

## MARRIAGE SONGS of the Raj Gonds.

Written down by Abdul Majid in Ginnedhari on 27<sup>th</sup> October 1977.

Singers: Naitam Gangu (impotent man) resident of Kairaguda, Ginnedhari.

Kursinga Bhimu, (impotent man) resident of Laximpur, Ginnedhari.

Naitam Lachu, Ballanpur headman.

This is the marriage of a Naitam clan boy of the *Four Wen Saga* (phratry) to an Atram girl of the *Six Wen saga* (phratry). It was recorded at the *Kaja Kobre* (betrothal bargaining) ceremony.

Gond society is divided into four different phratries (*saga*), each phratry has hero ancestors, *wen*, (plural *wenk*). Each has a different guardian deity call *pen* (plural *penk*). It is an agnatic group based on male descent. A person may not have a formal arranged marriage (*marming*) with a person of his own phratry. It is exogamous. Though subsequent secondary marriages (*paat* marriages) are best with a person of the same phratry, though many secondary marriage do break this rule. Strictly a daughter does not belong to a phratry until after her marriage and introduction ceremony (*bhetting*), which is thereby a major 'rite de passage' for a girl into a fully mature member of Koitur society.

The preferred *marming* marriage is with ego's father's sister's daughter (*marundar*), or with his mother's brother's daughter (*marundar*), both being his *soiralir* – a typical Dravidian kinship regulation.

Kaja Kobre (betrothal bargaining) formalities.

**SONG 1,** \_\_\_\_\_ Sung on departure to perform *Kaja Kobre*.

*Rela, Rela.*

There were four *wen* brothers of our fathers and grandfathers.

Amongst these brothers the youngest (*Issru Gondi*) must call the eldest *Tado* (father's father and wife's mother's father) or *dada* (Husband's mother's father, that is they are brothers.)

Where are you preparing to journey to?

We are going to Jamtokor Velkinagar (motherland of the six *wen* *saga* (phratry)).

Where there are six brothers, who are our *mamalir* (mother's brothers and father's sister's husbands, therefore ego's marriageable *soira*).

Oh my dear son we are off to ask for a girl in marriage.

The *mamalir* (mother's brothers and father's sisters) and we are great people and the bride must be given with great honours and respect.

We are setting out from Kalchar Bamini (homeland of four hundred cavalry of the four *wen* *saga* (phratry)).

We are on our way to the city of the six *wen* brothers.

Our mothers and fathers (*akur*) are from the six *wen* brothers phratry.

The mothers fathers must give their daughter with great show of prestige.

**SONG 2:** (Sung on the way as if bystanders are asking the groom's party)

*Rela rela.*

Where are you going in such great style?

We are off to the city of our *mamalir* (mother's brothers).

We are going to the city of our *mamalir*.

We are going to make *darun* by taking from our *mamalir*.

(*darun* = give, put before, giving to take with the hands, to tie with a knot, reciprocity.)

### **SONG 3**

On reaching the house the bride asks her mother. It is sung by the people of the bride's house. All will join together in it for fun as it is not really serious. In fact it is to avoid this possibility that they sing it. While it also gives the bride a chance to do it and therefore challenge their high hopes that she will not do it.

Oh our *mamalir*, oh our *mamalir* (is heard to be cried).

Mother, oh mother, why has this procession come?

Oh sweet daughter, they are the four *wen* brothers, your *mamalir* (mother's brothers).

Oh mother, why have my *mamalir* come?

Oh my sweet daughter, they asked for you while you were still a child.

We are going to take the *paring* (clothes/brideprice) though you are still in the cradle (a young girl full of love).

Oh dear, I did not know they were going to come.

If I had known I would be sweeping my *durbar* (courtyard) spotlessly clean.

(To arrive at a house while the courtyard is being swept is a bad omen.

She wants to get rid of her *mamalir*.)

Don't make such a refusal. They are my brothers, your *mamalir* (mother's brothers).

I agree with your words but I would only give the omen to them (that are coming, not your other brothers.)

I would like to turn into a boy and carry an axe on my shoulders.

(It is a bad omen to see a man carrying an axe when he is arriving at a stranger's house to ask for something.)

I would like to show my *mamalir* a bad omen if I had known they were coming.

No my dear, don't deny the wishes of your *mamalir*, they are my brothers.

### **SONG 4:**

Sung by those who give the bride away (*soira*) and replied to by the groom's party when they have sat down after their arrival at the bride's house. The *soira* are the people belonging to the phratry of the mother, and thereby highly marriageable as a person's preferred wife is described as *soirana baiko nawa selad*, my *soira*'s girls are my younger sisters.

The people of the four brothers have arrived at Jamtokor Welkinagar.

The six Raja brothers of Jamtokor Velkinagar must spread a carpet for them.

A pair of huge brass water vessels must be placed before our *soira* who own *lakhs* of rupees.

They have entered our city with 400 cavalry and 400 infantry.

The four brothers have entered our city and they must hang the *tudum* drum around their necks (they must beat the *tudum* around the village announcing their intentions).

The four brothers must crash on the drums in the city of six brothers.

The four brothers have come to camp in our city.

They have come with their horses and tied them up.

After washing their feet they have sat on the carpet.

"You oh rajas (kings), we greet you '*Ram Ram*'.

You are so wealthy and also our *dadalir* (elder brothers).

You have come to our house and we have exchanged our greetings.

Tobacco and pipes have been offered to you and you have taken them.

How and from where have you come from, oh *sange* (father's sister's son, sons of *soira* call each other *sange* - sons of *mamalir*).

You are such wealthy people, oh our *soira*, *sange*. (Said by the groom's party).

We are only poor people, oh *sange* (father's sister's son).

Anyhow we have come to your house, oh *sange*.

We have only come to your house to take any left over thing.

We have come to you because we have nothing, oh *sange*.

Oh *sange*, we have come to you hoping to get something.

Oh, *sange* at least take a glimpse of us

At least look and see if there are some left over grains in your storage baskets or pots lying at the bottom."

**SONG 5.** Sung on the way to *awal* (Mother Goddess) in the bride's village. Both parties are mixed together. The girl asks questions. They reply and are told to look for the omens)

They are the six brothers and they must be called *tado* (father's father) and their sisters.

Oh *tado* (father's father) where are you marching to?

We are only walking through the village to visit the *awal* (village mother goddess).

We are only going to visit her and introduce ourselves to her

We are looking to see if the *usiri* (omen) bird is on the right hand side.

(for a good omen it must fly across your path towards the left side in front of you.)

And look to see if the *tawe* bird is on the left side.

Look carefully for the good omens,

And be careful in case it shows a bad omen

If it is bad take a step backwards.

If it is good then step forwards.

If the *usiri* comes on the right side showing its right wing...

If the *tawe* comes on the left side showing its left wing...

The good omen has come, put your feet forwards.

Now they must go on to the *awal* shrine.

**SONG 6** (after arriving at *awal* shrine they call her to come to the shrine and they sing to her with this meaning. *Marke Awal* is her full name.

*Marke Awal* will come dressed with two blankets.

She will be holding a walking stick in her hand.

She will be wearing a pair of sandals.

She comes to the sound of a pair of *dhol* (big round hand drums).

She comes with the sound of a pair of *pepre* (oboe trumpets).

She comes hearing the noise of the *waja gaja* (crash bang).

They have come to be introduced to me (*awal*)

The *Marke Awal* is coming to the house of the bride with battalions.

And must be made to sit in our home with her battalions.

**SONG 7.**

The *Marke Awal* are seven sisters.

They call each other *bai* (sister)

We are taking a golden winnowing fan to *Marke Awal*.

A comb made of horn has been taken to *Marke Awal*.

*Awal* must now comb her hair.

She sits to have the lice taken out of her hair.

(If you go to meet a person and on arriving she is removing lice, it is a bad omen)

That would be bad for us farmers coming to see you.

So tie your hair in a bun, *Marke Awal*.

**SONG 8.** (Sung while sitting at the *Marke Awal* shrine).

Under which tree does our *awal* live?

The *awal's* tree is the *neem* tree.

The *neem* tree has a good shade that is cool.

Which is the tree under which *Bhimal* sits?

*Bhimal* has the *irup* tree.

The *irup* tree also has a good cool shade.

Under which tree does the *aki* rest?

The *aki* rests under the *dhondera* tree.

The *dhondera* tree also has a good cool shade.

**SONG 9.** (a song by the assembled at *Marke Awal* shrine)

I have come to meet you *behti* (daughter).  
What have you brought with you?  
I have brought the cowdung to make your altar.  
What have you brought, oh bride?  
I have brought the *kuku* and *gulwal*, oh awal.

**SONG 10.** (a continuation of above)

Who lives in Nau Kot Dhauragiri?  
It is the seat of Shri Shembu Mahadeval.  
His wife is the daughter of Girja Guru, called Girjal Parbatal.  
You seven sisters, the *Marke Awal*, we have come to meet you.  
Oh bride, what have you brought?  
I have brought some clothes all folded up, oh mothers.

**SONG 11.** Sung while sitting showing clothes to *awal*. This song is properly sung at marriage time, but now they sing it just for pleasure

There are six *devaris* (priests) to do the puja to *awal*  
Among them which *devari* will do the puja now?  
Maravi Lachu *Devari* will do the puja now.  
Oh *devari* be careful not to over look any detail.

**SONG 12.** Sung when returning to the house from the *awal* shrine and just as they reach the house. These songs are gestures using euphemisms for real actors.

You have been saying that you have no mate for so long.  
A pair of doves live in the palaces.  
The pair of doves live in the *Akash* (ether)  
Now we have brought you a spouse (mate) don't sulk.

**SONG 13.** (as above)

How many *wens* (ancestral deities) does the *mirdal* have? (*mirdal* is a meaningless euphemism for the bride)  
She is the daughter of the four *wen saga* (phratry).  
How many *wen* does the groom have? (the cheetah)  
He has six *wen* (ancestral spirits).  
The bride wants to take water to bathe the cheetah.  
Let it be, don't bring the water.  
I may slip down in the mud (says groom).  
Be careful don't tread on the mud.

**SONG 14.** The groom asks the girl. These songs are gestures using euphemisms instead of actions.

Oh you girl, who is plucking the *bhagi* (spinach); whose daughter are you?  
Oh boy, I am the daughter of six *wen*.  
You who are passing beside me, how many *wen* do you have?  
I am the boy of six *wen*.  
Young boy, please wait a minute and I will have a bath.  
Oh girl I am the horseback messenger of the king and cannot stop.

