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Biocentric Self in Tharu Folk Songs: A Study of an Affiliation between Ecology and
Subjectivity

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Letter of Recommendation

Mohan Dangaura has completed his dissertation entitled “Biocentric Self in Tharu Folk Songs: A Study of Nexus between Ecology and Subjectivity” under my supervision. He carried out his research from 26th Feb 2020 to 6th Sept. 2021. I hereby recommend his dissertation be submitted for the pre/final viva voice.

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Approval Letter

This research work entitled “Biocentric Self in Tharu Folk Songs: A Study of Nexus between Ecology and Subjectivity” submitted to the Central Department of English in Tribhuvan University by Mohan Dangaura has been approved by the undersigned members of the Research Committee.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation entitled “Biocentric Self in Tharu Folk Songs: A Study of Nexus Between Ecology and Subjectivity” submitted to the office of the Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, is an entirely original work, and I have made due acknowledgements to all ideas and information borrowed from different sources in the course of writing the dissertation. The results presented in this dissertation have not been presented anywhere else for award of any degree or for any other reasons. No part of the content of this dissertation has ever been published in any form before. I shall be solely responsible if any evidence is found against my declaration.

.....

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Acknowledgements

When I decided to complete my dissertation, I just wanted to write on certain ready-made materials, such as fiction or non-fiction books. However, there was big question to come out with something which will appear genuine and local. After unable to answer the question in different platform on what research I have done in Tharu Studies being a Tharu, this time I decided to find some pertinent issue in indigenous Tharu folk dance songs. At least, now I have a hope that it will make me eligible to discuss on such distinct local subject since such research on ethnography can assist in further research to national and international intellectuals. In making this dissertation smoothly arrive to destination and assisting in co-ordination of all available sources, following individuals are highly appreciated:

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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the themes of biocentric egalitarianism in Dangaura Tharu folk performance. The folk performance reflects the agrestic lifestyle of Tharu community. The paper emphasizes the eco-critical reading of the performances: primarily folk dance songs. The research uses principles of deep ecology as promulgated by George Sessions and Arne Naess. Deep ecology is an environmental philosophy that endorses the intrinsic eminence of all living beings regardless of their instrumental utility to human necessities, and moreover the reforming of modern humanities in accord with such concepts. Tharu folk songs and rituals assist them to connect with ecology and motivate them to acculturate the biocentric self. To analyze the performance, the aid of visuals produced under different *YouTube* banners has been applied. The research has developed its analysis into three chapters: "Ecology and Memory of Performance: From Content to Context of Selected Tharu folk songs," "Biocentric Egalitarianism and Sense of Place in Tharu Folk Dance Songs," "Jhumra and Chhokra: Intercommunication of Pain and Pleasure in Folklore." The initial chapter analyzes the concepts of ecology and topographical memory reviewing the concepts of folklore. The subsequent chapter elaborates on the spectacle from the theoretical insights of Naess and Sessions. The final chapter focuses on the social communication exchanging love and misfortune by the performers. The folklores of the community assemble the pre-modern egalitarian concept vital to regenerate our ecology.

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List of Abbreviations

FESA	Federal Endangered Species Act	20
KVC	Kailari Village Council	50

I. Ecology and Memory of Performance: From Content to Context of Selected Tharu Folk Songs

There have been numerous instances where folklorists have concluded their research by accumulating the data received in their research process. The folklores collected and published under different research programmes have rarely focused on the critical interpretation of their collections. Thus, the folklores collected under any themes should be analyzed to decipher their historical implications. This section of the paper examines the context of Dangaura Tharu folk songs in the light of memory and topography. Alan Dundes's analytical essays provide a wide range of definitions of folklore. His essays describe folklores as the mirror of culture. Thus, he emphasizes the literary criticism of lore. Dundes has primarily examined the contexts of these folklores, so that the memory of the performers could be extrapolated.

Dangaura Tharu folklores rehearse tradition, literacy, memory, and sense of space. *Dhamar*, *Jhumra*, *Mynah*, *Sajana*, and *Mangar* unfold different layers of their memory. The Dangaura Tharu artists perform their relationship with the landscape, ecology, and community in the past. The songs include the sense of displaced eco-individual, loss of native habitat, the symbolism of animals, birds, and plants. Moreover, the ritualistic folklores exploit the contextual theme of the performance. Since the performance is community operated throughout the whole year, each dance has its own specific context. Though most of them are agrestic in tone, not all performances simply blend the annual routine of the peasants. They often get replaced with new phrases and new motifs. For instance, *Dhamar* could be about the family separation during the festival of Maghi. Similarly, *Mangar* could be the anxiety of a woman who leaves her home after the marriage. Thus, elaborating the setting of their

exhibition assists to create more authentic interpretation.



Fig. 1. Tharu women performing Sakhiya at Bhada Homestay. Dhangadhi. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

Dundes tries to change the cliché of folklore definition. In "Folklore as a Mirror of Culture," Dundes defines folklore as autobiographical ethnography (55). The folklores are performers' own version of their description. However, we should not get confused the folk performance as the relic of their past but as an expression of present-day issues. He discovers such context performance as an occasion to promote one's ethnocentrism. Nonetheless, such contexts would also assist the whole community through their artists as Franz Boas believes to eject undo "social sanctions, suppressed wishes, and anxieties" (55). Tharu folksongs often incorporate the memory of native topography. Along with the topography, the dance items like *Maghauta* and *Sakhiya* are often performed to appease their ancestral gods. These rituals help them to be more autonomous through public exhibitions. They help them to assert their presence in social strata.

Chhokra, *Dhamar*, *Jhumra*, *Mangar*, and *Sajana* each have their own respective contexts in Tharu communities. Among them, *Chhokra* and *Jhumra* embody the initiation of puberty and adulthood. Similarly *Dhamar* signifies the commencement of Maghi. Moreover, *Mangar* is recited as a farewell song during the marriage ceremony when the girl leaves her maternal home. Then, *Sajana* resembles the initiation of paddy sowing. Dundes considers such folklores occasions to deal with the crucial stages of one's life. He asserts, "Folklore in all cultures tends to cluster around the critical points in the life cycle of the individual: birth, initiation, marriage, death and the calendrical cycle of the community: sowing, harvesting" (64). The folk performance of Tharu community revolves around diverse themes. Further, *Jhumra* reflects the playful relationship between sister-in-law and brother-in-law. Many of these performances include the fantasy of the creators and the artists.

The theoretical postulation of folklores is important to understand them critically. In ethnography, Dundes advances his thought that just amassing of relics can not legitimize the assessment. The literary interpretation should be meant for disseminating motifs with specific substance in any folk performance. Thus, Dundes expresses his dissatisfaction with the social science scholars who simply store the field data. He believes such acts do not differentiate one lore from the other. The gathering of data only will leave the readers blank about the semantics of the performance. He validates the difference as:

The problem is that for many folklorists identification has become an end in itself instead of a means to the end of interpretation. Identification is only the beginning, only the first step. Folklorists who limit their analysis to identification have stopped before asking any of the really important question about their material. (70)

Folklorists must be able to address the above queries. If they fail to answer such issues, they cannot be considered academic scholars. The soundness of academic subjects thus emerges from the critical interpretation of social behaviors. It was Bronislaw Malinowski who first discussed the fallacy of collecting mere texts in his 1926 essay "Myth in Primitive Psychology." He observed, "The text, of course, is extremely important, but without the context, it remains lifeless" (qtd. in Dundes 80). A comprehensive analysis of oral literature is required. Thus, the efficacy of context to interpret the meaning of should always be prioritized.

Folklore provides insights on community performance. Folklore might sound like a light version of history but there are basic differences between them. The former includes the social behaviors: events, beliefs, customs, ceremonies, materials, and skills of a particular group, the latter holds on to the factual situations. In the essay "Is it Folklore or History?" Tom Crum answers how folklore can be the significant approach to comprehend history:

A people's perception of their history is often formed not so much from knowledge of facts as from the traditional knowledge passed on to them through folklore. A great many people are much more familiar with folklore's rendition of an historical event than they are with the actual facts of the event, and this form their opinion of and sets the standard for "truth" as to the event.

(qtd. in Untiedt 5)

Folklore responds to spectators and artists more proficiently than that of a historian's. Since, the majority of the folklore artists and the community which preserves it has little literacy to comprehend the facts of history through books and papers, the performance suffice as the best approach to unite and persuade them about their memory.

Folklore makes usage of animate characters. Tharu folk songs incorporate the animate characters of birds, animals, trees, flowers, and even natural landscapes. Graham Anderson in his essay "Animals, Vegetables, Minerals: The Natural World in Popular Perception" discusses the association of creatures and plants with the signs of good and bad fate across the folklores. He exemplifies the use of birds, trees bringing the reference from Greek and Roman folklore. The usage of legends of the landscape can be anything representing sacred to the folks. "It might be a mountain top, a grove in a wood, or some similarly remote place, where the supernatural can be readily evoked or imagined or where previous associations can be drawn on" (Anderson 168). Diverse usage of animal mythology could also be witnessed in Tharu folklore.

In the *Barka Banwa* song, the artists refer to natural topography which is directly related to their religious beliefs. Such as *Banshakti Mata* - Goddess of Jungle who is supposed to protect the folks from the enchantments of the jungle. Similarly, the people of the Basanta corridor worship the bumps on one of the trees believing it to be the elephant god. According to their faith, the elephants crossing through the Basanta biological corridor visit the tree and pay their homage. Moreover, the reference of "Swans" is also visible in their songs. Thus, the animated usage of these creatures reinforces the notion of an animate world signifying the existence of distinct life behavior among all the entities.

Folk dance as a performance imitates the daily affairs of the performers. Tharus in their folk dances reflect on how their day starts during harvest season. In this line of argument, Richard Schechner explores dance and ritual as an imitation of social action (29). In defining the imitative quality of performance, Schechner derives the ideas from Aristotle. He defines, "Art always comes after experience" "The separation between art and life is built into the idea of mimes"(qtd. in Schechner 28-

29). He finds ritualistic dance more inspired by social actions (98). Further, ritualistic dancing that involves serious moves may be instigated by the spirit (40). On defining, the ritual as performance, Victor Turner states, "Ritual is a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words and objects, performed in a sequestered place and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests" (Deflem 5). For Turner, the ritualistic performance reveals the crucial social values of a community. *Jhumra* songs comprise the dance, songs, musical instruments, dress, and make-up to reflect the varied emotions of human life. These include the separation of a lover, initiation of love affair and joy of spring, and numbness of winter.

Social rules and philosophical ideas behind the society's functions are inherent in the rituals of a community. Clifford Geertz finds that interpretation of cultural performance is necessary to understand the meaning of a complex cultural web (Yengoyan 270). He synchronizes the interpretation of the text with the interpretation of culture since the text is the production of a certain culture. Thus, for him, a specific description of culture is necessary to interpret the symbols in that cultural performance. The textual interpretation of Tharu folk songs signifies the annual life cycle of a Tharu peasant whose life in the past and to some extent still in the present remains around the peasantry. Carol Rosen in her review of Schechner's performance theory finds performance as the study of the use of aesthetic perspective in social psychology (253). She interprets Schechner's notion of performance as an art whose subject, structure, and action is a social process. She interprets Schechner's performative theory as the approach that studies everyday life as the art form.

Since humans possess the capacity to develop concepts and are physically more privileged to produce their concepts into practice, they have culture, art, and

innovations. Bruce McConachie critically examines Schechner's performative theory that designates *Homo sapiens* more sophisticated than animals in art and aesthetics. He asserts, "Humans can make conventions for dancing, ritual, and other folk performances. They can step in and out of their roles as dancers, beauty queens, and musicians in order to rehearse and platform for others. Performance by humans is possible due to the presence of conceptual integration among them" (42). McConachie finds performance aesthetic possible in humans since humans possess the capacity to form and conceptualize ideas into the exhibition. Similarly, Deborah Kapchan reveals performative arts and rituals as the mediums of certain messages. She argues, "To perform is to carry something into effect –whether it be a story, an identity, an artistic artifact, a historical memory, or an ethnography" (479). Moreover, *Jhumra* songs narrate their their peasantry, displacement, and family relations. *Jhumra* songs transmit the participants from their hierarchy to the mass. These performative occasions, as Turner's idea of liminality, reflects the hierarchy of the community and at the same time end that hierarchy.

Folklores are mainly considered to have originated from primitive society. They have been conceptualized as the behavior of the rural communities. Such practices are major occasions to keep such rural communities organized. E. Phillips Barker in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines folk dancing as "Dancing which has evolved among the peasantry and is maintained by them in a fluid tradition without the aid of the professional dancer, teacher or artist and is not at least in the observed, practiced in towns, on the stage, or in the ballroom" (Buckland 317). Theres Buckland on tracing the definitions of folk dance asserts the birth of such dance performances from the peasantry life. Stetson Kennedy also observes folk dance as natural and profoundly spontaneous (Buckland 318). Buckland catches the improvised structures

of folk dance in rural communities. Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruytes defines the existence of folk dance on two bases. First, she finds folk dance solely produced by and for the folk community themselves. Second, she finds folk dance existing for diverse purposes. She asserts, "They can exist as the content of research, fun, sport, hobby and large communication" (269). For her, folk dance holds diverse means to entertain the participants and observers. She asserts, "Folk dance refers to a genre comparable to other dance genres such as ballet, modern jazz, tap, and so on" (269). Thus, folk dance should be appreciated and studied with the genre having multiple qualities in them.

Folk performances embody the history of a particular community since they have been practiced from times immemorial. Folklores blend myth, epic, history, and cultural values of the communities. John Greenway interprets folk songs as the socio-historical approach. For him, understanding folksongs help any scholar, researcher, and observer to dwell deep into the socio-historical values of a particular community. He finds the ballads of folksongs perfectly representing the community feeling: "The form of literature which best suits the alley is the ballad. A striking proof of the influence which poetry combined with music possess over the human mind, even when most hardened and depraved" (5). Rita J. Martin finds folklores quite useful for children to develop their language power. She argues, "As a result of singing, hearing and reading folk songs, expressive and receptive vocabularies increase" (326). The unusual sentence patterns and unfamiliar words used in folk songs develop language proficiency and research skills in children.

Folk dances combine diverse themes ranging from romance, comedy to tragedy. All these genres emanate from social behavior and practice. In a true sense, social actors' actions are being imitated as the performance categorizing them into different genres. Philip Barry differentiates folk ballads into two types: ballads of the

situation and the ballad of introspection. For him, the ballad of situation impresses the listener and observer by the realism of action whereas the latter one by the centrality of the chief character. They may represent misfortune and lamentation. Barry defines the folk song as "a treasure – house of the events of human experience in all possible phases, of all the lights and shadows of human fancy, and furthermore, of all that by common consent of the folk is beautiful" (274). *Jhumra* songs as well narrate the diverse emotions and fancies of the participants explicating their daily turmoil and ecstasy.

Similarly, R. L. Tongue explores the motif and symbols in folksongs. He finds the folklorists often use very common and abundant objects around them as particular symbols, such as flowers for women, trees for protection, and birds for good and bad signs. For instance, flowers are professed most by the women and in the past. They used to keep and nurture such herbs with them for medicinal purposes which ultimately provided them the sense of protection (Tongue 293). In *Jhumra* songs, references of flowers, birds, and trees are found in abundance which can be interpreted from the thematic perspective of love, family bond, goodwill, and miseries of life.

Folklores of Tharus blend the narration of their history, way of life and inform the observers about their lifestyle. Their performances should be extended into the epitome of implicit philosophical ideas. The performances should not merely be interpreted from the aesthetic pleasure rather the inquiry into the narration should be done to decipher great themes and symbols. As Mark Johnson in his book *The Meaning of the Body: Aesthetics of Human Understanding* asserts, "We need a philosophy that sees aesthetics as not just art, beauty, and taste but reasonably as about how human beings experience and make meaning" (169). He asserts the

importance of interpreting the body not only as the epitome of art and performance but as an interpretation of a wide array of meanings and symbols. Further, Johnson asserts, "Aesthetics concerns all of the things that go into meaning form, expression, communication, qualities, emotion, feeling, value, purpose and more" (169). He criticizes the performance researchers and social scientists' approach to interpret the cultural performance just as a form of art but as the way of life commingled with emotions, evolution, and as Raymond Williams critically examines the whole way of life.

Since, folklores are socio-historical artifacts and the important document for tracing the culture, social evolution, and identify markers, they need to be preserved. Folk songs can be the best reference to the vital facts and ideas of the past with charms and tales of supernatural, legends of heroes, and accounts of local dramas and tragedies (Craster 77). In addition, they reflect the composer's personality and philosophy of the community, too. Therefore, the study of history needs to be imbued in folklore as well.

Tharu folksongs reflect the community's memory of *Buhran* (displaced migration from inner Dang valley). According to the songs and prevalent Tharu belief the migration occurred when the Tharus could not withhold the pressure of the hill caste community who tricked them. *Mynah* and *Sakhiya* songs often reflect the themes of displaced topography and memory. Tharus who do not prefer to live disturbed life chose to migrate from their first habitat to the plains of Tarai. The songs not only reflect the pain of getting displaced but also narrate their suffering under the Kamaiya system. The privileged community oppressed them to work under harsh circumstances in the fields paying minimum wages. They failed to resist it due to the lack of collective social agency and illiteracy. The intolerable suppression forced

them to migrate from their native place. The song from the movie *Buhran* (2007) expresses the journey of similar displacement:

<i>Are maina eka ranga jogiya,</i>	Hey mynah, all our body looks similar
<i>Saure ranga basiya, oh, maina</i>	but the why the tunes of flute differ
<i>Tilaranga, tilaranga, suno jogiya basiya</i>	The hermit is playing the flute tiri riri, tiri
<i>bajaita, ho maina</i>	riri
<i>Ari maina eka ranga jogiya, saure ranga</i>	Hey mynah, all our body looks similar
<i>basiya</i>	but the why the tunes of flute differ
<i>Oh maina, jogiyake basiya bhauji suna ke</i>	Hey mynah, listen how melodious tune
<i>suhawan</i>	the hermit is playing, oh sister-in-law
<i>Dadu kahi, basiya bhauji, sunake</i>	The brother's flute too sounds very
<i>mahirawan, oh maina</i>	pleasing

The woman in the song expresses different shades of life relating to the different tunes played by the hermit. The jogi's (hermit) tune in multiple rhythm expose the longing for their native space during their migration from the Dang valley to the plains. The reference of mynah who are friendly and adapt well living in cages, breed well under captivity seems to connect Tharu subjectivity. The memory unveils their subjugation until the exploitation became unbearable. The mynah is considered sacred to Hindu and is praised for their tendency to build their nests on temples. Another character expelled by the birds is since the birds can easily be tamed. Thus, it refers to the innocence of Tharus who easily came under the promises of privileged community for money and prosperity.



Fig. 2. Author with performers after the performance at Kandri village, Dhangadhi.
2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

Victoria Marie Dalzel on discussions of Tharu Music expounds on the presence of their rural life on their social exhibitions. She finds that Tharu music mirrors the lifestyle fused with agribusiness and a basic way of life (89, 91, and 104). Tharus form their consciousness through their various means of songs, expressed by the body performance and varieties of musical tools. They utilize their folk performance to raise issues of unlawful Kamaiya practices. Collectively, they represent themselves as Kamaiyas through such cultural performance.

