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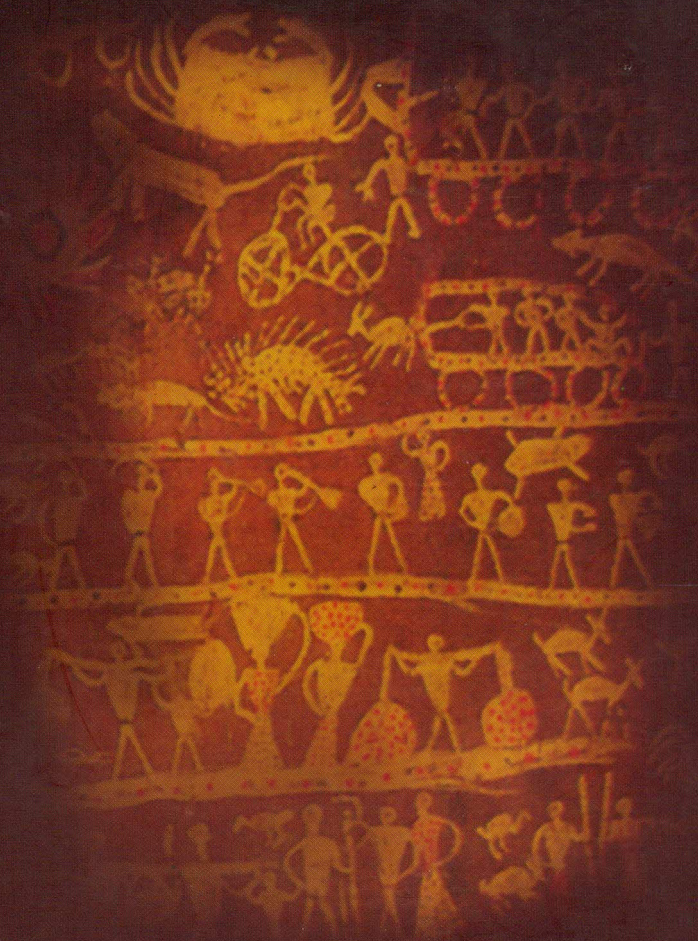
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Oral Poetry of Kalahandi

Mahendra K Mishra | Lal Ashutosh Dash



Expressive Tradition
Oral Poetry of Kalahandi

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Lal Ashutosh Dash

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Expressive Tradition
Oral Poetry of Kalahandi

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*This book
is dedicated
in the memory of
Late Prof. Brundabana Chandra Acharya,
a leading teacher, writer
and critic
of
Oriya literature*

***Mahendra K Mishra
Lal Ashutosh Dash***

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About the book

It was during 1984- 87; I was doing research on folklore of Kalahandi under my guide Prof. Brundaban Chandra Acharya, It was a shift from studying written literature to oral literature as well as folklore and folklife. I was given some literature on folklore and that was my first point of entry in to this vast area. Non-availability of books and reference was the main problem in Sinapali. But there was opportunity to learn from the people. Interestingly, it was the works of Prof. Chittaranjan Das, an eminent thinker of contemporary Orissa and also the works of Verrier Elwin that tempted me to see my own region from native point of view. Untill I understood the purpose and meaning of folklore; the available folklore in Kahalandi was meaningless to me. But when I got to know what folklore was, my own locality appear to be a rich depository of folklore. The experiential knowledge gathered during my fieldwork helped me immensely to observe and analyse the text and context of folklore materials.

Understanding the function of folklore was another area of interest. This was also a shift from literature to cultural studies. When folklore forms the part of literature through expressive tradition, may it be static art or dynamic, folklore exists for its own function. Folklore ensures identity of a group of people believing in a common culture. Its social function is important in the context of learning and perpetuating the knowledge from one person to other irrespective of age and sex.

Here the folksongs are termed as oral poetry. The original song is the text, but when it comes in to the fold of written text the function of song turns in to poetry. The function of oral song also, thus, changes. At best the readers can enjoy the poetic beauty of the songs from the written text. Therefore the songs are represented here are termed as oral poetry.

Sri Ashutosah Dash, Lecturer in English, Komna College has translated the poetry of this volume. The songs are collected from the cultural context. Most of the songs are collected from women and some from male singers. Women are non-literates, but rich in human experience.

Dr. Prafulla Kumar Tripathy, has helped me in conceptualising this compilation. He has also edited the book to make it culturally appropriate for the readers. I am thankful to him.

ASGP, Sinapali is a tribal research organization. The Parishad has conducted research on the ethnography of the Gonds, the Bhunjias including four other tribes. This is the first compilation of ASGP, Sinapali. I am thankful to Sri Purusottam Singh Majhi, President ASGP and Sri Bhagbana Majhi, Vice President ASGP for publishing the book for a wider readership.

Mahendra K Mishra

Introduction

Kalahandi is a rich treasure of traditional knowledge. Folklore in Kalahandi plays an important role in retaining and regenerating the traditional values and educate the people through its learning process. The folk songs, tales, legends, tribal myths and oral epics, proverbs, riddles, and folk performing arts are current among the different classes of people irrespective of their caste or tribe.

The literacy rate of the district is 34 percent. In fact about 95 percent people live in rural areas and out of them 30 percent belong to tribal communities. Major tribes like the Gonds, Kondhs, Sabars, Bhatars, Banjaras, Parajas, Bhunjias, Binjhals and Paharias are prominent in this district for their distinct ethnic culture. The Gaurs (milkmen), the Keutas (fishermen), the Kumbhars (potters), the Sundhis and the Kalars (liquor seller), the Lohars (blacksmith) are the major castes constituting the peasant society. All these tribes and castes have a common sharing of folklore. In addition to it, the tribal communities have their own folklore in their own languages.

Kalahandi is a district situated in the Western part of Orissa. Bolangir district of Orissa and Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh are to the north of it, Koraput and Madhya Pradesh to the south-west and Phulbani and Koraput to the east. The district extends over an area of 11,835 Sq. Kms. and constitutes 7.75 per cent of the total area of the State. According to the Census of India, 1981 the total population of this district live in the rural areas. The population belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are 2, 11, 069 and 4, 01, 887 respectively. Fifty per cent land are cultivable plain land, with natural facilities of irrigation whereas the rest fifty per cent land is covered with plateau, mountains and jungles. The life pattern of the people of this area is regulated and adapted according to the geographical and natural resources of this region. The way life of this locality is traditional. Fifty per cent people of this area are cultivators and the rest live on forest products, food gathering and adopting manual labour throughout the year. In comparison to the other regions of Orissa, the locality has not been industrialized or modernized. People of hilly area as well as the peasant society have not got a scope to change their traditional way of life. It is a fact that due to failure of crops, the financial condition of the people of this area is not well off. Half of the year goes away in making their living; in differently ways such as collection of forest products, digging soil and engagement in agricultural work; the output of which is negotiable for a normal way of survival. Moreover the growing population with the limited source of income has debackled their normal way of life.

Oral Poetry of Kalahandi

The landscape:

Surrounded with hills and forests, rivers and streams, birds and animals, palace and huts, Kalahandi is a region in southwestern part of Orissa. Chhatishgarh in southwest, Kondhmal in the east, and Bolangir district in the north of Kalahandi have formed a cultural network, a silk way to the greater Indian culture through middle India. But the cultural scenario of Kalahandi is akin to the culture of western Orissa through its language affinity. The unique character of Kalahandi is that the flora and fauna, the land and the people share their belongingness. The race memory of Kalahandi is expressed in their cultural creativity in manifold art forms.

The district extends over an area of 11,835 Sq. Kms. and constitutes 7.75 per cent of the total area of the State. Fifty percent land is cultivable plain land, with natural facilities of irrigation whereas the rest fifty per cent land is covered with plateau, mountains and jungles. The life pattern of the people of this area is regulated and adapted according to the geographical and natural resources of this region.

Total population of the district is 1335494 out of which male literates are 349473 and female literates are 163910. Total literacy rate of male in the district is 62.7 and female is 29.3. The gender gap of literacy is 33.4. This indicates the level of literacy of males in comparison to the female. The Kondh, the Gond, the Paraja, the Bhatara are dominant tribes in the district. People speak local Kosli language. Tribal people have their own languages. The Kondhs are divided into Desia (plain landers and Kutia) (hill and forest) dwellers. 5% of the urban people live in areas and 95% people live in rural areas. Out of 13 Blocks tribal people thickly dominate four blocks. Bhawanipatna is the district headquarters. Junagarh, Kesinga and Narla, M Rampur are some small towns with business centres.

Meriah- human sacrifice was a religious practice among the Kondh tribe of Kalahandi. Major Campbell and McPherson suppressed the practice during the mid eighteenth century with the help of local kings. The purpose of such sacrifice was to get ample harvest.

Culture in Kalahandi is mainly based on food gatherers and later on food producers. The gradual transformation of food gathering practice to food producing practice is found in the oral narratives and religious rituals. Pod puja (buffalo sacrifice festival) of the Kondh tribe in Kalahandi still bears the symbol of human sacrifice.

Heritage:

Kalahandi was known as Mahakantara (great forest) in ancient India. The ruling dynasties like Parvata Dwaraka, Nala, Sarabhapuriyas, Ganga and Chindaka Naga, were ruling over Kalahandi. Kalahandi, also known as Karunda Mandal is the treasure of precious stones like karandam (manik), garnet (red stone), beruz, neelam (blue stone), and alexandra etc. Mr. P. K. Deo, the ex-Maharaja of Kalahandi, in one of his articles expressed his view that the historical significance of naming Kalahandi as Karunda. Mandala is based on the availability of corundum in this region. Manikeswari (the goddess of manikya) the clan deity of the Naga kings of Kalahandi may have also been named after this.

The kings and the tribal:

The Naga kings were the ruler of Kalahandi. The history of Kalahandi is the social history of the Kondhs and the royal history of the Nagas. In eastern Kalahandi, a princely state known as Khariar was ruled over by the Chauhans, although it is the land of the Gond rulers. The Gond proverb gondarje bhuin and rajarje raj signifies the importance of tribal self-government in those areas as though the ruling dynasties were in charge of only administration.

Integrated Worldview:

Bumper harvest, abundance of deep and dense forest, roaring of tigers, availability of elephants and bison fragrance of sandal wood in sandal forest and manikya the gem stones as the ornament, music and dance like ghumra reminds us of the glorious heritage of Kalahandi. Man, animal, nature and supernatural powers, both living and the dead were living together. Life in Kalahandi was full of plenty and there was no concept of taking loan. People were self sufficient in their village interdependent economy. Social life was based on mutual harmony and the entire village was a family irrespective of caste or creed. Of course the caste system was there, but the economic interdependence and the socio-cultural sharing need to determine the bond of village unity. Every body was identified with their ethnic culture as well as community as a whole.

But now, it is no more than a wasteland. The people of this land, who were once self-sufficient and self-contented with abundant forest products and ample harvest, are now facing the firewood and food problems. The land of Kalahandi, which was famous for its bumper paddy cultivation, now depends on external aid. Depending on food gathering and food producing process, the people of this region were self-sufficient. Their multi-village interdependent-economy shaped an integrated worldview in respect of their social, economic and ideological spheres.

Life in tradition:

The way life of this locality is traditional. Fifty per cent people of this area are cultivators and the rest live on forest products, food gathering and adopting manual labour throughout the year. In comparison to the other regions of Orissa, the locality has not been industrialized or modernized. People of hilly area as well as the peasant society have not got any opportunity to change their traditional way of life. It is a fact that due to

failure of crops, the financial condition of the people of this area is not well off. Half of the year goes away in making their living; in differently ways such as collection of forest products, digging soil and engagement in agricultural work; the output of which is negotiable for a normal way of survival. Moreover the growing population with the limited source of income disturbed debacle their normal way of life.

Drought: Is it the identity of Kalahandi?

Kalahandi hits the headlines in newspapers for the repeated drought situation that has broken the economic backbone of cultivators. A long history of drought covering more than a century in Kalahandi has occurred. Drought had occurred in Kalahandi in 1868, 1884 and 1897. The famine of 1899 which is otherwise known as 'chhapan salar durbhikshya' has seriously influenced the people to such an extent that if a child hankers for food, her mother tells the child, "Why are you hankering like a drought stricken child?"

"The effect of the famine," according to the District Gazetteers, "was of a magnitude unprecedented in any previous famine." This famine left a terrible socio-economic gloom in this area. In 1919-1920 another drought occurred followed by cholera, influenza and malnutrition due to lack of foodstuff. A series of drought in 1922-1923, 1925-1926, 1929-1930 1954-1955 and 1955-56 occurred in Kalahandi.

The terrible drought of 1965-66, which occurred in Kalahandi, totally broke down the economic backbone of the people. Due to lack of rain, three-fourth crop production failed. The effect of the drought continued to be felt in 1967. As regards this drought, the following description from the District Gazetteers is worth quoting.

"The bulk of the population which constituted the landless agricultural labourers became unemployed due to suspension of all sorts of agricultural operations. The worst sufferers were not the landed gentry, who, because

of the drought, could not reap a harvest nor could they take to manual labour to which they were not accustomed. The pastures lost the greenery and the bovine population therefore was equally starved. Everywhere there was an acute shortage of water."

Again in 1974-75 and in 1985 drought occurred like the human census occurring once in ten years. After the severe drought of 1965 and 1966, the rich cultivators of this area came down to the status of middle class cultivators and the middle class cultivators into ordinary one. They all turned into sukhbasi. The daily wage labourers and landless are generally called 'sukhbasi' in Kalahandi meaning those who live happily. A proverb for 'sukhbasi' runs thus: 'gai nai goru, sukhe nid karu' which means the men without cattle have carefree and sound sleep.

Continuous occurrence of drought along with the irregular rainfall has resulted in crop failure and thus people became poorer and poorer. The Bureau of Statistics and Economics, Orissa has analyzed the rainfall of South Western Kalahandi and has reported that 'there is a year of drought in every three or four years'.

Migration:

The more shocking fact is that since 1985 Kalahandi has been well-known for its misfortune being affected by acute drought, but merchants from distant places of our country and abroad have been arriving at Kalahandi to build up their good fortunes, exploiting the native soil for getting precious stones. On the other hand the native people of this land, being incapable of providing food to members of their poor family are leaving their motherland, migrating to other parts of India.

About one-lakh residents of Kalahandi and Bolangir districts of Orissa (most of them gaurs, and communities belonging to scheduled tribe/

scheduled caste categories) have settled down in Raipur town of Chhatisgarh where a slum is known as Raipur ka narak (the hell of Raipur). Thus in native land, as also in the area of resettlement the life of the poor people of Kalahandi is no better than a curse.

Who creates disparity?

Besides a long history of drought, the socio-economic traditions followed in the society are the main causes behind the class distinction among the people of Kalahandi. The fact that the urban businessmen control the agricultural products of rural Kalahandi is one of the causes of economic distinction leading to social disparity.

Moreover the customs of loan and mortgage current in the society are the major sources of exploitation. Certain forms of mortgage like Bandha, Kalantaria, Bandhasaheji, and Katti, and that of labour systems like goti, halia (annual servant, bahabandha and kalibhuti, thika affected etc.; have debacle the normal way of peasant life. Along with the drought the problems such as rural unemployment, non-industrialization, growth of population and rapid deforestation are some of the major problems of Kalahandi.

Gripped both by both nature and men, the rural inhabitant of Kalahandi have found no other way of survival. As a result either they have migrated from their motherland or lived in the wasteland as crippled soldiers.

The natural calamities particularly the appearance of drought every decade, the exploitative practice of businessmen and contractors, continuous crop failure and lack of self-employment in rural areas, and socio-economic and religious systems and traditions have made this district backward, in all respect. In spite of it, the people of these areas live their life with a sense of community, sharing their pains and pleasures among themselves.

The twofold life as opposed to each other is seen among the people of

Kalahandi. We see the people singing, dancing and sharing their pleasure on one hand and struggling for their survival on the other. Thus, the people of this locality try to forget the stark reality of painful moments of their hard life by expressing themselves in singing, dancing and merrymaking in their community.

Resources of Oral poetry in Kalahandi

Folk song is a genre, which is mostly available in traditional society. Oral songs are plentifully available in Kalahandi and its users are mostly women and girls. Of course male singers also sing it. But both in content and user point of view, oral songs are identified with women. The song genre is again classified in to many local nomenclature- both sacred and secular.

Oral poetry in Kahalandi are sung genre, accompanied with a group, music and dance. This may be termed as "sangeet" in Indian classical context. But the songs sung without accompanying music also play their social role. Use of song on different occasions determines the nature of the genre.

Burdened with the bare realities of life, the folk-mind has never hesitated to express its creative ability and imagination through the oral tradition and performing arts. As community life is the basic social characteristic of the people of this area, they never think of enjoying their creative arts without the participation of the whole community.

Any one in the community can be a singer or a dancer without prior training, irrespective of age and sex. The folk oral traditions are handed down from generation to generation. One more basic characteristic of these oral traditions is the non-appearance of its authorship. Still, there are some folk bards called 'geet-kudia' belonging to both the sexes, expert in composing songs spontaneously while singing and dancing in some ceremony or social occasion.

Kalahandi is a rich treasure of traditional knowledge. Folklore in Kalahandi plays an important role in retaining and regenerating the

traditional values and educates the people through its learning process. The folk songs, tales, legends, tribal myths and oral epics, proverbs, riddles, and folk performing arts are current among the different classes of people.

Major tribes like the Gonds, Kondhs, Sabars, Bhatars, Banjaras, Parajas, Bhunjias, Binjhals and Paharias are prominent in this district for their distinct ethnic culture. The Gaurs (milkmen), the Keutas (fishermen), the Kumbhars (potters), the Sundhis and the Kalars (liquor seller), the Lohars (blacksmith) are the major castes constituting the peasant society. All these tribes and castes have a common sharing of folklore. In addition to it, the tribal communities have their own folklore in their own languages.

Folk song is a new area of study in folkloristic. Generally, the folk song attributed to an expression with an event found in oral form performed by the geet kudia (professional singers) accompanied by musical instruments nominated to a particular religious or social occasion is folk song. Similarly, the oral epic is found in a high society, through the bardic tradition.

The royal dynasties from Rajput lineage in Kalahandi were the Naga and the Chauhans. Prior to the Naga and Chauhan rule in ancient Kalahandi and Khariar kingdoms respectively, the Gonds, the Kondhs and the Bhunjias were the tribal rulers exercising their administrative power as the ruler of this region. The glorious history of origin of the Naga and Chauhans is found in written form whereas the tribal rulers had their own ethnic clan-bards to keep up their caste history and genealogies. For this, their clan-master of their main castes/tribes patronized the caste-bard or clan-bard. They used to sing the song both written and oral in their durbar. But the rural and tribal people were used to oral singing and telling of folklore.

As mentioned earlier, the occupation-based castes in the villages and the tribal communities in forest have formed the agriculture society. The Kondh tribe in eastern Kalahandi and the Gonds in western Kalahandi were the real landowners, administrative heads and the religious heads till Independence.

The structure of village administration and religious function by the Gonds and the Kondhs still continue in the tribal villages of Kalahandi despite the modern panchayati raj system. The village headman was called Gauntia. The religious head was 'Jhankar' for the Gonds and the 'Jani' for the Kondhs, which is in tact in the present religious practice of the village.

Besides all these, the Gonds and the Kondha have their clan-bard or professional singers. The caste genealogies and the origin myth of these tribes including the local history recited by the caste-bards clearly indicates the predominance of the Gonds and the Kondhs as the traditional administrative head exercising their powers and functions over the society. Besides, these dominant tribal rulers, other tribes and castes have also their caste or clan bards. Those who do not have caste bards have specialists from the society to retain their ethnic history and legends through oral narratives.

The bards have their own clan masters from whom they believe to have originated. They have also sub-divided into various clans according to their own clan master. The bards earn their livelihood by singing epic songs, making handicraft and tattooing. Most of them are nomadic, wondering from one place to the other at least for six to seven months in a year. They have their own land and house away from their clan master's house.

The oral singers of Kalahandi may broadly be categorized under the following heads.

1. Ethnic singers or professional caste-bard.
2. Castes having no bardic tradition but singing the epic song.
3. Priest group in tribal community-male and female priest.
4. Singers independent to castes and tribes.

There are some singer communities independent of any castes and tribes. They are known as Devgunia and Basudevia Brahmins found in Kalahandi adjoining Gariabandh district of Chhatisgarh.

The Devgunias are the professional singer community depending on people for their livelihood. They move from door to door singing the glory of Goddess Laxmi, selling the paddy craft and get alms from the people. Especially in the month of Margasira (December/January) they move around the villages. They are a local non-tribal caste.

The women folk purchase the images of Goddess Laxmi, Elephant, Lord Jagannath, Lord Balabhadra, and Goddess Subhadra and Lord Ganesh made of paddy and they put them in worship place and worship them throughout the year. They also hear the epic mythology of Goddess Laxmi and offer alms to the Devgunias. Sometimes the villagers arrange the Purana performance programme especially in the month of Margasira. Besides, the Devgunias are the scribes in palm leaf manuscripts and are popular as Natguru-(Drama Director) in rural areas. They write plays on the Ramayana and the Mahabharata episodes and organise folk drama.

Geet Kudia and Geet Kudien

The geet kudia (male singer) and the Geet Kudien (female singer) and Gurumai (women priest) are talented singers popular for their spontaneous recitation of songs in performance context, especially when a dance competition or song competition between dhangri and dhangri (young boys and girls) are organized in a village. They also sing the epic songs, though they are not professional, their creative minds are store houses of local legends, epic songs, riddles, songs and myths etc.

