south you go the more you find the Bison-horn Maria indenting upon Telugu, though he also draws considerably on Halbi. The Bison-horn Maria's speech seems far more guttural than standard Central Provinces Gondī, but even he is amazed at the difficulty of the Hill Maria gutturals, and always compares Hill Maria speech to that of crows.

The volume of transcriptions and translations of Gramophone Records of Languages and Dialects spoken in the Central Provinces and Berar, edited by the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal and published

in 1920 at the Madras Government Press, gives two Maria records, which appear to me to be Hill Maria, probably from the south of the Abujmar hills. They are full of the gutturals *gh*, *kh* and *q* (of which the sounds are similar to the corresponding Arabic gutturals), but do not clearly distinguish the short, almost clipped short, sound of the vowel *o* (sometimes *a* also) which I have transliterated in the Glossary and elsewhere as *ō* and *ǎ* respectively, as in *ghatō* and *pāghai*; unfortunately, there are few examples of these in my specimens below, though they certainly occurred in the speech of the storytellers; but my Hindi scribe had no sign to distinguish short *o* from long *o*, or this clipped *ǎ* from the ordinary short *a* which is understood between two consonants in Devanagari script. Undoubtedly, also, the vowel *e* is sometimes short and sometimes long in Maria, as in all Gondi, but it is almost invariably shown as long both in the gramophone record transcriptions and in my specimens.

The *Linguistic Survey* does not mention the only Maria grammar which then existed, *A Manual of the Mardia Language* by A. A. Lind, published in 1913 at the Mukti Mission Press, Kedgaon. This is a useful work in Bastar, but often exasperating in its deficiencies; the vocabularies and inflexions were collected in different parts among different tribes, and thus are often of little use when most needed. It does, however, attempt to record the gutturals of Hill Maria, and whenever the vocabulary gives alternative forms, one with a guttural and one without, the gutturalized form may be taken to be the Hill Maria form, and the other probably the Bison-horn Maria. The author rightly points out that the guttural Hill *gh* and *kh*, corresponding to Arabic *ghain* and *khe*, are often 'interchanged with *r* and *y* respectively, meaning that where the Hill Maria e.g. calls his bark cloak *taghāli*, the Bison-horn Maria will say *tarāli*. He points out also the existence of a gutturalized *h*, which is pronounced almost like *kh*; for example the verb *vēhnā*, to say, is by many Hill Marias pronounced practically as *vēkhnā*, and I have so transcribed it in my specimens.

No authority has, so far as I recollect, pointed out one peculiarity that to some extent affects all Gondi speech, but is most marked in the pronunciation of Hill and Bison-horn Maria. That is the check, almost click, so common in the middle of long words, especially between the root of a verb and its inflexion. Sometimes I have indicated this by inserting a small *a* above and between two consonants; I think that an apostrophe in the same position would be sounder.

Towards the south, the Hill Maria often drops an initial *h*, and softens his gutturals nearly as much as his Bison-horn neighbour.

I have tried in the specimens below and in transcribing the vernacular words used in the text of the book to follow the same orthography as the *Linguistic Survey*, with modifications as noted above. When no long or short sign is printed above a vowel, it is pronounced as an ordinary short vowel, not clipped. As a rough guide to pronunciation :—

Pronounce short a as the final a in America
.. long a as in fast
.. short e as in when
.. long e as the ea in great
.. short i as in bit
.. long i as ee in meet
.. short o as the first o in bottom
.. long o as in pope
.. short u as in put
.. long u as the oo in foot
.. ai as the English affirmative ay
.. au as the ow in cow

When a small a is printed above the line between two consonants, it is generally little more than a pause between syllables, the check already mentioned ; when it is so printed at the end of a word, it represents the short a sound without which, for example, it is almost impossible to pronounce a final consonantal y.

Cerebral t, d and r are printed with a dot below them, and nasal n with a long sign above it. The following points observed at pp. 4-5 of Volume I of Mr. C. G. Chenevix Trench's *Grammar of Gondî* apply to the Hill Maria dialect of Gondî also :—

- (a) 'The -r is frequently rolled in Gondî as in English, and even before a consonant. . . . To avoid the appearance of affectation, single -r is written in the latter contingency. Thus, . . . though the -r in Dörtönä, = I am tired, first person singular perfect tense of Dörränä, = to be tired, is strongly rolled, it is written single. This tripping -r is characteristic of the language.'
- (b) In all southern dialects of Gondî there is a tendency to cerebralize all -r's, i.e. to pronounce r as ř. (The Hill Maria goes further, and gutturalizes ř to ghain.)
- (c) 'Similarly, in the oblique cases of nouns, d and đ are often interchanged and t and ț sometimes.'
- (d) 'It is often impossible to say whether a vowel should be marked long or short.'
- (e) It is doubtful whether initial o or e exist in the language. 'There is always a faint w sound before the o, and generally a half-uttered y precedes the e. Thus the Gond betrays his affinity to the Madrasî butler who pronounces "eight" "Yeight."'
- (f) 'A similar "Madrasî" tendency is the addition of ũ to final t, t, d, đ and l. Ādũ is often heard for ād, ōlũ for ōl, āmmātũ for āmmāt, tākālũ for tākāl, the third person neuter singular of the future of tākānā, to walk.' Compare Hill Maria *maqsu* for Gondî *mārs*, = axe, *himatu* for *himat* as second person plural of the imperative of *hiyānā*, to go, in my specimens.

It may be observed that in these specimens and in the *Linguistic Survey* records there is far less borrowing from Aryan languages than in the Gondī folk-tales, stories and songs printed in Volume II of Trench's *Grammar*. In my specimens there are two corruptions of English words which have become current through excise and police practice respectively, *bōtēl* (bottle) and *rapōt* (report). Fairly recent Hindi or Halbi borrowings (as distinct from long acclimatized words of Sanskrit origin like *mīn* (fish), *wijjā* (seed) or *bēsh* (good)) found in my specimens are *dōkrā* (old man), *dōkrī* (old woman), *dīnām* and *dīnāl* (daily), *habār* (work), *khush* (pleased), *tiyār* (ready), *bichār* (thought), *milē-māsī* (together), *sarkār* (authorities), *lagē* (fastened), and *rāzī* (contented).