Arjun Guneratne explores the construction of Tharu identity as others from the local non-Tharu tourist guides in Chitwan. The guides characterize them backward, primitive, and uncivilized (Guneratne 535). The guides impart fallacious perception about Tharu. Guneratne explains the discrimination to own country people by the tourist guides from hilly area. They show Tharus as the one completely aloof from the

changes of modernity. Guneratne characterizes Tharu personality, not as a thing but rather as the summation of different relations.

Tharus are socially heterogeneous. They share no common social image, like language or religion or even a typical myth of root. Provincial British records describe the Tharus as meek and resigning notwithstanding more commune life with non-Tharus. As the community became more diverse, they abandoned their territory and resigned further into the forests (Bennet and Cruickshank, Stevenson-Moore, Nevill, qtd. in Guneratne 754). Moreover, when they represented no dangers to the procurement request of privileged community, they gradually lost complete control over their native topography.

Gisele Krauskopff perceives Tharus as an eco-based community than of any specific class (Guneratne 756). They rarely had any concern over the acquisition of more and more land mass. As Guneratne contends, "The prepared accessibility of land in the Tarai had left most Tharus with little enthusiasm for its worth" (759). Their ignorance became the reason for not being able to justify one's property rights. Moreover, the large family system forced them to work for anything to feed the family.

Krauskopff details about fishing in Tharu culture. Although the Tharus are a farming people; fishing is integral to their way of life and rich source of metaphors (Guneratne 8). Guneratne examines that Chitwan Tharus accept that the force of their gods is firmly connected to the presence of forests. They believe that their gods leave the place if the forests are obliterated. When traditions are not followed, one cannot remember their ethnicity.

The economic source of Tharu community include relies on agrestic produce: mostly paddy and wheat. Ganga KC explains the economic activities of Tharu

community as the amalgamation of "farming, hunting, fishing and gathering foods grown from the ground" (36). Their convictions and practices are identified with their functions, celebrations, and lifestyle. Tharu folk songs can be divided into ballads, epics, tales, proverbs, and riddles. They can be further classified into general, ritual, festival, seasonal, and work songs. The general folk songs are sung anytime irrespective of rites and rituals, seasons, and festivals. *Sajana* and *Mynah* are seasonal songs. Both are sung during the summer season. Tharu myths have both the man and the animal characters. The message through the stories is the moral exercises. The conduct of the characters and the relations among them clandestinely presents the ecological consciousness innate in their cultural performance.

Similarly, mynah birds reflect a strong territorial instinct. They aggressively take over trees and other nesting areas, expelling or even killing other species in the process. They have also been known to displace small gliders as well as large possums in their aggressive quest for the perfect nest for their young (possuman.com). Hilly mynahs are also smart speakers. Mynah shows as a spirit-guided when we are having a difficulty in voicing our opinion, a plan to travel abroad, unable to receive the support we seek to find, losing our confidence, or when we seek new wisdom (autyflo.com). Indian-mynah birds are territorial and highly aggressive birds that compete with and displace native wildlife for habitat areas (aepma.com-au). The reference of mynah can be linked with the aggression and cunningness of the privileged community. These group successfully displaced Tharus from their natural habitat. In another Tharu *Mynah* song, Basanta Chaudhary et al sing:

<i>Kheti karnu maina, adhya bataiya re</i>	Oh mynah, I worked in the farm as the
<i>bardha buti jotbu</i>	sharecropper
<i>Magha mahina buti tirabu, uhe hal hui</i>	Will pay the tax after the cropping and

Magha pugal kokni, Dashya pugal dhana will still again be in same condition
Jhandimandi tanaka jail jaibu buhran ho The kokni (broken rice) will last upto
maina, Maghi and the rice will last only upto
Danga mai chhornu, Deukhuri mai lagnu Dashain
Baba mai chhornu, Dai mai chhornu Will pack up my belongings and leave for
 Buhran, Oh mynah
 I left my father, I left my mother

In the dramatic performance of this song, the artists express their grief with harvesting enough for livelihood under the sharecropping system. They articulate that they have to live under very basic sustenance with minimum production. The income from minimum produce can not empower them as they have to repay the loan received from their landlords. Even that minimum harvest suffers on loan. The poor peasants' lives will never change since his life again comes back to the same disorder. He could never hope for progress and change. Further, he mourns over the exploitation by their landlords. The artists express the pain of leaving their native place Dang.

Jugree and Mani Chaudhary (housewives whose songs have been uploaded on YouTube by the aspirants of folklores) in their *Mynah* song express the cordial relationship between *bhatu* (brother-in-law) and *sali* (sister-in-law). They reflect their passionate teasing with one's brother-in-law:

Aaina jaina bhatu, maiya lagaina, ho Oh brother-in-law your frequently visit
maina has begotten love in me
Batachita karna bhatu, ghara suta jaina Oh brother-in-law, please go to your
ho Maina house after the chitchat
Ye papi maiya ruaita dinarat ho maina This evil love has made me weep day and

<i>Hari ho maina, pipra pahata turi kagada</i>	night, oh mynah
<i>banaibu ho Maina</i>	Oh mynah, I will pluck the leaves of
<i>Hatha anguri kati kalam banaibu ho</i>	Peepal tree (Sacred fig) and make them
<i>maina</i>	the papers
<i>Khara khara, khara khara chithiya</i>	I will write my spontaneous feeling on
<i>likahibu ho maina</i>	them
<i>Purbi bayal chali, chithiya pathai ho, ho</i>	The east wind will take my letter, oh
<i>maina</i>	mynah
<i>Jibi jibi kalo ho bhatu, aash kil lagailo,</i>	You promised to elope, you just made me
<i>ho maina</i>	wait, oh mynah
<i>Budhaka din bhatu parbi thekan ho</i>	Oh bhatu, why don't we elope on
<i>Maina</i>	Wednesday, oh mynah
<i>Pokari makura, ghunaiya lagi gila ho</i>	The clothes of the bundle have been worn
<i>Maina</i>	out, oh mynah
<i>Thalika siddha bhatu, dukari katailo ho</i>	The mice have torn the packed luggage,
<i>Maina</i>	You just made me pack the large goods
<i>Jibi jibi kalo bhatu</i>	You promised to elope but only made me
<i>Vauka luga bhatu, motari badhailo, ho</i>	wait, oh mynah
<i>Main</i>	When will you take me to the good- far
<i>Jaibi jaibi kalo bhatu ashra kil lagailo,</i>	country, oh brother-in-law
<i>ho Maina</i>	
<i>Mokri ka luga bhatu, dukari katailo ho</i>	
<i>Maina</i>	
<i>Kahiya ta pugaibo bhatu, hi mor desha</i>	
<i>bhatu</i>	

The two women express the heartfelt undertaking between a woman and her brother-in-law. The woman expresses her innate desire to abscond from the Dang valley with her brother-in-law to a promised land. She communicates her disappointment with him as she has worn out on trusting his promise. She says her packed clothes, food grains; all have gone old and torn. All her collections have been swarmed by parasites. Her brother-in-law appears to be devilish who simply gives fake promises. All her equipped assortments have been worn out by the rodents. The woman communicates her unfulfilled dream to have a prosperous life in a delightful place.



Fig. 3. Women gathering for *Pittarauhuwa* also popular as *Pittar Asraina* at riverside (ritual of paying homage to dead ancestors) marking the initiation of Dashain. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

Resham Chaudhary's song *Har Jowata Uthal Kamaiya* (The Labor Woke up at Dusk to Plough) from the film *Kamaiya* tells the making of a Kamaiya subjectivity. The Kamaiya has no better life to himself regardless of his tough job as a farm

worker. The life of Kamaiya (male bonded labour) and Kamlahari (female bonded labour) cannot improve even after a day's hard work. The song echoes the agony of being a bonded labour. Being a Kamaiya pushes him back to an exceptionally troublesome and miserable life. The song reveals us about the routine job of a Kamaiya:

<i>Har jowata uthal Kamaiya bihanake lug lug jarame</i>	The labour woke up in the shivering cold of dusk
<i>Dheki kuta uthal kamlari, andhariya rat bhuar bihan ma</i>	The she-labour woke up in the early morning to beat the wooden rice grinder
<i>Fongi fonga choliya goniya, fatal faal chaubandi jhuluwa</i>	The tattered blouse and skirt The worn out patched shirt
<i>Sukha dukkha hamar janam, korti bital gaunk kuluwa</i>	With ups and downs, the life passed digging the watercourse (man-made streams in villages),
<i>Kapuwa bhat sinkike jhowara, chaurasi byanjan hamara</i>	The rice flour soup with sinki (gundruk, preserved fermented vegetable) are our delicious dishes (84 dishes)
<i>Har juwa, chhatri o lathi sanghariya ho, gham ojrar</i>	Plough and yoke are our friends throughout the day and night
<i>Lahriya, bhaisa, goru wor chhegri, barhdhan hakti orait janam</i>	The life passed driving oxen cart, and shepherding bulls, goats, oxen
<i>Chhabal jaanr hamar kamjori, astaha fital karam...</i>	The fermented rice wine is our weakness, We have bad karma

The artist mentions the waking of the labour promptly in the dawn to furrow the field of his landlord. Similarly, the *kamlahari* (woman labour) also wakes up to grind the rice on *dheki* (wooden rice pounder). The woman's awakening at dawn burdens

physical and mental torture on her. She bears the social shame for being a worker at another's home. In anticipation of cash and credit, Tharu women were forced to work at the landowner's home. Thus, she had to be the subject of homegrown maltreatment. The male artist depicts destitution as the underlying reason for his poverty. His dresses are worn-out. His entire life has passed delving the streams in the village to facilitate the farm water. His nourishments are very basic like *kapwa* (flour soup) and *sinki* (preserved dry vegetable). He keeps himself busy with a wooden plough and yoke, *chhatri* (umbrella made of bamboo stripes and leaves utilized during paddy planting) throughout the day. His life has been confined in being a shepherd. In the last verse, the speaker blames drinking *jaanr* behind his destitution (rice wine popularly produced in the Tharu community). Because of the propensity for heavy intoxication, it was simple for others to deceive Tharus. Their powerlessness to pull out from alcoholic fixation caused them to experience the ill effects of Kamaiya system.

Additionally, in his another song *Baba Mora Jotal* (My Father Ploughed), Chaudhary resonates a speaker who experiences the inherited job of sharecropping. The speaker gets thwarted with his children's miserable life as they cannot socio-political growth. He blames such wretched situation to the restrictions of their traditional occupation. He needs a better life with education. He does not like to continue his forefather's occupation:

<i>Baba more jotal terwah haraho</i>	My father ploughed with the bent plough
<i>Chhawa juni bhar jotabu</i>	The son will too plough for his whole
<i>Aiho suno dai, baba, suno dadu bhaiya,</i>	life...
<i>sunu mor didi bahiniya</i>	Oh listen brothers, sisters, listen sons and
<i>Aiho chhai, chhawa ektho lari, ek huita</i>	daughters, do not discriminate between

<i>duita pariya</i>	sons and daughters...
<i>Har jotaibo kahasam baba, abta mihin fe padhao</i>	How long will you make me a plough boy, now please send me to school...
<i>Aiho chhotimuti rana ho, gayaruwa banailo, gaunke school nai pathailo</i>	You made me work as a shepherd when I was still a small boy, didn't send me to school...
<i>Ho nengna, ghumna huinu chhegri charhainu,</i>	When I had just learn to walk on my own,
<i>Bara huinu banalu Kamaiya</i>	I started looking after these goats
<i>Aiho babu mora larka kheluiya, dai bati kamlahariya</i>	When I turned adult, was forced to be a Kamaiya,
<i>Aiho nangtha, bhegwa pihake, jaithu mai ruiti khetwama</i>	Oh my sister is a babysitter; oh my mother is a kamlahari...
<i>Aiho baba mora jotalai tehruwa hara ho...</i>	With tears in eyes, I go to the fields wearing almost naked body covered with underwear only... Oh my father ploughed the bent plough...such is my plight...

The speaker condemns his parents' illiteracy for his ignorance when he ends up constricted to farming and turning out to be Kamaiya throughout his entire life. The speaker's importune to his father to permit him to go to school emulates the significance of education. The socially stifled life observed by the speaker arises as the aftereffect of his ignorance. Therefore, the only way to change such social subjugation is to lift it through awareness.

Desh Raj Satgaunwa in his song *Dukhiya Kamaiya* (The Sorrowful Kamaiya) explains the treacherous incident in a Kamaiya's life due to conservative practices.

The speaker in the song presents *Guruwa Kesauka* (Tharu Priest) as the person who vows to resolve other's suffering through blood sacrifice of hen or lamb. The witch specialist (shaman) requests wine and local chicken (rooster) for conciliating the malicious spirits and playing out the essential ceremonies to push off the problems of the individual. In a hope of getting rid of such nuisance, the ignorant Kamaiya believes the *guruwa*. He trusts that the *guruwa* would easily cast the evil out:

<i>Mai dukhiya batu janamse Kamaiya, kon bidhi karbu gujara ho</i>	I a poor wretched Kamaiya from my birth...
<i>Dai baba bata umerle burhaila, jingi bitaila Kamaiya me ho</i>	How will I be able to survive? My father and mother have grown old,
<i>More upar bata soukik pahar, kaisik souki chhutaibu ho</i>	lived their lives as Kamaiya... I am burdened with the hills of loans,
<i>Guruwa,kesauka milijuli jaitha jingi bhar kara jal saji ho</i>	How will I be able to get rid of them? The witchdoctor and the priest
<i>Kabi re gotaili, kabi karni sarai, jingi bhar dhurra lausarai ho</i>	compromisingly conspire to benefit themselves...
<i>Sal bhar kamainu, chhe (6) bora dhan painu,</i>	Ask for chickens and goats as the sacrifice to pacify the angry gods...
<i>Uhe kharcham karattu gujara ho Bhuke piyase re mora gharam bairi</i>	But no good happens to me, poor wretched Kamaiya...
<i>Chhe mahinam lagnu jujhwai</i>	Worked for the whole year but just earned six sacks of rice... Am living the life on such a petite earning... Oh how wretched I am!

The speaker communicates the plotting of the *guruwa* who cheats him by promising to improve his hardship. He discovers the performances of *guruwa* rather misleading to helpless people than actually elevating their decrepit circumstance.

As the time changed, most Tharus gave up their traditional practices as such practices didn't bring any positive change to their lives. My own father when moved from the village to Dhangadi lowered every one of the gods' venerated images into the blessed river Kandra. He realized he would be not able to play out the entirety of his sacrosanct ceremonies. With the rise of modernity, most Tharus who gradually moved to the towns failed to practice and continue their ceremonies. This cycle caused them to fail to remember their set of experiences. The majority of them currently comprise no memory of their conventional ceremonies.



Fig. 4. A woman serving wine to the folks during *Pittarhauwa* at Khonpur village, Kailari Village Council. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

The forgetting of memory has obliterated the memory of their rituals. With the urbanization, those landless Tharus focused themselves more towards income-generating exercises. Thus, many songs still appeal for literacy and empowerment.

Chaudhary in his song *Matike Orauhna, Matike Bichhauna* (Dirt's bedsheets and Dirt's cover) passes on the poverty-stricken existence of Kamaiya. Being a Kamaiya, one needs to stay smothered and misused for entire life. He alludes to the absence of supportive possessions in the Kamaiya's life. The Kamaiya dozes on the earth and gets warmth from the same earth which implies the inherent biocentric subjectivity of a folk. Chaudhary's song shows the making of a Kamaiya subjectivity from social hierarchy. He communicates the distress of having miserable life. As the song says a Kamaiya cannot get away from the weight and impulse of being a Kamaiya. He relates the Kamaiya's identity with the dry leaves of turmeric leaves which wither gradually into little pieces. Thus, a Kamaiya too loses all his strength to empower his subjectivity:

<i>Matike orauhna, matike bichhauna</i>	The earth's cover, the earth's sheet
<i>Matike dehal e jaram ho...</i>	The life born from this earth...
<i>Kahe dehalo, isharu mahadev</i>	Oh lord Shiva why you gave such
<i>Kamaiyan ke futal karam ho</i>	wretched life of Kamaiya?
<i>Kaisin janam dehalo bhaganuwa</i>	What kind of life you gave to live whole
<i>Juni bhar Kamaiya ho,</i>	life as the Kamaiya?
<i>Oiesika bitath, hamro jaramwa, jaise</i>	Our life withers like the leaf of the green
<i>sukhi re hardik patiya ho</i>	turmeric withers...
<i>Chuliya parat jawai, kharhik dhana</i>	The collection of the rice keeps on rising
<i>Jaise barhai malikana ho</i>	We Kamaiyas kept on being cleared like
<i>Hamra Kamaiyan, nikhrat gaili</i>	the farmer sweeps the scattered rice
<i>Jaise nikhari ghanak dhana ho</i>	grains on the dirt...
<i>Fatat gail angiya kahi chunari</i>	Our clothes, shirt, blouse kept on getting
<i>Fatal jiukahi jhuluwa ho...</i>	worn out...

<i>Barhat gail sagrak pani,</i>	The water of the pond kept on
<i>Sukhat gail gauk kuluwa ho</i>	rising...and
<i>Mahural aam, ural bhaunra</i>	The water of the rivers and rivulets
<i>Lutilehal suhawan ho</i>	dried...
<i>Maha maha mahake, gauke fulariya</i>	The mango tree has bloomed, the bees are
<i>Mahake beburi fula deuna ho</i>	flying, and the garden of the village is
<i>Jaisike parthai, kumharana bhakari</i>	smelling sweet...
<i>Oeisike banali, khelauna ho...</i>	The bebri flower is emitting sweet
<i>Das bora dhana, barash bharik kamahi</i>	fragrance...
<i>Kaisik bari chulhaa chauki ho...</i>	We become Kamaiyas like the porter
<i>Uri jawai bhaura, maryo guleliya, diyo</i>	makes the clay pots...
<i>fatakse girai ho...</i>	Only ten sacks of rice in a year will not
	be enough to sustain...
	Shoot the bees down when they fly high
	with the catapult...

The artist exemplifies Tharu subjectivity comparing it with the scattered grains of rice during threshing. He contrasts the Tharu culture with the recently sprouted buds of the mango tree and the privileged community with the honey bees. The relationship of those proficient community with bee and Tharu with flowers resemble the empowered and mistreated. He then compares the creation of Tharu self with the pottery. The potter produces distinct designed earthenware as per his wish. In a similar way, Tharus subjectivity is more of social fabrication than biological growth.

In a song *Utho Kamaiya Tatal Jhopari* (Rise up Kamaiya from Broken Hut), artist Somlal Chaudhary and Sitarami Chaudhary appeal to resist the socio-political enslavement. The outcast of Kamaiyas must be proactive and the circumstance of

defenselessness ought to be sabotaged. Since the exploitation cannot be tolerated, the resistance becomes urgency:

<i>Utho Kamaiya aaj tuhare himmat karke</i>	Rise up the Kamaiyas today gathering
<i>Soshan, daman, atyachar he jarsena ante</i>	your courage...
<i>karaike</i>	To end the violence, exploitation and
<i>Samaj banaina jimma Kamaiya, tuhar</i>	oppression from the root...
<i>hatham ba</i>	The responsibility to change the
<i>Yeha ke janasakti sara tuhara satham ba</i>	community now lies on you...
<i>Samajakana andhakara he tuharan</i>	The whole community is stands with
<i>hataina ba</i>	you...
<i>Kamaiyakan jhopri me, sikchhak diya</i>	You have to wipeout the ill-practices of
<i>barna ba</i>	the society...
<i>Chalo Kamaiya tuhanthan balgar Shakti</i>	You have to light the diya of education in
<i>mahan ba</i>	the cottages of Kamaiya
<i>Kariya badri farke lauwa bihan banna ba</i>	Rise and wake up Kamaiyas, you have
	irresistible power to change the society...
	We have to new morning eliminating the
	dark clouds of ignorance and
	oppression...

