SOME FORMAL FEATURES OF TRADITIONAL MUNDARI POETRY

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The present paper is an attempt to analyse the language of poetry in Mundari. The language of poetry has been called a deviation from the norm, but such a deviation has a system of its own, as Jakobson (1960) and others have shown. Traditional Mundari poetry consists essentially of group songs accompanied by dance. This association with group has made the songs evolve special characteristics of their own. First, they are short—(very few are longer than four stanzas)—so that they can be remembered very easily. From this point of view they are like the medieval devotional songs of the poet singers such as Vidyapati, Candidas, Kabir, Sur, Tulsi, and Mira. Secondly, they are partly generative, one statement leading to another. The latter is predictable to a certain extent. Both devices are mnemonic for the singer-dancers.

The process of generation just mentioned can be seen within a stanza or between stanzas. A stanza is made up of two sentences divided into four lines (two lines to each sentence), a line being a phrase or a clause. The two sentences of the stanza may appear
different from each other on the surface expression but are actually the same on a deeper interpretative level. For example, in the following stanza:

\[
\begin{align*}
dada ya diku kaji do & \quad \text{Brother, the foreign language,} \\
dada ya kañ ituan & \quad \text{Brother, I do not know;} \\
dada ya bangalía do & \quad \text{Brother, the Bengali language,} \\
dada ya kañ sarñan & \quad \text{Brother, I do not understand.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The 'foreign language' and the 'Bengali language' are the same. Similarly, 'knowing' and 'understanding' amount to the same thing as far as the interpretation of the poem is concerned. This reappearance of the same idea in the second sentence may not always be as obvious as it is in the above example. In the following stanza the realization of sameness is not obvious:

\[
\begin{align*}
hora re sarajom baa & \quad \text{The sakhu flower by the road} \\
leseken leseken & \quad \text{is swaying, swaying;} \\
dare re hende hapanum & \quad \text{A dark girl on the path} \\
mocoken mocoken & \quad \text{is smiling, smiling.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The function of repetition here (and generally everywhere) is to intensify the message. The movement of such a process is usually from general to particular, from vagueness to clarity. In the example cited above the sakhu flower and its swaying form a background for the picture of a smiling girl. Before giving the main message (i.e., presenting the picture of a smiling girl) the poem tries to suggest it through a symbol (i.e., the swaying of the sakhu flower). There is nothing new in symbolising a smile laugh by the opening of a bud into a flower. Note that the sakhu flower is white, which represents transparence, openness, purity and innocence. Note
also that the sakhu tree is represented as standing by a road, a symbol of infiniteness. Once the basis of the poem is understood the further specifications are easy to interpret:

| leseken leseken             | It is swaying, swaying (but) |
| tî te ho kage tebago?      | it can't be reached by hands; |
| mocoken mocoken             | She's smiling, smiling (but) |
| moc a te ho kage            | she doesn't speak with her mouth. |
| jagaro?                     |                             |
| tî te ho kage tebago?      | It can't be reached by hands (then) |
| bako? ho baiâi pe           | make a hook for it.          |
| moc a te ho kage            | She doesn't speak with her mouth (then) write a letter to her. |
| jagaro?                     |                             |
| lika ho olai pe             | We made a hook for it (but) the hook broke; |
| bako? ho le baiâedâ          | We wrote a letter to her (but) the letter was torn |
| bako? ho hula?jan           |                             |
| lika ho le ollâedâ           |                             |
| lika ho cecâ?jan            |                             |

Parallel statements of these kinds can be explored further and the relationship between the two components of the expression can be stated. The parallelisms are basically of two kinds. The two expressions may be synonyms (or near synonyms) or antonyms (or near antonyms). Synonymous expressions can be subdivided into the following categories:

(a) They may be more or less semantically equal forms (determined by convention). For example, place names like dôesa / kukura, rancî / dûrunđa, diurî / saramalî, tamaña / bunđu, naguri / keonjari, kalikata / saragați; celestial bodies like sinjî 'sun' / canqû? 'moon', bônga 'god' / îpîl 'star'; verbal notions like jom 'to eat' / nu 'to drink', itu 'to know' / sari 'to understand', lel 'to see' /
na 'to recognize', sen 'to go' / birid 'to leave', tîi 'to lie down' /дурум 'to sleep', kaji 'to say' bakaña 'to describe', ma? 'to cut, to kill' / түн o shoot'; names of birds and beasts like sim 'chick-' / merom 'goat', marâ? 'peacock' / ʔa 'a bird with ng tail', seta 'dog' / pusî 'cat', kula 'tiger' / na 'bear'; trees and plants like jojo 'tamarind' / i 'mango', hesa? 'fig' / баре 'banyan'; social oups like munđa 'Munda people' / santa 'Santal people', sarga 'an Aryan subcaste' / курумби 'an Aryan bcaste', diku 'Indian stranger' / sayob 'Western brewer'; domestic/cultural elements like руту lute' / банам 'fiddle', кату 'knife' / кала 'strain-', сînduri 'vermilion' / сасан 'turmeric'.

