



Remarks on Tragic Songs of *Lahure* Life: Then and Now

Anthropology

Bishnu Prasad Dahal, Ph. D.

Patan Multiple Campus, Patan Dhoka

Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal

Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the different aspects of the tragic songs on life of Nepal. Emigration is increasing day by day in Nepal to seek the opportunities primarily economic to sustain their life. Symbolic/ interpretative theories are deeply observed to analyze my research questions. The main leading questions are: what is *Lahure* culture? When was it begun in Nepal? What are the impacts of this culture in Nepal then and now? What are the recent trends on it? Audience and viewer can feel its music, sounds, lyrics, rhythms and way of expressions. Every, word, lyrics and expression has its own senses while performing the song performance. This study focused on how these songs are the sources of human sentiments, feeling, emotions in terms of explaining social phenomena, events, social interactions and human sentiments through songs. It is the representative expression of all over the country. Two songs are selected as sample analysis purposively. The content of their lyrics analysis along with voices of lyricist, music composer and singers are also used to verify the message of the songs. Both etic and emic modes of analysis are incorporated to visualized the meanings of songs juxtaposed to old one and recently popular in care of describing *Lahure* life.

Key words: *Lahure*, songs, lyrics, emotion, tragic, etc.

Introduction

“Because Music is humanly organized sound, it expresses aspects of the experience of individuals in society” (John Blacking, 1973: 89)

Lahure life in Nepali music

Emigration refers to leaving one's native country intending to settle temporarily or permanently in other countries. It is a migration across one's nation. An estimated three million Nepali are abroad as migrant workers for earning money. The age group of these people ranges from 20 to 40 years, which is the productive age group. The nation, with 26.4 million population has sent more than 10 percent of productive age group people to work for the development of other countries, halting its own development. This figure does not include the people working in India, which is estimated to be around 3 million. Since Nepali do not need visa and work-permit for Indian job market, it is hard to figure out the exact number of those people for this trend dates back to centuries. According to the data of government of Nepal, Department of Foreign Employment (DoFE, 2014) a significant number of the Nepali migrant workers are engaged in

3D works (Difficult, Dirty, Dangerous) in various countries, from Qatar to Malaysia and from South Korea to Israel. However, negligible portions of this work force has also been engaged in managerial or some kind of 'decent' jobs in the host countries.

The number of Nepali workers leaving home for foreign employment is increasing every year. An official figure shows that a total of 527, 814 Nepali men and women left the country in the fiscal year 2013-2014 (DoFE, 2014). In addition, the data maintained by DoFE does not include records of individuals who leave the country for foreign employment illegally via India or with support of middlemen. It support to make obvious claim that the number of emigrants is more than official data published by Government of Nepal.

In the past, Nepali youth (male) used to go to different countries like India, Britain, Brunai, Singapore and so on to work as soldiers. These people are known as *Lahure* in local term. The trends still continues and also goes beyond i.e. the migrant workers. There is distinct genre of music to express the stories, struggles and tragedies of the *Lahure*. This paper attempts to explore the same area. When one attempts to study about life of Nepali *lahure*, one very old Nepali children song comes into the mind.

Intu Mintu Londonma
Hamro baba paltanma
Schoolako paledai
Pahilo ghanti bajaideu
Tinininininini jhyappa

(Intu and Mintu are in London,
My father is in a platoon.
Please strike the first bell,
The peon of our school.
Ding dong, ding dong gotcha!)

Similarly, another song is also popular at that time which is as;

Aage aage topaiko gola
pachhi pachhi machine gun barara
cigarette nadeu ma bidi khanelai
maya nadeu ma hidi janelai

(Cannon balls are in front me,
And machine gunfire is behind me.
Don't give me cigarette as I smoke bidis,
Don't give me your love as I leave you soon.)

Irrespective of the themes, however, songs about *lahures* and migrant workers seriously assert the absurdity of working abroad, the place which so often squashes their dreams. Some songs on the other hand, ask *lahures* to sweat and toil in their motherland Nepal, which is believed to be equally futile. During the time, Nepali fought with the British in the Malayan Emergency, two hundred and four British-Gurkhas died. The war lasted for 12 years from 1948-1960 (Taylor, 2011).

After the years of battles, when they were retired, they came straight to the hills of various parts of country. They would recount mostly the horrors of the World Wars –in which more than

40,000 British Gurkhas died although they participated in none of the wars. In fact, the Second World War had just ended when many of them joined the army in 1946. (Taylor,2011)

In mid-1970s, Danny Denzongpa and Asha Bhosle sang this duet. But this gives me the impression that the ancestors in their young age were jocular, brave and flirtatious. Most of the 'happy' songs about *lahures* are similar to the above, which portray '*lahures*' as the 'lucky' ones characterized with bravery. These songs downplay the horrors of war and violence with an apparent insouciance that combines cannon fire with cigarettes. The soldiers on the other hand honestly accept the reality that the love might not be for them since they could be a casualty in a war tomorrow though they are singing and dancing today.

As the social and political milieu changed over time, so did the songs, and in doing so, the songs mapped the landscape of Nepali migration, in which the actors are changed but the pathos remain same. There is no such literature, which documents the release of the first song about *lahures*. The *lahure* culture (here, the practice of emigration towards foreign country for war purpose is defined as *lahure* culture) began well before the Treaty of Sugauli with the British (the East India Company) in 1816, an arrangement following which the colonial army began enlisting Nepali. Nepali people have been migrating to India for seasonal work for centuries. Today after two centuries, the songs about *lahures* have been expanded to include the voice of the Nepali migrant workers, who began migrating to the Gulf countries and Malaysia in large numbers. As these migrants became a part of the construction industry abroad, which resulted the separation, loss and longing? The pathos is reflected in the songs no matter how gleeful they sound.

The 'happy' songs express the economic freedom that comes along with being a *lahure*- about falling in love and coming home after a long time away. However, the upbeat music manages only to disguise the sadness that always accompanies these melodies. Then, there are 'sad' or tragic songs of a *lahure's* life and the people they leave behind. These songs talk openly about death (home and abroad), poverty and the pain of separation from the loved, and near and dear ones.

According to the foreign employment board, the death of people working as migrant workers/*lahures* varies in different fiscal year. In 2016, altogether 811 foreign employee died, among them 24 were females and 787 were males. Similarly, in 2017, altogether 756 died, in which 18 were female and 738 were male. This number decreased in 2018 with 15 female and 593 male. This shows that the foreign employment has also brought irreparable separation, tragedy and sorrow to their families. Therefore, it is very important to raise the issues in family, national and international level that the foreign employment has not only the generated remittance but it also has threatened family and nation from the socio-economic and psycho-cultural point of view. In a way, music represents the society, culture, life, happiness, emotions and say everyday life. Understanding music is synonymous to understand the society and culture as Small coined music as, it is not a noun at all but it is a verb; means it is very important and without it social life is meaningless.

"Music is not primarily a thing or a collection of things, but an activity in which we engage. One might say that it is not properly a noun at all, but a verb" (Small, 1987: 50).

