Manifestation of Sexist Ideology in Nepali Folk Songs

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Abstract

The objective of this research article is to examine and analyse the representative folk songs intonated by two Nepalese vocal maestros, Kumar Basnet and Ram Thapa. Feministic theoretical approach has been used to expose how patriarchal ideology belittles women as inferior sex. For that purpose, the perspective of sexist ideology has been employed. Thirteen different songs are taken as the primary texts in this research. Definitely, a number of researches have been carried out on Nepali folk songs by the foreign as well as home scholars basically from the descriptive approach. Aesthetic perspective has been widely used employing the literary parameters of simile, metaphor, symbol and the like. However, the critical analysis of the rustic folk songs from the perspective of sexist ideology is virtually sporadic and in the low ebb. This research tends to seek answers to the three prominent questions. Firstly, what sexist ideology means. Secondly, why pernicious images that are unfriendly to women reoccur in these folk songs. Thirdly, how the selected songs of these two folk maestros manifest sexism based on men/women dichotomy of the patriarchal social regime.

Keywords: feminist, folk song, objectification, patriarchal, sexist ideology

Introduction

This research paper attempts to provide an analysis of the selected Nepali folk songs, sung by the legendary vocal maestros Kumar Basnet and Ram Thapa, being based on how their songs sustain sexist ideology deeply ingrained in the traditional Nepalese society. These folk songs are purely rustic in their origin. So, the images used for objectifying women are derived basically from agricultural world. The patriarchal ideology belittles women as inferior sex. The belittling of female race is practiced in these songs for the sadistic delight of male. These folk songs strive to arouse fun and laughter on the part of the listeners. However, this practice of belittling of women's image contains far-reaching consequences of keeping women outside the mainstream of socio-political, economic and academic progress as well. These songs disgracefully compare women with the images of vegetable, animal and commodity such as cow,

1

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papaya, earthen pitcher, bean creeper, hen and *lapsi* (Nepalese hog plum). Knowingly or unknowingly, the selected songs of the maestros sustain and seem to perpetuate sexist ideology to belittle women's image through the musical discourse.

Women have been excluded from participation in many professions. When women get entry into a previously male occupied profession, they face numerous additional hindrances. In the folk songs, the women who claim or make their approach in the public space are reprimanded harshly comparing them with unjustifiable images. The idealized male is expected to be virile while the idealized female is expected to be docile, modest and compromising giving up her self-pride. The following lines blatantly dehumanize women comparing them with the fragile and stubborn images of earthen pitcher and bamboo tree:

Copper pitcher oozes out let alone earthen one Droops the stubborn bamboo tree ultimately Meaningless is girl's stiff-necked pride Happens to offer head on the feet of mother-in-law

(My translation, Song No. 2).

Furthermore, some of the songs even reach to the extreme of castigating God, the creator of the universe from religious point of view, for increasing women's population. Eventually, such folk songs sustain and promote sexist ideology that regards women's role in the society as passive subordinate. The ultimate objective of patriarchal ideology is to objectify the whole race of women and criticize them for their weakness. There lies an interesting point in patriarchal ideology that, first of all, it applies cultural apparatus to weaken women and then reprimands women for the same weaknesses created deliberately. For Kate Millet, the male writers, in their fictional fantasies "aggrandize their aggressive phallic selves and degrade women as submissive sexual objects" (Abrams, 2011, p.88).

Folks songs are created, recreated and transferred from one generation to another bearing a long history of origin. As cultural text, those songs function as a site for expressing gender roles. In the past generations, many people and their families adopted these songs as their ideals for running family life. Since the societies in the past did lack literacy and modern day consciousness, questions were not raised on those songs even though they rendered deprecating images of women and inhuman ideology encouraging gender inequality. Contemporary academia revaluates and re-examines our cultural texts including folk songs.

2

Research Methodology

In this research, the concern of this scribe is to expose how the selected Nepali folk songs sung by Kumar Basnet and Ram Thapa unfairly define normative roles that female folks should abide by, in order to domesticate women's freedom in the pre-democratic era in the rustic and rural ambiance of Nepal. The feministic insights developed by Catharine Mackinnon, Kate Millet, Virginia Woolf, Hilkje Charlotte Hanel and Simon de Beauvoir have been applied in this research for theoretical reinforcement.