Women are the creators of culture. They have the direct bearing of creativity by giving birth to the new generation, both biologically and

culturally. They are more creative and more enduring in life. They bear the pains of life for new creation. Women as individual persons, their social recognition, freedom and bondage in a given socio-cultural context, signifies their existence in a culture. Kalahandi is a place where seventy percent women regulate the rural and market economy. They work hard in the field and forest for daily sustenance. Every day about thirty percent women in the village go to the forest for firewood or for forest products. They don't brush their teeth till mid noon, until they complete their collection of firewood in the jungle. Every day a new morning invites them with the challenges of struggling life.

In this book, our endeavour is to identify the oral poetry sung by the women folk of Kalahandi. The women folk irrespective of age and status create and share oral songs and tales. This represents their collective expression. The songs are sung; they are performed, accompanied with music and dance. The oral poetry in this compilation has been selected from girls and women who perform the songs in different occasions. The purpose of singing the song is as important as doing any work, and the song is a part of work. Not in any single situation a song is sung with out a social context.

The oral poetry may be divided into two genres. First one is the song of three lines to eight lines depending on the rhythm and rhyme of the song. The next one is oral epic, song narrative, which takes nights together to complete by the epic singers.

In this volume we have tried to classify the available oral poetry of Kalahandi in a schematic order. Accordingly the examples have also been presented for appreciation with translation. But needless to mention, oral poetry of Kalahandi is like the river Indravati or river Tel that flows in its way. Like the river fills with water in rainy season, the women in a given

context, fill the environment with a number of songs. With out any reason, they don't sing.

Singing is the way of life like weeping, crying, expressing the feelings, playing, mourning, welcoming, or bidding farewell. Singing also combines heart with hearts and joins man with nature. It also resolves the conflict and fills the wounds of life. Women in rural Kalahandi mingle in work as well as in songs forgetting the miseries of life with a smile.

The oral poetry of Kalahandi cannot be separated from dance and music. The fullest enjoyment and expression is inherent in singing, dancing and playing music by them. The rhythm of the Muhuri, Dhol and Nishan-a musical concert of the local music players attracts the singers and dancers as well as onlookers.

Classificatory scheme of Oral poetry in Kalahandi:

The Oral poetry of Kalahandi may be classified into some sub-genres as follows:

A. The songs of entertainment:

Rasarkeli, Sajani, Jaifula, Bhamara, Gua-nadia, Nialimalli, Dalkhai etc.

B. Play songs:

i. Baria, Bangri, Kalakokila, Jeeralabanga,

ii. Khamkhamali, Luklukani, Pithapuden, Maachh sare ghina, Kath jia geet etc.

C. Work song: Halia, Sagadia, Palarua

D. Customary songs base on 'Rites de passage':

Lullaby, Marriage, Mourning, Duma utren

E. Ritual songs: Thakurani geet, Gobha utara geet, Tokiparab, Chaitparab, Holi

F. Songs on Purana: Palia, Pacharauchara and Badi geet.

G. Songs nominated upon musical instruments :

Dhab, Ghumura, Madal.

The classification and the distribution of folksongs of Kalahandi are not different from the folk songs of Western Orissa, as there is a cultural continuity in it. So, while studying the folk songs of Kalahandi, it may not be improper to take it as the folk song of Western Orissa.

A. The songs of Entertainment:

Rasarkeli song (savour of erotic taste), Jaiphula (a flower), Bhamara song (black bee song), Gua-nadia geet (betel nut-coconut song), Nialmalli (a combination of two flowers), Dalkhai song (leaf eater song) are songs sung by both young boys and girls. Rasarkeli song represents the intense love and attraction of a male towards a female. The male addresses a female as 'Rasarkeli', which literally means the store of erotic savour.

Jaipuhula (one petalled Jasmine) and Nialimalli are the names of flowers. The combination of Niali flower with Malli (Jasmine) symbolizes the close and undivided friendship among the companions. So one friend addresses the other as Jaipuhula or Nialimalli. All the songs, thus, represent the deep love and relationship among the companions.

Bhamara geet is especially sung by the females only to tease and disrepute the males. The eternal relationship of a black bee with the flower is a well-known allegory in Indian aesthetics. The lustful character of a black bee indulging with many flowers is the symbol of lustfulness. The Bhamara song of Kalahandi represents this sense of poetic expression.

The Gua-nadia geet is also an interesting song found in this locality. Gua means betel nut and 'nadia' means coconut. These two fruits hard on the surface and juicy within represent the hard and strong surface of the woman's behaviour with a hidden softness. If one can manage to penetrate into the heart of the woman by overcoming her rude behaviour he can only enjoy her savour. The theme of the Gua-nadia song of this region is, thus, symbolic with a poetic taste.

Dalkhai is a song well distributed in Western Orissa. In Sambalpur district this song is used at the time of rituals. But in this area, the song is used at the time of entertainment. Sajani (addressed by one girl to her companion) is a song of conversation between two girl companions.

All these songs, based on eternal love, reflect joys and sorrows of human feelings. The sweet and emotive feelings of lovers of both the sexes are portrayed in these songs in a simple and lucid manner. Love and hatred, attraction towards each other, thirst for union, social bond as an obstacle in their free unity, arrogance of a female to her beloved male, presumption and pretension of the young lady to her lover desire for elopement by the couple, social hindrances standing against their way and will, strong emotional desire to die and dedicate for each other are portrayed in these songs.

The exultant feelings of lovers flow down from their heart like a wild stream in the form of oral tradition. The eternal love and beauty and the symbol of human feelings have been picturized in it. The greatness of this song is that it is ever living as oral tradition and it is the song through which a young man expresses his secret desire before a beloved to choose his life partner for which the society also gives its consent and recognition. Some examples of such song genres follows :

1. Rasarkeli Song:

ରସରକେଲିରେ, ମଲିଫୁଲ ଫୁଟି କରି ମହମହ ବାସୁ
କଲା ଭମରାକେ ଦେଖି ଗହ ଗହ ହସୁ
ତରାତରା ହେଲେ ନନି ଅଲଗେ ଯାଇ ବସୁ
କିଏ ତୋକେ କାଏବଏଲା ସଂଗୀତ
ଅଲଗେ ଯାଇ ବସୁ ନନି ଦେ କହିଦେରେ ।

Rasarkelire, Malifula phutikari maha maha basu
Kala bhamarake dekhi gaha gaha hasu
Tara tara hele nani alge jai basu
Kie toke kain kahela sangata
Alge jai basu nani de kahide re.

(You bloom and smell like jasmine,
You smile when you see the black bee,
When I approach, you keep aloof,
Who told you. what, o mate,
You sit alone, O' maid, tell me)

ରସରକେଲିରେ,
ନନ୍ଦି ତେନେପାରେ କିରେ ଗୁରକିଫୁଲ ଧୋବ
ଆମେମନେ ଚାଲୁଥିଲେ ନାଇକର ଲୋଭ
ନନ୍ଦି ତେନେ ପାରେ କିରେ ପକାନର ଗାଦି,
ଛନେ ପରା କୁଗିଥିବ ସଂଗାତ,
ସଂଗେ ଯିମା ଗାଧୁ କିଆ ଦଗାଦିଆରେ,
ମାଁ ବୁଆ ନାଇବଇଲେ ସଂଗାତ
ଯିମା ଉଦଲିଆ, କିଆ ଦଗାଦିଆରେ ।

Rasarkelire

*Nandi tene pare kire gurjiphula dhoba,
Amemane chaluthile naikara lobha,
Nandi tene pare kire pakhanara gadi,
Chhane para jugithiba sangata
Sange jima gadhi kia dagadia re.
Maa bua nai baile sangata,
Jima udlia, kia dagadia re.*

(O Rasarkeli, across the river, there are while flowers.
Don't pry on us during our walk,
Across the river, there's the stone seat
O compeer wait for me a while
We shall go to bathe together
O what an imposter he is,
If parents deny O companion,
We will elope.)

2. Jaiphula Song:

ଜାଇଫୁଲରେ ମୋର
ସାହାଜ ପତର ହାତେ
ବନାଲୁଗା ଦେଇ ଆନିଛେ ତୋତେ,
ଜାଇଫୁଲରେ
ଘଣ୍ଟା ବଲିବୁ ମୋତେ ।

*Jaiphulare mor
Sahaja patara hate,
Bana luga dei anichhe tote
Jaiphulare
Ghaita balibu mote.*

(O jaiphula, saj leaf in my hand.
I have brought you instead of woven clothes
You will call me husband.)

ଜାଇଫୁଲରେ, ପାନିଗଲା ଶଗରକୁ
ମନ କରିଥିଲି ସୁନାଗୋରୀକୁ,
ଜାଇଫୁଲରେ
ଚୋର ବୁଝିନେଲା ତାକୁ

*Jaiphulare, panigala sagaraku
Mana karithili sunagoriku
Jaiphulare,
Chora buhinela taku.*

(O jaiphula, water glided down to the sea
I desired the golden fairy,
O jaiphula, the thief stole her away.)

3. Bhamara Song:

ଭମରା,
 ଖାଇଲି ରସ ଗୁଲ୍‌ଗୁଲା,
 ତୋର ନାହିଁ ବାବୁ ମାହେଜି ପିଲା,
 ମାହେଜି ପିଲା ହୋ ସତେ
 ମୋର ସଙ୍ଗେ ମନ ଭୁଲ୍ ଭମରାରେ ।

*Bhamara,
 Khaili rasa gulgula,
 Tora nai babu maheji pila,
 Maheji pila ho sate,
 Mora sange mana bhula bhamarare.*

(I ate juicy sweets
 You have no wife nor children.
 Really, you come to me,
 O black bee.)

ଦୁଆରେ ଘାଁଟିଲୁ ଧାନ
 ଆମେ ଚୁକିଲାମନେ ଖାଇଲୁଁ ପାନ
 ଖାଇଲୁ ପାନ ହୋ ସତେ,
 ପିଲାମାନେ ହିନିମାନ ଭମରାରେ ।

*Duare ghantilu dhana,
 Ame tukilamane khailu pana
 Khailu pana ho sate
 Pilamane hinamana bhamara re.*

(Dried paddy on the corridor
 We girls chewed betel,
 The boys are deprived;
 O black bee.)

4. Gua-nadia Song:

ବାରିକେ ଡୋଗିଲା ହସ,
ମୁହଁକେ ଦେଖିଲେ ହେ। ସତେ
ବୁଢ଼ି ବୟସ
ସତେ, କୁମାରୀ ରଖିଛୁ ରସରେ
ଗୁଆ ନଡ଼ିଆ,
ସତେ କିନ୍ଦରି ଆସେ ଭେଡ଼ିଆ ରେ
ଗୁଆ ନଡ଼ିଆ ।

*Barike dogila hansa,
Muhuke dekhile ho sate,
Budhi bayasa,
Sate, kusari rakhichhu rasa re
Guanadia
Sate kindiri ase bhendia re
Guanadia.*

(The swan crossed the boundary
Your face looks old in age
You are the stock of sugarcane
O guanadia, the young lad moves around you.)

ଆହାରେ ଭକିଆବତି!
ତୁଇ ନାଲ ହେଲୁଗା ସତେ ଆମର କାତି,
ସତେ କୋଲେ ଧରି ତୁମା ଦେତିରେ ଗୁଆ ନଡ଼ିଆ,
ସତେ କିନ୍ଦରି ଆସେ ଭେଡ଼ିଆରେ ଗୁଆ ନଡ଼ିଆ ।

*Ahare ukiabati!
Tui nai heluga sate amara jati
Sate kole dhari chuma detire guanadia,
Sate kindiri ase bhendia re guanadia.*

(O bright lamp! were you of my caste,
Really, I'd kiss you holding on my lap,
O guanadia, the young lad moves around you.)

5. Nialimalli:

ଟେଣା ପାଟି ବସେ ବାନ୍ଧୁ
ମେଛାନାଉଁ ବଲି କାଏଁସେ କାନ୍ଧୁ
ସତେ ଭାଲୁ ଚମ ଚିକେ ବାନ୍ଧୁରେ
ନିଆଲିମଲି,
ନିଆଲିମଲିକେ ପାଏମି ବଲି
କେଡ଼େ ଆଶା କରିଥିଲି ।

*Tena pati base Bandu
Machha nai bali kainje kandu
Sate bhaluchama tike bandhu re
Nialimalli, Nialimallike paimi bali
Kede asha Karithili.*

(The owl sits on the water lifting crane
Why do you cry, that you have no moustache
Tie a piece of bear skin on it
O Nialimalli
To get you, how great hope I had!)

6. Dalkhai:

ଡାଲ୍‌ଖାଇରେ
ସୁରୁସୁର ଭାଜି ମୁଲାପତର
ଖାଇବାକେ ନନି ହେଲା ବତର
ଦଶଟା ଆଙ୍ଗୁଟି ପାଁତଟା ମୁଦି
ଆମେ ନାହିଁ ଜାନ୍ତି ଡାଲ୍‌ଖାଇ, ଖେଚଡ଼ ବୁଧି- କି ଡାଲ୍‌ଖାଇରେ ।

*Dalkhaire,
Suru suru bhaji mulapatara
khaibake nani hela batara
Dasata anguti panchata mundi,
Ame naijanu dalkhai, khechada budhi.*

(The little greens and raddish leaf,
O leaf-eater became worthy of eating
There are ten fingers for five rings
O dalkhai we don't know how to tease.)

ଡାଲ୍‌ଖାଇରେ, ଡାଲ୍ ଚୁକିଲ ମନେ ନଦିକେ ଯିମା
ରୂପାର ଥାଲିନେ ଲାଉ କାଟିମା
ସୁନାର ଥାଲିନେ ଯୋଗାର ନେମା
ଖାଇବାକେ ଦେମା ଜୁନା ପୁରୁନା
ଶୁଭବାକେ ଶେଯ ପଲଙ୍କ ଉଛାଇଦେମା କି ଡାଲ୍‌ଖାଇରେ ।

*Dalkhaire, chala tukilemane nadike jima,
Rupara thaline lau katima
Sunara thaline jogara [1] nema,
Khaibake dema juna puruna
Suibake seja palanka uchhaidame ki dalkhaire,*

(Jogara : Fooding and clothing provided to the host by their relatives for the guests as the part of the ritual)

(O leaf-eater, let us all the girls, go to the river
Cut the gourd in silver plate,
Take the 'jogara' in golden plate
We will feed them opening new and old
Fetch them quilt and palanquin to sleep.)

7. Sajani Song:

ସଜନୀ, କାହିଁ ଯାଇଥିଲୁ ଜନେ
ଖଟ ପାରିଦେଲେ ବସିବ ଛନେ,
କଥା ଚାରିପଦ ବନେ ସଜନୀରେ ।

*Sajani, kahin jaithila jane,
Khata paridele basiba chhane,
Katha charipada bane sajanire.*

(O companion, where had you been alone?
You will sit for sometime when offered a cot,
to have four good words gossip, O companion.)

ସଜନୀ, ଅଳୁଆ ଚଉଲ ଝୁଇଁ
ତୁମର ମନର କଥା କହିଲୁ ନାହିଁ
ସଜନୀ, ଆଜ ଜାନିଗଲି ମୁଇଁ ।

*Sajani, alua chaula jhain,
Tumara manar katha kahila nai
Sajani, aja janigali muhin.*

(O companion, the white rice is bright,
You did not tell me your heart
Today I found it.)

(B) Play Song:

The Baria, the Bangari, the Kalakokila and the Jeera Labanga are the songs sung by two groups of girls on moonlit night on the village street. The girls put each one's hand against other's waist and form a group. Seven to eight girls constitute a group. While singing the song, one group moves towards the other and recedes and other group answers them as follows:

First group suggestions in a chorus:

ଉଲି ଉଲି ଉଲି ଉଲି ଉଲି,
ଉଲି ଉଲି ଉଲି ଉଲିରେ
ସେ ଉଲି ଗଲା ବଜାର ଦୁଲି
ସେ ଉଲି ଗଲା ବଜାର ଦୁଲି
ମହି ଟାଣି ଗଲା ଦୁଲି ବରିଆ
ମହି ଟାଣି ଗଲା ଦୁଲିରେ ।

*Uli Uli Uli Uli baria,
Uli uli uli uli re,
Se uli gala bajara buli
Se uli gala bajara buli
Mahitani gala dhuli baria
Mahitani gala dhulire.*

ଖୋଲି ଖୋଲି ଗଲା ଗାଈ ବରିଆ,
ଖୋଲି ଖୋଲି ଗଲା ଗାଈରେ
ତମର ପିନା ତ ଉଷାର ନାହିଁ
ତମର ପିନା ତ ଉଷାର ନାହିଁ
ବାହାସ ଗାଡ଼ିମା କାହିଁ ବରିଆ,
ବାହାସ ଗାଡ଼ିମା କାହିଁ ବରିଆ,
ବାହାସ ଗାଡ଼ିମା କାହିଁରେ ।

*Kholi kholi gala gai baria,
Kholi kholi gala gaire
Tamara pina to usara nai,
Tamara pina to usara nai,
Rahasa gadima kahin baria,
Rahasa gadima kahinre.*

(The cow went on the road,
Your corridor is not wide
Where shall we post the flag post?)

Second group answers the above questions in chorus as follows:

ଖୋଲିନେ ରାହାସ ଗାଡ଼ ବରିଆ
ଖୋଲିନେ ରାହାସ ଗାଡ଼ରେ
ଗହଁଟିଆ ଘରେ ଆନୁଛେ କର,
ଓଷା କଷାଟିକେ କର ବରିଆ
ଓଷା କଷାଟିକେ କରରେ ।

*Kholine rahasa gada baria
Kholine rahasa gadare
Gahatia ghare annuchhe jara,
Oso kasa tike kara baria,
Osa kasa tike karare.*

(Post the flag post on the street,
The wife of village headman is on fever
Arrange medicine for her.)

The Luklukani (hide and seek), Khamkhamali Pithapuden (making cakes) Maach sare ghina (purchase a leaf of fish), Kath jia (the song of going for firewood) and some other games are local folk-games. In each and every game the songs are inevitable. The various characters, events and conversations presented in the play-action help the children express their creative urges in the process of socialization.

(C) Work Song:

In most of the villages of Kalahandi, the landless people work in their master's house as agricultural labourers. They work throughout the year for a stipulated quantity of paddy; about ten to fifteen quintals per annum. The agricultural labourers are known as halia, literally implying ploughman.

The earning provided to the halia by his master is insufficient to maintain his family throughout the year. Still the halia, with his limited source of income tries to satisfy his family. He wants to live happily within his limited universe. Poverty is the real identity of his life. He works as hard as the bullocks, but never gets a plateful of rice to fill his own stomach or to satisfy his family.

In the "Halia song" the life picture of a halia family of this locality is reflected in a lively manner, in which one can find the pitiable condition of his family. The master knows how to extract hard work from the halia, but never cares for his miserable condition. The halia not only works in the field but also he goes to the forest with a bullock cart to collect firewood.

After coming from the forest he requests his master to give some paddy. He remembers that in his house there is not a grain of rice to cook. After releasing the bullocks from the cart the halia goes to his master to beg for rice. In the Halia song the feeling is expressed as follows:

ଏଥାଡ଼େ ଶଗଡ଼ ଆନିଲି ଘରକେ ଘରେ ଗାଡ଼ି ହେଲା ଠିଆ
କାଠ ପତ୍ର ସାରି ମହାଜନଠାରେ ସବୁ କଥା କହେ ଠିକା,
ସମିଆ ହେଲାଘେ ମସରି ଧାନହୋ ନାପିଦିଆ ମହାଜନ,
ବେଲ ଉଛୁଲୁଛି ଘରେ ଅଧଡ଼ିଆ ନାଇଁ, କୁଟିବେ ଭୁଆସେନ୍ ଧାନ ।

Eade sagada anili gharake ghare gadi hela thia
Katha patra sari mahajana thane sabu katha kahe thika,
Samia hela je masuri dhana ho, napidia mahajana.
Bela uchhluchhi ghare adhadiya nahin Kutibe bhuasen dhana.

(I brought the cart to the house
Finishing collecting wood, tells before his master
O master, it is time, give me masur paddy the time is passing.
No paddy in house, to be husked by the women.)

The hard and strenuous life of a halia or sagdia (cart man) becomes colourful with the soothing and inspiring words of his beloved who inspires him to live a happy life. The romantic spectacles of nature like the couple of weaverbirds living happily in the nest on the mango tree and the frog couple living under the arum tree shape their ideas. Keeping an eye on the uncertainty of the life span, the halia invites his mate to make a nest in the following manner.

ଆମ ଗଛ ତଲେ ବାୟା ବସା କଲା, ସାରୁ ଗଛ ତଲେ ବେଙ୍ଗ,
ମରିଗଲେ ଜୀବ ଥିବ କି ନଥିବ ତମରି ଆମରି ସାଙ୍ଗ ।

Ama gachha tale baya basa kala Sarugachha tale beng
Marigale jiba thiba ki nathiba tumari amari sanga.

(The couple of weaver birds nesting on the mango tree,
The couple of frog, under the arum tree
What is the surety of life, let's be mates.)