Agreeing with the above statement, music has played a significant role in the conceptualization of cosmology, time, collective memory and local cultural experiences in the everyday life of Nepali people. Music and ritual performances enhance the construction of a specific experience of time and place, inherently situated and intrinsically fused. These experiences are inscribed in the experiences of performance just as much as the performances are making the particular events in which these experiences arise. In the taking part of these cultural performances the

experience of time and space is fused into that which with Bakhtin might be termed the chronotope of performance. These performance chronotopes is a creation of social participants, based in their worlds and experiences of a spatio-material as well as inherently cultural and social reality (Weisethaunet, 1998:159).

A distinction must be drawn between the understanding of musical meaning which involves the awareness of the tendencies, tensions, and fulfillments embodied in a work and a listener's self-conscious objectification of that meaning. The former may be said to involve a meaningful experiences, the latter involves knowing the meaning, considering it as an objective thing consciously. The operation of intelligence while listening to music never become self-conscious. We are continually behaving in an intelligent way, comprehending meanings and acting upon our perceptions, cognitions, and evaluations without ever making the meanings themselves the objects of our scrutiny- without ever becoming self-conscious about the meaning of the experience. The process of understanding language as per Bertrand Russell also applies to the understanding of music: "Understanding language is....like understanding cricket; it is a matter of habits acquired in oneself and rightly presumed in others." (Meyer, 1966: 276). Meyer further describes the listening experience as the 'objectification' of the 'embodied meaning'. For Meyer, it appears naturally to speak of the objectified 'embodied meaning' of music. Or to put it even more bluntly, in his moral philosophy, awareness of those 'meanings' is a crucial point- an awareness and 'knowledge' in music listening should be attained through 'training'. Thus, he may also easily explain why some people make musical processes an 'object of conscious consideration' while others perceive the same object in a more affective way;

"Whether a piece of music gives rise to affective experience or to intellectual experience depends upon the disposition and the training of the listener... Those listener who have learned to understand music in technical terms will tend to make musical processes an object of conscious consideration. This probably accounts for the fact that most trained critics and aestheticians favor the formalist position. Thus, while the trained musician consciously waits for the expected resolution of a dominant seventh cord the untrained, but practiced, listener feels the delay as affects." (ibid)

Meyer's conceptualization of meaning operation in music is relevant here because to some extent it represents of how people are trained to think of music in Western culture. Meyer's theory may not even be very representative of Western music theory in general. However, the core assumption of Meyer's theory may be quite representative of mainstream musicology assuming that musical meaning in general is embodied in the work, and in particular in the syntax of that work.

"...a new emphasis on performance directed attention away from study of the formal patterning of and symbolic content of texts to the emergence of verbal art in the social interaction between performers and audiences. This reorientation fits nicely with growing concern among many linguists with indexical (as opposite to solely referential or symbolic) meaning, naturally occurring discourse, and the assumption that speech is heterogeneous and multifunctional. Anthropologists and folklorists similarly found performance- based studies responsive to their interest in play, the social construction of reality, and reflectivity" (Bauman & Briggs,1990: 59-60).

The authors point that the performance, process and ritual in a broad sense- constructs reality just as much as it reflects it. In ethnomusicology, such a position is firmly explicated in the works of John Blacking, Steven Feld and Anthony Seeger. In general, the anthropological performance perspective asserts a fairly well-defined view of the relation between 'music' and 'context',

where music performers and participants are understood to be unquestionably culturally situated. In these works there is also a theoretical move away from the general sociological conceptualization of context.

Focus of the research

This research using the non-responsive methods of study aims to explore how lyrics of tragic songs (like films, videos, story, particularly music, etc.) represent the real life of people. So, they are also the source of knowledge for qualitative research, which are the outcomes of social reality (faced/experienced by people fabricated in artistic expression i.e. in the form of picture, novel, story, serial, etc.) in particular context, time, socio-cultural settings. These artistic expressions have certain significance and carry certain meanings, but it is essential to identify the message and meaning embedded in this form of art. So the lyrics has important role to understand the social order/system, context and even social reality. The message from lyrics is not only created by lyricists, but also the outcomes of socio-cultural phenomena. For instance, nowadays, Nepali music, story and films address the impacts of conflicts in social life and wish for the peace all over the nation. The diverse human behavior can be expressed in terms of lyrics, music and other artistic expression. Therefore, lyrics could have been chosen to express the human sentiments, emotions, feelings, and even other socio-psychological and behavioral activities. On account of this, the study of lyrics provides the clear understanding about society, culture and human behaviors in this world. In particular to tragic *lahure* songs, which is aimed to find out the relation of socio-cultural contexts to the byproduct of the contents of tragic *lahure* songs. The overall focus of the research can be summarized as follows:

- To find out contents of the tragic *lahure* songs in particular contexts.
- To find out various dimensions of messages of these songs.
- To find out the socio-cultural, political- economic, and psychological meanings of these songs.
- To find out the situation, position and status of Nepali village life through the lyrics analysis of these tragic songs.

Literature review

“Music is the most highly stylized of social forms iconically linked to broader cultural production of local identity, and indexically linked to contexts and occasions of community participation” (Steven Feld).

The application of the concept of message or voice of women in lyrics in sentimental songs is used parallel and popularly in American anthropology as ‘performance’ is borrowed from the term of Richard Bauman (1977). ‘Performance-oriented’ anthropologists and folklorists commonly urge that oral expression and verbal art be realized in the study of symbolic message in their daily life rather than as ‘verbal’ or ‘writable text’. The bases for such an understanding is- as pointed out by Ruth Finnegan- that “performance is not mere ‘context’ but of the essence. (Finnegan, 1992:13) To cite Bauman (1977), we may here draw again on Bateson’s powerful insight, which states that the characteristics of communicative interaction includes a range of explicit or implicit messages which carry instructions on how to interpret the other message(s) being communicated.

Geertz (1973) views that anthropology is not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative science excavating the meanings. He says that the concepts of culture is essentially a semiotic one that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance (meaning) he himself has spun. He views that culture is those web of meanings and the analysis of which can be made through interpretation in search of meaning in the social and cultural context. He perceives the

meanings as being shaped by, and shaping people's actions. Culture is interpreted through thick description but not the thin one. Hence, the job of anthropologist is to explore the meaning of the action of the individuals in a culture and expose the layers of the culture to provide the thick description (Dahal, 2008: 125).

The culture is public because meaning is public. It is expressed in symbolic actions and meanings are contextual. So, in one cultural contexts, where they operate, there may be different meaning and the meanings may change in another context. The Geertzian model of symbolic anthropology focuses on the meaning of the cultural activities not to the functions per se. Such activities are analyzed to open up meanings of other aspects of the culture. For Geertz, the idea about a culture is like a literary text that can be analyzed for meaning, as the ethnographer interprets. Like ethnographers, cultural interpretations attempts to convey the symbols of culture and their meanings to those people who are really interested in their own culture or those who are interplaying within these cultural contexts. Therefore, according to Geertz (1973), the ethnographer is a kind of selective inter- cultural translator.

In the Geertzian model, cultural interpretations try to convey the symbols of culture and their meanings to those people, who are really interest in their own culture or those, who are interpreting within this cultural context, in which the cultural activities carry deep meaning of social organization, socio-cultural circumstance, technology developed, social hierarchy including discriminations, etc. in the society. According to Geertz (1973), symbolic study of Balinese society/culture reveals that in the Balinese leading of Balinese experience, a story they tell themselves and continue to follow. This cultural form constitutes for the Balinese a model of themselves and of their society. It also transforms them. Hence, the activities are not only a window into Balinese culture, but it also reproduces that culture (Dahal, 2008:156).

