

Agricultural Folk Songs of Western Odisha: Intangible Cultural Heritage

Sujit Kumar Pruseth¹ and Hemachandra Padhan¹

¹Indian Institute of Management (IIM) Sambalpur, Sambalpur, India

E-mails: sujitpruseth@iimsambalpur.ac.in; hemachandrap@iimsambalpur.ac.in

To Cite this Article

Sujit Kumar Pruseth & Hemachandra Padhan (2026). Agricultural Folk Songs of Western Odisha: Intangible Cultural Heritage. *Studies in Indian Anthropology and Sociology*, 3: 1, pp. 59-86.

Abstract: Intangible cultural heritage is the practices, expressions, representations, knowledge, and skills that societies, groups, and individuals acknowledge as part of their cultural heritage. Odisha, a state in the eastern coast of India is having rich cultural heritage and indigenous traditions. The state's culture is unique, because of art, architecture, folk songs, folk dance, literature, and religious practices, influenced by its history, geography, and diverse communities. Western region of Odisha, with rich folk traditions, is home to a treasure of intangible cultural heritage. This paper explores the significance of agricultural folk songs of Western Odisha. This study highlights folk songs like *Halia geet*, *Palharua geet*, *Ghasabachha geet*, *Maaden*, *Maensiyala geet*, *Sagadia geet* etc. These songs not only reflect the struggle of the people but also express their feelings and views of their life. Agricultural folk songs of Western Odisha are an indispensable component of the region's cultural heritage, expressing an intense connection between the land, its people, and their agricultural activities. These songs serve as a tribute to our rich history, which demonstrates how our culture has been embedded in agricultural methods. As a result, they deserve proper preservation.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage; Folk Songs; Festivals; Western Odisha

Introduction

Culture encompasses the collective thought and behaviour patterns of individuals, including values, beliefs, rules of conduct, and social, political, and economic organization. Culture is the manifestation of our inherent lifestyles and thought processes. Culture, a learned trait from others that forms customs and traditions, significantly influences various aspects of human life (Whiten and et. al; 2011). Tylor (1871), defines the term culture as “*that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.*” Looking at the amalgamation of the tangible and intangible aspects of culture,

Spencer- Oatey (2008) further explains culture as “a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shaped by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member’s behaviour and his/her interpretation of the meaning of other people’s behaviour.”¹

Odisha contributes immensely to the colourful culture of the country. According to Shri Pranab Mukherjee (2017), “The rich cultural heritage of the State is best reflected in myriad forms of dance, music, and performing arts. Odisha has a long and rich history of excelling in art, culture, music, dance and architecture.”² The people and folk arts of Odisha are ethnic and simple, and yet colourful and full of rich diversity.

According to Panda (1978)³, culture is termed as a pervasive and evocative term. In this journey of life from birth to death, human beings become cultured by passing through sixteen reforms and culture is the manifestation of that process. Panda (1978) further elaborates that, the culture of any country or society can be known from the history of excellence of that country or society or race.

Folk art, having different forms, like folk song and folk dance are the main foundation of society. A song originating from the people of a country or area, is passed down through oral tradition, often in multiple versions, and is characterized by simple melody and narrative verse. Folk songs are created out of mental phenomenon of poverty, starvation and sadness. It includes depictions of simple beliefs, traditions, magic, witchcraft, social movements and religious thought. Primarily in folk songs it manifests itself as a primitive instinct. As the folk poet sings it in his regional language, it is mesmerizing and heart-warming. This is the fountain of direct experience. There is no violence and hypocrisy here, rather, there is a healthy tradition of *Rasa Madhurya*⁴. Based on this, critic Panigrahi (2012) says, “folk song is the real and natural or artistic expression of people’s life. It has no artificial decoration. It is not bound in chains of ornaments and poetic weapons like decent songs. It is free like a stream. Folk song does not wait for the descent and obscenities of the genteel society. Its speed is fast, its bed is hard, but easy and simple.”⁵ According to Dash (1958), “The internal source of people’s social life lies at the root of creation of folk songs. It is this society that controls the nature of folk paintings and folk songs.”⁶ The lifestyle and the rhythm of rural life are very heart touching in rural songs. Sometimes it is expressed in the field during the *Pahlarua*⁷ and sometimes through *Humo*⁸, *Bangiri*⁹ in front of the door.

A folk poet presents a picture of good and bad, beautiful and ugly aspects of people’s life before society. Just as in the family the ideals of close love between brothers and sisters are established, abusive relationships are often established within the brother-in-law and the ideals are also corrupted. Along with social life, religious life is also reflected

in folk literature. Different kinds of songs are sung during festivals. Moreover, the description of ordinary living standards, financial conditions, happiness and sorrows is also mentioned in folk literature.

Folk songs are created by people's mind-set. There is no definitive answer to the history of its creation. In the rural areas, the music of folk songs is heard in various streets, festivals and during farming. Sometimes, when the atmosphere of singing becomes favourable. The singing competition starts among people. From the innermost part of the heart, all the important experiences and opinions of family, society and social norms come out in the forms of songs. The aesthetic expression of the people's mind is reflected in it.¹⁰ Folk songs poetically express the natural expression of the human heart. Sometimes it becomes pleasing, and many times the folk poet himself becomes free of burden by expressing the deep experience of life. In this stream of experience, the nature of social life, traditions, and festivals are expressed. Folk culture is the descriptive narrative within democracy.

1.1. Language of Western Odisha

Western Odisha, consists of ten districts and these districts are Balangir, Bargarh, Boudh, Deogarh, Jharsuguda, Kalahandi, Nuapada, Sambalpur, Sonepur, Sundargarh¹¹. It is noticed that most of the tribal population are found in this region. Its unique culture and language make it different from other regions of the state of Odisha. The modern touch could not reach them to such an extent. They love to live a simple life. The sorrow, happiness, hope, despair, joy, pleasure and colourful festival of life of every person or nation is reflected only in the language of that person or nation.¹² Odia is the standard language and the people of Odisha study in this language. Western Odisha has a distinct language. To illustrate this uniqueness, it is necessary to present here samples of the languages of different regions of Odisha. The language of Odisha has been divided into four regional groups, such as Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern languages. The eastern region includes the undivided Cuttack and Puri languages. It is known as standard language. Similarly, the language of the undivided Koraput region is called the Southern language. *Balasoaria* (Balasore) language is the language of northern Odisha region. Some influence of Bengali style can be seen in it. *Sambalpuri* language is the language of western region of Odisha. It is like a monument to the life of the people of this region.¹³ *Sambalpuri* is also known as *Sambalpuri-koshli*.

