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A Study of Deknnis.

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A STUDY OF DAKNNIS

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The history of pre-portuguese Goa would reveal that Goa came under the suzerainty of various rulers, both northern and southern (1) From the inter-play of their political, religious and socio-cultural influences, and the unavoidable stamp of European cultural force, there was a significant impact on Goa's culture, abundantly reflected in Goan folklore.

Dancing, music and singing have always gone hand-in-hand, be it in the temples at weddings or at other folk gatherings. In Gomantakya Lokakala (2) we are presented with a sweep of folk dances and folk songs. However, the present study is of only one type of folksongs.

Our folksongs may be classified into four types — One which draws on the mere pristine form in music and verse as in the "fugddi" or the dhalo; the second which blends western and native music but retains the native language as in many of the unsullied 'daknnis', ~~the third which blends native and western music but retains the native language as in many of the unsullied 'daknnis'~~, the third which blends native and western music as well as the languages, as in the 'dulpod', and the fourth which has a marked influence of western music and intrusive Portuguese words as in the 'manddo'.

Anyone desirous of singing the daknni, the dulpod, or the manddo, specially those who have a pronunciation founded on germanic languages, must beware of mis-or mal-pronunciation of certain sounds. There are who are not only mutilate sounds, but also deface the beauty of the lyrics. Some turn ण into न in 'painzonnām', the त् and र into ट and र् in 'tarya' and द into ड in 'diulli'. Furthermore the onomatopoeic sounds of the swish and swash of the waves, or of the whirr of the well pulley, are ignored, resulting in unpoetic renderings. If the usual 'dorya

'gazota' is sung as 'dorya ga-zata', or the 'cheddum kaddta gorgoritu' is sung as 'cheddum kaddta gorrgoritu', the lyrics become more expressive and true to intent.

To feel the poetry in folk songs it would be worthwhile translating them into another languages, possibly in verse form. Given here below are two versions of a couplet from a popular dulpod, to bring out the force of the argument:-

- (a) Xio, Xio, Xio, kandtta go, Kannpinnincho mhatro ghau. (3)
 (b) Xio, Xio, Xio kandtta go, Kampinnicho mhatro ghau.

Since there is only one word which is different, which of the two versions would probably be correct? If we translate the couplets it will be realised that the second version is more meaningful.

There hasn't been an authoritative view point on how the names of certain folksongs should be pronounced or written.

Is it 'mando' with an emphasis on the letter 'O' giving it a Portuguese accent because it was composed for an aristocratic setting to be sung and danced in the ball-room, or is it 'manddo', having its root in 'mandd'? Miranda (4) believes the 'mandd' means a setting around which men and women would be standing or sitting, whereas Rodrigues (5) considers it "a gathering of people seated around in a circle and amusing themselves with songs. Upto the 50's people in parts of Salcete would say 'manddar fell nachota" which suggests that 'mandd' was a location a place agreed to be called as such. Pereira and Martins (6) have pointed out five different ways in which scholars derived the word 'mando' (or manddo).

Is 'dulpod' at all related to the venerable 'dhrupad', the child of earlier Prabandha' which did not have the theme 'of love or of the amorous or sensuous nature'? (7) Is it derived from 'dhul' and 'Pod' a song the rhythm

of which causes the dancers to raise dust? or still has it some other source?

Is it 'deknni' or 'daknni'? Miranda (8) opines that the root from which 'deknni' is derived is 'dhek' meaning a scene (espectaculo), and he argues that the song could neither have been from the Deccan — hence not deكاني, — nor could it be from dekhin or Dekshin (meaning south). Kamat (9) informs that 'the word deknni literally means a beauty worth looking at' It is not known why she includes the term "beauty". There is a thin line of distinction between the two words. We *see* a person or a thing. But if we make a conscious attempt, then we *look* at the person or the thing. In the word 'deknni', the deliberate action seems to be missing. On the other hand, 'Daknni' (as a shortened version of dakounni) could mean something or someone which draws our attention to itself. In this concept the willful effort is predominant as we would be required to focus our attention.

In the caste system of India, the dancing caste played a very important role, a role very much akin to that of the vestals of the Greeks or the geikos of Japan. The Kalavant, the descendant of the Devadasi, was a professional dancer (10) renowned for her proficiency in Indian classical music and dance. (11).

