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RECIPES AND SONGS AS TOOLS FOR SOLIDARITY:
WOMEN'S ORAL TEXTS, DIASPORA AND COMMUNAL IDENTITY.

RAZIA PARVEEN

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

November 2013

For my mother

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In the chain and continuum, I am but one link. The story is me, neither me nor mine. It does not really belong to me, and while I feel greatly responsible for it, I also enjoy the irresponsibility of the pleasure obtained through the process of transferring. Pleasure in the copy, pleasure in the reproduction. No repetition can ever be identical, but my story carries with it their stories, their history, and our story repeats itself endlessly despite our persistence in denying it.

TRINH T. MINH-HA (1992, P.462)

ABSTRACT

This thesis centres on how recipes and songs can generate an identity for a community in relocation. I focus upon the South Asian community in Lockwood, West Yorkshire, and show how cultural practices have migrated and relocated from the homeland to the diaspora. I read these oral texts as literature, which allows them to be heard outside the domestic arena. Following an oral history methodology, this ethnographical study focuses on three areas of significance: the matrilineal, nostalgia, and space. Each of these themes has been used to reveal how diasporic identity is attained and maintained through recipes and songs. I illustrate how the dynamics of a particular type of nostalgia, which I have termed as migrational nostalgia, allows a community in diaspora to flourish. The concept of space and time is revealed as complex and becomes multi layered when discussing a diasporic community. I have drawn upon the works of Julia Kristeva and Homi Bhabha, in particular, to analyze these narratives and position them within a liminal space. I further question what it means for a cultural practice to be legitimate and explore the idea that ultimately for those in diasporic communities authenticity can be found in the maternal voice. I show that the validation for a dish or a song is sought after in relocation and this is sustained by transmitting the oral texts through dimensions of maternal genealogy. All of these factors culminate in a unique identity for a diasporic group, which has its foundations in an alternative space and time.

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I would like to thank those members of my family who have financially supported me through the last stages of this thesis, even though those 'last stages' went on for longer than I had anticipated. To those who kept me sane throughout this journey: Madeeha, Aleena, Awais, Fiza and Abbas by providing me with days out to the cinema or a day out to Brighouse Park. I also need to thank Tawyub who provided me with a few smiles along the way with stories about his family and school. To my dearest friends Roma Cohen and Doreen Frost for believing in me when at times I had lost faith in my own abilities. I also need to thank Nasrin Ghalib for helping me with translating some of the data and giving up her time to support an old friend. I also would like to thank my dear friend who began this journey with me and stayed with me throughout its ups and downs, Fariha Chaudhary. Last but not least, I need to thank Sean Ledwith for reading through my chapters and being a sounding board for my ideas. He provided me with emotional and most importantly much needed academic support from the very onset of this journey.

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PREFACE

My mother was born in the subcontinent of South Asia in Jalandhar, India around 1936. I say 'around' because nobody knows her exact date of birth as all she was told was that 'the sun was burning hot and the hay needed cutting that year.' What I do know for certain is that she began her life as an Indian national. This was however soon to change as the War of Partition began in 1947 when she was in her eleventh year. It was during this war that she lost her own mother in difficult circumstances. During this war between India and Pakistan she migrated to the Pakistani controlled part of the Punjab. The traumatic death of her own mother left an emotionally and psychologically scarred child. She travelled with the remainder of her family to the newly born nation of Pakistan. Many people had lost loved ones and many children were orphaned so the idea of loss became embedded. The loss of the mother or the absence of a mother does not result in the vacancy of a mother figure. In difficult times in the homeland the figure of a mother – real or not – was of significant importance and this is a sentiment that is deeply entrenched in the diasporic community of Lockwood.

My mother was twelve years old when she lost her mother and as a result all the culinary skills and cultural practices that she learned were from older sisters, aunts and other women in the community. As most of her childhood was spent fleeing from one side of the border and 'settling' on the other side, her education was at best scattered and almost non-existent. This resulted in her being illiterate. This was very common amongst the female population of those times in South Asia. This was a very bloody war and there were many casualties on both sides of the state line. As a result memories, nostalgia and community became the few constants in the

lives of the newly formed enclaves. Communities called upon cognitive strategies of remembrance and recall to allow themselves to live in new spaces.

My mother was soon married and became a mother of two children and her husband, my father, travelled to England with the promise of employment. As her husband was overseas and working in Lockwood with the promise of an imminent return she endured the temporary hardship. As the weeks turned to months and these months became years she decided to emigrate with the children to England. When she arrived she was unable to speak, read or write English. This posed many challenges when dealing with educational and health bodies. As a result she and other women in the community found themselves more isolated from what they viewed as a growing hostility to them from the host community. Great value was placed upon the cultural habits and practices that they had brought with them. This is why female genealogy is vital as a survival tool for women not only in the homeland but also in diaspora. They found solace and comfort in the language and cultural habits they had in common. This formed a communal bond between the women that extended throughout the rest of the community.

She soon had three more children (including myself) and was, like many of the women in her position, bound to domestic familiarities. My siblings and I were educated in the local schools and became bi-lingual as a result. To my mother and other women it was important that the younger generation kept their culture and speaking Punjabi to children became essential. To this day, any community events are also advertised in Punjabi or Urdu and also the language is retained in many other cultural practices such as recipes and songs.

With a view to returning to the homeland and to the extended family, my father worked in temporary factory jobs whilst my mother dealt with all the domestic chores such as cleaning, cooking and raising the children. Living in an alien landscape but within a community of people

from the homeland brought with it few comforts. The habits of the women left to raise children and look after the home included repeating the recipes they had learnt. The women formed a small ring of friendship and called upon each other for support. The recipes and songs they had learnt in the homeland were now repeated in Lockwood. The recipes and songs are thus re-told in a language that retains the cultural habits of a community and helps to generate an identity.

Over the years the local school and community centre would put on English classes for the local immigrant populace on an annual basis, which tied in with the school term. The local educational leaders were aware of the cultural pattern of segregating women and attracting these women would increase attendance of the classes. Wives of migrants were offered the chance to learn to write and speak the language. These classes were well attended but their success remained problematic with many women; of those who attended local classes some learned the language whilst others were less successful. Some women were not consistent in attending, whilst others had little enthusiasm for learning a new language.

The cultural practices that travelled from one nation to the next were then to travel to a diaspora in a western nation. The women that came to Lockwood after marriage had little in the way of possessions and brought only their memories and culinary knowledge with them. They repeated the cultural practices of the homeland in the diaspora and through this repetition and the process of mimicry, alongside the transmission of these practices from the homeland to the diaspora, made a significant contribution to the maintenance of their cultural life and to the formation of an identity. By their very nature, memory and nostalgia are individual but through the presence of a community with a shared history the memory and nostalgia became *collective*. This coming-together aspect of communal cultural practices is what allows them to be sustained in diaspora.

The only method employed for keeping the practices alive was to pass them onto younger women in the household and in the community. This has been achieved with recipes and songs. To this end I have focused on these two genres of cultural practices in Lockwood. The recipes and songs all emerge from subalternity in the homeland, be that India or Pakistan, and have migrated along with their carriers across national boundaries multiple times to settle in the north of England.

Growing up I acquired much of my culinary knowledge from watching my mother, older sister, aunts, neighbours and community women cooking these recipes and singing these songs. The horizontal and vertical transmission of female genealogy was and still is in full practice. Watching and learning practices from my mother and older women in the community offered the vertical dimension of female genealogy and watching my sister and friends of a similar age as an adult serves as the horizontal dimension. As a result many adult women now sit in the vertical and horizontal axis as they have learnt from both their mothers and their sisters and friends. These cultural practices live not only in the memories and nostalgic remembrances of a community but they are also transmitted to the younger generations of the community.

The migrant community carved out a space and time in which to practise their cultural patterns. The community has held close to the notions of time. The loss of space was something experienced during the war so the gaining of space became significant. Without spaces in which to enact cultural practices the emotion of loss that was experienced during the War of Partition in the homeland would resurface in diaspora. As a result space becomes a point of identity that is significant to the individual and the community. The notion of loss – the loss of a home combined with the loss of a mother – played heavily on community members who held this emotion very close to them; losing a place of belonging was something most of the diasporic members had

experienced. In this space, recipes and songs were practised and repeated on an almost daily basis and the mother's voice became the most important voice to mark out authenticity. The spaces of Lockwood have been 'swapped' with the dusty streets of the homeland for the diasporic community and it is these spaces that have been transferred with the cultural practices. Culinary knowledge was gained through actively watching sisters, foster sisters, mothers, aunties and other women in the community. This resulted in memories, nostalgia and maternal genealogy all co-existing in a fairly small space. Nostalgia for the loss of the mother as well as the homeland space is a significant feature in the domestic sphere of each diasporic home in Lockwood. To this end, memory and nostalgia are used as legitimate tools employed by diasporic people to survive in alternative times and spaces. This thesis acknowledges and sees the cultural value of nostalgia and memory to first-generation migrants and presents how knowledge of cultural practices has been transmitted to second and third generations.

As the years went by, my mother was diagnosed with a terminal illness and regular trips to the local hospice ensued. During one of these stays she was asked to take part in a 'local art and culture' class. She agreed and this class was time spent making what my mother and I thought was the most bizarre thing: a clove orange pomander ball. For those less acquainted with this cultural practice, it is a whole orange studded with cinnamon cloves and is used as a Christmas decoration. In British culture it is a nostalgic cultural practice stemming from the Victorian era. It is practised today during a particular festival. To us this was not only a waste of food but more importantly it served no medicinal purpose. This highlights the issue that some cultural practices do not cross boundaries even in the same space and time however the mode of transmission of cultural knowledge remains the same to all cultures. The orange was a perfectly good fruit and the cloves

to my mother should be used in 'proper' cooking. This particular culinary cultural practice did not register in the mind of a South Asian diasporic woman at all.

Nostalgia is transmitted to younger generations through recipes and songs that are repeated in Lockwood. It is of significance that the passing on of this is kept within the spatial paradigms of diasporic homes within Lockwood. These oral narratives are just as important to this diasporic culture as the Christmas decoration is to British culture. The recipes and the songs exist in a parallel spatial and temporal framework to the pomander cultural practice; they are both of cultural value in Lockwood to different strands of the community. My thesis argues that the cultural practices that migrated with the South Asian women must be understood as literature and that they have too long been neglected as such, and are consequently poorly understood in terms of their contribution to the diasporic communal identity.

1 INTRODUCTION

The thesis focuses on a community of women in diaspora. I have selected a group of women who, along with their families, have migrated from South Asia and have relocated to the North of England bringing with them their 'texts' in oral form. I examine elements which contribute to the identity of this cohort including cultural aspects of their original homeland¹ and details of the location from which they migrated and into which they settled. This shows both the geographical and emotional shift in the parameters of residence as well as the micro spaces that are used to construct a place of safety in diaspora. I explore components of cultural heritage from South Asia to the making of a homeplace in diaspora. This introduction gives a socio-political background to the subjects and places this thesis in a historical context.

1.1 POINT OF DEPARTURE AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The first female immigrants dislocated from South Asia and relocated to Lockwood during the late 1960s and brought with them oral narratives which were rich in culture and tradition. I will focus upon how this particular form of cultural knowledge manifests itself partly through recipes and songs. My thesis will show how, through the spoken word, cultural practices have been maintained through the years, and in so doing, will bear witness to a generation of women whose voices have become lost in a chorus of immigrant and postcolonial literature.