(b) They may be objects or processes implemenitary to each other. For example, дурà oling, to sun 'dance, to dance', рая 'king' bamañe 'priest', supîd 'hairdo' / пела 'end of rî'.

(c) Each member of the parallelism may be a rt of the whole. For example, капа 'feet' / ти and', саɾîma 'roof' / candae 'eave', kalom 'next ar' / sbatoh 'year after next' (both being part of the future), sadom 'horse' / паiki 'war dancer' (both being parts of a procession).

(d) One of them may be a part of the other. r instance, гàŋа 'the river Ganges' / samundar cean', hisi 'twenty' / дуңуси 'forty', gelbar welve / hisibar 'twenty-two', hatu 'village' / la 'hamlet', хандири 'collapse' / joro 'leak'.

(e) One of them may be the subject of comparison and the other the object of comparison. r instance, sarjom baa 'sakhu flower' / hende
hanum 'dark young girl', kupul 'relative' / cepe 'bird'.

As we have mentioned above, these terms are not exact synonyms. We have tried to give English equivalents but the details have to be further specified. For instance, dub and jaaru both mean 'to sit' but whereas dub is 'to sit and do nothing' jaaru is 'to sit with an intention of visiting' but the term cannot be used for visiting far-away relatives; the visiting must be done within the village.

Antonyms or near antonyms can be listed under two kinds of oppositions:

(a) Simple oppositions such as ena 'mother' / apu 'father', haga 'brother' / bare 'kin', danga 'youth' / haamu 'old', ko[a 'male' / kuori 'female', da? 'water' / senegel 'fire', rakab 'to ascend' / haagu 'to descend', haju? 'to come' / seno? 'to go'.

(b) Complex oppositions like haju?-'seno? 'come and go' / biur-acur 'go round and round', lidilidi 'a tree expanding horizontally' / bir-bor 'a tree expanding vertically', sangil 'to look up' / hef 'to look back', jul 'to be in flames' / lingi 'to flow'.

We can be certain that this kind of parallelism in songs has resulted in the borrowing of many words from the local Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages into Mundari. Words like disum (< Hindi desh) 'country' paired with gamae 'land', çare (< Hindi çagar) 'path' paired with hora 'road', phikir (< Urdu fikr) 'worry' paired with uru? 'to think', and others are very familiar examples. On the other hand, it has also provided a means of retaining some words which go back to the proto-stages of Munda and which otherwise would...
have been lost since they are not in use in the ordinary conversational language. (h)osor (paired with (i)arágu) 'to come down', um (paired with rea(238,214),(425,235)) 'to sit', acur (paired with bîur) 'to return, go round', and others are examples of such retention.

Each song has a metrical system, a rhyme scheme, melodic pattern and a rhythmic cycle assigned to it. For the purpose of the present paper we will discuss only the first aspect here. However, we should like to say briefly of line-final rhyming that though this is used as a mnemonic device in poetry it is more of an automatic result than resulting from a conscious effort in Mundari poetry. The verb phrase in Mundari ends in focus markers -d- or -n- followed by the predicative -a-, and since most sentences end in a verbal phrase the choice of deviation is limited. This can be noticed in the songs given at the end of the paper (see Appendix 1).

Mundari uses a kind of quantitative meter in which the smallest time unit is a 'beat' composed mostly of one (we will call it short) or two (long) syllables. Examples of three-syllable beats are rare, and the tendency is to reduce them to two syllables. For example, baka(239,441),(385,454)aña 'describe' may be realised as baka(239,448),(385,454)ña, and jatara 'country fair' as jatra. The following are the different kinds of beat arrangements found in different classes of Mundari poetry:

Adur songs (sung preceding and during the 'festival of flowers' which takes place between February and April):

1) 7-7, 7-7

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{cimín cimín mainam} & \text{How long, how long were} \\
\text{dingaleda} & \text{you single, girl,}
\end{array}
\]
(2) 8-5, 8-5

buruate haragun ko  
ho sondari  
beraate hosoren ko  
seke seke haragun  
ko ho sondari  
rolo rolo hosoren  
ko  

The men coming down the  
hill, Sondari,  
The men descending the  
slope;  
They come down with the  
sound seke-seke,  
They descend with the noise  
rolo-rolo.

(3) 6-5, 6-5

buru doko buru  
cabakeda mai  
am do mai kam  
jurijan  
latrona doko jatra  
tundukeda mai  
am do mai kam  
lotajan  

The fairs are all over,  
girl,  
(but) you didn't get  
married.  
The festivals are all over,  
girl,  
(but) you were not wed.