The central figure in the daknni is the kalavant. If we note that the kalavant who does not sing, the danseuse who comes before the spectator-audience like a celestial nymph, calls our attention to herself, drawing us to how she performs in rhythm and bodily movements, then the term 'daknni' appears to be more appropriate. I am inclined to hold that the term is 'daknni', because this interpretation is given weight by many verses like 'Tumim choyai re, tumim choyai re, amim daknni nachtanam' (behold me, do behold me as I dance the daknni). Prof. Lucio Rodrigues had translated the verses as 'have a look at me, do look at me, as I dance the deknni' (12).

There are several forms of Deknni, says Rodrigues (13) Yet, very

few daknnis have been known and sung in recent years. The most popular one, 'Hanv saiba polltoddi v'tam' has been sung and danced too very often.

Therefore, 'A sheaf of Deknnis' (14) is a valuable little collection for which the editors deserve gratitude, and of which a copy is in the Central Library; Panjim.

The sheaf consists of 37 daknnis and 10 variants. The preface to the sheaf is an essay in critical analysis, and it mirrors the research the editors have done. They have also explained the manner in which the work is to be understood, emphasising that "the translation does not intend to give the original literal meaning or interpret its political nuances..." For a fuller appreciation of the views put forth hereafter, it is worth referring to the publication itself.

In the nature of composition of the lyrics the daknnis in the sheaf appear in three modalities or varieties which may be considered as 'earliest', 'early' and 'late'. The earliest daknnis viz. numbered 3 (Altorhi Gongga), 12, (Faro dile vo re baba) and 18 (Jamnam porabaja) are in older konknni. Nineteen daknnis which have verses in later konknni may be termed 'early' The remaining abounding in Konknnicised portuguese vocables (e.g. 'almusu for the portuguese 'almôço' in daknni number 5, 'visy' for 'vicios' in daknni number 32) are of the late modality. It is possible that the early variety has been modified by the addition (or substitution) of the late variety.

Pereira and Martins opine that 'Konkani poetry is accentual not quantitative (15) and therefore presume that the metric treatment of scanning the verses is more suitable. From reliable sources it is learnt that Indian poetry began to be scanned with the syllabic, although the metric has also been used. Pereira and Martins aver that 'educated goans actually knew more latin than portuguese" (16) If it is true, the implication is that they knew small latin, less portuguese and no English. It would stand to reason that the composers of the time would be more conversant with

Indian and Portuguese syllabic scanning than with the germanic metric one.

In this study, recourse is taken to syllabic scanning which is helpful in discovering folk etymology of words in the daknnis. In an attempt to identify a syllabic pattern, it is presumed that stanzas or couplets of a daknni would be consistently the same, although it may be stretching consistency too far by setting daknnis in moulds presumed to be correct.

Very often, the spellings of the text have been altered or the alternate spellings given by editors themselves, have been used so as to be suitable for the identification of syllables or for clarity of meaning. An interesting phenomenon is that the word 'dada' (elsewhere, 'are' in daknni no 13) does not appear to be necessarily of the original composition. It is probably used when verses are to be repeated, as the utterance 'vo' in the mussal dance of Chandor in Salcete, which suggests that the usage of the utterance is characteristic of the times.

The syllabic break-up of the daknnis show a few patterns of which the basic seem to be 5/5, 8/5 and 7/5.

In the first daknni (Ag'y aga sonar xetti), there are four quatrains of the 'early' variety in a 8/5 syllabic pattern, ending with a couplet of the 'late' variety. This couplet with a 7/7 syllabic pattern is probably an addition. Thus understood, the daknni would be rendered as under:-

1. Aga, aga, sonar xetti, (8 syllables)
Pettoi tuj' agttem. (5 syllables)
Fulo zaundi zogtem, dada,
Rumbodda chem - em.
2. Fulo rumboddachem, dada,
 Deddxyam pak'llyanchem.
 Bavanum konnuim-im aple
 Boinninku dhiuchem.

3. Add forem, kuddoll bava,
 Kaddi ek depo (or kadd eku depo)
 Tajer dovor rompo, bava,
 Rumboddacho - o.
4. Kazuchya mullantum, bava,
 Asai teg kole,
 Tant' le dog dorunum addxi
 Zaleari polle.