In this study I argue that the role these women play in cultivating an identity in diasporic communities is poorly understood. I contend that the strategies these women use to glue their

¹ This is a problematic term and its meaning is contested. However, this study will view this as the birth place or place of origin.

communities together have traditionally been neglected by dominant scholarly methodologies. One of those strategies, I suggest, is oral literature, in the form of recipes and songs that these women use to anchor their culture in diaspora and form a link back to their original source communities. Oral literature has traditionally been marginalised in literary scholarship which tends to privilege the written word. This dissertation redresses this imbalance by offering a methodology whereby oral literature can be rigorously and productively analysed within a scholarly literary tradition. It analyses recipes and songs, and shows how these narratives weave together a fragile identity within a community thereby bringing cohesion to a disparate group of people. It shows the power that is wielded by women from inside the domestic sphere and how this, albeit limited power, is transmitted through the female genealogical line.

STATIC AND CHANGING CULTURES

These texts will be examined for their cultural value in the homeland and in Lockwood. In diaspora the oral texts have changed and evolved differently from those same texts still circulating in the Punjab. As a result, a recipe practised currently in Lockwood is not likely to be prepared and cooked in the same way as in the Punjab today.² This relationship between a static culture in diaspora versus a dynamic original culture in the homeland is a well-known phenomenon.³ Communities in diasporas, spread across the world, knowingly participate in original cultural practices in order to re-create a sense of belonging and sustain associations with the lost home. Halleh Ghorashi, in her research on Iranian culture in California cites as an example the annual

² For instance, whether in 1968 or 2014, the availability of ingredients in Lockwood could affect the re-creation of the original dish.

³ Janet Floyd & Laurel Forster, *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions* (Ashgate, London, 2003); Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Temple University, Miami, USA, 2010); Arlene Avakian, *Through The Kitchen Window: Women Explore Intimate Meanings of Food and Cooking* (Beacon Press, USA, 1997).

cultural celebration of the festival of *Mehregan* which is celebrated in California 2014 and is nearly identical to the way it was practiced in Iran during the 1950s and 1960s.⁴ Elements of this ‘fossilisation’ can be detected within the cultural practices of Lockwood. However, this study also recognises the growing influence of popular culture and the resistance to change from older generations.

THE RESISTANCE TO BOLLYWOOD SONGS

One aspect of popular culture’s influence is the Bollywoodisation of more traditional culture. Some older members of the community resist the impact of Bollywood upon tradition. It can be argued that Bollywood songs de-stabilise and dilute the cultural process that involves the passing on of tradition from woman to woman. These more recent songs offer a glamour and a glitz which traditional songs do not have. Bollywood romantic songs often are an escape from the ordinariness of every day life as portrayed by the lyrics discussed in this thesis.⁵ The influence of the cinematic songs is thus very appealing to younger generations. However these have been resisted by the older women and are rarely performed or sung. There is a generational element to song preference: since the younger women do not yet have the authority of selecting the songs it is the older women who are self-appointed to safe-guard them. Once the older generation passes away the younger generation may select songs from the Bollywood song repertoire as their own seniority influences the path culturally transmitted knowledge may take. Meanwhile the survival

⁴ Halleh Ghorashi, ‘How Dual is Transnational Identity? : A Debate on Dual Positioning of Diaspora organisations,’ *Culture and Organisation*, 10, 4 (2004), pp. 329-340.

⁵ Heather Tyrell & Rajinder Dudrah, ‘Music in the Bollywood Film’ in I. Conrich & E. Tincknell (eds) *Film’s Musical Moments* (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 195-208.

of the old traditional songs gives value to the oral tradition in the face of pervasive cinematic influences.⁶

HYBRID CULTURES

These generational differences on the same culture are mainly due to the influence of popular cultural traces of which can be found in this neighbourhood. However, there are other theories that involve the idea of hybrid cultures: for instance, Floya Anthias argues for the hybridisation of culture “to be constructed as opposed to being essentialised, and as therefore, open to change.”⁷ She suggests that elements of the hegemonic culture seep into minority cultures and that crossing cultural boundaries is a natural feature of diasporic cultures. This study shows that diasporic culture in Lockwood contains both static and dynamic elements as the many influences on these women merge into a new identity in relocation which maintains aspects of a past home.

WHERE THEY CAME FROM

These women from South Asia are not new to relocation as the relationship between India and Pakistan has had an impact on earlier generations. India has a long history of being colonised by a number of different nations. In 1834 the rule of the British Raj was heralded with a treaty signed between the reigning British monarch and the financial investors in the British India Company.⁸ Periodic violent uprisings saw the sentiment of nationalism rise up in many of the indigenous population and political parties which sympathised with the cause of nationalism soon began appearing all over the country and challenging the rule of the British Raj. Independence

⁶ Amandeep Thakhar, Pauline Maclaren & Lorna Stevens, ‘Bollywood Cinema’s Global Reach: Consuming the “Diasporic Consciousness”’ *Journal of Macromarketing*, 32, 3, (2012) pp. 266-279.

⁷ Floya Anithas, ‘New Hybridities, Old Concepts: the Limits of Culture’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24, 4, (2001), p. 623.

⁸ For further information see Lionel Trotter, *The Bayard of India*, (Wildside Press, London, 2008), p.204.

from the British finally came on 15th August 1947 with sovereignty being returned to the Indians, closely followed by the withdrawal of the colonisers.

Colonial rule left a scar on a very fragile nation and a war ensued which brought displacement and poverty to millions of people. The War of Partition in 1947 was between the three majority groups of people who were defined by differing belief systems: Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. This combat left an already unstable land in further turmoil and, along with it, millions of shattered lives. It drove millions of people out of their home regions onto strange soil as they were forced to seek out lives in unfamiliar territory. It was during this War of Partition that Pakistan was formed as a separate country and many South Asian women found themselves within new borders.

Urvashi Butalia has documented the historical experiences of women during and immediately after the war.⁹ She captures the oral testimonies of women which tell the reader deeply emotional and moving narratives that had not been told and therefore heard before. Their significance is apparent: “I knew by now that the history of Partition was a history of deep violation – physical and mental – for women.”¹⁰ Bhasin and Menon have also found that the conflict meant that women’s lives were left with deep scars.¹¹ Like many conflicts this began as a clash of political ideologies, but soon became an assault on women and their bodies. Once the war was over and the political severance was concluded, it left Pakistan in dire poverty and with an unstable economy. It was at this point that young men of the former British colony were offered the opportunity of British citizenship with the promise of employment awaiting them. These two factors were alluring and were accepted as a temporary solution by many young men. As a result, young men of South-Asian origin began arriving in Britain. Some of their settlements can be traced

⁹ Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence* (Hurst & Company, London, 2000).

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ritu Menon & Kamla Bhasin, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India’s Partition* (Rutger’s University Press, New Jersey, USA, 1988).

to localities in the North of England where concentrations of migrants became relatively high. One of the areas in which migrants settled was in Huddersfield or, more specifically, an area of Huddersfield called Lockwood.¹²

HISTORY OF LOCKWOOD

In the eighteenth century, Lockwood was a small town with strong connections to the wool industry as it became well known for producing and manufacturing fine fabrics.¹³ Industrialisation brought with it resistance, including the Luddites, who revolted against the introduction of mechanisation, and also its gradual physical absorption as a suburb within the rapidly expanding adjacent town of Huddersfield. This was also an area that had seen successive processes of internal migration including the arrival of Irish immigrants and the resultant relocation of the town's long established residents moving out to Halifax Road.¹⁴ The onset of South-Asian immigration brought with it change but it was one with which Lockwood and Huddersfield were by now familiar. The 1961 Census shows that over 800 Indians and Pakistanis were in Huddersfield at that time. However by 1964 this figure had increased to approximately 2,500 and, by, 1967, it had increased again to almost 5,000 Pakistanis in the town.¹⁵ The husbands of the group of women with which I am concerned migrated first in the early months of 1960, hoping to return soon to a life in Pakistan. In Lockwood, there was a thriving wool industry at the time, which provided jobs that were not attractive to many in the host community.¹⁶ As a consequence, many of the

¹² For further studies made of South Asians in the North of England please see Sarah Hackett, 'The Asian of the North: Immigrant Experiences and the Importance of Regional Identity in Newcastle Upon Tyne During the 1980's', *Northern History*, 46, 2,(2009), pp. 293-311.

¹³ David Lloyd, *The Making of English Towns: 2000 years of Evolution* (Victor Gollanz, London, 1992)

¹⁴ David Pill, *Yorkshire: The West Riding* (The Pitman Press Ltd, London, 1977), p. 96.

¹⁵ Eric Butterworth, *Immigrants in West Yorkshire: Social Conditions and the Lives of Pakistanis, Indians and West Indians*, (Institute of Race Relations, London, 1967), p. 44.

¹⁶ The 2001 Census tells us there were approximately 2,331,400 people classified as Asian or British Asian, constituting 3.9% of the population of the UK. Of these 1,053,411 people (2.7%) were of Indian origin; 747,285 (1.5%) of Pakistani origin and 283,063 (0.5%) Bangladeshi. Two distinct phases of migration can be identified: 1) Manual workers, mainly

migrants found readily available employment in the mills, which tended to be located in the valley bottom, near to railway lines, canals and roads. This type of work was particularly hard; it was long in hours, noisy and dirty. Within the host community, therefore, the newly arrived immigrants were valued as a solution to the industry's recruitment problem.¹⁷ However, this was a complex situation partly because unlike earlier patterns of in-migration this time the faces that had arrived were visibly different. Furthermore, the men did not return home but instead settled, brought their wives and established young families in Lockwood. The first female migrants emigrated to Lockwood in late 1968 to be with their husbands. Some came with their children whilst others came alone.

COMMUNITY

Today, the steady population expansion has produced a complex network of social relations within this neighbourhood. There is a plethora of South Asian castes which are specific to this geographical milieu which include *Jatts*, *Rais*, *Doghars* and *Rajahs*, each being affiliated with an occupation in the homeland. The first three were mainly landowners in the homeland whereas the *Rajahs* were predominantly shopkeepers. This system remained unchanged as the first generation of migrants to Lockwood brought a strong sense of caste differences with them. For instance inter caste marriages were resisted even though the intermingling and sharing of cultural practices between members of different castes within the community was and still is widespread. However for many third-generation South Asians living in this locality these differences have faded away. This study recognises Lockwood is not one homogenous group but is made up of people

from Pakistan, were recruited to fulfill the labour shortages after World War II. 2) Workers, mainly men from the divided Punjab region, arrived in the late 1950s and early 1960s to work in the manufacturing and the service sector. Also see website : www.westyorkshireobservatory.org

¹⁷Ibid.

with different beliefs, caste and experiences of living in diaspora, generations and employment.¹⁸

Despite all these differences it is these recipes and these songs which they share.

NEW ARRIVALS

The new arrivals initially faced hostility from some in the host community and were generally not made welcome. The visibility of this new immigrant population heightened tensions in 1968 which, of course, was at the same time as the now infamous 'rivers of blood' speech made by the prominent politician Enoch Powell.¹⁹ Huddersfield soon became a target for the local National Front and immigration became a burning topic in local politics.²⁰ By 1972, the town had a population of approximately 131, 000 with 5,000 South Asian immigrants which created local racial tensions.²¹

PUNJAB AND KASHMIR

The women of this study originate from both the Punjab and Kashmir. These are two groups of people who have long been 'on the move', being continually displaced and migrating from one locality to another. Kashmir is a disputed region of Pakistan and, like Punjab, it suffered in the wars of Partition and in the displacement of its people. Given that these women are from two different areas, there are threads of their culture that are different. Yet they also share a childhood against a background of ideologically motivated violence and the experience of migration. They share too the newer experience of living in Lockwood, Huddersfield. They emerge from two states that are geographically close and both areas have been affected by contesting

¹⁸ Graham Crow and Alison Mah, 'Conceptualisations and meanings of "community": the theory and operationalisation of a contested concept' (March 2012)

¹⁹ The participants in this study who lived through this time discussed the impact of race relations informally during conversations with me prior to and after recording the songs and recipes.