For attaining the exposure of sexist ideology latent or manifest in the folk songs of the aforementioned maestros, thirteen different songs have been chosen as primary texts in this research. The songs namely chhori bhanda aama taruni (mother much younger than daughter), matako gagri ke gagri (earthan pitcher no pitcher at all), maya launa keta bhanda keti sipalu (girl much more expert than boys in love affair), lapsiko gedo chusera (chewing the Nepalese hog plum), dalli magarni ho (oh roly-poly magarni), kali yugko belaima (in the time of kali yuga), aayo kali dhapakkai bali (kali yuga approached with full of radiance), barko dali bhuintira larkeko (banyan branch lowered down the floor), kaha ho ghara, ke paryo subhanaun (where home, what's good name), mewa pakyo mai tipi khaidiunla (papaya ripened, want to eat plucking out of tree) and chhaina maya gaseko (no love practiced) are sung by Kumar Basnet. In the similar fashion, the folk songs kati baschhyau maitikai kousima (how long do you stay on the balcony of natal home) and jamana anusarko (as per the time) are credited to Ram Thapa. These songs were frequently played from Radio Nepal almost up to the mid-2050s of vikram sambat since Radio Nepal covered the major portion of media in Nepal. Media houses such as FM Radios and Television channels began to grow from the mid-fifties let alone electronic social sites.

Analysis / Discussion and Findings / Results

Having contained a rich repertoire "folk song was largely a rural tradition" (Knevett & Gammon, 2016, p. 44) especially of the agricultural society and the songsters were "old singing men and women of our country villages" (Sharp, 1907, p.16). Despite the wide range of popularity, the genre of folk song in Nepal is not always gender-friendly. In many circumstances, those songs humiliate the entire race of women and belittle the female image. Under the rubric of patriarchal ideology defined by males from patriarchal worldview, a number of Nepalese folk songs, on a number

of occasions, label women's voice as anti-social, and render it inauthentic or inaudible. Those songs abundantly contain sexual objectification of women in order to dominate and domesticate women's subjectivity and self-esteem under the rubric of patriarchy.

Sexual objectification is a form of sexist ideology. The woman is compared with a number of things such as animals, fruits and vegetables in order to impart derogatory meaning thereby to support patriarchal socio-cultural and economic set-up. Sexism is a kind of prejudice or discrimination based on gender. Surely, there are various types of manifestation of sexism. However, this scribe, in this paper, seeks to demonstrate the ways how folk songs express male superiority and practice objectification of woman and girl through derogatory images. Further, sexism is a way of though based on the belief that one sex, basically male, is superior to female. A cultural texts like folk songs, film advertisement institutionalize the sexist ideology. Hanel defines sexist ideology as "a social structure that constrains our actions and epistemic tools of interpretation" (2018, p. 900). He further argues such ideology is "constituted by ritualized social practices and rationalized by a coherent cultural framework that organizes social agents into binary gender relation of domination and subordination"(ibid.).

To a certain extent, folk songs bring the traditions, customs and superstitions of rustic masses to the front. In musicology, Nepalese artists have always distinguished between classical and folk music although classical music has heavily relied on the unwritten repertoire of folk music. Folk song bears a sense of the music of the country as distinct from that of the town. Folk music is seen as the authentic expression of a way of life now past or about to disappear. In some cases, the way of life is to be preserved or somehow revived. Folk music might have been originated with an individual composer and has subsequently been a property of a community. Folk song is with no known composer. It is an outcome of an evolutionary process of oral transmission. The community fashions and refashions the music in order to give it its folk character.

The practice of objectification makes sexuality a material reality of women's life. Catharine Mackinnon writes, "... what is sexual about a woman is what the male point of view requires for excitement" (2009, p. 137). A damsel in a following song is compared with the calf of the *Jarsi* cow (a hybrid breed of cow) and cauliflower, a type of vegetable available at the marketplace.

Mother thinks her daughter yet to grow But daughter looks as the calf of *Jarsi* cow She smiled to me, I did the same Approached and talked to me, I did the same He purchases who can, cauliflower of the marketplace Her daughter will come to us if lucky stars (My translation, Song No. 6).

