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A STUDY OF THE FOLK SONGS OF THE MERAṬHĪ DIALECT

by

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis contains the text, along with an English translation, of a collection of folk songs that are current in the Meraṭh district of Uttar Pradesh. This is preceded by an introductory study of these same songs.

The collection, the first one from this area, represents about two fifths of a larger number collected by the writer during a total of ten months spent in the field. The selection was made in such a way as to ensure that all types of songs are adequately represented. All the songs were obtained at first hand.

The introductory section begins with an account of the Meraṭhī language area, its inhabitants, their religious beliefs and practices, their superstitions and the important social events of village life, particular reference being made to birth and marriage ceremonies. In this way the background to the songs is established and the significance of the numerous allusions to the life of the district becomes clear.

There follows a classification of folk literature, so that the place of the songs in this wider corpus can be seen.

The next chapter gives a study of the subject matter of the songs of the collection, especially as regards the way in which it reflects the married life of the people.

There follows a discussion of the form of the songs and the technique of composition which may claim to represent a new departure in the study of the folk poetry of northern India.

The nature of Merathī folk poetry having been thus described, it is then shown how it influenced Hindi literature to a considerable extent. Here a number of correspondences between the two are noted for the first time.

The introductory section concludes with an examination of the main grammatical features of the dialect, stress being laid on the points of difference from Standard Hindi.

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INTRODUCTION

The collection of songs contained in this volume is the first collection of Meraṭhī folk songs, though Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyana has published a collection of folk songs from the neighbouring district of Muzzaffarnagar collected from one individual.[1] A few Meraṭhī songs have been quoted in articles on Meraṭhī folk poetry by some writers from that region,[2] but the total of those published in this way is very small.

I have taken no song from any such articles. All my songs have been collected by me during my many tours of the district between 1949 and 1952. During my first tour I collected about five hundred folk songs and I later visited the villages in order to get fuller versions of songs that were plainly incomplete and to obtain as many texts of the same songs as possible. I covered about fifty villages in various parts of the district.[3] In some cases I had to visit several villages to make sure that the text of my songs was correct and to find out the frequency and importance of variant readings. In all I spent about ten months in the field, living in the villages, attending marriage and birth ceremonies, going to fairs and going round the fields and

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1. Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Ādi Hindi Kī Kahāniyān aur Gīten, 1951
2. Homvatī Devi, "Meraṭhī gīt", Nayā Samāj, July, 1950
   V. S. Premī, "Kuru Pradeś Ke lokgīt", Sammelan Patrikā Lok Saṃskṛti Viseṣāṅk, 1950, pp.172-182.
3. See map, p.31

settlements outside the villages. I also made notes on the beliefs of the people and studied the dialect.

All the songs were obtained at first hand, being taken down as they were sung by Meraṭhī singers. Most of the songs were recorded when being actually sung by the people in the normal course of their daily life, but quite a large number nevertheless were necessarily recorded at singing sessions arranged specially for me. For obvious reasons I endeavoured as far as possible to establish my text from the older inhabitants of the district.

From my basic collection of five hundred songs approximately two hundred songs are being given here, these being selected in such a way as to give as widely representative a collection as possible within this scope. No important type of song, from the points of view of both form and content, has been omitted.[1] These two hundred have been edited in London from notes made in the field, and the grammatical points have been checked with the assistance of an informant from the Meraṭh district.[2]

The text of the songs is given in Devanāgarī, since this is the convention in Meraṭh District whenever any such song is written down.[3] The translations are fairly literal

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1. Folk songs sung by professional singers are, however, completely excluded. See below, p.41.
2. Mr. Ved Prakash Vatuk, from Fazalpur
3. See below, p. 136.

and follow the original songs line for line.

In foot-notes giving the number of a song, this number alone (or the number of the song followed by the number of a line) will occur. Thus "46, 1.5" is to be interpreted as "See song No. 46, line 5".

The glossary that follows the text of the songs contains unfamiliar Meraṭhī words occurring both in the introductory chapters and in the translation of the songs for which there is no ready English translation. A small number of Sanskrit and Hindi words (marked respectively "S." and "H.") are also included.

For the transliteration of Meraṭhī, Hindi and Sanskrit words in the introductory chapters of the thesis[1] and in the English translations of the songs the following symbols are used, as being the ones most commonly found in such tran-

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1. With the exception of Chapter 6.

scriptions:

Vowels: a ā i ī u ū ṛ e ai o au

Consonants: k kh g gh ṅ

c ch j jh ñ

ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ

t th d dh n

p ph b bh m

y r l v ś ṣ s h

ṛ (for Hindi ड़)

Words which have been thoroughly assimilated into English are given in the most usual English spelling (e.g. Panjab, Brahman).

For the outline grammar of the songs (Chapter 6) the transcription used by J. Burton-Page in recent articles on Hindi language[1] has been adopted.[2]

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1. See e.g., "The Syntax of Participial forms in Hindi", B.S.O.A.S., XIX, 1, p. 95, note 1.
2. See below, p. 136, note 1.

Meraṭhī is a variety of the Khaṛī Bolī dialect of Hindi, on which Standard Hindi is based. Meraṭhī derives its name from Meraṭh, the district where it is spoken. Khaṛī Bolī is the language of a very wide area, extending over Western Rohilkhand, Upper Doab and the Ambala District of the Panjab.[1] The Khaṛī Bolī of each of these three areas has its own peculiarities and can be called a variety of Khaṛī Bolī. This difference is due to several political and cultural factors. Khaṛī Bolī of Western Rohilkhand is closer to Standard Hindi than its other two varieties, i.e. the Khaṛī Bolī of Upper Doab and Khaṛī Bolī of Ambala.[2] Probably this is a result of the long association of Muslim rulers with the Western Rohilkhand region. Many features which we find in the spoken language of the Upper Doab have completely disappeared from Western Rohilkhandī. Khaṛī Bolī of Ambala being on the border of Panjabi is very much influenced by Panjabi. The language of the Upper Doab has not been much influenced by Panjabi like the Ambala Khaṛī Bolī. Nor has it come closer to Standard Hindi like Rohilkhandī Khaṛī Bolī. The language of the Upper Doab is referred to by some Indian

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1. Sir George Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.ix,1916 P. 63.
"The dialect of Western Hindi spoken in Western Rohilkhand in the Upper Gangetic Doab, and in the Panjab district of Ambala is what I call Vernacular Hindostānī, that is to say it is the form of speech on which the Literary Hindostānī that took its rise in Delhi is based." See map. p. 30
2. Ibid., "The language of W. Rohilkhand possesses the strongest resemblance to Literary Hindostānī....The language of Upper Doab also agrees with Literary Hindostānī but the agreement is not quite so strong."

Chapter 1

MERATH DISTRICT: ITS PEOPLE: THEIR RELIGIOUS LIFE

Scholars as Kauravī, the language of the Kuru Pradeśa, and considered as Pure Khaṛī Bolī.[1]

The Upper Doab consists of three districts, Saharanpur, Muzzaffarnagar and Meraṭh. The language of each of these districts has its own peculiarities. Meraṭh district is the southernmost district of the Upper Doab and the language of this district has not been so much influenced by the neighbouring dialects or languages as that of Muzzaffarnagar and Saharanpur, the other two districts of the Upper Doab. I do not agree with Sir George Grierson that "The language of the district Muzzaffarnagar is the same as that of Meraṭh."[2] Even in the specimens given in his Linguistic Survey we find that there are certain phonetic and grammatical features in the dialect of Muzzaffarnagar which we do not find in that of Meraṭh. Though it is true that the district boundaries do not precisely agree with the linguistic boundaries that I should wish to establish, one is justified, nevertheless, in treating Meraṭhī as a separate variety of Upper Doab Khaṛī Bolī.

The Meraṭh district is bounded on the north by the district of Muzzaffarnagar and on the south by Bulandshahar. On the east the boundary throughout is formed by the Ganges,

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1. Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Ādi Hindi kī Kahāniyān aur Gīten, 1951, pp. 2, 4-5.
2. Grierson, Linguistic Survey, p. 240.

which separates it from the districts of Bijnaur and Moradabad of the W. Rohilkhand Division. All along the western boundary flows the Jamuna, which divides the U. P. from the Panjab and separates the Meraṭh district from Delhi and Karnal. The district has a total area of 2300 sq.miles.

The Upper Doab in ancient days was known as "the land of the Kurus",[1] and as mentioned above, even today many scholars call it Kuru Pradeśa and its language Kauravī. The capital of the Kurus, Hastināpur was situated in the Meraṭh district of this region.

It is generally believed that the Pāṇḍavas were particularly closely associated with the Meraṭh district. In every village or town there exists some local tradition about its close connection with the Mahābhārata. Here it is not possible to give an account of all these local traditions but we may mention briefly a few of the important ones.

Sainī, a village in the Mavānā Tahsīl is said to be the great gate of the city of Hastināpur. Parīkṣitgaṛh is believed to be the place where the fort of the King Parīkṣit was situated. In Hāpur Tahsīl, Pūṭh, the name of which is traditionally derived from Puṣpāvatī, was the pleasure garden of the Pāṇḍavas. Rājā Karaṇ kā Kheṛā is said to be the place of residence of Rāja Karṇa, the famous warrior of the

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1. Arjun Caube Kāśyapa, Ādi Bhārat, 1953, p.85.

Mahābhārata battle. Gaṛhmukteśvar which is on the bank of the Ganges is said to have been a part of Hastināpur in theMahābhārata period. In Barnāvā there is a large mound known as "Lākhā Maṇḍap". It is said that it was here that the Kauravas tried to burn the Pāṇḍavas in the palace of wax. In addition to these there are many ponds, kheṛās (ruined villages) and rivulets which are linked with the great heroes of Mahābhārata.

There are several legends in the district which have their roots in the Mahābhārata. One of the most popular of them is that of Navalde. We shall discuss this legend in detail later.[1]

During the period of Muslim rule, the district, being in close proximity to Delhi, saw many changes of fortune. According to the local tradition, the Jāṭs entered the District in the eleventh century and pushed the Tagā chieftains southwards. From the death of Aurangzeb until the British Conquest in 1803, the district, as indeed the whole Doab, was in a state of permanent disorder. It was nominally under the rule of the Delhi emperor but the real rulers were the local Jāṭ and Gūjar chieftains who looked upon themselves as Kṣatriyas. Even today Jāṭ, Gūjar and other Rājpūt tribes own most of the productive land of the district. The predominance of these tribes in the district has done much to

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1. See below, pp. 44-46

condition the folk culture. These tribes accepted the Brahmans and still hold them in great reverence because they gave dignity to their status and ceremonies. Because of the power held by these local chieftains, the Brahmans accepted many of their customs as if they had been Hindu in origin.

The mutiny of 1857 first broke out in Meraṭh. The Jāṭs, Gūjars and the Ahīrs helped the British Government. They were given special places in the forces on the basis of their loyalty and won still higher social status.

All the Jāṭs and Gūjars of this region have a more or less vague tradition that they originally came from the Panjab and Rajasthan. There are several conflicting theories about their origin but one fact which emerges from all of them is that they are non-Aryans. A modified system of polyandry exists among them and widow-marriages are allowed. Early marriages and unsuitable matches are also quite common.

The majority of the people in the villages of Meraṭh district depend for their livelihood directly or indirectly on the land, and therefore real cultural distinctions between the castes have largely disappeared. The rich landowning castes are Jāṭs, Gūjars, Tagās and the Rājputs. Ahīrs and poor Gūjars breed cattle. Brahmans are either farmers or priests and many migrate to towns to teach or to do work of a clerical nature. Illiterate Brahmans take employment as cooks, but they will not accept employment in other manual work. It is the number of the bullocks and ploughs owned -

indicative of the size of the land - which determines the status of a farmer in the village. All other castes not mentioned above, who serve the farmers and do not own land, are known as "Kamīn". They are the barber, potter, waterman, washerman, tailor, weaver, camār (shoemaker) and the sweeper. The last two are considered the lowest. All the kamīns serve their patrons without any immediate payments but are paid in kind (grain, cotton, sugar and so on) twice a year at the time of the harvest. On special occasions such as child-birth and marriage they make themselves available to the family on a full-time basis.

The Nāī (barber) performs many valuable services for Hindu families in the villages. He not only works as barber but also acts as spokesman for his patron in matters of marriage and other ceremonies. In marriage ceremonies he acts as a messenger.[1] He also accompanies his master on long journeys. Camārs work as farm labourers also. Although in other parts of Northern India they are treated as untouchables, in the Meraṭhī villages their condition is much better. In most Jāṭ, Gūjar and Rājpūt families they are allowed to do all indoor work except cooking.

The Brahmans still occupy the highest place in the village society. Even an illiterate Brahman by virtue

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1. See below, p.25

of his caste is respected by the people of other castes, who greet him by saying "Pālāgan" (I touch your feet).

Though each caste has its own peculiarities, all the people of the village are united by a common rural culture. There are Pancāyats of each caste which settle the caste disputes, but they are part of a large village community. The distinctions of caste do not affect the manner of life. It is the financial condition which creates distinctions here. A rich Brahman farmer will naturally educate his children in the town and marry his daughters in the educated families of his caste, but a poor Brahman will live on the land and culturally his life is not different from that of a Jāṭ farmer.

Besides Hindus there are many Muslims in the district, most of them converts from Hinduism, who still retain their pre-Muslim customs and manners. Islam does not seem to have affected their mode of life, and they celebrate Hindu festivals and worship several Hindu deities.

Hinduism as practised here is very different from the Hinduism described in the Scriptures. There are no sectarian differences. People worship not only the traditional Hindu gods without any preference but also many other minor deities which have no authority in the Hindu Scriptures. Festivals, fairs, pilgrimages, and several other practices are expressions of religion. Religion

here is part of life and cannot be satisfactorily studied without studying the whole social and cultural life.

The traditional Hindu gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī and so on are worshipped in the district. Though they derive their authority from the Purāṇas, many new interesting additions have been made to myths connected with them. On all auspicious occasions Gaṇeśa is represented by a lump of yellow clay with a red thread tied round it. We do not find much formal worship of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in this region. They are worshipped only on the festivals connected with them. Only Śiva is worshipped daily throughout the district and most of the Hindu temples are Śiva temples. In every village there is some represention of Śiva, a liṅga in a Śiva temple or under a pīpal tree near a well. The priests are not Brahmans but Gosāins. Śiva being āśutoṣa is more acceptable to the people who want immediate results. Every day village people offer water at the Śiva shrines after taking a bath. No traditional Sanskrit or Hindi prayers are recited by the worshippers, and the worship consists merely of a repetition of the name of the deity. Śiva is also worshipped on all festive occasions and a special ceremony takes place on Śivarātri, 14th of Phāgun month. On this occasion Ganges water is offered with leaves of bel.[1] At the Śiva temple in Puṛā

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1. The wood-apple tree ("Aegle marmelos").

people offer Ganges water from Hardvār. It is carried by special bamboo yokes - known as Kāvar - on the shoulders and a pilgrim has to cover the long journey by foot. In the next chapter we shall discuss the songs connected with this holy journey.[1]

The birthday of Rāma is celebrated throughout the district. He is the most reverenced of all the gods, though we do not have many temples of Rāma. Tulsī's Rāmcaritmānasa is regarded as a scripture and its recitation a holy and a virtuous act of dharma. People greet each other by saying "Rām Rām". Rāmcaritmānasa is also the basis of the form of popular drama known as Rāmlīlā.[2] The Rāmlīlā presents the life of Rāma to the people as an example on which they should model their own lives. Rāma is not only regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu but also an ideal man, "Maryādā Puruṣottama" and this is why every Hindu takes part in Rāmlīlā whether he worships Rāma or not.

Kṛṣṇa's birthday on the Kṛṣṇāṣṭmī of Bhādon is also celebrated. The people fast for the whole day and remain awake until midnight. There is no tradition of Kṛṣṇa līlā as is found in the Braj. In Kīrtans we find both Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Gaṇeśa is worshipped by young students on the festival of Gaṇeśa Cauth. On Dīvālī, Lakṣmī is worshipped

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1. See below, p. 56.
2. For a brief discussion of Rāmlīlā see Śrī Kṛṣṇa Lāl, Ādhunik Hindi Sāhitya kā Vikās, 1942, pp.195-202, and Śyām Parmar, Bhārtiya Lok Sāhitya, 1954, pp.173-175.

and on Vasant Pañcamī, Sarasvatī. Cāmuṇḍā, represented by a red stone under a pīpal tree near a well is widely worshipped, generally by women, and there are festivals connected with her. The first milk of a cow or a buffalo is first offered to her. Gaurī is worshipped by unmarried girls.

Satyanārāyaṇaki Kathā frequently forms an important part of private religious ceremonies. The Kathā of Satyanārāyaṇa in Sanskrit is traditional. The village priest also comments on it in Hindi or Meraṭhi. In it there are stories of people who became prosperous and happy by respecting the Kathā and of those who because of neglecting it and showing disrespect suffered all sorts of miseries. We are not told at any point what the story of Satyanārāyaṇa is. The Kathā is recited on all auspicious occasions in order to bring happiness and success.

Like Satyanārāyaṇa Kī Kathā, Devī worship is widely practised all over the district. Devī has a very important place in the religious life of the people. She is supposed to be the giver of all good things and preserver of mankind. For nine days in the month of Cait beginning from aṣṭmī, which are known as Nau Durgā, the whole folk life of the district is centred on the worship of the Devī. Fairs are held at the temples of the Devī, and yātrās are made.

The Goddess Sāñjhī, who is widely worshipped during Navarātri, is neither a traditional goddess nor one of the

minor deities who will be discussed later. Her image is moulded in a special kind of plaster on the wall of every house on the first day of Kvār. Every evening unmarried girls worship her and sing songs in her praise. I would suggest that she is a local version of the goddess Durgā. On the Daśaharā day she is carried in a procession to the nearest river or pond for immersion. Such immersion processions are very common all over India.

Among the minor deities are Bhumiā, Būṛhā Bābū and Guggā or Zāhar Dīvān. Bhumiā is the god of the village. His shrine is on the boundary of the village. He is worshipped on all auspicious occasions such as childbirth and marriage.

Būṛhā Bābū is the god of skin disease. Fairs are held in his honour at about a dozen places in the district. These fairs are generally held on the bank of a village pond, the mud of which is supposed to have the blessings of the god, and the worshippers put the mud on the parts of their bodies affected by skin disease and on their foreheads. There is a local priest, a potter who stands with a stick, having peacock plumes tied at the top. This "Morchal" is supposed to be the flag of Būṛhā Bābū. Both Muslims and Hindus gather at such fairs.

Guggā or Zāhar Dīvān is the most respected saint of both Hindus and Muslims all over Doab. He is also known as

the Sant of Bāgaṛ and a disciple of Guru Gorakhanāth. His grave is near Hisār in Panjab. The ninth and fifteenth of Bhādon are his days, when fairs are held at various places in the district in his honour. The most important of these fairs is that of Nilohā. The pilgrims carry flags on long sticks to the fairs; therefore a Guggā-fair is known as Chaṛiyaun Kā melā (a fair of sticks). Jogīs who act as priests of Zāhar Divān are asked by the people, during the month of Bhādon to conduct the vigil in their houses in order to please their deity. At these vigils the Jogīs sing his legend which will be discussed later.[1] The local tradition about him is as follows:-[2]

Guggā was a Cauhān Rājpūt of Gaṛh Dāderā in Bīkāner. His father's name was Jeojī and his mother's Bāchal. Queen Bāchal was barren and it was due to the blessings of Guru Gorakhanāth that Guggā was born. Not only Guggā, but also his horse, who saved the life of his master in several dangerous situations, was born miraculously. Queen Bāchal had a sister named Kāchal who also had two sons, Arjan and Sarjan. They were also born in a miraculous way like Guggā. When Guggā grew up he had a dispute about his property with his cousins. They wanted a share in his property and he refused. Then they complained against him to the king of Delhi and induced him to attack Guggā. In the course of the struggle

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1. See below, p.46
2. An account of the saint is given by Sir R.C. Temple in Legends of the Punjab, 1884, vol.1, pp. 121-209

Guggā killed his two cousins. At this his mother was very grieved and she said that she would never see the face of Guggā again. Guggā was so full of remorse that he left his home. After his wanderings he felt that he did not wish to live any more. He prayed that the earth might swallow him up. This could not happen till he became a Muslim. He recited the Kalmā and the earth opened and swallowed him.

There are some other minor local pīrs (Muslim sainted dead) in the villages, at whose shrines Hindus and Muslims make offerings on Thursdays. In the month of Kvār during the Kanāgat period (the first fortnight) the dead ancestors are remembered, food is offered to the crows, and Brahmans are feasted. It is believed that through the crows the food reaches the dead, and through the feasting of Brahmans and the giving of presents to them, ancestors obtain happiness. On other occasions as well, inviting a Brahman to a dinner and afterwards giving him money as a present is considered to be a religious act. Other such religious acts are to feed dogs with flour cakes on Tuesdays, monkeys with gram on Saturdays. Ants are usually offered sugar. Cows can be fed as a religious offering on any day, usually in the evenings. All these acts are done when someone in the family is unwell or some favour from the gods is desired. In every house the first roṭī (bread) is kept for the cow and the last for the dog.

There is a large number of wandering mendicants in the

district. Many of them are worshippers of Bhairava and carry with them large bagpipes. They usually sing the episode of the marriage of Śiva. They seem to be in the tradition of the Nāth-Panthīs.[1] Some of them are said to be experts in Indrajāl and are believed to have powers of curing people or doing harm to them.

Building a well or a dharmśālā and offering water to travellers on a road are also virtuous acts. There are many religious ceremonies connected with the building of a well and the planting of an orchard. After the work is finished it is usual to give a feast to the Brahmans.

Religious fairs are a regular feature of the life of the people. In addition to the fairs connected with the deities discussed above there are several other fairs which are held on the bank of the Ganges. A villager considers that he has three mothers: his own mother, the earth and the Ganges. Respect for the earth is shown by offering two streams to the earth at the time of milking. Before beginning ploughing the farmer touches the earth with his hand and puts some soil on his forehead. A wrestler on entering the arena, first of all picks up some clay and puts it on his forehead. This reverence for the earth and looking upon her as mother is expressed in many songs. In them seems to

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1. On the Nāth-Panthīs see Rāmkumār Varmā, Hindi Sāhitya Kā Ālocanātmak Itihās, 2nd edn., Allahabad, 1948, pp.143-173.

echo the following line of the Pṛthivī Sukta:[1]

माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः

The Ganges is believed to be the destroyer of sins and giver of prosperity. As is well known, the people have a feeling of great reverence towards the River Ganges. They consider it a holy act to bathe in its waters, and make long journeys to the fairs held on its banks. Somavatī Amāvasyā, (when Amāvasyā falls on a Monday,) Pūrṇamāsī of Baisākh and Kārtik, Śukla Navamī of Jeṭh, and the times of solar and lunar eclipses and some other such occasions are considered most holy for bathing in the Ganges. On these occasions people gather at different places on the banks. They pray to the river, bathe in it and take home its holy water. The Kārtik Pūrṇamāsī fair held at Gaṛhmukteśvar is one of the largest fairs of Northern India, and about 500,000 pilgrims congregate from all parts of the neighbouring districts. Many pilgrims to the Ganges make these journeys on foot and some of them wilfully make the mode of travelling painful in order to atone for their sins. The Ganges is indeed the mother of the Doab because its many canals make this plain fertile and prosperous. The Ganges fairs are therefore one of the chief parts of the religion of the people of this area.

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1. Pṛthivī Sūktā, 12.1.11

There are many beliefs connected with the lamp - a clay lamp. It is believed by the women that the light resides in the well with its family consisting of mother, sister and wife, and after being extinguished it retires to the well. There are a few songs of extinguishing the lamp which are addressed to it.[1] Before lighting a lamp a woman washes her hands well and with a reverence approaches the lamp and lights it. After lighting it she bows to it. As soon as it is lighted the children say "Rām Rām". It is considered improper to put out a lamp by blowing it. A woman extinguishes it with the air by moving her āñcal (the end of the upper garment or of the sārī).

There are many beliefs connected with the crow. When some dear one is away and if a crow is sitting in the courtyard, someone, either a sister waiting for her brother or a wife waiting for her husband, makes him fly away. If the crow flies away the person expected will come soon.

The twitching of the big toe and left eye are also indications of the arrival of a husband.

Most villagers believe in the effects of the evil eye. Because of this a mother will put a tiny black spot on the forehead of her children. There are many syāṇe (the wise ones) who on request and payment give threads or amulets

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1. 91, 92, 93.

which are believed to possess miraculous powers of protection and success. Some children wear a necklace made from the claws of a tiger or an owl and a tiny sun and moon made of silver hanging on it. The pīpal tree is supposed to be a resting place of ghosts, and children are not allowed to play under it after drinking milk. Pīpal wood is not used for any purpose. It is believed to be a sacred wood. A barren woman is despised and it is a bad omen to see her face. If a man dies without a son, he becomes a ghost known as ūt. Sometimes he tries to do harm to the children of other people.

It is not possible to give an account of all the beliefs of the people, because every act and every object, in the villages of this district, has beliefs connected with it. In my opinion their belief in ghosts, tree spirits, pīrs and other minor deities is stronger than their belief in God. Among the forces which make people believe in them one must almost certainly include selfishness, the desire for profit and fear of calamities. Many of the tales and superstitions which surround a number of everyday objects clearly support this view.

Folk songs are an inseparable part of the customs and ceremonies of life, and we shall therefore briefly describe here the customs relating to birth and marriage, the two most important occasions for festivities.

Birth

After the birth of the child the mother is given boiled water mixed with several herbs. This water is boiled in a clay pot decorated with Cakras and Swastikās drawn with cowdung. It is the sās (the mother-in-law) who decorates the pitcher, put herbs in it, fills it with water and puts it on the fire for boiling. For this she is given a neg (present). At the same time Swastikās are drawn on the aw wall with cowdung. This is known as 'Sathiyā Rakhnā Ceremony', and is done by the naṇad(the sister of the husband), and for it she also gets her neg. After all these ceremonies, according to local convention either on the sixth day or on some other day the ritual of cleaning the house and bathing the mother takes place. This is known as 'Chaṭī', and only after this ceremony are other people allowed to go near the mother and child. In the evening of the same day the ritual of 'Tīr Sādhnā (holding the arrow) is done. The mother sits on a Cauk[1] with the baby, and the devar (husband's younger brother) is summoned. The arrow is made of grass stalks; for this ritual the devar also receives a neg.

After all these rituals the ceremony of 'Kuān Pūjṇā' (worshipping the well) takes place. The mother goes to the family well in a large procession of the village women and worships the well.

1. A 'Cauk' is a design made up of auspicious symbols which is traced with flour on the floor on all ceremonial occasions.

Usually on the tenth day the naming ceremony, which is known as "Daṣṭon", is held. On this day the priest comes and performs a yajña and after astrological calculations names the child. In this ceremony the wife and husband sit with their upper garments tied together. On the same day usually a feast for the community is arranged according to the status of the family, and the mother's brother brings presents for the mother and the child which are known as Chochak.

Marriage Ceremony

Sagāī, (betrothal) is the beginning of the marriage ceremony, when the father of the girl sends presents through his barber and Brahman. In the presence of the members of the community and relations the boy sits on the Cauk and accepts them. After this ceremony the people assembled are given sweets.

After Sagāī a Pīlī Citthī (yellow letter) is sent by the father of the girl. This letter contains the date of the marriage and of the sending of the Lagan (the letter containing the exact time of the wedding).

Lagan (date). This is a letter containing the exact date and the time of the wedding ceremony. It is written by the family priest of the girl's father and taken by him or the family barber. The Lagan is usually sent fourteen days to a month before the date fixed for the wedding. The Lagan is accompanied by money, clothes and other presents and a coconut.

These objects are delivered to the boy in the presence of his assembled relations and the members of the community. Before the despatch of the Lagan the girl, holding it in her hands, sits on a Cauk surrounded by singing women, and this ceremony is repeated by the boy after the Lagan has been delivered to him.

Tel-Bān. The boy and girl for several days before the marriage are rubbed over with a paste of oil, turmeric and flour. The ceremony of bān is performed by five married women. The rubbing is followed by a bath, and the hands and feet are dyed with henna. The number of times bān is to be performed is generally entered in the Lagan, and is usually three, five, seven or nine for the boy and two less for the girl, the actual number being determined by the priest on the basis of the boy's horoscope. On the first day of Tel-Bān the ceremony of Kaṅganā takes place. A coloured thread, to which is attached a piece of red cloth containing betel-nut, an iron ring, mustard and salt, is tied to the right wrist of the boy and to the left wrist of the girl. On one of these days the boy goes to worship the potter's wheel and on another the rubbish-heap.

Maṇḍhā. One day before the departure of the marriage procession the Maṇḍhā ceremony takes place. A bamboo is fixed in a small pit, in which are put turmeric, betel nut and so on. On the top of the bamboo are tied mango leaves, and

a kalaśa (pitcher full of water) is also put near it. On this day a large feast is given to the relations and the members of the community. The maternal uncle of the boy brings bhāt, which consists of money, clothes, ornaments and other presents for members of the bride's family, and a set of clothes and ear-rings for the bride. The maternal uncle of the girl also brings bhāt for her. Bhātai (one who brings bhāt) is welcomed at the door by his sister, the mother of the bride or the bridegroom.

After being garlanded and crowned the boy mounts a horse and the party starts off in as grand a procession as the means of the two families permit. At this time the bahnoī (husband of a sister) of the boy seizes the bridle of his horse and makes a show of stopping it.[1] After getting a neg he allows him to proceed. At the outskirts of the girl's village the procession halts and the news of their arrival is sent to the fathar of the girl by the barber. The father of the girl sends refreshments and later comes with his relations to welcome them. At this time the elders of both sides meet and exchange presents. Then the barātīs (the members of the party) are taken in a procession round the village and accomodated in the village caupāl, which is then known as Janvāsā.

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1. If the boy has no married sister, this duty is performed by a cousin's husband.

Bārothī. Later in the evening the boy is taken to the threshold of the girl's house on horseback, and after dismounting he strikes the toraṇa (a wooden frame suspended over the door) with the branch of a tree. The girl's mother or sister then measures him with a string and performs the ārtā ceremony by waving round his head a thālī (brass tray) containing a small lamp of flour and ghī with rice and dūb.[1] He then returns to the Janvāsā.

Phere (the turns round the sacred fire). This is the ceremony which makes the marriage binding. It takes place at night in the courtyard of the girl's house under a maṇḍap specially prepared for the occasion. The priest makes a Cauk, lights the sacred fire and recites the Vedic Wedding Mantras. The bridegroom holds the bride's right thumb and they sit on separate wooden seats known as Paṭarās. The bridegroom sits on the left side of the bride facing eastwards. The bride's priest then calls upon her father to perform the Kanyādān ceremony (giving away of the daughter). This he does by smearing her palms with the turmeric paste, which is known as "Hāth Pīle Karnā" ceremony.

After the priests of both sides have agreed to the traditional conditions on behalf of the bride and the bridegroom, the phere ceremony takes place. The bride's priest

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1. Skt. dūrvā: the so-called "bent grass" or "panic grass" (Panicum Dactylon).

ties the bride's shawl to the boy's ḍupaṭṭā. Then they circle slowly four times round the fire keeping their right sides towards it. The bride leads in the first three phere and the boy in the fourth. After the fourth pherā both sit down changing their places. The fathers of the bride and bridegroom each give a cow to the other's priest. The girl's father gives the boy dāt (dowry) in money and jewels. The boy's father distributes money among the Kamīns of the two families.

On the following day presents are given to the bridegroom's relations and the members of the barāt. On the next day or on the same day the barāt starts back again, taking with it the bride, who remains for a few days in the susrāl (father-in-law's house) and then returns to her pīhar (father's house) until the ceremony of cāllā.[1]

As will be clear from the above account of the customs relating to birth and marriage, these are the occasions of festivities and rejoicing in the otherwise uneventful life of the villages. At various ceremonies the songs are sung, and we shall discuss these in detail in the next chapter.

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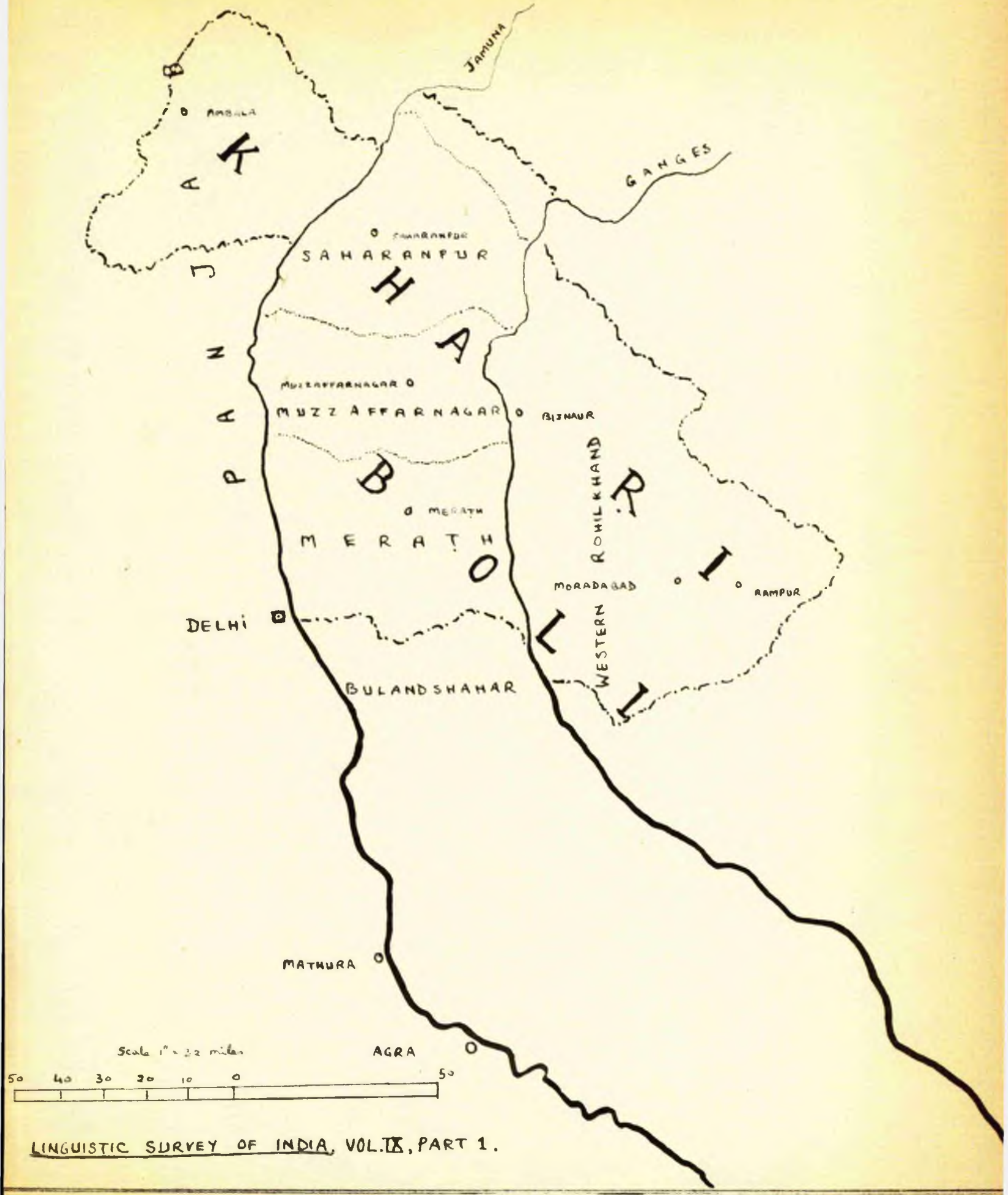
1. This is the ceremony marking the second visit of the bride to her father-in-law's house.



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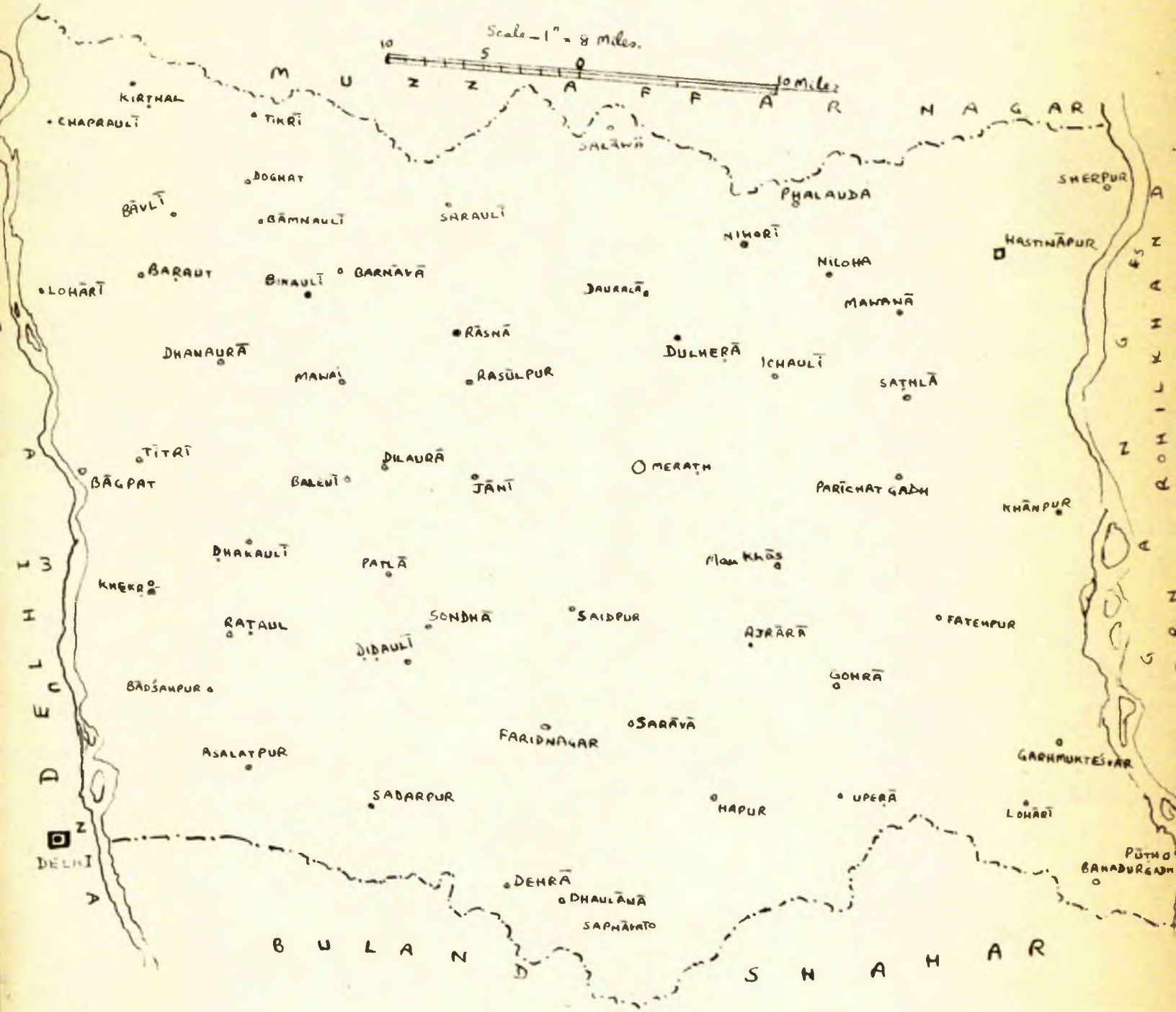
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PHALAUDA
SHERPUR
NIHORĪ
HASTINĀPUR
NILOHA
BARAUT
BINAULĪ
BARNĀVĀ
LOHĀRĪ
DAURALĀ
MAWANĀ
RĀSNĀ
DHANAURĀ
DULHERĀ
ICHAULĪ
MAWAI
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SAṬHLĀ
TITRĪ
DILAURĀ
MERAṬH
BĀGPAT
BALEUĪ
JĀNĪ
PARĪCHAT GADH
KHĀNPUR
DHAKAULĪ
PATLĀ
KHEKRA
RAṬAUL
SONDHĀ
SAIDPUR
FATEHPUR
AJRĀRĀ
DIDAULĪ
GOHRĀ
BĀDŚAHPUR
SARĀVĀ
FARIDNAGAR
ASALATPUR
GARHMUKTEŚWAR
SADARPUR
HAPUR
UPERĀ
LOHĀRĪ
DELHI
PŪTHO
BAHADURGADH
DEHRĀ
DHAULĀNĀ
SAPHĀHATO
BULANDSHAHAR
DELHI
GANGA
GANGA

Chapter 2

THE PLACE OF FOLK SONGS IN MERAṬHĪ FOLK LITERATURE

In the folk poetry of Merath District, as in other parts of Uttar Pradesh, there are two main types of poems, which I shall call Popular Songs and Folk Songs. These are very different from each other in theme, style and tradition. By Popular Songs I mean songs composed by folk poets which have become very well known in the villages. By Folk Songs I mean songs whose composers are not known and which have been accepted by the people and passed on by word of mouth from one generation of singers to another. Their tradition is quite distinct from that of the more artificial, and sometimes more artistic, Popular Songs.

POPULAR SONGS

Popular Songs constantly come into popularity and go out into oblivion. The poems of new poets with newer themes and newer styles take the place of old poems. These songs thus have a limited life. The number of poets who compose such poems is very large. These poets may be divided into the following three classes:

1. Sant and bhakta poets
2. Sāṅgīta writers
3. Pracāraks (propagandists)

Sant poets are in the tradition of the Nirguṇa School of Hindi poetry.[1] They are called Mahātmās. Mahātmā

1. For a brief account of the Nirguṇa School see Rāmcandra Śukla, Hindī Sāhitya Kā Itihās, 1942, pp. 60-93.

Sohan Dās, Gangā Dās, Sankar Dās and Sīsrām are among the best known sant poets of this century. Their poems are known as "gyān pakaṛ", the subject matter being brahmajñāna. These gyān pakaṛs are sung by the wandering mendicants and other people who practise Yoga. These poems are not sectarian and are free from fanaticism.

Most of the bhakta poets are Kṛṣṇa bhaktas. Their lyrics are devotional bhajans and their narrative poems are about many episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa and the stories of his bhaktas. The most often repeated among these stories concerns Narsī Mehtā, a merchant of Jūnāgaṛh whom Kṛṣṇa helped at the bhāt ceremony of Narsī's daughter.[1] More than fifteen poets have composed poems entitled Narsī kā Bhāt in different styles and metres but Mahātmā Laṭūr Singh's composition is so famous that the older compositions including Phūl Singh's have been nearly forgotten. Rādheśyām Kathāvācak's Rādheśyām Rāmāyaṇa a Rāmabhakti work, is similarly renowned.[2] One result of this is that the metre and the style in which it is written is known as "Tarz Rādheśyām".

Now we come to the Sāṅgīta writers. The word Sāṅgīta in Meraṭhī means "a play in verse" written either for acting or for reading. A Sāṅgīta for acting is called

1. K. M. Jhāverī, Milestones in Gujarātī Literature, 1914, pp. 39
2. Ayodhyā Prasad Goyaliya, Ser-o-Sukhan, Part I, 1951, p. 390

svāṅg, and these pieces are now more widely appreciated than the other type of Sāṅgīta. The theme of a Sāṅgīta may be a traditional legend such as Uṣā Aniruddha, Rājā Hariścandra, Rājā Moradhvaja and Rukmiṇī Haraṇ, or a popular love story - national, foreign or local, such as Hīrā Rāñjhā, and Kanvar Nihālde.

There are two main styles of svāṅg, the Hātharas style and the Rohtak style.[1] Of these the former is by far the older, and one of its main characteristics is the use of folk metres such as Lāvanī, Jhūlnā and Cambolā.[2] Among the poets of this school Kūṛe Singh is the best known. The father of the Rohtak style was Dīp Cand, who lived in the later part of the 19th Century. Lakhmī Cand, Māṅge Rām and Bullī are amongst the leading svāṅgīs of this tradition. Instead of Hāthras style metres, the Rohtakī svāṅgīs use Rāgnī metre.[3]

The older metres are no longer in use but many old themes continue to appear. Farmers working in the field can be heard singing some of the many love lyrics from the svāṅgs, and the rāgnī has become like the Gazal, a love poem and a favourite song of the people of the district. These folk songs are one of the few entertainments of the village people

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1. Daśarath Ojhā, Hindi-Nāṭkaka Udbhava aur Vikāsa, 1954, p.40
2. For a brief discussion of these metres see Jagan Nāth Prasād Chanda Prabhākar, 8th. edn. 1935.
3. For a brief discussion of Rāgīnī metre see Devendra Satyārth Dharti Gāti Hai, 1948, pp. 91-91.

and so well liked that a farmer will travel ten miles to see a svāṅg. The performances are given by the professional svāṅgīs. Dancing, music and singing are the constituent parts of a svāṅg.