²⁰ Ian Aitkens, "Enoch Powell Dismissed for 'racialist' Speech." *The Guardian* (21 Apr. 1968)

²¹ John Murray, *Huddersfield International Club Opening* Yorkshire Film Archive (1968), Donald Wade, *Yorkshire Survey: A Report on Community Relations in Yorkshire* (Yorkshire Committee on Community Relations, Leeds, 1972) LONDEC, *Asian Workers' Struggle for Justice in the Diaspora* (London Development Education Centre, London, 1998).

claims over territory and boundary definition. Both regions have suffered as people were forcibly moved from India to Pakistan and vice versa, then again from Kashmir to the other side of the border.²² Because of this constant movement, the oral texts of my thesis have been 'displaced' from one country to the other several times, and, eventually, migrated to Lockwood. The people from Punjab and Kashmir speak slightly different versions of the same basic language but they share not only a religion but also a way of life. This study shows how the descendants of the initial female migrants of 1968 have become the guardians of a culture for a community living in diaspora. This community is made up of the descendants of these first female immigrants of 1968 and it is mainly from them and their daughters that I was able to collect the primary sources. This thesis will argue that this literature helps to form a sense of identity for those residing in diaspora and that through cultural practices a bond is created between a fragmented people who come together in order to build or re-build a sense of space for themselves.

The texts I focus on are the oral literature that migrated with the initial movement of migrants' wives. This group of female migrants brought with them recipes and songs that are read and analysed in this dissertation *as* literature. These women relied on their memories and other mnemonic strategies and became the keepers of diasporic narratives which are subaltern in origin.²³ This literature is now maintained through repetition and practice and is transmitted through the female line to younger women in contemporary Lockwood hence the importance of genealogy to this study. I fully acknowledge the role men play in the maintenance of culture *outside* the domestic sphere but my study examines the role that women play in the forging of a cultural identity from a space of empowerment that they construct and inhabit within that sphere.

²²For further information on the lasting effects of Partition see Anindya Raychaudhuri, 'Demanding the Impossible: Exploring the Possibilities of a National Partition Museum', *Social Semiotics*, 22, 2, (2012), pp.173-8.

²³This term is examined in further detail in the methodology chapter.

These cultural traditions in an already displaced community (from the country of origin to the host country) allow a re-negotiation of the ideals of the community. Stuart Hall argues that a diasporic culture provides a cultural narrative and a negotiation of identity.²⁴ I regard recipes and songs as living works of art which are in dialogue with each other and with their diasporic and original cultural contexts, all of which fuse together to create a discourse which in turn forms part of an identity.

I write about a group of people who have a long history of being hailed as the other. Faced with hostility from the host country they bond together. Their identity is maintained and has been preserved through their shared inheritance of language, religion and food. The group that initially settled in Lockwood was fragmented yet from these early arrivals developed a shared sense of identity that was soon to label them as the 'other' by members of the white community in Lockwood. The idea that the women come from a fractured and fragmented land, be that Kashmir or Punjab, is challenged by their sense of community in Lockwood, but this community, like its homeland, was fragmented and disjointed. A profoundly ambiguous culture tells us something important about diasporic culture itself. I am studying an *incoherent* cultural identity which is fragmented and contradictory by its very nature. I argue that it is portable aspects of a cultural identity, such as recipes and songs, which allow for some kind of cohesion to exist and hold together an otherwise displaced group of people. It is the paradox of being fragmented and having a sense of disarticulation that leads to cohesion in diaspora.

This study focuses on a microcosm of South Asian migration into an area of England. I use concepts of alternative paradigms of space and time developed by theorists such as Julia Kristeva and Homi Bhabha. Migration forms a liminal space which allows community members to carve

²⁴ Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in .P.William & L. Chrisman, (ed) *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: a Reader* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1994),pp.392-403.

out a sense of identity. The term community itself is semantically complex and its ideological assumptions can be subjective. I use it as a term to mean a group of people dwelling in a place (Lockwood) and a social group bound by kinship and shared lived experiences. The concept of community and its relevance to my study refers to a widely shared sense of identity connecting between groups in the homeland and diaspora. The space becomes a means to locate knowledge as well as to move beyond dualities of private and public, and of male and female. The space is itself fragmented, incomplete and a site of struggle for meanings, representations and identity. This identity and the role of women are then considered in relation to maternal genealogy.

I analyse the significance of nostalgia to the identity of the South Asian woman as an in-depth focus on nostalgia reveals its place in the construction of identity. I establish how fragmentation and memory are situated alongside nostalgia and thus allow it to dominate the gendered landscape of diasporic identity. The expression of nostalgia is closely linked to cultural practices, especially the art of food making and singing. Aspects of cultural identity are analysed in relation to food and gender through recipes and the lyrics of wedding songs. This significance leads to an uncovering of the nuanced elements of cultural diasporic identity.

1.2 STRUCTURE

Chapter Two details my methodology and provides information on the cohort of women who offered the oral texts analysed in this study. I discuss the ethnographical tools used to collect and analyse the data which support this thesis and other approaches. I outline the difficulties encountered using this particular methodology and how I overcame the obstacles.

Chapter Three is a literature review that outlines reading in contributory areas of research. I acknowledge the influence of the three main scholarly areas of significance and detail writers'

modes of thinking. This chapter sets out a more detailed theoretical framework which fuses together different relevant theoretical strands that have underpinned this thesis. Diasporic literature operates in multi-dimensional spaces, constructing women as active participants in the creative process of negotiating an identity. It recognises the core subalternity of the narratives whilst also acknowledging their diasporic nature by discussing the word 'subaltern' in all its meanings and its origins. This heralds a discussion of the narratives and their structural and formative dynamics in the following chapters. I briefly contextualise each chapter and then discuss the recipes and then the songs.

Chapter Four analyses the method of transmission for recipes and song lyrics within the specific sphere of maternal genealogy. I show the role of the matrilineal voice and how the transmission of knowledge combines with dimensions of female genealogy. The maternal voice is of importance and to this end the works of Joesphine Beoku-Betts, Yasmin Hussain and Luce Irigaray are explored. Feminist theories, in particular those of Julia Kristeva, show how the female diasporic voice can be heard; I use them to explore the relationship with the maternal voice. It is here that I present a close reading of the recipes and song lyrics and the maternal voice and its links to the location of these voices.

Chapter Five shows how elements of nostalgia are embedded within the food recipes of this particular diasporic community as well as in their songs. I analyse and show how the recipes and the songs function as components of nostalgia. I show how the idea of autnetic consciousness can be applied to recipes in diaspora, exploring the notion of mnemonic strategies employed to maintain culinary practices. I concentrate on nostalgia by focusing on the works of Svetlana Boym, Anita Mannur and Ketu K. Katrak, who have examined the value of culinary fiction in diasporic communities. My analysis focuses on the cultural practices which occupy the domestic

sphere of those who reside in diaspora in Lockwood. I explore how aspects of nostalgia are embedded within the psyche of first-generation immigrants and how nostalgia is transmitted to following generations. I call this particular type of nostalgia 'migrational nostalgia' and show how the interviewees from my cohort engage with this particular type of remembering.

Chapter Six discusses how the recipes and song lyrics exist in an alternative temporality and enter a liminal space. Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia, reflecting the polyphonous nature of the oral texts with an analysis of the multi-voiced aspects of each recipe and song, allows me to locate the voices in a particular space and time paradigm. This framework, which is Eurocentric, has been modified in order for the female voice in diaspora to be located and heard. Alternative space and time paradigms presented through the approaches of Julia Kristeva and Homi Bhabha also inform how I focus on first-generation migrant women and their cultural practices. I also use theories of a gendered space and time when focusing on these wedding songs and particularly those theories that emerge from Julia Kristeva's work. Aspects of women's power which originate in the spaces they forge are also explored.

Finally, the strands of my thesis are brought together to argue that diasporic oral literatures are implicated in an ongoing cultural process of signification in which communal identities are actively located and redefined. This redefinition can be found in the bearings of nostalgia for a past which is located in an alternative space and time and is transmitted through the matrilineal. It is by combining these three expressions of cultures in diaspora that I intend to look at cultural practices in their dynamic forms. By offering an exploration of the location of the diasporic female voices which manifest in recipes and wedding song lyrics I show how these cultural practices combine with each other to help create, maintain and continue a shared sense of identity in the South Asian community in Lockwood.

2 METHODOLOGY

The background reading and theoretical underpinning reflect the cross-disciplinary interest of this study in understanding diasporic experience. My own position as researcher is essential to the overall process of gaining access to the cultural knowledge embedded within recipes and lyrics of wedding songs. In this chapter I discuss the research and collection methodologies I selected and the reasons behind these choices. The practicalities of collecting the data are explored alongside some of the challenges this raised. I then state the reasoning behind the selection of subjects who provided the oral texts. I also explain the methods used for the transcription and translation of the texts. I conclude by outlining the ethical issues raised by these methods and my responses to them.

I have selected oral history as a means of accessing cultural knowledge and voices in a more inclusive way. This methodology emerged out of the disciplines of history and anthropology and although its advantages and disadvantages have attracted much critical attention over the past forty years it has allowed me to create a picture of a community that has been otherwise omitted from the mainstream historiography of immigrants to the North of England. Some of the more high profile literature on South Asian immigrants focuses on the narratives of the new lives of the migrants in relocation, with writers on the *outside* looking *in*. This study, however, will be looking inside *from* the inside as it seeks to recover the lives and experiences of these women.¹ Nile Green and Mary Searle-Chatterjee assert that “oral texts were seen as ‘sources’, [...] ignoring the agency and power of such texts to make ‘moves’ in the world, and so to re-shape it.”² This study will explore this ‘agency and power’ and reveal how it shapes identity in a diasporic community in the

¹A popular example of post-colonial literature written as a ‘prequel’ to *Jane Eyre* would be Jean Rhys, *Wide Sargasso Sea*, (Penguin, London, 1968).

²Nile Green & Mary Searle – Chatterjee (eds), *Religion, Language and Power* (Routledge, Oxford, 2008), p. 2.

North of England. I use the voices of a selection of women to reveal their power within a domestic setting.

During the writing of this study I effectively became an ethnographer as I was researching a particular group and its 'habits'. As Raymond Madden states:

Ethnography is not just an act of writing; ethnography is both a practice (framed by a methodology) and the textual product of that practice. It is the doing of social research and the final product that comes from writing up that research.³

Adopting contemporary ethnographic perspectives offers a multi-method research strategy that includes observation, participation, interviewing, recording and translating. This approach has allowed me to collect oral texts and analyze them. An ethnographer may choose to live within the group being studied as in the case of Pnina Werbner and her ethnographic study.⁴ A disadvantage of selecting participant observation as a methodology is that the subject may behave differently knowing they are being observed. This is known as the observer's paradox when observing a group of people from the inside by living with them while still being seen as an 'outsider' which inevitably has an effect on the data.⁵

Participant observation is a tool that ethnographers use as a method for collecting data which allows the researcher to actively live out his or her research in a community setting. An ethnographer employing a participant observation methodology can be an insider, living with the community thereby gaining a greater level of detail through this intimacy. It has allowed me to get first-hand oral texts as well as to build a rapport with the interviewee. On the one hand, one of the

³ Raymond Madden, *Being Ethnographic: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography* (Sage, London, 2010), p. 16.

⁴ Pnina Werbner, 'The Virgin and the Clown: Ritual Elaboration in Pakistani Migrants' Weddings' *Man*, 21, 2, (1986), pp. 227-250.

⁵ There is a wealth of literature on the observer's paradox which includes, Madden, *Being Ethnographic: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography*; Graham Smith, *Historical Insights: Focus on Research*, (HEA, Coventry, 2010); Scott Grills, *Doing Ethnographic Research*, (Sage, London, 1988); Amanda Coffey, *The Ethnographic Self: Fieldwork and the Representation of Identity*, (Sage, London, 1999). This is further discussed under 'Practical Issues' on pp. 31 & 32.

risks is that as a participant observer, it can be difficult to be objective and not to influence the participant. On the other hand being a participant observer has enabled a deeper understanding of the role women play in the creation, maintenance and transmission of their communal identity.