Patriarchal discourse usually regards women as property. A daughter is supposed to be temporarily attached to her natal home and her ultimate destination and destiny lies in its transfer to the marital home. This cultural understanding of women's inherent transferability orients people to think it essential. Folk songs are cultural texts. In such texts, patriarchal vocabulary to define women as *paraya dhan* (a stranger's wealth but temporarily safe kept by an unmarried woman's parents), or guests in their own homes are abundantly used. Such reminders serve as the cultural disciplining that will ease young women's transition from natal home to husband's home. The following song objectifies a nubile girl as a papaya and son-in-law's property:

I will pluck and eat ripened papaya
I will love you little one
Leave your natal home, let's go together
Father's daughter, son-in-law's property
Let's go together being a couple (My translation, Song No. 10).

Feminist theory gained popularity in the seventies of the 20th century. An extension into the philosophical or theoretical grounds of feminism is called a feminist theory. Some popular themes which feminism explores are patriarchy, objectification, discrimination, oppression and stereotyping of women. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin write, "Feminism... has often been concerned with the ways and extent to which representation and language are crucial to identity formation and to the construction of subjectivity" (1998, p. 102). So a feminist reading of the selected folk songs sung by Ram Thapa and Kumar Basnet are full of negative stereotypes which serve as the sites to study about identity formation and representation of women. The deep-rooted gender bias becomes a historical or textual tradition from generation to generation. Women are considered as inferior or lowly creatures. They are enclosed within the periphery of patriarchal order and system.

In Judeo-Christian tradition too, women are denigrated to an inferior position. After the creation of Eve out of his ribs, in Bible, Adam says, "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh, she shall be called woman because she was taken out of man" (cited in Krishnaswamy, 2001, p. 73). Andrew Marvell, a Metaphysical poet of the Seventeenth century in the poem "To His Coy Mistress", projects the image of his beloved as a shy being. He appeals to offer him her body as if she were nothing more

than a fetish object to gratify his sensual desire. He writes, "Two hundred to adore each breast/ But thirty thousand to the rest" (1996, p. 257).

The objectification of women involves disregarding personal and intellectual abilities and capabilities, and women's reduction to instruments of sexual pleasure for men. Some examples of objectifying women include depiction of women in advertisement and media industry, images of women in pornography and men evaluating women sexually in public spaces. Another example of objectifying women with a luscious fruit reads as follows:

How long do you stay
On the balcony of natal home
Glances get stuck on ripened Nepalese hog plum
What shall I do
Will you come or I shall marry to next? (My translation, Song No. 12)

Feminists believe women have often been valued for their physical attributes. Such sexual objectification can lead to negative psychological effect including depression and hopelessness, and can give women negative self-images because of the belief that their intelligence and competence are not being acknowledged. Sexism as the "branch of patriarchal ideology that justifies and rationalizes a patriarchal social order and enforces governing norms and expectations" (Manne, 2018, p. 20).

Girls' understanding of the importance of appearance in society may contribute to feeling of fear, shame and disgust that some experience during the transition from girlhood to womanhood because they sense that they are becoming more visible to society as sexual beings. The girls sitting on the terrace of their natal home look attractive and full-blown. They wear make-up and attempt to appear pleasant and appealing thereby promoting their value among the prospective male counterparts. The items of make-up and dress-up highlight their significance. Young women are especially susceptible to objectification, as they are often taught that power, respect and wealth can be derived from one's outward appearance. Patriarchal ideology, on one hand, ignites women's desire for expensive clothes and make-up by attaching value to those who show themselves fashionable. On the other hand, it despises and blatantly criticizes women who show craze for fashionable attire and make-up. The lines below slander young women's craze for fashion:

Damsels pluck out eyebrow and blacken it Be cautious they may aces, red and tan spot (My translation, Song No. 11). Questions are raised by feminists if there is an innate relationship between women and the home. The concept of housewife has been a problematic figure in feminist debates. Even at present, magazines and advertisements attempt to articulate an innate connection between the women and the domestic sphere. The home has been a site of boredom. There is an uneasy tension between the construction of the modern self and women's efforts to transcend the domestic sphere. Men create the world from their own point of view, which then becomes the truth to be described. The patriarchy uses power to create the world from its point of view. Under the rubric of patriarchy, "women are supposed to be very calm generally, but women feel just like as men feel" (Woolf, 1992, p. 822). Woman through male eyes is sex object, that by which man knows himself at once as man and as subject. The song given below speaks further:

Daughter is much younger than mother

No brother it's just opposite

What is it then?