I have not collected any specimens of Bison-horn Maria language, nor have I the qualifications to attempt any sketch of the grammars of the two dialects. The Hill Maria specimens that follow were recorded under my supervision by Sampat Singh, my interpreter, in the villages of Orcha and Hikul in the Abujhmar hills in March 1934, the records being corrected with the aid of the Hill Marias in my camp.

TWO STORIES, FROM HIKUL VILLAGE

I. *The Monkey Son-in-law*

Und nāgh mattā. Dōkri- mu'ittā mattā, ōrā und miyār
One village was. Old-woman-old-woman was, hers a daughter

mattā. Ad piki layā mattā. Dōkri- mu'ittā ad piki-tun
was. That girl maiden was. Old-woman-old-woman that girl

bōn-kē hēwā mattā. Und metā-tā und kōwē dōkri-mu'ittā-
anyone-to giving-not was. A mountain-from a monkey old-woman-

nagā piki-may^{dē} lām wātā. Dōkri-mu'ittā
old-woman-to girl-for bride-servitor came. Old-woman-old-woman

kētā. 'Nimā bārā-kiyā wātōq, . . kōwā?' Kōwā ittoq, 'Hillē,
said, 'You what-for have-come, monkey?' Monkey said, 'No,

māmō, bēnōrē lām tās^{tēq}, nannā paṛi tūngānā-may^{dē}
father's-sister, anyone bride-servitor will-keep, I work doing-for

mandākān.' Dōkri-mu'ittā bichār kitā, 'Māwā-igā paṛi kiyānōr bōgh
will-stay.' Old-woman thought-made, 'Me-with work doer anyone

hillē; piki-may^{dē} kōwā baranjā-tun tās^{kān}.' Injōr vēkātā,
not; girl-for monkey son-in-law-for I-will-keep.' Then she-said,

'Mākū paṛi kis, tihtānūr.' Kōwā-ku tāstōq. Kōwā vēkātōq,
'Me-for work do, I-will-feed.' Monkey she-kept. Monkey said,

'Māmā, nā-kū und maqsu par-sīm; pēndā narkān.'
'Father-in-law, me-to an axe made-give; penda-clearing I-will-cut.'

Kōwā-nā pōlō kēñj-sī, mu'ittōr mārōnagā unḍ maqsu banā-kiyā
 Monkey-of saying having-heard, old-man blacksmith-with an axe making-do

vēkātōq. Ogh mārō tānā kōlā-bārā maqsu-nā kisi kōwāng-kū
 said. That smith its handle-with axe having-made monkey-to

hittōq. Aske kōwā tānā māmān-tōnē vēkātōq ki, 'Nākun jāwā
 gave. Then monkey his father-in-law-to said that, 'Me-to gruel

aṣī-sim; nannā pēndā naṣkālāy^a dākān.' Mu'ittā-dōkri
 cooking-give; I penda-clearing to-cut will-go.' Old-woman-old-woman

vēkātā ki 'Kōwā-tun jāwā himatu, aur pēndā naṣkālāy^a dāyānur.'
 said that 'Monkey-to gruel give, and penda to-cut he-will-go.'

Aske narkōm piki jāwā kis-hittā. Jāwā pā'is, kōwā pēndā
 Then in-the-morning girl gruel made-gave. Gruel having-taken, monkey penda

naṣkālāy^a hattōq. Pēndā naṣkālāy^a wirsi, kōwā rēkā tumri
 to-cut went. Penda to-cut having-neglected, monkey achar tendu

tindā-jāy^a marā mētā hurṭōq, wa pāyā mulpē maqsu-tun
 to-eat trees mountain was-seeing, and afterwards at-evening axe

marā tōl-ā lagē-kisi lōn wātōq. Piki kōwān man-kiwō mattā.
 tree bark-to having-fastened home came. Girl monkey liking-not was.

Onā paṣi-tun hurṣi, dōkri onā miyār-tun kētā, 'Hurā, piki, kōwā
 His work seeing, old-woman her daughter-to said, 'See, girl, monkey

baṣānjā nēh^anā kām kiyānōr, nimā on man-kēwir.' Piki kēmēk
 son-in-law good work will-do, you him liking-make-not.' Girl silent

ātū. Dinām kōwā jāwā kājsi kām kiyānā may^adē hattōq. Unḍ diyā
 was. Daily monkey gruel taking work doing for went. One day

māmāl kētōq, 'Nēnḍ nannā bārā pēndā hur^alāsi ākān.' Kōwā
 father-in-law said, 'To-day I also penda to-see will-come.' Monkey

kētōq, 'Nār wā'iki.' Imā diyā onā māmā-kū kōwā
 said, 'To-morrow come-please.' Next day his father-in-law monkey

nātēnā naṣkal pēndā-tun tōkātōq. Mu'ittōr kabār-tun hurṣi khush
 of-the-village cut penda-to showed. Old-man work seeing pleased

ātōq. Pāyā ogh lōn wās, dōkri-tun kētōq. Mu'ittōr-nā pōlō
 was. Afterwards he home having-come old-woman told. Old-man's word

kōñjsi mu'ittā bārā khush ātā. Nātēnōr pēndā bōrsalāy^a
 having-heard old-woman also pleased was. Villagers penda to-burn

handānā-askē kōwā bārā jāwā pa'is tiyār ātūr. Nātēnōr pēndā
 going-when monkey also gruel having-taken ready was. Villagers penda

bōrsatōq arū kōwā tumri rēkā tindā ātūr. Nātēnōr kōh^alā bitānā-askē,
 burnt and monkey tendu achar to-eat began. Villagers kutki sowing-when,

kōwā vēkātōq, 'Wijjā parkā, māmā, nannā bārā bit^akān.'
 monkey said, 'Seed look-for, father-in-law, I too will-sow'

Mu'ittör wijiā parhakas hittōq. Kōwā wijiā-tun guppat-tagā
Old-mau seed having-looked-for gave. Monkey seeds-to undergrowth-in

missi-hittōq. Missi pāyā lōn wās, 'bitān' injōrē
buried. Having-buried then home having-come, 'I-have sown' saying

ōnā māmā-tun vēkktōq. Mu'ittör ittōq, 'Pēndā huṛlā dākōm,
his father-in-law-to told. Old-man said, 'Penda to-see we-will-go,

barānjā.' Indānkē, kōwā vēkktōq, 'Dā'i.' Kōwā
son-in-law.' He-having-spoken, monkey said, 'Please-go.' Monkey

munē munē, tānā māmā pāyā pāyā wital pēndā huṛlāsī
in-front in-front, his father-in-law behind behind sown penda to-see

hattōq. Kōwā askē munē tōkhas-mattōq, ad pēndā-tun ōs bēṛ
went. Monkey then before shown-was, that penda second time

tōkktōq. Kōh'lā mōṛas-mattā. Hurttōq, payā milē-māsī lōn wātōq.
showed. Kutki sprouted-had. They-saw, then together home came.