There is a Meraṭhī version of the Ālhā ballad, which is found in almost all the dialects of Hindi.[1] The Meraṭhī Ālhā was composed by Maṭrūlāl Attār of Meraṭh. The form and style of the Ālhā ballad are also known as Ālhā, and several Meraṭhī poets have made use of this style in composing narrative poems about Mahātmā Gāndhī and Āzād Hind Fauj.

We now come to the pracāraks known as bhajnīs, who are very different from the sant-bhaktas and the svāṅgīs. Since the svāṅgīs and other singers attracted large crowds and that poetry was a part of people's life, the Ārya Samājīs wrote verses in a similar style as a means of propagating their ideas. The Ārya Samājīs were hostile to the svāṅgīs and Kṛṣṇa bhaktas and regarded their poetry as degenerate. They were opposed also to the traditional folk songs and found them vulgar and obscene. Ārya Samājī pracāraks called mahāśayas have written innumerable lyrics and narrative poems and they can be seen at special occasions with the harmonium and the ḍholak. Thanks to their good training and better education, and the superiority of their means, these pracāraks

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1. William Waterfield and Sir George Grierson, The Lay of Ālhā (Oxford University Press), 1923.

were able to publish their poems in large numbers.[1] The names of Mahāśaya Bastīrām, Bhīṣma Brahmacārī, Pṛthivī Singh Bedharak, Rāmsarūp Āzād, Tej Singh and Sukhlāl Musāfir are well known all over the Upper Doab. The names of their books reflect their character, for example: Bedharak kī bijlī, Tūfān Mail, Iśvar Singh kī top, Bhīṣma kī Garj etc. Their poems may be divided into four classes:

1. Poems opposing superstitions, non-vedic beliefs, idol-worship and so on, which they called "Pākhaṇḍ-khaṇḍan", and the songs of awakening.
2. Vedic māṅglik songs to replace the traditional folk songs which were supposed to be vulgar and obscene.
3. Hymns, prayers and songs of praise.
4. Narrative poems and versified biographies of prominent men and women of India.

Ārya Samājī bhajnīs worked with missionary zeal in their attempts to spread propaganda against svāng and Ālhā and met with some success for a time. Because of their puritanical and intolerant attitude, however, this success was not maintained, and the svāng and Ālhā continued to attract large numbers of village people. To counter the influence of Ālhā and Rādheśyām Rāmāyaṇa the bhajnīs

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1. Śrī kṛṣṇa Lāl, Adhunik Hindi Sāhitya Kā Vikās, 1942,p.27.

sometimes wrote in their styles, but this had little effect.

Most of the Ārya Samājī pracāraks were sympathetic to the National Movement and in the second and third decades of this century they also wrote inspiring poems calling the youth of India to give their lives for freedom.[1] Bhagat Singh, Rām Prasād Bismil, Lālā Lajpat Rāi and other Indians who died in the struggle for freedom became heroes of their poems.

After independence Socialists and Gandhiites left the Indian National Congress and formed their independent parties. Many pracāraks who had worked for the Congress joined these parties, with the result that we find today that every party has a number of pracāraks. People in the villages no longer come to listen to the local party leaders who depend on the ability of their pracāraks for an audience. To get large audiences during election campaigns they also arrange performances of the svāṅgs by famous svāṅgīs. The svāṅg in such cases has no relation to the party programme and is used only as a means of entertainment to please the villagers.

Other minor organizations and public institutions also employ pracāraks for raising funds. These bhajnīs also compose poems on the events of the locality, rising

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1. Śrī kṛṣṇa Lāl, Adhunik Hindi Sāhitya Kāvikās, 1942,p.27

prices, famine, illness etc., and introduce criticisms of the behaviour of the Government officials. During the last war Lakhmī Cand, the famous svāṅgī of Hariyānā, was employed by the Indian Government to work for the recruiting campaign. His songs inspired many Jāṭs to join the Indian Army. One of his songs is the following:

भर्ती हो ले रे
थारे बाहर खडे रँगरूट
ह्याँ तो रखते मध्यम बाना
पहनो ओ फट्या पुराणा
ह्वाँ मिलैंगे फुल बूट
भर्ती हो ले रे
थारे बाहर खडे रँगरूट

Come and join the army!
Recruits are standing in front of your door.
Here you have a dull life
And wear old and tattered clothes.
There you will get high boots.
Come and join the army!
Recruits are standing in front of your door.

Most of these village poets are literate and their

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1. Devendra Satyārthī, Dharti Gāti Hai, 1948, p.92

works are published by local publishers. There is always a great demand for such publications in the local bazaars and the fairs. The publishers and the literate singers of these poems continually revise the language of their verses often in the direction of removing dialect forms which would not be readily intelligible to non-dialect speakers from the towns. Therefore the language of these poems is neither pure Meraṭhī nor literary Hindi. The mixed language has its own peculiarities and presents many interesting linguistic features. The songs of the sant and the bhaktas are much influenced by Braj but the works of the bhajnīs employed by various political, religious, cultural and social associations are full of expressions from literary Hindi.

This literature, as I have said, lacks stability. Many poems which were very popular ten years ago are now completely forgotten and new ones have taken their places. But this does not happen to folk songs, which, although preserved by an almost purely oral tradition, tend to retain their form and melody.

FOLK SONGS

There are two main types of folk songs: those sung by professional singers and those sung by the people themselves.

A) FOLK SONGS SUNG BY PROFESSIONAL SINGERS.

Professional singers generally sing long narrative poems. These can safely be called folk-epics. The most important of these are Hīrā-Rāñjhā, Navalde, Guggā and Ḍholā-Mārū. Such epics are sung by the jogīs. There are many villages in this region entirely populated by jogīs. Their profession is singing and they are probably the descendants of the bhāṭs. Their poems are not written down and are preserved by an entirely oral tradition. A jogī may take a whole day or a whole month to sing an epic. He changes the poem according to his audience. If a jogī is literate he will sometimes try to bring in Sanskrit words and to make the descriptions longer to suit what he imagines to be the taste of his audience. But often this effort spoils the poem, and only shows his ignorance of Sanskrit. It is very difficult to persuade a jogī to restrict himself to the traditional descriptions and words. To hide what he imagines to be his ancestors' lack of education, he uses many new words; but he does not change the theme of the epic. I have excluded such poems from my present collection because there are several versions of the same poem according to the education, status and the intelligence of the singer. As mentioned above they do not change the main theme of the poems. We shall give here the brief outline of the three most important epics.

HĪRĀ-RĀÑJHĀ

This poem is sung by the jogīs to keep cattle disease away from the village or, if it has already come, to drive it away. It is usually in the rainy season that the cattle diseases spread and therefore singing sessions of this poem are held in this season. Rāñjhā is regarded as the protector of buffaloes and a pīr in this district.

The story of Hīrā-Rāñjhā is the most often repeated love-story of Panjab.[1] They are celebrated as the types of constant lovers much in the same way as Lailā-Majnūn in Arabic and Shīrīn-Ferhād in Persian poetry. Many Panjabī poets have put it into verse and the poem of Wāris Alī Shāh is considered to be the best.[2]

The main story in the Meraṭhī version is as follows: Rāñjhā was born in a jāṭ family at Takht Hazārā in the Panjab and Hīr was the daughter of Chūcak Siyāl from Jhang. They first met on the bank of Canāb and fell in love with each other. Later she persuaded her father to appoint him as a buffalo herdsman. Her uncle did not approve of this friendship and persuaded her father to marry her to Shīdā of kheṛā. Rāñjhā became a jogī in frustration and after long wanderings managed to take away Hīr from her husband's house. He was subsequently captured and tried. When the king ordered Hīr

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1. Sir R. C. Temple, Legends of the Punjab, 1885, Vol.II.pp.177 and 507-580.

2. Mohan Singh, An Introduction to Panjabi Literature, 1951, pp. 115-116.

to go back to her husband, fire broke out all over the town. Seeing this wrath of nature, the king had to change his decision in favour of Rāñjhā, and the couple went happily to Jhang. Hīr's family were not pleased with this and they asked Rāñjhā to go home and return with a marriage procession to take Hīr away as his wife after the ceremony. As he left they poisoned Hīr. When Rāñjhā heard the news he rushed back to Jhang and entered into the grave of his beloved after the grave had opened miraculously in answer to his prayers.

Jogīs in their poems depict Rāñjhā as a wandering saint and generally give a fabulous account of his doings. They have introduced many episodes to show that Rāñjhā was the sixth pīr and had supernatural powers. The mixture of Hindu and Muslim beliefs in the poem is an important characteristic. For svāṅgīs Rāñjhā was purely a great lover, an ideal lover. It seems probable that the Gūjars brought this legend with them from the Panjab and when they found Ahīrs and other cattle breeding tribes of the Doab worshipping Kṛṣṇa as Gopāl, they gave this status to Rāñjhā and added many new episodes and details to the story.[1] Like Kṛṣṇa he is believed to have possessed a magical flute whose music controlled three hundred and sixty buffaloes which were in his herd.

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1. There is a local tradition among the Gūjars of the Upper Doab that they originally came from the Panjab. This is supported by several writers on the subject.

NAVALDE

This poem is named after its heroine and from a literary point of view is the finest Meraṭhī epic. This legend like Hīrā-Rāñjhā is also well known in the Panjab and Sir R. C. Temple gives its text in his Legends of the Punjab,[1] but the Meraṭhī Navalde is a more beautiful poem than its Panjabī version. It is elegant in style and rich in similes and metaphors and like a mahākāvya has detailed descriptions. This differs from the Panjabī poem in theme, and is shorter and does not go further than the death of Rājā Pārakh, whereas in the Panjabi version the snake sacrifice by Rājā Janmejaya is given in great detail. The story of Navalde has its roots in the Ādi Parva of the Mahābhārata and Navalde of this poem corresponds to Jaratkāru of Mahābhārata.

The story in short is: Rājā Bāsak (Vāsuki) king of snakes, who is suffering from leprosy as a punishment for breaking a promise to marry his daughter Navalde to the Pāṇḍava king Pārakh (Parīkṣit), helplessly cries as none of his kinsmen is prepared to go and bring amījal for him as a cure for leprosy from the well at Kheṛā, built and guarded by the Pāṇḍavas. Hearing him crying his daughter Navalde, whom he had buried in the underground cell, comes out to go and bring the water from the well to cure him. The king is

1. Temple, Legends of the Punjab, Vol.I, pp. 414-528

surprised to find that his daughter is still alive. He stops her from going to the well fearing that Pāṇḍavas will capture her if she goes there. But at last she leaves Pātāl for the well in the Mirtāmaṇḍal (martyamaṇḍala) dressed very beautifully and veiled. Seeing her walking so gracefully Indra and the Sun in turn try to force her to show them her face, but by saying that she was their cousin she sends them back ashamed of their behaviour. Then she meets a cowherd named Hansā playing fascinating rāgas and rāgiṇīs on his flute. She falls in love with him but the mother of Hansā does not approve of the marriage, pointing out that Navalde was the cousin of her son. At last she arrives at the well which is guarded by the deer who insist that she shouldopen her veil before drawing water. But when she lifts the veil from her face all the deer die at once and she has to bring them back to life. Then Khwāza Khizr, the god of water, does not let the water come up and insists on her showing her face and she then does so. When she is about to leave, King Pārakh comes and tries to capture her. There is a long magical fight and at last she yields to him and he lets her go after she has promised to come back. She bathes her father and purposely covers his toe which remains still affected by leprosy. Under the excuse of fetching water again for the toe she goes back to King Pārakh, gets married

to him and lives in a glass palace knowing the wicked and revengeful nature of her cousins. Rājā Bāsak sends Tatīg (Āstīka) who manages somehow to reach the king and bites him. The king at once dies. Vaidya Dhanvantari is called urgently to cure the king but Tatīg bites him on his way to the palace and through his further tricks prevents the fourteen hundred disciples of the Vaidya from reaching the king.

This poem is sung by the jogīs to the accompaniment of a Sāraṅgī for curing illness, avoiding evil events and curing snake-bite. In this district there is a well near the town of Parikchatgaṛh which is known as Navalde kā kuān, and it is believed that its water has the miraculous power of curing leprosy. There are several other places associated with this legend. Two versions recorded by me are very similar to each other except that in one the well is at Hastināpur and in the other at Safidon (also known as Sarpadaman) in the Panjab. The Panjabi version also places the well at Safidon.[1]

GUGGĀ or ZĀHAR PĪR

The legend of Guggā who is also known as Zāhar Pīr has come from the Panjab like the legend of Hīrā-Rāñjhā.

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1. Temple, Legends of the Punjab, Vol. I. p. 414.

It has been mentioned in the last chapter that he is worshipped throughout the district. Thousands of pilgrims go to his shrine at Gaṛh Dāderā in the Panjab, and local fairs are held in his honour in the month of Sāvan and Bhādon. A brief outline of the legend of Guggā has been given in the last chapter.[1] The jogīs, as is their way, have introduced many episodes which show Guggā's supernatural powers and his great authority over the pīrs. Guru Gorakhanāth plays a very important part in the birth of Guggā and later helps him on the battlefield. He is referred to as 'Gorakhanāth kā celā'. In the end he is shown reciting Kalmā so that he could enter into the earth as he was overwhelmed with remorse for killing his two step-brothers.

This legend thus shows both Hindu and Muslim beliefs and ideas, and Guggā is reverenced by both Hindus and Muslims. The influence of the Nāth Panth on this legend, as on others, is very great. This poem is sung by the jogīs when somebody is ill or during the vigil in the night for bringing prosperity to the family of the yajmān. Such sessions are also arranged at the Guggā fairs. Jogīs play the ḍamrū and dhutārā while singing and burn guggal.[2]

Another folk epic is Ḍhoḷā, which is sung by the

1. See above, pp. 18-19.
2. The exudation of the tree Amyris Agallochum.

professional singers known as ḍhulayyās. Most of them come from Braj and their poems are in Braj. There is no distinct tradition of Meraṭhī Ḍholā, though this story is widely appreciated and there are hundreds of Malhors about Ḍholā which we will discuss later. Ḍholā like Ālhā attracts large crowds. The Ḍholā of Braj has been fully discussed by Satyendra in his Braj Lok Sāhitya kā adhyayan.[1]

B) FOLK SONGS SUNG BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES

Now we come to the second type of folk songs which are sung by the people themselves. The words of many of these have remained unchanged for centuries.[2] The songs that the grandmother sang are sung today by her grand-daughter. Though there is very little change in the songs that survive, there is a tendency, in the changing social and cultural conditions, for the older songs to disappear when their subject matter ceases to have relevance to the circumstances of the present. All the songs in the present collection are traditional and inseparable parts of social life, festivals, rituals, ceremonies and other such elements of village culture. As long as the rural culture and the present pattern of communal life in the villages remain such songs will remain alive and fresh.

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1. Satyendra, Braj Lok Sāhitya kā adhyayan, 1949, pp. 358-393
2. This is clear from the number of archaic words found in the poems and not now current in the spoken language. See below pp. 114, 115

Folk songs are either sung for some religious purpose or for recreation. We can therefore divide them into two main classes: Religious Songs and Recreational Songs.

RELIGIOUS SONGS

Religious Songs can be sub-divided into three main classes:

1. Songs of Saṃskāras
2. Songs for Other Religious Occasions
3. Magic Spells

Songs of Saṃskāras

In the villages there are two elements in religious ceremonies, the priestly and the popular. In some ceremonies the songs sung by the women are not necessary for the validity of the ceremony, but are auspicious accompaniments or adornment to the priestly ritual: such songs are called 'Māṅgalik'. In other ceremonies the songs themselves constitute the ritual and have the same place in the ritual as the Vedic Mantras in the priestly ceremony.

The tradition of singing Māṅgalik songs at the various religious ceremonies seems to be very ancient. In the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā the method of singing the gathā at marriage ceremony is described. There are references to the singing of gathās to the vīṇā at the marriage ceremony and at the Sīmantonnyana in the Pāraskar

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1. Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, 3. 7. 3

Gṛhyasūtra[1] and Āśvalāyan Gṛhyasūtra[2] respectively. In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa[3] at the birth of Rāma and in the Bhāgavat Purāṇa[4] at the birth of Kṛṣṇa there are descriptions of the singing of songs by women. In the Rāmacaritmānasa[5] we read of the singing of auspicious songs at the time of birth and marriage.

Out of the sixteen saṃskāras only two, the saṃskāra of birth and marriage are universally observed. All the older women know the songs of these two saṃskāras and the young girls learn them as part of their upbringing. In some villages the wife of the local bhāṭ is regarded as an authority on the songs and acts as leader of the singing group.

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1. Pārskar Gṛhyasūtra, 1.7 अथ गाथां गायति:
सरस्वति प्रेदमव सुभगे वाजिनीवती।
यां त्वा विश्वस्य भूतस्य प्रजायामस्याग्रत:
यस्यां भूतं समभवद् यस्यां विश्वमिदं जगत्।
तामद्य गाथां गास्यामि या स्त्रीणामुत्तमं यश:
2. Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, 1.14.6.
3. Rāmāyaṇa, Bālkānd, 18. xvii, xviii, ixx.
4. Bhāgavat Purāṇa, Skandh X.
6. Tulsidas - Ramcaritmānasa - Edited by Pandits of Nāgri Pracāriṇī, 1933.
वृंद वृंद मिलि चलीं लोगाईं। सहज सिंगार किये उठ धाईं॥
कनक कलस मंगल भरि थारा। गावत पैठहिं भूप दुआरा ॥ बालकांड, पृ. ९२।

पहिरि बरन बरन बर चीरा। सकल विभूषन सजे सरीरा॥
सकल सुमंगल अंग बनाये। करहिं गान कल कंठ लजाये॥ बालकांड, पृ. १४६।

Birth Songs

It has been mentioned in the last chapter[1] that except for the naming ceremony the priest does not play any part in this most colourful ceremony and all the rituals are conducted by the older women of the community by singing songs. These songs are known as 'Bihāī' or 'Sohile'. The Bihāīs are sung every night for ten days after the birth of a boy and for three days after the birth of a girl. There are also special songs for different rituals, such as the worship of the well by the mother of the new born child.

The motif of delivering the child in the forest after being exiled by the husband is found in many songs and in some of them the words Ayodhyā, Rāma and Kauśilyā occur. It seems that such songs are based on the episode of banishment of Sītā by Rāma and the birth of Lava and Kuśa in the forest.

On this occasion every member of the family expects presents and the mother's naṇad expects more than anyone. These expectations and everyone's effort to appear important are the theme of many birth songs.

Marriage Songs

As in the birth ceremony, at marriage also some rituals are conducted by the priest and some by the women who

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1. See above, pp. 24-25

sing songs. The number of popular rituals is much greater than that of the Vedic ones. These rituals are called rituals of 'Buḍhiyā Purāṇ'. In the previous chapter a brief description of various ceremonies connected with marriage has been given,[1] and therefore only the songs of important ceremonies will be discussed here.

Lāṛīs and Banaṛās. At Lagan there begins the singing of songs every night in the houses of the bride and the bridegroom and it goes on till the day of the wedding. Songs sung at the bride's house are called 'Lāṛī' or 'Suhāg' and those sung in the house of the bridegroom are known as Banaṛās.

In some lāṛīs, the lāḍḍo (the dear one) is represented as requesting her grandfather to find a suitable bridegroom for her and as being anxious about the possibility of having a dark-skinned husband.[2] Lāṛīs with similar themes are also sung in Rajasthan,[3] Gujarat[4] and the Panjab.[5]

In Banaṛās the handsome face and dress of the bridegroom are praised and he is also advised how to behave in the father-in-law's house.

Lāṛī and banaṛās are also sung at the Tel-Bān ceremony.

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1. See above pp. 25-29
2. The term laḍḍo is normally applied to a bride, and its use here to refer to a girl whose marriage is not yet arranged is somewhat exceptional.
3. Sūrya Karaṇ Pārīkh, Rajasthani Lokgit, 1932, pp. 42-47
4. Jhaber Cand Meghāṇi, Raḍhiyali Rat, Vol. II.
5. Devendra Satyārthī, Bela Phule Adhi Rāt, 1948, pp. 351-353

Songs of Bhāt. These are songs of welcome and in them the wishes of the members of the family, their aspirations and expectations of presents from the bhātaī are expressed. On the same day the Maṇḍhā is worshipped and the songs sung at this worship are love songs.

Songs of Bāroṭhī. Some of the songs of bāroṭhī indicate the former existence of marriage by capturing the bride. In one of such songs the bride on one hand points out to her grandfather that the armies have invaded the home and on the other she requests her bhātaṇ to welcome the bridegroom. Most of these songs are amusing and contain both the expression of welcome and joking abuse.

Wedding Songs. During the wedding ceremony many songs are sung and in most of them the marriage is compared to gambling. The most important of these are the songs of 'Hāth Pīle Karnā' and the 'Phere' which are the central ceremonies of marriage. In these songs we find a popular interpretation of the Vedic marriage ritual.

Songs of Vidā. A moment of great significance in a Hindu marriage ceremony is the time of Vidā, when the bride leaves her home for her susrāl. Parents and other members of the bride's family and the bride herself cannot restrain themselves and give way to tears. In Śakuntalā even Kanva is moved at the time of Śakuntalā's departure.[1]

यास्यत्य शकुन्तलेति हृदयं संस्पृष्टमुत्कण्ठया।
कण्ठः स्तम्भितबाष्पवृत्ति कलुषश्चिन्ताजडं दर्शनम्॥
वैक्लव्यं ममतावदीदृशमिदं स्नेहादरण्यौकसः।
पीड्यन्ते गृहिणः कथं नु तनयाविश्लेषदुःखैर्नवैः॥

1. Kālidās, Śakuntalā, 4th Act/6.

These songs are full of sadness, and express the anxiety of the bride and her parents. One such song is attributed to Amīr Khusro.[1]

The tradition of Vidā songs is found all over Northern India. Vidā songs in Rajasthan are known as 'Oḷyū' and are very similar to Meraṭhī Vidā songs in theme and style.[2]

SONGS OF OTHER RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS

In the preceding chapter an account of the religious life of the district has been given. The songs connected with it can be classified as follows:

i. Songs of Devī

ii. Songs of Sāñjhī

iii. Songs of Other Festivals

iv. Songs of Pilgrimages

Songs of Devī are sung on the night of the vigil and in them the Devī is praised and the preparations for the pilgrimage are described.

Songs of Sāñjhī are called ārtā. Sāñjhī appears in these songs as a simple village woman.

Songs of Other Festivals. Songs are sung at almost all the other festivals in the calendar. The most important are the following:

At the Devauṭhān festival the songs are sung to

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1. 18
2. Pārīkh, Rājasthānī Lokgīt, pp. 71-73

awaken the gods. In these songs prayers are offered to the gods for more cows, bullocks, good sons and good crops.

On the Govardhan festival after Dīvālī the cowherds go round the village singing songs which are called "Hīṛo". Their employers give them presents. This custom is also prevalent in the Maikāl Hills.[1]

Songs of the Janmāṣṭmī and Rāmnaumī festivals are also known as "Bhajans". A Bhajan is a sort of general religious song which can be sung on any religious occasion.

On the occasion of Holī men sing songs for several days before and after the festival. Village bands with thirty or fifty players on many types of drums and percussion instruments play for weeks. The music and the men's songs that go with it, take the name of Holī.

In the month of Kvār boys go at night to every house in the village with a ṭesū, i.e. a lamp supported on a three-legged stand, and sing songs in praise of the ṭesū. These are gay songs full of strange happenings without any order. The girls at the same time go round with a Jhāñjhī - an unbaked earthen pot with holes all around and a little clay lamp burning inside it. These songs are similar to the songs of ṭesū in theme and style.

<u>Songs of Pilgrimages</u>. Under this heading come the songs sung on the pilgrimages such as the Devī-yātrā, a

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1. Verrier Elwin and Shamrao Hivale, <u>Folk Songs of the Maikal-Hills</u>, 1944, p 293.

journey to the Ganges fair and so on.

Men's songs

Men usually do not sing on the yātrās except on the festival of Śivarātri when they bring the water from Hardvār.[1] These songs are called 'Bam' or Bhole kī Bam'. The words "bolo re bhāī bam" are attached to the end of each bam. These are in a Dohā-like metre.

Women's songs

Women's songs are known as Prabhātīs because they are sung early in the morning while going on a pilgrimage. These are also known as bhajans, being in the praise of the gods. Most of these bhajans are about Rāma and Kṛṣṇa who are shown as making love to the pilgrims.

Magic Spells. The poems of this group are known as Mantras. There are mantras for curing snake bite, scorpion sting and rheumatic pains. There are several mantras whose recitation forms the main part of the ritual to drive away cattle disease from the village. Most of the mantras are in theory to be taught by Gurus only to select disciples but most of the villagers know them. In some of these songs Hanumān is invoked.

RECREATIONAL SONGS

In this group are seasonal songs and action songs. The aim of singing them is that of pleasure and recreation

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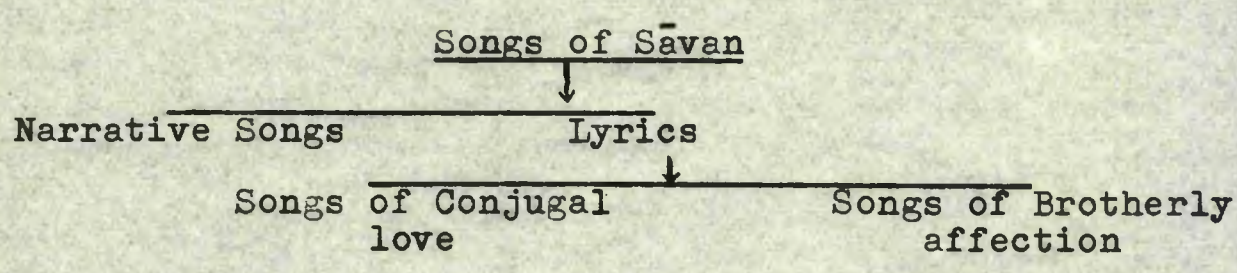
1. See above p.15

and they have no religious significance.

Seasonal Songs

The month of Sāvan is the peak of the rainy season. In this month fall two festivals of women, Tijjaṇ and Saluṇā, which are celebrated by singing and swinging in the orchards. Songs of Sāvan are the most numerous and can be classified as follows:



There are many narrative Sāvan songs outstanding among which are Candrāvalī, Lahariyā, Morā and Sipāhī.

Candrāvalī's song[1] is found in other parts of Uttar-Pradesh.[2] It is a song of Mugal India. Candrāvalī goes to fetch water and is captured by the Mugal who does not release her in spite of the requests and offers of money and wealth by her parents and her in-laws. In that helpless situation and under the pretext of thirst, she sends the Mugal to fetch water and in his absence sets fire to the tents and is burnt in it. In Bundelkhand the song of Māno Gūjarī, in Bihar of Bhagvatī and in Panjab of Sunder Panihārin have a

1. 49
2. Satyendra, Braj Lok Sāhitya kā Adhyayana, 1949, p.321

similar theme.[1]

In the Lahariyā song[2] a husband returns to his village after twelve years of absence and sees his wife drawing water. She does not recognize him because it was a child marriage. He jokes with her and she becomes angry and does not give him water to drink. At home she discovers in conversation with her mother-in-law that he is her husband. She then rushes to the banyan tree and meets him.[3]

In the Mora song[4] the morā (peacock) is the symbol of the ideal lover. The wife falls in love with the morā. Her husband is jealous and goes out and kills the morā. He brings it home and asks his wife to cook it. Seeing the morā dead the wife is disturbed, and he tries to pacify her by offering to give her a morā of wood or of gold, or to have a morā tattoed on her chest; but she does not want any of these things. It was only the living morā that she loved because of the sound of its voice. A similar theme is found in a Gujarati folk song.[5]

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1. Devendra Satyārthī, Belā Phūle Ādhī Rāt, 1948, p.209
2. 48
3. The following are a similar songs from other parts of India:
   Paṇihārī (Rājasthān), Pārīkh, Rājasthānī Lokgīt, pp75-76
   Rāmī kā Gīt (Gaṛhvāl), Satyārthī, Bela Phule Adhi Rat, pp51-53
   Dābar nainī (Braj), Satyendra, Braj Lok Sāhitya kā Adhyayana pp 317-18
   Rupa kā Gīt (Kamāun), Satyārthī, Ibid, pp.54-55
   Muṭiyāre nī (Panjab), Satyārthī, Ibid, pp.92-93
   Re Mevāṛā, (Gujarat), Jhaver Cand Meghaṇī, Radhiyālī Rāt, Vol.1. p. 17.
4. 51
5. Devendra Satyārthī, "Braj Bhārtī", Braj Lok Samskṛti, edited by Satyendra, Agra, 1948, p.28.

Sipāhī[1] is a very sad song in which a jealous mother poisons the wife of her son just before his return after a long separation.

Songs of conjugal love are more about viyoga (separation) than saṃyoga (union). In viyoga songs the pangs of separation are expressed. The parrot is used for carrying messages. Bārahamāsās are also a sort of viyoga song telling of the twelve months of separation. Bārahamāsās can be compared with the ṣaṭ ṛtu varṇan of literature. There are many songs in which a wife tries to prevent her husband from going away on business. In some the wife tells about her unhappy condition.

In the songs of brotherly affection, there is a recurring theme of a brother's going to visit his sister and feeling distress at her mother-in-law's unkindness to her.

Action Songs

Action songs can be divided into three classes:

i. Sung by women

ii. Sung by men

iii. Sung by children

Women customarily sing at work, and songs to accompany grinding, spinning, plucking vegetables, or drawing water from a well are sung all over the district. The theme of these songs are the pleasures and pains of married life, and

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1. 50

the feelings of discontent caused by the joint family system. There are also nursing songs which are sung to put a child to sleep, or to amuse him while he is being washed. There are many walking songs which are sung by women carrying food to their husbands at work in the field, or going to the bazar or to the field. These action songs are sung unaccompanied. Each walking song ends with the exclamation 'Hare.....'

In Meraṭh district there is no tradition of women's folk dancing except at Khoṛiā - which is a women's feast held on the night of departure of a marriage procession to the bride's house. Then the women wear masks and dance. No man is allowed to see this dance. The songs sung on this occasion are highly erotic.

The farmers of the district sing while ploughing, or lifting water for irrigation or driving bullock carts. Their most famous action songs are Malhors,[1] known also as Gāhās (Gāthās) or Palhāyās (Pravalhikā), which are sung after midnight while working at the kolhū (Sugar mill). Meraṭh district is one of the main sugarcane growing areas of the State. Therefore Malhors are much sung here. The Dohās of Ahīrs and the Birhās of Bhojpurī bear a close

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1. Malhor is probably derived from the root "malh" (to enjoy). In Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta (29.45.5) "malhaṇa" is used meaning "full of joy" or "full of inspiration." We may have therefore: मल्हार > मल्हपूर (full of joy)
or
मल्ह + स्वर (inspired words)

resemblance to the Malhors in form and style. A Malhor consists of two couplets in the Dohā metre followed by the line 'Re merī bāvarī malhor'. The Dohā metre used is not always regular. Some Malhors are in pairs, the first putting a question and the second giving the answer. Sometimes several malhors are connected together by a very brief story.

When Malhors first came to light[1] they drew the attention of Hindi Scholars. Dr.V.S.Agravāla[2] in a comment on an article of mine tried to trace their ancestry and he sees their early examples in ancient folk literature of which "aitaśapralāpa" is an archaic example.

According to their theme we can group them under three headings:[3]

a. Spiritual Malhors

b. Nīti Malhors

c. Śṛṅgār Malhors

In the Malhors of the first group the impermanence of life and material possessions, the futility of being proud and ideas on nature and God are expressed in symbolic but simple language.

In the Nīti Malhors popular wisdom has found expression and these can be compared with the Dohās of Rahīm and Vṛnd.

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1. See my article, "Malhor (Kuru Pradeśa kā ek gīt)", Janapad Pt.1, vol.11, 1953
2. Ibid. p.74. V.S.Agravāla, "Gāhā aur Palhāyā", Janapad, Pt.1, vol.11, 1953
3. This is very similar to Bhartṛhari's grouping of his poems into three śatakas: Nīti, Śṛṅgār and Vairāgya.

Śṛṅgār Malhors are like the 'Love Epigrams' of Chinese poetry.[1] In them different phases of love and youth have been expressed. In several Śṛṅgār Malhors we find short anecdotes used to illustrate the love theme. These are glimpses of love from the village life. Youth and love are interwoven in these Malhors. A large number of Malhors about Ḍholā-Mārū are found in the district. From a literary point of view Malhors are among the best specimens of Meraṭhī folk poetry and therefore it is not surprising that they have influenced early Hindi poetry.

There are also action songs of the dhobīs which they sing while washing clothes in the village pond by striking them on a stone. Each song is followed by the line, 'Chiyo Rām, Chiyo Rām'. Cūran and cāṭ vendors are heard singing very short songs known as, 'Laṭakā', to attract customers. These are amusing songs. Numerous film song writers have composed many such songs which have become so popular in the towns and the villages that they have tended to replace the old folk songs of this particular type.

Beggars going round a village and waiting in front of a door sing songs and play cimṭā (tongs), which is one of their attributes. Each song is followed by Harganṅā. The cimṭā and Harganṅā clearly show their relationship to Śiva.

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1. See Arthur Waley, <u>One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems</u>, 1928 edition, p 14.

There is an abundance of children's songs. Many of them have no meaning and only make amusing rhymes. Most of the games played by children are played with one or more songs. There is a Gurupūjā festival in the month of Sāvan, when all the boys pay reverence to their teachers in the school. Their multicoloured sticks about eighteen inches long, are blessed by the teacher. These sticks are called "caṭṭās".[1] The boys dance with these sticks in groups of six, eight, twelve or sixteen, making a very beautiful rhythm by striking their sticks, one against another. While the stick dancers are dancing the rest of the boys sing songs which being in a caupāi-like metre, are known as Caupāi. The boys go in a large band, singing and dancing, to the house of every boy in turn. At each house they are given sweets, and the teacher is given presents.

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1. Use of caṭṭās in Meraṭh district is exclusively at this occasion, while in Braj and Rājasthan they are associated with the Rāslīlā.

Chapter 3

CULTURAL LIFE MIRRORED IN THE FOLK SONGS

We have seen in the last chapter the extent to which folk songs penetrate village life. People are born in the atmosphere of folk songs, grow up with them and find great comfort in them in times of need, and they also experience happiness by singing them at festivities. Folk songs are an integral part of their life and therefore it is natural that this life should be reflected in them. Sometimes the songs also contain ideas on morality, behaviour and etiquette. In the songs of religious ceremonies we find detailed information on rituals, customs and religious beliefs. Such songs have preserved the cultural traditions like Smṛtis and have been safely handed down from generation to generation.

In the songs of Devī[1] full details of pilgrimage are given and a village woman does not need the help of a priest in making preparations for the pilgrimage. In Bārahāmāsās[2] the usual festivals of the community during the twelve months of the year are described.

There is a great wealth of popular wisdom in them. Subhāṣitas from such songs guide the people in the moments of conflict and are always quoted by them in serious discussions.

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1. 22
2. 55,56

A pañc of a village pañcāyat usually quotes an appropriate subhāṣita from songs when giving a decision.

There is much social, cultural, and religious material in Meraṭhī folk songs but rather than discuss here all the aspects of social, cultural and religious life of the people mirrored in these songs, we shall pay particular attention to the family life reflected in them.

Folk songs have so far been used as evidence by many scholars in support of their statements on the life of the people who sing them, but here I wish to construct a picture on the basis of the songs by treating them as reliable documents of social and cultural life. We have seen in the last chapter that many types of Meraṭhī songs show a close resemblance to the songs of Punjabi, Rajasthani and Gujarati as well as those of other Hindi dialects. Therefore our conclusions may be applied with care and reservations to the other parts of Northern India especially the above mentioned language areas.

Several Indian scholars[1] seem to have a romantic attitude to Indian folk songs and they regard them as expressing true Indian Culture and a traditional attitude to life which educated Indians have forgotten. They have thus given romantic interpretations of the songs and have drawn imaginary conclusions to prove that life, culture and the traditions of rural India are ideal. These conclusions have no relation with reality. The same tendency is found in Indian films in which village life is depicted as being highly idealistic and quite unreal.

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1. Rām Nareśa Tripāṭhī, Grām Sāhitya, Vol. I, 1951, p 39.
   " ग़रीबी किसी तरह दूर हट जाय तो गाँववालों में अनेक ऐसे सद्गुण चमक उठेंगे, जो संसार के किसी भी सभ्य समाज के लिये आदर्श माने जायेंगे और जो पैतृक- सम्पत्ति की तरह हज़ारों पीढ़ियों से उनके पास हैं."

Sūrya Karaṇa Pārīkh, Rājasthanī Lokgīt, pp 19-20
   " इस अमर संस्कृति का मार्मिक इतिहास मनोहर से मनोहर रूप में हमारे गीतों में सुरक्षित मिलता है..... गीतों में सच्ची भारतीय संस्कृति का दर्शन मिलता है.....लोकगीतों में व्यक्त जीवन कितना स्वस्थ, कितना स्वाभाविक, कितना सुंदर, कितना निर्मल, पुष्ट और सजीव है, यह कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है."

Baldev Upādhyāya, Bhojpurī Lokgīt, page 47
   " भोजपुरी गीतों में चित्रित समाज का वातावरण कितना शान्त है, कितना निर्मल है, कितना मोहक है इन गीतों में हमें तो किसी दिव्य लोक की झाँकी मिलती है जिसके सामने आधुनिक समाज का प्रकाश फीका, बनावटी तथा मलिन प्रतीत होता है."

Lakṣmī Kānt Varmā, Lokgīton men Kāvyagat Saundarya, Sammelan Patrikā, Lok Sanskriti Visarad, p. 275
   " पूर्व कवियों में वासना, लास और सौन्दर्य का उत्तेजनात्मक रूप ही अधिक सफल हुआ है किन्तु लोकगीतों में शालीनता और पवित्रता का महत्वपूर्ण चित्रण ही सर्व प्रधान है. साहित्यिक दृष्टिकोण से यह कम भले ही माना जाय किन्तु सभ्यता और संस्कृति की दृष्टि से इन तत्वों का विशेष महत्व है."

This tendency seems in part to be the result of Mahātmā Gāndhī's great reverence for the rural culture and his famous slogan, "Back to the Village". It appears that the conclusions of these scholars are probably based mainly on the religious songs which describe the ceremonies and have certain references to Sītā, Rāma and their ideal family and so on. In their great enthusiasm for these songs they seem to have paid less attention to the recreational songs which present a very different story.

I do not approach folk songs with such emotional reverence and with preconceived ideas of finding in them the values of ancient Indian Culture, very high standards of morality, unselfishness and generosity. The picture of village life, reflected in the folk songs of Meraṭhī is not so ideal, but is nevertheless real. The village people do not appear so peace-loving, tolerant, religious and unselfish as they are often described by Indian folk song experts and film-directors.

We have seen that most of the Meraṭhī folk songs are sung by the women. From these songs it appears that the sphere of activity of a village woman is very limited. It is not therefore surprising that the theme of most of her songs is family life. In the men's songs also we find references to her difficulties.

Life in the village is communal, and though there is the inevitable division into castes, the whole village is like a family. To this unity the songs may be considered to make substantial contribution, since no caste distinctions appear in the songs, which are the common property of different castes. The songs, in fact, rise above all artificial walls which separate man from man.

A family in a village is the smallest social group. In an average family there are the sons and grandsons, their wives and children and unmarried daughters, living together, having joint ownership of the land and other property.[1] In songs of birth and marriage a long list of members of a family is found.

In the most delicate situation in a joint family is the bahū (the daughter-in-law), who has to work hard and preserve the unity of the growing family. Therefore great care is taken in marriage affairs, particularly in fixing the marriage of a son, in order to maintain the unity of the family. Marriage is regarded as a family affair. The future husband and wife are not consulted: it is the fathers and grandfathers who settle things on their behalf.[2] A bride is not married to a person but to a family.[3] Probably the

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1. 60,72
2. 5,11,18
3. 19

idea of having everything in common has given rise to the joking relationship between a woman and her husband's younger brother.

The father or the grandfather of the girl goes out to find a suitable bridegroom of good family for her, and sometimes the search takes a very long time.[1] In some songs the daughter requests her father to go and search for a bridegroom for her and also makes her ideas known with regard to the choice. Such songs must be very old because this practice has completely died out in the Meraṭhī villages. In most of the songs the girl appears 'dumb like a cow' and accepts anyone to whom her father decides to give her. She has no say in the whole matter. This theme has been expressed in a touching way in the songs of Vidā.[2] Because the marriage of a daughter presents so much difficulty and puts the father in an inferior position,[3] the birth of a girl is not celebrated with enthusiasm. Getting a daughter married is a religious duty[4] which must be fulfilled by the parents at all costs. Therefore they do not hesitate to force a marriage on her even if she may not like it, for they fear social criticism for the delay. In the following Malhor

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1. 6
2. 16,17,18
3. 11,16
4. 37,1 12

the helpless position of a daughter is expressed:[1]

दुनिया में दो गरीब हैं
अेक बेट्टी अेक बैल
बिन जाणे चले जाँय रे
कोई परदेस्सी की गैल

After the marriage the young bride comes to live in her susrāl where she finds herself in a quite different situation. There she not only has to grind,[2] cook,[3] spin,[4] and fetch water from the well[5] but also do outdoor work such as hoeing, watering, plucking vegetables[6] and so on. She has to carry food to the field and from there bring a large bundle of fodder on her head. In one of the songs a wife compains to her nanad that her neck is aching through carrying heavy bundles of fodder.[7] For all her hard work there is no appreciation or reward. All expect her to work for them and nobody cares for her. On the contrary they create trouble for her.[8]

In addition to all this thankless hard work she finds that she is not only a wife but also a daughter-in-law and a sister-in-law and she must serve and respect her husband's family. In a Vidā song[9] a grandfather says to his samadhī,

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1. 127
2. ~~127~~,19,60,97
3. 19,97
4. 79
5. 51
6. 60,96,72,141
7. 83
8. 79
9. 16

(his daughter's bridegroom's father), "She is the slave girl of your palace and we are your slaves, please look after her." Though these words are intended merely as an expression of politeness, there is much truth in them. So many duties and restrictions are imposed on her in her susrāl that it seems to her like a prison.

The husband also seems to take the marriage as a family affair. In order to keep up the spirit of the joint-family and fearing that he will be blamed for favouring his wife and thus being called selfish, he tends to believe the tales of his mother and sister, who are usually jealous of her. We shall discuss in detail later their relationship with the bahū. He punished his wife for being rude to her naṇad or sās or for other such petty things. Some of these punishments are like tortures.[1] In the song of Candrāvalī[2] the husband hearing the news of his wife's abduction bursts out laughing and says that it does not matter and he could get a few like her, while his father and brother weep and at once ~~and~~ go to secure her release. In one song the husband brings poison for his wife who drinks it in milk and dies.[3] In a birth song he expels his pregnant wife from his house for complaining about the bad smell of bitter tobacco. She

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1. 89
2. 49,1.28,29,30,31
3. 53

then gives birth to a child in the forest.[1] Because of the social taboos he does not meet her in the day. It is only in the night that the wife, after finishing her household work, goes to the aṭārī[2] which is the meeting place. (Aṭārī is the symbol of union in Meraṭhī songs.) If the husband is attracted by some other woman, then even this short union in the aṭārī is not possible. In one song the unhappy wife complains that she has never slept together with her husband and requests him to fulfil her wish at least once.[3] It is quite clear from many songs that he does not attach much importance to her[4] and treats her as a property and a means of amusement. He never takes her out, but leaves her at home to look after a large number of crying children.[5]

The wife does not seem to have a personality or individuality. Marriage is a game between the fathers of the bride and the bridegroom, and the bride is the stake.[6] In spite of all the social inequality and ill-treatment, even in adverse circumstances she remains faithful to her husband. In the Lahariyā song we have seen that she rebukes the traveller in harsh language.[7] This is found in many songs.