In these quatrains there are elisions. In the 2nd verse of the first quatrain, to take an example, the word 'tujem' has been abbreviated to 'tuj', and the elision indicated by an apostrophe. Again, a drag, for repetition of a sound, has been indicated by a hyphen, e.g. Rumbod-dachem-em, or rumboddacho-o. In so doing the syllabic conformity in the corresponding verses is maintained, and the effect on the singing and on the meaning is not changed. Such alterations, wherever deemed necessary here below, have been effected (e.g. kel'anvem instead of 'kelem anvem' in daknni no. 14)

The couplet which ends the above daknni is reproduced along with an alternative version so as to render it meaningful.

As printed	Alternative
Papa mamam Xerole	Papa mama Xerole
Cherh'm y aum binam, binam	Cheddum yem binam, binam.
	OR
	He cheddvak biranti nam.

Translations :

I am not afraid
 Your papa and mama are at
 Xerole, girl.

Parents are at Xerole
 The girl is carefree.

It appears from the translation of the editors that a 3rd person speaks

though the second verse in konknni, suggests a first person. Hence the alternative translation which makes it an observation of a third party and which is in accordance with the wordings of the first two verses in variant la, is proposed.

The editors have remarked (at page 12) in the preface of the sheaf that "In reality, the forest fig-tree has no flower". On the other hand, Figueredo (17) states that none has *seen* the flower. In the context of Bhagwat's observation (18) that in the folksongs of different states women are compared to various flowers, the flower with 150 petals evokes a vivid imagery.

The second daknni (Aj somaratso disu) is of a constant 8/8 pattern, and it is of the early variety. The editors have five verses in the first stanza and four in the other two stanzas. Nevertheless, the lyrics with the musical notation seem to suggest a couplet and a quatrain. It could be that the two verses are for repetition, preceded by a quatrain. Therefore the first stanza could have been either of the following:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Aj somaratso disu | 2. Aj somaratso disu |
| Deva y at - panyem pot-tttai-i. | Deva y at-panyem pot-tttai-i |
| Faro mrdongi vztai faro | Faro mrdongi vztai faro |
| Fam xettinge' lognanko, | Fam xettinge' lognanko. |
| Fam xettinge' lognank, ga, | Fam xettinge' lognank ga, |
| Fam xettinge' lognanko | Fam xettinge' lognanko. |

Even as reproduced above, the last three verses do not convey a clear meaning. Hence, the following alteration is proposed to make them intelligible:

Aizu somaracho disu,
Devak at - panyem pott - tatu,
Far', mrdongar vztat faru,
Am' xettingelya lognanku.

Am' xettingelya lognank, ga,

Am' xettingelya lognanku.

The third daknni (Altorhi Gongga) in the 8/5 pattern, is one of the oldest, as the language is of the older type of konkni. The editors state that it 'appears to have vestiges of old indian music. "Bhagvat (19) has remarked 'many a time only sound production of the original wording is preserved. The heresay element mutilates original wording, and many a time fanciful words which have no meaning at all, form a part of the song and make the entire song nothing but a meaningless jargon of words". 'Altorhi Gongga' appears to have met the fate to which Bhagvat has alluded and therefore modifications in the lyrics would be justified. The printed version and the alternate are given below:-

Altorhi Gongga, poile torhi Jamnam	1. Aylya toddi asa Gange Poilya toddi asa Jam'nam
Jazmi kakri' ind astonam	Jast ka K'rum nid astonam
Nodre' diva nam.	Nodrek diva nam.
Aile torhi poile torhi pain- zonnarn vazoti.	2. Aylya toddi, poilya toddi, Painzonnarn vazotati.
Mujem nakantulem notim sandlam.	Nakantuli noti sandlam.
Sodum di ga poti	Sodi ga poti. Mujya nakantuli Mujya nakantuli noti Sodum di poti.

The alternate version turns out to be two quatrains ending with a couplet. The 2nd and 3rd verses are translated by the editors as "though the clear water flows down there is no lamp to my eyes." The translation of the 3rd and 4th verses of the alternate version would be 'what more can I do when drowsy and no guiding light? This translation is based on 'Jast' and 'mim ka Karum', which expressions are still used by people from Pernem taluka. Hence, the translation of the daknni would be:- Ganga and Yamuna are on either bank. What more can I do when drowsy and no light to guide me? On both the banks anklets jingle. I have lost my nose ring,

look for it husband; my nose ring, find it for me, dear. Despite it all, it could be said that the last two verses are a later accretion.

