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VOICES OF ASSAMESE WOMEN IN MARRIAGE SONGS

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ABSTRACT

Marriage is one of the universal social institutions. It is established by the human society to control and regulate the sex life of man and woman. It is closely connected with the institution of family. Thus, marriage or wedlock is a social union or legal contract between people called spouses or life partners that establish rights and obligations between the spouses, between the spouses and their children, and between the spouses and their in-laws. The definition of marriage varies according to different cultures, but it is principally an institution in which interpersonal relationships. People marry for many reasons, including: legal, social, emotional, financial, spiritual, and religious. Marriages can be performed in a secular civil society or in a religious setting. The Hindus have been giving great importance for marriage since time immemorial. Marriage is almost obligatory and unavoidable for an average Indian. Life without marriage is almost unthinkable in this country and there is a sharp social stigma attached to those who remain unmarried for long. There is a deep-rooted, long-standing and widespread tradition here in favor of marriage as a basic ritual. Among the Hindus, marriage is not a social contract. It is sacrament. Marriage to a Hindu is of great individual and social significance. It is a socially approved union of man and woman aiming at procreation, pleasure and observance of certain social obligation.

KEY WORDS: Assam, Assamese society, Biyanaam(Marriage Songs)

INTRODUCTION

Assamese marriage is one of the best marriages held in India. There are many reasons which have made Assamese marriage to get the pride of being one of the best marriage ceremonies of India. Music plays a very important part in Assamese marriages. The marriage songs are known as Biyanam. Biyānāām means marriage songs. An Assamese marriage is a musical marriage. At every stage of celebration, from early negotiation to the end, women sing appropriate songs. The delicacy and refinement of woman's heart come out in caressing tunes when the Namati or leader of the chorus has to describe the beauty and grace of the bride, when the later is bathed in the sacred water, when she sits among her companions, when the bridegroom is to be greeted, when the "Sāmprdāna" is consummated. The Namati genius is revealed most when she has to give expression to the atmosphere of sadness that prevail when the dear girl is to be taken away. Aideo is a term of endearment for a young girl. Marriage is that auspicious ceremony which has been started to maintain the rules of nature in a civilized way. The traditional rules and regulations have been taken care of when the Assamese people opted for marriage. The most attractive part of the marriage songs. The feeling of the agricultural society, sometimes extreme happiness or melancholy has been nourished spontaneously in the voices of Assamese women. From the very starting till end- the whole prow here has been coupled with the melodious "Biyanams" or the marriage songs.

OBJECTIVES:

1. The Assamese marriage songs have always tried to make the society understand the status of women in concerned Assamese Society along with their roles to be played as a wife, daughter-in-law and mother; hence, through the study of marriage songs the roles and responsibilities assigned by Assamese Society will be tried to find out.

2. The Assamese marriage songs have tried to teach women moral and ethical values; , through the study of marriage songs the moral and ethical values, the Assamese Society has asked women to maintain will be encountered.

3. The voices of resistance in Assamese marriage songs will be tried to find out.

METHODOLOGY:

For this paper work, this investigator has adopted both the primary and secondary sources of data. For collection of data, the emphasis is given on contextual studies, while full advantage of the relevant textual materials has been made. Data are collected mainly in the form of field note and written documents. For the intended study both qualitative and quantitative data have been collected depending on the methods like observation method, interview method, case study method etc. since adequate research materials are not available in printed forms, so the investigator has collected most of the data by applying observation method and interview method. The study has documented the relevant folksongs which are still of oral tradition. For this purpose, field study has been conducted and expert singers and tradition bearers have been interviewed in the natural context. Observation and interview method has also been applied. Visual equipment for recording have been used and help of books, thesis, journals, papers, magazines and internet has also been taken. After that the documents have been systematically indexed, classified, arranged and analyzed.