(4) 6-6, 6-3

baa dope baatana  
mundako  

baa kape omea  
mundako  
dali dope dalitana  
santako  
dali kape cede  

You're celebrating the  
festival of flowers,  
Mudas,  
(but) you don't give out  
any flowers, Mundas;  
You're observing the  
festival of blossoms,  
Santals,  
(but) you don't hand out  
any blossoms.

(5) 5-5, 5-5

sida simko rana?  
re  
okotelan senoga  
tayom mara? neona  
re  
cimaelan birida  

At the first cock crow  
where shall we go?  
At the last peacock call  
where shall we leave?
The Sasan village, friend, the Sasan village;
The Binagor town, friend, the Binagor town.

Jadur songs (sung once following two jadur songs):

6-5, 6-5

_buru re buru re
  mani do
_bera re bera re rai
_limana lomona mani
do
_kidar kodora rai
(There is) mustard in every hill,
(there is) rai in every plain;
The mustard is dancing,
the rai is swaying.

5-5, 5-5

_buru cetan cetan
  te do
_am ci maina
  sen(e)leda (2)
nara latar latar
  te do
_amci maina
  tundankena (2)
On top of the hill,
girl, was it you walking?
Beneath the slopes,
girl, was it you moving?

Na songs (sung alternatively with jadur songs):

7-7, 7-7

_buru cetan
  citirikiin ho
_nara latar
  asakalikiin
cia citiri kam
  haraguna ho
cia asakal kam
  hosoren
Two citiri birds on the hill,
two asakal birds below the slope,
Citiri, won't you come down?
Asakal, won't you descend?

6-5, 6-5

_oko muli rea ho
  metam
_iuri daru golanci
_cimaemulireaho
  metam
_jota daru atal baa
In which direction is, my friend,
a pair of golanci flower trees?
In which direction is, my friend,
a pair of atal flower trees?
Mage songs (sung preceding and during the harvest festival):

(1) 7-7, 7-7

\[ \text{andutadmea mai ko sakomtadmea} \]
\[ \text{cimin cimin mai ko gonontadmea} \]
\[ \text{kiciritadmea mai ko paelatadmea} \]
\[ \text{cimin cimin mai ko satitadmea} \]

They have given you anklets and bracelets to wear,
What price have they set for you?
They have given you lower and upper garment
What price have they tagged for you?

(2) 4-7, 4-7

\[ \text{sukan buru hora re jiki seke seke ja bapurí (2)} \]
\[ \text{maran sili ñare re armu rolo roloëa ja bapurí (2)} \]

On the road to Sukun Hill a porcupine makes the noise seke-seke
On the path to Maran Sili an armu makes the sound rolo-rolo.

(3) 4-5, 4-5

\[ \text{raja sipai hiju?lena} \]
\[ \text{keö re ken keö re kena (2)} \]
\[ \text{diku sipai señerlena} \]
\[ \text{calo re ken calo re kena (2)} \]

The king's guard came.
Why, fool, why--he says;
The stranger's messenger
Move on, fool, move on--he says.

Japi songs (sung while returning from a hunt):

(1) 5-5, 5-5

\[ \text{sendera kora ko} \]
\[ \text{kapi bijirà bijira (2)} \]
\[ \text{karenga kora ko} \]
\[ \text{saar sñaë soñoea (2)} \]

The hunters (are coming), (their) axes shine bijir-bijir.
The shooters are arriving, (their) arrows sound sñaë-soñoe.

Arandi songs (sung during marriage):

(1) 4-4, 4-4

\[ \text{jome bala ko jome pe} \]
\[ \text{nui bala ko nui pe} \]

Eat, brothers, please eat,
Drink, brothers, please drink.
diri ruguři manči
bala do
jom(e) leka pe
Stone-mixed rice, brothers,
please eat.

Technically, we should not include marriage songs in
its analysis since they are not accompanied by dance
and therefore do not follow any specific rhythmic
style.

4-4, 2-5
oko sa?ate? hoyoled
Which direction did the rain
come from?
cimae sa?ate?
rampled
Which direction did the wind
come from?
gatñ re
My friend,
guru guru rimbil
the clouds are thundering
sarītan
guru-guru.

An empty beat is marked where the line ends in
an odd number of beats (e.g., at the end of a 7- or
beat line). The beat is sustained on the V(C) of
the preceding beat. At the end of the last line
(i.e., at the end of the stanza) the length of the
verse is much longer (involving one or several empty
beats), depending upon where the stanza ends in rela-
tion to the beginning of the rhythmic cycle of drum-
ing. Taking the empty beat into account, then, all
kinds of metrical arrangements can be reduced to three
types of basic types, i.e., (1) 4-4, 4-4, (2) 6-6, 6-6, and
(3) 8-8, 8-8 types.