Imā diyā kōwā ittōq ki, 'Māmā, nannā piṭṭē rākhā-mayādē
Next day monkey said that, 'Father-in-law, I birds watching-for

pēndā-tagā dākān.' Ah'lēkēn dinām jāwā tinjī kōwā pēndā-nagā
penda-to will-go.' Thus daily gruel having-eaten monkey penda-to

rākhā-mayādē handōr. Agā kōwā nāṭēnā gōṛ-ku mēhtānā
watching-for used-to-go. There monkey of-the-village cattle grazing

pēkōr-nā pēndā bitlē-tun tindūr. Ah'lēkēn dinām tinjōr-mattōq.
lads-of penda the-sown was-eating. Thus daily he-kept-eating.

Pēkōr hurttōq ki 'Māwā kōhalā-tun bātā lēkōrā dinām tintā?' Und
The-lads saw that 'Our kutki what animal daily eats?' One

diyā pēkōr jamā wāsī bichār kitōq, 'Ayō, bōgā igā rākhā'
day lads together having-come counsel took, 'No, someone here watching

man^{tu}, askē huṛkit bātā tindāntā.' Imā diyā und pēkā kōh'lā-tagā
stay, then you-will-see what is-eating.' Next day a boy kutki-near

rākhā-mattōq. Askē kōwā garak-manj kōh'lā tindā wātōq, bārā
watching-stayed. Then monkey soon-after kutki to-eat came, and

tindālāsī ātōq. Rākhā pēkā huṛṣī ōnā sang^{tōr}-kun vēkktōq.
eating began. Watching boy having-seen his comrades-to told.

Imā diyā sabē milē-māsī kōwā-tun hawaktōq. Hawaksi-manj hachun
Next day all together monkey killed. Killing-after a-little

kōwā-tā awiṅg ōnā māmā-tun bārā pēkōr hittōq; ṅgā tittōq.
monkey-of flesh his father-in-law-to also lads gave; he ate (it).

Mulpē ātā, mati kōwā ōnā māmānā lōn āwō ātōq. Askē ōnā
Evening came, but monkey his father-in-law's house not come. Then his

māmā parktōq. Munḍ nālū diyālā payā ōnā māmā-ku
father-in-law searched. Three four days later his father-in-law-to

yērkā ātā ki pēkōr hawaktōq. Ona māmā rām ātōr
known became that the-lads had-killed. His father-in-law angry became

pēkōr-nū vēhātōq, ' Idēn nannā sarkār-tagā rapōṭ kiyā-kān.' Askē pēkōr
lads-to said, ' This I authorities-to report shall-make.' Then lads

bēratōq ittōq, ' Ayō, ilēhā kēmā ; māt bōgh ni-agā lām
were-afraid said, ' No, thus do-not ; of-us someone you-with bride-servitor

mandākōm. Askē mu'ittōr rāzi ātōq. Ūnd pēkā ōnēgā lām
we-will-stay. Then old-man content became. A lad his bride-servitor

mattōq, askē ōnā pīki-tun ad lām pēkānā-tōghē marmī kis-hittōq.
became, then his girl-to that bride-servitor boy-with marriage made.

Lōn kīs, tittōq.
House having-made, they-ate.

Free Translation

In a certain village an old woman had a maiden daughter, whose hand she would give to no suitor. A monkey came from a mountain to gain the girl's hand by serving for her. The old woman asked the monkey why he had come, and the monkey answered, ' Father's sister, if I could find anyone to give me his daughter as my wife after I have served him for her, I would stay with him and work for him.' The old woman reflected that she had no one to work for her, and determined to keep the monkey as a future husband for the girl. So she told him that if he would work for her, she would keep him. So she kept the monkey. The monkey then asked his future father-in-law to get an axe made for him to enable him to cut the trees for his *penda* cultivation. The old man ordered an axe from the blacksmith, and the smith duly made an axe complete with handle and gave it to the monkey. Then the monkey told his father-in-law that if he were given some cooked gruel to eat, he would go to clear the *penda* plot. The old woman told her daughter to make gruel for the monkey, so that he could go to work. So next morning the girl made gruel and gave it to the monkey, who ate it and went off to cut the forest for *penda* cultivation ; but he did no cutting, but searched the mountain-side for achar and tendu fruits to eat, and then in the evening left the axe in the bark of a tree and came home. The girl hated the monkey ; but when the old woman saw him return from work, she said to her daughter, ' Look, my girl, what good work this monkey son-in-law will do, and yet you dislike him ! ' But the girl kept quiet. Every day the monkey when he had had his gruel went off to work. One day his father-in-law said that he would go with him to see the *penda* cultivation, but the monkey suggested that he should wait till the morrow. The next day the monkey showed him the *penda* clearings that had been made by the villagers, and the old man, thinking he was looking at the monkey's work, was delighted, and went home and told his equally delighted wife.

When the villagers were going to burn the felled timber in the *penda* plots, the monkey took his gruel, and said that he was ready to go and burn his *penda* also, but while the villagers were busy burning theirs, the monkey was eating tendu and achar fruit. And when the villagers were sowing their kutki, the monkey said that he, too, was going to sow, and asked his future father-in-law to look out some seed for him. The old man found some seed and gave it to the monkey, but the monkey threw it away in the undergrowth, and came and told the old man that he had sown the seed. Then the old man said that he would go with the monkey to see the *penda* plot, and the monkey agreeing, they went off, the monkey leading, to see the sown field. The monkey again showed the old man the same plot which he had shown him before, on which the kutki had sprouted, and then they went back home.