### **SONG 15.**

You my brother, are you going to the field?  
Don't pluck the bunches of *pesel*.  
If my father sees you doing this he will be angry.  
Oh your father, he could be my *morial* (wife's father) or my *mamal* (mother's brother).  
Oh my brother, going through the field, don't pluck the *jaata*.  
If my mother sees you she will be angry.  
Oh your mother, she could be my *aati* (mother's brother's wife) or my *porad* (wife's mother).

**SONG 16.** Sung during the *marming mitusmar* ceremony. The bride's own family are giving *andoli* (wedding gifts) for her marriage gift.

This sister (the bride) has six brothers.  
She may go to do *kalimar* (greetings) with the brothers.  
Then what will they give her as a gift?  
They will give her the *sari* (silver necklace).  
That sister (the bride) has six *pepi* (father's elder brothers).  
She may do greetings to the *pepir*.  
What gifts will the *pepir* give her?  
They will give her the *sakri* (a chain necklace with silver pendants).  
She may go to greet her six fathers.  
What will they give her as gifts?  
They will give her the *paati* (silver belt) as gifts.

(These things given at marriage are call *andoli*. If the husband's parents give her gifts they have no special name.)

**SONG 17.** The bride is going to her husband's house on a horse. It is sung while sprinkling rice at the *Goverdhan Gautan* (home of the gods).

The bride rides on a horse.  
Her belongings follow her on a cart.

**SONG 18.** Sung while drawing the *lihi* (the pattern drawn in rice flour on the marriage ceremonial site).

The *Dhatri Awalik* are seven in number (Mothers of the Earth.)  
What lies on the *dhatri* (earth)?  
On the *dhatri* (earth) is the *lihi* (drawing/pattern).  
On the *lihi* lies the five *chiti* (pots) of *dana* (grain).  
What is above the five *chiti* of *dana*?  
Above the five *chiti* of *dana* is the *Kare Kopa*.  
What is in the *Kare Kopa*?  
In the *Kare Kopa* is the water of seven and seven oceans.  
What is above the water of the oceans?  
Above the water is the *tawri* (small pottery lids).  
What is above the *tawri*?  
Above the *tawri* is the oil.  
Above the oil is the *waati* (wick).  
What is above the *waati*?  
Above the *waati* is the  *jyoti* (flame/light).  
What encircles the *lihi*?  
The *lihi* is surrounded by the five strings.  
What is above the *lihi*?  
Over the *lihi* are the two *kutul* (low wooden stools)  
What is above the two *kutul*?  
Above the *kutul* is the *perek* (they spread rice on the seat).  
What is on the *perek*?  
On the *perek* is the *bai* (girl = the deity Girja Parvati, the bride).  
What is above the *bai*?  
Shri Barsinga has climbed on top of the *bai* (the marriage crown).  
The *sari* and *sakri* have climbed onto her neck.

**SONG 19.** This song is in Marathi.

We have to go to the city.  
Why do we have to go to the city?  
We have to go to the house of the oil seller.  
We have to go to his house?

**Song 20.** Sung after returning from the shrine of Awal.

*The yande* flower and the *pande* flower, where are they waiving? (The flowers are the bride and groom)  
They are waiving on the body of the *aaji* (father's mother) and the *tado* (father's father).  
The body of the bride and groom must be anointed with oil.  
The Parande Ranga water must be prepared for bathing (Parande means both hot and cold water mixed together to be warm).

**SONG 21.** Sung during *Yer Doswal* (pouring the water ceremony) after returning from the *Awal* shrine.

The brothers of the bride have gone to the golden world, *kaliyug*.  
They have brought golden water and given it to the bride.  
Then she begins to glisten like gold.  
Now the brothers of the bride have gone to the silver *kaliyug*.  
They have brought silver water and given it to the girl.  
Now she begins to shine like silver.

**SONG 22.** Sung five days after the marriage at Akarneke and Citineke.

Now in your cradle and in your bed, by rolling in it you are pregnant.  
You were in the palanquin. While you were sleeping somebody took your ring.

The brave worldly warrior, Naitam Koko (husband's younger brother) has taken it at the dead of night.

He has rolled and rolled in the bed and taken it away.

**Song 23.** This song makes no sense.

**Song 24.** Sung while eating *jevon* at night.

The wind is blowing 'bura bura'.

It has taken away my *bawa's* (daughter's husband) turban.

The shameless Atram (a clan name) daughter has fallen in love with him.

There is a mango grove where my daughter's husband bathes.

It echoes with the wind in the trees.

There is a grove of pawpaw trees where my daughter's husband bathes.

**SONG 25.** Sung with joy during the *jevon* feast at night emphasising the men's feeling of shared unity.

The water that my brother bathed in (during the marriage *lihi* ceremony).

To where has it flowed?

The water that my brother bathed in has flowed to the Ganges (the Godavari River).

The water that my sister bathed in, where has it flowed?

The water that my sister has bathed in has gone to the milk wells (her breasts).

**SONG 26.** Sung with joy during the *jevon* feast at night emphasising the men's feeling of unity.

A yellow fish called *Bodi Min* came out of the basket of water.

The *Bodi* fish has drowned and the sister is shining.

In a pool the size of a winnowing fan a fish called *Kuche Min* was caught.

The *Kuche Min* has drowned and the sister began to shine.

(The girl is the fish here)

**SONG 27.** Sung at *Ovary Tendmar*, water and *aarti danriya* with *sama sundi* or *perek sundi* and *saapi sundi* are circled over the bride and groom and then the bits are scattered by the bride's father. Then a male kin of the groom also does it. Then a few *paisa* (pennies) are circled round the *pepre* (oboe trumpet) player and the *dhol* (drum) beaters and given to them. It is done once after *yer doswal* (the water pouring) and also during the *Lagri*.

The people of 12 villages are gathered here.

The people of 16 villages have gathered here.

These are the places that the *mokashi* (feudal king's agent) visits.

**SONG 28.** Sung during *Lagri* and *Yer Doswal* to hoots of laughter when showing mirrors. This is only done at later secondary *paat* remarriages.

The cock of the Naitams will roam about crowing.

The hen of the Atrams will be coming '*yelser, yelser*'.

(This is the position the hen takes up low to the ground to be fucked)

The cock will be coming beating the ground with one wing and holding the other in the air.

Then the Atram hen will weep bitterly

**SONG 29.** Sung during *Kaja Kobra* when the groom's family are bargaining for the brideprice of the girl.

The *mamalir* are six wren brothers in all.

(The bride's mother says to the groom) You must call the six brothers *mamalir*.

There is a *pandal* (awning) ready in the courtyard of our six brothers.

The carpet has been spread beneath its shade.

(The groom asks the *mamalir*) Sit on the carpet in the shade of the *pandal* (awning).

How can I sit on the carpet when I have no daughter (to give you.

This means we will pay your brideprice. Said by the bride's father.)

Okay, You may hide your wealth but don't hide your daughter

(said by the groom)

There are six *akur* (father's brothers). They are six brothers.

Oh you *akur* (father's bothers) come and sit under the *pandal* (shelter).

We have spread a blanket of grass (for you) (groom continues).

Come and sit and drink the *saka yer* (sweetened water) oh *akur* (father's brothers).

(Akur reply) You have asked me to drink but I have no *tang miad* (daughter's daughters) to give you.

(Groom says) Oh *akur* (father's brothers), you may hide your wealth but show me your granddaughters.

The groom has four *pepir* (father's elder brothers

(Groom says) Oh *mamalir*, the courtyard of my *pepir* is spread with a shining carpet.

Oh *Mamalir* come and have the warm water for your feet in my *pepir's* courtyard

(*Pepir* reply) If we come and wash our feet, we have no daughter to show you.

(Groom replies) Oh *pepir*, hide your wealth but not your daughter.

### **SONG 30**

*Seriad* (wives of the same brothers) are six in number.

They are six sisters.

They are going to fetch the water in golden vessels.

They have set off to go to a beautifully built well.

It is built with well made walls and a good stone plinth.



**SONG 31.** Bride singing. It is sung twice. When they go to ask for a bride, then it is a message to tell as if the bride has been taken and again after *lagri* at the time of giving *pari kapri*. This song is sung at the time of bargaining the amount of the *pari* (brideprice). It is hoped to make peace. The *velhi* creeper is the Koitur euphemism for the kinship system that has male banches with tendrils that hold on and femal branches that only bear fruit but do not support the plant.

The sisters of the brothers are six *wen* in number.  
The sisters will have to call them *tado* (father's father).  
*Vehli* (creeper), oh creeper, you are the purest of creepers,  
Oh brother I have been entwined in the creeper.  
Measuring it they take the *pari* (brideprice/money).  
On the right wing is the *singali pari* (brideprice/money or clan of five kuru measures).  
On the left wing is the *sarungli pari* (brideprice/clan of six *kuru* (measures)).  
You have fulfilled the work of the *pari*, oh *tado* (elder brothers and father's father).  
You *tado* (father's father and elder brothers) have given me *an paring* (means 'with pari' that is with money or bride price).  
The shepherd is coming along the road.  
On his shoulders he is wearing a *gambri* (woollen blanket).  
In his hands he is carrying a walking stick.  
He is driving the goats along the road.  
Then the *mamalir* may have threatened the shepherd. (The suggestion is that the *mamalir* have stolen the goat for the *jevan* (feast).  
Oh my *tado* (elder brothers and father's fathers) don't accept this stolen goat.  
I think a business man (merchant) may be on his way here.  
Then my *mamalir* may have threatened him.  
And they might have stolen the *paring* (cloth) from him.  
Don't accept this stolen cloth.  
It may be broadcasted that I am the daughter of a thief.

(In this song *pari* means money (brideprice), the fifteen rupees that is given.  
*Kapri* means the clothe, a *chaukri* means eight clothes)

A *salé* (weaver) was travelling along the road.  
My *mamalir* have threatened him and stolen the *kapri* (cloth) from him.  
Don't accept the stolen *kapri* from him.  
People will call me the daughter of a thief.  
Saying this the bride may weep.

**SONG 32.** Sung after the *Kare Kobre* bargaining over the brideprice is successful and the groom's party is about to leave.

Oh sister it is the *saga* (phratry) of the six brothers.  
The phratry is now split up.  
Split with the phratry of the four brothers.  
Now these groups are entwined. (meaning that the girl has been taken out of the six *wen saga* and has entered the four *wen saga*.)  
The four brothers *saga* is now entwined.  
And also it has been mixed together (joined) *mare mata*.  
Oh *tado* (father's father) we will have to say 'Ram, ram'  
And the horses must be saddled.  
The *parir* (gift givers) must exchange their 'Ram, ram'.  
Oh *parir* (gift givers) we are leaving for our hamlet (*guda*).  
The *parir* (gift givers) will ride off on their horses.