Geertz in thick description argues the aim of anthropology is to interpret the 'meaning of behavior' to explain actions and attitudes that appear puzzling. According to him, culture consists of "structure of significance", "frame of interpretation" or socially established structures of meaning. For him, culture is context and it is the object to the ethnography to describe it. He further states, "The interpretive study of culture represents an attempt to come terms with the diversity of the ways human beings construct their lives in the acts of leading them" (Clifford Geertz, 1973).

From the outset, researchers felt that Geertz's conceptualization of an interpretive anthropology made sense, as any quest for or claim towards aesthetic 'meaning' will have to be 'social', in that 'meaning' arises from use. As Geertz writes:

"If we are to have a semiotics of art (or for that matter, of any sign system not axiomatically self-contained), we are going to have to engage in a kind of natural history of signs and symbols, an ethnography of the vehicles of meaning. Such signs and symbols, such vehicles of meaning, play a role in the life of a society, or some part of a society, and it is that which in fact gives them their life. Here, too, meaning is use or more carefully, arises from use" (Geertz, 1973).

The anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss developed a model which sought for systematic understanding of symbolic interaction within culture. His model is basically structuralist in which he used a set of fundamental oppositions such as nature vs. civilization, wild vs. domestic and raw vs. cooked to produce an overview of how whole societies interact coherently. Levi-Strauss stresses that all cultural artifacts and practices not only have a functional but also a symbolic dimension. It considers different items from pots and buildings to gesture, costume and field layout as the goods for thinking.

Sales (1998) in her article mentioned that political culture, political practices, ideology and actions are the outcomes of political-economic system of the nation. The songs in her research are addressed to rural communities, like farmers, who would live a peaceful life with their own kin, in their fields and in their own houses, celebration festivals, in a sort of golden age, if only the enemy did not disrupt this harmony. This resembles the picture of Nepali life in Nepali folk music.

From the above reviews, it is clear that, emotions, aspirations, sentiments, feelings (even, socio-cultural-political) can be expressed in music, lyrics, stories, poems, etc. The analysis and interpretation of these text reflects the picture of social context, events, phenomena and even relations of particular socio-cultural settings.

As discussed earlier, Bakhtin (1986) highlights the importance of the situated awareness that individual human beings experience in the unique sites they occupy in the world at a particular time and in a particular place. Against this backdrop, the re-reading of Bakhtin's thought has represented a renewed quest for the significance of place and locality within the discipline of anthropology. In the meantime, Bakhtin, contrary to 1960s structuralist thought, always stressed that each individual is 'answerable' for his or her own unique place in time and space. The uniqueness of this place as per him is embedded in culture and language: in a need to act, create, consume and contest social meanings through the use of language made by human. To conclude, for Bakhtin, the dialogic encounter with 'other' voices, the voices in everyday life as well as in while reading in the literary texts-. This paper argues that such a dialogic encounter is fundamental to the experiences of 'other' voices, performers, and their oral and textual narratives, within the area of lyrics of songs.

A central point in an ethnographic description of music should be how music is conceptualized as phenomenon. More specifically the focus of this paper is to discuss the relation between lyrics of songs and context. In order to account for lyrical experience, which is conceived of culturally and socially, four pivotal theoretical concepts claim more profound consideration. They are 'meaning', 'performance', 'context' and lyrical 'object' (or the work). All these concepts are significant to any understanding of the lyrical (musical) experience as a temporal process.

Meaning is always experienced and created by a cultural participant, who is particularly situated in time and place, in culture and context and at the same time, the experience of meaning is inherently cultural as well as individual. The notions of musical meaning and signification have been dealt from different perspectives and with various definitions in the musicological literature. In most cases, the resulting theories and claims have been affected by the epistemological positions and more or less openly expressed. This chapter briefly refers to some of these positions and adds some theoretical arguments which may be essential for outlining of a cultural perspective on lyrical performance.

Considering music as a social activity, this paper has gone beyond the idea of categorizing music as a delimited 'object' that embodies certain characteristics to be directly described by the musicologist. In musicological analysis, musical 'meaning' is often defined as 'structure' and considered to exist in formal features simply to be visualized by different systems of transcription and representation. In such cases, the term 'structure' is often employed in a sense, which has little to do with a literary theoretical or anthropological understanding. Moreover, in music analysis 'meaning' is commonly understood to reside in the musical work- an ontological 'object' also commonly equated, 1986with the musical notation of it (the score). In such cases, the application of the term 'structure' might best be described in some narrow kind of formalism; as very distinct from, Russian formalism, French structuralism, or literary structural theories in

general. Several theoretical problems with the musicological sense of structure could be pointed out in this regard. One is the problem of the ontological status given to music, as there is always a difference between the musical sound and metaphors such as 'works' and 'objects' (Weisethaunet, 1998: 62).

'Meaning' is a temporal experience as much as music is performed and experienced in time. Apart from semantic features, adding body language and 'the entire set of circumstances' (Bakhtin, 1986) - 'meaning' in speech as well as in music (or any kind of utterances, including writing, painting, acting, travelling, walking, etc.) is just as much determined from what is 'not said' as from what is explicitly said or uttered. Moreover, ritual performance not only reflects or mirrors reality but also constructs it. As Bauman & Briggs (1990) argues, performance plays a fundamental role in the 'social construction of social reality' (Weisethaunet, 1998: 175).

Lomax (1976: 9) tried to show relationship between music, society and culture. In his words,

"...that song performances fall into regions which match the main traditions of culture and it appears salient that features of song are symbols for the key institutions of society, such as the sexual division of labor and the state. Thus, it is clear why music and art are so important to society; they identify and reinforce its core structure".

In his comment on Lomax's construction of 'world stylistic maps' Steven Feld (1984) stresses particularly on the need to 'contextualize' in a completely different way than the approach of Lomax:

"I think we need to pioneer a qualitative comparative socio -musicology, without reified and objectified musical and social structural trait lists, without unsituated laminations of variously collected and historically ungrounded materials. The best way to answer Lomax's question about the systematic nature of musical representation in social organization is to study them on the ground, in the field, up close, over long periods of time, where sound structures are observably and undeniably socially structured" (Feld, 1984: 385).

To study 'social life of organized sounds', Feld emphasizes not to oversimplify the culturally specific dimensions of every socio-musical reality; this oversimplification is apparent in the case of Lomax's standardized models, samples, and hypothesis about music as a universal public communication of social identity. As John Blacking (1973) also pointed out, "any single, supposedly universal method of analyzing all music could never be scientific: it could only be dogmatic and ethnocentric." To put differently, Blacking's outlook on contextualization and musical 'meaning' seems to be in accordance with the outlook of this paper.

"Symbols cannot be taken out of their ritual context and interpreted as isolated units containing meaning. Musical discourse is not an objective reality: it is the result of creator, performer, and listener (or transmitter) making sense of sounds, and the problem is to discover how people formulate the musical content" (ibid).