I live as part of this community that I have researched and written about in this dissertation. There are many types of participant observation methodologies available. There are two key characteristics of participant observation which are 'emic' and 'etic'; an emic perspective allows the researcher to reflect the insider's view whereas an etic perspective is one that mirrors the outsider's point of view.⁶ Carrying out research *within* this group of people whilst simultaneously writing *about* them required me to move between emic and etic participant observation throughout this study.

WHY 'I' ?

It is for this reason that I have used the first person pronoun when writing up this study. There is a scholarly debate within the school of postcolonial anthropology and literature which questions whether self-reference should be employed.⁷ I argue that it is essential that it be employed when carrying out and writing up ethnographic fieldwork. However, using the first person pronoun in formal scholarly writing tends to be frowned upon. Shoshana Felman and Anne Brewster have argued that using the first person pronoun is essential in ethnographic

⁶These terms are taken from the linguistic terms phonemic and phonetic and can be found in Madden *Being Ethnographic: A guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography*.

⁷ Fiona Nicoll, 'Indigenous Sovereignty and the Violence of Perspective: A White Woman's Coming Out Story', in *Australian Feminist Studies*, 15, 33, (2000); Anne Brewster 'Beachcombing: A Fossiker's Guide To Whiteness And Indigenous Sovereignty' in, H. Smith and R. T. Dean,(eds) *Practice-Led Research, Research Led practice in the Creative Arts* (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2009).

studies.⁸ Fiona Nicoll's reflections on this tension also inform my decision. They are worth quoting at length:

What I want to say is: 'The fact is that I have come so far...' But would you let me say this, reader? And – while I'm at it reader– I'm bugged if I'm going to be stuck out here in the first pronoun and let you get away with it. I can be perfectly 'civilised' in the third person voice. But this is personal. I'm talking to you. Mine? Ours? His? Hers? Theirs? Its? The decision to avoid the first person pronoun was made by me (see how the passive voice creeps in) as an undergraduate student in an academy that was allegedly being transformed by the impact of postmodern theory.⁹

My belief and experience is that the use of the first person is imperative when conducting oral interviews. I agree with Nicoll that when writing and carrying out an anthropological study as an insider, writing in the third person becomes a necessity. Moreover I believe it is a necessity and accordingly I have chosen to use the first person pronoun when writing my thesis.

Oral history methodology also allows me to reconstruct a past from personal snippets and fragments of detail. It forms into a kind of patchwork of narratives that allows for a coherent community history to exist.¹⁰ Gary Okihiro argues that researchers view "oral history as a tool for recovering history."¹¹ He argues that the methodology of oral history attempts to recover lost knowledge. This is particularly true of these women's histories, as most of their history is undocumented and in many instances the only way to elicit or 'recover' narratives that have been 'lost' is by using oral history.

⁸ Shoshana Felman, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (Routledge, New York, 1992); Anne Brewster 'Beachcombing: A Fossicker's Guide To Whiteness And Indigenous Sovereignty' in H. Smith and R. T. Dean, (eds) *Practice-led research, research-led practice in the creative arts* (Chapter 6).

⁹ Nicoll, 'Indigenous Sovereignty and the Violence of Perspective: A White Woman's Coming Out Story', *Australian Feminist Studies*. p.375

¹⁰ Barbara Allen, 'Re-Creating the Past : The Narrator's Perspective in Oral History,' *Oral History Review*, 12, (1984), pp. 1-12

¹¹ Gary Okihiro, 'Oral History and the Writing of Ethnic History: A Reconnaissance into Method and History' *Oral History Review*, 9, 1, (1981), pp.27-46.

WHY AN ORAL HISTORY METHODOLOGY

Jean-Francois Lyotard conducted an anthropological study with the Cashinahua people in Central America revealing that their approach to transmission of narrative, although prescriptive, is helped by identifying spoken and structural devices:

For example, a Cashinahua storyteller always begins his narration with a fixed formula: 'here is the story of ____, as I've always heard it told. I will tell you in my turn. Listen.' And he brings it to a close with another, also invariable, formula: 'Here ends the story of ____ The man who has told it to you is ____ (Cashinahua name) or to the Whites - (Spanish or Portuguese name)¹²

The little phrases used by my respondents correspond to Lyotard's findings. Oral narratives are employed as they suit the needs of this study as explained in my methodology. I have drawn upon the perspectives of Walter Ong and Valerie Raleigh Yow to understand women's oral texts.¹³ Ong asserts that narratives are derived from oral literacy. He asserts that:

The shift from orality to literacy registers in many genres of verbal art- lyric, narrative, descriptive discourse oratory...drama, philosophical and scientific works, historiography and biography to mention only a few...To narrative we can present purposes assimilate drama, which, while it presents action with no narrative voice, still has a story line, as narrative does.¹⁴

Ong's assertions inform how I see recipes and songs as narratives that embody cultural memories, meanings, and practices. *How* cultural practices are transmitted is of importance to this study. Gary Okhiro's work similarly sees oral history as the ideal means to reveal hidden histories. Jieyu

¹²Jean-Francois Lyotard, 'Post narratology', in M. McQuillan (ed) *The Narrative Reader* (Routledge, New York, 2000) p. 159.

¹³The breadth of oral history research is shown by the following texts: Susan H Armitage, Patricia Hart, and Karen Weathermon, *Women's Oral History: the Frontiers Reader* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2002); Sherna Gluck Berger, & Daphne Patai, *Women's Word: the Feminist Practice of Oral History* (Routledge, New York, 1991); Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History: a Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, CA, 2005); Robert Perks, *The Oral History Reader*, (Routledge, London, 1998); Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: the Technologising of the Word* (Methuen, London, 1982).

¹⁴ Op.cit., p. 139.

Liu also acknowledges the value and significance of oral history and I have built upon her approach in eliciting oral narratives from women in local communities.¹⁵

Oral history provides a powerful tool for the 'rediscovery' of women's narratives which have otherwise been ignored and not heard by historians. The texts that are of interest in my study all originate from subalternity and are very particular and possess specific characteristics of their own. Liu's study explored the notion that western research ethics cannot be applied to all oral history collections. She concludes that specific cultural practices can only be accessed by fusing together western ethical approaches with 'local specificity'.¹⁶ Local knowledge combined with culturally specific ethical approaches, she argues, is of the utmost importance when attempting to elicit oral interviews from non-traditional and non-western communities. The argument Liu offers here also applies to the methodology for the collection of recordings relating to my research. This methodology has allowed me as an emic and etic participant observer to elicit information from a community of women and analyse them.

2.1 PRACTICAL ISSUES

This introduces the consideration of a second major methodological problem: how to gather my material. As a participant observer it soon became clear that an identical methodological framework could not be applied to all the recordings; I would have to tailor each recording to suit the woman's personal circumstances and availability in terms of both time and space.¹⁷ This

¹⁵ Jieyu Liu, 'Researching Chinese Women's Lives : 'Insider' Research and Life History Interviewing,' *Oral History*, 34, 1, (2006), pp. 42-52.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ There are many anthropological studies that have been carried out that see the interviewer slightly altering the methodology to reflect the individual needs of his/her subject. For some examples of these see, Liu, 'Researching Chinese Women's Lives : 'Insider' Research and Life History Interviewing' pp. 43-52; Pnina Werbner, 'The Virgin and the Clown: Ritual Elaboration in Pakistani Migrants' Weddings', pp.227-250.

echoes the words of Spivak when she asserts that one framework 'cannot fit all'.¹⁸ A combination of research ethics and local knowledge is necessary to provide valid data.

Recording certain narratives was not straightforward, particularly the recipes. This is because the act of recording the recipes as they are being 'carried out' becomes problematic. This raises some important methodological questions: by performing the recipes does this not then make them morph into something else? Does a simple re-telling become an 'act' when a tape-recorder is present? I argue that the observer's paradox presented here should not deter a scholar from using this particular methodology; however, the observer must be aware that this will inevitably affect any collected data. Linguist, William Labov, carried out a language based study whereby he needed to observe and record the way people spoke in their daily lives; however, once he placed a tape recorder in front of them they began to change their vernacular by using a 'higher' register in order to impress. Labov overcame this by using very basic strategies which have limited the effect of the paradox by creating a comfortable and intimate atmosphere.

On the whole, the interview is public speech-monitored and controlled in response to the presence of an outside observer. But even within that definition, the investigator may wonder if the responses in a tape-recorded interview are not a special product of the interaction between the interviewer and the subject. One way of controlling for this is to study the subject in his own natural social context with his family or peer group...Another way is to observe the public use of language in everyday life apart from any interview situation.¹⁹

Labov took very simple steps for damage limitation on his study and likewise I have taken similar steps. For instance, I recorded the voices in a comfortable environment (the interviewee chose where and when) and worked to reduce any anxieties they may have had about the general public's access to their voices. At the beginning of each interview I explained to the interviewees

¹⁸Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in G. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (University of Illinois Press, USA, 1988), pp.271-316.

¹⁹William Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Pennsylvania Press, USA, 1991), p.43.

the fact that their voices and names would not be revealed and their anonymity would be of utmost importance during this study. I then explained what the study was about, what it involved and how their participation fitted into it. I further explained what the study was looking at: the narratives that are learned by women during childhood and how these are passed onto daughters, nieces and other female relatives. These narratives include songs and recipes. I also explained to them the nature of the recording in that I would come to their house and record their recipes or songs. The main reason for this was to gain a narrative in surroundings in which the interviewee was comfortable. For some of my interviewees a university setting would be a highly unfamiliar environment. Ensuring their comfort at home allowed them to concentrate more easily on the text they were performing and therefore was more likely to result in more authentic responses. The nature of the literature along with the work and home patterns of my interviewees meant that in two cases the only way to record the narratives was by leaving the recording device with them and returning to collect the recordings a few days later. The participants were able to record the narratives at times that were most suitable to them. The narrative genre was chosen by me (song or recipe) but the actual text was chosen by the interviewee. The women also expressed concern about the anonymity of their identities and by assuring them these needs would be met I was able to minimise the impact of the observer's paradox.

There were many practical difficulties encountered with my selected methodology for the recipes. Buying ingredients themselves can be a difficult and time-consuming task, involving visits to several grocers with many goods exchanged and anecdotes heard before all the ingredients are assembled and the cook is satisfied with the produce. Another fact that made recording whilst cooking difficult was the noise of the pots and pans, the cutting, the chopping, the clanging of the utensils and the humming of the gas cooker. This all affected the clarity of the audio recording. Bearing in mind these difficulties I decided to record the participants detailing the steps of the

recipe rather than actually making it. This inevitably made for a different text but the important material was within it regardless.

There were similar circumstances with regards to the songs. My ultimate aim was to get a clear recording of the texts. However, in these gatherings, usually there are children present, many of whom are crying, alongside women chatting; the resulting 'noise' of the room made it difficult to record the songs as they were being sung. I attended these gatherings and recorded them; however as the songs could not be heard, this data collection method proved to be inappropriate for this study. To this end, the songs were narrated by each participant in their own homes. Whilst I acknowledge that recording the texts outside their usual space (the kitchen or a designated space in the home) compromised the authenticity of the texts it was the best method and necessary to gain clarity for the purpose of analysis.

The songs have been analysed through their lyrical content as a piece of literature rather than for their musical quality Irene Coromina, supports the view that song lyrics alone have value to them; she claims that "We analyze the song as though it were a piece of poetry. Often, we find that songs are just that."²⁰ A study carried out on the value of the musicology of songs concluded that analyzing the melodic and musical aspects of a song is equally significant.²¹ However, I have chosen to analyse the lyrical content of the songs alone and this shapes the thesis into a literary-centred one as opposed to a more music-centred study.