Next day the monkey told his father-in-law that he would have to go up to the *penda* field to scare away the birds ; and thereafter every day after his gruel the monkey used to go off on the pretence of watching the crops ; but when he reached the *penda* fields, he used to eat the *kutki* growing on the fields of the boys who were absent grazing the village cattle. The boys observed that some animal was eating their crops, and one day consulted together, and decided to leave a boy there to see what happened to the crops. Next day, therefore, a boy was left to guard the *penda*, and soon after he had been posted he saw the monkey come and start eating the *kutki*. The watchman told the other boys, and next day all combined to kill the monkey ; they gave a little of its flesh to the old man also, and he ate it.

When evening came but the monkey did not come home, his father-in-law searched for him, and three or four days later learnt how the boys had killed him. In a rage he told the boys that he intended to report their action to the authorities. They were frightened and begged him not to do this, promising that one of them should come and serve him for his daughter's hand. Then the old man was satisfied. One of the boys came to serve him to win his daughter's hand, and ultimately he married the servitor to his daughter, and the boy and girl made a house and lived there together.

II. *Catching Peacocks*

Und nāṭe-nagā mu'ittōr mu'ittā mattōq. Mu'ittōr onā pēndā-nagā
One village-in old-man old-woman were. Old-man his penda-field-in

kōhālā bitī-mattōq. Kōhālā pāṇḍātā. Pāṇḍātā kōhālātun mal tinjōr-
kutki sown-had. Kutki ripened. Ripened kutki peacocks eating-

mattā. Tān huṣī mu'ittōr rākhā mayādē dināl pēndā-tagā
kept. Them seeing old-man watching-for daily penda-field-in

mantoq. Und diya mu'ittōr-tun ḍaṇḍ pōrātā ; ōghulōn handā parō-
was-staying. One day old-man-to fever arose ; he home go could-

wātō. Askē onā mutī ittā, 'Nēnd mu'ittōr pēndā-tāhī bāhu wāyōq ?'
not. Then his wife said, 'To-day old-man penda from why not-come ?'

Onā huṣīlāsī mu'ittā pēndā-tēkē hattā. Aghā hanj huṣtā mal
His seeing-for old-woman penda-towards went. There having-come saw pea-

kōhālā tinjōr-mandē arū mu'ittōr kētul-nagā huñjas-mattōq. Askē
cocks kutki eating-were and old-man field-house-in sleeping-was. Then

ḍōkrī mu'ittōr-tun huṣī kiltā. Askē mal mu'ittā-ḍōkrī-
old-woman old-man seeing wept. Then peacocks old-woman

nagā wās vēkhtōq bārā kētōq, 'Nimā bāhā-kīyā kilintā ?' Ḍōkrī
near coming spoke and said, 'You what-for weep ?' Old-woman

ittā, 'Ayō, māwā mu'ittōr-tun ḍaṇḍ paṛtā ; handā parōr. Nimā mēnd
said, 'No, my old-man-to fever has-come ; walk cannot. You also

aghā hanj huṣā.' Mal kētū-dē-lōpā huṣīlāsī hattōq. Askē
there going see.' Peacocks field-house-inside to-see went. Then

ḍōkrā ittōq, 'Kētū-dā ṭāt kēh-sim.' Mal ittōq,
old-man said, 'Field-house-of mat-door shut.' Peacocks said,

'Dōkri, id mu'ittōr bātā intōq?' Dōkri ittā, 'Āyō, idēn
'Old-woman, this old-man what says?' Old-woman said, 'No, him-to

nōh'nā dand yē'itā, aur bāy* ātōq.' Dōkri kētu-nā tāt
severe fever has-come and alarm came.' Old-woman field-house-of mat-door

kēh-sitā. Payā dōkrā tēdsā sabē mal-dun hawaq-tōq. Payā mu'ittā
shut. Then old-man arose all peacocks killed. Then old-woman

mu'ittōr mal-dun pa'is lōn wātōq tittōq.
old-man peacocks taking home came ate.

Free Translation

An old couple lived in a certain village. The kutki which the old man had sown in his *penda* plot had ripened, and as he had seen peacocks eating the ripe crop he was living in his field to guard the crop. One day he was attacked by fever and could not go home. His wife, wondering why he had not come, went towards the *penda* plot to look for him. When she reached the field she saw peacocks eating the crop and her husband lying in his field-house, and she wept at the sight. The peacocks came up and asked the old woman why she was weeping. She answered, 'Alas, my old man has fever and cannot walk; just go there and look at him.' So the peacocks went inside the field-house to see. Then the old man cried, 'Shut the mat-door of the field-house!' The peacocks asked the old woman what he had said, and she answered that he was in delirium from his fever. So saying, she shut the door of the field-house, and the old man sprang from his bed and killed all the peacocks. Then the old woman and he carried the peacocks home and ate them.

THREE SONGS FROM ORCHA

(These are sung at weddings or at the *Koqsar* festival.)

I

Refrain : Alēy^a rēlōy^a rē rēlōy^a rēlo,
ālēy^a rēlōy^a rē rēlōy^a rēlō !

Chorus : Pāndōkh kusinā, dādā-lē, pāndōkh kusinā !
(The racquet-tailed drongo is calling, my brothers !)

1. Bātāy^a pātā ōmtarā, layōrē, bātāy^a pātā-yē !
(Some-kind-of song sing, lads, some-kind-of song !)

Chorus.

2. Pūnōm, layōr, pūnōm-rā, layōrē, pūnōm, layōrē, pūnōm-ē !
(We-know-not, lads, know not, lads, know not, lads, know not !)

Chorus.

3. Adrām āyō, badrām, layōrē, adrām āyō, badrām ?
(If) thus not, how, lads, (if) thus not, how ?)

Chorus.

4. Jāwā lēwā āyō-rā, layōr-ē, jāwā lēwā āyō-yō !
(Gruel without not, lads, gruel without not !)

Chorus.

5. Bötél dār^āngō jakmā-rā, layōr-ē, bötél dār^āngō jakmā-yē !
(Bottle (of) wine intoxication, lads, etc.)
Chorus.
6. Māwāng huṛa-lē āyō-rā, layōr-ē, māwāng huṛa-lē āyō-rē !
(At-us look not, lads, etc.)
Chorus.
7. Ōmtarā, layōr, ōmatū, layōr-ē, ōmtarā, layōr, ōmatū !
(Sing, lads, sing, etc.)
Chorus.
8. Āyār, dādā, āyōrā, layōr-ē, āyār ō-ō-yē !
(Ayar, brothers, ayora, lads, ayaro o ye !)
Chorus.