Seeger (1987) asserts that the way music performance is a part of the construction of social process and experience is often not fully realized, not even in the anthropology of music. In this context, Seeger's own work contrasts with the anthropology of music as outlined by Alan Merriam amongst others:

"Anthropology of music looks at the way music is a part of culture and social life. By way of contrast a musical performance creates many aspects of culture and social life. Rather than studying music in culture (as proposed by Merriam 1960), a musical anthropology studies social life as performance. Rather than assuming that there is pre-existing and logically prior social and cultural matrix within which music performed, it

examines the way music is part of the very construction and interpretation of social and conceptual relationships and processes” (Seeger, 1987).

The key point stressed by Seeger is that music creates and constructs reality rather than just reflecting or mirroring social structure or ‘real life.’ As put forward by Seeger in his monograph, the musical experience is a social context to be regarded as equally important as other such context:

“This entire book is an argument that the musical performance is as much a part of the creation of social life as any other part of life, and that the creation and re-creation of relationships through the ceremonial singing creates social context which influences other such contexts” (ibid).

This research examines and presents the lyrics of tragic songs as a vehicle of people's social commentary on their lives. The creation and performance of these songs as observed in Nepal are studied to reveal the dynamics and cultural production of meanings that occur in Nepali village and urban settings and to place these productions in their wider socio – cultural context as Steven Feld argues:

“Music is the most highly stylized forms iconically linked to the broader cultural production of local identity, and indexically linked to contexts and occasions of community participation.” (Feld & Keil, 1994: 269)

On the similar theoretical grounds, researcher in this paper assumes that there may be an interrelationship between the performance of lyrics of tragic songs and the ethos or quality of life in Nepali society. At this point, it is worth considering that Nepali ‘culture’ and ‘society’ is very complex, multi-conglomerate of caste and ethnic group of different origin. Roles and status of people in different society and culture vary according to their geography, climate, altitude, ecology etc. This diversity is not getting high value, in plan and policy formations they usually ignored the such socio-cultural issues of people that resulted the improper and inappropriate analysis and diagnosis of their real problem. Economically vulnerable people are tagged as ‘low-class’ both in household and public sphere in society. While entering the assessment of the identified problem with causal relationship, the starting point here is obviously a problematic one, digging into the field of cultural production historically conceptualized- as accurately described by Keil (1987) as ‘high’ versus ‘low’, which aligns with the the role and status of economically poor men and women in our society.

Feld’s concept of ‘ethos’ may be partly derived from the concept of Gergory Bateson. Bateson (1979) introduced the concept in his study of the Itmul culture of New Guinea (1936). He illustrates the concept of ‘ethos’ with example that ‘tones’ of appropriate behavior (both in English and Itamul culture) are 'expressions of a standardized system of emotional attitudes' (Bateson, 1979: 119). Moreover, he also discussed the relationship between ‘ethos’ and ‘cultural structure’ and combined and argued the theories of anthropology, biology and psychology.

“The change in my way of thinking had arisen from the addition of emotional emphasis to what was originally a purely formal picture, and so came to believe that ethos was the thing that mattered”. (ibid)

After twenty- two years Bateson (1979) wrote as “These theoretical concepts have an order of objective reality. They are really descriptions of processes of knowing, adopted by scientists, but to suggest that 'ethos' or ‘social structure’ has more reality than this is to commit Whitehead’s fallacy of misplaced concreteness” (ibid). As outlined by Bateson (1979), the emotional aspects of culture are essentially ‘real’ and significant to cultural experiences. During the observation of this study, the socio-cultural and economic impacts of the music performance of the tragic songs

based on the story of economically deprived to substantiated the economic resources by the emigration towards the foreign countries whether in the name of *lahure* or in the name of employment. The situation created in the family cause the tragedy after the death of employee. The lyrics about the emotional story of *lahure* in Nepali society and culture are not exclusively structural in a way it is also significantly emotional.

The research topic focuses on the major part of everyday life of economically poor people and their 'culture'. One necessary clarification might be made explicit what is more specifically the trend to go foreign employment as *lahure* culture here with which we are concerned. The fundamental way of life of the people in such setting is to work in home town with harsh life; or to further "work as a servant" in foreign country in various form of employments. Their practice of working in domestic sphere is an activity which may also be fixing or influencing their experiences of 'quality of life' (Feld, 1984 a) or 'the ethos' (Bateson.1979) of the culture here in charge. In this context, Steven Feld's critique of what he termed the "historical reification of constant forms and fixed elements" within the discipline has been of great influence.

From the purposive methods of lyricist survey, the research objective is to interpret and describe the lyrics of tragic songs of *lahure* and representation of Nepali village life symbolically in the lyrics of such songs. This research study explored the questions of lyrical and aesthetic meaning, sensation, emotions, and local cultural practices and experiences. In this sense, the relation between socio-cultural practices and lyrical interpretation seems to be deeply co-related with each other. As Feld and Keil (1994: 150) mention, "Sound and sensations are cognitively and emotionally integrated in the deepest sense, not just as metaphoric equivalents, but as felt iconic wholeness."

Accordingly, rather than viewing voices through lyrics as symbolic representation, Feld arrives at an interpretation of Kalui musical experiences as 'iconicity of style'. In doing so, Feld (1984 a) argues for the inevitable social complexity of musical style; in which what he terms extra-musical as well as socio-musical markings as fundamental to what is specifically articulated in the sonic-musical.

Research methodology employed

This study is neither responsive nor the reactive in nature. It is based on the studio research design and follows purpose sampling. It analyses the content of lyrics of songs- 'He Barai' and 'Bola Maya' and their symbolic interpretation. The lyrists, music composer and singers as key informants were interviewed or discussed so as to generate information primarily.

Based on the nature of the research, unobtrusive measure is chosen. It includes a variety of research techniques that have no impact on whom or what is being studied. Those are called non-reactive since people's behavior is not influenced. Many social scientists find it is useful to study cultural, economic and political documents, including newspapers, periodicals, radios and televisions, tapes, diaries, scripts, songs, folklores and legal papers to name a few examples. According to Schaefer and Lamm (1992: 48), in these sort of study, the content analysis technique is used, which is the systematic coding and objective recording of data guided by some rational. Content analysis is typically viewed as useful in studying print media such as newspapers, magazines and books. But this technique of unobtrusive measurement can also be used to study the content of movies television, programs and videos (ibid.).

Purposively two songs were selected- "He Barai" and "Bola Maya" so as to compare the songs' lyrics to juxtapose the content and the context of the lyrics through which we can understand the context of contemporary socio-cultural settings. Lyricist survey is selected purposively to

identify the similar nature of songs. Content analysis in lyricist survey is the methodology to generate the information about the songs, their content and context. Key informant interviews were possible to attend with informants; lyricist, singer and music composer of a sample and another was not possible at the moment.

This research aims to perform qualitative analysis through content analysis method. Two lyrics are selected purposively- "*He barai*" by *Jhalakman Gandhrava* and "*Bola maya*" by *Prakash Saput*. These two songs belong to the genre of folk songs or dialogic genre, in which a bilateral musical conversation takes place among and between the messenger, the *Gaine* (minstrel with Sarangi musical instrument), villagers and in the story, in which the songs are based on.

Harris (1976: 34) mentions:

"If behavioral events are described in terms of categories and relationships that arise from the observer's strategic criteria of similarity, difference and significance, they are etic, if they are described in terms of criteria elicited from an informant; they are emic."