1.2. Folk songs of Western Odisha

The folk song of Western Odisha is unique because of its simplicity and sweetness of its colloquial language. According to Narasingha Prasad Guru, "These *Sambalpuri*-speaking

districts, which are surrounded by forest hills, are predominantly tribal dominated areas. So, the entire social and cultural activities of the region are influenced by tribal culture and social customs. Therefore, the folksongs of this region are the embodiment of the spontaneous spirit of the hearts of these tribals.”¹⁴ Tribals are generally illiterate and an underdeveloped and uncivilized community devoid of modern taste and civilization. This ever-present folk song provides a source of relaxation in a busy life. That is why it is easy to evaluate their social values, self-consciousness and cultural traditions through the medium folk songs of this region. Usually, folk songs are passed down from mouth to mouth. These folk songs, which are traditionally used in fairs, festivals and social functions are spread from village to village and from one region to another very easily and quickly.

According to Pashayat (2016), “The life of tribal *Kandhas*¹⁵ is full of huge workload. It is as if their instinct is to work tirelessly, to eat eagerly, and to sing in a free voice when they get a break from life. In the words of Meher (2022), “They wait many days before the arrival of the festival. Playing drums, they will dance to the rhythm of the drums, shaking hands with friends, creating a frenzy in mind, creating an unknown positive vibration in the heart, and evoking a lost memory. It is this unique moment that often makes their songs so enjoyable. The songs sometimes cross the limits of decency in chasing the environment and through songs, the opportunity to choose a life partner is also expressed at many instances.”¹⁶

Sambalpuri folk songs can be divided into different sections dealing with various environmental and social activities. For example, *Kumari geet*, *Halia geet*¹⁷, *Kandanaa geet*¹⁸, *Shishu khela geet*, songs related to agriculture and popular song at weddings and celebrations like *Bihageet* of *Nachuniaa geet*¹⁹. They are commonly known as *Karma*, *Dalkhai*²⁰, *Rasarkeli*²¹, *Mailajada*²², *Jhumukjhuma*, *Ghumura*²³, *Rupanpanjia*, *Bangri*, *Humo*, *Chhilolai*, *Gurjikuta*, *Jaiphula*²⁴ etc. these folk songs combined with dance and music are very entertaining and enjoyable.²⁵ An example of *Kandana geet* is as follows:

*Kasi marichara bahut raga dada go
bhai haithile khaihiti bhaga dada go.
Maricha upare gadu gilasa bahu go
nanda gala bali heba usasa bahu go
gariya upare nua chadara bahu go
galilaga nanda gala ethara bahu go
sanga judi judi parua ho
kemante chhadanti sangara juli sanga ho*

*gayi mulailu guhale basi babu go
 mate haridele sabhare basi babu go
 maste khuai piyai badhaithilu baa go
 acha samayathin tin ti kaatile baa go*²⁶.

2. Agricultural folk songs of Western Odisha

The foundation of all festivals and worship lies at the heart of natural entities. The beginning of worshipping processes can be traced back to the time when people used to pray to different deities out of fear of adversities and natural calamities. To prevent the negative events from occurring and obtain the peace of mind of being taken care of by a superior power, the offerings to different gods started. Being rich in agriculture, sets a lifestyle for the inhabitants that involves celebrating agricultural produce, offering the produce to deities, coming together with families on harvesting seasons, thereby most of the local festivals are harvest festivals. The celebrations give time to people for merrymaking during the harvesting process with near and dear ones, making the process not only enjoyable and engaging despite its tough conditions.

From a historical perspective, the middle basin of river Mahanadi and its tributaries²⁷ provided favourable conditions for the settled cultivation and the growth of civilization.²⁸ This could be attributed to the predominant agricultural practices in this region. Agriculture is so intricately woven into their lives that it makes up their overall lifestyles, cultural, historical, societal norms and religious belief-systems. The macro system in which the communities are based, are largely influenced by their agricultural practices. Their identity is rooted in their agricultural lives. “Farmers are the spine of the country. A host of communities such as the *Tantis*²⁹, *Luhuras*³⁰, *Badhias*³¹ etc. indirectly aid the farming process and in turn are dependent on the farmers for their own livelihoods’ (Chopra et al., 1974). The soul of agriculture resonates with the everyday activities, literary renditions and celebrations vividly.

The tradition of folksongs is embedded in the Odia culture from time immemorial. People engage in singing and celebrating through songs irrespective of the religion, caste, creed, race, and ethnicity. The themes of the songs are so pervasive that they never remain confined within a sect. It is meaningful and universal at its core. The geographical conditions, *osaas*³², *brata*³³ conduct-behaviours are all reflected in these songs. Moreover, it offers resolutions of petty conflicts in the society. The aboriginal people of this region hold on tightly to their conditioning and belief systems and find it difficult to forego. They hold strong beliefs in the unknown, mysterious and supernatural powers. They wear *kavach*³⁴, for protection from evil and to ensure a bright future.

These places full of natural bounty fills the hearts of the inhabitants with soulful music connoting the beauty of their land and surroundings in their songs. The regions reverberate with the tunes of their musical echoes. Apart from this, these folk songs, folk traditions, folk culture, and religious beliefs flow freely through them. The lives of labourers and daily wage earners are miserable. They earn meagre wages, accompanied by no work for days. Amid all this, they have to endure the harsh behaviour from their employers. The *halia* songs help in ameliorating the tough conditions. Giving a detail, author Narasingha Prasad Guru has mentioned:

*“If more than one person is at work, one of them starts the singing and the others follow suit in one tune as chorus. It creates an enchanting reverberation in the fields.”*³⁵

The farmers in this region cultivate a wide range of seeds such as oilseeds, legumes, cereals, fibre, fruits and vegetables. However, the main crop is considered to be paddy. Emphasizing this importance, the people sing:

Chhanar paesa chhane
Gurar paesa ane
Dukhe Sukhe kamei parle
Dhanar paesa bane.

.....