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1. 3
2. A small room built on top of what is otherwise a single storey house.
3. 66,1.12,13
4. 60,72,73,79
5. 88
6. 11
7. 48,1.13.14.16.17

She does not eat before her husband,[1] and keeps fast to ensure his long life. She is instructed in all these things by her parents on the eve of her departure for the susrāl,[2] and till the end of her life she proves that she follows that path of dharma. There are of course songs in which she wishes to have an affair with her devar,[3] falls in love with a peacock,[4] or desires the death of her husband in order to be able to marry a gardener's son.[5]

There are several references to the sauk (co-wife). This term in the songs also means a concubine. Bringing a sauk is regarded as an expression of the greatest ill-will towards his wife by the husband,[6] because after her arrival even the limited love and affection formerly shown to the first wife disappears, and she suffers as a result. Such songs express sexual frustration in very clear language.[7] Therefore sauks are great enemies and may try to get rid of each other by murder.[8] The reasons for a second marriage are very clear from a song[9] in which a wife after hearing the news of her husband's second marriage rushes home and asks her mother-in-law, "Do I come from a low family or did I

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1. 31
2. 19
3. 71,76
4. 51
5. 173
6. 79.1.23,24
7. 60.1.25-28
8. 57.1.27-30
9. 57.1.5-10

bring a small dowry that your son is getting married?" The mother-in-law says quite happily, "You are dark complexioned, O bahū, my son has a liking for a fair woman." In most cases the second wife is from a low caste, the daughter of a waterman or a gardener. In another song,[1] knowing that her husband loves a gardener's daughter, she asks him to bring some poison, drinks it in milk and dies. She tells her husband in a dream after her death, "The gardener's daughter is more beautiful, you had better marry her." When a husband does not return home after a long absence, the wife curses the unknown woman who has fascinated her husband. In one song with such a theme terrible language full of curses is used against a sauk by the wife.[2]

This is a glimpse of married life as reflected in the Meraṭhī folk songs, and we can say on the basis of similarities which exist between themes of folk songs of various regions of Northern India, that a similar picture could be painted of these parts too. Dr. Bhagīrath Miśra in an article on married-life in Hindi folk songs has praised it in very poetic language.[3] In his opinion married life in

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1. 53
2. 60.1.25-28
3. Bhagīrath Miśra, Sāhitya, Sādhanā aur Samāj, 1951.p.185

" दाम्पत्य जीवन का प्रेम, त्याग और आदर्श, भारतीय जीवन की विशेषता है और भारतीय संस्कृति की रक्षा करने वाले नैसर्गिक निर्झर की धारा के समान प्रवहमान लोकगीतों में इस दाम्पत्य जीवन का विशद और मर्मस्पर्शी चित्रण हुआ है इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं."

our folk literature is not one-sided and selfish but full of duty and dharma, and its love, sacrifice and idealism are the main characteristics of Indian Life. Śrī Ram Nareśa Tripāṭhī believes that the women approve of the joint-family system and their singing the same song again and again with the name of a different member of the family is an indication of this approval.[1] He also praises the virtues of the restrictions common in married life.[2] There are several other Indian scholars who do not tire of praising the pure, simple and romantic married life of the village people.

I am inclined to believe on the basis of the present study that a sentimental attachment to the traditional way of life in Indian villages has blinded such writers to the unhappiness which is frequently caused by the out-dated conventions of arranged marriage, social taboos and the joint family, and which is so often stressed in the songs.

Though the lot of the wife as described above[3] is in no way enviable, even such a wife is fortunate as compared with one whose husband is much younger than her. There are many cases where the husband is a mere child at the time of marriage. This seems so common that the reasons for a

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1. Rām Nareśa Tripāṭhī, Grām Sāhitya, 1951 p. 56

" हिन्दुओं में सम्मिलित कुटुम्ब की प्रथा प्रचलित है. स्त्रीगीतों में बड़े ज़ोरों के साथ उसका समर्थन किया जाता है. कन्यायें और बहुएँ सब कुटुम्बियों के अलग अलग उपनामों को जोड़-जोड़कर गीत गाती हैं. जिससे गृहस्थी के अेक केन्द्र से हर अेक कुटुम्बी बँधा हुआ रहता है."

2. Tripāṭhī, Grām Sāhitya, p. 87
3. See above, pp. 69-76

woman's sadness are always supposed to be either the quarrelsome mother-in-law or a child husband.[1] This practice is very widespread among the Jāṭs, Gūjars and Camārs of the district. Such marriages very clearly illustrate the notion that marriage is strictly a family affair. From the point of view of the boy's family such a marriage adds one adult to the working team of the family and for the sake of the family the individual suffering has to be ignored.

This is a very peculiar situation in which the wife has to suppress her desires and look satisfied and happy at having the good fortune of being married, and in which she must not show on her face any trace of the agony she feels. She is neither saṃyoginī (united) nor viyoginī (separated), neither really married in the true sense of the term nor unmarried. She can neither enjoy life nor cry openly.

In several songs with this theme we see a very strong conflict between duty and the emotions. When she is annoyed with the childish behaviour of her child husband, she pushes him away, but after some time when the sense of duty comes back she picks him up and kisses him.[2] In some cases "she

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1. 175
2. 97

quietly burns behind the veil like ghī in a golden lamp",[1] but in some cases complains to her mother-in-law[2] or to the traveller inquisitive of knowing the reason for her unhappiness.[3] She is more unhappy when people talk about this fact[4] or when some member of the family taunts her. In one song[5] such an unhappy bride rushes to her father and asks him why he has married her to a child. The father puts the blame on the Brahman and the Brahman in his turn on the barber and at last when she comes to the barber, he says, "It is because of your bad karmas, it is not my fault". The pain of such an unhappy bride finds an outlet in the working songs.

Child marriage is also quite common. In the Lahariyā song[6] a husband who returns after an absence of twelve years is not recognized by his wife. In several other Sāvan songs the same theme recurs. After such a marriage ceremony the bride does not go to live in her susrāl. After a few years when the bride and the bridegroom are considered to be sufficiently mature the cāllā ceremony takes place, and the bride comes to her susrāl for the first time. Sometimes a bride awaiting cāllā in her father's house is very sad because her parents are taking no notice of the fact that she is now a

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1. 167
2. 172
3. 169
4. 90
5. 84
6. 48

grown-up girl.[1] In one case even after the cāllā the bridegroom is not fully grown-up, and the bride complains to her mother-in-law, "Get your son buried in barren land, during a long night of eight pahars he does not get up even once."[2] Ḍholā Mārū's love story is based on a child marriage. Sometimes an adult husband refuses to bring home the wife to whom he was married as a child and she withers in her father's house.[3] Child marriage does not seem to be a very old practice because in the marriage songs which can be assumed to be older than the recreational songs, we do not find a single instance of the bride and bridegroom being very young. These songs are full of the lāḍḍo's wishes and requests which can only come from a fully mature girl.

There are several songs in which a marriage is a love marriage.[4] A man meets a girl and shyly asks her "Being so beautiful why are you still unmarried.' The answer is always the same, "A good match could not be found in spite of continuous search for a bridegroom in all the directions." In his turn, for not being married the boy blames his elder brothers who were his guardians after the death of his parents in his childhood. In such cases as

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1. 81
2. 172
3. 67
4. 54,78

there the girl asks for the permission of her mother, which is often given. Such marriages, however, are very rare, since unmarried girls are not normally given freedom to move outside their homes.

Now we will discuss the relationship between the bahū and the other members of the family: devar, jeṭh (husband's elder brother), jiṭhāṇī (wife of jeṭh), sās, susar and naṇad.

The devar occupies a very important place in the life of a wife. He is the only friend of a new bride in the susrāl,[1] to whom she can disclose her pain and pleasures, but a devar is unable to help his bhābhī, being the younger member of the family and therefore having no voice in the affairs of the family.

There exists an affectionate relationship between devar and bhābhī. In one song she asks him to meet her in the orchard where she stands alone. He expresses his inability, being afraid of his elder brother. She then assures him that she will not let him be killed alone and will become satī with him. She will cling to him in all circumstances as a creeper clings to a tree.[2] In another song[3] the devar says that his wife is more beautiful than her but she is in her pīhar. The bhābhī replies that her

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1. 84
2. 71
3. 76

husband is more handsome than him but he has gone away on business. Here flirtation is indicated. Such flirtation seems to be allowed. There would appear to be some support for this view in the fact that amongst Jāṭs and Gūjars a sort of polyandry is practised.[1]

In several songs of separation the wife in the absence of her husband seems to be more unhappy at the fact that her devar is foolish and young, thus implying that otherwise he would have taken the place of her husband.[2] In these cases the husband is probably in the armed forces. As stated above these are mostly the songs of Jāṭs and Gūjars. A restrained and innocent joking relationship exists among the dvijas as well, and in their songs the devar does not appear in such contexts. In the Candrāvalī song[3] he faints at hearing the news of his bhābhī's abduction and at once sets about obtaining her release.

The jeṭh is rather jealous of his younger brother's wife and tries to hurt her by sarcastic and taunting remarks.[4] His wife makes her work hard because being the wife of the eldest son of the family, she has a similar place of honour in the family as the sās.

It is the sās who makes the life of the wife miserable

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1. See above, p.11
2. 147
3. 49
4. 84,79

and exercises her authority over her. Her bahū refers to her as "Bairaṇ" (enemy).[1] In one song, at the first arrival of the bride she does not speak to her and pretends to be ill. Her fever quickly disappears when the bride offers to massage her feet and discloses that her brothers are respectably employed. The sās is very seldom good-natured and usually talks harshly to her daughter-in-law[2] and makes taunting remarks about her brothers and father.[3] She does not welcome the brother of the wife[4] and does not allow him to take his sister to his home, even in Sāvan.[5]

A famous Sāvan song 'Sīpāhi'[6] tells a tragic tale of an unfortunate wife. Her husband is returning home after a long absence. She shows great surprise at the changed behaviour of her sās and asks why in the past she gave her dry bread to eat, sour butter-milk to drink and a broken bed to sleep on, and why today she gives khīr to eat, milk to drink and a red bridal couch in the aṭārī to sleep on. The sās convinces her that this change is due to her husband's arrival. The husband comes and asks his mother about his wife. After being told that she is asleep in the aṭārī, he goes to find her and discovers her dead. The sās had poisoned her. In a Gujarati folk song, 'No dīṭhī' the theme

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1. 62
2. 61,62,63,70
3. 64
4. 62
5. 61
6. 50

is very similar to this.[1] From Ambala district of the Punjab a song, 'Sajno kī dhī ' has been recorded which again is very similar to the Meraṭhī song.[2] In the 'Papaiyo' song of Rajasthan we find the same theme expressed.[3] This once again shows the unity of Indian Folk life, an underlying unity under visible diversity. In words of Dr. V.S.Agravāla, "The spirit of these innumerable songs is the same. In spite of the difference of language the heart of an Indian, his experience of sorrow and joy, and his hopes and disappointments remain the same. From the point of view of the words, songs may be different but a thread of meaning unites them. This unity is expressed in different ways in the songs of different provinces."[4]

The reasons for the anger and jealousy of the sās are generally very trivial. Petty things of every day life may hurt her pride. An answer to her abuses from the wife seems to her like a challenge to her authority. She does not consider her bahū more than a slave girl who has been bought at a very low price.[5] Suā songs of the Maikāl Hills are also full of such themes, "The most common theme of the Suā songs and ballads is the unhappy lot of a girl under the rule of parents-in-law in her husband's house."[6]

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1. Jhaber Cand Meghānī, Radhiyālī Rāt, Pt.1, p.27
2. Satyārthī, Bela Phule Ādhi Rāt, p.104
3. Pārikh, Rajasthānī Lokgīt, p.82
4. V. S. Agravāla, Introduction to Dhire Baho Gangā, by Satyārthī, 1948, p.9.
5. 70
6. Verrier Elvin and S.Hivāle, Folk Songs of the Maikal Hills.p.40.

It seems from the following Sanskrit śloka that the wife has always suffered in this way:[1]

श्वश्रूः पश्यति नैव, पश्यति यदि भ्रूभंगवक्रेक्षणा ।
मर्मच्छेदपटु प्रतिक्षणमसौ ब्रूते ननान्दा वचः ॥
अन्यासामपि किं ब्रवीमि चरितं, स्मृत्वा मनः कम्पते ।
कान्तः स्निग्धदृशा विलोकयति मामेतावदागः सखि ॥

The naṇad is shown taking the side of her mother against her bhābhī. The only time she is friendly to her bhābhī is when the latter expects a child, and then she dances around her bhābhī to obtain presents.[2] According to the village code of behaviour the naṇad is also to be respected like the sās by the bahū.[3] This makes the naṇad authoritarian and sometimes cruel and hard like her mother. She takes pleasure in hurting her bhābhī by harsh words.[4] She complains to her brother if she finds an opportunity of doing so against her bhābhī. In one of the songs the bahū refers to her naṇad as 'the lightning'[5] The susar does not play much part in the indoor life of the family, of which sās is the chief. There are some cases where he tries to have an affair with his daughter-in-law but she says "Do not touch

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1. My mother-in-law does not look at me, and even if she does, it is with a frown. Naṇad, who is expert in speaking heart-piercing words, rebukes me all the time. What shall I say about the behaviour of others? Even a thought of it makes my heart shiver. O friend, my only fault is that my husband looks at me with affection.
2. See above, p.24
3. 2,3,1.27
4. 64
5. 63, 1.25.

me. I am like embers beneath a cool surface."[1] But in most cases he is concerned about his daughter-in-law when his family prestige is at stake.[2] He takes pride in having a daughter-in-law because as the father of the bridegroom he is respected by the parents of the bride.[3] But he cannot help her, as he is not allowed by convention to talk to her. In Candrāvalī song[4] he at once starts to secure the release of his daughter-in-law.

The only place which a wife longs for is her Pīhar. She is proud of her pīhar and her brother. She cannot tolerate anything said against him. When she leaves her father's house for the first time the brother is "very sad and faints."[5] She calls him "Bīr" (warrior) because she has full faith and trust in his affection and his strength and the spirit of sacrifice for his sister. He always visits her in the month of Sāvan and listens to her sad stories and tries to help her.[6] In one song the sister writes to her brother that her husband wants to marry again. The brother immediately goes to them, and finding that his brother-in-law has already married again, prepares to kill the second wife.[7] The depth of her love for her brother can

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1. 100
2. 16,49,1.25,27,28
3. 11,16
4. 49
5. 18, 1.19,20
6. 61,62,63
7. 57

be seen in the following song:[1]

धूप पड़े धरती जलै
बिरण मुसाफर जाय
जो मैं होती बादली
लेती किरण छिपाय

In Sāvan a wife desires to go to her pīhar though it is the month of union. It may seem strange but when we see that her life in her susrāl is unbearable such a wish is understandable. Her brother comes to take her home in Sāvan and is very much distressed if he is told by the members of her family that he cannot take her to his home.[2]

Though the susrāl is the home of her husband she curses it and gives her blessings to her pīhar.[3] Even a sight of such a pīhar is great comfort to her.[4]

So the oppressed and unhappy wife lives within the four walls of the house, under the threats and rebukes of the sās, naṇad and jiṭhāṇī. There is no holiday and no rest from the never-ending work, which is not rewarded even by appreciation. The only occasions of happiness in the uneventful course of life are the festivals, fairs, birth and marriage celebrations in the community, when she can sing and express her emotions

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1. 99
2. 61
3. उजड़ हो घर सास का
जो बैर करै हर बार
पीहर घर सुबस बसै
जब लो है संसार . १०२.
4. गाम पछाई पीपली
लम्बी बड़ी खजूर
डाल पै चढकै देखियो
मेरा पीहर कितनी दूर. १७८.

and feelings, her sorrows and pains in the singing. That is why such songs - songs of sorrow and tears - so constantly recur.

Chapter 4

FORM OF THE SONGS.

Folk poetry is praised for being spontaneous and natural and seems to be as unbound by convention, order and limitations as a mountain river or wild flowers. But the study of Meraṭhī folk poetry shows that it is more conventional in form, technique and patterns of expression than literary poetry. A poet is an individual and can be unconventional, but the composer of folk poems has no individuality. He is like a drop in the ocean, he is unknown and remains unknown. His poem has chances of survival only when accepted by the majority of the people as an expression of their own feelings. It is not only for the content that the unknown folk poet or poetess needs approval of the people but also for the form. Therefore folk poems conform to established patterns of expression, form, technique and symbolism.

Of course, new conventions do occasionally come into being but their number remains small. These conventional elements of composition spring up from life and are parts of the living context. When taken out of the context and deprived of their melodies the poems seem to stand naked, their conventional expressions stale and metres irregular and incomplete. The soul of such a composition is the melody which gives new life and freshness to the conventional expressions and perfection to the incomplete and broken metres.

In the natural flow of the melody all irregularities disappear.

Therefore the study of the metre of these poems will not yield satisfactory results in terms of the number of the mātrās. It is not the metre and rhyme but melody which is the main concern of the singers. This fact can be illustrated by examination of the children's songs which are considered to be quite regular. These are known as Caupāi and are a sort of marching song.[1] To suit the dance it is divided into seven long grāmas. A Caupāi may have 14 to 17 mātrās but in all cases the grāmas will be seven.[2] These irregularities in the Mātrā structure of the lines are not so great as to make it impossible for them to be forced into the structure of regular melody, since the extra mātrās will be compressed.

Before discussing the melodies of the songs it will not be out of place here to examine the length of the poems in this collection. It will be seen that these folk songs vary considerably in length. The shortest are to be found among men's action songs, which normally comprise two couplets only. Narrative songs, on the other hand, may well

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1. See above, p. 63.
2. The following example shows it:

सुण सुण री रा मू की मा = 14 mātrās
बे ट्टा हौं गे नौ सौ तीस = 15 mātrās
अेक नक टी दो बू चे कान = 16 mātrās
उस नकटी कू सरम ना आ वै = 17 mātrās

be forty or fifty lines in length. In most cases the longer narrative poems are divisible into stanzas on the basis of the presence of a refrain, or of the repetition of the first line - again as a sort of refrain. But sometimes the absence of such rhymes or refrains makes any such division impossible.

When stanzas can be established,[1] they will not necessarily be of the same length: a mixture of three-, five- and six-line stanzas in the same poem, for example, is not uncommon.[2] Such stanza divisions run parallel to melody division and repetition.

According to the style of singing there is variation in the melodies which are quite large in number. Styles of singing can be put into three main groups:

1. Marriage and other ceremonial songs are accompanied by the ḍholak, and the tāla of the ḍholak controls the melody of the song. Kaharvā is the most popular tāla for the songs of happiness, joy and festivities; and for Ṣṛngār, Dādrā or Khemṭā.[3]

2. All the sāvan songs are Jhūlā (swing) songs and it is the motion of the swing which goes in harmony with the melody of these songs.

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1. Where a song is divided into seperate stanzas, numbers are placed at the end of each stanza in the text of the poem.
2. 48, 49, 51, 56, 60, 62.
3. For a more detailed discussion of the nature of these tālas see special number of Saṅgīt, Tāla Aṅk, 1940, Hātharas.

3. Action singing is kept in harmony with the motion of the work in action. There are certain songs which can be sung for several actions but with each action they have a particular melody appropriate to the motion of the action. For example the men's action songs - Bam, Hīṛo and Malhors, - all of them in Dohā metre - have different melodies in spite of the common metre. Each of the three songs has a peculiar tail attached to it, which not only is in harmony with the work but also controls the melody of the song. This tail is the essential difference and in its absence the singer cannot sing it properly.

Bam has 'Bolo re bhāi bam' after a Dohā

Hīṛo has 'Hīṛo re hīṛo' after a Dohā

Malhor has 'Re merī bāvaṛī Malhor' after a Dohā

The songs of the dhobīs (generally in a dohā metre) go with the beat of the cloth on the stone and those of the beggars go with the beat of the cimṭā. Beggars' songs, though in the Caupāi metre, are sung very differently from the childrens' caupāis.

As stated above the metre of the songs is not regular and their lines do not always rhyme. To achieve a regular melody several methods are employed as appropriate to the occasion. These are as follows:

A - Changes affecting the words

1. Shortening the vowel of a word or dropping the last consonant. Examples:

सुरत (सूरत), नदान (नादान), गल (गला), बलम(बालम), लोह (लोहा), लख (लाख), भरता (भरतार), समन्द (समन्दर).

2. Lengthening the vowel or adding an extra consonant. Examples:

दूबले (दुबले), अंगिण (अंग), मामता (ममता), हंसा (हंस), हाकमा (हाकिम), बीजली (बिजली), कापड़े (कपड़े).

3. Adding diminutive suffixes. Examples:

पिपलिया (पीपल), कोयलिया (कोयल), निंदिया (नींद), सिपहिया (सिपा (सिपाही),

बोलड़े (बोल), रूखड़ा (रूख), बीनड़ी (बीन), देसड़ा (देस), सिपाहिड़ा (सिपाही).

नणदल (नणद), बहुअल (बहू), मायल (मा).

4. Adding 'ya' to the ā ending root-form, usually when it is the last word of a line. Examples:

जाय (जा), खाय (खा), बनाय (बना),

B - Changes affecting the line.

1. Adding a word or words in the beginning of a line.

i. These are: हम्बे, अजी, अजी कोई, अरे, हो, कोई, अजी, बीरा[1]
ii. Adding nouns sometimes preceded by an interjection:
अे बिर, अरी मैन्ना, सास्सू मेरी, अे सखी.

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1. The justification for considering these as "additions" brought in to complete the line lies in the fact that, despite the apparent "vocative" form, in most cases the word used in this way does not represent the person addressed in the song.

2. Adding a word or words at the end of a line. (Cf. 1.ii).

These are: जी, रे, जी महाराज, मारूजी, सिपाई जी, सिपाहिड़ा, मेरे भँवर सिपहिया.

3. Inserting certain words in the middle of a line, such as: हे, हो, तो, तो रे, सी, सा, से.

4. Reiteratives, using two adjectives or verbs of similar meaning or of jingling sound.

औड़ा चौड़ा, गल सड़, तोड़ मरोड़, भोली भाली, महल दुमहले, ताल तलइया.

Repeating half of the last words of a line by using Rāmā before them. For example:[1]

उरली सी पार हर नैं बाग लगाये
रामा बाग लगाये

TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

In most of the women's recreational songs the first line has no relation with the theme of the song and is generally about some activity of nature, which is symbolic of the emotional or physical state of the heroine of the song. In some cases it is used like a refrain. Here are two examples:

मेरे आँङ्गण में कड़वा नीम
नीम निंबोली सावन पक रहे जी

नदी किनारे खड़ा री सास्सू
जिसके खट्टे मिट्ठे पात

1. 34
2. 59
3. 79

The songs of marriage and birth are of a simple type. In these songs the first stanza is repeated several times, every time inserting the name of a different relation and in this way a song of four lines can be extended to forty or fifty lines. This is probably done to show the importance of the ritual connected with the song, so that women may remember it. For example:[1]

होल्लर का बाब्बा न्यूँ कहै
हो मैं खर्चूँ दान भतेरा
होल्लर की दाद्दी न्यूँ कहै
होल्लर के हुण्डी ल्याया
हान्तू की मुट्ठी बाँचके
सिर पै लटूरे ल्याया

After this the song will go on as:

होल्लर का चाच्चा न्यूँ कहै
हो मैं खर्चूँ दान भतेरा
होल्लर की चाच्ची न्यूँ कहै
होल्लर के हुण्डी ल्याया
हान्तू की मुट्ठी बाँचके
सिर पै लटूरे ल्याया

Later, in the same way, the words ताऊ, ताई will appear in the first and third line respectively in place of चाच्चा, चाच्ची and then the other relatives will be introduced. The repetitions in a song may seem odd on paper, but in actual singing

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1. 1

the repetition gives greater beauty. Each time it is repeated the melody becomes finer and by repetition the young girls, who join in the singing for the first time very soon become useful members of the chorus.

In other songs this technique is used somewhat differently. There the key word is not the name of a relation but one of the following:

a) Places and things

b) Ornaments

c) Clothes

d) Actions

The following songs illustrate a combination of a) and d):[1]

परली सी पार हर नैं बाग लगाये
रामा बाग लगाये
उरली सी पार निम्बू तोड़ूँ थी अकेली
राम ही राम मेरी लीओ री सहेली
परली सी पार हर नैं ताल खुदाये
रामा ताल खुदाये
उरली सी पार लत्ते धोऊँ थी अकेली
राम ही राम मेरी लीओ री सहेली

Many more things and actions are used in this way to make the song longer. The following are two examples which

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1. 34

illustrate the use of all the four items mentioned above:

(a) सखी री मैं तो सिलवा पैहैर पछताई
सखी री मेरी चर्चा करैं लुगाई
कलेजा कागज का रे दो नैन्नू की स्याई
सखी री मेरे बालम याणे मैं तो स्याणी
सखी री मन्नैं याणे पै चाद्दर ताणी
सखी री मैं तो चाद्दर ओढ पछताई
सखी री मेरी चर्चा करैं लुगाई
कलेजा कागज का रे दो नैन्नू की स्याई
सखी री मेरे बालम याणे मैं तो स्याणी
सखी री मन्नैं याणे पै चाद्दर ताणी 1.

(b) तन्नैं मेरी गरद उडाई रे
मार्या जागा पठाण के
उसरे पठाण के की काली काली टोप्पी
जुल्फू पै नजर म्हारी रे
मार्या जागा पठाण के
उसरे पठाण केके बडे बडे नैन्ना
ठोड्डी पै नजर म्हारी रे
मार्या जागा पठाण के 2.

A similar technique is also used by Chhattisgarh folk poets and Dr. Elwin calls it **parallelism.**[3] In Ladakhī folk poetry also we find an extensive use of it. "Ladakhī poetry makes use of the rhyme of the sentence, generally called parallelism when occuring in European Poetry. Two or more sentences are constructed accordingly and in the corresponding

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1. 90
2. 98
3. Verrier Elwin, Folk songs of Chhattisgarh, 1946, p.lvi.

places different words are inserted."[1]

Another common technique used in these songs is that of 'Question-Answer'. In most of the songs including Malhors we find an extensive use of it. It should be noted that these questions and answers are not intended as dialogues. Question-Answer technique is of two types:

1. A question is asked 'Of what is a certain thing made and of what the other', and the usual answer in most cases is, 'Of gold is made this thing and of silver (or some other precious material) is made the other.' Sometimes the same type of question is asked, 'When was the certain thing done and when the other,' and in the answer are mentioned two months. Another common question is, 'Where shall I put this and where shall I put that,' and in the answer are mentioned two places. In most cases things asked and answered in this way are a part of the symbolism. In all these cases we find the use of parallelism. The following examples illustrate it:

(a) काहे की गगरी रे मोरा अर काहे की नेज्जू
अर काहे की जडाऊ धण ईंढड़ी जी
सोन्ने की गगरी रे मोरा अर रेस्सम की नेज्जू
रतन जडाऊ धण की ईंढड़ी जी [2]

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1. Francke, "Ladākhī Songs", The Indian Antiquary, Vol.xxxi,1902, pp. 87-106.
2. 51,l.3-6.

(b) काहे का दिबला
काहे की बात्ती
काहे का तेल जलै सारी राती
सोन्ने का दिबला
चाँन्दी की बात्ती
सुरही का घी जलै सारी राती [1]

(c) अे बिर किस रुत सिरसू बोई
किस रुत आया फल फूल
सवेरे आइयो भातड़िया
अे बिर मंगसिर सिरसू बोई
पौह में आया फल फूल
सवेरे आइयो भातड़िया [2]

2. It is conventional to ask an afflicted woman, 'Why are you so sad and why is your appearance troubled? Is this the cause of your sadness or that?' In the conventional answer the two causes of her sadness supposed by the questioner are denied and a third cause given, e.g.,

क्यूँ धण ठाड़ी अनमनी
क्युक्कर मल्ला मेस
कै तेरी सास्सू करकसा
अर कै याणे भरतार

ना मेरी सास्सू करकसा
अर ना याणे भरतार
पिया चाकरी कू गये
कोई बित्ते हैं बारह मास [3]

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1. 23
2. 8
3. 175

In addition to the above-mentioned conventions in technique, the following are also important as an essential element of the composition of the poems.

Descriptions of nature, situations and moods are very conventional and fixed. These descriptions are neither detailed nor complete. The use of conventional words indicative of a certain atmosphere fulfils the need. We shall see later in the last chapter that this technique has been used by contemporary Hindi poets.[1] The outline of description begins and ends abruptly but the atmosphere lingers.

The descriptions of the twelve months of the year in the Bārahamāsās[2] are highly conventionalized. This convention is of these indicative words which are found in practically all the Bārahmāsās.

After hearing a sad piece of news the hearer either bursts into tears or faints.

Whenever something strange happens it always happens either in the third forest or at the third attempt.

Lahasue kā sāg and Caṭar-masūr kī roṭī are always offered to the unwanted guest. Motīchaṛā bhāt and dhovā dāl are offered to the dearest guest.[3]

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1. See below, p. 128
2. See above, p. 5
3. Lahasue kā sāg and Caṭar-Masūr kī roṭi are considered inferior, Motīchaṛā bhāt and dhovā dāl superior kinds of food. For their nature see glossary.

A proposal of marriage by a lover is expressed in a conventional way and the acceptance by the beloved is expressed by an answer given and a similar question asked by her.[1]

The lovers always meet by the well, the pond, or in the orchard where a beloved goes either to draw water or to wash clothes or to swing.

Rājā, Rāṇī, Palace and so on are conventional words and their literal meaning should not be taken into consideration.

In descriptions the following conventional phrases or collocations are frequently used:

हरियल बाग	लाल पलँग
हरे हरे बाग	लाल अटारी
हरियल गोब्बर	काला नाग
हरियाला बनड़ा	काले पेले पात
हरी हरी चूड़ी	धौला मदरसा
हरियल तोता	खट्टे मिट्ठे पात
सुई पजाम्मा	कच्ची पक्की कली
सुई पाग	मुतियन चौक
पेली मट्टी	चन्दण चौक्की
पेले हात	सोन्ने के थाल
पेला बन्द	सोन्ने का दिबला
लाल कुवाड़	सोन्ने की कुंडली

1. See above, pp. ४०,४१

सोन्ने का गड़ुआ
रेसमी डुपट्टा
रेस्समि झूल
मोहन लड्डू
मोती छड़ा भात
उजले चावल
लपझप पूरी
चौड़ा चौक
उंची अटारी
उंची चतरसार
उंचे उंचे महल
कोट्ठे भित्तर कोठड़ी
आलेआले बाँस
पान्नू का बँगला
भूरी भैंस
भूखी हतणी
धौली गा
बजर कुवाड़
बजणी मंझोली
सेला बड़
बाला तन
बाली उमर

पतली कमर
बडे बडे नैन्ना
उंची निच्चीधोती
भर भादू की रात
भरी जवान्नी
संग की सहेल्ली
बैरण रात
बैरण सास
मैल्ला मेस
जोड़ी का बर
करोड़ी बाबल
लाखी बाबल
सुसरा हजारी
रैन अँधेरी
नात्ती गोत्ती
पाँच पान का बीड़ा
पाँच सुपारी
पाँच हलद की गाँठ
पाँच कपड़े
पाँच हथियार
पाँच पेड़
तीन कपड़े

The terms of address used in the songs are also conventional and most of them are not used in everyday life. According to the attitude towards the person concerned, and the situation, the choice of the word is made and in some cases the diminutive suffixes are added for the sake of metre and melody. The following is the list of these:

Father: बाबल, बाबुल, करोड़ी बाबल, लाखी बाबल, मेरे लाखी बाबल, बाप्पू.

Mother: अम्मा, मैया, मेरी माय, मेरी अम्मा, माँ.

Brother: बीर, बिर, बीरण जी, बीरा, बिरण, मइया जाये, मइया जाये बीर, सगे बीर.

Sister: बाहण, बहणा, मैन्ना, बोल्बा.

Husband or lover: गजबी, सिपाही, सिपइया, सिपाहिड़ा, भँवर सिपइया, मारू जी, सास्सू जाया, सगी नणद का बीर, बालम, बलम, बलमा, सा जण, सजन, हाकिम, राजा, राजाजी, सैंया, सनम, लाल, छैल, भरतार, कन्त, कन्था, पिया.

Wife or beloved: गोरी, गजबण, राणी, काम्मण, धण, अधरो, रूपो, प्यारी, नाजो, नार.

Now we come to symbolism which is also a very important element in the composition of the songs. Such symbolism has been widely used in Indian Folk poetry. Verrier Elwin,[1] Hoffman,[2] and W. G. Archer[3] have studied symbolism in the poetry of the Indian Tribes. Expressing ideas through symbols is not peculiar only to folk poetry: village people of the district in everyday life talk in symbols especially when expressing their ideas on sexual relationship,

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1. Verrier Elwin, Folk songs of Chhattisgarh, p.liii
2. J. Hoffmann, Mundari Poetry, Music and Dances, Mem.A.S.B., vol. ii, 1907, pp85-120.
3. W. G. Archer, The Blue Grove, 1940

including marriage and inauspicious incidents. Sādhūs of the district make use of rather obscure symbolism in their discussions on philosophical problems. Folk poetry of Sādhūs,[1] who are in the tradition of Kabīr, is full of symbolic expressions which are difficult to understand for the common people.

A father who is anxious to get his daughter married will say,"I want to smear her hands with yellow." When a woman is pregnant, the people say that her foot is heavy. When a wife says "I am taking milk for my husband", it means she is going to bed. This type of euphemistic symbolism from every day life has been extended to the folk songs.

In folk poetry we do not find development of aesthetic experience through imagination. Folk poems are simple and plain but very forceful. This force which is the force of life permeates the metre, tempo, melodies and the expressions of the songs. It is symbolism which protects this forceful expression from crudity, and it clothes it with a veil through which only those to whom it belongs can see without explanation. In this way symbolism gives a certain dignity to these poems.

Most of the symbols in these poems are used for expressing marriage, love and sexual union. The truths about laws and philosophical problems are also expressed in symbols.

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1. See above, pp. 33,34.

Such symbols are also found in the poems of Kabīr,[1] and resemble the Sandhyā bhāṣā of the Siddhas and the Nāths.

In most of the Sāvan songs the lover comes to the well and asks the girl to quench his thirst by offering him water. This is a very common symbol of love. The Morā [2] is a symbol of the lover.

We can classify the symbols under the following heads:

1. Symbols expressing marriage
   (a) Acts:
      putting on Silvā
      putting on a shawl
      stretching the shawl
      catching the arm
   (b) Things:
      cundṛī
      green bangles
2. Symbols of love and sexual union
   (a) Acts:
      breaking the ivory bangle
      twisting the arm
      drinking water
      quenching thirst
      breathing fresh air of caubārā
      making the bed

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1. Syām Sundar Dās, Kabīr Granthāvalī, pp. 58-63.
2. See above, p. 58

raising the load

putting the swing in motion

tying yellow thread in green bangles

(b) Things:

sej

red bed

ripe fruit

food in a golden tray

wet clothes

milk mixed with sugar

water

lemon

khīr

laḍḍū

lamp and wick

Places:

aṭārī

caubārā

orchard

pond

Birds:

papīhā

peacock

swan

(c) External acts symbolising union

cries of papīhā

thunder and lightning

rain

dripping of the banyan tree

storm and wing

3. Other commonly used symbols

running barefoot (anxiety and haste)

bird (human being)

autumn)
) (The temporary nature of life)
falling of leaves)

tijjaṇ (brotherly affection)

Chapter 5

INFLUENCE OF FOLK SONGS ON HINDI LITERATURE

In his 'History of Hindi Literature' Acārya Rām Candra Śukla observed in 1929, "For the understanding of the general tendencies of the Indian spirit it is necessary to pay attention to the old and popular folk songs also, the study of the tradition of poetry by the Pandits is not enough".[1] But from this point of view the History of Hindi Literature has not so far been studied. Śukla himself in discussing the padas of Sūrdās and the plot of Jāyasī's Padmāvat indicated the influence of folk literature on Sūr and Jāyasī. About the padas of Sūrdās he wrote, "....therefore Sūrsāgar seems to be the full development of some tradition of lyrical poetry, though it might be an oral tradition."[2] About the Padmāvat of Jāyasī he said,[3] "In northern India, especially in Awadh, the story of Padmāvatī Rānī and Hīrāman Suā is still recited in almost the same form in which Jāyasī has told it.

" भारतीय हृदय का सामान्य स्वरूप पहचानने के लिये पुराने परिचित ग्रामगीतों की ओर भी ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है, केवल पंडितों द्वारा प्रवर्तित काव्य परंपरा का अनुशीलन ही अलम् नहीं है."
Rām Candra Śukla, Hindi Sāhitya kā Itihās, p.600.

" अत: सूरसागर किसी चली आती हुई गीति-काव्य परंपरा का-चाहे वह मौखिक ही रही हो-पूर्ण विकास सा प्रतीत होता है."
Ibid, p.165

" उत्तरी भारत में, विशेषतः अवध में पद्मिनी रानी और हीरामन सुअे की कहानी प्राय: उसी रूप में कही जाती है जिस रूप में जायसी ने उसका वर्णन किया है. इस संबंध में हमारा यही अनुमान है कि जायसी ने प्रचलित कहानी को ही लेकर, सूक्ष्म ब्योरों की कल्पनाँ करके, उसे काव्य का सुन्दर रूप दिया है."
Rām Candra Śukla, Jāyasī Granthāvalī, 5thedn.,1951,p.26.

In this respect we may suppose that Jāyasī took the current story and by imagining fine details gave it a beautiful poetic form.

Since these observations by Ācārya Śukla folk songs of Awadhī,[1] Bhojpurī,[2] Braj,[3] Maithilī,[4] and Rajasthanī[5] have been collected and studied, and now we are in a better position to assess the influence of the folk songs of these branches of Hindi on their literatures. Khaṛī Bolī, the basis of modern Hindi and Urdu, is now widely recognized as the most important branch of Hindi and the present collection provides an opportunity for the study of influences of folk poetry on Khaṛī Bolī poetry. First of all we will discuss briefly influences of Hindi folk poetry (Awadhī, Braj, Bhojpurī and so on) on Hindi Literature in general and then discuss in greater detail the influence of Meraṭhī folk poetry in particular.

In the Pṛthvīrāj Rāso the 'Padmāvatī Samaya' shows clear influences of folk literature. Padmāvatī of this canto is very clearly the Padminī nāyikā whom Siddhās could obtain.[6] The language of the padas of Sūrdās is full of

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1. Rām Nareśa Tripāṭhī, Grām Sāhitya, two vols. 1951
2. K. D. Upādhyāya, Bhojpurī Lokgīt, 1953
3. Satyendra, Braj Lok Sāhitya kā adhyayan, 1949
4. Rām Iqbāl Singh, Maithill Lokgit, 1942.
5. Sūrya Karan Parīkh, Rājasthānī Lokgīt, 1940
6. Satyendra, Sāhitya kī Jhankī, p. 10

proverbs and idioms which might have been taken from the spoken language of the villages and have been used in the Braj folk songs.[1]

Kabīr and other sant poets not only took inspiration from the folk songs but also wrote their poems in the folk-song style. We will discuss these influences in detail later.[2] Jāyasī and Tulsī like Sūr were very much influenced by the folk literature of their language Awadhī. Jāyasī, as pointed out by Ācārya Śukla, not only took a popular folk tale for his epic poem but also based his Bārahmāsās on the folk-tradition. Nāgmatī goes around crying like a farmer's wife and worries about the old thatch in the rainy season:[3]

पुष्य नखत सिर ऊपर आवा
हौं बिनु नाह मंदिर को छावा

TheDohās of his Bārahmāsās are not strictly relevant to the rest of the subject matter, and in fact could almost stand as separate poems in their own right. It is possible that the poet has taken them from folk poetry. They bear a close resemblance to the folk-dohās:

नहिं पावस ओहि देसरा,
नहिं हेवंत बसन्त
ना कोकिल न पपीहरा,
जेहि सुनि आवैं कन्त

1. Satyendra, Braj Lok Sāhitya kā Adhyayan, p. 473
2. See below, pp. 120-125.
3. Malik Mohamad Jāyasī, Padmāvat, 5th Edn., 1951, p.152.
4. Ibid., p. 158

Ideas similar to that of the above Dohā are expressed in an Awadhī folk song. Other features of Jāyasi's poem that have been taken from the folk literature are the importance of the parrot, the mention of Padminī Rāni, the Jogī episode and the miracles of Gorakhnāth. In discussing the folk epics, we have pointed out[1] the place of Gorakhanāth and his Nāth Panth in folk literature.

In Tulsi we find a beautiful combination of literary and folk traditions. His Rāmlalā Nahachū is on the lines of folk songs and is in Sohar metre, which is very common in Awadhī folk songs.[2] Nahachū is one of the rituals at a marriage ceremony in eastern U.P. and Bihār. Dr. Rām Kumār Varmā thinks that the poet composed this work for the people to sing at the Nahachū ceremony.[3]

In the same period as that of Tulsī, another poet who took inspiration from the folk songs of Awadhī was Rahīm, writer of Barve Nāyikā Bhed. In his Barves the sorrows and pleasures of a poor village woman are very beautifully depicted in the folk idiom. The following Barve is a very good example of it:[4]

लेकै सुघर खुरपिया पिय के साथ
छइबै अेक छतरिया बरसत पाथ
टाट टूट घर टपकत खटियौ टूट
पिय की बहि सिरहनवाँ सुख के लूट

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1. See above, p. 47
2. Tripāṭhī, Gram Gīt, Vol.1, pp. 78,79
3. Rām Kumār Varma, Hindi Sāhitya kā Alocanātmak Itihās, 1948, p532.
4. Rahim Ratnāvalī, edited by Maya Śanker Yajnik, 3rd edn, 1938, p.58

Bhārtendu Hariścandra took many themes from folk literature[1] and his 'Cūran kā laṭakā' is in true folk-tradition.[2]

After this general description we shall discuss in detail the influence of Meraṭhī Folk Songs on Hindi poetry - mainly Khaṛī Bolī poetry. The language of our songs bears a close resemblance to Rājasthānī and several pieces of evidence convince us that culturally Meraṭh and Rājasthān are very close and in the early stage of Hindi Literature there was not much formal difference between the K.B. and the Rajasthani. The most important proof is the similarity of Malhors with the 'Dūhās' of Rajasthan. The Dohā was typical of Apabhraṃśa literature and at the beginning of Hindi Literature it was a popular metre. The great Hindi epic Ḍholā Mārūrā Dūhā, hailing from Rajasthan, is probably the result of this popular tradition. In the Meraṭhī region hundreds of Malhors about Ḍholā mārū are sung and their content, expressions and images show their close relation with this work. There are several expressions and words in Meraṭhī songs which are not now used in the spoken Meraṭhī but occur in the "Ḍholā Mārūrā Dūhā". The following are a few examples:

जीवाँ किस आधार

सावण पहली तीज

पाणी पीवइ गंग

डेरा कर्या

1. Kiśorī Lal Gupta, Bhārtendu aur Anya sahyagī Kavi, 1956, (pp.263-275.
2. See above p. 62

औगलड़ी	धण
उज्जल	नागरबेल
उणिहार	निमाणी
कंत	नेड़ा
करहा	पलाँण
काम्मण	पालु
खिवैं	बटेवड़ा
गलु	बणखंड
गाहा	बालम
गोरड़ी	बोलड़े
चंदण रूखड़ा	मड़क्क
झकोलु	माड़ा
झुरै	संदेसड़ा
डाब्बर	हियड़ा
दाधे	सोमही

The editors of Ḍholā Mārūrā Dūhā very rightly say,[1] "By looking at the early period of the Hindi language we find that before the present form of Hindi came into being, Gāthā and Dohā literature was prevalent in nearly all the Deśī languages of Northern India. Between the Hindi and Rājasthānī of that time there was not so much formal difference as today. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that they were the same, and examples could be quoted in support of such a statement."

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1. हिन्दी भाषा के आदिकाल की ओर दृष्टि डालने पर पता लगता है कि हिन्दी के वर्तमान स्वरूप के निर्माण के पूर्व गाथा और दोहा साहित्य का उत्तर भारत की प्राय: सभी देशी भाषाओं में प्रचार था. उस समय की हिन्दी और राजस्थानी में इतना रूपभेद नहीं हो गया था जितना आजकल है. यदि यह कहा जाय कि वे अेक ही थीं तो अत्युक्ति न होगी. उदाहरणों द्वारा यह कथन प्रमाणित किया जा सकता है.

   Ḍholā Mārūrā Dūhā, edited by S.K. Pārikh and Narottama Dās Svāmī, 2nd edn., 1954, p.6

It is an accepted fact that the Dohās of Ḍholā Mārū were preserved by an oral tradition and later collected and written down.[1] It seems to me that Malhors are in the same tradition and have therefore preserved several Rājasthānī words which we do not find in other songs of this region.

Saints and reformers used folk metres for the propagation of their ideas and Dohā was the most favoured by all. Jains and Siddhas made use of Dohā. Many Dohās of Hemcandra are very similar to the Malhors.[2] I am inclined to believe that Dohā has some relation with the Ābhīras (Ahīrs) for the following reasons: Malhors are originally the songs of the Ahīrs and the Gūjars and the famous Hīro songs of the Ahīrs are also in the Dohā metre.[3] Such songs are also sung by the Ahīrs in the Maikāl Hills and are known as Dohās.[4]

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1. R. Singh, S. Pārīkh and N. Swāmī, Ḍholā Mārūrā Dūhā, 2nd edition, 1954, pp.7,8
2. Compare:

जे महु दिण्णा दिअहड़ा दइअे पवसंतेण।
ताण गणंतिअे अंगुलिउ जज्जरिआउ नहेण॥ (Candra Dhar Śarmā Gulerī, Purānī Hindi, p.154.)