Free Translation

Aleya, reloya re reloya relo !
 The racquet-tailed drongo is calling, brothers !
 Sing us some kind of song, lads !
 The racquet-tailed drongo is calling !
 We know no songs, lads, we know no songs !
 The racquet-tailed drongo is calling !
 If we cannot sing thus, lads, how shall we sing ?
 The racquet-tailed drongo is calling !
 Without food we cannot, lads, we cannot sing !
 The racquet-tailed drongo is calling !
 If we drink we'll be merry, lads, merry !
 The racquet-tailed drongo is calling !
 Do not look at us, lads, do not look at us !
 The racquet-tailed drongo is calling !
 Sing, lads, keep singing, keep singing, lads, sing !
 The racquet-tailed drongo is calling !
 Ayār, brothers, āyōrā, oh lads eh ! āyār ō-ō-yē !
 The racquet-tailed drongo is calling !

II

Kōkōrēng kō-rēng !

Refrain : Alēya rē-lō-ya rē-lō !

Chorus : Kōkōrēng kōrēng ! (meaningless).

1. Bāroq banē māyō !
(What for was-not !)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !
2. Wātarā, lāyōr, wātā !
(Come, lads, come !)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !
3. Idrā pātā manō !
(This-kind song is-not !)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !
4. Dūsar pātā ōmū !
(Another song sing !)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !
5. Pātār ōmwāl, ātēkē.
(Song-singer is, then.)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !

6. Wó wó wehtānke āyō |
(Wo, wo we saying are not !)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !
7. Wāyō-rā, layōr, wāyō |
(Not-come, lads, not-come !)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !
8. Omarā, dādā, omū.
(Sing, brother, sing.)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !
9. Kañtīn duralā ōratū
(In-eyes dust has-fallen)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !
10. Ōsār bhūmite ātēkē.
(Another's land, therefore.)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !
11. Bāroq banē māyō |
(What-for was-not !)
Kōkōrēng kōrēng !

Free Translation

Aleya reloya relo
Kokoreng koreng !
Why are we not singing,
Kokoreng koreng !
Come, lads, come !
Kokoreng koreng !
This kind of song is no song.
Kokoreng koreng !
Sing a different song !
Kokoreng koreng !
If singers are here !
Kokoreng koreng.
Song out of time is useless,
Kokoreng koreng !
No one has come, lads,
Kokoreng koreng !
Sing, brothers, keep singing,
Kokoreng koreng !
Dust has fallen in our eyes,
Kokoreng koreng.
From singing in another's land.
Kokoreng koreng !
Why are we not singing ?
Kokoreng koreng !

III

(Sung by dancers at the Koqsar festival only.)

Refrain : Sōlāy^a rē rē lōy^a rē rē lōy^a, layōr, rē rē lō rē rē lōy^a !

Chorus : Kākār, dādā-lē, kāpērā, layōr, kāpērā layōr-ē !
(Crow, brethren, night-jar, lads, night-jar, lads !)

1. Tēhan pēgā guñanjōrā, layōr, guñanjōrā, layōr-ē !
(Above (?) rain is-thundering, lads, thundering, lads !)
Kākār, etc.
2. Āh^olēkā āyō āyō-rā, layōr, āyō-rā, layōr-ē !
(Thus not not, lads, not, lads !)
Kākār, etc.

3. Adrām āyō, badūrā, layōr, badūrā, layōr-ē ?
 ((If) thus not, how, lads, how, lads ?)
 Kākār, etc.
4. Wō'ati-tagānē mātālarā, layōr, mātālarā, layōr-ē !
 (Veranda-in Mata-is, lads, Mata-is, lads !)
 Kākār, etc.
5. Rāwar-agānē pēn-ōrā, layōr, pēn-ōrā, layōr-ē !
 (Shrine-in clan-god, lads, clan-god, lads.)
 Kākār, etc.
6. Uṭi-tagānē Tallōghā, layōr, Tallōghā, layōr-ē !
 (Carrying-net-in Village-Mother, lads, Village-Mother, lads !)
 Kākār, etc.

Free Translation

Solaya re re loya, re re loya, lads O, re re lo, re re loya !
 O the crow, brothers, O the night-jar, lads, O the night-jar !
 The rain-clouds are thundering, lads, thundering on high !
 O the crow, brothers, O the night-jar, lads, O the night-jar !
 Do not sing thus though, nay, lads, no, nay, no, lads, do not sing thus !
 O the crow, brothers, O the night-jar, lads, O the night-jar !
 If thus we must sing not, lads, then how must we sing, lads ?
 O the crow, brothers, O the night-jar, lads, O the night-jar !
 In her veranda is Mātā, lads, the Mātā goddess, lads O !
 O the crow, brothers, O the night-jar, lads, O the night-jar !
 In his shrine is the clan-god, lads, the clan-god, O lads !
 O the crow, brothers, O the night-jar, lads, O the night-jar !
 In her net the Village Mother, lads, the Village Mother, lads !
 O the crow, brothers, O the night-jar, lads, O the night-jar !

FOUR RIDDLES (*wesur*) FROM HIKUL VILLAGE

- Q. Ustā-nēdē gumchār bōrē kōrintā ?
 (Cow-dung) plastered (place)-on dove what crawls ?
 What is the dove that struts on fresh cow-dung plaster ?
- A. Ōrā. (A boat.)
- Q. Rēkā- ichōr puṅgār, kauṛā- ichōr pērēm ?
 (Leaf-hat as-big-as flower, cowry-shell as-small-as seed ?)
 What is the seed as small as a cowry shell inside a flower as big as a
 leaf-hat ?
- A. Bālō ; wad. (A spider in its web.)
- Q. Hudilā pilā mētā-tūn tochtōq ?
 (Small child mountain wears-as-hat ?)
 What is the child that wears a mountain on its head ?
- A. Yētē. (A crab.)
- Q. Ōnāgā nātēnā pōnāgāi mārē-tē mēnj ?
 (Any village-of green-pigeon feather-on egg ?)
 In any village what is like an egg on the feather of a green pigeon ?
- A. Nēl-Marrā. ((A fruit of) the *aonla* tree.)