Delineating the importance of the farm fields, the author quotes:

*“Langala gaara tanaa tatha manji buna tharu arambha kari Akshaya trutiya³⁶, Pahlarua, Marudira pratikaar paien Indrapuja, dhanakata, kheta badhen, dhana mada, beni puja, khala chhada, charudiyaa ityadi anek krushi parba bilare palana hoithaye. Eha byateeta Gamha puni, Nuakhai, Deepavali, Margasheera-Gurubar, Karamasaani³⁷, Pura Unasa³⁸, Ashadhi parba³⁹, raja parba⁴⁰, meriya parba, harali uansa, khuni khai, garbhana Sankranti, gobardhan puja⁴¹ ityadi gotiye gotiye paschima odihsara mukhya krushi parba.”*⁴²

It means, starting from ploughing and cropping, the festivals of *Akshaya trutiya*, *Pahlarua*, and for the prevention of drought situation, worshipping the rain-God *Indra*, harvesting, separating the straw from the seed, *beni puja*, *khala chhada*, etc. are observed. Apart from this, *Gamha puni*- the worship of creator of the world, *Nuakhai*- the most important harvest festival of western Odisha, *Deepavali*- an important festival all over India, worshipping of goddess Laxmi, *karamasaani*, *pura uansa*, *Ashadhi parba*, *Raja* festival, *Meriya* festival, *harali uansa*, *khuni khai*, *garbhana Sankranti*, *gobardhan puja*- worshipping the cows etc. are celebrated in western Odisha which have their roots in agricultural practices.

Associating the festival of *Nuakhai* with the land author Ghasiram Mishra writes:

“*He maati mata ke chiriphari nijar jibanra lagi jen dhana dura kamani karbar ujog karichhe jen prakare dhan, mann, jiban re maati matanku asha karichhe he katha manke sor karbar tihaar e Nuakhai*”⁴³

Here, the writer speaks about the importance of celebrating *Nuakhai*. He says that the festival is celebrated to commemorate the value of mother earth in providing people with the fertility of the land on which they grow food. It is the means to sustain our lives by growing life-giving grains and food.

2.1. *Halia geet (Handyman’s song)*

The term *halia* translates to servant of the master in Odia. Their work is to fulfil all the requirements given by the *sahukaar*⁴⁴. The real task of the farmer is to undertake farming activities. The farmers who take on the job to serve the *sahukaars* are called *halia*. They take each work of the master as their own. They completely work according to the whims and fancies of the *sahukaar*. The *halia* receives orders from all the family members of the master. When he goes to the field, his work is to take care of the field and farms. The nitty-gritties of

The field is known to the *halia* for example, which part of the farmland is infertile, which part has been ruined by the pests, which part is conducive for digging a well and which soil is suitable for which type of crop. All of the indigenous knowledge is possessed by the *halia*. Any work assigned by the master is carried out by the *halia* at his beck and call. Many times, they employ more than one labourer on behalf of the master. In the master’s absence, it is the *halia* who takes complete care for the land.

The responsibilities of the *halia* doesn’t just end with the soil supervision. It extends up to saving it from burglars, preventing pests and other animals from taking over, collecting firewood from the forests, house construction, tilling the barren fields to make it befitting for cultivation. They manage everything despite all odds and adversities going on in their personal lives. The cottage where he returns to after toiling for the whole day is the ultimate haven for him. It is the only place where he gets to rest after a taxing day. The adjacent villages along with his own village are the means to sustain his livelihood. The *halia* respects the norms and rules of the society. In addition to farming, he takes care of the cattle and other domestic animals. His world is confined to these limited areas. He is bereft of the scope to understand the world beyond his duties. The *halia* doesn’t understand the vastness and diversity in the larger world and hence, the *halia* songs majorly represent the themes and terms associated with the regional events. The *halia* draws inspiration from his surroundings and weaves them into his songs

which he sings during his work. This is the reason the songs have peculiarities of the region the *halia* sings in. Interestingly, despite the limited world the *halia* is exposed to, the signs are replete with universal morals and principles.

The songs are on the verge of extinction. A few select institutions, organizations, folk festivals and local celebrations are trying to conserve the dying art. However, those do not have the real voice of the original singer, nevertheless, the efforts are keeping them alive in some form. In recent times, *halia* song competitions are being held to raise awareness about this tradition.⁴⁵

Halia, the factotum of the land-owning farmer. The latter accomplishes all his agricultural aspirations using the labour of the handyman. One of the primary tasks in agriculture is tilling the soil. It involves breaking the soil and cutting furrows which the *halia* does using a wooden plough (*hala*) and a farm tool with blades (*langala*). He labours for hours and days to till the land and make it suitable for cropping. To cope with this exhausting work, the *halia* sings the songs in high pitches. Focusing light on the depth of these songs, noted researcher Kunjabihari Das, has written⁴⁶:

“Halia geet halia jibanara eka samalochana. Krusaka nije taa kariyare nayak, nija jibana nataka re abhineta, nija sangeet ra gayak. Anyara adhinare munda gunji rahiba tara dharma”.

The *halia* songs begin with the word ‘*Baelare*’ or ‘*Bailare*’. The word used to address can mean two things, firstly, it can mean “It is being said, or I say”. Alternatively, it can be the impact of the Hindi word *Bael* which means bull, which is used for tilling the land. While breaking the soil the labourer sings songs addressing the bull, his companion during the towering task. This shows the influence of Hindi language on the Western Odisha language due to sharing the borders with Hindi speaking state of Chattisgarh (erstwhile Madhya Pradesh).

Some of the *halia* songs are as follows:

*a...Dhurar bichina garaji uthe mahu
agar paniti ka gharar bahu
phul dane demi ga paniti
mo ghare chhane rahu
chhane rahu rahuga chhamaas rahila
ta’ra maa ghara Chinda padar
kemate maruchhilare...ha...⁴⁷.*

.....

The songs also include instances from the various relationships the labourer witnesses reflecting a myriad of subjects from life which becomes the theme of his songs. The following draws inspiration from the famous *Ramayana*⁴⁸ story depicting the relationship of *Sita*⁴⁹ and *Laxman*⁵⁰. *Sita* was the wife of the protagonist of the epic *Ramayana*, lord *Rama*⁵¹. *Laxman* was *Rama*'s brother. So, talking about the bonding of the brother-in-law and sister-in-law, the *halia* sings:

Bailare...
Churailu raban luakailu kahin
Ashuk banare asuri jugayi
Lakhe asuruni je jugali
*Jugali je, sitaramuhan chahinre...ha*⁵²

In a similar vein, many a time, talks and gossip about the illicit relationships between sister-in-law and brother-in-laws are observed in the society the *halia* lives in. He includes these themes in his songs as it reflects the ongoing affairs in the families and also serves as amusement for the listeners. One of the songs is as follows:

Baelare... barira bainganare
bohu kare ga hata...
aar...khajakhia sana jebhe kae diara...
a...khajakhia sana jebhe kaen diara,
diarare jugai paani ghatare...
*hah...ha...arr re.*⁵³

The *halia* sings about the pain of the brother-in-law when his sister-in-law goes to her paternal home. *Halia*'s life is tough; he has to endure the harsh weather to carry out his tasks. He channels his sorrows through articulating the pains of others he sees around him or that he has heard of. Empathising with the dolorous situation of the brother-in-law the *Halia* describes a scenario in his song:

Baelare...
Maa ghara jimi ho ghichita
bandhe peri
Diara kandai he kudabara dhari ho... o...
Na kanda na kanda diarare panateta puchhe luha
Aar magha gale phagun parare asimi

*Kuledhari pua
a...luke pacharile pare ho kahemi
kahemire diara adu pua ho...aa....aa...re.*⁵⁴

The above lines describe a scenario where the sister-in-law is setting out for her paternal home. Feeling the pain of separation, the brother-in-law who has affection for his sister-in-law sheds tears hidingly in a corner. The sister-in-law gets to know about this and consoles him by saying that she would be back soon and if anyone asks, she would say that she is carrying his child.

