

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.¹ 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.² 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

ferent from each other on the surface expression
el but are actually the same on a deeper interpre-
e level. For example, in the following stanza:

dada ya dīku kajī do	Brother, the foreign language,
dada ya kañ ituan	Brother, I do not know;
dada ya baṅgalīa do	Brother, the Bengali language,
dada ya kañ sarīan	Brother, I do not under- stand.

The 'foreign language' and the 'Bengali language'
the same. Similarly, 'knowing' and 'understand-
' amount to the same thing as far as the interpre-
tion of the poem is concerned. This reappearance
the same idea in the second sentence may not always
as obvious as it is in the above example. In the
lowing stanza the realization of sameness is not
obvious:

hora re sarajom baa	The <i>sakhu</i> flower by the road
leseken leseken	is swaying, swaying;
ḍare re hende hapanum	A dark girl on the path
mocoken mocoken	is smiling, smiling.

The function of repetition here (and generally
everywhere) is to intensify the message. The movement
such a process is usually from general to particu-
r, from vagueness to clarity. In the example cited
ve the *sakhu* flower and its swaying form a back-
ground for the picture of a smiling girl. Before
ving the main message (*i.e.*, presenting the picture
a smiling girl) the poem tries to suggest it
rough a symbol (*i.e.*, the swaying of the *sakhu*
ower). There is nothing new in symbolising a smile
laugh by the opening of a bud into a flower. Note
at the *sakhu* flower is white, which represents
ansparency, 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)
tĩ te ho kage tebago?	it can't be reached by hands;
mocoken mocoken	She's smiling, smiling (but)
moca te ho kage jagaro?	she doesn't speak with her mouth.
tĩ te ho kage tebago?	It can't be reached by hands (then)
bako? ho baĩai pe	make a hook for it.
moca te ho kage jagaro?	She doesn't speak with her mouth
lika ho olai pe	(then) write a letter to her.
bako? ho le baĩleda	We made a hook for it
bako? ho hula?jan	(but) the hook broke;
lika ho le olleda	We wrote a letter to her
lika ho ceca?jan	(but) the letter was torn

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 *ḡoesa* / *kukura*, *ranci* / *ḡurunḡa*, *dĩuṛi* / *saramali*, *tamaṇa* / *bunḡu*, *naguri* / *keonjari*, *kalikata* / *saragaṭi*; celestial bodies like *siṅgi* 'sun' / *canḡu?* 'moon', *bonga* 'god' / *ipĩl* 'star'; verbal notions like *jom* 'to eat' / *nu* 'to drink', *ĩtu* 'to know' / *sari* 'to understand', *lei* 'to see' /

na 'to recognize', sen 'to go' / birid 'to leave',
 ti? 'to lie down' / durum 'to sleep', kaji 'to say'
 bakaṇa 'to describe', ma? 'to cut, to kill' / tuñ
 o shoot'; names of birds and beasts like sim 'chick-
 ' / merom 'goat', mara? 'peacock' / laṇ 'a bird with
 ng tail', seta 'dog' / puṣi 'cat', kula 'tiger' /
 na 'bear'; trees and plants like jojo 'tamarind' /
 i 'mango', hesa? 'fig' / baṛe 'banyan'; social
 ouns like munḍa 'Munda people' / santa 'Santal
 ople', sarga 'an Aryan subcaste' / kuṛumbi 'an Aryan
 bcaste', dīku 'Indian stranger' / sayob 'Western
 reigner'; domestic/cultural elements like ruṭu
 lute' / baṇam 'fiddle', kaṭu 'knife' / cala 'strain-
 ', sīndurī 'vermilion' / sasaṇ 'turmeric'.

(b) They may be objects or processes
 complementary to each other. For example, duraṇ
 ong, to sing' / susun 'dance, to dance', raja 'king'
 bamaṇe 'priest', supid 'hairdo' / paela 'end of
 ri'.

