Lokaratna is the e-journal of the Folklore Foundation, Bhubaneswar, Orissa . The purpose of the journal is to explore the rich cultural tradition of Odisha for a wider readership. Any scholar across the globe interested to contribute on any aspect of folklore is welcome.

The present volumes (V & VI) guest edited by **Dr Anand Mahanand of EFL University, Hyderabad** deal with issues related to culture, language and education.

Lokaratna is the official journal of the Folklore Foundation, located in Bhubaneswar, Orissa. Lokaratna is a peer-reviewed academic journal in Oriya and English.

The objectives of the journal are:

To invite writers and scholars to contribute their valuable research papers on any aspect of Odishan Folklore either in English or in Oriya. They should be based on the theory and methodology of folklore research and on empirical studies with substantial field work.

To publish seminar articles written by senior scholars on Odia Folklore, making them available from the original sources.

To present lives of folklorists, outlining their substantial contribution to Folklore

To publish book reviews, field work reports, descriptions of research projects and announcements for seminars and workshops.

To present interviews with eminent folklorists in India and abroad.

Any new idea that would enrich this folklore research journal is welcome.

Content in Oriya and English

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From the Desk of the Editor-in -Chief ,**Lokaratna**

After we study folklore in Indian context, we explore that the discipline need redefined. The 20th century definition of folklore study in western world, whether relevant to the eastern countries is a matter of debate. After we come across the philosophy of life, culture and folklore of Asian countries we see a common paradigm in it which is so connected to the ground and tradition that folklore that is philosophically represented in western world is different from Asian world. The theories and methods that have emerged from the western world is based on the text and context of their own land, more particularly influenced by the colonial anthropological model ,with an Eurocentric and hegemonic academic predominance. For an Asian scholar, folklore is not a part of his objective study, but the scholar is a part of a living folkloric tradition. This has been proved when we see the study of Asian or African folklore .Even indigenous folklore has been also always looked from the western folkloric model. The non-European folklore was studied and it was rather distorted, misunderstood, and misrepresented by many white scholars. Consider the case of Indian folklore. Many western folklorists have come to India to study folklore, but they have not properly understood the pulse of the people's knowledge system and this folk lore study some way has been the ideal model for many Indian folklorists.

Indian folklore is not like western folklore. Indian cultural diversities, multilingualism and multiculturalism has not only created a colourful and complexities of culture in this land, but also has created a space of accommodating the many culture intersected and co-existed in web of social imagination and social reality. Past and present are closely alive in our life. While the ancestors do watch the wellbeing of their present generation , invisibly, the present generation also feel the presence of their ancestor in their everyday life. Indian folklore cannot rests in its text , but in its every day cultural practices. Here, Indian folklorist is also a part of the cultural practices and not an out sider, even if s/he belongs to Delhi or Chennai. Thus the objective study of folklore keeping away the self somewhere during the study . I have come across the articles and books written by the Indian scholars study their own land and culture from a foreigner point of view. A scholar is not a foreigner in his own country. The notion of separating the researcher from the study reminds me of secluding mind from the matter that the western world has contributed as its greatest philosophical invention. In Indian or Asian situation, if you segregate mind from the matter , then the whole epistemology of Indian philosophy will be distorted. Indian philosophy believes in metaphysics and imagine beyond the physics. Now we have to decide , if we are really doing good research following the structures of borrowed models or to bring out a model which has emerged from the necessity of conducting a research which is based on the text ,context and epistemology of one's own land. We also have to ethically examine, why do we conduct research

and study on our own culture and what we really want to do with these findings? Is this findings is exclusively for us or for our social development?

I am sure that , folklore study have nothing to influence the creator of folklore or to influence the society.*Buddhi Vilasa-* enjoying the intellectuality for self-pleasure and ego satisfaction for self-identity and applying the intellectuality for the wellbeing of the folk are two different things.

As a scholar of India , we have to decide , whether we decolonise the folklore methods or to perpetuate the status quo.

This volume

The fifth- sixth volume of *Lokaratna,* an e journal for Indian folklore is coming out after a substantial contribution from the folklorists and scholars. I am thankful to the contributors of this volume for their valuable contributions.This volume is edited by Dr Anand Mahanand of EFL University, Hyderabad. He has taken this responsibility on humble request of folklore foundation. He wished to be called the guest editor. We, as a family don't consider a person who edits the whole volume as guest but one of us. This volume is literally edited by him and I am thankful to him. I am also thankful to Ajit K.Pradhan and Sadananda Meher for their support.

I am thankful to Sri MD Muthukumarswamy,Director, National Folklore Support Centre,Chennai for his untiring support to Folklore Foundation to get the Lokaratna published in his website.

This volume was to be published during 2012, but due to some unavoidable circumstances, it was not possible to bring it out. Therefore we decided to publish theLokaratna V-VI during 2013. We hope you will enjoy reading your favourite LOKARATNA !

Mahendra Kumar Mishra

A Word from the Guest Editor

Once there was an old man in a village. Children of the village used to come to him in the evening to learn about life and the world. He told them stories played with them, sang with them and together they learned about the world. Thus they learned arithmetic, science and a lot of things.

We have made significant progress in science, computer and technology, but we have so much complications in the field of education. Many hurdles such as bureaucratization, standardization, politics and other forms of complications come in the way of our teaching andlearning processes.   Such complications can be discovered in our cultural practices too. But as we move ahead, we also try to adjust ourselves with old conventions and rigid situations. We are moving away from rigid and orthodox traditions such as caste, gender discrimination and trying to be more democratic, conscious of human rights, inclusive and progressive in our attitudes and dealing with others. In the field of language also, we are more positive about marginalized languages and value their importance. Our research and development have been focused on these areas. Efforts are on to include these languages in our curriculum. There have been attempts to bring the marginalized to education sector in a big way. In line of developments in these fields, we have earmarked certain thrust areas for these volumes.

The articles that find place in this issue of the journal reflect the development in the domains of culture, language and pedagogy. Dr Basudev Sunani in his article explores the relationship between dalit and adivasis. He further maintains that they have a common origin and share many beliefs, rituals and cultural practices and establishes their relationship with the Natural world. Dr Ranjan K. Panda provides a philosophical perspective on how stories can evoke cultural identity in a community. For this he uses the popular mythical story of Dharampada. Radharani Nayak and Dr Seemita Mohanty in their article

"Reading Bruhat Tapoi (Khudurkuni Osha)" explore the cultural ethos of the Odia community. They explain how rituals and practices are observed to invoke the popular myth of Tapoi. Dr Tapan Ray's article " Indigenous Fishing Knowledge of Sundarban" on the other hand deals with traditional knowledge of the fisher folks of the Sundarbans. It is interesting to note the unique folk knowledge they have about making nets and catching fish. Dr Pratap Kumar Dash's article titled "Socio-cultural Praxis and Stylistics in Selected Odia Proverbs" is an extensive study of proverbs and their uses in different domains. He has introduced, defined and categorized proverbs in a very systematic and methodological manner. Pramod K. Das and Narayan Jena foreground different aspects of folklore studies in Odisha and elaborate on the recent development in the field of Odia folktales. Amit Rauth in his article, " Songs of Methor Women" explores the song culture of Methor community of Assam and studies different aspects of these songs including their ideas, hopes, fears, aspirations and conventions which are connected with their traditional past. Dr Gopal Chandra Bayen in his article "A Glimpse of Folk Art: Various Patachitra" discusses the socio-cultural dynamics of patachitra. Shilpi Panda in her article "The Continuity and Changes among the Mundas of Baladiabandha: A Sociological Investigation" discusses how the Munda tribe adopts non-tribal traits due to their proximity with the non-tribal communities. Sadananda Meher in his article " Using Sambalpuri Language and Culture in Teaching English at the Secondary Level in West Odisha" highlights problems learners face if their home language is cut off from their formal education system and shows ways of using them in the teaching and learning of English. Rashmirekha Barik's article "Challenges of Elementary Education Among Primary Tribal Group: A Case of Bonda Hill" is an informative and scholarly essay on how the Bonda children face challenges in the field of education. Dr Kailash Pattanaik discusses the popular folktale of Odisha called Abolkara in his article, "Abolkara:The Odyssey of a Disobedient Hero" and shows how the story telling transforms itself over a period of time. Almost all the articles are drawn from extensive field work and show the authors' seriousness and rigour in research. These are valuable resources for readers and research scholars. Apart from these articles, we have an interview on *Saaralaa Mahabharata* with the prominent linguist and scholar Professor B.N. Patnaik. We also have two book reviews by Swagatika Panigrahi and Professor Radhamohan respectively on social and ecological concerns. There is a report on series of lectures delivered by Dr Mahendra K. Mishra which will interest and benefit our readers a great deal.

I thank the authors for contributing such scholarly articles. I would also thank Dr Mahendra K. Mishra to reposing faith in me and giving the responsibility to guest edit these volumes. This is a bumper volume which includes articles of two volumes. Hope our readers will enjoy reading good number of articles after a long wait. We apologize for the delay but you may forgive us as we are offering you more at a time.

Anand Mahanand

Contents

Interview

Book Reviews

Events

Cultural History of Dalit & Their Relationship with Natural Resources

Dr Basudev Sunani

Dalit-Adivasis are the *Mulnivasi* or aboriginal people of this land. They have been inheritors of rich culture and tradition since time immemorial. Mostly they are known in contemporary society for their culture and tradition which can be well identified through their day to day life style and activities performed. If someone goes through the cultural history of the Dalit and adivasi, they will see the richness and sense of primitiveness in it.

The culture and tradition of Dalit possess many elements of the history and historical facts. On the other hand some of the historical facts have also converted into their culture in due course of time, which can be well marked, if it can be viewed in historical perception.

This discussion will not explore the historical evidence imbibed in culture but will be confined to the cultural history of Dalit and their relationship with natural resources. However as the Dalit history has not yet been written, rather not thought of as a subject to be written by the historians, culture as an element of history and historical facts present in the culture can never be arbitrarily avoided.

Dalit Culture as a history

The culture of the Dalit-adivasi has got long history in it. If we quote the definition of history it is known as 'an account of an event, a systematic account of the origin and progress of the world, the knowledge of past events' [1].

Birtias are a category of people, who are culturally known as the elder brother of Dalit community like *Domb/Gana. They* are the living and mobile history of this community. They have got enough knowledge about the past events of Dalit community and the pattern of worship of their family deity. They usually narrate these events in the social gathering like marriage, death etc. The idea of narration is to transfer the knowledge about ancestor and their origin from generation to generation.

In the similar way *Parghaniaa* are also a category of people who are culturally known as the elder brother of *Gond* (Tribe) .They also narrate the ancestral history and deity of tribe in social gathering of *gond* community.

Ghogiaa are a relatively nearer caste of Gauda as per caste hierarchy, who also has got similar identity and action in their society. They are otherwise known as the elder brother of *Gauda* (OBC) community having vast knowledge about the past events of *gauda* or *yadav*[2]. Though these knowledge and information available with these people satisfy the definition of history to some extent, still their knowledge does not find space in the history because, their knowledge has not been written or printed anywhere. Is it a fact that the Sudras were denied for education in the vedic period as a result the *Birtia, Ghogih* and *Parghania* were not able to document their events and choose a simple option of transferring this knowledge in social gathering through narration? However, there is historical evidence in the culture of Dalit which are yet to be determined and recognized by the historian. In this connection it can be quoted that most of the Indian Ancient

history is based on Vedas and *Purans*. 'William Jones, the leading Indologist of the late eighteenth century, suspected that some texts, even if including the myths and legends of the Hindus, probably contained the core of a history'[3]. So, why not the information that is available with the *Birtiaa, Parghania* and the *Ghogia,* who are the cultural story teller of the *Dom/Gana (Dalit), Gond* (Tribe) and *Gouda* (OBCs) community respectively, be utilize as a clue for the documentation of the history of these category people.

History of non-Dalit as a culture of Dalit

There is certain historical evidence which has become the integral part of the culture of Dalit in due course of time. This historical evidence can be seen in different festival while worshiping different deity. One popular deity *Budharaja,* the old king, is worshiped in western part of Odisha in almost all the villages. There is a saying that there was a battle between two groups. While fighting with enemy when the king become defeated, he took shelter in the mountain & hid himself. He did not come out from the cave of mountain out of shame and at last he died in the mountain and became the deity. As a symbol of *Budharaja*, the old king, a sword is worshiped by mass, particularly by Dalit-adivasi [4].

It has been proved by many scholars that around 185 BC *Manu Smrutee* has been written [5]. From that period the caste system in the society has been codified. This is historical evidence but the so called upper caste people convert this historical evidence into their culture and since then the caste system got strengthened in the society where untouchability has become a central force in it. Now untouchability is a culture of the upper caste society as a result even though animals are allowed to their house but human beings are not allowed. This situation leads to create an

unprivileged group. As *Romila Thapar* says the burden of society fell most heavily on the shoulders of the *sudras* & the untouchables who could claim hardly any privileges or right. [6]

Getting privilege of caste superiority the upper caste people had access to the administration in different point of time and they could able to influence the administration accordingly. They had clear cut perception of maintaining caste superiority and hence they were also capable enough to influence the people who were really involved in codifying historical documents. The officers of the East India Company derived their data on law and religion from their Brahman informants. So the centrality of the texts important to Vedic Brahmanism had priority. These were the "*dharma Sastras*" and later the Vedas, and to a lesser extent, *Puranas*[7]

One *Pardesen devi* (outsider devi) is worshiped by Dalit-Adivasi community. This *devi* is from the *Bastar* State which is presently located at Chhattisgarh state. The myth about the origin of this devi precisely says that when there was battle between the king of Patna state and *Bastar* state, the kind of Patna state ultimately won the battle. In this situation the *Bastaren* Devi or the presiding deity of *Bastar* State was desperate enough and she asked the kind of Patna state to be worshiped by the people of his kingdom. The king of Patna state agrees to the proposal of the devi and from there onwards the *Bastaren*, who came to Patna from long distance and become foreigner called *Pardeshen*. This incidence is a pure history, even one can see in the record/history book also but presently that is a popular culture of Dalit-adivasi [8]. There are many example and instances of history which has in due course of time has become the culture of these communities like *Patkhanda devi* of Jarasingha of Bolangir, *Raktambary devi* of Khariar, Nuapada of western part of Odisha.

'A people without history were a people without knowledge' [9].It is seen that no formal history of the Dalit-adivashi community so far has been documented. Whatever information is available from their culture and tradition; those are being treated as folk and not as elements of the history.

Dalit & Adivashi are from same origin

There is age old tradition story regarding the separation of Dalit and adivashi. The story speaks as follows "In the valley of Mahanadi river there lived a king called *Gagarba Saasan Lakhan Bhandi Nag Banshi Chaturbhuj Raja Dungi Chuhan*. He had eleven sons and one among them was '*Kolbhoj*'. K*olbhoj* king had four sons called *Gang, Gaagrang, Jadu and Kadam*. Presently these four brothers are knows as Tribe, Caste, OBC and Tribe respectively. In the process of multiplication of family members, subsequently there was property distribution among the brothers. The caste people got the deity as their share and others got landed property. Since then they have been separated from each other but as their ancestor being one and same, the culture and tradition are similar in nature. The deity whatever being worshiped in the *Pidar* of Dalit family is mostly worshiped in the family of tribe and OBCs. It is needless to say that SC/ST/OBC was earlier known as Sudras .Being a share holder of deity the Dalit become *Bajania or* drum beater. Music is an integral part to worship deity because Dalit deities are very much fond of music. It is a common understanding of all that *Bajania* can understand the language of the deity, who can directly interact with the deity as per the tradition. In a similar way tribes or OBCs who acts as a village priest in many places, distributes paddy in *Nuakhai*, a

great festivals, as a symbol of share holder of the land. Even, if we look to the contemporary situation, there were numbers of tribal kings all over, who is the landlord or land owner. This proves the reality of myth, the division of property may be in the prehistoric period. The cultural similarity of all these caste, tribe and OBC speaks about their ancestral origin from one point. The origin of Dalit-adivashi from same ancestor has been observed by many. 'It can only be shown in a few instances that the existing impure devotional castes were directly derived from the indigenous tribe' [10]

Before Aryan invasion it is presumed that there was no division in the name of caste among aboriginals. Their main religion and belief was to worship nature. In the process of sanskritization though they become separated socially from each other there original culture and tradition is remaining without change.

Since the aboriginals are son of soil, their culture and tradition is very rich. The living style, the livelihood earning through weaving, entertainment through various songs and dance, their festivals and rituals are unique and more scientific except some few which are based on blind faith.

This separation is well established in the name of caste and tribe since 1911, when the enumeration of census process started to provide some facility to this community by British Government [11]. Their social and individual life can't be separated from natural resources since they are interlinked and inter dependant with environment.

Some of the instances of their tradition and culture in relation to the environment and natural resources can be reflected as below to have minimum understanding of Dalit culture

Matigudi **(Earth Temple):**

Traditionally Dalit communities have been performing many festivals in different point of time in a year. They worship their deity both inside the house, the sacred place called *Pidar* along with outside of the village called '*Gudi'*. These people worship earth as one of the foremost Goddess. In each and every social activity *Maati devi* (Earth Goddess) plays vital role for fulfillment of cultural desire. Even prior to celebrating any festivals they use to worship earth Goddess to witness the activity. In the outskirt or end point of the village this Goddess is placed. In some villages it is also located centrally where around 10 sq.ft places is cleaned and this earth God is placed. Usually a stone is placed as a symbol of Goddess in such a position that the front side of the worshiper will be always in eastern direction heading towards the symbolic Goddess.

Dalit have been living here from generation to generation in this earth. Here they construct house, cultivate crop and even after the death, this soil gives shelter in the grave yard and therefore they worship this earth Goddess as a pure obligation.

It is a practice that when a Dalit awake from bed in the morning and put his feet on the earth he/she first salutes the earth and then starts walking. Whenever they go outside from the village, they pray earth Goddess for safe return all the time as a tradition. They believe that if the village soil which is otherwise known as Goddess is not favorable to anybody, then his family members suffer a lot and face many problems like disease or death. Moreover they are not being successful to achieve the goal etc in any activity. Due to unhappiness of earth Goddess anything & everything can happen. Hence, they always try to keep the earth Goddess pleased.

For any kind of festival or social gathering like marriage or even death they first take permission from this Goddess. In marriage ceremony of this community there is a special activity called *Mati anna* (bringing of Soil) to the place of marriage. Here a group of women, at

the beginning of the marriage ceremony go to the *Matigudi* (earth temple) to bring sacred soil. The village priest is invited for this special occasion who gives little soil by digging the earth from the *Gudi* premises. This is received by the head woman of the family conducting marriage and there after other women receive soil. While digging soil two Mahua branches are kept as a male and female symbol of bride and groom to witness the situation. For this special occasion they usually go to *Gudi* with new saree to receive sacred soil. This soil is taken to the marriage stage and smeared over the *Bedi*(stage) to make it purify, sacred and favorable for marriage. In this way they show respect to the mother soil.

Importance of branch of *Mahua* tree

There is great importance of *mahua* tree in the culture of Dalit community. The greatness can be seen in the social gathering like marriage or in the festival like *Nuakhai* also. Here an example of the marriage can be given to reflect the importance of the *mahua* tree. At the beginning of the marriage, a group of women goes with great ceremonial attitude to the *Maatigudi* as describe earlier to invite the two branches of mahua tree as a symbol of male and a female idol i.e. bride and groom. They always go with a thrilling to witness the mahua tree in front of the Earth Godess along with a troop of music which glorifies the activity. First of all the symbolic marriage of this male and female branches of mahua tree is conducted and there after the real marriage process is started. Dalit community considers that marriage is one of the most important activities in the life as it helps in multiplying the generation through producing offspring.

The importance of the collection of soil of the *Matigudi* in the social function like marriage speaks about the significant role and relationship of soil with Dalit social life. Worship of Mahua branches also speaks about the importance of natural resources and forest product in cultural life of Dalit.

Nua Khai and *Kurei* leaf

Nuakhai is one of the most important festivals of the Dalit community of western Odisha. The objective of this festival is to offer the newly produced food material either from jungle or from agriculture to the ancestral deity. They consider that the ancient people, who were their ancestors, have identified these forest produce as a food materials and thereby subsequently they have been able to use these food materials for their survival. Therefore, as an obligation whatever new food materials either from natural source or by cultivation come to edible stage, are first offered to the deity and then it is eaten by the mass. This instance has been observed by the historian as 'before the mangoes are eaten, the first fruits are offered to the moon at the full moon of the month of *Chaitra'* [12]

Nuakhai is meticulously performed in case of first eating of Paddy, Pumpkin, Rice bean, *Gurji* along with some of the forest produce like *Mahua,* Mango, *Chaanr* etc. In the *Nuakhai* festival, the head of the family offer the newly produced food materials to the ancestral deity of *pidar*. This particular activity is peculiarly performed by the woman of the family and then the other family members go one by one to respect the *pidar*. After the process of worship is over, all the family members sit together enmass start eating of new food material to celebrate the

festival. Performing worship to the *pidar* initially by woman speaks about the empowerment of women in the Dalit community. When there is a distribution of the newly processed food materials, they don't use utensils made up of any metal rather culturally it is mandatory to use *kurei* leave or *bhaalia* leaf. Use of different leaf differs from family to family. Sometimes, some people use mahua leaf but mostly *kurei* leaf is more popularly use as per the tradition of the community [13].

Respecting the crop and forest products and dedicating to those food materials to the deity shows the interdependency and inter relation of the Dalit community with natural resources in a great way. Apart from this many tree leaf, plants and bushes are being used as a medicines by Dalit community both for human being as well as animals.

Mahuli wine

Ancestral deity worshiping is one of the important cultural tradition of Dalit community. Mahua has got multifarious use in the Dalit community. They are not only offered to the deity but also it is a common food material in the scarcity period. Mahua is through seasonal they are collected, preserved and prepared in different form and eaten by the community. Sometimes they allow their livestock to eat mahua. The fruits of Mahua are processed and oil is extracted which are being used to prepare cake in different festival. Mahua leaves are used in the *Nuakhai* in many of the family of this community as a great tradition. Extraction of wine from *mahuli* and utilization of same is a scientific process which was perhaps known to the people of this community only. In most of the situation wine extracted from mahua is offered to the deity

which is an integral part of worshiping different deity. In the same way like mahua *salap are* also used by the Dalit community.

Just to remain in intoxication Dalit people does not drink this mahua wine rather they take it as prasad or left over offering of the deity. Later on this distillation process might have attracted others to make commercial use of it. However, Dalit people are by nature not drunkard but they offer their deity to this wine which they count as sacred materials and accordingly they make better use of it.

Mountain worship

Nature worship is one of the most important traditions of this community. Dalit people from the primitive period mostly depend on mountain and jungle to collect food materials along with fire wood. Therefore, they think that mountain is the granary & main source of food material. They become obliged to mountain and worship in different occasion. These mountains are *Budhaa Dangar, Sikerpaat* etc. Usually mountains are worshiped in mass and not in the family or individually.

Dead body & relation with soil

Dalit community not only depends on earth during living period rather after death also they take complete shelter of soil. Traditionally Dalit community doesn't burn their dead body in fire. They have a tradition to burry in the earth after digging the soil. Burial of dead body and keeping stone over the grave speaks about the megalithic culture of Odisha. It is well observed by historian that, 'The corpses of the more prosperous domb are cremated'[14].This speaks about the primitiveness of this community along with focuses the relation with the earth.

Water is always sacred

Human being and animal have been using water as an essential thing for living and that is why water is otherwise known as life. In this regard, Dalit community is not beyond this but in addition to it, this community has taken together water in their culture and tradition which can be observed in the different occasion. As in case of Aryan culture Agni (fire) plays an important role, similarly in Dalit culture water play a vital role.

During marriage, particularly in the second day of the marriage which is known as '*Bad gansen*", two no. of small pot are brought and filled up with water. Traditionally they designate these pots in two different names. One pot is called *Dharam pen* and other is known as *Ameraapen*. These pots are filled up with clean water are kept in the marriage stage just adjacent to the branches of mahua tree which is usually kept in central place of the stage without disturbance. In the 4th day of marriage, the entire near and dear are invited to open this water in front of the bride and groom. When the pot water is pored over the head of bride and grooms all the people witnessing the occasion, receive water individually in their palm and apply over their head. They think that this water is very sacred and everything goes right in life, if somebody applies over the head. This is one of the great activities during the process of marriage of Dalit community [15].

Apart from this they worship water in the name of one deity called *Saatbaheni Jalkaamini*. This deity is not worshiped traditionally like other deity in a special festival but when ever somebody takes bath in the pond or in a river; he/she uses to salute this *devi*. There is a unique mythical story about the formation of this *Saatbaheni* (seven sisters) *Jalkameni*. This is relating to the poverty of the Dalit family. The story says

A Dalit had seven daughters. He was very poor and not able to provide full belly food to his daughters. He was disgusted for this purpose as they were always asking for food. Many a time, it so happens that, he provides food to his daughters at the coast of his belly. In this process both wife and husband remain without food in many instances. Once the father thought of to get rid of these precarious situations and find out an alternative ways. He took his daughters to a dense forest for feeding the forest produce food materials like *Chaanr.* In the dense forest he identified a *chaanr* tree and allowed his all daughters to eat the *Chaanr*. In the mean time while the daughters are involved in eating *Chaanr* he went to other place to search another place. While searching he went to such a dense part of the forest away from the daughters that he lost himself in the forest. After some time when the daughters satisfy their hunger, they search their father but could not find him. They started crying helplessly in search of their father and ultimately to save their life from the tiger they took shelter in a cave located inside a nearby river. Neither the daughter trace out their father nor the father finds out his daughter. They become departed from each other for lifelong. When the river, after some days filled up with water the seven sisters dipped in to it and lost their life. Subsequently they become the *duma* and since then the community people worshiped the duma of these seven sisters and called these seven sisters as *Saatbaheni jalkaamini*.

Forest and forest produce

There are lot of forest produce which are being used as food materials by this community *Kendu, Chaanr*, Mahua, *Kantikoli* are some of the common fruits but apart from this there are lot of greens which are used as food materials like*, muti, kena, bahal, sunsunia, kunjer, keu, paalua, banji from* bamboo, *kusur kanda*, *karanj* and *Neem* oil, *sal* leaf etc. *Jhuna* is an important forest produce without which there can't be worship of deity.

In Dalit community another important activity is performed i.e. just before burial of the dead body, small branch of *neem* are brought and some body is assigned to repel the flies from the dead body. This is a tradition followed everywhere in this community. *Neem* tree plays another important role, when somebody is affected with small pox or chicken pox. May be out of the blind faith they think that this disease has been caused due to the unhappiness of *Budhima* (old mother) a common deity of the village. Therefore, during the disease period *Jhuna* smoke is given in the evening to make satisfy *Budhima* every day. At the end part of the course of disease, when the patient is about to recover from disease, they prepare a mixture of *neem* leaf and turmeric in a semi solid form [16]. This is being smeared all over the body and then the patient is allowed to take bath. By this way they remove the scar and get rid from the disease.

There will be long list if all the utility of forest produce will be described one by one. This shows how, the community is intermingled with the natural resources.

Daal Khai (Leaf Eating)

A great festival is celebrated in *Dushera* called *Daalkhai*. This festival is particular performed by the young girls addressing to *Dalkhai Devi* especially for the welfare of their brother. *Daalkhai* means leaf eating, the name of the devi speaks that this devi very much fond of eating *dal* (leaf). The process of worshipping this deity that, the girls remain fasting for a whole day and in the evening they worship this devi sacrificing cucumber. In the next day early in the morning the girls go to pond or river, take sacred bath and then worship this devi at the bank of pond/river themselves. After that they come back to home in a group and tie the thread called *Jiuntia* in the

hand of their brother. As the sisters tie thread or *Jiuntia* to their brother, hence this festival is otherwise known as *Bhai Jiuntia* [17].

Usually this devi is placed in the outskirt or may be nearby to the forest, where she is worshiped. Whoever and whenever somebody passes on the way, usually offers a small branch of leaf as a matter of respect. Unfortunately this devi has been replaced by *Durga devi* in many places in the process of sanskritisation. In some remote places it is seen that both the festivals are organized separately.

Worshipping of *Dalkhai* (leaf eating) devi proofs the primitiveness of the devi and relation between environment and human being. The unique culture of Dalit community can be observed through the window of these festivals.

Weaving is one of the major livelihood earning sources of this community. The weaving machine is prepared from different kind of woods. *Dongi is* a small important instrument for the purpose where threads are being kept. This *dongi* is made up of *bel* tree [18].

Dhap and *Dhol* are one of the important instruments of the *Ganabaaja*. For preparation of *Dhol* these people use *chaanr* and mango wood. Similarly in *Mahuri, Tala* and *Bamboo* is used for preparation of this instrument. Using *Bel,* Bamboo, C*haanr* and Mango tree for different musical instruments should not be taken into superficial manner but they are culturally essential wood. After their long research, permutation and combination, they might have finally decided from different angle to use these trees for the purpose. Unless somebody understands and experiment different trees it is not easy to come to a conclusion. In the process of understanding and experiment it is the Dalit community who has played a sole role.

