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## Studying Space and Identity through Spatial Evocations in Punjabi Folklore

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### Abstract:

The research paper is an attempt to study Punjabi identity as cumulative whole of pre-partition and post-colonial space. The change in borders, boundaries and nation has not fully changed the Oral literature of the Punjabi community. The language tradition used in oratures has various geographical and cultural spaces embedded in its form. Since the language is born in a specific space and time, it is often an unconscious record of the same. The argument will also question the relationship of allocated citizenship vis-à-vis articulation of self of an individual through their operation on oral folk literature. It will attempt to unravel the layered spatial symbols, which have accumulated air of nostalgia around them, and position it in perspective of Punjabi consciousness. Lastly, it will study the creation of cultural spaces by the community to synchronize the political identity and self-envisioned identity.

**Keywords:** Cultural studies, Identity, Nation and Identity, Folklore, Punjabi Folklore.

Introductions in Punjabi *lok adab*<sup>1</sup> are often repetitive; they might start from the individual's name, profession, their place of birth, association with the particular institution or company and might close at personal anecdotes. It will not be wrong to say that the tradition of *Hindustandi Lok adab* often includes introduction of a person through their spatial belonging, and the introducer would often include a spatial entity to their 'self' to justify their introduction. Ghalib was introduced as a poet of Agra for a long period of time in Delhi *mushairas*, He began to be recognized as a poet of Delhi later in his life, and primarily in academic retrospection.

Spaces somehow always creep in the concept of 'self' and often settle within the attitudes of seeing 'self' or 'others'. Sahir Ludhianvi and Daagh Dehlvi's adopted pen names reflect the exhibitory extension of space and its place in articulation of 'Self'. Looking at the history of Daagh Dehlvi reveals that Nawab Mirza Khan was born in Delhi and died in Hyderabad, which became an abode for poets of Delhi after the fall of Mughals, Ludhianvi's (or Abdul Hayye's) trajectory remains the same, he was born in Ludhiana and died in Mumbai; change of spaces and location is natural in human life and awareness of the same is common sense, but the choice to adopt birth place's name as a pen name is conscious and voluntary decision. The suffix structure of adopted names; Deh-lav-i and Ludhianv-i transcribe the articulation of self as "of/from Delhi" and "of/from Ludhiana". Such articulation of belongingness is direct translation of what

anthropologists sometimes may call the primordial identity. Primordial identity is based on primordial group, which is an overlapping term for ethnic group or a group one is born into.<sup>2</sup> The housing of identity is often realized through groups and Alan Dundes notes a family to be one of the smallest unit of folk, and often the first primary identity allocation is through family. Knowing humans as race it can be confidently said that we have a tradition of settlers, time and again human civilizations have settled, they arise in tribes, groups, settlements but never in isolation. Dundes describes folk as "...as any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor..."<sup>3</sup> and while talking about families he mentions secretive jokes, funny incidents, erratic habits of family members, or any such other thing which is not known beyond the family. Thus, a group is always formed vis-à-vis other groups, articulation of self as a distinct is innately part of the group's politics of articulation. Ashish Nandy in one of his essays shares the self-conception of Indians and Pakistanis during the anticipatory period before the match; various articles in Indian newspapers professed the chance of Pakistan winning the match as "...the Pakistanis had more – the term was common to all of the sports writers – 'killer instinct' than Indians."<sup>4</sup> In the same essay Nandy records that similar anticipations were made on the other side of the border where the belief was "Indians were more nationalistic than Pakistanis, they had better training, they were less faction-ridden and had a stronger killer instinct"<sup>5</sup>The identity of the other in such cases is not formed on the foundation of 'other', but instead on the foundation of self-conception. An example from present times would clarify the statement; A Hindustan Times news article covering Shiv Sena's MP Ravindra Gaikwad's alleged misbehaviour with an Air India employee poses a rhetorical question "How can an advocate of violence become the people's representative in a non-violent country?"<sup>6</sup> Projecting India, Indians and Indian 'selves' as non-violent, the author is reasserting the Gandhian Indian which perhaps is closest to the Identity of the Indian but not to the self. India's self ascription to Gandhian principles is pivotal to its exhibitory identity, because through it India creates a 'distinct' for itself from the others. Nandy in his essay recalls a Marxist scholar's statement, with a touch of pathos, about the only two successful mass movements in Indian history: and that are of Gandhi and Jayaprakash Narain's.<sup>7</sup> But Nirad C. Chaudhuri's argument in *The Continent of Circe* talks of hoax of Hindus' projection as non-violent community. His anthropological historical approach towards India's martial history and the innate violence in Hindu (a generic term for Indians) community is at odds with Gandhi's non-violent Hindu projection. This clash between projected India as a non-violent nation and Chaudhuri's Indians as innately violent can be understood through understanding the relationship between self-image and identities and its association with organized polities.