As they ride off they are like 400 batalions.  
 The army is making its retreat.  
 Their bedding has been put on their horses.  
 A pair of drums are being beaten.  
 A pair of *pepre* (oboe trumpets) are echoing.  
 The army is leaving our Jamtokor Velkinagar.  
 They are departing from the hamlet of the six *saga* people.  
 Again they may come to the *siwa* (boundary) of our hamlet.  
 As they are leaving the boundary they may come again.  
 Now the *rajas* (kings) of the six brothers are going to Kalchar Bamuni.  
 Now the four *wen* brothers have reached their hamlet boundary.  
 They are returning to their own village.  
 The mothers are the four sisters.  
 The *babalir* (fathers) must call them *baiye*.  
*Baiye* (mother) they are returning after arranging their match.  
 Let us go and draw the water of the two Ganges Rivers.  
 We can hear the sound of the pair of drums (as they approach).  
 We can hear the tune of two *pepre* (oboe trumpets).  
 They have reached their hamlet.  
 They came like battalion of 400 men.  
 They looked like a crowd of *lakhs* (thousands) of people.  
 We have spread a carpet for them to sit on.  
 All the *rajas* (kings) have sat on the carpet.  
 The *babalir* (fathers) have come and they can call each other *tado* (father's father).  
 The work that they have gone to do, is it a ripe or unripe fruit.  
 The work they have gone to do is a ripe fruit.  
 The *mamalir* and *akur* have given (the girl) with great prestige.

**SONG 33.** Sung by women of the bride's village when preparing food for their *sur vertalir* who take the food with them. The *pedgi soiralir* cook it with *gorka* (spear) brought by the *sur vertalir* and they eat it at the *soiralir's* house.

Where should we serve the food to the *sur vertalir*?  
 The food must be served in the *kona* (central room between the *osiri* and the *bida*).  
 They were served food that was cooked with *til* (sesamum) oil (therefore very tasty).  
 But he had spoilt the *kona* by defacattig there.  
 Where should we serve the food to the *sur vertalir*?  
 They must be fed in the *bida*.  
 They ate food with *garka* it and has spoiled the *bida*.  
 Then again we fed them in the *osiri*.  
 After eating food with *garka* he soiled the *osiri*.

**SONG 34.** Sung by the *siwalir* when receiving the *survertal* and joking at them while he eats his food. The things for this food was brought by *survertalir* and prepared by *pedgi siwalir*. After this they go to the *awal*.

The *sangok* (father's sister's sons) and the *miark* (daughters/girls) of the *mamalir*, they call each other *sango* (father's sister's sons).  
 The *seka* tree is a brown colour.  
 The head of the *survertal* is brown in the same way (here the *sango* are *survertal*).  
 The *yali* tree is brown, so brown.  
 The body of the *survertal* is brown in the same way.  
 The *iruptree* is brown, oh *sango*.  
 The *survertal's* hands are brown in the same way.

The *yali* tree is brown, so brown.  
The *survertalir*'s forehead is just as brown.

**SONG 35.** as above

There are seven pairs of snakes on the head of the *survertalir*.  
On the body of the *survertalir* are seven pairs of snakes.  
On the buttocks of the *survertalir* there are seven pairs of scorpions.

**SONG 36.** The people sing this as if they are the bride. The bride accuses her elder brothers/grandfathers unhappily for giving her to others just for the *pari* (brideprice) cloth and rupees 15.50. This is sung after they have completed the *kaja kobre* (betrothal) arrangements and the groom's party have left.

The *tamur* (younger brothers) of the *bai* are six *tadur* (father's fathers).  
She calls them *tado* (father's father).  
You, *tado* (father's father), you have given me a *pari* clan member (made me a *pari*).  
You are happy that you have made me a *pari* (a clan member).  
*Tadur* (father's fathers) replies) We have not given you a *pari* (a clan member).  
But your *aaji* (father's mother) has given it to you.  
Covered by a pair of blankets the bribe is going to see the *aaji*.  
She sits in her lap (like a child) and she begs,  
"You *aaji* (father's mother), you have given me in exchange for *pari*", she weeps bitterly "Jar jar".  
"I have not given you away, but your *pepir* (father's elder brother) has given you away.  
She has left to see the *pepi* and sits on his thigh.  
She weeps there bitterly 'jara jara'  
"You have taken the *saka* (same as *pari* (clan)  
"I have not given you away, daughter, our *peri* (father's elder brother's wife) has given you away.  
She goes to the *peri* and weeps to the *peri*, 'jar jar'.  
She asks, "You have given me away for *pari* (gifts), *peri*".  
I have not given you away for *pari*, *bai* (daughter).  
Your father has given you away, *bai* (daughter)  
She goes to her *baba* (father).  
"You, father, have given me in exchange for *pari* (gifts) and have cut me off."

**SONG 37.** After the *kaja kobre*, betrothal ceremony) while the *survertalir* are taking the bride away, the people sing this weeping for their daughter who has been given away. All howl with tears at this.

The sister of the six younger brothers has left for a foreign land.  
Our *kona* (middle rooms) is silent as the *bai* (girl) has gone to a foreign land.  
Our *bida* (inner room) is empty and silent as our *bai* has gone to a distant land.  
Our *osiri* is silent and empty as our *bai* has left for a distant land.  
The swing hangs lifeless as our *bai* has left for a distant land.  
The bird cage (meaning swing) hangs empty as our *bai* girl has left for a foreign land.

**SONG 38.** Sung when the girl is taken away by *survertalir*.

A great battalion has marched away from Jamtokor Velkinagar.  
A pair of drums have made a great noise.  
*Bai* (daughter) you must call to your *tado* (father's father).  
We must not travel at night.  
If we march at night you may be called the *bai* (daughter) of a thief.  
We should march at daytime.  
People will then say that I am the daughter of a *kunbi* (farmer).  
They are marching by daylight  
People will call me the *bai* (daughter) of a *raja* (king).  
We must not travel by night at all

**SONG 39.** Sung while travelling from bride's village to the grooms village, (from *siwalir na nar* to *tarwalir na nar.*)

When will we reach the house of many rooms (groom's house, meant sarcastically'  
When do we get to Kilchar Bamuni, oh *sange* (mother's brother's daughter, daughter of *mamali*, parental generation of another *saga* (phratry)  
When do we get to the door of the four *tamun* (younger brothers)?  
You teenage girl, you star with rounded cheeks, when do we get there?  
If we go by car we may get there today.  
But if we go by bullock cart we won't get there till the day after tomorrow.  
Oh *sange*, (*sange* are the respective daughters of two people who call each other *mama*) if we go by train we could get there today.  
Oh when will we get to *Kulchar Bamuni*?

**SONG 40.** Sung at the departure of bride and during the journey to groom's village. It is sung by those accompanying the bride.

"Oh daughter of the *aati* get into the cart.  
"You, the son of my *mama*, (bride to groom) I won't come on the cart, send me a train."  
"There is no petrol for the vehicle (*gari* = wheel).  
You, son of my *mama*, send me a horse."  
"Oh daughter of my *aati* (father's sister or mother's brother's wife), there is no saddle for the horse."  
"Oh, son of my *mama* (mother's brother), send me a car.  
"Oh, Rani, there is no one to clean the car.

**SONG 41.**

The drum of the *sarvir* (six wen phratry) is made from a tiger's head.  
The six brothers will beat the drum  
The sleep of the four brother's (phratry) has been disturbed by the racket.

**SONG 42.**

400 people have come, rush off and get one hundred barrels of water (to wash their feet).  
Oh sister 400 hundred carts have come, rush off and get 100 bundles of *kadba* (cattle fodder).  
Oh brother, fetch one hundred plates of food for the hundred who have come.  
Get a hundred baskets of *gato* (food) and a hundred pots of gravy.

### **Song 43.**

Oh father there are too many people.  
The food will not be enough.  
The plates of food are not enough.  
Oh daughter, there are too many people.  
Too many have come, the water is not enough.  
Too many have come, the curry is not enough.  
Too many have come, the straw is not enough.

### **SONG 44.** Sung as if by the *aati* (father's sister) of the groom.

My father's brothers are four *wen* (phratry).  
My father will call them *tado* (father's father)  
Oh *tado* (father's father), there is a light at the *siwar* (village boundary). Whose is  
it?  
The *mamalir* (older generation of another *saga* (phratry) are six *wen* younger  
brothers (*tamun*).  
My son it is the fruit of their stomachs.  
My son she has spread the carpet.  
Who is doing the puja at our *siwar* (village boundary)?  
Oh my son, the *akur* (mother's father) are six *wen* younger brothers (*tamun*).  
It is the *puja* of the *akur* (mother's father).

### **SONG 45.** Sung when the *survertalir* arrive.

Oh *pariad* (people of my clan) where have you come from and how?  
I have come for my daughter, oh *pariad*.  
At what time did you come?  
Oh *pariad* I came when the cattle leave to graze in the forest (early morning).  
What deep water have you had to cross?  
I crossed waters up to my neck.  
I have crossed waters by swimming.  
What have you brought for us oh *pariad*?  
I have just brought two flat breads and two *kobre* (coconuts) a pair of dates and  
two *paisa* (pennies).

### **SONG 46.** Sung while greeting the bride's party after being brought by the *survertalir*.

How did the people of the sister get here?  
The sister's people came by motorcar (very grand for those days).  
But the motorcar slipped away.  
How did the people of the sister get here?  
They came by train.  
But the train slipped away.  
By slipping away it vanished.

### **SONG 47.**

The *babal* (father) may call us mother.  
The *mamalir* (father's sisters people) are 6 *wen* brothers.  
How great has the wealth of the *mamalir* become?  
It stretches right up to the village boundary.  
Where has the wealth of the *mamalir* stopped?  
Oh my son it has stopped at the manure pit.  
Where does the wealth of the manure pit stand? It stood at *vesi yudara* (?).  
And from there it stood at *chaduk*.  
And from there it stood at the *mandop* (the sun shelter in the field).

### **SONG 48.**

All the broth has been drunk.  
Don't say all the broth has been drunk.  
Oh elder brother's wife, you have drunk too much broth.

### **SONG 49.**

Oh you *sango* maiden the broth is not enough for us.  
I don't know who is there, but they cannot drink it all.

### **SONG 50.**

Oh *pari* your house is covered in rotten old bamboo mats.  
Your *pari* (brideprice) has come. Your *pari* has come.  
Oh *sango* your sari cloth is very short.  
Your *sari* does not look good at all.  
Oh *Issru Gondi* (youngest brother) you *pari* has come.  
Your sari is short. It is far too short.

### **SONG 51.**

The new *pari* (brideprice) has come.  
You, *Issra bai*, come and grind the grain.  
Now it is the *puja* of the six *wen* brothers.  
Now the six *wen* brethren have come to our hamlet.  
The *bawa* (father) may see the *bai* (girl) amongst the bean creeper (*vehli*).  
The *bawa* (father) has seen the *puja* to the *bai* (girl).