ASSAMESE MARRIAGE SONGS (BIYANAAM):

The Assamese marriage is a musical ceremony as from the very beginning till last, each and every ceremony is coupled with music. The first custom, after organizing a marriage is called "Joron" or "sending cloths-ornaments" to the bride. Before the final marriage the bride and groom parties calculate an auspicious day and on that very day, the family of the groom sends cloths, ornaments and other necessary commodities to the bride. Generally, the commodities like vermilion container, two mirrors, two combs, and bottles of mustard oil, two knives, fish, ornaments and cloths are given to the bride. The married women, whose husbands are alive, they use to bring the 'Joron" when the "Joron" reaches at the gate of the bride, they are welcomed with betel-nuts by the mother of the bride. Then in a particular place, the bride is made to sit and she wears vermilion on her forehead by the mother of the groom.

When "Joron" comes and the bride is to be made to come out the sings like this is sung by the women folk: NAM:-

Dēūtāār Alōngkāār Thōwāā Kāāti Kōri, Oi Rāām !Māārāār Alōngkāār Thōwāāhē

Rāāme Öi Pothāāise Tomāālōî Alōngkāār,Oi Rāām!Tāākei Hāāte Pāāti Lowāāhe

Dingit pēndhilāā Sōnāār Galepāātāā, Oi Rāām, Hāātole Pēndhilāā Angūthi,

Angūlit Pindhilāā Hēērāāre Aānguthi, Oi Rāām! Kāanot Bāākhōrîwa Kerūhe

Gūnāār Fulebosēē Sāāje Pîndhi Tatē, Oi Rāām Sirōte Pîndhilāā Sendūrhe

Rāāijōk Sewāā Kōri Ashirbāād Lowāā,Oi Rāām, Ayōti Uruli Diyāè He!

(SOURCE: "URULI" BY: RENU DUTTA BARUAH, PAGE NO:26)

This song says that :-

Keep Aside The Jewelries Given By Father, Oh Ram! Keep Aside Mother's Jwelleries Too!

Ram Has Sent You Gold Ornaments, Open Up Your Hands And Accept These!

Gold Necklace Has Been Worn By You!Oh Rama! Gold Bangles Have Been Worn By You!

You Have Worn Diamond Rings In Your Fingers, You Have Worn Cloths Made Of Silk,

Oi Rama! Wear Vermilion In Forehead...Bow Down And Ask For Blessings.

Oh Rama , Let The Married Folk Make Auspicious Sound.

Thus the first phase of the long marriage ritual ends up.

Just before the final day of marriage, another ritual is conducted which is called "Gāthiyān". There is a small tree, the root of which looks like ginger. It is believed that, this is a medicinal tree and works as a medicine on skin diseases. So, when "Joran" arrives, two packets of "Gathiyan" comes from the house hold of the bride- groom. This is pasted either by seven or five married women. The song which is associated with this ceremony may be sung like this:-

Sāāto Aāyotiyē Khōōndē Gāthiyān,Sēlēng Aārber Kōrihē,Pōtūtē Khōōndise Gōndhē Gāthiyān,

Urōōli Jōkāār Diyāāhe,Gōndhāā Gāāthiyānōr Gāāthi Xōru Xōru,Gōndhē Amōlmōl Kōrēhē,

Gāāt Ghōhi Ghōhi Diyāā Gondhō Gāāthiyān,Subhō Hōūk Aāîdēūr Biyāāhe

Gāthiyān Gāāthi Pōtāt Pelāāi Bhāānge,Mōklōō Aāidēūr Jengāāhe,

Gāthiyān Gōndhe Xūlhō Kōri Tulōk,Aāideur Dhōrāmōr Biyāāhe

Sāātō Aāyōtiyē Sāāto Bāār Kōri, Mōngōl Uruli Diyāāhe,

Urōōli Jōkāāre Gōndhē Gāthiyane, Subhō Hōūk Aāîdēūr Biyāāhe".

(SOURCE: KAMALA KALITA,KALPANA KALITA,BIJU KALITA,BASANTI KALITA,NALBARI,ASSAM)

This song says that, seven married women are pasting *gathiyan* and they have made themselves invisible behind the curtain. They are pasting the *gathiyan* in stone grinder and the fragrance of *gathiyan* has over-powered the whole atmosphere. Let the bride be applied with the *gathiyan* paste which will make her marriage ceremony tremendously auspicious.