APPENDIX VII

GLOSSARY OF VERNACULAR TERMS

[*Abbreviations*: BHM. = Bison-horn Maria dialect; Chh. = Chhattisgarhi Hindi; G. = Gondi; H. = Hindi; Ha. = Halbi; HM. = Hill Maria dialect; U. = Urdu.]

Āghā	(HM.) Husband's living and sleeping room.
āhki	(HM., BHM.) A hole in the floor, used as a mortar in which grain is pounded with a wooden husker or pestle.
ākómāmā	(HM., BHM.) See p. 199. A man may marry only from an <i>akomama</i> clan. In this work I have sometimes translated it as 'wife-clan', though, when a woman speaks of her <i>akomama</i> relatives, the right term would be 'husband-clan'; sometimes I have used of such relatives the term 'affines', using 'kindred' for relatives of <i>dadabhai</i> or brother clans, union with a girl of which is considered incest.
algi	(HM.) Veranda.
alpanji	(HM.) A sleeping-platform.
angādī	(HM.) Women's kitchen and sleeping room.
ātō	(HM.) A bull-roarer.
Bāndā	(Ha.) A knife or bill, shaped like a dao.
bāri	(G.) A garden enclosure, generally behind the dwelling called <i>lōn-welung</i> or 'house-enclosure' by the BHM.
barnā	(Chh.) Bride-price. The BHM. use this borrowed term, or else the Hindi word <i>karcha</i> , meaning expenses.
begār	(H., Ha., U.) Forced labour; the <i>corvée</i> .
Bherā Pen	(G.) The 'Great' or Supreme God; originally, for the Gond of British India, the clan-god kept at the <i>pen-kara</i> or Holy Circle, as distinct from the <i>chuddur penh</i> (small gods) kept in the house of the head of each family.
bhūm	(Sanskrit and G.) Earth or land; the earth-god.
bhūm-gaitā, or bhūmiā	Among HM. generally an alternative designation of the <i>kasyeq-gaita</i> or religious headman, but in a few HM. villages he is a separate functionary whose function is to lead the elders in deputation to the clan-god at the chief village of the clan. Among BHM., an alternative designation of the <i>permd</i> , or religious headman of the village.
bhūm-jāgā	(BHM.) The sacred plot of land set apart in the field of the <i>permd</i> or religious headman for certain religious ceremonies generally at the <i>paṇḍum</i> festivals.
biśāha	(Ha.) Supplies requisitioned by State officials from cultivators. An old Sanskrit term for the twentieth part of the harvest, traditionally reserved for the pay of officers of the king.
biśai	(Chh.) The puddling of rice-fields with a flat log drawn by oxen, to thin the young rice plants.
biryā-dōl	(BHM.) The large double-membrane drum used by Bison-horn dancers.
bohorāul	(Ha.) A disease-riddance ceremony.

- Chalkī** (Ha.) An assistant of the *pargana* headman, generally hereditary.
- chiptī** (Ha.) A lidded box, made of leaves on a framework of cane.
- chuddur penk** (G.) The 'small gods' or penates of the Gonds of some districts of the Central Provinces.
- Dādābhāī** (HM., BHM., G.) The term used for 'brother-clans'; see 'akomama' above.
- Dahi** (Ha.) A form of cultivation in which boughs and brushwood are brought from the forests and burnt on old fallow fields so that the ashes may serve as fertilizers. HM. and BHM. call it *parāka*.
- deḍā'īnō** (HM.) A leaf shield worn on the shoulders as a protection against rain.
- Deo** (H.) A god.
- Deo-kot** (Ha.) The sacred grove of a clan-god.
- dhūmā** (Ha.) The ghost of a dead man; used by Halbi-speaking BHM. as equivalent of BHM. and HM. term *hanāl*.
- dippā** (HM.) Flat forest lands, patches of which are used in rotation for growing crops in the ashes of the felled and burned forest growth. The BHM. term is *erkā*, and the Ha. term *marhān*.
- dōḍī** (HM.) A field-house.
- dolā-lon** (HM.) A menstruation hut.
- Dor-bhūm** 'Lowlands'; HM. use this name for the country of BHM. and Murias, and BHM. for that of the 'Dorla' tribe of South Bastar and the Godavari valley. The Dorla derives his appellation from the Telugu *dora*, meaning 'lord'.
- dūḍī** (Ha.) A small earthen pot.
- Erkā** (BHM.) See *dippa*.
- Gaitā** (HM., Muria.) A headman.
- Gāon** (H.) A village.
- garh** (H.) A fort, or a feudal division of country.
- gattā** (HM.) A dish-shaped brass gong.
- ghāṭ** (H.) A mountain pass; used in Anglo-Indian speech of a chain of mountains such as the Eastern Ghats.
- ghātō** (HM., BHM.) A thick porridge of rice or other grain, called in H. *bhāt*.
- gorlā** (HM., BHM.) A bridge pier consisting of a cylindrical bamboo basket filled with boulders.
- gotul** (HM., Muria.) A communal village dormitory, used mainly by bachelors, but at times by all the males of the village, and used also almost as a men's club.
- gotrā** (H., Ha.) A sub-division of a Hindu caste. It is used by Halbi speakers for the Maria clan.
- gudapal** (HM., BHM., G.) Literally, 'tribe-milk', the term applied to the marriage of cross-cousins, and to the cross-cousins themselves. A in one generation marries B, the sister of C. The son of C regards the daughter of A and B as his *gudapal*, and is entitled to demand her hand in marriage or to demand compensation if she is married to someone else. By C's son marrying A's daughter, C's clan is repaid the 'milk' debt which A's clan incurred when A took B to wife from C's clan.
- gudārī** (HM.) A hoe or mattock, called *kargudār* by the BHM.
- guḍī** (Ha.) A hedge-temple.
- guniā** (Ha.) One versed in *gunī*, or magic spells.