This song reflects the strong resilience against oppression to develop the awareness among the folks. These types of songs were popularly sung during the Maoist insurgency when the Tharus got the opportunity to realize their suppression. Their ignorance was the primary reason for being unable to develop native performance into power.

With the flood of the Maoist unrest, abused adolescents were advised to join the movement for their privileges. They began to direct such projects among the rural folks. The melody rouses the discouraged Kamaiya for education. Tharu Kamaiya songs include the Tharu community's suffering during *Buhran* (displacement from inner Dang valley). During the *Buhran* Tharu's ecological life had to flee from their native place for a better future. The physical and social exploitation imposed on them by socially privileged communities became beyond their endurance. Therefore, they emigrated from the inner Dang valley. Migrating due to undesired and oppressive structures, Tharus found the western part of Tarai as the new home. The new home provided them a sense of security. However, they also mourn the bucolic past when they used to perform rich folklores. Their life was integrated into nature before they started to live urbanized life. In this way, the memory of relocation and ecological subjectivity often get inter-subjectivized in Tharu folklore.



Fig. 5. Author rejoicing for capturing the moment with *Latthauwa* performers at Kandri village. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

II. Biocentric Egalitarianism and Sense of Place in Tharu Folk Dance Songs

Tharu *Sajana*, *Dhamar*, and *Maangar* songs reflect the embeddedness of the human self in nature. *Sajana* songs reflect the whole life cycle of Tharu folks. Tharu self-constructs itself out of the daily activities in the field. Tharu self-work around the farmland to ensure survival. The term *Sajana* refers to ‘composing’ or ‘creating’ nature’s innateness in human life. Human beings and non-human beings constitute nature. Observing human self-excluding from nature slackens the value of humanity. *Sajana*, *Dhamar*, and *Maangar* embody the human interconnectedness to nature with reference of birds, trees, flowers, wetlands, rivers and their pagan gods. These folk songs also ensure the health benefits of a primitive lifestyle.



Fig. 6. Tharu folks busy in sowing and ploughing during summer. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

In a mechanistic worldview, only human beings possess moral value. Non-humans supposedly lack the judgement and intelligence. Contrasting the lay understanding of nature David Keller expounds that “Deep ecologists are right to excoriate the modern view of nature, since the practical outcome of mechanism has

been the instrumentalization of nature” (146). All other creatures and inanimate matter relate to human beings for their use value only. Thus, deep ecology’s repudiation of the mechanical view of nature makes us realize the beyond use-value of non-human entities. Deep ecology’s theme of holism ignores human interpretation of nature.

The industrialism and modernity have revived the back to nature movement. George Sessions in his review of “The Deep Ecology Movement” reaffirms that it was not until the 1960s with the rise of the *Age of Ecology* that the wider public became aware of the science of ecology and its relevance to environmental matter. He claims, “Many environmental historians, ecophilosophers and anthropologists now agree that primal societies throughout the world practiced a spiritual ecological way of life in which everything was to be repeated in its own right” (106). He clarifies that the ecocentric religion as the successful methodology to solve the issue of modern human beings arising from the imbalance between human/nature relationship.



Fig. 7. The hay stored at lawnyard after threshing the crops. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

The Western philosophy is more hostile to nature since the western religious scripts advocate human supremacy. Lynn White, Jr., radically also opposes such an anthropocentric preaching. White argues, "The orthodox anthropocentric Christianity must assume a large share of the responsibility for the environment crisis as a result of desacralizing nature and producing a worldview that sees humans as separate from and superior to nature" (qtd. in Sessions 106). He blames the extreme technologist approach for our jobs responsible for the destruction of nature. Religion's promotion of human superiority should be discarded for the revival of spiritual life.

Naess promoted his interlinked concept of spirituality and biology as ecosophy. His ideas basically promote enlightened sensitivity of understanding nature. His significant work in ecosophy was first disseminated in Norway in 1976 and later promoted into different discipline as an interdisciplinary approach. His notions were enlivened by the study of environment, Gandhi and Spinoza. He keeps on refining ecosophy and admonishes skillful environmentalists to take side for biocentric egalitarianism. Moreover, poet Gary Snyder's writings also actively appeal to approach social development emphasizing the bioregionalism and re-inhabitation.

The concept of deep ecology seems to have originated from the movement devoted to protect endangered species in America. Bill Devall, in his survey of "The Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement 1960-2000," hypothesizes the source of deep ecology from the Federal Endangered Species Act (FESA) in the United States (19). Numerous allies of deep ecology in the US believe the FESA to be the most eco-driven effort for its foundation. In a short article, "Modesty and the Conquest of Mountains" Naess mirrors that "the more modest we come to feel contrasted with the mountain, the closer we come to taking part in its significance" (qtd. in Devall 22). His experience of soul chasing in the forlorn mountains brought him closer to nature-God.



Fig. 8. Author taking snap with nature during a visit to Kandri village. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

The first approach to develop the organic approach to non-humans is to understand modernity. William Catton contends that "Deep changes in the public arena require a change in outlook from the prevailing present-day worldview to biological worldview" (qtd. in Devall 22). The ecology consciousness amidst mechanical life requires deliberate awareness of biological self. The biological-self has assisted to interpret the Tharu folklore profoundly rich in ecological awareness. American Psychiatrist William Glasser finds the movement responsible for the individual's assimilation of deep ecology. He asserts, "Deep has added to the expansion of ecophilosophy, ecopsychology and scholarly conversations that encourages individuals to build up their own ecosophy" (qtd. in Devall 35). Deep ecology inspires to feel the presence of a bigger self in Tharu folklore. They manifest ecopsychology of the Tharu subjectivity living harmoniously with nature from the antiquity.

The human impact on ecology has been increasing tremendously. One-third of worldwide land will be populated in the following hundred years. Edward Ayensu contends that we need to be aware of the future global biological crisis (Devall 35). Naess focuses on the un-ecological outcomes as the aftereffect of unchecked construction and exploitation brought by unreasonable population growth. He builds up the equation in a condition $\sum U = (\sum P + \sum C) + N$ where U alludes to un-ecological results, P alludes to the unchecked creation, C alludes to mass utilization and N alludes to the populace. We cannot avoid biological catastrophes by merely subverting unfriendly human exercises on nature. The collective bias to nature should be dodged to foster non-human centric way of life.

Deep ecology contemplates the prospect of humans only on the presence of non-human entities. Christian Diehm anticipates the identification with nature as humans are not discrete elements but rather beings whose charm is a result of connections to other things, the non-human environment (3). Humans like any other elements of nature are inseparably enmeshed in more extensive ecology. To relate to nature is to acknowledge our ecosphere having a place and confirm that we are more than independent. It means we are significantly more than social individuals. It is to see the manners by which we are personally associated with the more than human world. It is to understand that our identity is nothing but constitute of our biological-self. Subsequently, to relate to the shared ecosphere is to perceive that we are only a part of nature.

Few scholars barely consider Naess and Sessions to credit for the invention of the concept. Therefore, Thomas Weber discards them as the first inventor of the concept by relating it with Gandhi's non-violent peace movement. He associates bias, treachery to one mankind by another with the way humans treat the non-humans.

Gandhi ideas of simple living were prior to Sessions and Naess's movement. Furthermore, Eastern philosophy from antiquity has preached for spiritual self through various religious scriptures. Even Naess admits Gandhi as his source of inspiration. "Gandhi's utopia is one of the few that shows ecological balance, and today his rejection of the Western world's material abundance and waste is accepted by reformists of the ecological movement" (qtd. in Weber 351). Thus, Devall and Sessions connect the development of deep ecology with the spirits of Spinoza's comprehensive quality and Gandhi's peacefulness.

For Naess, deep ecology is not fundamentally about the value of nature per se, it is about who we are in the larger order of belongings. Likewise, he notes the 'identification of the self' with 'self' divinized in the *Bhagvad Gita* as the source of deep ecology. The link between self-realization and Naess's environmental philosophy can be clearly seen in his discussion of the connection between non-violence and self-realization in his analysis of the context of Gandhian political ethics. Naess summarizes the self-realization process as:

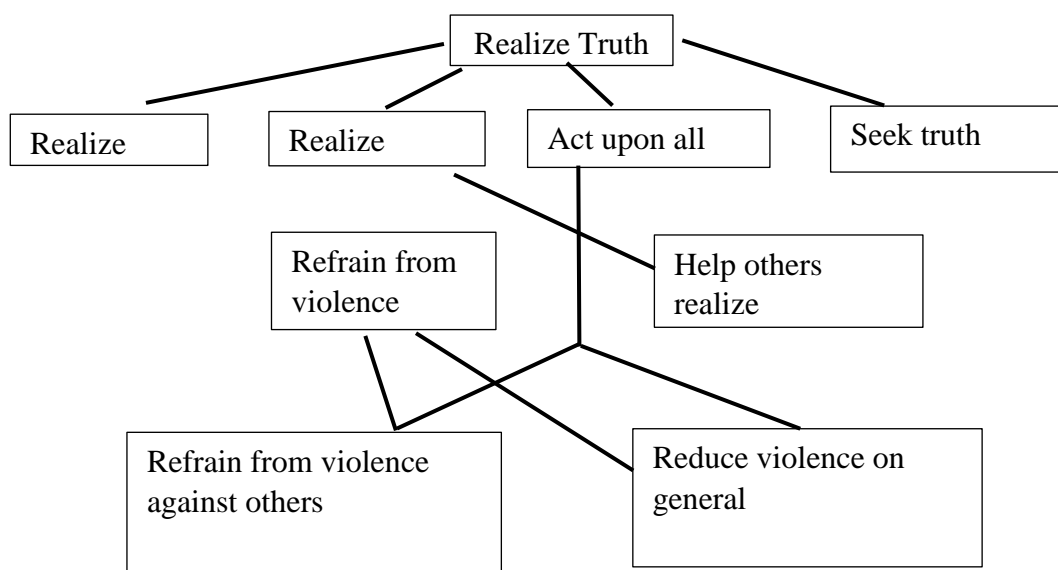


Fig. 9. Naess's systematization of self-realization process (Weber 351)

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

Naess advocates the biocentric self as the self who has attained the enlightenment. Such biocentric subjectivity refrains from the harm to any creature and believes on the holistic development of organisms. Therefore, refraining from all kinds of injuries to non-humans elevates one closer to the greater being. On acknowledging the existence of non-humans, one can protect ecological self.

The human indifference to ecological damage is often linked as the eco-racism. Humans often ignore and undermine the importance of non-human beings. In a similar note, Ursula K. Heise brings the reference of Huggan and Tiffin who in their postcolonial ecocriticism relate the similarity of oppression between whites and natives during the colonial era with species and humans. They contend that “If the wrongs of colonialism, its legacies of continuing human inequalities, are to be addressed, then the very category of human, in relation to animals and environment must be brought under scrutiny” (qtd. in Heise 640). She utilizes the concept of eco-racism to unveil the human treatment to animals and nature in the literary texts. Thus, she tries to reveal the author's eco-consciousness in her texts.

A wide range of philosophies have examined the place of humans from existential notion. In a similar expedition, Gal Kober interprets Spinoza’s concept of humans merely as the substance of nature further enhancing the foundation of deep ecology. Spinoza’s concept of substance explains that everything in the universe exists on its own without requiring other substance to define its concept (Kobe 44). A substance is prior in nature to its affection. Spinoza explains the foundation of all the matters based on the concept that since existence precedes essence, all the substance, including inanimate and non-human characters exist on their own without

anthropological definition to limit their existence and meaning. Spinoza relates affections as essence in his philosophy.

Spinoza believes creation as the manifestation of single greater being into different modes. Thus, he believes the hierarchy and humans derogatory practices towards non-humans as the self-proclaimed superiority. His claims are compatible with deep ecology. Man like all other entities of nature is no different. He like others is subject to the same usual laws. As Naess also defines the interconnectedness of everything as “network of cause-effect relations connecting everything with everything” (qtd. in Kober 55). Therefore, humans are more responsible characterize nature and non-humans as per their need and situation. And these naming and attribution are just the reflection of human imagination. Thus, he relates essence with predisposed quality and attributes with artificial interpretation.

Magdalena Luczaj finds Martin Heidegger’s concept of deep ecology even broader than Naess and Sessions' ecosophy. She suggests deep ecologists to take notes from Heidegger’s ‘Ontological Egalitarianism’ to further strengthen their claim. Since Heidegger is concerned with artefacts as well as natural entities, his concept would have emboldened the deep ecology’s foundation. Heidegger completely rejects the supremacy of beings as he finds every entity exists as its own thing-hood: "It is a fundamental mistake to suppose that amoeba or infusoria are more imperfect or incomplete animals than elephants or apes. The nature, whether it is lifeless nature or indeed living nature, is in no way to be regarded as the plank or lowest rung of the ladder which the human being would ascend" (qtd. in Luczaj 57). Heidegger dismisses the vertical variety between individuals and different creatures on Earth. Kober’s distinguishes between Heidegger's idea of antiquity and the deep ecology of

the object. He attests that deep ecology does not discuss the objects as they respect it low. They do not perceive their inborn worth.

However, Heidegger and deep ecologists dismiss the possibility of the incredible chain of being. As indicated by Heidegger, being isn't something ontic which a few elements have pretty much than others. Heidegger forsakes such an ontotheological point of view. The two of them guarantee that setting up any progressive system of being brings about bogus pictures of being.

Conversely, Chaone Mallory connects and examines the political ecology taking the references from feminist political philosopher Sally Scholz. For her, Plumwood's concept of eco-political solidarity seeks to maintain the diversity in unity giving equal pace to all non-human entities. She politicizes deep ecologist's concept of organic whole and finds the theory rather discriminatory. Plumwood justifies on deep ecology's shortcomings. For her, "The deep ecology ethic may remain human-centered in that it turns on conceptions of sameness rather than difference" (qtd. in Mallory 7). She discovers deep ecological self-in-Self as aggregating and masculinist. To fill the hole of androcentric translation of the non-human world, Plumwood accepts that women's liberation should intercede. She trusts it isn't in equality or personality that we remain in fortitude but through the age of collective awareness. She counters deep ecology's authoritative propensities by articulating eco-feminists notion of contrast as the strength inherent in each being in their own right. Henceforth the political idea of Scholz assists with drawing similitudes between women's abuse and creature persecution.

However, Edmund Husserl unequivocally addresses animals as subjects, inferring that they too boot their distinct world. Yet, since animal's psyche contrasts from that of human's, the former's nonrepresentational idea differs from that of

latter's. We relate the presence of everything with our preferences (Jurgens 37). As a consequence if we cannot perceive any being's innateness then for us it does not exist. Thus, Husserl recognizes that our existence basically is an intersubjective domain. My world is oriented around myself; others have their worlds oriented around themselves respectively (Jurgens 37). Existing in the lifeworld is identifying with all that we experience. Thus, human being is psychologically and genuinely an inter-being.

Nature heals every individuals from the chaos. Paul Delany argues, "Nature offers the young people a refuge from modern civilization, promising not only beauty to soothe their souls but also decorous sensuality" (29). However, the nature has been trampled with human selfishness. In his analysis, he finds the characters of Lawrence's *The White Peacock* lamenting over the death of birds. For him, it challenges the Darwinian concept of technological human. As per Delany, Lawrence's theory of blood consciousness unifies the conscious self, the body, other people and the whole natural world (30). Lawrence characterizes humans not only as the distant observer of animal's melancholy but as the active participants. Delany categorically supports Lawrence's biocentric-self dissolved in nature.

Similarly, few scholars have analyzed the presence of ecological consciousness in the folksongs. In similar instance, Aaron S. Allen characterizes ecomusicology as ecocritical musicology (393). For him, ecomusicology examines the different academic items reviewing from the ecocritical perspective. Furthermore, Timothy Rice also believes on ethnomusicology's proficiency to channel the experiences of tribals and ecological devastation (192-93). The practice of ethnomusicology helps financially deprived folks realize their cultural progressiveness. Ethnomusicology establishes human-animal relationship from the description of sound of creatures and their social connotation. For instance scenes like

rooster's early morning cock a doodle doo. An analysis explained in the *Current Biology* journal of 2013 by Tsuyoshi Shimmura and Takashi Yoshimura of Nagoya University in Japan, discovered that the crowing is primarily controlled by the inward watch (circadian clock) (*thejakartapost online* para 1). Though it is affected by outer improvements, for example, light or other chickens' crowing, such findings strengthen the philosophy of deep ecology. The rooster's basic instinct to crow at the dawn validates the presence of sense of time, human lifeworld and the metaphysical cycle of existence.

Rice further argues that the recorded soundscape of birdsong, water sounds, and reindeer chimes communicates the solidarity of man and nature (205). It also points out folks' worries about climate change, dumping chemical waste in water resource and deforestation. Ecomusicology could be an incredible method to know indigenous folks concern for eco-preservation.



Fig. 10. Tharu folks rejoicing the *Chhokra* dance. Dec. 21, 2021.

(Source: snapshot from CS Films *YouTube* video)

Ramita Golbanse in her *Sajana* song explores the mango orchard's gardening. In the past, Tharu community used to have many small and big *bagiyas* (orchards). These were mango orchards. After harvesting, they used to look out for the fruits during the summer. The gardens used to provide them fruits for self-consumption and economic purposes. In the song, she calls her husband *rajuwa* (the master) and says that he plants the mango plants on the sloppy lands. For the lady in the song, mangoes bear the fruits but the fruits have camouflaged themselves among the dark green leaves. However, the fruits will lure the garrulous parrots to come and instigate her fear:

<i>Rajuwa lagawai bagiya re, uhe bhira bhira</i>	The king plants the garden on the slanted land
<i>Amiya pharal patanukuwa, sugana mare aai</i>	The tree is full of mangoes hiding in the leaves, will come to shoot the parrots...
<i>Are suno sugana bachan hamara re, suno re more binate</i>	Oh parrots listen my plea, listen my voice Drop a bunch of mangoes, fill my lap...
<i>Ek jhogda Amiya giraideu mor kochhwa bharaideu</i>	

Further, she asks the mango-eating parrots to drop a bunch of fruits for her and fill her lehenga's lap. She then warns them to fly away and hide in the dark bushes of *khejri* (date palm):

<i>Ari bhago tu, bhagyo sugna re, khajari bana biche</i>	Oh parrots fly away from here into the vast wilderness of date palm
<i>More piha batai re sikari ganal goli marahi...</i>	My husband is a hunter, can shoot you in counted bullets...

She warns them about her husband's shooting accuracy by referring his good hunting skill. She cautions them by disclosing his ability of killing with economy of bullets. Therefore, she apprises them about impending danger. Here, we see the different approaches of man and woman towards the birds. The man has been presented as the destroyer, violent, and skilled warrior whereas the woman has been presented as the savior, compassionate and friendly to birds. Nature's feminine and masculine side has been colligated through the wife's and husband's approach. Further, she says:

<i>Hatha lehai gurta guleli ho,</i>	Carries catapult in his hands and the
<i>Kakha suta jabiya</i>	bullet pouch on his arm...
<i>Chalai chhaila chiriya sikar rajan</i>	The boy heads to hunt the birds in the big
<i>phulaware</i>	garden...