(c) Each member of the parallelism may be a
 rt of the whole. For example, kaṭa 'feet' / tii
 and', saṛīma 'roof' / candae 'eave', kalom 'next
 ar' / satom 'year after next' (both being part of
 e future), sadom 'horse' / paiki 'war dancer' (both
 ing parts of a procession).

(d) One of them may be a part of the other.
 r instance, gaṅga 'the river Ganges' / samundar
 cean', hiṣi 'twenty' / duṇuṣi 'forty', gelbar
 twelve' / hiṣibar 'twenty-two', haṭu 'village' /
 la 'hamlet', handīṛi 'collapse' / joro 'leak'.

(e) One of them may be the subject of
 mparison and the other the object of comparison.
 r instance, sarjom baa 'sakhu flower' / hende

hapanum 'dark young girl', kupul 'relative' / ceṇe '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 enḡa 'mother' / apu 'father', haḡa 'brother' / bare 'kin', daṅḡara 'youth' / haṅam 'old', koṛa 'male' / kuṛi 'female', da? 'water' / seṅgel 'fire', rakab 'to ascend' / haṛagu 'to descend', hiḡu? 'to come' / seno? 'to go'.

(b) Complex oppositions like hiḡu?-seno? 'come and go' / biur-acur 'go round and round', liḡi-liḡi 'a tree expanding horizontally' / bir-bor 'a tree expanding vertically', saṅḡil 'to look up' / heṭa 'to look back', juḡ 'to be in flames' / liṅḡi '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 diṣum (< Hindi desh) 'country' paired with gamae 'land', ḡare (< Hindi ḡagar) 'path' paired with hora 'road', phikīr (< Urdu fikr) 'worry' paired with uṛu? '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

ve been lost since they are not in use in the ordinary conversational language. (h)osor (paired with)aragu) 'to come down', um (paired with reaṛa) 'to the', acur (paired with bṛur) '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 predicator -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, bakaṇa 'describe' may be realised as bakṇa, 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

cīmīn cīmīn mainam
dīndāleda

How long, how long were
you single, girl,

bengara daruatem
hakanjana
cimin cimin mainam
dangualeda
duba dag(e) regem
daburanjana

(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.

(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
jatara doko jatra
tundukeda mai
am do mai kam
jotajan

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,
Mundas,
(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
cimaetelan birida

At the first cock crow
where shall we go?
At the last peacock call
where shall we leave?

4-4, 4-3

sasaŋ hatu hale
sasaŋ hatu ho
bindagor nagar hale
bindagor nagar

The Sasaŋ village, friend,
the Sasaŋ village;
The Bindagor town, friend,
the Bindagor town.

jadur songs (sung once following two *jadur* songs):

6-5, 6-5

buru re buru re
mani do
bera re bera re rai
liman 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
tundaŋkena (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
citirikiŋ ho
nara latar
asakaikiŋ
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
juŋi daru golanci
cimae muli rea ho
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

andutadmea mai ko
sakomtadmea
cimin cimin mai ko
gonontadmea
kiciritadmea mai ko
paelatadmea
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

sukan buru hora re
jiki seke sekea ja
bapuri (2)
maraŋ sili dare re
armu rolo roloea ja
bapuri (2)

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

(3) 4-5, 4-5

raja sipai
hiju? lena
keo re ken keo re
kena (2)
diku sipai
seterlena
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

sendera kora ko
kapi bijira bijira
(2)
karenga kora ko
saar sinæ sonoea
(2)

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

Arandi songs (sung during marriage):

(1) 4-4, 4-4

jome bala ko jome
pe
nui bala ko nui pe

Eat, brothers, please eat,
Drink, brothers, please
drink.

diri ruguri mandi Stone-mixed rice, brothers,
 bala do
jom(e) leka pe please eat.