(D) Customary Songs based on "Rites de passage":

In the various stages of social life, song is inevitably employed. A mother sings lullabies to sleep her obstinate child. Boys and the girls sing songs while playing. Songs are sung from the time of childbirth to death ritual of human beings. In marriage ceremony, there are some rituals where a song is inevitable. Without the song the rituals are said to be incomplete. At the time of the marriage negotiation of a girl, the young girls of her village welcome and appease the guests through singing and dancing. During marriage ceremony the various rituals such as Haldi Makha (smearing turmeric paste on the bride) Mali chagha (adorning the bride with beads and ornaments) Telchagha (smearing of oil on the bride and bridegroom) Mangal geet (auspicious song) are exclusively needed. In the Telchagha song of the paharia tribe, the ritual is described as below:

ତେଲ ତେଲ ବଲ୍ଲସନି କାହାଁପାଞ୍ଜେ ତେଲ,
ତେଲ ତେଲ ବଲ୍ଲସ ନି, କାଏଁ ତେଲ ଚଢ଼ିଆ,
ହିରାବତୀ ପାରବତି କାଏଁ ତେଲ ଚଢ଼ିଆ ।
ଦାଦା ଆଛେ ତେଲ ଚଢ଼େଇ, ବଡ଼ା ବହୁ ଆଡ଼ା,
କାକା ଆଛେ ତେଲ ଚଢ଼େଇ କାକି ମନେ ଆଡ଼ା,
ତେଲ ତେଲ ବଲ୍ଲସ ନି, କାଏଁ ତେଲ ଚଢ଼ିଆ,
ହିରାବତି ପାରବତି କାଏଁ ତେଲ ଚଢ଼ିଆ,
ହିରାବତି ପାରବତି କୁସୁମ ତେଲ ଚଢ଼ିଆ ।

*Tel tel balsa nani kahan pawe tel,
Tel tel balsa nani kain tel chaghia,
Hirabati parbati kain tel chaghia
Dada achhe tel chaghei, bada bohu awa,
Kaka achhe tel chaghei Kaki mane awa
Dadi achhe tel chaghei, Aai mane awa
Tel tel balsa nani, kai tel chaghia.
Hirabati parbati, kai tel chaghia.
Hirabati parbati, kusum tel chaghia.*

(O girl, you are speaking of oil, where from will you fetch oil?
 O Hirabati, O Parbati, which oil will you smear?
 Elder brother is coming to smear oil, elder sister-in-law coming.
 Uncle is coming to smear oil, aunt is coming.
 Grandfather is coming to smear oil, grandmother is coming.
 O girl, you are speaking of oil, which oil will you smear?
 O Hirabati, O Parbati, smear kusum oil on her body.)

While the bride bids farewell along with the bridegroom, the Kanialama song recited by her parents and companions is heart-rending and awful. In this song the painful feelings of the bride's departure from her own parent's house is described in a heart-breaking manner. The parents feel sad on the departure of their beloved daughter. The song is as follows:

ପିରେ ପିରେ ରେଙ୍ଗନନି ପିରେ ପିରେ ରେଙ୍ଗ
 ପିରେ ପିରେ ରେଙ୍ଗନନି କନିଆ ଲମା ବେଲେ
 ମୁଡର ଜାହା ଖୁସଲ ଯାହି,
 ପିରେ ପିରେ ରେଂଗ ନନି କନିଆ ଲମା ବେଲେ,
 ବୁଆ କାନ୍ଦେ କଟେନ ଶାଲେ,
 ମା କାନ୍ଦେ ରନ୍ଦା ଘରେ,
 ନାକାନ୍ଦ ନାକାନ୍ଦ ହୋୟେ,
 କନିଆ ଲମାବେଲେ,
 ଗାଲଲେ ମଙ୍ଗଲ ଗୀତ
 ଦେଲେ ହୁଲହୁଲି
 ନାକାନ୍ଦ ନାକାନ୍ଦ ନା ବୁଆ,
 କନିଆ ଲମା ବେଲେ ।

*"Dhire dhire renga nani dhire dhire renga,
 Dhire dhire renga nani kania lama bele,
 Mudar jawa khusal jahi, gagar luga khusal jahi
 Dhire dhire renga nani kania lama bele.
 Bua kande Katen sale, maa kande randa ghare,
 Na kanda na kanda ho yo, Kania lama bele,
 Gaile mangala geeta, dele hulahuli,
 Na kanda na kanda na bua kania lama bele."*

O bride, move slowly,
Your hair knot will fall down.
Your clothes will slip down.
It is the time of your farewell
O girl, move slowly

(Father is crying near the husking place.
Mother is crying in the kitchen,
Don't cry; don't cry.
It is the time of her farewell.
They sang the auspicious song.
And gave hulahuli.
Don't cry father and mother
I is the time of her farewell.)

Mourning:

The place of women in the society is inferior in comparison to men. The new bride has to face many difficulties in her husband's house. Her mother-in-law and her husband's sister may become hostile and scandalise her. Being their victim, she remembers the sweet days of her mother's house. Sometimes the situation in her family becomes so intricate and unbearable that she comes to her mother's house for rescue. There, keeping her head on her mother's shoulder she bewails which bursts out in form of a song:

ଏ ମା' ଗୋ, କଇଁଷି ମିରଚା ବଡ଼ାତୋ ରାଗ, ମା' ଗୋ
ମୁଇଁ ପୋ ହେଇଥିଲେ ତୁଇ ଦେଇଥିବୁ ଭାଗ, ମା' ଗୋ
ମୁଇଁ ହି ହେଲି ବଲି ତୁଇ ମୋକେ
ନନ୍ଦିନେ ବହଲାଇଦେଲୁ ମା' ଗୋ;
ମୁଇଁ ନାଉଁ ଶୁନିଲା କଥା ଶୁନୁଛେ ମା' ଗୋ;
ମୋକେ ଚୋରି ହୋଇଲି ଖାଏଲା ବଲୁଛନ୍ ମା' ଗୋ

*E ma go, kaisi miracha badato raga, ma go
mui po heithile tui deithitu bhaga, ma go
mui jhi heli bali tui moke
nandine boholaide lu ma go;
mui nai sunila katha sunuchhi ma go;
moke chori hotli khaila baluchhan ma go*

ଏ ବହୁ, ମୋର ଶୁଭବା ଠାନ ମେଲା ହେଲା ଗୋ ବହୁ
ମୋର କୋରିହିଆ ଦରପାନକେ କେନ ଦେଖିବାଗୋ ବହୁ
ମୋକେ କେନ କୁରି ଦେବାଗୋ ବହୁ,
ତୋରୋ କାଜେ ରାନ୍ଧିଦେବା ଗୋ ବହୁ ।

*E bohu, mora suiba thana mela hela go bohu,
mor korihia darapanake kena dekhba go bohu.
moke kena kuri deba go bohu
Tor kaje randhi deba go bohu.*

(O mother, the unripe chilly is very bitter.
Were I a son, you'd have given me my share,
As I am your daughter
You threw me adrift the river, O mother.
I am scandalised, I had never been.
I am alleged a thief in their house.)

X X X X

(O sister-in-law, my sleeping bed fell empty
Who shall look at my old mirror.
Who will comb my hair
Who will help your cooking, sister-in-law)

Not only the daughter, but also the mother as well curses herself as to why she put her beloved daughter in such a hell. Remembering her daughter's pitiable condition she cries out of her heart in the form of a song.

Duma Utra Song: (Invocation of ancestor spirit)

It is a common belief of the people of this locality that, the soul of man after death never dies. It takes rebirth again. In some tribes the soul or

Expressive Tradition

'Duma' of the deceased person is invited to the house through a ritual, which is popularly known as Duma Utra (literally meaning the invitation of the spirit from the underworld.)

The relatives of the deceased arrange this ritual by inviting the Duma into an earthen pot on the bank of a river or a water source. At that time the whole clan and the kinsmen of the deceased are invited and the worship of old souls (Juna Duma) begins. Then the worship and invitation of new soul (Duma (soul)) is carried through an invocation. The new soul is summoned with the old souls to the kitchen of the descendant of the deceased. The new soul (Nua-duma) is worshipped as a God or ancestor spirit.

It is a common belief that the ancestor spirits save their respective families from diseases, unseen dangers and watch their fields. Even they predict the future occurrences to them and save them from those difficulties. The people count their last five ancestors as living spirit always watching over them.

In all the rituals related to "rites de passage" and "rites de intensification" the invitation and worship of the ancestor spirit is inevitable. When one is blessed with a male child, then it is believed that some ancestor 'Duma' has taken rebirth in his family. Through a divination process they try to know the particular ancestor who has taken rebirth as that male child. In all the agricultural festivals the Duma is worshipped with due importance.

The invitation of Duma, i. e. the transformation of human soul to divine soul is performed through a long and strict ritual. The respective ethnologist bard sings the invocation for a long period of time.

In the Duma utra song the origin of the respective caste, the glorious personalities and their miraculous deeds are described in a gracious manner to inspire the present generation with their glorious heritage. Here a ritual of Gond Duma utra, while 'parghanian' a Gond female priestess- Gurumai invoking the old and new spirit, is presented.

ଏରୋ ରେଲା ରେଲା ଯେ ଏରୋ ରେଲା ରେଲା
 ଗାହ୍ନୀର ମାଟି ପତି ଯେ, ଗାହ୍ନୀର ଛୋଟିବୁଡ଼ି
 ଗାହ୍ନୀର ଯେ ଗଂଗାଦି ଯେ, ଗାହ୍ନୀର ଯେ ଗଙ୍ଗାଦି,
 ଆଟଗଡ଼ ସଗାକେ ସବୁ ଠୁଲ ହେଲେ,
 ବାବୁ ବଲେ ବାବୁସେ, ଲୋକୋ ବରୁନ୍ ଯିବୁ,
 କାର୍ ଘରକେ ଯିବୁ ବାବୁ, କାର୍ ଘରକେ ଯିବୁ,
 ଗାଡ଼ାକେ ଯେ ଧନ୍ୟଗଡ଼, ମରକାମ ଘରକେ ଯିବୁ
 ଦଶା ପରିଗଲା ଯେ, ଦଶା ପରିଗଲା
 ଆଟଗଡ଼ ସଗାନେ ଯେ ବିହାବରୁନ୍ ହେବା,
 ବାବୁ ବଲେ ବାବୁ ଯେ ବିହାବରୁନ୍ ହେବା,
 କେନ୍ ଗଡ଼କେ ଯିବୁ ବାବୁ, ଲାଞ୍ଜିଗଡ଼କେ ଯିବୁ
 ନେତାମ୍ ଘରକେ ଯିବୁ ବାବୁ,
 ନେତାମ୍ ଘରକେ ଯିବୁ।

*Ero rela rela je Ero rela rela,
 Gahar mati pati je gahar chhotibudhi
 Gahar pardasien je gahar Baburai
 Gahar je gangadi je gahar je gangadi,
 Ata gada sogā je sabu thula hele,
 Babubole babu je loko borun jibu,
 Kar gharke jibu babu, ar gharke jibu,
 Gadake je Dadagarh Markam gharke jibu*

Dasa parigala je dasa parigala.
Atagarha sagane je biha borun heba,
Babu bale babu je biha borun heba,
Ken godke jibu babu, Lanji garhke jibu,
Netam gharke jibu babu, Netam gharke jibu.

(Ero rela rela je Ero rela,
the holy soil and the seat of the village.
The goddess chhotibudhi of the village.
Goddess pardesien of the village.
Goddess Gangadei of the village.
The eight clan gathered at one place,
O boy, You will go to invite all the kinsmen
Whose house will you go to, my boy
To whom will you go?
You will go to Damdagah
Find Markam clan there.
Oh our bad time arrived, our bad time came.
A marriage ceremony will be held among
The eight fort clans.
O boy, you will go to invite them all.
To which fort will you go my boy?
You will go to Lanjigarh
There you will find Netam clan,
You will go to Netam's house.)

Formerly the Duma song was in 'Gondi' Language, but now all the Gonds of Kalahandi speak Kosli dialect and sing their invocations in local Kosli. Every ethnic group has its own way of rituals for inviting Duma, though the basic worldview as regards the ancestor worship is uniform throughout.

(E) Ritual Song :

Thakurani Geet:

Distribution of Thakurani worship as the Goddess causing smallpox is prevalent all over India. Though smallpox has been eradicated in this country, traditional belief of Thakurani mata for the goddess of smallpox still persists in some parts of India.

In 1986-87, this belief was predominant in the Kutia kondh tribe of Kalahandi. Hundreds of Kutia Kondhs of this district died of some unknown disease. The medical facilities provided for their treatment were refused. They had a strong belief in their mind that their Thakurani mata-mother goddess of smallpox was humiliated for some cause and hence out of anger she took revenge on them. They also confirmed that no medical treatment could save their life, unless Goddess Thakurani was appeased with buffalo sacrifice. No doubt, this is a blind belief. But the conservative people of this area have a strong faith in it.

In the months of Phagun and Chait (February and March) when the outbreak of chicken pox and measles takes place, they worship Thakurani mata by offering her the smoke of resin, syrup of molasses along with the turmeric and neem leaf and recite the song with deep devotion.

In a Thakurani song recited by the village priest, it is described that Mother Thakurani, taking a basket in her left hand and a broom in her right hand, sweeps the villages and takes hundreds of lives gathering them in her basket. Even the Gods are not left out of her clutches and become the victim of her sharp eyes. The song is as follows:

ମା ଗୋ, ଆଖି ଛିପି ଛିପି ମାଗେ ମୁଣ୍ଡରେ ଛିପିରି,
ଲୋଇ ଲୋଇ ଚାଲେ ବୁଡ଼ି ମାଇ ହାତ ମେଲା କରି,
ଆଗେ ଜଗତ ଜନନୀ ମାତା,
ନଗର ଭରମଣି କରି ଯାଉ ମୋରେ ଦାଇ
ଲିମ ହଲଦି ପାଇଲେ ଗୋ ଥାନ ତୁମରି
ମାତା ଗୋ ରଖ ଦୁଃଖ ହରନି ।

*Ma go, akhi chhipichhipi ma go mundare chhipiri
Loi loi chale budhi mai hata mela kari.
Aago jagat janani mata
Nagara bharmani kari jau more dai
Lima haladi paile go thana tumari
Mata go rakha dukha harani.*

(O mother, with your twinkling eyes
And a basket on your bushy head.
You walk leaning, spreading your hands.
O universal mother
You move in the cities and villages
You relish neem and turmeric
O mother, save me, take away all my miseries.)

Govautara Song:

The Kondh tribe of Kalahandi had been practicing Meriah sacrifice till the last part of 19th century. They were sacrificing their daughters and sons to appease Dharani mata (the earth Goddess). There is a strong belief and a worldview in their mind that, the Goddess will never be satisfied unless she is offered human blood. The Kondhs believe that the Goddess would give more harvest if human blood were offered to Her. Even in these religious rites, the Jani (priest) of the community was offering his elder son to dharani mata.

This tradition was prevalent in the Kondh dominated area, which was suppressed by the Britishers. Now, the Meriah sacrifice has stopped, but to compensate the cultural loss of human sacrifice, the Kondhs offer buffaloes instead. This trend is still continuing in Kalahandi and in other Kondh areas of southeast India. This ritual is known as Pod-puja, (buffalo sacrifice). The Durga Mahishasura myth of the 'Devi-Bhagabat' and 'Chandi Puran' has been associated with the buffalo sacrifice.

The Kondhs believe that the Dharani mata is Durga and the buffalo brought for sacrifice is the symbol of Mahisasura-the demon. This ritual takes place on a Thursday during the brightmoon period of the month of Pausa. The Kondhs as well as other inhabitants observe this ritual as an agricultural festival. Before the buffalo is sacrificed on the altar of Goddess Dharani mata, a nightlong mythic song is invoked by the 'Gova Jani' (the priest who knows the essence of the myth) from the preceding evening.

The process of recitation begins from Wednesday evening till the end of the myth by Thursday morning. The ritual is known as 'Gova utara' literally meaning the dismounting of essence (of the Kondh myth). Soon after the Gova utara is over the buffalo is sacrificed before the goddess and its head is offered in Her altar. The song is most secret, handed down from the generations of Gova Jani.

The main singer Gova Jani with his choir singers sing the song with a wooden musical instrument named 'Sadki'. Throughout the night the Gova Jani and the choir of singers take mahua liquor and sing the song. The song is sung for twelve hours. The beginning of the song is as follows:

ଏ ମା ଗୋ, ଧରମ ରକା ତୁଲ
ଧରମେ ଜଏ ଗୋ, ପାପେ ଖଏ,
ଏ ଗୁଦ୍‌ଗୁଦୁଛେ, ରୁଦ୍‌ରୁଦୁଛେ
ଏ କେଁ ଶବଦ୍ ହୋ ହୋଉଛେ ନା ଯେ,
ଏ କାଏଁ ଲିଲା ହୋ ହୋଉଛେ ନା ଯେ,
ଆଜ ନାଲ ହୋ କାଲ ନାଲ,
ରେଙ୍ଗାଲ ବୁଟା ତଲେ ରୁଦ୍‌ରୁଦୁଛେ
କେ ଗୋଟା ବୁଆ ଜନମ ହଉଛେ,
ପେନ୍‌ବୋରା ହୋ, କାନ୍‌ବୋରା ଯେ,
ସେ ଗୋଟା ବୁଆ ଜନମ ହଉଛେ ।

*E ma go Dharam tui
Dharme jaya go pape khaye
E gudguduchhe, rudruduchhe
E kein sabad ho houchhe na je
E kein leela ho houchhena je
Aj nai ho kalnai
Rengal buta tale rud ruduchhe
Ke gota bua janam hauchhe.
Penbora ho, kan bora je
Se gota bua janam houchhe.*

(O mother, the king of all virtue
Goodness wins and wickedness perishes
What sounds there?
What games occurring there?
Not today nor tomorrow
Beneath the Rengal tree
It is sounding. Who takes birth
Pen Bora and Kan Bora, they are coming)

Tokiparab Song:

The 'Tokiparab' or Tokimara parab' is also a perverted form of female infanticide by the Kondh paraja tribes of Kalahandi. In this festival the Kondh (paraja sacrifice ewe symbolizing it as the daughter of Jani) the Kondh paraja priest.

The objectives of this ritual are similar to the buffalo sacrifice. They think that if the hair or flesh of the ewe is taken away from the sacrificial ground and buried in the field, the field will be fertile and yield ample harvest. So the Kondh-paraja never cares to get a hair or a piece of flesh at the cost of getting injured. Several invocation songs are sung at the time of Tokiparab, e.g. one old Kondh paraja tries to get a hair or a piece of flesh of the ewe and when he fails to get it, out of sorrow he sings,

ଆଲୋ ଜାନି ଡ୍ରେନା, ମେଣ୍ଡା ବୁରି କାଜି,
ସୋଡା ଗୋସିଆ ସୋଡା, ମେଣ୍ଡାବୁରି କାଜି
ହରତରାତି ଜଗା କିତାମ୍ ମେଣ୍ଡାବୁରି କାଜି

Alo jani wena, menda buri kaji
Soda gosia soda, menda buri kaji
Hartarati jaga kitam menda buri kaji

(Hello Jani, hear me, for a hair of an ewe,
Hear master hear, for the hair of an ewe,
The whole night awoke, for the hair of an ewe,)

Chait Parab Geet:

Chait Parab is observed in the Southeastern part of Kalahandi. This spring festival continues for a month. The symbolic representation of hunting and food gathering from the jungle are shown by the young tribal lads acting like hunters.

In a common place of the village called 'shemelmuda' all the villagers assemble to take part in chait parab. Irrespective of age and sex, the folk participate in dancing, singing and playing music collectively. Feasting and drinking are the most important items in this festival. Sharing of joys and expressing their creative self is the sole motif of this festival.

This is a festival especially meant for the unmarried young boys and girls. Song competitions among them take place all through the night with music and dancing. The boys and the girls form separate group facing each other on the common place. The natural setting of the blue-green mountain, moon lit night, cold air with the fragrant scent of wild flower is the folk stage for the community dance. There is no bar between the onlooker and the performer. Any onlooker can be a performer without hesitation.

In western Kalahandi it is called 'Chaitra'. The way of observance of 'Chaitra' is different from that of Chait parab.

As the festival falls on the month of Chait (March) it is popularly known as Chait Parab. 'Geet kudia' and 'Geet Kudiani' (folk bard of both the sexes) begin the prayer to local deities like earth Goddess along with Goddess Durga, Saraswati and Sarala.

After the invocation songs are over the young boys and girls begin their love song competing with each other in the presence of the community. The song is followed with music and dance. The songs are full of erotic fervour expressing the naked thought of participants of both the sexes. Some songs are given below:

ରସରେ, ଆସ ଆସ ମୋର ଚମ୍ପଲୋ ଘରଣୀ,
 ଖାଇବାକେ ଦେବି କେ ଲାଲ ମୁରୁଗୁନି
 ତୋ କୋଲରେ ବସିଥିବି,
 ମୁଁ ରହି ରହି କରି ଧରା ପଡ଼ିଗଲେ
 କେନବାଟେ ଛାଡ଼ିଯିବି, ତୁଇ ବିରସ ନକର ମୋତେ
 ମଲ୍ଲିଫୁଲ, ବିରସ ନକର ମୋତେ ।

*Rasare, asa asa mora champalo gharani,
 Khaiba ke debi ke lal murguni
 To kolare basthibi,
 Mui rahi rahi kari dharapadigale
 kenabate chhadi jibi, Tui birasa nakara mote
 Malliphula, birasa nakara mote.*

(O Saviour, O my golden fairy, do come.
 I shall provide you with red deer meat
 And will be sitting on your lap.
 If caught in this act, where shall I go?
 O jasmine, don't disappoint me.)