The emic mode of analysis favors the point of view of the members of the community under the study and hence attempts to describe how members assign meanings to a given act or to the difference between two different acts. The etic perspective is one which is instead culture-independent and simply provides a classification of behaviours on the basis of a set of features devised by the observer/researcher (ibid).

In this study, lyricist survey methods was used for obtaining background information, extensive socio-economic message, cultural, political study of village life, unemployment situations, family love, tragedy etc. along with their status, access and control over resources and power in Nepali society and culture. The survey provided information about village life in general and context of resource use and its ownership, in one hand and control in the other hand. Moreover, it also provided the information about subordinate role of women in family, society exploitation, inequality, and disparity, etc. Perceptions on lahure, village situations, village economy including various components like family bond, love affection, tragedy etc., were collected from this method.

In this study, events of sentimental as episode in musical expression, dialogic genera and lyrical conversations are treated as two way communication in socio-cultural context are mentioned above. Narrations about it could provide information about particular events' episode. Basically, it was used to gather information about political narrations in sentimental songs about village contexts are described.

Content analysis

Generally, content analysis is typically considered as useful in studying print media such as newspapers, magazines and books. But these techniques of unobtrusive measurement could also be used to study the content of movies, television, programs and videos.

Content analysis is one of the classical procedures for analyzing textual material no matter where this material comes from- ranging from media products to interview data (Flick, 2010: 323). One of its essential features is the use of categories which are often derived from theoretical models. The categories are brought to the empirical materials and not necessarily developed from it, although they are repeatedly assessed against it and modified if necessary. Above all and contrary to other approaches, the goal here is to reduce the material. Anthropologists have developed a procedure for a qualitative content analysis, which includes a procedural model of text analysis and different techniques for applying it (Flick, 2010: 323).

According to Flick (2010: 324) the content analysis process model goes through the following processes:

First step: definition of the material

Second step: analyzing the situation in which it was produced

Third step: formal classification of focal units the material

Fourth step: theoretical differentiation of the research questions

Fifth step: definition of the analytical technique(s) and of the concrete process model

Sixth step: definition of the analytical units

Seventh/last step: interpretation of the results according to main research question

The study followed these methods with few modifications in order to align the method with topic, time and context so as to make research more valid and reliable.

This research aimed to perform qualitative analysis through content analysis method. Songs were selected as universe for the research topic and the content of these songs were analyzed through emic mode of context analysis.

Key informant interviews with lyricists, music composer and singers were also conducted so as to gather information to verify the perceptions, attitudes and musical expressions about their songs; how it was created? In which context it was written? For what and for which situations the songs were appropriate to analyse?

Culture and society: contexts and contents

The everyday life of Nepali people is fixed or regulated by ritual activities to a great extent. There is a significant number of festivals and rituals celebrations according to the yearly cycle of the Nepali calendar. Nepal is known as the 'land of festivals' and the Newari people of Kathmandu valley are said to be celebrating more diverse and different festivals each year, which of course implies that there will often be several festivals and celebration going on at the same time. The Nepali Hindu calendar, being divided into a series of auspicious and inauspicious events, is the driving force for the significant number of social activities. However, the celebration of festivals and seasonal rites are locally organized in different ways as they may vary from neighborhood to neighborhood even inside each 'ethnic group', 'caste', or '*jat*' (Weisethaunet, 1998: 178).

In Nepal, music performance acts as central to the religious, social, and ritual activities. Thus, a central question arises, how is the relation between music (especially message) and society to be conceived? The reflections of this study around the topic of lyrics of songs as a ritualized activity may be seen as influenced by the work of Feld (1984 a), and Anthony Seeger. According to Seeger (1987), music is not just something which happens 'in' society. A society might also be usefully conceived of as something which happens 'in music'. As argued by him, it is through music and dance performance that fundamental aspect of *Suya*, social organization is recognized: social time is ritually articulated. Such is also the role of music and ritual among the women and a vast number of other Nepali people. In Nepal, music performance and the celebration of auspicious and inauspicious events, and festivals are ritualizing time, inhabiting time and giving time collectively and individually.

Now, there are two songs among various songs as sample presented here to show the situation of society in which the status of family, unemployment situations, single person dependent family subsistence economy, situation of foreign employment, lahure culture, emotions, tragedy etc were presented in both songs. First of all the song entitled "he barai" represents the various songs which dramatized situations of lahure in the pictures of all society through songs in Nepal.

He barai

हे बरै

हे बरै....., हे बरै.....

दशि धारा पो नरोए अमा-2

बाँचे पठाउम्ला तस्बिरै खिचेर..

कस्तो लेख्योनि भाबीले,

कर्मलिला ठैमलाउ हजुर-2

.....

हे बरै

बाबाले सोधलानी खै छोरा भन्नलान्-2

रन जित्दैछन भन्दिए-3

अामाले सोधिलननी खै छोरा भन्निल् -2

रजहै खुल्यो भन्दिए -2

दाजैले सोधलान नि खै भाई भन्नलान् -2

अंशै बढ्यो भन्दिए -2

भाउजुले सोधिलननी खै देवर भन्निल् -2

खसी काट भन्दिए-2

भाइले सोधलाननी खै दाजै भन्नलान् -2

घेरमा परे भन्दिए -2

दिदीले सोधिलननी खै भाई भन्निल् -2

माइति घटे भन्दिए -2

बैनीले सोधिलननी खै दाजै भन्निल् -2

चोली घट्यो भन्दिए -2

छोराले सोध्लाननी खै बाबा भन्लान् -2

टोपि झिक भन्दिए -2

छोरी ले सोध्लिननी खै बाबा भन्लिन -2

सुन चुराको दान दिए -2

प्रियाले सोध्लिननी खै स्वामी भन्लिन -2

बाटो फूक्यो भन्दिए -2

साथीले सोध्लाननी खै लाहुरे भन्लान -2

माया मार भन्दिए -2

बटाउलीको बजारमा, चार- छैन लाहा पैसाको-2

शिरको स्वामी स्वर्गे हुँदा, घर बस्नीलाई थाहा छैन -2

शिसैकाट्योनी गोलीले,

रणामा परी मरेछन लाहुरै ।

बाबा रून्छन लाई बर्ष दिन, अामा जुगै भरिलाई हजुर ।..

बाबा रून्छन लाै बर्ष दिन, अामा जुगै भरिलाई हजुर ।..

he barai (cliché of the song)³

(Don't cry your eyes out, mother)²

Will send my photo, if I survive.

I've been cheated,

While my destiny was written.

He barai (cliché of the song)³

My father may ask, where's my son?

(Tell him, I'm fighting the war)³

My mother may ask where's my son?

(Tell her the battle has begun)2

My elder brother may ask, where's my brother?

(Tell him the portion of his inheritance has become larger)2

My sister-in-law (brother's wife) may ask, where's my brother-in-law?

(Tell her to sacrifice goat to celebrate)

My younger brother may ask, where's my brother?

(Tell him, I'm trapped by enemy)

My elder sister may ask, where's my brother?

(Tell her that her one of her *maiti* (brother's house for married sister) is no more,

My younger sister may ask, where's my brother?

(Tell her that she will receive one less choli in gift now)

My son may ask, where's my father?

(Tell him to take off his cap)2

My daughter may ask, where's my father?

(Donate her a gold bangle)2

My wife may ask, where's my husband?