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

Planting songs (sung during the planting of rice):

1) 4-4, 2-5

<u>oko</u> <u>sa</u> ?ate? <u>hoyo</u> led	Which direction did the rain come from?
<u>cimae</u> <u>sa</u> ?ate?	Which direction did the wind come from?
<u>ramp</u> led	
<u>gati</u> ñ <u>re</u>	My friend,
<u>guru</u> <u>guru</u> <u>rim</u> bil	the clouds are thundering
<u>sa</u> ri <u>tan</u>	guru-guru.

An empty beat

An empty beat is marked where the line ends in
 an odd number of beats (e.g., at the end of a 7- or
 9-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
 empty beat 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-
 ming. Taking the empty beat into account, then, all
 types of metrical arrangements can be reduced to three
 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
 maintained. Thus rabañ tan and not ra bañtan.

(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#diṇḍa+leda 'How long, how long were you single, girl' cannot be reassigned as cimin ci+min mainam or as cimin ci+min 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.
bera sarjom hale	The sarjom (fruit) in the valley, friend,
bera sarjom	the sarjom in the valley.

(b) ABAC

aṇ nam renge? ci	To get up hungry or to die
giti?nam gonoe?	in sleep,
cimin cimin(e)laṇ	how long should we worry
hiatiṇa	about it?
aṇnam renge? ci	To get up hungry or to die
giti?nam gonoe?	in sleep,
cimin cimin(e)laṇ	how long should we think
cakatiṇa	about it?

(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

engam mai buṛi dila re	Your mother in her old age, girl,
engam mai koneantan	your mother is getting married.
apum mai boo? caṛe re	Your father though he's bald, girl,
apum mai boorentan	your father is getting paired.
engam mai koneantan	Your mother is getting married, girl,
engam mai kajiaṛ pe	you (should) say something to your mother.
apum mai boorentan	Your father is getting paired, girl,
apum mai bakaṇaai pe	you (should) tell some- thing to your father.

(b) ABCD is extended as EBFD

rabaṇtan redo ya saluñ	If it is cold, dear,
uyu denga mea ya salu	I'll cover you with me, dear.
rearaṭan redo ya saluñ	If it is chilly, dear,
dapaḷ goṛom me	I'll hide you with me.
kuda suṛa te saluñ	With kuda leaves, dear,
uyu denga mea ya salu	I'll cover you with me.
baru suṛa te saluñ	With baru leaves, dear,
dapaḷ goṛom me	I'll hide you with me.

(c) ABCD is extended as AECF

tuṛu lekam singarenjan	You dressed up like a squirrel,
oko tem seno?tan	where are you going?
mara? lekam sampoṛonjan	You dressed up like a peacock,
cimae tem biridtan	where are you leaving?
tuṛu lekam singarenjan	You dressed up like a squirrel,
susun tem seno?tan	you are going to the dance.
mara? lekam sampoṛonjan	You are dressed up like a peacock,

karam tem birıdtan you are leaving for the
karam.

(d) ABCD is extended as EFCD

buru re buru re mani do	(There is) mustard in every hill,
beṛa re beṛa re rai	(there is) rai in every plain.
limaṇ lomoṇa mani do	The mustard is dancing, dancing,
kıdar kodora rai	the rai is swaying, swaying.
sid(e) lege moneña mani do	I feel like plucking the mustard,
toṭa? lege sanaña rai	I feel like nipping the rai.
limaṇ lomoṇa mani do	The mustard is dancing, dancing,
kıdar kodora rai	the rai is swaying, 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 ḥaa 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

iam	'to cry'	-->	(n)iam
udub	'to tell'	-->	(n)udub
ekela	'to tremble'	-->	(n)ekela
oko	'who'	-->	(n)oko
ala	'to bloom'	-->	(n)ala
hisi	'twenty'	-->	(n/)hisi
huduma	'to throw'	-->	(n/)huduma
hesa?	'fig'	-->	(n/)hesa?
hosor	'to descend'	-->	(n/)hosor
halan	'to pick up'	-->	(n/)halan

one 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 monosyllabic 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 would be realized as dage rege.