The young girl hearing the love approach of the young lad, replies like this:

ରସରେ, ହାକଡାକ ଦେଲି, ଖମନକେଗଲି,
 ଅଖଡ଼ା ଫିକିଲି, କମଲା ତୁଲିଲି
 ସାନସରା ଫୁଲ ମୁତେ ନେ ଖୁଚିଲି
 ତୁମର ଖୋଲି ଡାଡ଼େ ଗଲି,
 ତୁମର ତୁମର ପରା ଯେତେ ଧଙ୍ଗରାକେ
 ରେଡ଼ିନେ ଧମସା ଦେଲି ।

*Rasare, hakadaka deli, khamana ke gali,
 Akhada phikili, kamala tulili,
 Satasara phula muda ne khuchili,
 Tumar kholi dane gali,
 Tumar tumar para jete dhangara ke
 Redhi ne dhamasa deli.*

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(O Saviour, I called everybody and went into the jungle. Throwing parched rice. Plucking oranges, dressed with seven pronged flowers on my head. Went on your road I kicked all the young men like you in my heel)

The Bhatra, Paraja and Gond tribes of eastern Kalahandi enjoy the chharchera dance heartily. The dhangda (young lad) invites his beloved (dhangadi young lady) to sing and dance on this occasion. The dhangada invites his mate as follows :

ଲେଲେ ରସଡେ, ଲେଲେ ରସଡେ
ସାରିକେଲାଣା ଦୁତା କେଲି ଆସ ଓ,
ଆମ୍ଭା ରେଙ୍ଗସା ଜୁଲି, ଲେଲେ ରସଡେ,
ଆମ୍ଭା ପାରଞ୍ଜୁଲି, ନାଚି ଆସ ଓ ।

*Lele rasade, lele rasade,
Sarikelana duta keli aso ho.
Amta rengsa juli, lele rasode,
Amata parwajuli, nachi asa ho.*

(O nectar of love, O nectar of love,
Come to play with your sari-compeer.
You are my friend, since our crawling days
You are my friend like a pigeon couple
O sari, come to dance.)

Besides these songs, the chharchera song at the time of Pausa purnima and the Holi song at the time of Holi-Dola purnima are noteworthy.

F. Songs related Purana:

Songs related to Purana are popularly known as Palia song and Pachara-Uchara song literally meaning the song of question-answer. One group asks on the mystic and mythic topics of Indian epics and the other group tries to answer it. The victory and defeat of the participants depends upon the ability of the groups. The winners are rewarded for this. Most of the songs are borrowed from the Purana and Sastras and handed down orally. In Ghumura dance such songs are used. Such songs are interlink between the folk and elite form.

(G) Songs Named after Musical Instruments:

The songs especially used at the time of dances are named accordingly. These are Ghumura song in Ghumura dance, Dhab song is used at the time of Dhab dance, Madal geet is used in Madal dance, Danda geet is used at the time of Danda dance. The Ghumura is a systematic dance in which a classical form is found. The songs are sung in the line of Oriya Malasri, Chaupadi and Orissi songs. Besides some folk songs of the locality are also sung in the Ghumura dance, which keep alive the folk-classical continuum.

Dhab is a musical drum played by male dancers and drummers of Kondh tribes of Kalahandi. The name of the dance and the song bears the name of the musical instrument. The young male and female of Kondh tribes perform Dhab dance singing Dhab songs.

Most of the Dhab songs are based on extremely erotic expression with the nude description of sexual enjoyment. This song is sung both by male and female before the community without any hesitation. Dalkhai and Sadarasa songs are two important songs used at the time of Dhab dance. Dhab songs of Kui language are full of pornography symbolically exposing the primordial human instincts. Some of the Dhab songs are given below:

ରସରେ, ଜଳରେ ଜଳିଆ, ମୋ ଘଟି ମାଲିଆ, ବସିଗଲା ଡେଇଁ ଗଛେ,
ହାତ ଖେଟେ ନାହିଁ, ଗୋଡ଼ ଖେଟେ ନାହିଁ
ଖାଇବାକେ ମନ ଆତେ,
କମଲା, ତମର ଗାଗରେ ଝୁଲେ,
ଧରାଇ ଦେବ ତୁମର ମନ ଥିଲେ ।

*Rasare, 'Jajare Jalia mo ghatimalia basigala denga gachhe,
Hata khete nai goda khete nai khaibake mana achhe,
Kamala, tumar gagare jhule,
Dharai deba tumar mana thile.'*

(The notorious and wearer of beads, sat on the tall tree, my oranges dangling on your body. If you wish, you will get me those in my hands. You will make me handy of it.)

X X X X

ରସରେ, ଯୁବା ଦେହକୁ,
ଜାକି ରଖିଅଛୁ ଦୁଇ କୁମକୁ
ଦେବି ବୋଲି ମୋକେ ଆଶ୍ ଦେଲୁ ।
ଜଳଦି ଜଳଦି କାମ୍ ହେଲା ବେଲେ
ଦାମ୍ ପଏସା ମୁଲ କଲୁ ।

*Rasare, jubadehaku,
Jaki rakhiachhu dui kumaku,
Debi boli moke asha delu,
Jaldi jalidi kam helabele dam paisa mul kalu.*

(O nectar of love, your body is young,
You hoard your two vessels
You promised to me
While I was hurriedly performing
You bargained for money.)

The Mandal dance of the Gond and Bhunjia tribes of Kalahandi is a primitive tribal dance in nature. The songs sung in this dance are known as Sarudhana (small property). The free and unhesitating expression in the above songs are interesting, such as :

ଖଜୁର ଖାଇଲି ଅଁଟେ ସାରୁଧନ
ଖଜୁର ଖାଇଲି ଅଁଟେ,
ମା' ଘର ଝିଅ ହୋଇଲା ପେଟେ,
ସତେ ଚାଲି ନପାରିଲା ବାଟେ ସାରୁଧନ
ଚାଲି ନ ପାରିଲା ବାଟେ ।

*Khajura khaili ante sarudhana,
Khajura khaili ante,
Maa ghara jhia hoila pete
Sate chali na parila bate sarudhana
Chali na parila bate.*

(O small property,
I ate date palm carrying in my clothes.
The daughter being pregnant in her mother's house.
Could not walk on the road.)

III Observation and interpretation:

The oral poetry of Kalahandi unfurls the unknown areas of human creativity. It is created collectively. The learning is experiential, participatory in its socio-cultural context. The whole village becomes a centre of learning, entertainment, witnessing the life through sharing in the group.

It may be observed that the songs are three lined in case of Sajani, Bhamara, Guanadia, and Malire etc. It is four-lined to eight lined in case of Rasarkeli and Dallkhai. The worksong is two-lined to four-lined. In the beginning and ending of the song, it is supported with addressing the partner/ listener/ compeer/ competitors.

The first line of the song is description of nature. The nature or the natural object have been the source of inspiration for the oral poets or the singers to pick up suitable visual objects compared to human nature. In some songs the narration of first line of the song is closely associated with the next two lines.

In Sajani song when the first line represents the narration of nature, second and third line would represent the individual experience/ social experience of the character. The oral singers from his own cultural context perceive the objects of a given environment, and that is highly local, drawn from the local language and culture. So the cultural metaphors, symbols and similies are to be understood from the cultural context. There are innumerable examples of such natural objects perceived in the cultural context. The cultural meaning of these local songs and poetry could be transparent and intelligible when the texts are observed from the context. The purpose of oral poetry in a given culture area, and its performance by the protagonists, the hidden meaning of the poetry applied by the singers, need to be deciphered through understanding it from the languages applied and its meaning.

It is true that the local songs are identified with the space called Kalahandi. But when the context and meaning is analysed, the collective memory of the singers is in no way different from Indian poetics.

A woman is compared to a pond in which a man wants to have a bath. This reminds us the stanza of Sringara Tilaka

*Bahudwo cha mrinala masya kamala labanya leelajalam.
Sronitirtha silachanetra safari dhammilla saivalakam
Kantaya stanachakravaka yugalam kandarpa vananale
Rdagdhanamavagahanaya vidina ramya saro nirmitam. (Sringara Tilakam)*

The above stanza in Sanskrit compares a beautiful woman with a pond. A person who is shot by cupid's arrow will extinguish his fire by drowning in the pond.

A similar poem is found in the oral expression. A man witnessing a woman coming in wet dress from the pond after having a bath, says, the pond is beautiful, and I want to have a bathe. But the woman is more witty. She said, oh soldier, I know that you are thirsty. But the pond is impure for the time being. The symbolic and witty conversation eternally found in the literary tradition as well as in the oral tradition of India signifies the continuity of collective memory and the Indian metaphor influencing both the oral and written tradition.

A woman is compared to a river. It is impossible to check a flowing river; similar is the youthful age of a woman who crosses the social boundaries ignoring her parents.

ସଜନୀ, ନଈକେ କିଏ ବାନ୍ଧିଛେ,
ମା ବୁଆର କଥା କିଏ ମାନୁଛେ,
ବୟସ ଯାହା କରୁଛେ ।

*Sajani, naike kie bandhichhe,
Maa buarkatha kie manuchhe,
Bayasa jaha karuchhe.*

Who can check the river?
Who cares for parent's advice?
Age is doing so.

Another song related to the desire of a woman can be compared to the stanza of Dhwanwaloka. In the absence of her husband a woman has seen a young man. She has expressed her desire to meet with him. She said,

ସଜନୀ, ଖାଇଲୁ କଟା ଗୋରସ
ତୁମର ପରା ଦିଶେ ଆମର ମନୁଷ,
ଯାଇଛନ୍ତି ପରଦେଶ ।

*Sajani, khailu kancha gorasa,
Tumar para dise amar munusa
Jaichanti paradesa.*

Took the raw milk,
You look like my husband
He has gone abroad.

The desire of a woman is expressed in her words. Her comparison of the unknown young man with her husband signifies her willingness to meet him. Absence of her husband symbolises her invitation to her house. When the given words speak the simple narration of the mind, the hidden meaning of the poetry is powerful in terms of expressing the purpose.

Language and cultural symbols constitute the essence of poetry. The expression of feelings and ideas are manifested in the words. Oral poetry sung by women of this locality is not an individual creation but borrowed from tradition. The words and symbols are collective expression and collective memory of the people. Oral poetry is tradition oriented, drawn from memory. Poetry is recreated, recomposed in new situations. The content is powerful feelings of individual memories, but at the same time it is expressed in language, the vehicle of culture.

The cultural meaning of object used in poetry strengthens imagination. Symbols help memory to create a world of words in the mind of the singers. But the uniqueness of oral poetry is that, even an illiterate woman

or a girl retains and recreates the songs learning from the informal socio-cultural context.

The similes and metaphors in folk poetry of Kalahandi thus represent the natural environment in a poetic manner. A black brinjal is compared to male genitalia, and an orange is the breast. A hairy man is a bear, and a lusty man is a sparrow. A black woman is the store of erotic savour. Paddy is male and coriander is female. Fish is symbol of male genitalia.. Star is compared to a beautiful girl. A tamarind tree is compared to a impotence. A black bee is compared to a lusty man. Sugarcane is compared to a sweet woman. Rotten pumpkin is compared to a man with unclean heart. Stinging of centipede is compared to kissing.

Oral poetry is full of personal feelings and collective experience. Rural woman life is represented in poetry. The interesting idea in the poetry that as though the songs are sung by the women folk or the young girls the reality of life, imagination and emotions, current events, behaviour of males towards female, family conflict and resolution, local events, human characters are retained in the words. It is important to mention that when the girls sing the song, they also sing the songs for males. The girls know the songs of male and female. Socialisation of girls in relation to the male female behaviour is possible through oral learning.

Oral singing is the outcome of pool of tradition. It is recollected in course of time and space. Most of the young girls learn their social behaviour and prepare for their future life through songs. Again, the struggle of day-to-day life and fighting the life in togetherness teaches the young girls to adjust in family life and social life. Social rules, do's and don't of social customs, learning from other's experience, sharing the feelings of life in group and gender solidarity helps the women folk to understand the meaning

of life and face the unseen. So function of oral poetry is educative as well as entertaining.

Language of poetry is different from the language of speech. In oral poetry we come across a language in Kalahandi, which may be called ethno poetics. The poetry expressed in the language of poems is full of symbols, metaphor, similes and poetic imagination. Irrespective of literate and illiterate, poetic feelings are exuberated in the form of collective words, in enjoying mood. Dance and music and singing join together and create a complete atmosphere of completeness in body, mind and spirit. An unknown pleasure and joy fills the heart of the young men and women during the performance. Dance and music reveals the creativity externally where as oral poetry touches the heart and mind. Songs never appear in isolation. Dance cannot be imagined without a group, and music cannot be imagined without both male and female. Both the sound and words manifest in the body and mind of the performers.

Oral songs in Indian villages are like a river. Any woman who fetches water from that river is allowed to take as much water as she can and the water is always eternal, perennial. Using water from the pitcher gives the meaning of fetching water. Similarly availability of oral songs from the rural or tribal India is abundant. People create the poems. They sing it. They live in songs. They use it, forget it and again memorise it. They reproduce it, mould it and reuse it in new situations. Tradition continues in one form or the other. It identifies the human mind and creativity through words. Each word is like a mantra, which charges the singer, listener and creator. Spirit of poetry continues in the heart of the collective memory.

ORAL POETRY WITH TRANSLATION

SAJANI SONG:

The young girls of western Orissa sing Sajani song. This is the most popular song in rural areas of Orissa. The context of the song is given at first to enter to the topic. The original song is presented here in italics, and the literary translation is presented below for appreciation.

1. A general remark on a young couple loving each other. Consider that Dhan -paddy is longer than the Dhania- coriander. Similarly the folk metaphor of associating the paddy as male symbol and coriander is female signifies that a female should not be taller than the male. The song is :

ସଜନୀ, ଧାନନେ ଧନିଆ ମିଶେ,
ଧଙ୍ଗରା ସଙ୍ଗରେ ଧାଙ୍ଗରୀ ମିଶେ
ପୁନିଜନ ପର ଦିଶେ ।

Sajani,

Dhanane dhania mise

Dhangara sangare dhangari mise

Puni jana para dise.

Paddy and coriander mixed

The youngster and the maid couple up alike

They look like the full moon

4. A young girl had fallen love with a boy after mediated by an old woman. After she lost her chastity, she is remorseful of her actions. Maid's grief about yielding to the mediator's persuasion is narrated in it.

ସଜନୀ, ଯାଆ ବାଲକେ ଗଲି
ଦାରୁ ଦରପନ ହଜାଇ ଦେଲି
ଶିକେନ ବୁଧି ଧରିଲି ।

Sajani, Jaa bailake gali
Daru darapana hajai deli
Sikhena budhi dharili.

I went because I was asked
I lost my chastity
Into pursuance.

5. A young girl who was in love with a boy is now ignored. Her lover has fallen in love with some other girl. It is revealed, and so the girl, when she meets her lover, teases him, as following,

ସଜନୀ, ଖାଇଲ କଟା ଆମକେ
ଭେଟ ପଡ଼ିଅଛି ନୂଆ ସାଙ୍ଗକେ
ପାଶରି ଦେଲ ଆମକେ ।

Sajani, khaila kacha amake
Bheta padiachha nua sangake
Pasari dela amake.

You tasted a virgin mango
You saw the new partner
You forgot us.

6. The following song is sung by a woman who has fallen in love with a boy. Every time the boy assures the girl to meet frequently, but the boy is indecisive. So the girl teases the boy, saying that his words are uncertain.

ସଜନୀ, ବନ୍ଧର ମାଛ କଲିଆ
ଦିନେ ପ୍ରୀତି କଲେ ମାସେ ପଡ଼ିଆ
ଜବାବ ଲଡ଼ ବଢ଼ିଆ ।

*Sajani, Bandhara macha kalia
Dine priti kale mase padia
Jababa ladabadia*

Trout (fish) in the pond,
Love of a green day
For a long sterile month
Your words all in vain.

7. A girl expresses her desire to herself (monologue) that she measured methi. The love they had for two and half hour is memorable and the boy left her at midnight. The dissatisfaction of the girl to her lover is narrated in the song.

ସଜନୀ, ଅଡ଼ାଏ ନାପିଲି ମେଥି
ଅଡ଼ାଇ ପହର ଭାବ ପୀରତି
ଛାଡ଼ିଗଲ ନିଶାରାତି ।

*Sajani, Adae napili methi
Adhei pahara bhaba pirati
Chhadigala nisarati.*

- Measured an 'ada' of methi
Two and a half hours
Of love and amour
Forsook me
In the night's wild hours.

8. The boy tells the girl that, he had the desire to marry her. But she is black. So he did not want to marry her. The pin of the cartwheel reminds the black oil used in the cartwheel.

ସଜନୀ, ଶଗଡ଼ର କାନି ଖିଲା,
ତୋକେ ନେମି ବଲି ମୋର ମନ ଥିଲା,
ମୁହଁ ଟିକେ କଲା ହେଲା ।

Sajani, sagadara kani khila
Toke nemi bali mor mana thila
Muhun tike kala hela.

- The pin of the cartwheel,
I had a desire to take you,
But your face is a bit black.

9. But the girl is equally witty. She replied to the young man. As though she is black like the feathers of the black hen, it is the black body, which carries orange juice. The symbol of orange juice is compared to the sensual feelings. Consider the following.

ସଜନୀ, କାଲି କୁକୁରାର କେଶ,
କାଲି କାଲି ବଲି ବାଖୁନୁ ଥିସ
କାଲି ଦେହେଁ ତୋରା ରସ ।

Sajani, kali kukurara kesa
Kali kali bali bakhanu thisa
Kali dehe tebha rasa.

- Feathers of black hen
You always blame me, black,
But oh ! black body carries the orange juice.

10. A married woman has seen a handsome young man .She is infatuated with his physique. Her husband has gone abroad. She feels the absence of her husband. The situation is sung in the following lines. The meaning of the song is clear; The woman invites the young man in to her home. Taking tender milk means raw taste, liquidated love, and absence of husband signifies the opportunity of meeting with the young man. A similar poem is found in dhwanyaloka.

ସଜନୀ, ଖାଇଲି କଟା ଗୋରସ
ତମର ପରା ଦିଶେ ଆମର ମୁନୁଷ
ଯାଇଛନ ପରଦେଶ ।

*Sajani, khaili kacha gorasa
Tamar para dise amar munusa
Jaichana paradesa.*

- Sipped the raw milk,
My husband looks like you
He's gone abroad.

11. There was a time when bridging a river was a dream. It was impossible in the mind of the people to think of bridging a river. Similarly, it was impossible to convince a girl who is young and in love. She never listens to anybody, even the parents. This result of the age.

ସଜନୀ ନନ୍ଦିକେ କିଏ ବାନ୍ଧିଛେ
ମା ବୁଆର କଥା କିଏ ମାନୁଛେ
ବଇସ ଯାହା କରୁଛେ ।

*Sajani, Nandike kie bandiche
Maa buar katha kie manuchhe,
Baisa jaha karuchhe.*

-Who does the river wait for?
Who cares for the parents?
That's the outburst of age.

12. A young girl challenges the manhood of the lover and mocks him by saying that he is like a huge tamarind tree but the leaves are so small. The metaphor of measuring the human personality by the women in folk culture may be enjoyable.

ଗଛ ମହାମେରୁ ପତର ସୁରୁଗା
ପତରେ ରଚିଲା ଗେରୁ
ଗଛ ଖୁଟ ପରା ଧଙ୍ଗୁରା ହେଲୁ ଗା
ଧଙ୍ଗରିକେ ଭରି ମଲୁ ।

Gacha muhameru patara suruga
Patare rachila geru
Gacha khuta para dhangara helu ga
Dhangarike dari malu.

-A large tree and tiny leaves
Leaves are tanning
Flourished you like a log and
Scared of the sweet maid.

13. In Indian social system when a woman married to a man she is tied with the bond of relation for life. There may be difference of mind and habits between the couple. They may face conflict. But it is the woman who submits to the man. Gender discrimination is acute if a man becomes violent, an insensitive. In the following song a married woman had conflict with her husband. She expresses that all utensils are put together, and it creates sound. But still they remain together. Similarly, the conflict between husband and wife continues to be there, but she can't leave him. The reason is clear, a married woman has no other way but to submit to the husband, whatsoever, he might be cruel and arrogant. The inner pain of a woman is narrated in following song.

ସଜନୀ, ଖୋରିକେ ଗିନା ଗର୍ଜନ
ଟୋତି ମାଡ଼ି ଦିଅ ଯଉ ଜୀବନ
ତୋର ଠାନ୍ଦେ ଥଉ ମନ ।

Sajani, Khorike gina garjana
Toti madi dia jau jibana
Tor thane thau mana.

-A cup in pot sounds
Press my neck with foot; let me die
But my mind will be with you.

14. A girl expresses to her companion, that they are one and there is no differences. One-heartedness of two girl companions is reflected in the following lines..

ସଜନୀ, ଗିନାନେ ଖାଇଲୁଁ ତୁନ
ତୁମର ଆମର ଗୁଡ଼େ ଜୀବନ,
ତୁମେ ଆମେ ଭିନା ଭିନ ।

Sajani, Ginane khailun tuna
Tumara amara gute jibana
Tume ame vina vina

-You and I ate in one utensil,
Your and mine one life,
But different individuals.

15. A male teasing the female, who is good looking externally, but hollow with in. Lia hari means a woman selling parched rice.

ସଜନୀ, ଲିଆହାରି ଘର ମୁରହି,
ମୁହୁଁକେ ଦେଖିଲେ ଦର୍ପନ ପରି
ସଜନୀ, ଭିତରେ ମାରିଛେ ସୁରି ।

Sajani, Liahari ghar murhi,
Muhunke dekhile darpana pari
Bhitare marichhe suri.

-Parched grain of the woman
Glitters the face like a mirror
But vacated (by white ant) within.

Expressive Tradition

16. This is a statement on the performing artist who was in love with his sister-in-law. After marriage he forgot his earlier relation with her.

ସଜନୀ, ନୂଆ ମାଏଝି ଆନିଲା,
ଭାଉଜ ରସିଆ ନାଟୁଆ ପିଲା,
ସଜନୀ, ମାଏଝି ପାସ୍‌ରି ଦେଲା ।

Sajani, nua maiji anila
Bhuja rasia natua pila
Sajani, Maiji pasari dela.