Then the "Adhibas" ceremony starts. On this ceremony oil is applied on the head of the bride. This is also a very musical ceremony and many songs are associated with this ceremony. One of the examples of the ceremony is given below:-

Aāhisū Aāmi Bāidēūr Biyāāloi.....Õ....Bāidēūr Biyāāloi,

Gāāthisōō Õi Bōkulōr Māālāā Bāāidēūk Dibōlē....... Bāāidēūk Dibōlē.

Aāgōte Kōisilāā Bāāidēū Nōbōhū Mōî Biyāāt...... Nōbōhū Mōî Biyāāt,

Asināāki Vindēūk Pāāi Pōmî Gōl Jē Hiyāā,Pōmî Gōl Jē Hiyāā

Mõrōm Neribāā Bāāidēū Bhōnēē Aārū Bhāî..... Bhōnēē Aārū Bhāî

Pāāhōri Nejāābāā Vînîdēūk Pāāi.....

(SOURCE: SHRIMATI BIJU DEKA KALITA, ANGANBARI SCHOOL, NALBARI AND SRIMATI RAMBHA DAS, HOMEGUARD, POLICE RESERVE, NALBARI,ASSAM)

This song may be explained in this way:

We Have Arrived At The Marriage Ceremony Of Our Elder Sister,

We Have Made A Necklace Of "Bokul" Petals To Gift Our Sister,

Oh Sister! You Said That You Won't Get Married,

But When You Met Our Unknown Brother-In-Law......

You Developed A Self Corner For Him,Do Not Forget Your Brothers And Sisters

After Getting Dear Brother-In-Law.

The next ceremony is brining sacred water which is called "Pani-Tula". They pick up water from a clean holy place and made the would be bride bathed with that sacred water. When she is bathed another kind of *Naam* is sung which may be indicated as follows:-

Rāāstāāidi Jāāō Aāmi Nā Sowāāli......Amāār Gēētōr Sūr Mōn Jūrāāli...

Amāār Gēētōr Sūr Hōrshitō Mōn.....Xunāāhe Dekāā Gāābhōrur Gāān

Sowāālir Gāānōt Lōrāāi Nidibāā Kāān......Sowāālir Kāārone Tejilā Jibōn.

(SOURCE: "BIYARGEET" BY: ANJALI DEVI,PAGE NO:08)

This means:

We Are The Young Girls Who Are Traveling Via Road,

The Melody Of Our Songs Make Calm Down The Soul,

Our Melodious Songs Enlighten The Souls'.

Oh Young Boys! Do Not Pay Attention On The Women Songs

As You Already Have Sacrificed Your Lives For The Sake Of The Women Folk.

As each and every ritual is associated with marriage songs, for these reasons the marriage in Assam is regarded as one of the best marriage ceremonies which use to

solemnize in India. Women are taught how to deal with the in laws and how to embrace the unknown as their own. For example,

NAM: Ö' Ãideu Kãndilè Kî Hôbô.Sãnsãrore Niyãm Õ Ãideo Mãnibôi Lãgibô.

PAD: Sôwālir Jibônti, Õ' Ãideô Kāndilè Kî Hôbô.Xôdãi Jirôniyā, Ãideô Kāndilè Kî Hôbô. Xôdãei Poror Adhèen Õ' Ãideô Kāndilè Kî Hôbô,Õ' Ãideo Sānsārore Niyām Mānibôi Lāgibô. Jānmôr Ghôre Ãri......Jābôi Je Lāgibô Õ' Ãideô Kāndilè Kî Hôbô.

Xodai Jironiya ,Õ' Ãideô Kãndilè Kî Hôbô, Õ' Ãideô Kãndilè Kî Hôbô..

Sãnsãrore Niyãm Õ' Ãideô Mãnibôi Lãgibô. Marak Ariba,Deuta Ariba,

Ãribã Kôkãî Bhãî Bhôni, Õ' Ãideô, Sãnsãrore Niyãm Mãnibôi lãgibô.

Lokore ghorote Thakibo lagibo Pôrôke apôn kori Õ' Ãideô kãndilè kî hôbô.

Õ' Ãideô kãndilè kî hôbô.