She tries to misguide her husband by asking him to look for the birds in the flower garden after asking the birds to hide in the bushes. She describes him as the warrior always ready to hunt. He carries catapult in his hands and hangs a small bag of clay bullets on his shoulder. Being well aware of her husband's intention to kill them, she tries to mislead him and save the birds. She further says:

<i>Danra danra chhapkal suguna re, pata</i>	The parrots are thickly resting on the
<i>tara nuke</i>	branches, hiding behind the leaves...
<i>Dariya jhukai chhaila marho, suguna giri</i>	Oh boy shoot them avoiding the
<i>jihi</i>	branches, the parrots will fall
<i>Marakahi maralo pihauwa re, u sughari</i>	Oh husband you killed but the beautiful
<i>chiraiya</i>	bird...
<i>Marakahi maralo tu pihauwa, mare nai</i>	You killed but didn't know to kill which
<i>janlo</i>	one...

Marakahi marlo tu pihauwa re ganal goli You killed with limited bullets...
marlo You killed the beautiful birds but I feel
Mari dharlo sughar chiraiya dard mihi the pain...
lage

She says the birds are hiding behind the green leaves. However, she seems to contradict her own statement by instructing her husband to shoot off the branches so that they will hit them. Here, she does not stop her husband from killing them rather she seems to guide him. The line refers to the vital necessity as propounded by Naess. As the birds symbolize the source of protein and food, she seems to reveal about them to her husband. However, she instantly sobs after her husband shoots the bird and wails that he killed the one but the most beautiful. She expresses her sentiments on observing the dead bird. She relates her situation in similar to the bird expressing a woman's domestic confinement. Her husband's brutality resembles the subjugation she herself experiences by conveying her pity towards that dead bird. She further says:

Ris kahi matal dhaniya re, naihar naihar The angry wife insists to go her maternal
karalo home...
Naihar banme baghuni sihare, naihar The furious tigress roams in the jungle
kaise jaibo? blocking her path...
 How to go to maternal home?

She further expresses her anger and declares to leave for her maternal home. However, the obstacle comes on her way to her maternal home. She expresses her fear as the tigress is roaring furiously in the jungle and road to her house also goes through

the same jungle. The description of the tigress signifies her own agitation on being emotionally helpless at her husband's home. She gets distressed by the death of the lovely bird. She could not control the guilty feeling and professes her inner self with the furious tigress. She further says:

<i>Are kare manaibu, kare chegra re suraj</i>	Oh god I vow you to sacrifice black goat
<i>dudha dhare</i>	and white milk
<i>Puji dharbhu gutaru pareuna, kare</i>	I will sacrifice the baby pigeons,
<i>dharbhu tore puja</i>	I will worship you,
<i>Naihar chaliyaibi</i>	And will go to my mother...

She then promises an oblation to the furious tigress. She tries to calm down the anger the tigress. The angry tigress has been reflected as the angry deity whose wrath can only be pacified by prayers and offerings. She promises to offer lamb and squabs to her. Nature's wrath has been explained to have demonstrated after the killing of beautiful and innocent birds. She further says:

<i>Chhutumutu semi chiraiya re,</i>	The little sparrow bird,
<i>Jhiraki lagal moti bunda</i>	Looks beautiful in the beaded design...
<i>Dhekani patir dhaniya re</i>	Only the face is beautiful, I do not like
<i>Mukhal kil sundar</i>	the slim body of my beloved...
<i>Patir patir dhaniya re mor man nahi pare</i>	I will go to work in the far country...
<i>Maite jaibi sarire laurangdesch rajake</i>	If you have decided to go to foreign
<i>nokariya</i>	country, give something as my wish...
<i>Jaikahi jaibo tu pihauwa re suru lang</i>	
<i>Hamare mangan kuchu daijau piya,</i>	
<i>rajake nokariya</i>	

Further, the woman expresses her husband's dispassion for her physique. He finds her thin and substantially unappealing. For him, only her face is worth of being beautiful. She expresses the negation of her physique through her husband's refusal to adore her it. Moreover, he has lost his interest to be her accompany. He expresses his desire to leave her at home and travel abroad for some job. But before he leaves her, she asks him to grant her a certain wish. She further asks him to return to her after passing some happy moments *hasi kheli dinuwa bitaiho, gharhi ghumi aaiho* (pass the time happily and return to home). She expresses her grief during the separation. She does not wish to let her husband abandon her for the foreign job. However, she beseeches him to return. This signifies a loving woman's tenderness to her husband. She ruminates the separation infiltrated due to his killing of a beautiful bird (parrot). She further says:

<i>Kekar lag lihabu orhaniya re, orhaniya</i>	To whom should we buy shawl for?
<i>bari sundar</i>	The shawl looks beautiful
<i>Kekar lag lihabu tikuli, tikuli bari sundar</i>	I will buy shawl for myself
<i>Are mairi lag lehabu orhaniya re, bahini</i>	And blouse for the sister...
<i>tan choliya</i>	Will buy vermilion for me, the vermilion
<i>Dhani lag lehabu senduruwa, sendur bar</i>	is too beautiful...
<i>sundar</i>	My husband will spend twelve years in
<i>Bara baras piha bahurai re, mor barhu</i>	the foreign land...
<i>bajare</i>	Someday, please return to the home...
<i>Kona din laute ghare aaibo piya, huita</i>	It has been long time since you last
<i>bahure</i>	departed...

The woman's desire for purchasing beautiful clothes gets reflected in her song. The woman says she would buy *orhaniya* (scarf) for her and *choliya* (blouse) for her sister. She makes preparation as her husband's homecoming approaches. She again proclaims that she will purchase *senduruwa* (vermillion). For her it sparkles liveliness and the emblem of her womanhood. Further she impatiently waits for her husband after twelve years. A woman waiting for her husband for twelve years and expressing her agony of waiting symbolizes the woman's pain of secluded life.

Shanti Chaudhary in her Sajana song *Kach- Kachahi Sasuiya* (Irritating mother-in-law) expresses the difficult married life for a newly wedded woman. When she gets married, her mother-in-law irritates her by indulging her in different jobs. Her mother-in-law asks her to perform tiresome household chores. She hardly gets free time for relaxation and entertainment. Thus, this *Sajana* signifies challenges in a woman's life after marriage. She expresses her grief for not being adored by her husband. She finds him supporting his mother rather than listening her wish. So, she finds herself isolated and dejected at her in-law's home. Such annoying environment reminds her about her independent life before marriage. She worries about the darkness of the jungle and wild animals. Despite having the challenges and amidst fear, she decides to return back to her maternal home:

<i>Sasuiya bati mora bara kach kachahi re,</i>	The mother-in-law is irksome,
<i>Jethaniya jiu bhutani</i>	The sister-in-law is troublesome...
<i>Sasuna nadi boli marala, kaleja mora</i>	Mother-in-law's harsh words, pierced
<i>salala</i>	through my liver...
<i>Piha more eko nahi bolala, kaiso re mai</i>	My husband speaks no word for me, how
<i>baithabu</i>	can I live at his home?
<i>Naihar naihar jina karo dhaniya re</i>	Don't insist to go to mother's home,

<i>naihar bari dure</i>	maternal home is too far...
<i>Bagha sihar bana bolahi darale mari</i>	The tigers roar in the jungle, you will die
<i>jaibo</i>	of the fear...
<i>Baba bata mora purakhi puraniya re,</i>	My father has grown up old, my brother is
<i>bhai re mori chhoti</i>	too small,
<i>Dada bata yenaki haroiya</i>	My elder brother is a farm worker...
<i>Kauna re lehe aaihi</i>	Who will come to take me?
<i>Ek bana naghali tiriya re, dui re bana</i>	Have crossed the first jungle, the second
<i>chapa</i>	one, found the help of a stick in the
<i>Teena bana kahi biche milal eka birchhi</i>	middle of the third jungle...
<i>Teena bana nanghal tiriya re, char bana</i>	The lady crossed the third jungle, started
<i>chape</i>	to cross the fourth one...
<i>Paanch bana kahe bicha milal ek ladiya</i>	Came across the river in the middle of the
<i>Era era lawaliya bhaiyo re suno re mora</i>	fifth river...
<i>binate</i>	Oh little brother please listen my appeal
<i>Chhiniyak kapara utari deu mai apne</i>	Take down clothes of my basket
<i>naihar chala jaibu...</i>	I will head for my maternal home...

The speaker's life after marriage showcases the one woman's victimization from another woman. Her mother and sister-in-law torture her and even her husband refuses to listen and understand her. She wishes to go to her maternal home, however, she is afraid of the vast wilderness of the jungles. She is afraid of the tigress roaring ferociously in the jungle. She is afraid she could not cross the jungle alone. Moreover, nobody from her family would be able to help her since her father has become too old to come to take her. Besides, her younger brother is too young and her elder brother is a busy farmer always working in the farm. Therefore, she starts sole journey. She

ventures through the dark roads of the jungle. She has to pass through many jungles. She finds the *birchhi* (cane) while walking across the third jungle. It helps her to protect herself from dangerous creatures. Finally, when she reaches the fifth jungle, she comes across the river. But finally, these all come to her speculations only, she could not act it and visit her maternal home.

When she finds herself caged still in her new home, she requests the new boy of that house to take down *chhituwa* (basket for keeping clothes) where she has stockpiled all her clothes. She requests him to take down the hanging basket, so she would be able to take all her small possessions and move towards her maternal home. The women's suffering and experiences enclosed like the clothes of a small basket signify the limit of women's self-determination. Her autonomy further gets clogged by the long journey to her remote belonging. She has to travel all the way back to her home through the dense forest. The reference of the forest as the arcadia signify Tharu folks' perception of forests as a vital part of their memory. At present, the forests may not have as scary connotations as they had in the commemoration due to their bucolic nature. Due to urbanization and modernization, the inferences of the wild forest as an integral part of Tharu folklore have been disappeared. However, the recurrent theme natural vegetation still perform an integral part of their lore. The landscape and topography, for them, signifies the resources for the contents of their folklore.



Fig. 11. *Dhakiyas* and blankets kept for getting dry after submerging them with river water at Khonpur village, Kailari Village Council. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

The reference of pristine nature signify the human and nature interconnectedness. Tharu folk songs embrace the theme of eco-ethnology. The references of living simultaneously with harsh nature help us to comprehend the constituents of biocentric Tharu subjectivity. Their residing with nature has shaped their daily performances. Non-human entities consist of equal respective values in their performance.

Shantaram Tharu: a popular folk singer of Tharu language in his interview with *Raj Media YouTube* channel hums a *Sajana* song where he describes a monkey's fear about being killed, his skin being ripped off and made into *mandra* (madal: Nepali music player similar to drum). Animal's pain of being killed by human beings for their celebrations and dance performances makes the monkey scared. In the song, it has been reflected that when the male monkey looks petrified about approaching festive season, the female monkey naively asks him the reason behind his unrest:

<i>Yee dara ba ithal burha bandra re</i>	The old monkey is sobbing sitting on the
<i>Tushur tushur rowai</i>	branch...
<i>Yee bandri to puchhai bandra se</i>	The she-monkey asks him why he is
<i>Ki kahe piya roilo</i>	crying...
<i>Hare danra ba ithal burha bandra re ki</i>	Oh the monkey is sobbing sitting on the
<i>tushur tushur rowai</i>	branch...
<i>Hare, aankhi futal lore bandri re</i>	Have you gone blind or senseless,
<i>Tore aakila bhulani</i>	Don't you see these humans coming to
<i>Yee pahi ghumali baro re bardiya ki,</i>	hunt us?
<i>mora jiu marahi</i>	They will carve out our skins and make
<i>Hare chhala chhutaihi busha bharahi re,</i>	the madal
<i>ki mandra meraihi</i>	The madal will sound loudly and make
<i>Mandara to boli gaha gaha, ki nigari</i>	the whole village vibrant...
<i>suhawan</i>	

The monkey reprimands she-monkey presuming her as naïve and senseless as she is not able to foresee humans hunt for their skin. They need to rip their skins for making the *mandra* (madal). The singer is anxious about animal's suffering and emotions representing them as humans. Monkey's skin gets used for making small size *madal* in Tharu community. Though humans rejoice for their approaching festive season, the monkeys have to worry for their lives as their skins will be carved out to make the musical instruments.

The song reveals animal's perspective on their cruel murdering. The song reflects the human emotions evoked for the animals' lives. Though human and animal conversation cannot exist in normal human language, human empathy towards animal hunting surfaces in the lyrics of these kinds of *Sajana* songs. The monkey's skin will

make people dance on the rhythm. The village will get rejuvenated with the beat of the *mandra*. Folks will forget all their miseries, daily routines and emerge themselves in the joyous celebration. When the folks will plunge themselves into the celebrations and performances, the animals will be mourning on the death of their family members. Such lyrics convey the Tharu community's intimacy with nature. It evinces the necessity to assimilate non-human life with human in all respect.



Fig. 12. Madal players leading the *Sakhiya* dance at Dashain, Shivaratnapuri village, KVC. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

Shantaram Tharu and Samikshya Chaudhary: one of the most popular duo in the song *Kahawai Maraibo Chandar Bijuwa* (Where will you take us for fishing?) convey about the fishing culture of Tharu community. The song performed in a cordial way between brother-in-law and sister-in-law narrates the preparation before choosing the spot for fishing. At the same time, the song also points out the slowly disappearing culture of fishing in the community. When the song starts, brother-in-law asks his sister-in-law about who let the pond dug out in the backyard. She replies

that his father was the one. The boy appears much upset about the construction of a pond in his own back garden since he can no longer join the company of fisherwomen and rejoice the act. Further, when the boy enquires about the construction of huge dams around the pond, the girl replies that the huge dams are bricks. Therefore, the song expresses the transformation of fishing culture of the community. In the past, the folks used to visit rivers and streams for fishing but over the time the performance has changed. The song presents the reminiscing of those beautiful moments of fishing in a river:

<i>Boy- he guiya, he guiya kekar uthail uchi</i>	B- Oh girl, what is this high dam made
<i>ghat?</i>	of?
<i>Girl- he guiya, he guiya itik uthail uchi</i>	G- Oh boy, oh boy the dam is made of the
<i>ghat</i>	bricks...

The song also accentuates on the extinction of natural ecosystem and its effect on the disappearance of fish species. In the past, they had a natural way of fishing in the rivers. The water of the river was pristine and abundance of species of fish. However, as urbanization engulfed human civilization, fishing in natural rivers and rivulets almost disappeared and now it has been restricted into artificial lakes and ponds. As the song says:

<i>Boy- kahawai maraibo vauji rohali</i>	B- Where will you-sister-in-law take us
<i>machhariya</i>	for fishing rohu?
<i>Girl- tal pokharuwam marbi deura rohali</i>	G-will catch the rohu fish in the lakes and
<i>machhariya</i>	ponds...
<i>Boy- sedhari chamke cham cham, tengna</i>	B- The sidhari fish shines brightly...
<i>kanta laigil bor, yehari...</i>	The tengna fish deeped the hook,

<i>Hey guiya, he guiya kaisik maraibo</i>	Oh girl, oh girl how will you make us
<i>chandar bijuwa</i>	catch the chandar bijuwa?
<i>Girl- he guiya, he guiya helkai maraibu</i>	G- Oh boy, oh boy will catch the chandar
<i>chandar bijuwa</i>	bijuwa in helka...

The description of varieties of freshwater fish found in the rivers of Tarai is referenced in the song such as *rohali* (rohu), *sidhari* (hilsa), *chandar bijuwa* (bindi-setipinna/ gangetic hairfin anchovies). These species are particularly found in Gangetic river belts. However, according to the folks, they have become rare in recent times. In a Harvard Medical School Study, researchers found that those who ate the most omega-3 fatty acids had lower levels of the protein beta-amyloid, which is a marker for Alzheimer's disease (webmd.com para 9). The fish was an important part of food-chain of the community. Their food resource was not commercial products. In further lyrics, the girl promises she would take him to catch the fish. They would catch them with *helka* (small-half round fishnet). *Helka* is the primary fishing net used by Tharu women. The song particularly describes Tharu women's leisureliness accompanied by their male partners.



Fig. 13. Women fishing with *helka*.

Source: https://www.explorehimalaya.com/the-indigenous-tribe-of-lowland-nepal-the-tharus/_mg_0506/. July 10, 2015.

Mani Ram Kariyamaghariya in his song *Mati Kore Gaili* (Gone to collect the soil) reflects on folks' performance of digging the soil. The folks use the soil for different purposes: primarily plastering the walls of the house and making hearth (earthen gas fire). Tharu women construct big and small pots from the clay called *dehari* and *bakkhari* (big mud grain storing containers) to store the seeds and food grains for future. These clay containers protect their seeds and food for the coming season. The prevailing reference of mud, through its different names has been applied in the song. The song presents the agrestic lifestyle of the community connecting their meaningful existence with land and water. The song further gets lyricized as:

Girl- Mati kore gaili ho rama

G- Went to dig the earth, oh rama in the

Ye ho rama, uhe mat koruwa

same digging port...

<i>Lapaki jhapaki ho chhaila mor bahiya</i>	You touched my arms jumping to and
<i>pakarlo</i>	fro...
<i>Boy- lapaki jhapaki ho chhaili tor bahiya</i>	B- will hold your hand jumping around
<i>pakarbu</i>	you
<i>G-Choro choro chhaila ho more, ye ho</i>	G- Please leave my arms...don't touch
<i>rama na chhamo re bahiya B-mai kaise</i>	them...
<i>chhorabu ri dhaniya</i>	B- Oh dear, how will I be able to let you
<i>Ye ho rama na chhato re bahiya</i>	go away?
<i>G-Sira ke sindur chhuti jai mai kaha lihe</i>	Don't try to leave me...
<i>jaibu</i>	G- My vermilion will be wiped up...
<i>Sira ke sindur chhute jaye, mai dusare</i>	B- If the sindur gets wiped away, will get
<i>lehe dehabu</i>	you a new one...

The song comprises the intimate affair between the young girls and boys when they go for harvesting the soil. On the journey, the young girl asks the boy not to touch her hand and try to be intimate with her. The youths involve themselves with the passionate affair. Further, she cordially teases him not to come closer to her since it may swipe the vermilion *tika* and *tikuli* (fingertip ornament) from her forehead. She fears about his promise of receiving an engagement ring. The *chhaila* (the boy) assures her that he will get her a new one. The journey of leisureliness grows into a joyous affair. The jollity of the song eases the tiresome job of digging and carrying the soil on top of their head and shoulder. In this labor, girls have to carry the soil of baskets. So to accomplish the job as fast as possible, the song includes the exchange of intimacy.



Fig. 14. Women performing *Sakhiya* and simultaneously following the *madal* players. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

In another similarly titled song *Mati Kore Gaili* (Gone to harvest the soil), the singer expresses a woman's wish to get married. The song narrates the story of the woman who wants to go to her beloved's house to deliver the soil of the basket. The song says:

<i>Mati kore gaili, uhe mat karuwa re na</i>	Went to dig the earth in the same digging
<i>Mati more dehale uthai hai re sajana</i>	port...
<i>ghara na</i>	My friends made me carry the earth for
<i>Chalo gochiya pathai, hai re sajana</i>	my beloved...
<i>ghara na</i>	Oh friends please take me to my
	beloved's house...

The girl asks her friend to accompany her and take her to her beloved's house.

Further, she says:

<i>Doliya fandai gori chalbi barate re ha</i>	Will go to wedding procession on the
---	--------------------------------------

<i>Pugi jaibi apan sasrar, hai re bachan</i>	palanquin...
<i>leke na</i>	Will reach to my in-law's house with
<i>Cholo gochiya pathai hai re sajan ghara</i>	promise...
<i>na</i>	Oh friends please come to drop me to my
<i>Pugi jaibi apan sasrar bachan leke na</i>	beloved's house...
	Will reach my in-law's house with
	promise...