### **SONG 52.**

Sung during *yer doswal* (pouring water over the bride and groom). Sung by the bride's mother, who calls the groom her father thus honouring him.

The *Dhatri Awalir* (Earth Mother Goddess) are from the seven sister phratry.  
Mother what is on the *dhartri* (earth)?  
The *lihi* (flour patterns) is on the *dhartri* (earth).  
On the earth is the mother *kutul* (the ritual stool).  
Who is sat on the *kutul* (stool)?  
*Babal* (father, the groom) is sitting on the stool.  
What is on the *Babal*?  
*Shri Barsinga* (the wedding crown) has climbed on the *Baba* (father, the groom).

### **SONG 53.**

Oh *angek* (elder brothers's wives) go to the market.

Then the *babalk* (fathers) will call them, 'Are you off to market?'

Oh *angek* (elder brothers's wives) call, 'Come to us with your ripe fruits (young brides).

Why don't we all go together?'

(Bride sings to *seriark* (husband's brothers's wives)). You *seriak*, wait for me. I am coming.

### **SONG 54.** Sung in the Marathi language.

Oh brother, what are you thinking in your heart?

We have to go to a big house.

You brother, will come with us.

### **SONG 55.**

Oh *yande* flower, where does it waive?

It waives on the bosom of *aaji* (father's mother) and *tado* (father's father).

The flower will waive on the slender body of the *tado* (father's father).

The flower will waive over the large water vessel.

### **SONG 56.**

The clouds have come from the west.

The floods have come from the east.

Where has the flood drained away to?

The *lendi* plants (jamun) have sprouted in the floods.

The *lendi* plants have grown very fast.

There were sons of the four *wen saga* (phratry.

There were daughters of the six *wen saga* (phatry – the 4 and 6 *wen saga* can intermarry).

Don't unstitch the seams.

### **SONG 57.**

My *babal* (father's people) have come to the courtyard of my *tado* (father's father)

The courtyard is glistening with golden beams.

He has come to inspect the twelve villages granted to him by the king.

He took a long time to inspect them.

### **SONG 58.**

From the tiny puddle of water the *bodi* fish has come in a tiny basket.

The *bodi* fish has flipped back into the water.

A bright shining light has appeared.

A tiny pool is as wide as a winnowing fan.

From it has come the *puchi* fish.

The *puchi* fish has slipped back again.

The brother has begun to shine

## **SONG 59.**

The curry has been served in dirty pots.  
The food has been served in rotten old baskets.  
*Sango*, you are an old womb (vagina).  
Whose pot has been stolen by the boys grazing the cattle?  
The grazing boys have stolen *sango's* pot.  
The grazing boys have made the pot filthy.  
Somu has spoilt her womb (vagina).  
The old he-goat is crying 'ko, ko,' climbing up on *Issru Gondi* (youngest brother).  
(When fucking a she-goat the he-goat makes the sound, 'ko, ko'.)  
Raju father is crying "kore, kore."  
"I will give half my life, but the other half I will not give".  
Jangu father is opening and closing the room.  
He cries "meh, meh" like a she-goat.  
I will give only half my life.  
Godru father is opening and closing the room.  
He is crying "kore, kore."  
Badu father is opening and closing the room.  
He is crying, "meh, meh."

## **SONG 60.**      Sung during pauduri (washing the feet to welcome a new guest)

The bird is hopping up and down.  
It is the *manke* bird (the bride).  
It is hopping from *pandal* to *pandal* (sunshade).  
Dhamu father's head is just like a buffaloes head.  
Manke's ears are just like a buffaloes ears.



## **SONG 61.**

NALVIRA (history). Song of the Four *Wen* Phratry. Sung in the night after the first day and before the *lihi* and *lagri* on day two. This phratry myth of origin is recited by the phratry's appointed Pardhans or Thotis (bards/minstrels). This was sung at the marriage of a boy from the Nalvir saga to a girl of the Sarvir saga.

They are brothers (*bawa*) of the four *wenk* saga.

The *bawa* has to cover himself with a blanket of grass.

My *bawa* may go to the bosom of the *tado* (father's father).

He will speak to him as if he is his *tado*.

Oh *tado*, please carry on reciting our *rotalir* (householders) names.

My dear son, so you ask about our houses.

The first of our fathers is a *Sedmaki* (clan member).

Who are your *bandiva* (relations/ancestors), oh father?

His eyes shone like pearls.

His teeth were bright as diamonds.

The second of your fathers is a *Panguri Kar Sidam* (clan member).

He is to be called *babo*.

Who are your relations, oh father?

My relation is *Pola* (a name).

He is a relation who has seen the *garh* (fort).

After him is Naitam father.

Call him a father (*babo*)

After him, who are your relations?

After him is Bamra Deval and Jangu Deval.

They call each other *dada* (elder brother).

The festival of the *pen* (God) has come.

Two bullock carts must be made ready.

The drum must be loaded onto the cart.

All are beating the small iron *tudum* drum.

The youths must take up the drumsticks.

And they must beat the drums.

The four 4 *wen* saga (phratry) must hear the sound of the drums.

The fathers must go to the *pen gara* (god's shrine).

They must get down from the cart.

They must call each other *dada* (elder brother).

Go and fetch some water to cook the *niwod* (food offering).

Taking the pots they are fetching the water.

They have all gone to the tank to get some water.

The tank is called *Kaddam*.

The man who fetches the water is called the *kaddam pari*.

We must call him *babal* (father).

Another brother has gone to get the *mangam* (a parasitic orchid that lives a long time).

He is also of the *Mangam pari* (orchid clan).

To grind the spices a man has gone to fetch the pestle and mortar.

He has brought a log of *renga* wood.

He is the man of the *chakati* (*chak* are the thorns on a branch of *renga*).

Our man has gone to fetch firewood to cook the food.

He went to the abode of the *hare*.

They have rushed off making the sound of *busk*.

He is the *Parchaki Pari* (hare's nest clan).

A man must go to fetch the leaves for plates.

He went and fetched some teak leaves.

He is a man of the *Tekam pari* (Tekan clan).

A man has also gone to fetch the diners for the feast.

He travelled hamlet to hamlet with *yasinge pusinge* (with mindless chatter).

He is the man of the *Pusam pari* (pusam clan).

A man has gone to fetch the red cloth for the *pen* (god).

He is the man of the *Madpachi*. He is the *katora* (priest).

The man who scorched the head and the feet of the scarified animal (scorched off the hair).

He is from the *Talanda pari* (clan)

The man who sat by the smoke of the fire.

He is the man of the *Poyam pari* (clan).

Oh brother, our houses are still not filled up.

There are five caves and a hundred houses.

## **SONG 62.**

*SARVIRA BHIDI* (history of the six *wen saga*).

This phratry's myth of origin is recited by the phratry's appointed Pardhans or Thotis (bards/minstrels). This was sung at the marriage of a boy from the *Nalvir* (four) *saga* to a girl of the *Sarvir* (six) *saga*.

They are the brothers of the Six *Wen Saga* (six ancestors phratry).

The sisters will cover them with a blanket of grass.

The sisters will ride on the horse of her *tado* (father's father).

She must call them *tado*.

Oh *tado* recite our *birde* (myth of origin).

Whose is the kingdom of *Naukot Dhauragiri*.

Shi Shembu Mahadeval is the king of *Naukot Dhauragiri*.

His wife is the daughter of Girjal Parvati.

Oh *saiba* (dear husband) you have forgotten one *jati* (Girja Parvati singing to Mahadeo).

The *Kali* (present world) oh *saiba*, is a group of groups.

The *Kali* is of sisters and sisters.

The *Kali* is of death and departures.

You must appoint one *Kera Guru* (forest wise man).

We are not pleased with his state of affairs, oh husband.

You must create another new *jati* (race of man).

He has taken the dirt from his thigh.

With hands it was made fit to eat.

A beautiful head was made with ears on each side.

The teeth were like the *dobe* herb.

The tongue was like the *panjura* flower.

The lips were like the *mugri* flower.

The nose was made like the *toka tumari* (fruit).

The whiskers were like the needles on wheat seed.

The eyes shone like the light of the moon.

The shoulders were rounded.

The moustache curled upwards.

It had a tail as long as a bamboo pole.

Its forehead was broad.

Its teeth were curved like the sickle.

Its claws were pointed and shone.

Its shoulders are slumped and sloping.

When it shakes its body the world of trees and grass echoes and thunders.

If it roars the whole valley will echo to it.

What if the people hear it?

It can leap eighteen forearms length.

If it jumps it travels twenty-four forearms length.

It was sent off to go to a city (large village).

It was sent to Jamtokor Velkinagar.

The city of the Six Brother *Saga*, Koinda.

(This is a description of the tiger, the emblem of the Sarvir Saga. He is the *Kera Guru*, the wise man of the forest).

Oh husband, *saiba*, take it to the bosom of the *Moya Muti* (mother of *Rai Bandar*, who is their *Persa Pen*, great god).

Keep it in her womb.

Oh mother, Shembu Mahadeo will send her to Jamtokor Velkinagar.

It will go to Jamtokor Velkinagar.

Our bhidi (history/myth of origin) starts from him.  
He is the father's father.  
Oh *tado*, tell me about our houses.  
The first is the *Mara Dara Atram* clan.  
Then who is next?  
Then come the *Todasam* clan, oh father.  
Then comes the *Gedam* clan  
Then comes the *Kachi Munda Veladi* (Iron Post) clan.  
The man who carries the *dhol* (drum) hanging on his neck is *Pendur* clan.  
The man who holds the long stick is the *Kotnaka* clan.  
Then who is your father?  
Then comes the *Adharam* clan.  
Then comes the *Danam* clan (this is wrong).  
Then comes the *Dugam* clan (a mistake here).  
Then comes the *Powule* clan (also a mistake).  
Then comes the *Rudewu* clan (also a mistake).  
Then comes the *Korenga* clan.  
Then comes the *Korketa* clan.  
Then comes the youngest brother, he is *Kudimeta* clan, the *Issru Gondi*.  
We cannot take your wife.  
We cannot take your fields.  
We cannot take your bullocks.  
We don't meddle with you at all.  
We call you *Issru Gondi*, the youngest brother.

**SONG 63.** Sung by the groom's sister singing to the young bride.

Oh *aati* (husband's mother) which is your house (clan)?  
The house, surrounded by a mango grove, is mine.  
Oh *aati* which is your house (clan)?  
My house is surrounded by coconut trees.  
My house is surrounded by date palm trees.  
My house is surrounded by clove trees.