-O companion,
A dramatist young lad brought a new wife.
But indulged with his elder sister-in-law
He forgot his new wife.

17. This is a remark by the women folk of the village to another woman. They say that she has got a beautiful daughter but chosen an unfit son-in-law. Others comment on the son-in-law selected by the daughter's mother.

ସଜନୀ, ଝିକର ଘରେ ଉଦେ ତରା,
ଝି ପାଠିଲୁ ସରଗ ତରା
ଜୁଏଁ କଲୁ ଦରମରା ।

Sajani, Jhikar ghare ude tara
Jhi paithilu saraga tara
Juen kalu daramara.

-Star rises in the tiled house.
You've a daughter like the celestial star,
But chosen a son-in-law unfit.

18. This is a song symbolising the doubtful character of a young man. A girl teases the young man when she finds that she is sweating. Dubious comment of the female to the male suspecting his indulgence in sex. Kala baigana black brinjal is a male symbol.

ସଜନୀ, କଲାବାଇଙ୍ଗନ କଷ୍ଟି

ଝାଲ ଗମ ଗମ ବୁହି ଯାଉଛି

ସଜନୀ, କାହାର ଘରେ ଥିଲ ବଣି ।

Sajani, Kala baigana kasi

Jhala gama gama buhi jauchhi,

Kahar ghare thila basi.

-A tender black brinjal

Sweat rolls down your body.

Whose house had you been?

19. Anala - a wild berry in the branches of the tree is sprouted. One companion hints the other to collect the berry silently. Aanla-a sour berry. Male noticing the female's weakness, i.e. half-clad body and female's indication to the male to take opportunity.

ସଜନୀ, ଅଏଁଲା ଫଲିଛେ ଡାଲେ

ଖନ୍ଦର ଗମଛା ପରିଛେ ତଲେ

ବେଟି ପକା କଲେ କଲେ ।

Sajani, Aanla phalichhe dale

Khandara gamachha parichhe tale

Beti paka kale kale

-Anala on the branches,

Cloth of your shoulder is off one side,

Lift it softly.

20. A young man met a beautiful girl while sowing pulses (mung). He invites the girl to become a friend (gajamung- sprouted pulses). After contracting gajamung, relationship one friend never calls his friends by name and in turn they call each other gajamung. Sitting Gajamunga- A system of making friendship institutionally.

ସଜନୀ, ବାହାଲେ ବୁନିଲୁ ମୁଗ,
ତୋକେ ଦେଖିକରି ଲାଗୁଛେ ଲୋଭ,
ବସିଯିମା ଗଜାମୁଗ ।

*Sajani, Bahale bunilu muga,
Toke dekhikari laguchhe lobha,
Basi jima 'Gajamunga'.*

-Sowed mung in the field
I 'm fascinated looking at you
Let's sit 'Gajamunga'.

21. A girl married a man out of caste and is insecure. The male is facing the rigid caste system to establish his love. The lover consoles her in following lines.

ସଜନୀ, ନୂଆବନ୍ଧେ ପାନି ନାହିଁ
ଜାତିଗଲା ବଳି ଭାଲିବୁ ନାହିଁ,
ତୋର କାଜେ ଅଛେ ମୁଇଁ ।

*Sajani, Nuabandhe pani nain
Jati gala bali bhalibu nahin
Tora kaje achhe muin.*

(-No water in the new pond.
Fear not.
For you'll not lose your caste
I'm there for you.)

22. A beautiful woman, without personality or inner beauty is compared to a beautiful flower without flavour. She is unattractive to any young man. So he teases the girl.

ସଜନୀ, ନୂଆଁ ବନ୍ଧେ ପାନି ନାହିଁ

ଫୁଲ ଫୁଟିଛେବା ବାସନା ନାହିଁ

ଭମରା ବସିବା କାହିଁ ?

Sajani, nuabandhe pani nain

Phula phutichhe ga basana nain

Bhamara basiba kahin.

-O! The pond has no water yet,

Odourless flowers have bloomed

Where shall the black bee sit?

23. A description of nature. Blooming the lily in the pond is to imagine of her hope of love. The boy hints the girl to wait for him in the back yard of her house.

ସଜନୀ, ବାଁଧର ପାନି ଫୁଟେ କଇଁ,

ମନେ ପକାଇଲେ ଆସିବି ଧାଇଁ,

ବଢ଼ିଆଡ଼େ ଥିମୁ ଚାହିଁ ।

Sajani, bandhar pani phute kain

Mane pakaile asibi dhain

Bariade thimu chahin.

-Lily bloomed in the pond,

I'll come running when remembered

Wait for me at your back door.

24. Tender mango leaves signify the tenderness of the age of boys and girls. In western Orissa, child marriage was prevalent as social custom. Boys and girls are engaged before pre-puberty and then after attaining puberty of the girl a marriage is instituted as part of the ritual. Like the tender mango leaves, marriage of two boy and girl at a tender age is physically meaningless. Therefore the money spent for the child marriage is also meaningless. The reason of such child marriage was to assure the bond of kinship relation with two persons. Now a days this has gone out of practice. In the following lines forfeiture of fortune is loss of bride price due to child marriage.

ସଜନୀ, ଆମ ପତର କଅଁଳିଆ
ପିଲାବେଳେ ନନି ମକୁଟ ବିହା
ଧନଗଲା ମାହାଲିଆ ।

Sajani, amapatra kanlia
Pilabele eani makuta biha
Dhana gala mahalia.

-Tender is the mango leaf,
Crown marriage by lass: in tender age
Lost money for nothing.

25. Another song related to child marriage is found among the rural folk of western Orissa adjoining some of the tribal people is marriage between tender aged boys with the young girl. When a young girl is married to the boy of tender age, their conjugal life must be in disaster. The desire of a married young bride with her husband of 12 or 13 years of age cannot be fulfilled. In such a situation, the dissatisfaction and the desire of a young woman are expressed in the song narrated below. This is a song sung by the young woman to her compeer.

The first line is symbolic. Chatia- a sparrow entering the hollow of a tree is symbolically compared to the union of a couple mismatched. When the young bride invited her unripe and inexperienced husband on her lap during night, he slept on her lap. The woman, undone, with a sigh and depressed desire, expressed it to her compeer.

ସଜନୀ, ଚଟିଆ ଶମିଲା ପୋଲେ
ପ୍ରାଣକାନ୍ତକେ ମୁଁ ଧରିଲି କୋଲେ,
ନିନ୍ଦା ମାରିନେଲା ଭୋଲେ ।

Sajani Chatia samila pole
Pranakantake mui dharili kole
Ninda marinela bhole.

-The sparrow entered the hollow.
While holding my life's lord, in my lap
He entered into deep slumber unmindfully.

26. This is also a similar song related to the dissatisfied woman to her tender aged unripe husband.

ସଜନୀ, ବାହାଲ ପତର ଚକି
କାନିଗଡୁ ଧରି ଯାଉଛେ ଶୁଖି
ବାଲୁତ ବରକେ ଦେଖି ।

*Sajani, 'Bahala' patara chaki,
Kani godu dhari jauchhen sukhi
Baluta barake dekhi.*

-Round is the 'Bahal' leaf
I am slimming
It's a burden, my bowl and panties
To hold for
My husband is unripe.

27. When marriage between a young girl and a tender boy is found, marriage between old man and young girl is also found in the rural society.

Crow is considered as a bird of disseminating message. Parents gave their daughter in marriage to an old man, which is uncommon. Therefore one compeer remarks that her parents have not done good things. A young girl married to an old man is criticised by others.

ସଜନୀ, ଛାନିନେ ବସିଲା କୁଆ,
ତୋର ମାଁ ବୁଆ ଏଡେ ଭକ୍କୁଆ
ବୁଢ଼ା ଟାକେ ଦେଲେ ବିହା ।

*Sajani, Chhanine basila kua,
Tor maa bua ede bhakua
Budha take dele biha.*

- The crow sat on the tiles
Foolish are your parents
Married you to an old man.

28. A social custom is found in Indian society that wife's sister is considered as half wife (sali - adha gharwali). Even sexual relation between husband and wife's sister is not uncommon. The sweet relation of husband and wife's sister is narrated in many a songs as well as in tales. Entering the cloud in the roof signifies the prohibited relation of husband and his wife's sister, who is already discussed in the village.

ସଜନୀ, ଆମଗଛେ ନିମ ଝଲା,

ଛାନିକେ ବାଦଲ ଛିଙ୍ଗିଗଲା,

ଶାଲିକେ ଭୋଟୁଆ ନେଲା ।

Sajani, Amagachhe nima jhala

Chhanike badala chhingali gala

Salike bhatua nela.

- A neem tree upon a mango tree

The cloud pierced into the roof

The brother-in-law has his wife's sister.

29. A social custom of taking bride price is current among the people of western Orissa. Bride's father takes bride price- 'harja' from the bridegroom's father in terms of money, gold, buffalo, cows etc.

In this song such a family picture is described, in which the husband is a drunkard. He always harasses his wife for money. When his wife has refused paying money for his liquor, he demands that, while he married her he has given six codi- 120 rupees to her father as bride price. So he demands his wife for money to spend in drinking. If money is not available, he demands the earrings to sell and purchase liquor. Consider the gender disparity in the family in following lines.

ସଜନୀ, ପିକା ପତର ରେକା ରେକା,
ତୋରବୁଆ ଖାଇଛେ ଛକୋଡ଼ି ଟଙ୍କା,
କାନର ଫଶିଆ ଦେଖା ।

Sajani, Pika patar reka reka
Tor bua khaiche chhakodi tanka
Kanara phasia dekha.

- Tobacco leaf is striated.

Your father swallowed hundred twenty rupees

Show me your earrings.

30. In another situation, a girl who is already married demands her father to get back the bride price to her. Here the daughter is seeking to extract more jewels from her father; greedily or being guided by her husband.

ସଜନୀ, ଖଜୁର ଫଲେ ଝୋପା ଝୋପା,
ଏତେ ଅଳଙ୍କାର ଦେଲୁଗୋ ବାପା,
ଜୋଲା ଟଙ୍ଗା ଦେଇପକା ।

Sajani, Khajur phale jhopa jhopa
Ete alankara delugo bapa
Jola tanga deipaka.

- Date palm hangs in bunches
You gave bunches of ornaments papa!
Now sweet papa!
Pay off the nuptial price.

31. A woman who is tortured in her husband's house wants to go back to her father's house. Her husband beats her. She is like a tender pigeon.

Her grief and miseries are sung in words as cited below:

ସଜନୀ, ପିଲ ପରୁଆର ହାଡ଼
କେତେ ଖାଉଥିବି ଘରୁଆ ମାଡ଼,
ନେଇ ଦିଅ ବାପ ଘର ।

Sajani, Pila paruara hada
Kete khau thibi ghaita mada,
Nei dia bapa ghara.

- Bone of pigeon's babe,
Why suffer my husband's beating
Take me back to my parents.

32. Another song is also similar to the earlier one. In these lines she compares her joyous life in her father's house. She is struggling every day in her in law's house,

ସଜନୀ, ନାଲେ ନାଲେ ଗଲା ପାନି
ମାଁ ଘରେ ମୁଇଁ ଦୁଃଖ ନି ଜାନି
ଶାଶୁଘରେ ଟନା ଟନି ।

Sajani, Nale nale gala pani
Maa ghare muin dukha ni jani
Sasu ghare tana tani.

- Water ran, down the channel,
Never knew a woe at my mother's house,
All tension in father-in-law's house.

33. This is a song of a young man who is married to his maternal uncle's daughter and spent huge money for bride price.

ସଜନୀ, ଚୁଆଁ ଶାଲେ ପିଲା ଥାଲି
ମାମୁରୁ ଡିକେ କନିଆ କଲି
ଟଙ୍ଗା ଗନି ଗନି ମଲି ।

Sajani, Chua sale pila thali
Mamura jhike kania kali,
Tanga gani gani mali.

- A plate by the well side
Married my uncles daughter
Spent up paying money.

34. Gender disparity is acute in the social system. Even such disparity is visible in the attitude and behaviour in day-to-day activities of the family. Here a man enjoys meat while the woman is deprived of it.

ସଜନୀ, କଞ୍ଚି ବାଉଁଶର ଧୁନ,
ଘଇଁତା ଖାଉଛେ ଶିକାର ତୁନ,
ମାଏକି ଚାଟୁଛେ ନୁନ୍ ।

*Sajani, Kasi baunsara dhuna,
Ghaita khauchhe sikara tuna
Maiji chatuchhe nuna.*

- A bow of tender bamboo
The husband is relishing meat.
The wife is licking salt.

35. Collective mind always retains the events, which is shocking and uncommon to them. In 1982, skylab was a threat to people. People were of the belief that the Skylab is like a bomb, and when it will drop on the earth, they will perish. Interestingly some old man and woman, who knew this, arranged marriage of their sons and grandsons, with a hope that, let their sons and grandsons live some days with conjugal life, before the world ends.

ସଜନୀ, ଗିଲାସେ ରଖିଲୁଁ ମାଛ
ଗୋଲା ପର୍ବା ବଲି କଞ୍ଚିଲା ଦେଶ,
ଗୋଲା କଥା ହେଲା ଶେଷ ।

*Sajani, Gilase rakhilun macha,
Gola parba bali kapila desa,
Gola katha hela sesa.*

- The fish in a glass,
All the land is in panic
That the monster ball would fall,
The gola (skylab) store ended.

36. Police in the mass consciousness is the symbol of terror. People in rural areas are still afraid of the police. A woman, saw a police man when she had been to the pond. She left the place. This is reflected in the song.

ସଜନୀ, ଯାଇଥିଲି ମୁଖା ପଡେ
ହେ ବାଟୁନ୍ ଆସିଲା ପୁଲିସି ଗୁଟେ,
ଡର ଲାଗିଗଲା ମୋତେ ।

*Sajani, Jaithili muda pate,
He batun asila pulisi gute,
Dara lagigala mote.*

-Had been to the pond side
A police man came from that side
I was afraid.

37. Drought is a regular disaster in Kalahandi. When rainwater is not available, people think of purchasing motor pump to irrigate the land.

ସଜନୀ, ହାତୀ କାନ ଦରପନ
ମରୁଡି ହେଲାଣା ଠକିଲା ପେନ
ମଟର ପାଇପ ଘେନ ।

*Sajani, Hatikana darapana,
Marudi helana thakila pena,
Motora pipe ghena.*

-Elephant's ear; like mirror,
Rain failed and came the drought
Go for a motor pump.

38. Daily wage labourers work on the road. The daily wage is two rupees per person. Distribution of wage also differs from male to female. When male is given actual price, a woman is given less than the male.

ସଜନୀ, ସଡକେ ଚୁପିଲୁଁ ଗିତି
ବାର ବାଜିଗଲା ଦିଅନା ଛୁଟି
ଦୁଇ ଟଙ୍କା ତାର ଭୁତି ।

*Sajani, Sadake chupilun giti
Bara bajigala diana chhuti
Dui tanga tara bhuti.*

-Crushed the metal on the road
Free us, it is twelve o'clock,
The wage is but two rupees only.

39. Kalahandi is known for its drought. Even the castor tree was also died. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, visited Boden and Sinapali Block, the most drought-stricken areas and helped the people through supplying relief. This is still alive in the memory of people.

ସଜନୀ, ଜଡ଼ା ଗଛ ଚିପି ମଲା,
ଆମରି ଦେଶନେ ଅକାଲ କଲା,
ଇନ୍ଦ୍ରାଗାନ୍ଧି ଶାସନ କଲା ।

*Sajani, jada gachha tipi mala,
Amari desane akala kala,
Indira Gandhi sasan kala*

-The top of castor tree withered
Drought came to our land
Indira Gandhi reigned the country.

40. If some government officials like Revenue Officer, Forest Officer and police come to the village, the villagers provide them with food and hospitality. Poor people are afraid of these three departments. Ingrained in their mind that, they have power. Without the help of revenue, police and forest people, villagers cannot feel secured. They try to satisfy these officers by providing them money, food and hospitality. One such event in the village is reflected in the song. Consider the problem in the family when a revenue officer has entered the village.

ସଜନୀ, ନୂଆବନ୍ଧେ ଜଗଲ ଗଦା,
ଆସିଲା ପଟୁଆରି ହୋଇଲା ରନ୍ଧା,
ହାତର ମୁଦି ହେଲା ବନ୍ଧା ।

Sajani, nuabandhe jagal gada
Asila patuari hoila randha
Hatar mundi hela bandha.

-A heap of weeds in the new pond.
Patwari came, food was cooked
My gold ring was mortgaged.

41. Primary education in tribal and rural areas of Orissa is met with teacher's absenteeism. Many teachers do not go to school regularly due to lack of supervision and monitoring. Villagers are also not assertive to guide the teachers to be regular in the schools. Taking the opportunity of simplicity of villagers, teachers don't come to the school regularly. But this irregularity has caught sight of the illiterate girls of the village. They sing as following which is interesting in view of dictating the irregularities of teachers.

ସଜନୀ, ସେମିପତର କେରା କେରା

ଆମର ଡାଲପଦରେ ଇସ୍କୁଲ ଡେରା

ଦିନେ ଛଡ଼ା ଦିନେ ପଡ଼ା ।

Sajani, semipatar kera kera

Amara talapadre iskul dera

Dine chhada dine padha

-Bunches of bean flowers

Our Talpadar village has a school,

The teaching is done every alternate day.

42. Poor people of Kalahandi living below poverty line migrate from their homeland to other parts of the country. They go to Surat, Nagpur, Raipur, Bilaspur, Kashmir, Delhi, Hyderabad and many other cities of India. They earn their livelihood with contractual wage labourers. The contractors or brokers of wage labourers take them away from their homeland to big cities giving them the hope of better earnings. But once they go there, they are victimised. They are not given decent wages. Their health is not ensured. They are affected with HIV and many more. This is reflected in the song. The migrant people's compulsion is narrated in the song.

ସଜନୀ, ଡାକିନେଲା ଠିକାଦାର,
ଘରଦ୍ୱାର ଛାଡ଼ି ବିଦେଶେ ଘର
ପେଟକାଜେ ହରବର ।

Sajani, Dakinela thikadara
Ghara duara chhadi bidese ghara,
Petakaje harabara.

-The contractors invited us,
Leaving home, we are in alien land,
All because of the belly.

43. Poverty as well as non-cooperation in the family between the women members is acute in rural households. Quarrel between mother-in-law and daughter in law, sister in law and husband's sister is very common in the families. This leads to loss of peace and cooperation in the family. Even though they resolve the conflict one day, they fight again the other day and repeat their nature. Such a sight is narrated in the song below:

ସଜନୀ, ନନ୍ଦିର ସପୁର ବାଲି,
ନନନ୍ଦ ଭାଉଜ ଲାଗିଛେ କାଲି,
ଦିନେ ଦିନେ କରି ପାଲି ।

*Sajani, nandira sapura bali,
Nananda bhauja lagichhe kali,
Dine dine kari pali.*

-The sand of the river is very fine
The wife and the sister quarrelled
Every other day, taking their turns.

44. When an aeroplane flies over the sky, people remember the mythic Puspak Vimana of the demon king Ravana (Villain of the Ramayana Epic) who abducted Sita; the heroine on the chariot. Flying chariot of Ravana is compared to the present aeroplane. The girls sing:

ସଜନୀ, ଉପରେ କାହାକ ଗଲା,
ସୀତାଙ୍କେ ରାବନ ଚୁରାଇ ନେଲା,
ଲଙ୍କାଗଡ଼େ ପୋନିଦେଲା ।

*Sajani, Upare jahaja gala
Sitake Ravana chorai nela,
Lankagade ponidela.*

The aeroplane flew on the sky
Ravana stole Sita
And kept in Lankagarh.

45. In rural areas, it is common to ask for some tobacco, or some fire to light the tobacco pipe. The unknown man pursues the woman coming with tobacco or fire for union. If the woman agrees then they both meet in an isolated place. Asking for tobacco or fire for tobacco pipe is a plea to talk with the woman. Such an event has happened with a woman who gave the unknown man tobacco leaf and fell in love with him. This made her remorse and she expresses her misdeed to her compeer.

ସଜନୀ, ପିଣା ତଲେ ତଲେ ଗଲି,
କାଇଲି ପତର ଧରାଇ ଦେଲି,
ସଜନୀ, କଥାରୁ ବଲେ ରହିଗଲି ।

*Sajani, Pina tale tale gali,
Kaili patara dharai deli
Sajani kathar bale rahi gali.*

-Oh Sajani, I went below the courtyard,
I gave him the tobacco leaf
Power of his words enslaved me.

46. Abduction of beautiful women in the villages occasionally happens when the parents of the girl refuse the boy to give their daughter in marriage. In that case, the boy finds opportunity and, when chance comes, he abducts his beloved girl. In the following song the metaphor of the river mingling in the sea signifies the union of a girl with a boy.

ସଜନୀ, ପାନିଗଲା ସମୁଦ୍ର କେ,
ମନ କରିଥିଲି ସୁନାଗୋରିକେ,
ତୋର ବୁହିନେଲା ତାକେ ।

*Sajani, pani gala samudrake,
Mana karithili sunagorike,
Chora buhinela take.*

O Sajani, the water entered in the sea,
I had asked the golden girl not to go alone,
The thief has stolen her away.

47. In 1985, drought occurred in Kalahandi. Mr Rajib Gandhi, along with Sonia Gandhi arrived in Boden, Sinapali and many parts of Kalahandi. People saw Rajib Gandhi and Sonia Gandhi. They were white like red-milk. In folk imagination their colour is admixture of red and white.