Sansarore niyam Õ' Ãideô maniboi lagibo

NAM: O' Jôymôti, Jèrèngã Pôthãrôt Tèjèrè Rãngôli,

Kãitè Futilè, Surãte Dãkile, Tèô Jôymôti Sôî Nãkãrile. Bhãbîsãbã Ãîèû Nãrir Jibônôt

Swāmirè Bāhire Kônô Nãi Sãnsãrôt.

PAD:

Swãrthor Karône O Jôymôti ,Laluk Sola Phukane,O Jôymôti, Marile Sasti Di

O' Jôymôti, Jèrèngã Pôthãrôt Tèjèrè Rãngôli,Kãitè Futilè,Surãte Dãkile

Tèô Jôymôti Sôî Nãkãrile,Bhãbîsãbã Ãîèû Nãrir JibônôtSwãmirè Bãhire Kônô Nãi Sãnsãrôt!!!

(SOURCE: "URULI" BY: RENU DUTTA BARPHUKAN,PAGE NO:45)

This song may be analysed as follows:

Oh My Beloved Daughter!Nothing Will You Get Through Tears......

You Have To Obey The Rules Of Nature! Life Of A Woman......

Oh Beloved Daughter! Nothing Will You Get Through Tears......

Always Temporary.....She Is Always A Prisoner Of Others.....

You Have To Oh My Beloved Daughter!

You Have To Leave The Sweet Home Where You Have Taken Birth;

And You Have To Go Away; The Life Of A Woman Is Always Temporary;

Nothing Will You Get Through Tears.....Obey The Rules Of Nature!

Oh My Beloved Daughter! You Will Leave Your Father, You Will Leave Your Mother;

You Will Leave Your Siblings; You Have To Obey The Rules Of This World.

You Have Top Stay At The Residence Of Others,

Unknowns Have To Be Embraced As Own Of Yours....

Nothing Will You Get Through Tears......You Have To Obey The Rules Of Nature!

Oh My Dear Daughter!

NAM:- Oh! Jayamati, You Were Coloured In Blood At Broom......

Throns Of Devil Nettle! Pierced Her Body Which Gave Her Numerous Irritation....

Still She Did Not Open Her Mouth....So Keep It Mind Dear Daughter......

Woman Have No One Except Her Dear Husband......

PAD: For Selfish Reasons, Oh Jaymati, Laluk Sola Phukan Killed You Brutally......

Oh Jayamati! Still She Did Not Open Her Mouth....So Keep It Mind Dear Daughter......

Woman Have No One Except Her Dear Husband.....

This is *Biyānām* indicating the condition of the lives of the daughters of Assamese household. The situation of this song is the bride is crying and the singers are making

her understand through Biyanam that, life of a daughter is always dominated by the society, in her father's place she is just taking rest. She has to leave the household of her father and has to go to a stranger's place. She has to leave her mother, her father, elder and younger brother, younger sister and other relatives. She has to go to a stranger's place and make that family of her own, she has to embrace each and every member of that family as her own family. So the *namatis* are prohibiting her to cry, there is no any value of tears because this is the rule of the social system and nature. The singers are teaching the bride about the role and sacrifices of wives after marriage by taking the example of Jaymati. The namatis sang that, Jaymati loved her husband so much that, she did not utter a single word about her fugitive husband when she was brutally tortured by Laluk Sola Phukon because in the life of a woman other than her husband, there is no one in her life. Another example of Marriage songs is as follows:

Mãar Ghôrôt Jetiyãa Ulisãarèè Tètiyãa, Sãahur Ghôrôt Jetiyãa Xûtar Kãapor Ãtiyãa.

Uli Sãarèè Xãadhibãa Gãali Khãabô Pãaribãa,Sômôniyãa Bãaideûr Kôthãao Xunibãa

Bããideû Tumi Jããnibãã Bããideû Bujibãã,Sômôniyãã Bããideûr Lôgôt Xããbôdhããne Solibãã

Sããhu Hole Nôsûwai Kôsû Khããle Khôjuwããi,Sômôniyãã Nãnãd Hôle Kôthaipôti Kônduwããi.

(SOURCE: "BIYARGEET" BY: ANJALI DEVI,PAGE NO:34)

This song may be analyzed as follows:

When You Were At Your Father's Place, You Had Woolen Cloths To Wear,

You Have Cotton Cloths Now At Your In-Laws Place,

If You Will Ask For Woolen Cloths You Will Be Awarded With Scoldings,

Listen To Your ContemporaryElder Sister....