Daknnis numbered 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 27 and 29 are of the 'early' variety, and those numbered 4, 6, 9, 28, 31, and 37 are of the 'late' variety. Those at nos. 4 and 9 are in the 8/8 pattern, those at nos. 6, 16, 17, 19, 27, 28, 29, and 37 are in the 5/5 pattern, no 23 is in the 7/5 pattern, and that at No. 20 in the 8/6 pattern. Almost all of these do not warrant a closer analysis nor do they call for different renderings.

Daknnis No. 5 (Amim Kolvantam) and No. 10 (Borieche tari) are same in nature. They are of the 'late' variety (note the word 'almusu') or of the early-late mixture. In daknni No. 10 only 3 verses are recorded, although it was probably a quatrain. It seems that the first verse 'Amin Kolvontam' as in the 5th daknni, was omitted by oversight.

Daknni No. 7 (At-lanem zalem dada) is of the 'late' variety in the 5/5 pattern with 'dada' perhaps added later. It calls for scrutiny because there has been some confusion in the interpretation, The daknni and translation as in the booklet are reproduced here under:-

At-lanem zalem, dada,	Someone's tapped on the shoulder,
At-lanem zalem. Mag direitu	Sir, tapped on the shoulder.
Revezo magtam.	Ask for the direct dealing
Cuxuxu, firngi,	I'll ask for a back stroke
Faravola	Cuxuxu the foreigner (portuguese) is now in trouble.

Sa' and Rodrigues (20) have it that 'haat lavni' could mean the first touching of devadasi's body by a male hand. However, that comotation does not accord with the present context. Azevedo (21) reviewing the sheaf, gives a different interpretation to the daknni. Disagreeing with the editors that it could be a card game, he opines that it is a story "about a kolvont putting forth her own and her brother's claims against a portuguese

who initiated her in the mysteries of love'. It is more probable that the daknni has the stamp of a card game. The words 'direitu' and 'revezu' are from the portuguese 'direito' and 'revezes', which terms are used in the card game suppost a (suppost'as konknnicised). Hence the daknni would mean 'there has been cheating father. You call straight, I'll reverse Cuxuxu the firngi is trapped'.

Daknni no. 8 (Aum saiba poltorhi voitam) is of the 'early' modality. It has 6 couplets in the 8/8 pattern (e.g) 'Nakantuli noti ditam /Tarir' voichi vatto dakoi') one of them serving as the refrain, and another repeated couplet in the 6/6 pattern as under:

Damulya mattvantum
Kolvontacho fellu, vo
Damulea mattvantum,
Kolvontancho fellu.

The editors imply that the daknni was composed in the early years, and affirm that it was published in 1926. The composer Carlos Eugenio Ferreira, has been faithful to nature of composition of the 'early' modality, even though the composition is of this century.

The eleventh daknni (Bottu melo) is in 7 parts. There are two quatrains and 5 couplets, each couplet being repeated. Part II appears to be parasitic with words like 'seda', 'pipirmitto' and diamanti.' So, it could be classed as of 'early' variety. Parts III and IV are in 4/6 or the 4/4 patterns. Hence it is necessary to rearrange or to add words in part III, IV, V.

As printed	Re-arranged
4. Bailo muji // Tontti, epran motti.	Bail 'muji tontti' // (Punnum) epran motti.
5. Ol'lli xemainchi // Kamain kedi	Ol'llxemainchi // kamain kedi OR Ol'lli xemain (ani) kedi kamain
6. Rūban ditai ti // Goenchi xidi	Ruban ditai // (iti) goynchi xidi