She wishes to go to her beloved's house carrying the basket of soil and appeals her friends to take her to the beloved's house. Besides, the boy also expresses his emotions. He requests her friends to convey her to his house. The song reflects the amorousness developed between the girl and boy during the festive time.

Shantaram and Samikshya in their song *Baigam ture gaili* (Gone to pluck the ber/jujube fruit) express the leisureliness of women when they go to pluck ber. Ber fruits are consumed when it's ripe and can be stored for days after drying it in the heat. It can be further used as the *chatani* (pickle). It has a sour taste when it is plucked before ripening. So, ber pickle is a popular food item among Tharu folks during the summer's sowing time. The sour taste of ber fruit refreshes them and wipes out their drowsiness of hot summer:

<i>Are Baigam ture gaili ,Rama uhe baigam</i>	Went to pick the jujube in the same
<i>bariya</i>	jujube bush
<i>Garala mahina rasa katuwa bedana bishu</i>	Was pricked by the poisonous thorn
<i>sala.</i>	Who will pick off the thorn and who will
<i>Are kaunai morai kahrai, re anguri bichi</i>	empathize me in pain?
<i>katuwa...</i>	Oh my brother-in-law will pick off the
<i>Kaunae more harana haraniya anguri</i>	thorn and my husband will accompany

<i>biche dukh pira.</i>	me in my pain...
<i>Are diura more kahrai ,re anguri biche</i>	The lawn feels silent without my dear...
<i>katuwa</i>	The day passed waiting for you and my
<i>Swami more haran hariynai,anguri dukh</i>	blouse got wet with tears...
<i>pira</i>	
<i>Are balam ke kona bina lagi sunsan</i>	
<i>angna</i>	
<i>Dagara herati dina bital, choli bhijal</i>	
<i>sarirate</i>	

The girl expresses her painful situation because of her husband's absence. Since her husband has gone out of the village for the job, she sobs remembering him and wanders who will remove prickly thorns from her fingers. She had caught them plucking the bers among prickly bushes. Ber fruits mostly grow in hot and dry land. Tharu folks' everyday performances appear similar to the prickly ber fruits which grow in dry land mostly around the banks of rivers of Tarai. Therefore, the ber fruit contributes more to the exploration of Tharu women's suffering in absence of their husbands and caretaker.

She remembers her husband who could have lessened her loneliness. The metaphysical connotation of the prickly bers resembles the absence of someone intimate to her. She feels the house lonely and spends days waiting for him to arrive soon. The song basically signifies a woman's expectation of tenderness from her beloved. She spends the whole night sobbing for him. The woman's restlessness gets embedded in the sharp prickling. Therefore, the song encapsulates Tharu women's loneliness and devotion towards her husband.

Another song *Banwa me Batai Baagha Baghuni* (The tiger and tigress are in the jungle) by Karyamaghariya also discusses the theme of deep ecology. The song implores to save the diversity of the forest. The song describes different birds and animals living in the jungles of Nepal from the hill to the Tarai. It describes the melodious sounds of parrots and cuckoo. The jungle and its animal resemble the rhythmic nature. The soothing power of nature has been explained by referring various other performances of the community. The flowers of *mahuwa* popularly used for making local wine resembles the abundance of local resources for intoxication. *Mahuwa* is a tropical tree that has fleshy edible flowers and yields oil-rich seeds. Access to products like *mahuwa* (butter tree), and other wild fruits were important part of the community. They used to ensure the thriving of the community. The song entreats not to obliterate nature resources for each has its own ecological purpose.



Fig. 15. Behada Baba temple of Rampur village, Dhangadhi. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

In the song *Pahilek Jamana Mein* (In the olden days) from the album *Barka Banwa Basanta* (Big Forest Basanta) the singers value the protection of forest

resources implicating its significance. The song echoes Tharu folks' ecological concise:

<i>Pahilek jamana me, banawa je farli ha</i>	Had cleared all the jungles in the olden
<i>Nahi milal kathi wo patiya tab jake</i>	days...
<i>banuwa bachaili</i>	When the firewood and fodders became
<i>Kandra ke ladiya me machhali maraniya</i>	scarce, then thought to save trees...
<i>he</i>	In the Kandra river, we catch fish...
<i>Nahi dareu bisha uha ladiyam, nahi</i>	Don't mix the poison in the river, it will
<i>paibo machharinke jat</i>	kill the fishes...
<i>Rajghat banuwame hariyar rukhuwa he...</i>	The green trees are in the jungles of
<i>Nahi faryo sona talke banuwa, sukhi jaihi</i>	Rajghat...
<i>gengatike mula</i>	Don't cut down the trees of Sonal lake,
<i>Bulbul raniya me Kanchan jaluwa he</i>	the holes of crabs will go dry...
<i>Bhukhle piyasa paradesiya, meti jaihi</i>	The water of the Bulbul lake is quite
<i>paniyak piyash</i>	cold,
	It will quench the thirst of thirsty and
	hungry...

The singers explain that due to the deforestation, the scarcity of firewood troubled them in the past. The song appeals not to poison the river with the chemicals for fishing since it will wipe out the diversity of fish. Thus, the song characterizes impact of human activities upon nature. The song implicates the urgency of preserving the wetland, "nahi faryo sonal talke rukhuwa, sukha jaihi gengatinke mul" (do not cut down the trees of Sona lake, the holes of freshwater crabs will desiccate). Indian freshwater crabs live by natural water reservoirs like lakes and ponds and in the paddy

fields during summer. But if humans do not stop deforestation, natural water resources will go dry, and such vital natural resources will also extinct. The song describes Bulbul Rani Lake which has helps the hungry and thirsty peddlers to satiate their hunger and dehydration. Natural water reserves are necessary to protect nature from drought. Hence, the community's ecological vigilance gets further embolden by the song.

The song describes the harsh effects of environmental degradation due to unchecked human encroaching. Due to deforestation for firewood and habitat, the natural resources got depleted in the past and Tharu folks realized the utter urgency to preserve it. As they bent themselves towards urbanization and cleared the dense forest, they suffered drought. It created extreme poverty in the past. The scarcity introduced consciousness about sustainable development in them.



Fig. 16. Tharu food item consisting wine, dry fish, mushroom soup and other green vegetables. 2017.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

In the song *Ghodaghodi Taluwa me* (In the lake Gorighora), the human-nature interconnectedness has been professed. The song embeds the importance of the lake for its natural potentiality to flourish varieties of flora and fauna. As described in the song, the beauty of Lake Ghorighora gets enriched from the melodious chirping of birds. The song entreats to stop animal poaching for it depletes nature and bring unbidden calamities:

<i>Ghodaghodi taluwa me bolanai chiraiya,</i>	The birds sing in the lake Ghorighora,
<i>ho chiraiya</i>	Oh dear, how beautiful the lake looks...
<i>Aiho katna suhawan lagal taluwa</i>	Oh friends don't kill the birds of the lake,
<i>Aiho jin maryo taluwak chiraiya ho</i>	the lake will become melancholic...
<i>sikariyo, taluwa je huihi sunsan</i>	The gangetic dolphins play in the river
<i>Mohanake ladiya me soshawanke</i>	Mohana,
<i>khelana, aiho katra suhawan lage taluwa</i>	Oh friends how beautiful the lake looks...
<i>Aiho jin maryo ladiyak machhariya</i>	Oh friends don't fish the jalkapur fish, the
<i>jaleruwa</i>	dolphins will vanish...
<i>Huijaihi soshawa bilin</i>	In the north, churiya hills stand
<i>Uttare jo batai churiya parbatawa, ho</i>	Don't cut down the Big Forest, dear
<i>parbatawa</i>	friends, the animals will lose their road...
<i>Aiho dakhine jo batai pan dudhwa</i>	In the middle of the forest, the lake
<i>Jin phareu barka banawa, ho</i>	Bhuskihuwa lies...
<i>sanghariyeu tuta jaihin janatunke dagar</i>	The lake Jamnehata looks beautiful due to
<i>Banabiche batai taluwa bhusakihuwa</i>	the forest,
<i>Taluwa suhawan jamnehata sanghariyeu</i>	It lures everyone...
<i>sabahunke jiyara lobhai</i>	

The song further says that the *sonsh* fish (gangetic dolphin) and the diversity of the river will extinct unless uncontrolled fishing in the rivers stops. The dolphins in the Gangetic river belts exist due to the abundance of their food. But the large-scale fishing has disturbed the food chain. It has reduced the number of Gangetic dolphins in the rivers of Tarai. The song mentions the geographical beauty of plain land surrounded by churiya hills from its north and dudhawa jungle (Dudhawa National Park, Tiger Reserve) from the south.

Barka Banwa (Big Forest) has been a major concern since it is one of the prime biological corridors for wild animals to travel from Nepal to India and vice-versa. If *Barka Banuwa* gets destroyed, it will break the important passage for animal migration. Hence, it will have adverse effects on the ecology. The Basanta biological corridor has an important ecological system like Lake Chamrahaiya, Lake Bhuskiuwa, Lake Puraina and Lake Jamnehata. These lakes provide important water reservoirs for plants and animals. Besides, they also preserve aquatic species to continually sustain and flourish in the varied ecological diversity.

The song incorporates an urgency to preserve one of the important ecological routes of the wild animals in Nepal. However, these routes are being preserved through various small projects in Basanta corridor (lies around Basanta village of Kailari Village Council, Kailali). The government effort looks minimal when it needs to have firm determination to preserve such biological corridors. The song *Barka Banwa* (Big Forest) describes the important geographical locations in the Basanta corridor. The Basanta corridor extends around Kailari Village Council which consists of nine wards where the Ratanpur ward is primarily located around the Basanta. Ratanpur ward villages like Basanta, Ratanpur, Rampur, Bhuinyaphanta located by

the side of *Barka Banwa* hold the true reflexivity of Tharu life sustained through the ecological diversity of the corridor:

<i>Barka Banwa Basanta me aai</i>	Oh friends, welcome to the Big Forest
<i>Chali jaibi banuwa bihare</i>	Basanta, will go to roam in it...
<i>He banwa me phule lagal kesh</i>	The flowers of kesh and the semul tree
<i>Semra me dhota phule re</i>	have started to bloom
<i>Bari me basanti fuli gainai, banma</i>	In the kitchen garden, the basanti flower
<i>Kamaiya fule re</i>	has bloomed, the Kamaiya flower blooms
<i>Asharai me paki gaila jam, jhairi gaila</i>	in the forest...
<i>fula ashrai</i>	In the month of June/July the jamun fruits
<i>G-Jau dadu rukhuwa me kosham ture,</i>	get ripened and the flowers of silk cotton
<i>pakli gulariya bhail masawa</i>	tree fly lightly...
<i>He goniya me choliya suhani, paliya me</i>	G-Oh brother climb the tree and pluck the
<i>sakhiya ke naach</i>	Kushum fruits...
<i>Anganan me nachai chhokra wo jhumra,</i>	The gulariya fruits have ripened too
<i>mandara me chainar jhal ohe re</i>	B- The blouse looks beautiful in the
<i>B-Gechame sutiya suhani, hathe me</i>	lehenga, the Sakhiya dance in Paliya
<i>churya or bang, nadhime sutahi aur</i>	village...
<i>goinji</i>	G-Chhokra and Jhumra are danced on the
<i>Nehenga me cham-cham sitara chamake</i>	lawn, the village gets lost in the melody
<i>He banadevi jamnehata taal, deu</i>	of madal and cymbals...
<i>Ganesha Ratanpur me</i>	B- the sutiya looks beautiful in the neck,
<i>Kali maiya me maghek mela, deu karama</i>	the bangles in the wrists, shell conchs in
<i>bana bicha me</i>	the waist, the shining pieces of stars looks
<i>G-Ghodaghodi Vishanu ullas, ashar me</i>	beautiful on the lehenga

behadak mela The lake Jamnehata, Bandevi and the
Banashakti mata he patiya charahaibu, Lord Ganesha are here...
para karaeu barka banuwa re The Maghi fair occurs in the temple of
the goddess Kali, the Karam Dev in the
middle of the forest protects us...
G- the god Vishnu rests in the
Ghodaghodi temple, the Behada Baba
temple fair occurs in July
I will offer the leaves to the goddess
Banashakti (Forest Goddess), please help
me cross the jungle safely...

The song celebrates biological diversity: silk cotton tree (kapok), *jamun* (Indian blueberry), and *sal* tree (*shorea robusta*). The song welcomes the visitors to the forest and offers them a tour of the biological corridor. It describes the reproductive cycle of *jamun* tree; the month of June/July brings the flowers to semul tree and fruits to *jamun*.

The female singer asks her brother to climb and pluck the *Kusum* fruit (*Schleirchera oleosa*) since the fruits have ripened juicy from inside. The boy praises the beauty of Tharu women's attire: *goniya* (chaniya) and *choli* (blouse, tops). Similarly, it also describes about the popular *Sakhiya* dance performed in *Paliya* village of Ratanpur ward:

B-He gamchha me nachai mazor, chatkali B-The peacocks dance waving their
dara parire, lale baluwame ajgar basera, colorful wings on the bumpy land
gohuwa katainike ladiya me bas The python leaves in the swamp and the

<i>Maighar sarash ke jori taluwake pani</i>	alligators in the Kataini river...
<i>Ghumati, churiya se dudhawa hathiyanke negana</i>	G- The couple of swans play in the lake...
<i>Garjath baghuwa Baraka bana me Barka banawa Basanta me aai, chali jaibi banuwa bihare</i>	Where the elephants wander and walks from Dudhawa forest to the hills of the Churiya The tiger roars in the forest Oh friends, welcome to the Big Forest, Will take you deep in the woods to visit...

The song describes Tharu women's pieces of jewelry: *suitya* (necklace), armrings (churi), bangles, shining silky sitaras (cosmetic stars) and glimmering embroidery pieces. Similarly, Tharu deity: *Deu Ganesha* in Ratanpur and Banadevi at Jamnehata Lake are also mentioned to describe the physical location of the important geo-cultural spaces of Tharu community. Further, the song describes the small exhibition organized at Kali Maiya temple and the presence of Karam dev (Tree God in Basauti village of KVC). The song describes the popular Behada Baba Temple (located in Bhada village of Dhangadhi) and the Ghorighora Lake of (Ghodaghodi Municipality). The girl pledges *Banshakti Mata* (Forest Goddess) to safeguard her journey through the forest. Thus, she devotedly worships the forest Goddess with the leaves. The pagan deity believed to protect and assist the folks while crossing the jungle, harvesting timber and fodder mirrors their interconnectedness to nature.

Further, the boy describes the dance of the peacocks on the bright sunny day in the highland. He describes the important animals' natural sanctuary like the python's habitat in Lalpur's jungle and alligators' water cave in Kataini River.

Further, the girl describes the beauty of the lake covered with the flocks of Saransh (crane) also known as birds of paradise. Basanta corridor has been one of the major ecological routes for elephants, tigers, and rhinos to pass from India to Nepal during the summer season. The song ends praying tiger as the prime ruler and the strongest creature of *Barka Banwa*. The singers appeal to the *Banashakti* and other deities to protect the harmonious relationship between nature and humans.

Shanti Chaudhary (a homestay owner in Bangra village of Dhangadhi whose improvised versions of old songs have been uploaded via one of her brother's *YouTube* channel) in her *Maangar* song reproduces the woman's preparation for her marriage, her leaving off maternal home, and her journey to husband's home. In her *Mangar Sakhu pata luru luru* (The soft and delicate leaves of Sal tree) she compares herself with the leaves of a tree: delicate, soft and emotional. The green leaf symbolizes her soft and delicate body. Further in the song, she asks for a stone grinder on the first day of marriage. This ritual of grinding *dal* (lentils) in the first day of marriage is called *diuli darna* (burning deep/ a small bowl-shaped light burning dish) in Tharu community. It is a welcome ceremony before the arrival of the groom:

<i>Sakhu pata luru, luru, veti pata hariyar...</i>	The leaves of sal tree (shorea robusta)
<i>Patiya bichari mariri sagunike, sakhu pata utin...</i>	are thin and shaking, the leaves of veti are green...
<i>Kaha bata sirjal chakiya, kaha bata sirjal khilawa...</i>	I am the poor leaf of sagun, she is of sal...
<i>Kaha bata sirjal baburi nedhariya, diuli daran chali aawo...</i>	Where is the small hand stone grinder and where is the lever...
<i>Merawa to sirjal uruda re...mairi kokhi sirjal bapuri nedhariya...</i>	Where the girls are, dear father! Call them to light the diyo...

<i>Kaha bata sirjal bapuri nedhariya, diuli daran chali aawo...</i>	The farm baulks are sown with the black lentils, send the girls dear father, I too
<i>Birja bana sirjal khilawa re, mairi kokhi</i>	want to be decorated...
<i>sirjal bapuri nedhariya, diuli darn chali aawo...</i>	Where are these beautiful girls, call them to light the diyo

She requests her sisters to grind the urad dal (split a skinned black gram lentil). As grinding the urad dal is a culture in Tharu marriage to prepare *khichari* (a type of cooked food item prepared by frying black gram lentil in oil) to distribute to the members of the groom's party. She says that the meadow looks beautiful with the tall plants of urad dal. However, she remembers that she should hurry to be spruced up in the bridal dress. She requests her father to send her sisters and to prepare her for the bride lest the groom's party can arrive anytime. Therefore, the first ritual of grinding the lentils of black gram should be hastened. It will help the groom's party leave early in the morning the next day.

Further, the song reflects the bride's call to make her possession and clothes ready as she is leaving her house. She asks them to prepare her headscarf, *dupatta* (body veil) and lehenga quickly but she also warns that she will not accept the dirty clothes. She asks them to gift only new clothes to her. In the succeeding lines, she foreshadows the bad weather before she leaves. As the departure time comes nearer, the cloud becomes dark and starts drizzling. All the marriage attendees from the groom's side make a long queue leaving for his home. On the way, she does not recognize the direction they are proceeding. As they move further, she can only see the shepherds grazing their sheep in the field. She wonders how far her husband's home still lies from there. She asks all those shepherds she sees on the way.

The song reflects a woman's anxiety and a fear of migrating permanently to an unknown family and place. Besides, the song also reflects women's compulsion to leave their native home after their marriage. In Tharu community, a woman does not have any share over the possessions of her father's property. She can only take her personal belongings like clothes to her in-laws home. As reflected in the song, if a woman gets married to a far place from her native home, the anxiety about future haunts her even more.

She fears to receive love and care at her husband's house as she would not be able to communicate and share her feelings spontaneously to her husband. The song portrays the transgression of emotion in a woman's life after marriage. She gets nervous comparing her married life with an ecosystem which gets disrupted and intruded by her husband. Thus, her life remains in the constant probability of getting exploited by her husband. She has to sing another song pleading her wish to return to her maternal home. However, if she does not receive care and love from her husband and in-laws, she again expresses pain through her songs.

Thus, Tharu folklore reflect the primitiveness of their social-cultural performance. These folklore unconsciously embed the deep ecological awareness as their lives inextricable from nature in the past. Songs expressing women's experiences also use nature imagery to convey their feelings. Their performance inhere the values of eco-consciousness in their plain words and phrases. The performance includes more kinesthetic approach to engage the spectators with the content of their exhibition.