**SONG 64.** Sung by the groom's mother to her grandchildren.

Oh father, the brothers are of the four *wen saga* (phratry).  
They will call each other *tado*.  
My *aati* (husband's mother) has four sisters.  
Oh *tado*, we must find where the *aati* is.  
My *vehli* (creeper) will be weighed down with buds.  
Oh my dear son, it takes a long time to go there (to the house of *aati*).  
It takes six months to come back again.  
It is a journey of twelve months.  
Oh my dear son, are you going to fetch your *aati* (father's sister)?  
We must saddle the horse.

**SONG 65.** Sung by the groom's party while the *Goverhan Gautan* is being prepared.

The younger sister of my father is called my *selad*.  
The elder sister of my father is called my *taka*.  
Tell the *kotwal* to come (the *hawaldar*, the village guard/watchman/announcer/crier).  
He has been given the order to call the *aati* (husband's mother).  
Ask the *aati* (husband's mother) to stand up if she is sitting.  
If she is standing let her come here.  
The *aati* took five paces forward.  
She must pick up the *kare kopa*.  
The *aati* (husband's mother or father's sister) must come dressed in full splendour.  
The *aati* must come as soon as possible.

**SONG 66.** Sung while painting the *kare kopa* before *Goverdhan Gautan* (home of the gods) *aati* (husband's mother or father's sister) sings to the white pots on the *lihi*.

Oh *kariya* (*kare kopa*) where were you born?  
I was born in the potter's kiln.  
Oh *towri* (pot lid) where were you born?  
I too was born in the potter's kiln.  
Oh *aati* (husband's mother or father's sister), my mother is also the potter's woman  
Oh *kariya*, I have come to take you away.  
Be prepared to come with me.  
I have no hands or feet. How can I get myself ready?  
Oh *towri*, get ready. I am taking you away.  
Oh *aati* (husband's mother or father's sister), I have no hands or feet. How can I get ready?

**SONG 67.** Sung by the bride before her final marriage ceremony.

Where can I hide myself?  
Can I hide in the seed storage bin?  
Any youth may come and take *jona* (millet grain) from the bin.  
Then he will find me there in the bin.  
Then I must hide myself in the wheat storage bin.  
But any youth may come and take wheat from the bin.  
Then he will find me there.  
Then I must hide in the rice storage bin.

**SONG 68.** The *kariya* in this song are small pots place on the *lihi* flour designs for the marriage ceremony.

The *kariya* (*kare kopa*) are like the beads of pearl.  
The *kariya* are like diamonds (a specially valuable jewel).  
The *kariya* must make herself ready.  
Who is the *kariya* going to meet?  
The *kariya* must go to meet *Shri Shembu*.  
There the *kariya* will sit on a high place.  
There the *kariya* will greet *Shri Shembu*.

**SONG 69.** The *kariya* in this song are small pots place on the *lihi* flour designs for the marriage ceremony.

The six *kariya* sister, oh where do they go?  
The six *kariya* are going to to the *goverdhan gautan* (home of the gods) to pay homage.  
To whom will they pay homage there?  
They will give homage to *Shri Shembu*.  
Again they will go to the *aki*.  
Again they will go to the *awal*.  
Again they will go to the *bhimal*.  
Again they will go to the village *patel* (headman).  
Again they will go to the village ryots (farmers)

**SONG 70.**

It is *Naukot Dhauragiri*.  
Whose kingdom is it?  
It is the kingdom of *Shri Shembu Mahadeo*  
Who is his wife?  
His wife is the daughter of *Girja Guru*.  
Who is the daughter of *Girja Guru*.  
The daughter of *Girja Guru* is *Girja Parvati*.  
There the *kariya* will sit in an exalted place.  
The *kariya* will play homage to *Shri Shembu*.  
The *kariya* must get up from there.  
Then where will they go from there?  
Now it has come to the thick forest of *nau lakh* (nine thousand).  
Whose kingdom is the *nau lakh* forest?  
It is the kingdom of the five *Pandava* brothers.  
The *kariya* will sit in an exalted place.  
There it will pay homage to the *Pandavas*.  
The *kariya* will go to the northern side.  
The *kariya* will go to the southern side.  
The *kariya* will go to the eastern side.  
The *kariya* will go to the western side.  
They will visit the four corners (nalung mulang).

## **SONG 71.**

It is the well of the Bir Bandal.

Where is the source of its water?

The source of the water is the river.

It is the well of the four brothers (phratry).

It is in full flood, full to the brim.

It is the well of the six brothers (clan).

This well has completely dried up.

The cattle must drink the water of the four brothers (phratry).

The cattle of the six brothers must lick the mud.

The cowherd of the four brother (phratry) has dragged the just matured cow (the bride).

The cowherd of the six brother (phratry) has to weep bitterly.

The nearly matured female calf (bride) has to mix up with the cattle of the four brothers (phratry).

The cattle of the six brother (phratry) are sucking the mud.

The cowherd of the four brother (phratry) is separating the mature calf from the herd.

The cowherd of the six brothers is weeping bitterly.

The recently matured female calf of the six brother (phratry) is mixing with the cattle of the four brother (phratry).

## **SONG 73.**

It is a well oh father (It is the *Panne Duve*).

It is a beautifully built well with a stone parapet.

What is needed for it?

It is to be sprinkled with cowdung water.

We need some turmeric water and *kuku gulwal* (vermilion).

What are the other expenditures that are needed?

We will need to spend some money.

And also *niwod gato* (food offering) is needed (food for a feast).

## **SONG 74.**

The man who watched the water at the *Panne Duve* must be given wages of one and a half *paisa* (pennies).

And later he must be given twelve *annas* (shillings).

Again the man who guards the water of the god must be given one and a half *tawa* (measures of grain).

**SONG 75.** Two young boys have to watch it. One is from the boy's side and one is from the bride's side. They are the *Panne Duwal Kepwalir*. They are the name of the two *penk* (gods) *Satvi* (truth) and *Brahmal* (creator).

Who is the man who watches the water of the gods.

Oh sango, who is watching it?

What is the *pari* (clan) of the guard of the water god?

The *pari* (clan) is *Pasola* and *gonari jari* (a nonsense term. They are calling him after a weed).

To him the wages are twelve *annas* (shillings).

The wages are one and a half *garka*, oh *sange* (father's sisters son).

Oh *sange*, has he got sons and daughters?

Oh *sange*, what will that man eat and take home?

His wages are twelve *annas* (shillings).

His wages are one and a half *paisa* (penies).

Oh *sange*, does he have a mother and father?

What does he give to the father and mother and what does he take home?

**SONG 76.** They sing this when they bathe the *novri* (bride) and *novral* (groom). They take the *dhoti kapre* (trowser cloth) to the *Awal* shrine. This is torn into two halves. One is given to the bride and the other to the groom. This is before the *Goverdhan Gautan* (home of the gods) and *Lagri*. In the night, beforehand, they bathe the bride and groom. Next day they prepare *Panne Duva* and *Goverdhan Gautan*. Then in a new basket they arrange the *kare kopa* (the small pots that are placed on the *lihi*.) Then they dress the *aati* (husband's mother). Dressed she takes the basket of *kare kopa* to the *Goverdhan Gautan*. Then they go to the *Bohala*.

The five sisters *kariya* (*kare kopa*) where have they gone to?

They have gone to greet *Shri Shembu*.

To where have the five sisters gone?

They have gone to greet the five *Pandavas*.

They have gone to greet the five *Pandavas*.

They have gone to greet the *Bheem Deval* of the village.

They have gone to greet the *Bheem Deval* of the village.

They have gone to greet the village *Awal* (mother goddess).

They have gone to greet the village *Awal* (mother goddess).

They have gone to greet the village *Aki*.

They have gone to greet the village *Aki*.

They have gone to greet the village *Jangu Bai*.

They have gone to greet the village *Jangu Bai*.

They have gone to greet the village *patel* (headman).

They have gone to greet the village *patel* (headman).

They have gone to greet the village *ryots* (farmers).



## **SONG 77.**

Now the *kariya* (*kare kopa*) have greeted everybody, they are returning home.  
They have reached their house.  
They have come in front of their courtyard.  
Now the *lihi* is in front of the courtyard.  
Oh father, who has drawn the *lihi*?  
Oh father, it might have been drawn by the *patlal* (village headman).  
What is on the *lihi*? Powdered grain is on the *lihi*.  
Who has produced the grain for the flour? It was grown by the *Kunbi* (farmer).  
What is on the powdered grain? On the flour is the *kariya*.  
Who has made the *kariya*? The potter has made the *kariya*.  
Who has made the *towri* (pot lid), oh father? It was made by the potter's wife.  
What is on the *watti* (oil lamp)? On the oil lamp is the oil extracted by the farmer.  
What is on the oil? On it is the thread (wick) made by the *salé* (weaver).  
What is on the *salé*'s thread? On it is the *gorka* (spear).  
Who has made the *gorka* (spear), oh father? The blacksmith has made the *gorka*  
(spear).  
There is the light of the moon, the bonfire and the fireworks.

**SONG 78.** The singers are pretending to be the groom questioning the bride.

Oh *aati*, (husband's mother or father's sister) whose daughter are you?  
I am the daughter of a *kunbi* (farmer), oh father.  
Oh *aati*, you must give as much *jona* (millet seed) as is needed.  
Oh *aati*, whose daughter are you?  
I am the daughter of a herder of sheep and goats (poor landless peasant).  
Oh *aati*, give as many wicks as are needed (for the *kare kopa*).  
Oh *aati*, give as much oil as is needed (for the lamps on the *kare kopa*).

**SONG 79.** Sung while they tie mango leaf garlands round the wedding *pandal* (shelter)

In whose courtyard is the *mandop* (sun shelter) of nine posts.  
In whose courtyard are the posts that the carpenter has prepared?  
These *mundelk* (posts) are in the courtyard of Jangu (the groom's father).  
In whose courtyard are the long roof beams found?  
The long roof beams are in the courtyard of *Sungai Godi* (his wife).  
The leaves on the string (mango leaves) have sharp points (decorating the *mandop*).

### **SONG 80.**

Who has erected this *mandop* (sun shelter under which the wedding is held)?  
The young men of *Chanda* (the town of the Koitur raja) have erected it.  
Who has erected the posts?  
The carpenters of *Chanda* have carved the posts.  
Who has prepared the roof beams?  
The carpenters of *Chanda* have prepared them.  
Where have the teenage girls come from, who made the *bahula* (seat around the  
centre post)?  
The teenagers have come from *Woni* to do this.  
Where has the young boy (groom), who does not like the *bahula* come from?  
The young boy who does not like it comes from *Chanda*.  
Where has the boy who does not like the *mandop* come from?  
Why doesn't the man from *Woni* like the *pendal* (shelter)?