Mother much younger than daughter wearing lipstick and powder

A dandy driver might take her to the places of amenities

Sometimes looking the mirror, combs her hair

Sometimes looks stunned, other times casts furtive glances

Sometimes looks outside the window, other times gets inside

She brushes eyelashes and eyebrows multi colored.

Husband has been abroad just two months back

She often roams around, no stay home

She in fidgets, we in hunger and thirst

Everybody expects favor of comely damsel (My translation, Song No. 1).

A common tendency in society is for the wife or woman to remain sexually pure and abstain from sexual activity unless explicitly for being impregnated. A macho male wants a spiritually pure and submissive wife to serve him and raise his children. However, he is free to express his machoistic wishes in having side romances. It is the supposed ideal of true femininity that women are supposed to live up to being faithful and subordinate to their husbands. Women's participation in public space is strictly denied in many folk songs which were composed a great many years ago when modern consciousness had not begun to rise. Chastity, demureness and submission are expected qualities on the part of women under the rubric of patriarchal ideology. The following song appears to be a manacle to restrict women's movement in the public space. It belittles women's image reaching to the extent of calling nonsense to God for

increasing women's population. Simon de Beauvoir is right to say, "One is not born, but rather becomes a woman" (cited in Adams, 2001, p. 993). A sheer sexist outlook gets revealed in this song:

(My translation, Song No. 13).

The view that men are superior to women is a form of sexism. When expressed by men, sexism against women may be called male chauvinism. Related terms are misogyny which implies a hatred of women, and gynophobia, which refers to a fear of women or femininity. The idea that men benefit from certain rights and privileges not available to women is referred to as male privilege. Historically, sexism against women has taken a number of forms. Under sexism, sex discrimination normally refers to oppressive practices executed by men against women. In the lines "Oh roly-poly magarni / Listen to me / No interest to talk, full of pain" (My translation, Song 5) a magarni (woman from magar community) is belittled by projecting her image as vertically challenged. The speaker fails to use an honorific language to address the lady.

Awrangle between man and woman is discernible in the following song regarding their identity formation. The male member tries to prove himself superior to women. At the same time, the female member proposes him to be 'domesticated-son-in-law'. The proposal is not acceptable to the male member. He reacts that he does not want to be a 'hen-pecked husband'. Moreover, he compares himself with a 'prop' and the female member a 'bean-creeper' which needs a constant support to outstretch. A woman, for the male member, is an earthen pitcher so vulnerable full of risks to hold. The extracts of the song read as follows:

Female : Safely hidden iron key into the pocket

Parents in dire need of domesticated-son-in-law

My salutation all-around!

Male : Let's go, you will enjoy in full-fledge

But me not hen-pecked husband

Not to be domesticated-son-in-law

My salutation all-around!

Female : You are a non-stop chatterbox

Your mother may grumble every time at home

My salutation all-around!

Male : You have no concern to mother-in-law

A prop is good enough to a bean-creeper

My salutation all-around!

Female : Rice cooked curry still on the oven

Not convinced you will be reliable husband

My salutation all-around!

Male : You girls exactly an earthern pitcher

A prop needs to support you

My salutation all-around! (My translation, Song No. 9).

Many folk songs, a number of times, present and encourage the ideas of masculinity, especially risk-taking. The songs often focus on situations where a man is overcoming an obstacle in a group. The man will either be working hard or playing hard. Those songs that involve playing hard have a central theme of mastery over nature, risk and adventure. The men will be outdoors fishing, camping, playing sports or hanging out in tavern. There is usually an element of danger as well as a focus on movement and speed. The tavern serves as a setting for test of masculinity. The male speaker in these lines designs his role as a skilled fisherman and the female, with whom he flirts, as a trout to be caught in his net:

Sari of calico

Whatever course female trout takes

My fishing net is ready (My translation, Song No. 8).

The long existed dichotomy of virgin and whore entails unrealistic categories imposed on women by men. This dichotomy allows men to condemn women for their sexuality whether it is seen as modest or virile. The male speaker, in the song below, rebukes the women for moving around and wearing cosmetics:

Bagmati, Bishnumati

Damsel of these days

Neither care household work nor till the field

Corrupt minds rove around wearing cosmetics

Banyan and peepal tree

Girls outsmart boys in making affairs (My translation, Song No. 3).