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

cimĩn gom	-->	cimĩ n(e)gom
gatiñ re	-->	gati ñ(e)re
supid te	-->	supi d(e)te
merom ko	-->	mero m(e)ko

(4) Emphatics ge do and vocatives re, ja, a, 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 predicator a is dropped except in a seven beat line. Thus amdo mai kam urĩjan but duba dag(e) regem daburanjana.

(6) The various forms of the copula tan and en are deleted at the requirement of the meter. Thus uru re buru re mani do is derived from buru re buru e mani do mena? and bera re bera re rai from bera e bera re rai mena?.

(7) A few verbs may be deleted and instead the verbal notions may be carried by case markers and vocatives. Thus cetate sarga dangĩri 'from above a Sarga girl' is derived from cetate sarga dangĩri hiju?tana '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
bailleda

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 --> maraη 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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²Here 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.

APPENDIX 1

Seven Specimens of Mundari Poetry

1

cimin cimin mainam dindaleda
bengara daruatem hakanjana
cimin cimin mainam danggaleda
duba dag(e) regem daburanjana

hisibar sirima gom dindaleda
bengara daruatem hakanjana
gelbar bocor gom danggaleda
duba dag(e) regem daburanjana

engam apum(e)ko banko leka
bengara daruatem hakanjana
hagam barem(e)ko banko leka
duba dag(e) regem daburanjana

hiatino moneña re cakatino sanañ
bengara daruatem hakanjana
hiatino moneña re cakatino sanañ
duba dag(e) regem daburanjana

*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

buruate haragunko ho sondari
 naraate hosorenko
 seke seke haragunko ho sondari
 rolo rolo hosorenko

 niku ciko tula buluṅa ho sondari
 niku ciko gaṇḍa rasuṇi
 seke seke haragunko ho sondari
 rolo rolo hosorenko

 uli suba deratekoa ho sondari
 jojo suba basatekoa
 seke seke haragunko 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 juṛijan
 jatara doko jatara ṭuṇḍukeda mai
 amdo mai kam jotajan

 amate hupuriṅko na mai
 soben(e)ko juṛijan
 amate maparaṅko na mai
 soben(e)ko jotajan

 nea mosañ hiatiṅa na mai
 amdo mai kam juṛijan
 nea mosañ cakatiṅa 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 munḁako
baa kape omea munḁako
ḁali dope ḁalitana santako
ḁali kape cede

baatepe ringatana munḁako
baa kape omea munḁako
ḁalitepe akaltana santako
ḁali kape cede

alea? diṣumtepe seno?redo
sunupid cuṭirele baakulpea
alea? gamaetepe birid redo
ronopod subarele ḁalikulpea

*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

cikan kaji bolem ayumleda
oragate piritem uruḁlena
merekan bakana bolem atenleda

piriate oratem rua'alena
gatlma? kaji bolem ayumleda
oragate piritem urunlena
sangama? bakana bolem atenleda
piriate ora?tem rua'alena

*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.*

6

sasang hatu hale
sasang hatu ho
bindagor nagar hale
bindagor nagar

sasang hatureko
mapa?tana ho
bindagor nagarreko
tupuñtana

haga hagayako
mapa?tana ho
kuma gereako
tupuñtana

toa lekan piri dore
mayomjana ho
dahi lekan badi dore
kirumjana

*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.*

7

buru re buru re manī do
bera re bera re rai
līman lomoṇa manī do
kīdar kodora rai

okoe ge herleda manī do
cīmae ge pasīleda rai
līman lomoṇa manī do
kīdar kodora rai

mundako ge herleda manī do
santako ge pasīled rai
līman lomoṇa manī do
kīdar kodora rai

sīd(e)lege moneña manī do
ṭoṭa?lege sanaña rai
līman lomoṇa manī do
kīdar kodora rai

alo repe sīdea manī do
alo repe ṭoṭa?ea rai
līman lomoṇa manī do
kīdar kodora rai

tītre mundam gononṭe manī do
kaṭare pola satīte rai
līman lomoṇa manī do
kīdar 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.