Despite the difficulties I faced with this methodology it remained the best method to 'capture' the narratives of women. Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis, writes that: "Oral narrative offers a unique and provocative means of gathering information central to understanding's women's lives

²⁰Irene S. Coromina, 'An original approach to the teaching of songs in the classroom', *Forum Journal*, 31, 3, (1993), p. 27

²¹Amélie Racette, and Isabelle Peretz, 'Learning To Sing or not to Sing' *Memory & Cognition*, 35, 2, (2007), pp. 242-253.

and viewpoints.”²² She argues for an oral history methodology as the only means of collecting women’s stories. My chosen methodology, therefore, is the most appropriate method for the collection of oral narratives belonging to the South Asian women in the Lockwood diaspora.

2.2 COHORT SELECTION

The practices that are explored in this study are cultural and form part of women’s lives regardless of their religious beliefs. There are between thirty and forty families that actively use this literature in Lockwood today. I was able to use personal connections and speak with old friends and members of my family. Figure 1 gives a clearer indication of who provided which type of narrative and their relationship to me. I have changed their names to preserve anonymity.

²²Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis, ‘Black Women’s Life stories: Reclaiming Self in Narrative Texts’ in S. B. Gluck & D. Patai, *Women’s Words, Women’s Words, Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, (Routledge, London, 1991), p. 43.

NAME	RELATIONSHIP TO EACH OTHER	RELATIONSHIP TO ME	APPROXIMATE AGE at the time of recording	WHICH NARRATIVE PROVIDED	PRESENT OCCUPATION
AYESHA	SISTERS	FRIEND	Early forties	SONG	YOUTH WORKER
KHADIJA		FRIEND	Mid thirties	SONG	TEACHING ASSISTANT
ADEELA	MOTHER AND DAUGHTER	FRIEND'S MOTHER	Early sixties	RECIPE	HOUSEWIFE
AQSA		FRIEND	Early forties	RECIPE	BUSINESS WOMAN
SAWDA	SISTER AND SISTER IN LAW	ACQUAINTANCE	Mid thirties	SONG	HOUSEWIFE
HAFSA		ACQUAINTANCE	Late thirties	SONG	HOUSEWIFE
SOFIA	MOTHER AND DAUGHTER	FRIEND	Mid sixties	RECIPE	RETIRED MACHINIST
MARIA		FRIEND	Mid thirties	RECIPE	COMMUNITY WORKER
ZAINA	FRIENDS	FRIEND	Mid thirties	SONG	BEAUTY THERAPIST
MIRIAM		FRIEND	Early forties	SONG	CARE WORKER
SALMA		FRIEND	Mid thirties	RECIPE	SHOP ASSISTANT

FIGURE 1 TABLE OF PARTICIPANTS.

This cohort includes mothers and daughters and sisters, covering the span of female relationships in both vertical and horizontal directions. It also includes a wide age range. The older women, such as, Adeela and Sofia, are women from some of the first wave of South Asian immigrants to

Lockwood with Aqsa and Maria being their daughters. There are also other younger women who narrate recipes and sing songs they have learnt from their mothers and other older women. There are, therefore, two generations that make up this cohort because as my thesis explores issues of female genealogy and the transmission of texts through the female line my cohort selection reflects this. I have identified the relationship between a community of women and the dynamics of transmission in diaspora. In this way the thesis covers the dynamics of most female-to-female relationships from mother and daughters, to sisters and then to close friends and then the wider community of women. The level of education has not been a factor in my selection of women. Some of the women are educated to British degree level and some cannot write their name in English as all the oral texts were spoken in Mirpuri or Punjabi. As my study is about the texts themselves, certain aspects of the women's backgrounds, including English acquisition, are irrelevant to my study. I do acknowledge that the aspirations of the women from generation to generation have changed and the first generation of women stayed mainly inside the home whilst their children gained an education and were able to receive better employment outside the home. It is highly possible that the first generation of migrant women were processors of agricultural produce in the homeland during the pre Partition era; however these roles were disrupted by the chaos of Partition. Once arriving in diaspora they had a culinary knowledge base and transferrable skills which they used.

After explaining to the interviewee what the study is for and what their narratives will be used for I then compiled a series of questions anticipating any queries they may have and put these questions into an information letter which was read out and translated to them by a family member or myself (see Appendix 3). This was to ensure their understanding of the study and their participation. These questions all addressed ethical and moral issues facing the interviewer as part of the study. As part of these questions it was also important that the interviewee was aware of

what would happen to their recordings once the study was complete. They were informed that they would be able to have access to the entire collection and that the recordings would be anonymous as no identifying information would be stored with the recordings or on and kept on the university's archival reserve computer. I have taken the added step of creating aliases for all my interviewees.

The first consideration in the selection of primary texts is the choice of material. I have chosen to concentrate on oral narratives for a number of reasons. Firstly, they offer some of what are the stronger strands of South Asian female literature in Lockwood still in existence. My primary oral texts include recipes and songs, which exist in the domestic sphere and are preserved and maintained through female genealogy. These two genres have similarities yet are vastly different from each other. They are both sustained in diaspora and are transmitted through female genealogy by word of mouth. However, the recipes, on the whole, are constricted to a specific area in the house, mainly the kitchen, and are 'performed' regularly whereas the songs are only sung occasionally. I have collected these via oral transmission and analysed them further to enhance our understanding not only of the texts but also their contribution to the formation of identity for migrants living in Lockwood. A list of recipes and songs can be found in the appendix.

The reason for choosing oral narrative over penned literature available is written evidence, such as novels and poetry, requires literacy to access it and the first generation of immigrant women who are the focus of this study were mainly illiterate.

2.3 TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION AND ETHICS

The linguistic aspect of preserving a language has taken on huge significance as the post-colonial critic Meena Pillai asserts: “language becomes the painful medium of remembering, of confronting the ghosts of the past, to exorcise them in the present.”¹ The threat of erasure from memory is ever-present and at the same time is the invisible power behind subaltern literature. There is an increasing need for translation in a post-colonial setting to allow for language ideologies to co-exist.

My methodology presented a number of problems in terms of eliciting oral narratives, transcribing, and translating them. My cohort of women are all able to speak Punjabi and Mirpuri fluently. As a result, the texts were audio-recorded in Punjabi or Mirpuri, which was initially transcribed in a Mirpuri or Punjabi dialect and then translated into written English.² All the recipes and song translations can be found in Appendices 1 and 2. The songs include the oral dialect version with a written English translation. The recipes, however, being much shorter, were translated directly into English and are included only in this language. In the body of my thesis I have used the written English translation. These are not offered as definitive translations but rather as available and useable translations of the oral texts. The material in my thesis, therefore, can be and is interpreted in many different ways. There are several versions of the wedding songs and recipes; however, my thesis analyses just one version and that is the one created through the collection, transliteration and translation process described above.

This raises a key issue which needs to be addressed in the initial stages of my thesis: namely does the act of writing (including both transcribing, and translating) change the very essence of

¹ Meena T Pillai, *Translating the Nation, Translating the Subaltern*, (A web – based report by the University of Sanskrit, India)

² Both Punjabi and Mirpuri are dialects of Urdu. All the literature of this study is understood by speakers of both Punjabi and Mirpuri.

the oral language? Pillai posits that “[a] literary text validates a language.”³ She explores the issue of translation and sees it as a tool of inequality which questions the validity of the original language:

This could be the reason why post-colonial theory assigns so much significance to the act of translation, which is seen not as a peaceful dialogue among equals but as a cultural and political practice, appropriating or resisting ideological discourses constructing or subverting canons thus exposing the derivativeness and heterogeneity of both linguistic and cultural materials.⁴

The act of translation is seen as something which potentially re-affirms cultural imperialism and as such is not a ‘dialogue amongst equals’. My thesis attempts to record authentic languages and recreate a sense of language equality because of my understanding of both languages and cultures. My cohort has provided me with a snap-shot of a set of oral texts which I have translated into English and used as a basis for research. Writing them down serves not only to ‘validate a language’ but also to illustrate how these texts contribute to the building of an identity.

Spivak poses the dilemma of the observer’s paradox but applies it to elements of the structural frameworks. She poses the questions: can the subaltern speak and can identical frameworks be used to explore women in a different space and time to those that dwell in the West?⁵ The observer’s paradox is something I, as the researcher, must accept and acknowledge; this inevitably affects my data collection. As a participant observer I was able to empathise with the interviewee but this simultaneously posed quite specific ethical dilemmas for me as the interviewer. These words have been preserved through the oral tradition and the keepers have given their permission for these to be written down. This consent and permission is important for this study. I have identified potential risks and mitigated against them in ways I will now outline.

³ Pillai, *Translating the Nation, Translating the Subaltern*.

⁴ *Ibid.* p.1

⁵ Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’ in G.Nelson & L. Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, pp.271-316.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

I now discuss selected literary approaches and how I have adapted them to form a basis for my analysis. Different theoretical ideas form the conceptual bedrock at different stages of this work. I begin with an exploration of the term subaltern and explain its significance. This is followed by a full explanation of how and why recipes can be seen as possessing elements of narrativity. I show how Russian linguist Mikhail Bakhtin informs my work and why recipes are seen as narratives and performatives through the work of narratologists. I continue by exploring elements of cultural identity such as nostalgia, space and women and embed within each of these strands the relevant theories.

It is the intention of my thesis to shed some light on the 'hidden' voices of diaspora that exist in the experiences of the women. There is a story told by group of writers who are collectively known as the Subaltern Studies Group (SSG) who write on the history of India.¹ One of this group's members David Lloyd told this tale to his fellow member Dipesh Chakrabarty regarding the Irish poet W B Yeats:

William Butler Yeats discovered a treasure [...]. He sat with her in the little cottage from morning to dusk, listening and recording her stories, her proverbs, and her lore...Mrs Connelly stood at the door as he left, and just as he reached the gate he turned back to her and said quietly, "One more question Mrs Connelly, if I may. Do you believe in the fairies?" Mrs Connelly threw her head back and laughed. "Oh, not at all Mr Yeats, not at all." WB Yeats paused turned away and slouched off down the lane. Then he heard Mrs Connelly's voice coming after him down the lane: "But they're there, Mr Yeats they're there".²

¹Key contributors, among others, include: Ranajit Guha, Gyanendra Pandey, Gautam Bhadra, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Shahid Amin, Partha Chatterjee Sumit Sarkar, Gyan Prakash and David Arnold.

²Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Minority Histories, Subaltern Pasts', *Postcolonial Studies*, 1, 1, (1998), p 27.

This tale acknowledges the presence of the *other* in the face of a denial of its existence. It encapsulates what this study is about and what it attempts to achieve. This tale, just like my thesis, is about orality, gathering women's knowledge and encountering the interviewee in her own space. The story also tells us of the woman's attitude towards that understanding when she acknowledges her non-belief in fairies at first only for it to be dismissed later as she says: "But they're there." It is the very things a group of people hold onto and believe in that my research will reveal. In order to show how women's voices contribute to the forming of a diasporic identity I explore the 'subaltern' and the texts and writers that surround this problematic term. This leads to an examination of cultures in diaspora.

ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND SUBALTERNITY

Antonio Gramsci first used the term 'subaltern' to describe the political and social divisions in Italian society. Most notably it was used in his *Prison Notebooks* in a non-military sense by Gramsci to denote non-hegemonic groups or classes. Significantly, several Gramscian concepts, such as 'hegemony', 'subaltern' and 'passive revolution,' have proven to be difficult to define and are therefore terms that have also been appropriated and used by a variety of theoretical schools for different purposes. Gramsci uses the Italian peasantry, their subordinate class and economic position to define subalternity. He first used this term to describe their political and class struggles during the Italian Civil wars throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He applied the term subaltern specifically to describe the inferiority and subordination of an under-class of people who had been ignored and forgotten by a political system which was in place. Gramsci laid the foundations for the use of a term which I now appropriate and apply to the origins of the oral texts. The term is significant to this study as the texts of this study are considered to be subaltern in origin and therefore the term and its origins are important. Gramsci used it and applied it to a particular group of people in a specific time and history. I will employ the term for my study in

similar ways. Unlike most other theorists, I do not regard the subaltern as a label to be attached to groups of people, but rather as a label for cultural practices.