The bullying husband chides his wife blaming her that she acts innocence hiding collusion within. He prepares a narrative of his wife who is neither helpful nor faithful to her husband:

The woman could not hold pitcher full of water

And squatted dolefully on the ground

Moving the grinding-stone hardly; how to drive dhiki

If chances of bullying others; get up in the late morning

(My translation, Song No. 4).

The same dissatisfied husband further reprimands his wife and keeps waiting her on the bed for his physical gratification:

Everything mess at home

Every time she rummage around pocket

Expectant husbands doze off

Waiting their darling in bed (ibid.).

The selected Nepali folk songs become vehicle for carrying on sexist ideology. A deconstructionist critical reading is necessary to unmask the discriminatory phrases, images and content overtly or covertly laden in those songs.

Conclusion

A number of Neplese folk songs, explicitly or implicitly, reflect specific time and space being governed by particular ideology. Made and remade in the agricultural past of the pre-inclusive era, certain folk songs lack women-friendliness and they hold a baggage of patriarchy. Sexist Ideology inherently turns to be a guiding principle to many of those folk songs. In Nepali folk songs, a number of times, young women are objectified, inferiorized and belittled. The female image is tarnished but this objectification no more bears commercial motive like that of alcohol commercials in modern media. In those aforementioned folk songs of Kumar Basnet and Ram Thapa the gender complexities of Nepalese geo-cultural space are present in large quantities. Women are reduced to mere containers for sexual use and abuse by men. Malicious images drawn from agricultural world of the feudalistic era project women through the metaphors of fish, cauliflower, cow, earthen pitcher, bamboo tree, papaya, bean creeper, hen and so on. Cultural texts such as folk songs turn to be instrumental to sustain and perpetuate patriarchy and male domination in one or the other way. Feministic outlook can expose the hidden expects of the dominant patriarchal ideology in those folk songs which were popular basically in the rural setting of the past.

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Appendix

(Among the folk songs used in this research work, some of theirs full text and others' only extracts are kept bellow in Romanised version without English translation.)

Song No.1 (Full Song)

Aama bhanda chhori taruni thikai bhanyauni Haina bhai galti bhanyau ulto paryo ni Ani ke ho ta?
Chhori bhanda aama taruni lipstick powderle
Lanchha kyara ghumauna jhilke driverle
Aina heri heri kana kaile kapal korchhe
Kaile baschhe tolaera kaile danga parchhe
Kaile herchhe jhyalabata kaile bhitra paschhe
Aankhibhaun ra parelama anek ranga dhaschhe
Khasam bahira gako dui mahina bhachha
Jahile bahira ghumchhe chhaina gharma basa
Unlai bhayo chhatapati hamilai bhoka pyasa
Ramri ramri taruniko sablai lagchha aasa

Song No.2(Extract)

Matako gagri ke gagri tamako gagri ta chuhinchha Basako lingo ke lingo tyo pani akhir nuhinchha Ketile sekhi nagarnu sasulai dhogna puginchha Budi kanya bhaisakyau rahara hola ketaketi

Song No.3 (Extract)

Bagmati, Bishnumati
Ajakalka taruni jati
Gharako dhanda gardainan bari khanna mandainan
Shringar pari ghumi hidchhan bigrieka mati
Bara peepalu
Maya launa keta bhanda keti sipalu.

Song No.4 (Full Song)

Lapsiko gedo chusera

Jyamir, nibuwa sandhera
Chatchate jibhro padkaudai
Ghamama sutera bitaune
Ke roga lagyo ketilai yasto amilo matrai ruchaune
Malingoko phed kati kokro the bunne choya
Eak gagri pani bokdaima thachakka basin bhuinma
Janto the pidhne thasthasa gardai dhiki ta ke gari kutne
Arulai dalna paechhan bhane gham jhulke pachhi uthne
Kaile ta ghumchhu leka re besin kaile ta ghumchhu Ramche
Gharako dhanda lathalinga bagali matrai chhamchhe
Chyau khada jhyau pare peta hai dukhchha bhanchhan
Auli hai pyari bhandama bhandai bhusu bhusu sutchhan

Song No.5 (Full Song)