### **SONG 81.**

The Raju father has erected the *mandop*.  
But he has made it out of jute twigs (feeble twigs).  
If a strong wind comes it will be blown away.  
Father Raju may come to my country and we would take him to the valley of *Nule*.  
If we take him there we could show him the bamboo poles.  
If he comes to our country we would show him the valley of teak trees.  
If we had taken him there we could have shown him the teak posts.

### **SONG 82.** The *aati* (husband's mother or father's sister) sings it.

Oh father, the time of *lagri* has come.  
Oh father, make yourself ready.  
The couple must be introduced.  
Oh father, wear the waist belt of your grandfather.  
Make yourself ready to go to the *lagri*.  
Oh father, put your grandfather's bracelet on.

### **SONG 83.** The mother is calling her son father here.

Oh father, wear the ear-ring of your grandfather.  
I will not wear it oh mother. Let the grandfather wear it.  
Who will see it if grandfather wears it,.  
Oh my dear son, if you wear it then all the world will see it.  
Oh my dear son put on the high ear-ring of your grandfather.  
How can I wear it? The grandfather must wear it.  
Oh son, who will see it if the grandfather wears it?  
If you wear it the whole world will see it.  
Wear the turban of your *pepi* (father's elder brother).  
Let my *pepi* wear it. How can I?  
Wear the shirt of your father's time.  
Oh mother how can I wear it? Let father wear it.

**SONG 84.** Sung while going to the *Goverdhan Gautan* (home of the gods). He is the *salé* (weaver) of our father, who used to prepare the cloth and he has prepared the *dhoti*.

The dhoti that we have brought is made by the *salé* (weaver) who served our father.

The tailor who made the shirt also served our father.

The goldsmith is also the one that served our father.

The moon has shone over our father's life.

The sun has also kept kept our father warm.

Oh my dear father's daughter you are like a shining light.

**SONG 85.** Sung by the bride's mother to the groom who calls him father out of respect.

Oh my dear father, my daughter is like a shining light.

Oh my dear father, your body is like the flesh of the banana.

Oh my dear father, keep your body hidden from other people.

My daughter is like the shining light and delicate as the tooth of a comb.

Let us go and introduce the couple to each other.

They are the couple to live together for a hundred years.

Oh father your nose is like the potter's cup.

Oh father, don't let others look at your nose.

**SONG 86.** Sung on the way to the *lagri*.

The father's brothers were four *wen* brothers.

They must call each other *dadal* (elder brothers).

Oh grandfather where has this *waja gaja* (raucous noise) come from?

It is the *waja gaja* of *Chanda* (the Koitur raja's palace).

Only this *waja gaja* must be asked for, oh *tado*.

Now I will go to ask for this *waja gaja*, oh *tado*.

**SONG 87.**

Now our father has an infantry of four hundred men.

My father has four hundred horse-back soldiers.

My father has four hundred horses.

As they march a mighty dust storm rises.

My father rides with six hundred foot soldiers.

**SONG 88.**

My father has thousands of soldiers.

The sister's people of *Chanda* number hundreds of thousands.

From both the marriage parties numberless people are going to the *lagri*.

**SONG 89.** Repeated three times.

The groom has been looking at the face of the bride.

### **SONG 90.**

The brother has come making 'chatk chatk' sound (with his feet).  
Why hasn't the bride arrived yet?  
When the young people are decked in flowers why is the bride not coming?  
The bride is putting her *pati* on (a marriage belt).  
Now the brother has come and stood with the sound of 'chatk'.  
Why doesn't the bride also come?  
When she is wearing the wrist belt, why does she go away?

### **SONG 91.**

Many of the bride's family have come.  
Where can we put them to rest?  
Many horses have come.  
Where can we stable them?  
Many carts have come.  
Where should they all be kept?

**SONG 92.** Sung by everybody at the *Goverdhan Gautan* (home of the gods).

The horse of our village *patel* (headman) is a great *bahadur* (warrior).  
But it has no tail.  
If it kicks out backwards all will fall down.  
If the horse is harnessed to this cart, it will start to dance.  
It eats the clay of the earth.  
It will eat the bitter berry of the forest.  
After eating the hot pepper it is shining.  
After eating the coconut it went into the hollow of a tree.  
The father's young girl has eaten the roasted gram (*chana* or chickpeas) and is getting sleepy.  
The sister's young girl has eaten the *renga* fruit and is coloured like the *renga*.

### **SONG 93.**

Oh elder brother's wife (*babi*), oh slave girl.  
You have eaten two dried coconut kernels and a great weight of *jagari* (raw sugar).  
Your cheeks are like two coconut kernels.  
This elder brother's wife, a slave girl, has hidden the two coconut kernels behind her buttocks.  
They ate the coconut sounding '*kurum kurum*'.  
She gave a little to Bhadi and Bheemu.  
The slave girl has hidden it behind her buttocks.

**SONG 94.** A joke song sung during the *Lagri*

Whose grandson is that who is so well decorated?  
This well decorated man is the grandson of Som *baba* (Somu's father).  
My father goes to the shade (protection) of the *aaji* and *tado*.  
This girl goes to the shade trees and plateaus (she is a wild child of the forest)

**SONG 95.**

Sung after returning from the *Goverdhan Gautan* (home of the gods) while at the *lihi* and *mandop*.

The father is of the four brother *wen* (phratry),

They must call each other *dada* (elder brother).

The *akash* (ether) is the *pandal* (sun shade).

The *bahula* (seat around the centre post of the *lihi*) is of the *dhartri* (earth).

Whose *mandop* is this, oh *tado*?

Oh my dear son, I do not know.

The *aaji* (father's mothers) are four *seriak* (wives of brothers of another phratry).

Do you know about your *aaji* (father's mother), dear son?

Where is my *aaji*, oh *tado*?

Her place is where the crops are stored.

The father has gone to the *aaji* (groom to the bride).

Oh *aaji*, our *mandop* (shelter) is the *akash* (ether).

Oh *aaji*, whose *mandop* is this one?

This is the *mandop* is *Shri Shembu*.

Whose *bahula* is the *dhartri*?

This is the *bahula* of *Girja Parvati*.

Oh *aaji* whose *lihi* is this?

This is the *lihi* of *Sheku*.

Oh *aaji*, whose *kariya* are these?

These seeds are of *Anesiriad*.

Oh *aaji*, whose is this thread?

This is the thread of your *Gopera Guru* (Gopi Guru).

Oh *aaji*, whose water is this?

This water is of *Jal Guru*, Water Guru).

Oh *aaji*, whose *towri* is this?

This is the *towri* of *Kumena Guru* (The potter's wife guru).

The *Kumar Guru* has come and stood up (the potter).

Ah *aaji* whose *watti* is this (wick)?

This *watti* is from *Dunkar Guru* (Shepherd Guru).

The guru has come a stood up.

Oh *aaji* whose oil is this?

This is the oil of the *Kunbi Guru* (farmer guru).

Oh *aaji* whose is this *gorka* (spear)?

This is the spear of *Reva Guru*.

Oh *aaji*, whose are these soldiers?

These are the soldiers of *Shembu*.

Oh *aaji*, whose are these drums and *pepre* (oboe trumpets).

The *waja* (noise) is of *Shembu*.

Oh *aaji* whose are these *arti* (lamps)?

These *arti* belong to *Girja Guru*.

Oh *aaji* whose is this *pohti* (the black thread marriage necklace)?

This is the *pohti* of *Girja Guru*.

**SONG 96.** Sung while the black thread necklace marriage is being put on the bride.

When the six brothers give their daughters away tears will be shed.  
She has been tied by the thread of our house spider.  
When the *koriad* (son's wife) comes to the house, the four brothers will be happy.  
When the *koriad* comes to the house, there will be moonlight.  
The four brothers will be unhappy when the clothes (*pari kapre*) are put on the shoulders of the six brothers, *pasudi kapri*.  
The six brothers will be happy when they take the *pasudi kapri*.  
The joy will be like moonlight (in the darkness of night).  
When the girl from their stomach is given to others, they will feel unhappy.  
When they take the *saka* (clothes etc.) the six brothers will be happy.  
The four brothers will be unhappy when they put the *saka* in the hands of the six brothers.  
All the people will weep bitterly without end as the thread of the spider (*pohti*) never finishes as it is put on the bride.

**SONG 97.** Sung by women during the *mitusmar*.

Oh *yaya!*, this is your *aati* (husband's mother or father's sister).  
Bow your head and greet her.  
Oh *bai*, oh bride, this is your *porad* (husband's mother) who is now your mother.  
Bow your head and greet her.  
Oh my dear son, she is your *peri* (mother's elder sister or father's brother's wife).  
Bow your head and greet her.  
Oh *bai*, she will become your *porad* (husband's mother's elder sister).  
Bow your head and greet her.

**SONG 98.** Sung while the men are doing the *mitusmar*.

Oh *baba* (father, here groom), he will become your father.  
Bow your head and greet him.  
Oh *bai*, he will become your *morial* (wife's father or husband's father).  
Bow your head and greet him.  
Oh *baba* (father), he will become your *pepi* (father's elder brother).  
Oh *pepi*, I am the son of your stomach.  
Bow your head and greet him.  
Oh *bawa*, he will become your *morial* (wife's father).  
Bow your head and greet him.  
Oh *bai*, he will become your *bawa* (father).  
Bow your head and greet him.  
Oh *bawa*, he is your *morial* (wife's father).  
Oh *mama*, I am the *sadé* of your stomach (daughter's husband).  
Oh *bai*, he will become your *pepi* (father's elder brother).  
Oh *pepi*, I am the daughter (*miyad*) of your stomach.  
*Aati* of the *navral* (groom) gives everyone rice, some into the hands of the *navri* (bride) and she will give some rice to the *navral* (groom), who puts it in the *gurgi* (the *chiti*). This tradition of measuring the rice backwards and forwards and then pouring it into the *chiti* is called *perek kahawal* (rice measuring).

**SONG 99.** Sung during *perek kahwal* (rice measuring). Again the groom is given the honour of being referred to as the *babal* or *bawa* (father/daddy).

Oh father, you are the son of a *kunbi* (farmer).  
You must take the *ada* (volumetric measure of four *tawa*).  
You must sit and measure the pile of *jona* (millet seed).  
What is the pile that must be measured?  
He must sit and measure the pile of *jona*.

**SONG 100.** Sung during *perek kahwal* (rice measuring). Again the groom is given the honour of being referred to as the *babal* or *bawa* (father/daddy).

Oh father, there is a heap, such a heap, what is this heap?  
That heap, it is a heap of *jona* (millet seed).  
Oh bride, that *sorai*, what is that *sorai* (volumetric measure of one *tawa*).  
That *soria*, it is a well bound *sorai*.  
Make the account. Count it well.  
How much *jona* is there?  
I am counting it. I am counting it. It is an amount of *jona*.