Accept Her As Your Own Elder Sister And Understand The Fact,

Be Careful While Dealing With Contemporary Elder Sister.

Mother-In-Law Will Make You Dance At Your Own Tune Just Like....

Arum Will Make Your Throat Scratch.....

If Your Sister-In -Law Will Be Of Your Age.....

She Will Make You Cry At Every Conversation!!!

This is another example of *Biyānām* wherenamatis are describing the would be situations at the household of the in-laws. In the house of the bride's father's house, the bride could wear woolen cloths but at her in-laws place she will have to wear cotton cloths only, and if she demands woolen cloths there, the in-laws will scold her. The namatis have instructed her to listen to the orders of same aged sister -in -law and to deal with her carefully. She has been instructed that the way eating of arum plant and its roots makes the throat scracting, the same way ,the mother-in —law makes the daughter in law dance on her own tunes and if she will have a sister-in-law of her age, she will make her cry in every step of her life. Another example of such teaching may be given as follows:

Tãamûl Kãati Bãaideo Bãakoli Neribãa, Khôwaat Kôstô Pãale Bãaideo Deutaaloi Likhibãa,

Dèutããi Porhi Sããbo Sôkulô Tukibô, Bhãrããlor Johããdhããn Tomããloî Pothããbô,

Sotãal Xããri Bããideû Jããbor Neribãã, Kããporôr Kôstô Pããle Mããloî Likhibãã

Mããi Pôrhi Sããbo Sokulô Tukibô, Bããkôs Bhôrãã Kããpor Tômããloi Pothããbo.....

(SOURCE: "BIYARGEET" BY:ANJALI DEVI,PAGE NO:22)

This song may be analyzed as follows

Oh Dear Elder Sister!

Don't Leave The Bulks After Cutting Down The Betel Nut.

In The Scarcity Of Food, Oh Dear Elder Sister......Write To Your Father,

He Will Read The Letter.....Will Cry A Lot.....But He Will Send You Brown Rice.

Oh Dear Elder Sister !Don't Leave The Garbage After Sweeping Up The Courtyard.

In The Scarcity Of Cloths....Write To Your Mother...She Will Read And Cry A Lot.....

But She Will Send You A Box Full Of Cloths.....

In this *Biyãnām*, the namatis have instructed the bride not to leave the balks on the betel nut after cutting it down and not to leave garbage on the courtyard after sweeping the same. She has been told to write letters to her father if she has scarcity of rice. The father will read the letter, will weep but he will send rice of his go down for his dear daughter. If she feels that she does not have enough cloths to wear, she has been told to write to her mother, who will read the letter, will cry, but at the same time, will send her a box full of cloths.

In Barak valley, there are 24 Assamese villages among which 10 villages are occupied by Koch-Rajbangsi's. Though these Koch-Rajbangsi's use Assamese language in educational and social atmosphere, but they use "Dehan" language in households. There are many songs sung in "Dehan" language. One of the examples of Biyanam in "Dehan" language is:

Ö' Mããi Bããndôr Khãôurèè, Dûrôte Nidibi Biyãã,Âhûte Jããbo Lããhili Kokããl,

Jããwote Jããbo Hiyãã-Ö' Mããi Bããndôr Khãôurèè,Dûrôte Nidibi Biyãã!

(SOURCE: "BORAK UPOTYAKARAXOMIYAR ITIHAS" BY:ISMAILHUSSAIN, PAGE NO: 110)

This song may be analysed as follows:

Oh My Mother..... The Monkey Eater!

Do Not You Give Me Away In Marriage So Far......

Arrival At Your Place Will Destroy My Slim Waist......

Departure From Your Place Will Destroy My Heart.....

Oh My Mother.....The Monkey Eater....Don't Give Me Away In Marriage So Far!

In this song, the daughter has requested her mother not to give her marriage at a far place. She has addressed her mother as "Bandor khauri" which means "people who eats monkey" and tried to make the mother understand that, if she conducts her marriage at a far place, her slim waist will be destroyed in the journey from her in-law's place to her parent's place and when she will go back, her heart will be broken. Thus through this song, the daughter

has tried to make her mother understand to organize her marriage nearby so that she can frequently meet the members of her parent's family.