THE SUBALTERN STUDIES GROUP (SSG)

It was not until the mid-sixties that the term subaltern was revisited and reused when it was adopted for use in Indian history. The SSG looked at the lost literature of the Indian subaltern and adopted the term as it suited their requirements best. This group was influenced by Gramsci's work and applied the term to members of South Asia's under-class, defining the subaltern as anyone of inferior rank as a result of sexual orientation, religion, race, class or gender. It argues that the subaltern has limited power but has also allowed them to be a part of the power dynamics of the social and political infrastructure. They are in the paradoxical position of having limited power but simultaneously one that can still lead to the power of change. SSG state that "[t]he most significant outcome of this revision or shift in perspective is that agency of change is located in the insurgent or the 'subaltern.'"³ The idea that the power of possible change can be found in the cultural practices that are subaltern in origin is confirmed here. It is the idea that power has been moved and is no longer the possession of the higher-ranking classes but is held in the hands of the inferior. One of the SSG's strengths is to recognise this shift in power and to then document it as part of the history of colonial India.

Over time the term subaltern has been used in colonial and post-colonial discourses to describe the colonised. Since its conception it has been appropriated, like many other terms, to reflect changing socio-economic circumstances; each nation and community has used the term and modified it into something more appropriate for their use. However, others view it slightly differently, such as the writer Gayatri Spivak. She argues subaltern is not "just a classy word for

³Gayatri Spivak, 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography' in G. Ranajit & G. Spivak,(eds) *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1988), p. 3.

oppressed, for other, for somebody who's not getting a piece of the pie.”⁴ She is arguing that the term subaltern does not apply to a permeable social group but is specific to those who are socially and economically immobile and cannot be heard as opposed to the oppressed who can be heard and are part of a hegemonic structure. She has argued that “the working class is oppressed. It’s not subaltern. Many people want to claim subalternity.”⁵ The definition of subaltern is different for each group. The notion that that this is a term which cannot be claimed by any group but that it is very selective itself brings forth the idea of a hierarchy within the margins.

NARRATIVITY

Song lyrics are generally accepted as narratives because they have stories but this is less obvious for recipes. The recipe becomes a narrative when told orally. Foodologist Susan Leonardi talks specifically about a recipe for Key Lime Pie and whilst she tells this recipe she also talks of the demise of her marriage; she contends that “the narrative itself becomes a kind of recipe – how to survive a disastrous marriage. And the recipe is this: turn it into a story, ‘because if I tell the story, I control the version....’”⁶ The narrators become the active creators of a text; this is important because each of the narratives presented in this study is controlled by the subjects. There is much scholarly debate about this and it centres on the idea of what a narrative is. For instance, linguist Gerald Prince argues that only certain literary pieces can claim to possess aspects of narrative whilst theorists such as David Rudrum refute this. Prince, along with Marie Laure Ryan, asserts that recipes cannot be considered as narratives. Prince gives the example of a recipe to support his view:

First you wash and drain a cup of rice and place it in a heavy kettle with three cups of cold water; then you boil for five minutes; then you reduce the heat and cook

⁴Leon De Kock, ‘Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa,’ *A Review of International English Literature*, 23, 3, (1992), pp. 29-47.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Susan J Leonardi, ‘Recipes for Reading: Summer Pasta, Lobster à la Riseholme, and Key Lime Pie,’ *PMLA*, 104, 3, (1989), pp. 340-347.

covered for eighteen minutes; then you remove from heat, let stand for five more minutes, and enjoy!⁷

Prince argues that a set of instructions for a recipe cannot be termed as a narrative as it lacks elements of narrativity. David Rudrum opposes him arguing that a narrative can be found in unconventional formats such as a popular comic strip or a leaflet with instructions on how to assemble a model aeroplane. Each, he argues, has a “beginning, a middle, and an end”⁸ and as such, contains narrative elements. Rudrum argues that both these forms of pictorial narratives ‘tell a story’. The first tells the story of a small boy in a comical caper whilst the other informs the reader on how to assemble a model aeroplane. The two may be non-traditional forms of story telling but both depict a sequence of chronological events and thus both possess elements of narrativity. As Rudrum asserts:

Both use a sequence of illustrations to present a series of events; both use frames to demarcate the different stages of the events depicted; and both sequences are clearly ordered chronologically, with early events leading up to, or in to, later ones[...] both Figure One and Figure Two conform in more or less equal measure to the criteria for narrative set out by narratologists, and both can be defined, on these grounds, as narrative.⁹

In the light of this I contend that elements of narrative are indeed present within each recipe. A recipe is just like telling a story: first this happens, then this and at the end this. To this end, I argue that a set of imperatives is as much a story as *Snow White* or *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. They may differ in content but each tells a story thus providing a narrative. There may be a considerable amount of scholarly debate around the idea of what precisely constitutes a narrative but for this study I read a recipe as a narrative.

⁷Gerald Prince cited in David Rudrum, ‘From Narrative Representation to Narrative Use: Towards the Limits of Definition’, *Narrative*,13,2, (2005), pp.195-204.

⁸ Ibid p.196

⁹Ibid. p.200

COOKBOOKS

Anne Bower further supports the view of reading narrative elements inside recipes in her essay 'Cooking Up Stories: Narrative Elements in Community Cookbooks'. Bower extends the narrative element of individual recipes by considering how they are grouped together within a collective or anthology.¹⁰ The collection becomes an expression of different voices that offer a shared set of food narratives. The creative compilation of a cookery book highlights women's sense of agency and argues for recipes to be considered as narratives.

Colleen Cotter, along with Bower, parallels nostalgia with aspects of narratology and contends that narratives are found in recipes and 'community cookbooks.' Bower states "I have moved toward a realisation that in these cookbooks, communities of authors, deliberately or inadvertently, construct their own stories."¹¹ The concept that community cookbooks adhere to a strict genre is presented by Bower and Cotter. Their work shows that recipes have embedded within them elements of narrative and within an oral tradition the speakers or tellers of the recipes become the authors for, as Bower puts it, "in communities of women of different class, race or age, the sharing of recipes goes on."¹² So women's narrative is not a simple voice but a collection of voices that overlap each other.

Leonardi argues that a recipe becomes a narrative and a discourse within the domestic arena, "Like a story, a recipe needs a recommendation, a context, a point a reason, to be. A recipe is, then, an embedded discourse, and like other embedded discourses, it can have a variety of relationships with its frame, or its bed."¹³ If a discourse is indeed created from the words of a

¹⁰ Anne L. Bower, *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories* (University of Massachusetts Press, Boston, 1997).

¹¹ Anne L. Bower, 'Cooking Up Stories: Narrative Elements in Community Cookbooks' in A. L. Bower, (ed) *Recipes for Reading : Community Cookbooks , Stories , Histories* (University of Massachusetts, USA, 1997), pp.29-50.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.125

¹³ Susan J. Leonardi, 'Recipes for Reading: Summer Pasta, Lobster à la Riseholme, and Key Lime Pie', *PMLA*, 104, 3, (1989), pp. 340-347.

recipe, then recipes themselves form a literature that can then be analysed and studied.

Leonardi's article argues that a recipe is created in ways that are similar to how a story is composed and retold over time:

Like a narrative, a recipe is reproducible, and, further, its hearers –readers-receivers are *encouraged* to reproduce it and, in reproducing it, to revise it and make it their own. Folktales, ghost stories, jokes and recipes willingly undergo such repetition and revision.¹⁴

These words are easily applied to song lyrics also and it is what allows them to be part of a gendered discourse. This approach is also taken by many writers of oral history, where oral history becomes a narrative and is seen as equally significant as the written word.¹⁵ It is through women's autobiography that we are able to elicit information and truly understand women's lives. I agree with Rudrum, Bower and Leonardi and see the value of recipes narratives as 'telling stories'.

According to linguists such as J. L. Austin there are six basic rules that need to be adhered to in order for an 'utterance' or 'act' to be considered a performative. These include:

A.1 There must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, that procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances, and further,

A.2 The particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked.

...

B.1 The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and

B.2 Completely.¹⁶

If any of the rules stated above are not completed then a successful performative does not take place. These are observed during the culinary and song practices this study explores. Each recipe

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 344.

¹⁵ The significance of oral history is well exemplified by: Robert Perks & Alistair Thompson *The Oral History Reader*, (Routledge, (Oxon, 1998); Armitage *Women's Oral History: The Frontier's Reader*, ; Sherna Berger Gluck & Daphne Patai *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*.

¹⁶ James Loxley, *Performativity* (Routledge, London, 2007), p. 9.

has a 'teacher' and a 'student' and each song has a singer/performer and an audience and observes these 'rules'. Each recipe is an utterance and each song is an act; therefore both adhere to the criteria set out above and become performatives by submitting to this procedure.

It has been shown through intensive research from the Subaltern Studies Group (SSG) and feminist writers of post-colonialism that the diasporic woman's experience is to be found in unorthodox places such as recipes and songs. One of the consequences of such unfamiliar territories is that the material is often in pieces. The fragmentation of literature, that has its origins in subalternity, is supported through texts re-affirming the findings of the SSG. Bower is writing from a (North) American position and she connects current thinking with the work of this group of scholars specialising in South Asian history. She notes that when:

writing about [the] fragmentation often found in women's autobiographies and of conditions that led women to see their lives without the linearity or "grand" scheme often central to men's autobiographies...it's necessary to alter the work ... when referring to women's life writings.¹⁷

Bower further supports the view that men's autobiographies are usually written inside a linear time frame whereas women's autobiographies tend to use a temporality that is cyclical.

Gyanendra Pandey, a member of the SSG, claims that women's narratives are fragmented *because* their lives are fractured. Bower suggests that there is a direct correlation between the 'episodic' lives of women and the fragmentation of their writings. My thesis takes this further by asserting that although women's oral texts are disjointed there can be cohesion in shared cultural experiences.

BAKHTIN AND HETEROGLOSSIA

¹⁷Bower, *Recipes for Reading*, p.125

Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia has become assimilated into hybridity theory and is now a key component when discussing post-colonial discourses. In his work *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* he argues for:

[t]he unique nature of dialogic relations. The problem of the inner dialogism. The seams of the boundaries between utterances. The problem of the double-voiced bind.¹⁸

The problematic nature of hearing many voices at one given time is presented through the notion of the double-voiced bind.¹⁹ This theory can be applied to the oral collection of subaltern literature when exploring the polyphonous nature of the oral texts. Although Bakhtin is analysing the concept of multiple voices that are monologic or resistant to speech dialogue this theory can be applied to oral subaltern literature:

We have all inherited languages from many different sources (science, art, religion class etc), and to attempt to rule out all voices but my "own" is at its best an artificial pretence. We are all constituted in polyphony.²⁰

Bakhtin is arguing here that all voices are influenced, to some degree, by others. In the case of marginalised literature there is the strong influence of the dominant voice seeping into subaltern discourse. For instance, many of the tales of the subaltern are twists on the traditional fairy tales from the western canon. To this end, he is suggesting that nothing is original. Bakhtin reiterates this idea of multiple voices in each language when he writes:

At any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past ...These languages of heteroglossia intersect each other...²¹

Bakhtin is suggesting what scholars of subaltern literature have asserted before him: that monolingualism does not exist in marginalised literature. The dominating language/culture imbues

¹⁸Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres & Other Late Essays*, Carl Emerson and Michael Holoquist, (eds.), Vern W. McGee, (trans.) (University of Texas Press, USA, 2004), p.119.