- Hālā** (HM.) A menstruation room in a house.
- hanāl** (HM., BHM.) A past participial form of the verb *handānā*, to go, used of the Departed, or of the ghost of a dead man which is to be propitiated by appropriate ceremonies, and finally laid by the erection of a menhir.
- hanāl-gaitā** (BHM.) Priest of the Departed.
- hanāl-gattā** Wooden posts erected at the grave of a dead person.
- hanāl-garyā** 'Ghost-throne'; the small cromlech set up at the base of a *hanāl-gatta* or a menhir.
- handī** (H., Ha.) A large earthen pot.
- harā-tindānā** (BHM.) 'Remains-eating'; the feast to which all friends and relatives are invited on the day after the *pandum* ceremonies which only members of the family may attend.
- Jāgir** (U.) A Crown grant of land or of the right of collecting land revenue, generally as a reward for service rendered or to be rendered.
- jarman** (Ha., HM., BHM.) 'German'; the word used for the aluminium alloy of which many bazaar ornaments, ear-picks, etc., are manufactured.
- jāwā** (G.) The thin grain gruel called *pej* in H., Ha. and Chh.
- jīwā** (G.) Personality, life, that which survives after death and is not malignant like the *hanāi*.
- jīyā-bitāl** (HM.) The heir of a dead man.
- Kāch-tendor** (BHM.) A jews-harp. (*Kāch* means 'iron'.)
- kadrī** (BHM.) Knife (HM. *kasyeq*).
- kadrī-berā** (BHM.) 'Knife-field'; a piece of land in the field of the religious headman (*permā* or *kadrī-gaitā*) set apart for certain religious ceremonies and sacrifices. It is also known as *bhūm-jāgā*.
- kadrī-gaitā** (BHM.) An alternative name for the *permā* or religious headman, corresponding to the HM. term *kasyeq-gaitā*.
- kāghai** (HM.) An area set apart for *panda* cultivation when left fallow for a term of years to allow the forest growth to recuperate. It is called *hars* by BHM.
- kaj-burria** (BHM.) Wine-ladle.
- kār*nu** (HM.) A threshing-floor.
- kasyeq** (HM.) The knife carried in the loin-cloth in a wooden sheath.
- kasyeq-gaitā** (HM.) The 'knife-headman' or religious headman of the HM. village, and *ex-officio* priest of the Village Mother. The word 'knife' refers to his sacrificial functions.
- kattā** (BHM.) Clan. HM. and Gonds generally use the term *pārī*.
- ketul** (HM., BHM.) A field-shed.
- khandī** (H.) A measure of capacity, containing (in Bastar) 40 *paīsī* or 160 *solī*. A *solī* contains rice weighing 40 *tola* or slightly more than 1 lb. The *khandī* of rice thus weighs about 164 lb.
- kochī** (HM.) A man's dancing-skirt.
- Kōqsār** (HM.) The final harvest festival of the Hill Marias, in honour of the earth and the clan-god.
- Kos, (plural Kosor)** (G.) Name used generally by all speakers of Gondi dialects of Hindus. Marias apply it generally to strangers.
- Kos-gotul** (HM.) The strangers' rest-house, set apart in HM. villages for lodging State officials and other strangers who are not Koitor.
- kosrā** (Ha.) The grain *kutkī* (*Panicum miliaceum*).

kotōkāl	(HM.) The menhirs set up by the roadside to the Departed.
kupā-kelk	(BHM.) The knot into which a man ties his crown-tuft of hair.
kurmā-lon	(HM.) A menstruation hut.
kutki	(H.) The grain <i>Panicum miliaceum</i> called <i>kohālā</i> by Marias and Gonds, and <i>kosya</i> in Halbi.
kutmām	(BHM.) Phratry or group of clans, also called <i>tārr</i> .
Lamaṅā'i	(G.) A youth serving his future father-in-law for his daughter's hand when he cannot afford the usual bride-price.
lāndā	(Ha., BHM.) An intoxicating gruel, made from rice and <i>Eleusine coracana</i> .
leskf	(HM.) A medium, employed as assistant by <i>waddai</i> or clan-priest.
lingam	(H.) A phallus.
lon	(HM., BHM.) House; the northern Gonds say <i>ron</i> .
lonū	(HM.) The inner room of the house, used for the cult of the Departed and as a store-room.
lotā	(H.) A small brass pot.
Machān	(H.) An elevated platform, set up in trees for shooting at big game, or in fields for watching crops.
māhuā	(H.) The tree <i>Bassia latifolia</i> . Its flowers are distilled to produce the chief intoxicating spirit of Central India.
mājhi	(Ha.) Headman.
māndā	(Ha.) Granary.
māndiā	(HM., BHM.) The grain <i>Eleusine coracana</i> .
mantram	(H.) A spell or religious formula.
māqqawāḍang	(HM.) Small brass wire rings worn in the helix of the ear.
māqsū	(HM.) An axe, called <i>maras</i> by BHM.
marhān	(Ha.) See <i>dippa</i> .
marmi	(HM.) Marriage, by the normal ceremony.
masni	(Ha.) A grass sleeping-mat.
melo	(BHM.) Taboo; the HM. term is <i>polo</i> .
Metābhūm	(G.) Highlands (<i>metā</i> (G.) means mountain); both HM. and BHM. call their country Metabhūm and themselves Meta Koitor.
modul-waddā'i	(BHM.) A clan-priest.
moghī	(HM.) A dancing-shield.
mudang	(HM.) A garment worn by women, consisting of a square patch of cloth passed between the legs, and attached behind and in front to a cord or bamboo hooped around the waist and threaded through numerous brass rings.
mundā	(Ha.) A small irrigation tank.
mungyā	(BHM.) Bead-necklaces.
musal	(HM.) A club-shaped wooden husker or pestle, by which grain is pounded and husked in the <i>āhki</i> hole in the floor. BHM. call it <i>uspāl</i> .
muyang	(HM.) Pellet-bells.
Nār or nāgh	(BHM., HM.) A village.
narmā-lon	(BHM.) Room in which women and infants sleep.
Nāgh-Talughī or Nār-Taluri	The Village Mother goddess of the HM.; BHM. generally use the Hinduized form Gaon Devi.
O'idal	(G.) Hearth.
o kā	(Ha.) A gourd ladle.
oser	(BHM.) The veranda of a house.