Chaudhuri's book while talking of martial history of India has also subtly dealt with the Indian concept of *Kshetra* – as the history captured by Chaudhuri mentions the invasions of Aryans, Huns, Mughals and in this way it also tells the tale of altering borders, or the change in *kshetras*. Once again bringing back the initial examples of Sahir Ludhianvi and Daagh Dehalvi, it can be seen that the poets are evoking *Kshetra* and not the nation or place with boundaries, they are evoking a particular perspective or understanding of their birth place- the *kshetra* can interact with the individual but not conceptualized nation. The concept of fixedness is not implicit in the concept of *kshetra*, whereas the nation holds its identity on the pillars of boundaries. Thus the state or nation is conceptualized in term of specific space – creating a normative reality<sup>8</sup>. This

normative reality might disagree with immediate reality, because immediate reality interacts with the ‘self’ and helps create it. ‘I’ according to P.C Chatterji is realized through experiences, which it has endured through time and thus the knower is active, while the object is passive<sup>9</sup>. The interaction of individual vis-à-vis space or *kshetra* will be the next area of discussion in the paper.

### Interaction of *kshetra* and Individual

The dictionary meaning of *kshetra* ranges from territory to world<sup>10</sup> but the simplest transliteration would mean ‘area’, and the area is a mental concept. Mushtaq Soofi while talking about Punjabi language tradition mentions a word *jhaadi* (ਝਾੜੀ) or bush<sup>11</sup> and narrates how he would imagine the bush to be on full of thorns, as commonly found in the landscape he lives in. He further compares it with a person who might be in Australia, or UK or other regions and points that the bush would denote another reality for him/her. Thus he makes a point saying that “ਹਰ ਜ਼ਬਾਨ reality ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਹਿੱਸੇ ਬਣਾ ਲੈ ਵੇਖਦੀ ਹੈ, ਉਹਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਇਕ worldview ਹੈ”<sup>12</sup> (every language views the reality through its own perspective and has its own worldview.) Thus the passive object is interacted with - to create not only the communication or language, but entire language tradition. Metafolklore<sup>13</sup> operates on this very idea, when the mythic becomes reality of the language; it also becomes the object of Metafolklore. Dr. Rajiv Kataria at a recent seminar held in Delhi University talked about *Sita ki Rasoi* at Ayodhya<sup>14</sup>. He talked of his excitement of seeing something that was geographical locus of one of greatest epic of the land *Ramayana* and automatically began materializing the characters that he had always read through Valmiki, Tulsi Das, Nirala and through the mouths of the folk. In his attempt to bring the characters of pen-and-paper to life he failed at bringing *Sita* to life; according to him the room was so small, that any woman above 5ft could not work freely, nor was he able to construct a *rasoi*<sup>15</sup> out of the ancient monument. The scholar or the knower in the truest sense was not able to interact with the object (or space).

Altered interaction becomes chief study in a report talking about the Temples and Gurudwaras left in West Punjab (Pakistan). The research primarily talks about temples and Gurudwaras in Narowal and Gujranwala; both the places which had influential ratio of Hindu and Sikh population. These Temples and Gurudwaras became homes to refugees who had not been rehabilitated after the partition, and continue to dwell in these lodgings generations after partition. The idea of changing boundaries had been previously mentioned in the paper, firstly at the onset with relocation of the Sahir and Daagh Dehalvi, and secondly in Nirad C. Chaudhuri’s historical account of Indian history, letting these parallels walk along the trajectory of paper can add depth and variety to the vision of boundaries, *kshetra* and interaction. Coming back to the remains of temples and Gurudwaras, the paper reveals a family which has transformed the *garbhgriha* into kitchen, which also holds sanctity in Southeast Asian culture. In another incident a large Temple has been divided into various portions along the familial lines, in most cases the space beneath *shikhara*<sup>16</sup> has been used as a store for junk. A Gurudwara is a house and its building cannot be altered or modified as per governmental policy, while another smaller Gurudwara in Gujranwala market has been locked and has nearly disappeared from the landscape amidst the crowded busy Shahi