(Tell her that the paths are open for her)2

(My friends may ask, where's *lahure*?)2

(Tell them to forget me now.)2

(There is no *laha* (wax seals) of four *paisa* in Batauli (Butwal) bazar)2,

(The wife at home doesn't know even when the husband is killed)2

Bullet is made of glass,

And *lahure* is killed in the battlefield.

My father will cry for a year but my mother will cry forever.

My father will cry for a year but my mother will cry forever.

This song tells the story of *lahure* (soldier), who died in the battlefield and Gaine, the singer says though his father will cry for a year, his mother will cry forever. But could the *lahure* count him lucky? What does it mean to be lucky when the employing country takes advantage from the person who is trying to escape from the poverty? Then, perhaps for a *lahure*, his country may not have borders (how can it be, though). Did not his ancestors know how lowly paid they were, compared to British and Commonwealth soldiers? Did they realize that even the British court ruling in 2007 barred them from receiving a pension equal to their British counterpart? Or like many other *lahures*, were they just grateful to get a job and dismissed their cries for equal rights with the feeling that 'we come from a nation with poor economy so, we shouldn't talk about rights and all. Politics is a game for the privileged not for us. Nations and governments are ideas for the 'haves'. The pangs of an empty stomach are simple enough.'

The words of songs are formulated as a message from the *lahure* in the battlefield. In one way, it is a formulation of his last thoughts: what to say to his mother? What to say to his son and daughter and what to say to his beloved ones? And how might he be able to formulate that kind of message? These and so thoughts of the *lahure* are mixed in this song, which is observed and narrated by **Gaine**, the messenger of society. As the soldier is wondering how to communicate his painful message as it is sure that he is never to return his home as observed by the messenger, "bullet cut the glass..... the fact is so painful as one gets hurt from broken glass... that *lahure* is in the Warfield... I see the flower is dried".

The message mainly concerned with his emotional suffering rather than focusing on the physical pain of his suffering. The fact he is being torn away from his dearest ones. Furthermore, in the song the soldier's experience of sorrow and pain is intermingled with the receivers' sorrow and pain, when they receive the painful message. The song expresses the story of the dying soldier through the messenger (the Gaine) to the receivers, the soldier's family in the village. Poetically it is crafted in such a way that audience cannot figure out, the presence of *lahure*, his family and the messenger, which is interwoven in the song.

The message in the song is concerned with the worry and pain of the *lahure*, while it also brings in the worry of his family simultaneously. Since the *lahure* has died far away from their place, the family can never be completely assured about death despite having received the message. Thus, several lines of ambiguity and doubt are featured in the formation of the song. As the family neither witnessed the death nor received the body, they will always have the feeling, like "... either our son is still in the war or he is not getting leave to come home..." The message of *lahure* has kept them in the state of confusion and shock. No matter how the message is formulated or the facts are presented to them, the fact of his departure is not easily accepted. Their pain, suffering and loss cannot be healed, which is nicely captured in the line, "my father will cry for a year but my mother will cry forever."

The song has brought together the voices of three areas; the *lahure*, his family members, and the messenger, which can be analyzed in different lines. However, some of the lines may be ambiguous and thus the meaning can be found in more than one level. From this point of view, linguistically, the song can be analyzed in terms of different functions viz. conative, emotive, referential and meta lingual functions (Jacobson, 1960). However, the focus of this study is to analyse the song in terms of the emotive function.

The relations that emerge here between the song and the emotional response are interactive and complex, rather than intentional or stimuli oriented. The paper will argue that the song reflects the personal experiences of a soldier but in a big picture, it is also a larger and socially constructed collective memory, being particularly embodied and linked to place: the ubiquitous experience of Nepali village. As Casey (1987:147) argues, body memory alludes to memory that is intrinsic to the body, "to its own ways of remembering" a way of remembering that in the view of Casey had no sustained recognition from Plato to Kant (**Merleau-Ponty**, 1962). Commonly the term synthesis points to the complexity and interactive nature of sensory ratios: "the transposition of sensory images or sensory attributes from one modality to another, the medley of senses bleeding into each other's zone of expectations" (Taussig, 1993: 57). Following Feld'(1984a) as arguments, perception or presences in the term of Merleau-Ponty cannot be limited to embodied presences and what later cognitive psychologists and philosophers have called an 'embodied mind' or a 'body in the mind', but should be linked to a more fundamental phenomenological understanding of 'memory' and the senses (Casey, 1987: 194).

Similarly, another popular song entitled 'bola maya' also represents the story about the general social life in any part of the Nepal, though it is the case of Baglung district. The everyday life, socio-economic situations, that found in the area which consisted in songs are more or less similar. Youths are eager to go foreign country especially gulf countries to seek job opportunities to sustain their family life. The family mostly depended on male economically, when died in foreign country, would ultimately painful for them.

बोलमाया...

हेआकाशैमा जादाखेरी...

आउदा बाकसैमा

लाउन खोज्दा सिन्दुरको

भाडो खस्यो भुइँमा

यतातिर भाडो खस्ने उता परान जाने

बिरानो त्यो मुलुकमा कसले देला पानि

परदेशी को हुँदैन भर

हेआश फर्किने बरै.. मात्रै

के रैछ र ?? जिन्दगी भन्नु

हेमात्रै सास मुठी एक बरै..

हेमात्रै सास मुठी एक बरै..

धन ल्याउछु भन्दै गएका थियोँ उडेर आकाशमा

कस्तो भइँ गयोँ कस्तो भइँ आयोँ काठैको बाकसमा

संगै जाम स्वर्ग

भनेको भए मै जाने थिन र ??

जबाफ देउ प्यारा

एक बचन बोल बोल्दैनौँ किन र...

बोलबोल बचन एक माया...

तिम्रै बोलि छ मलाई अनमोल..

बोलबोल बचन एक माया...

तिम्रै बोलि छ मलाई अनमोल..
तिम्रै बोलि छ मलाई अनमोल..
कमाउला धमाउला भनि
हेउडेर गएको बरै..
लैदियो हितैको परान
हेचुडेर दैबले बरै..
लैदियो हितैको परान
हेचुडेर दैबले बरै..

सासुले भन्लिन छोरा लाई खाइदिइ
ससुरा के भन्लान
समाजले पनि फलानी साह्रै
अलच्छिनी छे भन्लान
तिमलेनै देको सिन्दुर चुरा का राखु के गरु
बिचैमा छडी जानेले किन भन्यौ र बिहे गरौ
(बोलबोल वचन एक माया-
तिम्रै बोलि छ मलाई अनमोल(2
तिम्रै बोली छ मलाई अनमोल
परदेशीको हृदैन भर हे बरै फर्किने लासमात्र
(के रैछ र जिन्दगी भन्नू
हे बरै एक मुठी सास मात्रर(

स्वर्ग को बाटो अफट्यारो होला कसरी जाउला नि
एक मुट्टी पानी खुवाउन नि पायेन
तिर्खा पो लाउला नि
सती जाउ भन्ये यो निर्धो सन्तान हुर्केको छ पेट मा

पेट को लाइ संसार देखायेर आउछु पखेँ है गेट मा

(बोलबोल वचन एक माया-

तिमै बोलि छ मलाइ अनमोल(2

तिमै बोली छ मलाइ अनमोल

Male;

(जिन्दगी खरानी भयो

हे बरै बग्यो नि तिरै तिर

जानी लाइ है सुख भयो

हे बरै बस्नी लाइ पिरै पिर) 2

(बोलबोल वचन एक माया-

तिमै बोलि छ मलाइ अनमोल(2

तिमै बोली छ मलाइ अनमोल

Male (Gaine)

While going abroad, you flew in the sky,

And now you returned in the wooden box (coffin).