7. Ruban ditai to // konkonn dudu To-o konkonn dudi

Daknni no. 12. (Faro dile vo re baba) is one of the earliest, in 2 quatrains of the 8/5 pattern, with the verve of a lullaby like daknni no. 23. The editors seem to have misconstrued the meaning of the words, probably because they heard them indistinctly. The language of this daknni is again, not far from what is being spoken in Pernem taluka. Therefore the printed version along with the alternative are given below with their translations:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Faro dile, vo, re baba,
Faro dile, vo.
Te papinnim koxe tumkam
Faro dile vo. | Faravole, vo, re baba,
Faravole, vo.
Te papinnim koxe tumkam.
Faravole vo. |
| 2. Zaum-um Kosim mim re baba
Zaum-um Kosim mim.
Te primam sodun kosim miam
Zaum-um kosim mim | Zaum-um koxim mim, re baba,
Zaum-um koxim mim.
Tya premank soddum koxim miam,
Zaum-um koxim mim. |

Blows were given to you fellow
Blows were given. How did that
Wicked woman give you trouble,
give you blows?

you were trapped, son.
you were trapped.
That sinful wench, how did
She trap you?

Whatever I may be, sir,
Be as I may
How can I give up my love, sir,
Be as I may.

Society did not approve marriage to a kalavant. Yet, this daknni is in tune with the compassion of the poet Nascimento Mendonça, who realising that the kalavant is a human with the need for love, makes her lament.

Em vão, em vão sonhei um sonho claro e lindo
Para o Amor eu nasci-Que é feito do meu sonho?

Que é feito Mahadeva, dos meus rosais florindo? (22)

The next daknni no. 13 (Fonddecha Desyagery) appears to be of 2 quatrains in the 5/5 pattern 'Are', as we have said earlier, seems to be an intrusion. The first quatrain is in the 'early' variety, whereas the second is of the 'late' as it uses 'corneticha' which is derived from the portuguese 'cornetim.' Rearranged to fit in with the submission it, would read:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Fonddech 'desyager'
Kolvant nachota.
Ox', Ox' nachota, (vo)
Ox', ox', nachota. | 2. Corneti sadar,
Kolvant nachota,
Pol'ngar nideta, (vo)
Ox', ox', lollota. |
|--|--|

Daknni no. 14 (Fulo mallunum) is one of the 'late' variety, (note the words 'falto' and 'alegrinom'), and bears the characteristic of the 5/5 pattern. It has 4 quatrains, the last one possibly a much later addition as evident from the style of the composition. For the sake of rhyme, the consistency of the pattern and clarity of meaning, the first and third stanzas are reproduced with alternatives:-

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Fulo mallunum
Kely'm y anvem satem.
Tantun falto,
Yeko tsampem | 2. Fulam mallunkum
Kel'anvem satem.
Tantunum falto,
Ekuchu champem. |
| 3. O y amtso devu
Polnum geleari
Aum-um taka
Govai dii nom | 4. Ho amcho devu
Gelyar pollunnum
Aum-um-im taka
Govai dii num. |

The next daknni, no. 15. (Gonnespoti raya) has two parts with 8 quatrains the Second part, the editors state, is an addition by some Bombay emigrant. The first part is of the 'early' modality and the pattern is 8/6. The rhythm and the tune are very close to the bhajans sung whilst taking the idol of Ganesh for immersion. The third quatrain reads:

Supary panom dakoun taji
 Betto yamim korya
 Lekximonnank sangun tsampeak
 vazop taka dorya.

The editors have translated the
 3rd and 4th verses as: 'let us
 tell Laxman and have the bands
 play for him at the champak tree.

With the word 'tsampeak' in the 3rd verse of the quatrain, the translation by the editors does not ring true. Could the word be 'vazpeank' (i.e. musicians and the verses be 'Loximonnal' vazpeank sangun vazop taka dorya'?

Daknni no. 18 (Jamnam porobaja) is probably the oldest of those in the 'earliest variety in the sheaf, in the 5/5 pattern. The editors suggest that the language is a kind of pre-konkani apabhramsha, and state that "In our translation most of the meaning is conjectural". In order to give it a plausible meaning the printed and recast versions are given below :-

Jamnam porabaja	1. Jamnam por'baje,
Ruibam surya	Rai-ba surya-a.
Donaim fire goklla baze	2. Donaim-i fire
Amanam baze	Gokula baje.
Donaim fire	3. Jamunam baje
Ruibam surya	Donaim-i fire.
Ruibam surya	4. Rai ba surya-a
	Rai-ba surya-a

Thus recast, the dakni resolves into 4 couplets, and the translation would be "On the other side of Yamuna let us salute the rising Sun-God. Let us stroll on the side of Gokull. On this side of Yamuna, let us walk together. Let us salute the Sun, May God bless us.