bazaar.<sup>17</sup> The researcher also mentions that the residents take keen interest in the spaces they live in and are aware of the origins of the same. This is primarily the altered interaction which occurs due to change in landscape, or from the change of reality of the language (As previously quoted by Mushtaq Soofi). The population has interacted with the structures and has changed its meaning, something which previously held spiritual interaction with the people, now has become ordinary. In some of the instances policies to stop the interaction of the masses with the structures present in their *Kshetras* are visible; locking the Gurudwara is a direct measure to stop the interaction of the space and individual. However, the change of *Kshetras* would always result in altered interaction. The religious spaces have been domesticated and have acquired a new meaning. Very much like the Punjabi folk songs which talk of places that are now in Pakistan, the interaction of the individual and space has altered. The evocation of Lahore, Kasur or other cities, for instance mention of Narowal in the song which goes:

ਗੱਡੀ ਆਈ ਗੱਡੀ ਆਈ ਨਾਰੋਵਲ ਚੀ, (The train from Narowal has come,)

ਅਹਿਨ ਛੜੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਚੱਲ ਵੱਚ ਔਗ ਬਲਚੀ... (And has got all the bachelors excited.)

The song evokes immediacy in itself, the idea of train, travel, and the very familiar mention of Narowal makes the city seem as part of the landscape of the singers. The interaction of space and Individual is visible. The same song when sung in East Punjab acquires a new form of interaction. The narration of change of *kshetra* or landscape is implicit in the song; Narowal no longer remains a city that the singer has interacted with in material reality. Thus it becomes the mythic fantasy, much like Sita raso of Ayodhya, something which has been talked of in Diasporic tales, something which was ordinary in the past something which was familiar, but is now as mythic as it could be despite its material presence. Another entity that arises from this discussion is nostalgia, much like generations of refugees who have not been rehabilitated, and have domesticated the Temples and Gurudwaras, the city of Narowal has become a site of nostalgia, instead of a living city. Mushtaq Soofi's analogy of 'bush' comes live here, In East Punjab the temple or Gurudwara would be prayer houses, not the domestic dwellings; and in the West Punjab, Narowal would just another city, not the city of the past and tales. Thirdly, like Sahir and Daagh Dehalvi carry a part of Ludhiana and Delhi with them as part of 'self', the evocation of Narowal would also be interpreted as a part of self by a singer of East Punjab. This interaction of the individual and space blooms due its positioning within language tradition.

### **Spaces and its position in Language and Cultural Tradition**

Punjabi *lok-adab* knows Heer as Sialan wali Heer, and knows Ranjha as Ranjha Takhat Hazare da. Heer is known as to be from Sial, a tribe located in Jhang and Ranjha is known to be from Takhat Hazara a village close to river Chenab. The tradition of mentioning cities, villages, rivers, *qasbe*<sup>18</sup> runs in the Punjabi folklore. Saeed Bhutta while collecting folktales from oral sources noted some recurrent cities that were included as eventful sites in narration of tales; these cities were Ukhara, Saiwal, Pakh - Pattan. These cities, according to him, gain a mention in tales because countering the hegemony of Urdu, these cities and neighboring *qasbe* had Punjabi readers resulting into obvious presence of publishers and local shops selling Punjabi books. He further goes on

to say “ਭਾਸ਼ਾ class ਹੋਰ ਤਬਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ, government ਨਹੀਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਉਣਾ ਚੁੱਕੀ (ਪੰਜਾਬੀ), ਲੋਗ ਪੜ੍ਹਾ ਚੁੱਕੇ ਹਨ |.”<sup>19</sup> (“The language has been attached to idea of class. The government doesn’t want the people to read (Punjabi), People want to read it.) This is a very primary feature of the Oral tradition; it would locate itself within the *kshetra* of the listener. Sensibilities of *Lok – adab* are not new to the story telling tradition, the folk knows how it manipulates children while narrating and locates the listener (little girl or boy) within the framework of the story. Including the cities of its readers the story teller is extending the conception of the ‘self’ of the readers. The presence of the familiar landscape adds to the language tradition of a place and thus in a way shapes the “reality”<sup>20</sup> of the language and finally the ethnic identity of the individual.