III. Jhumra and Chhokra: Performing Pain and Pleasure through Folklore

Tharu *Jhumra* and *Chhokra* songs homogenize the intercommunication of passionate affection among the performers. Most of the Tharu *Jhumra* songs address *sali* (sister-in-law) and *bhatu* (brother-in-law). *Jhumra* songs are performed when the harvesting season gets over. So, during the off-season period, folks gather together and share their emotions derived from everyday performance for easing the pain after hard work. During *Jhumra* performances, women dance around the *mandrahuwa* (madal player) in different beats. Both male and female singers help the performers to perform according to the narrative. The cross-exchange of emotions are represented through different symbols and nature imageries. Therefore, *Jhumra* and *Chhokra* songs are performed as the harbinger of achievement and relaxation period. These songs signify the leisureliness to folks. Besides they offer an opportunity for a momentary setback from agrestic life.

Folklore can be an excellent source for the study of contemporary environmental attitudes as well as those of the past. Yoon and Bunske speculate a tremendous prospect of folklore: “Folklore holds a great future in the study of man-environment relationships, especially in the study of environmental attitudes, because folklore is a living tradition reflecting the natural insights and perceptions of people” (637). Yoon reasons that since old stories have mysterious creation and are mutually utilized, they can address a record of uncontrolled individuals' conduct including their desires, thoughts, and mentalities.

Folksongs represent the philosophy of the community behind their real life performance. In a similar note, Bunkse reasons, “Folksongs as well as other modes of folkloristic expression, came to be regarded as the spontaneous creations of commoner sense- the embodiment of their collective soul, their muse, philosophy and

history” (qtd. in Yoon and Bunske 561). Common folk's tasteful sensibilities exist predominantly in their sub-consciousness and get communicated pretty much in the social performance. Amos Rapport in his postulation on community architecture creativity propels the idea that peasant's architecture addresses their culture, its necessities, and qualities without stylish endeavoring or expressive changes (Bunkse 554). The deep-ecological concept of living organically with nature gets embedded in peasant's way of architecture. Ake Campbell assesses, “Faithful adherence to tradition is the means by which the peasant produces a landscape where the house never stands out in bold respite against its background but melts into it even as a free or rock” (554). Thus, Campbell signifies that the architecture of peasants has always been synchronized with nature they live around.

Folklores are helpful to understand the creativity of primitive-style living community. In such similar domain, Mary Lewis inscribes, “The study of folklore and literature expands our knowledge on the creative process of their makers and possessors” (163). The research helps us to acknowledge the ecological awareness of primitive community which sounds similar to the findings of modern scholarly researchers. Thus, the carriers of oral literature ought to be given as much adherence as we give to academic researchers. Folklore expresses the collective legacy of social expression from ecological scenes.

Throughout the wide array of research, folklore has been interpreted as the commonly shared experience. Alan Dundes in his book *The Study of Folklore* defines folk group as the people who share at least one common factor and is confident that it will have some traditions which it calls its own (Bauman 32). In his essay, Richard Bauman portrays folklore as the function of shared character. Folklore group comprises philosophy of sentimental patriotism, bucolic humbleness, and

etymologically characterized ethnic units. Alongside this, one of the significant glories of fables arises as the collective rendering of their collective inner characters. Along these lines, Bauman endures that folklore as the proclamation of their representative subjectivity (33). Furthermore, he argues that folklore as the spectacle to counter the hostile memory. As a result, theme of folklore contrast from community to community. Thus, they can be an instrument of contention and hostility just as fortitude.

Folklore has weaved into the structure exhibiting different action goals. William Bascom in elucidating the four functions of folklore explicates that it incorporates everydayness of life, justifies rituals and local institutions, educates and censors the misbehaviors. He highlights the importance of folklore even in a non-literate society. Folklores help to improve the moral and ethical behavior of the group. The function of reflecting, education, and warning are expressed through the folklore performances. Hence folklore performance not only entertains the participant and observer but works as the therapeutic event by providing the outlets for the repressions which our social codes and conducts impose on us. Performance exists cultivated through the work of socially conventionalized metacommunication (Bauman 295). The specific speech community utilizes a precise arrangement of codes and constructions to envelop the message as the communication from the entertainer to the crowd. The exhibition includes the responsibility to pass precise message to large audience.

For instance, *Maghauta* song (sung during Maghi) from *Buhran Tharu* film describes the early bathing of a woman in her father's pond where she forgets her *tikuli* (fingertip ornament). Besides her *sendur* (vermilion) also gets expunged by the water. The song performed during *Maghi* bears the tradition of getting early in the

morning, taking baths and blessings from elders of the family. Similarly, during the fiesta, the boys cooperatively dance with girls performing as *mandrahuwa* (madal player) and repeating the phrases uttered by the women:

<i>Babaki sagar gainu ha muriya lahane</i>	I went to the father's pond to take the
<i>Sakhiye ho kajula chhotal pani ghat</i>	head bath
<i>Sakhiye ho gataiya chhotal pani ghat</i>	Oh friends, my kajal got washed away by
	the water
	Oh friends, forgot my shawl at the water-
	dam

In course of *Maghauta* dance, a typical ritual is performed. During the latter part of the performance, the woman picks up the coins and notes scattered on the blanket. While she picks up money from her mouth, she has to backflip her body. She has to bend her head supported by her hands and pick the money. This a popular custom performed by women during Maghi commonly known as *Paisa Lutaina* (Offering Money).

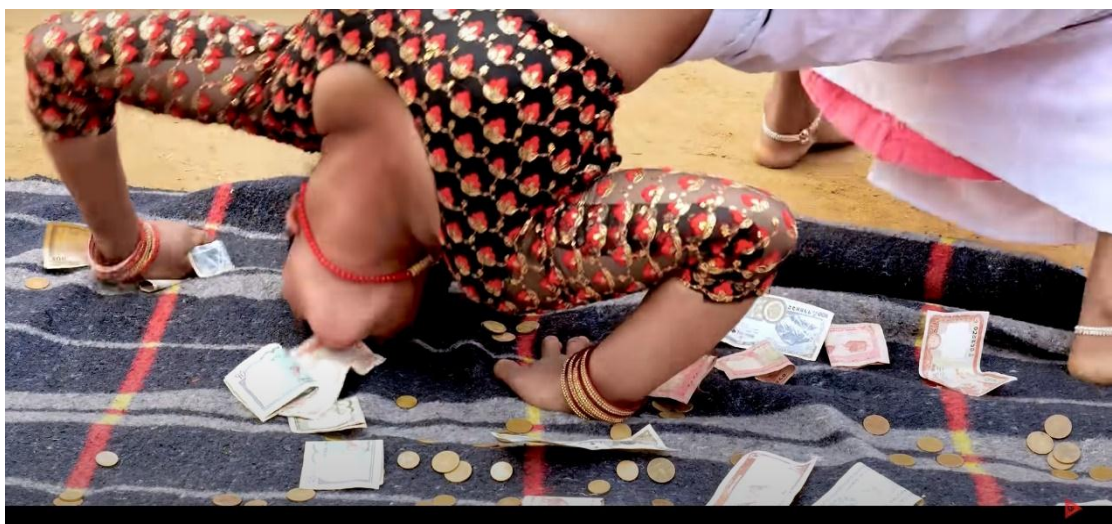


Fig. 17. A woman picking up notes on blanket during *Paisa Lutaina* at Maghi. 2021.

(Source: snapshot from the CS Films *YouTUBE* video)

In a recent version of the song produced by *CS Films*, the song narrates intimate relationships between youths where the girls become more boisterous towards boys asking about their capacity to offer all the money they have on the mat. She arouses the male chauvinism by challenging the masculine ego. She says:

<i>Tarak gojhiya chhamu ki uppar gojhiya</i>	Should I check the lower pocket or upper
<i>chhamu</i>	pocket?
<i>Dari bichhail ba, keyakar laj pari ho</i>	The mat is laid down, whose shame will
<i>Dhai dhai mai khojnu baniya dukanai ho</i>	it be?
<i>ha...</i>	I wandered to find the merchant's shop...
<i>Kahi deu baniya tikula ka mol...</i>	Oh merchant please tell me the good
<i>Sakhiyai ho...</i>	price of the tikuli?
<i>Kahi deu baniya nathiya ka mol...</i>	The lake looks beautiful in the pair of
<i>Bakuli o bakula tal suhawai re ho ha...</i>	crane and she-crane
<i>Tiriya suhal pani ghat...sakhiya ho...</i>	Oh friends, the river bank looks dazzling
	with the beautiful ladies taking bath...

When the girls become able to possess money, they attempt to procure cosmetics: the beautiful *tikuli* and *nathiya* (nose ring) wondering from merchant to merchant. The song reflects the girl's excitement and burden to get a suitable beloved. She expects the boy to reply her honestly. She signals her nervousness regarding the selection of the perfect groom. In the latter part of the song, she invites the boy to the river bank where she goes to fetch the water in the clay pots. She conveys their duo as the perfect pair of cranes roaming in amorousness around the beautiful lake.

The reference of Tharu *aantwa* (high wooden tower constructed in the middle of the farm for reconnaissance (here in sense of observing the wild animals))

repeatedly emerges in a *Jhumra* by Raj Kushmy. The song describes a folk plaiting rope while he guards his farm sitting on the tower. Similarly, women knit the *deluwa*, *dhakiya* (basket) relaxing on *aantwa*:

<i>B-Ari he sure ura, sura ura ho bahere</i>	B-The wind blows from the east
<i>purbaiyaa</i>	The lady weaves the rope sitting on the
<i>Are aatwa me baithike gori, panuwa dar</i>	tower...
<i>dori binai...</i>	G-The boy smiles looking at the pattern
<i>G-Delawa ke panuwa mor heri</i>	of my basket...
<i>chhayaluwa muski maralo...</i>	Oh friends I fell in love dancing and
<i>Sakhiyai ho nachati hasati bajhal maiya</i>	laughing...
<i>mor</i>	B- Oh, dear the Jamuna river flows
<i>B-Ari he jhura ura jhura bahe jamuna</i>	gagging through the trench...
<i>ho...</i>	The parrots sings on the ford where the
<i>Are jaune ghata gori lahawai, sugina boli</i>	beauty takes bath...
<i>marnai...</i>	

They feel cool and refreshing when the east wind blows on the top of *aantwa* in summer. Therefore, the expression of *aantwa* and the entanglement of youths in a joyous affair has always been one of the dominant themes in *Chhokra* and *Jhumra*. Thus, whenever *Jhumra* dance is performed during the off-season, Tharu youths entice girls and the girls cordially involve themselves in the festive environment enriched by music and the performers' beautiful outfit.



Fig. 18. Tharu *aantwa* (watch tower) for keeping eye on animals and birds. Oct 5, 2019.

(Source: snapshot from the RKC Digital's *YouTube* video)

In the past, such cultural spectacles were exhibited at village chief's house as it was part of their civic sense to follow the advice of village chief. Raj Kushmy under the description section of his *YouTube* channel *RKC Digital* writes: "*Baithakku* Tharu Folk song is sung and performed in Tharu community where villagers perform the dance in *Barghariya*'s house (the leader of Tharu community selected by the folks). The goal of *Baithakku* is to entertain, forgive each other, reconcile their relationship" (para 8). The song begins with the expression of boys joshing over girls dressing and outfit:

<i>Are kaune fula dhani seja lagawai, kaune</i>	Which flower will she wear and which
<i>dharanai sirahaniya</i>	one will she keep on the sleeping pillow?
<i>Are kaune tel dhani chhirki mor dehanai</i>	What oil has my dear sprayed on, the
<i>seja mahakai haru haru</i>	head smells sweet...
<i>Chorus: vurigaunk bazar se jhobanna</i>	Chorus: you brought the necklace from
<i>lani dehalo</i>	Bhuri village

<i>Hamar maigar maiyak bayana kai dehalo</i>	You proved the depthness of our love
<i>Dauna bebrik, gendak mala guthi dehabu</i>	Will weave the garland of bebri, marigold
<i>Tohar dehal buhi fula seja ma sajaibu</i>	flowers
<i>Mor laluma mor jiya na tarpaiho</i>	Will keep your gift of the buhi flower on
<i>Mor pihawa maigar maiya jina marho...</i>	the head
<i>B-Are makhamal fula dhani seja lagayoi</i>	Oh my dear, do not make me agonize
<i>Genda dharani sirahaniya</i>	B- oh dear put the flower of globe
<i>Are attar tel dhani sejama chhirkai seja</i>	amaranth on your head
<i>mahakai sari rat</i>	Marigold on the sleeping pillow
<i>Are kaune chiraiya fulapur baithe</i>	Apply the attar perfume on your body, the
<i>Kaune nachania darepate</i>	body will fragrant whole night
<i>Are kaune chiraiya or ramiras lehanai,</i>	Which bird will sit on the flower and
<i>kaune milayoi more raag...</i>	which one will dance on the branches?
<i>Are gulaki chiraiya fulapar baithe dhota</i>	Which bird enjoys the tune and which
<i>nachanai namidar</i>	one dances with us?
<i>Are sugina chiraiya ramiras lehanai</i>	Oh dear the little sparrow sits on the
<i>maina milayoi more raag...</i>	flower and the woodpecker enjoy the
	tune, the parrots just observes the tune but
	Maina sings with us...

This *Baithakku* song conveys the boy's praising of a girl where he praises the beauty of a girl wearing beautiful flowers on her hair. The boy wants to know which flower the girl will be wearing and which one will she keep under her pillow. Further, he expresses the fragrance of her hair oil. Its sweet smell lures the boy to be intimate with her. Basically, such situations help the boy to allure and persuade her to dance

with him. The girl in turn accepts his enticing since he has brought her *jobhanna* (bridal necklace). She conveys the gift as the perfunctory of his devotion to her. She further promises to weave the garland of *dauna bebri* flower (Butterfly bush). She then assures that she will wear the very flower he has brought for her. She solicits him not to leave her and deceive her.

The song further entangles the birds' companionship during the dance performance. The girl wonders which bird will rest on the flower and which one will dance on the branches. Here, she expresses her desire to know about the young boys beguiling her: the ones who will win her faith and the ones who will just roam around her. The boy replies that the *gulaki* (sparrow) bird will sit on the flowers and *dhota* (Lesser golden back woodpecker) will dance nearby it. At this point, the *dhota* symbolizes those rough and tough boys who are reluctant to play and chitchat with the young girls.

Similarly, *gulaki* bird represents cheerful boys who are smart enough to adulate the girls. Such boys are not afraid to express their passionate emotions. Additionally, the song says *sugina* (parrot) will just enjoy the performance and singing whereas myna bird will participate and sing together with her. Mynah birds are popular for imitating human voices. Thus, the song signifies that the winner will be one to develop physical and emotional intimacy with her. The girl will surely get coaxed by boys who dare to be intimate with her. In the song *Uri Uri Bhaunra* (The flying bee) the woman's sensitivity for her prestige can be perceived. The female singer considers the bee responsible for spoiling her make-up and appearance. She blames the bee for it has messed up her make-ups: vermilion tika, nose ring, and *kajara* (kajal/collyrium):

Uri uri bhaunra, sindura par baithe re The flying bee rests on the vermilion...

<i>ha...</i>	Oh friends the bee touches and ruins my
<i>Sakhiye ho bhaunra ka chhuwal mor</i>	vermilion mark...
<i>sindura malin</i>	Travelled all around Dang and Deukhuri
<i>Dang gainu deukhar gainu dekhnu</i>	and found her very beautiful
<i>maha sugghar</i>	Loved the Bardiya district but I belong to
<i>Man paral bardiya jilla, ghar paral</i>	Kailali
<i>Kailali</i>	The flying bee rests on the vermilion...
<i>Uri uri bhaunra kajura par baithe re</i>	Oh friends the bee touches my kajal and
<i>ha...</i>	ruins it...
<i>Sakhiye ho bhaunr ka chhuwal mora</i>	You invited me to play in the beautiful
<i>kajura malin</i>	garden...
<i>Sundari phulariyama khela tu balailo...</i>	You made me love embracing
<i>Baha jori kari kari pirati lagailo...</i>	affectionately
<i>Uri...nathiya par baithai re ha...</i>	The flying bee rests on my nose
<i>Sakhiye..., nathiya malin...</i>	ring...touches and ruins it too...
<i>Tuha mora kewal fula tuha mora jyan ho</i>	You are my water lily, you are my life
<i>Tuhin lehe naipam bhatu, diadem apar</i>	I will take my life if separated from
<i>jan ho...</i>	you...

The song typically engages a woman's affection with the boy. Further in the song, the boy's twitching has been alleged for ripping out her make-up. Here, the symbolic meaning lies in the connotation that describes their physical intimacy between them. In such affection, the girls have always been the victim of physical seduction. The temporary affair not only holds possibility to hurt her emotions but it could also become the issue of her body shame.

Manmati Bakhariya: known as the first lady to song modern Tharu songs who too has several recordings in her name and currently the owner of Tharu Television in Dhangadhi has a similar connotation of flower and bee in her song *Bukki Fula Fulal* (The White Dahlia has bloomed). She compares the girl with the flower and the boy with a bee. She expresses a similar theme of affability when she expects the boy to fall in love with her during her beautiful youth. The boy has been cordially addressed as *bhatu* (brother-in-law) and the girl as *sali* (sister-in-law). The urge that takes inside the young hearts has been presented secretly through her *Jhumra* song:

<i>Aisin sugghar ye more Sali, bukkiya fula fule has</i>	Oh my sister-in-law you are as beautiful as daisy flower
<i>Bukki fula fulal ho bhatu, bhaunra lore nahi aail...</i>	The daisy has bloomed but there are no bees roaming around...
<i>Cham cham karati nenglo ho Sali, mihin heri haslo...</i>	You walked in shining drees and gave smile looking at me...
<i>Jhyalki pari hereu o bhatu, muska boli maraho...</i>	Oh brother-in-law you talk to me smiling looking at the window
<i>Dhire dhire maiya lagal Sali, tuhin bina marijau...</i>	The love grew studiously, won't be able to live without you...

In Manirm and Anup Kumari's *Chhokra* song, the boy persuades the girl to elope with him. *Chhokra* songs are recited at fast pace. In the song, the boy flirts with the girl addressing her as sister-in-law and asks her how he can knit the rope around the paddy hay. The boy actually hints her on how he should attract her affection. She in turn replies to wait until the fair of *Maghi*. The girl assures him to wait until the fair as they would get enough time to plot their elopement:

<i>Muri kasi bandhu Sali, lali jhobanna</i>	How should I knot the bunch of paddy
<i>Mai maya karnna Sali, tu nai manna</i>	crops, oh red necklace?
<i>Muri ...barka fula</i>	I like you but you seem to ignore it...
<i>Magh mahina aaideu bhatu khelab mela</i>	Oh brother-in-law wait for the Maghi
<i>Dhan kasi bandhu bhatu, ki lali jhobanna</i>	fair,
<i>Muri...</i>	Oh brother-in-law, how should I tie the
<i>Mashari pisi dal Sali, puran chakiya</i>	bunch of rice crops?
<i>Soti jagti yada ail, kaail gatiya</i>	Oh dear, the old stone grinder is good for
<i>Masari...mahatan angana</i>	grinding the lentils...
<i>Eka murgha boli bhatu, lakbo sangna</i>	Remember you all time
<i>Mandra jhal bole bhatu, puran chakiya</i>	Remembered the green scarf while
<i>Bhoka bhoki hero Sali, bandho motari...</i>	sleeping and awake
<i>Jar ghama lagi Sali, laileu chadari</i>	Will walk for the dance with the first call
<i>Bhoka...,bakram bahiya</i>	of the rooster...
<i>Sura sura bayal bahi piprak chhahiya</i>	The madal and cymbals will sound on the
<i>Basiya suhawan Sali, sajana ke sang</i>	lawn of mahatauwa (village chief)
<i>Tohar mora jori jami, milab akkethan</i>	Oh sister-in-law, please pack up your
<i>Basiya..., nachab shakiya</i>	goods and be ready to elope...
<i>Maiya lagake bhatu, milaim akhiya</i>	Take the thick clothes, will have to face
<i>Dasaiya dewari bhatu, sajana ke song</i>	the cold and hot
<i>tohar...</i>	The breeze flows under the peepal tree
<i>Ladiya ke phatuwa phatuwa, bair</i>	(sacred fig)
<i>barkatwa</i>	Our pair will be perfect match, will meet
<i>Bheta kara aaiho Sali, prithi purawa</i>	at one place,
	The flute tune sounds beautiful in Sajana

song

Will elope with you walking along the
deserted banks of the river

Oh sister-in-law please come to meet at
Prithipur village...