**SONG 101.** Sung during *perek kahwal* (rice measuring).

Oh queen (my bride), look at the leaf plate.  
It is a plate of tamarind leaves, oh queen. (tamarind leaves are very small).  
Oh queen do you see the army of people coming to our house.  
Oh queen, are you seeing the numberless army.  
Oh queen, are you looking at the at the leaf cups.  
Oh queen, do you see the cups of mango leaves. (mango leave are also small).  
Oh queen, I look at the army that is coming.  
It is the army of the city of *Woni*.

**SONG 102.** Sung at the final feast, the *Lagri gato*.

It is the leaf plate of *dadaji* (elder brother or father), oh yes, oh yes.  
They are made of tamarind leaves (very small leaves), oh yes, oh yes.  
It is the leaf cup of *dadaji*, oh yes, oh yes.  
They are leaf cups of mango leaves, oh yes, oh yes.  
It is the *jevon* (feast) of *dadaji*, oh yes, oh yes.  
It is the *jevon* of *langi jona* (the small seed heads that sprout after the main heads are cut. It is a teasing joke about poor quality of the food).  
It is the curry of unspiced and unseasoned black gram (The best gram (*chana* or chickpeas) but badly cooked).

**SONG 103.** Sung while the bride and groom feast after fasting from the morning.

It is the bald monkey of Deogarh, my god.  
Oh this bald monkey is looking at the rice (it stares in astonishment at such a delicious and rare food).  
Then this monkey is jumping all over the place in excitement for the food.  
The bald monkey is staring at the *jona* (millet) food.  
But she dislikes it and turns her head away.  
The bald monkey stares at the *garika gato* (good food).  
The monkey jumps here and there in excitement to eat it.

**SONG 104.** Sung while the bride and groom feast after fasting from the morning.

When the groom is eating the food she is crawling on her belly (to share the food with him).  
While *dada* (the groom) feasts, Sungubai is crawling up to him.  
Sungubai, why are you crawling, your waist will hurt, wait, wait.  
Let it hurt, let it hurt. I am happy to do it.

**SONG 105.** Sung by the sisters of the groom while eating.

Oh brother (groom), your bride, Gangubai, has licked the dirty plates.  
My brother has eaten the well cooked meat.  
Oh brother, after eating the meat Gangubai is sucking your old bones.  
Oh our brother has eaten the *pesel* curry.  
Oh raja, she has eaten the husks of the *pesel dari*.

**SONG 106.** Sung while returning from *kora korsa*.

In the depth of darkness on which road are we going?  
In the darkness we are going to the house of Sungu (groom).  
The young men must pick up the heavy headed axe.  
In the depth of darkness on which road are we going?  
In the darkness we are going to Jangu's house.  
The young men are gripping the axes hard in the darkness (out of fear).  
In the deep darkness we are going to Issru's house.



**SONG 107.** Sung after the marriage as if twins have been born to the wife. And the husband returns home and tells her to get water for a bath.

Oh mother of twins come and get me water for a bath.

Oh father of twins if I get water the twins will weep.

Oh mother of twins give the twins into the bosom of the *aaji* (husband's mother).

Oh father of the twins, they will not stay with the *aaji*.

Come out and get the water, mother of twins.

But if I do they will weep.

Then give them into the bosom of my mother.

They will not live in the bosom of your mother.

Then give them into the bosom of my *tado* (elder brother or father's father).

Oh mother of twins come and scrub my back.

If I scrub your back the twins will weep.

Oh mother of twins, give them into the bosom of the *pepi* (father's elder brother).

They will not stay in the bosom of the *pepi*.

Oh mother of twins, pass me my *dhoti*.

The wins will weep if I come to give you your *dhoti*.

Give them into the bosom of the *peri* (father's brother's wife).

They will not stay in the bosom of the *peri*.

**SONG 108.** Sung while they go to *kobre pen* (betrothal deity) for bathing.

Oh queen, wash my *dhoti*.

But there is no laundry stone at the washing place.

And where there is a stone; there is no water.

My turban is dirty. Oh dear wife, it needs washing.

But there is no laundry stone at the washing place.

And where the stone is there is no water.

Oh queen, my shirt is dirty and it needs washing. Take it and wash it.

Repeated twice...

**SONG 109.** Younger sister of the groom is saying that secretly the *ange* (elder brother's wife, here the bride), is scoffing herself.

Oh my dear brother, the *ange* (elder brother's wife) is scoffing the *mure* (roasted gram or *chana* (chickpeas)).

She is scoffing it among the wild fruit bushes.

Okay, let her eat. Whatever she eats makes me happy.

Oh my dear brother, the *ange* is scoffing the *kobre* (coconut).

She is eating it hidden in the bushes.

Let her eat. It makes me feel happy.

**SONG 110.** The groom's mother sings to the new bride after eating *mure*. The bride acts out sprinkling cowdung water to lay the street dust, *sarapi watusmar*.

The four sisters have four cattle compounds, oh *biye* (daughter-in-law).

Oh *biye*, the cattle have been let out.

The herds of cattle are from the time of the fathers and grandfathers.

Oh *biye*, the cattle have been let out.

Now girl, go into the compound and collect the dung.

Take a basket into your hands and go into the cattle compound.

Oh bride, go into the compound and greet it.

After going into the compound pick up your basket.

Take the road from the compound carrying the basket in your hands.

You must collect all the cowdung.

But picking it up what has pierced your palm?

The groom's mother and father must call her *baiye*.

The groom will come home and call.

"Oh mother, your *koriad* (son's wife) is not to be seen".

Oh my dear son, there are compounds of the four *wen* sisters.

She has gone to collect the dung and take it out of the compound.

The groom will follow the path to the compounds.

He will peep through the lattice into the compound.

Peering at her, he will come back home.

And he will signal to her with his hand to come inside.

Then he takes the road back to his house.

"Oh mother, your *koriad* (son's wife) is not to be seen."

"Oh son, she has gone to collect the dung."

"Oh mother, maybe she has gone to fetch the dung."

But she is only inspecting the bangles on her wrists."

**SONG 111.** Sung while going to the *Goverdhan Gautan* (home of the gods).

Oh good maiden let us go to worship the *pen* (deity).

We will take a chicken in a small basket.

In a packet we are taking the *sendur* (vermilion), oh maiden.

In a knot in our cloth we will take what we need for the worship.

We must do the *puja* with a twist of the hand (draw the rooms for the gods).

Oh superb maiden, how many *wens* (hero ancestors) does your *pari* (clan) have?

The maiden is from the *pari* (clan) of seven *wenk* (needing seven rooms).

How many *wenk* does the maiden have?

The maiden is from the clan of seven *wenk* (heroes).

Repeat...

The maiden is from the clan of five *wenk* (heroes). Repeat.

The maiden is from the clan of four *wenk* (heroes). Repeat.

The maiden is from the clan of three *wenk* (heroes). Repeat.

The maiden is from the clan of two *wenk* (heroes). Repeat.

The maiden is from the clan of one *wenk* (heroes). Repeat.

**SONG 112.**

Singing the praises of the abode of the gods, *Dhanegaon*.  
The *pen* are the gods that lived in an underground cave  
and were brought out by the great ancestral hero *Pahandi*  
*Kupar Lingo*, in plural they are *penk*. The *wen* are the  
ancestral phratry heroes, who are not gods, but are  
worshipped, in plural they are *wenk*. *Poro Patar*  
*Dhanegao* is the country where the *wenk* lived.

Poro Patar Dhanegaon. Poro Patar Dhanegaon.

Sidé Patar Dhanegaon. Sidé Patar Dhanegaon

Yapare Mangi na Dhanegaon, a vast wide *mangi* tree in Dhanegaon.

Sipare Mangi na Dhanegaon, a bush like the *mangi* tree in Dhanegaon.

Daté renga na Dhanegaon, a thick thorn bush tree in Dhanegaon.

Bori renga na Dhanegaon, a fat fruited fig tree in Dhanegaon.

Ishwar perek Dhanegaon. The Dhanegaon of pounded and powdered rice.

Nurwa dari Dhanegaon. The Dhanegaon of ground dal.

Kotwa kori Dhanegaon. the Dhanegaon of leaf plates.

Kotwa dopo Dhanegaon. The Dhanegon of leaf cups.

Agrusi na Dhanegaon.

Bagrusi na Dhanegaon.

Penke putana Dhanegaon, Dhanegaon; where the *penk* (gods) are born.

The *penk* (gods) of the four phratries were born here.

The *penk* must be taken out of the cave.

They are *penk* of the seven *wenk*.

After the *penk*, the *wenk* are created.

**SONG 113.**

Sung at the Goverdhan Gautan. (home of the gods).

These are the *penk* (gods) of the four brothers *saga* (phratry).

Where are the *penk* to sit?

They must sit at the Goverdhan Gautan. (home of the gods).

They must call each other *dada* (elder brother).

Oh *dada*, we must all sit here.

Now the *penk* have all sat at the *Goverdhan Gautan*.

Here the *deval* is the groom.

Here the *devi* is the bride.

Now the *penk* has to sit down here.

After him, which are the *penk*?

After him is the *Agrusi penk*.

After that which is the *pen*.

After him is the *Bagrusi pen*.

After him, which is the *pen*?

After him is the *Gope pen (Gopera)*.

After him, which is the *pen*?

After him is the *Rup Devi pen*.

After him, which is the *pen*?

After him is the Five *Pandava* brothers.

After all the *penk* have sat down here.

Then comes the *Parenda Karar Telanga penk*.

All the *penk* will meet each other.

They must all call each other *dada* (elder brother).

Oh brothers, our *puja* is to be done here (they say to each other).

Oh brothers, what things are needed for the *puja*?

*Kuku gulwal* (vermillion) is needed for the *puja*. (Repeated).

Living charcoal and turmeric are needed. (Repeated).

A pair of coconut kernels is needed. (Repeated).

The sweet water of *behli* is needed. (Repeated).

We must now do the *puja*, oh brothers.

Now we are doing to *puja* to the *penk*.

Now the two coconuts have been brought to the *penk*.

Two cloths have been presented to the *penk*.

Now the *puja* has been completed.

Now oh *dada* (elder brother), we must distribute the edibles (*palaram = prasad*).

**SONG 114.**

Sung after coming home from this final *puja* at the  
*Goverdhan Gautan* (home of the gods).

Oh brother, take the *bai* in a nice way to your home.

Oh dear brother the *bai* is so young.

Oh my dear brother, don't let thorns prick her.

Oh dear brother look after her well.

Oh dear brother, the *bai* is so young.

O dear brother, don't let her trip on the stones.