Marking of beats
Given a sentence to be marked in terms of beats
the following rules should be noted:

(1) Natural word boundaries should be
intained. Thus rabaŋ tan and not ra baŋtan.
(2) No sequence of three beats of CV shape is allowed.

(3) A word must be marked within its own pause group. A (line medial) pause is marked every second beat of a line. The fourth beat marks a major pause for stanzas having 8-7, 8-7 and 7-7, 7-7 beat arrangements. Thus the first two beats in cimin+ cimin mainam#dinga+leda 'How long, how long were you single, girl' cannot be reassigned as cimin cimin mainam or as cimin cimin mainam because in either case ci is isolated from its part min by a pause marker.

(4) The beat following a pause should be long (i.e. two syllables). One of the means of making a short beat long is to add an e at the end of a close syllabic beat. (See page 14 for this and other such modifications.)

Repetition patterns

(1) Within a stanza the lines repeated are the first or the third. The first line is repeated in two positions: in the second or in the third. The possibility of repetition of the third line is only one, i.e., in the fourth line. The second line is never repeated within the same stanza. Examples:

(a) AABB

buru mandukam hale The mandukam (flower) on the hill, friend,
buru mandukam ho the mandukam on the hill.
beța sarjom hale The sarjom (fruit) in the valley, friend,
beța sarjom the sarjom in the valley.

(b) ABAC

aŋ nam renge? ci To get up hungry or to die in sleep,
giti?nam gonoe? how long should we worry about it?
cimin cimin(e)laŋ To get up hungry or to die in sleep,
hiatina how long should we think about it?
aŋnam renge? ci
giti?nam gonoe? cimin cimin(e)laŋ
cakatina

(2) Between stanzas part of a stanza may be repeated in the following stanza and thus provide the basis for that stanza. The nature of repetition depends on what form of extension the stanza takes. The new stanza may be as (a) an answer to a question
asked in the preceding stanza or (b) a comment on a part of the preceding stanza. The following are the different patterns of repetition between stanzas;

(a) ABCD is extended as BEDF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>engam mai buři dila re</td>
<td>Your mother in her old age, girl,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engam mai koneantant</td>
<td>your mother is getting married.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apum mai boo? care re</td>
<td>Your father though he's bald, girl,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apum mai boorentan</td>
<td>your father is getting paired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engam mai koneantant</td>
<td>Your mother is getting married, girl,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engam mai kajiaf pe</td>
<td>you (should) say something to your mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apum mai boorentan</td>
<td>Your father is getting paired, girl,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apum mai bakañaañ pe</td>
<td>you (should) tell something to your father.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) ABCD is extended as EBFD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rabañtan redo ya saluñ</td>
<td>If it is cold, dear,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyu denga mea ya salu</td>
<td>I'll cover you with me, dear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rearatant redo ya saluñ</td>
<td>If it is chilly, dear,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapal goñom me</td>
<td>I'll hide you with me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuda sura te saluñ</td>
<td>With kuda leaves, dear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyu denga mea ya salu</td>
<td>I'll cover you with me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baru sura te saluñ</td>
<td>With baru leaves, dear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapal goñom me</td>
<td>I'll hide you with me.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) ABCD is extended as AECF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>turu lekan sìngarenjan</td>
<td>You dressed up like a squirrel,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oko tem seno?tan</td>
<td>where are you going?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mara? lekan samporónjan</td>
<td>You dressed up like a peacock,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cimae tem birïdtan</td>
<td>where are you leaving?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turu lekan sìngarenjan</td>
<td>You dressed up like a squirrel,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susun tem seno?tan</td>
<td>you are going to the dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mara? lekan samporónjan</td>
<td>You are dressed up like a peacock,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
karam tem biridtn you are leaving for the karam.

(d) ABCD is extended as EFCD

buru re buru re mani do (There is) mustard in every hill,
beřa re beřa re rai (there is) rai in every plain.
limaŋ lomoña mani do The mustard is dancing,
kidar kodora rai dancing, the rai is swaying,
sid(e) lege moneña swaying.
manı do I feel like plucking the mustard,
ţota? lege sanaña rai I feel like nipping the rai.
limaŋ lomoña manı do The mustard is dancing,
kidar kodora rai dancing, the rai is swaying,

Repetition is not always in a sequential order. There may be other interrupting stanzas before any parts of a stanza are repeated.

Changes in the phonology and grammar

The language of poetry, bound within the limitations of the conventions of meter, introduces a few modifications of the language of prose. Such modifications have to do with the addition, deletion, and readjustment of certain linguistic elements. Such changes are listed below:

(1) Lengthening of the vowel:

(a) in a short beat to equate the time length with that of a long beat.