Further, he expresses his restlessness to stay with her. Further he says he recalls her throughout the night. Her body is symbolized through her green *dupatta*. Similarly, the imagery of reproduction has been commutated by the old stone grinder's churning of mashoor lentils. The line represents the sexual suppression of the boy who wishes to engage in a fervid affair with her.

Further, she reminds him of an upcoming dance event at *Mahatawa's* (village chief) house. She asks him to visit early in the morning with the rooster's first call fetching *mandra* (madal) and *jhal* (thinly walled, consisting a pair of round, metal plate looking like cymbals). However, the boy urges her to get herself ready for the elopement. He asks her to pack her clothes. Since they may feel cold early in the morning, he suggests she carry a thick blanket. The boy compares their duo with the amalgamation of *basiya* (flute) and song in *Sajana*. Later on, the boy hints that they will leave the village at dawn walking by the riverbank.

The riverside has been described thickly populated with ber fruits (jube). These thorny plants are abundant beside the riversides of Tarai. The girl replies that he is being overconfident but whatsoever she adores his boastfulness. Later on, the boy feels ashamed in promising to visit her at her home. He praises her delicate physique comparing it with the soft leaves of fenugreek leaves (*chamsur*). In reply, the girl assures him that the *bajra kenwara* (doors with two flips) are open and he can

easily thrust inside her room. Actually, the song reflects his urge to have a fervent relationship with her after the night dance. She seems to have accepted his wish.

Therefore, the short intimate communication seems to have aroused their fervid protestations of love. So, they agree to flee away from their village even if they have face uninvited challenges. The song ends promising a happy future to the couples. *Chhokra* performed during Dashain resembles the emotions of erotica among performers and spectators.

In a *Lagi te lagi kalattar bharal rupiya* (No matter even it costs the big money), a song from Sonu Tharu's movie *Mastaili*, the boy vows to entice the beautiful girl whom he loves. In turn, the girl replies that she will exchange her youth only with the one with abundant wealth. He promises her to make his beloved no matter even if it costs him pots and pots of gold coins. He relates his fervent emotions with the fire in the *pasga* (hearth). The girl asks the boy to put off the fire of his wishes for the time being. The song presages the strong erotic desire to be relinquished through their intimacy. The girl further declares that she will choose the richest *jimdaruwa's* (landlord) son as her husband who meets her criteria. The boy further declares that he keeps on satiating his desires just looking at her as she does not allow him touch her:

<i>B-Lagi te lagi kalattar bhar rupeeya,</i>	No matter even if it costs pots of money
<i>rupani bathiniya nai chhorabu...</i>	Will not give up the lurking for beautiful
<i>G-Nachati angana me angiya sopa</i>	lady...
<i>dehabu,</i>	Will surrender my body to you dancing
<i>Rupwa, rupeeya leke satabu...</i>	on this lawn
<i>Pasgam aagiya rat barna, tuhina dekhe</i>	But will exchange my beauty only with
<i>jiya jarna...</i>	the money...

<i>B-Aao ho mor agiya butau...sadhbar</i>	The fire in the hearth burns for whole
<i>tohar pichhe parana...</i>	night, my heart feels jealous seeing your
<i>Chhatike mor gauman tharuwa...</i>	beauty...
<i>Piha mor gharan jimdaruwa...</i>	B-come and tranquilize the fire of my
<i>Badhileu prem gathi kaske, banileu</i>	heart...will love you forever and ever
<i>tharuwa mor tharuwa</i>	G- Will choose my darling in whole
<i>Aise nazariya lagaiho mor piyari, hereke</i>	village and he should be the richest
<i>piyase bhuk metabu...</i>	one...
<i>Lagite...</i>	Oh dear come and love me and be my
<i>Jaise gagar bhar pani, chhalke tohar ho</i>	partner
<i>jawani...</i>	Have forgotten my hunger looking at
<i>Aau ho mor bahiya pakar leu, kabasam</i>	you...
<i>rahabo anjani...</i>	B- your youth topples like the full water
<i>Sitari bayal bahe lagal</i>	pot
<i>Ras ras maiya badhe lagal</i>	Oh dear come and hold my hand, up to
<i>Tuhin dekha mihin kaje, jawani ke mata</i>	when you will be alone?
<i>chahre lagal...</i>	G- the cool wind blows, the love starts
<i>Rama ho primi bati batbu, tohar nauke</i>	growing intimate
<i>diya barbu...</i>	Don't know why my youth is becoming
<i>Lagi te lagi...tarki bazar nana dehabu...</i>	more passionate for you
<i>Sonake nathaniya ghalaibu...</i>	Oh Rama will weave the thread of love
<i>Rupani fikar nahi karho, dhana ke baras</i>	and burn the diya of your name
<i>barasai bu...</i>	B-Will bring you necklace even if it
<i>Galata ho lehenga ka uppare, muthi ke</i>	costs too expensive
<i>feriya ho pehanbu...</i>	Don't bother will shower the wealth to

<i>Raatdin tohar nau japti, sukhdukha</i>	you
<i>jingiya bitaibu...</i>	G- will pray your name for whole life,
<i>Maite tohare tohare bhar parbu, jibi</i>	will live and die for you
<i>tohare lag marbu...</i>	

However, the girl looks convinced with his daring to offer any amount of wealth she wishes. So, she agrees to be his bride. She asks him to make the bond of love stronger like the tight knot of rope. The boy praises her beauty with the spilling water of a clay pot. The girl further says she too has developed intimate feelings towards him. The love has started to grow as the cold wind starts blowing slowly.

The boy vows to be a wick of for her and consume it in her name. He communicates his energy to make an intimate love with her. Interpreting critically, the *diya* (earthen light) connotes female sexuality and the wick symbolizes male sexuality. He completes his request by suggesting her to not worry about the material abundance she wishes to receive at her husband's home. Therefore, the songs turns into a medium to coax a woman by displaying material bounty and property. The song reflect chauvinistic society where affection could be merchandised. Nonetheless, the girl performs to ensure whether the boy is brave enough to accept the challenge or not. Nonetheless, the boy's vehement exposition of his wish to entice her at any cost reflects his devotion to her. Finally, both of them achieve the emotional assurance, they had hoped to acquire.

In *Jhumra* song *Kahiya Lagaibo Baba Mor* (When will you get me married?), the father worries for his growing daughter. He warns his daughter about her growing age for a perfect marriage. He expresses his anxiety to get her married to a suitable boy at a suitable age. Therefore, he requests his daughter to agree to marry since she

has grown up and youth is transitory. He says, "When will I be able to persuade you for marriage? Your lehenga has reached the *bareri* (a roof beam in thatched and mud house of Tharu house)." Initially, the daughter denies his urge and stubbornly persists that she has not come up her age. She denies her father's marriage proposal by stating that her lehenga is still too short to touch the *bareri*. The height of lehenga symbolizes her age. She further asks him to allow her study more rather than forcing her to marry. She says if her own father complains about her growing age, then what remarks the rest of the society will pass on her:

<i>D-Babai kathu parha deho ha bhojsoj nai karabu...</i>	D-Oh father request you not to get me married, send me school...
<i>F-Sochle rahu chhai lagaim ha, chhai hero baisha chahral</i>	F- You are grown up, I'm worried about your marriage now...
<i>Jeni lagau baba mor lehenga bareri pugna ba...</i>	D- Oh father don't get me engaged, my lehenga is too short to touch the roof
<i>Kahiya lagaibu chhai mor lehenga bareri pugali ba</i>	beam yet...
<i>Baba mor aisik katha ha, duniya te ka kahi?</i>	F- when will I be able to find you a suitor, your lehenga has touched the roof beam
<i>Tohar dukh, mor dukkha ha, umer tohar khaske lagal</i>	D-My own father criticizes me, what will the rest of the society say?
<i>Jeni...</i>	F- Your pain is my pain, your age is growing quickly...
<i>Angiya dekho fariya lagal ha,lehenga bareri pugali</i>	Look at your shawl, lehenga has touched
<i>Umer bhara fula fulal ha, umer khaskal fula sukhapakha</i>	the roofbeam, youth and beauty is like a newly bloomed flower, when youth

<i>Jawani bhar lahundani lalchai ha, aajkal</i>	passes it's like a withered flower...
<i>dekho sukhapakha</i>	People say your daughter has aged
<i>Duniya bhar khojti chhalnu ha, tohar</i>	D- when will you get me married father,
<i>chhai buhrail katha</i>	my lehenga has become taller now
<i>Kahiya lagaibo baba mor...</i>	F-when will I get my brother-in-law,
<i>Kahiya bhetaim damda mair...lehenga...</i>	your lehenga has grown up long...

The song portrays the traditional system where parents are much worried about their daughter's perfect match at the perfect age. No matter they do not discourage their daughter from receiving higher education but their major concern at the young age of their daughter is whether she will be married to a prosperous and gentleman or not. They worry whether they will be able to get her married at her best youth or not. When the daughter denies her grown-up age, the father symbolically convinces her exemplifying youth with a blooming flower and the age with withering flower. The flower loses its radiance and beauty when it fades and its striking petals falls apart within few days. He tries to make his daughter realize the lady who crosses her youth rarely gets selected by any male suitor.

In response, the daughter finally admits her loneliness. She says she enjoyed and had a candid joyful life in her youth but now she has lost all the charms. Therefore, she agrees to comply her father's wish. For a woman to live independently, and happily is unusual to conservative society. Therefore, the daughter at the end agrees to abide by her father's persistence and asks him to find a suitable match. The song comprises the masculine notion of females.



Fig. 19. Singers performing at the *Khojnibojhi* (leftovers of Maghi) fair held to farewell the Maghi, 2018.

(Source: snapshot from the researcher's field visit)

Maniram Tharu in his song *Laskata Laskata Lehenga jo sohe* (the long and beautiful wavy lehenga) song describes and exalts the beautiful Tharu women. Tharu women wear *lehenga* and *choli* as their traditional outfits. Maniram glorifies the beautiful lady in her extremely exotic radiant *lehenga*. He praises the waving *lehenga* and the velvet *saree* worn by the lady. He describes the *choli* (upper top) of the pink colour and on top of that chadar (outer) is being described as the perfect of cotton fiber. The lady's arms look beautiful in *churia* (bangles) and her neck shines with the beautiful necklace engraved with precious gemstones. She wears humel (a long elaborated ornament suspending over the chest-worn on the neck). She wears *jhumka* (ear ringlets) on her ears. Her feet are decorated with *bichhu baijiniya* (anklet) and her hands look beautiful in silver bangles. Her chest appears extraordinary in *choliya* (tops). So the song describes the overall classic Tharu woman's dress:

<i>Aiho laskata laskata, lehenga jo sohe</i>	The wavy lehenga suits your perfect curvy
<i>Kushmi suhal ranga sari re bhalla</i>	body
<i>Aiho gulami ranga kahi choli re, naina</i>	Your green sari suits on that...
<i>suta chadar</i>	Your pink blouse and new shawl on that
<i>Aiho bahe sohe sankha churiniya, gale</i>	lure me...
<i>sohe nau lakha har re bhalla</i>	Your wrist look beautiful in bangles
<i>Aiho chhatiya me sohata humela, dunu</i>	Neck looks dazzling in golden lace
<i>re kanem jhumka</i>	Jhumka(earrings) on both ears
<i>Aiho gore sohe bichhu baijiniya, hathe</i>	Your feet looks beautiful in
<i>sohe baka bjaye re bhalla...</i>	payals(anklets)
<i>Aiho angiya me sohata u choli ho dhani,</i>	Please, come closer to me and touch my
<i>chhatiya laraeu...</i>	body with your beautiful looking necklace
<i>Aiho bujhi jau pihawa ke mange re dhani</i>	and chest
<i>tulasa haryai...</i>	Try to understand your darling's wish,
<i>Aiho biche biche tu more laal re motiya,</i>	the tulsi (holy basil) will bloom
<i>gudari siyake sutaau re bhalla...</i>	Please weave a warm quilt for both of us
<i>Aiho anguri ke saichhin banaeu gohi</i>	Will bring you the engagement ring
<i>bajhal mor maiya...</i>	I started liking you dear...

Further in the song, the boy requests her to be intimate with him in the same dress.

The song signifies the erotic desire of the boy who wishes to be physically intimate with the beautiful girl. Further, he describes her beautiful golden *nathni* (nose-ring) and vermilion on her forehead. He continues praising her beauty in the bridal dress.

Then he asks her to understand his feelings so that the *tulasi* flower (holy basil) will flourish in green colour. The boy symbolically asks her to agree for sensual love since

that is the only process, reproduction is possible. So, the *tulasi* plant getting vibrant symbolizes the woman's fecundity power turned reproducible.

Besides, the boy requests her to accept his marriage proposal so that they could have a good time together. He offers her an engagement ring as a memento for his promise. He lures her the warmth of their physical affection by referring to the finely stitched quilt that they would be covering themselves with. After all, the song represents a boy's persuasive power to convince a girl to be friendly with him. Therefore, he leaves no stone unturned to praise her exotic dress and her marvelous appearance in that traditional dress. The song represents the process of winning over the girl's favor before being accepted by her. She expects being admired for her exotica. Thus, the song encapsulates the whole attire of a Tharu woman.



Fig. 20. A woman preparing dhikri (rice sausage). 2020.

(Source: snapshot from the CS Films *YouTube* video)



Fig. 21. Baked *dhikri*. 2020.

(Source: snapshot from CS Films *YouTube* video)

Similarly, the song *Puttham Lehenga, Kanem Kanbali* (The Lehenga on the waist and earring in the ear) describes the morning routine of a woman in a village. As the song says, the woman wearing a lehenga, earrings and necklace wakes up early in the morning to fetch water from the well. She wakes up with the rooster's first call. She has been described as *the bhansariya* (cook). Moreover, the males have been described as farmers who wait for their wives to bring them food in the ranches. The males prepare themselves for the farm in the early morning carrying plough and harrow on their shoulders. Males have been represented as *haraiya* (workers on the farm). As they see their women bringing food, they sit on the *merwa* (bumps dividing the field into small parts) waiting for their *kaluwa* (breakfast) and *mijhni* (lunch). The song describes Tharu agrestic lifestyle as:

<i>Puttha me lehenga, kanem kanbali,</i>	Wearing the lehenga on the waist, earring
<i>ghecham kanasehari...</i>	on the ears, the necklace on the neck, the
<i>Gaunk dulhaniya tekaneme gagri, nengli</i>	beauty of the village walks to fetch the

<i>nathniya pani bharni...</i>	water in the dawn...
<i>Murgha ke bolime uthalin bhansariya</i>	the housewife wakes up with the rooster's
<i>Kandha me har juwa, khetuwam haroiya</i>	first cry
<i>Ailai dulhaniya leke kaluwa aur mijhni...</i>	carrying the plough and yoke on the
<i>Baithali haraihya merwam dekhake</i>	shoulders, the farmers start for the
<i>sajani...</i>	farmland
<i>Barkha ke megha ke pani haryali,</i>	the lady comes bringing the lunch in the
<i>Dekhi dekhi ke manha tarpe</i>	farm
<i>Ghumnu kailali jilla, charkose banuwa</i>	The workers wait sitting on the high rows
<i>Mahendra rajmarg, ghorighora taluwa</i>	seeing their ladies...
<i>Pugnu ghumate firat attariya chauraha</i>	the water of the rainy season soothes your
<i>Dhangadhi bazar huke hasuliya gabisha</i>	tormenting heart
<i>Mohanake dhikuwa me milan</i>	visited Kailali district, the great forest
<i>Huibi sajna, hasikhel dina bitaibi</i>	Mahendra highway, lake ghorighora
<i>Bahe purbaiya sitari bayale</i>	Reached attariya, Dhangadhi town and
<i>Basanta bahar bagiya suhaye</i>	Hasuliya village
<i>Bhore bihani angana khele albeli</i>	Will meet each other at the bank of
<i>Fula gundi bagiya champa chameli fula</i>	Mohana river...
<i>ke rang bhare madhur din kerani</i>	Will pass the life happily, the
<i>Dekhi dekhi maiya lage...</i>	environment looks beautiful and romantic
	in spring
	The sun shines early in the morning
	lighting the bright flowers of the
	garden...
	It makes me fall in love...

The routine agrestic life has been the major emblem of Tharu subjectivity. Males have to leave for the farm early in the morning and women have to get the food ready. The boy mentions the rain of the summer season when the whole field gets soaked in the water and the rice saplings could be seen poking up their tip out of the water. The whole environment turns waterish green during the rainy season. The environment looks so spectacular because of the freshness after the rain and the greenery of paddy saplings.

The boy in the latter part of the song describes his journey to different parts of the Far-West like Mahendranagar, Attariya, Kailali, and Hasuliya village. He further says he would meet his beloved lady at the Mohana River's bank. The environment and climate feel cool due to the east wind and the beautiful flowers blooming in the garden. During the summer season, flowers bloom and the garden looks like a big garland decorated with many beautiful flowers. The boy explains that the colour of the flowers gets enshrined with the warmth of the Sun. He further says he could not help him from falling in love the lady bedecked in the beautiful cultural costume. Thus, the song compares the beauty of the traditional dress with the stunning nature which provides delight and amusement to him.

Similarly in the song *Lehenga Fariyam dekhthu tuhin he* (When I see you in Lehenga and Fariya) Raju and Pramila Chaudhary valorize the intimacy of youths. The boy expresses his emotions praising her lehenga and *fariya* (thin shawl type outer). In reply, the girl too mentions that he too looks handsome wearing *gamchha* (a towel type cotton fabric put around the shoulders by the male) and *dhoti* (undergarment) when he walks briskly towards her. Here also, the boy describes the traditional Tharu male and female dress:

<i>B-Lehenga fariyam dekhthu tuhinhe, dura se muskaitho...</i>	B- You laugh from far away when I see you in lehenga and shawl
<i>Tu sundari mor jiyara lalchai tho</i>	You beauty have stolen my heart
<i>G- kandham rumal puttham dhoti ha, chhalko chhalko nengtho..</i>	G- Keeping the handkerchief on the shoulder and the dhoti on the waist, you walk briskly...
<i>Mor chhaila ho, maiya jinni maraho...</i>	Oh my dear boy, don't forget our love...
<i>B-Cham cham kara turkey tohar ha, funna lagal lehenga...</i>	B-Your tarki(necklace) shines brightly, your lehenga is beaded
<i>Maha sugghar ho chhaili got lagal angiya</i>	Your shawl is also embroidered with beautiful design
<i>G-Sapnam dekhthu dulha tuhin ha, funna lagal pagiaya</i>	G-dream you as my groom, with beaded turban,
<i>Ka sochtho ho chhaila maiya bajhaka...</i>	What do you think after trapping me in your love...?
<i>B-Muski maralo tu lajaka ha, man chhaiko chhaiko karath...</i>	B- You smiled shyly, my heart pounds with excitement...
<i>Gecham sutiya, nakem nathya muh tohar doniya</i>	Sutiya on neck, nosering on the nose and your face looks beautiful oval like the leafcup...
<i>G-maiya bharal fotu khichnu ha naina milaka</i>	G-oh boy please talk to us, whenever we meet...
<i>Dagram bolaho ho chhaila, maiyase muskake</i>	

Furthermore, the boy describes her shining chest jewelry *tarki* as a perfect composite with her beaded *lehenga* (furnished and covered with small mirror beads and small

woolen balls). The girl in turn replies that she finds him as her groom in dream wearing the *pagiya* (head covering known as pagadi/pagri or turban). She asks about his intuition after winning her consent as she looks worried about his commitment thereafter.