APPENDIX 2

A List of the Most Frequently Used Parallelisms

aia 'mother'	bapa 'father'
akiriŋ 'to sell'	kheja 'to sell, to divide'
asakal 'bird (sp)'	kikir 'bird (sp)'
asul 'to support'	joton 'to keep'
ata 'puffed rice'	taben 'pressed rice'
atiŋ 'to graze'	gusan 'to pick'
aʔal 'to be joined'	dopali 'to be blown away'
baa 'flower'	ɖali 'blossom'
balae 'trouble'	kosoʔo 'pain'
baru 'tree (sp)'	kuda 'tree (sp)'
bil 'to spread'	aʔed 'to spread'
boʔo 'to enter'	soʔo 'to sneak in'
buru 'mountain'	beʔa 'valley'
	nara 'slope'
canɖu? 'moon'	siŋgi 'sun'
capu 'to touch'	tunum 'to feel'
cilika 'how'	mereka 'how'
dangara 'youth'	haʔam 'old'
	dangiri 'young woman'
daru 'tree'	siŋ 'tree'
	baa 'flower'
dasi 'hired hand'	guti 'assistant'
denga 'help'	goʔom 'to assist'
diku 'foreigner'	sarga 'a Hindu subcaste'
	sayob 'a European'
didi 'vulture'	kuʔid 'kite'
diri 'rock'	sakam 'leaf'
disum 'country'	gamae 'land'
dudugar 'storm'	koãsi 'fog'
dul 'to pour'	bil 'to spread'
duraŋ 'to sing'	susun 'to dance'
ɖera 'to camp'	basa 'to halt'

dinda 'bachelor'	ḍangua 'single'
ḍiñcua 'bird (sp)'	kerkeṭa 'bird (sp)'
ḍoesa 'place (sp)'	kukura 'place (sp)'
eaṇ 'mother'	apaṇ 'father'
ekela 'to shake'	taiur 'to tremble, to turn'
enga 'mother'	apu 'father'
enga-apu 'father- mother'	haga-bare 'brother- relatives'
gaṇga 'the river Gangā'	samundar 'ocean'
gama 'rain'	rampi 'drizzle'
gaṛi 'monkey'	sara? 'monkey (black faced)'
gel-bar 'twelve'	hisi-bar 'twenty-two'
geraṇ 'to cry'	rumbul 'to moan'
gesa 'to touch'	ṭapa 'to fan'
giti?-oṛa? 'sleeping house'	jaaru rosom 'sitting place'
goe? 'to die'	ser 'to melt'
gole 'to whistle'	landa 'to laugh'
duraṇ 'to sing'	jagar 'to talk'
goṇ 'to give in marriage'	cal 'to transfer'
gorob 'pride'	nabab 'arrogance'
gosañ 'goswami priest'	bamaṇe 'brahman priest'
goso 'to wither'	ḍubao 'to sink'
	maela 'to fade'
gutū 'to string'	galaṇ 'to braid'
hai sab 'to catch fish'	saṇga ur 'to dig roots'
halāṇ 'to pick'	tusaṇ 'to collect'
hapanum 'young woman'	daṇgiṛi 'young woman'
har 'to drive'	ti? 'to drag'
haṛagu 'to descend'	hosor 'to come down (sliding)'
hasa 'soil'	da? 'water'