Individuals have long been interacting with objects present in their landscape. Punjabi language tradition exemplifies this when *boliyan*<sup>21</sup> sung during *giddah*<sup>22</sup> are studied. A very popular *keerna*<sup>23</sup> begins by addressing the *madhani*<sup>24</sup> and goes on like:

ਮਧਣੀਆ, ਹਏ ਓ ਮੇਰੇ ਡਢੀਆ ਰੱਬ, (O churner, O my cruel lord,)

ਕਿਹਨ ਜੰਮਿਆ ਕਿਹਨ ਨੇ ਲਾਏ ਜਣੀਆ ਵੇ ... (who is she born of, and now who will take her away?)

Another *Boli*<sup>25</sup> captures the interaction of the spinning wheel and the woman.

ਚਰਖੜੀਆ, ਦੱਸ ਕੇ ਰੁੰ ਮੈਂ ਕੱਤ ਕੇ ਨ ? (O spinning wheel, tell me should I be spinning today?)

ਦੁੱਖ ਦ ਕੀਸ ਲੰਮ, ਦੱਸ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਦੱਸ ਕੇ ਨ ? (The tale of sorrow is quite long, tell me, should I narrate it?)

Objects of immediate surrounding also find a place in *giddah* as a dance form. It is not on chance that domestic objects feature in folk-songs. *Giddah* was a done by women and was often done indoors. The objects of immediate surrounding and day-to-day life were presented because the *bolis*, or the songs to which they danced were extempore. Extempore can only be operated on the language tradition which is familiar, similarly the objects and spaces mentioned should also be a reality for the language to become part of the *bolis*. The dance form of *giddah* has evolved over time and the steps have come to include various routine movements like exaggerated rhythmic hand movements of churning the milk using the *madhani*, the dance move has formed on the pattern of alternately pulling the string wound around *madhani*. Other dance steps are similarly patterned on routine of milking the cow, operating millstone among others. Thus, the objects of the immediate space or *kshetra* are naturally included in the language; through this it transforms into the language tradition and finally manifests itself in cultural tradition.

The 1951 Indian Census Language tabulation held in 1951 was abandoned for the states of Delhi, Haryana, Himachal, Chandigarh and Punjab because of the “emotionally – charged atmosphere surrounding the language issue at that time.”<sup>26</sup> Saeed Bhutta also talks of the same problem in space of Pakistan and pre-partition Punjab, He talks of how the Hindus of Punjab said “ਕੇ ਸੜੀ ਜੁਬਨ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਹੈ , ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਨੇ ਵੀ ਕੀਹ ਕੇ

ਸੜੀ ਜ਼ਬਾਨ ਉਰਦੂ ਹੈ |<sup>27</sup> (that their (Hindus) language is Hindi and the Muslims of Punjab also claimed that their language is Urdu). This choice of choosing a particular language as mother tongue is in contrast to having a 'natural' mother tongue. This is a direct result of choosing an identity over the natural self to align oneself according to the normative reality<sup>28</sup>. Partition history tells that the boundaries of India and Pakistan were not finalized till August 17<sup>th</sup> 1947, and in some cases months after the partition some places could not be allocated "correctly" in the boundaries. This processing of identity consciousness is in contrast to a natural consciousness that a community holds. Manzoor Aijaz while talking about the popular symbol of crow (ਕੱ) used in Punjabi folklore says that "ਕੱ ਦੇ symbol ਦੀ ਤਰਜੀਬ 'ਚ ਥੋਂ ਬਣ ਚੁਕੀ ਐ" (The symbol of crow has created a place for itself in the discipline/culture/civilization.)<sup>29</sup> The *tehzeeb* (or discipline) that is mentioned by him is a consciousness that is attached to *kshetra*, to language tradition, to the *kshetra* which is evoked by language tradition and finally to the ethnic identity. This relationship between Individual, Language tradition and expression of Identity will be the module of discussion in further sections of the paper.

### Language tradition and interpreting Self

ਚੰਝ ਤੇਰੀ ਵੇ ਕਲਿਆ ਕਵ, ਮੋਨੇ ਨਲ ਮੜਵ | (O black crow, I would adorn your beak with gold.)

ਜ ਆਥੀ ਮੇਰ ਢੇਲ ਸੰਪਰੀ ਨੂੰ, ਨਤ ਮੈਂ ਐਸੀਆ ਪਵ | (Go and tell my beloved, I have been waiting for him counting days.)