In daknni no. 21 (Kolvontam Y amim), the first stanza is as follows:-
 Kolvantam y amim
 Porvotavelim
 Vatto visrunum y amcha
 Marwan' sampol-llim.

The translation runs: "We are the dancing girls from the mountains. We lost our way and ran into our low caste fellows". It seems that the last verse has not been translated correctly. The word "Marwan" could refer to 'Marus' — ghosts or spirits. There is a belief that such spirits wandering at night, play pranks on people they meet, by transporting them to odd places, and even placing them on branches of trees. So, the kalavants instead of arriving at the mountain-top temple landed in 'murgonvam' or Mormugao. The error appears to arise from assuming that 'marvam' means persons from a schedule caste. Such persons would be called 'mharam'.

Dakhni no. 22. (Kuxtoba) is of the 'late' variety. (Note the words 'Terroru', 'conflit', 'Inimig', etc). It has 4 stanzas each of 5 verses, and ends in three couplets, all in the 5/5 pattern. It is a composition highlighting the guerrilla type facet of Kuxtoba who became a brigand because of a bott's perfidy in 1868. The editors posit that the composition of the dakhni is before 1869, which seems to need further investigation. Kuxtoba had become a revolutionary (terror of Goa) after 1868 according to d' Ayalla, as stated by the editors. The composition had to be in 1869 or thereafter. It could not have been in the beginning of 1869, since the prowess of the 'heir of India" had to be manifested before being recorded in song. Moreover, the arrest of Kuxtoba is after the uprising of 1869. It may not be incorrect to suggest that the dakhni was composed after 1869.

Dakhni no. 24 (Muzo fulatso porhu) is of the 'early' variety. It consists of couplets in the 7/4 pattern, with an intriguing refrain wherein the 'Age nari' adds another 4 syllables making it a 4/7/4 pattern. This dakhni needs to be studied with variants 24 (a) (b), to realise that it may not be a lamentation only, but a consolation too.

The popular dakhni at No. 25 (Ge, ge, ge, ge, ge) is of the 'early' modality but for the last stanza which is most likely a parasite of the 'late' variety (note the word 'beiju') The refrains are in 5/5 pattern, but the other stanzas are in the 8/5 pattern. It is often sung along with "Hanv saiba

peltoddi v 'tam", depicting a scene with a charming dialogue between the kalavant and the boat-man.

Daknni no. 30 (Saiba rayan bandu gatila) is of the 'early' variety, in the 8/5 pattern. Yet, the second couplet does not fall into the pattern unless one set 'Tsanim mamim' or 'amim dogaim', is taken at any one stage. That it is of the 8/5 pattern is confirmed by variants. 29, (b) (c) (d). The last stanza or two couplets are in the 4/4 pattern. A comparison of the chorus of this daknni and that at No. 36, would show that they are the same, and both should probably read as under:-

Baba re, baba,
Choi, choi, choi, choi moje dolle.
Tujya mogaku lagonum,
Roddun suzolle

Thus refrain resolves into 2 verses of 8 syllables, and 2 of 5 syllables. The word tsoyai' in No. 30 which is in the plural, does not match the content. A word 'choi' requires to be added in the second verse of no. 36.

Daknnis No. 32 (Satti ozaranch'm bens muje y addinom), No. 33 (Sokanny'm fuddem uttum cherh'm muj'm) and No. 36 (Vokol y amchi lokmi sori), in the 8/5 pattern, contain onomatopoeic sounds (sonn'm sonn'm, sonn'm, sa!) which enables the identification of the intended 5 syllables.