- Padar** (Ha.) See *pāghāf*. The term *Padar-vāj* applied by BHM. to the open well-settled country of the Jagdalpur tahsil may simply mean 'village-realm'.
- pāghāf**
or **pāgh** (HM.) A village site, one of the alternative sites in parishes where there is much shifting cultivation. BHM. use the Ha. *padar*, and Murias and some HM. *pāre*.
- paghās** (HM.) A gourd ladle.
- pagri** (H.) A turban.
- paik** (Ha.) Originally a soldier of the medieval feudal militia of all the states of Orissa and Chhattisgarh; used in the *lingua franca* of Bastar of police constables, etc.
- panchāyat** (H., Ha.) The council of village or caste elders, traditionally five (*pāncā*) in number.
- pandum** (BHM.) A first-fruits or new-eating ceremony.
- pārad** (Ha.) See *weta*.
- parganā** (H.) A sub-division of a tahsil or zamindari, corresponding roughly to the ancient *garh*.
- pārī** (G.) The word used by almost all Gondi speakers for the clan; BHM., however, call it *katta*.
- pārīḡ** (HM.) Bride-price.
- parkā** (HM., BHM.) See *dahi*.
- patwārī** (H.) Village accountant-surveyor, employed by State to maintain village assessment records and on settlement work.
- pāyā** (BHM.) Parting of the hair.
- pedā** (BHM.) Secular headman of village, corresponding to HM. *gaita*. The term is occasionally used by HM. also.
- pedāwō'ghāf** (HM.) A menstruation hut or room.
- pen** (G.) God. As used by HM. and BHM. refers to the clan-god.
- pendā** (HM., BHM.) The chief form of cultivation among Marias. The method is that described for *dippa*, but *penda* lands are always steep hill-slopes, and generally have far longer fallow periods than *dippa* lands.
- pendul** (BHM.) Regular marriage.
- pen-gādāwā** (G.) The clan-priest of the Gonds of the Nagpur and adjacent Central Provinces districts, who is the custodian of the *Bhera Pen* and the *pen-harā*, or Holy Circle.
- pen-rāwar** (HM.) The clan-god's shrine or hedge-temple, generally called *deogudi* (Ha.) by BHM.
- pen-waddāf** (HM.) The priest-medium of the clan-god.
- permā** (BHM.) The religious headman of the village. See also *bhum-gaita* and *kadri-gaita*.
- pharsi** (Ha.) A kind of axe.
- pirā-mānshā** (HM.) A disease-riddance ceremony, called *bohōrānī* in Ha., and *rog-burriā* by BHM.
- polo** (HM.) Taboo.
- pōskeng** (HM.) Rings or plugs worn in the lobe of the ear.
- pūjārī** (H.) One who performs the *pūjā* or worship of gods.
- pūpal** (G.) The pulse *urad* (*Phaseolus radiatus*).
- Rau** (Ha., BHM.) Demons, chiefly of mountains and high places.
- reking** (HM.) A large leaf hat used as protection against rain.
- Sājā** (H.) The tree *Terminalia tomentosa*, held sacred by Marias and all Gonds. (G., *mard-marrā*.)
- Sāl** (H.) The tree *Shorea robusta*.
- salphi** (Ha.) The sago-palm (*Caryotis urens*) called *gargā marrā* by Marias.
- sārī-borī** (Ha.) Village subscriptions of labour, supplies or money for communal or State objects; a corruption of an Arabic technical term.

- siāri (Ha.) The elephant creeper, *Bauhinia vahlii*, much used for making cord.
- sūṭā (HM.) Iron hoops worn by women around their necks.
- Tāghālī (HM.) A raincoat made of strips of retted bark of the tree *Kydia calycina*, sometimes used also as a dancing-skirt for men.
- tahsil (U.) A large sub-division of a district or State, administered by a *tahsildār*.
- tallāgullā (BHM.) The plumed bison-horn dancing head-dress of men.
- talq-dā'inā (HM.) Literally, 'going to ask'; used of the formal visit of a youth's parents to a girl's parents to ask for the girl's hand for their son. The BHM. call this *tālpānā*, or 'asking'.
- talutār (BHM.) A patterned brass snood, worn over women's hair.
- tārr (BHM.) = *kutmām*, a phratry or group of clans.
- thekadār (H.) One who holds a village on *thekā* or lease from the State or a zamindār.
- tīl (H.) The oil-seed *Sesamum indicum*.
- tirdudī (BHM.) Woman's bamboo dancing staff, adorned with iron pellet-bells.
- tiyā (BHM.) Iron neck ring.
- tokānā (BHM.) Used of consulting the earth-god as to what sacrifice he demands by placing wet rice on the ground before a cock and reciting names of possible victims till the cock pecks up the rice; the god is held to want the victim last-mentioned.
- tōpī (H.) A hat; used by HM. of their dancing head-dress.
- tōqā (HM.) Tail; used of the end of the loin-cloth left to hang over the right buttock.
- torī (Ha.) The Muria hunting-horn.
- tum (HM.) A form of grass fencing.
- turam (HM.) A kettle-drum.
- Uddam-garya (HM.) The religious headman's seat of honour.
- urād (H.) See *pūpal*.
- uras-kal (BHM.) = HM. *kotohal*, q.v. (from *wasnā*, to bury, and *kal*, a stone).
- uspāl (BHM.) See *musāl*.
- utāri (BHM.) A brass fillet worn over women's hair.
- Wetā (BHM.) A ceremonial hunt, or *pārād* (Ha.); the most important is the *wijja-wetā*, or 'seed-hunt', preceding the sowing of the new harvest.
- wijja (G.) Seed; the Hindi *ḍij*.
- wijja-dodī (HM.) A long-granary.
- wijj-erhu (BHM.) 'Seed-mahua'; an alternative name for the *bhum-jaga* or *hadri-bera* plot in the *perma's* field set apart for religious ceremonies, which has generally on it a sacred *mahua* tree.
- wijja-lon (BHM.) Room in dwelling-house used as granary and for cult of the Departed.
- wittō (BHM.) A fringe of hair, left along the forehead.
- zamindari (U.) The estate of a zamindar, who in Bastar (as in the Central Provinces generally) is a subordinate chief, a survival of the medieval feudal chiefs subordinate to the Maharaja, holding a large estate on payment of tribute to the Maharaja or the Government, as the case may be.

APPENDIX VIII

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(The abbreviations M, HM and BHM are used for Maria, Hill Maria and
Bison-horn Maria respectively.)

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