(b) in the beat preceding an empty beat to sustain the time length of the latter beat. Thus the e of re and o of sarajom would be long in the line hora
re sarajom baa and the e of the second ken in the line leseken leseken would even be longer because it sustains the empty beat following it.

(2) Optional epenthesis of n before all words beginning with a vowel or h. Thus
The could ask as to why n and not any other consonant is epenthesized. One of the reasons that could be given is that humming as a prelude to singing a line is essential and since the usual rest position for the tongue is the alveolar-dental region the most natural consonant before the vowel is n.

(3) Additional e:

(a) The first beat within a pause group (of two) should be of two syllables. Therefore a closed nonsyllabic word adds an e to fulfill this requirement. Thus sid lege would be realized as side lege. Note that ? becomes g before a vowel. This is also true when e is added to ?. For example, da? rege could be realized as dage rege.

(b) A beat of the shape #CVCVC CV(C)# is rewritten as CVCV CeCV(C). Thus

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cim} \text{in gom} & \rightarrow \text{cimi n(e)gom} \\
\text{gati} \text{n re} & \rightarrow \text{gati n(e)re} \\
\text{supid te} & \rightarrow \text{supid d(e)te} \\
\text{merom ko} & \rightarrow \text{mero m(e)ko}
\end{align*}
\]

(4) Emphatics ge do and vocatives re, ja, ho, go, and na are added wherever the meter requires such an addition as long as they are explainable in the context.

(5) The line final predicative a is dropped except in a seven beat line. Thus amdo mai kamurijan but duba dag(e) rege m daburanjana.

(6) The various forms of the copula tan and ən are deleted at the requirement of the meter. Thus buru re buru re mani do is derived from buru re buru ən re mani do mena? and be ra re be ra re ra from be ra be ra re ra t mena?.

(7) A few verbs may be deleted and instead the verbal notions may be carried by case markers and vocatives. Thus cetanate sarga dagiri 'from above a Sarga girl' is derived from cetanate sarga dagiri hijutana 'A Sarga girl is coming down from
above'. Similarly, mar babu 'go son' is derivable from mar babu sabime 'go son, catch her'.

(8) If the meter requires, connectives and relative markers may be deleted. Thus the connective mendo 'but' has to be recovered between the two lines

bako? ho le We made a hook for it
balleda
bako? ho (but) the hook broke.
hula? Jan

for a grammatical interpretation of the sentence. Such deleted elements are put within brackets in the English translations of the texts.

(9) Sound continuity is essential for singing and since ? by its nature stops the flow of sound it is dropped in singing unless it is absolutely needed for beat-requirement purposes. In a very few cases ? is readjusted to η to avoid discontinuity of sound. For example mara? sili --> maraŋ sili. This kind of conversion of ? into η is more productive in Santali poetry.

Thus, though at times phonology might seem to take over grammar in a meter-bound poetry, in general the rules of the grammar hold true even in the language of poetry. The various deviations can be derived from the norm of the language.

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1 My thanks are due to Professor Norman H. Zide of the University of Chicago and to Dr. Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya of the Anthropological Survey of India for their valuable suggestions.

2 Here we are talking of remembering them easily. We are aware that the human mind has a tremendous capacity to remember, and that there are people who have committed to memory the entire corpus of the Vedas, the Upaniṣads and the Epics in Sanskrit literature.
How long, how long were you single, girl, (that) you hanged yourself from an eggplant bush?

How long, how long were you unmarried, girl, (that) you drowned yourself in a cup of water?

You were single for twenty-two years, girl; you hanged yourself from an eggplant bush. You were unmarried for twelve years, girl; you drowned yourself in a cup of water.

As if you had no mother and father, you hanged yourself from an eggplant bush. As if you had no brothers and relatives, you drowned yourself in a cup of water.

I want to be sorry, I want to be sad (that) you hanged yourself from an eggplant bush.

I want to be sorry, I want to be sad (that) you drowned yourself in a cup of water.
2

buruata haṟagunko ho sondari
naraate hosorenko
seke seke haṟagunko ho sondari
rolo rolo hosorenko

niku ciko tula buluṇa ho sondari
niku ciko ganda rasuṇi
seke seke haṟagunko ho sondari
rolo rolo hosorenko

uli suba derateko ho sondari
jojo suba basateko
seke seke haṟagunko ho sondari
rolo rolo hosorenko

The men coming down the hill, Sondari,
the men descending the slope,
They come down with the sound seke-seke,
they descend with the noise rolo-rolo.

Are they the ones who sell salt, Sondari,
are they the ones who trade in garlic?
They come down seke-seke, Sondari,
they descend rolo-rolo.

They have stopped under the mango tree,
they have halted beneath the tamarind tree.
They come down seke-seke, Sondari,
they descend rolo-rolo.