सावण आवण कह गया
कर गया कौल अनेक
गिणत गिणत घिस गई
म्हारी आंगिलड़ी की रेख ॥१४९॥

वायस उड्डावंतिअे पिउ दिट्ठउ सहसत्ति।
अद्धा वलयो महहि गय अद्धा फुट्ट तड़त्ति॥ (Ibid, p.162)

काग उडावण धण खडी
आया पिया भड़क्क
आद्धी चूडी काग गल
आद्धी गई तड़क्क ॥१६२॥

3. See above, p. 41.
4. Verrier Elwin and Hivāle, Folk Songs of the Maikāl Hills, 1944, p. 293

Famous Birhā songs of the Ahīrs are also in a Dohā-like metre.[1] Probably the Dohā was originally a folk metre. The poet Māilladhaval first composed his work "Davvasahāvapayāsa" (Dravyasvabhāvaprakāśa) in Dohābandh. Some of his friends made fun of him, probably because he had used a folk metre and written in colloquial language. Therefore he put it in Gāhābandh.[2]

The first poet of Khaṛī Bolī, Amīr Khusro was very much influenced by folk poetry. One of his Dohās is very

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1. Devendra Satyārthī, Meet my People, 1951, pp.123-134
2. Nāthū Rām Premī, Jain Sāhitya Aur Itihas, 2nd edition, 1956, P. 173.

   He quotes the following gāthās in support of his statement:

   सुणिऊण दोहरत्थं सिग्घं हसिऊण सुहंकरो भणइ।
   अत्थ ण सोहइ अत्थो गाहाबंधेण तं भणई ॥ दिट्ठं

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   दव्वसहावपयासं दोहयबंधेण आसि जं दिट्ठं।
   तं गाहाबंधेण य रइयं माइल्ल धवलेण ॥

popular even today and can be easily mistaken for a Malhor.[1]

गोरी सोवै सेज पै, मुख पर डारे केस
चल खुसरो घर आपने, साँझ भई चहुँ देस

Amīr Khusro wrote riddles and other such poems including a song of Vidā and a song of Sāvan.[2] His riddles and these songs are still very popular in the Meraṭhī region.[3] In His riddles we find use of Meraṭhī idioms and phrases and all his poems have true Meraṭhī colour. Some of his riddles have been considered vulgar and his expressions rustic. G. W. Gilbertson in The Assembly of Mirth does not give translations of several of his poems, but instead has written the following note under the empty space, "These are too suggestive of the vulgar to be translated into literal English."[4] This type of vulgarity has been attributed to the influence of the Muslim court by Rām Kumār Varmā[5] and other historians of Hindi Literature. It was quite natural for them to see in his poetry the influence of the corrupt court life, since they had no knowledge of the Meraṭhī folk poetry.

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1. Ayodhyā Prasād Goyalīya, Ser-o-Sāyarī, 2nd edition,1950,p 51
2. Muhammad Hussain Azad, Āb-e-Hayāt, 1917, p.72-73.
3. Khusro's riddles, which have themselves become a part of folk-lore, do, of course, ultimately have their origin in this same folk-lore, to which they returned in the new form that he gave them.
4. G. W. Gilbertson, The Assembly of Mirth, 1900, p.400
5. Rām Kumār Varmā, Alocanatmak Itihas, p.182.

This directness or so-called vulgarity is the main characteristic of Meraṭhī folk poetry. Though several such very direct songs have been excluded from the present collection, there are enough examples here to establish this point. This forceful direct expression of sex may seem in a sense rather crude and vulgar, but this impression is largely the result of the poems being viewed out of their context of situation. In their proper context the intended meaning is fully understood without there being any real appearance of crudeness. In Meraṭhī village circles they are seen to be in the idiom of everyday life and therefore part of life.

By looking at the poetry of Khusro in the light of our present Meraṭhī folk poetry collection we can say that Khusro did not take inspiration from court life but he was a lover of folk culture and poetry and he took not only themes from folk life but also their idiom. The objects of his riddles are from village life which a townsman could hardly appreciate. Though he was a Muslim he wrote poems of Sāvan and Vidā, which are still sung all over the district. His riddles are completely lost in the great ocean of folk-riddles and proverbs, and it is very difficult to differentiate them from each other. He was also a musician and a composer. In inventing Rāgas and Rāginīs he was influenced by the folk music of his time.[1] It becomes quite clear from our study

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1. Muhammad Husain Āzād, Āb-e-Hayāt, 1917, P.74.

of his poetry that he did not follow any of the three literary traditions of his time, but took inspiration from the folk poetry of the Delhi and Merath region. It is this simplicity of folk poetry which makes his poems the common property of Hindi and Urdu. The following are some of the expressions which occur in his poems and are very commonly used in the Merathī folk songs:

"आवन आवन कह गये आये न बारह मास"
"मैं तुझते पूछूँ हे सखी"
"मूरख तो जानी नहीं"
"घूम घुमेरा लँहगा पैहरे"
"तूनिपट पाप की खान"

Another great Hindi poet who was very much influenced by folk poetry including that of the Merath district, is Kabīr. He was illiterate and paid more respect to the spoken than to the written word.[1] He proudly says, "I have not touched pen or paper."[2] As Jains and Siddhas used folk metres to propagate their ideas, in the same way Kabīr made use of Dohā. The Sākhīs of Kabīr, which are in the Dohā metre bear a close resemblance to the Malhors. There are several Dohās which are sung as Malhors in Merath and other

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1. कबीर पढ़िबा दूरि करि, पुसतक देइ बहाइ
बावन अषिर सोधि करि, रैरै ममैं चित लाइ १९.२ कबीर ग्रंथावली
पोथी पढ़ि पढ़ि जग मुवा, पंडित भया न कोई १८.४. कबीर ग्रंथावली

2. मसि कागद छयो नहीं, कलम गही नहिं हात
चारिउ जुग की महातम, मुखहिं जनाई बात

districts of the Upper Doab and which appear as Dūhās in Ḍholā Mārūrā Dūhā and as Sākhīs in Kabīr. There are three possible reasons for this similarity. First, that these Dohās were originally Kabīr's Sākhīs and were used by the people as folk songs. The second possibility is that someone took these folk Dohās, added Kabīr's name and converted them into Sākhīs. The third is that Kabīr took these folk Dohās and gave them a spiritual colour. The first of these possibilities can be ruled out because we have evidence of Dūhā literature before Kabīr. As far as the second is concerned it may be noted that the manuscript on which the standard edition[1] of Kabīr is based is a very early one, possibly going back to the poet's lifetime, and therefore it is hardly possible that someone could ~~have~~ made such changes and additions. The third possibility seems to be correct, that Kabīr took the Dohās from the body of folk literature, and gave them a spiritual touch and made them Sākhīs.

Here are a few examples showing the relationship between Kabīr's poems[2] and the Malhors and Dūhās:[3]

मल्होर	साखी	ढोला मारुरा दूहा
सुक्खण लागी बेलड़ी अँरे कोई झडल्लगे सब पात बेल बिचारी के करै जब ना है सींचणहार. १६०	सूकण लागा केवड़ा तूटी अरहर माल पीणी की कल जाणता गया ज सींचनहार.४५.स.३५.	सज्जण बल्ले गण रहे गण भी वल्लणहार सैंकड़ लागी केलड़ी गैयां ज सींचणहार. ३७४.

1. Śyām Sundar Dās, Kabīr Granthāvalī, 1928.
2. Ibid.
3. Ḍholā Mārūrā Dūhā, edited by S.Pārīkh and N. Svāmī, 2nd edn.

मल्होर	साखी	ढोला मारूरा दूहा
कमोदणी जल में बसै	कमोदनी जलहार बसै	जल माहि बसइ कमोदणी
अर चन्दा बसै अकास	चंदा बसै अकास	चंदउ बसइ अगास
जिसकी जिसतै लग रई	जो जाही का भावता	जाउ ज्यॉंही कइ मन बसइ
कोई वोई उसके पास.१५९.	सो ताही के पास.४४.१.	सउ त्यॉंहीकइ पासि.२०१

इस तन के कोला करूं	यह तन जारौं मांस करौं	यह तन जारी मांस करूं
मर धुंवा उठै अक्कास	यूं धूंवा जाइ सरग्गि	धूआ जाहि सरग्गि
बादल हो मेरा साजणा	मति वे राम दया करैं	मुझ प्रिय बद्दल होइ करि
बरस बुझावै आग.१६१.	बरसि बुझावै अग्गि.३.११.	बरसि बुझावइ अग्गि.१८१

टूट फूट गी बीनड़ी	कबीर जंत्र न बाजई
अर टूट फूट गे तार	टूटि गमे सब तार
बीन बिचारी के करै	जंत्र बिचारा के करै
जब गये बजावणहार.१५६.	चले बजावणहार.४६.२०.

मल्हार	साखी
पत्ता टुट्या डाल तै	पात पडंता यौं कहै
ले गो पवन उडाय	सुनि तरुवरि बणराइ
अबके बिछड़े कद मिलैं	अबके बिछड़े ना मिलैं,
कहाँ दूर पड़ैंगे जाय.११७.	कहिं दूर पड़ैंगे जाय.४६.स.१४

बडा हुया तो के हुया	जालौं इहै बडपणा
कोई लम्बी बडी खजूर	सरलै पेड़ि खजूर
पंछी कु छाया नहीं	पंखी छाह न बीसवै
अेजो फल लागै बडी दूर.११६.	फल लागै तैं दूर.५५.१०.

नागण तै नारी बुरी	कामणि काली नागणी
कोई तीन ठौड़ तै खाय	तिन्नू लोक मँझार.२०.१.
अकल घटै अर बल घटै	
अेजो कोई दाम गिरह तै जाय.१२३.	

मल्होर	साखी
राम नाम जाण्या नहीं	राम नाम जाण्या नहीं
कोई पाल्ल्या कुटुम कुटाम	पाल्यो कुटुम कुटुंब
जैसा आया वैसा चल्या	धंधा ही मर गयो
कोई माया मिली ना राम.१२१.	बाहर हुई न बंब.१२.३३.

उड गी चील सिकर कू	कबीर मन पंछी भया
अर फिरै गगन के माँह	बहुतक चढ्या अकास
गगन चढी तो के हुया	उहाँ ही तै गिर पड्या
अजो सुरत कनक के माँह.१२०.	मन माया के पास.१३.२५.

आग लगी बणखंड में	बाढ़ी आवत देख करि
बीरा दाधे चन्दण रूख	तरुवर डोलन लाग
अपणी आई हम मरैं	हम कटे की कुछ नहीं
अरे तम क्यूँ मरो बेकूप.१२४.	पखेरू घर भाग.४६.ख.१२.

The influence of folk poetry on Kabīr is not confined to the above examples; it colours his whole poetry. The imagery in his padas is very similar to that of the Meraṭhī folk poems. Kabīr was a great wanderer and had come in close touch with the people. Though he was opposed to all conventions, he found great inspiration in the conventional folk poetry. That is why today his Sākhīs are very popular in the villages and many people compose poems in his style and give his name in them. "कहै कबीर सुणो भई साधो" is the usual ending of such songs. They have been excluded from this collection. We find considerable influence of Meraṭhī on Kabīr's language. There is a large number of typical Meraṭhī expressions, words and forms occurring in folk poetry which are found in his poems. The following are a few examples:

आँगण हुया बिदेस, इक दिन अैसा होयगा, घर का प्हावणा, जीवँगे के काल, नाँव न जाणाँ गाम का, पियाला प्रेम का, मन के मते ना चालिये, राम नाम जाण्या नहीं, हड़ हड़ हाँस्सै, हाड़ जलै ज्यूँ लाकड़ी, अर केस जलै ज्यूँ घास, हुया तो के हुया, लहर समन्द की.

कंत सुजाण, गरब गहेलड़ी, चन्दण रूख, देसड़ा, नणद के बीर, पणहारी, पीहर, बणखंड, बलँडा, बाबल, बालम, बेलड़ी, सासरा, सीड़, स्वाँग, हम्बे.

आपणा, आपणी, कौण, क्यूँ, खेल्या, गिणिं, घट्या, चल्या, जाण दे, जाण्या, जीवण, ज्यूँ, देख्या, नाँ, पकड़्या, पाणी, पीवण, रह्या.

After the second world war a new school of Contemporary Hindi Poetry known as "Nai Kavitā" has come into being.[1] Nai Kavitā poets are of a new type of "Progressive" poets, who, nevertheless, do not necessarily believe in Marxism as a creed. They are rebels against all the literary conventions and though belonging to the middle or upper middle class themselves, they are much fascinated by folk life and folk poetry. They have made new experiments with the language and the form of the poetry. Their love for folk life and culture is not romantic like Chāyāvādī poets[2] and also not for political reasons like Marxist progressive poets, a fact which emerges very clearly from their poems. Folk poetry has greatly inspired these new poets and its influence has brightened their poetry.

This influence can be put under four headings:

1. Simplicity of a folk song
2. Language and expressions
3. Folk symbols and images
4. Folk melodies

In the poems of Ajñeya, the leading poet of the Nai Kavitā school, we find the simplicity of a folk song. In his collection entitled, Ityalam and Harī Ghās par Kṣaṇa Bhar

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1. A good critical account of Nai Kavitā is given in Nai Kavitā edited by Jagdish Gupta and Rāmsvarūp Caturvedī, 1955
2. On the Chāyāvādī poets see Śambhū Nāth Singh, Chāyāvādī Yug, Banaras, 1952

we find many poems in which the simplicity has become a literary beauty. The following poem[1] is a typical example:

ओ पिया पानी बरसा
ओ पिया पानी बरसा
घास हरी हुलसानी
मानिक के झूमर सी
झूमी मधु मालती
झर पड़े जीते पीत अमलतास
चातक की वेदना बिरानी
मेरा जिया तरसा
ओ पिया पानी बरसा

In the above poem we see a new liberation from literary conventions and at the same time in the original poetic experience, the atmosphere of folk songs is clearly felt. Ajñeya has used language, expressions and the symbols from folk poetry in his own way.

The words to express new ideas and feelings have been freely taken from the folk songs by these poets and that is why their language is not artificial like Chāyāvādī poets. e.g.,

(i) काँगड़े की छोरियाँ
कुछ भोरियाँ सब गोरियाँ
लालाजी, ज़ेवर बनवा दो
ख़ाली करो तिजोरियाँ
काँगड़े की छोरियाँ [2]

(ii) माली के छोकरे, माली के छोकरे
फूल मुझे लादे बेले के
बेले की कलियों के गजरे बनाऊँगी
पाँच पाँच लड़ियों के गजरे बनाऊँगी
हाथों में कंगन गले बीच हार
बालों में होगी लहरिया बहार [3]

1. Ajneya, Ityalam, 1946
2. Ajneya, Bavra Aheri, 1954
3. Trilocana, Kavitaen 1954, pp. 141, 142

In the above poems the form of folk-songs, as well as their language, has also been successfully used. The forms of several action songs are found in the Nai Kavitā. In the following poem the first two lines are from a Meraṭhī lullaby[1] and the rest is in the form of Caṭṭā songs:[2]

हाथी घोड़ा पालकी
जै कन्हैयालाल की
आज बढ़ेंगे साथ कदम
निश्चय विजयी होंगे हम
गिरने दो जापानी बम
बोलो बन्देमातरम् [3]

Folk symbols have found very natural expression in the Nai Kavitā. Symbols in folk poetry have a very important place and are an inseparable part of the life of the people.[4] In the following poem:

हम बोयेंगे हरी चुनरिया कजरी मेंहदी
राखी के कुछ सूत और सावन की पहली तीज [5]

cunṛī and Mahandī are symbols of love, Rākhī and Pahlī Tīj of Sāvan the symbol of brotherly affection and sacrifice. Such symbols have been used in the Meraṭhī folk poems.[6] Such symbols of folk poetry have been very beautifully used by

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1. 106
2. See above, p. 91 , note 2
3. Rām Bilas Sarma, Tār Saptak, edited by Ajñeya, 1943
4. See above, p. 105
5. Dharm Vīr Bhārtī, Thandā Lohā. Allahabad, 1954.
6. See above pp. 106-108

Bhāratī in 'Ḍhole Kā gīt' and 'Phāgun Kī Śām'. Here are some more examples:

(i) कौंय कौंय कौंय
घनेरे नास जाय
मुँह से निकले है यही सवेरे
सच मुँह अँधेरे
सवेरे सवेरे [1]

(ii) ऊँच महल पर सोना साना
नीचे झोपड़िया बनी मसाना
सुलग सुलग धूँआ से संग
घुट घुट जागा मन चंगा
हर गंगा
हर गंगा [2]

In the second poem the simplicity, the symbolism and the form of a folk song are very effectively combined. Similar folk songs are sung by the beggars to the accompaniment of the Cimṭā or the iktāra[3] which is also the symbol of awakening.

Some contemporary lyricists have made successful experiments in composing their lyrics in folk metres and folk melodies. Such experiments have given a new language and new techniques to literary expression.

In the following poem[4] the expression of deep emotions has become more effective through the employment of the

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1. Ajñeya, Harī ghās par Kṣaṇa bhar, 1949, p.40
2. Lakṣmi Kānt Varma, Sammelan Patrika, Special Number, 1950, p.281
3. See above, p. 62
4. Sambhu Nath Singh, Sammelan Patrikā, Special Number, 1950, p.282.

"Question and Answer" technique[1] and the symbolism of folk songs, and the popular folk melody:

टेर रही पिया तुम कहाँ?
किसके ये काँटे रे?
किसके ये पात रे?
बैरी के काँटे रे
केले के पात रे
बिरम रहा हिया तुम कहाँ?

Rājnārāyaṇ Bisāriā in the following poem has used the simple words, the images and the metre of folk songs. Similarly his use of "re" preserves its musical importance as in a folk song:[2]

सखी री धीरे धीरे चल
डगरिया ऊँची नीची रे
देखती तू कुछ नहीं अरी
शीश पर धरी भरी गगरी
सोचकर पनघट की बतियाँ
लाज से मैं हूँ डरी डरी
पिया ने अपने हाथों से
गगरिया मेरी खींची रे [3]

We have seen in the last chapter that the metres of folk songs are often irregular and it is the rise and fall of emotions which govern the melody and which envelop the whole metre. It is this melody and the words with it, like the drops of water in a current, which create an atmosphere.

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1. See above, p.99
2. See above, pp. 93-94
3. Kavitāen 1954, edited by Ajīt Kumār and D. Avasthī, pp.86-87

The background of atmosphere is the life of folk songs and outside it their music and metres cannot be successfully studied. Creation of this atmosphere brings the following poem very close to a folk song:[1]

फिसली सी पगडंडी, खिसली आँख लजीली री
इन्द्रधनुष रंगरंगी, आज मैं सहज रंगीली री
रुनझुन बिछिया आज, हिलाडुल मेरी बेनी री
ऊँचे ऊँचे पैंग हिंडोला सरस नसैनी री
और सखी सुन भोर विजन वन दीघे घर सारी
पीके फूटे आज प्यार के पानी बरसा री

In the above poem pagḍanḍī, bindiyā, ūnce ūnce paing hinḍolā sakhī, rī....all are expressions from folk songs. The same atmosphere has been created in another way by the use of simple but skilfully chosen words.[2] The following poem[3] is a good example of this:

सावन की उनहार
बरसे आँगन पार
मधु बरसे, हुन बरसे
बरसे स्वाँति पार
आँगन पार
आँगन धार

There is no need to say that āṅgan pār, svānti dhār and hun barse express only that atmosphere.

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1. Bhavānī Prasād Miśra, Kavi Bhāvatī, edited by Sumitrānandan Pant, p.708
2. See above, p.101
3. Sam'ser Bahadur Singh, Sammelan Patrikā, Special Number, 1950, p.284.

This folk element is the life of the Nai Kavitā and it will probably live long, unlike Chāyāvādī poetry, which did not draw nourishment from the folk poetry of Hindi.

There is a large number of Hindi film songs which have been composed on the lines of folk songs. These film-songs are of different types like Meraṭhī folk songs. Whenever the birth and marriage ceremonies are shown in the films, the women are shown singing auspicious songs appropriate to the occasion. All of these songs are composed by the film lyricists and set to music by the music directors, Some of such lyrics composed by well-known Hindi poets, Pradīp, Narendra Sharma and others, are very natural and it is now fashionable to play their records at marriage or birth celebrations. Though none of these songs is traditional their directness and use of folk images and the words make them favourites of the people in the towns and the villages. Fashionable people in the large towns prefer these records to the actual singing by the women. The technique of composition discussed in the last chapter is employed by these imaginative poets and the words like sajnā, balmā, rāja are used for a lover.

Most film songs of this type seem in general to be the product of a combined tradition of folk poetry and literary poetry. Simplicity is their main characteristic. Through these lyrics many expressions of the folk songs, and

general melodies have come into the light and have become very popular in both towns and villages. The following song from the film "Rām Rājya" bears a great resemblance to a religious folk song:

बन चले राम रघुराइ
संग बानकी माई
लक्ष्मण जैसा भाई
बन चले राम रघुराई
अवधपुरी के नर नारिन नैं
आँसू नदी बहाई
सीता बिना मेरी सूनी रसोई
लक्ष्मण बिन चतुराई
राम बिना मेरी सूनी अयोध्या
कौन करे ठकुराई

In the following love songs we can also hear echos of the folk song:

(i) बालम आय बसो मेरे मन में
सावन आया तुम नहीं आये
तुम बिन रसिया कुछ न सुहाये
मन में मेरे हूक उठत है
जब कोयल कूकत बन में

(ii) काली घटायें आईं
पिया घर आजा
मस्त हवायें आईं
पिया घर आजा

(iii) अँखिया मिला के
जिया तड़पाके
चले नहीं जाना
हो चले नहीं जाना

Some critics hold the view that the composers of such lyrics are degrading folk life, destroying folk songs and distorting folk music. To some extent it may be true, but their efforts in bringing to life many dying folk songs, expressions and melodies cannot be overlooked. They had to give an air of sophistication to the folk poetry and music to suit the taste of their audience largely consisting of town people,and that is why their music is a sort of hybrid music.

Chapter 6

GRAMMAR OF THE SONGS

Like Standard Hindi, Meraṭhī is written in Devanāgarī. Though Meraṭhī-speaking educated people use S. H. in their correspondence and official business, the village poets publish their poems in Meraṭhī.

Meraṭhī has most of the vowel and consonant sounds of S.H., with the exception of those which in Hindi occur only in learned borrowings from Sanskrit, namely ś, ṣ and such conjuncts as kṣ and jñ. Retroflex ɭ, which does not occur in S.H., is very common in this dialect.[1] Though unknown to all other dialects of Hindi, it is common in Rajasthānī, Panjābī, Marāṭhī and Gujarati. Words having medial or final l in Hindi often have ɭ in these positions in Meraṭhī.[2] There are also cases where -l- in Hindi corresponds to -ll- (i.e. non-retroflex but double) in Meraṭhī.[3] Retroflex ɳ which in S.H. occurs only in tatsama words is

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1. A roughly phonemic transcription (as used in this Chapter) therefore comprises the following I.P.A. symbols:

Vowels	ə	aa	i	ii	u	uu	e	ɛ	o	ɔ
Consonants	k	kh	g	gh	ŋ					
	c	ch	j	jh	ɲ					
	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ɳ					
	t	th	d	dh	n					
	p	ph	b	bh	m					
	y	r	l	v						
	s	h								
	ɽ	ɭ (The character used for ɭ when Meraṭhī is written in Devanāgarī is ɽ)								

2. E.g. <u>Hindi</u> maalii, thaal, kaalaa; <u>Meraṭhī</u> maaɭii, thaaɭ, kaaɭaa

3. E.g. <u>Hindi</u> cəmelii, kəṭiilii, caalaa; <u>Meraṭhī</u> cəmellii, kəṭillii, caallaa

very common in Meraṭhī in tadbhava words also. Words having dental n medially or finally in Hindi often have retroflex ṇ in Meraṭhī.[1] In S.H. ḍ and ḍh do not occur intervocalically or finally but in Meraṭhī we find ḍ and ḍh for ṛ and ṛh in S.H. words occuring intervocalically or finally.[2]

One of the most marked features of this dialect is the doubling of root-final consonants when these become medial by addition of inflexional terminations, both in verbal and nominal forms. This process is not found in the corresponding S.H. forms. Similarly, in other words that cannot be analysed as root ending, where in S.H. we have an accented long vowel followed by a single medial consonant, in Meraṭhī we find a phonetically shorter vowel followed by a double consonant. Where in S.H. words of this pattern the stressed vowel in question is nasalized, we find in Meraṭhī not a doubled consonant, but a preceding homorganic nasal consonant.[3] It should be noted, however, that the sounds r,ṛ,l,ṇ do not occur as geminates.

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1. E.g. Hindi nəṭnii, bhaatan, kaanii; Meraṭhī nəṭṇii, bhaatəṇ, kaaṇii
2. E.g. Hindi bəṛaa, əsaaṛh, gəṛaa; Meraṭhī bəḍaa, əsaaḍh, gəḍaa
3.

Standard Hindi	Meraṭhī	
biitii	bittii	This tendency of doubling the consonants is very similar to that of Panjabi.
buujhii	bujjhii	
paalaa	paallyaa	
phuulõ	phulluu	
motii	mottii	
jhuumər	jhummər	
kiikəṛ	kikkəṛ	
bettaa	bettaa	
ũũcaa	uṇcaa	
cããdii	caandii	

Here we are treating not the language of the dialect as a whole, but the language of these songs as a "Restricted Language".

The following is an outline of its grammar.[1]

NOUNS

The nouns are affected by gender, number and case. There are two genders, Masculine and Feminine. The declension of nouns has to do with their modifications in respect of number and case only. There are two numbers, Singular and Plural.

Formally there are two Cases, Direct and Oblique. One of the uses of the Oblique Case is in combination with various postpositions, to express various syntactical relations within the sentence.

From the point of view of declensional changes the nouns can be put in two groups.[2]

1. (a) All words ending in a consonant both Masculine and Feminine, and a few Masculine nouns in - aa follow this pattern:

	Singular	Plural
Direct	-	-
Oblique	-	-uu

1. To facilitate comparisons with S.H. forms references will be made to relevant sections of H.C.Scholberg, Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language, 3rd Edition, 1955

2. Compare S.H., Scholberg, sections 33-34.

Examples:

bol

	Singular	Plural
Direct	bol	bol
Oblique	bol	bolluu[1]

pãã

	Singular	Plural
Direct	pãã	pãã
Oblique	pãã	pããuu

Meraṭhī nouns ending in - uu also belong to this group. Our text, however, provides only two examples: nimbuu, which occurs only in the Direct Case, Singular and Plural, təmũũ-uu which occurs only in the Oblique Plural.

(b) Masculine or Feminine nouns in - ii are similarly patterned, except that in Oblique Plural yuu is added instead of uu and the ii is usually shortened.

Example:

maaḷii (Mas.)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	maaḷii	maaḷii
Oblique	maaḷii	maaḷiyuu

gəḷii (Fem.)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	gəḷii	gəḷii
Oblique	gəḷii	gəḷiyuu

1. For the doubling of the l, see above, p. 137

2. Most of aa ending nouns model themselves on the following pattern:

	Singular	Plural
Direct	-aa	-e
Oblique	-e	-uu

Examples:

goḍḍaa (Mas.)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	goḍḍaa	goḍḍe
Oblique	goḍḍe	goḍḍuu

Note: i. The Oblique Plural form of aakh is aakkhyuu and not aakkhuu.

ii. Wherever necessary, according to the rule of doubling, the final consonant is doubled. (See above p. 137)

The list of postpositions[1] added to the Oblique Case form is given below, classified according to traditional case terminology.

	Postpositions
(Nominative)	-
Agentive	nɛ̃
Accusative	kuu
Instrumental	tɛ, pɛ
Dative	kuu
Ablative	tɛ
Genitive	kaa, kii, ke
Locative	pɛ (on) mɛ̃ (in) biic or bic (in the middle of)

1. Compare S.H., Scholberg, Sec. 31-32.

Note. i. Simple Nominative form is used for Vocative

ii. The postposition of genitive (kaa, kii, ke) usually stands between the possessor and the thing possessed. The form used is determined by the thing possessed, with which it agrees in gender, number and case. The following scheme summarises the use of the various forms:

	Singular			Plural	
	Mas.	Fem.		Mas.	Fem.
Direct	kaa	kii	Direct	ke	kii
Oblique	ke	kii	Oblique	ke	kii

Examples: Pəhlaa pheraa dhərtiimaataa kaa (first round for the mother earth)

holler kii daaddii (grandmother of the baby)

merii aakkhyuu kaa taara (pupil of my eyes)

PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns may be classified according to person (1st., 2nd and 3rd.) and number (Singular and Plural)

First Person Sing., mə̃; First Person Plural, həm: Second Person Singular, tuu, Second Person Plural, təm: Third Person Singular,[1] vo (Mas.), vaa (Fem.); Third Person Plural, ve.

The Third Person Singular vo and vaa and Plural ve

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1. Compare S.H. "vah" (Singular) which is used for both "he" and "she", Scholberg, p.68.

are in fact the Remote Demonstrative,[1] but are used as Personal Pronouns. The Proximate Demonstrative Singular yo (mas.) yaa, (Fem.) and Plural ye, is also used if "he" or "she" referred to is nearby.

There is a special form of all pronouns which is formed by changing the final e of the Genitive Plural to ɛ. It is a sort of Locative. E.G., kiskɛ cɔk puraaiyo (In whose house you will cause the cɔk to be drawn). Sonne kii kuṇḍlii naa hottii mhaarɛ (It is not customary in our family to use the golden pitcher).

Declension of Pronouns

	First Person	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	mɛ̃ (I)	həm (we)
Agentive	mənnɛ̃	həmnɛ̃
Acc. and Dat.	mɛjɛ	həmkuu
Ablative[2]	(mere pɛ)	həmpɛ
Genitive	meraa, merii, mere	mhaaraa, mhaarii, mhaare

1. See S. H. Kellog, A grammar of the Hindi Language, 1938 p. 214
2. The Meraṭhī forms in brackets do not occur in these poems. They have been supplied by a Meraṭhī speaker and are included for the sake of completeness.

	Second Person	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	tuu (thou)	təm (you)
Agentive	tənnẽ	(təmnẽ)
Acc. and Dat.	təjɛ	təmẽ
Ablative[1]	tertɛ	thaaretɛ
Genitive	teraa, terii, tere	thaaraa, thaarii, thaare

	Third Person	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	vo, vaa (he, she)	ve (they)
Agentive	unnẽ	(unũũnẽ)
Ablative	ustɛ (uspɛ)	(untɛ, unpɛ)
Genitive	uskaa, uskii, uske	unkaa, unkii, unke
Locative	uspɛ, usmẽ	(unpɛ, unmẽ)

<u>Reflexive Pronouns</u>

Nominative	aap
Acc. and Dative	əpkuu
Genitive	əpɳaa, əpɳii, əpɳe

Examples: i. aapii Raam nẽ kuye khudaaye aapii Raam nĩĩ aaye[2] (Ram himself got the wells dug andhe himself did not come)

ii. əpkuu pəc rəŋg paag (five coloured turban for himself)

iii. əpɳii əpɳii baar (our own turns)

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1. Compare Ablative with S.H., Scholberg, Sec.84, pp.66,67
2. On aap + ii, see below, p.145

Demonstrative Pronoun

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	yo, yaa (this)	ye (these)
Agentive	innɛ̃	(inũũnɛ̃)
Accusative	isɛ	inɛ̃
Dative	iskuu	inkuu
Ablative	istɛ	(intɛ)
Genitive	iskaa, iskii, iske	(inkaa, inkii, inke)
Locative	ispɛ, ismɛ̃	inmɛ̃ (inpɛ)

Note: These are the "Proximate" demonstratives. The paradigms of the "Remote" demonstratives are identical with those of the Third Person Pronoun given above. See also p.142

Indefinite Pronoun

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	koii, koyɔ(someone)	-
Agentive	kisiyuunɛ̃	kiniyuunɛ̃
Genitive	kisiyuukaa,kisiyuukii, kisiyuuke,	kiniyuukaa,kiniyuukii kiniyuuke

Relative Pronoun

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	jo (who)	jo
Agentive	jisnɛ̃	jin (without nɛ̃)
Accusative	jisɛ	-(jinɛ̃)
Ablative	jistɛ	-(jintɛ)
Genitive	jiskaa,jiskii, jiske,	jinkaa, jinkii, jinke
Locative	jismɛ̃, jispɛ	jinmɛ̃

Interrogative Pronoun

(1)

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	kəɳ (who)	kəɳ
Agentive	Kinnɛ̃	(kinuunɛ̃)
Genitive	kiskaa, kiskii, kiske	kinke

(2)

	Singular
Nominative	ke (what)
Dative	kaahe ko
Genitive	kaahe kaa, kaahe kii, kaahe ke

Note: The emphatic particle hii (ii) may be added to any pronoun. E.g. tamii, həmii, usii, vaaii

ADJECTIVE

A qualifying adjective precedes the noun, and if variable agrees with it in gender and number according to the table below. Most adjectives ending in aa are liable to such change; those ending in any other sound are invariable. An adjective in the predicate agrees in gender and number with its noun in the subject:

bəɖaa (big)

	Singular		Plural	
	Mas.	Fem.	Mas.	Fem.
Direct	bəɖa	bəɖii	bəɖe	bəɖii
Oblique	bəɖe	bəɖii	bəɖe	bəɖii

Note: The different forms correspond exactly to those of

kaa, the Genitive Postposition.[1]

Comparison

When two objects are compared, the one with which the comparison is drawn is put in the Oblique form with the post-position tə, and the adjective conforms to the rule of the adjective. E.g. Susre tə mere saaḷe bhəle hẽ (My brother-in-laws are better than my father-in-law)

When it is the second person with whom the comparison is made then the second person pronoun is put in the Genitive with the Postposition tə. E.g. Bhaabhii, tere tɛ sohṇii merii naar (My wife is more beautiful than you)

To express the superlative degree a universal comparison is made by using səb, "all", with the postposition tɛ : səb tɛ bəḍaa "biggest of all".

In the language of these poems the addition of suffix saa, sii, se to an adjective is very common. These formations are often no more than a metrical device.[2] But in some cases some such meaning as is found in English "-ish" could be attached to them. E.g., əcchaa saa pəṇḍət bulaa maa (Call rather a good priest, Mother!)

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1. See above, p. 141
2. See above, p. 95

THE VERB

The infinitive

The infinitive occurs in two forms, which we shall call the non-inflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive respectively.

The non-inflected infinitive ends in naa or ɳaa.[1] All open roots and closed roots, except those ending in l, ɭ, r, ɽ, ɽh and h, take naa after them for the formation of the infinitive. Those ending in l, ɭ, r, ɽ, ɽh and h take naa. E.g., deɳaa, leɳaa, piiɳaa, jəlnaa, kəhnaa.

The inflected infinitive is formed by adding - ɳ to open roots and - əɳ to closed roots. E.g., khaaɳ, piiɳ, bəsəɳ, miləɳ, cələɳ.

The inflected infinitive of some of the open roots occurs in two different forms: (1) according to the rule stated above; (2) by adding -vəɳ to the root. E.g., aaɳ, aavəɳ; piiɳ, piivəɳ.

The Noun of Agency[2] is formed by adding vaaɭaa or haar, haaraa to the inflected infinitive.

Participles

There are three participles, the Conjunotive, the Imperfect and the Perfect - all three forming the bases of the tenses.

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1. Compare S.H., Scholberg, p. 117
2. Compare S.H., Scholberg, p. 120

(a) Conjunctive Participle This corresponds with the root of the verb. In some cases kɛ is added to the root. E.g., bhaakkɛ (having run), pəŋkh pəsaar moraa jəl pivɛ: "having spread his wings the peacock drinks water."

(b) The Imperfect Participle is formed by adding taa (tii,te) to the root. E.g. Cheytaa, uthte, bittii, dettii, hottii. The Adverbial Participle is formed by adding i to the inflected form of the Imperfect Participle. E.g. jaattui, "as soon as (he) went.

(c) The Perfect Participle is formed by adding aa to the root. "y" is interpolated between the root and the termination aa, except in the case of roots ending in c, ch, j, jh and s. The doubling of the medial consonant after an accented vowel is not affected by it.[1] E.g., biit, bittyaa; biijh, bijjhaa, tuut, tuttyaa, pissaa.

Auxiliary Verb

Present

	Singular	Plural
Third Person	hɛ (ɛ)	hẽ (ẽ)
Second Person	hɛ (ɛ)	hɵ (ɔ̀)
First Person	hũu (ũu)	hẽ (ẽ)

Past

	Singular	Plural
Third Person	thaa (taa), thii (tii),	the (te), thii (tii)[2]
Second Person	thaa(taa),thii (tii)	the (te),thii (tii)
First Person	thaa (taa), thii (tii)	the (te),thii(tii)

1. See above, p.137
2. Compare S.H., Scholberg, Section 104.

Note: In most cases the aspiration from the auxiliaries (both Past and Present) is dropped.

Finite verbal categories in this restricted language are ten in number.

Imperative: The singular imperative is the root of the verb. The plural imperative either takes the termination - o or the precative form - iyo, the difference in use between these appears to be two-fold.

The precative form is more distant; the imperative form more immediate. The imperative form again would be used to a younger person, while to an elder the precative form may be used, even of immediate action. For singular - iye precative form is used and is not as respectful as " -iyo".[1] Examples:

	Singular	Plural
Imperative	jaa	jaao
Precative	jaaiye	jaaiyo

Present Subjunctive or Contingent Future

The following terminations are added to the root for the formation of the Present Subjunctive:

	Singular	Plural
Third Person	-vɛ	-vɛ̃
Second Person	-vɛ	-o
First Person	-ũu	-vɛ̃

1. Compare S.H., Scholberg, Section 113

Example:

	Singular	Plural
Third Person	jaavɛ	jaavɛ̃
Second Person	jaavɛ	jaavɛ̃
First Person	jaaũu	jaavɛ̃

In several cases the Subjunctive form and the Absolute Future form appear to be used indiscriminately. Similarly the use of the precative terminations -iye and -iyo and of the Subjunctive is not always distinct: Examples:

1. bəhuəl merii raandhuŋgii ləhəsue kaa saag, rotɖii to pōũu cəɖər məsuur kii.
   (Daughter-in-law, I will cook saag of ləhəsuaa and bake bread of cəɖər məsuur)
2. uske tən mən kiiɽaa pəɖiyo re, jisnɛ̃ mohe mere bhərtaar.
   (May worms eat her body, who has enchanted my husband)

Present Indefinite Imperfect

The terminations in this case are identical with the Subjunctive except that the final vowel is lengthened for the P.I.I.[1] In the case of roots ending in, aa, o and e, as an alternative to -vɛ: and -vɛ̃: terminations,[2] the plain root for singular and its nasalized form for plural are also used. In these cases also the final vowel is lengthened. When the root form is a final word in a line "yə" is added to it.[3] This

1. Compare S.H., Scholberg, Section 116.
2. The vowels in these terminations are considerably lengthened.
3. See above, p.94

also happens in some non-final cases.[1] Unlike S.H. use of the Imperfect Participle in P.I.I. is made only in the Negative Constructions.

Examples:

1.

	Singular	Plural
Third Person	jaavɛ:	jaavẽ:
Second Person	jaavɛ:	jaao:
First Person	jaaũu:	jaavẽ:

2. Alternative Conjugation

	Singular	Plural
Third Person	jaa:	jãa:
Second Person	jaa:	jaao:
First Person	jaaũu:	jãa:

3. Negative Constructions: naa kəṭṭii bərəṇ raat (cruel night does not pass).

Present Definite Imperfect

To avoid the possible futurity of the P.I.I., and to indicate that the action is at the moment of speech in course of fulfilment, P.D.I. formed from the root of the verb with raa, rii, ree, is employed. E.g., mhaare dukh paare bhartaar (My husband is suffering); siitaa ləgrii gɛl (Siitan came with him)

Absolute Future

The Absolute Future is formed by the addition of the

---

1. i. khuṇṭii dhəryaa mellaa hoyə
   ii. saaṇjh pəḍe ghər jaayə rii.
   iii. hirəṇ bəraattii jaayə.
   iv. daam girəh tɛ jaayə

declinable suffix gaa (gii, ge) to the Subjunctive. In the case of the first person singular Masculine ãa is added instead of gaa, e.g., likɽũuãa. Sometimes the future terminations are added to the alternative P.I.I.forms, i.e., root forms with or without final "ye".[1] aavegii, jiivẽge,legaa; jaagii, jãage, jãage, jaagaa, jãayge.

No Negative particles are used with the future forms. In all Future-Negative constructions the Subjunctive forms are used. E.g., teje merey naa dyũu re gel setii ho jaaũugii. (I will not let you die alone and will become setii with you)

<u>Past Imperfect</u> is compounded of Auxiliary past and the present Subjunctive. E.g., nimbuu toɽũu thii ekelii (I was plucking the lemons alone)

<u>Indefinite Perfect</u>. This is formed with the Perfect Participle. E.g.,

1. <u>Intransitive</u>

   lõɳḍuu ke del aaye (The groups of boys came)
   heriyaalaa beneɽaa aayaa rii (Hariyaalaa beneɽaa came)
   maa baap choḍke aaii (I came leaving my parents at home)

2. <u>Transitive</u>

   i. aap‿ii Raam nẽ kuye khudaaye (Raam himself caused the wells to be dug.)
   ii. Raam naam jaaɳ‿yaa nehĩi men mẽ kerii meroɽ (you did not know the name of Raam and were proud of yourself.

---

1. See above, p.150,151.

iii. paañc peḍ Gəṅgaa mẽ laaye Raamaa. (Raamaa planted five trees in the Ganges)

Present Perfect

This is compounded of the Auxiliary Present and the Perfect Participle. E.g.,

jin meraa raakkhyaa hɛ maan jii (Who has preserved my honour)
bəṛ təḷɛ kərya hɛ mukaam jii (He has camped under the banyan tree).
hui hɛ dhərəm kii baat jii (something holy has happened).

Past Perfect

This is compounded of the Auxiliary Past and the Perfect Participle. E.g.,

jis din jənmii thii dhii (the day, when a daughter was born to him).

Past Subjunctive

In the past Subjunctive the Imperfect Participle is used in both clauses. E.g.,

thəṇḍii chãa jo bɛthtii,
jəl jaataa vo ruukh. (Had I sat under the cool shade of the tree, it would have burned)

The Passive Voice

In the language of these songs Passive Voice constructions are very few, and it is usually used in an idiom to express an impersonal negative. In such cases the verb is always in the Third Person Masculine Singular.

The Passive Voice is formed by adding the verb 'jaaṇaa' to the Perfect Participle of any Transitive verb. The participle is then carried through the entire conjugation, being affected only by the gender and number of the subject. E.g.,

i. choṭṭaa nimbuu rəs bhəryaa,
toṛyaa naa cussaa jaay. (A small lemon full of juice, can neither be plucked nor sucked)

ii. maaryaa jaagaa pəṭhaaṇ ke (You will be killed, O pəṭhaaṇ)

"Kəhiyɛ" construction

There is a peculiar construction in this language which can be labelled for convenience as "kəhiyɛ". It is used to show that the speaker has heard the fact which he or she is stating. E.g., baaguu mẽ kəhiyɛ rii jɛ siṇgjaat kaa (I have heard that Jai Singh Jaṭ is in the orchard), tere beṭṭe kaa kəhiyɛ duujaa byaah (I have heard that your son is getting married for the second time).

Operators

The verbs jaaṇaa, leṇaa, deṇaa, lyaaṇaa, pəṛnaa, ləgṇaa, aaṇaa, səkṇaa, gernaa, rəhnaa, cəlnaa and paaṇaa are used as "operators" in this language.[1] Out of this long list only jaaṇaa, deṇaa and leṇaa are very common. These "operators" can be put into these main groups:

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1. For a similar use of the term "operators" as applied to Hindi, see J.Burton-Page, "Compound and Conjunct Verbs in Hindi," B.S.O.A.S, XIX, 3 (1957), p. 471

1. Used with the root of the main verb

(a) Intensives, such as jaaŋaa, leŋaa, deŋaa, pəɽnaa, gernaa.

Examples:

i. ʈuuʈ phuuʈ gii biinɽii (The biin is completely broken)

ii. unʈuu nẽ cəɽliye jhojhɽuu (The camels have eaten up jhojhɽuu)

iii. mundhe tɛ təlɛ dhəkel dii (He pushed her from the chair)

(b) Potential, səkŋaa.

Examples:

lobbhii siis nə de səkɛ (A greedy person cannot give his head)

2. Used with the inflected infinitive

(a) Inceptive, ləgŋaa.