ਖਬਰ ਲਿਆ ਕਵ, ਤੈਨੂੰ ਘੋਚੀ ਚੀ ਚੁਰੀ ਪਵ | (Go and get the news from him, I will feed you *choori*.)

Crow has long been ascribed the duty of messenger and has come to be understood as an auspicious symbol in cultural connotation. This construction of the symbol of crow sitting on *banera* (parapet) is not in vacuum, It is a product of long history of interaction of spaces and language. Dundes insists that meaning of certain repetitive patterns or symbols can only be located through historical roots.<sup>30</sup> The meaning, as he says, is found in context and context is often the locus of communication of the space and individual. Crow as envoy finds its roots in the ancient trade based settlement of Indus and Harappa which sent wooden ships for trade. These ships on losing their way in sea storm used to send out caged crows and followed the direction of his flight to find the land.<sup>31</sup> Along the period of time - arrival of crow naturally picked the synonym for anticipation of arrival of guests, or beloved. The symbol is still evoked in Punjabi folk and is used unquestioningly because Crow as a messenger has been accepted by the language tradition and secondly, because the operators of the language still have the room to interact with the object i.e. the crow is still part of the Punjabi language's worldview. The crow is part of such material reality of the language which has not been altered by boundaries. It can only die in language tradition after extinction of the species. Since crow cannot be a spatial object which can be locked like temples and gurudwaras or limited by boundaries, thus the interaction between the object and individual cannot be stopped. Since the crow is part of the landscape, but is not fixed, it is located in the consciousness of the language which cannot be altered as per

boundaries. On another level the symbol is product of language which is born out of interaction with *kshetra* or area which has crows in fauna of the landscape. *Trinjan*<sup>32</sup> is one such space which is self created and destructed. It is often interpreted as space with feminist ethos, since it is a small close gathering of women who come together to work, the conversations shared here and the songs sung here are filled with content close to heart.

ਲੱਗੀ ਆਂ ਝੀਜਣਾਂ ਚੀਆਂ, (Friendships formed in *Trinjan*.)

ਮੈਨੂੰ ਯਦ ਗੱਡੀ ਵੱਚ ਆਈਆਂ | (I fondly recall and miss while departing for my husband's house.)

*Trinjan* is a place where often companionships between women are formed, but the space as a concept is not modified by change of location. A woman after her marriage will become part of the *trinjan* that is held at her *sahura pind* or in-laws house, much like crow remains crow on either sides of boundary, *trinjan* remains *trinjan* everywhere. Due to mobility in the concept of *trinjan*, various 'third spaces' have been named after this concept. Women of Punjabi Diaspora living outside Punjab, often in first world nations, have recently created spaces for themselves naming their organization(s) as *trinjan*. It is a fairly common name, which can be accused of being a cliché, for women organizations. But often these clichés are maps of a community leading to their positioning and imaging of "self". Women in alien lands come together to form an organization to create a space of expression, creating a space and choosing the name to be *trinjan* shows community's sub-conscious relation with language tradition; and its materialization of the same. Thus, identities are formed through language tradition and it would always extend the worldview of the speaker. The names of places, objects, flora and fauna found in the register of the language would always house themselves in the consciousness of the speaker; and thus materialization of their 'self' would never be without materialization of the spatial expanse of the language.

## Conclusion

Space becomes a foil to realization of identity, the primary assessments of the paper looked at two sides of concept of space; Political and Personal. The interaction of an individual and community functions through personal communication with space which also instills life in the Space itself and creates an identity for the space, and the individual. Folk songs and Folk literature is often the product of the space-and-individual interaction and thus is innately opposed to the normative reality of political nation space, marking its absence and exalting the people's version of *kshetra*.

## Notes:

<sup>1</sup> Etiquettes and social conduct observed in a specific community.

<sup>2</sup> Chatterjee, P.C. "Identity: Personal and Group", *self-Images Identity and Nationality*, Allied Publishers Private limited, Shimla, 1989. P35-36

<sup>3</sup> Dundes, Alan. "Who are the folk", *Interpreting folklore*.