In some marriage songs, the pain of the daughter's heart clearly comes out through the lyrics of the marriage songs when she is about to leave the house of her father and gets ready for her in-laws house.

Porbot Pāāhāār Bhāāngi Aāhē Jûrîr Pāāni, Māā Kāāndî Kāāndi Aāhē Osōr Sāāpi,

Māā Mōî Aāsîlu Bhāāt Bonāāî Disilu, Aājir Pora Māā Mōî Jāābole Olalō,

Aājîr Pōrāā Māā Oî Nijē Bōnāāi Khāābaā,Mōlōî Mōnōt Kōrî Kāāndî Nethaākibāā.

(SOURCE: CHANMAAI RAJBONGSHI, MILANPUR, NALBARI, ASSAM)

This song may be discussed as follows:

The Water Of The Fountain Reaches After Crossing Hills And Mountains.

Mother Reaches Nearby With Full Of Tears, Mother! I Was Here And Made Food For You,

Now I Am Going Out Of This Household,

From Today Onwards Make Your Food Of Your Own, Don't Keep On Crying Recalling Me.....

In this song the graceful presence of the daughter in an Assamese household is clearly indicated. When she was at her father's place she used to make food for her family and specially for her mother. On the day of her marriage, her mother remembers how gracefully her daughter managed her household. The mother starts to weep. Then the daughter told her mother that, she was in this house and hence she used to make food for all but as she is leaving the household now, her mother needs to make her food of her own. She knows, when her mother will start making food, the memory of her daughter will disturb her. So she has prohibited her mother to cry. Another example of such heart-breaking feeling is:

Hāātē Pāānē Bō	tāā Lōî Māārāāk	Māātgōî,Māā Mōî
Olāālō		

Jōwāārē Sōmōyōt Sēwāāhē Jāāsîlû...... Dēûtāā Mōî Olāālō.....

Jōwāārē Sōmōyōt Sēwāāhē Jāāsîlû,Rāātîpûwāārē Kāām Mōî Kōrîsîlû,

Teō...Bōûr Mōnōt Jolāā Jûî Aāsilû....Bhakhōrîr Jōhāādhāān Mōîe Khāāî Hērāālō....

Bōûre Jōlāā Jûî Jāābōlē Olāālō.....

(SOURCE:GOLAPI DEVIAND GITADAS,MILAMPUR, NALBARI)

This song may be analysed as follows:

Hold The Tray Of Betel Leaf And Address Your Mother......

Oh Mother! I Am Going OutAt The Time Of Departure I Am Offering My Regards.

Oh Father! I Am Going OutAt The Time Of Departure I Am Offering My Regards.

I Used To Accomplish All The Household Works Of Morning Hour....

Still...... I Was The Burning Fire Of My Sister-In-Law's Chest..... As If.....

Brown Rice Of The Store I Consumed Alone, The Burning Fire Of Sister-In-Law's Chest Is Going Out......

This song is a beautiful example of an Assamese house-hold and sweet-sore relationship between the sister-in-laws. Here the bride is to be taken away. So, she has said that she is going away and at this moment, nothing is more precious than the blessings of her parents. She remembers, how she used to accomplish all the household works in the morning, still she was hated by her own sister-in-law. Her sister-in-law behaved as if the now bride is consuming all the deposits. So at the time of departure she is saying that, from today onwards, her sister-in-law will find peace and happiness as the enemy of hers is leaving this household. Through the marriage songs are women is also given ethical and moral education one of such examples may be given as follows:-

"Aāmār Bāāidēū Mōrōmi !Tumi Henō Lākhimi !Sāāhōōr Ghōrōt Gōiye Bāāideu

,Nõhõwää Jēn Bilääkhi!Säähöök Sänmään Kõribää,Bhääiti-Bhõntir Mõrõmkhini....

Nānanda Hetōk Bilāāba, Hāāhi-Māāti Furibāā,

Khōngōk Ashrōy Nidibāā,Satyō Aāru Ahingshāāre,Nōbōjibōn Gōrhibāā".