Examples: cəʈkəŋ laagge baans (The bamboos have started cracking)

(b) Permissive, deŋaa.

Example: ləgəŋ de ed cubaare mẽ (Let me dance in the cubaaraa)

3. Used with the Perfect Participle

Continuative, (rəhnaa), e.g.,

soye rəhe suukh kii nĩiⁿd maaruu jii (Maaruu jii kept on sleeping soundly).

Note: Past tense of jaaŋaa operator, has several forms: (gyaa, gaa, and gəyaa) depending on the melody of the song.[1]

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1. See above, p.94

Causative Verbs

A simple intransitive verb is usually made transitive by inserting aa after the root, as: suukhɳaa, (to become dry), sukhaaɳaa, (to dry). The insertion of vaa forms the causative, as sukhvaaɳaa, (to cause to dry).

If the simple verb is transitive, the insertion of aa makes it Causative, and of vaa double causative. Sometimes the second and the third form of a causative formed from a simple transitive are identical in meaning. E.g., kəraaɳaa, kərvaaɳaa.

Verbs ending in a consonant preceded by a short vowel are regular in formation but there are certain types which undergo modifications.

i. If o or e is the first vowel in the root it is changed into u and in the case of monosyllabic roots 'v' is inserted. E.g., khodɳaa, khudaaɳaa; poɳaa, puvaaɳaa; deɳaa, duvaaɳaa.

ii. If ii or uu (and in some cases aa) is the first vowel, it is shortened. E.g., suukɳaa, sukaaɳaa; jiimɳaa, jimaaɳaa; liipɳaa, lipaaɳaa.

iii. In addition to the above a few verbs change ʈ to its cognate ɖ or ɽ. E.G., phuuʈɳaa, phoɽnaa; ʈuuʈɳaa, toɽnaa.

ADVERBS

Table of Pronominal Adverbs

	Time	Place	Direction	Manner
Prox. Dem	əb (now)	hyãa (here)	iŋghɛ (hither)	nyũu (thus)
Remote Dem.	-	hvãa (there)	urŋghɛ (thither)	-
Relative	jəb (when)	jəhãa (where)	jiŋghɛ (whither)	jyũu (as)
Correlative	təb (then)	hvãa (there)	-	-
Interrogative	kəb (when)	kəhãa (where)	kiŋghɛ (whither)	kyũu (why)

The adverbial particle hii (ii) may be added to any adverb in the table, and most adverbs given below, for emphasis.[1] The "h" often combines with the preceding sound to form an aspirate. E.g., kədhii.

Other adverbs of time are: aaj (today), kəl (tomorrow or yesterday), picchɛ (after) əbkɛ (this time, this year), təɽkɛ (at dawn) pɛhlɛ (before), aggɛtɛ (in future)

Other adverbs of place are: uppər (above), təlɛ (below) baar or baahər (outside), dhorɛ or neɽɛ (near), urlii paar (on this side), pərlii paar (on that side), bhittər (inside), bicaale (in the middle) caaruu khuut or caaruu oɽ (in all four directions).

Other adverbs of manner are sej (slowly), ɛsɛ (in this manner), vɛsɛ (in that manner), kɛsɛ, jɛsɛ (in what manner), is ɖhaal (in this way).[2]

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1. See above, p.145
2. Compare the patterning of the initial consonants here with the examples in the table above.

Negative Particles.

(i) naa, nĩi, nə, nəhĩi

(ii) mət and mətnaa, which are used only with imperative forms.

Examples:

(i) sonne kii kũnḍlii naa hotĩii mhaare (It is not customary in our family to use the golden pitcher)

aap ii ʌaam nĩi aaye (Raam himself did not come)

lobhii siis nə de səkɛ (A greedy person cannot give his head)

(ii) paaṇii bhərəṇ mət bhejiyo (Do not send her to fetch water)

merɛ mətnaa laaiye haat (Do not touch me)

mən ke məte naa caaliye

nəhii bohət ghəṇaa dukh paay (Do not follow the dictates of your heart or you will suffer a lot)

Interrogative particle is 'ke'.[1]

Conjunctions

ər (and), bii, (also), nəhĩi (otherwise), jo....to (if....than) kɛto....kɛ (either....or)

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1. S.H. 'kyaa'

SONGS : TEXT AND TRANSLATION

१

होल्लर का बाब्बा न्यूँ कहै
हो मैं खूँ दान भतेरा
होल्लर की दाद्दी न्यूँ कहै
होल्लर के हुण्डी ल्याया
हात्तू की मुट्ठी बाँचके
सिर पै लटूरे ल्याया
कुर्ते तै नंगा आया
टोप्पी तै नंगा आया
हात्तू की मुट्ठी बाँचके सिर
सिर पै लटूरे ल्याया

1

The grandfather of the child says,
"To celebrate I will give generously,"
The grandmother of the child says,
"What wealth has the child brought?
He has come with his little fists clenched,
And has beautiful hair on his head.
He has come naked in want of a shirt,
And naked in want of a cap.
He has come with his little fists clenched,
And has beautiful hair on his head."

२

पाँच पान का है बीड़ा अर लौंग सुपारी जी
अेजी इनैं लेके दाई पै जाओ जी
दाई मेरी दाई तमीं मेरी दाई हो
दाई म्हारे महल कुछ सोर सजण बेट्टी अनमनी .१.
राजा हो राजा मेरे महाराजा हो
थारी घणी के बोल कलेज्जे मेरे साले जी
गोरी हो मेरी गोरी तम घण जीब की उतारा
थारे कीण आवैगी.२.
पाँच पान का है बीड़ा अर लौंग सुपारी जी
अेजी इनैं लेके अम्मा पै जाओ जी
तुरत चली आवैगी
अम्मा हो मेरी अम्मा तमीं मेरी अम्मा हो
अम्मा म्हारे महल कुछ सोर सजण बेट्टी अनमनी.३.
बेट्टा हो मेरा बेट्टा
मेरी आक्ख्यू के तारे मेरे जगत उजाले जी
बेट्टा उस नागर नटणी के बोल कलेज्जे मेरे साले जी.४.
गोरी हो मेरी गोरी तम घण जीब की उतारा
थारे कीण आवैगी
पाँच पान का है बीड़ा अर लौंग सुपारी जी
अेजी इनैं लेके नणदल पै जाओ जी
मेरी प्यारी नणदल तुरत चली आवैगी.५.
बो बो मेरी बोठबो तमीं मेरी बोठबो हो

2

"Here is the bīṛā of five betel leaves with cloves and betel nuts.
Take them with you and go to the midwife."

"O midwife, my old midwife,

There is some disturbance in my palace and my wife is unwell."

"Rājā, my Rājā, you are my Mahārājā.

The words of your wife have pierced my heart."

"Darling, my fair one, they say you are sharp tongued.

Who will come to you?"

"Here is the bīṛā of five betel leaves with cloves and betel nuts.
Take them with you and go to your mother.

She will come immediately."

"Mother, my dear mother,

There is some disturbance in my palace and my wife is unwell."

"Son, my dear son,

You are the pupil of my eye, you are the light of my world.

Son, the words of that useless woman have pierced my heart."

"Darling, my fair one, they say you are sharp tongued.

Who will come to you?"

"Here is the bīṛā of five betel leaves with cloves and betel nuts.
Take them with you and go to your sister.

My dear sister-in-law will come immediately."

"Sister, my dear sister,

continued...

बोल्वो म्हारे महल कुछ सोर सजण बेट्टी अनमनी
बीरा हो बीरा तमीं मेरे बीरा हो
मेरे पंचू की सोभा
मेरे हिवड़े के मंडल
कोई उस रे ओच्छी के बोल कलेज्जे मेरे साले जी.६.
गोरी हो मेरी गोरी तम घण जीब की उतारा
थारे कौण आवेगी
घर घर मेरा राजा हो फिर्या
आ बेट्ठ्या देहल़ी जी.७.
पकड़ूंगी छान बलैंडा अर पलँग की पाट्टी जी
अर राजा का डुपट्टा जी
अेजी कोई झटक जणूंगी नंदलाल
पडी झक मारैं जी
सवेरे सब आवैं जी
साण की मारी आवैं जी
लेण की मारी आवैं जी.८.

There is some disturbance in my palace and my wife is unwell."

"Brother, my dear brother,

Beloved amongst the village chiefs,

The protector of my life,

The words of that deceitful woman have pierced my heart."

"Darling, my fair one, they say you are sharp tongued.

Who will come to you?"

"My Lord has been from house to house,

And at last has come back and sits at the threshold.

I will hold on to the ridge-pole and the bamboo at the side of my bed,

And the turban of my lord,

And quickly will give birth to my child.

Let them talk.

They will all come in the morning;

They will come for the sake of the feast;

They will come for the sake of the presents."

३

कड़वा तमाक्खू गरगरा
महँक महँक आवे बास
मुड्ढे तै तले ढकेल दी
अेजी महलू तै कर दी बार
चली जा अपणे बाप कै.१.
अेक बण उलख दूजा बण उलख्या
तीजे में पौंहची जाय
तीजे में नदी फुंफाय
कैसे तो जांगि बापकै.२.
मेरे बीर मल्लाह के नाव लगा
तड़कैई तो जांगि बापकै
अधरो पान्नू तै बंगला छबाऊं
गोरी आज रात तो डटो म्हारी सेज पै
तड़कै तो जाईयो बापकै.३.
जुत्ते तो मारूंगी पचास
पनही तो मारूं डेढसौ
मुच्छू पै धरूंगी अंगार
जो बचन खोटा बोलिये
चन्दा सूरज उनहार
सोत्ते तो छोड्डे केल्ले सेज पै.४.
मार कछेला जब चल पडी
मल्लाह का मिण्डे दोन्नू हात

3

"The bitter tobacco stinks,
It smells and smells."
He pushed her from the chair,
And turned her out of the palace.
"Go to your father's house."
She crossed one forest, she crossed a second forest,
And arrived in the third forest.
In the third frowns the river.
"How shall I reach my father's house?"
"Brother boatman, take me across,
I want to reach my father's house early."
"Adhro, for you I will thatch a bungalow with betel leaves.
Gorī, stay tonight on my sej,
And leave in the morning for your father's house."
"Fifty times I will hit you with my shoes,
And a hundred and fifty times with a shoe-rag,
And will put fire on your moustaches,
If you speak such words.
My husband, who's like sun and moon,
Has been left alone on the sej."
She tucked the trail of her skirt and crossed the river.
The boatman rubs his palms:

continued...

तिरिया तो चाले कर गई
अेक बण उलख दूजा बण उलख्या
तीजे में जाये नंदलाल .५.
ना ह्यॉं मेरी संग की सहेल्ली
ना मेरी सास्सू नणदिया
जो मैं आज सुसर घर होत्ती
बजण लगते निसाण
गवण लगते सोहले.६.
जो मैं आज सास्सू घर होत्ती
सारी अजुध्या खडी लुटात्ती
काहे का करूं बिछोना
काहे का करूं उढोणा
हे हर काहे की घिस घुण्टी दूयूं.७.
धरती का करो बिछोना
पत्तू का करो उढोणा
चन्दण की घिस घुण्टी दो.८.

"The woman has done wonders."
She crossed one forest, she crossed a second forest,
And in the third delivered the child.
"Here are neither my girl friends
Nor my naṇad or sāssū.
Had I been today at my father-in-law's house,
The drums would have been sounded,
And auspicious songs sung.
Had I been at my mother-in-law's house,
I would have given away the whole of Ayodhyā generously.
Of what shall I make the bed,
And of what covering?
O God of what shall I give ghunṭī?"
"Make a bed of earth,
Make a covering of the leaves,
And give sandalwood paste as ghunṭī."

४

छज्जू बैट्ठी लाड्डो चावै पान
करै बाब्बा जी की बीनती
बाब्बा देस जाइयो परदेस जाइयो
म्हारी जोड़ी के बर ढुण्ढियो
अेक रात रहियो
उनका गोत बूझियो
सारे खिलन्ते बर ढुण्ढियो

4

Lāḍḍo sits on the balcony and chews betel leaf,

And asks her grandfather,

"Grandfather, search throughout the country and in foreign lands,
And find me a bridegroom, one who is a good match.

Stay in his house for one night,

Enquire into his ancestry,

And find me a bridegroom, one who is a good match."

५

लाड्डो के बाब्बा बर ढुण्डण कू लिकड़े
लाड्डो कू सोच बडा भारी
जणे बर कैसे मिलैंगे.१.
जो बर होंगे चन्दा सुरज से
चारू ई ओड़ उजाला
जणे बर कैसे मिलैंगे.२.
जो बर होंगे काली सुरत के
चारू ई ओड़ अँधेरा
जणे बर कैसे मिलैंगे .३.
जो बर होंगे सोहणी सुरत के
चारू ई ओड़ उजाला
जणे बर कैसे मिलैंगे.४.

5

Lāḍḍo's grandfather has gone to seek her a husband,

Lāḍḍo is very much worried.

"I don't know what kind of bridegroom he will arrange for me.

If my bridegroom is like the sun or moon,

Then it will be bright all around.

I don't know what kind of bridegroom he will arrange for me.

For if the bridegroom is like the night,

Then it will be dark all around.

I don't know what kind of bridegroom he will arrange for me.

If my bridegroom is fair and handsome,

Then it willbe bright all around.

I don't know what kind of bridegroom he will arrange for me."

६

बाप्पू कड़े छड़े रमझोल
गद्दे धरे टिपारे में
बेट्टी चारू ओड़ लखाया
भेद ना पाया जमाई का .१.
बाप्पू ल्यादे बंटा डोर
अर साड़ी ल्यादे बान्धण कू
हम भरके भगवा भेस
भरता आपी ढुण्डेंगे.२.

6

Father, bracelets, anklets,
And quilt lie in my bottom drawer.
Daughter, I have searched in the four directions
In vain for your bridegroom.
Father, bring me string and loṭā
And a saffron sārī.
I will walk as a jogan
And search for a husband myself.

७

बाब्बा की फुलवाड़ी में फूल तुड़वावण जाइयो
मेरे हरियाले बनड़े
कच्ची पक्की कली तोड़के सुई पजाम्मा रंगाइयो
मेरे हरियाले बनड़े
सुई पजाम्मा पैहेरके सुसरे की गली जाइयो
मेरे हरियाले बनड़े
साली थारी लाडली थोड़ा हँस बतलाइयो
मेरे हरियाले बनड़े

7

Go and pluck flowers from your grandfather's garden,
O my hariyāle banre!
And with the ripe and unripe buds dye your trousers red,
O my hariyāle banre!
In the red trousers go to the street of your father-in-law,
O my hariyāle banare!
Your bride's sister is a spoilt girl: talk to her nicely,
O my hariyāle banare!

८

अे बिर किस रूत सिरसू बोई
किस रूत आया फल फूल
सवेरे आइयो भातड़िया.१.
अे बिर मंगसिर सिरसू बोई
पौह में आया फल फूल
सवेरे आइयो भातड़िया.२.
किसके हो तम भातड़िया
अर किसके हो तम बीर
सवेरे आइयो भातड़िया.३.
किसके चौक पुराइयो
अर किसके छनको भात
सवेरे आइयो भातड़िया.४.
अपणे भणोई के हम भातड़िया
अर अपणी बोब्बो के हम बीर
सवेरे आइयो भातड़िया.५.

8

"O brother, in which season was the mustard sown
And when did it blossom?"
Come early, O bhāt̊ṛiyā.
"O brother, in Aghan the mustard was sown
And in Pūs it blossomed."
Come early, O bhāt̊ṛiyā.
"Whose bhāt̊ṛiyā are you
And whose brother?"
Come early, O bhātaṛiyā.
"In whose house are the cauk drawn for you
And to whose house do you bring bhāt?"
Come early, O bhātaṛiyā.
"We are bhātaṛiyā of our brother-in-law,
And brother of our sister."
Come early, O bhātaṛiya.

९

मैं तजै मनैं करूँ जी मण्ढे हाकमा
प्यारे बाग बिराणे मत जा
बाग लगाऊँ दो हे चार
माळी लगाऊँ दो हे चार
मैं तजै मनैं करूँ जी मण्ढे हाकमा
छोट्टा सा निम्बू रस भर्या जी मण्ढे हाकमा
छोट्टा सा बलमा गुण भर्या जी मण्ढे हाकमा
छोट्टा सा निम्बू रस भर्या जी मण्ढे हाकमा
तोड्या ना चुस्सा जाय मण्ढे हाकमा

9

I forbid you, O Maṇḍhe Hākmā!
Dearest, go not to the orchards of others.
I will plant you as many orchards as you wish,
And employ all the gardeners you will need.
I forbid you, O Maṇḍhe Hākmā!
A small lemon is full of juice, O Maṇḍhe Hākmā!
A small husband is full of virtue, O Maṇḍhe Hākmā!
A small lemon is full of juice,
I can neither tear it nor enjoy it.

१०

तुम सोवो के जाग्गो बाब्बा जी म्हारे
चार दल जुड़याये
अेक आप दल
अेक बाप दल
तीजा तो दल उनके भातड़िया
चोत्था दल साज्जण का रे
लौण्डू के दल आये
उन राहू फूल बखेरो री भातण
जिन राहू मेरे बर आये
फुल्लू की बरसा करिये री भातण
सोभा ल्याओ बर के साम्मदी

10

Are you awake or sleeping, my grandfather?
Four armies have come.
One is the army of our people,
One that of his father;
A third is led by his maternal uncles,
And a fourth is the army of my bridegroom.
In this are his boyhood friends.
O my aunt, strew flowers in the path
Of my bridegroom and his friends.
O my aunt, strew flowers in his path
And make the way beautiful for my husband.

११

पाँच सुपारी मँगा मेरे बाबल
पाँच हलद की गाँठ
आले आले बाँस कटा मेरे बाबल
उंची चिणा चत्तरसार
जिसमें बैट्ठे दोन्नू समधी खेलैं जुअे का खेल
कौण सा हार्या कौण सा जित्त्या
किसका लग ग्या दाव
बाबल हार्या सुसरा जित्त्या
दुल्हण का लग ग्या दाव
बाबल करोड़ी मेरा उस दिन हार्या
जिस दिन जन्मी ती धी
सुसरा हजारी मेरा उस दिन जित्त्या
जिस दिन जन्म्या ता पूत

11

"Send for five betel nuts, O my father,
And send for five roots of turmeric.
Have green and tender bamboos cut, my father,
And built a pent house for your pleasure,
In which our fathers shall sit and gamble."
"Who is the winner, who is the loser
And what was the prize?"
"The father is loser, father-in-law is the winner,
And the bride is the prize."
"My father was the loser,
The day I was born,
And father-in-law the winner,
The day my bridegroom was born."

१२

झारे झरोक्के लाड्डो की दाद्दी हो झाँके
इनमें जमाई म्हारा कौणसा
धी म्हारी गोरी जमाई म्हारा काला
अब कैसे करैंगे ब्याह जी
इतनी तो सुणके साज्जण उठ री चले हैं
घरी रे बिराज्जे थारी लाडली
आगे मिले हैं उनके अच्छे से साले
माक्के पकड्या है हात जी
आओ म्हारे जिज्जा बैट्ठो गलीच्चे
हम थारा करैंगे ब्याह जी
सुसरे ते मेरे साले भले हैं
जिन मेरा राक्ख्या है मान जी

12

The grandmother of the lāḍḍo peeps through a peep hole,
"Who is our son-in-law?
Our daughter is fair and our son-in-law dark,
How can the wedding take place?"
The bridegroom hears and walks away.
"You may keep your beloved daughter."
On the way he meets his bride's brother,
Who runs and catches his hand.
"Come my brother-in-law, sit on the marriage rug,
Let us begin the ceremony"
"The bride's brother is more gentle than his father,
Who has preserved my honour."

१३

सोन्ने की कुँडली घड़वा मेरे बाब्बा
सोन्ने की कुँडली गंगाजल पाणी
सजण पसारेंगे पाँ रे
गरब गहेल्ली लाड्डो गरब ना बोल
सोन्ने की कुँडली ना होत्ती म्हारे
माट्टी की कुँडली ल्यावे कुम्हार का
अर माट्टी की कुँडली गंगाजल पाणी
सजण पसारेंगे पाँ रे

13

"O my grandfather, order for me a golden pitcher.
With the Ganges' water in the golden pitcher
My bridegroom shall wash his feet."
"O ambitious lāḍḍo, speak not so.
A golden pitcher is not for you.
The potter will bring a pitcher of clay.
With the Ganges' water in the pitcher of clay
Your bridegroom shall wash his feet."

१४

हात पेले कर मेरे बाब्बा
हुई है धरम की बात जी
चन्दण चौक्की बैट्ठी मेरी लाड्डो
खेस रही छिटकाय जी
हात पेले कर मेरे बाब्बा
हुई है धरम की बात जी
खेस समारी अब मेरी लाड्डो
हुई है धरम की बात जी
अब कैसे खेस समारूं मेरे बाब्बा
हुई है धरम की बात जी

14

"O my grandfather, with turmeric anoint my hands,
Something holy has happened."
My lāḍḍo sits on the seat of sandalwood;
Dishevelled is her hair.
"O my grandfather, with turmeric anoint my hands,
Something holy has happened."
"Arrange your hair, O my lāḍḍo,
Something holy has happened."
"Now how shall I arrange my hair,
For something holy has happened."

१५

पहला फेरा धरती माता का
हरियाला बनड़ा आया री
दूजा फेरा गंगा माता का
हरियाला बनड़ा आया री
तीजा फेरा लाड्डो अपणी का
हरियाला बनड़ा आया री
चौत्था फेरा बलम भरतार का
हरियाला बनड़ा आया री

15

The first time round is for mother Earth.
The handsome bridegroom has come.
The second is for Mother Ganges.
The handsome bridegroom has come.
And the third for the bride herself.
The handsome bridegroom has come.
And the last for the bridegroom.
The handsome bridegroom has come.

194

१६

आले की आले गुडिया हो छोड्डी
छोड दिया बाबल का देस री
तूतो री बोब्बो झाम्बे की चिडिया
साँझ पड़े घर जाय री
आण खेलूँगी आले की गुडिया
आण मिलूँगी बाबल देस जी
आम तले कू डोला हो लिकड्या
कोयल सबद सुणावे जी
या बेट्टी थारे महलू की बान्दी
बान्दी की है जाई अर हम थारे बन्द गुलाम जी
ऐसे बोल ना बोल मेरे समधी
या बेट्टी म्हारे महलू की राणी
राणी की है जाई अर तम म्हारे सिर सिरदार जी

16

She is leaving her dolls in the toy cupboard.
She is leaving the country of her father.
"Sister, you are a bird of jungle,
Who feeds in the fields and flies nestward at sunset."
"I will return to my dolls in the toy cupboard,
And revisit the country of my father."
When the palanquin passed under the mango tree,
The cuckoo sang.
"This our daughter shall be the slave of your palace,
We are your slaves and she is our daughter."
"Do not say such things, brother.
She is the queen of our palace,
She is the daughter of a queen and you are our overlord."

१७

मेरा डोला अटक्या रे बाबल तेरे बाग्गू में
बाग कटाइयो बाबल आपणे.१.
लाड्डो मेरे कटैं ना हरियल बाग
लाड्डो घर जाओ आपणे.२.
तेरे पाणी रीते हों तेरी धी बिना
मैं तो झीमरी लगा ल्यूँ
लाड्डो घर जाओ आपणे.३.
तेरा गोब्बर रे भिपके तेरी धी बिना
मैं तो चूहड़ी लगा ल्यूँ
लाड्डो घर जाओ आपणे.४.
वे तो गुड्डिया रे भोली बाबल तेरे आले में
मेरी पोत्ती तो खेल्ले
लाड्डो घर जाओ आपणे.५.

17

"O father, my palanquin is obstructed in your orchard.
O my father, cut down your trees."
"My lāḍḍo, this green orchard will not be cut.
You go to your home."
"Without your daughter your water jars will be empty."
"I will employ a waterwoman.
You go to your home."
"Your cowdung will lay ungathered without your daughter."
"I will employ a sweeper's wife.
You go to your home."
"My dolls lay deserted on their shelf."
"My grand-daughter will play with them.
You go to your home."

१८

काहे को ब्याही बिदेस
रे लाखी बाबल मेरे
हम तो रे बाबल तेरे झाम्बे की चिडिया
पंख लगे उड जाँय
रे लाखी बाबल मेरे
काहे को ब्याही बिदेस.१.
हम तो रे बाबल तेरे खुण्टे की गइया
जिसकू देओ चली जाँय
रे लाखी बाबल मेरे
काहे को ब्याही बिदेस.२.
हम तो रे बाबल तेरे केले की कलिया
धूप लगे मुरझाँय
रे लाखी बाबल मेरे
काहे को ब्याही बिदेस.३.
ताऊ चाचा को नेहे रे ब्याहीं
हम कू क्यूँ ब्याही बिदेस रे
रे लाखी बाबल मेरे
काहे को ब्याही बिदेस.४.
भइयू कू दिये बाबल महल दुमहले
हमकू क्यूँ दिया परदेस
रे लाखी बाबल मेरे
काहे को ब्याही बिदेस.५.

18

Why did you marry me in a foreign land,
O my rich father?
I am the bird of your bush
And fly away after getting feathers.
Why did you marry me in a foreign land,
O my rich father?
I am the cow of your peg
And go with anyone whomsoever you give.
Why did you marry me in a foreign land,
O my rich father?
I am the bud of your banana plant
And fade away in sunshine.
Why did you marry me in a foreign land,
O my rich father?
My sisters are married in the vicinity of the home.
And why do I go to a foreign land?
Why did you marry me in a foreign land,
O my rich father?
To brothers you have given palaces,
And why banishment to me?
Why did you marry me in a foreign land,
O my rich father?

continued...

महल तलै कू जब लिकड़ी रे डोली
भइया ने खाई पछाड़
रे लाखी बाबल मेरे
काहे को ब्याही बिदेस.६.

When the palanquin passed by the palace
The brother fainted.
Why did you marry me in a foreign land,
O my rich father?

१९

नंगे हो पाँवू बाब्बा हो भाग्गया
समधी हो डोला रुकवाइयो
म्हारी लाड्डो थारे घर ब्याही
माड़ा बचन मत बोलियो.१.
चुल्हा लिपाइयो
बास्सण मँजाइयो
पाणी भरण मत भेजियो .२.
रोट्टी पुवाइयो
चाक्की पिसाइयो
पाणी भरण मत भेजियो.३.
कुँअे पै चढके लाड्डो हड़हड़ हाँस्सी
दो कुल आवे लाज जी .४.

19

Barefoot ran the grandfather,
"O samadhī, stop the palanquin,
Our beloved daughter goes to your home in marriage.
Please speak not to her harsh words.
She will plaster the kitchen
And wash the dishes,
But please send her not to draw water.
She will bake the bread
And grind the corn,
But please send her not to draw water."
If at the well she laughs openly,
Both the families will be put to shame.

२०

आज के दिन मजे रास
बाबल मैं प्हावणी तेरी
देहली तो परबत हुई
और आंगण हुया बिदेस
ले बाबल घर आपणा
मैं चली पिया के देस

20

Keep me for today, father;
I am your guest.
Your threshold is like a mountain
And your courtyard a foreign land.
Keep your house now to yourself.
I am going to my husband's country.

२१

सास्सू मेरी मूँ ते बोलिये री
अरी मा बाप छोड़के आई.१.
बहू री मैं कैसे बोल्लूँ री
अरी मजे चढरी ताप निवाई.२.
सास्सू तेरे पाँ दाब दूँ री
अरी तेरी उतरे ताप निवाई.३.
सास्सू मेरा बीर पटवारी री
मेरा छोट्टा बीर सिपाई .४.
बहू धरती चुचकारूँ री
अरी म्हारे भले घर की आई.५.

21

"Sāssū, speak to me,
For you I have left my parents."
"Bahū, how can I speak?
I have high fever."
"Sāssū, let me massage your feet.
Your high fever will go down.
Sāssū, my elder brother is a village official,
And the younger a police constable."
"My bahū, I kiss the earth.
Our daughter-in-law is of a respectable family."

२२

पेली माट्टी मँगा मा
हरियल गोब्बर मँगा मा
लिप्पूँ घर अर बार मा
नाई के कू बेग बुला मा
नगर बुलावा दुवा मा
अच्छा सा पण्डत बुला मा
अच्छा सा पत्रा दिखा मा
मुतियन चौक पुरा मा
अच्छी सी गाड्डी सजा मा
गोद जड्डुल्ला ले मा
दुराणी जिठाणी बुला मा
देब्बी कू चलण करो मा
लपझप पूरी करा मा
मोहन लड्डू बँधा मा
देब्बी कू चलण करो मा

22

Mother, send for yellow clay
And for greenish cowdung.
I will plaster the whole house.
Call the barber quickly,
And send the invitations in the town.
Call an intelligent paṇḍit,
Let him study well his almanac.
Draw the cauk with pearls.
Prepare beautiful carts.
Take the jaḍūllā in your lap,
Call all the durāṇī and jiṭhāṇī.
Let us go to the Devī, mother.
Prepare good purīs,
And mohan laḍḍū.
Let us go to the Devī, mother.

२३

आरता री आरता
सांझी माई आरता
आरते के फूल चमेल्ली की डाली
बल मेरे दिबले झमक मेरी बात्ती
काहे का दिब-ला
काहे की बात्ती
काहे का तेल जलै सारी राती
सोन्ने का दिवला
चान्दी की बात्ती
सुरही का घी तो जलै सारी राती
सांझी माई के ओढैगी
के पैहरैगी
सांझी माई मलमल ओढैगी
मिसरू पैहरैगी

23

Ārtā rī ārtā
Sāñjī māī ārtā,
The flowers of ārtā? A bouquet of Jasmine.
Burn, O my lamp, dance, O my flame.
"What is the lamp made of?
Of what is the wick?
What oil is it that burns throughout the night?"
"The lamp is of gold,
And silver is the wick,
And it's the ghī of the celestial cow that burns all night."
"Sāñjī what material will you use for a head-dress?
And of what will you make your dress?"
"She will wear a head-dress of muslin,
And of satin will be her dress."

२४

उठो देव बैट्ठो देव
देव उठैंगे कात्तक मास
नई टोकरी नई कपास
जारे मुस्से गोलू जा
गोलू जाके दूध पीआ
दूध पीके मोट्टा हो
मोट्टा होके झोट्टा हो
झोट्टा होके हाब कटा
हाब कटाके बाण बटा
बाण घटाके खाट बुणा
खाट बुणाके दावण दे
दावण देके गोरी गा
गोरी गा कपला गा
गोरी गा बाम्म्हण दे
जिसका पुन्न महाफल हो
इतने अम्बर तारे
इतनी यो घर गाबड़िया
इतने जंगल झाँड़ झूँड़
इतने यो घर जन्मैं पूत
इतने आगी हिंस्सा रोड़े
इतने यो घर बलधू घोड़े

24

Rise, gods! Sit down, gods!
Gods will rise in the month of Kārtik.
New basket. New cotton.
O mouse, go to the milk pot
And drink the milk.
Be fat by drinking milk,
As fat as a buffalo,
And then cut Kūśa grass.
From it make the string.
With the string knit the bed,
And after knitting fix a dāvaṇ in it.
After that,
Grey cow and brown cow.
Give the grey cow to the brahman.
In it is a great virtue.
May there be as many cows in this house
As there are the stars in the sky.
May there be as many sons in this house
As there are the bushes in the forest.
May there be as many horses and bullocks in this house
As there are the pieces of stone on the way.

२५

झुमक देण दे रघुनन्दन राजा
राम चले लछमन चले
सीता लगरी गैल
झुमक देण दे रघुनन्दन राजा.१.
घर रो सीता घर रो लछमन
मीत लगै भूक प्यास
झुमक देण दे रघुनन्दन राजा.२.
काळा हिरण उजाड़ में रघुनन्दन राजा
पेट तळै का सेत
झुमक देण दे रघुनन्दन राजा.३.

25

Let us go round, Raghunandan Rājā.
Ram leaves, Lachman leaves,
And Sītā accompanies them.
Let us go round, Raghunandan Rājā.
"Sītā, stay at home! Lachman, stay at home!
In the forest thirst and hunger will torment you."
Let us go round, Raghunandan Rājā.
In the open plain is the black deer,
And he has white spots on his belly.
Let us go round, Raghunandan Rājā.

२६

नाथ बता दे मजे
क्युक्कर जपूँ नाम तेरा
काहे की धरती
काहे का अम्बर
काहे का जग संसारा
क्युक्कर जपूँ नाम तेरा.१.
सत की धरती
धरम का अम्बर
पाप का जग संसारा
क्युक्कर जपूँ नाम तेरा.२.
गहरी नदिया
नाव पुराणी
केवटिया है मुरारी
क्युक्कर जपूँ नाम तेरा.३.

26

Master, tell me,
How shall I worship you?
Of what is the earth made,
Of what the sky,
And of what the world?
Master, how shall I worship you?
The earth is made of the truth,
The sky is made of dharma,
And the world of sin.
Master, how shall I worship you?
The river is deep
And the boat is old.
Murārī is the boatman,
Master, how shall I worship you?

२७

भजन कर इस्वर का बन्दे
मतेरे नींद में सोये...हरे...
भजन में लगी हुई है डोरी
सुरग कू खुली हुई है मोरी...हरे
कोस भर उड जा री टिड्डी
सुरग कू लगी हुई है सिड्डी.. हरे
गरद में छिप जा रे चन्दा
जिगर के कट जाँगे फन्दा..हरे
भजन कर इस्वर का बन्दे
मतेरे नींद में सोये..हरे

27

Worship God, O man!
You have slept too long.
Devotion is like a rope
Which takes you to heaven.
O locust, fly away a mile.
The stairs are fixed to the heaven.
O moon, hide yourself in the dust.
The fetters of the heart will be cut.
Worship God, O man!
You have slept too long.

२८

सीता के बण में झुकी बदलिया
रिमझिम बरसै मीं
है कोई राम मिलावेगा.१.
छोट्टा सा लड़का गाँ चरावे
गाँ चरावे सो साठ
है कोई राम मिलावेगा.२.
किसके हो तम नात्ती गोत्ती
किसके हो कुलनाथ
है कोई राम मिलावेगा.३.
पिता अपणे का नाम नीं जाणति
सीता है म्हारी मात
है कोई राम मिलावेगा.४.
जहाँ है थारी सीता माता
हँवई ले चलो सात
है कोई राम मिलावेगा.५.
चन्दण चौक्की सीता बैट्ठी
खेस रही छिटकाय
है कोई राम मिलावेगा.६.
ढकले अम्मा खेस आपणे
बार खडे भगवान
है कोई राम मिलावेगा.७.
ऐसे पती का मूँ ना देक्खूँ
इन्नें दिया बणूबास

28

Clouds have gathered in the forest of Sītā.
Rimjhim, rimjhim, it rains.
Will someone unite me with Rām?
A small boy grazes the cows,
Grazes one hundred and sixty cows.
Will someone unite me with Rām?
"Who is your grandfather and what your gotra?
And to which family do you belong?"
"The name of our father we do not know.
Sītā is our mother."
Will someone unite me with Rām?
"Where is your mother Sītā?
Take me to her."
Will someone unite me with Rām?
Sītā sits on a seat of sandal,
Dishevelled is her hair.
Will someone unite me with Rām?
"Cover your hair, O mother!
Outside stands Bhagavān."
Will someone unite me with Rām?
"I won't see the face of such a husband,
Who banished me."

continued...

है कोई राम मिलावेगा.८.

फट गी धरती समा गी सीता

खडे लखन वैं भगवान

है कोई राम मिलावेगा.९.

इस काया पे हल रे चलैंगे

खेत्ती करैं किसान

इस काया पे दूब जमैगी

गऊ चरैं सो साठ

है कोई राम मिलावेगा.१०.

इस काया पे गंगा बहैगी

इस काया पे बाट चलैगी

लख आवैं लख जाँ

है कोई राम मिलावेगा.११.

Will someone unite me with Rām?

The earth cracked and Sītā disappeared in it.

Ram stands and gazes.
Will someone unite me with Rām?
On this body the farmers will plough

And grow crops.

On this body will grow the grass

And one hundred and sixty cows will graze.

Will someone unite me with Rām?

On this body the Ganges will flow

And a road will be made

On which millions will come and go.

Will someone unite me with Rām?

२९

गोद्धण माण्ढू तू बडा
तेरतै बडा ना कोय
चार खूंट का लाडला
तजै नवै सब कोय

हीड़ा...

29

Goddhaṇ Māṇḍhū, you are great,
None is greater than you.
You are beloved everywhere,
In all regions all bow to you.

३०

आज दिवाळी दिन भला
भर मावस की रात
उठो सपुत्ती पूज ल्यो
गोद्धण सड्या थारे बार

हीड़ो...

30

Today is the festival of lights.
The moonless dark is heavy.
"O mothers of fine sons! get up and worship.
Goddhaṇ stands outside"

३१

हाण्डी के गलु जेबड़ा
डोऊ रुस्सा जाय
सर फोड़ूँ उस रांड का
जो ससम तै पैहले खाय

हीड़ो....

31

There is a string around the neck of the pot,
And the spoon is angrily departing.
I will break the head of the female wretch,
Who eats before her husband.

३२

बली बलैंडा के करै
बली उठावै छान
इस घर लौण्डा जनमियो
जो मुरकी पैहरै कान

हीड़ो...

32

What are pole and ridge-pole for?
Pole supports the thatched roof.
In this house may a boy be born,
Who will wear golden ear-rings.

३३

कल्लड़ पाणी छवछवा
तोत्ते मलमल न्हायँ
कगल बजावैं बाँसुरी
तो हिरण बरात्ती जायँ
हीड़ो...

33

On petrified soil the water is like crystal.
The parrots are bathing.
The crows play the flutes,
And the deer walk in the marriage procession.

३४

परली सी पार हर नैं बाग लगाये
रामा बाग लगाये
उरली सी पार निम्बू तोड़ूँ थी अकेली
अर तोड़ूँ थी अकेली
राम ही राम मेरी लीओ री सहेल्ली
राम ही राम हरे..१.
परली सी पार हर नैं ताल खुदाये
रामा ताल खुदाये
उरली सी पार लत्ते धोऊँ थी अकेली
अर धोऊँ थी अकेली
राम ही राम मेरी लीओ री सहेल्ली
राम ही राम हरे.. २.

34

On the other bank Har planted the orchards,
Har planted the orchards.
On this bank I was plucking the lemons alone,
Was plucking the lemons alone.
O my friends, accept my rām rām.
O my friends, accept my rām rām.
On the other bank Har dug the ponds,
Har dug the ponds.
On this bank I was washing the clothes alone,
Was washing the clothes alone.
O my friends, accept my rām rām.
O my friends, accept my rām rām.

३५

गंगा बीच भरूं जल झारी
आद्धी कमर उघाड़ी
कुछ तो हूं मैं तन की माड़ी
दोग्घड़ धर ली भारी
रस्ता छोडो रे अनाड़ी
ह्यां बोझ मरे पणहारी.१.
तू किस रे छैल की नारी
जल मरण रात कू आई
नदियू बीच भरे जल झारी
आद्धी कमर उघाड़ी
रस्ता छोडो रे अनाड़ी
ह्यां बोझ मरे पणहारी .२.

35

In the middle of the Ganges I fill my water pot,
And half bare is my waist.
Fragile and tender is my body,
And heavy is the pitcher on my head.
Leave the way for me, O fool!
This water girl groans under the burden.
"Whose wife are you
Who comes to fetch water in the night,
And fills her pot in the river,
And half bare is her waist?"
"Leave the way for me, O fool!
This water girl groans under the burden."

३६

उठ मिल ल्यो राम भरत आये
हरियल गोब्बर आँगण लिपाये रामा
उप्पर चौक पुरत आये.१.
भूरी सी हतणी जरद अम्बारी रामा
उप्पर चँवर ढुलत आये.२.
चरत भरत दोन्नू मिलण कू आये रामा
नैन्नू में नीर ढलत आये.३.
उठ मिल ल्यो राम भरत आये

36

Rise and meet, O Rām, Bharat has come.
The courtyard has been plastered with greenish cowdung,
And on it the cauks have been drawn.
On the white elephant is the red ambārī,
And the whisks are being moved.
Carat Bharat both have come to meet you,
And the tears are dripping from their eyes.
Rise and meet, O Rām, Bharat has come.

३७

आद्धी गंगा में जौं बोये
आद्धी में बोये बाँस
हंसा मुख बोलिये मेरे राम.१.
काहे के कारण जौं बोये
काहे के कारण बोये बाँस
काहे के कारण गाण्डे चुस्से
अर काहे के कारण चावे पान.२.
माट्ठे के कारण गाण्डे चुस्से
लाली रचाण कू नागर पान.३.
काहे के कारण धी जणी
अर काहे कारण पूत
नैम धरम कू धी जणी
अर सेड़े बसण कू जण्या पूत.४.

37

In half of the Ganges was sown the barley,
And in the rest half the bamboos.
Utter the name of Rām from you mouth.
"Why was the barley sown,
And why the bamboos?
Why were the sugar-cane sucked?
And why were the betel leaves chewed?"
"For sweetnes were sucked the sugar-cane
And for colouring the lips red were chewed betel leaves"
"Why was the daughter born
And why the son?"
"For fulfilling religious duty was born the daughter,
And for populating the village the son."

३८

पाँच पेड गंगा में लाये रामा
छइयाँ छइयाँ चले गये रामा
बाले तन कू बिरोध लगा गये रामा
आपी राम नैं कुवे खुदाये
आपी राम नीं आये
बिरा तम केल्ले क्यूँ घबराये
थारी गैल किसन जी आये

38

Rām planted five trees in the Ganges,
And went away in their shade.
He has set fire to my tender and young body,
Rām himself dug the wells,
And he himself did not turn up.
Brother why are you afraid?
Kṛṣṇajī comes to give you company.

३९

चलत चलत फोक्के पड़े
कोई कन्धा बाँस ना ले
कहियो भोलानाथ तै
मेरी बाँह पकड़ जल ले

बोलो रे भाई बम
भोले को बम

39

My feet are blistered from continual walking,
My shoulders ache from the bamboo yoke.
Tell Bholā Nāth to hold my hand,
And take my offering of the water.

४०

प्रेम पियाला वो पिवै
जो सीस दिच्छना दे
लोभी सीस ना दे सकै
अर नाम प्रेम का ले
बोलो रे भाई बम
भोले की वम

40

He who would drink the waters of love,
Must first give.
The selfish, who cannot,
Will only ever talk of love.

४१

प्रीत करै तो ऐसी करै
जैसी सक्कर घी
जात पात बुज्झै नहीं
जिस तै मिलजा जी

बोलो रे भाई बम
भोले की बम

41

True love accepts all.
The lovers mix like sugar and ghī.
When hearts are joined,
One does not enquire as to family.

४२

गंगा बडी गोदावरी
तीरथ बडे पिराग
लहर तो बडी समन्द की
कोई पाप कटैं हरद्वार

बोलो रे भाई बम
भोले की बम

42

Gangés and Godāvarī are great,
Prayāg is a place of great pilgrimage.
Waves of the sea are great,
And all the sins are absolved at Hardvār.

४३

सीतापत की कोठड़ी रे
कोई चन्दण लगे कुवाड़
ताळी लागी प्रेम की
कधी खोलैंगे किसन मुरार

बोलो रे भम्ई बम
भोले की बम

43

In the koṭhṛī of Sītāpati,
Are the shutters of sandal wood.
And the lock of love is fixed,
Which one day Kṛṣṇa will open.

४४

पच्छम देस मजका कुआ
जहाँ रोग तेरा जनम हुया
हाँकि हनमत बुलावे भीम
जावे रोग और गाँव की सीम
काँवरा देस चौमुखा देवी
जहाँ बसै समाल जोगी
समाल जोगी नैं बोई बाड़ी
जिसमें चुगै गाँ भैंस हमारी
बलघ महादेव जी का
घोड़ा सुरज देवता का
भैंस्सा मछन्दरनाथ जी का
ऊँट बाड़ी नाथ जी का
मेड़ बकरी धूलिया की
दुहैं बिलोवैं बाँट खाँ
उसका रोग भैरव लेजा
रोड़ा सूरा सुररका
आवन सुरी पक्कण मूँ
जावे रोग और गाँव की सीम
दुहाई तजै सूरज देवता की
दुहाई तजै गंगा जमना की
दुहाई तजै इस गाँव के खेड़े की

44

Pestilence, may Hanumān drive thee
To the west country and Majkā well,
Where you were born,
And may Bhīm call you.
Go, pestilence, to the border of some other village
To the Kānvarā land of four-headed goddess
Where lives the wizard Ismail.
The wizard Ismail sowed the cotton
For my cows and buffaloes to graze.
The horse is under the protection of the Sun God:
The buffalo of Machandarnāth,
The camel of Bāṛī Nāth:
The sheep and goats of Dhūliyā:
Let them milk them and divide the milk.
Let Bhairo remove the pestilence.
Rinderpest, foot-rot, pleuropneumonia,
Foot-and-mouth disease -
Leave this to some other village.
Have mercy on us, Pāṇḍavas!
Have mercy on us, Sun God!
Have mercy on us, Ganges Janumā!
Have mercy on us, God of this village site!

continued...