3

buru doko buru cabakeda mai
amdo mai kam juɾijan
jatarə doko jatarə tun̪ųkədə mai
amdo mai kam jotajan

amate hupuriŋko na mai
soben(e)ko juɾijan
amate maparaniko na mai
soben(e)ko jotajan

nea mosaŋ hiatina na mai
amdo mai kam juɾijan
nea mosaŋ cakatina na mai
amdo mai kam jotajan

The fairs are all over, girl,
(but) you did not get married.
The festivals are all over, girl,
(but) you have not wed.
The girls younger than you, girl,
they all got married.
The girls older than you, girl,
they all were wed.

I think over this, girl,
(that) you did not get married.
I ponder this, girl,
(that) you were not wed.

4

baa dope baatana munđako
baa kape omea munđako
dalī dope dalitàna santako
dalī kape cede

baatepe rîŋgatana munđako
baa kape omea munđako
dalitepe akaltana santako
dalī kape cede

alea? disumtepe seno?redo
sunupid cuţirele baakulpea
alea? gamaetepe birid redo
ronopod subarele dalikulpea

You're celebrating the festival of flowers,
Mundas,
(but) you don't give out any flowers.
You're observing the festival of blossoms,
Santals,
(but) you don't hand out any blossoms.

You lack flowers, Mundas,
you don't give out flowers.
You have no blossoms, Santals,
you don't hand out blossoms.

If you go to our country,
we'll send you back with your hair full of
flowers.
If you come to our land,
we'll send you back with hairknot full of
blossoms.

5

ciŋan kajî bolem ayumleda
oragate piritem urunîlena
merekan bakaña bolem atenleda
What did you hear (that) you came out of the house to the field?
What did you hear (that) you came back to the house from the field?

You heard about your friend, you came out of the house to the field.
You heard about your lover, you came back to the house from the field.

The Sasang village, friend, the Sasang village.
The Bindagor town, friend, the Bindagor town.

At Sasang village they are fighting, friend.
At Bindagor town they are killing.

Among brothers, they are fighting each other.
Among relatives,
they are killing each other.
The milk-like field
became full of blood, friend.
The curd-like ground
became stained.

buru re buru re mani do
beba re beba re rai
liman lomoña mani do
kidar kodora rai

okoe ge herleda mani do
cimae ge pasileda rai
liman lomoña mani do
kidar kodora rai

mundako ge herleda mani do
santako ge pasirled rai
liman lomoña mani do
kidar kodora rai

sid(e)le ge moneña mani do
šotša?le ge sanaña rai
liman lomoña mani do
kidar kodora rai

alo repe sidea mani do
alo repe šotša?ea rai
liman lomoña mani do
kidar kodora rai

tiire mundam gonošte mani do
kašare pola satite rai
liman lomoña mani do
kidar kodora rai

(There is) mustard in every hill,
(there is) rai in every plain.
The mustard is dancing,
the rai is swaying.

Who has planted the mustard?
who has sown the rai?
The mustard is dancing,
the rai is swaying.

The Mundas have planted the mustard,
the Santals have sown the rai.
The mustard is dancing,
the rai is swaying.
I feel like plucking the mustard,
I feel like nipping the rai.
The mustard is dancing,
the rai is swaying.

Don't pluck the mustard,
don't nip the rai.
The mustard is dancing,
the rai is swaying.

The mustard is for the price of a finger ring,
the rai is for the price of a toe ring.
The mustard is dancing,
the rai is swaying.
A List of the Most Frequently Used Parallelisms

alia 'mother' bapa 'father'
akirin 'to sell' kheja 'to sell, to divide'
asakal 'bird (sp)' klikir 'bird (sp)'
asul 'to support' joton 'to keep'
ata 'puffed rice' taben 'pressed rice'
atin 'to graze' gusan 'to pick'
atal 'to be joined' dopali 'to be blown away'
baa 'flower' đali 'blossom'
balae 'trouble' kosojo 'pain'
baru 'tree (sp)' kuda 'tree (sp)'
bil 'to spread' ated 'to spread'
bofo 'to enter' soro 'to sneak in'
buru 'mountain' ber 'valley'
nara 'slope'
candu 'moon' singi 'sun'
capu 'to touch' tunum 'to feel'
cilik 'how' mereka 'how'
danga 'youth' haram 'old'
dangiri 'young woman'
daru 'tree' sin 'tree'
baa 'flower'
dasi 'hired hand' guti 'assistant'
denga 'help' gorom 'to assist'
diku 'foreigner' sarga 'a Hindu subcaste'
sayob 'a European'
didi 'vulture' kuri 'kite'
diri 'rock' sakam 'leaf'
disum 'country' gamae 'land'
dudugar 'storm' koasi 'fog'
dul 'to pour' bil 'to spread'
duran 'to sing' susun 'to dance'
gera 'to camp' basa 'to halt'
dinga 'bachelor'
dinca 'bird (sp)'
doesa 'place (sp)'
ena "mother"
ekela 'to shake'
enga 'mother'
enga-apu 'father-mother'
ganga 'the river Gangā'
gama 'rain'
gari 'monkey'
gel-bar 'twelve'
geran 'to cry'
gesa 'to touch'
giti?-ora? 'sleeping house'
goe? 'to die'
gole 'to whistle'
dura 'to sing'
go 'to give in marriage'
gorob 'pride'
gosañ 'goswami priest'
goso 'to wither'
gutu 'to string'
ahai sab 'to catch fish'
halaa 'to pick'
hapanum 'young woman'
har 'to drive'
hāragu 'to descend'
hasa 'soil'