A Dalit adivasi dominated koraput district is figured in the world history for crop production. It has been recognized by the historian that paddy was for the first time discovered in this district. Paddy being one of the important food materials of the human being discovered in this district where *Domb, Kandh, Paroja, Koya, Bonda* like primitive tribes / caste have been staying since time immemorial speaks about the cultural richness of the society along with binding of tradition with the environment. That is why may be *Nuakhai* is more popularly celebrated in this region especially the paddy *Nuakhai*. There are other *Nuakhai* like *Gurji*, Pumpkin & other jungle produce which are celebrated inside the family but not recognized by administration.

Origin of Surname

Dalit community have several sub castes like *Domb, Pana, Ghasi, Chamar, Ganda, Hadi, Kandara, Dhoba, Bauri, Kuli* etc. The sub caste have different surnames. These surnames are symbolizing their origins of ancestral identity. These surname otherwise counted as the totems of the community.

We do find some of the surname used by Dalit community like suna (gold), *Luha* (iron), *Chhura/Khuraa* (knife), *Mahandia* (Mahanadi River), *Dongari* (mountain), *Megh* (cloud), *Surya* (sun), *Khara* (sunshine) etc [19]. As per the myth of these surnames they are somehow or other related or entangled with metal like gold, iron, and river like Mahanadi river, mountain, cloud and sun etc. There is a significance of these entire names because this name has been given by the ancient people of this community. Accordingly, they also worship these metal, river etc in different occasion; on the other hand these names are not at all a modern name which speaks about the relation of natural resources with Dalit community.

Natural Resources as symbols of Dalit folk songs

Dalit culture is rich with tremendous musical instrument and various kind of musical rhythm. The myth of origin of music tells that the different kind of rhythm of the music has been derived from the sound of cloud, singing of birds, the melodious sound of rivers & stream and the sounds of forest trees. This music is used in the day to day activity of this community. Therefore each and every festivals, marriage or death, there are unique & specific rhythm which they have created and acquired from the nature.

It is most significant that Dalit culture has been deep-rooted by their music which they have invented since age-old. **William A. Haviard** has mentioned that'***It is rare that a culture has been reported to be without any kind of music'***.This shows the primitiveness of this society and the richness of their culture and tradition.

There are different kind of songs that are being sung in different festivals & marriage irrespective of all man, woman, girls and boy etc. They use to dance and enjoy. The instant composer of the songs is called *Geet Kudia or Gahank*, who play vital role in singing the songs. Mostly these songs are based on love and day to day normal happening. One can observe the same in following folk song in English translated version.

S*hahaja* leaf is witness,

I have brought you

By gifting a colourful saree.

You have to accept me

As your husband

Here the forest leaf is the proof of love which acts as a binding force between two lovers and increases the poetic value of the songs. This also gives the natural and indigenous flavor of the songs.

In other example we can see as below

Water stream is in both sides

But in between there is another stream

Where a carp fish is moving?

One can act as bonded labour

In some one's house, no matter,

If he (Land lord) is having a young daughter [20]

In other example

Who can check the river?

Who is obeying parents?

It happens only due to adolescent [21]

Here in the folk song how the poets they use stream, river, leaf as a beautiful symbol in their songs. It not only increases the sweetness of the song but the environmental effect and impact in the society has been reflected.

Conclusion

Dalit have been depending upon the nature since centuries. Their culture and tradition can't be narrated without the natural resource as earlier some of the example has been given in this regards. From morning to the end of the day they have been interacting with the environment, may be in the form of food, songs, dance, deity, festivals and health care etc. Therefore they are always inter dependant and interrelated. Though the history of the adivashi has not been documented by historians however, some scholars in the name of folklore have documented some of the information.

But it is unfortunate that Dalit culture has not mentioned properly. It is a fact that as the Dalit are coming under untouchable category, therefore their culture and tradition, their belief and understanding are also treated as untouchable by the upper caste scholars which can be otherwise called as intellectual discrimination to the community.

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Learning from Stories: A Philosophical Point of View

Ranjan K. Panda

Children always cherish stories is in obvious generalization, have received wide attention in academia particularly in the preparation of school curricula. In this paper, I intend to study the significance of stories as a part of *basic learning*. By basic learning, I mean the development of concepts that helps to understand and analyze various complex things in the world. The initial exposure to various subjects could be begun with stories. Storytelling, as a mode of initiation of learning, has been conceptualized positively productive factor of knowledge development. And this has been emphasized mainly in oral traditions. One important aspect of knowledge dissemination in oral tradition focuses on learning through concentrated listening. Listening to stories at a very early stage of life helps in preparing the child to develop habit of concentrated listening. This paper begins with many such important significance of learning from storytelling discussed by Kumar, Ronney and Nelson. Their essays are referred to substantiate the point that storytelling is essential for basic learning. The second section is on a story that is picked up from a popular folktale of Odisha. Stories are philosophically rich and need to be construed in more holistic point of view of learning. In this connection, in the third and concluding section there is an attempt to show the moral and the philosophical significance of the story which transcends the end of *basic learning*.

Stories and the idea of Basic Learning

Stories are great source of engagement for children. Stories mostly told to the children by parents and grandparents in an informal and relaxed hour. It is construed as a means of entertainment where we treat stories as meaningful, pleasurable item which motivates the listeners to listen more and more. It is not regarded as a source of *basic learning*. Showing its significance Roney writes, "Reading, writing and math skills have always been considered basic to education, along with exposure to general concepts in the science and social studies. To enhance instruction in all these basics, storytelling should be used for storytelling itself is basic to humanity." (Roney 1989: 520) There is a need to tell stories to children for their cognitive development that includes development of concepts used for reading, writing and counting. As 'stories are to be told for the sake it,' Roney emphasizes the *intrinsic* value of story and storytelling, because stories are not merely for bringing about pleasure or entertainment which signifies the extrinsic value of stories. And this could be also construed as motivating or inspiring factor for a child, but that is not the main concern here. The concern rather is to show certain basic learning happens through storytelling which includes the development of language/ linguistic skill.

Through stories a child is initiated to learn language orally and eventually develops speaking, reading and writing skills. Though reading and writing are difficult still if the child continuously undergoes this process of learning, storytelling helps in generating 'predictive – creative thinking' in the mind of the listener. (Roney 1989: 522) The predicting ability is better developed through the cultivation of listening habits. 'Patient listening' is necessary not because it helps in skill formation but also to be emphasized from the point of view of attitude. If the child keeps listening to a story repeatedly two to three times, then he/she starts predicting the consequence. Krishna Kumar writes, "The joy of prediction coming true is precisely what story-listening offers to an experienced listener; it is not just joy: it reinforces child-listener's confidence in his or her ability to predict." (Kumar 2011: 75) Prediction is rule bound; inferential ability. For example, when we see cloud in the sky, we infer that it may rain. Anticipation of rain in this situation is though a possible future state of affairs, but still it gives a sense of the world. Prediction also generates a sense of confidence which is an important factor in all-round development of the child.

Another aspect of language development that happens with the pre-literate children due to listening to stories is the 'experience of meaning.' (Nelson 1989: 386 and Kumar 2011: 76)

Language has both personal and public dimensions. The personal aspect is that 'words are personal property' and we use them at our convenience and 'yet words are social wealth.' So, in the context of personal use 'the listener slightly stretches meaning' (Kumar 2011: 76). The stretch of meaning is a creative act which gets manifested along with the development of language. In this situation, the child gets an opportunity to *reconstruct* the story using his/her own vocabulary. In this sense, storytelling is simulative for the listener who 'imagines and co-creates the tale' while listening. (Roney 1989: 523) This becomes evident if the story is told in child's own language. As a result the child can relate to that experience. The experiential aspect of language is more important for the assimilation of linguistic activities. As Nelson points out, "Language experience activities integrate listening, speaking, reading and writing about children's personal experiences and ideas in their own words." (Nelson 1998: 388) Listening, speaking, reading and writing are activities performed through language. It is through these activities thoughts are articulated. A storyteller initiates this process in dialogical engagement with the listeners. This is a '*critical process* as it facilitates the child to become literate'. (Roney 1989: 521) As Nelson summarizes, "The storytelling experience then is a vehicle for enhancing comprehension, both literal and inferential; motivating oral discussion; increasing perceptual knowledge of metaphor; explaining and promoting interesting language use; using children's personal experiences to instill deeper meaning and exciting children about literature; storytelling, and creative interpretation of story." (Nelson 1998: 389) Thus the child trained to be literate through the method of storytelling succeeds well in comprehending, analyzing, and expressing ideas creatively.

'*Dharamapada's Sacrifice*'[1] : Reading a Folktale

"Dharmapada's Sacrifice" is a popular folktale in Odisha. My reading of this folktale today is to highlight the philosophical significance of the main character Dharmapada in the tale. Dharmapada is a young architect of the then Utkala. This is how the story goes:

"Once upon a time there was sculptor called Bisu Maharana in the kingdom of Utkal. Utkal is called Orissa now. Bisu Maharana was a fine sculptor and came from a renowned family of

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[1]As child, I have listened to this tale many times from my mother. It is a very popular folktale in Odisha. I am happy to find this included in a book of folktale. Anand Mahanand and Lalita Goswami (2011) *English through Folktales A self-study Book*.

sculptors who built many famous temples. Bisu lived with his wife. The King of Utkal, Sri Narasimha Deva wanted to build a great temple at Konark. He employed twelve hundred artisians to build the temple. The temple would be designed as chariot. There would be twelve wheels and the chariot would be drawn by seven horses. The chariot like temple would be built in honour of Sun God.

The king decided to appoint Bisu Maharana as the chief architect. He sent his people to get Bisu to work for the temple. Bisu's wife was pregnant at that time. Bisu did not know what to do. But could he disobey the king? He couldn't. So he left behind his wife and went to Konark to work for the temple. He met the other artisians who were employed to build the temple. They also had left behind their families. Later Bisu came to know that a son was born to his wife and he was called Dharmapada. Dharmapada grew up as a clever child. He learned from his mother many things about sculpture. She also told him about the name his ancestors gained as sculptors. Darmpada went to school. One day he was playing marbles with his friends. When his marble fell down, he asked them to pick it up. They said, 'Whose son do you think you are?' You are ordering us. Tell us who is your father?' Other children also joined them and asked, 'Yes, yes, tell us. Who is your father?' Dharmapada could not say anything for a moment. The children said, 'You have no father.' Dharma was very upset He came home in a sad mood. He didn't speak to his mother. When she asked him about his worry he said, 'Mother, the children in my school say that I have no father. Please tell me where my father is, I want to meet him.' His mother was shocked to hear this. She said, 'My child, who told you 'you don't have father.' You father is a great sculptor. The king has chosen him as the chief artisan of a temple. Your father and other artisans are building that temple in Konark. He stays there with other artisans. He will come back to us as soon as the temple work is over. You need not worry.' Dharma said, 'I want to see my father and also see the temple they are building. Please tell me how to reach Konark. Dharma's mother knew that he was very keen to meet his father, she told him the way. She told him, 'Carry a bundle of berries that grow in our backyard. Your father likes them. After eating them he would know that you are his son.' (I am also told that Dharma was accompanied by Bisu's pet dog) Dharma took blessings from his mother and left for Konark. He went to the bank of (river) Chandrabhaga. When he reached there he saw that a number of artisans were engaged in building that magnificent temple. He went around and observed the artistic designs with keen interest. He was told that there were twelve hundred of them and they had been working there for

twenty-four years. Dharma asked for his father and met him. He offered his father the berries that he got for him. Dharma's father was very happy to see him. He explained him many things about the temple. Dharma was delighted to hear from his father.

The artisans assembled in the evening for a meeting. Dharma also went to attend it with his father. They were deliberating an important problem. They had completed the temple but had no idea how to fix the top stone of the temple. And the king had given them time till the next evening. If they did not finish they would be punished.

Dharmapada thought for a moment. He felt that he could fix the top stone of the temple. He told to the elders, 'Listen my people, if you assign me the task, I could fix the crown by next day evening.' The artisans were puzzled for a moment. Some said, 'This boy must be joking.' The rest said, 'Let us give him a chance. He sounds like he has some knowledge.' Finally they allowed him to go ahead with his plan. He climbed the temple the next day morning and fixed the crown stone. It gave additional beauty to the temple. The artisans were very happy to see it. But some said, 'In any case, the king is going to know that we didn't fix the stone but it was fixed by the young boy. He is going to punish us anyway.' Dharma heard this and was worried. Why should so many artisans be punished because of him? He wanted to save them. In the evening he climbed the temple and fell from the top and died then and there. Dharmapada died but he is alive in people's memory till today." (Mahanand & Goswami 2011: 43-47)

Dharmapada's journey: A search for Moral Identity

There are three important parts that we learn from the telling of the above story. Firstly, Mahanand and Goswami, the authors of this folktale have rightly used it for teaching language, especially to the natives whose mother tongue is not-English. And, this is common to the other stories as well. In their instruction to the readers, their emphasis is mainly on comprehension, language study and written communication. The notes given cited at the end of each story are special incentives to the reader. Apart from these, they ask an interesting question about the main character of the story. About this story, their question is "write the good qualities of Dharmapada." I found this is an interesting point of research that needs some philosophical reflection. It is significant that while telling the tale a child learns the good qualities of a person like Dharmapada. This is brings the second important point of my reading of this story, that

Dharma possess a high sense of obligation and commitment for his community, especially for the glory of his nation – Utkala, is traditionally known for and the best form of art, and architecture. The third important point is also one of the focal point of our reading of this folktale, that is, Dharmapada's learning. As it is depicted in the tale, Dharma's learning mostly happens through 'stories' and lessons that he listened to and learnt from his mother. The tale also represents that Dharma's training of sculpture and architecture is basically a family enterprise that are orally imparted on him by his mother. Knowledge of sculpture and architecture requires understanding of geometry and arithmetic. Unless one possess a developed sense of mathematical concepts measurement and calculation that requires for fixing up the crown stone would be impossible. Dharma shows an extraordinary sense of intelligence to visualize the problem of fixing up the crown stone. So far as the first and the third point are concerned, it justifies our theorizing of storytelling as a form of *basic learning*, which is discussed in the first section of the paper. I would like to illustrate further on the second important point that the authors bring to us. That is, Dharmapada's articulation of obligation and commitment establishes his moral identity.

The question, 'whose son do you think you are?'... 'Tell us who is your father?' when repeatedly put to Dharmapada by his fellow friends, is not merely a disturbing question to anyone, but is a profound question that seeks a legitimate answer so far as one's identity in society is concerned. Hence, seeking an answer to these questions shows the initiation of Dharmapada's journey to Konark is *in search of his identity*. In this journey Dharmapada proved that he is not an ordinary person, not an unadorned son of the great Bisu Maharana, the chief architect of Sun Temple at Konark, but a great architect and sculptor himself who sacrificed himself for the glory of his community's well-being.

In this beginning of the journey, the authors highlight how testimony is an important source of knowledge. This is well depicted when Dharmpada's mother gives a bunch of berries that grows in their courtyard and liked by Bisu Maharana. I am also told that Bisu's pet dog was Dharmapada's companion in his journey to Konark. Though, the authors have not mentioned this, I don't think such an addition or a negation distorts the tale. Rather it could be treated as one of the virtues of being a folktale. So barriers (and the pet) could be treated as testimony that Dharmapada carried along with him while seeking recognition from his father.

The meeting of father and son is well narrated. It also shown by the authors that Darmapada's parents (mother and father) were proud of their family's profession. It is evident in the case where Dharmapada was told by his mother 'about the name his ancestors gained as sculptors.' And, when he meets his father for the first time, Bisu takes him around the massive structure of the beautiful temple and narrates its significant features. And Bisu Maharana also takes his son to the evening meeting of assembled artisans.' This point is very symbolic on the part of Bisu to acknowledge his young son Dharmapada in public. The question of identity does not come to an end at this point. Rather it takes turn when the authors draw attention to Dharmapada's involvement in the evening deliberation of artisans who had no clue to how to fix the crown stone of the temple.

Mahananda and Goswami open up this point with these words: "Dharmapada thought for a moment. He felt that he could fix the top stone of the temple. He told the elders, "Listen my people, if you assign me the task, I could fix the crown stone by next day morning.'" (2011, 45-47) It is a philosophically striking statement of Dharmapada who identifies himself with the community, by addressing them 'listen my people.' In this connection, illustrating the 'sense of identity,' Sen writes, "Identifying with others, in various different ways can be extremely important for living in society." (2006, 19) It is because 'identity' for him gives a sense of 'affiliation and loyalty' which could be shown by 'making a choice' – rational choice with a defined sense of 'aims, objectives and priorities.' (Sen 2006: 20) In this episode, Dharmapada's address to all the artisans gathered in the evening meeting expresses his affinity concerning identity. Sen argues in this essay that 'making a choice' is an important feature of discovering one's identity. He writes that "A person may decide, on reflection, not only that she is a member of a particular ethinic group, but also that this is an extremely important identity for her. This decision can easily influence the person in the direction of taking greater responsibility for the well-being and freedoms of the ethinic group – it can become for her an extension of the obligation to be self-reliant (the self now being extended to cover others in group with which this person identifies)." (Sen 2006: 32) This theoretical assumption of Sen goes well in understanding Dharmapada's address to the assembly of artisans. He stands up after having a similar reflective thinking to take up the responsibility of his community. Dharmapada starts believing that the problem of all the artisans including his father is also his problem too. Thus Dharmapada extends his identity to his fellow artisans.

When Dharmapada does the job of fixing up the crown stone of the temple, he proves his ability to clearly, how he visualized the problem clearly from a perspective which other artisans failed to notice. Sen points out that every individual is endowed with 'this ability to be engaged in questioning, challenging and competing with others. And these are not beyond our reach.' (Sen 2006: 37) Rather what is important is that such an engagement helps in discovering one's own identity. When one chooses to act, one performs it from a particular perspective. "Choice does not require jumping out of nowhere into somewhere, but it can lead to a move from one place to another." (Sen 2006: 36-37) Dharmpada's move takes a deep moral turn when he finds that his job is not over by completing the most challenging task and solving the problem. Rather his commitment to the community further adds to the problem. The problem does not go away as some artisan thought that 'the king will punish the artisan anyway' knowing that the crown stone is fixed by the young boy. In this critical phase of time, Dharmapada has to make a choice to show his commitment and obligation to his community. As Sen interestingly puts it, "We do discover many things about ourselves even when they may not be as foundational…But to recognize this is not the same as making identity just a matter of discovery. Even when the person discovers something very important about himself or herself, there are still issues of choice to be faced. … Important choices have to be made even when crucial discoveries occur. Life is not mere destiny." (Sen 2006: 38-39) Dharmapada made a final choice to save the life of all artisans working for building the Sun temple at the cost of the loss of his own life. He chose to die for a greater cause shows his value-consciousness. The normative attitude in which Dharmapada made this choice, opens up a discourse on moral identity. It shows life is to be conceived beyond the given. The given could be part of the destiny but life is not. One brings values to life by understanding and inculcating higher values. This kind of 'self-improvement is an urge of self-transcendence.' (Pradhan 1999: 57)

The choice that Dharmapada finally makes shows a discovery of an identity of a person after death. This notion of identity involves not only commitment and obligation, but also exhibit high sense of integrity. The person's death could be construed as a mode of self-transcendence; by performing this action one sets an example for *the other*. The fellow artisans who are skeptical about their existence, could have been perplexed with Dharmapada's this performance. It is not an ordinary self-transcendence. Illustrating the notion of self-transcendence Pradhan writes, "…important aspect of self-transcendence lies in overcoming of our lower desires and

motives for the sake of a higher life. This is reflected in the life of every civilized human being. The higher we ascend more civilized we are." (Pradhan 1999: 57) There is no end to moral perfection. But the people who are moral exemplars do tell us something meaningful about life. They exhibit their moral identity by performing action that are meaningful for the humanity. As Cristine Korsgaard rightly puts it, "We must value our own humanity, and so that we must treat our human identity as a form of practical, normative identity… Valuing one's humanity is called 'moral identity.'" (Korsgaard 1996: 132)

To conclude, we have also tried to show that storytelling is a valuable incentive to attract children towards learning and could be used as part of literacy programme as it helps in developing *basic learning*. Apart from that storytelling also helps in building up moral character. Learning has to be value oriented. Learning from stories is no doubt inspiring. It inspires people 'to awake by teaching them higher ends of life. ' (Das 2008) The authors of this tale have emphasized this by drawing our attention to the fact that we need to learn about the good qualities of Dharmpada. Dharmapada's journey sets a ground for his moral identity and this moral character is disclosed in his actions that have immense significance for humanity.

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Reading Bruhat Tapoyi (Khudurukuni Osa)

A Representation of the Socio-cultural Ethos of the Odia Community

Radharani Nayak and Dr Seemita Mohanty

Abstract

Among the several components that support towards enriching the cultural heritage of a place, folklore is one such important parameter. It communicates the moral codes and ethics of a bygone society, and provides the present social order a window into the past that is no longer in existence. It is like an important web link, for succeeding generations, which opens the site of wisdom of our ancestors; our traditions, and culture. Through folklore we can learn much about our culture, tradition, and our values and beliefs. The present paper aims at analysing a widely known folk story that has formed a base for one of the popular religious festivals of the Odia community practiced by unmarried women since a long time. The paper also seeks to highlight how with modernisation and urbanisation, the changing societal mores is no longer encouraging the Odia women to engage in such festivities. These practices are being perceived as frivolous and a waste of time. This particular folk story is accepted and respected in every Odia family as a religious book, especially in the coastal part of Odisha. The text targets unmarried women who

keep a *brata* (fasting) on specific Sundays, for the well-being of their brothers. The story talks about the socio-cultural and socio-religious ethos of the Odia people which includes the joint family system, the maritime activities that formed a crucial part of their livelihood, the sacred relationship between brothers and sisters, the sacrifice of a sister for her brother and vice versa, the love and affection to the younger ones in the family, sibling love, triumph of good over evil, the concept of fasting, religious beliefs of women etc. Originally the story existed only in the oral form but subsequently has been written down anonymously into book form in the Odia language.

Keywords: Folklore, Socio-cultural ethos, Odia community, fasting, religious beliefs

Introduction

Folklore constitutes one of the important parameters towards enriching the cultural heritage of a place. Through folklore we can learn much about our culture, tradition, and our values and beliefs. The term folklore was coined in 1846 by an Englishman William John Thomas. When he first coined the word, he defined Folklore as the lore (or learning) of the folk. (Misro 35). The definition given by Mac Edward Leach in funk and Wagnall's Standard Definition of Folklore (1949-50) " Folklore is the generic term to designate the customs beliefs, traditions, tales, magical practices, proverbs songs etc., in short the accumulated knowledge of a homogeneous unsophisticated people.(5) Trilochan Pande in his article "Folklore as Mass Media: an Introduction, says "folklore in India today is regarded as one of the most important and effective instruments of social engineering. For developing societies like ours, with extremely low levels of literacy, the significance and relevance of folklore can hardly be overemphasized. It provides aid in educating the young, promotes group solidarity, serves as an outlet to suppressed emotions and provides a means of escape from disappointment and frustration".(15)

Understanding Folklore: the Odisha Context

The traditional folk forms of Orissa, have always provided popular entertainment and education for the common folk. The cultural heritage of Orissa beautifully comes out in the form of wonderful folk performances. The people of Odisha have a rich and varied tradition or art, folk dances and oral literature, and they celebrate throughout the year many fairs and festivals. Folklore in Odisha brings a great deal of cultural uniformity among the people. People gather together on several occasions in order to celebrate festivals. And more over these people have a strong belief on folklore.

A brief Summary of the Tapoyi Lore

This particular folklore *BruhatTapoyi* is one of the most popular folklores of eastern Odisha which gives a broader picture of the maritime activities and the cultural-religious practices in Odisha. It talks about a *Sadhava* (merchant) family. The merchant of Kalinga or Odisha were known *as Sadhavas*. The story goes like this. A wealthy trading merchant who owned seven ships had seven sons and a daughter. The sons were all married and helped their father in his trade. The trader, his wife, their sons and daughters-in-law, and their little daughter, all lived happily together in a large house. Tapoyi, being the youngest among them, was always the centre of attraction and received affection from everybody. Everyone, her father, in particular, took care to fulfil all of her desires.

One day, *Tapoyi* was playing with her friend with a bamboo made utensil. An old woman came and asked her why she is playing with a bamboo utensil when her father has enough to get for her even a golden moon. Then*Tapoyi* asked her father to get her a golden moon. Listening to her demand everybody became happy and her father promised her to give her the same within fifteen days. Then both the merchant parents started making the golden moon. Sadly, before it

was ready, the merchant passed away due to sudden illness, and by the time it was handed over, *Tapoyi*'s mother too died. She did not have any more interest in playing with the golden moon when the whole family was plunged in grief. She was herself left with nagging fear whether her desire to won a golden moon had taken away her parents from her.

Once the funeral rites were over, the seven brothers began loading their father's ship with merchandise. A day before they were to set sail, they called their wives together and told them:

"Boitejauacchuambhegharasambhalithibatumbhe

Dekha he daibarakrutya pita sangarare gale mata

Jemantejhianajhuribatemantesebakaruthiba

Bhojanakaraibaanikahiapurbarasabani

Doliredolipanchaiba nimisehelanakariba"

The gist is that all the sisters-in-law should be more affectionate to their little sister in law since she is an orphan and now her brothers were away. Then all their wives asked their husbands not to have any apprehension about their sister, they assured and promised their husbands to take care of her properly. They did take care of *Tapoyi* for a month or two like the way their husbands have told them to. One day, that old woman comes again and asks for alms in front of their house and nobody paid attention to her as everybody was busy with *Tapoyi*'s treatment. All the women folk asked her to wait since they are busy. Seeing *Tapoyi* on the swing the old woman became jealous and asked them why they all aretoiling to keep the little girl happy. She badmouthed against *Tapoyi*in front of her sisters-in-law and persuaded them to put her to work because *Tapoyi* will be dangerous for them in future. Somehow it appealed the mind of all the sisters-in-

law except the youngest one. The old woman asked them to send *Tapoyi* to graze the goats in the forest. So that in course of time she might be eaten by tigers or lions in the forest before her brothers are back at home. From that day, *Tapoyi*'s fate took a U-turn. She was given all sorts of chores; she could not satisfy her sisters-in-law who only found fault in whatever she did. They denied her jewellery good clothes even proper food. She often went to sleep on a half-empty stomach and a prayer on her lips, '*O Mangaladevi! Please bring my brothers back soon!*'

One day, her eldest sister-in-law called her asked her to take the goats to the forest for grazing. She gave her a lunch packet. After letting the goats free, when *Tapoyi* opened the packet she found a handful of rice and some *Musamati (*soil balls from the rat hole) and some ash in the place of salt. She threw the packet away. In the evening she returned home hungry. It was a similar case for the next six days when the lunch was packed by the sisters-in-law in turn. All the six days, *Tapoyi* came home hungry. However, on the seventh day, it was Neelendri, who prepares the packet and *Tapoyi* had enough to eat. Days passed by. Except on days when Neelendri, prepared the lunch pack, all the other days Tapoyi had to starve. Thus, years after years passed by. One evening, she found one lamb missing from the herd. She looked for the little one everywhere. Since it was raining *Tapoyi* abandoned her search and came home with the rest of the herd. Her eldest sister-in-law was very angry with her and threatened her to beat with a tamarind stick.*Tapoyi* got scared and ran out of the house and headed for the forest. It was pitch dark. On her way she found some unmarried girls worshipping *Mangaladevi.* She went there and asked them the significance of that *Puja* (worship) and they told her that if somebody worships this goddess with pure heart and keeps a *Manasika* (vows for the fulfilment of the desire) then *Devi Mangala* fulfils that. This *Osa*falls on every year in the month of *Bhadrav* (English month August) and is observed all the five Sundays in that month. They told her the

osabidhi(procedure). After listening to this *Tapoyi* followed the procedure of the *Osa* and kept a *Manasika. After the Osa,* on her way home she found that goat. Then in the next turn *Tapoyi* did that *Osa* with the *Manasika* for her brother's home coming. *Tapoyi'*s suffering increased dayby day. One day she decides to die in the forest. Sitting under a tree in the midnight she started crying loudly. Fortunately for her, the ship which was bringing back the seven brothers was passing by the forest. Her brothers heard the cries of a girl. Who could it be crying at this hour and in the dark forest, they wondered. The youngest of the brothers left the ship and went into the forest from where he has heard the cries. He saw the girl but took some time to recognize her as their dear sister. He was shocked to know that it's their little sister *Tapoyi*. She then narrated her plight. He consoled her and took her to their ship, where the other six brothers were there. They too, received her with great affection. They realized how their wives, except Neelendri, had been unkind to their sister. They decided to punish their wives.