काली काली महाकाली
चावे पान बजावै ताली
बैठी पिप्पल की डाली
पीके भंग होवै मतवाली
चाम का वटुआ लौंग की भबूत
जो गाँ बच्चे के घाई घा
तजै रामचन्दर की दुहाई

Kālī, Great Kālī chew the betel
And clap thy hands!
Sit on the branch of pipal!
Intoxicate yourself with hemp!
A leather bag and ashes of cloves!
Help us, O Rāmcandra,
If any injury come to our cows and calves!

४५

काला बिच्छू कंकर वाला
हरी चूँच सोन्ने की माला
मैं जाणूँ बिच्छू तेरी जात
तू जन्म्या मावस की रात
सण की पाट्टी मूँज के बाण
मैं तारूँ तजे नीम के ताण
हनुमान की दुहाई
लंका तै कोट समन्दर खाई

45

Black scorpion of limestone,
With green beak and golden neck ring,
I know your caste, O scorpion!
You were born the night of Amāvas,
The sticks of rūṇ and the strings of mūñj
I cast you down with the branch of nīm,
Help us, O Hanumān!
Lankā is a fort and the sea a ditch.

४६

लिल्ली घोड़ी लाल लगाम
उस पै बैट्ठे मँगला ज्वान
मँगला ज्वान काँह चले
कैलास परबत कू
कैलास परबत तै के ल्याओगे
सरकंडे की जड़ ल्यावैंगे
उसका के करोगे
सो मण कोले करावैंगे
निहाणी बसोल्ला गढावैंगे
उसका के करोगे
री का दरद अर बाय का दरद
पास्सू पसली का दरद अक्कड़ की चुड़ैल का दरद
पत्ताल़ की मसाण का दरद
इनैं काटके मसम करैंगे
हनुमान की दुहाई
लंका तै कोट समन्दर खाई

46

Blue mare and the red bridle
On it sits warrior Manglā.
"Where do you go, warrior Manglā?"
"To Kailāś mountain."
"What will you bring from Kailāś mountain?"
"I will bring the roots of reed."
"What will you do with it?"
"I will make one hundred mounds of coal from it,
I will make chisel and axe."
"What will you do with these?"
"Pain of spine, pain of joints,
Pain of ribs and sides and of witch,
And of ghosts.
We will cut and burn these into ashes."
Help us, O Hanumān!
Lanka is fort and the sea a ditch.

४७

झुक जा रे बदलो
बरस क्यूँ ना जा
अब तेरी बरसण की रे बहार
झुक जा रे बदलो
किसियू की भिज्जे मा मेरी चूँदड़ी जी
किसी हो बिरण सुई पाग
झुक जा रे बदलो
बरस क्यूँ ना जा
अब तेरी बरसण की रे बहार

47

Bow down, O cloud!
Why do you not rain?
Now is the proper time for it.
Bow down, O cloud!
If somebody's cundɿī gets wet
Or brother's red turban.
Bow down, O cloud!
Why do you not rain?
Now is the proper time for it.

४८

आठ कुअे नौ पाड़छे रे मारू
अर कोई सोलह भरैं पणहार
प्यास्से तो आये दूर के रे गोरी
प्यास्से कू पाणी दो प्याय .१.
ना मेरी डूबती बाल्टी रे मारू
अर ना मेरा नबता सरीर
किस बाबल के प्हावणे रे मारू
अर किनके हो भरतार .२.
थारे बाबल के प्हावणे री गोरी
अर थारेई हैं भरतार
संग चलै तो ले चलूँ री गोरी
अर ले चलूँ देस विदेस .३.
सुद्धी सड़क तेरे देस की रे मारू
अर आ गै मिलैगा तेरा देस
देस मिल्या तो के मिल्या री गोरी
तम तो चली ना म्हारी गैल .४.
डाढी तो मुँण्डुंगी तेरे बाप की
अर मुच्छू पै धरूँगी अंगार .५.
उठ अम्मा गगरी उतार
नहीं तो फोड़ूँ चौड़े चौक मैं
सब सब पाणी भर ल्याई
अरी बहू तन्नैं लगाई बड़ी देर

48

On eight wells and nine pāṛche,
Sixteen women draw water.
"From a long distance I have come thirsty
Give the water to the thirsty."
"Neither drowns my bucket in the well
Nor bends my body."
"Whose guest are you,
And whose husband?"
"O ǵorī, I am the guest of your father,
And your beloved husband,
If you agree I will take you with me
To distant lands."
"O m̄ārū, straight is the road to your land,
Further on you will find your land."
"There is nothing in my country
If you do not accompany me."
"I will cut the beard of your father
And burn his moustaches."
"O mother, get up and take down the pitcher from my head
Or I will smash it in the courtyard."
"Others came back from the well long ago.
Where were you, my daughter-in-law, so long?"

continued...

अेक मुसाफर मिल गया री सास्सू
अर उन्नैं लगाई बडी देर.६.
कैसे तो उनके कापड़े जी
अर कौण सुरत उनहार
अंग गोरे मुख सांवळे री सास्सू
अर छोट्टे देवर उनहार.७.
अर वोही तो तेरे हाकमा री बहू
गह क्यूं ना पकड़ी ही बांह
भाग चलूं तो लाजू मरूं
सैज चलूं तो पकड़्या ना जाय.८.
बारह बरस मैं पिया घर फिर्यै
अर बड़ तळै किया है मुकाम
ले लोट्टा मैं चल पड़ी
पाणी तो पियो भरतार
अर जैसी तू नार है
अैसी मरैं मेरे पणहार.९.

"I met a wayfarer, O Sāssū!
And he delayed me so long"
"How was his appearance
And whom did he resemble?"
"With his fair body and darkish face
He resembles my young devar."
"He was your master, O daughter-in-law.
Why did not you hold his hand?"
I feel shy in running.
Walking slowly I won't find him.
My husband returned home after twelve years.
And is resting under the banyan tree.
With a loṭā of water I approach him,
"Drink water, O my husband!"
" A Woman like you
I employ as a water-maid."

४९

अव रूत आई बाब्बा बीजणे की
सास्सू बरजै बहू री पाणी मत जा
डेरा पड्या है मुगल का दे लेगा तमूऊ के बीच
सास्सू की बरजी मा रहूँ पाणी भरूँ झकझोल
के तो करैगा मुगल का दे दूयुगी तमूऊ में आग
पाणी कू चली चन्दरावली जिसके लम्बे लम्बे खेस.१.
डेरे तै लिकड्या मुगल का अर दे ली तमूऊ के बीच
बाट चलते बटेउड़ा अेक संदेसा लेकै जा
मेरे बाबल तै न्यूँ कहो रे तेरी बेट्टी तमूऊ के बीच
मेरे बीरण तै न्यूँ कहो रे तेरी बहणा तमूऊ के बीच
बाबल सुणकै रो पड्या बेट्टी तमूऊ के बीच
बीरण नैं खाई पछाड़ बहणा तमूऊ के बीच .२.
बाबल हवाँ तै चल पड्या छकड़ू भर लिये दाम
बीरण हवाँ तै चल पड्या छकड़ू भर लिये दाम
बहणा छुटाऊँ चन्दरावली जिसके लम्बे लम्बे खेस
जारे मुगल के छोकरे छकड़ू ले ले दाम
बहणा तो छोड चन्दरावली जिसके लम्बे लम्बे खेस.३.
जा बाबल घर आपणे राक्खूँ पंचू की लाज
जा बीरण घर आपणे राक्खूँ टुपिया की लाज
खाणा ना खाऊँ मुगल का राक्खूँ टुपिया की लाज.४.
बाट चलते बटेउड़ा अेक संदेसा लेकै जा
मेरे सुसर तै न्यूँ कहो रे तेरी बहू तमूऊ के बीच

49

Now has come the season of the fan.

Sāssū asks the bahū, "Do not go for water,

Mugal is camping, he will take you in his tents."

I will not listen to the sāssū and go to fetch water.

What can he do to me? I will set his tents on fire.

Long-haired Candrāvalī went to draw water.

Mugal came out of his tent and took her in the tents.

"Take my message, O traveller,

Tell my father that his daughter is in the tents.

Tell my brother that his sister is in the tents.

Father burst out crying hearing that the daughter was in the tents.

Brother fainted hearing that the sister was in the tents.

Father started with cartloads of money.

Brother started with cartloads of money.

I will secure the release of long-haired sister Candrāvalī.

"O son of the Mugal, take all these cartloads of money,

Release my long-haired sister Candrāvalī."

"Go back to your home, O father, I will keep up the honour of the pancēs."

"Go back to your home, O brother, I will keep up the honour of the cap."

"I will not eat the food of Mugal and keep up the honour of the cap."

"Take my message, O traveller,

Tell my father-in-law that his daughter-in-law is in the tents

continued...

मेरे देवर तै न्यूँ कहो रे तेरी भाब्बी तमूऊ के बीच
मेरे कन्त तै न्यूँ कहो रे तेरी गोरी तमूऊ के बीच.५.
सुसर सुणके रो पड्या देवर खाई है पछाड़
कन्त चौधरी हँस पड्या ल्याऊँ अैसी दो चार
सुसर ह्वाँ तै चल पड्या छकड़ू भर लिये दाम
बहू छुटाऊँ चन्दरावली जिसके लम्बे लम्बे खेस.६.
देवर ह्वाँ तै चल पड्या छकड़ू भर लिये दाम
भाब्बी छुटाऊँ चन्दरावली जिसके लम्बे लम्बे खेस.६.
जा सुसरे घर आपणे राक्खूँ टुपिया की लाज
जा देवर घर आपणे राक्खूँ पंचू की लाज
बारे मुगल के छोकरे पाणी भरके ल्या
प्यास्सी तो मरे चन्दरावली जिसके लम्बे लम्बे खेस.७.
मुगल की पीठ फिरतुई तमूऊ में दे ली आग
खडी खडी जलै चन्दरावली जिसके लम्बे लम्बे खेस
बाल जलैं जैसे दूलिया जीब कमल के सा फूल
दाँत जलैं जैसे कोड़िया पेट जैसे मिदे की लोय
खडी खडी जलै चन्दरावली जिसके लम्बे लम्बे खेस.८.
हात मले मुण्डी धुणै या के करी करतार
देक्खी तो चाक्खी नहीं या के करी करतार.९.

Tell my devar that his bhābhī is in the tents

Tell my husband that his gorī is in the tents."

Hearing this the father-in-law burst out crying and the devar fainted

The husband laughed and said, "I can bring a few like her."

Father-in-law started with cartloads of money.

Devar started with cartloads of money.

I will secure the release of my daughter-in-law:

I will secure the release of my bhābhī,

"Go to your home, O Susar, I will keep up the honour of the cap."

"Go to your home, O devar, I will keep up the honour of the panc[41]."

"Go, O Mugal, bring me some water to drink.

Long-haired Candrāvalī dies of thirst."

As soon as the Mugal turned his back she put the tents on fire.

Standing, standing, burns long-haired Candrāvalī,

Hair burns like new grass and tongue like a lotus flower,

Teeth burn like cowries and the stomach like flour-paste.

Standing, standing, burns long-haired Candrāvalī.

He rubs his hands and beats his head, "O God! what have you done?"

"I only could see her but could not taste. What have you done?"

५०

ओर दिनू तो सास्सू सुक्खे टिक्कड़ री
आज क्यूँ खीर की थाली सिपाई जी
पहले तो बहू तेरी कटै थी अकेली जी
आज घर आया तेरा बलम सिपाई जी
ओर दिनू तो री सास्सू खट्टा मट्ठा री
आज क्यूँ दूध कटोरा सिपाई जी
पहले तो बहू तू मेरी याणी थी
अब हो गी किसी जोग सिपाई जी
ओर दिनू तो री सास्सू टुट्टी सी खटिया री
आज क्यूँ बिछाया लाल पलँग सिपाई जी
अम्मा बी देक्खी मन्नैं बहणा बी देक्खी जी
कहाँ गई है म्हारी नार सिपाई जी
ऊँची अटारी की लाल कुवाड़ी जी
वहीं चढ सोई थारी नार सिपाई जी
हाँक लगाई अर बाँह हिलाई जी
फिर बी ना बोल्ली म्हारी नार सिपाई जी

50

"On other days you gave me dry, hard bread to eat,
But why today a trayful of khīr?"
"So far you were alone, my daughter-in-law,
But today returns your husband."
"On other days you gave me buttermilk to drink,
But why today a kaṭorā full of milk?"
"So far you were very young,
But today you are in your full bloom."
"On other days I slept on a broken bed,
But why today this red palaṅg for me?"
"I have seen my mother and seen my sister,
But where is my wife?"
"In the high aṭārī with red doors,
Sleeps soundly your wife."
I called her and shook her by the arm,
But she did not speak.

५१

भर भादू की रे मोरा रात अँधेरी जी
राजा की राणी पाणी कू लिकड़ी जी
काहे की गगरी रे मोरा अर काहे की नेज्जू
अर काहे की जडाऊ धण की ईंढड़ी जी
सोन्ने की गगरी रे मोरा अर रेस्सम की नेज्जू
रतन जडाऊ धण की ईंढड़ी जी .१.
आगे आगे मोरा चल्या अर पीच्छे पणहार
उनके पीच्छे राजा के पहरेदार जी
अेक बण उलख दूजा बण उलख्या
अर तीजे में पौंहची जाय जी
जो भरै उसे मोरा मुँधा दे नी
पंख पसार मोरा जल पिवै जी.२.
परै कू हट जा मोरा जल भरण दे
घर पै तो लड़ेगी म्हारी सास जी
थारी तो सास्सू धण माता म्हारी जी
आज तो बसो हरियल बाग में जी .३.
परै कू हट जा मोरा जल भरण दे
घर पै तो लड़ेगी म्हारी नणद जी
थारी तो नणदल धण बाहण म्हारी जी
आज तो बसो हरियल बाग में जी.४.
उठ मेरी सास्सू गगरी उतार
नहीं तो फोड़ूँ चौड़े चौक में जी

51

In the heavy dark of Bhādon night,
The queen went out for water.
"Of what is the pitcher and of what the string,
And with what is studded the īṇḍhrī of the woman?"
"Of gold is the pitcher and of silk the string,
And with jewels is studded the īṇḍhrī."
In the front went the peacock and after him the water-woman,
And after her the guards of the rājā.
She crossed one forest, she crossed a second forest,
And arrived in the third.
When she fills the pitcher, the peacock spills it,
And spreading his feathers he drinks water.
"Get out of my way, O peacock, let me draw the water,
At home my mother-in-law will quarrel."
"Your mother-in-law is my mother,
Stay tonight in the green orchard."
"Get out of my way, O peacock, let me draw the water.
At home my sister-in-law will quarrel."
"Your sister-in-law is my sister.
Stay tonight in the green orchard."
"Get up, O my mother-in-law, take down the pitcher,
Otherwise I will smash it in the courtyard."

continued...

किनियू नैं बोल्ले हैं बोल मेरी बहुअल
अर किनियू नैं मार दिये ताने जी
ना मेरी सास्सू किसी नैं बोल्ले हैं बोल
अर ना किसियू नैं मारे हैं ताने जी
बण का मोरा बण बिच रहै जी
उसी की कूक म्हारे मन बसी जी.५.
उठ उठ बेट्टा मेरे मोर कू मार
तेरी धण रींझी बण के मोरना जी
पांचू तो ल्याओ म्हारे कापड़े जी
अर पांचू तो ल्याओ हतियार जी.६.
अेक बण उलस दूजा बण उलस्या
अर तीजे में मार्या है मोर जी
मोर कू मार राजा ल्याये लटकाय जी
अर ल्याके धर्या धण की देहली जी.७.
उठ उठ मेरी राणी हलद तो पीस
मोर कू छौंक बणाइयो जी
हलदी के पीस्से राजा तावली ना होय
मोरा के छौंके मेरा जी जले जी
बण का तो मोरा बण में रहै जी
उसी की कूक म्हारे मन बसी जी.८.
जो तैं मेरी धण मोरा की साब
सोने का मोरा घड़ाइयो जी
सोने का मोरा राजा चोरी में जा
उसी की कूक म्हारे मन बसी जी.९.

"Who has spoken harsh words to you,
And who has taunted you?"
"No one has spoken harsh words to me,
And no one has taunted me."
The wild peacock lives in the forest,
His shriek has possessed my heart."
"Get up, O son, kill the peacock,
Your wife has fallen in love with the wild peacock."
"Bring my five garments
And bring my five weapons."
He crossed one forest, he crossed a second,
And killed the peacock in the third.
Having killed the peacock the rājā brought it home,
And placed it on the threshold.
"Get up my queen, powder the turmeric,
And cook the peacock."
"I cannot be quick in powdering the turmeric,
And my heart burns in cooking the peacock.
The wild peacock lives in the forest,
His shriek has possessed my heart."
"If you want a peacock, my wife,
Get a peacock made of gold."
"A peacock of gold may be stolen, O rājā,
The shriek of the wild peacock has possessed my heart."

continued...

जो तमैं मेरी धण मोरा की साध
काठ का मोरा बणवाइयो जी
काठ का मोरा राजा जलु बलु जा
उसी की कूक म्हारे मन बसी जी.१०.
जो तमैं मेरी धण मोरा की साध
छात्ती पै मोरा ~~मोस~~ गुदवाइयो जी
छात्ती का मोरा राजा बोल्ले ना बोल
उसी की कूक म्हारे मन बसी जी.११.

"If you want a peacock, my wife,
Get a peacock made of wood."
"A peacock of wood may be burnt, O rājā,
The shriek of the wild peacock has possessed my heart."
"If you want a peacock, my wife,
Get a peacock tattoed on your breast."
"The peacock on the breast will not speak,
The shriek of the wild peacock has possessed my heart."

५२

चलैंगे तारो पाँचू कापड़े जी सरायो की बेट्टी
तारो पाँचू हतियार सरायो की बेट्टी
घोड़ा चढ चल दिये जबरसिंग राजा जी
राजमहल छोड़के कचैड़ी आये मारू जी.१.
भरी कचैड़ी मत बैठिये म्हारे राजा जी
तू है जमन का उत मारू जी
सबज घोड़ा चढ चल पडे जबरसिग राजा जी
राजा म्हारे गये चुपाड़ू के बीच मारू जी.२.
ताज डुपट्टा सो गे जबरसिंग राजा जी
राजा म्हारे सोअे रहे सुख की नींद मारू जी
राजा म्हारे किनियू नैं बोल्ले हैं बोल मारू जी
राजा म्हारे किनियू नैं मारे हैं ताने मारू जी
भाइयू नैं बोल्ले हैं बोल रे सरायो की बेट्टी
अर भतिज्जू नैं मार दिये ताने सरायो की बेट्टी.३.
ल्याओ म्हारे तीन्नू कापड़े म्हारे राजा जी
राजा खुंटी धर्या तारो हार राजा जी
केरो करोगी तीन्नू कापड़े सरायो की बेट्टी
गोरी म्हारी के तो करोगी अपणा हार सरायो की बेट्टी.४.
पैहेर चलैंगे तीन्नू कापड़े अेजी जबरसिंग राजा जी
राजा म्हारे पैहेर चलैंगे अपणा हार मारू जी.
कस डोला चल पड़ी सरायो की बेट्टी
गोरी म्हारी गई है तिज्जण के बीच मारू जी.५.

52

"Bring my five garments, O daughter of Sarāyo!
Bring my five arms, O daughter of Sarāyo!"
Rode away on horseback, Rājā Jabar Singh,
From the palace he arrived in the court.
"Do not sit in the full session of the court, our king!
You are sonless by birth."
Riding on his green horse Jabar Singh returned
And arrived at the caupāṛ.
Covering himself with ḍupaṭṭā he went to sleep
And slept comfortably for some time.
"Who has spoken harsh words to you, O rājā,
And who has taunted you?"
"My brothers have spoken harsh words, O daughter of Sarāyo!
And the nephews have taunted me, O daughter of Sarāyo!"
"Bring my three garments, O rājā jī,
And bring my necklace from the peg."
"What will you do with your garments, O daughter of Sarāyo!
And why do you need your necklace?"
"I will put on my garments and go, O rājājī,
And wear my necklace."
On a palanquin she left, the daughter of Sarāyo,
And arrived in the celebrations of tijjaṇ.

continued...

म्हारे तिज्जण मत बैठिये अे सरायो की बेट्टी
तू तो है री जनम की बाँझ मारू जी
कस के डोला चल पड़ी जी सरायो की बेट्टी
गोरी म्हारी आई है महलू के बीच मारू जी
ताण साल्लू सो गी सरायो की बेट्टी
गोरी म्हारी सोई रही सुख की नींद मारू जी.६.
किनियू नें बोल्ले हैं बोल सरायो की बेट्टी
गोरी म्हारी किनियू नें ला दिये ताने मारू जी
बाहणू नें बोल्ले हैं बोलड़े जबरसिंग राजा जी
अर राजा म्हारी भतीजियू नें ला दिये ताने मारू जी.७.

"Do not sit in our tijjaṇ, O daughter of Sarāyo!
You are barren from the birth."
On a palanquin left from there the daughter of Sarāyo
And returned to the palace.
Covering herself with sāllū she went to sleep
And slept comfortably for sometime, the daughter of Sarāyo.
"Who has spoken harsh words to you, O daughter of Sarāyo,
And who has taunted you, O daughter of Sarāyo?"
"My sisters have spoken harsh words, O rājā,
And the nieces have taunted me."

५३

गोरी दिल्ली गये मेरठ री
तेरतै सोहणी माली की री
राजा दिल्ली जाइयो मेरठ रे
पैसे का जहर लेत्ते आइयो रे
भर्या कटोरा दूध का रे
उसमेंई जहर मिलाया रे .१.
पी पाके धण सो गी रे
अर बार तै आये राजा रे
कहाँ तो गई है अम्मा नारी रे
उंची अटारी जिसमें लाल कुवाड़ी रे
हवई चढ सोई बेट्टा बहू थारी रे.२.
हाँक लगाई अर बाँह हलाई जुरे
फिर बी ना बोल्ली नार म्हारी रे
बेट्टा बाग्गू में जाइयो रे
चन्दण रूख कटाइयो रे
चन्दण रूख में उसे ठोक जलाइयो रे.३.
मेरी गोरी अब जतन बताइयो री
मेरे सपने में आइयो री
राजा दिल्ली चले जाइयो मेरठ रे
हमतै सोहणी माली कोरि
उसी तै ब्याह रचाइयो रे.४.

53

"Gorī, I went to Delhi and Meraṭh,
There the gardener's daughter is more beautiful than you."
"Rājā, go to Delhi and Meraṭh,
And bring me some poison."
She took a full bowl of milk,
And mixed poison in it.
Having drunk it she went to sleep;
And from outside came the rājā.
"O mother, where is my wife?"
"In the high aṭārī with red doors
Sleeps your wife."
He shouted and shook her by arm,
But she did not speak.
"Go to the orchards, my son,
And cut sandal trees,
And in sandal wood cremate her."
My gorī, now tell me what to do?
Come in my dreams.
"Rājā, go to Delhī and Meraṭh,
There the gardener's daughter is more beautiful than me,
Celebrate your marriage with her."

५४

धोब्बी बेट्टी पाणी कू जा
राजा तो लिकड़े सिकार कू जी महाराज
धोब्बी बेट्टी पाणी प्याओ
प्यास्से तो आये सईं सजि के जी महाराज
पियो राजा सिमन्दर झकोल
म्हारे हात्तू का पाणी गादला जी महाराज
धोब्बी बेट्टी सिमन्देर में पीवैं डंगर ढोर
थारे हात्तू का पाणी सुथरा जी महाराज
जो राजा धोब्बी बेट्टी का चाव
लत्ते तो धोवो म्हारे बाप के जी महाराज
धोब्बी बेट्टी नैं धोये दो चार
राजा नैं धोये पूरे डेढ सो जी महाराज
देक्खूं तो धोब्बी बेट्टी तेरे हात
गोरे हात्तू में फोक्के पड़ गये जी महाराज
देक्खूं तो राजा जी तेरे हात
गोरे हात्तू में फोक्के पड़ गये जी महाराज
ठा ल्यो राजा लत्तू की पोट
हात ठा ल्यो राजा मोगरा जी महाराज
कहाँ उतारूं धोब्बी बेट्टी लत्तू की पोट
अर कहाँ उतारूं जंगी मोगरा जी महाराज
पलँग उतारो राजा लत्तू की पोट
अर कूँड उतारो जंगी मोगरा जी महाराज

Dhobī's daughter went out for water,
Rājā went out for hunting.
"O dhobī's daughter, give me some water to drink.
I am thirsty since early evening."
"Drink from the pond with your hands, O rājā!
The water of my hands is not clean."
"In the pond drink the cattle,
The water of your hands is very clean."
"Rājā, if you have a liking for dhobī's daughter,
Then wash the clothes for my father."
Dhobī's daughter washed a few,
Rājā washed one hundred and fifty.
"Let me see your hands, O dhobī's daughter!
Your beautiful hands have blisters."
"Let me see your hands, O rājā!
Your beautiful hands have blisters."
"Pick up and carry, O rājā, the bundle of clothes,
And pick up the wooden club in your hand."
"Where shall I put the bundle of clothes, O dhobī's daughter!
And where shall I put the large club!"
"Put the bundle of clothes on the bed, O rājā!
And the large club in the tub."

continued...

धोब्बी बेट्टी इतना रूप सरूप
अब लो क्वारी गजवण क्यूँ रही जी महाराज
राजा ढूँढ फिरे चारू खूट म्हारी
म्हारी जोड़ी के राजा ना मिले जी महाराज
धोब्बी बेट्टी जा समझाओ अपणी मा
म्हारी जोड़ी के राजा ताल पै जी महाराज
राजा बेट्टा इतना रूप सरूप
अब लो क्वारा गजबी क्यूँ रह्या जी महाराज
धोब्बी बेट्टी याणे के मरगे मा बाप
माइयू भरोस्सै क्वारा रह गया जी महाराज
अम्मा मेरा री करो ब्याह
म्हारी जोड़ी के राजा ताल पै जी महाराज
बेट्टी मेरी बरज रही दिन रात
चलते मुसाफर लागी दोस्ती जी महाराज
राजा अेक फेरा लिया दूजा फेरा लिया
तीजे तो फेरे राजा रो पड़े जी महाराज
राजा के याद आये मा बाप
अर के याद आया मारू देसड़ा जी महाराज
धोब्बी बेट्टी ना याद आये मा बाप
अर ना याद आया मारू देसड़ा जी महाराज
धोब्बी बेट्टी म्हारे याद आई म्हारी नार
सेज्जू पै छोड्डी काम्मण अेकली जी महाराज
अम्मा मेरी मरूँ जहर बिस खाय
राजा के कहिये काम्मण दूसरी जी महाराज

"Dhobī's daughter, you are so beautiful;
Why are you still unmarried?"
"Rājā, the search has been made in all the four directions,
But no suitable match could be found."
"Dhobī's daughter go and tell your mother,
That your match is on the pond."
"O rājā's son, you are so handsome,
Why are you still unmarried?"
"Dhobī's daughter, my parents died in childhood,
And my brothers did not care for my marriage."
"Mother, celebrate my marriage
My match is on the pond."
"Daughter, I have always told you
Not to trust the friendship of a traveller."
Rājā took the first round and the second round,
In the third round he burst out crying.
"Is it the memory of your parents
Or of your Mārū Deś which brings tears to your eyes."
"Dhobī's daughter, it is neither the memory of my parents
Nor of my Mārū Deś.
Dhobī's daughter, I remembered my wife,
Whom I left alone on the sej."
"Mother, I will take poison and die,
Rājā has a second wife."

continued...

बेट्टी मेरी तेरी मरियो बलाय
राजा की मरियो काम्मण दूसरी जी महाराज
बेट्टी मेरी बरज रही दिन रात
चलते मुसाफर लागी दोस्ती जी महाराज

"Daughter, why should you die,
Let his second wife die.
Daughter, I have always told you
Not to trust the friendship of a traveller."

५५

बान्दी ऐसा खत लिखवाइये
जो मेरे मरम की सुणके आवैं
रो रो कहरी कवँर निहालदे.१.
सखी आया यो साम्मण मास
सब सब पाट रँगावैं
सब डोर बटावैं
बैट्ठी झुरमैं कँवर निहालदे.२.
सखी आया यो भादू मास
बिजली चमक डरावै
झुक री रैन अँधेरी
बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.३.
सखी आया यो क्वार महीना
सब सब चौक पुरावैं
सब सब तिलक सँजोवैं
बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.४.
सखी आया यो कात्तक मास
सब सब दिबले बलावैं
न्हान सजोवैं
बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.५.
सखी आया यो अघन महीना
सब सब हार गुदावैं
सब सब माँग भरावैं

55

Bāndī, write a letter to him;
Hearing the agony of my heart he will soon come.
Kanvar Nihālde says crying.
O sakhī, Sāvan has come.
All are dyeing the hemp,
And getting the ropes made.
Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting,
O sakhī, Bhādon has come.
Lightening flashes and frightens me,
Night is very dark.
Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.
O sakhī, Kvār has come.
All draw cauks,
All wear tilak.
Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.
O sakhī, Kārtik has come.
All burn lamps,
All go on holy bathing,
Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.
O sakhī, Aghan has come.
All are getting garlands made.
All are getting the parting of their hair filled.

continued...

बैट्ठी झुरमैं कँवर निहालदे.६.
सखी आया यो पूस महीना
सब सब सौड़ भरावैं
सब सब पलँग बिछावैं
बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.७.
सखी आया यो माह महीना
सब सब गींठी तपावैं
तत्ते जल ते न्हावैं
बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.८.
सखी आया यो फागण महीना
सब सब रंग घुलावैं
सब सब फगुवा चढावैं
बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.९.
सखी आया यो चैत मास
सब सब खिड़की झकावैं
सब सब चाँदणी लखावैं
बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.१०.
सखी आया यो बसाख महीना
सब सब बिजण डुलावैं
चुँदड़ी रँगावैं
बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.११.
सखी आया यो जेठ महीना
बण की कली मुरझावैं
सब खस के बँगले छवावैं
बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.१२.

Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.

O sakhī, Pūs has come.

All are getting their quilts filled.

All prepare comfortable beds.

Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.

O sakhī, Māgh has come.

All are happy by the cosy fire,

All bathe in hot water.

Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.

O sakhī, Phāgun has come.

All prepare coloured water,

And celebrate phaguā.

Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.

O sakhī, Cait has come.

All peep through the windows,

All enjoy moonlit nights.

Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.

O sakhī, Baisākh has come,

All enjoy the fans,

All get their cundṛīs dyed.

Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.

O sakhī, Jeṭh has come.

The buds of the forest are fading.

All are getting their bungalows thatched with khas.

Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.

continued...

~~बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.१२.~~

सखी आया यो साढ महीना

सब सब तपन बुझावैं

बण के मोर चिघाड़ैं

बैट्ठी झुरमै कँवर निहालदे.१३.

स्वामी भले बखत पै आये

सिर के केस जलन नीं पाये

सत्ती होरी कँवर निहालदे.१४.

O sakhī, Asāḍh has come.
All quench the fire of their hearts,
In the forest sing the peacocks.
Kanvar Nihālde withers sitting.
Master, you came at the right moment,
The fire has not touched my hair.
Kanvar Nihālde is becoming satī.

५६

अब खडी ती राह चमेल्ली की ढाल
आये सुसर मूँ देखके
क्यूँ बहू री तेरा मैल्ला सा मेस
के तेरे आये बीरा फिर गये .१.
अब ना सुसरे मेरा मैल्ला सा मेस
ना मेरे आये बीरा फिर गये
सास्सू का जाया नणद का बीर
वोई जा रा चाकरी .२.
अब साम्मण महीना मेरे पिया बणज ना हो
भादू लगै ना थारी नौकरी
घोड़े की मेरे पिया टूट्टै टाँग
थारी मत लगियो नौकरी.३.
जाइयो मेरे पिया उस परदेस
जहाँ के गये ना बहावड़े
बैट्ठो ना पिया मेरे धूणी रमाय
वात कहो ना फकीर की .४.
तू तो री बहू मेरी चतर सुजाण
अपणा बालम मत ना कोसिये
अब जाइयो मेरे पिया उस परदेस
जहाँ लगै थारी नौकरी
घोड़े की मेरे पिया जुड़ियो टाँग
थारी लगियो झट नौकरी.५.
ऊसौज, मेरे पिया पित्तर संजोय

I stand in contemplation, bending like a jasmine.
My sadness arrests the passage of my father-in-law.
"O daughter-in-law, why are you so sad?
Is it that your brother has returned home without you."
"O my father-in-law, I am not sad,
Nor has my brother come and departed.
The son of my sās, brother of my naṇad,
Is going away on business."
"May he not do his business in Sāvan,
May he not be employed in Bhādon,
May his horse become crippled,
And may his business not prosper.
Go my husband to that country
From which there is no return.
You might as well be a yogī
And display the broken shards of the sādhū."
"My daughter-in-law, you are a clever and good woman.
Do not curse your husband."
"Now go, my husband, to that land,
Where you may get employment,
And may your crippled horse become well
You will get employment without delay.
In kvār the ancestors are to be worshipped.

continued...

~~असौज तो मेरे पिया पित्तर सै जोय~~

कात्तिक क्वारी कन्या ब्याहली

मंगसिर मेरे पिया माँग भराय

पौह में पिया बिन जाड्डा ना जाय

माह में माह जल न्हावते

फागण फगवा खेलते .६.

चैत में जात्ते पिया दुर्गे की जात

बसाख केसू ढलैंगे

जेठ में आवै लू तड़कसी

साढ आवैं घन घोरके.७.

जब पुग्गे बारह मास

अर अब लो ना आये

अब आइयो मेरे पिया ब्याह रचाय

हात कंगन सिर सेहरा.८.

In Kārtik the virgin daughter takes up her nuptials.

In Aghan the parting in my hair has to be filled.
In pūs I will be cold without you.
In Māgh the creditors collect their dues.

In Phāgun we would have played phaguā.

And in Cait we would have made the pilgrimage of Durgā.

In Baisākh the kesu blossoms,

In Jeṭh the fiery hot wind blows,

In Asāḍh the roaring clouds come

When the twelve months have passed,

And you have not returned.

Come back with another wife

With a kaṅgnā on your wrist and a crown on your head.

५७

सरवर पाणी सास्सू हम गये री
अरी कोई सुणयाये नई नई बात
अेक अचम्भा सास्सू हम नैं सुण्या
तेरे बेट्टे का कहिये दूजा ब्याह .१.
या तो री सास्सू हम ओच्छे बापके
या हम ल्याये री सास्सू थोडा दात
ना तो री बहू तू ओच्छे बाप की
अर ना तू ल्याई थोड़ा दात.२.
कूये पै मैना बोलैरी
तू तो बहू री साँवली
अर मेरे बेट्टे कू गोरी धण का चाव .३.
लिख लिख चिट्ठी मेज्जूँ रे नाई के
दीये मेरे बडे बीरा हात
देक्के तो चिट्ठी बीरा हँस पडे जी
अर कोई बाँचूत हुई है दलगीर जी .३.
पाँचू तो ल्याओ म्हारे कापड़े जी
अर कोई पाँचू तो ल्याओ हतियार
के तो करोगे बेट्टा कापड़े
अरे के तो करोगे रे हतियार.४.
कस तो घोड़ा बीरा चल दिये जी
अर कोई आँधी गिणी ना मेह
काँह तो गई है री बोब्बो मावसी

57

"I went to the well, O sāssū!
And have heard several new things.
I have heard a strange news,
That your son is getting married again.
Do I come from a low family,
Or did I bring small dowry, O sāssū?"
"You neither come from a low family, O bahū!
Nor brought a small dowry"
Mainā spoke at the well,
"You are dark, O bahū!
And my son has a liking for a fair woman."
I shall write a letter home.
"O barber, give it to my elder brother."
Seeing the letter the brother laughed;
But after reading became sad.
"Bring my five garments
And bring my five arms."
"What will you do with the garments
And what will you do with the arms?"
He left on his horse at once,
And did not care for the typhoon or the rain.
"Where is my maussī, O sister!

continued...

कहि तो गये हैं जिज्जा राव.५.
कहो तो मारूं बोब्बो मावसी री
अर कहो तो मारूं जिज्जा राव
मौस्सी के मारे बीरा जग सुणै
कोई जिज्जा के मारे बोब्बो रांड.६.
कोट्ठे के भित्तर बीरा कोठड़ी रे
उसी में कहिये छोट्टी सौक
वाई है सारे घर की राड़.७.

And where has my brother-in-law gone?

Shall I kill your mother-in-law

Or my brother-in-law?"

"The murder of my mother-in-law will be known all over the world,
And the murder of your brother-in-law will make your sister a widow.

Inside the koṭṭhā is a koṭhrī,

And there is the new sauk,

Who is the root of the whole quarrel."

५८

गली गली री बोब्बो मनरा फिरे
अरी बोब्बो मनरा कू ल्याओ ना बुलाय
चूड़ा तो मेरी जान चूड़ा तो हात्ती दाँत का.१.

हरी रे जंगारी रे मनरा ना पैहरूँ
अरे मनरा हरे मेरे राजा जी के बाग
चूड़ा तो मेरी जान चूड़ा तो हात्ती दाँत का.२.

पेली तो जंगारी रे मनरा ना पैहरूँ
अरे मनरा पेला तो मेरे राजा जी का तोड़ा
चूड़ा तो मेरी जान चूड़ा तो हात्ती दाँत का.३.

काली जंगारी रे मनरा ना पैहरूँ
अरे मनरा काले तो मेरे राजाजी के केस
चूड़ा तो मेरी जान चूड़ा तो हात्ती दाँत का.४.

ऊदी जंगारी रे मनरा ना पैहरूँ
अरे मनरा ऊदे तो मेरे राजाजी के नैन
चूड़ा तो मेरी जान चूड़ा तो हात्ती दाँत का.५.

लाल जंगारी रे मनरा ना पैहरूँ
अरे मनरा लाल तो मेरे राजा जी के होट
चूड़ा तो मेरी जान चूड़ा तो हात्ती दाँत का.६.

लिल्ली जंगारी रे मनरा ना पैहरूँ
अरे मनरा लिल्ले तो मेरे राजा जी का सावरी घोड़ा
चूड़ा तो मेरी जान चूड़ा तो हात्ती दाँत का.७.

58

Manarā goes round the lanes,
O sister, why don't you call him here?
Cūṛā is my life, the cūṛā of ivory.
Green bangles I will not wear,
O Manarā, green are the orchards of my rājājī.
Cūṛā is my life, the cūṛā of ivory.
Yellow bangles I will not wear
O Manarā, yellow is the toṛā of my rājājī.
Cūṛā is my life, the cūṛā of ivory.
Black bangles I will not wear,
O Manarā, black are the hairs of my rājājī.
Cūṛā is my life, the cūṛā of ivory.
Grey bangles I will not wear,
O Manarā, grey are the eyes of my rājājī.
Cūṛā is my life, the cūṛā of ivory.
Red bangles I will not wear,
O Manarā, red are the lips of my rājājī.
Cūṛā is my life, the cūṛā of ivory.
Blue bangles I will not wear,
O Manarā, blue is the horse of my rājājī.
Cūṛā is my life, the cūṛā of ivory.

५९

मेरे आँगण जी कड़वा नीम
कोई नींम निंबोली सावण पक रहे जी
अपणी गोरी का मैं चाहता जी
अेजी कोई कहो तो थारे बाग्गू बस रहूँ जी.
बाग्गू म्हारे ठौड़ नीं राजा जी
अेजी कोई बाप म्हारे के माली बस रहे जी
वे दिन याद करो मारू जी
अेजी कोई डोला तो छोड्ड्या सेले बड़ तले जी.१.
अपणी गोरी का मैं चाहता जी
अेजी कोई कहो तो थारे ताल्लू बस रहूँ जी
ताल्लू म्हारे ठौड़ नीं राजा जी
अेजी कोई बाप म्हारे के धोब्बी बस रहे जी
वे दिन याद करो मारू जी
अेजी कोई डोला तो छोड्ड्या सेले बड़ तले जी.२.
अपणी गोरी का मैं चाहता जी
अेजी कोई कहो तो थारे कुअे पै बस रहूँ जी
कुअे म्हारे पै ठौड़ नीं राजा जी
अेजी कोई बाप म्हारे के झिम्मर बस रहे जी
वे दिन याद करो मारू जी
अेजी कोई डोला तो छोड्ड्या तो सेले बड़ तले जी.३.
अपणी गोरी का मैं चाहता जी
अेजी कोई कहो तो रसोई थारी बस रहूँ जी

59

In my courtyard stands a bitter nīm.

In Sāvan its fruits are ripe.

"I am your lover, O gorī!

Allow me to stay in your orchards."

"There is no room in our orchards, O rājā!

There live my father's gardeners."

Remember those days, O mārū!

When you had abandoned my palanquin under the cool banyan tree."

"I am your lover, O gorī!

Allow me to stay on your ponds."

"There is no place on our ponds, O rājā!

There live my father's washermen.

Remember those days, O mārū!

When you had abandoned my palanquin under the cool banyan tree."

"I am your lover, O gorī!

Allow me to stay on your wells."

"There is no place on our wells, O rājā!

There live the watermen of my father."

Remember those days, O mārū!

When you had abandoned my palanquin under the cool banyan tree."

"I am your lover, O gorī!

Allow me to stay in your kitchen."

continued...

रसोई म्हारी जी राजा ठौड़ नीं जी
अेजी कोई बाप म्हारे के बाम्हण बस रहे जी
वे दिन याद करो मारू जी
अेजी कोई डोला तो छोड्ड्या सेले बड़ तलै जी.४.
अपणी गोरी का मैं चाहता जी
अेजी कहो तो गलियू थारी बस रहूं जी
गलियू म्हारी जी राजा ठौड़ नीं जी
अेजी कोई बाप म्हारेके चूहड़े बस रहे जी
वे दिन याद करो राजा जी
अेजी कोई डोला तो छोड्ड्या सेले बड़ तलै जी.५.
अपणी गोरी का मैं चाहता जी
अेजी कोई कहो तो थारी सेज्जू बस रहूं जी
वे दिन याद करो राजा जी
अेजी कोई डोला तो छोड्ड्या सेले बड़ तलै जी.६.
जब तो री गोरी हम ते नदान
भरी जवान्नी म्हारी आगई जी
जाओ गोरी अपणी अम्मा कू समझाओ
रूत चाल्ले की म्हारी आ गई जी
अब तो अम्मा मेरी मेज्जो सुसराड़
अेजी कोई रूत म्हारे चाल्ले की आगई जी.७.

"There is no room in our kitchen, O rājā!

There live the cooks of my father.

Remember those days, O mārū!

When you had abandoned my palanquin under the cool banyan tree."

"I am your lover, O gorī!

Allow me to stay in your lane."

"There is no room in our lanes, O rājā!

There live the sweepers of my father.

Remember those days, O mārū!

When you had left my palanquin under the cool banyan tree."

"I am your lover, O gorī!

Allow me to stay on your sej."

"Remember those days, O mārū!

When you had abandoned my palanquin under the cool banyan tree."

"My gorī, I was ignorant and young then,

Now I am in my full bloom.

Go and persuade your mother,

The season of cāllā has come."

"Mother, send me now to my father-in-law's house,

The season of cāllā has come."

६०

कोरा सा कागज ल्याइयो रे
कोई ल्याइयो कलम दुवात
लिख परवान्ना मेज्जूं रे
ना कटती बेरण रात.१.
दिन दस की छुट्टी ल्याइयो रे
मेरे मन की बिथा सुण जाइयो रे
चाक्की पै धर्या पीसणा रे
ना सिंचता बेरी पाट.
मेरे घर में जुलम जिठाणी रे
जगावै आद्धी रात.२.
गोरी मेरा आवण ना है री
पीहर कू चली जाइयो री
भइयू के संग कमाइयो री
मण मण के गडा उठाइयो री
तेरी लोग करैं साबास्सी
मेरी मा तो भोली भाली रे
वा तो सोच करै दिन रात.३.
मेरी भावज तेरे ताली रे
गलियू में करै चुपाड़
अरे या तो न्युंई फिरै दिन रात
संग की सहेल्ली बैट्ठी री
सब कररी मन की बात

60

Bring a blank paper
And pen and inkpot.
I will write and send a letter.
It is very difficult to pass the wretched night.
"Come on ten days leave,
And hear the painful story of my heart.
The grain awaits me on the grinding stone,
I cannot move the heavy stone.
Jiṭhāṇī is the terror of the house,
And awakens me at midnight."
"Gorī, I am unable to come on leave.
Go to your father's house.
Help your brothers
By carrying heavy bundles of fodder on your head.
People will praise you."
My mother is very affectionate and simple,
She worries for me day and night.
My brother's wife is very wicked,
She gossips whole day long in the streets,
Look, she walks around day and night and does no work."
My girl friends sit together,
And discuss the affairs of their hearts.

continued...