ସଜନୀ, ପଣକା ବେଟିଲା ଗୁଡ଼ି
ଆମର୍ ରାଜୀବ ଗାନ୍ଧୀ ରକତ ଗୋରୀ
ଜାହାଜେ ଆସିଲା ଉଡ଼ି ହେ। ନୁଆତି ଜନ
ସତେ ସୋନିଆ କେ ସଂଗେ ଧରି ହେ।
ନୁଆତି ଜନ ।

*Sajani, panaka betila godi,
Amar Rajib Gandhi rakata gori
Jahaje asila udi ho nuati jana,
Sate Sonia ke sangedhari ho
Nuati jana*

Sajani, the dove picked up the pebbles.
Our Rajib Gandhi is redwhite
He came flying in an aeroplane
With Sonia, Oh new moon listen me.

48. Common people of Kalahandi were using silver rupees for transaction. But in course of time use of rupees was through paper, which is called "note". Use of paper money was incompatible. The women folk were comfortable with silver coins. Paper note was difficult to get change. So a woman says.

ସଜନୀ, ଉଡ଼ିଗଲା ଉଡ଼ାଜାଜ,
ଟଙ୍କା ବନିଗଲା ଛୁଚା କାଗଜ
ଦୁକାନେ ନଗଲା ଭାଞ୍ଜ ।

*Sajani, Udigala udajaaja,
Tanka banigala chucha kagaja,
Dukane nagala bhanja*

Oh Sajani,
Plane flied over the sky
Lo, the silver rupees turned into paper rupees,
How difficult it is to get change for it.

49. A girl speaks out her heart only to her close companions. In the folk culture, young women have a social restriction upon themselves to open subtlety their feelings everywhere. Hence they speak them out only to close friends that too with an aesthetic touch of poetry. So a young maid addresses her companion very cordially as Sajani and speaks in verse and in pure poetry.

The husband is not the audience of this stanza. This is a sort of monologue with the girl company as the audience. The wife is menacing over the absence of the husband who is gone to 'Lanka' on the mission of earning money. (Lanka here symbolizes a distant place though literally it is the island on the south of Indian peninsula now called Sri Lanka. 'Lanka' is associated with Indian minds as kingdom of villain Ravana, where lord Rama the epic hero of 'Ramayana' had gone to rescue his wife from Ravana and had killed him.) The wife dislikes the husband's migration to such distant places for greed of money. In folk imagination Lanka signifies any far off place.

ସଜନୀ,
ତାସନି ତାସନି ଟଙ୍କା,
ମୋକେ ଛାଡ଼ି କରି ନେଇଯା ଲଙ୍କା,
କେତେ ଅରଜିବୁ ଟଙ୍କା ସଜନୀରେ ।

Sajani,

tasni tasni tanka, Sajani
mote charikari neijaa lanka,
kete arajiba tanka Sajani re

Plates full of money
O sajani
Desert me not to go to lanka
How much will you earn there ?

50. A girl's relationship with her elder sister's husband in all parts of communities in India is a funny one. They joke with each other, have a suppressed amorous approach towards each other. Here the girl is teasing her brother-in-law's shyness in the first two lines and slantly puts forward her desire for erotic behaviour with him. "...Khaeba nua" literally means an agriculture based festival, nuakhai' relating to taking of new rice (at the end of the year) ritually. Here she indicates that her brother in law has been playing with her sister, who is old rice now. Hence she wants to know when he would like to taste new rice i.e. herself.

ସଜନୀ, ବାରିରେ ବୁନିଲୁ ଶୁଆଁ
ଆମର ବଡ଼ ଭାଗେ ଗୁମନା ମୁହାଁ,
କେବେକୁ ଖାଏବ ନୁଆଁ ।

*Sajani, barire bunilu suan,
Amar bara bhato gumna muha,
Kebaku khaeba nua.*

-Sown the suan in the backyard
Silent and cold is our old sister's husband,
When will you taste the new.

51. The woman is married to a boy; very young; Hence the companion teases her Sajani that even with the 'garu' lifted in her hand i.e. the matured breasts of the size of a 'garu'- a small round metal water pot; the married woman is losing health due to incapable young husband. This happens due to the marriage of a tender bridegroom of 10-12 years of age with a mature girl of sixteen.

ସଜନୀ, ବାହାଲ ପତର ଚକି
କାନି ଗଡୁ ଧରି ଯାଉଛେ ଶୁଖି
ବାଲୁତ ବରକେ ଦେଖି ।

*Sajani,
Bahal patara chaki,
Kani garu dhari jauche sukhi
Baluta bara ke dekhi.*

-Round is the 'bahal' leaf
Your body withers even with the junior in your saree end.
Haply looking at the junior husband.

52. Two sisters, dark by their complexion advertise their merits. They say, they have the 'mahani'- a charmed material; the possession of which helps one attract the opposite sex, in their hairball. Mahani is a medicine to attract the opposite sex.

ସଜନୀ, ଖଜୁର ପତର ବେନି
ଆମେ ଦୁଇ ବହେନ କାଲି ସଜନୀ,
ଖୋସାନେ ଅଛେ ମହନି ।

*Sajani, Khajura patara beni,
Ame due bahen kali Sajani
Khosane ache mahani,*

Braids of date palm leaf,
Dark are we two sisters
But we've the charming stuff
In the ball made of our hair.

53. The relation of a woman with her husband's younger brother is based on erotic fervour. Here the lady expresses her urge to be accompanied by her brother-in-law to the car festival and to be presented with ornaments like 'kataria' and bandaria purchased in the stalls of the fair.

ସଜନୀ, ଖୋଲି ଖୋଲି ଗଲା ରଥ,
ସତେ କି ଦିଅର ଦେଖେଇନେତ,
କତରିଆ ବନ୍ଦରିଆ ଦେତ ।

*Sajani,
Kholi kholi gala ratha
Sateki diara dekhei neta,
Kataria bandaria deta.*

Went the chariot along the street
Would you take me to show the chariot
My dear brother-in-law !
and buy me ornaments.

54. In the song below, woman is compared to a creeper, as she is weaker than man. Now an old man has got his son married. Old men keep vigil on their daughter-in-law's movements and behaviour. So, some onlookers of this act of supervision tell the old man that the woman walking near the stream isn't his daughter-in-law and ask him, what amount he had paid as bride price.

ସଜନୀ, ନାଲେ ନାଲେ ଗଲା ଲହୁ,
ନାଲସେ ହୋ, ବୁଢ଼ା ତୁମର ବହୁ,
କେତେ ଟଙ୍କା ଦେଲ କହ ।

*Sajani,
Nale nale gala laha
Naise ho ! burha tohara baha
Kete tankadela kaha*

Along the brook crept the creeper
O old man, it is not your daughter-in-law,
Now, what you paid, let us know.

55. A father gives her daughter in marriage, thinking that the groom's household is a rich one. But now the daughter blames him that his assessment had been wrong, as she had to work hard here. Unless the paddy is husked every afternoon, no rice can be cooked. In farmer's society, storing rice and consuming is considered as well to do family, or else poor, hand to mouth.

ସଜନୀ, ଖୁଟି ବାଜୁନରମୁଠା
ବଡ଼ ଘର ବଲି ଦେଲ ଗୋ ବୁଆ,
ଅଜୁବେଳେ ଧାନ କୁଟା ।

*Sajani, Khuti barhunar mutha
Bara ghar bali dela go bua
Aru bele dhana kuta.*

Grip of a wornout broom
Gave me away O father,
Looking at their big house
But I've to crush paddy
In the evening.

56. 'Bel' fruit is very hard and so is a new wife hard to excite. So it is an erotic advice to the husband to smear 'kusum oil' on her body, and play with her.

ସଜନୀ, ଡଙ୍ଗର ତଲିଆ ବେଲ,
ନୂଆ ମାଏଜିକେ କୁସୁମ ତେଲ
ସୁଆଁରି ସୁଆଁରି ଖେଲ ।

*Sajani,
Dangar talia bela
Nua mehejike kusuma tela
Suari swari khela.*

'Bel' of the valley
The wife's brought newly
Caress her with 'Kusum' oil
In your palm and play.

57. This is related to the socio-cultural perspective of the tribal folk life. It is tedious on the part of a daughter-in-law as long as she is in the in-law's house. The whole household depends upon her in connection with chores, cooking, serving, cleaning, washing, childcare and everything. Hence she always tries for some relief. Now this bride shuns from going to the "in-laws" as it is the month of 'phagun' and the women are sent to pick 'mahua' flowers, which is a means of earning but is tedious. It requires early rising, a lot of walking, combined with the danger of bear attack.

ସଜନୀ, ଜୁଏ ଲୁଠି କପା ଖୁଟି
ଫଗୁନ ମାସରେ ନେଇ ଯିବ ଖଟି
ନିତେ ନେସନ୍ ମହୁଲ ବେଟି ।

Sajani,
Zue luthi kapa khuti
Phagun masare nei jiba khati
Nische nesan mahul beti

Burning stump of cotton plant
O! go not to the in-laws in March
Sure they'll take you to gather 'mahua'.

58. A housewife has to fetch water for the family every morning and evening; going to distant water sources, in the villages. Tired she is and rests a while in the thicket. Some one; may be a member of her in-law's family or a female companion taunts her for this loathing.

ସଜନୀ, ବାଟେ ବାଉ ମସି ପାନି,
ଜଙ୍ଗଲ ଭିତରେ ଶୁଇଛେ ରାନି,
କିଏ ଦେବା ପାଏନ୍ ଆନି ।

Sajani,
Bate baramasi pani
Jangala bhitare suiche rani
Kie deba paen ani.

Water there is everywhere
Across the year beside the thorough fare
Sleep you alone in the wild there
And O dear queen! who'll fetch water?

59. The rest is a warning not to load the body with ornaments while travelling for fear of theft. Moreover a housewife being taken by her arm by any person other than her husband is considered a great dishonour to her.

ସଜନୀ, ବାଟର ମହୁଲ ଖେନା,
ବାଟଚଲାବେଲେ ନେଇ ପିନ୍ଧ ସୁନା
ଲୋକ ଧରିଦେବେ ଡେନା ।

Sajani,
Batara mahula khena
Batachala bele nei pindha suna,
Loka dhari debe dena

Mahua branch of the way side,
Do not wear gold jewellery
While travelling
People may catch you by your arms.

60. This can simply be understood by words. On the other hand this may be the expression, of inclination towards a tall man, by a woman.

ସଜନୀ, ବାଟର ଡେଙ୍ଗାଖଜୁର,
ଫଲ ଫାଲି ଅଛେ କେତେ ମଧୁର
ତୁଲିବାକେ ମନ ମୋର ।

Sajani
Batara denga khajura,
Phala phali ache kete madhura,
Tulibake mana mora.

Beside the road
Is the tall date palm,
They look piquant
The fruits atop the date palm.
Now I cherish to pluck them.

61. The lover husband says that the whole day is nearly consumed up in bringing water from the river, by the beloved. Hence he is not able to avail the sweet looks of her eyes.

ସଜନୀ, ନଦିର ପେନ ଆନି ଆନି
ବେଲା ଦେଖ ଏବେ ଗଢିଗଲାନି,
ଦେଖି ତୋର ଚାଖି ଚାହାନି ।

Sajani, Nadir paen ani ani
Bela dekha ebe gari galani
Dekhi tor chakhi chahani.

Bringing water from the river
Look! the day's nearly over
O dear ! of the coy looks of sway
I'am an onlooker.

62. This implies the urge of a woman to get a man of her dreams as her husband. She finds a man similar to her standards and invites him to be her man.

ସଜନୀ,
ଯାଇଥିଲି ସମଲପୁର,
ତୋର ପରା ମରଦ ଅଟେ ମୋହର
ଧନ ଆମର ଘରେ ବସାକର ।

Sanaji,
Jaithili samalpur
Tor para marada ate mohara
Dhana amar ghare basa kara.

I had been to Samalpur
My husband is a man like you
O dear ! make my home your household.

63. The following song implies pre-marital relation between a man and woman. The pair is unable to marry immediately due to some circumstantial reasons. Hence the male keeps coming to the woman to play illicit love. So he says, if caught he will be imprisoned and he will take her as his wife after the sentence is over. Then he would not have to toil in order to disclose their relationship.

ସଜନୀ, ଆସୁଥିନି ଯାଉଥିନି
ଧରାପଡ଼ିଗଲେ ଜହଲ ଯିନି,
ଗୋରୀ ଜହଲ ଫେରିଲେ ନେନି ।

*Sajani, Asuthimi sauthimi
Dhara parigale jahala jimi
Gori jahalu phirile nemi.*

I'll keep coming and going
If caught, I will go to jail
O' dear ! Back from jail I'll take you.

64. The first line of the following song is simply an analogy to the ten age of the bride in case of child marriage, which is otherwise called 'mukut biha' as the bride and groom are crowned during marriage and the crowns are preserved as proof of the occasion. In such child marriages the bride price is not paid to the bride's father, in some tribal communities.

ସଜନୀ, ଆମ ପତର କଅଁଳିଆଁ
ପିଲାକାଲୁ ନନୀ ମକୂଟ ବିହା
ସଜନୀ, ଧନ ଗଲା ମହାଲିଆ ।

*Sajani, Am patar kaalia
Pilakalu nani makuta biha,
Sajani, dhana gala mahalia*

Tender are the mango leaves
Tender you were when married.
O dear ! the bride price went in vain.

65. The following song reveals on the singer who sang a song without any taste. The first line indicates a waste material like a basket. The song sung by the male is as useless as the broken basket because it has no sense at all hence the female derides upon it.

ସଜନୀ, ବାରିର ଫଟା ଛେଟନା,
କାଏଁ ଗୀତ ଗାଏଲୁ ଲମ ଥୋତନା,
ଗୀତର ନାହିଁ ଭାବନା ।

*Sajani, Barira phata chetna,
Kae git gaelu lam thotana,
Gitar nai bhabana.*

Broken basket of the back yard,
What song did you sing, O long chin !
No meaning in your song we find.

66. Ordinarily a beautiful girl may be married to an ugly looking man. But her father has got her married to a fair complexioned man. This is uncommon in folk society.

ସଜନୀ, ଟେନା ପାତି ଲମ୍ ଲାତି,
ହୁଅ ପାଇଛୁ ଗା ବିଲେଇ ଘାଁଟି
ସଜନୀ, କୁଏଁ କଲୁ ସୁନାର କଂଟି ।

*Sajani, Tena pati lam lati
Jhia paiachu bilei ghanti,
Sajani, jue kalu sunar kati.*

Water lifter beam, a long one
Begot thou a daughter
With a cat like black complexion
Got a son-in-law like a gold cane

67. A maiden goes somewhere with the instigation of someone. The probably she loses her chastity. So she says that she has lost cleanliness of her body and repents.

ସଜନୀ, ଯାଆ ବାଲ୍ୟାକେ ଗଲି,
ଦାରୁ ଦରପନ ହଜେଇ ଦେଲି
ସିଖେନ ବୁଧି ଧରିଲି ।

*Sajani, jaa baelake gali,
Daru darapana hajai deli,
Sikhen budhi dharili.*

Sajani ! I went,
For I was asked to
Surrendered my mirror clean body
Oh ! I was empowered by the devil

68. Spring season is full of happiness due to the beautiful nature with green leaves, colourful flowers, fruits and soft breeze. This arouses passion to the utmost. Hence the woman is struck with the absence of her lover husband, which she expresses this way. It is remarkable that the tribal emotion is more akin to nature.

ସଜନୀ, ଫାଗୁନ ମାସର ବେଳେ,
ଘାରି ହୁଏ ମନ ଶୁଇଲାବେଳେ
ଧନ ତମର କଥା ହେଉଥିଲେ ।

*Sajani, Phaguna masar bele
Gharihue man suila bele
Dhana tamar katha hetauthile.*

In the spring season,
My heart throbs while I try to sleep
When your memory pricks my imagination.

69. This is the expression of love by a lover to the beloved. Sometimes a girl companion also feels like decorating her beautiful companion- 'Sazani'.

ସଜନୀ, କୁଶେର ବାରିର ମେରା
ଫୁଲ ଗୁଥିଦେମି ସରିକେ ସରା,
ଖୁସାକେ ଅଡାଲା ପରା ।

*Sajani, Kusera barir merha
Phul guthidemi sarike sara
Khusake adala para*

Cane of the sugarcane yard
Flowers I'll weave atop your head.
So it'll wrap your ball of hair.

70. This stanza exposes the fascination of a girl for her beautiful friend. Washing the home and washing the broom symbolizes cleanliness. Arrangements of flowers for her companion indicates her love for the companion.

So, in the above stanza one friend (girl) preserves flowers for the other; to adorn her. Of course the contents of the para above do not apply everywhere and the deep love between two girls may not always be based upon the same psyche.

ସଜନୀ, ବାହୁନ ଧୁଲ ଡେରିଲି,
ମାଲିହର ଫୁଲ ସଜାଇଥିଲି
ମୋର ସାଂଗ ମାଖିବା ବଲି ।

*Sajani, Barhun dhui derili,
Malighara phula sajari thili,
Mor sanga makhba bali*

Washed and put the broom upon the wall
From the florist I had fetched flower
For my friend herself.

71. The village head and the members of his family are very important persons in the village. They are rich and glamorous enough to catch the eyes of the village maids. The womenfolk mark all their activities. Hence the playing of harmonium by the Head's son is an important matter to be discussed among the folk. May be some maids think, the tune is for them. Hence they report it through a song.

ସଜନୀ, ଭାଜିଶାଗ ଅଧାକୁଲା
ଗହଟିଆ ଘର ମଝିଆ ପିଲା,
ହାରମନି ବଜାଉଥିଲା ।

*Sanaji, Bhaji saga adha kula
Gahatia ghara majhia pila,
Harmani bazau thila*

Half a bamboo fan of edible leafs
The middle son of the village head
Was playing harmonium.

72. 'Liti' is a small bird. The first line is almost nonsense. 'Supari phula' is a cordial address like, sweet heart' Now the lover has sent a passion arousing letter to his beloved. 'Supari' (-betel nut) is normally the totem of institution. Hence sending a letter the lover waits the beloved to come straight from her sleep. Here the lover is sure, she will come. Hence he is celebrating the expected coming, before hand

Here, it may be remarked that even though the content is the dialogue of a male to a female, this is song by the girls.

ସଜନୀ, ଟେଡ଼ା ପାତି ବସେ ଲିତି
ସୁପାରି ଫୁଲନେ ମୁଇଁ ଦେଲି ଚିଠି
ସଜନୀ, ନିଦନୁ ଆସିବ ଭଠି ।

*Sajani, Tena pati base liti
Supari phulane mui deli cithi
Sazani nidanu asiba uthi*

Sits the 'Liti' alop the water lifter
To my sweet heart I sent a letter
O dear ! Awake up she will and come
Straight from her slumber.

73. In the folk life people share their agricultural and kitchen products. Inviting someone to eat mangoes or any other fruit from one's grove is a symbol of cordiality. The boy had gone to the house of his beloved. This is also a plea for meeting of lovers, to eat mangoes and at the door he meets her. There he whispers a few romantic words. This strikes the memory of the beloved time and again after his departure.

ସଜନୀ, ଆମ ଖାଇଗଲୁ ଜନେ,
କେଁ କଥା କହିଲ କବାଟ ଠାରେ
ସେ କଥା ପଡୁଛେ ମନେ ।

*Sajani, Am khaiglu june,
Ke katha kahila kabata thane
Sekatha paruche mane*

You went to eat mangoes alone
What you told at the door
Now that I always remember.

74. A young man comes early in the morning from the outskirts of the village. He is smeared with the sand of the river. The time, place and his appearance arouses suspicion in the mind of the onlooker girl, who; probably, woes him. He is suspected to have been drunken and rolled over the sand or to have done some illicit act with some other woman.

ସଜନୀ, ନନ୍ଦିବାଲି ସରାସରା,
କାହିଁ ଯାଇଥିଲ ଗମଛାଧରା
ମୁହେଁନେ ପଡୁଛେ ଖରା ।

*Sajani, Nandi bali sara sara
Kahi jaithilu gamocha dhara
Muhane pauche khara.*

Smeared with the river sand
Where had you been with a towel
The sunray dazzles on your face.

75. The closest friend of a girl is also not a confidant about her friend's love affairs or choice of a lover. The friend gets some cues about are from some activities of the other or some words. Now, she is exulted to have discovered the hidden wish of her 'sajani' and gets a means of teasing her.

ସଜନୀ, ଅଳୁଆ ଚଉଲ ଝିଅ
ତୁମର ମନର କଥା କହେଲ ନାହିଁ,
ଆଜି ଜାଣିଗଲି ମୁଁ ।

Sajani, Alua caula jhai
Tumar manar katha kahela nai
Sajani aji janigali mui.

Dazzling white is the raw rice
You didn't speak out your mind
O' Sajani ! today I got it.

76. The first line is simply an analogy of the new slim schoolmaster. The schoolmaster is an elite of the village and in case he is young and bachelor, he is the centre of attraction of the rustic maids. Now, a maid expresses her wish to enjoy his contiguity slantly but violently by using a negative remark about his physique, though she does not mean it.

ସଜନୀ, ଇସ୍କୁଲେ ଲଗାଲୁ ପାତି,
ବନେ ପାତି ହେଲେ ଚାଲି ଯାଏତି,
ଠେକୁଆ ବାବୁର ଛାତି ।

Sajani,
Iskule lagalu pati
Bane pati hele chali jaeti,
Thengua babur chati.

Installed the beam in the school roof
O 'Sazani' ! Were it strong enough
I would have walked upon the bachelor's chest
From bottom to top.

77. 'Karat' is a rustic purse made of hollow spherical metal, most often silver, little two-piece ball for carrying money. Now one friend of the two sisters says that it is like carrying golden flower in the 'karat' if these two sisters are accompanied, because the two sisters are beautiful and fair complexioned like two golden flowers.