The news of the arrival of the ship the next morning was greeted with excitement. All the seven women gathered at the seashore to welcome their husbands. The eldest had already directed the others what to say if the brothers were to enquire about *Tapoyi*.The womenfolk were greeted by their husbands with an angry countenance. They were, however, surprised to see the girl inside the Ship when they went to worship the ship deity. The brothers had already told their loving sister to cut the nose of those sisters in law who have tortured her and to leave the one who loves her. *Tapoyi* did the same with all her sisters-in-law except the youngest one. The brothers punished their wives severely for torturing their one and only loving sister. After some years everybody got united after *Tapoyi'*s marriage.

Joint Family System

This present folklore talks about the culture of strong joint family system that was prevalent in the ancient Odisha. In the rural areas, joint family system is still prevalent. However, in urban areas, there is a shift in the trend and joint families are being replaced by nuclear families. Orissa is predominantly a rural society where traditional values are still intact. In the race of modern times Odias have still been able to keep their relationship alive with humanity and nature. People from Orissa firmly believe in the family life and joint family system is still there in rural as well as to some extent in urban areas. But with the change of time and also with the arrival of westernization and modernization things have started to change. People prefer to live with their wives and children abandoning their old parents, brothers and sisters. This folklore reminds us of the past glory we had regarding the form of family system.

Strong Familial Bond

The story emphasises on the strong familial bond between the siblings specially the love and sacrifice between brothers and sister. It shows how all the six brothers deserted their wives as a punishment since they had tortured their little sister. At the same time the sister was also ready to sacrifice her life praying for them in the forest. Every now and then she was praying desperately for their brothers to come back because for a sister her brothers are her *Rakshyakarta* (saviour). Therefore, to celebrate this sacred relationship there is a special occasion called *Rakshya Bandhan* which is celebrated in many parts of India and especially in a very grand manner in Odisha. It also shows how the youngest one in a family is given utmost care. It is evident in this story when Tapoyi asks for a Golden Moon to her father and without a sign of hesitation her parents agree to give that to her.

Maritime activities

The lore not only talks about the family and relationship but also gives a clear picture regarding medium of trade and commerce in the Ancient Odisha. Nature has endowed Odisha with many rivers. The entire coastal region of Odisha is enriched by her river's annual deposition of fresh soil. As a result, not only agriculture prospered in the past but also trade. Almost all the river at their mouth afforded enough and safe navigational passage to boats and small vessels. The ports of Odisha attracted many Europeans and the Asian merchant for trade and commerce. Now no such trade and commerce is in practice except a few. This particular folklore reminds us of the bygone days when the merchants of Odisha and their merchandise was famous worldwide. They were exporting different types of spices to other countries and importing several types of costly metals and jewelleries. It is marked in the story when the womenfolk ask their respective husbands to get them different types of costly jewellery when they come back from the trade and Tapoyi asks her brothers to get a doll made up of Diamond.

"Jaucha jebe banijyare anithibati alankare

Ke bole mora suna chudi anithibati ratna jhadi

Ke bole hirara basani mohara pain thiba ani

Ke bole subarna kankana aniba moha nimantena

Ke bole astharatna tara ke bole khanja moti hira

Ke bole hira malli kadhi uttama rupe thiba ghadi

Bhainki bole Tapoyi Mo pain hirara kandhai"

Religious Beliefs and Fasting

Religion has been the basis of Odisha's thought and life and the guiding principle of the cultural heritage. In fact the Odishan culture is religious oriented. It has been a veritable home of observing *upabasa, osa and brata* which basically constitute the word "fasting". Fasting is to keep oneself hungry for a period of the day or portion thereof to worship and pray for the fulfilment of certain desires. *Osa* is one of the types of fasting. It is to remain without food till the deity to be worshipped presented with offerings. So many rituals are associated with osa. It is mingled with the vows or *manasika* for the fulfilment of the desire. Generally *Osa*s are better observed by the women and unmarried girls of Odisha. And this folklore presents a clear picture of the religious rites and rituals practiced by the people here.Odisha is originally a traditional state. In times of crises it has clanged to its traditions. Currently a belief has emerged that the infrastructure of modernisation can only be built on the grave yard of tradition. However, tradition is not an anti-thesis to modernization. It has to be born in mind that no society can make into the future without some attention to what it inherited in the past.

In contemporary society tradition has become a puppet in the hands of the people. They are no more god-fearing rather have become materialistic. Their life styles have been changed. Their behavioural patterns, attitudes, values and beliefs have been reduced to a great extent. They are observing "fasting" not for the sake of religious practices or for performing religious rites and rituals but for "dieting" purposes. The women and unmarried girls are observing "fasting" not for the observance of *Osa* and *brata* but to maintain a slim figure. So "fasting" now-a-days has become a fashion.

Conclusion:

The social culture and history of Odisha can be enriched with the utilization of folklore traditions as a source material as it is embedded within the social systems, practices, lifestyles

etc. If properly collected and analysed folklore provides unique and effective source of information for the better understanding of the social and cultural history of the non-elite and the unsophisticated section of the society. Thus, this particular folklore represents evidently the socio-cultural ethos of the Odia community.

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Indigenous fishing knowledge of Sundarban

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Abstract

Sundarban is the largest mangrove reserve forest in the world. It is a home of Royal Bengal Tiger. No one lives or is allowed to live inside the forest. The forest resources dependent local people live in the Sundarban Impact Zone (SIZ). A large number of people of Sundarban Impact Zone have depended on fishing and related occupations. They have separate identity and traditional cultural or folklore. They are depended on the fishes of Sundarban for their livelihood. Every day or seasonally they go to Sundarban for catching fish and crab. One of the key targets of the study is to trace out how the fishermen people of Sundarban use their traditional knowledge and technique for fishing. Generally they use most wonderful indigenous method and indigenous technique for fishing. They use different type of nets and different kind of traps for fishing. Therefore it can easily be inferred that there is a vast body of indigenous knowledge on fishing among the fishermen communities in Sundarban. This knowledge includes the indigenous technology of fishing and indigenous understanding of environment.

Key words: Indigenous fishing knowledge, Fishing technique, Sundarban

INTRODUCTION

Sundarban is the largest mangrove reserve forest in the world. It is a home of Royal Bengal Tiger. The Indian part of the Sundarban covers an area of 9630 sq. kms and is designated as a Biosphere Reserve forest. The area comprises about 102 islands of which 54 islands are inhabited. It consists of 6 blocks of

North It 24-Parganas district and 13 blocks of South 24-Parganas district of West Bengal. The local people involve in various resource collections from the Sundarban. They have separate identity and traditional cultural or folklore. The fishermen community is the largest segment of the local community of Sundarban area. A large number of fishermen are depended on the fishes of Sundarban for their livelihood. Every day or seasonally they go to Sundarban for catching fish and crab. Generally they go to fishing on the August to March. When they go for fishing then have to paid permission fee and received BLC permit. Naturally they go to journey with local country boat (*Nouka*) that must be permitted by the forest department. They use various type of fishing nets. When they go to fish collection then must be carried a sharp cutting weapon as *da* or *katari*. At first the fishermen collect permission letter from the forest office by the deposit of some fixed money. After that they start journey for fishing from forest river or creek area. They use most wonderful indigenous traditional knowledge and technique for fishing. Not only they use nets but also use different kind of equipments for fishing. Generally they catch different type of fishes whose local name is *vetki, parshe, kaine, bagda, bele, kakra, tangra*, etc. They do not catch some kind of fishes which has marked by forest department; these are *kamat, chakol, kata bol, koibol, timi, jon kede, tepa* etc. Total twelve type of fishes are restricted for fishing in Sundarban.

METHODOLOGY

Kalitala and Jogeshganj Gram panchayets of Hingalganj block were selected purposively from the fishing area adjacent in the Sundarban forest in west Bengal. Two villages of Kalitala and two villages of Jogeshganj were selected randomly. Finally the sample consisted of two panchayets, four villages and 24 samples fishermen (see table-1). The data were collected from the month of July to October, 2011, which ware analyzed and presented into suitable tables and picture to draw meaningful conclusions.

Table-1   **Study area and sample size**

Sl.No.	Block	Panchayet	Village	Sample size(No.)		
				M	F	Total
1.			Kalitala	6	0	6
	Hingalganj	Kalitala	Samshernagar	6	0	6
2.	Hingalganj	Jogeshganj	Hemnagar	6	0	6

			Madhabkathi	6	0	6
	1	2	4	24	0	24

M = Male; F = Female,

RESULT AND DISCURSION

I studied 24 samples fishermen in two panchayets of Hingalganj block for find out their accrual condition of socio-economical background and fishing knowledge. The result comes; overall family member in each family is 4.95., whereas the average number of earning family member is only 1.29. I found that fishing is the main occupation of all 24 samples fishermen which are selected from two panchayets. But they engage in some subsidiary occupation like honey collection, agricultural land and other works. Overall 45.83% fishermen are engaged in fishing and honey collection, 37.5% in fishing and agriculture, 4.16% in fishing and other job. Overall 33.33% people are completely landless and 4.16% people have only homestead and remaining 62.5% do have agriculture land and homestead. Majority numbers of fishermen in the study area are Hindus while some are *Muslims.* In this study I found that majority number of Hindus belongs to SC caste their sub-caste are *Pandokhatrio* and *Rajbangshi*. In this investigation I found that overall 67.08% fishermen are literate and remain 32.75% are completely illiterate. The literate fishermen are more in Jogeshganj (69.49%) panchayet than in Kalitala (65%). The educational background of sample households indicates the literacy and education level is very poor among selected fishermen population. Overall 40.14% fishermen have primary education (I to IV class), 46.30% secondary studied (V to X class), 11.09% have higher secondary (XI to XII class) and only 2.43% have studies above higher secondary. So educationally fishermen are at the bottom of their stair. Fishing is the main source of income of local fishermen. The secondary source of income is agriculture, honey collection and day labour. The average household's income of 24 samples is Rs 1899.99 per month. I found that variations in income from different areas of Sundarban like Kalitala (1591.66) and Jogeshganj (2208.33). The variations in income from fishing activity depend upon various factors like forest fishing or without forest fishing and BLC permit holder or without BLC permit holder.

Table-2: Socio-economic characteristic of fishermen at two panchayets of Hingalganj block, West Bengal

Particulars		Kalitala	Jogeshganj	Overall	
No. of Fishermen		12	12	24	
Average Size of family (no.)		5	4.91	4.95	
Average age of Fishermen (ye)		49.08	51.16	50.12	
Education of Fishermen Family (no.)					
Literate		65	69.49	67.08	
	Primary	46.15	34.14	40.14	
	Secondary	48.71	43.90	46.30	
	Higher Secondary	5.12	17.07	11.09	
	Graduate	0	4.87	2.43	

Illiterate	35	30.50	32.75
Occupation (no.)			
Only Fishing	16.66	8.33	12.49
Fishing with Honey Collection	50	41.66	45.83
Fishing with Agriculture	25	50	37.5
Fishing with other	8.33	0	4.16
Property (no)			
Landless	41.66	25	33.33
Homestead	8.33	0	4.16
Homestead & Agriculture	50	75	62.5
No. of earning members	1.33	1.25	1.29
Monthly income	1591.66	2208.33	1899.99
Last 5 years credit	4333.33	4833.33	4583.33
Job Satisfaction (No.)	33.33	41.66	37.49
Desire for other job (No.)	66.66	58.33	62.49
Figures in parentheses are percentage values.			

FISHING TECHNIQUE

Fishing techniques are based on using fishing gears (nets) and crafts or by practicing any other ways, has been developed in Sundarban area (See table- 3). Gears and crafts used in open water bodies are different from that used in closed water bodies. The reason behind developing particular fishing

methods in open as well as closed water bodies are due to geographical differences, landscapes and fish population abundance. Most of the fishing methods have been developed on open water bodies mainly rivers and creeks. The fishermen use different type of nets for inside or outside fishing in open water bodies in Sundarban. In the Sundarban area, maximum fishes are mainly captured from open water bodies; but not regularly from the cultured water bodies. Various typs of fishing gears and crafts are found not only in the fishermen colony but also in every villager's house. Some exceptional fishing methods and well known gears are described in the follows:

INDIGENOUS FISHING KNOWLEDGE

At first the fishermen search a fishing zone before the fish's collection. They search where the turbid water is because their observance turbid water is a store house of fishes. Another traditional knowledge has found that when the water colour is made green then the *illisha* fish come in to the water bodies. The *arh* fish founds more when the water is made in seized with eager greed. According to fishermen, *Vhangan* (local word) is a rich fishing area rather than free water bodies. The may be understood where is fish or not for the observation on volume and movement of water current. All the assessment of fishermen is possible for the common practical sense. That is their indigenous knowledge and long experience of life.

USE OF FISHING NETS

Khepla jal (cast net)

Khepla jal is a kind of cast net, which is the most familiar fishing gear used in all types of water bodies. It is a conical shaped net; this net occurs in different sizes. A standard khepla jal measures about 4m in length and the bottom is a circle of 6-9 m diameter. The loop size of the net is 0.6 to 7.5 cm[1]. It may be weaved by natural or artificial twines. It is a hand operating net[2], which can be thrown and operated by a fisherman alone (see Fig 1).

Behundi jal (bag net)

The bag portion of behundi jal measures 20 m long, mouth 6 m wide and wings 9 m long. Loop size near the mouth is 4.0 cm narrowing to 0.5 cm at the cod end. It has six step of loop size[3]. The lower end of the extremity of the wing is tied either to a pair of heavy wooden anchors or to two wooden spikes driven into the mud, while on the upper side a large drum is attached to serve as a float. The mouth is kept open with the help of two bamboo poles each about 5 m long. There is also a buoy at the cod end[4].

Charpata jal (stakenet)

The charpata jal (stake nets) is used in the creeks and tidal inshore areas of the Sundarban. It is made of artificial twines. A standard charpata jal measures about 100m in length and the 4 m in wide. The loop size of the net is 1.6 to 1 cm[5].The net consists of number of rectangular pieces of artificial twines netting attached to bamboo/ wood poles and is operated where wide stretches of mud flats are exposed at low tide. A team of about 5/6 men are required for its operation. It is kept stationary with the help of stakes placed at regular intervals. No floats or sinkers are used. At ebb tide the net is laid pleated and concealed in the inertial regions[4]. With the two ends tied to some mangrove trees or poles specially fixed on the land. When the tide is almost full, the fishermen wade through waist deep water, lift the net part by part and fix it on bamboo or mangrove stakes which are carried in their arms. At the turn of the tide all the *bagda* (tiger shrimp/prawns) and other fishes which had entered with the flood tide get caught in the net.

Khalpata jal (stakenet)

This is similar to charpata jal. It is used only in the *khari* (creek) of Sundarban. A standard khalpata jal measures about 60m in length and the 6m in wide. The loop size of the net is 1.6 to 1 cm. It is also used to capture large and small fish species like *vetki, chingri, kain, datne, paira,* etc[6].

Ber jal (seine nets)

Ber jal is a conventional beach seine net. It is commonly used in ponds and rivers. It is also used in marsh and rivers during the dry season when water flow is minimal. This net is usually hauled by a team of fishers, the number depending on the size and weight of the net. It is a rectangular net with floats on the head rope and weights on the ground rope. The ground rope is made of thick twisted jute fibers and the head rope is thin nylon or polyethylene[7]. It is very large in size, usually 50-200 m long and 5-6 m wide. Mesh size ranges between 0.5-2 cm[8]. Length, depth and mesh size vary with the size of the water body and the species to be caught. After surrounding part of a water body with this net, the two ends of the net are drawn together and the ground rope is hauled up from the center of the water body to catch the fish[7]. A large mesh size is used for harvesting *vetki, kain, arh, datne* and other large fish, while small mesh net captures *tengra, chingri, fasha,*etc.

Fash jal (seine nets)

This is a rectangular net made of monofilament or nylon twine operated in reservoirs, rivers and flood plains. It is a passive gear commonly known as net jal. It is 20-200 m long and 1-6 m wide with mesh of 0.1-0.5cm[9]. Floats are used at the headline, earthen weights for the ground line. This gear is fixed in the water with two bamboo poles to form a large net wall[7]. It is used to catch fishes *like tangra, parshe, fasha, chingri*. Fash Jal with a mesh size greater than 90 mm is not at all harmful to stocked carp.

Table-3   A detail list of selective fishing nets used on the Sundarban area

Type of Fishing gears	Local Name	Target species	Size(M)	Mesh size (cm)	Technique	Operation period	Habitat	Cost
Fish nets								
Cast Net	Khepla Jal	All kind of fish	L-4m W- 6-9	0.6-7.5 cm	It is round-shaped when thrown to fully open and it is operate manually.	Day+night	P,R	1200.00-1300.00
Bag Net	Behundi Jal	mainly chingri	L-20m MO-6m W-9mi	4-0.5 cm	Kept vertically open by a frame and held horizontally stretched by the water current.	Day+night	C	15000.00
Stake net	Charpata Jal	vetki, chingri, datne , kain, paira	L-100m W-4m	1.6-1 cm	Charpata jal a serene barrier made of netting small loops.	Day+night	R	8000.00
	Khalpata Jal	vetki, chingri, datne , kain, paira	L-60m W-6m	1.6-1 cm	Khalpata jal a serene barrier made of netting small loops.	Day+night	C	6000.00

Seine net	Ber jal	vetki , kain, arh, datne	L-50-200m W-5-6m	0.5-2 cm	After surrounding part of a water body with this net, the two ends of the net are drawn together and the ground rope is hauled up from the center of the water body to catch the fish.	Day+night	R, M	10000.00
	Fash jal	tangra, parshe, fasha chingri	L-20-200m W-1-6m	0.1-0.5 cm	Floats are used at the headline, earthen weights for the ground line. This gear is fixed in the water with two bamboo poles to form a large net wall.	Day+night	R, MA	3000.00

*Jal: Local name for fishing net.

R = River; P = Pond , MA = marsh; C= Creeks CM = Centimeter; M = Miter; L = Length, W= Wide, MO= Mouth

CONCLUSION

The study concludes that the aquatic resources of the Sundarban Mangrove Forest (SMF) are an important component of its biodiversity and are an important source of food and income for fishermen communities. The fishermen in Sundarban are usually ranked very low in the hierarchy. They are indigenous traditional knowledge holder because they use very indigenous traditional method and technique for fishing. Fishermen also have their own folklore. In harmony with their natural environment and social context, the fishermen of Sundarban have developed their folklore. During their fishing activities they derive mental pleasure by singing folksongs such as *Bhatiyali* and *Shari* song[2]. But they are leading a very miserable life. They work hard for only foods and clothes. Their only capital is their strength. The community life of fishermen of Sundarban has changed gradually. Due to the decrease of fishing grounds, fishing resources,

some social and environmental pressure, traditional knowledge holder of the fishing communities have tended to leave their traditional occupation in search of other job. Moreover, there is no guarantee of daily income. Hence, the new generation feels discouraged to opt for their traditional occupation.

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8. Respondent: Matiyar Sardar, Age-40, Samshernagar, Kalitala Panchayet, Hingalganj, North 24 Parganas, W.B.

9. Respondent: Rashid Gaji, Age-39, Samshernagar, Kalitala Panchayet, Hingalganj, North 24 Parganas, W.B.

Glossary

BLC	Boat Loading Certificate	Bagda	Tiger Shrimp
Da	A heavy knife	Katari	A heavy knife
Khari	Creeks	Vetki	Local Fish
Parshe	Local Fish	Kaine	Local Fish
Bagda	Shrimp	Bele	Local Fish
Kakra	Crab	Tangra	Local Fish
Chingri	Local Fish	Kain	Local Fish
Datne	Local Fish	Paira	Local Fish
Telapiya	Local Fish	Gule	Local Fish
Fasha	Local Fish	Kamat	Local Fish
Chakol	Local Fish	Kata bol	Local Fish
Koibol	Local Fish	Med	Local Fish
Chhele	Local Fish	Jaoya	Local Fish
Timi	Local Fish	Jon	Local Fish
Kede	Local Fish	Tepa	Local Fish
Ilisha	Local Fish	Arh	Local Fish
Vhangan	Bank of river where mangrove tree live		
Khepla jal	A local Cast Net	Behundi Jal	A local Bag Net

Charpata Jal	A local Stake net		Khalpata jal	A local Stake net
Ber Jal	A local Seine nets		Fash Jal	A local Seine nets
Jal	Fishing net		Karent jal	Small loop size net
Pandokhatrio	S.C Caste		Rajbangshi	S.C Caste
Bhatiyali	Traditional folksong		Shari	Traditional folksong

Socio-cultural Praxis and Stylistics in Selected Odia Proverbs

Dr Pratap Kumar Dash

Abstract

Proverbs, sayings, maxims, morals and wittious expressions have practical, social-cultural and linguistic value. They are potential stocks in human discourse and best represent the mythology, history, culture, tradition, creativity and instant verbal wit. Like other languages, Odia has a rich store of such sayings. Here, in this paper, the aim is to present a basic idea about the formation, meaning and use of the frequently used Odia proverbs. In addition, care has been taken to focus on the pragmatic and stylistic aspects. They have been categorized under four heads viz. references to epics and mythological scriptures; legends; anecdotes; and sayings of day to day life. A theoretical assumption has been made on the lingual action in such sayings and finally a basic parameter of discourse function has been presented in relation to such sayings.

I. General Introduction

Proverbs are the cream of semantic notion and the oozing out of the sum and substance of verbal human experience. These are the linguistic reflections of culture, traditional and modern knowledge that embed the human world through the ages. This wisdom literature is the light giver to the system of evidence and logic in justice. The sayings, morals of popular cultural and folklore related anecdotes, examples, maxims; and aphoristic expressions store the records of the best use of language with attributes of linguistic economy and cognitive value. Proverbs mirror the past to benefit the present. These are a mixed bag of deft, colorful and evocative sayings on a variety of subjects. They contain everyday expressions and common observations in succinct and

formulaic language. They are true, informative, and useful. They bear social values and thoughts. The verbal folklore genre includes fairy tales, legends, jokes, and riddles. Proverbs address recurrent social situations in a strategic way. They have apothegm, adage, poetic devices in a definite social structure and semiotic point of view. Proverbs involve listeners with enigmatic character which leads listeners to assess the situation. This is particularly important in cases when the proverbs want to respect the autonomy of the recipient of the proverbs. Proverb is a complex, intriguing and important verbal entity. As a result, it has been the subject of vast number of opinion studies and analyses. Seven views of the proverb are generally outlined. They are personal, formal, religious, literary, practical, cultural, and cognitive views.

1.1 Methods and Materials

A primary textual-references as well as social investigations have been made to collect some of the selected colloquial and literary sayings used more commonly in Odisha. Also, some sayings have been collected from people using commonly in daily life. Then, through a linguistic analysis, attempts have been made to prove that there are certain interconnected factors lying behind the formation of these proverbs.

1.2 Scope and Limitations

The scope of the study is modest; a unique and general approach has been made to find out the science of formation of Odia proverbs. The limitations abound the overlooking of the specific and micro level analysis which might have been more informative.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Normally, linguists have focused on the formation of the proverbs from traditional literary models. Here, the analysis is expected to reveal the reality of the formal and functional aspects of Odia proverbs on a closer basis by which the value of these will be worthwhile.

1.4 Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that the study of the formation of Odia proverbs will open up a logical linguistic knowledge about the socio-cultural, temporal and dynamic reflection of the cognitive and informative resources of language formation and its effect and establish a value of the model and method of formation of Odia proverbs.

1.5 Explanation of the typical Odia terms used in the paper

Va:sana: : wish, desire, intention, sensual and spiritual aim mixed with knowledge and experience.

Svabha:va: one's nature, behavior, characteristics, organic quality etc.

Purusha: the person with the all round strength of body and mind

Shabda: sound that results in formation of words and meanings

Dhaatu: the root form of a word

Brahma: the soul, the organic reality and root power that forms the base of life of everything

Advaita: no second one, no duality of thought and action, refers to the oneness of soul

Prabachan: the intellectual, spiritual and moral orations

Prahelika: the wise sayings with examples told instantly

Khanaabachan: the wise sayings believed to be told by wise stock character who stammers

2. Literature Review

A number of research articles, books, and dissertations have been discussed proverbs in Odia as examples to illustrate various aspects of society, culture, mainly the customs, traditions, and social practices. There are also a number of comparative studies of proverbs in two or more different languages to establish similarities in proverbs.

Normally, so far as the theoretical analysis of culture in anthropological studies is concerned, two works are important as they give a comprehensive review of various descriptions of the use of proverbs. Duranti (1997: 25 - 30) gives a detailed account of six linguistic theories of culture associated with proverbs. They are:

i. Distinct from nature;   ii. Knowledge iii. Communication;

iv. Mediation v. A system of practices and   vi. Participation.

These theories 'together form a broad mandate for the study of culture and for the analysis of language as a conceptual and social tool that is both a product and an instrument of culture' (Duranti 50). He mentions proverbs, in the theory of culture as communication, as a system of signs to represent the world (Duranti33) but no specific analysis of how proverbs do that has been made.

2.1. Interpretation of Socio-cultural Praxis in the Formation of Proverbs

There are a number of Western specialists on proverbs. Meider says, "Proverbs contain everyday explorations and common observations in succinct and formulaic language. … Proverbs are indeed alive and well, and sapient nuggets ….informative and useful linguistic signs of cultural values and thoughts". The opinion of Meider is very general and does not reflect the science of proverbs. Fishman says, "Language of proverbs to be taken as a socio-cognitive phenomenon. (16)… proverbs, as an oral tradition exemplifying verbal art, are a direct means of considering the collective perception that is assumed in any idea of culture, space and speakers indicate a collective effort on the part of the communities that use them.(17)… the generic features of proverbs are monopartite, bipartite, and multipartite". Fishman does not reflect on spontaneity and creative manifestation. Steindl-Rast says, it is "Esperanto of the spiritual life, an artificially extricated language of wisdom, would be caricature of common sense". Again, Nancy Mason Bradbury says that "Proverbs are species of metaphor. Its use is both mental and social. Its use arises from a context of cultural specifics". In addition, Lakoff and Turner say that "Proverbs require that their recipients apprehend a source domain schema provided by the proverb recipients then map the source domain into a target domain. They treat proverb not as the product of tradition but as the product of individual literary texts". Honeck says that "Proverb can be regarded as a discourse deviant, relatively concrete present (non-past) tense statement that uses characteristic linguistic markers to arouse cognitive topics in order to make a pragmatic point about them". Dundes defines proverb as a "traditional propositional statement consisting of at least one descriptive element consisting of a topic and a comment". (1981:60). Sietel defines proverbs as "short, traditional, out of content statements used to further some social end". (1981:124)

As the context produces a suitable situation for the use of a proverb, the user uses it according to his disposition; he makes dispositional couplings with the context and reacts to the context in an appropriate dispositional manner. The context does **not control** the use of the proverb, but only **facilitates** its use, that is, the choice ultimately rests with the user but not with the context. In order to use a proverb in a context, he is guided by his *va:sana* to use a proverb, its knowledge, memory, and of course by the traits which impel the choice of the proverb genre, and the specific proverb with all its features by automaticity in application.

3. Socio-cultural Praxis and the Formation of Odia Proverbs

3.1. The Society and Culture of Odisha

Odisha is a State in the Eastern India with an ancient culture of a mixed pattern of Aryan and Dravidian way of life. The people, culture, language and pattern of society have uniqueness in the sense that they are partly influenced by Bengalis in the east and north; Hindi in the west; Telugu in the south; and the core tribal. Like the other States, the trace of colonies of the Moghuls and the British leave certain marks of socio-cultural imperialism in the way of day to day life.

3.2. An Overview of Odia Proverbs

There are varieties of paremiological writings in Odia language. They are the wise and spontaneous sayings of the then people. There are plenty of rhetorical references from people and popular culture and literature. These written as well as spoken sayings are mostly colloquial. They include mythological, historical and timely social anecdotes, celebrations, events and incidents. According to Krishna Chandra Pradhan, they are categorized as sayings based on dutifulness (farmer's song, cart driver's song, vagabond's song, cowherd boy's song, sailor's song and *suaridaka*); rules and regulations (*prabachan, prahelika, khanaa bachan*); religious and cultural fairs and festivals; life of women and astrological sayings. It is found that in the traditional social system, people were divided into different communities as per their genealogical profession like fishing, washer man, or goldsmith, etc. There was close link in the rural social system of each community to the other. In case there is negligence or non cooperation, then, that was a habitual chance for people mostly the housewives to compose anecdotal and on the spot sayings of wisdom value. Right from Jagannath Das to the blind poet Bhima Bhoi; from Jadumani and Baladev Rath to Rabi Singh, all work out of disposition.