**SONG 115.** Sung while the bride is going from her *janosa ron* (house of her birth) to the house of her groom.

Oh *aati*, which is your house?  
My house is surrounded by a mango grove.  
My house is surrounded by a grove of coconut palms.

**SONG 116.** Sung on reaching the groom's house.

Oh *aati*, it is the great heat of summer.  
Oh *aati*, I have come through knee deep in dust.  
Oh *aati* my feet are burnt with the heat.  
Oh *aati*, open your old broken gate.  
Why don't you throw it away and get a new one.  
Oh *aati* at least open the old gate.

**SONG 117.** The bride has arrived at the groom's house and washed her feet. But she jokingly complains at her poor welcome.

There is no room for my feet.  
Whose is this foot stand (*kutul*, small stool)?  
It may be the foot stool of Bhimu.  
On it there is no room for my feet.  
There is not even enough water to wash my feet properly.

**SONG 118.** The song jokes at the *pariak* (parents of the bride and groom).

Oh *pariark*, there are no mats to sit on in your house.  
Oh Bhimbai, why are you running off to the house of the mat maker.  
We will think that you are a maiden of the mat maker.  
Oh Bhimbai you must be exhausted after all the arrangements.  
Now you have to go and take the turmeric from the shopkeeper.  
We will think that you are the daughter of the shopkeeper  
Oh Jangutai why are you picking up the pot in your hand.  
Oh Jangubai why are you going to the oil-pressers house?  
We will think that you are the daughter of a *Telli* (oil-presser).  
Oh Jangubai what have you gone to look at?  
We saw you going to the *Komati's* (shopkeeper's) house.  
Seeing you going there we will call you the daughter of the *Komati*.  
Oh Kusmubai, you always say, "marriage, marriage".  
You used to say "Guram Guram" (shouting it aloud).

## **SONG 119.**

*Naukot Dhauragiri*, whose kingdom is it?  
It is the kingdom of Shri Shembu Mahadeval.  
Who is his wife? His wife is the daughter of Girja Guru.  
Oh sister it is the cock of the Mahadeval. (Cock is the groom.)  
Its right wing is very big.  
But its left wing is bigger still.  
It talks with the sound of "*gala, gala*".  
It walks with the sound of "*gala, gala*".  
It sleeps with one eye open.  
Oh sister, you are watching with one eye  
Oh sister, you are hearing with one ear.  
Is that **the** way it hears what is happening?  
The sister is like a dove. (Dove is the bride).  
With wings like the leaves of the *goita* creeper.  
The dove will hear its sound (of the cock).  
Oh *Bai*, the dove will become glad.  
Oh *Bai*, listen to its sound.  
They will both get up together with the sound of "gara gara".  
Then they will enter the house.  
Then they will take the water of the garden.  
They will wash their eyes and ears  
And return back into the house.  
The *Bai* must go to her hearth.  
Then it will give warmth to her feet.  
Then the *Bai* must remove the ashes.  
Then she must mud the hearth.  
Then she must light the Laxmi of fire.  
Upon it the *Bai* must place the water.  
Then the *Bai* must wash the plates and *lotas* (water pots).  
Then the *Bai* must sweep the house clean.  
Then she must take the brush in her hand.  
Then she must remove the dust from the *durbar* (courtyard).  
She must complete all her work well.  
Then she may retire to her bed.  
Then she must cook the food and fetch water.  
Then she must get the cooked food down.

**SONG 120.** Sung at *Kora Dosmar*. Putting the *Koria* (son's wife) into the bosom of the *Pora* (husband's mother).

Oh *Bai* into whose bosom have you been put.  
Today the *Bai* has come to the bosom of the *Tado*.  
Tomorrow into whose bosom will you be put?  
Tomorrow you will be in the bosom of the *aaji*.  
Today in whose bosom are you?  
Today she is in the bosom of the *Baba*.  
Repeated.  
Today she is in the bosom of the *Yayal* (mother).  
Repeated.  
Today she is in the bosom of the *Pepi* (father's elder brother).  
Repeated  
Today she is in the bosom of the *Peri* (father's brother's wife).  
Repeated.  
Today she is in the bosom of the *Kaka* (father's younger brother).  
Repeated.

**SONG 121.**

Now the groom's father's and brother's house is full.  
Now the bride's father's and brother's house is silent.  
The groom's father's house is full  
The bride's father's house is silent.  
The groom's elder father's house and bosom is full.  
The bride's elder father's bosom is silent.  
The groom's *aaji's* bosom is full.  
The bride's *aaji's* bosom is silent.  
The groom's mother's bosom is full.  
Now the bride's mother's house is silent.  
Now the groom's *peri* (elder mother) house is filled up.  
The bride's elder mother's house is silent.

**SONG 122.** Sung during *Kora Dosmar*.

There is *kora* tree (lily) in every courtyard.  
One is in the courtyard of *Bhimu*.  
One is in the courtyard of the *ange* (elder brother's wife).  
But the fat old *ange* won't let us touch the tree.  
There is a date tree in the *ange's* courtyard.  
There is a date tree in the *Jangu's* courtyard.  
But that *Jangubai* is a slave girl and won't let anyone touch it.  
There is a pawpaw tree in the *ange's* courtyard.  
But the *Kusumbai* slave girl won't let us touch the tree.

### **SONG 123.**

At whose courtyard have the *kariya* been set up?  
The stomach of the four *wenk* brothers has been filled up.  
The water flower called *gagaru* is on the shoulder.  
The stomach of the four brothers has been filled up.  
The he-goat with pointed horns is full of strength.  
The stomach of the four brothers has been filled up.  
The squirrel tailed earthen cups mouth is changing.  
The stomach of the four brothers has been filled.  
The *supé* bird-tailed cup's mouth is changing.  
In the courtyard of Sungai Raju the *kariya* were set up.  
In the courtyard of Sungai Jangu the *kariya* were set up.  
The cock with long sharp claws is full of strength.  
The stomach of the four brothers has been filled up.

**SONG 124.** Sung as if the wife and husband are scolding each other.

Who is this *Kalari* (toddy tapper) who has extracted the palm wine?  
Sungai Raju Karari has extracted the palm wine.  
The girls, Hirai and Gopai, have finished the palm wine  
Oh old man, I am off to Deogarh to get things for the house.  
You go to Deogarh, but where should I stay?  
Why are you frightened, you have a father and mother?  
Take this letter old man. I am going to Deogarh.  
You go to Deogarh but where should I stay.  
As you have got an *aaji* and *tado*, why are you frightened?

### **SONG 125.**

Oh who is this *pari* who has come "Ram, Ram."  
Oh it is the *pari* of the Atram clan.  
What do I have to give him to make him happy, "Ram, ram"?  
He must be given a leaf pipe of tobacco, "Ram, ram *pari*".  
Who is this *pari*, "Ram, ram"?  
Oh, he is the Kotnaka *pari*, "Ram, ram".  
What has to be given to make him happy?  
He must be given good food, "Ram, ram *pari*".

**SONG 126.** The *aati* of groom sings to groom.

Oh *baba*, you must wear the *dhoti* with the flaps above the knees.  
You will appear very handsome and very well dressed.  
Oh he is a very clever Atram boy.  
Your turban should be tied high on each side.  
You will appear so well dressed.  
Oh how clever is the Kotnaka father.



## **SONG 127.**

Oh father you are of the four brothers *saga* (phratry).  
*Ganga na gai murari mai.* (The cow of the Ganges is the mother of the cowshed).  
The *aaji* are four *seriark*.  
These four *aaji* have four cattle compounds.  
These four brothers must call each other *dada* (elder brother).  
Oh *tado*, the stout cow is nowhere to be seen.  
Oh we have removed it for sale.  
Oh we have brought you a mate for it.  
*Ganga na gai murari mai.*  
The four sisters have four cattle sheds.  
The *bawal* may go towards the cattle shed.  
The *bawal* may call the *aaji*, "Oh *aaji*".  
The stout bullock is nowhere to be seen.  
The *bawal* must return to the house.  
The *bawal* must call *aaji*, "Oh *aaji*".  
The stout bullock is nowhere to be seen.  
Oh my dear son, it was removed for sale.  
Oh my dear son, your *pari kapri* have been given away.  
The *bai* will go to the goat's compound.  
Oh mother, the strongest he-goat is nowhere to be seen.  
We have given *your paring kapri* (brideprice clothes) away, oh my son.

## **SONG 128.**      Sung while bride's party returns to Jamtokor Velkinagar.

The *bai* has six brothers.  
The *tado* will make their horses ready.  
The *tado* were are you going off to?  
Oh *bai*, we are going back to our country.  
I will also follow you *tado*.  
No, no, you must not come, *bai*.  
We have taken your price (*saka*).  
We are going back to our country.  
Oh see how bitterly the *bai* is weeping (at not being able to return to her natal  
home.  
Oh *aaji*, where are you going off to?  
We are going back to our country.  
Oh *aaji*, I will also come with you.  
No, no, we have taken your *chiiti* (last feast).  
Oh *aaji*, you have now been separated from me.  
Taking the *paring kapri* (brideprice cloth) how can you be happy?

**SONG 129.** Sung after the *marming* marriage is complete and introducing the new bride into her changed kinship relationships now that she is a mature woman with full membership of a new *saga* (phratry).

Now you have broken the hearts of your *tados*.

Now you are entangled in the love of your *morial* (husband's father).

Now you have broken the love of your *aaji*.

Now you are surrounded by the love of your *seriark* (husband's elder brother's wife).

You have lost the love of your mother.

Now you are surrounded by the love of your *Pora* (husband's mother).

You have lost the love of your father.

Now you are surrounded by the love of your *morial* (husband's father).

Now you have lost the love of your *tado*.

Now you are surrounded by the love of your *Tad Morial* (husband's elder brother).

Now you have lost the love of your *ange* (elder brother's wife).

Now you are surrounded by the love of your *seriad* (husband's brother's wife)

Now you have lost the love of your *tamur* (younger brother).

Now you are surrounded by the love of your *serendu* (husband's younger brother's wife).

Now you have lost the love of your *kakal* (father's younger brother).

Now you are surrounded by the love of your *morial* (husband's father).

**SONG 130.**

Oh raja, you must greet us.

Now the army of the four *wenk* brothers is here.

This is the army of Kilchar Bamni.

Now the army of the six brothers is ready to leave.

This army must go to Jamtokor Velkinagar.

This army is on its way.

Now the army has reached the outskirts of Jamtokor Velkinagar.

Now it must find a place of rest.

Oh the rajas are tethering their horses up.

The darts of the rajas are being unhitched.

The rajas must go to their palaces.

The rajas are beginning to wash their feet.

The rajas are spreading their carpets out.

The rajas are offering leaves for their pipes.

The rajas have given us their respects.

Oh the rajas must give us their greetings.