In this way, in a joint family, on the one hand there are cherished relationships such as the father-son, mother-daughter, brothers, and brother-sister, showing a pious, pure and idolised bondings. On the other hand, some relationships are shown in a negative perspective such as that of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, sister-in-laws, sister-in-law and brother-in-law. These notions have been normalized, and it is considered that roles in people's life keep changing. For example, a once-sister-in-law becomes someone's brother's wife in a later phase. Although the relations are portrayed as bitter-sweet in folk literature, people move on without holding grudges on the family members. Despite the unacceptable nature, these instances are nonetheless absorbed into the day-to-day happenings in the society and hence occupy a space in the folk records.

The songs also reflect the economic aspect of *halia's* life⁵⁵. The socio-economic status of people differs vastly. Authors reflect on the spectrum of deprivation and abundance people are fortunate with. For some a three-course meal is basic whereas for some others, two square meals a day is a blessing. The folk poets are sensitive to the woes. They use sarcasm to describe prosperous lives. They pay heed to the hard lives of the poor and express them through their writings. They throw light on the deep-rooted inequalities pestering the society. The status of a *halia* or *goti* is that of a sumpter animal in the society. This demeaning status is given due to his sole purpose of playing second fiddle to the master. He depends on his master for his sustenance. At the end of the serving cycle, he receives a bag of grains as his compensation. Even in those grains some parts are spoiled. This outrages the *halia* and his rebellion is reflection in the *halia* songs and *dalkhai* song such as:

*Dalkhai re.. Dalkhai re...
Padhan bidha bale, have maepor sale,
kaenje rahele guti,
edki batren taspadia tinkhadi
kha bhuti .*

*halia bale tahir, jar anuchhe dihi saka nain,
kaen je heuchha gul
tinkhadi dhaan bhut deichha dasa tamba gala pool*⁵⁶.

Unfair wages are a recurring problem in society. The *sahukaars* (landlords, moneylenders) are astute and taking advantage of the labourer's situation employ them with meagre wages. The folk poets have also captured these conditions in their songs. After getting unsatisfactory compensation in the *Palharua* work, the *bhutiars*⁵⁷ express their angst and dissatisfaction in the form of songs. One of the examples from the *Dalkhai* song is as follows:

Dalkhai re..dalkhai re...
Bharna karma pahi, pardinke
Ruthuma chaerta halei
Tahu baela paan, kaen je ghichatana,
Jentakari ruile hele se chha maan dhaan,
Tahun baela chaerta, kahake nain dian aedhka,
Palhamari jima pare maa bahen daak deuchhe
*Padhan gharar bhatka ta dalkhaire*⁵⁸.

Halia has this inherent quality of being content with simple and small things in life. The wooden plough is his constant companion. In times of need and desperation, he goes to the moneylender to serve and keep the family afloat. He borrows money from the moneylender but he falls into the debt trap⁵⁹. This makes him obligated to the moneylender and compels him to serve at his beck and call. He sings to the bulls in the field about his heartwarming feelings:

Baelare...Saura janjala je kutumbara
ho dukha
kutumbara ho dukha—ghuch ghuchre...a...
aar, se pranimankar je kebhe nain
sukhare..a..a..
a..sauke dekhilen dekha muin khataka khataka
khatakare lamichhe jamar duta ho...o
*...o...tatare tatare tat*⁶⁰.
.....
Baelare...

Ghor bane kanhure charauthila gayi
 Ghumaipadile sarire cheta nai
 Uthayi anibu maire radhika
 Radhika je, mukhare pani dei ho....

.....
 Maa ghara galu je liya bhara nain
 Bhala anithilu jeun padhartha
 Se padartha je, bantile sare nai re...

.....
 Baelare.....
 Nuan bandhara pani je junha bandhe pase
 Ahaa guri diha kakar
 A kakar je, chandan paribase ho....

.....
 Baelare...
 Dhana madaile pualu chhade nai
 Shali daka dela je bhenai ! bhenai !
 Bhenai re, jhumura lage nai re....

.....
 Baelare
 Hala pa din gali kabara kasara
 Halai maili gaanra charitara
 Thiraneu debu nunire kamala
 Kamalare, tor bhae bhuke malare....⁶¹

.....
 Baelare....
 Rama laekhanare duigote bhai
 Kiye phande nangala muniyan
 Kiye phande adamayi
 A pahla parasibe bhai kaen bharatha
 Sitaya jibe pahla ruire....a.....

.....
 The *halia* performs his duties irrespective of the vagaries of the weather, may it be rain, storm or scorching heat. Its sole purpose is to toil and tend to the soil. Describing the feelings, it is mentioned in the folk literature discussions:

“*Halia geet karma ra geet. Karma klanti tute geet ra prabhabare. Geet o karma huanti ekakara.*”⁶²

Baelare...
 Maet buhi buhi khand hela ganthia
 Kutum jaal sat ta chhua pila
 Jete kamala bi nai dela dharaa
 Sahukaar gani nela
 Bacchar takar bhala ho...|⁶³

2.2. *Palharua geet* (The plantation song)

Palharua is the process of planting the saplings of paddy after the sown seeds are half grown. This process is knowledge intensive as an adequate amount of water needs to be supplied to the field for the proper growth of the seeds. This usually involves planting the seeds in ankle deep murky water and takes long hours. The farmers cope with this tedious task by singing songs. One farmer starts singing and the others sing as a chorus. They cite the weather conditions, the natural phenomena involved in agriculture in their songs. One of the sings is as follows:

*E...ashadha shrabana megha ghor garjana
 Lagiachhe pahlarua samasta jamin
 Paase paase jagao dhaan bhuasen bahen
 Sau ra jani guchha guchha udhuli jibaan ho...|*

*Edki belu kale bhuti
 Pachhe nai pade bipatti |'*
Describing the importance of the first roping, folks sing-
*Chaa karba aape
 Pahlapakaba page
 Sarabane guhal,
 Maghe rakhba pual |*

*A...Padhan Budha je guid tal aade gala
 Gaan jakar maet manku gutayi anila
 Aar haar, paar, chaar je pir, nir
 Palharua jamin dhamana sar re.. ..|⁶⁴*

2.3. *Ghasabachha geet* (weeding song)

Weeding is one of the crucial parts of cultivation. *Ghasa* in Odia means grass. *Baccha* means to select or weed out. Weeds grow as fast as the cultivated plant and hence it

is important to get rid of them in a timely manner, else the whole process could get spoiled. The difference between planting process and weeding is that the number of people engaged are less in number. Also, during the plantation process, they are seen together whereas weeding is usually done solitarily across the field. During this process the women sing:

e...hey...
Lata ta bacha urgha batha ho sukha tangar bhuin
Ghicha bhuasen mane mor
*Anta kut luani luani (nayin) re.. ...*⁶⁵

2.4. *Maaden* (harvest song)

Dhanamadaa or *maaden* are the local terms for harvesting. It is the final step of the cultivation process. The livelihood, aspirations and dreams of the farmer depends on the quality of harvest. After the year-round toiling and efforts, harvest brings happiness to the farmer. Therefore, a lot of festivals are associated with the process of harvesting. Looking at the importance of this process, the farmer sings:

e.. ... hey.. ..
Meru khutathi balad dayeen dayeen
Tà'ra pachhe halia chaale dhayeen dhayeen re |
Dhaanmadaara maja thare je paichhe
*Chhadi jaye urgha (dehabyatha) aar hurguni (manastapa) ho.. ..*⁶⁶

2.5. *Maeensiyala geet* (Cattle song)

Animal husbandry is closely linked with agriculture. The farmer sometimes rears cattle to be used in the fields and uses the dung as organic manure to provide nutrients to the plants and make the soil fertile. Draft animals such as buffalo and ox are reared for the purpose. Buffalo is called *maeensi* in Odia, hence the term *maeensiyala* for the person who rears them. Many a time, farmers rear these animals to use them in the soil tilling process. Apart from their expectancy period, these animals are used equally in heavy loads as their male counterparts. Buffaloes are less vulnerable to diseases than the cows, they produce more milk and hence once the farmers get used to these animals, there is no going back. It works as a business for them.

In the hilly and mountainous regions, the *maeensiyala* sometimes rears hundreds of bovines. It is impossible to accommodate them in their limited household area. Thus, they go away from their homes and take shelter in the forests to graze and provide the animals with nutrition. Usually, one or two persons from a family is given the sole responsibility of the buffaloes. Hence, they spend a considerable amount of their time away from home. Like a businessman, the *maeensiyala* prays to the gods and goddess to safekeep his cattle.

a.. ..
maeensi meli delire lambai deli kaen jhara
jaya jaya budha pare ho danger
mor maeensithi thau tor najar ho.. .. |

Staying away for such a long time from the village environment makes them reminisce about the ponds, trees, and air of their homeland. The homesickness and longing for their families are reflected in their songs.

'A sunamuhi parbat gaur mor
Chali baele galena je |
A ken aade charuachhe maeense
Aasi baele jaore tume
Guthake ta jimana je |
A suna muhi parabatre gaur
Maeensi chhadi baele achhen go
Beer bansi bajai delare gaur
Bansira sabde maeens
Daudita galena je |
'harishankar paulamaal neire kaaldharei
Harishankar maeense ulai ta dela na je
A ranpal ghanti neire gaur
Ranpal bijar benke
Bandhi baele galare kaldharei
Chhanda dhili langha ghichi re gaur
Maeens dhili baele galan go
Ken jungle jibare maeens mor
Chari bele jao n re

*A rahen jungle ke re maeens
Chari baele gale na re dekha* |⁶⁷

.....

2.6. *Sagadia geet* (Bullock cart song)

*Sagada*⁶⁸ is the Odia term for a bullock-cart. The one who drives a bullock-cart is called *sagadia*. With the advancement in technology, a variety of farming and associated tools are in use these days. However, some farmers are still not over their age-old convention of using the bullock-cart. These are still in use in many rural regions for transporting loads. These are also extensively used for farming activities. Transporting the saplings, carrying manure and fertilisers to the field, bringing the harvest produce from the field to the home are some of the regular activities the *sagada* is used in.

Irrespective of the challenging conditions, the *sagadia* lifts heavy weight and after that heaves a sigh of relief. He sings at the top of his voice after the accomplishment of his task, sitting on his cart. The song echoes in the lonely lanes of this path. In olden times, the use of *sagada* was prominent in weddings. Some of the lines drawing meaning from those times are presented in the following song:

a... .. a
ghuruni gadire, ghurla je sundar
khati jauachhe nua bhuaenre balade
ghia jhayen jhayen pahara ... ho.. |

.....

a.. .. he.. ..
sagada phandili desi kaen phudhahala
sagada nei sunamuhire muhili jungala
pudhi dhili sagade ta deigali bandhi
katili dhaunra, char, mahula, bharane gali bandhi
ladi kaen pudha hala phandi anili adhabata
sarila gadire agane (tela)
gadita kala kata kata ho.. ... |

3. Conclusions

Western Odisha, a part of the diverse land of Odisha, is endowed with a culture emanating from its agricultural roots. The bounty of fertile land makes it a suitable region for various types of cultivation, paddy being one of the major ones. Folk songs use simplicity in their lyrics, but they reflect the daily struggles of the labourer. With the

advent of machines, many of the villages are slowly doing away with the *halia* culture. It is a welcome change that the woes of bonded labourers are diminishing, however it is imperative for the modern readers and citizens to acknowledge the creativity and resilience of the *halias* back in the day when it was a norm. There are still many parts of the country where this custom of employing *halias* is still carried out. Folk songs all across the world are inspired to a great extent from the lives of farmers and the daily efforts they exert to make ends meet. It not just reflects the struggle but also articulates their emotions and interpretations of their world. These songs are testimony to the rich heritage exhibiting the amalgamation of our culture with the agricultural practices. Therefore, it warrants proper preservation.