(SOURCE: "BIYARGEET" BY: ANJALI DEVI,PAGE NO:07)

This song may be explained as follows:-

Oh Our Lovable Sister !You Are The Goddess Laxmi!

Don't Be A Comfort – Seeker, After Reaching To In-Laws Palace,

The Love You Had For Your Siblings,

Distribute These To The Siblings Of Your Dear Husband,

Smile Should Not Fade Away From Your Mouth,

Anger Should Not Be Entertained By You.....

You Should Restart Your Life WithTruth And Non-Violence.

THE VOICES OF WOMEN IN ASSAMESE MARRIAGE SONGS

Thus the marriage ceremony of Assam holds a higher position in all India scenario. Marriage is a very touching ceremony where the dear daughter of the family is taken away by the family of the bridegroom and thus, the biyanams automatically flows out of the mouth of the women folk who are by nature sensitive. They can feel the pain of the bride who will be departed of her own family who on the contrary felt the same pain when their marriage was solemnized. In the Biyanams, pain of the women heart is reflected, various instructions are given to the bride to lead a problem free life as lives are not at all satisfactory at the houses of the in-laws. Some biyanaams indicate the condition of the lives of the daughters of Assamese household. The bride use to cry in the pain of leaving her parent's place, and the singers make her understand through biyanam that, life of a daughter is always dominated by the society, in her father's place she is just taking rest. She has to leave the household of her father and has to go to a stranger's place. She has to leave her mother, her father, elder and younger brother, younger sister and other relatives. She has to go to a stranger's place and make that family her own, she has to embrace each and every member of that family as her own family. So the *namatis* are prohits her to cry because there is no any value of tears because this is the rule of the social

system and nature .The singers teach the bride about the role and sacrifices of wives after marriage by taking the example of Jaymati. The namatis use to sing that, Jaymati loved her husband so much that, she did not utter a single word about her fugitive husband when she was brutally tortured by Laluk Sola Phukon because in the life of a woman other than her husband, there is no one in her life. In some biyanams, the namatis have instructs the bride not to leave the balks on the betel nut after cutting it down and not to leave garbage on the courtyard after sweeping the same. She has been told to write letters to her father if she has scarcity of rice. The father will read the letter, will weep but he will send rice of his store for his dear daughter. If she feels that she does not have enough cloths to wear, she has been told to write to her mother, who will read the letter, will cry, but at the same time, will send her a box full of cloths. In some Biyanams, she is asked to accept her brother-in-law and sister -in -law as her own brother and sisters because if the brother-in-law gets a cup of cold tea he may throw the cup of tea at her. The sisterin-law may make her cry at every step of her life. The mother-in -law will try to embarrass her at every step. Her life will be dominated in her in-laws place so much that she will not even be able to demand her most cherished commodities. Through Biyanams a daughter tries her best to convince her parents to not to give away in marriage because she knows that, her life will not remain comfortable anymore and her identity will be lost in performing the household and social responsibilities as a daughter-in-law, wife and mother.

CONCLUSION

Folksongs always express the inherent tradition of a particular ethnic community. Different emotional fluctuations are reflected through folksongs. Women have always played an important role in formation of the society through their intellectual capability, mental strength, charisma and beauty. Women give birth to children, nurture them, give them primary education and the basic knowledge of the world. Women run the household and also contribute to the economic condition of the family through helping their husbands in paddy fields and other professional works. In a sense, they have to carry all the responsibilities of the family and in broader sense, the society. But in a patriarchal society like Assam, women do not get chance like men to express their emotions and hence, they have utilized the folksongs as a tool of