3.3. Selected Odia Proverbs for Socio-cultural and Stylistic Analysis

Normally, Odia proverbs are obtained from oral discourses and some are from the written by the ancient poets and writers. For this study, they can be categorized as: i. References to epics and mythological scriptures ii. Legends iii. Anecdotes iv. Day to day sayings

3.3.1. Reference to epics and mythological scriptures

Karna male paanch, Arjuna male paanch(If Karna dies then it is five, if Arjuna dies then it is five too or It does not matter if Karna or Arjuna dies.): In the *Mahabharat*, Kunti, the mother of the Paandavs, the five

sons like Yudhisthir, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakul and Sahadev. In addition, she had a spiritual son named Karna who is at par with Arjuna. If any one of them dies in the battle, then, there will be still five sons left. It is just like loss and gain which has no meaning in the context.

Kichak baahubale Viraat raaja (Kichak strength helps Viraat King orViraat to be the king): When the king Viraat was weak and crazy to be in power, he kept his brother in law as his war chief and frightened all the neighboring kings. That becomes an example for people who pose themselves to have strength by winning the favor of others.

Jhimiti Khelaru Mahabhaarata (from the game of dice to the battle of *Mahabharata*) refers to the creation of big problems in common social life from petty matters.

Vinaasha kaale viparita buddhi (thinking and behaving in a strangely foolish manner at the time of approach of destruction)refers to the characters of Ravana, Kansa, Duryodhan and many others in *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharat* respectively where they act and think erratically which leads to self destruction. This has become a common saying in the public life too.

Bhima bala Kuntiku janaa (the actual strength of Bhima is known to Kunti) is a colloquial saying that refers to the *The Mahabharat*. Bhima, one of the five brothers of the Pandavas is known as the strongest. But, his real strength is known to his wife Kunti. It means that everybody has certain weakness which is known to some of their close relatives, in most cases, it is known to their wives because they only know the extent of masculinity the husbands possess.

Gangaa boile thibi, Gaangi boile jibi (If you say Ganga then I will stay, if you say Gaangi then I will go). It is originated from the story of King Shaantanu who married Gangaa with a condition that he cannot obstruct her from her works. By the way, she went on destroying her babies till the seventh one. When the eighth one came, Shaantanu was bound to reproach her and getting reacted, she left him forever. This is reflected in the context of defiant women living with weak men. Another example of a mythological proverb is, **Agasthi dele daana, kanchaa gua pachaa paana** (Agasthi donated raw betel nut and rotten betel) i.e. after much effort, Saint Agasthi offered only one raw betel nut and a rotten betel leaf which means the miserly people hardly donate anything good like Agasthi.

In this set of proverbs, the inter textual elements are clearly marked. The texts with mythological references are transposed to the universal human situations. The sayings are metaphorical, ironical and meaningful in socio-cultural and situational context. In the sayings, the morphological markers like '-le',

'-ru', '-ku', refer to 'if', 'with the', 'from', 'to' respectively. The language in all constitutes prosodic stress. In each, there is a cause-effect relationship between the two phrasal constituents.

There are plenty of proverbial, moral and practical references in the *Bhagabat Puran*. For example, **Sakala jive sama buddhi, uttama bhave e prasiddhi.** (Every living being possesses equal wisdom and to be used the best in a better sense of manifestation).This means that all are gifted with the same strength of mind which can be manifested in many ways. It is a pithy couplet. Another is **Martya mandale deha bahi, Debataa hoile marai.** It means even the gods and goddesses take human form in the earth, they die as per the law that human is mortal. Aapana haste jihwaa chhedi ketaara achhi pratibaadi (One has to suffer for his own mistakes like cutting his own tongue himself). Like this, there are hundreds of couplets are there reflecting on the universal moral order and general guiding principles narrated with many mythological instances. Here, the words like 'jive', 'bhave' in the first one are nouns blended with 'e' marker to mean 'in this way'. In the second, the words like 'mandale' and 'hoile' have the marker 'e' meaning 'in'; and in the second part, it is 'too'. These markers also bring about the phrasal assimilation as well as poetic effect. The meanings expressed in these sayings are epistemological internally set with the aesthetics of spirituality. The couplet **Emana bhaabuthaai jahaa kaale praapata huetaahaa**(i.e. this mind whatever aims obtains that in the proper course of time) is popularly used to mean that wishes are fulfilled if one has commitment, effort and patience.

Tera dinia Jama (Only thirteen days' god of death or tyrannous ruler): There was a king named Chandamunda. He was never generous. Finally, in his last life, because of the request of his queen, he donated an old ox to a pious man. So, when he died, his sins were adjudged to be a privilege of winning the position of Yama for 13 days. When he assumed power, he tried to kill the real Yama. This became a great shock to all the Gods and Goddesses for which Lord Vishnu himself came to him to solve the problem. His arrival before the king became an opportunity to get salvation. This is used in the social context of opportunity for irrational people. The word 'dinia' is derived from 'dina' i.e. 'day', and the marker 'ia' means 'for'.

3.3.2. Legends

There are a number of legendary proverbs in Odia. Historically, these are generally related to the kings and the learned men in the royal court. One such instance is related to Vinayak Singh Mandhataa, the king of Nayagada. When the powerful king was riding an elephant on a mission, his learned jester was walking down the street. The King saw him and mockingly commented on

this contrast. Immediately the jester replied, **Nikiti taula saana badaku, bhaari hue jie rahe talaku** (weight and measure is for small and big amounts, and obviously the big amount remains lower) i.e. in the system of weights and measures, it is the law of nature that the heavier remains lower and the lighter higher (Historical Background). Later on this event was chosen and applied in various contexts of censure of power and praise of knowledge (Choice and Application). Finally, it is polished, standardized, and used in its appealing present form (Standardization and Currency). In another incident, poet Jadumani had been to a neighbouring State on a courtesy visit. There, he saw that the King and his fellowmen are giving him ill treatment. Being a learned poet, he wrote, **Andha deshaku gali darpana biki, Kandha hastare deligodhana teki**. It means that selling mirror in a country of the blind and donating cow to the tribal are equally meaningless. They do not know the proper use of such things. He writes, **Raaja sinaa pooja paae aapanna deshare, kabi pooja pauthae deshavideshare** (A king is honoured in his country but a poet is adored everywhere). Like this, some other traditional poets like Baladev Rath, Fakir Mohan and Madhusudan Rao have also written which are adapted in such a manner. One famous Odia poet Radhanath Ray in his anthology *Chilikaa* writes **Sundare truptira abasaadanaahin, jete dekhuthile nua dishuthai** (A thing of beauty is a joy for ever).

3.3.3. Anecdotes

Pachharu chhuri maaribaa (to stab from behind), the saying has resemblance with that of the story of Julius Caesar and Brutus. Historically, it is related to the King of the then State of Katak who went against the Gajapati(the Chief of the Kings) and betrayed him and lost his throne subsequently.

Haati sunaa kalasa dhaalibaa (the royal elephant to pour water from the golden pot) is a common ritual that was conducted in the ancient days with utmost sincerity by the administrators as well as senior people of a kingdom to find a new king for the kingdom in case of lack of an inheritor of the dead or sick or absconded king. It is accepted as God's will when the royal elephant moves along the kingdom holding a pot full of pious water on its head and by chance pours that on somebody. Then, the people immediately do the coronation of the new person as their king.

Bilei kapaalaku sika chhindiba (the hanging rope container having a milk pot breaks before a cat) means getting an opportunity unexpectedly.

The marker 'ba' here refers to a generic form of verbs. This can be 'la' to refer to a specific instance in the past. Yet another anecdote is **Tini tundare chheli kukura,** even a goat is considered a dog when many people approve it. These two reflects the role of animals in cultural performances, metaphorical image making and taken as symbols befitting human nature in different contexts.

Chorke chabraa shikh(in Sambalpuri dialect)i.e **Choraku haata kaamuda shikhaiba**refers to an incident too. Once a burglar broke into a house in which two brothers live together. By chance, one of the brothers caught the burglar by hand. In the mean time, when the other brother saw that, he suggested the other to be careful in case the thief would bite him and escape. This is contextually referred to in case of giving an opportunity to a faithless foolishly.

Raandipua Ananta (Ananta, the son of a widow) means a very careless and unsystematic loafer, free from all social norms and very bold and shameless in his activities.

Kataka chinta Baimundiku (the problem of Katak, the city is a great concern for Baimundi): It is popularly used to refer to the benevolent and volunteer service rendered by common people to the society who does not expect any return. There was a poor and illiterate man in the city of Katak. The place is surrounded by rivers and every season the place was greatly affected by heavy flood. The King was not much concerned for this calamity. But selflessly, Baimundi went on collecting a group of volunteers to construct a dam to prevent water from rushing into the city. This inspired the king to accomplish the work and people remember him for this.

Lingual Action in Odia Proverbs

The lingual action in the formation of proverbs undergoes a systematic process before it is made use of. It undergoes the five realities by having a radical interaction. They are: Actional Reality (Lingual Actional Reality); Contextual Actional Reality (Context + Actional Reality); Socio-cultural-spiritual Reality (Society + Culture + Spirituality); Cognitive Reality; and Dispositional reality. For example, "Kataka chinta Baimundiku" is an anecdotal expression and an outcome of the actional reality of an individual; and that is

the disposition of the speaker and contextually meaningful for the listener. In addition, it is confined to a particular society and culture. The formation of such a poetic phrase with certain morality is vested in the dispositional linguistic choice. In the next, the saying "Tini tundare chheli kukura" can be analyzed to have reality reflecting animal imagery and socio-cultural-psychological approval by which people of the society go by. Thus, the statement is not mere outcome of one's core competence only; rather, it is the interconnected-interrelated-interdependent and experiential competence of people to create such a text in a linear scale.

The Odia vocabulary, expressions and structural patterns bear such contextual semantic notion. In the saying, "Katak chintaa Baimundiku", 'Katak' refers to a place; also it refers to the whole society; 'Baimundi' is the name of a person; but, it refers to people those are volunteers and generous for social cause. The phonology, semantics and syntax of almost all the Odia proverbs are either borrowed from Sanskrit or from the countryside dialects having multimodal contextual meanings as well as the force of poetic rhythm of couplet. Such proverbs have imperativity mostly for which the SOV structure and conditional markers are affected/ assimilated in comparison to normal sentence structure.

Seraka purila maanaka purila, uthre puta uth(Sera is full, maana is full, get up son get up) **:** In a bird fable, there was a mother dove. She had a child and he was friendly with the child of the other dove. Once both the mothers sent their children to collect paddy from the field. When they came back after sometime, one of the mothers found that the other dove's child had brought more paddy than her child. So, she got angry and beat her to death. But, later on, she found that her child was honest to bring that amount of paddy whereas the other one had done manipulation by adding dirty scraps and stones. This made her regret for life time.

3.3.4.Sayings in the discourse of day- to- daylife

There are plenty of common proverbial sayings related to the imagery of animal world, nature, natural activities and agriculture. **Pankaru padmajaata** ('panka' means mud and 'padma' means lotus), from the mud in the water born the beautiful lotus which is a metaphor for self- made achievers. **Ahi-nakula Samparka** (the relationship of snake and mongoose) is a metaphor of severe enmity among people or communities expressed ironically because the word 'samparka' means relationship. In such pithy sayings, there are self contradictory elements.

There are many such sayings with collocational and contextual meanings used colloquially. Some of the most commonly used sayings are briefly mentioned below.

Haate maapichaakhande chaala. (Measure 'haate' i.e. one hand but use 'chaakhande' i.e. one palm from that and save the rest used as an advice to be economic).**Tuchhaakuete, gode mudi naahin kachaadu kete**! (It's of no use pounding the leg without ring or tinkling anklet in the feet! It refers to a valueless show). **Godarilo tau godaku anaa** ('Anaa' i.e. look and'godari' means the lady with filarial leg to look her leg before she looks at others. It means be careful in your dealings).**Chaaluni kahe chhunchi tau pachhare gote kanaa** (the strainer i.e. 'chaaluni' says to the needle i.e. 'chhunchi' that the later has a whole at its back) means the master of faults finds fault in others.**Bahu aadambare laghu kriyaa** (There is much of 'aadambara' means show for nothing, 'laghu kriyaa' means less of work).**Alpa vidyaabhayankari** (A little i.e. 'alpa' learning i,e, 'vidyaa' is a dangerous thing).**Jesaaku tesaa haaramjaadaku taangia pasaa** that is,it is not a mistake to take revenge on 'haaramjaada' i.e. the sinner with 'taangiaa' means axe (Tit for tat).**Bhukilaa kukura kaamude naahin** (A 'bhukilaa' i.e. barking 'kukura' i.e. dog seldom 'kaamude' i.e. bites); **Haati jiile lakhyemale lakhye**(millions) means it worth millions whether an elephant is alive (jiile) or dead (male) which means the valuable things retain their values at any cost.**Haati**(elephant) **banastare**(forest) **thilebi**(if stays, still then**) raajaankara**(king's) **:**even though it is a wild elephant living in forest, it belongs to the king, means the ownership of the things here are determined by power and prefixed law. **Baagha**(tiger)**nathile**(if absent) **miriga**(deer) **naata**(runs the farce) i.e. if there is no tiger, then deer make farce in the forest which says if the commanding person of an office or family or any social institutions are absent, then there anarchy prevails. **Buddhi**(intelligence) **thile** (if present)**baapaghare**(in the home of father) **pua**(son) :if you have intelligence, then you can claim the right legacy of your father.**Dharmara**(virtue's) **jaya**(victory), **paapara**(sin's) **kshaya**(decay) means virtue is victorious and sin decays.**Jedesha**('je' means 'the', 'desha' means 'country') **jaai.**(go) **sephala**(thatcountry's fruit) **khaai**(eat) that is one has to eat the fruit available in the country he visits, means one must adapt to the changing conditions in places); **Naikebaank deshake faank**('nai' means river, 'ke' means 'in', 'baank'means 'bend' and 'faank' means gap), that is always culture and way of life is different from place to place.**Maarinele**(took away) **Mahaapaatre**(a stock character named like that) **chaahinthaare**(just be a looker) **jalakaa**(powerless eyes) means the clever takes the lions share when the fool does not.**Ghara**(home) **dhinki**(wooden pounder) **kumbhira**(crocodile), the pounder at home is faithless means faithlessness of nears and dears.**Anti**(waist) **chhuri (**knife)**tanti**(throat) **kaate**(cut), the knife you keep in your waist only cuts your throat, means your people sometimes betray you.**Chaasa** (cultivation)**taratara**(quick) **banija**(

business)**matha**(delay) means always for agricultural works, one needs to be quickened whereas for business patience and delay is good.**Aature**(quick necessity) **niyama**(law) **naasti**(not needed), necessity knows no laws.**Baahaghara**(marriage) **dina**(day) **baigana**(brinja**l) rua**(plant), to plant brinjals and expect quick harvesting which is to be used for the feast on the day of marriage itself means to do a work at the eleventh hour.**Shoilaa**(sleeping) **puara**(son's) **bhaaga**(share) **naahin**(no)**,** there is no share for the son who is sleeping,   just like out of sight out of mind.**Dhari**(catch) **maaile**(beating) **jahaa** (whatever)**baandhi**(bind) **maaile taahaa**(same). It does not make any difference if you punish someone catching or binding, that is any way you work, result is the same.**Enu** (this way)**maarile**(kill) **gohatyaa**(death of a cow) **tenu**(that way) **maarile brahmahatyaa**(killing the pious man). Sin is the same if you kill a cow or a pious man because both are humble and noble, means you are in such a position that whatever you do your work is going to be sinful.**Jahaa**(whatever) **nadekhiba**(unless see) **nija nayane**(own eyes) **parate**(totally) **najiba**(not to follow) **guru bachane**(words) that is unless you see something yourself, never even believe the information given to you by your gurus.**Angaara**(charcoal) **shata**(hundred) **dhautena**(washed) **malisatwe**(a little of dirt) **najaayate**(do not go). Even if you wash and clean charcoal hundred times, it does not change its colour means the evil nature is irreparable.**Tulasi duipatraru baase, bichhuati duipatraru kundaai hue**(the nature of the plants like Tuls, a well-known medicinal plant and Bichhuaati, a wild creeper with itching elements can be detected from the twigs) means morning shows the day.**Kenchuaku**(to theworm) **golipaani**(dirty water)**suhaae**(suitable).For worm, dirty water is best to grow means evil-minded people want to keep everything unclear to take their advantages.**Phampaa**(empty) **maathiara**(pitcher's) **shabda**(sound) **beshi**(more) means empty vessel sounds much.**Mainsi Shinga phataa, jujhibaa belaku gotaa** (The horns of a buffalo might be cracked but while fighting, it becomes united and stronger) means unity is strength. **Thile thaau pachhe guna hazaara, charitra nathilesabu asaara** means although you have all other attributes, your character is above all and a priceless possession.**Samaya**(time) **bada**(biggest) **balabaan**(stronger)i.e. time alone is the   strongest   .**Nije**(yourself)   **panasa**(jackfruit)   **khaai**(eat)   **anya**(other)   **mundare** (head)**athaa**(gum)**bolibaa**(paste) i.e. eat the jackfruit and paste its gum on others making yourself clean, means cynics always pass the trouble to others.**Maachha** (fish)**kaahinre**(no matter) **nathaai**(not present**) saburi**(everybody) **bairi**(enemy). Fish is to be caught and killed although it is inimical to none that is innocent people become the victims always.**Budijaauthiba**(sinking) **lokara**(person) **kutaakhiaku**(peace of straw) **ashraa**(rely). A man sinking in the flood water even relies on a straw means a person in utter crisis seeks any kind of help.**Bahigalaa**(flowing) **paani**(water) **kahidelaa**(spoken) **kathaa**(words) **aauphereni**(never come back). Flowing water and spoken words never come back. **Jara**(fever)

baaulare(helplessly) **taatia**(pot)**kaamudiba**(bite). The patient bites the pot containing pills in getting helplessmeans helpless people can do anything at their wit's end.**Baaghaku Phaaghara dara** (A dummy or duplicate tiger is always afraid of the real tiger) means anything original is fearless.**Gaan**(village) **kanian** (bride)**singhaani naaki (running nose).** Even if already the bride of your home, a girl from your village remains always a child for you.**Aaga**(first) **udara**(stomach) **pachhe**(then) **sodara**(cousins) : First think of your stomach then about others.**Agaandia raajaku paalachuntaa mantree** (pathless king with loose character and flatterer minister), that is the most useless and unfit matching of the ruler and his minister.**Godara**(theperson with elephantiasis) **kode**(digs)**jete**(more)**made** (covers) **sete**(more). The more one elephantiasis' digs the more it covers while scratching the patch of land for kitchen garden, means there is no value in the foolish way of going on working; **Dengaa**(the tallest) **mundare**(on the head) **thengaa**(club), the blow of the club is always on the tallest means the leader is always in target.**Adhikantu nadosaaya** means the more the merrier.**Pancha parameshwara** means the decision of the mass or the leaders is to be honoured as the spiritual decision.**Manisha prakruti male tute, ghusuri prakrutipanke lote** (The evil nature of human being ends in death only like the destiny of the pig is dirty mud).**Ashithaaru mashi balabaan** ('ashi' means sword and 'mashi' means ink) says that pen is mightier than sword. **Dheerapaani pathara kaate** (Slow moving water can even cut stone) that is equivalent to 'rolling stone gathers no mosses'.

A pragmatic focus on the above sayings gives us idea that these are mostly spoken discourses constituting species of metaphors to heighten the effect of the expressions. But, it is also found that these are the maxims of quality as described in the cooperative principles reflecting on the truth mostly. The speech act is related to the context with referential expressions in the physical objects for which the expressions stand for. In terms of a general approach to conversation analysis, it is very often observed that such sayings have practical reasons in everyday life. As Garfunkel has categorized the conversations in socio-cultural context, they have i. accountability i.e. members use own methods for making their actions accountable; ii. reflexivity i.e. the practices of talk; and iii. indexicality i.e. meanings are dependent upon the locus in which they are used. (Garfunkel quoted by Gardener: 266).

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, the cultural practices in Odia proverbs are an outcome of the rural, agricultural, religious and cultural mental set up. In addition to the popular mythological and historical instances, the agricultural and socio-cultural-behavioral matters which are typically Odia, are deeply rooted in the minds of the Odia people. There are plenty of senses of natural

morality; irony related to the reality; wit and humor; and images of nature in the system of life. Moreover, such practices are tempered with a critical and creative bent of mind owing to situations like rituals and rites; functions and festivals; celebrations and ceremonies. The feudalistic and colonial backgrounds sometimes work too. Rural people have oral tradition; the writers are biased by the above hinted practices; and altogether, all these are invested in the paremiological matters befitting to time, applicable value, evaluation and a recognized spontaneity.

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Ruminating the Rural Rhythms: A Study of Odishan Folk Tales

Pramod Kumar Das & Narayan Jena

Abstract

The central concern of the paper is to highlight how folk tales constitute the strain of narration in which the rural life and socio-cultural reality of Indian villages find utmost expression. In addition to this, the paper also examines the role of folk tales in present day context. To substantiate the above mentioned ideas two collections titled *Folk tales from Orissa* and *Folktales from Southern Orissa* are examined succinctly in this paper.

Key Words: Folk Tale, Tribal Life, Oral Tradition, Rural Rhythm

The stories from Indian country side have a sylvan flavour and they are replete with myths, fables, adventurous tales of the warriors, fairy tales etc. They speak of the idyllic and innocuous nature of rural life. The moral values they entail reveal the orientation of their mind towards value act and keep them remote from the corrupt city life. In other word the rhythm of nature and the carnival of rural life find expression in the stories told by the rural folks, down the centuries, which are widely known as folk tales. It is widely acknowledged that folklore constitutes the central position in the Indian literary tradition and cultural expression and social life etc. In it we

find a vast treasure of mythical legends, Puranic stories, fables from *Panchatantra and Hitapodesa etc.* on which the tradition of Indian literature and culture forground. It has a very long history, which can be traced back to the age of *Vedas* and *Upanishad.* Indian folktales succinctly present a genuine picture of the social reality, the family life of rural India. It reflects joy and sorrow, happiness and miseries of the common people, love and devotion in the families, relation with nature and community etc. Apart from this the religious beliefs, the economic and political condition, the historical and geographical conditions of the rural folks find delineation in the course of folk narration (Upadhyaya 2009). In other words we can say that such stories of people presents the true picture of rural India.

So far as tribal society is concerned folklore is considered to be one of the major living traditions presented in oral forms. Usually folk tales get transferred from one generation to another generation through words of mouth. Moreover, through pilgrimages, melas and fairs this oral tradition reaches others. When people of one place go to other places these mediums of social gathering help them to know about the culture and tradition of that area. All of us are aware of the fact that dharnsalas, inns and other resting places are storehouses of folktales and traditional songs where people from many parts of the country meet and share their experience by telling different stories of past. When pilgrims of one area go to other places they interact with other pilgrims and share the cultural and social life. Gradually they come to know each other's tradition culture, customs, tradition and social way of living.

People of all ages children, young and old people get attracted to folk tales as it creates a temptation of curiosity among them because of its fascinating thread of connection which weave the stories neatly. The level of curiosity increases and the intensity of listening get strengthened while lending ears to the stories. Even the advancement of science and technology has failed to replace the joy of listening to folktales. On the contrary, folk tales have become instrumental in arousing the scientific curiosity of modern man. Let's take an example of earthquake in this context. Why earthquake does happen? As per the myth a big snake has hold the entire earth on its hood and when it shakes its hood bit then the earth shakes and there happens earthquake.

Science will try to examine the surface structure of earth, the deep structure of the earth, the placement of earth and so on so forth. It will put many queries in order to know the exact reason of earthquake. But listening to such myth a scientist will definitely be curious and anxious to enhance his investigation in a different way.

In fact William John Thomas introduced the word "folklore" into the English language- "folk" means "common people" and "lore" means "a body of traditions and knowledge on a subject or held by a particular group, typically passed from person to person by word of mouth". (98, http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/3698/4/unit%2013.pdf) According to the Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp, "the entire creative output of people is folklore". (99)Thus it includes dances, songs, legends, myths, tales, beliefs, superstitions, riddles, proverbs, art and craft etc. Some people are of the opinion that folklore is that literature which gets transferred from one generation to another through oral tradition. Alan Dundes is of the opinion that "Since materials other than folklore are also orally transmitted, the criterion of oral transmission by itself is not sufficient to distinguish from folklore from non-folklore." (1965: I) American folklorist A. Taylor defines folklore in the following manner:

> Folklore is the material that is handed on by tradition, either by word of mouth or by custom and practice. It may be folk songs, folktales, riddles, proverbs or other materials preserved in words. It may be traditional tools and physical objects like fences or knots, hot cross buns, or easter eggs; traditional ornamentation like the Walls of Troy; or traditional symbols like the swastika. It may be traditional procedures like throwing salt over one's shoulder or knocking on wood. It may be traditional beliefs like the notion that elder is good for the ailments of the eye. All of these are folklore (1948, 216).

In India epics like the *Ramayana*, *the Mahabharata*, *Silapatticaram*, *Kathasarit Sagara*, *Panchatranta*, *Betal* etc are great repertoire of folklore. These stories are transferred from one generation to another through words of mouth mostly. India has a grand oral tradition which is believed to be the oldest in the globe. The Kathak Vchan or in other word the story telling is one such example which exists for thousands of years. As we know the tales, epics, songs, riddles,

proverbs get passed on to the next generation via oral tradition which happens in one thousand six hundred dialects of India.

The theme of folktales varies depending on place, region, climate, crops and other such factors. In most of the folktales animals and birds are characterized as those of human beings and very interestingly they perform their duties. Animals like tiger, monkey, lion, cow, cat, dog etc and birds like crow, peacock, chicken, hen, duck etc. are major characters in folk tales. The day-to-day happenings of people find expression in such tales. Love, happiness, greed, adventurous efforts etc. contribute largely to the theme of folk tales. Even, religious beliefs, food culture, dress, superstitions etc. get reflected through folktales.

In Odisha the study of folklore became more intensified after independence. As Shyam Sundar Mohapatra argues that even before independence poets like Radhanath Ray, Gangadhar Meher and Nandakishore Bal used folk elements in their poetry. The novels of Fakirmohan Senapati also are an example of this kind.

In fact Gopal Chandra Praharaj made a genuine effort in the study of folklore in a grand manner. At the end of 19th century he published "Utkal Kahani" which attracted many scholar and readers of folklore. Mention must be made of 'Gaunli Gita Chumbak', 'Utkal Gaunli Gita'(1959) by Shri Chakradhar Mahapatra, 'Gandharbika Satadals' and "His Tribes of Jeypore" by Laxminarayan Sahu for the wonderful attention and details of folklore study in Odisha. After independence Verrier Elwin, Chakradhar Mahapatra and Kunjabihari Das are the three major scholars who contributed largely to the study of folklore in Odisha. Verrier Elwin's *Tribal Myths of Orissa* (1954) and Kunj Bihari Das's *A Study of Orissan Folklore* (1953) heralded a new era in the field of folklore studies. Das along with Prof. L.K. Mahapatra wrote *Folklore of Orissa* (1979). It is apt here to mention that Kunja Bihari Das's PhD thesis titled 'Odia Lokgita O Kahani' (1954) is the first thesis contributed on Odishan folklore which was awarded from Viswa-Bharati, Shantiniketan. In this context mention must be made of Dr. Prahlad Charan Mohanty's *Oriya Yatra O Lok Natak* (1984) and Dr. Mahendra Kuma Mishra's *Lok Sanskrutibit*

Nilakantha (1990) and *Paschima Odisar Adivasi Lok Sanskruti* (1992), *Kalahandira Lokasamskruti* (1996), *Visioning Folklore* (2002) and *Oral Epics of Kalahandi* (2008) for the wonderful contribution in the field of folklore research.

In this context we intend to put forward our discussion on folk tales by taking *Tribal Folk Tales from Orissa* and *Voices of the Forest: Tribal Folktales from Southern Odisha* into consideration. These two significant collections of folk tales through sufficient light on the cultural milieu of the Odishan tribal who inhabit in the rural pockets of Odisha. Reflecting on the social practices and social customs these slender volumes zeroes in on the rural rhythm in the form of dance, song, tradition and custom as well as storytelling. It is interesting to note here that the tribal communities tell each other different stories to each other while performing various jobs be it working in the field, collecting flowers, leaves and the like. The tales also offers an opportunity to know the social customs and rituals performed by the tribal people during various occasions and festivals of day-to-day life. In addition to this the values, ideology and world view of the tribal people get highlighted via folk tales. In the Odishan context it is apt here to mention that almost all the tribal communities have a store house of folk tales of their own.