Declarations

- **Funding:** This paper has taken funding from ICSSR, New Delhi (F. No. ICSSR/RPD/RPR/2023-24/3). It is a part of the project “A Critical Study of Folk Tradition, Cultural Heritage, Cultural History & Unknown Aspects of Armed and Non-Violent Freedom Struggle in Western Parts of Odisha” submitted by the Rangavati Centre for Excellence in Culture and Sustainable Management, Indian Institute of Management, SAMBALPUR, under the call for Project Proposals on “History and Sociology of Art, Craft, Culture and Folk Traditions of the Regions of India 2023-2024
- **Declaration of Conflicting interest:** The Authors declared that paper has no potential conflict of interest with respect to any authors, researchers to publish as an article. Moreover, this research paper doesn’t harm any human participants and animals.
- **Ethical Approval:** This manuscript does not harm any animals or human beings or any institutions.
- **Consent to Participate:** All the researchers or all co-authors have positively agreed to participate this research work effectively and contribute drastically.
- **Consent to Publish:** All are agreed to publish this work in this journal ethically.
- **Availability of data and materials:** All data and materials will be available as per the request of the authors.

Glossary

<i>Bangiri</i>	: Lady of small height
<i>Bihageet</i>	: Song sung during marriage

<i>Chhilolai</i>	: A game played by young and adolescent girls
<i>Dalkhai</i>	: A folk song or folk dance
<i>Dhaanamadaa</i>	: Harvesting
<i>Ghasa</i>	: Grass
<i>Ghasabachha</i>	: Weeding, removing weeds from field
<i>Ghumura</i>	: A musical instrument used in 'Ghumura' dance in Kalahandi
<i>Halia geet</i>	: Song sung by agricultural labourers during cultivation
<i>Humo</i>	: A folk song (otherwise known as <i>Humo Bauli</i>)
<i>Jaiphula</i>	: A flower
<i>Jhumukjhuma</i>	: A folk song
<i>Kandanaa geet</i>	: A song sung during the traditional send-off of the newly married bride from her ancestral home
<i>Karma</i>	: A tribal god
<i>Kumari geet</i>	: Song sung by young, adolescent and unmarried girls
<i>Maaden</i>	: Harvesting
<i>Maeensi</i>	: Buffalo
<i>Mailajada</i>	: A folk song
<i>Nachuniaa geet</i>	: A folk song
<i>Palharua</i>	: Paddy planting process
<i>Rasa Madhurya</i>	: Emotions with sweetness and melody. In Hinduism <i>Madhurya</i> is a key quality of lord <i>Krishna</i>
<i>Rasarkeli</i>	: A folk song
<i>Sagada</i>	: A bullock cart
<i>Shishu khela geet</i>	: Song sung during rearing of babies or newborn babies

Notes

1. Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008), *Culturally Speaking: Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory* (2nd ed.), London, UK: Continuum, p-3.
2. Reproduced from the speech by the erstwhile Hon'ble President of India, Shri Pranab Mukherjee at the inauguration of the convention of non-resident Odias, organised by Odisha Forum New Delhi, 06.01.2017. Source: <http://presidentofindia.nic.in/speechesdetail.htm?586>; Mukherjee, P. (2017), "Odisha: Its Role in Nation Building", *Parva*

- Odisha* (Ed- Dash, Prasanna Kumar, Sujit Kumar Pruseth, Charudutta Panigrahi), Odia Samaj, New Delhi, p- 5.
3. Panda, N.C. (1978), “Loka Saahitya Pariprekshire *Sambalpuri* Loka Sanskruti”, *Saptarshi*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, pp-19-20.
 4. *Rasa Madhurya* means emotion with sweetness and melody. In Hinduism *Madhurya* is a key quality of Lord Krishna.
 5. Panigrahi, K.R. (2012), *Lokadhara, Lokasanskruti and Lokasahitya*, Friends’ Publishers, Binobihari, Cuttack, p- 124.
 6. Dash, K. (1958), *Odia Lokageet o Kahani*, Biswabharati, Shantiniketan, p- 289.
 7. *Palharua* term is a combination of two words *palha* meaning saplings and *rua* meaning replantings of seedling/sapling. Hence, the word indicates the process of transplanting seedlings in a precise and systematic manner in a paddy field. Usually, the farmers sow the seeds in the fields for them to germinate. This is done without any patterned way to save time. Once the seeds grow to become saplings, they are transplanted. This takes a considerable amount of time and effort, thus, during the *palharua* period, the *halia* sings songs.
 8. *Humo*-It is a game played by the young girls of the village in the periphery of their houses. This game, which consists of two groups, usually goes on till afternoon. The groups stand facing each other and sing songs by putting their hands on the shoulder of the teammate. The steps involve to-and-fro simple motions.
 9. *Bangiri*- A sports related song regionally sung by the girls.
 10. Pradhan, K. (2002), *Samikshaloka*, p-1.
 11. For more details, see appendix, map 1.
 12. Mishra, G.C. (Year not mentioned), *Bhasabigyana o Parichaya*, p-17.
 13. Meher, L. (2022), *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p-23.
 14. Guru, N. P. (1982), “Paschima Odishara Lokageet”, *Saptarshi (Sambalpuri Bhasha Sahitya)*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, p-69.
 15. *Kandhas*- a Dravidian tribal community in the state of Odisha, India.
 16. Meher, L. (2022), *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, (2nd ed.), Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p-45.
 17. <https://youtu.be/dgT5EJoNqiQ?si=Ee0hML1NPlhqP222>
 18. https://youtu.be/ja3yS9FTZBU?si=ZdwIOBP_dY6MRZq5
 19. https://youtu.be/k7Dirayj_rw?si=EDj2m5fDX4kTE4WT