dangua 'single'
kereja 'bird (sp)'
kukura 'place (sp)'
apa 'father'
taiur 'to tremble, to turn'
apu 'father'
haga-bare 'brother-relatives'
samundar 'ocean'
rampi 'drizzle'
sara? 'monkey (black faced)'
hisibar 'twenty-two'
rumbul 'to moan'
țapa 'to fan'
jaaru rosom 'sitting place'
ser 'to melt'
landa 'to laugh'
jagar 'to talk'
cal 'to transfer'
nabab 'arrogance'
bamane 'brahman priest'
dubao 'to sink'
maela 'to fade'
galañ 'to braid'
sanga ur 'to dig roots'
tusan 'to collect'
dangiri 'young woman'
ti? 'to drag'
hosor 'to come down (sliding)'
da? 'water'
hatu 'village'  
han 'red ant'  
hayad 'to dry'  
herem 'sweet'  
hesa? 'fig tree'  
hîtiñ 'to be sorry'  
hiju? 'to come'  
hiju?-seno? 'to come and go'  
hrsî 'twenty'  
hon 'child'  
hora 'road'  
horo 'man'  
hula? 'to break'  

hlundi 'flower (sp)'  
hurîñ 'small'  
lam 'to cry'  
ilkr 'deep'  
indi 'festival (sp)'  
ipil 'star'  
itú 'to know'  
jadar 'dance (sp)'  
jagar 'to talk'  
jalatiñ 'to hover'  
jan 'bone'  
jaro'm 'ripe'  
jati-pati 'caste'  
jeñê 'summer'  
njî 'heart'  
jojo 'tamarind'  
jolom 'smear floor'  
jom 'to eat'  
joo 'fruit'  
juñ 'to burn'  

țola 'hamlet'  
lama? 'creeper (sp)'  
orê? 'to burst open'  
sîbil 'tasty'  
baru 'banyan tree'  
cakâtiñ 'to be sorry'  
señor? 'to go'  
bîlur-acher 'to go round and round'  
dûnusi 'forty'  
gaña 'root'  
càre 'road, path'  
parja 'people'  
keca? 'to split'  
doran 'to topple'  
loñoe? 'to sprain'  
âtal 'flower (sp)'  
marañ 'big'  
sayad 'to sigh'  
mango 'level'  
manañ 'festival (sp)'  
canjuñ 'moon'  
sexi 'to understand'  
karam 'dance (sp)'  
bakana 'to describe'  
bulatiñ 'to wander'  
jilj 'flesh'  
gadar 'half ripe'  
kili-mili 'clan'  
jargi 'rain'  
kuñ 'chest'  
uli 'mango'  
nañaka 'wash hair'  
hab 'to bite'  
baa 'flower'  
lîñgi 'to flow'
jultan sengel 'burning fire'
kagojo sakam 'page of paper'
kalom 'next year'
kaluţi 'pullet'
kapi 'axe'
katu 'knife'
khadişi 'to jump in'
khanda 'sword'
sinduri 'vermilion'
kirin 'to buy'
koneya 'bride'
koto 'branch'
koşa 'to shake off'
kundam 'backyard'
kupul 'relative'
kurumbi 'Hindu subcaste (sp)'
lel 'to see'
lika 'letter'
lolo 'heat of fire'
loo 'to burn'
mulu 'to appear'
munça 'Munda'
med 'eye'
maeno 'bird (sp)'
mundukam 'tree (sp)'
mant 'mustard (smaller kind)'
maraţ 'big'
marci 'red pepper'
mayom 'blood'
mid 'one'
moşe 'five'
lingitan da? 'flowing water'
ğir da? 'deep water'
rela sakam 'palm leaf'
satom 'year after next'
ilî 'rice beer'
saar 'arrow'
cala 'strainer'
dabura 'to dive in'
phirî 'shield'
sasaq 'turmeric'
kheja 'to sell, to divide'
boor 'bridegroom'
darşa 'branch'
pota? 'to skin off'
salandi 'backwall'
ceşe 'bird'
sarga 'Hindu subcaste (sp)'
cına 'to recognize'
puthi 'book'
jeţe 'heat of the sun'
bal 'to burn a hole'
seţer 'to arrive'
santa 'Santal'
seğça 'knowledge'
salu 'bird (sp)'
sarjom 'tree (sp)'
rai 'mustard (bigger kind)'
juşin 'small'
bengara 'eggplant'
kirum 'stain'
bar 'two'
turui 'six'
naki? 'to comb'
nam 'to find'
nida 'night'
nir 'to run'
nuba? 'darkness'
oko 'who'
ol 'to write'
om 'to give'
oroŋ 'to blow flute'
ora? 'house'