ସଜନୀ, କରାଟେ ଧରିଲୁଁ ଫୁଲ,
ତମେ ଦୁଇ ବହେନ ସୁନାର ଫୁଲ
ସଜନୀ, ଯାହିଁ ଗଲେ ମଲି ଫୁଲ ।

Sajani, Karate dharilu phula
Tame dui bahen sunara phula
Sajani jahi gale mali phula

We kept flowers in the purse
Golden flowers are you two sisters
O dear ! like jasmine you are
Go then wherever you wish.

78. This points at the corrupted motive of the government officials in power. A common man passes this sly. remark to a block office employee that he takes away the property of the government.

ସଜନୀ, ଆହାରେ କଲମିଆମ
ବଲକ ଭିତରେ କରୁଛ କାମ
ଗମଛାରେ ନେବ ଧନ ।

Sajani, Ahare kalami ama
Balaka bhitare karucha kama,
Gamchare neba dhana.

O mango of the grafted tree
You are working in the block office
You'll take money hidden in the towel.

79. 'Red soil....' This line is not nonsense though it seems so. The colour has a semblance with that of ghorakhur, which is a tobacco mixed mouth paste. It makes the user lose his/her composure of mind due to the toxic effect. In that state he or she falls victim to deceit. Now the male tells the female that he would give her such an intoxicant and lure her to elope. The metaphor of red soil can be compared with tobacco- gurakhu.

ସଜନୀ, ସଡ଼କର ଲାଲିମାଟି,
ତୋତେ ଧରେଇ ଦେମି ଘୋଡ଼ାଖୁର୍ କାଟି,
ଘୋଡ଼ାଖୁନେ ଯିବୁ ମାତି ହୋ,
ମଲି ଦହନା, ତମେ କେବେ ଆସିଲ ପହନାହୋ,
ମଲି ଦହନା, ରାଧାକେ ନେଉଛେ ଚୋର ହୋ
ରାଧା ଧର ଧରରେ ।

Sajani, sarakar lali mati

Tote dharei demi ghorakhur kati,

Ghorakune zibu mati ho.

(Refrain)Mali dahana, tame kebe asila pahanaho.

Mali dahana, radhike neuche cor ho

Radha dhara dhara re.

-Red soil of the highway

I'll give you tooth brush

And a, liquory mouthwash

You'll loose your way.

Cupid takes away the beauty

O keep her, keep her.

80. A young suitor always rivals an older husband, as long as the wife is young and good-looking. Now the old husband mourns the elopement of his beloved wife with a young lad.

ସଜନୀ, ଇଥି ଥିଲା କାହିଁ ଗଲା,
ଟାଟି ଖୁଟି ଦେଇ ବନ୍ଧକେ ଗଲା,
ଧନ ଭେଣିଆ ତୁକେଇ ନେଲା
ହୋ ମଲି ଦହନା ।

Sajani, ithi thila kahi gala
Tati khuti dei bandhke gala
Dhan bheria cukei nela.
Ho mali dahana,

Here she was
And where's she now ?
O my glory!
The lad snatched her away.

81. The lover expresses his disappointment over the happening that the beloved turns her eyes away towards some one else.

ସଜନୀ, ସାହାଜ ପତର ହାତେ
କାହାର ମହନି ଲାଗିଲା ତକେ,
ଆଡ଼ ମୁହଁ କଲୁ ମକେ ।

Sajani, Sahaj patar hate
Kahar mahani lagala tate
Ar muhu kalu mate

'Sahaz' leaf in your hand
Who shot you a flowery arrow
Who charmed you away?
Turned your eyes away
From mine.

82. This is a challenge by the male to the female. The female has teasingly invited the male, as it is understood. The male taking it as a challenge to his masculinity; challenges the female in return. He says that the invitation by the female would be paying on her part because he would play till mid night.

ସଜନୀ, କାଏଁସେ ଜାକୁଛୁ ମୋତେ
ବିରି ଦଲା ପରା ଦଲିବି ତୋକେ
ସାତ ଘଡ଼ି ବେଲା ପଡେ ।

*Sajani, Kaeje dakuchu mate
Birhi dala para dalibi toke
Sat ghari bela pate*

Friend why do you call me ?
I will pound you like pulses
For seven long hours.

83. This has no other implication other than the lines themselves. Still the psychological obsession for a male child among the women folk is remarkable.

ସଜନୀ, ସଡ଼କେ ଉଡ଼ିଲା ଧୂଳି
ପିଲାହେବା ବଲି ଗୁଡ଼ିକେ ଗଲି,
ଧନ ଲକ୍ଷେ ପଦ୍ମ ପଡ଼ାଇଲି ।

*Sajani, Sarake urila dhuli ,
Pila heba bali gurike gali,
Dhana lakhe padma charhaili*

Dust rose up over the road
I went to the temple
Praying for a male child
O dear ! I offered a milkon lotuses
To the lord.

84. The schoolmaster is an important person in the rural scenario. People notice all his activities. Hence people are sarcastic about his mistake also. The schoolmaster goes to the market and forgets to keep his school time. This is considered a sort of negligence on his part and is criticized.

ସଜନୀ, ଶେମି ଶାଗ ବାସି ହେଲା,
ଗାଁର ମାଷ୍ଟର ବଜାର ଗଲା,
ଘଡ଼ିକେ ପାଶରି ଦେଲା ।

*Sajani, Semi sag basi hela
Gaar master bazaar gala
Gharike pasri dela*

Bean leafs went rotten overnight.
The village school master went
To the market
To look at the clock he forgot.

85. The couple is in the lady's parent's house. They do not have the opportunity for mating because of absence of a special room. So in order to get privacy they move to some other place but the bell fitted to the door is an obstacle because it would awaken others if opened at night.

ସଜନୀ, ଟାଟିକୁଣେ ମୁଷା ମାଟି,
ଆମର ବାବୁ ଘରେ ଝୁମୁକା ଟାଟି,
ବାଜୁଅଛେ ନିଶା ରାତି ।

*Sajani, Tati kune musa mati,
Amar babu ghare jhumkatati
Bajucho nisa rati.*

Mouse earth at the door's nook
Jingling door of my father's house
Jingles at mid night.

MALIRE SONG

The folk songs are created and composed by the women folk in groups. They sing the song identifying the flower as the companion. Malire, Sajani, Gua Nadia, and Rasarkeli, Dalkhai are some of the collection of melodious words, which is addressed by one girl to the other. Malire, or Sajani are some of the songs, which are collected and presented here to appreciate the content of the songs as well as the tastes of its melodious music. Needless to say, all these songs are accompanied by music and dance musical instruments are played by the male musicians and the women dominate songs.

The purpose of the songs is mainly to express the feelings of the heart and emotion of the young boys and girls. But it is seen that songs of women is shared by the female of fourteen to sixty, and thus socialization takes place with both young and old, married and maiden.

The content of the song reveals the message whether a female or a male sings it. However, the words and meaning ingrained in the song also helps in revealing the cultural context of a particular land.

Some such songs are presented here. The content is clear and transparent where as the context is hidden in the content itself. This needs to be discovered from the performance context, i.e. who the singer is a male or a female and place where it is sung.

1. One maid speaks to another addressing her as 'Mali' and with a few seemingly nonsense syllables. We kept fish in the money box', of course the moneybox might imply the female symbols and the fish a male symbol. The song goes like this:

ମଲିରେ, କରାଟେ ଧରିଲୁ ମାଛ,
ଆମେ ଚାରି ବହେନି ପଏସା ଗଛ
ମଲିରେ, ଆମର ସଙ୍ଗେ ନାଲ ମିଶ

*Malire, karate dharilu macha,
Ame cari bahani paesa gacha
Malire, amar sange nai misa.*

O mali ! we kept fish
In the money box
Do not be our friend us
That we four sisters
Are money-bearing trees.

2. The bride's father in tribal culture takes bride price unlike in the dowry system in the civilized world. Woman is considered a wealth, rather a symbol of wealth among tribal. Hence the groom has to pay certain amount of money to the bride's father as bride price. But here the bride is also interested in demanding money from her parents.

The bride goes to her husband's house where she has to manage all sorts of house hold affairs like, cooking, child upbringing, account, and even out door affairs like earning a part of their livelihood. She demands money from her parents. This is implied in the stanza.

ମଲିରେ, ନୂଆ କରଖର ଅଟି
ମା ଘର ଝିଅ ଯଉଛେ ଖଟି
ଟଙ୍ଗାନେବା ହଟି ହଟି ।

*Malire, nua karakhara ati
Ma ghara zhia zauche khati
Tanga neba hati hati*

O 'Mali'! ready the bride is
Her waistband she strains
To go to her husband's
She'll take money
To drain her in-law's last penny.

3. The creeper sprouts on both sides of the brook. The brook covered with entangled creepers is shadowed and especially when the water is deep it looks dark blue in colour.

A newly married woman beautiful in spite of her dark complexion, walks along the village street and draws attention of a young man. He comments her gently and wants to know her name. An important part of folk life is to take interest in other people's affairs, unlike citydwellers.

ମଲିରେ, ନାଲେ ନାଲେ ଗଲା ଲହ

କାଲି ଝିମି ଝିମା କାହାର ବହୁ,

ମାଲିରେ ନାଆଁ ଟିକେ କହି ଦିଅ ।

Malire, nale nale gala laha

Kali zhimi zhima kahara baha

Malire, naa tike kahidia

O Mali! floated the creeper

Along the brook

Whose daughter-in-law is so dark?

Just tell me her name.

4. In rural and tribal villages, women folk plaster the walls of houses on different occasions repeatedly during childbirth, marriage, death rituals, festivals etc. to purify the house.

The repetition of wall pasting is compared to the repetition of sorrows in the life of a woman. She parts with her favourite earrings in exchange of money because she faces miseries. Consider the following song and the metaphor of life manifested.

3. The creeper sprouts on both sides of the brook. The brook covered with entangled creepers is shadowed and especially when the water is deep it looks dark blue in colour.

A newly married woman beautiful in spite of her dark complexion, walks along the village street and draws attention of a young man. He comments her gently and wants to know her name. An important part of folk life is to take interest in other people's affairs, unlike citydwellers.

ମଲିରେ, ନାଲେ ନାଲେ ଗଲା ଲହ

କାଲି ଝିମି ଝିମା କାହାର ବହ,

ମାଲିରେ ନାଆଁ ଚିକେ କହି ଦିଅ ।

Malire, nale nale gala laha

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ମଲିରେ,ଲିପିଲା କୁଁଡ଼କେ ଲିପ,
ଆମର ସାଙ୍ଗ ଯୋରିବ୍ ପଡ଼ିଛେ ଦୁଃଖ
କାନର ଫଣିଆ ବିକ ।

Malire, lipila kurhake lipa
Amar sanga zorir pariche dukha
Kanar phasia bika.

O Mali! Repaste the plastered wall
In distress are we two palls.
O, Mali! take the earnings to sell.

5. A girl tells her companion about the bygone energy of a youth she does not like, She says. O, 'Dhangri' (-young maid) won't like him as her suitor.

ମଲିରେ, ହାତୀକାନ ଦରପନ,
ଭାଙ୍ଗିଗଲା ବାବୁର ଧଙ୍ଗରାପନ,
ଧାଙ୍ଗରୀ ନାହିଁ କରେ ମନ ।

Malire, hatikana darapana
Bhangila babura dhangara pana
Dhangari nai kare mana.

O Mali, the mirrors are like elephant ears
She shattered his youth and vigour,
O Mali ! the Dhangri woos him no more.

RASARKELI SONGS

Rasarkeli is the song related to the 'erotica', which speaks for the sexually induced male. 'Rasarkeli' literally means the ware house of erotic savour'- and is used as an address to the young maid by the male. It is a song of entertainment. The songs usually start with the note, Rasarkeli re' (Rasa means the liquid and keli means erotic act or game.) Rasarkeli bo...' Here 're' is the address by male to female and 'bo' the reverse. The last syllable of this first line lengthened by the last vowel.

The Rasarkeli song is recited by both young men and women in almost all parts of western Orissa. This song is used during marriage ceremony and also during fairs and festivals. This is song through which the young men and women learn social behaviour and social customs. This is a song which is nomited with music and dance. The whole village is filled with participation of dancer, musician and audience.

The following lines are sung with a jerky rhythm by uttering three syllables each at a time at low and high pitch alternately. The following are a few examples of these sonorous beauties of words. (Each stanza is brought in as follows: -Context, original song in italics and literally translation)

1. The beloved is far away from the lover. Different features of nature like the autumnal full moon, first rain and others make you seek your beloved. Lethargy and erotic sensations attack a man or a woman violently in such an atmosphere. The absence of the partner of the other sex is very painful. Hence the lover is affected here. He narrates his own condition in daytime and dreams of his beloved tonight.

ରସରକେଲି ରେ,
ଦଶରା ମାସର ପୁନି କେଡେ ଶୋଭାବନ
ଶେୟ ପଲଙ୍କଥୀ ନିଦ ନାହିଁ ଆସେ ଧନ
ସଦା ବେଲେ ତୋରୁ କଥା ପଡ଼େ ମୋରୁ ମନେ,
ଘଡ଼ି କେ ଘଡ଼ି କେ ତନୁ ଚମକେ କାମ ସରାସନେରେ
ବିଜୁଲିବତୀ ସପନ ହେସି ମରିତୀରେ, ବିଜୁଲିବତୀ ।

*Rasarkeil re,
Dasara masara puni kede sobhabana
Seja palankathi nida nai ase dhana
Sada bel tor katha pare mor mane,
Ghari ke gharike tanu chamake kama sarasane, re
Bizulibati, sapan hesi mazha ratire, bizalibati.*

-Full glows the autumnal full moon
What a wonder,
On the quilted bed,
Sleep doesn't appear
I always remember you
Hit by cupied arrows
My body startles
From time to time
O my electric lamp ! at midnight I dream of you.

2. Here we find the reverse of the stanza cited above. Here the female is mourning the painful separation from her partner. People are very poor and have to go to distant places for earning their livelihood. The newly married wife is undergoing the pain of desertation and deprivation from her beloved husband, who is supposed to be with her to enjoy life.

ରସରୁକେଲି ହୋ,
 ବିଭା ହେଇ କରି ଧନ ଛାଡ଼ି ପଲାଇଲ,
 ଘର ଦ୍ଵାର ଛାଡ଼ି ଧନ ବିଦେଶେ ରହିଲ,
 କାହାକୁ ଦେଖି ଯେ ଦମ ଧରିଥିଲି ମୁଁ,
 ତୁମର ବିନା ଛୁଟା ଶୋକ ପଲଙ୍କ ଚାତି ଦୁଲକଇ
 ମୋର ଯୁବାବର, କେହ୍ନେ କାଟିମି ମୁଁ କାଲ,
 ଯୁବା ଦେହ ଧରି, ମରେ ହଦରି ହଦରି, ଯୁବା ଦେହ ଧରି

*Rasarkeli ho,
 Biha hei kari dhana chari palaila,
 Ghara dvara chari dhana bidese rahila,
 Kahake dekhi je dam dharithimi mui,
 Tumar bina cucha seza palanka chhati dulakai
 O mora juba bara, kenhe katimi mui kala,
 Juba deha dhari, mare hadari hadari, zuba deha dhari.*

-O, Savour of love,
 You married and deserted me
 You stayed abroad and left home
 Beholding who shall I forbear
 The quilt and cot without you raise my heart beat
 O my youthful husband, how shall I pass my moments
 O youthful man, I slacken with my bloomed physique bit by bit.

3. The husband consoles his wife asking her not to worry, as he would come home every month with provisions for the household. He would also bring home plenty of stored love and quench her desire.

Now he is at home and he does not want to spare these few priceless moments otherwise. He invites her to come into his lap so that he would taste the sweet savour. He wants to kiss her lips and hence praises her slim waist and different features of her body.

ରସର୍କେଲିରେ,
ଚିନ୍ତା ନାହିଁ କର ଧନ ମୋର କାଜେ ଭୁଲ୍,
ମାସକେ ଥରେ ମୁଁ ଖରଚ ନେଇ ଯିମି ମୁଁ
ପିରତି ଲଗାଇ ଧନ ତୋହରି ତୋର ମନ
ହେତ ପଡୁ ଥିଲେ ମନେ ପରବା ମୋର ଭବିଆ ଜନ
ଆସେ କୋଲେ ବସରେ
ଥରେ ତଖା ମଧୁ ରସ ରେ ସପୁର ଅଁଟା,
ତଖା ଚୁମା ତ ବଡ଼ା ମିଠାରେ ସପୁର ଅଁଟା ।

*Rasarkeli re,
Chinta nie kar re dhana mor kaze tui,
Maske thare kharca nei jimi mui
Pirati lagai dhana tosimi tor mana
Heta paru thile mane parba mor udia jana
Asa kole basa re
Thare chakha madhu rasa re sapura ata,
Chata chuma bara mitha re sapura ata.*

O Dear, for me you do not worry,
I'll come once a month with provisions
And with love, I shall please your mind,
Remember I'll, as long as my senses are alive,
Come you and perch in my lap
Let me taste once your savour sweet
O my slender waist to kiss the lips.
Excellent sweet O my slender waist.

4. The expression is enough to indicate the mental state of the wife. She is not satisfied with any consolation. She complains of her loneliness in absence of her husband for long tenures. Hence she does not even shun from using sarcasm against his consoling words by saying, "will the stomach fill if food is taken once a month".

ରସର୍କେଲିରେ,
ଭୁଲାଇ କହୁଚ ମନ୍ ନେଇ ଆସେ ମୋହରି,
ମାସକେ ଥରେ ଚାଖଲେ କାଏଁ ପେଟ୍ ଯିବ ପୁରି
ସେ କଥା ଲାଗିତ ଧନ ମରେ ଝୁରିଝୁରି
ନିଦ ପରେ ନାହିଁ ମଝ ରାତିରେ, କାମ ବିଛେ ଭାରି
ହେ ମୋର୍ ଯୁବା-ବର, ତୁମର୍ କଥା ଲଡ଼ବଡ଼େ ହେ!
ମୋର୍ ସରଗି ଲାଙ୍ଗ, ଏକା ଥରେକେ ଲାଙ୍ଗ ଛାଙ୍ଗ ହେ! ସରଗିଡାଙ୍ଗ।

*Rasarkeli ho,
Bhulai kahucha man nei ase mohari,
Maske thare chakhle kae pet jiba puri
Se katha lagita dhana mare jhurijhuri
Nida pare nai mazha ratire, kama bindhe bhari
Ho mor juba-bara, tumar katha larabare ho
Mor sargi langa, eka thareke langa chango ho sargidanga.*

-Now you try to deceive me by a double deal
But that touches me not.
Eat once a month and will the belly fill?
For that dear, for that I die pricked by your memory,
No more do I sleep and at midnight,
I'm, torn to pieces by arrows of cupid,
Ho! my young husband
There's no weight in your words.
My 'sal' twig! you try in vain.

The conversation of wife and husband in the Rasarkeli song is full of such heartfelt feelings. It is six to eight lines long and expresses the complete whole of two hearts.

5. This is another song sung by a married woman. In rural Orissa, elder brother's wife is subject to humour. A good number of humour is found among the attractive relation of diara and bhauja. The following song signifies the romantic relation. Sister-in-law (elder brother's wife) and brother-in-law's (husband's younger brother) incest is reflected in the following poem.

ରସକେଲି ରେ,

ଅନ୍ଧାର ଘର କେ ମୁଇଁ ଧାନଘାଟି ଗଲି
ଦିଅର ଶୁଇଛେ ବଲି ଜାନି ନ ପାରିଲି,
ଧରିଦେଲା ତେନା କିରେ ହିଟିପଲା ଗୁନା
ସେ ଗୁନାକେ ବେଟିକରି ଦିଅର
ଗାଲେ ଦେଲା ଚୁମା ରସ ଯା' ଚାଲି ଯା ରେ...

Rasarkeli re

Andhara gharake mui dhana ghati gali
Diara suichhe bali jani na parili
Dharidela dena kire hitipala guna
Se gunake betikari diara
Gale dela chuma, rasa ja chali ja re...

-O leaf eater

Entered dark room to dry the paddy
Brother-in-law's rest was unknown
He embraced and my nose pin fell down
Picking up the nose pin he kissed me
O savour! go away.

6. A young girl fell in love with a young boy. The boy kissed her and it is symbolised as the stinging of centipede. Consider the thrill of a kiss planted upon an untouched cheek.

ରସର୍କେଲିରେ,

ବାଟେ ବାଟେ ଯାଉଥିଲି ହିଟିପାଲି ଖାଲେ

ଆଜ୍ଞା ବିଛୁ ଚାବି ଦେଲା ହଲଦି ମଖା ଗାଲେ

ଦେହେ ବିଷ ଚରି ଗଲା ସଜନୀ

ଭାଲି ଭାଲି ମଲି ରସ ଯା ଚାଲି ଯାରେ ।

Rasarkeli re,

Bate bate jau thili hitipali khale

Agyan bichhu chabidela haldimakha gale

Dehe bisa charijala sajani!

Bhali bhali mali, rasa ja chalija re...

-Going on the road I fell into a pit
Centipede stung my tender cheek
Its venom befouled my whole blood
Went down I with mourning.
O savour! go away.