20. <https://youtu.be/FEFBn95G3LU?si=JMZ7F7A0sbjsFuWY>
21. <https://youtu.be/QshhOCnHLH4?si=GNcQsVT2gdIjFiom>
22. https://youtu.be/FegHFV_RKkM?si=lj9QslQKcVnaQKj2
23. <https://youtu.be/HIN3jXVGzcU?si=yRu2y1T6IT8rasm2>
24. <https://youtu.be/VdsGcPXZN0c?si=yngbEcEXec-emsx1>
25. Guru, N. P. (1982), "Paschima Odishara Lokageet", *Saptarshi (Sambalpuri Bhasha Sahitya)*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, pp- 69-70.
26. Singer- Danda- Ulunga (Sonepur), 10-09-77; Saraswati Mirdha- Dhun Samra (Kantabanji) 16-12-77. See, Panda, N.C. (1978), "Loka Saahitya Pariprekshire Sambalpuri Loka Sanskruti", *Saptarshi*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, pp-20-21.
27. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, X, p.3, River Mahanadi -or Chitroptala enters through Bilaspur district in Madhya Pradesh and turns south at Padampur town flown south and south-east through Sambalpur district. Its tributaries are Ong, Ib, Tel, Sunder and numerous other streams.
28. Deo, F. (2010), "Kosala: The Setting and Historical Experience", *Cultural Legacy of Western Odisha* (Ed- Udgata, Srinivas), B.N. Rath on behalf of P.C.Rath Memorial Trust, Balangir, p-116.
29. Weavers
30. Community of ironsmiths
31. Community of carpenters
32. *Osa* or *usa* or *osha* meaning, to keep or observe fast. .
33. Festivals observed with austere rituals and fasting with a clear objective.
34. A protective amulet or talisman, often worn around the neck, believed to provide spiritual shielding from harm and negative energies. Essentially, a "*kavach*" is a symbol of divine protection worn as a personal safeguard.
35. Guru, N. P. (2020), *Paschima Odishara Saanskrutika Sampada*, Balangir Students' Store, Balangir, pp-13-16.
36. The event is observed on the third day of the bright fortnight during the month of *Baisakha* (April - May). The farmers ceremoniously begin showing seeds in the field, particularly paddy, on this day. Farmers at their homes prepare essentials for the ritual early in the morning. After taking a bath, they wear new outfits and carry the seeds in new baskets. Then in a ritualistic prayer to the *goddess Lakshmi*, for a bountiful crop, they sow seeds that have been previously kept for this use exclusively. *Baisakha* is an Indian month i.e. April-May.

37. A tribal festival of western Odisha observed by the tribes of Sambalpur, worshipping the god *Karam* or goddess *Karamsani*, offering them branches of the Karam tree. See, Dash, B. S. (1982), "Sambalpur ra Mundamanankara Karamasaani Utsav" (Ed- Sahu, Srinivas, Adikanda Sahu, Kumud Ranjan Panigrahi), *Samablपुरi Bhasha Sahitya Bisheshanka*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, pp-163-170.
38. *Pura Uansa* or *Saptapuri Amavasya* is a unique festival in which little girl children play with clay pots, while baby boys pull clay and wooden horses and elephants etc.
39. A festival celebrated on the last Thursday of the Odia month of Asadha at the Maa Tarini Temple in Ghatgaon
40. Raja, which is termed as the 'Gana Parva' (mass festival) of Odisha. This festival celebrates the motherhood or motherhood of mother earth. The term Raja comes from the Sanskrit root word 'Rajaswala', which signifies menstruation. The Raja festival is celebrated in the month of *Asadha* (June-July), basically in the second week of June. This festival marks the first shower of the monsoon.
41. Commemorates the incident in the Bhagavata Purana when Krishna lifted Govardhan Hill to provide the villagers of Vrindavan shelter from torrential rains.
42. Meher, L. (2022), *Paschima Odishara Lokageet: Deega o Diganta* (2nd. Ed.), Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, pp- 88-89.
43. Mishra, G. (2022), "Nuakhai Kaen Je?", *Maa Maet (Koshal Sanskruti ra katha)*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p-167.
44. Landlord, feudal lord
45. <https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLeIIXf9YzscSswv31a8vdS2Qz4fYumehL&si=uoqg6H31tG-ln1Sm>
46. Dash, K. (1958), *Odia Lokageet o Kahani*, Biswabharati, Shantiniketan, p- 224.
47. Guru, N. P. (2020), *Paschima Odishara Saanskrutika Sampada*, A. K. Mohanty, Balangir Students' Store, p- 14.
48. *Ramayana* is an epic held in high regard in India especially by the Hindus. It was composed by saint Valmiki sometime in the 5th century BCE. See, https://www.worldhistory.org/The_Ramayana
49. Sita is the female protagonist of the epic. She is considered to be the most ideal woman the society looks up to.
50. Laxman is the younger brother of lord Rama, the protagonist
51. Rama is the idealistic human, eldest son of the king Dasaratha of Ayodhya.
52. Ibid.

53. Guru, N. P. (2020), *Paschima Odishara Saanskritika Sampada*, A. K. Mohanty, Balangir Students' Store, p- 15.
54. Singer- Jujesti Barik/Nua pali, Borasambar, 04-06-77.
55. Panda, N. C. (1978), "Loka Saahitya Pariprekshire *Sambalpuri* Loka Sanskruti", *Saptarshi*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, pp- 23-24.
56. Singer- Parandhan bhosagar/manapada/8-2-76
57. Both men and women labourers
58. Singer- Sangeet Behera/ Kumbhari/ 12-11-77
59. A situation where a person takes on more debt to pay off existing debt, creating a cycle of borrowing.
60. Singer- Tikeswar/Bukajhila/Bodasambar/05-06-77
61. Guru, N. P. (2020), *Paschima Odishara Saanskritika Sampada*, A. K. Mohanty, Balangir Students' Store, p- 15.
62. Pattnaik, K. (1959), *Lokasahitya Charcha*, A. K. Mishra Publishers, Bhubaneswar, p- 30.
63. Meher, L. (2022), "Krushibhittika Lokageet", *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p- 96-97.
64. Meher, L. (2022), "Krushibhittika Lokageet", *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p- 98-102.
65. Meher, L. (2022), "Krushibhittika Lokageet", *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p- 102-103.
66. Meher, L. (2022), "Krushibhittika Lokageet", *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, pp- 104-106.
67. Meher, L. (2022), "Krushibhittika Lokageet", *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, pp-106-108.
68. A vehicle with two or four wheels that is pulled by oxen or bullocks. It has been used as a mode of transportation for centuries in many parts of the world.