hatu 'village'	ṭola 'hamlet'
hau 'red ant'	lama? 'creeper (sp)'
hayad 'to dry'	oṛe? 'to burst open'
heṛem 'sweet'	sibil 'tasty'
hesa? 'fig tree'	baṛe 'banyan tree'
hiatiṇ 'to be sorry'	cakatiṇ 'to be sorry'
hiju? 'to come'	seno? 'to go'
hiju?-seno? 'to come and go'	biur-acur 'to go round and round'
hisi 'twenty'	duṇusi 'forty'
hon 'child'	gaṇa 'root'
hora 'road'	ḍare 'road, path'
hoṛo 'man'	parja 'people'
hula? 'to break'	keca? 'to split'
	doṛaṇ 'to topple'
	loṭoe? 'to sprain'
hundi 'flower (sp)'	aṭal 'flower (sp)'
huṇiṇ 'small'	marāṇ 'big'
iam 'to cry'	sayad 'to sigh'
ikir 'deep'	maṇḍoa 'level'
indi 'festival (sp)'	maṇa 'festival (sp)'
ipil 'star'	caṇḍu? 'moon'
itu 'to know'	sari 'to understand'
jadur 'dance (sp)'	karam 'dance (sp)'
jagar 'to talk'	bakaṇa 'to describe'
jalatiṇ 'to hover'	bulatiṇ 'to wander'
jaṇ 'bone'	jilu 'flesh'
jarom 'ripe'	gadar 'half ripe'
jati-pati 'caste'	kili-mili 'clan'
jeṭe 'summer'	jargi 'rain'
jii 'heart'	kuṛam 'chest'
jojo 'tamarind'	uli 'mango'
jolom 'smear floor'	naṇaka 'wash hair'
jom 'to eat'	hab 'to bite'
joo 'fruit'	baa 'flower'
jul 'to burn'	lingi 'to flow'

jultān sēngel
'burning fire'

kagojo sakam 'page
of paper'

kalom 'next year'

kaluṭṭi 'pullet'

kapṭi 'axe'

katu 'knife'

khadiṛi 'to jump in'

khaṇḍa 'sword'

sīnduri 'vermillion'

kīriṇ 'to buy'

koneya 'bride'

koto 'branch'

koṭa 'to shake off'

kunḍam 'backyard'

kupul 'relative'

kuṛumbi 'Hindu
subcaste (sp)'

lei 'to see'

lika 'letter'

lolo 'heat of fire'

loo 'to burn'

mulu 'to appear'

munḍa 'Munda'

med 'eye'

maeno 'bird (sp)'

mandukam 'tree (sp)'

maṇi 'mustard
(smaller kind)'

marāṇ 'big'

marci 'red pepper'

mayom 'blood'

mīd 'one'

moṇe 'five'

liṅgitan da? 'flowing
water'

ṭkīr da? 'deep water'

rela sakam 'palm leaf'

satom 'year after next'

ṭṭi 'rice beer'

saar 'arrow'

cala 'strainer'

ḍabura 'to dive in'

phīri 'shield'

sasaṇ 'turmeric'

kheja 'to sell, to divide'

boor 'bridegroom'

daṛa 'branch'

poṭa? 'to skin off'

salandi 'backwall'

ceṇe 'bird'

sarga 'Hindu subcaste
(sp)'

cīna 'to recognize'

puṭṭi 'book'

jeṭe 'heat of the sun'

bal 'to burn a hole'

seṭer 'to arrive'

santa 'Santal'

seṇa 'knowledge'

salu 'bird (sp)'

sarjom 'tree (sp)'

rai 'mustard (bigger
kind)'

juṛiṇ 'small'

bengara 'eggplant'

kīrum 'stain'

bar 'two'

turui 'six'