The boy feels enthralled by her coyness. He further describes her neck and nose decorated with *sutiya* and *nathniya*. Her beautiful oval face is like *doniya* (a small oval shaped bowl made of tree leaves). She responds by reminding him not to forget her in future. She expects her friend to talk to her whenever they would come cross each other on the road. The reference and explanation of beauty through nature imagery resembles the entwining resources available in the community. *Chhokra* and *Jhumra* delicately express the theme of intimacy and everyday misery interconnected with nature symbolized in festive affair. Therefore, nature becomes a medium to reflect the different emotional states of the community.

In the song *Lehenga wo choliya me fula has bilgaitho* (You Look Like a flower in Lehenga and Choliya), the boy describes his visit to a Tharu village where he meets a beautiful girl. The boy describes the village when he comes across a group of girls. He notices a beautiful lady on his way. He flatters her as having a beautiful name. Then he starts cajoling her. He describes her being like a flower in that particular *lehenga* and *choliya*. In reply, the girl compares him with a bee. Thus, the song exaggerate the intimacy of the pair:

<i>B-Katna suhawan tohar gaun, aiho katna</i>	B- How beautiful is your village!
<i>sundar tohar nau</i>	Oh how dear how sweet is your name!
<i>Lehenga o choliya me fula has bilgailo</i>	You look like a flower in blouse and
<i>dekhi jiyara mor lobhawai...</i>	lehenga, my heart gets attracted...
<i>G- Fula sahara ke hai mora chhaila</i>	G-oh boy you are the flower of the town

<i>Hai ho dagara chalati muski maralo</i>	and you smile walking to our village
<i>Chhaiko chhaiko dhotiya chhalkailo</i>	Your waved your dhoti
<i>Ho chhailo dekhi jiyara mor lobhawai...</i>	My heart gets attracted seeing you...
<i>B- suno suno chhaili mora ha sunao ho mora batiya</i>	B- Oh girl listen me, we can pass life happily living together...
<i>Hasati khelati chhaili kati jaihi ratiya...</i>	G- You promised to buy me tikuli at night, how come you forget in the morning?
<i>G- ratiayi to kalo chhaila ha sindura lani dehabu...</i>	
<i>Bhure bihana chhaila bisar gilo batiya...</i>	B- your face is fair and eyes are black with kajal
<i>B- gorhar gorhar gal ba tohar, aiho akhiya nain kajrare...</i>	Seeing beaded lehenga and shawl my heart aches for you...
<i>Gotha dar lehenga, kinara lagal gatiya dekhe jiyara mor lobhawai...</i>	G-your talks are sweet, has magic in them...
<i>G- bare mith boli ba tohar, aiho boli me bawai tohar jadu</i>	B- I am your master, you ar my darling, Will visit you briging palanquin through this way...
<i>Mith mith boli sunake ho chhaia dil mora lehalo churai...</i>	
<i>B-Maite tohar dil ke hero ha, tum or sajanिया</i>	G- You are my hero, come carrying litter to my lawn...
<i>Chando leke aaibu chhaili uhe dagariya</i>	B-the youth of sixteen, how shy you are...
<i>G- tu to more dil ke hero ha, suno ho sajanuwa,</i>	I will take you on palanquin, your friends will be lonely...
<i>Chando leke aaiho, chhaila more anganuwa...</i>	Will fly happily as the pair of the swans
<i>B- solhe sal ke jawani, aiho katna</i>	

sharmili tohar bani

Doli me baithake laijibu chhaili

Rahijaihi sakhiayan akeli

Hansa ke jori bane jaibi chhaila chhaili

uri jaibi nila gagan me...

As the song describes, the girl finds him handsome when he flaps his *dhoti*. The song starts from the exaltation of affection on the occasion of *Jhumra*. Further, the boy promises her that they would have a prosperous life if she wishes to engage with him. The girl starts teasing him by making a reference that he had promised to bring her *sindur* (a sign of marriage to a Hindu woman) from the market. But as the early morning unveils, the boy seems to have forgotten his promises. Actually, the girl hints at the fake promises that males make to flatter the girls. The girl's worry about the momentary affection gets reflected through different other *Jhumra* songs as well.

However, the boy keeps on adoring her. He praises her tender simple, black eyes, beaded *lehenga*, *gatiya* (shawl) wearing diagonally on her body. The boy consistently attempts to win her favor. Finally, the girl admits being lured by his sweet tongues. In the latter part of the song, the boy promises to marry her and visit her with *chandol* (doli/litter). Overall, this song too ends in a promise for a better future. Thus, the *Jhumra* song primarily encodes the theme of a friendly affair during the festive season of the community.

In the song *Bhau Bhinsariya* (The Dawn has started) from the music album *Gotiyar*, the singer describes Tharu folks' routine. They start their day going for fetching water from the well. The boy wakes up his wife to go for fetching water

carrying the clay pots. The boy and the girl drive early in the morning walking side by side to each other. The water pot looks beautiful being carried on women's head:

<i>B-Bhau bhinsariya murga eka bolai re</i>	B- early in the dawn, the rooster cries
<i>Utho dhani utho dhani chali pani hare re</i>	Wake up dear, wake up, lets go to fetch
<i>G-Utho piha utho piha chali pani hare re</i>	the water...
<i>B-Sira charhaili dhani sobhana gail re</i>	G- wake up husband, wake up, should
<i>Dhani piha dhani piha chali pani hara</i>	rush to fetch water
<i>re...</i>	B- Keep the pots on the head and rush
<i>Parga mahare dhani eka sura nengai</i>	quickly to get the first turn to fetch the
<i>Uthi gaili uthi gaili kunwa pata hara re</i>	water...
<i>G-Pugi gaili pugi gaili kunwa pata hara</i>	Have woken up to go to well...
<i>re</i>	G- Have reached to fetch the water...
<i>B-paniya bharan dhani dola darali re...</i>	B- Will make the litter to carry the
<i>Paniya nikar kahe dola darali re...</i>	water...
<i>Bharati bharai pani, bhayal bihana re...</i>	The morning rose high in the light while
	fetching the water...

The boy takes her to the wellspring to help her fetch the water from the deep down.

The daily routine of fetching water as the day dawns signifies the village life entwined in environment. The wellspring signifies the important water reservoir. Besides, fetching the water early in the morning represents the vigorousness of women. As the housewives, they have to prepare *kaluwa* (breakfast) at dusk to rush for the farm. Thus, the traditional occupation of farming strongly gets intermixed in Tharu folk songs.

In the song *Amalik Rukhuwa, Sittar Jur Chhahiya* (The tree of Gooseberry and the Cool Shadow), the pair express their friendly affection. The description of a woman's *lehenga, churiya, guriya* (moti necklace), beaded and embroidered *lehenga, tikuli* (fingertip ornament on forehead) mark the beauty of the woman. Similarly, the boy's garb has been elaborated with *pagadi* (turban) and *gamchha*.

<i>B- amalik rukhawa sittar jur chhahiya</i>	B- the tree of amla (Indian gooseberry)
<i>Dura na jaiho Sali, tohar lagath maiya</i>	and the cool shadow
<i>Sali ho pakaro bahiya, juni juni banabu</i>	Don't go away sister-in-law, I like you
<i>tohar saiya...</i>	Oh siste-in-law hold my arm, will be your
<i>G-mana mora choralo bhatu apan boli</i>	husband
<i>le...</i>	G- you stole my heart though your sweet
<i>Ghayal banailo mahin maiyak goli le</i>	talk
<i>Bhatu ho mana chor ke, ye dil ke</i>	Your wounded me with the arrow of love
<i>phulawari na jaiho chhorke</i>	Oh brother-in-law don't leave me
<i>B-hathem churiya Sali, gecham guriya</i>	B- The bangles on hand, necklace in the
<i>gothak lehenga, mathem tikli uhe aaith</i>	neck, beaded lehenga, tikuli on forehead
<i>najariya</i>	are only visible...
<i>Sali ho pakaro...</i>	G- the beaded turban, handkerchief on the
<i>G- funna lagal pagiya, kandhama rumal,</i>	shoulders, look amazing in waving dhoti
<i>sal sala putthama dhoti karalo kamal...</i>	Oh brother-in-law, you stole my heart
<i>Bhatu ho man...</i>	B-the outer covering your tops, your
<i>B-pari khetu pari Sali, cholike uppar</i>	melodious sounding anklets
<i>achala</i>	G- The twinkling stars have brightened
<i>Jiyara lagith mor kanchan payal</i>	the night...
<i>G-jhilmil toraiya bhatu, raat ke ujariya</i>	I forget the road to house in your longing

<i>Tohar yad me bhatu, bhulaithu dagariya</i>	B- The shawl looks beautiful on top of
<i>Bhatu ho...</i>	the blouse, will make mine and ride you
<i>B-fariya suhawana lage, upa choli</i>	on palanquin...
<i>Apan banaibu, charahaibu doli...</i>	G- my heart and body appear beautiful in
<i>G-morik tan man sugghar bhatu, tohar</i>	your soul
<i>dilma</i>	Please take me quickly to your lap...
<i>Hali hali lai leu bhatu apan saran me...</i>	

The girl says she forgets her way in the moonlight from remembering him. The boy like in other *Jhumra* songs expresses his desire to marry and carry her on *doli* (litter/palanquin). The girl in reply requests to make haste to marry her since she too believes to have desperately fallen for her brother-in-law's (refers the boy in the song). The reference of *sali* (sister-in-law) and *bhatu* (brother-in-law) has been symbolize to enhance warmth of their affection.

Similarly, Kariyamaghariya in his song, *More Bagiya Dagar Gailo Chhaila* (You Walked through my garden) describes the girl who walks by his garden road connoting the beauty of the rainy season. He mentions the hot and cloudy environment with numerous lightning clouds. Further, he expresses that he will colour her *choliya* (blouse) with different colors in Holi. Besides, he also compares the lady's voice with the sweet singing of a cuckoo bird. Thus, with nature imageries, Karyamaghariya evokes the beauty of a girl:

<i>Chhaili mor tuhi ho mahin</i>	Oh dear girl, you are my master
<i>Rama suhail chara kone</i>	You look beautiful from every angle
<i>More bagiya dagar gaila chhaili</i>	You walked through my garden way to
<i>Bhauran he lalchailo</i>	lure the bees

<i>Priri piriri bole sundar murali</i>	The sweet flute is singing, its good
<i>Rame suni maiya lage</i>	listening it
<i>Oise bajhal maiya, chamke mor</i>	Our love grew like the twinkling stars
<i>Jugunu re torangan</i>	The heat is increasing and the rain will be
<i>Taha taha lage badar ghamiya</i>	heavy
<i>Rama barkha bari jore</i>	The lightning clouds is an example of my
<i>Cham cham kare, kari badri,mora</i>	love...
<i>Mayawa ke nisane</i>	Will make your blouse wet with the
<i>Char char rangan gori choliya...</i>	different colours on Holi
<i>Rama holikahi dine</i>	Your body will be soaked, you will be
<i>Bhijhin jaihi gorike anga, mora hirda jur</i>	cold
<i>jai...</i>	The cuckoo in the garden sings making
<i>Kuhu kuhu bole bagak koili</i>	garden beautiful,
<i>Rama champa fulaware</i>	My heart longs for your words
<i>Dekhi dekhi jiyara more tarpe, sunike re</i>	You are the flower of bebri
<i>sabadiya..</i>	Oh Rama Who will open the door?
<i>Pata pat tujo duanak phula, pata pata</i>	You shoot the arrow through your eyes...
<i>Rama kholi ke kenwara...</i>	Will come soon bringing palanquin to
<i>Bajra kenwariya dagar marlo, akhiya ke</i>	take you...
<i>ho bane...</i>	Please come to my palanquin
<i>Hali hali leke aaim dola, hali hali rama</i>	Will take oath to live and die together
<i>doliya laskari ke</i>	Will show the world the immortal song
<i>Baithi jaeu doliyake upare, mora</i>	of our love...
<i>champha phulawariya...</i>	
<i>Sange jina ho sange ho marna rama</i>	

kasam khaibi hamre

Prema ke geet sunai hamre, duniya he

dekhaibi...

In the song *Sajal Sapana* (The Beautiful Dream) the girl dreams spending good times with her partner. She dreams that the boy touches her shoulders and presses them so hard that she could hardly tolerate the pain. However, she finds the boy unaware and careless about her problem. She could not bend her body and asks him to leave her arms. This song similar to other *Jhumra* songs uses *sali* and *bhatu* for the girl and the boy respectively. However, the songs resembles sensual metaphors with the reference of much admired amusing pain

During the summer, the girl says she suffers from the perspiration. So, she has to unfasten her blouse. She suffers from the extreme heat and could not bear wearing a tight dress. Further, the girl mentions that they first came across each other in the garden:

<i>G- chhaila to pakarala ho alkha mor</i>	G-oh the boy has grabbed my arms
<i>bahiya he</i>	strongly...
<i>B-chhaili to...</i>	B- oh the girl has grabbed my hands
<i>G-chhaila to dard, dard nahi jani, lihuri</i>	strongly
<i>baithi nahi jawaih</i>	G- Oh the boy does not realize my pain, I
<i>Choro choro bhatu he, alkha mor bahiya</i>	cannot rest...
<i>he...</i>	Oh brother-in-law, let me go, leave my
<i>B-chhoro choro Sali...</i>	hand...
<i>G-garmika dinuwa pasina anga chhute</i>	B-....oh the sister-in-law leave your grip
<i>choliya jhanjhan kholan lage</i>	G- In the days of summer, the

<i>Fula lor gaili ho malin, uhe fulawariya</i>	perspiration makes me difficult to wear
<i>he...</i>	this tight blouse...
<i>B-fula...</i>	Went to pick the flowers in the garden
<i>G-ohe fulawariya me sajana bhete unke</i>	B- Went to pick the flowers in the garden
<i>surat mana mohe</i>	G- Saw you in the same garden, you stole
<i>Sejiya lagail ho malin, fula bichhnail</i>	my heart...
<i>rehe...</i>	You laid me on the bed of flowers...
<i>Ohi sejiya me sajana sutawai, pirati</i>	Our love grew more and more...
<i>rahal rujhawai...</i>	Oh dear hermit, oh my master
<i>Hare hare jogiya re, hare sir bhogiya</i>	The master walks ahead followed by his
<i>re...</i>	devotee...
<i>Aage aage malin chale, pichhe lagal jogi</i>	
<i>apa mahaliya laijawai...</i>	

The girl explains that her love gets ignited by the beautiful flowers. Later on, she explains the boy that she will follow him like 'a *jogin* (devotee) to her lord.'

Therefore, the song reflects the respect for the promise of faithful love.

Similarly, the song *Jone Panthu Dhani ho Gaila* (The way my beloved walks) mentions the beautiful garden and the exposition of love. In the song, the intimate aptitudes of the youths have been incorporated with nature. The boy describes his kitchen garden where he describes the lemons densely hanged on the tree. He believes his duty is to protect those ripe lemons from the visitors. However, the song commutates the erotic theme where lemons symbolize the breasts of the young girl, and their security represents taking care of girl's youth and beauty from other male gazes.

<i>B-jone panthu dhani ho gaila</i>	B- The way my beloved walks, I plant
<i>Yeho rama bagiya lagawai...</i>	tree on them, in the middle of the garden
<i>Bagiya ke biche ho biche mor</i>	lies my jasmine flowers...
<i>Champa fulaware</i>	B and G- will grow the garden and plant
<i>B and G-bagiya lagail ho dhani, ye ho</i>	lemons there...
<i>rama larangi lagawai...</i>	The lemons have ripened, who will look
<i>Larangi lataki ho gaila, mor tina</i>	after them now...
<i>akhwari...</i>	The spider weaves its web
<i>Makura to jali lagawai...</i>	And traps the flies
<i>Yeho rama machhiya bajhawai...</i>	In the same way, our love entangled...
<i>Oise ka dhaniya hamro bajhal maiya</i>	G- Yes, in the same way, our love
<i>more...</i>	grew...
<i>G-oise ka pihauwa hamro bajhal maiya</i>	
<i>more...</i>	

Later on, he compares his successful ensnaring of the girl's affection with the spider weaving cobwebs and duping the insects. Thus, he accepts the depth of their affection. Thus, Kariyamaghariya's song signifies immortality of love and respect towards each other.

Similarly, in one of the song from the album *Mor Champa Fulaware* (My Beautiful Flower Garden) singer Shantaram and Samikshya refer a lady who carries *delariya* (small basket made of bamboo stripes) and visits the garden to collect flowers for decoration and worshipping.

<i>B-Sira sohe basaki delariya ho</i>	B- oh master, the head looks beautifully
<i>Ari ho malin</i>	decorated in the bamboo basket

<i>Ari ho malin, chali to jaibu bari fulawar</i>	Will meet you in the kitchen garden
<i>G-jone panthu piya more gainai ho, ari ho malina...</i>	G-the way my husband walks by, oh the master...
<i>Are ho malin ho jone panthu, piya ho jainai, mahu chali jaim malin hathe lewai</i>	Oh master, the way my husband walks, I too will choose that path
<i>malin sona ke ankushiya ho, are ho malina</i>	My dear will buy me the golden ring, he is like a domari flower
<i>Ari ho malin, ho, piya to bhaini domarik fula</i>	I will receive the big and beautiful bangles...
<i>Mahabhari churila mai paibu ho ari ho malin</i>	
<i>Ari ho malin ho, manga bhar paibu sira ke sindur...</i>	

The lady in the song proclaims that she will choose the same road by which her beloved walks. Besides, she expects to receive an engagement ring. Further, she compares her beloved with *domarik* flower. Further, she expects to receive big bangles as the assurance of the boy's affection to her. Overall, all *Jhumra* and *Chhokra* songs whirl around the exchange of joyous emotions among the youths who rejoice during festive seasons.

Consequently, this dissertation has brought down the cultural performance of Tharus into the space of biocentric subjectivity. The dissertation interprets their folk dance songs from the ecocritical perspective. The research has traced their memory, identity, and performance. The four distinct topics assigned to their folk performance have categorically focused more on the development of their biological subjectivity

and sustainable ecological development. Moreover, the paper holds no prejudice and does not aggrandize the community's heritage. The findings commute that the community entwined with nature has come across drastic changes in their livelihood. Tharu subjectivity still comprises the performance and rituals embedded with the significance of environmental sustainability.

Despite the corporate culture soaring high across the globe, Tharus have been progressive in adapting themselves to these changes and preserving their green performance. The dissertation claims no supremacy on conducting all in all research of the community. However, a reader will have a certain critical understanding of underlying motifs, symbols, and themes of the community's performance. Thus, the dissertation ends with the claim that looking back into the folklores of Nepal's ethnicity could help to propagate harmony, and progressive environmental attitude.

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