While trying to put sindur (vermillion powder) here,

The vermillion case pot fell on the ground.

While the pot fell down here, the life is no more there.

Who would give the last drop of water to you in unknown land?

You can't trust the one who has gone to foreign land

He barai (cliché of the song), it's only a ray of hope to return,

Life would mean nothing.

He barai, it's only a handful of breath.

He barai, it's only a handful of breath.

Female:

You had flown in the sky to bring the wealth,

But now see, how you returned in the coffin (wooden box)?

If you asked me to go to the heaven,

Wouldn't I accompany you?

Reply me my dear,

Speak up once, why don't you speak?

Speak up my love, just once.

Because your speech is precious to me

Speak up my love, just once.
Because your speech is precious to me
(Speak up my love,
Speak up just a single statement
Your speech is priceless to me)²
Your speech is priceless to me

Gain:

He flew for the sake of earning,
But *he barai*, the god took the life of the dear,
But *he barai*, the god took the life of the dear.

Female:

Mother-in-law may accuse me of your death,
What would the father-in-law accuse me?
Society may charge me as inauspicious,

What would I do with vermilion power and bangles you gifted?
Why did you marry me, if would leave me in the middle?
(Speak up my love,
Speak up just a single statement
Your speech is priceless to me)²
Your speech is priceless to me

Speak up my love
Speak up just a single statement
Your speech is priceless to me
(Speak up my love
Speak up just a single statement
Your speech is priceless to me)²
Your speech is priceless to me

You can't trust the one who has gone to the foreign land.
He barai, only the corpse returns,
(Life would mean nothing.
He barai, it's only a handful of breath.)²

Female:

The path of heaven might be difficult,
how would you go?
I couldn't feed the water at last,
Perhaps, you may suffer from the thirst
Even if I would wish to go for suttee, I've conceived your child,
I will come to see you after showing the world to the child,
Please wait me at the heaven's gate
(Speak up my love

Speak up just a single statement
Your speech is priceless to me)²
Your speech is priceless to me

Gaine:

Life turned into ash,
He barai, the ash flew on the shores of river,
The deceased get rid of sorrow,
He barai, now those who survive sink in the worry and sorrow.

(Speak up my love
Speak up just a single statement
Your speech is priceless to me)²
Your speech is priceless to me

It is a folk song inspired by the *Gaine* or *Gandharva* Song. It is a popular type of folk song sung only by the *Gandharva*, an ethnic group of Nepal, who travel and sing with their Sarangi (a musical instrument) like minstrels. This song shows the sad story of Nepali people who have been compelled to leave their motherland for employment and livelihood. It weaves the story of a family who lost their son while working abroad. Moreover, it also depicts the psycho-socio state of a woman who has lost her husband.

This song deals with the family tragedy caused by the death of the son while working abroad. People generally go abroad for employment opportunities but this has brought so many tragedies in families like cleavage between father and son, daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law, husband and wife. In this backdrop, the paper has visualized the three dimensional situations in these songs; first, state of the sorrow, tensions and emotions after the departure of husband, which results the multiple victimization of the wife in the family and the society. Similarly, there is also the state of the loss of son or the earner in the family secondly and third, the gap and absence of father for the new generation, which may affect their socialization. Both the songs entitled "*He barai*" and "*Bola maya*" are sentimental, tragic at different level with different perspectives. The solution to avoid this is only to reduce the emigration situation and moving towards the creation of employment opportunity in country, which ultimately takes country towards the direction of 'Prosperous Nepal and the Happy Nepali'. All sectors of country are responsible for the creation of prosperous country and happy citizen.

These two songs reflect the economic, emotional situational and socio-cultural 'life of village'. Prakash Saput (in *Bola maya*) would argue that music must reveal the state of the life about rural village in Nepal and in his words music should not be performed at a "superficial level". As he often would claim: "To create music we need to observe the real happenings of the daily life of people." For him, music emanates from the life of villages. In his opinion, people of particular places may use their voices, feelings, emotions in specific ways, in speech and songs. These qualities of originality of songs are to be captured by the lyricist, musician and singers in such a way that the specific local stories, experiences, local voices, emotions, sentiments and sound qualities should be represented in the tragic music and music should be associated with the local place.

Such comprehensions of the musical sound are based on the experience of a sound world which is inherently local and inherently cultural. The music is "inscribed in culture", which is the aesthetics of folk songs. The flavor of songs can be better experienced by the audience having the similar background knowledge of the society. Without this local 'sound knowledge', the audience would not be able to locate and associate music with local experiences. According to Prakash Saput, songs must dive deep to showcase the tragic experiences of people. He would argue, the only way to make the songs generally and "popular battle folk music" is particularly; is to learn from the village; and the musical "sound" is thought to emanate directly from the experience of being "touched" or moved by the experiences of village.

To sum up, music is considered here as the medium for expressing experience, particularly the experiences of the local place's world. Moreover, as Prakash Saput notes, he would generally not start making or composing song without having the experiences of the local places. He views that music has to come "naturally", as a direct revelation of the experiences of places and events. The concept of "diving deep" thus is associated with the ability of the performer to capture the local 'fact' in sound and performance; a 'truth' of memory and experience which goes 'deeper' than what eyes can view; a 'truth' which might be emotional; a 'fact or truth' which thought performance will bring forth recognition add remembrance. According to Prakash Saput, basically audiences see the music with eyes and listen with ears. But sentimental or tragic folk songs are unique and carry different meaning, which is as deep as ocean. Therefore, they are not easy to create. Audience may close their eyes and visualize the life of particular places or villages.

Prakash Saput views that '*Bola maya*' represents the story of a village, where the family is dependent to the son after the retirement of his father. In order to overcome the unemployment, the son decides to go to the Arabian countries but he dies some ways while working abroad. And this song covers the story of his death before performing the funeral ceremony. This particular moment is very painful for the family members and especially the wife or mother express their unfulfilled dreams and commitment, loss and pain through the song, which is mixed with tears and tragedy.

Shanti Shree a singer in states that "this kind of songs carry the stories faced by previous generations of *lahure*, who fought the wars and now the same is being faced by the people who are abroad for foreign employment." She emphasizes that "there is no changes in the story and character of foreign employment except the actors. Previously fathers used to go for the employment but it is the turn of son." Her concern is to address the problem of unemployment in country, she importantly raises the voice as "...leaders, administrators, politicians and government should focus on resolving the issues of unemployment through this song. She further states that these people in decision making may not know about the songs but they might hear public opinion about it."

Narayan Rayamajhi, a singer, lyricist and composer has presented the comparison of past history of *lahure* culture with present trend of foreign employment. Previously, *lahure* went abroad to fight against the rivals to earn the livelihood of their family. At that time, dead bodies were and are brought when *lahure* died and die, but the story is different now. Because of the political instability and other circumstances, foreign employment is a compulsion but not a choice of the youths. Foreign employment without skills and knowledge brought the consequences of situations which ultimately results sorrow, pain and loss for more and tragedy for few. Therefore, the song "*Bola maya*" is one of the tragic songs about *lahure* life then and now, which comprise

the tragic stories, including the sorrows, feelings, emotions and sentiments of home, society, village with their real life through the dialogic songs.