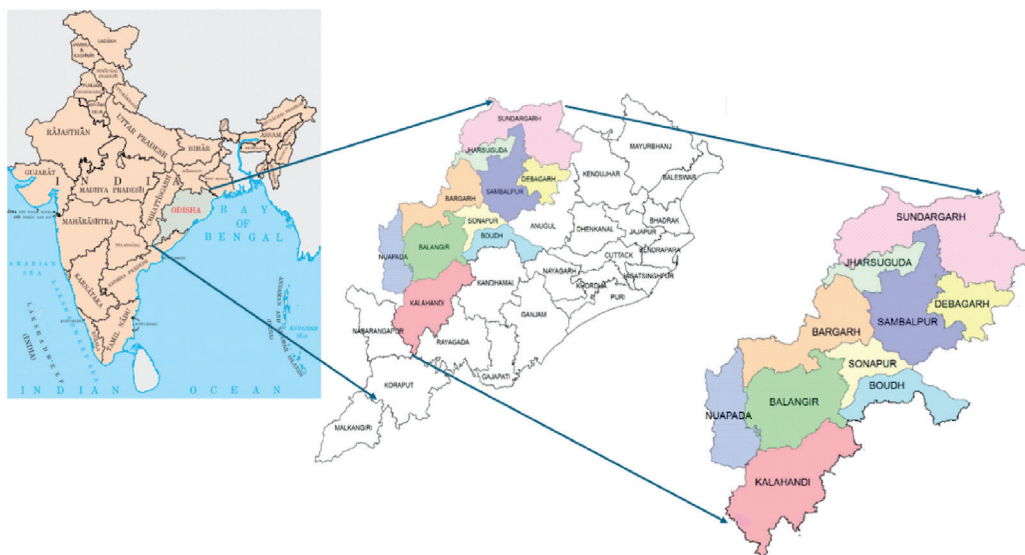
References

- Chopra, P. N., Puri, B. N., & Das, M. N. (1974), *A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India* (Vol. 1), Macmillan India, New Delhi, p-55.
- Dash, B. S. (1982), "Sambalpur ra Mundamanankara Karamasaani Utsav" (Ed- Sahu, Srinivas, Adikanda Sahu, Kumud Ranjan Panigrahi), *Sambalpuri Bhasha Sahitya Bisheshanka*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, pp-163-170.
- Dash, K. (1958), *Odia Lokageet o Kahani*, Biswabharati, Shantiniketan, p- 289.

- Dash, K. (1958), *Odia Lokageet o Kahani*, Biswabharati, Shantiniketan, p- 224.
- Deo, F. (2010), “Kosala: The Setting and Historical Experience”, *Cultural Legacy of Western Odisha* (Ed- Udgata, Srinivas), B.N. Rath on behalf of P.C.Rath Memorial Trust, Balangir, p-116.
- Guru, N. P. (1982), “Paschima Odishara Lokageet”, *Saptarshi (Sambalpuri Bhasha Sahitya)*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, p-69.
- Guru, N. P. (2020), *Paschima Odishara Saanskrutika Sampada*, A. K. Mohanty, Balangir Students’ Store, p- 14.
- Guru, N. P. (2020), *Paschima Odishara Saanskrutika Sampada*, A. K. Mohanty, Balangir Students’ Store, p- 15.
- Guru, N. P. (2020), *Paschima Odishara Saanskrutika Sampada*. Balangir Students’ Store, Balangir, pp-13-16.
- Meher, L. (2022), “Krushibhittika Lokageet”, *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p- 96-97.
- Meher, L. (2022), “Krushibhittika Lokageet”, *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p- 98-102.
- Meher, L. (2022), “Krushibhittika Lokageet”, *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p- 102-103.
- Meher, L. (2022), “Krushibhittika Lokageet”, *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, pp- 104-106.
- Meher, L. (2022), “Krushibhittika Lokageet”, *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, pp-106-108.
- Meher, L. (2022), *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Deega o Diganta* (2nd. Ed.), Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, pp- 88-89.
- Meher, L. (2022), *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, (2nd ed.), Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p-45.
- Meher, L. (2022), *Paschima Odishara Lokageet- Diga o Diganta*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p-23.
- Mishra, G. (2022), “Nuakhai Kaen Je?”, *Maa Maet (Koshal Sanskruti ra Katha)*, Binapani Prakashan, Balangir, p-167.
- Mishra, G.C. (Year not mentioned), *Bhasabigyana o Parichaya*, p-17.
- Mukherjee, P. (2017), “Odisha: Its Role in Nation Building”, *Parva Odisha* (Ed- Dash, Prasanna Kumar, Sujit Kumar Pruseth, Charudutta Panigrahi), Odia Samaj, New Delhi, p- 5.
- Nair, J. D. (2018), Indian Folk Culture: A Conceptual Framework, *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, 8(3), pp- 674-681.

- Panda, N. C. (1978), "Loka Saahitya Pariprekshire Sambalpuri Loka Sanskruti", *Saptarshi*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, pp- 23-24.
- Panda, N. C. (1978), "Loka Saahitya Pariprekshire Sambalpuri Loka Sanskruti", *Saptarshi*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, pp-19-20.
- Panda, N.C. (1978), "Loka Saahitya Pariprekshire Sambalpuri Loka Sanskruti", *Saptarshi*, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, pp-20-21.
- Panigrahi, K.R. (2012), *Lokadhara, Lokasanskruti and Lokasahitya*, Friends' Publishers, Binobihari, Cuttack, p- 124.
- Pashayat, C. (2016), *Adibasi Maukhika Sahityara Parampara*. Sahitya Akademi, Kolkata, p- 24-29.
- Pattnaik, K. (1959), *Lokasahitya Charcha*, A. K. Mishra Publishers, Bhubaneswar, p- 30.
- Pradhan, K. (2002), "Oriya Literature-History and Criticism", *Samikshaloka*, (1st ed.), Vidyapuri, Cuttack, p-1.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008), *Culturally Speaking: Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory* (2nd ed.), London, UK: Continuum, p-3.
- Tylor, E. B. (1871), *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (Vol. 2), J. Murray, London, p-1.
- Whiten, A., Hinde, R. A., Laland, K. N., & Stringer, C. B. (2011), Culture Evolves. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 366(1567), pp- 938-948.

Appendix



Map 1: Location of Odisha in India Map and Ten Districts of Western Odisha in Odisha Map. (Source: Compilation).



Picture 1: A halia ploughing the field with a wooden plough and bullocks in a village. Siropali village, Bhatli block, Bargarh. (Source: Field study by Rangavati Centre)



Picture 2: Palharua process. A group of farmers planting the paddy saplings. Siropali village, Bhatli block, Bargarh. (Source: Field study by Rangavati Centre)



Picture 3: Palharua process. Also known as Tali rua Siropali village, Bhatli block, Bargarh. (Source: Field study by Rangavati Centre)



Picture 4: Palharua process. Siropali village, Bhatli block, Bargarh. (Source: Field study by Rangavati Centre)



Picture 5: Palharua process. Siropali village, Bhatli block, Bargarh. (Source: Field study by Rangavati Centre)



Picture 6: Farmers singing palharua songs. Siropali village, Bhatli block, Bargarh.
(Source: Field study by Rangavati Centre)



Picture 7: A Halia singing halia geet while ploughing the field. Siropali village, Bhatli block, Bargarh. (Source: Field study by Rangavati Centre)