Dalli Magarni ho! suna maya
Bolna man lagdaina hau pira paresi
Choli launu makhamalko septi launu chandi
Maya launu ridayako ansha diunla aadhi
Sorha barshe joban rai'chha aile timi dhana
Dukhiyale la'ko maya aile timi maana
Rato dina roi baschhu timro samjhanale
Bipanama uthi hidchhu manko kalpanale
Murchungako sworai ramro sarangeeko tinti

Maya garne kohi chhaina eklo jiwanmathi

Song No.6 (Full Song)

Kaliyugko belaima josma hunna hos
Unkai chhori taruni hamlai ke ko dosh
Naherun ni herun lagne unko lali jowan
Ramri keti dekhda kheri naherne chanhi ko chhan
Aama chahin aafni chhori sadhain sani thanchhe
Chhori chahin jarsi gaiko bachhi jasti bha'chhe
Malai heri unle hasin ma'ni hansi dien
Chheuma aai bolna thalin ma'ni boli dien
Jasle sakchha usle khanchha bajarako kauli
Bhagya bhae unki chhori hami sanga aauli

Song No.7 (Extract)

Aayo kali

Dhapakkai bali

Didi bhanda bahini jhan nakkali

Yarling dhalkaune

Jhyalma basera aankha sankaune

Keko siyo phalame siyo

Nakkalilai phasaune man thiyo

Tara khasaune

Lau na kasari maya basaune

Kalo kothi chiudoma chitikkai

Dahine aankha ma tira jhimikkai

Song No.8 (Extract)

Barko dali bhuintira larkeko

Ma dekhera kina ho tarkeko Chhitko phariya Kahan jalis machhali merai dhadiya

Song No.9 (Full Song)

Male : Kaha ho ghara ke paryo subhanaun

Eakai charan chinjanai garna paun

Serophero salaam chha mero

Female : Basko sancho driverle bhanchyo

Hami sanga chinjan garna ke khancho

Serophero salaam chha mero

Male : Barko dali bhuin kahile chhunchha ra

Bina chinjan gharjam kasari hunchha ra

Female : Daju timi nabola yasari

Ke hak chha ra bhannalai manpari

Male : Maya timlai manaile rojeko

Daju haina poi bhanne chahin khojeko

Female: Khaltibhitra phalame sancho chha

Bau aamalai ghar jwainko khancho chha

Male : Hida jaun garauli chaina

Ghar jwain basne joi tingre ma hoina

Female: Kati bolchhau rokidai narukne

Gharma holin aama jhan gangane

Male : Sasuko ta ke matlab timilai

Thankro bhae pugchha ni similai

Female : Bhatai pakyo tarkari pakena

Bharilo logne banaula lagena

Male : Timi keti matoko gagro jhain

Jasto bhae bhar chahinchha thankrokai

Song No.10 (Extract)

Mewa pakyo mai tipi khai diunla Sanu timlai mai maya lai diunla Nabasa maita sangai hidaunla Bauki chhori jwainkai sampati Jaun hinda bhai jaunla dampati

Song No.11 (Full Song)

Chhaina maya gaseko

Ma ta yasai haseko
Bhale basne thaunma pothi kina baseko
Aankhibhaunlai ukhalere kalo poti hidchhan
Aaphain tarki hidnu parchha natra ghuchyai dinchhan
Kaliyuga bhanu bhane sabai chhainan tyasta
Ekatira janu parne arkai tira byasta
Kalo kapal rangaera rangichangi parchhan
Gharko dhanda chodi chodi saharbajar chaharchhan
Anuharma ke ke dalchhan rato, kailo tato
Estalai man paraune hami aanfai lato

Song No.12 (Extract)

Kati baschhyau maitikai kousima Lagchha aankha pakeko lausima Maile ke garun Timi aauchhyau ki arkai bihe garun

Song No.13 (Extract)

Jamana anusarko
Garchhu bayan yo ullu sansarko
Thok na madal thok
Sanu mayako khancho chha mauka pare bok
Buhari ullu sasujyuko goda nachhunale
Deuta ullu aaimaiko sankhya badhaunale
Bhauju ullu nandajyuko kura lagaunale
Jhankri ullu kalo masan boksi bhagaunale
Dewar ullu daiko sali gharma aaidinale
Bhanji ullu maitigharma chhoro paidinale
Dulahi ullu gaunbeshi dulnale