The life style, culture, custom, tradition of the tribes namely Oran, Kui Koya, Kharia, Juang, Didai, Desia,Bonda, Bathudi, Mundari, Langia are the central concern of *Tribal Folk Tales from Orissa*. In one of the stories titled "The Khoko Bird" the Sadhaba's people dressed up a girl and sang a song by playing *Changu* music:
    The hills have moved
    The hills have moved
    The same old man and woman
    Got married again
    Ghinchan, Ghinchan!(37)

In another story titled "The Old Man and His Four Daughters" were weeping at the missing of their father. The weep in the following manner:
    Our father went somewhere
    By leaving us
    Little girl-"I will say little girl"

I say, "get married with Karla flower"
Or feel shy, I say little girl. (22)

The day-to-day life of the tribal people finds full expression in these tales. It reflects daily chores, tears and joys of the various tribes residing in Odisha. This book undoubtedly offers its readers an insight into the culture of tribal people indicating their customs, traditions, manners, habits, rites, games, apparels, ornaments, myths and morals, religion and popular beliefs. The folk tales contained in this volume are, infact, a vital element in a living community reflecting the peculiar culture, custom, tradition and belief system of that particular community.

Similarly *Voices of the Forest: Tribal Folktales from Southern Odisha* demonstrates the cultural tapestry of rural Odisha in an engaging manner through the presentation of folk tales. The tales included in this volume entails the language, culture, traditions, marriage rituals, dress pattern, world vision of the tribes namely Gadaba, Bonda,Didai and paraja who reside in Koraput, Malkangiri, Rayagada, Nabarangapur and in some other regions. The tales also tell us about the belief system, superstitions of these communities. The day-to-day chores such as food gathereing, participation in agricultural activities and other such works pertain to bread and butter finds full expression in these tales. As Ganesh devy rightly observes in the forward:

When one thinks of various forms of creative expressionof the Adivasis, one naturally turns to Odisha for the most alluring instances, be it dance, painting, song, theatre, music, craft, traditional medicine, agricultural practices, rural architecture and such. All these have been kept alive by the Adivasis for centuries through their oral traditions. Therefore, when one looks at the oral traditions of Odisha, one must at once think a little beyond the normal expectations that 'folklore' brings to us. (ix)

In these tales characters are not human beings always rather birds, animals, insects, flies, plants, rivers, trees, mountains, flowers, fruits become characters; they talk, dance, sing and do all kinds of activities as those of human beings. For example, in the story, "The Dove and the Mouse" after the death of the mouse King the liti bird was weeping:
"I am liti, I am liti
Dead is the mouse king

I shall wash clothes
Hitting them on the rock

Then the crow wept
         I am the crow, I am the crow
         The mouse king is dead
         Come and eat
         Weep no more." (*Voices of the Forest*, 6)

   The narrative style employed in this volume allows us to reflect upon the traditional mode of storytelling and the need and value of folktales today. Very interestingly the stories included in the volume are set in the forest which is not restricted to jungle only but inclusive of the surrounding area of the tribal community including trees, fields and wild animals. For maintaining their livelihood these tribal people work in the fields and forests. Therefore in a certain sense forest has become a part and parcel of their life.

This is how the folk tales try to preserve and promote cultural and personal values. These stories offer varying degree of explanations to different aspects of life, tradition, custom and culture. The rural rhythm gets remembered via these tales. It is our duty and responsibility to promote and preserve this universal human activity of storytelling. In other words we must strive to highlight the need to preserve such a lively oral tradition.

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SONGS OF METHOR WOMEN

Amit Rauth

The Methors of Jalpaiguri who have not received the attention of any enquirer till now, have in their due course conserved and continued their rich tradition which is abundant with rituals, aphorisms and songs. These have been passed down orally from one generation to another. In the process they have been able to enact and continue their cultural practices in spite of the impact of the colonization and modernization around them. As one goes deeper into studying the tradition of Methor community it is very evident that it is the women who play the major role in preserving and continuing their culture and at the same time helping in maintaining the institution called family. Therefore, any attempt to study the life and culture of the Methors in general requires a better appraisal of women's role in their culture and everyday practices.

In this paper, I try to address some received conceptions and lay bare some striking realities which demonstrate the fact that women do play a major role in any oral tradition. Thus, it becomes very important to analyze the women's songs. This, in fact, is an interesting way to explore the potential worth of the oral tradition of the entire community. This kind of study portrays contemporary life, documents the everyday

behavior of Methor women. The songs reveal their ideas, hopes and fears, aspirations and conventions, which are connected with their traditional past.

According to Karl Marx, "anyone who knows anything of history knows that the great social changes are impossible without the feminine. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex." (Cited in Jane E.Way, 1981:3). However, woman as an entity remains mostly ignored in researches done on oral tradition. A subtle irony hovers around here. Although women in an oral tradition contribute a substantial cultural, traditional and economic portion to the society, their status and role have not been investigated fully, even to this day.

Studying Methor women songs or rituals would help open up new kinds of inquiry and would also serve us to know more about the Methor community as a whole. As there is no documented data or written accounts on Methor women and no collections of their songs are available, our task of understanding the status of women will be quite difficult. However, I hope that the folk songs would be a useful resource in this regard. Therefore, all my analysis in this paper draws on the recorded and transcribed versions of their songs (Amit Rauth, 2009).

Women Folk Songs: Some Concerns

Before delving deep into Methor women songs, it becomes pertinent to define folk music in the first stance. The Tech Multimedia Music Dictionary defines folk music as "music of the common people that has been passed on by memorization or repetition rather than by writing, and has deep roots in its own culture. Folk music has an ever-changing and varying nature, and is deeply significant to the members of the culture to which it belongs." (Cited in Richard Cole, 2009). In fact, the Methors imbibe them by birth to keep their tradition living.

The relationship between songs and hearts/minds, a theme echoed by the female singers in Methor community, addresses an enduring issue in social theory. Expressive forms like folksongs and folk narratives have tended to be conceptualized as speaking

unproblematically for all participants in the culture under study. Scholars have scrutinized such expressive forms, often cast as "texts" in order to discern the (singular) "native's point of view" or comprehend the mind of a (monolithic) "folk" (Kirin Narayan, 1997). With the rise of a paradigm emphasizing performance, by the 1970s scholarly focus moved from texts alone to account also for the creativity of situated performers in a diversity of contexts (1997:23). However, performers have rarely been given a chance to explicate their own texts, artistry, or emotional response. Despite Alan Dundes' prescient call for "oral literary criticism" (Cited in Kirin Narayan, 1997:23), and despite the development of reader response and reception theory in literary studies, it remains rare to find scholarly texts in which singers are invited to comment on their songs.

The above situation applies also to India. Women's singing is usually associated with "auspiciousness" (Narayan, 1997:24); particularly in rural areas, women assemble to sing for rites of passage and other occasions marking good fortune. Since women sing in groups, it is easy to understand why scholars might hear songs as speaking for women, "collectively conceived" (Narayan, 1997:24). Indeed, scholars generally have interpreted song texts as representing the subjectivity and emotions of a generic (albeit sometimes caste-specific) woman in a particular regional context. Songs thus become textual objects on which general theoretical statements about women can be based rather than the lived practices of reflective subjects (Williams 1991) (as cited in Narayan, 1997:24). Ironically, in speaking for the collective woman's voice in songs, scholars have tended to bypass the voices of actual singers. To tackle the above situation, the words of Rustom Bharucha should act as a motivating force. According to him, "instead of agonizing about the inevitable failure to translate the musicality of songs into words, it would be more useful to focus on what can be said about them by way of content, social context, vocabulary, and textual improvisation." (2007:156).

Songs of Methor Women

According to Susan S. Wadley, "Anthropology has too often ignored the texts used in religious performances. Fortunately this situation is rapidly changing, with both folklorists and those interested in native conceptual systems re-examining texts. But as the ethno-sociologists become interested in native concepts and terms, and thus in texts, they

move away from a concern for texts in context. Meanwhile the folklorist is turning from texts to the performance of texts, de-emphasizing the words. Both approaches are needed: in understanding religion and religious performances, both text and context must be analyzed" (2005:124-127).

The importance of Methors, including their oral and performative traditions, are unfortunately ignored and underestimated by both classical scholars and anthropologists. In fact, we need detailed examinations of rituals as performed, with more attention paid to verbal traditions and the contexts of the rituals.

According to Kirin Narayan, the standard scholarly approach to folksongs in the Indian context has been to present song texts, and then to extrapolate from them truths about the condition of a collective Woman in that particular regional context. (1997:46). Thus, looking for cultural truths in songs, scholars (working on the area) is in danger of reducing texts to ethnographic artifacts, overlooking the subjectivity and agency of performers. Therefore, the words of Rustom Bharucha should act as a timely check in this regard. (2007:156). Women's "voice" refers not just to the spoken word, but also to perspectives on social relations that frequently go against the grain of representations stemming from "dominant (male) groups" (Narayan, 46). In the cultural world of Methors, when women sing, males are completely excluded. That is to say, women want to be an independent group or community. In songs that are collectively sung, women join together in a common voice.

The Methors have a rich tradition of songs for different occasions. Accordingly, they have Deity songs, Marriage or Wedding songs, Melancholic songs and so on and so forth. You name an occasion and you will find songs meant for that occasion in the Methor arena. For the purpose of this paper, I have however exclusively paid attention to one song encrypted under the label of Deity songs to enunciate the flora and fauna of the Methor community.

1. DEITY SONGS

Gods and goddesses form part and parcel of everyday life in the Methor world. The Methor's sing particular songs addressed to the particular Gods and goddesses during

different times to appease them. The Methors are afraid that if they do not perform some specific ritual which includes singing, they would ensue the wrath of the deities. Therefore, the Methors sing songs to please the deities and get blessings from them.

Bahee Purbaalii

Bahee purbaalii Dolalee see maar,

Bahee purvaiyaa hee kaali Dolalee see waar. (2)

Naa ghailio naa Dubee,

Kaali yee jamunbaa nadiyee paar. (2)

Kahaan geelai kii yee beelwaa jigana maalaa,

Naiyya laau naiyyaa laau jigana maalaa. (2)

Haathi kaathi deebau ree majhiiyaa,

Haathi kaathi deebau jigana banaiyee taarwaa. (2)

Baahii kaathi deebau jigana banaiyee naiyyaa ree paar (2)

Ek orii kheebee ree baabuu dosar basiyaa,

Ek orii kheebee ree baabuu hasiyaa ree majaak. (2)

English Translation

The east wind is blowing, the boat is swaying

Goddess *Kali*!! The east wind is blowing, the boat is swaying. (2)

The pot is not drowning

In this *Jamuna* river, *Kali*!! . (2)

Where is the boatman *Jigana*?

Bring the boat *Jigana* (2)

I shall cut your hand boatman

I shall cut your hand *Jigana* with which you make oar. (2)

I shall give you oar *Jigana* please take us to our destination. (2)

On one side of the river there is tension

On the other side there is laughter. (2)

Analysis

The wind is so terrible and violent that the boat is swaying. The flood by the *Jamuna* River has already engulfed the *Purbaiyya* region (a place in Bihar). At the same time the east-wind is making the life of the people hell. It is making the *see maar* to *Dolalee* (sway) around. They are very panic and do not know how to overcome the situation. At this time, *ghaili* (pot)comes as a source of inspiration to them. They see it floating on the river *Jamuna* and wonder how this vessel is able to withstand the violent storm. Soon they realize that this *ghaili* is not just any vessel but it is one being offered to Goddess Kali. And, therefore, these people start praying the goddess to help them in this tensed situation. At the same time, they also remember about the ferryman *Jigana*. The people are calling *Jigana* to come and rescue them.

The situation is very grave and since he is not responding the people starts threatening the ferryman *Jigana* that if he does not come quickly they will cut off his hands with which he rows the boat. So, if he does not have the hands he would become useless in his profession and, therefore, he will not be able to earn his livelihood. But they are well aware of the situation and know that, he is the only person to rescue them. They again start calling him and ask him to take them to their destination.

The concluding two lines are worth noting. It says while on one side, one of the ferrymen is busy rowing the boat, on another side, the ferryman *Jigana* is laughing at the situation and seems to be unaware of the situation.

I feel this laughter is very spontaneous and obvious because the people otherwise do not notice how these ferrymen risk their lives daily while rowing from one place to another. These selfish people have come to realize his importance only when they were in danger. I think that this is true when taken in the real life scenario. We do not recognize the worth of others unless the situation demands and this for me is the moral of the song.

What appears to be a realistic account of a devastating flood on the rural side, on closer observation lends itself to subtler strands of the benign and generous aspects of the elements that pervade life. These elements re-appropriately associated with the goddess *Kali* - who is at once the nurturing mother and the fiercest goddess routing out evil from the world. No wonder, the women's voice, even while pointing to the fury of the flood (which has already engulfed another village), does not curse the river and water. On the contrary, the voice appeals to the goddess to protect.

Secondly, the ferryman is no simple transporter of people; he is the one who transports lives, moves them from the grip of death to the shore of living. He changes fates as it were. Since he knows the play of life, he laughs even in the teeth of calamity. But what can't be missed in the song is the women's address of such a significant figure who changes fates. The singer threatens him that she will cut off the hands if he doesn't hurry up. He laughs at the naivety and intimacy of the woman. The divine and the deity here are

no frightful or vengeful figures distancing themselves into invisible realms from the common folk. They too are part of everyday elements. Thus what appears to be a simple lyric actually unfolds the deeper metaphysical threads that weave the lives of rural subaltern women.

Conclusion

Among Methors we find a rich heritage of songs for different occasions. Women play a vital role in keeping Methor identity. Songs are sung by women on different occasions of social gatherings related to religious festivals, full moon day, at the time of holy festivals, marriages etc. which speak about their culture and living modes. No ceremony, festival, or ritual, however, in the Methor world is complete without the women's songs.

The information and insights pertaining to Methors, drawn from their songs, will be useful and serve us as more realistic and concrete sources to gain a perspective on their work of culture and song. Even in mainstream feminist researches, though there is a lot of work on women in general, rural and tribal women have not got as much attention as they deserve. It is even worse in the case of subaltern Methor women. We hardly find anything written (in fact there is none) on Methor women, as well as on their oral culture.

The Methor songs are associated with specific themes and concerns. These songs are not yet recorded or published, yet they are critical to understanding the symbolic significance of the rituals and the way the traditions of this community are carried on. Even if these texts were recorded, we would need to examine their ritual contexts and the concerns of their users in order to fully "read" them.

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A Glimpse of Folk-Art :Various Patachitra

Dr. Gopal Chandra Bayen

Introduction- We all known that the term 'art' means a creative expression of artist, which has communicated and attracted all general people in all ages and all times. Folk-art is a branch of art, which has verbally transmitted and developed in folk-groups and in folk societies. In India folk-art, generally formed by the illiterate or semi-illiterate village people. It is true that they are very poor in economic condition and do not have any modern technological concept of art. But the general concept of art has existed in their blood. Particularly in the case of Patachitra we may observed that this type of folk-art is ethnic in nature and in form it is very colourful, and also it bears traditional and cultural element of country's rich heritage.

Patachitra is an ancient folk-art of Bengal, which has a long history of 2500 years to its development and contribution to our society. At our early student life we have heard about the term 'Kalighata painting' and now a days, we have learned much more about the term Patachitra. Beside this we also known some words, such as Pata, Patua, Pater Gaan (Song of Pata), Scorll Painting or Jarano Pata, Chouko Pata, Jama Pata, Saheb Pata etc, which were closely related with the Patachitra Art. Now this kind of folk-art has became a popular folk-art among Bengali people as well as Indians and also to the foreigner.

In 19th century of Bengal Kalighata Pata was very popular among general people. The history of Kalighata painting or Kalighata Pata is linked inextricably with the history of the Kali cult and Kolkata culture. At early stage the chitrakars or the Pata-painters were closely associated with temple functionaries who lived in and around the temple of Kalighata. Now, the community of chitrakars or patuas have spread in various places of Kolkata. In the passage of time they have also begun using a variety of non-religious themes in their paintings. This tradition of making patachitra has passed down the generations from father to son. Patachitra is a good kind of folk-art, which has popularly known as 'Pata' or 'Scroll Painting'. According to its development throughout the old day's of civilization we may easily told that it is an ancient folk art of Bengal, which has a long history of 2500 years to its development and contribution to our society. It has also known as Pata painting or Patachira painting. It is also a popular folk-art of India as well as in some outside state of Bengal. Like other famous folk painting(such as Madhubani Painting, Warli Folk Painting, Rajasthani Miniature Painting), Patachitra painting also has a significance role in history of folk-lore or in art history. As an art figure or in respect of folk-art Patachitra painting is closely related to our society. It has a deep connection with many branches of knowledge or subject like Literature, Song, Humanity, Anthropology, Sociology, Environment, History, Culture etc.

The scroll painters were generally known as folk-artists. But they have also a credibility as composer of simple songs, which is relating to ancient and modern sociological facts. By this simple song they told a story to the viewer or audience, which belongs historical facts or human culture or mythological gods or goddesses like Rama, Krishna, Siva, Durga, Lakshmi, Sarasswati. In historical Pata they generally used famous historical facts of our civilization, like Second World War, French Revolution, War of Palashi, Life of Chaitanya, Freedom of our Country (India) etc. Beside this they mostly choosed their themes of Patachitra from the subject of Mediaeval Bengali Literature, such as Vaisnava Padavali, Chandi Mangal, Manasa Mangal, Dharma Mangal etc. We are all known that these literature are very popular among the general people of Bengal. On the other hand we may observed that Patuas are very sensitive towards modern trends of civilization or social problems of our society, such as environment pollution, misuse of drinking water, women harassment, political corruption, disease of AIDS etc. They also collect their themes of paintings from these type of social scenario.

At first if we think in the word 'Patachitra' we have to seem that the word 'Patachitra' may be devided into two parts or two sub-words, which are 'Pata' and 'Chitra'.The word 'Pata' derived from the Sanskrit word 'Patta',which means 'Cloth' or 'Dress'. But in the sense of drama it means scene. And the word 'Chitra' means 'Picture' or 'Image'. In the context of Bengal tradition 'Patachitra' means "those Paintings, which are made by Patuas by natural colors." In english and other western languages it means 'Scorll Painting.' So the Patuas were generally known as painter. These painters were locally called 'Patidars' or 'Patikars' meaning 'scroll painters' on account of their ingenuity in painting scenes of mythical and contemporary themes on cloth-pasted paper. In our society we have seen many classes of painters, such as wall-painter, Board-painter, Chitra Shilpee etc. But we have to remember that they are only painters. But Patuas were not only made paints, they also sang in the period of exhibition of Pata. When they displayed their paintings to the audience they used song or words in a pitch, by which they told a story, which had a relation with the concerned Patachitra. One thing is to remember that this type of song generally known as 'Pater Gaan', which are played without any modern instrument. Some times Patuas played their song by free voice like 'Panchali Patha.' In language style they generally used 'Verse' and in the metre it had formed by the concept of 'Payara', which has been very popular style of verse to the poets of old civilization. Now we have seen various kind of Patachitra, which may be observed in various places of India.

According to shape and size there are two types of Patachitra were found. These are Squre Pata or Chouko Pata and Rolling Pata or Jarhano Pata. Squre Pata or Chouko Pata is a card shaped Pata, made on the basis of single impression, which has no rolling portion.This type of Pata have been making from post card size to various big sizes. Post card sized Patas are available at the cost of Rs.10. And other type of Chouko Patas price rate depended on the basis of size and quality. And the other type of Pata, named Jorhano Pata or rolling Pata has known in various name, such as Dighal Pata, Latai Pata etc. This type of Patachitra had made by the hard work and devotion of Patua. Generally one month to ten month has required for one Rolling Pata, which is depended on how the Pata is long. In length one rolling Pata may be formed within 10 feet to 40 feet. This type of Pata based on dramatic story, which had described by the Patua in his song and in the making of images Patuas used varity of colours.

According to subject matter there are many types of Patachitras were found, such as Chakshudan Pata, Jama Pata, Saheb Pata, Kalighata Pata, Gaji Pata, Satyapirer Pata, Pabuji Pata etc. And in general context of view Patachitra may be devided into six classes. Such as General, Political, Historical, Religious, social and environmental. Now here is some example, classification and description on various Pata, as follows—

General Pata : All type of single image of man or woman or any kind of general art figure

Social Pata : Palse Polio Avijan, eradiction of Malaria, Communal harmony, Terrible Sunami, explosion in Mumbai,Tree Plantation, AIDS Awareness, Awareness on Human Rights, persecution of woman, earthquake, protest to intoxication etc.

Mythological Pata: Raban Badha, Sita Haran, King Harishchandra, Krishnaleela, Durgaleela, Sabitree-Satyaban, Manasa Mangal, Chandee Mangal, Dharma Mangal, Annada Mangal etc.

Historical Pata : Second World War, Ajaad Hind Fouj and Netaji Subhas Basu , Atom bomb in Hirosima and Nagasaki, Destruction of Babri Masjid, Terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre (U.S.A.) ,Saheb Pata, Life of Vidyasagar, Life of Rabindranath Thakur, Life of Vivekananda etc.

Religious Pata: GajiPata, Satyapirer Pata, Jama Pata, Shakti Pata, Vaishnab Pata, Chaitanyaleela

GAJI PATA

Gaji Pata basically originated and developed in Bangladesh. It is very popular religious Patachitra of Muslim community, Which has formed on local history or hearsay. In this kind of folk-art Patua artist generally described a supernatural power in his song or Pater Gaan, which creates a deep influence to the folk people. It has a similarity to Satyapirer Pata, which is also popular in Paschim Banga. So the Gaji Pata developed religious faith and spirit of folk people.

SAHEB PATA

Saheb Pata has formed on the concept of western influence and historical facts of British India period. It has an amazing historical value to our nation. We are all known that India, our motherland was brutally ruled by the British people for two hundred years. From 1757 to 1947, there are so many cruel action

had occurred by the British ruler to our countryman. According to subject matter there are two types of Saheb Pata may be observed. These are **(1)** Protest to British ruler and **(2)** Oppression of British ruler.

TRIBAL PATA

Tribal Pata has generally formed on the life and art thinking of Tribal people. We are known that they lived nearer to soil and water. They lived nearer to nature and they have no artificiality of life style and also have no negative approach to the civilization. In the song of Tribal Pata we may have seen their simplicity of life. Their life circle, their tradition and beliefs were manifested through the Tribal Pata.

CHAKSHUDAN PATA

Chakshudan Pata is a kind of Tribal Pata, which has been used by the Tribal people in the occasion of spiritual custom of a dead man of their community. According to shape and size it is a classification of Chouko Pata. This type of Pata is also known as Jadu Pata or Magic Pata. And the Patua, who made it generally called as Jadu Patua. When a member of tribal family leaved the earth, Jadu Patua entered their house and told that the soul of that dead man will free from all malicious action if only the Chakshudan(It is a religious custom of Tribal people) occurred by the Patua. And after the conversation with family member that Jadu Patua pictured the imaginary

eyeball of that concern dead man in his Pata with the exchange of prices.

KALIGHAT PATA

In Kolkata there is a place, named Kalighata, which is very famous for the tample of Godess Kali. This tample was founded in the year 1798. According to Hindu mythology the little finger of right leg of the Godess Sati(wife of God Shiva) had fallen here.We are known from the history of Kolkata that innumerable village people had came to Kolkata in all over the period of 18th and 19th century. They leaved their native places for new kind of job and for the attraction of urban life-style of Kolkata, which city was founded by the British. And also in Kalighata there are many new colony were founded. There

lived some people of Patua community,whome were came from various villages of Bengal.They were all known that the devotees will come here through out the year in all time. So they had tried to make worshipful pata. At first they had tried to make musk of Hindu God and Godess and after that they used the body of clay made pot named 'Sara', which were used by the devotees in worship of Goddess Kali. Generally they paints various images of Hindu God and Godess. In 19th century they have also begun using a variety of non-religious themes in their paintings such as Babu Pata, Saheb Pata etc. There are six type of Pata may be distinguished in the history of Kalighta Pata. These are- 1.Musk of the God and Godess 2. Images of the God and Goddess on the body of clay made pot,called Sara 3.Satirical Picture 4. House - hold Picture 5. Religious and Mythological Pata.

PURIR CHOUKOPATA

This Pattachitra painting is closely related with the worship of Lord Jagannath. In thia kind of Patachitra Patuas generally used the story of the Ramayana, Mahabharath and of Radha & Krishna. One thing in wondering that these paintings were traditionally done only by males. However, in recent times, some women artists have also taken up this folk-art form. The origin of Patachitra paintings of Puri is linked with the famous Jagannath temple of Puri, which was built by the Choda-Ganga Deva. The chitrakars of Puri were closely related with temple functionaries who live in and around the temple town of Puri like the Kalighata Patua. Now, the community of chitrakars have spread beyond Puri district, and they have also started to create a variety of paintings, which were non religious in nature.

Jama Pata- Jama Pata may be existed in the branch of religious Patachitra. It has formed with the concept of sin and virtue. According to Hindu mythology Jama is the God of death and he is coming to the people as rider of buffalo .He also evaluate human acts and life after death of man or woman. And there after he also arranged the place of heaven or hell. The God Jama also arranged punishment for those people who were living in hell and had done bad work in human life.

Conclusion- In Patua societies we may find an advance sociological pattern and valuable cultural significance, which they maintained in their family structure from old age to modern age. They believe in peaceful living. They have no gender bias in their society. They also believed that they are son of the

God Viswakarma. They followed some Hindu customs and also some Islam customs in their family tradition. But as artist they don't believe in caste or race. They believe in human religion. They have no narrow attitude towards life and culture. They have been protecting world humanity by their artistic nature and creativity. So their Patachitra painting has a remarkable contribution to our civilization.

End note: Naya is an important place of Folk-art Painting. It is a village of under Pingla Panchayet Samiti of the district of Paschim Medinipur, West Bengal, India. It is known as 'Pater Gram'. In every year there is an international festival, named 'PATAMAYA' arranged here by the help of European Union. I have visited many times this village and met more than five times with famous Patua Artist Gurupada Chitrakar, Who had awarded by the ex-President of India (Dr. A.P.J.Abdul Kalam) as one of the best folk-artist of our country. I have known many important facts or things of Patachitra Painting.

Gratitude:

1. **Sudip Kumar Pari(Photographer)**
2. **Gurupada Chitrakar**
3. **Khandu Chttrikar**
4. **Mousumi Chitrakar**
5. **Rani Chitrakar**
6. **Ashis Kumar Chattopadhyaya**
7. **Dr. Chittaranjan Maiti**

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The continuity and changes among the Mundas Of Baladiabandha:
A Sociological Investigation.

Shilpi Panda

Introduction:

Much anthropological and ethnographic study on the tribes in India reveals a process of assimilation and acculturation of the tribal society into the Hindu caste framework. But this process of acculturation has led to the gradual loss of tribal identity. The tribals are devoid of their indigenous traits and are increasingly adopting the features of caste society. As observed in Sinha (1958) study of tribals in peninsular India, where the tribes exhibit elements of caste society. These tribes have developed a caste-based stratification and hierarchy in their social structure. The tribes have also given away their indigenous dialects, religious practices. And have increasingly adopted the Hindu mode of worship.

The present study in Baladiabandha has tried to look into two aspects of the tribals, continuity and change taking place due to their interaction with the caste groups. Relying on the indicators taken by Sinha and Beteille the study has been designed to observe the elements of transformation occurring in the original traits of the Mundas when interacting with the caste. The

tribals here have not been completely assimilated into the caste framework. There are some changes in economy, religion and cultural aspects. But they have still retained their original traits despite their continuous interaction with the great tradition. As noted by Bailey (1996) the Mundas of Baladiabandha have managed to retain some core elements in their psychological make-up, not withstanding their emigration to a far-flung caste society and a continuous onslaught of the forces of change and modernity.

.Bailey (1961) questions the distinction between tribal and caste society, which is often taken as self-evident. Isolation, animistic religion, economic backwardness, language, and autochthonous origins have been used implicitly and explicitly to identify a tribe. But Beteille objects the former views as insufficient for a sociological formulation not all tribal groups speak distinct languages, and the remaining criteria are often shared by the low caste groups. He suggests that tribe and caste constitute a continuum.

The increasing population pressure has driven the non- tribals to bring forest land under cultivation and large displacements of tribals have occurred due to government settlement schemes, the construction of dams and creation of the National Park.

Most of the India's social institutions has not only survived the impact of British imperialism but also have transformed and transvalued itself. In doing so, it has helped to dissolve the village system; the isolation of tribes and peasants including a caste – based social hierarchy and contributed to the success of political democracy. The drift of power, profit and honor away from the locality has not yet made Indian villages into bedroom suburbs but it has broken their ancient monopoly on all aspects of life. The expansion of horizons and the growth of empathy have reduced the concentration of power, economic dependence at local level. Bailey's study*(1957)* deals with the extension of economic and political frontier and its liberating impact on several castes particularly that of the Boad castes from the social, cultural and government authority of the Bisipara village. Epstein's study*(1962)* in the dry village of Dalena in Mysore bring out the radical economic changes which led to its integration into the regional economy, undermined the principle on which its society was organized and displaced ritual by economic aspects of prestige.