Daknnis nos. 32, and 36 are of the 'late' variety (note 'bens', 'sustentar', 'visy', salant') while no. 33 is basically of the 'early' one. In daknni no. 32, stanzas 1 and 2 which serve as 'choruses', are written in 5 verses, whereas stanzas 3 and 4 are in 6 and 7 verses respectively. If the latter stanzas are to be reconciled, then the verse "Tondda palou dory ge loje" repeated in print, is to be overlooked as an oversighted repetition, thus making both the stanzas of 6 verses each. The stanzas 1 and 2 can also be recast in 6 verses to maintain uniformity. A question may be raised as

to why a uniformity of 6 verses is being preferred. The answer lies in daknni no. 36 which is in 6 verses and which has the same theme and is in the same model. In fact, daknni no. 36 serves as the model for altering the 3rd stanza of daknni no. 32. In pursuance of this line of argument, daknni no. 32 should be presented as under:

1. Satt ozranch'bens muj' addinom.
 Sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sa!
 Taz tivantto tuk'diinum.
 Sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sa!
 Taje veleanum tuk'aum-um
 Sustent' korinum.
2. Battantu bab' Mannkeant' ota.
 Sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sa!
 Tum-im san Tallantum pauta.
 Sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sa!
 Nak'zalol' visy bab' tuka,
 Konn're xikoita.
3. Maim muntt' maka sun ge muje.
 Sonn'm sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sa!
 Tondda' palou dor ge loje.
 Sonn'm sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sa!
 Modim, salant dimbi mal'lya,
 Pany' poddun tuka.
4. Maim muntt' mak' lognam sori,
 Sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sa!
 Bangarachi goroz toddi,
 Sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sonn'm, sa!
 Fotto-quimaum-um neslyari,
 Kouxeach pakolli.

Daknni no. 34 (Tendullechim tendullim) is of the 'early' variety in the 8/5 pattern, Apart from the meaning conveyed in the translation of the

editors, does it have a hidden meaning? Could it be suggesting that the lady who so lovingly gave birth to 12 children but has no help from the husband, implores God to take them as she can't support them?

The next daknni no. 35 (Vaingem cazar zata mhunn) is of the 'early variety but for the first couplet and the 1st quatrain (note 'cazar' and 'cazarak'). There are two parts, with 4 couplets in the first part and 2 quatrains in the second, which are not connected by a common theme, giving an impression that each was a separate unit. The couplets in the first part in the 8/8 pattern seem to be a fable to reflect attitudes in the community. The reactions of people are subtly brought out through characteristics of some vegetables. At the prospect of a girl's wedding, a neighbour turns red with jealousy, another shows an upturned nose apparently with envy or disdain, and still another is resigned to being slighted (23) The quatrains in the 5/5 pattern denote a salacious theme, and in the 2nd stanza one verse appears to be missing to make it a quatrain. The words 'Keulean' and 'Keulleach' are probably 'devlyan' and 'devlyach' respectively. The translation by the editors, is "in the lake at Vernem, a lotus has bloomed. The temple servant has promised to come to Dulgem's wedding with a baby. Now now, now, Dulgem dance with the temple's boy". This part needs to be arranged to effect corrections as deemed warranted, so as to read and mean as follows:-

5. Vernencha tolleant'
Fulol'm ek sallok.
Dulgeal' cazarak!
Devlyan addl'm ballok.
6. Atam tum, at'm tum,
Atam tum, at'm tum,
Nacho go Dulgya,
Devlyach bor'bori.

In the Verna lake a lotus has bloomed. To Dulgya's wedding the temple-boy has brought a babe. You are committed to be with the temple boy, oh, Dulgya.

Of the remaining, only the variant dakni no 29 (a) — 'Aile donguri' merits an observation, as the other variants have been taken up with their daknnis. It is of the 'early' modality in the 5/5 pattern. For the sake of rhyme, the last verse may be read. "Mitti marita Tsannim".

All the poetic nuances have not been explored, nor is this study exhaustive. Yet, it has been rewarding a task to study the sheaf, although there is a pang of disappointment. I wish I could read the musical notation as that would have definitely enhanced interpretation.

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22. Gracias, Fatima da S. "A mulhor na literatura, indo-Portuguesa: diversas facetas de Sundorem". Paper presented at the VII International Seminar on Indo-portuguese History, Goa, 20-24 January, 1994, pp.3-4. The translation could be" In vain, in vain had I a dream so dear and beauteous // I was born for LOVE — what's of my dream? // Where, o where, oh Mahadeva! my rose-beds glorious?

23. Martins, M. 'Folk music of Goa before and during the portuguese regime" mimeograph, presented at the I.C.S.S.R workshop on 'Goan folklore: theories, perspectives and methodologies' Department of History, Goa University, 16-17 April, 1993. pp 7-8. Prof. Martins has worded slightly differently and interpreted accordingly.