ote 'land, earth'
piŋi 'highland'
punj 'white'
pura? 'much'
rabaŋ 'cold'
raja 'king'

rakab 'ascend'
ranci 'place (sp)'
ranga sar 'red sari'
raŋa 'to untie'
rasika 'joy'
reel 'train'
renge? 'hunger'
ri 'bird (sp)'
ringga 'famine'
roa 'to plant'
ruara 'to return'
rutu 'flute'
saar 'arrow'
saat 'to bear, undergo'
jururur 'to smoothen'
khojar 'to look for'
singi 'day'
hojar 'to hop'
marsal 'light'
cima 'who'
bal 'to burn hole'
paŋo 'to read'
ced 'to distribute'
banaŋ 'to play fiddle'
rosom 'hut'
duar 'door'

ari 'field'
disum 'country'
sirma 'sky'
badi 'lowland'
hende 'black'
isu 'many'
reaŋ 'chill'
bamaŋe 'priest'
ran 'queen'
haragi 'descend'
ğurunaŋ 'place (sp)'
sona rupa 'gold and silver'
keaŋ? 'to split'
uruŋ 'sorrow'
lauka 'boat'
tetaŋ 'thirst'
besera 'bird (sp)'
akaŋ 'draught'
poa 'to sow'
acur 'to circle'
banam 'fiddle'
guli 'bullet'
jiilaŋ 'to endure'
sab 'to hold (by hand)'
sadom 'horse'
sae 'hundred'
sangül 'to look up'
sangın 'distant'
sarjom baa 'sarjom flower'
sarı 'noise'
sarıma 'roof'
satı 'burn to death'
seno? 'to go'
seŋel 'fire'
sepeređ 'young man'
sida 'at first'
sım hon 'chick'
sım kusul 'chicken house'
sinduri 'vermilion'
singü 'day'
sinbonga 'sun god'
sirma 'year, sky'
somae 'time'
songoti 'friend'
soor 'to dart forward'
suku 'be happy'
suku baa 'gourd flower'
sukuł 'smoke'
sunum 'oil'
supid 'hairdo'

gati 'to hold (by neck, shoulder)'
lika 'letter'
hisi 'twenty'
heta 'to look back'
jilin 'long'
hende hapanum 'dark young girl'
sura sangen 'new leaves'
rumbul 'echo'
candae 'eave'
dabura 'drown'
birid 'to leave'
țiğan 'to creep'
sakam 'leaf'
da? 'water'
dudugar 'storm'
hapanum 'young woman'
tayom 'at last'
kuɾi hon 'girl'
merom guduri 'goat house'
kajoro 'mascara'
nida 'night'
ote enga 'mother earth'
bochor 'year'
ote 'earth'
osaɾa 'time'
piriṭi 'lover'
țiğer 'to stand firm'
reaɾa 'to feel cool'
tayar naɾi 'cucumber vi:
koasí 'mist'
meŋed 'iron, steel'
ropod 'hairknot'
paela 'upper garment'
susun 'to dance'
duraŋ 'to sing'
tala 'middle'
atom 'edge'
taŋa? 'to wait'
taŋa? 'to wait'
teša? 'to reach'
jagar 'to talk'
seter 'to arrive'
til 'hand'
kaša 'feet'
med 'eye'
hošo? 'neck'
tisni 'today'
gapa 'tomorrow'
toa 'milk'
taben 'flat rice'
tol 'to tie'
ten 'to press'
top a 'to bury'
dabol 'to press'
čaka 'one rupee'
sika '1/4 of rupee'
čote 'to shoot'
hurdaŋ 'to throw sling'
čuľla 'musical instrument (sp)'
kendera 'fiddle'
uđub 'to tell'
cuŋul 'to point out'
uku 'to hide'
danaŋ 'to shelter'
ururu 'falling of leaves'
oťaŋ 'blowing away of leaves'
urun 'to get out'
payar 'to get out'
uru? 'to worry'
phikir 'to ponder'
uru? 'to worry'
sayad 'to breathe'
vuyu 'to cover'
dapal 'to hide'
uyu? 'to fall'
taba? 'to fall'