The tribal communities have been undergoing a change in religion, ideology, values, political orientation, way of life, etc. Tribal society has become like any other component of Indian society. From a civilizational perspective Sinha (1958) tries to demonstrate the changes taking place among the tribes of peninsular India. The tribal society has moved from an unstratified and homogeneous society marked by some degree of disconnections with the Great tradition, and possessing a value system of equality, closeness of human, natural and supernatural world to a stratified category based on hierarchical ordering and gaining greater geographical connectivity like the castes. The Tribals are no more an isolated community. Modern forces have been actively moulding their life. The traditional process characterized by the impact of certain traditions of the major neighboring communities on tribal group has led to resultant concepts like Hinduization, Sanskritisation, Tribe- caste Continuum, Revitalization. The modern process includes factors like Christianity, urbanization and industrialization. (*Vidyarthi, 1977). Bose (1975)* stressed the nature of interaction between the tribes and the larger Hindu society and the ways in which the tribes are drawn to the Hindu fold. He stressed the similarities between the two societies. The Hindu method of tribal absorption was the method by which marginalized communities became the part of the Hindu society by retaining some of their core customs.

Need and significance of the study:

Odisha is having a large tribal population. The tribals have always interacted with the caste people. The place where the present study is conducted is also having a large tribal population. The tribals here are basically immigrants, who have migrated to this place to get better amenities, and as they are being displaced from their land without any resettlement and rehabilitation policy. In order to get a place in the village these tribals have always interacted with the castes

and tried to adopt certain customs of the caste. The co-existence of tribe and caste together in this village made the present study relevant and helped to grasp the tribe- caste continuum existing here.

Objectives of the study:

This study has been undertaken keeping in view the following objectives:

(i) To look into the socio-economic and cultural life of the Mundas.

(ii) To analyze the impact of caste society on Munda socio-cultural and economic life.

Methodology:

The study is exploratory in nature, as it makes an attempt to explore the manner and process of changes and continuity taking place among the Mundas in the village of Baldiabandh due to their continuous interaction with the caste groups. Keeping in view the nature of the study, it was designed in such a manner as to capture the process of changes taking place in the life situations, life values, customs, religious rituals and practices of the Mundas. The district of Dhenkanal was purposively selected on the basis of the following criteria:

    (i) It has a large tribal population; the Mundas form a part of the tribal population.

    (ii) The place was easily accessible and feasible for conducting the study.

    (iii) The population of the place comprises of both tribe and caste group.

      The block was selected on the basis of the concentration of tribal population. Out of the eight blocks in the district, the selected block was having the largest number of tribals. It also had a village that was only comprised of the Munda.

As the study was a quick and observatory study with a low economic budget, the samples were selected on the basis of convenience and purposive sampling. Altogether twelve respondents

were selected from both the villages: Mundasahi, Mahulpada to comprise this sample of investigation.

For the collection of the quantitative data as well as qualitative information required for the study, the following instruments of investigation and observation were devised. The primary data were collected through an Interview Guide. A common Interview Guide for the two categories of respondents has been utilized. The Interview Guide comprises questions on important aspects of the study, the socio-economic background of the respondents, the socio- cultural aspects of the respondents. Certain indicators have been adopted from the literature to look at the tribe-caste continuum.

Thus the interview guide and check-lists are comprehensive enough to capture various aspects related to the study. The data collected were supplemented with information gathered from field observations, focus group discussion with swarozgaris and from discussions held with the community leaders, and an N.G.O working in the village.

The secondary data were collected from sources like the official records, statistics available in the census report.

Limitations of the study:

The findings of the study are limited to the number of cases upon which these are based. The study suffers from the inevitable shortcoming of the quick study of two villages in the one block of Dhenkal district, considering the scope of the issues addressed. The study findings are limited to the two villages. Precaution has therefore been taken to avoid the danger of drawing inferences based on limited data set.

Findings and Discussions:

The study revolves round two villages. The MundaSahi, which is a tribal hamlet inhabited by only Mundas. This hamlet includes only 11 households. The other village is Mahulpada which is a multi-caste village. This village has 89 households in total. Due to shortage of time and unavailability of sufficient funds and resources, this study is based on a very small sample size consisting of only 12 respondents from the two villages.

Education has successfully reached the rural structure of the village. People in both the hamlets were seen open to the education system. The people here could have access to the primary and elementary education. They also sent their children to the school which is situated in the village.

Poverty, Illiteracy and Unemployment are the three major problems of a rural society. People in rural areas depend upon simple extraction of natural resources; they basically depend upon agriculture and farming which is seasonal in nature. The agriculture is also not developed, the farmers still use traditional methods of farming and they do not have access to modern tools for cultivation. Neither they have funds to go for education and enhance their skills and potential to work nor do they have an urge to go for other alternative sources of employment. Thus this adds to their poor livelihood. Many of the people in this village are living below poverty line. Few of them have got some assistance from the from the Government in form of BPL card. Thus they get their basic needs for sustenance. But many of them do not have a BPL card and are struggling to meet their needs.

The people in this village practice diverse occupations. The people in MundaSahi earn their livelihood basically from agriculture, which is of seasonal type. They are primarily share-croppers they do not possess their own land. Apart from agriculture few of them also work in construction sites, stone crushers and mines as wage labourers. The women in this hamlet also join their husbands in farming. During off-season these people also engage in some trading activities they prepare Khali by collecting leaves from the forests and also prepare and sell rice bear or Handia. Besides women are also working in Aanganbadi. The people in Mahulpada have mostly given up traditional agriculture and have increasingly joined the service sector and trading activities. Few of them also work in stone crushers and mines. In this village women are generally restricted to join the public sphere.

Migration has emerged as a vital element of rural social structure with the growth of industrialization and urbanization. People generally migrate to urban areas and more developed areas in search of better services and amenities of life. There are many factors that lead to migration such as unproductive agriculture, increasing pauperization, higher rate of indebtedness, landlessness, family disputes and litigation, absence of basic amenities and services like proper health, housing and education facilities. In this present study an element of

migration was found among the people. In Mundasahi most people are immigrants. They have migrated to this place from Mayurbhunj district in search of a better living. In Mahulpada people have migrated to some other places in search of better employment. They usually visit their place in holidays, some social and religious ceremonies.

The impact of globalization and information revolution has not left the rural areas untouched. The boons of science and technology have reached the suburbs of the country. The use of mobile phones, television, computer, washing machines, refrigerator, air conditioner etc is increasing among people. In the present study in Baldiabandha village people are seen using mobile phones, televisions in large numbers.

Table-1.1: Socio-economic Profile of the Respondents

Sl. No.	Socio- economic Profile	MundaSahi(N=8)	Mahulpada(N=4)	Total(N= 12)
1	**Sex**			
	Male	75.0	50.0	66.7
	Female	25.0	50.0	33.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
2.	**Age**			
	(30- 40) years	62.5	50.0	58.3
	(40 yrs – above)	37.5	50.0	41.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
3.	**Family Size**			
	(0-5) members	62.5	25.0	50.0
	(5-10) members	37.5	75 .0	50 .0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
4.	**Education**			
	primary education	37.5	25.0	33.3
	Higher secondary	-	50.0	16.7
	Illiterate	62.5	25.0	50.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
5.	**BPL Status**			
	BPL	62.5	-	41.7
	Non –BPL	37.5	100.0	48.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
6.	**Occupation**			

	Agriculture	62.5	-	41.7
	Industrial Workers	25.0	-	16.6

	Service Sector	12.5	100.0	41.7
	Total	100.0	100	100.0
7.	**Migration**			
	Original inhabitants	-	75.0	25.0
	Immigrants	100 .0		66.7
	Emigrants	-	25.0	8.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
8.	**Mobile Ownership**			
	Possession of Mobile user	37.5	100.0	58.3
	Non possession of mobile	62.5	-	41.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
9.	**Television Use**			
	Possessing T.V	25.0	100 .0	50.0
	Non possession of T.V.	75.0	-	50.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
10.	**Community**			
	Scheduled tribe	100	-	66.7
	Scheduled caste	-	-	-
	OBC		75.0	25.0
	Other castes	-	25.0	8.3
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

Note: Figures in percentage

Source: Field Survey

. The present study mainly centers round the increasing interaction taking place among the tribe and caste in the social structure, economic activities and livelihood. There are few indicators that have been selected while observing this type of interaction. These indicators include habitat, economy, and status of women, language, food habits, religion, popular festivals, family, marriage customs, birth and death rituals, purity and pollution and hierarchy.

Habitat:

Due to expansion of industrialization, urbanization in Dhenkanal the rural social structure here has undergone some transformations. The caste rigidity in village has declined; people now from different castes and tribes are sharing the same village. In this village the tribes and caste groups coexist. The geographical disconnections of the tribals have reduced. But within the same village they inhabit in a separate hamlet. Thus isolation persists to some extent within the village. The MundaSahi is located towards the end of the village; it is 3-4 kilometers away from Mahulpada. The houses in this hamlet are closely embedded. They built their house with mud, soil, sand and thatched roof. They also decorate their house with colorful walls and beautiful paintings on it. The people here basically suffer from shortage of water, lack of medical facilities the health dispensaries and hospitals are far from their place. They are also threatened by the attack of wild animals like wild elephants, bear and mountain snakes. In Mahulpada there are various caste groups like khadayat, Gudia, Gowda, chasa, Karana. There are also people from juanga tribes. In this village the houses are located closely. They have pucca houses with furnished walls and roofs. The people here suffer from lack of water. The threat of wild animals is sometimes felt but not always.

Table 1.2- Changes in Munda Tribal Customs

Sl.no.	Socio- cultural Elements	Original Munda Practice	Current Munda Practice
1	**Isolation in Habitat**	✔	✔
2	**Self sufficiency in economy**	✔	×
3	**Higher status of women**	✔	✔
4	**Mundari and killi language**	✔	✔
5	**Adoption of odiya language**	×	✔
6	**Simple diet and consuming rice beer**	✔	✔
7	**Use of earthen pots to cook**	✔	✔
8	**Oriya dishes on some special occasions**	×	✔
9	**Worshipping Hindu Gods and Goddess**	×	✔
10	**Singbonga and Sarna religion**	✔	×
11	**Observing Religious fasts**	×	✔

12	**Celebration of Hindu festivals**	×	✔
13	**Totemic and Animistic religion**	✔	×
14	**Polygamous Marriage**	✔	✔
15	**Marriage by mutual consent**	✔	✔
16	**Marriage by capture**	✔	✔
17	**Marriage by elopement**	✔	✔
18	**Marriage by purchase**	✔	✔
19	**Payment of Bride Price**	✔	✔
20	**Observation of life cycle rituals like Hindu Castes**	×	✔
21	**Burial of dead body**	✔	✔
22	**The parha system of Government to manage their affairs**	✔	×
23	**Akhara a source of their entertainment**	✔	×
24	**Youth dormitories to train the youths**	✔	×

Note: (✔) indicate the existence of the practices

(×) indicate the absence of practices.

Source: Field Survey

Economy:

The Mundas have a subsistence economy. They consume whatever they earn they do not have any savings. They earn their livelihood from land which is not owned by them. They work as share-croppers or Bhagachasis. The land here is owned by Nalini Singh who belongs to a royal family of Dhenkanal. And few portions of the land are also owned by the government. The Mundas work hard to cultivate the land. But they are paid a minimal amount by the landowner either in form of cash or in form of crops to maintain their basic sustenance.

Agriculture here is seasonal in nature. Due to shortage of water and modern tools for cultivation the farming here is not much productive. Apart from agriculture few people work in stone mines. They also engage in some trading activities, they prepare khali and Handia and find a market for these products in the village itself.

Thus some level of economic dependence is found among the Mundas. They depend upon the caste people to earn their livelihood.

In Mahulpada people have their own land but they donot engage in farming. They have given up their caste-based occupation. They have given their land to share croppers, whatever revenue they get from land they capture the majority portion. People in this village have increasingly joined the service sector.

Status of Women:

In the MundaSahi women enjoy a higher status. They are not confined to the private sphere alone; they have also joined the public sphere. They work harder than the men. They assist their husband in agriculture; they go to the forests to collect leaves to prepare paper plates, they also prepare rice beer Handia and puffed rice Hudumba and sell it to the villagers.

While in Mahulpada the women are generally housewives they are restricted only to the private sphere. They are not allowed to join the public sphere. The major decisions of the family are taken by the male members

Language:

In MundaSahi the people speak oriya language and they have also retained their original dialects. They use Mundari language to interact among themselves and speak oriya while interacting with others.In Mahulpada the caste groups are well versed in oriya language.

Food Habits:

The Mundas usually have a simple diet. They eat rice, dal, and root and leaf vegetables. They eat twice a day and often consume Handia. They consume non- vegetarian food. They cook food in earthen pots, with use of less oil and spices.

In Mahulpada the basic diet of people comprise of rice, pulses, Chapattis and vegetables. They also consume non- vegetarian food. They use steel utensils to prepare food. They also use oil, spices to add flavor to their dishes. These people donot take food prepared by a lower caste and tribe.

Religion:

The Mundas have immigrated to this place many years back, and thus they have molded their religion at par with the Hindu castes residing in the village. They have imitated the Hindu way of religious life to a large extent. The Mundas here no longer practice their own religion known as Sarna, rather they have attached themselves to Hinduism. They worship the vanadurga goddess, lord siva and other Hindu deities. At the same time they also make religious prayers and offerings to the sacred stones, trees. They have adopted the practice of animal sacrifice to please the gods and goddess. The women also perform fasting on some religious occasions. They also offer everyday puja to the deities by offering flowers and dhoop.

In Mahulpada the caste groups worship the Hindu gods and goddess. They worhip the Vanadurga goddess, lord Krishna,Siva, Tulsi .The women in this hamlet are also very religious, they too perform fasting for their husbands and children. They also go for animal sacrifice in some occasions.

Popular Festivals:

The Mundas celebrate Maghapurnami and Nuakhiya with great pomp and show. Besides these two festivals they also celebrate some Hindu festivals like Holi, Dussehra, Razza. They celebrate these festivals with Hindu customs. There is a peculiar practice found among the Mundas, the festival of colors, Holi is played among men and women differently. A man cannot put color on a woman's face and head, if at all he attempts to do so he has to marry that woman. If the man refuses to do so, the case is brought under the jurisdiction of the village headman. The Mundas have still retained their custom of celebrating festivals by consuming handia and dancing and singing the whole day.

In Mahulpada the caste groups celebrate almost all Hindu festivals. They prepare different types of dishes on festivals and enjoy the festivals with their family members.

Family:

Most of the Mundas live in a nuclear family. The disintegration of joint family occurs due their low standard of living. The sons prefer to live alone with his wife and children and visit his parents sometimes.

While in Mahulpada people are found to live in a joint family set-up. Some members of the family stay in the urban areas to continue their job earn better living, to get better services for their children. But they visit their village and family in festivals, religious and social ceremonies. So structurally the joint family in this hamlet is disintegrating but functionally the jointness in family still exists.

Marriage Customs:

In Munda tribe the marriage is generally monogamous and exogamous. Marriage within the same lineage is not permissible. Few of them also practice polygyny. There are four forms of marriage found among these Mundas:

I.   Marriage by capture: It is a form of tribal marriage in which a man takes away a woman from her village without her willingness and marries her. This marriage is based on chivalry and valour.

II.   Marriage by Purchase: This form of marriage is conducted by payment of bride price either in cash or in form of goods. This bride price is paid by the groom's family to the bride' family. The bride price may be given in form of jewelleries, utensils, other basic requirements to start a new establishments, cows, goats etc.

III.   Marriage by Elopement: When the two partners fall in love and due to uncertainty of marriage and fear of parents run away and marry.

IV.   Marriage by Mutual Consent: In this form of marriage the decisions of both the families are sought and the alliance is conducted.

The Marriage by purchase is more popular among the mundas here. They have to pay a bride price in order to marry.

The marriage customs are conducted by the tribal priests, deori. They give a feast after the marriage is conducted.

In Mahulpada the caste groups generally go for monogamous marriage, they maintain clan exogamy and caste endogamy. Few of them allow inter-caste marriage. As the children are studying outside the village and they are opened up to broader social outlook and thus they seek some independence in selection of mates. They practice the custom of dowry where the bride 'family has to give some gifts to the groom as per the demand of the groom' family. The dowry may be paid in form of cash or goods whatever is desirable.

The marriage ritual is solemnized by the Brahmin priest from other villages. They also go for a feast after the marriage is conducted.

Life Cycle Rituals:

The Mundas also have adopted some birth and death rituals from the Hindu caste. After birth of a child they observe the rituals for seven days, they maintain some restrictions during this period, the mother and child are kept in a separate room, they are not touched by any outsiders, or family members during these 7 days. This is similar to the Hindu Customs, but the Hindus observe this ritual for 12 days. During this period the family members do not even perform the daily religious rituals. After 7days they perform some rituals for the purity of the family. They also arrange a feast for their kin members on this day.

Similarly in case of death of a person the Munda family observes the rituals for 7 days. They generally go for burial of the dead body; the cremation ground is located nearby. After the burial they start observing the death rituals till 7 days. They restrict themselves from everyday religious worships. They eat boiled and plain food. After 7 days they shave their head, beards and then the tribal priests perform the rituals for purity of the family members. After the end of the purity rituals they arrange a small feast in the village.

In Mahulpada the caste-groups perform both the birth and death rituals for 12 days. They call the priests to conduct such rituals. After the rituals are over they also organize a feast in the village.

Conclusion:

The Munda society is seen to be egalitarian, homogenous one, where people still retain a subsistence economy. In the MundaSahi the Mundas have retained this element of homogeneity; they still have an unstratified society. They are in continuous interaction with the caste groups but they have not adopted the Caste element of hierarchy and segmental division of the society.

While the caste groups in Mahulpada maintain the core element hierarchy and stratification of the society. But they have not been rigid in their interaction with the tribes. They have allowed some amount of social mobility among themselves.

Despite the closer interaction with the caste groups the Mundas have tried to retain their original cultural traits. Some transformations have taken place in their religious aspects, dialects, food habits, economy, observation of birth and death rituals, but still the Mundas have not been completely assimilated into the caste framework.

Sinha in his study is referring to a pattern of cultural interaction between tribals and caste which is not bimodal rather it is unidirectional, where only the tribes have integrated into the caste framework but not vice-versa.

Bose (1975) in his Hindu method of tribal absorption indicates the occupational shift taking place among the tribes; they are adopting caste-based occupations to enter into the caste framework. But at the same time they were allowed to retain their original cultural traits. This occupational mobility led the tribals to lose their identity. They no more remained tribes rather were turned into the lower caste.

Bose made a conservative claim by focusing on the glorification of the Hindu caste system. It was the caste system that provided economic security with cultural autonomy. The method of Hinduization, sanskritisation and other forms of acculturation were only one way attempt to glorify the Hindu civilization. The changes that took place among the tribals due to such processes were only to mould the tribal values and practices into the Hindu fold.

In response to Srinivas' Sanskritisation model, Kaila (1959) came with his concept of Tribalisation . He noticed the transformation taking place among the upper castes of the Central Himalayan region due to their interaction with the tribes.

. Bailey (1961) tried to examine the tribe and caste relationship through political and economic indicators. He has ignored the cultural and ideological aspects.

Beteille (1998) is regarded as more contemporary as he has not delineated the debate between tribe and caste with the process of assimilation between Hindus and tribes. Rather he has identified certain dynamics in the process of change and continuity among the tribals. He focused that how the inclusion of tribes into the politics and reservation system helped them to return to their original traits. In his study on Mahato of Jharkhand, he analyzed how the distinctive identity of the tribals was lost as they accepted the Kshatriya model of sanskritisation. But now the sanskritised tribals are trying to go back to their original status to claim for reservation.

Conclusion

The present paper reveals that despite interaction of the tribes and caste the tribes have not completely given up their identity and assimilated into the Hindu caste fold rather they retain some of their inherent practices. They have transformed themselves materially in context of the caste society and other modern forces of change but they have retained their psychological make-over of being the tribe.

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Using Sambalpuri Language and Culture in Teaching English at the Secondary Level in West Odisha

Sadananda Meher

Abstract

Direct method, where the learners' L1 was treated as a hindrance in L2 learning, was the best method in 1970s. However, theories of bilingual education advocate the use of L1 in teaching English. But these theories seem to have neglected the existence of multiple non-standard languages under a language. This study intends to examine the effects of adopting local dialects and culture in teaching English to indigenous speakers.

The study assumed that *Sambalpuri* dialect speaking learners face comprehension problems as their home language is neglected in classroom and it focuses on learning difficulties arising out of it. This study hypothesized that the use of learners' home language and forms of culture may help them develop reading skills in English.

The study attempts to find out how far multilingual education would be effective for the target group. Thirty three regional medium learners are taken as the sample of the study. Questionnaires, interviews, reading comprehension tests are used as tools. The tests are intended to see the difference between the impacts of using local and standard dialect in reading comprehension in English.

Analysis shows that learners benefit if their home language is used as a resource in teaching English.

Introduction

There have been a number of studies on role and use of L1 in L2 learning but very few studies have addressed a grave issue like dialect and sub-standard language speakers' problems in learning for their first language not being used in pedagogy. Studies in 1970s and 80s on role of

L1 in teaching and learning L2 brought in a method like 'bilingual method' and having felt the importance of using L1 in L2 instruction, use of Regional language was advocated by National Educational Policy. Regional language means the standard language of the state according to the 'three languages formula' proposed by Official Languages Act (1961) and modified by Kothari Commission (1964). These policies, although productive for standard language speakers, have neglected or have not focused on the fact that every Indian language has many dialects and sub-standard languages. This is a problem associated with all the Indian states and almost all the Indian languages.

Context in general

English is generally taught through the L1 of the state in mainstream education or the Government schools. But the use of standard language of the state may not be convenient and useful for the learners who speak a language or dialect other than the standard language. The 2001 Census has identified 1652 mother tongues or home languages and those were grouped under 122 languages. Of the 122 languages recorded in the Census, only 26 are used as medium of instructions in schools (Jhingran). Learners belonging to the rest non – scheduled languages or dialects face difficulties in the schools as they do not get education through their own language. A rough assessment shows that almost 25% of primary and secondary school children face moderate or severe problems on account of their home language being different from the school language.

However, the discussed study is concerned with teaching-learning situations and pedagogic problems in Odisha, western part of Odisha, to be specific.

Specific Context

Western part of Odisha includes as many as ten districts of Odisha like Kalahandi, Bolangir, Nuapada, Sundergarh, Boudh, Deogarh, Bargarh, Sonepur, Jharsuguda, and Sambalpur where Sambalpuri is the dominant language. Almost all the population of these districts speaks Sambalpuri at home and community. So, it is very much evident that Sambalpuri is their first language. According to 2011 census, Odisha has a population of 4,19,47358 out of which about 1,72,92730, roughly around 1.7 crore people, and constituting 41.23% of total population of Odisha and 1% of Indian population belong the Western Odisha. The home language or first

language of this population is Sambalpuri which is described as a dialect or a sub-standard language and not used in academic contexts which invites many pedagogic problems.

The Research Problem

The Sambalpuri Government regional medium learners face problems on account of their home/first language not being used in pedagogy. The present study concentrates on their problems. The problem pertaining to second language learning in the context is that home language or mother tongue or first language of the learners is not equal to the first language used in the school. Odia, the first language of the state is used in teaching all over the state. But linguistically and structurally Odia is different from Sambalpuri, the home language of learners. So, the use of L1 in teaching of English does not support the discussed learners in any respect. Moreover, the forms of culture which are very much different from the culture of mainstream Odisha also do not find a place in pedagogy. In this context, the study attempts to explore the extent of problems faced by learners because of these linguistic and cultural alienations.

Problems specific to Reading Comprehension

The only exposure to English Language the rural Sambalpuri learners get is through the prescribed text books. In this context, if the inputs in English i.e. the readings texts are not comprehensible for them, they cannot do well in reading comprehension.

They do not get exposure to English reading texts outside the school. Even in the school, they do not get enough scope for the silent reading and development of other sub skills of reading. The prescribed reading texts do not seem appealing to them as those are dealt with through the use of standard Odia which is another incomprehensible language for them.

Reading is related to cognition involving four types of Comprehensions like;

- Literal Comprehension (a low level understanding only from the textual information)

- Making inferences, finding central idea, drawing conclusions, and reasoning.

- Critical reading (going beyond the text and making judgments)

- Creative thinking (ability to come up with innovative and new ideas)

When reading involves all these cognitive procedures, it demands a high level of understanding of the text. But in the present context, the learners are not even able to decode the English reading text properly to get at least a surface level meaning.

D. Kamhi-Stein in his article " Reading in Two Languages" states that readers mentally translate the given target language text into their home language to get the meaning and he adds that it is a successful reading strategy. But in the present context, the use of home language of the learners is not encouraged and they do not even get support through their home language. Moreover, the reading instructions, word meanings, motivation, and explanations are also given in standard Odia.

In this way neither the Language resource nor the schema of the learners is used in the second language reading in spite of the existence of the fact that mother tongue and schema of learners help them in learning second language.

Assumptions of the Study

All the above mentioned observations and arguments lead to assumption that learners face problems in understanding terms and concepts used in standard Odia and because of that, they face difficulties in learning English as Odia is used as medium of instruction. Also the study assumed that learners do not get scope to read, think, and comprehend English texts using their own home language as resource language.

Some items of the questionnaire, and interviews were set with an objective to establish these assumptions right or wrong.

Hypotheses of the Study

The study hypothesized that use of learners' home language in teaching English may help the learners learn English better. Another hypothesis of the study was that use of the learners' home language and the forms of Culture and tradition may help them develop reading skills as it may work well to activate and make use of their schema while reading English texts.

Although there was no academic study on Sambalpuri context to provide a theoretical support to the study, it has drawn its theoretical underpinnings from several similar studies in native and non-native contexts, and also from established theories by linguists and language practitioners. Some closely related theories and studies are as follows.

Research Questions

The mentioned study attempted to obtain answers to the following questions:

Is multilingual education practised in the learning and teaching of English when the society in question is largely multilingual?

How far multilingual education be effective among the target group of learners?

Review of Literature

Dhir Jhingran in his article " Diversity in Primary Education in India", identifies four groups of children who face a moderate to severe learning disadvantage on account of their home language being very different from the language of instruction at school. The four groups are as follows:

- Tribal learners who speak their indigenous language at home. Their language is very different form the regional standard language used in the school.

- **Dialect Speakers** - Children who speak a language that is considered a 'dialect' of the regional language and have low comprehension of the standard language used at school. For all purposes, the school language becomes a second language for the children.

- Children of migrants who move from one state to another also face problems in education. They speak a language that is not even used anywhere in the host state.

- Children whose first language, through written and well developed, is not used as a medium of instruction at school. Urdu and Kashmiri speakers are example of such category.

Children belonging to all the above mentioned categories face difficulties in learning but the preset study is concerned with dialect speakers. The world of Sambalpuri learners is largely multilingual as they speak a language at home and are expected to use another language at school. The extent and nature of learning difficulties faced by the children who do not speak or understand the language used as MOI (Medium of Instruction) depend on several factors such as *level of intelligibility* of the language used as MOI, the *socio-economic background* of the children, *exposure to standard language* outside the school and *motivation to learn the school language*.

Apart from the issue of an unfamiliar language being used at school, the alienation is compounded by the attitudes of the teachers towards the language and cultures of the learners belonging to particular ethno-linguistic groups. This is especially true in the case of teachers who are non–tribal and those who do not belong to dialect speaking communities.

UNESCO says that children learn faster through their mother tongue. And here language practitioners like Jhingran, A. K. Mohanty, G. Rajagopal and Tove Skutnabb kangas suggest multilingual education for the mentioned categories of learners.

Dialect speakers as Bi/multilinguals?

The discussed contexts seems to be multilingual in nature but before being judgmental enough to describe the contexts as multilingual, it is necessary to see whether and how they are monolingual, bilingual or multilingual. For that, it is required to look into some definitions by established language experts in the field.

Definitions of bilingualism based on competence are as follows:

"Native-like control of two or more languages" (Bloomfield, 1933 quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas 1981)

"Active, completely equal mastery of two or more languages" (Braun, 1937, quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981)

"An ideal bilingual is, of course, two native speakers rolled into one" (Haugen, 1972)

Going by these strict definitions, nobody in the described context would be a bilingual. Sambalpuri speaking population would meet the criteria to be only a monolingual.

Some other definitions are more accommodative and focus on the functional aspects of language to describe somebody as bilingual.

"At least some knowledge and control of the grammatical structure of the second language" (Hall, 1952, in Kangas, 1981)

or a much more accommodative definition like

"Understands the foreign language without being able to speak it" (Pohl, 1965, in Kangas, 1981).

"The alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual" (Mackey, 1970, in Kangas, 1981)

As per Wikipedia, a multilingual person is one who can communicate in more than one language, be it actively through speaking and writing or passively and interactively through reading, listening or perceiving. A multilingual person is generally referred to as a [polyglot](#) where *Poly* means 'many', and *glot* means 'language'.

These considerations bring the idea of describing the target population as polyglots as they are exposed to many languages and at least they can function in as many as four languages those are Sambalpuri, Odia, Hindi and English.