Rayamajhi added "... little or no knowledge about foreign language, unknown job description in, lacks of skills required for job etc. contribute to the trouble in the foreign country and *Bola maya* represents the story of most of Nepali people working abroad and their family in Nepal." He further said that '*Bola maya*' is the sentimental song representing the life of Nepali people and the song is created based on the event that took place in the foreign land during his/her work.

The phenomenological and social anthropological perspective of this song is 'prevention is better than cure' in the case of foreign employment opportunities and previously known as *lahure* culture. To prevent such tragedy government should accommodate the huge number of youths in employment by creating various economic opportunities inside the country is better than to provide the incentives while going to foreign employment. Both foreign employment and *lahure* culture have been helping Nepali society by providing economic assistance in one way but in another way, such practices are contributing to degrade the family relationship and social bond. The dependency with foreign employment market ultimately widens the gap between global market, rural life and family life. So many issues are emerging nowadays in relation to foreign employment in household and family level, society, which calls for a huge effort to resolve. It is necessary to discourage the practice of going to foreign employment from the level of family, society and nation and should create working opportunity for mass jobs in the country. Both the songs '*He barai*' and '*Bola maya*' are the representative songs capturing the real pictures, stories and say 'everyday real life' of people within the country and outside.

Summary and conclusion

At the end, it is useful to discuss the application of Geertzian and Bakhtinian concepts of 'symbolism through event' and 'chronotope' in describing people's voices through their native songs according to time and space. As Bakhtin asks, and concludes, in his work: "What is the significance of all these chronotopes? What is most obvious is their meaning for narrative. As he writes:

"We cannot help but be strongly impressed by the representational importance of the chronotope. Time becomes in effect, palpable and visible; the chronotope makes narrative events concrete, makes them take on flesh, and causes blood to flow in their veins." (ibid)

In this sense, it is felt that the Geertzian concept of 'symbols of events' and Bakhtian concept of the 'chronotope' have helped this study to visualize the significance of the 'realistic' events of the sentimental and tragic songs, which has reflected the everyday life of Nepali villagers. However, there is a problem of reflexivity inherent in the concept of the chronotope itself. In describing an event, we are already creating a new chronotope: just as the reader enters a third chronotope in reading the anthropological text. There is always an unbridgeable gap between the event and its interpretation or description. For an anthropologist, the essential point is to be aware of these problems of reflexivity in anthropological work and issues, which is discussed in relation to Geertzian model of symbolic interpretation and Bakhtin's concept of the 'dialogic imagination'. Nonetheless, both the concepts of symbolic interpretation and chronotopes are useful, as they focus on the attention on musical experience as an event rather than as a 'work' or 'circumscribed object'. The experience of music is chronotopic in the sense that it resides in concrete events in people's lives; people make sense of music as a part of their life experiences. This indicates that the experience of one and the same music will vary from individual to individual according to time and place in people's life. Previously the popular *lahure* culture

now can also be juxtaposed with the tragic story of foreign employee may resemble the similar story of tragedy, sentiments and so on with the *lahure*, but with the different circumstances. Both the songs chosen in this study hold the same gravity of feelings, sentiments, psycho- socio impact, love and so on but with the different stories. Music travels, in between various subject positions according to their socio-cultural settings. As most contemporary anthropologists agree, the autonomy and boundedness of cultures must nowadays are understood as a matter of degree. Nevertheless, it is conceived that Nepali culture as a fairly coherent and locally bounded experience. The paper has also pointed out that lyrics of these tragic songs represent the voices of the people associated with *lahure* and foreign employment. While analyzing the situation, the songs not only represents the rural or village life but they also reflect other cases like, urban, caste, class, gender, ethnicity, religion, region, ecology, etc. Thus, the songs represent all these factors because they all are the product of society and culture. They are dynamic too and because of dynamism, the changes have taken place. Therefore, the lyrics of any songs can be the strong means to express the human sentiments, emotions, feelings, socio-psychological and behavioral activities and performance. So, the study of lyrics efficiently provides the clear understanding of the society, culture and human behaviors and the two songs '*He barai*' and '*Bola maya*' reflects the contemporary Nepali society.

“*Lahure* life of Nepali society through lyrics of tragic songs based on *lahure* or foreign employee life is possible and it is appropriate.”

Acknowledgement

B. P. Dahal, is thankful to Late Jhalakman Gandharva, Prakash Saput, Sapana Shree Pariyar and Narayan Rayamajhi for their songs which is lyrical content to analyze.

References

- M.M. Bakhtin, "Speech Genres and Other Late Essays", (1986) Trans. Vern W. McGee, Austin, Tx: University of Texas Press
- G. Bateson, "Mind and Nature; A Necessary Unity"(1979), New York: Bantam
- R. Bauman & C.L. Briggs, "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 1990 (19), Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- R. Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance" (1977), Illinois; Waveland Press
- J. Blacking, "How Musical is Man?" (1973), University of Washington Press, Seattle, U.S.A
- E. S. Casey, "Remembering a Phenomenological Study" (1987), Bloomington and Indian, Apolis: Indiana University Press.
- B. P. Dahal, "An Analysis of Nepali Culture and Society". (2008), Kathmandu: Benchmark Education Support Pvt. Ltd.
- S. Feld, & A. Fox, "Music and Language", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1994 (23). Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- S. Feld, & C. Keil, "Music Grooves; Essays Dialogues", (1994) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- S. Feld, "Communication, Music and Speech about Music", (1984 a) *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, Vol. 16.
- R. Finnegan, "Oral Poetry; Its Nature, Significance and Social Context". (1992), Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- U. Flick, "An Introduction to Qualitative Research", (2010), 4th (ed.) Sage Publication India Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi
- C. Geertz, "The interpretation of Cultures", (1973) New York: Harper Collins Publishers

- C. Geertz, "Local Knowledge; Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology', (1983), New York: Basic Books.
- M. Harris "History and Significance of the Emic/Etic Distinction", *Annual review of Anthropology* (1976) ,Vol. 5.
- C. Keil, "Participatory Discrepancies and the Power of Music", *Cultural Anthropology*, (1987), vol.2(3)
- A. Lomax, "Cantomerica; An Approach to the Anthropology of Music", (1976) Audio cassettes and a Handbook, Berkley: University of California Extension Media Center.
- L.B. Meyer, "Emotion and Meaning in Music" (1956), Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- A. D. Sales, "Remarks on Revolutionary Songs and Iconography" in *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, (1998) 24 (5-24).
- R. T. Schaefer, & R. P. Lamm, "Sociology" (Fourth edition), (1992), McGraw- Hill: Inc.
- A. Seeger, "Why Suya Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People" (1987)
- C. Small, "Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in afro-American Music" (1987), London: Calder Publishers LTD.
- M. Taussig, "Mimesis and Alterity; A Particular History of the Senses', (1993) New York: Routledge.
- A. Taylor, 'World War II: After the War", (2011), The Atlantic
- H. Weisethaunet, "The Performance of Everyday Life; the Gāine of Nepal", (1998), Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.