सब अपणी अपणी कह री री
मैं बैठ्ठी तन मन मार.४.
चौड़े में बीजली पड़ियो रे
तजै डसियो काला नाग
उसके तन मन कीड़ा पड़ियो रे
जिसनैं मोहे मेरे भरतार.५.

They all have something to say,
But I sit suppressing my body and heart.
Lightening may fall on her in the open,
May a black snake bite her,
May worms breed in her heart and body,
Who has fascinated my husband.

६१

उड उड रे काग्गा तजै चुग्गा रे दूँगी
जो मेरा बीर घर प्हावणा जी
इतनी तो सुण के काग्गा उडण ना पाया
डौ ड्ढी पै खडे मेरे बीर जी.१.
नाई केके सिर पै टोकरा जी
मइया जाये घोड़े असवार जी
नाई के कू दूँगी मूँढला जी
मइया बाये पलँग निवाड़ का जी.२.
नाई के कू राँधूँगी खीचड़ी जी
अेजी मइया जाये रस भरी खीर
आओ रे बीरा मेरी ऊँची अटारी
दुख सुख बुज्झुँगी बात जी.३.
क्यूँ क्यूँ रे बीरा मेरे दुबले हुये हो जी
क्यूँ थारा मैल्ला है भेस जी
पाँवू चले री बोब्बो दुबले हुये हैं री
सर गरद उडी मैल्ला भेस जी.४.
क्यूँ क्यूँ री भैन्ना मेरी दुबली हुई हो री
अर क्यूँ थारा मैल्ला है भेस जी
सास्सू के बोल्लू बीरा दुबली हुई हूँ री
अर नणदल के बोल्लू मैल्ला भेस जी.५.
भेज दे री मौस्सी बहणा म्हारी
साम्मण के रहे दिन चार जी .६.

61

Fly away, O crow, I will give you food
If my brother comes.
Hearing this the crow flies away,
And my brother stands at the door.
He is leading a horse,
And there is a basket on the head of his barber.
I will give a chair to the barber to sit on,
And a couch of nivāṛ for my brother.
For the barber I will cook khicṛī,
For my brother a sweet succulent pudding.
"Come, O my brother, to the upper room,
Where we can talk in comfort.
Brother, why are you looking tired,
And so dishevelled?"
"I have walked and am weary,
And the dust of my travels covers me."
Why are you worn my sister
And why do you look worried?"
"My mother-in-law has constantly nagged me
And my quarelling sister-in-law troubles me."
"O maussī, let me take my sister home,
It will soon be Sāvan."

continued...

मैं के जाणूँ बेट्टा बहणा थारी जी
अपणे मौस्सा तै बुज्झो जी
भेज दे रे मौस्सा भैन्ना म्हारी जी
साम्मण के रहे दिन चार जी. ७.
मैं के जाणूँ बेट्टा बहणा थारी जी
अपणे जिज्जा तै बुज्झो जी
भेज दे रे जिज्जा बहणा म्हारी जी
साम्मण के रहे दिन चार जी.८.
साम्मण ना भेज्जूँ सारे भादू ना भेज्जूँ
क्वार कात्तक मैं ले जाइये
इतनी तो सुणकै बीरा रो पड़े जी
अर कोई सुणतुई खाई है पछाड़ जी
इतनी तो सुणकै बीरा चल पड़े जी
अर घोड़े पै हुये असवार जी.९.
कोट्ठे तो चढकै मेरी अम्मा हो देक्खै
बेट्टी का डोला कितनी दूर जी
कोट्ठे पै चढकै मेरा बाबल हो देक्खै
बेट्टीका डोला कितनी दूर जी
कोट्ठे पै चढकै मेरी भाब्बी हो देक्खै
नणदल का डोला कितनी दूर जी.१०.
रीत्ता सा डोला मेरी अम्मा मैं देक्ख्या
खडे तै खाई है पछाड़ जी
रीत्ता सा डोला मेरे बाबल नैं देक्ख्या
खडे तै खाई है पछाड़ जी

"Your sister is not my concern,
You must ask her father-in-law."
"O my maussā, let me take my sister home,
It will soon be Sāvan."
"Your sister is not my concern,
You must ask your brother-in-law."
"O my brother-in-law, let me take my sister home,
It will soon be Sāvan."
"She cannot go now and she cannot go in Bhādon
She may go in Kvār or Kārtik."
The news made him weep,
His tears made him swoon.
He later left,
And rode away.
The mother on the roof of her house keeps watch
For the palanquin of her daughter.
The father on the roof of his house keeps watch
For the palanquin of his daughter.
The sister-in-law on the roof of her house keeps watch
For the palanquin of her naṇad.
The palanquin returns empty,
And the mother collapses on the floor.
The palanquin returns empty,
And the father collapses on the floor.

continued...

रीत्ता सा डोला मेरी भाब्बी नैं देक्ख्या
खडे तै खाई है पछाड़ जी.११.

The palanquin returns empty,

And the sister-in-law collapses on the floor.

६२

सास्सू मेरी चार जणे री असवार
इनमें म्हारा बीरा कौनसा
बहू री ओरू पै सुई सुई पाग
थारे बीरा पै डुपट्टा रेसमी .१.
सास्सू मेरे आ गे मइया जाये बीर
इनकू तो भोजन तम करो
बहुअल मेरी रान्धुंगी लहसुवे का साग
रोट्टी तो पोऊँ चटर मसूर की.२.
सास्सू ढक धरो अपणा साग
अपणे बीरण कू भोजन हम करें
बीरा रान्धुंगी मोती छड़ा भात
दही तो जमाऊँ भूरी भैंस की.३.
बीरा मेरे खा जाइये कुठला की ओट
सास्सू तो बैरण आ लड़े
बोब्बो ठोक्कूँवाँ बजर कुवाड़
सकिल तो ठोक्कूँ अच्छे लोह की.४.
बीरा मेरे खोलेगी बजर कुवाड़
संकल तो तोड़े अच्छे लोह की
बोब्बो मेरी लिकड़ूँवाँ मोरी की राह
काण्टा तो लगे बैरी केड़ का
काण्टा तो री बोब्बो गल सड़ जा
मौस्सी के बोल कलेजा लग जायेंगे.५.

62

"Sāssū, among these four riders,
Who is my brother?"
"Bahū, others have red turbans,
But your brother is wearing a turban of silk."
"Sāssū, my real brother has come,
What will you cook for him?"
"Bahū, I will cook sāg of lahasuā,
And bake bread of caṭar masūr."
"Sāssū, you can keep your sāg for yourself,
I will prepare food for my brother."
"Brother, I will cook white and bright rice,
And prepare curds of white buffalo's milk.
Sit behind the kuṭhlā and have your dinner
Lest the jealous sāssū may see you and quarrel"
"Sister, I will close the heavy door
And fix the steel bolt."
"Brother, she will open the heavy door,
And break the steel bolt."
"Sister, I will escape through the drain."
"Brother, the thorn will stick in your feet."
"Sister, the thorn will do me no harm,
But the words of your mother-in-law will pierce my heart."

६३

अेक चणा दो देवल री अम्मा
सावण आये
कर कर री मइया पूरी पचास
जाऊँ बाहण के देस जी
सावण आये.१.
उठ उठ री बान्दी देस दरबार
किसका घोड़ा हाँसरा
सावण आये .२.
सुण सुण री राणी सुण सच्ची बात
बिरण थारे आये जी
सावण आये.३.
घोड़ा तो बान्धो बिरण उस घुड़सार
बैट्ठो ना बिरण मेरे इस चटसार
सावण आये.४.
कह कह री बहणा कह सच्ची बात
पीहर भला अक सासरा
सावण आये.५.
पीहर तो रे भइया बाले का राज
सासरा जनम भर रोइये
सावण आये.६.
सास्सू तो रे भइया भागतू की ठेस
उठती बैठती बोल्ली मारती

63

One gram and two parts
Sāvan has come.
"O mother, prepare fifty purīs,
I will go to the land of my sister."
Sāvan has come.
"Get up, O bāndī, and see in the darbār
Whose horse is neighing."
Sāvan has come.
"Listen, listen, O queen, listen it is true,
Your brother has come."
Sāvan has come.
"Brother, leave your horse in that stable,
And sit in this drawing room."
Sāvan has come.
"Tell me O sister, tell me frankly
Which is good: father's house or father-in-law's house?"
Sāvan has come.
"Brother, father's house is the kingdom of childhood,
In father-in-law's house one cries for the whole life"
Sāvan has come.
Sāssu is the knock of the way,
Standing and sitting she hits me with biting words.

continued...

सावण आये.७.

देवरा तो रे भइया बिच्छू का डंक

नणद भादवे की बीजली

सावण आये.८.

सैंया तो रे बिरण मौहबे का पान

पल में रचैं पल पेले रे

सावण आये.९.

Sāvan has come.

Devar is the sting of scorpion,

And naṇad lightning of Bhādon.

Sāvan has come.

Husband is like a betel leaf of Mohbā,

One moment green and the next pale."

Sāvan has come.

६४

भर गे ताल तलइया
अर भर गे खेत
भर गी बीरण जी की गली
जो छुट्टी है आस
देहली बैट्ठी सास्सू मारै बोल
कैसे री ले बहू तेरे भइया बाबल बीर
जो अब बी ना आये.१.
कंकड़ जैसे भइया पत्थर जैसे बाबल
लोहे बज्जर जैसे बीर
जो अब बी ना आये.२.
सुक्के ताल तलइया
अर सूक गे खेत
सुक गई बीरण जी की गली
जो लगी है आस
गुडिया खेलती नणदिया मारै बोल
कैसे भाब्बी तेरे भइया अर बाबल बीर
जो अब बी ना आये.३.
चन्दा जैसे भइया सूरज जैसे बाबल
गंगा जमना जैसे बीर
जो भाग्गे आवैं.४.

64

Tanks and ponds are full,
And so are the fields.
The lane of my brother is also full,
And so there is no hope.
Sāssū sitting on the threshold speaks piercing words,
"How hard-hearted are your brother and father,
Who have not come even now.
Your brother is like a limestone and your father like hard stone,
And your elder brother like steel and thunderbolt,
Who have not come even now."
Tanks and ponds are dry,
And so are the fields.
The lanes of my brother are also dry,
And the hope has come back.
Naṇad playing with dolls speaks piercing words,
"How hard-hearted are your brother and father,
Who have not come even now."
"Brother is like moon and father like sun
And elder brother like Ganges and Jamuna,
Who come running."

६५

हरे हरे बाग जिनमें हरियल तोत्ता
पकड़ण कू आइयो मेरे भँवर सिपइया
धोला मदरसा जिसमें लाल कुवाड़ी
पढण कू आइयो मेरे भँवर सिपइया
बजणी मँझोल्ली जिसमें गोरी गोरी बधिया
लेण कू आइयो मेरे भँवर सिपइया

65

In the green orchard are green parrots.
Come, O my lover, to catch them.
The school is white and has red doors.
Come, O my lover, to learn in it.
The mañjholī is jingling and is drawn by grey bullocks.
Come, O my lover, to take me home.

६६

औड़ा चौड़ा सिपाहिड़ा का चौंतरा
पड़री रेस्सम झूल
आवै सेलो सेलो बालू
झोट्टा दे जा रे सिपाहिड़ा.१.
उंवा तो गेरू बैठणा रे
अर कोई दूध पसारू तेरे पाँ
मोत्ती रान्धूँ ऊजले जी
हरे मूँगा की धोवा दालू
सोन्ने के थाल परोस दूँ
आँचल की ढोरू बालू
जिम्मण आइये रे सिपाहिड़ा.२.
कधी ना सोये रे सिपाहिड़ा दो जणे
अरे कधी ना बुज्झी मन की बात
भरी जवान्नी हम तो न्युँई जायँगे रे सिपाहिड़ा.३.
कधी ना बटी सिपाहिड़ा रे जेवड़ी
अरे कधी ना बुणी सिपाहिड़ा रे खाट
माह में बटी जेवड़ी रे सिपाहिड़ा
सावण में बुण ल्याये खाट रे सिपाहिड़ा.४.
सावण सोई सोक रे
अर माह खुरेड़ी खाट
अरे हम तो न्युँई मर जाँगे
कधी ना बुज्झी मन की बात सिपाहिड़ा.५.

66

Wide and spacious is the terrace of sipāhiṛā.
A swing is hung.
Cool cool breeze comes.
O sipāhiṛā, come and put the swing in motion.
I will offer you a high chair to sit on,
And wash your feet with milk.
I will cook white and bright rice,
And polished lentils of green mūṅg.
I will serve it in a golden thālī,
And fan you with my āncal.
Come, and dine, O sipāhiṛā!
Never we slept together,
And never you tried to know the feelings of my heart.
My full youth will pass away unnoticed,
Sipāhiṛā, you never made the string for me,
And never wove the bed.
In Māgh you made the string,
And in Sāvan wove the bed.
In Sāvan slept the sauk,
And I in Māgh on a rough bed.
I will pass away without enjoying anything;
You never tried to know the feelings of my heart.

६७

आँगण सुक्खै किसी चतर नार का पीसणा
अर बाग्गू में सुक्खै कचनार
बेट्टी तो सुक्खै अपणे बाप कै
जिनके छोड गये भरतार

67

In the courtyard the grain is drying waiting for some
skilful woman to grind.
In the orchard the Kacnār dries.

In her father's house withers the girl,

Whose husband has left her.

६८

उड जा रे तोत्ता नरवरगढ कू
मेरे राजा की खबर सुद ल्या
गाम नीं जाणता री गोरी नाम नीं जाणता
तेरे कैसी सुरत के भरतार
नैन रसिल्ले रे उनकी मूछ कटिल्ली
उनके मूँ अलगोज्जा लग रैह्या

68

"Fly, O parrot, to Narvargaḍh.
Bring me news of my husband."
"I know not, O gorī, the place, the name
Or the appearance of your husband."
"His eyes are full of enchantment and pointed are his moustaches,
And he plays a flute."

६९

खडी हो महल पै झुम्मर सँभालूँ जी
राजा का पाल्ल्या तोत्ता मुड़ मुड़ देक्खै
उड जा रे तोत्ता राजा धोरै जाइये
म्हारे मरम की तोत्ते राजा जी कू सुणाइये जी.१.
खडी हो महल पै बेस्सर सँभालूँ जी
राजा का पाल्ल्या तोत्ता मुड़ मुड़ देक्खै
उड जा रे तोत्ता राजा धोरै जाइये
म्हारे मरम की तोत्ते राजाजी कू सुणाइये जी.२.

69

I stand on the terrace and arrange my jhumar.
Rājā's parrot looks back again and again.
"Fly away, O parrot, go to my rājājī,
And tell my inner thoughts to him"
I stand on the terrace and arrange my bessar.
Rājā's parrot looks back again and again.
"Fly away, O parrot, go to my rājājī,
And tell my inner thoughts to him."

७०

हम्बै आद्धी रात पै
मेरा गुण्ठा री बोज्झा पाँ का
कोई बाँई लहकी अँखि
नरवरगढ के बीच में
मेरे आरे हैं भरतार.१.
मयाँ री कटोरा दूध का
बूरा बिन पिया ना जाय
मैं बेट्टी साहूकार की
पिया बिन रैह्या बी ना जाय .२.
अरी मत बोल्ले री बढके बोल
मेरा बेट्टा ल्याया री तजै
घोड़ी के मोल .३.
मत बोल्ले री अरी मत बोल्ले री
गरब के बोल
तेरा बेट्टा ना है री
मेरे नाड़े का मोल.४.

70

At midnight
My big toe twitched,
And also my left eye.
In Narvargadh will be arriving -
My husband.
The brimming cup of milk
Cannot be drunk without sugar.
I am the daughter of rich moneylender
And cannot live without my husband.
"Boast not in this way, O woman!
My son has bought you
At the cost of a mare."
"Speak not, speak not
Such proud words.
Your son is not even worth
My trouser's string."

७१

लाल मेरे बाग़ू आइये रे
मैं तो खडी केल्ली नार पपइया बोल्ल्या रे.१.
गोरी मैं क्युक्कर आऊँ री
तेरा बलम मेरा बैरी री
तजे मरण ना दूयूँ रे
गैल सती हो जाऊँगी
जैसी चिपटूँ रे जैसी चिपटे बेल बिरज की.२.
हरी हरी चुड़िया रे
देवर पेला बन्द लाइये रे
वीर देवर मेरे ताल्लू आइये रे
मैं तो खडी केल्ली नार पपइया बोल्ल्या रे.३.
भाब्बो मैं क्युक्कर आऊँ री
तेरा बलम मेरा बैरी री
तजे मरण ना दूयूँ रे
गैल सती हो जाऊँगी
जैसी चिपटूँ रे जैसी चिपटे बेल बिरज की.४.

71

"Come, O my dear one, come to the orchard,
I am standing alone and the papaiyā is calling."
"O fair one, how can I come,
Your husband is my enemy."
"I will not let you be killed alone,
And will become satī with you."
I will cling to you like a creeper.
Green are my bangles;
O devar, bind them with yellow thread.
O my brave devar, come to the lake;
I am standing alone and the papaiyā is calling."
"How can I come, O bhābhī,
Your husband is my enemy."
"I will not let you be killed alone,
And will become satī with you.
I will cling to you like a creeper."

७२

पतली सी कामणी नैं बाग लगाये
राजा बेईमान देक्खण नीं आये
देवर हिस्सेदार घोड़े चढियाये
पतली सी कामणी नैं ताल खुदाये
राजा बेईमान देक्खण नीं आये
देवर हिस्सेदार घोड़े चढियाये

72

The fragile tender woman planted the orchard;
Alas! her unfaithful husband came not to see it.
Devar came, his younger brother riding on a horse.
The fragile tender woman built the pond;
Alas! her unfaithful husband came not to see it.
Devar came, his younger brother riding on a horse.

७३

हमनैं बाग लगाये रे बालम गढ में
हवाँ बी ना आये मालूी बणके .१.
तेरी मर क्यूँ ना गई रे अम्मा जणके
तजे ले क्यूँ ना गई रे बिलइया तोडके.२.
मेरी गई रे जवान्नी जोव्वण भरके.२.
हमनैं ताल खुदाये रे बालम गढ में
हवाँ बी ना आये मालूी वणके.३.

73

O my bālam, I planted the orchards at Gaḍh.
There too you did not come in the disguise of a gardener.
Why did your mother not die at your birth?
Why did the cat not tear you to pieces?
My youth has passed after coming to full bloom.
O bālam, I made the lakes at Gaḍh.
There too you did not come in the disguise of a washerman.

७४

अलबत जाँगि तड़कैई जाँगि
म्हारे दुख पारे भरतार
नाण बुलादे री अम्मा
सिर धुवादे री अम्मा
बढिया लत्ते दिखादे री अम्मा
संग की सहेल्ली बुलादे री अम्मा
करवादे मरड़ कसार री अम्मा
बहली जुड़ी खडी है री अम्मा
म्हारे दुख पारे भरतार
अलबत जाँगि तड़कैई जाँगि
म्हारे दुख पारे भरतार

74

I will go in any case, I will go at dawn,
My husband is unhappy.
Call the barber's wife,
Ask her to do my hair.
Exhibit the fine clothes,
Call all my friends.
Prepare maraɣ-kasār.
The cart is standing ready,
My husband is unhappy.
I will go in any case, I will go in the dawn,
My husband is unhappy.

७५

अम्बर बरसै बड़ चुवै री
अरी मैन्ना किसियू की भिज्जै चूँदड़ी
अर किसियू की भिज्जै सुई पाग .१.
म्हारी तो भिज्जै चूँदड़ी जी
अर म्हारे राजा की भिज्जै सुई पाग.२.
कहाँ रे सुकाऊँ चूँदड़ी जी
अर कहाँ सुकाऊँ सुई पाग.३.
कोट्ठे सुकाऊँ चूँदड़ी जी
अरी मैन्ना छज्जै सुकाऊँ सुई पाग.४.

75

The monsoon leaks through the banyan tree,
"O sister, whose cundṛī is soaked,
And whose red turban is getting wet?"
"My cundṛī it is that is soaking,
And rājā's red turban is wet."
"Where shall I dry my cundṛī,
And where shall I dry the red turban."
"On the koṭṭhā dry the cundṛī,
And on your balcony dry the red turban."

७६

मैं तो खड़ी रे पिपलिया तेरी ओट
देवर नैं बोल्ली मार दई
भाब्बी तेरेतै सोहणी मेरी नार
चली गई गजबण बापकै
देवर तेरेतै सोहणे मेरे भरतार
अर चले गये गजबी चाकरी

76

O pīpal, I stood in the shade of your branches,
My devar taunted me saying,
"O bhābhī, my wife is more beautiful than you,
Alas! this unique one has gone to her father's house."
"O devar, my husband is more beautiful than you,
But alas! this unique one is far away in service."

७७

पेल़ा डुपट्टा रेसमी जी
कोई खुण्टी धर्या मैल्ला होय
कधी ना बान्ध्या बापकै
अर कधी ना बान्ध्या सुसराड़
अबकै बान्धूँ बापकै
आगै कू बान्धूँ सुसराड़

77

My yellow silken ḍupaṭṭā
Hangs on peg and becomes dirty.
I have never worn it at my father's house,
And never in my father-in-law's house.
This time I will wear it at my father's house,
And later in my father-in-law's house.

७८

बेट्टी मेरी बाग्गू में झुल्लण मत जा
बाग्गू में कहिये री जैसिंह जाट का
अम्मा मेरी जाऊँगी सहेल्ली की गैल
के तो करैगा री जैसिंह जाट का.१.
बेट्टी मेरी बहियाँ तो देगा मरोड़
चूड़ा तो मोलै हात्ती दाँत का
अम्मा मेरी बाँह तो ल्याऊ छुटाय
चूड़ी तो पैहरूँ हात्ती दाँत की.२.
जैसिंह मन में तो मौत मलूक
इतना बडा क्वारा क्यूँ रैह्या
रूपो याणे के मर गये माई अर बाप
भइया भरोस्सै क्वारे रह गये.३.
रूपो मन में तो मौत मलूक
इतनी बडी क्वारी गजबण क्यूँ रही
जैसिंह ढुण्डी हैं चारू खूँट
म्हारी जोड़ी का घर बर ना मिल्या.४.
जैसिंह अपकू घड़ाइयो छल्ला छाय
हमकू घड़ाइयो झमकार सी
जैसिंह पंचू में बैट्ठ्या छल्ला छाय
वा सखियू में बैट्ठै झमकार सी.५.

78

"Daughter, go not to the orchard to swing,
In the orchard is Jaisingh Jāṭ."
"Mother, I will go with my girl friends
What will then Jaisingh Jāṭ do?"
"Daughter, he will twist your arm,
And the cūṛā of ivory will be broken."
"Mother, I will release my arm
And wear several ivory bangles."
"Jaisingh, your heart is very beautiful,
Why are you still unmarried?"
"Rūpo, my parents died in my childhood,
And my brothers did not care for my marriage."
Rūpo, your heart is very beautiful
Why are you still unmarried?"
"In all the four directions the search has been made,
But a good match and family could not be found.
Jaisingh, get a ring for yourself,
And a jingling toe-ring for me."
Jaisingh sits among the panc with his ring,
And she sits among her girl friends like a jingle.

७९

नदिया किनारे खड़ा री सास्सू
जिसके खट्टे मिट्ठे पात
सुसर मेरे नैं बैर बिसाया
किक्कड़ बोई दगड़े बीच
उस दगड़े में आणा जाणा
काण्टा लाग्या अेड्डी बीच
माल बिराणा न्यूँई जाय.१.
सास मेरी नैं बैर बिसाया
चरखा बिछाया देहली बीच
उस देहली में आणा जाणा
तकुवा लाग्या गोड्डे बीच
माल बिराणा न्यूँई जाय.२.
जेठ मेरे नैं बैर बिसाया
घोड़ी बान्धी फरसू बीच
उन फरसू में आणा जाणा
दुलत्तड़ मारी माथ्थे बीच
माल बिराणा न्यूँई जाय.३.
देवर मेरे नैं बैर बिसाया
गिन्दू खेल्ल्या बगड़ू बीच
उन बगड़ू में आणा जाणा
गिन्दू लग्या छात्ती बीच
माल बिराणा न्यूँई जाय.४.

79

Sāssū, on the bank of the river stands a tree,
Sour and sweet are its leaves.
My susar is my enemy,
Who planted the kikkaṛ in the footpath,
On which I often go;
And the thorn stuck in my heel.
Stranger's wealth is being ruined.
My sās is my enemy,
Who put the spinning wheel on the threshold;
Where I often go;
The spindle stuck in my knee.
Stranger's wealth is being ruined.
My jeṭh is my enemy,
Who left the horse in the courtyard,
Where I often walk about;
The horse kicked my forehead.
Stranger's wealth is being ruined.
My devar is my enemy,
Who plays with the ball in the lane,
Where I often go;
And the ball hit my breasts.
Stranger's wealth is being ruined.
My husband is my enemy,

continued...

राजा मेरे नैं बैर बिसाया
हमपै ल्याया दूजी सोक
सोक मेरी नैं बैर बिसाया
हमपै जाये नंदलाल
उस अरजन नैं बैर बिसाया
हम पै माँगे रोट्टी टूक
माल बिराणा न्यूँई जाय.५.

Who has brought a co-wife,
My co-wife is my enemy,
Who has given birth to a boy.
That child is my enemy,
And asks me to feed him.
Stranger's wealth is being ruined.

८०

परसन्दी की बाहण चमेल्ली
क्युक्कर रोई कोट्ठे में.१.
कधी ना बोया छोरा हींस बाजरा
कधी ना चली गडा घरके.२.
कधी ना ल्याया छोरा रथ मंझोल्ली
कधी ना बैट्ठी अकड़करके.३.
अबके ल्याऊँ छोरी रथ मंझोल्ली
अबके बैठिये अकड़करके.४.
अबके बोऊँ गोरी हींस बाजरा
अबके चलिये अकड़करके.५.

80

"O Cameli, sister of Parsandī,
Why do you cry in the Koṭṭhā?"
"O Chorā, you have never sown millet,
And I could not walk proudly with a bundle of it on my head."
"You never came with a rath-mañjholī
And I could never sit in it proudly."
"Next time I will come with rath-mañjholī,
And you will sit proudly in it.
Next time I will sow millet,
And you will walk proudly with a bundle of it on your head."

८१

तिरमिर तिरमिर गात करै
मेरी मटकै पोरी पोरी
घरकू की मेरे आख फूट गी
चाल्ले जोग्गी होरी .१.
मेरे सात की नैं जाया छोरा
नाम धर्या करतारे
ल्याई सहर तै कुरता टोपी
मलमल के झिलकारे .२.
अबकै तो बेट्टा खेल कूद ले
आग्गै तै कर दूयूँ न्यारा
उंचे बंगले महल चिणादूँ
ढंग दुनिया तै न्यारा .३.

81

My body sways, tirmir tirmir,
And every joint moves.
My parents are blind to the fact,
That I am ripe for cāllā.
My girl friend by now has a boy,
Who is named Kartāre.
She brought shirt and cap,
And shining muslin from the town.
"Play about a year
Next year you will have a separate home.
I will build high palaces for you,
Unlike other people"

८२

मेरे हात्तू में चार चार टूम
लगण दे गजरे बिचाले में
हो बिचाले में.१.
मेरे गले में चार चार टूम
लगण दे जुगणी बिचाले में
हो बिचाले में.२.
मैं तो अैसी सजी भरतार
जैसी फूल सितारे में
हो सितारे में.३.
मेरे पाँऊ में चार चार टूम
लगण दे अेड चुबारे में
हो चुबारे में.४.

82

On my each arm I have four ornaments,
Let the gajre be put in the middle.
Round my neck I have four ornaments,
Let the necklace be put in the middle.
O bhartār, I look beautiful,
In the dress of flowers and stars.
On my feet are four ornaments,
Let me dance in the caubārā.

८३

मैं कैसे करूँ नणदिया
मुसकल अटकी लम्बे हार की
इन्धे ते रोट्टी ले जाऊँ
उन्धे ते धर दे गठरिया
सिर पै मेरे न्यार की.१.
पतली कमर उमर है बाली
कलकल दुक्खण लाग्गी
मेरी नाजुक नाड़ की.२.
अपणे बिरण ते न्यूँ कह दीजे
खेत करण जो चाह्वे
लुगाई ल्यावे जमना पार की.३.

83

What shall I do, nanadiyā?
Our fields are too far.
From home I carry his food to the field.
From there I have to carry home a large bundle
of fodder on my head.
My waist is slender and young I am in years,
Every part aches
Of my delicate neck.
Tell your brother,
If he wants to carry on farming,
He had better bring a woman from Hariyāna.

८४

कमीज मेरी तेज बणी रे
मैं तो जेठ जलाण आई
जेठ बोल्ली मार रैह्या रे
याणे कू स्याणी ब्याई .१.
मैं तो रोत्ती रोत्ती बाबल तेरे धोरे आई
बाबल तन्नैं कुछ ना करी
याणे कू स्याणी ब्याई.२.
बेट्टी री मेरा कुछ दोस नीं
बाम्म्हण नैं तेरी करीती सगाई
मैं रोत्ती रोत्ती बाम्म्हण के धोरे आई
बाम्म्हण के तन्नैं कुछ ना करी
याणे कू स्याणी ब्याई.३.
बेट्टी मेरा कुछ दोस नीं री
नाई के नैं तेरी करी सगाई
मैं रोत्ती रोत्ती नाई के धोरे आई
नाई के रे तन्नैं कुछ ना करी
याणे कू स्याणी ब्याई.४.
बेट्टी मेरा कुछ दोस नीं री
या तो तेरे करमू की कड़ाई
मैं रोत्ती रोत्ती बाग में आई
बाग बिच केला रे दिखा दिखाई
मैं उसकी मर कोली रे डकराई

My shirt is very dazzling,
I came to make jeṭh feel jealous.
Jeṭh taunted me,
"A child is married to a young woman."
I came crying to my father,
"O father, it was bad of you,
That you married me to a child."
"Daughter, it is not my fault.
The brahman is responsible for it."
I came crying to the brahman,
"O brahman, it was bad of you
That you married me to a child."
"Daughter, it is not my fault.
The barber is responsible for it."
I came crying to the barber.
"O barber, it was bad of you
That you married me to a child."
"Daughter, it is not my fault,
It is the fault of your karmas."
I came crying to the orchard;
There I saw a banana plant;
I embraced it and cried loudly.

continued...

मेरा छोट्टा देवर लाडला रे
मेरी उन्नैई धीर बँधाई.५.

My young devar is very dear to me,

He comforted me.

८५

मेरे पिछवाड़े बैंगणा
जिसपै रूपे की बेलड़िया
जिस तळै बसै है मालूनिया
जो सुक्खै पिया बिना.१.
घर बणा घरवा बणा
अर चंदण चौक बणा
जिस तळै बसै मालूनिया
जो झुरमै पिया बिना.२.

85

Behind my house is a brinjal,
On it is the silver creeper.
Under it lives the gardener's wife,
Who withers without her husband.
A house is built and a small cottage is built,
And there is a sandal courtyard,
In which lives the gardener's wife,
Who withers without her husband.

८६

सोन्ने की थलिया में भोजन परोस्से
खाणा ना जाणता सनम नादान
तोड़ ल्याया राजा चमनिया की डाल
तोड़नी ना जाणता सनम नादान .१.
सोन्ने के गडवे गंगाजल पाणी
पीणा ना जाणता सनम नादान
तोड़ ल्याया राजा चमनिया की डाल
तोड़नी ना जाणता सनम नादान.२.
पीसे का पान पंच बीड़ा लगाया
चाबणा ना जाणता सनम नादान
तोड़ ल्याया राजा चमनिया की डाल
तोड़नी ना जाणता सनम नादान.३.
चुग चुग कली मन्नैं सेज लगाई
सोणा ना जाणता सनम नादान
तोड़ ल्याया राजा चमनिया की डाल
तोड़नी ना जाणता सनम नादान.४.

86

In the thālī of gold I serve him the food:
Ignorant saṇam knows not how to eat.
Rājā has plucked a bough of jasmine:
Ignorant saṇam knows not how to use it.
In the glass of gold is the Ganges' water:
Ignorant saṇam knows not how to drink it.
Rājā has plucked the bough of jasmine:
Ignorant saṇam knows not how to use it.
I prepared the bīṛā of five betel leaves:
Ignorant saṇam knows not how to chew it.
Rājā has plucked the bough of jasmine:
Ignorant saṇam knows not how to use it.
I prepare the sej with newly plucked buds:
Ignorant saṇam knows not how to sleep on it.
Rājā has plucked the bough of jasmine:
Ignorant saṇam knows not how to use it.

८७

लम्बे गलिहारे लिकड़ी री सास्सू
औघट पड़ गया पाँ
काण्टा तो लग गया केड़ का
सास्सू पकड़ू रहगी पाँ.१.
किन्नें तेरा काण्टा काड्ढ्या री बहू
अर किन्नें पकड़्या पाँ
नाई के मैं काण्टा काड्ढ्या री सास्सू
अर देवर पकड़्या पाँ.२.
नाई के कू दुंगी परचना री सास्सू
अर देवर तै बाहण का सुजवाय दूँ ब्याह.३.

87

"Through the long lane I passed.
O sāssū, I put my foot on an uneven place,
And the thorn of kaiṛ stuck in my foot.
It was very painful."
"Who took out the thorn from your foot?
And who held your foot, bahū?"
"The barber took out the thorn,
And devar held my foot, O sāssū
I will give a present to the barber,
And arrange devar's marriage with my sister."

८८

नारंगी नाड़ा रेसमी रे
हम बी चलेंगे पिया तेरी गैल
तेरा तो गोरी घाघरा घूमणा री
अर घुम्मेगा टेसन के बीच
मरण म्हारा हो जागा.१.
नारंगी नाड़ा रेसमी रे
हम बी चलेंगे पिया तेरी गैल
तेरे तो गोरी बालक रोतड़े री
अर रोवेंगे टेसन के बीच
मरण म्हारा हो जागा.२.
तेरा तो भाड़ा गोरी तेज री
टेसन पै लगै मसूल
मरण म्हारा हो जागा.३.

88

"My orange-coloured girdle is made of silk,
Darling, I will accompany you."
"My fair one, your skirt is billowing,
It will whirl at the station,
And I will die of shame."
"My orange-coloured girdle is made of silk,
Darling, I will accompany you."
"O fair one! your children are always crying,
And they will cry at the station,
AndI will die of shame.
O fair one, for you I will have to pay more fare,
And will have to pay tax,
And I will die of shame."

८९

हर जी की बाहण म्हारे छाय कू आई
नाँट्टूँ तो सखी हमतै हरजी लडैंगे
इसरी नणद के कारण मन्नैं बडे दुख पाये.१.
आई जो गरमी हरजी नैं घर में सुवाई
तलै रे बिछाई काली कामली
उप्पर हर नैं सोड उढाई.२.
आये चुमास्से हे सखी हरजी नैं धरती पै सुवाई
तलै तो खाई ईत नैं उप्पर मच्छरू नैं खाई.३.
आये जो जाड्डे सखी हरजी नैं बार सुवाई
तलै खुरेड़ी खाट उप्पर चद्दर उढाई.४.

89

Sister of Harjī came to our house for buttermilk.
O sakhī, if I refuse her, then Harjī will quarrel with me.
Because of this sister-in-law I have suffered very much.
During the summer Harjī made me sleep inside the room
On the black blankets,
And covered me with a quilt.
During the rainy season Harjī made me sleep on the floor,
And I was bitten by mosquitoes all over my body.
During the winter Harjī made me sleep in the open,
On the rough bed and gave only a sheet to cover me.

९०

सखी री मैं तो सिलवा पैहेर पछताई
सखी री मेरी वरचा करैं लुगाई
कलेजा कागज का रे दो नैन्नू की स्याई
सखी री मेरे बालम याणे मैं स्याणी
सखी री मन्नै याणे पै चाद्दर ताणी.१.
सखी मैं तो चाद्दर ओढ पछताई
सखीरीमेरी वरचा करैं लुगाई
कलेजा कागज का रे दो नैन्नू की स्याई
सखी री मेरे बालम याणे मैं स्याणी
सखी री मन्नैं याणे पै चाद्दर ताणी.२.

90

O sakhī, I feel sorry for wearing silvā;
The women talk about me.
My heart is paper and my two eyes are full of ink.
My husband is very young and I am fully grown up.
I wore the bridal shawl for a young husband.
I feel sorry for wearing a shawl;
The women talk about me.
My heart is paper and my two eyes are full of ink.
My husband is very young and I am fully grown up.
I wore the bridal shawl for a young husband.

९१

चल चल दीवे कर बिसराम
मेरा तेरा कल कू बी काम
तेरी मायल देक्खे बाट
तेरी घणी बिछावे खाट
घणा कुणवा घणी जनार
जीमतू झूटतू हो गी बार
अब तू आइयो कल की रात

91

Go, go, O lamp, go and take a rest,
For tomorrow also we both will work.
Your mother waits for you:
Your wife makes a bed for you.
Our household is large and needs much food:
Our evening meal has taken long.
Now you return tomorrow night.

९२

जा दीवे घर आपणे
तेरी मायल देक्षै बाट
तेरी धणी बिछावै खाट
बाहण कू कहियो राम राम
मा तै कहियो पालागै

92

Go, go O lamp, to your home.
Your mother waits for you,
Your wife makes a bed for you.
Give our greetings to your mother.
Give our greetings to your sister.

९३

वारी चल्या है
सवेरी आइये
मा बाहण तै
राम राम कहिये

93

You are going late,
Come early,
And give our greetings,
To your mother and sister.

९४

हरी चिड़इया न्यूँ कहै
मैं पैहरूँगी तेरी धणी का हार
चिड़इया मेरी रंग भरी.१.
हरी चिड़इया न्यूँ कहै
मैं तो पैहरूँगी तेरी धणी का कठला
चिड़इया मेरी रंग भरी.२.

94

Green bird says,
"I will wear your wife's string of pearls."
My bird is colourful.
Green bird says,
"I will wear your wife's necklace."
My bird is colourful.

९५

अरी अेरी हरी री चिड़इया
तेरे काले पेले पात
अरी अेरी किसियू के दस हल चलैं
अर किसियू की बड सीर
मोरी लगाइयो.१.
अरी अेरी दसरत के दस हल चलैं
अर रामचन्दर की बड सीर
मोरी लगाइयो.२.
हरी चिड़इया न्यूँ कहै
मैं तो उपजुँगी तेरे खेत
अरी लहँगा पाड़ मजै घाघरा बी दे
हँसला तार मजै कठला बी दे
मोरी लगाइयो.३.

95

"O green bird,
You have black and yellow feathers."
"Whose ten ploughs are at work,
And whose is the large farm?"
Morī lagāiyo.
"Daśarath's ten ploughs are at work,
And it is Rāmcandra's large farm."
Morī lagāiyo.
The green bird says,
"I will grow up in your fields.
Give me your lahaṅgā and ghāghrā.
Give me your string of pearls and necklace."
Morī lagāiyo.

९६

पाड़ी सिरसू बाँध भरोट्टा
खड़ी खेत के माँ
ओ काली सी छतरी वाले
हमें मार ठुवात्ता जाइये.१.
मार्या गोड्डा ठुठ्या भरोट्टा
अर काया लरजी सारी
अरे तू किस रे छैल की नारी
तेरी पतली कमर बल खारी
अरे मैं उसी छैल की नारी
जिसके आठ बलध नौ हाली .२.

96

I have rooted up the young mustard plants and made a bundle.
I wait in the field.
"O man with the black umbrella,
Come and help me raise my load."
The load is raised,
And my body trembles; it is too heavy.
"Who is the handsome man whose wife you are,
For whom your tender waist is swaying?"
"I am the wife of that handsome man,
Who has sixteen bullocks and nine husbandmen."

९७

जब मजै जनम दिया री मेरी माय
याणे बालम करमू में लिखे री मेरी माय
मैं जब पिस्सण बैट्ठी री मेरी माय
हात पकड़ रोवण बैट्ठे री मेरी माय
जब मजै छो सा आया री मेरी माय
मार गदकाये बार बगेल्ले री मेरी माय
जब मजै दरजा सा आया री मेरी माय
रोले पुचकारे गोद्दी ठाये री मेरी माय
जब मैं पोवण बैट्ठी री मेरी माय
पेड़ी पकड़ रोवण लगे री मेरी माय
जब मजै छो सा आया री मेरी माय
मार गदकाये बार बगेल्ले री मेरी माय
जब मजै दरजा सा आया री मेरी माय
रोले पुचकारे गोद्दी ठाये री मेरी माय

97

When you gave me birth, my mother!
Child-husband was written in my destiny.
When I sit to grind, my mother!
He catches my hand sits and cries, my mother!
Then I get annoyed, my mother!
I beat and push him away, my mother!
After a while I feel pity, my mother!
And pick him up kiss and hold him in my lap.
When I sit to cook, my mother!
He takes the peyī and starts crying, my mother!
Then I get annoyed, my mother!
I beat and push him away, my mother!
After a while I feel pity, my mother!
And pick him up kiss and hold him in my lap.

९८

तन्नैं मेरी गरद उडाई रे

मार्या जागा पठाण के

उसरे पठाण के की काळ काळी टोप्पी

जुल्फू पै नजर म्हारी रे

मार्या जागा पठाण के .१.

उसरे पठाण के के बडे बडे नैन्ना

ठोड्डी पै नजर म्हारी रे

मार्या जागा पठाण के.२.

उसरे पठाण के की उंची निच्ची धोत्ती

चलगत पै नजर म्हारी रे

मार्या जागा पठाण के.३.

उसरे पठाण के का जाली का कुरता

जाकट पै नजर म्हारी रे

मार्या जागा पठाण के.४.

98

If you raise dust at me,
You will be killed, O paṭhān.
The cap of that paṭhān is black,
I have my eyes on his beautiful hair.
You will be killed, O paṭhān.
The eyes of that paṭhān are very big,
I have my eyes on his chin.
You will be killed, O paṭhān.
The dhotī of that paṭhān is high and low,
I have my eyes on his mode of walking.
You will be killed, O paṭhān.
The shirt of that paṭhān is made of lace,
I have my eyes on his jacket.
You will be killed, O paṭhān.

९९

धूप पड़े धरती जले
बिरण मुसाफर जाय
जो मैं होत्ती बादली
लेत्ती किरण छिपाय
हरे....

99

The scorching sun shines and the earth burns,
And my brother is making a journey.
I wish I were a cloud
To overcast the rays of the sun.

१००

मेरा सुसरा बडा बदमास
कहे खा ले हवा चुबारे की
अरे मेरे मतना लाइये हात
मैं तत्ती भुब्बल हारे की
हरे....

100

My husband's father is so wicked
And says, "Let us breathe the fresh air of caubārā."
"Do not paw me with your hands,
I am fierce embers beneath a cool surface."

१०१

परदेस्सी की के प्रीत
फूस का के तपणा
मैं दिया कलेज्जा काढ
हुया नीं अपणा
हरे.....

101

How fleeting is a fire of straw?
And how fleeting a stranger's love?
Rip out your entrails, give him your heart,
And still, you will never hold his love.

१०२

उजड़ हो घर सास का
जो बैर करै हरबार
पीहर घर सूबस बसै
जब लो है संसार
हरे....

102

May the home of a quarrelling mother-in-law
Be razed to the ground by fire.
But my father's home shall stand,
As long as the world revolves.

१०३

छी छी छी छी कउआ खाय
दूध मलाई लाल्ला खाय
चील चील चिल्लात्ती जाँ
चील के बच्चे रोत्ते जाँ
कउआ ढोल बजात्ता जा
चिड़िया मंगल गात्ती जाँ

103

Chī Chī Chī Chī eats the crow.
Milk and cream eats my child.
Kites fly and shout,
And their young ones cry.
The crow plays the drum,
And the birds sing auspicious songs.

१०४

सोजा लाल्ला भाई रे
जब लाल्ला रे तम रे हुये ते
थारे बाब्बा कै पड़ी ती बधाई रे
सोजा लाल्ला भाई रे
जब लाल्ला रे तम रे हुये ते
थारे ताऊ कै पड़ी ती बधाई रे
सो जा लाल्ला भाई रे

104

Sleep, sleep, O baby.
O baby, when you were born,
There were celebrations at your grand-father's house.
Sleep, sleep, O baby.
O baby, when you were born,
There were celebrations at your uncle's house.
Sleep, sleep, O baby.