Now, having termed the target population as multilinguals and polyglots, it is required to see kinds of programmes available and pedagogy suggested for them.

Different Programmes of Bilingualism

Depending on the combination of programme goals, status of the student group, proportion of instructional time through each language, the sociolinguistic and philosophical situation in the immediate community, bilingual education has been stratified into 5 different types (Cummins, 2007). Those are *Programme for National Minority Groups, International Minority Groups (migrants), Deaf and Hard-hearing Communities, Dominant or Majority Language Group Students, Indigenous Language Groups*. The discussed study is concerned with bilingual programmes meant for Indigenous groups.

These programmes involve the use of indigenous or native languages as medium of instructions. For example, the Maori Immersion programme in New Zealand as well as various bilingual programmes U.S and Canada involving native languages. These bilingual programmes are aimed at the revival or revitalization of languages those have become endangered (Cummins).

In Indian context, the indigenous people are known as 'tribals' and dialect users. Though guided by the statutory recognition in favour of mother tongue education to linguistic minorities (Article 350-A), languages associated with tribal are charged with minimum functional use. Educational needs of tribal are catered for through the languages of dominant cultures. There doesn't seem much realization of the difficulties the rural dialect speaking population faces which arise out of

unintelligibility of the instant high standard projected in the mother tongue textbooks. Such school standard may be quite unrelated to their real life communication. As a result, many of them find it difficult to relate the structure and the content of education to their way of life. Many dialect user children fail to continue school after primary classes as the difference between the "school language" and the "home language" shows an increased curve.

In such a scenario, efforts were made through various policies and orientations to increase the literacy rate among tribals and dialect speakers. In this endeavour, diverse approaches of transmitting literacy skills have immerged on the scene; conventional educators profess strict use of standard language of the state, where as liberal educators recommend a bi-dialectical approach of a gradual phasing over a period of time from mother tongue to standard language. Some educators adopt a peculiar approach by accommodating a variety of dialects/speech in spoken language in the classroom, but at the same time focus shifts to standard language at the written level. This is a pluralistic model of literacy in which a variation in speech is regarded as a tool of communication.

This approach promotes the cultivation of positive values for the diversity of speech varieties prevailing in a group in response to the demands of situation, identity, and communicative task (Khub Chandani, 1996).

The present study is related to the programmes for indigenous group as it targets to explore the learning problems of a community which speaks a dialect other than the Standard language spoken and used as medium of instruction throughout the state.

Teaching English in Dialect Speakers' Contexts

As per Jhingran, Dialect speakers are one of the four groups who face difficulties on account of their home language being different from the standard language used as MOI.

There are several Dialects of all the languages in the country those are not used in formal context with a consideration of it being a sub- standard language. English language and culture are very unfamiliar to the learners and when an unfamiliar language is taught through the use of another unfamiliar language and culture, it becomes difficult for the learners to decode the input and thus, they face learning difficulties.

National Knowledge Commission (2008) considers this grave problem and suggests the promotion of multilingualism. It says that language issues must be explicitly taken on board in designing school curricula and methods of teaching English. It is evident from the report of the NKC that it suggests bilingual/ multilingual education for the children belonging to dialect and tribal language speaking communities.

The Role of L1 in L2 Learning

The role played by L1 (first language) in L2 (second language) learning has been an area of interest for many language experts since 1950s. In the behaviourist ideology L1 was seen primarily as a source of error that crept into second language learning. It was believed that the difference in the two languages (L1 and L2) can lead to a phenomenon where the features of L1 will be transferred into L2 which will result in the formation of ungrammatical and unacceptable sentences. Theorists of behaviourist ideology like Robert. C. Lado (1957) and C.C. Fries (1945) opined that this transference of the features will ultimately lead to a kind of imposition of L1 structures over L2. So language teaching mainly concentrated on drilling out errors from the repertoire of the language learner and treating L2 learning as a fresh learning where L1 didn't have any role to play.

Later on, the studies in the areas of cognitive and psycholinguistic processing recognised the value of L1 in the learning of L2. Larry Selinker (1977) proposed the theory of inter language which described that a language learner at any point of time shows a 'transitional competence' where features of the already acquired L1 interact with the L2 features to be acquired. In the inter language studies, L1 is seen as a 'system' on to which the learner fall back whenever s/he feels the absence of the required L2 knowledge during communication. It is more of a communication strategy than an inability to learn. The studies those followed (Flynn 1985, Gass 1987, White 1985) viewed L1 as a starting point which provides the basis on which L2 develops.

Recent studies in the area places more emphasis on the significance of L1 in the learning of L2. L1 can be judiciously used by the teachers in the language classes to aid the teaching of L2. But here we need to understand that use of L1 does not mean use of standard language of the state always. First language, in many contexts, means the home language or the indigenous language used by the dialect speakers and tribal learners. Use of another alien language in the name of

using L1 in teaching L2 makes the situation even more problematic. Thus, it is necessary to see what model of bilingual education the context needs.

Drawing from the discussed theories, definitions, concepts and studies, the present study attempted to explore the problems pertaining to the specific population. For that, specially designed study was conducted and possible solutions were suggested as per the findings of the study. The details of the study conducted are as follows.

Method

Participants

Since the study is dialectical one, it needed the involvement of high school students who are **Sambalpuri dialect** speakers. Thirty three learners from a state government regional medium school called **Sinapali High School** in the district of **Nuapada** from **Western Part** of **Odisha** were taken for the study. The home language of thirty two learners out of thirty three is **Sambalpuri dialect.** These learners were from Sambalpuri-speaking middle class families who hardly use any language other than Sambalpuri outside the classroom. All of them were from 8th standard and belonged to the age group of twelve-thirteen with exposure to English teaching for five years. Learners were chosen randomly from a section of seventy two students. Their proficiency in Sambalpuri, Odia, or English was not considered while choosing the sample.

Five teachers were involved in the study. Three teachers were from the school where study was carried out and another two were from nearby schools. All the teachers belonged to the Sambalpuri speaking Community but interestingly all the teachers have mentioned Odia as their mother tongue. Four of them are trained teachers.

Tools used for Data Collection

Classroom observation checklist, Reading comprehension tests in Sambalpuri, Odia and English, Questionnaire for learners and teachers, and semi-formal personal interview format for participants and teachers were used as the tools for gathering data for the study.

Materials

The reading comprehension tests in three languages intended to test the proficiency, level of comfort and performance of the learners in different languages. This was done in two phases. First phase intended to know the interest and the performance of the learners in the reading text in their home language, academic L1 i.e. Odia, English passage based on their own culture and Standard English text. The second phase of tests intended to see the impact of the scaffolding given in their home language Sambalpuri and standard Odia in English reading activities. Standard English passages were chosen to carry out these tests. Readers were asked to comprehend the given passages. In this phase, different passages were supported or simplified by different gloss like Sambalpuri, Odia, and English. Phase two of the study intended to see the impact of scaffolding given in their home language in contrast to their academic L1 Odia.

Questionnaires were designed for both learners and teachers to gather information about the profile of the learners and teachers, the language used in formal instructions in the classroom, the language that is in frequent use by the learners and teachers in and outside the classroom and to know whether there is difficulty for the learners in understanding the academic L1 of the state.

Personal informal interviews of the learners were taken to know the language in use in the classroom and the language in which they are most comfortable with.

Procedures

Phase I

The phase I included four reading comprehension tests of four different types involving Sambalpuri, Odia, and English Language. None of these passages was provided with glossary for the help of the learners. These passages in the first phase of the study intended to assess the performance of the learners in Sambalpuri, Odia, and two English passages out of which one was based on their culture and another was Standard English passage.

Type 1- Sambalpuri Reading Passage

On the second day of the study, the subjects were given a Sambalpuri passage to comprehend. A rural folk tale was the content of the passage. The story was in Sambalpuri language and was related to their cultural background. The script used in the passage was Odia, but the style of presentation matched to the spoken Sambalpuri language.

Type 2- Odia Reading Passage

Reading Comprehension passage Type 2 was an Odia passage. It was not related to their background. It was an extract from a story of a story book *"Kahani"*(Story) prescribed in secondary level.

Type 3- English Reading Passage based on Sambalpuri Culture

Type 3 passage was an English passage based on Sambalpuri culture. It was about their biggest local festival "*Nuakhai"*. A small Sambalpuri story from a book of folk-tale was translated into English to get this text. The given text for comprehension was in English, but it was based on the culture of the subjects.

Type 4- **Standard English Reading Passage**

This was a non-Sambalpuri English passage with a standard to match secondary level. The content of the passage was a story of a forest. It was in Standard English and not related to the back ground of the subjects.

Phase II

Five types of English reading passages were tried out in phase II of the study. All the passages were in Standard English but those were glossed with different languages.

Type 5 - Type 5 reading comprehension passage was an English passage with **Sambalpuri gloss**. The passage was not at all familiar to them. It was not related to their cultural background. But the advantage of this passage was the Sambalpuri gloss given for all the difficult words. Sambalpuri language was used while dealing with the reading lesson.

Type 6 - This was a reading comprehension passage in Standard English. It was supported with **Standard Odia gloss** which is the academic L1 of the learners but not their home language. Only Standard Odia language was used in the classroom while dealing with this reading activity.

Type 7 - Reading comprehension passage type 7 was an English passage with English gloss. Classroom instruction during the reading lesson involved only English language.

Type 8(3+4) - English reading comprehension passage type 8 was a fusion of type 3 and type 4. This passage had more of type 3 and less of type 4. The given English passage was familiar to the background of the learners. It was taken from their local stories. This passage was supported with a glossary where most of the difficult words were explained using Sambalpuri language and some of the words were explained in English language. Mark of the culture of the learners and their home language was dominant in this passage although it was an English passage.

Type 9(4+3) - This passage again was also a mixture of two types but it was just the reverse of the type 8. It was fusion of more of type 4 and less of type 3. The English reading passage given to the subjects was not familiar to them. It was a Standard English passage. Most of the explanations given in the glossary of this passage were in Standard English and only few words were explained in Sambalpuri language. Standard English was dominant in this passage.

Subjects were given 30 minutes for each reading comprehension passage in both the phases of the study. The phase I was only test of their competence in different languages but phase II included reading comprehension lessons. Every passage was followed by questions of 20 marks. All these questions targeted at certain sub-skills of reading skills.

Analysis

<u>*Observation during phase I*</u> – The subjects did not ask for any kind of help to comprehend the Type 1 passage. They were happy to see and read a text in their home language. It was their first experience to see their home language in the formal setting of the classroom. While comprehending Type 3 passages also, they did not want any help although it was in English as the passage was based on their festival and thus they were familiar to it. Their back ground knowledge about the culture helped them to get the meaning of the English text. On the other hand, many of them wanted help and asked many questions while comprehending the passage Type 2 (Standard Odia) and Type 4 (Standard English). The subjects were not given any kind of help in comprehending the passages in phase I.

<u>*Observation during phase II*</u>- The subjects were comfortable to see a Sambalpuri gloss with an English passage while dealing with passage type 5. Still, some of them wanted me to explain some sentences in Sambalpuri. On the other hand, when they were given passage type 6, which was an English passage with Standard Odia gloss, they wanted those Odia explanations to be

explained further. Dealing with the comprehension of passage type 7, which was an English passage with English gloss, was difficult for them. The subjects had many questions to ask about the word meanings and explanation of the sentences.

When they were asked to comprehend the passage type 8, which was a mixture of type 3 and type 4 with more type 3, they were comfortable. They solved it without any question. But they faced some problems while comprehending the passage type 9 which was mixture of type 4 and type 3 and Standard English was dominant there. The researcher was present during all the experimentations.

Findings

As the study intended to see the role of home language on the reading skills of the learners, the scoring criteria concentrated on the sub-skills of the reading skills. Questions were set to make them *skim* the text for particular information and *scan* it for general information. Some other questions were there to make them *read for detailed information.* And the answer scripts of the subjects were scored looking at whether they have skimmed, scanned, and done the detailed comprehension successfully or not. Grammaticality was not a criterion to evaluate the scripts. Speaking as a whole, successful comprehension of the given text was the main focus in the scoring of the scripts.

The analysis of the scores of all the tests shows that learners have performed very well in Sambalpuri reading comprehension in phase I and English text with Sambalpuri glossary in phase II. They have performed very well in all the passages which were influenced by Sambalpuri dialect. It signifies that home language of the learners play a significant role in the understanding and comprehension of target language.

An analysis of the Findings from Teachers' and Learners' Questionnaire and Interviews

Data collected with the help of learners' questionnaire reveals some interesting information. 100 percent learners say that they are comfortable with Sambalpuri dialect of Odia as it is home language of all of them. 84.84 percent of the sample express that they are not comfortable with the Standard Odia and finally 100 percent learners agree to the statement that use of Sambalpuri language and culture help them understand and learn English better. But some interesting

conceptions emerged from the interview of the learners. All most all the learners feel that it is awkward to use Sambalpuri language in formal situations. Again they have thinking in their mind that it would be difficult for them to compete with the learners of mainstream Odisha if they are not good at Standard Odia.

On the other hand teachers also argue that giving importance to local dialect in the classroom may lead to the ignorance of the learners in the L1 of the state leading to their academic failure in higher studies. So, even if all the teachers realize that learners are very comfortable with the use of Sambalpuri in the classroom and they benefit from its use, they do not use it frequently and do not encourage its frequent use by the learners. All most all the teachers have stated that they resort to the use of Sambalpuri when learners fail to understand the English and Odia explanation. Still, they like to stick to the official medium of instructions i.e. Odia.

Of course all the learners do not need the use of Sambalpuri to understand English, but for most of the learners it has been found helpful. Responses of both teachers and learners to the questionnaires and interview indicate that use of Sambalpuri in the teaching of English has significant positive effect on learning.

These questionnaires were administered after the first phase of reading comprehension tests where proficiency of the learners in Sambalpuri, Odia, and English was measured. In later phase, the reading comprehension tests in English were supplied with different scaffoldings like glossary in Sambalpuri, Odia, and English as per the need of the learners to see the impact of the use Sambalpuri language in their teaching. Some texts related to their culture were also used to see the impact.

Overall Interpretation of Results

Analysis of the learners' questionnaire shows that they are really interested about the use of their own home language i.e. Sambalpuri. Most of them express their positive feelings towards the use of Sambalpuri in the classroom while teaching and they firmly believe that the use of Sambalpuri can affect their learning English very positively.

Interviews explored some thoughts of teachers that encouragement of frequent use of Sambalpuri in the classroom may stop their learners from learning Standard Odia which would be

problematic for them in future. Some teachers even think that they should use only English in the English classroom to give maximum exposure to the learners in target language and that is why Sambalpuri should not be used. But as all of them now acknowledge that they are very comfortable with Sambalpuri language, it can be effectively used in the classroom.

Analysis of the reading comprehension tests in the first phase of the study shows that learners are comfortable with Sambalpuri reading texts and English texts based on Sambalpuri culture. They performed better in Sambalpuri passage than Odia passage which means they are more comfortable in Sambalpuri as it is their home language. In second phase of the study, all the passages given to them for comprehension were English passages and they performed very well in the comprehension of the passage which was supported with Sambalpuri glossary and motivation compared to the passage which was supplied with Standard Odia glossary and motivation. So, finally the study comes to the conclusion that use of Sambalpuri in the teaching of English will be very fruitful for the learners.

Implications

Krashen's affective filter hypothesis says that the use of learners' mother tongue works well to lower the affective filter by lowering their anxiety of going wrong in using target language. The use of learners' home language and culture create familiar atmosphere and learners get their self-identity and existence in the classroom. But in case of the present context, where the learners speak a non-standard dialect of the first language of the state, the use of Standard language in the teaching of English does not help in lowering the affective filter. Rather, it creates another problem for them as they have to comprehend two unfamiliar languages simultaneously.

Reading is an activity connected with cognition and it is believed that learners mentally translate the texts in target language to their own mother tongue while reading. Learners who use their mother tongue as a resource are more successful in reading comprehension. It is also observed in the present study that support like motivation and a glossary in their home language helped the learners to perform very well in reading comprehension tests whereas the glossary in the Standard language did not help them comprehend better. So, the findings of the study derive a conclusion that if the home language is used as a support, learners, especially those who are poor at Standard language and L2, can improve their reading comprehension.

Finally, a conclusion can be drawn that as the use of learners' home language and culture result in better learning of L2, the teachers in the dialect speakers' contexts should go for a learner-centered approach with primary importance to the language and culture of the learners. The teachers should make use of the experiences of the learners to help them explore the world of knowledge rather than diminishing their language, culture, feelings and experiences and obviously this attitude will result in better learning.

Possible solutions and Suggestions

As the study finds out the positive impact of the use of local dialect on the learners' reading comprehension, it suggests that teachers should use the home language of the learners as medium of instructions while teaching the learners who speak a dialect other than the Standard language that is the L1 of the state. At least it should be used till the learners become proficient enough in using the dialect in comprehension of L2 reading texts. Then there should be a gradual move from the local dialect to the standard dialect of L1 used in the school. The local dialect or the home language of the learners should not be underestimated in formal contexts. The process of using the local dialect in teaching should start in the primary level to facilitate the learners develop a positive attitude towards the use of their own dialect in learning.

The use of home language of learners or the local dialect is beneficial not only for the learners who are in government schools where Standard language of the state is used as medium of instructions; it is also useful for the learners who study in private English medium schools. So, the school administration should be aware of the fact and they should take steps towards adopting the multilingual education in primary and secondary level. Schools should take steps to arrange some remedial or tutorial classes at least for those learners who are very poor in Standard language and English as well. These kinds of classes should make use of local dialect of the learners to help them improve their reading comprehension ability.

The board of secondary education should also carryout and facilitate surveys and work towards the implementation of the findings of studies. Taking note of the benefits of the use of local dialect in the teaching of English, the board as well as the government should arrange teacher education programmes to make the teachers aware of the multilingual approach and its implementation. And finally everybody including the learners, teachers, parents, and

administration should be made aware of the fact that home language does not stand as barrier to learn another language and multiple language experience helps the learners to have enriched social and linguistic experiences.

Further researches

As the study finds out the need of a support through the local dialect for the learners, it creates a scope for the development of the materials with justified use of the home language, as per the need of the learners. **Materials can be developed** with the use of home language and culture of the learners and those can be tried out over a period of time to see the impact on learning English. Further, a research can be carried out to develop a **teacher training module** for the justified use of learners' home language in the second language classroom in the contexts of dialect speakers. Another research may try to find out **what duration of local dialect use** will enable the dialect speakers to enhance their language learning abilities. Studies similar to the present one can be conducted in the contexts of other languages and dialects speakers throughout. If those studies come up with the similar findings, that can be used in education policy formations and thus the findings would be very useful for speakers of minority language speakers in their English language learning.

Conclusions

No man fully capable of his own language ever masters another.

George Bernard Shaw (1903)

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Challenges of Elementary Education among Primitive Tribal Groups: A Case of Bonda Hill

Rashmirekha Barik

The scheduled tribes who were identified as more backward communities among the tribal population groups have been categorized as PRIMITIVE TRIBAL GROUPS by the government of India in 1975. So far 75 tribal communities out of 532 scheduled tribes and sub tribe in india have .According to the 1991 census data the total population of scheduled tribes in India is 67 million and that of the most vulnerable groups among them is approximately 1.4 million.

Odisha is the homeland of as many as 62 scheduled tribes the total tribal population exceeds 7 million ,comprising 22 percent of the state population. Odisha also homes to the hightest number of 13 MVTGs, having a population of about 60 thousand. The Bonda or Bonda high lander is one of the MVTGs of Odisha living in the maoist ridden Malkanagiri district of Odisha ,

Literacy rate of PTGs in odisha Present s a dismal picture .In all most all cases of primitive tribes ,literacy percentage is far behind of scheduled tribe in the state .among the PTGs Didayee tribe of kudugulugumma in malkangiri district has the lowest literacy rate (5.48) and ChakutiaBhujia has the highest literacy rate(34.87) wide gender gap in literacy of PTGs is another important fact . Gap in literacy between male &female among scheduled Tribes of Odisha is 28.1 %. In case of primitive Tribes of Odisha the scenario is very distressing .

Bonda are significantly different from other vulnerable groups. The Bondo tribe is divided into 2 group ,the upper & lower Bonda .The lower Bonda who are more exposed to the outside world .The secluded village/hamlet inhabited by the upper Bonda have been covered under the micro project BONDA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY(BDA).

The village /hamlet of Bondao high lander come under the administrative jurisdiction of Khairput Block of Malkanagiri district and are distributed three gram panchayat, namely Mudulipada, Rasbeda & Andrahal.There are 33 revenue villages of which the Bondo presently inhabits 32. All these 32 villages are located on different hill slope or/hill top with in the Eastern Ghat range at a height of about 3000ft -4000ft above sea level. The whole area is

(BONDA WOMAN)

traditionally claimed by hill bonda as their land or country ,and covers approximately 130 sq km These 32village known as Bonda hill ,Bonda Ghati in the local region. Plain to the west and descend sharply to the Machakunda valley in the east .The influence of geographical factors in the development of the bondo character must not be ignored.The remote and elevated plateau on which these high lander live has isolated them from the influences of the plain .

The Bondo call them selves as "Remo" meaning "man" and speak a "difficult Austro-Asiatic"language (Elwin1950:1) known as Remo, sam,meaning human language.

CHARACTERISTIC OF BONDA PEOPLE

1. Rude and ruthless manner of expression.
2. Sprit of independence and sense of freedom.
3. Aggressive and violent propensities.
4. Excessive consumption of sago palm wine and other country liquors and homicidal offences.
5. Un conventional dress pattern of the women folk.
6. Dormitory organization.
7. Declining Growth rate.
8. Extremely low level of literacy.
9. Primitive agricultural technology.
10. Extreme sensitivity to personal slight even among family member and kinship.
11. Unique marriage institution i.e marrying of younger boys to adult girls.

DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

Asper 1941 census the Bonda population was 2.565 (quoted in Elwin 1950).In 1961 the total population was 4.667 out of which there were 2.435 males and 2.242 females.

In 1971 census the total population was 5.338 out of which there are 2.660 males and 2.678 females. In 1981 census the total population of 5.895 consists of 2.790 males and females. In 1991 census the the total population is 7315 consists of 3475 males and 3840 females And literacy rate is 4.20%. In 2001 Census total population is 9378 and literacy rate is 14.69%. In 2011 census the total population is 7387 consists of 3474 males and 3913 females.

(**Bausapada**)

EDUCATIONAL STATUS IN ORISSA

The average literacy rate in Odisha was 63.08% as against the all India averageliteracy of 64.8% during 2001 male literacy rate was75.95% and female literacy rate was50.51%. Total 48.405 primary school s with 45.20 lakh enrolment and 1.20 lakh teachers in the state exit as on 2007-2008. There is one primary school for every 3.2sq km areas mid day meal programme has been operational since july 1995 ,in 2007-2008 about 42.30 lakh children in 65.528 primary schools and 5,26,166 upper primary student in 8.410 for each 8.13km area in the state , overall dropout rate at the primary stage was 7.79%. The drop out rate for girls being 7.83% and for the boys it was 7.76% during 2007-2008. The drop out rate at the primary stage was 12.54%for SCs and 16.89% for STs.Drop out rate upper primary stage has decreased from 59% IN 2002-2003 to 13.27% in 2007-2008.for SCs from47.50% to18.80% and for STs from77.70% to23.83%. during agap between same year . This shows that the dropout among the ST student s at upper primary level was reduced to a greater extent in comparison to other communities from 2002-2003 and 2007-2008, but in absolutely terms it show high in comparison to other communities. Tribal children like several marginalized group of children are trapped in a vicious circle of poverty , illiteracy , and deprivation children low educational level is due to the extremely low literacy among the adults of ST communities The literacy rate of STs is a abysmally low (37.37%) as against the state census .A review of literacy rate among ST population in comparison with that of the general population during different census indicates a growing gap between literacy rates of these two communities.

Category	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
General population including SC&ST	25.24	30.53	38.83	49.09	63.08
Scheduled Tribe	7.36	9.46	13.96	22.31	37.37

Gap between General population &ST	17.88	21.07	24.87	26.78	25.71

(Source –census 1961, 1971,1981,1991,2001)

Census	Person	General	Scheduled Tribe	Census	Person	General	Scheduled Tribe
1961	Male	40.26	13.04	**1991**	Male	62.37	34.44
	Female	10.12	1.77		Female	34.40	10.21
	Total	25.24	7.36		**Total**	49.09	22.31
1971	Male	44.50	16.38	**2001**	Male	75.35	51.48
	Female	16.29	2.58		Female	50.51	23.37
	Total	30.53	9.46		**Total**	63.08	37.37
1981	Male	53.35	23.27		Male		
	Female	23.99	4.76		Female		
	Total	38.83	13.96		**Total**		

(Literacyrate in Scheduled Tribe and General   population in census 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001)

LITERACY RATE OF MOJOR TRIBE

Name of the ST	Population		Literacy rate		Gap in literacy rate
	1991	**2001**	**1991**	**2001**	**(1991-2001)**
Kondha	1140374	1395643	20.17	31.87	11.70
Paraja	353336	317301	6.76	17.96	11.20
Gadaba	67138	72982	10.36	21.23	10.87
Didayi	5471	7371	06.22	12.62	06.40
Bonda	7315	9378	04.20	14.69	10.49
Saora	403510	473233	25.58	41.13	15.55
Koya	141927	122535	11.55	11.73	00.18
orissa	7032214	8145081	22.31	37.37	15.06

(ST Population and literacy rates of major tribes)

OUT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN ORISSA

As per the Annual Survey of Education Report 2008,The percentage of out of school children in the age group of 6-14 years in respect of the whole country is 4.3%. Whereas the same in respect of Odisha is 7.2%.Which stands as the highest among all other state of our country . District wise the percentage of out of school children is highest 21.9% in Malkanagiri district.

Sl No	Name of the district	% of out of school children in the age group	Sl No	Name of the district	% of out of school children in the age group
1	Anugul	11.2	16	Kandhamal	09.1

2	Bolangir	09.5	17	Kendrapada	03.0
3	Balasore	02.5	18	Keonjhar	07.7
4	Bargarh	08.8	19	Khurda	04.8
5	Boudh	07.0	20	Koraput	17.0
6	Bhadrk	00.6	21	Malkangiri	21.9
7	Cuttack	03.9	22	Mauyrbhanj	14.9
8	Deogarh	05.0	23	Nabarangpur	16.3
9	Dhenkana	02.8	24	Nayagarh	06.3
10	Gajapati	11.0	25	Nuapada	08.0
11	Ganjam	05.6	26	Puri	01.0
12	Jagatsinghpur	02.6	27	Rayagada	17.7
13	Jajpur	02.0	28	Sambalpur	05.7
14	Jharsunguda	05.2	29	Sonepur	07.5
15	Kalahandi	04.3	30	Sundargarh	04.8
TOTAL				**07.2**	

(Source : ASER 2008)

Drop out is the major problem that hinder the progress of tribal education It is a matter of concern and need serious attention several factor such as social ,cultural , economic , educational ,linguistic regional, administrative and responsible for this state of affairs.

FACTOR RESPONSIBLE FOR DROP OUT

1. *Institutional factor*
   a. Location of school
   b. Student home sickness
   c. Infrastructural problem
   d. Health problem
   e. Holding pattern

   f. School timing
   g. School curriculum
   h. Medium of instruction
   i. Right type of teacher
   j. Hostel facility

2. *Socio-economic factor*
   a. Family, friend and relatives

   Other factors are
3. Poverty
4. High incidence of illiteracy of parent
5. High opportunity cost of these children
6. Socio-cultural barriers for girls to go to school

SUGGESTION

1. Discouraging teacher absenteeism
2. Privately managed school
3. Early childhood education
4. Change in school timing
5. Change in the examination system

6. Mass communication media
7. Non formal education
8. Adult education Improved communication
9. Residential school

In spite of these other suggestion are:–

1. Curriculum should be based on the cultural values and long term need of the Bondo

2. Interested, senior, devoted, dedicated, knowledgeable person having expertise in Bondo language and cultural back ground should be preferred as teacher.

3. Special incentive, financialbenefit, promotional scope ,provision of award and reward as well as special status in the cads may encourage a teacher for better effort.

4. Popular participation of the guardian, appointment of teachers,concreteevaluation, and regular inspection of the school can sort out of educational problem in the area.

5. Mid day meal system should not be linked with educational Institution.

6. Mid day meal should continue but in a different manner in the process of continuance the main objective must not be forgotten by the person operating the scheme.

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Abolkara : The Odyssey of a Disobedient Hero

Kailash Pattanaik

Long age, there was a Bramhin Wiseman. Once he set out on a pilgrimage and wanted somebody to accompany him, to carry his luggage and to serve him in all other ways. He then asked a young boy for the same. The boy was whimsical in nature and agreed on a condition that if he will see any unusual, unnatural thing the Wiseman has to explain about it to him immediately. Otherwise he will never accompany him. The Bramhin was agreed. On the way to different pilgrimages, the boy asked the Bramhin the things which are unusual or uncommon to him and expected immediate explanations to those. If the master asked him to wait till the lunch is over, the boy immediately would said to him that as the condition is not followed by the master he will be leaving him. In this threatening, the master forced to explain what the boy wanted to know.