¹⁹When applied to the song lyrics presented in this study it reveals their contradictory state.

²⁰ Gary Saul Morson, (ed) *Bakhtin: Essays and Dialogues in his Work* (University of Chicago Press, USA, 1986), p. 151.

²¹Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981), p. 291.

itself within minority discourses and, for Bakhtin, vice versa, too. This is an important part of his work and aligns with the conclusions reached by this study regarding the recipes and songs. The recipes and song lyrics that I analyse in this study all incorporate elements of Bakhtin's heteroglossia and show that communal and personal histories create a type of nostalgia, which can also be found during and in the cooking of the recipes. This approach is supported by Cotter's interpretation of food-related practices within a community setting:

a recipe is also a narrative, a story that can be shared and has been constructed by members of the community. The recipe-narrative not only transmits culture-based meaning, as do more traditional narratives, it can also be viewed as sharing many of the formal structure of basic narratives.²²

Here we have the argument that a recipe-narrative transmits culture-based meanings, which has a significant impact in creating a communal identity. Bower and Cotter's work aligns with the argument presented by David Rudrum and Susan Leonardini who view unorthodox material such as recipes as pieces of narrative. I further argue that a recipe allows for a *renewed* culture to be re-ignited in diasporic settings like Lockwood.

COUNTER-MEMORY

As already discussed, the concepts of memory, narrative and translation are of equal importance to my thesis. Elements of postcolonial theory allows for a disparate body of knowledges to exist in a narrative that remains both vernacular and irresolute in a diasporic world. Counter-memory is a term devised by Michel Foucault as a memory that *challenges and opposes* the 'monumental historical memory' of the masses.²³ There exists a hierarchy of memory: for the elite memory to exist there must also exist *another* memory.

²² Colleen Cotter, 'Claiming a Piece of the Pie: How the Language of Recipes Defines Community', in A. L. Bower, *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories* (University of Massachusetts, USA, 1997), p. 58.

²³ Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Cornell University Press, New York, 1977).

Foucault explores the idea of *creating* a memory in order to exist. The idea of an 'artificial' memory constructed to *counter* the dominating memory is presented to the reader. This concept is explained by Patrick Hutton:

Recent work by cultural historians has tended to place the accent on the discontinuities between historical epochs, and even among the mentalities of different social groups living beside one another in the same historical era. Michel Foucault's notion of "counter memory," which denies the ability of collective memory to bind meanings across dissimilar historical epochs, is a proactive statement of this point of view.²⁴

The counter memory becomes the memory in the oral texts, both the memory that is in the margins and one that has been stored away. The dominating memory makes up the monolithic narrative of the history of literature whereas the narrative belonging to the Other becomes the counter-memory. This becomes highly significant in the literature of the subaltern for this now becomes the 'counter memory' of which Foucault speaks. Two narratives co-exist disregarding the presence of the other: there is one memory of history and one *counter*-memory existing almost like conjoined twins where one is not able to exist without the other. There exists a common bond between them yet there is a sea of difference between them.

The idea of memory and narrative is very much embedded within the literature/writings of the diasporic community. This is a notion that Foucault explores when he asks the question 'What Is an Author?' This is not only a linguistic question but also a philosophical query with anthropological connotations:

I will set aside analysis of the author as an individual and the numerous questions that deserve attention in this context....For the time being I wish to restrict myself to the singular relationship that holds between an author and a text, the manner which a text apparently points to this figure who is outside and precedes it.²⁵

²⁴ Patrick Hutton, *History as an Art Memory* (University of New England Press, University of Vermont, 1993), p. 71.

²⁵ Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Cornell University Press, New York, 1977), p.115.

This idea can be applied to subaltern writing because oral storytelling has fragments of Foucault's query. In my thesis, for instance, there is a chapter on genealogy, which lends itself to the very question of ontology and the concept of an author or legitimisation.

Each narrative or memory has a *counter-memory* that exists in an alternative time and space paradigm. At one stage Nietzsche states:

The point is to make such use of history as to free it forever from the model which is both metaphysical and anthropological of memory. The point is to turn history into a counter memory.²⁶

There is a suggestion of upstaging or uprooting the 'linear' narrative of History with a *counter memory*, which is *non-linear*. A linear history is the very protagonist time line of which Foucault and other writers speak. This is where the literature of the subaltern would come into play. The literature analysed in my thesis, in particular, would not go *against* the memory of dominant groups but would sit beside it. So far, it does not sit anywhere; it does not belong anywhere. It is the counter memory being heard only in the domestic sphere.

FOOD STUDIES

There is a large body of scholarly writing on the relationship between gender and food.²⁷ As Claude Fischer asserts, "food is central to our sense of identity."²⁸ However, there is very little scholarly writing relating to migrant or to diasporic communities in England and their relationship with food and recipes. My study adds to this field of enquiry by constructing an investigation of how these narratives function as a distinct component of cultural transmission within a British

²⁶Chris Horrock and Zoran Jevtiv, *Introducing Foucault* (Totem Books, New York, 1998), p. 98.

²⁷Carole M. Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Gender: Gender, Meaning and Power* (Routledge, New York 1999); Carole M. Counihan and Steven L. Kaplan, *Food and Gender: Identity and Power* (Harwood Academic Publishers, Amsterdam, 1998); Carole M. Counihan *Around the Tuscan Table: Food, Family and Gender in Twentieth- Century Florence* (Routledge: New York, 1999); Sara Sceats, *Food, Consumption and the Body in Contemporary Women's Fiction* (Cambridge University Press, New York, 2000); Shari Daya, 'Eating, Serving and Self-Realisation: Modern Food Identities in Contemporary Indian Women's Writing', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 11, 5, (2010); Meredith E. Abarca, 'Food Centred Discourses: Intellectual Communities Across Fields of Knowledge,' *Appetite*, 47, (2006).

²⁸Claude Fischler, 'Food, Self and Identity,' *Social Science Information*, 27, 2, (1988), p. 275.

South Asian setting. Marina de Camargo Heck writes about the relationship between food and power in a diasporic context.²⁹ She explores the idea that food and memory when combined become very powerful as a cultural source for the diasporic community. In *Imagining Home* Wendy Webster explores the theme of migration, food and its relationship with women.³⁰ She argues for the importance of food amongst displaced people who are forming an identity in diaspora. While Webster focuses on the immigrant experience in Britain in the late 1950s, Heck speaks of the Brazilian community in Mexico. Their different explorations of home and power, like Ghorashi's study of diasporic cultures, inform how I use oral literature to examine cultural practices within a migrant setting in contemporary Britain.³¹

My research reflects the importance of food studies as shown in Mannur's writing. Mannur reinforces the value of food studies when she argues:

Culinary fiction argues for the importance of understanding food not as an exclusively sociological or anthropological enterprise and asks how studying food offers insight into the discursive construction of South Asian bodies through its sustained analyses of South Asian diasporic literature and culture.³²

It becomes clear that no one school or discipline can be applied to the study of food preparation in diaspora. There is also, therefore, not a 'correct' methodology that must be used in order to fully understand the impact of food on individuals. My thesis will look beyond this and consider the effect of culinary desires upon *communal* identities in diaspora. It will also see the value of *gendered* texts to diasporic communities. That is to say that I focus on women and communities of women and the role they play in aiding diasporic communal identities.

²⁹ Laurel Forster and Janet Floyd, *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions* (Ashgate, London, 2003).

³⁰ Wendy Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, Race and National Identity 1945-64* (Routledge, London, 1998).

³¹ For further information see Jo Stanley, 'Mangoes to Moss Side: Caribbean Migration to Manchester in the 1950s and 1960s', *Manchester Regional History Review*, 16, 3, (2002), pp. 40-50.

³² Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Temple University, USA, 2010), p. 19.

The significance of oral narratives particularly that of songs and recipes, is a growing scholarly field. Andrea Newlyn's work is informed by the theories of Roland Barthes, particularly those found in *What is a text?* In this work Barthes suggests that all things surrounding us make up a system of signs and these very signs create a culture.³³ Newlyn applies it to domestic, non-conventional, non-literary things such as duvets, cookbooks and cooking matches. I will build on this and argue that not only is orality a text but *orality in diaspora* is a text and creates a culture which manifests itself as a cultural practice in migrant communities.

The writers of diaspora have conveyed that cultural practices allow culinary knowledge to become a means to cement an individual's identity. Sunaina Maira argues that this identity is embedded within the desire for achieving a sense of legitimisation or level of authenticity and connectivity with prior activities. She asserts that "desire, in cultural politics of the diaspora, is closely entwined with the collective yearning for an authentic tradition or place of origin".³⁴ The authentic nature of cultural practices will be closely analysed in this study as meaning representative of something pure, original, 'real'. Food writer Madhur Jaffrey expresses in her writing the importance of homeland methods when recreating recipes in diaspora. Here, she acknowledges this point of authenticity and what makes something *authentic*:

Over the years, I discovered that the electric blender could do much what the grinding stone did, and much faster; that instead of roasting eggplants in hot ash as my mother recommended, I could do it directly over a gas burner; that American meats couldn't be fried the Indian way because they contained too much water and that it was so often better to cook with canned tomatoes than fresh ones because they had more taste and color. I managed to arrive at the genuine taste of traditional dishes, but often had to take quite a circuitous and unorthodox route to get there.³⁵

³³ Andrea Newlyn, 'Redefining 'Rudimentary' Narrative: Women's Nineteenth-Century Manuscript Cookbooks', in J.Floyd & L.Forster (eds) *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions* (Ashgate, London, 2003).

This is very similar to the argument made by Cixous, Irigaray and Kristeva in justifying the need for *écriture féminine*.

³⁴ Sunaina Maira, *Desis in the House: Indian American Youth Culture in NYC* (Philadelphia Temple University Press, USA, 2002), p.194.

³⁵ Madhur Jaffrey, *An Invitation to Indian Cooking* (Vintage, New York, 1973), p.5.

My thesis asserts that the 'unorthodox route' taken by diasporic women in Lockwood is the need for authenticity that carries with it elements of nostalgia. This is combined with practical diasporic alternatives such as using a blender instead of a grinding stone or using canned tomatoes instead of fresh ones.

Although Maira speaks of adapting to new circumstances or settings, authenticity embodies the essence of past homes. She suggests that the pursuit of authenticity by diasporic communities is fuelled through nostalgic desires. I will build on this through this study and assert it is through nostalgia that issues of nationalism, race, class and gender come to the surface.

Food anthropologists Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster, in *The Recipe Reader*, assert that culinary practices in particular tend to travel well and this is an indication of the cultural value and significance they hold.³⁶ Heck, like Josephine Beoku-Betts, explores the significance of food and recipes in diasporic cultures.³⁷ Both incorporate the role that immigrant food and recipes play in host countries with Floyd asserting that "a strong allegiance to foodways is, of course, very marked amongst immigrant populations."³⁸ Food has evolved over the migrating experience and is highly significant to diasporic communities in the host country. Diasporic communities view food as a link to the past homeland that allows them to survive in the present. Forster identifies how, over time, the recipes immigrants bring with them have amalgamated with recipes of the host nation. I also suggest that tracing how culinary knowledge and practices are transmitted through female genealogy reveals the agency of diasporic women of Asian origin, as discussed next.

3.2 WOMEN

³⁶Laurel Forster & Janet Floyd, *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions* (Ashgate, London, 2003).

³⁷Marina de Camargo Heck, 'The Recipe in its Cultural Context to Adapting and Adopting: The Migrating Recipe' In J. Floyd & L.Forster, (eds) *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions* (Ashgate, London 2003); Josephine Beoku-Betts, 'We Got Our Way Of Cooking Things: Women, Food and Preservation of Cultural Identity', *Gender and Society*, 9, 5, (1995).

³⁸ Ibid.