7. ରସର୍କେଲିରେ,

ଇ ଆଡ଼େ ନଲିଆ କିରେ ସେ ଆଡ଼େ ନଲିଆ

ଯାହାର ଘରେ ଯୁବାବିରି ବାବୁଟା ରହିଯା ହଲିଆ ।

E ade nalia kire se ade nalia

Jahar ghare juba tiri babuga rahija halia,

-The canal on this side and that
Be a slave in that home

8. ରସରକେଲିରେ,
ଘର ବନାଇଲୁଁ ପାଁଟ ପଟିଆ,
ଘରକେ ଶମିଲା ଯୋରା ମାଠିଆ
ବାହାକେ ଶମିଲା ଟାଡ଼ି,
ଆଗେ ତୋକେ ମୁହଁ କରିବି ଲାଡ଼ି ଗା,
ପଛେ ଭଗାଇବି ହାଡ଼ି ।

Ghara banialun pacha patia
Gharake samila jora mathia
Bahake samila tada,
Age toke muin karibi lada ga
Pachhe bhangaibi hada.

We built the house with five beams,
One could enter with two water-pots overhead
The arms entered into thick bangles
I'll caress you first
And then break your bones.

9. ରସରକେଲିରେ,
ଏସୁ ରୁପିଲା ଧାନ ପରୁକେ ପାଟେ,
ଆମର ଆନିଲା କନିଆ ଲେହେଁଟା କାଟେ ।

Esu rupila dhana paruhke pache
Amar anila kania lehenta kache.

-Paddy sown yields in a year
But our bride washes her panties.

Anguish of male upon a married girl; who even after the passage of a year
after marriage is washing her panties, i.e. has not yet conceived.

Conclusion :

What is oral poetry? Answering the question, Ruth Finnegan has tried to understand oral poetry in terms of three characteristics. These are a. its composition, b. its transmission, and c. its performance. (Finnegan: Oral Poetry: 1977) Composition in itself is different from composition-in-performance. Process of composition may be prior to, and largely separate from the act of performance (Ibid). In Kalahandi the oral singers are non-literate, but active in composition-in-performance in the context of marriage ceremony, socio-religious functions. Even the composition of myths and epics also takes place during composition-in-performance. Singing during child rearing or singing while working in the home or in the field are the source of composition. Even it is also evident that some women going far off villages or markets also use to sing the song and enjoy the time. They say, we forget the distance by singing songs and telling stories while walking together.

AK Ramanujan, defining the transmission of oral tradition of Indian literature writes that oral-written-oral is a cycle of transmission which revolves across the society irrespective of literate and non literate. Oral becomes written and written when performed becomes oral (Ramanujan: 1989:5). Thus the cycle of oral written and oral revolves across time and space. Finnegan, while working among the African oral poetry, express that, oral and written shade in to each other both in the present and over many centuries of historical development, and there are innumerable cases of poetry which has both oral and written elements. (Finnegan: 1977: 24)

How ever it is also evident that oral becomes written and then it appears as oral poetry. A semi literary tribal poet, named Sotan Majhi of Bhimakhol village who was good enough to create traditional songs compose new poetry and write them down. He was disseminating his song to different villages through writing those song and was getting some money. After that the songs were found in the mouth of the women folk during the marriage ceremony. The transmitters of these song are males who wanted to learn songs to

attract the women singers or the dancer who is fascinated to him. The young men use to purchase the hand written songs from the semi literary poets and sing them in marriage ceremony to defeat the girl singers. Listening of new songs tempt the girls to answer the questions with new songs. They compose new songs and gradually all these becomes popular oral songs. It was a practice in Sinapali area for at least twenty years. The poet, Mr Sodan Majhi was also a drama writer and interestingly he also wrote *Briskha Malika and Dhana malika* (names of trees and names of the paddy composed in song form).

In Kalahandi, even the written songs are also found in oral performance. Transmission in a nonliterate society is also written, but very little. But the songs once open to all become the property of everybody. But how and why these songs written by a poet become so popular? Why one can't distinguish between the oral and written text. The reason is the singer cum writer of the poetry was belong to the same cultural system, enriched with the cultural words, similes and metaphors of oral songs, spontaneous in expressing his own culture in oral form. The poetic form, rhythm, poetic language and the symbols that exists in the oral poetry was a part of his own cultural system in which he was living. Such songs are oral derived poetry but easily acceptable to the community. Some time it is also found that some talented male and female singers attend the marriage ceremony and they transmit the poetry accompanied with dance and music.

One important point need to be discussed here is that, the songs that is available in a village of Kalahandi is widely known to everybody. Some may know more and some may less, but each of them know some songs. While the elders sing the song, the younger listen and recite them in chorus. So they gradually learn the songs and one day they found that they have memorised the song. This happen when the society live in a circumstances where every individual member of the community live enriched with a composite social life. The composition of life is not different from the composition of words. His life cycle is determined with the rites of passage, passing from childhood to the end of life.

Defining the learning system of indigenous society in Africa Occitti writes, that learning strategies in such society takes place through four steps. These are participatory learning, conditioning, imitation, intrinsic reinforcement imitation, and insightful imitation. These stages comes in the life of an individual through which she tries to learn from simple situation to complex one.(Occitti;1994:48).Occitti has called it as socially initiated informal learning system, which includes learning through productive works as well as play,folklore,visual arts, community ceremonies etc.(Ibid).Village as a social group with divergence in caste and class, age and sex has one commonality that is language which is the medium of self expression. Therefore the oral tradition represent the facets of informal learning. Therefore, as though the boys and girls are non literate, the social disorder have not escaped from their intellect. They sing for entertainment , but equally they also sing for social harmony and maintain social customs. For them village is the source of practical and productive knowledge where doing is not separated from reason.

Perhaps for that reason, not only in India, but in many part of South east Asia oral tradition was most powerful. Kalahandi as a centreline between middle India and eastern India bear the same socio cultural system which was societal and educative in its own capacity. Knowledge was visible in life. Experience was learning .It was not subtracted from the reality of life. Therefore everybody in the society was the authority of tradition. Oral poetry is one of those experiential learning which was embedded in the mental text of the community. Therefore oral poetry is still a living tradition in the cultural life of Kalahandi.

The songs that were presented in this compilation reflect the life and imagination of the people of Kalahandi. About ninety five percent of the songs are collected from the women folk irrespective of their age. The songs have their own context, function and meaning. The songs are, not known, when and how the younger generation learnt from their elders.Listenig and singing are integral part of their social function. Learning the songs is intergenerational. This is also more interesting

when it becomes the vehicle of heart felt feelings of the young boys and girls. They sing the song of love, but they don't cross the social boundary. They don't break the social rules. Elders have their role to see that the young boys and girls dance and sing freely, feel enjoyable, but with in the boundaries of social rules and customs.

It is not true that the songs that is created by the contemporary non literate youths are not literature. In stead it may be inferred that each society, irrespective of literate or not, has its own communicative process that helps them in expressing their own purpose in their own given context. So the scholastic view of understanding the oral songs are different from the vision of those who use it in their own cultural context.

One important question arise while we compare the literate society with the non literate society. Why at all there were abundance of oral tradition in the society when there was no school, and even the schools are in the villages, why the children are deprived of their cultural expressions. Therefore what Ruth Finnegan express in her work Oral Poetry validates that the social hierarchy of folk and written has created this discrimination of literature. It is true that the literate children and youths from the schools either deprived of knowing the social knowledge that exists in their environment since they are educating themselves in the school. They don't feel like knowing the oral tradition that their fellow have restored through their expressive tradition. Cocontemporary children and youths, thus fail to achieve the traditional expressive knowledge that is perpetuated through the ages. Without that, they are culturally incomplete.

'Unfortunately, it is the modern or western view of understanding knowledge through reading and writing in an institution (maybe it is office or school) that denies the participation of social knowledge where oral tradition is as a part of social learning.

Unfortunately, sociology and literature, both have neglected oral poetry, and their own domain does not respect the collective memory, that is created by their ancestors. This is due to a system that exists in

Indian academic domain which sees the whole knowledge from western point of view. Examining an item of culture current in Indian tradition through western criticism is a misnomer, since the purpose and context of the item has its own meaning. Sociology of literature has to understand the orality of oral songs from Indian point of view.

Indian society has an unwritten tradition since last thousands of years. Due to its uninterrupted continuity, the songs or tales, the epics and myths are perpetuated in the socio cultural domain through the ages handed down from generation to generation. The objective of singing song is known to the singers and the users of the song. Scholars of modern society studying oral songs have a definite motive, with a definite tools for research through which they want to study.

Here, our concern is to understand the oral poetry from the community point of view and to understand why the oral songs perpetuate even today with the changing of society.

They why of using oral poems is very simple. The only reason of singing song is to entertain and enlighten or to be delighted. Indian poetics call it *rasa*. The *rasa* is possible in prose, but it is more expressed in poetry. So it is told that *Vakyam rasamtakam Kavyam*. *Rasa* is the soul of poetry. The purpose of singing the song is thus to enjoy and entertain. There are many *rasas* in Indian poetics. If anybody want to enjoy the *navarasa* (nine *rasa*) all these are available in the *kavya* and *nataka* (epic and drama) form. The *rasa* is revealed in oral expression as well as in visual expression.

Oral poetry is one of that expressive traditions that is not taught in the society, but it is learnt. It is cared and nourished spontaneously. It is not consciously taught to the younger, but it is handed down in the social occasion through dance, play and music. There is no simulated situation for singing a song. It has a context and the listening and singing has its social function with meaning.

Is it true that the community don't know the purpose and meaning of the oral poetry? If we ask the singers about the song, they would simply smile and avoid you telling that they don't know about the song.

So what could be the possible solution? Any body, irrespective of old and young, man and woman, if asked, why they sing the song, they say, they sing the song since the song is to sing.

Looking at the oral poetry from Indian poetics point of view, it is revealed that the collective mind of Indian poets, irrespective of literate and non-literate think alike and create alike cutting across the time and space. The songs are eternal verbal expression representing the visual world around them. The singers are authority of tradition and songs are tradition bound. They sing, because they need to sing. They know because it is necessary to know.

Oral poetry captures the whole epistemology of the universe, attach meaning to the geography and landscape, memorise the history of human history, connect the nature with the human and supernatural, links with the visible and invisible, reflect the high creative imagery of the individual through visible environment and hand it down to the younger.

Oral poetry is the gate way of understanding the human culture. For instance a three lines chanting of a Kondh priest reveals the eternal relation of man with nature and supernatural. The Kondh priest of Niamgiri hill chants,

Kandul (a kind of pulses) has sprouted in the tree.

Pus Parab (a grain offering festival in the month of January) has appeared

Oh mother earth, save us.

What could be the meaning of these two lines chanting? The whole chanting has a common paradigm, that is invisible and context specific. That word is "once". Kandul flower and fruit bear in Kandul tree once in a year. Similarly, the kandul festival also appear once in a year. The priest pray the earth mother goddess to save the life of human being.

Being asked to the priest, he clarified the hidden discourse of the invisible word. The invisible word in the chanting is life cycle of both plant and human. Festival is the mediating space for the interdependency

of human and plant in one hand, and human and goddess on the other. Both the man and plant are creation of the Earth mother Goddess. Life of a Kondh is regulated based on an annual cycle repeated. Like the Kandul pulses and the festival comes once in a year, human life is also comes once in the earth. This is the philosophy of life that is reflected in the chanting. Needless to say the Kondh were offering human being as sacrifice appease the *Dharnimata* Goddess Earth for better harvest.

Similar specimen of oral poetry may be examined in terms of its deep meaning from its context which is organised in the mental texts of the creator and expressed in the form of words.

Lets examine a two line song of paharia oral tradition.

The song is sung during marriage where the young boys and girls join in singing and dancing. The song is

Content

Chait mase kandamalien wetun gulun towa.

Kandamallien ke sajnu ache bici bici dua

The literal meaning of the two line song is,

Oh Kandamalien (my beloved)

In the mont of Chat(April) I went to collect towa (mahul seed)

My beloved Kandamalien's eyes are seeds.

Context :Mahul(*basia latifolia*) fruit appeared in the tree in the month of April. People use to collect mahul flower and fruits during this period.

Text:

The young man went to the forest(in Chait month) to collect Mahul seed .

His beloved is in his mind while he was collecting the mahul seed. He compared his beloved eyes with the Mahul seed.

Meaning:

Consider why the young boy compared his beloved eyes with the mahul fruit and not with other seed? It is the mahul seed that looks like

an eye both in shape and colour. The young man has compared the eyes of his beloved girl with the mahul seed. So he repeated the word (bichi bichi) twice to compare two seed with the two eyes of his beloved

If somebody has not seen the mahul seed can't understand why the young boy has compared the seed with the eyes.

Similarly the reflections of local images are abundantly available in the songs. Some specimen are even found in the Sanskrit poetics. The songs narrated in this volume represents the cultural continuity of oral poetry with that of the classical poetry of the country.

Visual metaphors:

As stated earlier, the name of the song represent the flower, black bee, abode of rasa(rasarkeli), jasmine, sajani(companion). The key element in the song is *sringara* (erotic), which is the main *rasa* out of nine. Most of the songs are based on the heartfelt feelings of the young boys and girls expressing their love and emotion. The metaphors that were used in the oral poetry are also found in the regional poetry and also in Sanskrit poetry. The evidence of the commonality are the traditional metaphors which stems out from the nature and its visual images. Black bee and flower , sun and lotus, moon and water lily, a woman with nectar of erotic sensibilities, a man with a sense of love in symbolic language are found in the written text.

Some of the visual metaphors are narrated in the songs are,

1. Young man is a paddy and young girl is a coriander
2. A young woman is like a pond in which the by passer what to have some water
3. Tender mango is compared to a new woman, ripe mango is old woman.
4. Age is like a over flowing river which neglects the advice of the parents.
5. Black is beautiful,
6. A woman unable to attract a beloved is compared to a beautiful flower without fragrance

7. A large tamarind tree with small leaves is compared to a young man with impotency
8. Raw milk means a unmarried young man fascinated by a woman
9. A girl is compared to a star
10. A good looking woman is vacated within (like a white ant vacate the clothes)
11. A sparrow in a hollow (a young married woman with a tender husband)
12. Tender mango tree symbolizes a young girl

Sociology of oral literature :

Oral songs captures the social events which is important in terms of social behaviour. It is true that community never interfere in individual freedom unless there is a violation of social rules and customs. Again, the activities of human life is validated through a social sanction. A person gets recognition through a society. Oral poetry represent the social picture which is important for the society. According to Willium R Bascom, out of four, one of the functions of folklore is to maintain social control.

There are songs of social reality that express the contemporary human life. The conflict of family life, wife husband quarrel, conflict between the mother in-law and daughter in law,, child marriage, second and third marriage of the old men, bride price,, grief of a married woman, discrimination of man over the woman, marriage of uncle's daughter as a social customs, abduction of a brother in law to his wife's sister are some of the social pictures that are narrated in oral songs.

Some scholars are of opinion that oral poetry are the representation of marginalised , down trodden, rural folk and nonliterate people. May be it is true. But the social protest and social resentment the songs contain claims that irrespective of literate or nonliterate human intellect is always rational. For instance some nonliterate girls sang a song which was revealing. They sang that there is a school in the village. But the teacher comes to the school in every other day. The social

consciousness relating to the regularity of school teacher in tribal areas has been narrated in the song. In fact it was the same school where the teacher was really absent and the girls composed the song, knowing that this is a social injustice. Given a situation, the school going girls would not have dared to utter that the teacher is irregular in the school. The song is

Sajani Semi patra kera kera

Amar Talpadare Iskula Dera

Sajani Dine chhada dine padha.

Oh Companion

Bunches of bean leaves

Our Talpadar village has a school

The teaching is done every alternate day.

Drought picture :

Kalahandi is known for its repeated drought . People depended on the government and it was delayed. Mrs. Indira Gandhi , the then Prime Minister of India visited Sinapali village in 1965 to see the drought affected people. She burst in to tears and after her visit Government opened relief camps for the starving people. The picture of drought is still in the collective memory of the people of Boden and Sinapali Block of Kalahandi. The song composed by the women folk during that period was historically important in terms of offering their gratitude to Indira Gandhi who saved thousands of starving people from the hunger and starvation. (The song is narrated in this volume pp.73).

The songs is :

The top of Castor tree withered.

Drought came to our land

Indira Gandhi helped us.

Another drought occurred in 1985. At that time Mr Rajiv Gandhi was the prime Minister. He made a tour to Sinapali during July of 1985 with his wife Mrs Sonia Gandhi. People of Sinapali and Kapsi village met the Prime Minister and talked with him. They were amazed with the white complexion of both the couple. The girls of Kapsi village, immediately after they left, composed the same event in oral song. The attraction of the song is its imagination.

The original song is narrated in page 79 of this volume. The rendering is that

Oh Sajani, the dove picked up the pebbles

Our Rajiv Gandhi is red –white

He came flying in an aeroplane

With Sonia, Oh new moon, listen me.

The villagers and the onlookers were fascinated with the red-white complexion of both the couple and that became the point of narration in their mind. Interesting the songs are found among the young girls since they have the opportunity to see the visit of Mr Rajiv Gandhi and Mrs. Sonia Gandhi in their village.

Gender disparity

Gender discrimination is found everywhere, irrespective of literate and non-literate society. In a caste and class based society like village India, women are discriminated in every sphere of life. They are not even offered a good meal to eat. This picture is narrated in a song like,

Oh Sajani,

A bow of tender bamboo

The husband is relishing meat

The wife is licking salt.

Migration is also a major issue in Kalahandi where every day many families leave their home land and earn their livelihood in other states of the country. This trend is still continuing and this has become

a socio – economic problem. Women and children also migrate with the migrant and they live a hazardous life with out having health insurance and family security . their children are pushed out from the schools. They dropout from schools, and they are also forced to help their parents as child labour.

The girls of such migrant parents sing :

Oh Sajani ,

the contractors invited our parents

Leaving home, we are in alien land

All because of the belly.

One may argue that oral poetry is traditional and it does not contain the contemporary issues. But the specimen of poems that are discussed in this volume contain both the traditional and contemporary world where they live. The poetry that are represented here the evidence of bearing the tradition and transform in modernity. Thus composition, transmission and performance form the three elements of oral poetry.

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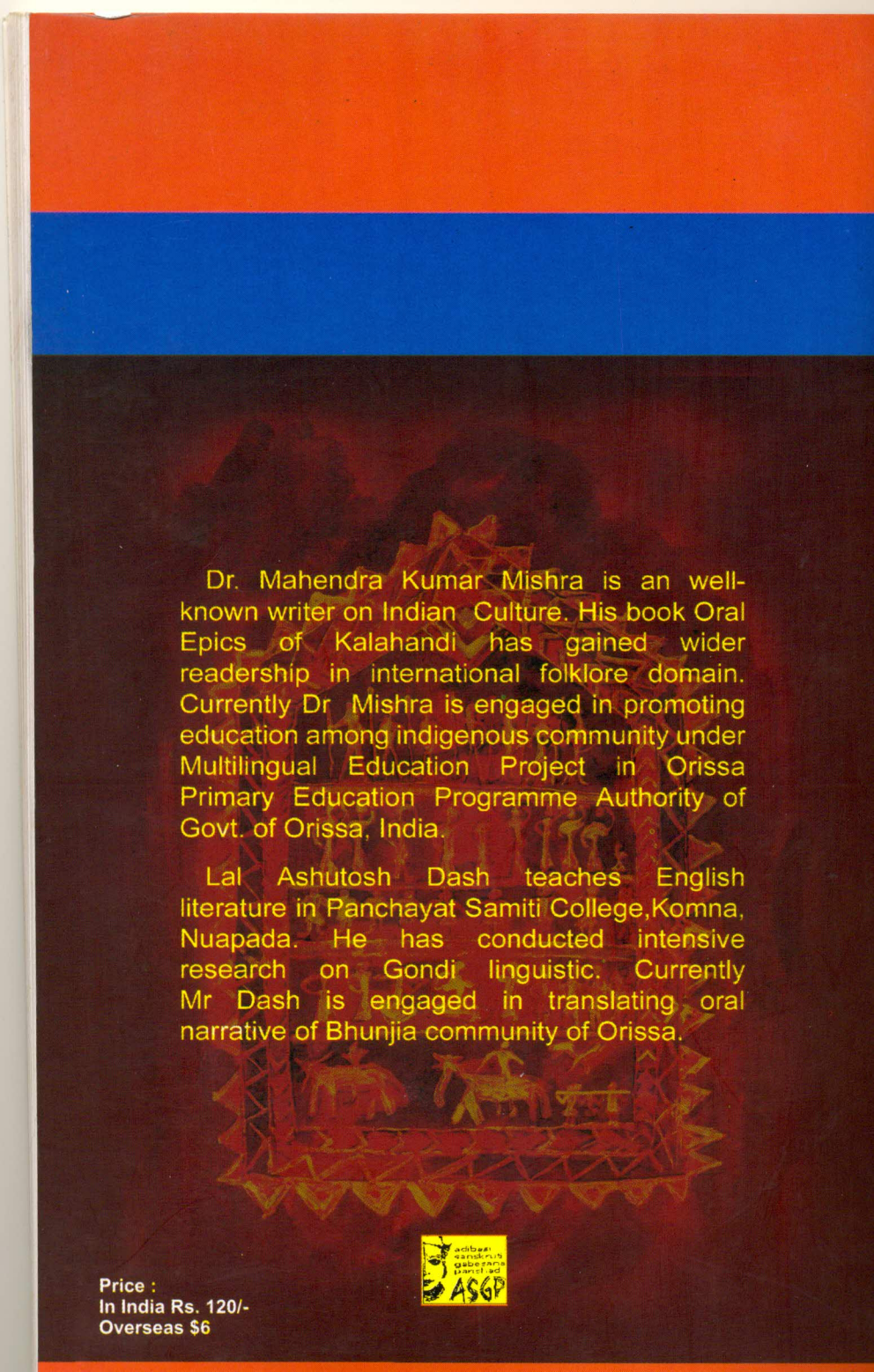
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