This behavior of the boy was so disgusting that the master named the boy as 'Abolakara' means – he who doesn't obey.

This is the formulaic background, to which all the listeners of Abalokara tales in Orissa know. It is an indigenous development of oral narrative pattern in Orissa. When ever the key situation would come to the tale and Abalokara would see some thing unusual, the listener would very well know what would be the next step or the young hero-how he would react and what he would say.

Sometimes the story teller starts the tale with the formulaic background or would start directly saying 'during the journey …. Abalokara once saw ….' knowing very well that the young listener would not and never ask the story teller that 'which journey' depending on the pre knowledge of the listeners.

In the tale a couplet is very common and popular. When the head strong little hero would pressurize the Wiseman for an explanation, disgusted master would say,

Stretch the mate

Hold the Umbrella

O Abalokara! Listen

I shall tell you the tale ….

This couplet is also acts as formulaic lines. Abalokara tales are incomplete with out this couplet the disobedient character of the little master he is also reflected.

In Orissa Abalokara is extremely popular. A number of tales are available where Abalokara has portrait on the above cited context. Most striking thing is Abalokara; the character of oral literature has so much potentiality that he has attracted not only the fantasy loving young listeners but some of the serious writers of Orissa of the present times.

It is indeed an extremely significant development that a disobedient hero of oral narratives becomes a protagonist of modern Oriya fiction.

The writers of Oriya literature have not only adopted the character but have transform his personality multi dimentional. In folktales Abalokara is whimsical, headstrong, arrogant and disobedient. He is confined to his own world only. It is his inquisitiveness that he is interested to know the reason of some unnatural thing- this inquisitiveness has brought the main tale. He is only instrumental to go the main tale but in written world Abalokara not only confined to his own traditional identity; his social status, his intelligence, his reputation every thing is change in contemporary fiction.

Monoj Das one of the most popular fictionists of Odia has written eight stories, Kailash Pattanaik has written fifteen stories, Achyutananda Pati and Hrusikesh Panda one each portraying Abalokara as their main protagonist. In these stories of recent times Abalokara the servant represents the common folk. Some times Abalokara comes with a deviation and poses intelligence. All the authors have taken the opportunity to raise questions on various social orders, down fall of morality, political corruption through the protagonist Abalokara.

The odyssey of the disobedient hero had started from orality, century back and has reached presently to literacy. In the journey Abalokara has transformed in many ways. In the oral tales, Abalokara was instrumental to bringing the main tale. He does not have a role to develop the tale. In contemporary fiction he is an integral part of the story. He has a specific role in it. In folktales his inquisitiveness reflects the inquisitiveness of the audience. In contemporary stories of Orissa, he represents common mass, taboo or instrumental to a political satire. In orality, Abalokara does not have a voice but in contemporary Oriya stories he has both a voice and a view point.

God knows, how long this odyssey of Abalokara would go …..

A Conversation with Professor B. N. Patnaik

Anand Mahanand (AM): Sir, happy to note that you have been interested in *Sarala Mahabharata*. How did you get interested in it?

B.N.Patnaik (BNP): This happened by pure accident. I had with me the volumes of *Sarala Mahabharata* (*Saaralaa Mahaabhaarata*, which reflects the way it is pronounced in Odia) and had not used them for ten years. After my retirement, I joined Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, as Fellow for two years. I was to work on a project of my choice. I had already chosen to work on historical syntax of *Odia*, and *Sarala Mahabharata* of course was part of that project, because it represents 15th century *Odia*. Although it was not prose, but poetry, I still thought I could get from it something which would be of useful; I could use it as data for linguistic analysis. When I started reading *Sarala Mahabharata*, I was absolutely overwhelmed by the narrative. As there are many *Ramayans*, similarly, I guessed, there would be many *Mahabharatas.* So I expected Sarala's story to be somewhat different. But I did not know that it would be so different. We know that there is a persuasive view that the *Gita* was not a part of the original Mahabharata, that it was an interpolation. But at the time - 15[th century] - when Sarala composed his *Mahabharata*, his source was certainly the version in which there was the Gita. Because by the 15th century, in the popular imagination, the *Gita* was already a part of the Mahabharata narrative. Therefore, when Sarala started composing his version, I can imagine that, for him the source text was not one in which there was no Gita, but the one in which there was the Gita. And yet in *Sarala Mahabharata*, there is no Gita. Now if there is no Gita in a certain version, then in that version I would not expect Arjuna to feel so greatly morally troubled while facing the Kaurava's army. I would expect in that version that the two armies would meet and the fighting would start in the normal course. There would thus be no context for Krishna's intervention, that is, Gita, in this narrative. But then, in *Sarala Mahabharata*, there indeed is a context for it. Arjuna did tell Krishna that he was not going to start the war. Krishna told him to shoot the first arrow and start the war. Arjuna refused. Arjuna said 'I am not going to shoot the

first arrow. I am not going to start the war'. Shooting the first arrow is actually symbolic; the main thing is his refusal to start the war. "I am not going to attack first", he said, "I will fight if only others attack me". From here how did he end up joining the war? Krishna said nothing to Arjuna, unlike in *Vyasa Mahabharata*. Here all that Krishna did was, he got down from the chariot, went to Yudhisthira and told him, "Your brother is unwilling to fight". Yudhisthira said "he is absolutely right; we must explore the possibility of peace even in the battlefield". Thus, unlike *Vyasa Mahabharata*, Krishna was not the last person to go to the Kauravas for negotiation for peace. It was Yudhistir, on the battle field itself. So, he went to Duryodhana but Duryodhana refused to give him an inch of land. While coming back from Dutyodhana, he said "those who want to fight for dharma, come and join me". One of Duryodhana's brothers, Durdasa by name, decided to abandon Duryodhana and fight for Pandavas but when he announced the decision, Yudhisthira, who had gone to the Kaurava side unarmed, was still on the Kaurava's side of the battlefield, and Duryodhana was very upset and he asked his army to attack his own brother, who had decided to go over to the Pandavas' side. So that brother of his had to give protection to Yudhisthira and protect himself, and that was how the fight started. Soon Arjuna heard the noise and asked Krishna "what is happening? Why is the commotion?' So Krishna asked Hanuman on the top of Arjuna's chariot' to see what was happening. As Hanuman said what he had seen, Arjuna told Krishna, "Take me to the place where my brother is. He must be in danger and I must fight". Krishna said "Why you are troubled about it. Your brother has gone to his own brother's side and you are not attacked, so why do you want to fight?" He [Arjuna] said 'Please don't taunt me and take me where my brother is". This is how he joined the fight. Look at the way Arjun's moral problem is resolved... very, very differently from the way it is in the classical text. And imagine a Mahabharata in which you have Sakuni on the Kaurava's side and Krishna on the other side, and Krishna and Sakuni, conspiring together to destroy the Kauravas. This is what happens in Sarala's version. Here the defining moment comes just before the war, everyone was ready for the war, the two armies were resting for the night, and everyone knew that the following morning the war would begin, for which all the necessary rituals have been performed. This was when Sakuni and Krishna meet. There is nothing like it in *Vyasa Mahabharata*. There Krishna asked Sakuni "Should this war take place?" Sakuni said "Depends on you. If you want the war to take place, the war will take place, if you want there would be peace I will bring peace to the Kaurava and Pandavas. Whatever you want will happen. You simply have to order me.

But before you tell me anything, remember your own *avataric* purpose". In Sarala's version, Sakuni is a devotee of Krishna. He had a personal grudge against Duryodhna and he wanted the Kauravas to be destroyed, but one individual could not fight with the might of the Kauravas. Therefore he had to resort to manipulation and treachery to destroy the Kauravas. In fact when somebody who was powerless and had decided to fight against a supremely mighty power, what could he do? He could not have played it fair. That is precisely what he did. At the same time there was another Sakuni in him, the Sakuni who believed and said to Krishna that he was there to help him in his *avataric* objectives. Thus war was Krishna's decision, which is significant and symbolic. As far as Sarala was concerned, the war was a manifestation of the divine will; it was the fulfilment of the cosmic objective. In any case, Sarala's narrative creativity and originality impressed me greatly and I thought I would study Sarala from this perspective first and from the linguistic point of view later.

Ajit: You call *Sarala Mahabharata* as subaltern Mahabharata and also you give many instances of subversion. Could you please elaborate on this?

BNP: One example: a Mahabharata narrative, going by what Krishna Singh said, should have an invocation. He must first invoke *Narayana,* then *Nara*, then *Saraswati* then *Vyasa*, and then proceed to tell the story of victory. That is the standard ritual invocation. But Sarala did not do that. Sarala invoked Lord Ganesh, the local deity Sarala and did not invoke Narayana or Krishna, Nara and Vyasa. By rejecting the traditional invocation, he was asserting his narrative freedom from the tradition. Besides, Sarala asserted that his Mahabharata was "Bishnu Purana". He said so repeatedly in his *Mahabharata*. Now, when he called it a purana, he was saying that the story of the Puru clan was of interest to him only as a means to describe the *leela* of Bishnu. It is to be noted here that Odia literary tradition did not distinguish between *itihasa* and *purana*, as the Sanskrit literary tradition did, and this may be due to Sarala's recreating an *itihasic* narrative as a *purana*. And one more point I would like to mention in this connection here, which is that in *Sarala Mahabharata*, Duryodhana does not emerge as an embodiment of evil. Many of the things which Duryodhana was did in Vyasa's narrative, he did not do in Sarala's, such as, manipulating the game of dice, inviting Yudhisthira to come to Hastinapura and play the game of dice and then exploiting the situation, etc. Nothing of these Duryodhan did in *Sarala Mahabharata*. In the latter, nobody asked him to play the game of dice. He himself went to

Sakuni, who was sitting in a corner in the court, with no one paying any attention to him and invited him to play with him: "Mama, shall we play dice", he told him. It suddenly occurred to Sakuni that he could exploit the situation to fulfil his objective. Incidentally, in the *chirharan* episode, it was not Drupadi, it was god Surya's divine consorts who clothed Draupadi. All Krishna did when Draupadi prayed to him was to ask Surya to make sure Dusssana's attempt to dirrobe Draupadi must fail. He reminded him of his debt to Draupadi in her earlier incarnation. In other words, from Sarala's perspective, it is all due to one's karma; good karma would bring good phala (result). You don't get something just out of nothing. Grace comes only on account of karma. In any case, Duryodhana in Sarala's version cannot be blamed for many things that brought suffering grief to the Pandavas. He never suggested that the loser in the game would go on exile, etc. It was Yudhisthira's proposal. In sum, one would not fail to notice that in Sarala's retelling, Duryodhana does not come out as the personification of evil. To that extent, Sarala's story is the victim's story. The prefix "du" is negative, so in the classical narrative, the names, Duryodhana, Dushasana, etc. have negative connotations. They were evil-natured and their names indicated it. Some believe that it was not the father, Dhritarastra, who had named his son Duryodhana, the name he had given was Suryodhana, it was the storytellers, who did. In *Sarala Mahabharata*, the name of each of the blind king's sons began with the prefix "du", but it did not carry any negative connotation. Durbasa was the sage who helped in the birth of the Kaurava princes. As a mark of gratitude to the great sage, Dhritarasta named his sons and daughter that way. This could be seen as Sarala not telling the Mahabharata story from the point of view of the victors. There is a good deal more to this. I have discussed this point in some detail in my *Introducing Saaralaa Mahaabhaarata*.

Ajit: What are the other examples of subversion that you have discussed in terms of language?

BNP: The language aspect is indeed very important, but I have done nothing in this regard. When I started working on Sarala, my friend, the linguist Ratha Nayak, said "In Artaballav Mohanty's edition, you are unlikely to get the language of the original *Sarala Mahabharata*". "Where can I find the original text?" I asked. He suggested that I read the available palm leaf manuscripts. There were many difficulties. I would not be allowed to photocopy them. I was not staying in Bhubaneswar. I was in Mysore then. Then there was the problem of script. I knew I

would not be able to read that script. I was advised to contact people who could. In that condition I ran into another friend of mine, Prakash Pattnaik of Delhi University, folklorist, literary critic and linguist and told him my problem. He said "How do you know that the material you would find in the museum is the original one?" He said that many people surely made many copies (on palm leaf) of the text at different times and the texts they copied were not even the same. They copied from whatever text that was available to them. "So how would we know today which of these is the one that Sarala wrote?", he said. "Instead of worrying about the original manuscript, I should study Artaballav Mohanty's edition.", was his advice. I went by his advice. In any case, I had already decided to work on the thematic and some discourse aspects of *Sarala Mahabharata*. One could study, for example, the strategies that Sakuni used to influence Duryodhana – his ideas, perspectives, the facts that he chose to use during an argument, the way he organized them, etc. - without worrying too much about the language factor. Turning to language, my feeling is that the language of *adi parva* of *Sarala Mahabharata* is somewhat different from that of some of the later *parvas*. If there is any substance to it, then there is need for explanation. I do not mean to say that the same person did not write all the *parvas*. One may be tempted to make this observation, but it does not necessarily follow from the facts (of language differentiation in the first and the last parvas). There are many interesting questions with respect to the language aspect. There is need for careful research in this area.

AM: How does he orient towards the folk?

BNP: Everybody who works on Sarala should perhaps be interested in this aspect of *Sarala Mahabharata*. But I don't think I would have really thought about it but for Dr Mahanand. He wanted me to talk about the folk element in *Sarala Mahabharata*. Well, the grand Mahabharata narrative in all probability is a creative fusion of a number of folk stories told in various forms: tales, songs, etc. One could think of Vyasa as a creative compiler of all such stories. One would never know who the authors of these tales were. Incidentally, I don't very much like the word "folk" as a label for a class of literature, because the connotations are not positive, at least in the way the word is commonly used. I would prefer the term "people's". In Sarala's time, *Vyasa Mahabharata* was the elite composition in Odisha; from this point of view, *Sarala Mahabharata* was "people's Mahabharata. Having said this, let me continue to use the word "folk" in this conversation. So *Vyasa Mahabharata* was the source Mahabharata narrative for Sarala; this was

the story he was trying to retell in Odia. The source text was a non-folk composition; it was a classical text, elite text. Now, as I have said, one can think of Vyasa as the poet who creatively put together many folk narratives, and the composition came to be known as *Mahabharata*, almost like many rivers and mountain springs with different origins joined at a certain place and someone gave this composite flow, this great river, the name "Ganga". In a way, Sarala did the reverse; he reconceptualised the narrative and in his hands, the classical narrative became a folk narrative - to such an extent that Krishna Singh told that Sarala freely deviated from the original Mahabharata story and put too many things (many of these, folk tales) together, and consequently his *Mahabharata* did not give the Odia readers / listeners the feel of *Vyasa Mahabharata*. In the early part of 20th century the great intellectual of Odisha, Pandit Nilakantah Das, wanted to write a Mahabharata for the children and he said that he didn't have a proper rendering of *Vyasa Mahabharata* in Odia to choose his material from. In other words, he rejected both Krishna Singh's *Mahabharata* and Sarala's *Mahabharata* as faithful renderings of the canonical text. For our present purpose, it shows that Das thought that Sarala's version is different. We know it is, and one thing about it is the occurrence of many folk narratives in this version, which one may say, partially but quite illuminatingly, captures its origins in the folk narratives, not just in terms of content, but in tone of the narrative as well. As Sarala transformed a classical narrative into a folk narrative, one finds Shiva resting in Parvati's lap and Parvati taking out *ukuni* (lice) from his matted hair, incidentally, the sort of thing one still finds in at least rural Odisha still. Yudhisthira married an Odia girl during his *vanaprastha* and Sahadeva told the story of the Kuru clan – the Mahabharata story – to Yudhisthira's new father-in-law. Thus Sahadeva becomes the first narrator of the Mahabharata story and Hari Sahu, the first listener. Shiva descends from Kailash in the Himalayas and stays in Kapilasa in Odisha. In this particular narrative context, the folk and the localization become sort of non-distinct. And about Bhishma's *ichha mrutyu* boon, it came from his mother. Not his father, as in the canonical narrative. When Ganga left her almost just born Bhishma, Santanu pleaded with her not to leave the child at that time, as he needed his feed from her. To this, Ganga said, *jiele jiyu male maru*, and which became a boon as it is interpretable roughly as "if he so wishes, let him live, if he so wishes, let him die" – which is what *ichha mrutyu* is about. Now these words and the syntax of the conditional localize this boon in some sense, and this is a folk element, for what is folk if it is not non-classical? In the narrative tradition the reverse process of the classical into folk is much

less common; in fact, it is hardly to be found. And this is what Sarala's creative imagination gave us, contributed to the narrative tradition.

Now, when he created a very persuasive story to connect Krishna with Jagannatha, he brought Jagannatha of the "small tradition" – a deity originally worshipped by the tribals - into the domain of the "great tradition". He is certainly not the first to do this, but in certain ways, the story that he created is not exactly the same as any existing story. In many ways, his Jara is an innovation. Now, when the local becomes the universal, doesn't then the folk become the classical? Thus in *Sarala Mahabharata*, one finds the reverse too of what is mentioned above about the folk and the classical and their directionality.

Let me end this discussion with a personal note, which has nothing to do with the question we are discussing. Outside of the relevant narratives, one does not know for certain which tribals worshipped who we today call Jagannath. One does not know in form he was worshipped. Tree? Which tree-neem,pippal,sandalwood or some other? One does not know what name he had, if he at all had a name! Surely, it could neither be Jagannatha nor Nila Madhaba. For all purposes, the origin of Jagannath worship one just does not know. It belongs to the realm of the mystery. It is like there being no origin, beyond knowledge what exists is not accessible to language or conceptualization. Doesn't it make Jagannatha swayambhu, in a sense? When one assigns an origin to him, whether in the hymns of the Vedas or in the story of Bhagavan Krishna, isn't one tying him, originless, to an origin?

AM : Thank you very much

Ajit : Thank you for the conversation !

Patnaik : Thank you very much!

(The conversation took place at the EFL University in March 2013)
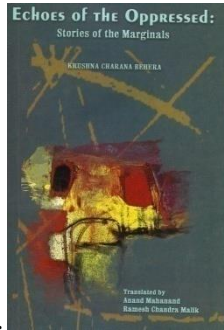
Anand Mahanand

Ajit Kumar Pradhan

Book Reviews

Krushna Charan Behera.*Echoes of the Oppressed: Stories of the Marginalized*. Translated by Anand Mahanand and Ramesh Chandra Malik.Bhubaneswar: Page Maker Publication, 2013.

Swagatika Panigrahi

ISBN: 987-81-920052-9-4 Price Rs.140/-.

Poetics of the Oppressed

Many stories have been told and retold, but not often of marginalised and downtrodden of rural India. There are a few attempts to bring out the stories of these deprived and marginalised people by authors at different times. Krushna Charan Behera's effort in this regard in the context of contemporary Indian literature is a praiseworthy attempt. His popular Short Story Collection in Odia titled *Itara Itaraa* reflects the contemporary social issues focusing on human values and concerns and brings to limelight how there is a binary opposition between haves and haves-not, where there is a consistent oppression of the former on the latter. However, these stories would have been restricted to the people who know *Odia* language, if this would not have been translated to English language by Anand Mahanand and Ramesh Chandra Malik as *Echoes of the Oppressed:*: *Stories of the Marginals.* It is a unique attempt which brings forth the life and predicament of the suppressed to the non-Odia reading public.

The translation *Echoes of the Oppressed: Stories of the Marginals* comprises twenty short stories with a Forward by Dr Peter G.Friedlander of La Trobe University ,Australia. Each story has been designed succinctly and creatively, keeping the originality of the source text.

All these stories are based on some issues such as educational, social, gender, women empowerments, human trafficking and poverty. These issues are highly rampant among the marginalised rural community, which hardly get reflected in the urban society. Through these translations, the translators are able to vividly present the marginalised society. The stories like "Kanaka" "Savitri", "A Girl is Missing", "Phulamati", "Rukuna"', and "Lotus in the Garbage" depict how women suffer and succumb in the hands of the cruel society. All these women are not only individuals but represent many types. In the story "Savitri" the authors have crudely depicted the monstrous society that has persistently engulfed the innocent and the poor. An innocent village girl Savitri goes in search of her husband in a busy city of Kolkota. To her horror, she unconsciously finds herself in the mire of prostitution. It has been picturesquely described by the authors as they write :

"Dense forest, thorny and stony path, and many slavering wild beasts are coming from all directions. Nobody is there to protect her" (9).

In the stories 'Dustbin' and 'livelihood', the author has realistically narrated how young and beautiful girls' dreams are shattered. Finding no way out, they forcibly come under the clutches of prostitution. Further, the story, " To be the Cause of One's Own Sorrow", the character of Kalindi Charan Babu depicts the real hypocrite to poison the minds of the innocent villagers to fulfill his selfish motives. In the story "Gandhiji's Pilgrimage" the author has skillfully depicted a typical village dispute. Here it highlights how two brothers fight over their property and each one claims for a bigger share. Further, it brings out the nature of unending human desires and clearly delineates how the human heart has turned into a playground of vices like jealousy, selfishness, envy, and hatred. The story "New Sacrifice" brings forth how a man is not yet free of the age- old shackles of superstition and blind beliefs. As rightly expressed in the lines below:

"Dukhia Bahuka was ready. He came to the buffalo with a new sharp axe like a messenger of yama, the god of death. Then he gathered all his strength and gave a hard blow on the buffalo's head.....another strong blow"(72).

There are certain stories which are heart-touching enough and give us a ray of hope that things can get better. Such stories are "Steps", "The Disconnected Root" "The Power of Home and World" .

Although all the stories have been translated from Odia into English, the flow and originality has been retained. The authors have meticulously used the language which is simple and lucid and can be understood by common readers. This is not to suggest that the scholars will not have their food for thought. All these stories can be good resource for leisure reading as well as for understanding social issues confronting contemporary Odisha in particular and India at large.

Critical Pedapgogy, Ecoliteracy and Planetary Crisis:
The Eco Pedagogy Movement

WRITTTEN BY RICHARD KAHN

PUBLISHER- PETER LANG, New York 2012

[This book was sent to Folklore Foundation by Peter Lang Publisher to make a review. Folklore Foundation gave this book to Professor Radhamohan1, a Gandhian and an Environment Scientist of India who made a through reading of this book. After that he wrote his comments which are much more than a book review. We are thankful to Prof Radhamohan for his valuable comment on this book.

1 Professor Radhamohan is a dedicated Gandhian Educator and an Environmental Scientist. He has set up SAMBHAV (possible) Ashram - a wasteland turned in to a green land with his organic farming and community knowledge base ecology. He was the Senior Scientist of the Government of Odisha to propagate community environmental knowledge for a sustainable forest and agricultural development. He has been awarded by the UNESCO for his experiment on organic and ecological experiments in Odisha,India. He is a critical thinker and a practitioner of Gandhian and Frerian Pedagogy.

It is hoped that , when the next edition of this book will be published, the comment of Prof Radhamohan may be included to establish that the book is equally important to ant part of the globe .

"Richard Kahn's book entitled CRITICAL PEDAPGOGY, ECOLITERACY AND PLANETARY CRISIS :THE ECO PEDAGOGYMOVEMENT is a refreshing and radical

departure from the run- of- the –mill literature on either education or environment. Instead of a shallow or superficial analysis of causes of the present eco-logical crisis affecting the whole planet , Kahn has delved deeper and covered a wider compass.

Kahn has admirably demonstrated that insatiable corporate greed aided by patriarchal science and dehumanising technology has ruined nature world-wide. Unfortunately education instead of becoming a liberating and a sustaining force, has become a tool and hand-maid of the corporate sector.

Much more poignantly Kahn has pointed out how in its onward march , the capitalist or the imperialist chariot of development has crushed and trampled under its wheels splendid local communities , indigenous cultures, customs and their rich traditions which have co − existed and co evolved harmoniously with nature over millennia.

Education and two of its off springs, science and technology instead of being at the root of the Present planetary crisis should be refashioned to serve nature and human kind as a whole. A riveting and compelling read."

The book contains a preface by the eminent critical pedagogist Prof Antonia Darder.

Chapter - 1. Cosmological Transformation as Eco pedagogy: A critique of Paideia and *Humanitas.* Chapter – 2 Technological Transformation as Ecopedagpgy: Reconstructing Technoliteracy

Chapter – 3 The Techno politics of Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich: For a Collaborative Eco pedagogy

Chapter – 4 Organisational Transformations as Ecopedagogogy: Traditional Ecological Knowledge as Real and New Science

Chapter – 5 A MarcusianEcopedagogogy

Epilogue: A Concluding Parable: Judi Bari as Eco pedagogue

Afterward, by Douglas Kellner

Mediating Critical pedagogy and Critical theory

Richard kahn's Eco pedagogy .

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Events

Series of Talks on Multilingual Education by Dr Mahendra K. Mishra at EFL University, Hyderabad

The School of English Language Education, EFL University, Hyderabad conducted a series of talks on *Multilingualism,* one of the most relevant issues in present teaching-learning scenario in India. Conducted on 13 and 14 October, the talks revolved around themes like Multilingual Education, and relationship of culture and society with classroom and curriculum. It also included a story telling session. The whole event concentrated upon looking at learners' mother tongue, culture and background as useful resources and the talks discussed the possible ways of using those resources fruitfully in the second language classroom. The main objective of the talks was to bring in field experience to the classroom. Dr Mahendra K. Mishra, an eminent educationist with empirical research experiences in Multilingual Education, was the chief resource person for all the sessions. About seventy participants including faculty, students and researchers participated in it.

There were two sessions on the first day of the series. The pre-lunch session, chaired and introduced by Prof. Paul Gunasekhar, Dean, School of English Language Education witnessed an illuminating and informative presentation by Dr Mishra. The theme of the presentation was "Multilingual Education: An Experiment", which showcased empirical evidences on the present teaching-learning difficulties in multilingual contexts. Dr Mishra shared his explorations and experiences on cultural and linguistic diversities in Odisha. Apart from showcasing the teaching-learning problems of marginalized contexts, the talk discussed the possible solutions and initiatives taken by government of Odisha. In fact, the initiatives in Multilingual Education in Odisha were co-ordinated by Dr Mishra and he was prompt enough to share his experiences in

implementing models of Multilingual Education. Of course the talk primarily revolved around the discussion of a need for Multilingual Education in Odisha, but it was nonetheless related to national and global contexts.

The praise-worthy part of the series was that it talked of solutions. How best can the social life, culture and home language of learners be used was well presented in the second talk "Social Construction of Curriculum," by Dr Mishra. The discussion cited some pre-conceived notions like state-wide prescribed uniform textbook are final, school is only place where we get knowledge, and learners' home language and culture interfere in second language learning. It was discussed how culture and background of the learners can be used as resources in language teaching. It discussed contextual teaching and introduced weekly lesson plans basing contextual issues related to marginalized learners. The discussion focused on the need of social intervention in teaching and learning of marginalized learners. Talking about the multilingual classroom, Dr Mishra pointed out problematic situations where the learners do not know the book language and the teachers do not know the language of the learners. Finally, it was stated that it is not justified to take curricular decisions at power centers or at state level, rather it should involve the community members of societies and the practitioner like teachers and learners.

Both the talks on the first day advocated for the use of learners' mother tongue, background and forms of culture in second language learning. Discussants for these talks were by Prof. Chanchala Naik and Dr Anand Mahanand who related the theme with second language research beautifully.

Next day, on 14 October, it was nicely demonstrated how fruitful it is to use the learners' culture and language in classroom. This day witnessed a workshop with an objective to experience how the cultural contexts of the learners can be used to make the learning interesting. As part of the workshop, a story telling session was organized. The participants were divided into five groups. Each group was told a story by a story teller. Each group listened to the story, discussed it and wrote the story on their own. Each group also had to draw picture based in their stories. These stories and pictures then were presented to Dr Mishra who conducted the session. Later he discussed the new features added in the student version of the stories and pictures. It was discussed how new elements are infused when there is a re-writing of a story. It was the argument of Dr Mishra that marginalised learners do not take part in the second language

classroom because of anxiety growing out of cultural and linguistic alienation in the classroom. However, they can be attracted and involved in the classroom activities through contextualizing learning e.g. through story telling activities. The workshop demonstrated how the learners' participation and creativity can be encouraged by bringing their culture and contexts into the classroom.

Finally, the speaker encouraged the audience for research on this area and oriented the scholars with the approaches of conducting this kind of research studies. He also emphasized on the need for teacher education and change of teachers' attitude towards learners' culture and language for a better situation where we can expect to mainstream the marginalized. As a whole, the series of talks reflected Dr Mishra's empirical exposure and experiences which were made available to the research fraternity of EFL-University, Hyderabad. The talks were well appreciated by the participants and would hopefully open up new vistas for future research and deliberations.

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