<sup>4</sup> Nandy, Ashish “Self as a Political Concept”, *self-Images Identity and Nationality*, Allied Publishers Private limited, Shimla, 1989. P16-17

<sup>5</sup> See endnote no. 4

<sup>6</sup> Shekhar, Shashi. “Shiv Sena MP Ravindra Gaikwad grounded: Why do netas fly high on privilege?”, *Hindustan Times*, 02 April 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Nandy, Ashish. “Self as a Political Concept”, *self-Images Identity and Nationality*, Allied Publishers Private limited, Shimla, 1989. P13

<sup>8</sup> Khubchandani, L.M. “: Self Images and Identities of the Punjabi People: Ethenic and Linguistic Realities”, *self-Images Identity and Nationality*, Allied Publishers Private limited, Shimla, 1989. P165

<sup>9</sup> Chatterjee, P.C. “Identity: Personal and Group”, *self-Images Identity and Nationality*, Allied Publishers Private limited, Shimla, 1989. P33-34

<sup>10</sup> *Shabdkosh.com*.

<http://www.shabdkosh.com/hi/translate?e=%E0%A4%95%E0%A5%8D%E0%A4%B7%E0%A5%87%E0%A4%A4%E0%A5%8D%E0%A4%B0&l=hi>. 8 April 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Soofi, Muhtaq. “Interview with Mushtaq Soofi”, uploaded by PunjabiOralHistories, 23 Jan. 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=byKvyVixalA&t=2147s>

Mushtaq Soofi is a Pakistani Punjabi writer and weekly columnist in the national newspaper *The Dawn*.

<sup>12</sup> See endnote no. 9

<sup>13</sup> Terminology introduced by Alan Dundes in the study of Folklore. It means folklore constructed on already present folklore.

<sup>14</sup> Kataria, Rajiv. “Talk on Myths and mythic tradition”, Seminar on myths.Guru Arjan Dev Seminar Hall, SGTB Khalsa College, Delhi University. 01 Feb. 2017

<sup>15</sup> *Rasoi* is a hindi word for Kitchen

<sup>16</sup> Shikhar is a rising mountain like structure above the temple halls.

<sup>17</sup> Jatt, Zahida Rehman. “Exploring tourism oppurtunities: Documentation of the use of spaces of the Pre-Partitioned Temples and Gurudwaras in Punjab, Pakistan”, *apnaorg.com*, <http://apnaorg.com/research-papers/english/paper-12/page-11.shtml>. Visited on 05 April 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Village like settlement but smaller.

<sup>19</sup> Bhutta, Saeed. “Interview with Saeed Bhutta”, uploaded by PunjabiOralHistories, 30 Nov. 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wdfLzX7eykE>

<sup>20</sup> See endnote no. 10

<sup>21</sup> Small rhythmic couplet like oral – song sung in various Punjabi folk gatherings.

<sup>22</sup> Punjabi folk dance primarily performed by women.

<sup>23</sup> *Keerna* is a song sung by bride, sometimes by her friends, sisters and close women, when she is departing from her native house after the wedding. Often melancholic in nature.

<sup>24</sup> *Madhani* is a long cylindrical wooden tool used for churning the milk, curd etc.

<sup>25</sup> *Boli* is a short couplet or verse that is often extempore and is sung at happy gatherings like *Giddah*, and can also be sung in family-get-togethers during the wedding festivities in modern times.

<sup>26</sup> Khubchandani, L.M, “: Self Images and Identities of the Punjabi People: Ethenic and Linguistic Realities”, *self-Images Identity and Nationality*, Allied Publishers Private limited, Shimla, 1989. P 171

<sup>27</sup> Bhutta, Saeed. “Interview with Saeed Bhutta”, PunjabiOralHistories, 30 Nov 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wdfLzX7eykE>

<sup>28</sup> See endnote no. 6

<sup>29</sup> Ijaz, Manzoor. “Banere bole kaan: (As the crow flies), uploaded by Wichaar Webcast, 15 June 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ncQpnW7wJlw&t=150s>

<sup>30</sup> Dundes, Alan “Getting the folk and the lore together”, *The Meaning of Folklore*, Utah State University Press, Utah. 2007. P 282-283. E-Book

<sup>31</sup> Ijaz, Manzoor. “Banere bole kaan: (As the crow flies), uploaded by Wichaar Webcast, 15 June 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ncQpnW7wJlw&t=150s>

The ships in those ages were made of wood and brass. Being week they sailed along the edge of the sea and were often thrown into the centre of the sea during mild sea storms.

<sup>32</sup> Trinjan is a non – fixed space, it is a space where women sit together to spin the wheel. They often sit together in-doors, on terrace, in courtyard according to weather.

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