nakî? 'to comb'	juruṛu 'to smoothen'
nam 'to find'	khojar 'to look for'
nîda 'night'	siṅgi 'day'
nîr 'to run'	hojor 'to hop'
nuba? 'darkness'	marsal 'light'
oko 'who'	cîmae 'who'
ol 'to write'	bal 'to burn hole'
	paṛao 'to read'
om 'to give'	ced 'to distribute'
oroṅ 'to blow flute'	banam 'to play fiddle'
oṛa? 'house'	rosom 'hut'
	duar 'door'
ote 'land, earth'	aṛî 'field'
	diṣum 'country'
	sîrma 'sky'
pîṛî 'highland'	badi 'lowland'
pundî 'white'	hende 'black'
pura? 'much'	îsu 'many'
rabaṅ 'cold'	reara 'chill'
raja 'king'	bamaṅe 'priest'
	rani 'queen'
rakab 'ascend'	haṛagu 'descend'
ranci 'place (sp)'	ḍurunḍa 'place (sp)'
raṅga saṛî 'red sari'	sona rupa 'gold and silver'
raṛa 'to untie'	keca? 'to split'
rasîka 'joy'	uṛu? 'sorrow'
reel 'train'	lauka 'boat'
reṅge? 'hunger'	tetaṅ 'thirst'
rîci 'bird (sp)'	besera 'bird (sp)'
rîṅga 'famine'	akal 'draught'
roa 'to plant'	poa 'to sow'
ruara 'to return'	acur 'to circle'
rutu 'flute'	banam 'fiddle'
saar 'arrow'	guli 'bullet'
saatiṅ 'to bear, undergo'	jîlla? 'to endure'

sab 'to hold (by
hand)'

sadom 'horse'

sae 'hundred'

sanglil 'to look up'

sangin 'distant'

sarjom baa 'sarjom
flower'

sari 'noise'

sarima 'roof'

sati 'burn to death'

seno? 'to go'

sengel 'fire'

sepered 'young man'

sida 'at first'

sīm hon 'chick'

sīm kusulil 'chicken
house'

sinduri 'vermilion'

singil 'day'

singbonga 'sun god'

sirma 'year, sky'

somae 'time'

songotil 'friend'

soor 'to dart
forward'

suku 'be happy'

suku baa 'gourd
flower'

sukul 'smoke'

sunum 'oil'

supid 'hairdo'

gatil 'to hold (by neck,
shoulder)'

lilka 'letter'

hisi 'twenty'

heta 'to look back'

jilil 'long'

hende hapanum 'dark young
girl'

surā sangen 'new leaves'

rumbul 'echo'

candae 'eave'

ḡabura 'drown'

birid 'to leave'

ṭundaq 'to creep'

sakam 'leaf'

da? 'water'

dudugar 'storm'

hapanum 'young woman'

tayom 'at last'

kuṛil hon 'girl'

merom guduṛil 'goat house'

kajoro 'mascara'

nida 'night'

ote engā 'mother earth'

bochor 'year'

ote 'earth'

osara 'time'

pirilit 'lover'

ṭender 'to stand firm'

reara 'to feel cool'

tayar naṇil 'cucumber v.'

koāsil 'mist'

meṇed 'iron, steel'

ropod 'hairknot'

paela 'upper garment'

susun 'to dance'

tala 'middle'

taṅgi 'to wait'

teba? 'to reach'

tīi 'hand'

tīsiṅ 'today'

toa 'milk'

tol 'to tie'

topa 'to bury'

ṭaka 'one rupee'

ṭoṭe 'to shoot'

ṭuḷla 'musical
instrument (sp)'

udub 'to tell'

uku 'to hide'

ururu 'falling of
leaves'

urun 'to get out'

uru? 'to worry'

uyu 'to cover'

uyu? 'to fall'

karam 'to dance (sp)'

duraṅ 'to sing'

atom 'edge'

taṅa? 'to wait'

jagar 'to talk'

seṭer 'to arrive'

kaṭa 'feet'

med 'eye'

hoṭo? 'neck'

gapa 'tomorrow'

taben 'flat rice'

ten 'to press'

dalob 'to cover'

sika '1/4 of rupee'

hurdaṅ 'to throw sling'

kendera 'fiddle'

cunḍul 'to point out'

danaṅ 'to shelter'

oṭaṅ 'blowing away of
leaves'

payar 'to get out'

phikir 'to ponder'

sayad 'to breathe'

dapal 'to hide'

taba? 'to fall'

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