१०५

घुम्मड़ घुम्मड़ दूध बिलोवै
जाटणी तेरा लौण्डा रोवै
रोवै तो रोवण दे
मन्नैं दूध विलोवण दे

105

She churns the milk, ghummaṛ, ghummaṛ.
"Jāṭṇī, your child cries."
"If he cries let him cry,
Let me churn the milk."

१०६

हाथी घोड़ा पालकी
जय कन्हैया लाल की

106

Elephant Horse Palanquin.

Victory to Kanhaiyā lāl.

१०७

आ जा री निंदिया
तू आ क्यूँ ना जा
मेरे लाल्ला कू आके
सुवा क्यूँ ना जा

107

Come, O sleep,
Why don't you come?
Why don't you come
And put my child to sleep?

१०८

धन खेड़े धन भूमिया
अर धन्न बसावणहार
धन खेड़े के चौधरी
तेरा खेड़ा बसो गुलजार

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

108

Blessed is the kheṛā and blessed is Bhumiā
And the founder of the village.
O headman of the village!
May your village prosper.

१०९

कौण जगत में अेक है
अेजी कौण जगत में दोय
अर कौण जगत में जागरा
बीरा कौण रह्या पड़ सोय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

राम जगत में अेक है
कोई चन्दा रे सूरज दोय
अेजी पाप जगत में जागरा
अर कोई धरम रह्या पड़ सोय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

109

"What is one in the world?
What is two in the world?
Who in this world is awake?
And who lays sleeping?"

"Rām is one in the world,
The Sun and Moon are two.
Evil is wide awake,
And dharma lays sleeping."

११०

सोन्ना कहै सुनार ते
अेजी कोई उत्तम म्हारी जात
बर काले मूँ की चूटणी
कोई तुले रे म्हारे सात
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

हम लाल्लू की लालड़ी रे
कोई लाल है म्हारा रंग
अेजी काला मूँ जब ते हुया
जब तुली नीच के संग
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

110

Gold says to the goldsmith,
"I am of high caste,
Why is blackfaced cirmiṭī
Weighed against me?"

"I am the best beloved of rubies,
And red I am in colour.
I have become blackfaced
Through being weighed against you."

१११

बजा निगाड़ा कूच का
कोई पाक गई सब मेस
टांडा तो बणजारी लद चल्या
अेजी तू खडी तमास्सा देख
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

111

The drum of departure has sounded,
All nails and pegs are uprooted.
O baṇjārī, bag and baggage has been loaded.
You stand and watch the show.

११२

उण्टू नैं वर लिये झोजड़ू
अेजी कोई भैंस्सू नैं वर लिये डाब
गोरी नैं वर लिये गाभरू
कोई जिनकी टेड्ढी पाग
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

112

The camels have chewed all the jhojhrū,
And the buffaloes have eaten the grass.
The woman has consumed the strong youths
With their elegant turbans.

११३

कित बोये कित ऊबजे
अेजी कोई कहाँ लडाये लाड
कुदरत का ब्यारा नहीं
बीरा कहाँ सिंडादे हाड
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

113

We were born in one place, grew up in another,
Enjoyed our mother's love in another,
And we cannot know,
Where nature will scatter our bones.

११४

धरती माता तू बडी
अर तेर तै बडा न कोय
पीर पिगम्बर औलिया
कोई सब राक्षे दबकोय

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

114

Mother earth, you are great.
No one is greater than you.
Wise men, prophets and saints,
All these are buried within you.

११५

ढेर गई थोडी रही
या बी पल पल बित्ती जाय
अेजी चार घडी के कारणै
पंछी क्यूँ औजस ले जाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

115

Most of life has passed, little is left,
And this too is passing every moment.
For the sake of a few hours,
O bird, why do you take the blame?

११६

बडा हुया तो के हुया
कोई लम्बी बडी खजूर
पंछी कू छाया नहीं
भेजी फल लागै बडी दूर
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

116

What is in becoming big?
The date palm is very tall.
No shade for the bird,
And the fruit is very high up.

११८

पत्ता टुट्या डाळ ते
बीरा ले गी पवन उडाय
अबके बिछड़े कद मिलैं
कोई दूर पड़ेंगे जाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

पेले मूँ की पीपली रे
कोई हँस हँस कर री बात
हम आये तम उड चले
अेजी ह्याँ अपणी अपणी बार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

117

The leaf is separated from the branch,
The wind has blown it away.
"We shall be far away from each other,
Shall we ever meet again?"

The yellow faced pippī
Laughs and says,
"I arrive whilst you depart,
We must take our turns."

११८

अे कल्लड़ की कांकड़ी
तू पडी है चौड़ मदान
रे कांकड़ मैं पूछरा
यो क्युक्कर गया जहान
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

मैं कल्लड़ की कांकड़ी
कोई पडिऊं चौड़ मदान
थोडे तो मर गे रोग मैं
बोहतू कू ले गया मान
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

118

O pebble, on the desert land
Lying in an open plain,
I ask you, O pebble!
"How did the world perish?"

"I am a pebble on this desert land,
I am lying in an open plain.
Few there were who died of sickness
Many more of pride."

११९

ऐसा नन्हा हो वालिये बन्दे
अरे जैसी नन्ही दूब
सभी घास जल जायेंगे
कोई हरी दूब की दूब
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

119

O man, be as humble
As the little dūb.
Other grasses will burn,
But dūb will remain green for ever.

१२०

उड गी चील सिकर कू
अर फिरै गगन के माँह
गगन चढी तो के हुया
अेजी कोई सुरत करक के माँह
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

120

The kite flew very high,
And now wanders in the sky.
What is in being so high up,
When in her thoughts is the tiny bit of meat on the earth?

१२२

राम नाम जाण्या नहीं
कोई पाल्या कुटम कुटाम
जैसा आया वैसा चल्या
कोई माया मिली ना राम
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

121

You did not know the name of Rām,
And wasted life in looking after the family,
And return in the same state in which you came.
You neither achieved māyā nor met Rām.

१२२

राम नाम जाण्या नहीं
अर मन में करी मरोड़
अेक दिन अैसा होयगा
तजै कालू ले जा गा तोड़
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

You didnot know the name of Rām,
And had been proud of yourself.
A day will come,
When death will snatch you away.

१२३

नागण तै नारी बुरी रे
कोई तीन ठौड़ तै खाय
अकल घटै अर बल घटै
अेजी कोई दाम गिरह तै जाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

123

Woman is worse than a snake,
She bites at three places.
Body is ruined, strength decreases,
And from the pocket goes the money.

१२४

आग लगी बणखंड में
बीरा दाधे चन्दण रूख
अपणी आई हम मरैं
अरे तम क्यूँ मरो बेकूप
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

पात बिछाये फल चुगे
कोई मुड़ तुड़ बैट्ठे डाल
तमैं छोड कहि जावैंगे
अेजी कोई जीवैंगे के काल
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

124

The forest is on fire,
And the trees are burning,
"We are dying our death,
But why don't you save yourself, O fools!"

"We slept on your leaves and ate your fruits,
And happily enjoyed life on your branches.
Leaving you where shall we go?
How long shall we live?"

१२५

चलना भला ना कोस का
कोई बेट्टी भली ना अेक
देणा भला ना बाप का
अेजी कोई जो हर राक्खैं टेक
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

125

To walk even a mile is not good,
To have even one daughter is not good,
It is not good to owe even to one's father,
If God may help.

१२६

मन के मते ना चालिये
नहीं बहीत घणा रे दुख पाय
जैसे बिधवा इस्तरी
अेजी कोई गरभ रहे पछताय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

126

Follow not the dictates of the heart,
Which bring great pain and misery,
As a widow repents
On becoming pregnant.

१२७

दुनिया में दो गरीब हैं
बीरा अेक बेट्टी अेक बैल
बिण जाणे चले जाँय रे
कोई परदेस्सी की गैल
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

127

There are but two helpless ones in this world:
A daughter and a bullock.
Each must go to a stranger
Without knowledge of him.

१२८

देब्बू में देब्बी बडी
कोई धन में धौली गाय
लत्तू में कमली बडी
अेजी कोई धोब्बी कै ना जाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

128

Among the gods the Devī is great;
Among the cattle the white cow.
Great among clothes is the blanket,
Which does not go to the dhobī's house.

१२९

के बालू की भीत
के ओच्छे की प्रीत
प्रीत करे गम्भीर ते
कोई जनम जनम जा बीत

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

129

What is the life of a wall of sand?
Who can trust the friendship of the petty?
No, give your friendship to the big hearted,
And it will last for ever.

१३०

माता बरगी मामता
कोई सोक्कण बरगा बैर
दूजा कोई रखता नहीं
अेजी कोई देक्ख्या सजि सवेर
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

130

A mother's love,
The hatred of co-wives,
Their passions are unequalled,
Though I search from dawn to sunset.

१३१

जैसे कन्या घर रहे
अर वैसे ई रहे बिदेस
जैसी ओढी कामली
कोई वैसा ई ओढा सेस

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

131

(It makes no difference to me)
Whether my husband lives at home,
Or is domiciled abroad.
(It makes no difference to me)
Whether I wear a silken shawl,
Or walk uncomfortable in a rough blanket.

१३२

टूट्या धागा ना जुड़े
कोई फूल टूट कुम्हलाय
उत घर के प्हावणे
कदे धोरे धोरे जाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

132

A broken thread cannot be joined,
A plucked flower fades away.
The guests of a childless family
Travel very short distances.

१३३

दाद्दा दुनिया बावली
कहै चाम कू राम
पूँछ मरोड़ी बलध की
अेजी कोई काड्द्या अपणा काम
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

133

O grandfather, the world is mad,
They call leather Rām,
And by twisting the tail of the bullock
Accomplish their work.

१३४

प्रीत करै तो अैसी करै
कोई जैसी कल्लड़ कैर
ना तो किसी तै दोस्ती
अर ना किसी तै बैर

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

134

Have friendship like
Barren land and Kaṛ:
Neither intimacy with any one
Nor enmity.

१३५

ताल सूख पटपड़ हुया
पर हंसा कहीं ना जाय
मरै प्रीत पुराणी कू
कोई चुण चुण कंकड़ खाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

135

The lake waters have fled to the sun,
But the swan remaïns;
And out of its old love
Eats pebbles and sand for pearls.

१३६

प्रीत करी तो नीच तै
कोई पल्ले लागी कीच
सीस काट आगूगै धर्या
अेजी कोई अंत नीच का नीच
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

136

Once I loved a low fellow,
And sullied the hem of my sārī,
Offered my head on a platter,
But, alas! he remained a low fellow.

१३७

प्रीत जैसी कीजियो
जैसी रूई कपास
जीत्तू तो संग में रही
कोई मरतू ले गी सात
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

137

The lovers live only when together,
And should cleave each to each.
As a cotton robe covers the flesh
Of the living and protects the dead.

१३८

प्रीत करैं वो बावले
कोई करके छोड़ैं छैल
गल में रस्सा गेरके
कोई ओड़ निभावैं बैल
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

138

Those who love are mad,
Those who leave after loving are chail.
Having put the halter round the neck
Only bullocks go till the end.

१३९

साञ्झा सधै ना बाप का
साञ्झा रास्से की सान
घर न्यारा कर बालमा
कोई बात मेरी तू मान
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

139

Even with one's father joint ownership is difficult,
Resulting in many quarrels.
Let us keep a separate household, husband,
Please, listen to my words.

२४०

राजा जोग्गी अगन जल
कोई इनकी उल्टी रीत
बचके रइयो परसराम जी
ये थोडी राक्खें प्रीत
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

140

Kings and tramps, fire and water,
All are unpredictable.
Avoid them, Parasrām;
They love but for a short season.

१४१

काल्लड़ चपे पपेड़िया
हरियल उपजे साग
झुक झुक काम्मण तोड़री
कोई धन्न चणू के भाग
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

141

In the kallaţ grow gram;
Green and tender are the leaves.
Women bend down and pluck them.
How lucky are the gram!

१४२

कूये में कंकड़ खिले
अर बण में खिले कपास
सेज्जू पै गोरी खिले
कोई हँस हँस करती बात
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

142

Limestone looks pretty in the well,
So is the cotton in the field.
The gorī looks pretty on the sej,
When she laughs and talks.

१४३

अम्बर में तारे खिलै
कोई जल में खिलै पफूल
गोरी के सुरमा खिलै
जैसा खिल्या कमल का फूल
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

143

In the sky the stars stand proud,
As the lily in the water.
Surmā beautifies the eyes of the gorī
Like a lotus flower in bloom.

२४४

कोट्ठे उप्पर कोठड़ी
जिसमें घड़े सुनार
बिछवा घड़ दे बाजणे
कोई घमक सुणे मेरा यार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

144

On the top of koṭṭhā is Koṭhṛī
In which a goldsmith works.
"Make me jingling toe-rings,
So that their music may be heard by my friend."

१४५

गोरी लिकड़ी गोयरे
कोई धर छतियन पै हात
या रब्बा मजै मोत दे
नहिं दे गभरू का सात
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

145

Gorī came out of the village
Placing her hands on her breasts.
"O God, either give me death
Or a lover for company."

१४६

आगी पै के काँकड़े
तजे गेरू तोड़ मरोड़
पोसत बरगी डोडिया
मेरे लिकड़ी छात्ती फोड़
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

146

O kāṅkṛe on my bodice,
I must destroy you.
Something like a capsule of poppy,
Has burst out of my chest.

१४०

कोट्ठी भरी कसूम की
कोई कैड़े लगे पिहाण
खोल्लणवाला है नहीं
अेजी कोई देवरिया नादान
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

147

The koṭṭhī is full of safflower,
The lid is fixed very hard.
The opener is not here,
And the devar knows not how.

१४८

साम्मण आवण कह गया
कोई बित्ते बारह मास
छप्पर पुराणे पड़ गये
कोई चटकण लागे बाँस
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्हार

148

He had promised to come back in Sāvan
But twelve months have passed.
The thatches have become old,
And the bamboos have started cracking.

१४६

साम्मण आवण कह गया
कोई कर गया कौल अनेक
गिणतू गिणतू घिस गई
म्हारी आंगलड़ी की रेख

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

149

He had promised to come back in Sāvan
And made many promises.
By counting and counting
The lines of my fingers have withered.

१५०

कल्लड़ सुक्खी कांगणी
कोई डहरू सुक्खे धान
अरे मरमन सुक्खी बाप के
कोई केला गोम समान
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

150

In kallaṛ dries the kāṅgnī,
In ponds dries the paddy.
Marvan fades in her father's house,
Like a banana shoot.

१५९

जोब्बण चाल्या रूसके
कोई पड़गया लम्बी राह
क्युक्कर पकड़ूँ भागके
मेरे गोड्डू में दम नाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

151

Youth in anger has left me,
And has gone a long way off.
How can I hope to catch him?
There is no strength in my knees.

५२

जोब्बण तेरे लड्डू करूँ
रस की रान्धूँ खीर
परस जिमाऊँ बालमा
मेरी सगी नणद का बीर
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

152

Youth, I will make laḍḍū of you,
And prepare khīr of ras,
And will nourish and feed my husband,
Who is brother of my real naṇad.

१५३

जोब्बण जागा जाणती
तो लेत्ती गूण भराय
अकरा करके बेचती
कोई नूण तेल के भाव
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

153

Had I known youth would go away,
I should have conserved it.
And would then have sold it as dear
As salt and oil.

१५४

जोब्बण जागा जाणती
करती साई अर कोट
सच्चे ला देत्ती तोपची
कोई देत्ती फरसा ठोक
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

154

Had I known youth would go away,
I should have fortified and entrenched it,
Hedged it about with spikes
And guarded it with sentries.

१४५

जोब्बण ता जब रूप ता
अर गाहक ता सब कोय
जोब्बण रतन गमायकै
कोई रही निमाणी होय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

155

When a girl is young she is beautiful,
And every man desires her.
As age ransacks the gem of youth,
She feels forsaken.

१५६

टूट फूट गी बीनड़ी
अर टूट फूट गे तार
बीन बिचारी के करै
जब गये बजावणहार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

156

The bīn has been ruined,
Its strings have been broken.
What shall the poor bīn do?
When the bīn player has gone away.

१४७

ठण्डी छाँ जो बैठती
जल जात्ता वो रूख
जलती बलती मैं फिरूँ
कोई बप में देत्ती कूक
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

157

Were I to sit in the shadow of a tree,
I would scorch its splendour.
Consumed and burning I wander,
And breed turbulence in the woods.

१५८

लम्बी नाड़ के मोरना
ऊँचा चढके बोल
तेरी बोल्ली मेरे मन बसी
मेरे आँङ्गण चुगता डोल
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

158

O long-necked peacock!

Sing loudly.

Your voice has possessed my heart.

Come and enjoy yourself in my courtyard.

१५६

कमोदणी जल में बसै
अर चन्दा बसै अकास
जिसकी जिस्ते लग रई
कोई वोई उसके पास
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

159

In the water lives the lily,
And the moon in the sky.
Those who love each other,
Distance cannot separate them.

१६०

सुक्खण लागी बेलड़ी
अरे कोई झड़ल्लगे सब पात
बेल बिचारी के करै
जब ना है सींचणहार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

160

The creeper is fading,
And its leaves are falling.
What can the poor creeper do?
When its water-giver has gone away.

१६१

इस तन के कोला करूँ
अर धुँवा उठे अक्कास
बादल हो मेरा साजणा
बरस बुझावे आग

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

161

I will burn this body into ashes,
The smoke will rise up in the sky.
My husband having become a cloud
Will come and extinguish the fire.

१६२

काग उडावण धण खडी
अर आया पिया महक्क
आद्धी चूडी काग गल
कोई आद्धी गई तड़क्क

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

162

The woman stood to drive away the crow,
Immediately arrived her husband.
Half of her bangles were round the neck of the crow,
And half were broken.

१६३

आँन्धी उठी पछाँह तै
कोई उड गे बालू रेत
अरी सास्सू तेरे पूत नै
म्हारे बंजड़ कर दिये खेत

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

163

From the west came the typhoon.
The sand has been blown away.
O sāssū, your son
Has made my field barren.

१६४

बगली री क्यूँ बावली
बैठी डाब्बर गेर
कदसी हंसा आवेंगे
अेजी कोई पढे हैं दिनू के फेर
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

164

O baguli, why are you so mad,
And sit there shedding tears.
Swan will soon return,
When time wheel has turned.

१६५

यापी तो जब खूब तो
ना ता कुछ अफसोस
मरी जवान्नी तजे फूँक दूँ
जहि बो खडो हूँ हँवई दोस

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

165

Happy was I in childhood,
For worries I had none.
O youth, I wish I could set fire to you.
I am blamed wherever I stand.

१६६

महल जलै माँण्ढी जलै
कोई बिच बिच जलै दिलान
घूँगट में गोरी जलै
कोई जिसके कन्त नदान

रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

166

The palace burns, the gate burns,
And the verandah burns.
Inside the veil burns the gorī,
Whose husband is very young.

१५६

रतन कटोरी घी जलै रे
कोई चुल्हे पै जलै कसार
घूंगट में गोरी जलै
जिसके यापे हों भरतार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

167

In golden kaṭorī burns the ghī,
On the oven burns the kasār,
Inside the veil burns the gorī,
Whose husband is very young.

१६८

नैन पटक दूयूँ ताल में
किरच किरच हो जायँ
अरे थारे तै किन्नैं कही
अक दिल पहले मिल जाओ
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

क्यूँ पटके इनैं ताल में
क्यूँ किरच किरच हो जाँय
अरे नैन तो बडे गरीब हैं
इनैं जहि भेज्जै वहाँ जाँय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

168

O eyes, I will throw you in the pond,
So that you may be destroyed.
Who has told you,
That you should meet before the meeting of the hearts?

Why do you throw them in the pond?
And why they should be destroyed?
Eyes are very helpless,
They go wherever you send them.

१५९

कूये तेरी मैंड पै
रे कौण खड़ी पणहार
के तौं इसकी नेज्जू छोट्टी
अर कै कूये में गार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

ना नेज्जू छोट्टी मेरी
अर ना कूये में गार
कोई मेरा याणा बालमा
मैं जीऊँ किस आधार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

169

On your parapet, O well!
Why does the water girl stand?
Is her string short?
Or is the water muddy?

Neither is my string short,
Nor the water muddy.
My husband is very young;
For whom should I live?

१८०

मालो की तू छोकरी
बैठ्ठी बाग नुलाय
हम परदेस्सी दूर के
कोई निम्बू दिये बसाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

मालो की मैं छोकरी
बैठ्ठी बाग नुलाय
मांगे निम्बू ना मिलें
ये तो घर पिया के जाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

170

You are the daughter of the gardener,
Sitting weeding the orchard.
I am a traveller from a distant land,
Let me taste the lemons.

I am the daughter of the gardener,
Sitting I weed the orchard.
These lemons are not for your delight,
They will go to my husband's house.

२६२

पतली गोरी कामनी
कोई पतला कात्ते सूत
डरता कन्त न छेड़ता
कदी जागी बीच तै टूट
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

पतली कर मत जाणिये
अर पतले तीर कमान
मैं ना टूटूं बीच तै
तेरे मन मानै तो तान
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

171

Slender she is and fragile,
As she busily spins her yarn.
The husband does not touch her,
Lest she may break in twain.

Think not that I am so fragile.
Bows and arrows are also thin.
Draw me as hard as you wish,
And fear not lest I break.

सास्सू तेरे पूत नै
कोई चाल्ला लिया कराय
चार पहर की रात है
कोई इक विर उठता नाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

सास्सू अपणे पूत कू
कोई कल्लड़ दे गढवाय
चार पहर की रात में
कोई इक विर तकता नाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

बहुअल पूत नदान है
इसै कुछ ब्यारा नाय
अरी तनै पीहर कू भेजके
इसै ल्यूंगी वान बनाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

धीर बान्धू वीर पाट्टै
मेरा कालेजा कुम्हलाय
साम्मण के सी लोरिया
मेरा जोब्बण उमड़ा जाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

सुरमा सार बजारू जाइये
मस्तक बिन्दी लाय
अच्छे देक्खे गाभरू
कोई लिये गैल मारके साय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

172

Sāssū your son
Has brought me here in cāllā.
During a long night of four pahars
He does not get up even once.

Sāssū, get your son,
Buried in the kallaɽ.
During a long night of four pahars,
He does not look even once.

Bahual, he is a child,
And knows nothing.
I will send you to pīhar,
And make him young.

By being patient my blouse breaks,
And the heart fades.
Like the waves of Sāvan
My youth overflows.

Put surmā in your eyes and bindī on your forehead,
And go to the bazar.
There if you see any good youth
Kill and eat him up.

९७३

किसके हो तुम छोकरा
अर कौण है थारी जात
कहाँ है थारा झूंपड़ा
अर कहाँ कटैं दिन रात
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

माळी के हम छोकरा
अर उत्तम म्हारी जात
बागगू बिच म्हारी झूंपड़ी
अर हूँवई कटैं दिन रात
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

माळी के रे छोकरा
कोई हम तम जोगम जोग
तेरी मर जा इस्तरी
अर मेरा मर जा लोग
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

क्यूँ मरियो मेरी इस्तरी
अर क्यूँ मरियो तेरा लोग
दो नैन्नू की दोस्ती
कोई झक मारैंगे लोग
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

173

Whose son are you?
What is your caste?
Where is your hut?
And where do you spend your days?

I am the gardener's son,
High is my caste.
In the orchard is my hut,
And there I spend my days.

O gardener's son,
We are well matched,
May your wife die,
My husband too.

Why need my wife die?
And why your husband?
It is the affair of two hearts,
Let people talk, who will.

१६४

ऊँची पाल समन्द की
कोई नीर झकोले लेय
यो जल पीवण जोग है
जो कोई पीवण देय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर
आओ मुसाफर जल पियो
यहाँ न बरजे कोय
अेक चूँच बगला भरे
तो के जल थोडा होय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर
हमनैं कही तो हँसी मैं
अर तू जाणी सतभाव
काग झकोली जोहड़ी
कोई हंस न डुब्बे पाँ
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर
उजल पंख जल नीर है
अेक चरण दो ध्यान
मैं जाण्या कोई बड्या है
तू बुरी कपट की खान
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

174

High is the bank of the lake,
Wavy is its water.
It is worth drinking,
If someone permits.

Come, O traveller, and drink the water,
No body forbids here.
If a crane drinks a beakful,
Water does not become less.

I was joking,
And you took it seriously.
In a pond churned by crows,
Swan does not even dip his foot.

Bright are your feathers,
And you meditate on one foot in the water.
I thought you were someone great,
But you are a complete cheat.

१७५

क्यूँ घण ठाड़ी अनमनी
अर क्युक्कर मैल्ला मेस
के तेरी सास्सू करकसा
अर के याणे भरतार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर
ना मेरी सास्सू करकसा
अर ना याणे भरतार
पिया चाकरी कू गये
कोई बित्ते हैं बारह मास
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर
थारा साज्जण हम लख्या
कोई ठाड़ा छैंपी दुवार
तजे रँगावे चूँदड़ी
कोई अपकू पचरँग पाग
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर
जो मैं ऐसा जाणती
तो बोल्ती बगड़ सजूर
उसपै चढके देखती
मेरा साज्जण कितनी दूर
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

175

Why do you stand so sad?
And why is your appearance so troubled?
Is your sāssū quarrelsome?
Or your husband very young?

Neither is my sāssū quarrelsome,
Nor is my husband very young.
My husband went to earn a living,
Twelve months have passed.

I saw your husband,
Standing on a cloth printer's door,
For you buying a cundṛī,
And a five coloured turban for himself.

Had I known it before,
I would have planted a date palm in my courtyard,
And climbing on its top would have seen
How far away is my husband.

२७६

ना थारे साल मड़कती
अर ना चुडले झड़्कार
तेरे तै पुच्छूं मैं सखी
थारे में कौण सा गँवार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

सास गया ना सुसरै रह्या
ना लौण्डू के सात
मैं के इसतै न्यूँ कहूँ
अक बैल सींग मेरे मार
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

176

Neither in your house are the creaks of bamboo
Nor the jingle of bangles.
O friend, tell me,
Who of you two is a fool.

This fool
Never had the company of boys.
How can I say,
"O bullock, come and hit me with your horns."

सिवैं सिलोनी बीजली
अर वे मारू के देस
अेजी ढोला रेवा रंग करैं
कोई मरवन मैल्लै मेस
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

तू जंगल की बेड़िया
अर तेरे बेर कुबेर
तेरे तळै कू ढोला गया
तन्नैं राख्या क्यूं ना घेर
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

मैं जंगल की बेड़िया
अेजी मेरे बेर कुबेर
पक्के पक्के खा गया
कोई कच्चू के कर गया ढेर
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

खुण्टी ना दीख्या तरकसा
अर करिहा ना दीख्या थान
बलमा ना दीख्या सेज पै
अेजी जणैं कब के धरे पल्हाण
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

सास सुसरे पै जाइये
सुसरा मान्नैं तेरी सीख
ढूंढा जा तो ढूंढ ले
ढोला नरवरगढ के बीच
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

177

The lightening flashes,
And in the land of Māru
Ḍholā and Revā together enjoy,
And Marvan is unhappy.

You are the wild plum-tree.
Bad are your plums.
Ḍholā passed under you,
Why didn't you hold him?

I am a wild plum tree.
Bad are my plums.
He ate the ripe
And left a pile of unripe plums.

Bow and arrow are not on the peg,
The camel not in the stable,
And bālam is not on the sej.
He must have left long ago.

Go to your father-in-law,
Who listens to you.
If you can, then search for Ḍholā
In the Narvargaḍh.

continued...

कूआ हो तो पाट ल्यूँ
कोई समन्दर पटता नाय
बालक हो तो भकाय लूँ
कोई धींगड़ भकता नाय
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

किस गल बान्धूँ घूँघरू
अजी किसके बान्धूँ टाल
चाँद सूरज के बीच में
कौण मारू ते करा मिलाप
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

हम गल बान्धो घूँघरू
अर हम मनियारी टाल
चाँद सूरज के बीच में
तेरा मारू ते कराऊँ मिलाप
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

पाणी तो पिवे गादला
कोई चरे कूड़ियू की घास
अजी तेरे में ताकत कहाँ ते
जो मेरा मारू ते करवे मिलाप
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

पाणी तो पिऊँ ताल का
अर खाऊँ नागर बेल
कोई घड़ी के बीच में
कोई रेवा की सूनी करूँ सेज
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

If it were a well I could cover it,
But I am unable to cover the sea.
If it were a child I could persuade,
But I am unable to persuade a youth.

Round whose neck shall I tie the string of small bells,
And round whose neck large bell?
Who between the sun and moon,
Shall unite me with Mārū?

Round my neck tie the string of small bells,
And round my neck also the large bell.
Between the sun and moon
I will unite you with Mārū.

You drink muddy water,
And graze on the rubbish heap.
How can you have the strength
To unite me with Mārū?

I drink water from the pond,
And eat nāgar bel.
Within a few hours
I will make Revā's sej empty.

१७८

गाम पछाईं पीपली
कोई लम्बी बडी खजूर
डाल पै चढके देखियो
मेरा पीहर कितनी दूर
रे मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

178

West of the village is a pīpal tree,
And a very tall date palm.
I climb to the top and see,
How far is my pīhar.

१७९

दाँत बतिस्सू हल गये
कोई कमर का लिकड़ गया कूब
मेरे जोबण की गाँठया सू गई
अेजी उसका काड्दूँ सोज ।

मेरी बावड़ी मल्होर

179

All my teeth are loose,
And there is hump on my back.
The gem of my youth is lost,
And I am searching for it.

१८०

बागी चोल्ली मैल्ली हो गी
बिन धुबिया का गाम
के तो धोबी कू पिया ल्याय बसादे
के धोबी घर जाऊँ
छियो राम छियो राम
छियो राम छियोराम

180

My blouse and bodice are dirty
Since no dhobī is in our village,
Dear husband bring a dhobī to work here
Ere I go to his house.

Chiyo Rām chiyo Rām.
Chiyo Rām chiyo Rām.

१८१

आठ मास बित्ते जिजमान
अब तो करो दिच्छना दान
हरगंगा
तेरी पडौस्सण करौं दान
तू क्यूँ ठाली है जिजमान
हरगंगा

181

O yajmān, eight months have passed,
At least now give something in charity.
Hargangā!
Your neighbour is giving charity,
O yajmān, why do you stand idle.
Hargangā!

१८२

आट्टे बाट्टे दही चटाक्के
कोकलिया के कान काट्टे
बण फुल्ले बणबाड़ी फुल्ले
सावण मास करेल्ला फुल्ले
ल्याओ बच्चू सन की डोर
बाब्बा जी का ओर छोर
काणा कउआ न्यूँ कहै
तू छत्तरी सँभाल ले

182

Āṭṭe bāṭṭe dahī caṭṭake.
The ears of cuckoo were cut.
The forest blossoms and cotton blossoms.
Karelā blossoms in the month of Sāvan.
Bring a string, children,
Both ends of Babbā jī.
One-eyed crow says,
"Manage the umbrella."

Kotti Letti

53 What are bhātāi, bhāṭaṇ

54 Dewanthān festival

55 Kvār month

90 Form of songs – all all forms songs?

94 jāya < jā etc, meaning?

111 what do you define as Khaṛī boli.

112 – 113 folk epic – underestimation of contribution of authors e.g. quotations from Shakespeare. Authors quoted but no proof. esp Amir Khusrau – no indication of source.

114 Dholā Māru rā Dūhā ? Hindi epic

116 ? accepted fact.

125 influence of folk poetry on Kabir not proved. – chronology against it. Kab fifteenth cent. folk poetry not only than 19 (long memory)

136 analysis of grammar of one song !! say.

Points of interest. Kiskē in whose house

Marathi bātti wick. sonnā gold

140 goddaa ? mean
mhaare in our family. cf Guj
māre dat-instr.
143 āpā aapii ?
āpkun = ko goddeen obl. pl. = -don.
137 gemination cf Bengal. kavitta
and other -tt- 2 t.
147 inf. ~~[illegible]~~ n/n Panjabi
148 as in Guj. Raj. Sht -itaha-
149 dropping aspiration general ?
151 lag rah- ? cf Sarāstri
152 no examples with consonant
stem unless 153 ? jii
154 kahage it is said
Vocab
why add -s to Hindi words.
sālā mistyped ? as ~~[illegible]~~
sister ?
about 66 of odd 170 words
~~are~~ seem to require explanation +
words in songs unexplained.

१८३

अेक नकटी दो बूचे काम
छज्जे बैट्ठी चावै पान
चाब चूब दीद मटकावै
उस नकटी कू सरम ना आवै
आया बसन्तक नाचे मोर
उस नकटी कू ले गे चोर

183

A woman with cut nose and small ears,
Sits on the balcony and chews betel leaves.
Having chewed betel leaves she moves her eyes.
And this woman with cut nose is not ashamed.
Basantak came and the peacocks danced,
And the thieves carried away that cut nose woman.

१८४

सुण सुण री रामू की मा
घर में तै तू बाहर आ
गढे दबे रुपइया ल्या
चट्टू कू मिठाई ल्या
पंडज्जी कू रुपइये ल्या
पंडताणी कू तीअल ल्या
चट्टे देंगे तजे असीस
बच्चे होंगे नौ सौ तीस

184

Listen, listen, O mother of Rāmū!
Come out of your house.
Take out the buried rupees.
Bring sweets for the caṭṭās.
Bring rupees for the Paṇḍitjī.
Bring a set of clothes for Paṇḍitjī's wife.
Caṭṭās will bless you,
You will have nine hundred and thirty children.

१८५

अेक डिप्टी नैं पी कली
उसमें तै लिकड़ी अतरकली
अतरकली की मर गी मा
उसमें तै लिकड़े काले साँ
काले साँ नैं पाले बन्दर
उसमें तै लिकड़े रामचन्दर
रामचन्दर का चाक्कू तेज
उसमें तै लिकड़े कुरसी मेज
कुरसी मेज नैं चुस्से गाण्डे
उसमें तै लिकड़े दो सो लौण्डे
दो सो लौण्डू नैं बाण्टी डोर
उसमें तै लिकड़े साँप न्यौल
साँप न्यौल में हुई लड़ाई
कट कट मरगे दोन्नू भाई

185

A deputy smoked a kalī:
From it came out atarkalī.
Atarkalī's mother died:
From it came out Kale khan.
Kale Khan had monkeys as pets:
From them came out Ramcandar.
Ramcandar's knife is sharp:
From it came out chairs and tables.
Chairs and tables sucked the sugarcane:
From it came out two hundred boys.
Two hundred boys made a string:
From it came out snake and mongoose.
Snake and mongoose had a fight.
And both ended their lives in that fight.

१८६

इमली की जड तै लिकड़ी पतंग
नौ सो मोती नौ सो रंग
रंग रंग की बणी कमाण
जिनमें बैट्ठे काले मियाँ
टेसू आया घर के द्वार
खोलो राणी चंदण कुवाड़

186

The kite came out of the imlī's root.
Nine hundred pearls and nine hundred colours.
Of different colours are the bows,
In which sits Kāḷe Miyān.
Ṭesū has come to your door.
O queen, open the door of sandal.

१८७

हलदी गाँठ गठिल्ली
भइया बहू रे हटिल्ली
मांगे सोन्ने का बिन्दा
म्हारे चान्दी भतेरी
म्हारे सोन्ना भतेरा
भैया बैठ घड़ादे
वा तो मूँ रे मुसकोड़े
उसका मूगरियू मूँ तोड़े

187

The turmeric is knotty.
Brother, your wife is obstinate,
She wants a bindā of gold.
We have plenty of silver,
We have plenty of gold.
Brother, get it made immediately.
She twists her face.
Smash it with clubs.

Glossary

GLOSSARY

aṭārī	a small room built on top of what is otherwise a single storey house.
adhro	a smart and slender woman.
ambārī	a seat with a canopy, to ride in(on an an elephant).
āñcal (H.)	the end of a woman's upper garment or of her sārī.
ārtā	a ceremony performed in adoration of a god or goddess by moving circularly around the head of the idol a platter containing a five wicked burning lamp, flour and incense; a hymn of praise.
āsutoṣa (S.)	one who is easily pleased, an epithet of Siva.
iktārā	one stringed musical instrument.
indrajāl (H.)	magic.
īṇḍhṛī	a roll, coil or ring of cloth, straw or rope and sonn, on which a water jar is carried on the head.
kaṅgnā	a thread or string tied round the right wrist of a bridegroom and the left of a bride at the marriage ceremony.
kacnār	the mountain ebony, Bauhinia variegata (the flowers of which are a delicate vegetable).
kaṭorā	a small brass or copper bowl.

karmas	(H.)	fate (the certain consequence of previous acts).
kalmā		the Mohammadan confession of faith.
kalaśa	(S.)	an earthen pitcher full of water.
kallaṛ		barren, sterile land.
kasār		a sweetmeat made by mixing fried flour with sugar.
kānkṛā		the receptacle (in a woman's bodice).
kāṅgnī		a kind of small grain, Panicum italicum.
kāvar		a bamboo yoke on which the devotees of Śiva carry Ganges water from Hardvār.
kikkaṛ		the tree, Acacia (or Mimosa) arabica.
kuṭhlā		a small earthen granary, a corn bin.
kuśa	(S.)	a sort of sacrificial grass, Poa cynosurioides
kesū		the tree, Butea frondosa.
kaiṛ		a thorny leafless shrub, Capparis aphylla (which grows in desert and kallaṛ).
koṭṭhā		a large (inner) room or apartment.
koṭṭhī		a bin.
koṭhṛī		a small room of a house.
khicṛī		rice and pulse boiled in equal proportion and spiced.
khīr		a dish made of rice and milk.
khīr of ras		khīr cooked in juice of sugar cane.
kheṛā		a small village, the site of an ancient town or village.

gajrā		a wrist ornament.
grāmas	(H.)	a scale in music.
gorī		a fair complexioned woman, a beauty, a beloved.
ghāghrā		a woman's light skirt.
ghī		clarified butter.
ghunṭī		a medicine consisting of aloes, spices and borax (given to new-born infants to clear out meconium).
cakras	(H.)	circular designs, e.g., as made in henna or turmeric paste on a pitcher.
caṭar-masūr		a species of herb which springs up with the rabī or spring crops. (It is used as fodder for the cattle; and the poorer cultivators use the seeds, mixed with barley, for food)
caṭṭās		multicoloured sticks, about 18 inches long carried by children on the festival of Guru-pūjā.
cāllā		the ceremony marking the second visit of the bride to her father-in-law's house.
cimṭā		fire-tongs (also used as a percussion instrument).
cirmiṭī		wild liquorice.
cundṛī		a partly-coloured sheet or sārī (worn by women)
cūṛā		a bangle of lac or ivory (usually worn by unmarried girls).
cauk		a design made up of auspicious symbols which is traced with flour on the floor on all ceremonial occasions.

caupāṛ	a kind of pavilion (generally built jointly by several people as an assembly-room or resting-place common to them all).
caubārā	a private room on the top of the house.
chī chī	filth, dirt.
chaiī	a gay young spark, a fop.
chorā	a boy (in the poems used for lover).
jaḍūlā	the male child who is to have his first hair-cut at a place of pilgrimage.
janvāsā	the place where the barātīs are accomodated.
jāṭṇī	a woman of the Jāṭ caste.
jijjā	sister's husband.
jijmān or yajmān	a person who institutes the performance of a sacrifice, employs priests for the purpose, and pays the expenses of it; a client to whose custom Brāhman, barber etc. have a prescriptive claim.
jiṭhāṇī	husband's elder brother's wife.
jeṭh	husband's elder brother.
jogan	a female hermit.
jhānjhī	an unbaked earthen pot with holes all around and a little clay lamp burning inside it.
jhummar	an ornament consisting of a number of chains forming a fringe, which is attached to the top-knot (of a woman's head) and falls on forehead. Only married women can wear it.

jhojṛū	a kind of grass(to which camels are very partial).
ṭesū	a lamp supported on a three-legged stand.
ḍamrū	a tabor or small drum shaped like an hour-glass(it is one of the ten attributes of Śiva).
ḍupaṭṭā	a cloth or sheet thrown loosely over the shoulders; a wrapper.
ḍholak	a small drum.
tijjaṇ	a festival held on the third day of the lunar fortnight of the month Śvan.
toṛā	a necklace worn by men.
thālī	a brass tray.
darbār	hall of audience.
dāt	dowry.
dāvaṇ	the strings at the foot of aa bedstead, by which the cross strings are tightened or braced.
dūb	the so called "bent grass" or "panic grass" (Panicum Dactylon).
durāṇī	husband's younger brother's wife.
devar	husband's younger brother.
dharamśālā (H.)	a place of rest for travellers and pilgrims.
dhutārā	a two stringed instrument (as a guitar).
naṇad	husband's sister.
nāgar bel	a species of grass, Cyperus pertenuis.
nivāṛ	coarse, broad tape (used to lace beds).

neg	a present given at a ceremony.
pañc	a member of the pancāyat.
pañcāyat	the village court and council consisting of five members.
palaṅg	a bed.
pahar	a division of time consisting of eight ghaṛīs or three hours, an eighth part of a day.
pāṛchā	a place of drawing water on a well.
pīpal (H.)	a kind of tree, the Ficus religiosa.
pīpṛī	the fruit of the pīpal.
pīr	a Muslim saint.
pīhar	home of bride's parents
pūrīs	a thin cake of meal fried in ghī or oil.
peṛī	a kind of bread.
pracārak (H.)	propagandist.
phaguā	the sports of the Holī festival.
bagulī	female crane, Ardea torra and putea.
baṇjārī	a woman of baṇjārā caste, who are carriers of grain, salt etc.
baṇṛā	bridegroom.
barātī	the members of a marriage party which accompanies the bridegroom to the house of of the bride.
bahū	wife, daughter-in-law.
bahnoī	sister's husband.

bāndī	a female slave.
bābal	a familiar title for a father chiefly used in songs.
bālam	' desired', beloved, lover, husband.
bindī	ornament for the forehead.
bīṛā	a preparation of the areca-nut with spices and chunam, etc., enveloped in a leaf of the betel plant. A bīṛā of five betel leaves is sent by an expectant mother to her relations as an invitation for the time of delivery.
bīn	the Indian lute.
bīraṇ	brother.
bessar	small, heavy nose-ring.
betel leaf of Mohbā (a town in Central India):	betel leaves of Mohbā are very sensitive and delicate. They soon become pale if kept for some time.
bhartār	protector, husband.
bhāt	the present given to the bride and bridegroom at marriage by their respective maternal uncles.
bhāṭaṛiā	those who bring bhāt.
bhābhī (H.)	wife of the elder brother.
mañjholī	a kind of cart or carriage of middling size, on two wheels(drawn by bullocks).
maṇḍhe-hākmā	bridegroom.
maṇṛā	a maker or vendor of bangles.

maraṛ kasār	a particular type of kasār.
māyā	wealth, riches.
mārū	husband, beloved.
mūṅg	a species of pulse, Phaseolus mungo.
mūñj	a sort of rash or grass (of which ropes are made), Saccharum munja.
morchal	a whisk of peacock feathers.
mohan laḍḍū	a particular type of laḍḍū prepared on festive occasions.
mainā	a kind of starling, Graculā religiosa.
maussā	sister's husband's father.
maussī	sister's husband's mother.
rath-mañjholī	a mañjholī on four wheels.
rūpo	a beauty.
laḍḍū	a kind of sweetmeat (made of the meal of gram, with the addition of sugar and ghī, and formed into the shape of large balls.
lahangā	a woman's skirt.
lahasue kā sāg	curried leaves of lahasuā, a herb which springs up with the rabī or spring crops.
loṭā	a small, round, metal pot.
viyoginī (H.)	a woman separated from her lover or husband.
satī	the ceremony of a widow burning herself on her husband's funeral pile.
Sathiyā	Swastikā
samadhī	daughter's bridegroom's father.

saṃyoginī (H.)	a woman united with her lover or husband.
sanam	husband.
salūnā	the day of full moon in the month of Sāvan, the fsetival of rakṣābandhana, when the sisters tie a piece of coloured thread round the wrist of their brothers, and who give them presents in return.
sājjaṇ	well born, lover or husband.
sārangī	a musical instrument like a fiddle.
sālā	wife's ~~sister~~. brother
sāḷī	wife's sister.
sās	husband's mother.
sipāhī	soldier, but in the songs it means lover.
silvā	(sāllū), a kind of fine red cloth, which is worn by newly married brides.
surmā	collyrium (of antimony, or lead-ore).
susar	husband's father.
susrāl (H.)	father-in-law's house.
sej	the nuptial bed.
sauk	a co-wife.
syāṇā	a wise man who knows the remedy of the ills caused by evil spirits and evil eye.
Har	Kṛṣṇa, but in the songs it means lover.

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