releasing their all emotions. Thus, folksong is not only the tool of expressing different emotions but also a great source of enjoyment and relaxation for the womenfolk. As the folksongs are sung by the rural people of Assam, it is an important tool of amusement for village women. In Assamese culture there are many songs which are sung exclusively for women and by women. Bivāānāām (marriage songs) is one of the classical example of the folksongs sung by women folk in Assam. These songs represent the different emotions, feelings and status of mind of women. Women are often unnoticed by popular media and academic literature. Sometimes their hopes and expectations are dominated by the respective societies. The study of the marriage songs sung by women generates new knowledge about the marginalized section of the society, who are often straitjacketed or in worse cases go unnoticed by the popular media and academic literature. In some of the marriage songs women are describing the rituals associated with the marriage ceremony and in some other marriage songs women are teaching the future bride to handle life according to the social norms. She has been asked to remain polite with the family members of her husband as they believe that the women have no one in their livesexcept their beloved husbands. The would be bride has been, through marriage songs, have been instructed to performthe household duties without any complaint and if necessary, they have been asked to write letters to her parents to fulfill her needs but she has been prohibited to ask anything from in-laws as that may disturb her marital life by annoying her husband and other family members.

But thankfully the concept has changed now. Decades back, when one marriage was fixed, people asked what the bridegroom does. But now that phase is achieved when after fixing up of a marriage, people do ask what does the bride do like that of the bridegroom. Thus the concept has changed a lot. Women are educated now a days. It is blamed that, now a days, people are ashamed of singing marriage songs. But the thing is, apart from those songs, which describes the rituals, the other songs may seem to be objectionable for the educated and self-dependant women folk. If a modern self-dependant lady will be told that, her life is nothing but something which should be protected by her father in childhood, by husband in youth and by son in the old age, that may prove to be highly objectionable on her part. Definitely, she has

responsibilities as a daughter-in-law and an wife, but that does not mean that she has to sacrifice her logical, rational, moral and ethical values. She has right to live her life on her own terms. One woman can wear anything, but she is a kind of animal who wears her heart on her sleeves, sometimes, she is a bread earner and sometimes she is a home-maker, but she does not hesitate to labour hard throughout the day, thus she gets all her works done anyhow. She knows and understands that good thoughts provide actual nourishment to the body and brain, her complexion may be fair or dark, but her ethics are much beyond the skin deep. She is a daughter, a sister, a well-wisher, a friend, a wife and a mother. She is in charge of the maintenance of all the delicate relationships along with winning bread for her beloved family.

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LIST OF THE INFORMANTS

SL NO	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS
1	Archana Das	55	Teacher	Ashoknagar, Ward No 1. Goalpara, Assam
2	Deepamoni Chutiya	40	Woman Police Constable	22 nd AP(IR)Battalion, Likabali, Dhemaji
3.	Dr. Rashmi Rekha Sharma	36	Deputy Superintendent Of Police	Lakhimpur
4	Beula Bewa	60	House Wife	Krishnai, Goalpara
5	Rambha Das	33	Woman Home Guard	Police Reserve, Nalbari
6.	Kamala Kalita	60	Housewife	Alokpur, Nalbari
7.	Kalpana Kalita	55	Housewife	Udaypur, Nalbari
8.	Biju Deka Kalita	35	Anganbari Teacher	Pushpakpur, Nalbari
9.	Gitima Das Kalita	25	Housewife	Rangiya

10	Jonmani Bodo Kalita	25	Housewife	Mukalmuwa,Nalbari
11	Basanti Kalita	50	Housewife	Chamata, Nalbari
12	Golapi Devi	55	Housewife	Bhuyarkuchi, Nalbari
13	Rupali Kalita	45	Housewife	Alokpur, Nalbari
14	Mayuri Das Kalita	30	Housewife	Sonpur, Nalbari
15	Rita Kalita	40	Housewife	Alokpur, Nalbari
16	Dipika Devi	40	Housewife	Sariyahtoli, Nalbari
17	Nilima Das	45	Housewife	Barsarkuchi, Nalbari
18	Milan Das	50	Housewife	Udaypur, Nalbari
19	Sarala Devi	55	Housewife	Udaypur, Nalbari
20	Premada Das	40	Housewife	Alokpur, Nalbari
21	Gita Das	55	Housewife	Milanpur, Nalbari
22	Chanmai Rajbongshi	60	Housewife	Barsarkuchi, Nalbari
23	Ashtami Tamuli	55	Govt. Employee	Kar Bhawan, Ganeshguri, Guwahati
24	Usha Gogoi	48	JengBihu Dancer	Six Mile, Guwahati
25	Rekha Bargohain	52	JengBihu Dancer	Six Mile, Guwahati