THE SOUTH ASIAN WOMAN IN DIASPORA

Scholarly discussion of the identity of British South Asian women is dominated by the rhetoric of patriarchy. Yasmin Hussain explores how images of South Asian women have been constructed through western ideology and how this creates a disadvantage for the migrant woman. Hussain asserts that:

The description of South Asian women in Britain was particularly vulnerable to ethnocentric distortion; they were perceived from the perspective of essentially Western values so that the emphasis on independence and individuality and the comparability of the sexes evolved stereotypical images.³⁹

Her work argues that the South Asian woman is formulated through an ideology of the West and as such is highly inappropriate. She argues that frameworks fed from misconceived ideologies construct the identity of the South Asian woman in diaspora and suggests that the 'distorted' culture is shaped by time, place and pasts of migration and re-settlement. My research explores how a culture and an autonomous identity rooted in subalternity are created for a diasporic community through the specific oral texts and practices of South Asian women. This study considers South Asian women in diaspora in a number of ways: it explores the agency and creativity of the South Asian women in responding to situations in which they have limited power. It will also recover the voices and actions of these women in history, as well as examining the notion that subaltern positions are shaped by different forms of power relations. My work expands the gender roles affiliated to the women of the South Asian community in Lockwood.

The figure of the South Asian woman is analysed by Nirmal Puwar and Parvati Raghuram and Hussain.⁴⁰ They explore the dichotomy of the South Asian woman in diaspora and focus on the South Asian female identity saying that :

³⁹ Yasmin Hussain, *Writing Diaspora: South Asian Women, Culture and Ethnicity* (Ashgate, London, 2005), p 22.

⁴⁰ Hussain, *Writing Diaspora: South Asian Women, Culture and Ethnicity*; Nirmal Puwar & Parvati Raghuram, *South Asian Women in the Diaspora* (Berg, Oxford, 2003).

It [this construction] names the complexity of what it sees from a space that is alert to the objectifying tendencies of so much knowledge on the Other, while recognising that it is neither pure nor totally separated from its viewing position.⁴¹

They locate this 'position' within the diaspora. This is significant because of the cultural value that is given to identities constructed in relocation. They offer a perception of the cultural, social and political situation of South Asian women in the western diaspora. I consider this to be a more 'realistic' portrait of South Asian women but like so many other writings depicting South Asian women it also shows them as being sometimes incoherent, often contradictory and always fragmented. My analysis of the women and their practices extends these findings to explore how women's position within the overlapping sexual, economic political and cultural processes of diaspora influences how they construct their identities as individuals as well as within the community.

These narrative-recipes are fragmented in the sense that we are told of where the recipe was learned and by whom then the mother is woven into the narrative and then time span is also commented upon and 'bits and pieces' of lives are nostalgically narrated. They are told in pieces with some parts missing, some parts altered and some pieces added on. Salman Rushdie employs the analogy of a broken mirror to describe the fragmentary nature of diasporic nostalgia when he asserts that a researcher:

is obliged to deal in broken mirrors, some of whose fragments have been irretrievably lost. But there is a paradox here. The broken mirror may actually be as valuable as the one which is supposedly unflawed.⁴²

This can be applied to the recipes and the creation of nostalgia in diaspora for the retold recipes created by the current generation in Lockwood are as important to them as the original recipe-

⁴¹Op.cit., p. 1.

⁴² Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homeland: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* (Granta Books and Viking, London, 1991), p.10.

narratives were to the earlier generations in the homeland. The significance of the recipe narratives as reflections on the women's lives in the diaspora is apparent.

This allows me to merge together a post-colonial theory with a feminist concept. I take Bhabha's reading of the third space and connect it with Kristeva's cyclical time paradigm and the result is the emergence of a new liminal space for narratives that are subaltern diasporic.⁴³ These narratives are subaltern in origin and are now 'performed' in diaspora by members of community hence making them subaltern diasporic. It is Kristeva's concept of cyclical time that provides a way of talking about and interrogating the spatial and temporal framework of this cultural study. This literature exists in a spatiality and temporality defined here by Bhabha and Kristeva.

The guardians of this third space are the women carrying out these recipes and songs inside the domestic sphere where the gendering of space takes place. Parts of the house inhabited by women are known as *Zanana*. In parts of the homeland (South Asia) homes were built with specific areas or rooms marked out for the women and girls of the household with the kitchen being at the heart of the *zanana*. Even though in diaspora this is not the case, unconsciously the cultural practice of designating specific areas to the women and girls of the house is similarly practised in Lockwood.

Women accumulate power through not only the practising of these recipes but through the transmission of their knowledge. A Foucauldian form of power-knowledge is particularly evident in the case of these recipes and their keepers. It can also be argued that the body of recipes brings about and creates a *culinary fiction*, which further gives the dwellers of the kitchen a sense of power. There is the clear notion here that being female is a form of marginalisation that pushes women further into the realm of domesticity.

FRENCH FEMINISTS AND THE MATERNAL VOICE

⁴³ This is a term that has emerged out of my thesis. It describes those narratives which possess elements of subalternity within them and are now practised in diaspora.

The socio-cultural significance and value of the maternal body informs the work of French feminists Luce Irigaray and Hélène Cixous. The maternal voice is significant and is embedded within the oral narratives of the subaltern female. Cixous' work has many references to the maternal body and the act of female writing. I discuss the maternal voice and its role for the diasporic female through the analysis of oral texts. Her essay 'The Laugh of the Medusa' connects the maternal voice to the feminine and links the voice to the body:

In women's speech, as in their writing, that element which never stops resonating [...]Why this privileged relationship with the voice?...] There is always within her at least a little of that good mother's milk. She writes in white ink.⁴⁴

Here, as well as listening, reading and writing hard, she is also urging women to speak loudly, and is thus making the connection between the maternal body and speech. Cixous is making a 'call to speak' for women; however, she is arguing that the camaraderie of sisterhood is needed in order to step out of the silent margin. The oral texts of my study represent the diasporic female's cultivation of a voice inside the domestic sphere.

Irigaray's work on maternal and female genealogies has also informed this study. She explores the differing strategies employed that empower female genealogies. Her text *Sexes and Genealogies* explores the relationship between the mother and daughter and the creating of a history:

Let us not forget, moreover, that we already have a history, that certain women despite all the cultural obstacles have made their mark upon history and all too often have been forgotten by us.⁴⁵

She investigates the concept of female genealogy, telling her readers of its value and importance. It is within the arena of female genealogy that a history and more importantly identities are created. Irigaray's work on female genealogy provides a means to explore how the maintenance of

⁴⁴Hélène Cixous, 'The Laugh of the Medusa' in, E. Marks and I.Courtivron (eds.) *New French Feminism: An Anthology* (The Harvester Press, London, 1981) p. 251.

⁴⁵Luce Irigaray, *Sexes and Genealogies* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1993) p. 19.

a culture is possible but also how the value of a culture is transmitted and maintained through female genealogy: “Let us not become the guardians of dumb silence, of dead silence.”⁴⁶ If, as this dissertation suggests, this has been the case for diasporic oral literature then being heard outside the domestic arena becomes significant.

WOMEN AND PATRIARCHY

The songs explored in my study, carry with them a hint of rebellion and they are used by the women as small acts of subversion. Judith Butler in her essay ‘The body politics of Kristeva’ asks a very valid question: “If the semiotic promotes the possibility of the subversion, displacement, or disruption of the paternal law, what meanings can those terms have if the symbolic always reasserts its hegemony?”⁴⁷ This concept can be applied to patriarchy as well as to female genealogy. The female genealogical line is only present and allowed to exist *in spite* of paternal law or at best as a result of the fact that patriarchy has deemed to *tolerate it*. This view is carried on in the homeland but it has been erased or, rather, diluted. The structure of paternal law, which includes patriarchy, is in operation in Lockwood. These songs function within a framework of patriarchal constraints and ‘bargain’ with a cultural law that can be deemed as being both oppressive and liberating simultaneously. This internal contradiction is one of the conditions of cultures in diaspora.

One of the ways this contradiction manifests itself is in the colonisation of women. In some diasporic cultures the woman is colonised many times over. In mainstream scholarly writing the female diasporic voice is pushed into the margins firstly by the dominant cultural ideology and secondly by the patriarchal voice *within* the margins; this then enacts as a double colonising of the

⁴⁶ Ibid., 33, p.19.

⁴⁷ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge, New York, 1990), p.108.

female voice. 'Double colonisation' is a term that is associated with many post-colonial writings and is one which feminist scholars have been long championing.⁴⁸

The diasporic woman is double-colonised through race and gender only to be further colonised in diaspora. The movement of the paternal laws from the homeland to diaspora confines the woman to a domestic sphere on diasporic soil. The paradox lies in the fact that although the voices of women become colonised three times over in *diasporic* literature, which has its roots in subalternity, it remains forever *inside* the domestic sphere. The woman becomes constrained by the powers of the patrilineal.

THE IMPORTANCE OF FEMALE GENEALOGY

As Trinh T Minh-ha asserts:

Tell me and let me tell your hearers what I have heard from you who heard it from your mother and your grandmother, so that what is said may be guarded and unfailingly transmitted to the women of tomorrow, who will be our children and the children of our children.⁴⁹

The significant value of female genealogy is stated here. She speaks of the oral text that she 'guards' and passes onto the next generation and the cycle continues down the female genealogical line. Patriarchy imposes maternity on daughters yet again exerting its powers and order upon women. The paternal laws insist on the imposition of maternity upon every woman in order for female genealogy to continue and repeat. Patriarchy and its structures allow for female genealogy to exist thereby forcing us to ask how subversive *is it really?* Recipes and songs are used to challenge the powers of patriarchy however the 'reins of attack' are themselves provided by the very system of oppression questioning its subversive quality. The burden of maternity falls upon each daughter. There are also those daughters who cannot become mothers or choose not to *but*

⁴⁸ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (Routledge, Oxon 2000), p.66.

⁴⁹ Trinh T Minh-ha, *Women Native Other: Writing, Postcoloniality and Feminism* (Indiana University Press, USA, 1989), p. 119.

fulfil the maternal role fully and are resident within the parameters of patriarchy.⁵⁰ This role is fulfilled because of the *community of women* who reside inside this culture. The cultural practice of patriarchy allows for a group of women to exist in an extended family that includes those who are mothers and those who are not. The maternal nurturing role, therefore, is filled by all women regardless of whether they are mothers or not. The culture of patriarchy thus arches over all women and by extension over female genealogy.

Genealogies, particularly maternal genealogies forged in diaspora, which Chapter Four focuses upon, become communal. The recipes that are shared and the songs which are sung are done so communally. Building on Denis Kandiyoti's argument that: "Women strategise within a set of concrete constraints"⁵¹ the Lockwood women seem to have a third or liminal space *alongside*, or in parallel, as well as inside patriarchy. Kandiyoti develops this line of thought and asserts:

The cyclical nature of women's power in the household and their anticipation of inheriting the authority of senior women encourages a thorough internalisation of this form of patriarchy by women themselves.⁵²

My study aligns its findings with Kandiyoti and agrees that patriarchy is sustained in Lockwood and it is through the seeming acceptance of patriarchy that women are subversive. This paradox is made apparent in my study through the recipe and song narratives of my cohort.

PATRIARCHY WITHIN THE RECIPES

Repeating the cultural patterns of the homeland affirms and re-establishes gender roles in diaspora. The recipes help to re-create the memory of 'home' to the residents of Lockwood. As Aqsa recalls: "[t]hey [the women] used to make this..."⁵³ The community fulfils a need to re-imagine a past where gender roles were established in a traditional manner, where men worked

⁵⁰The reasons for this range from the medical to the cultural to the social. This is too wide a scope for my thesis to fully explore as it goes beyond its parameters.

⁵¹ Denis Kandiyoti, 'Bargaining with Patriarchy,' *Gender and Society*, 2, 3, (1988), pp. 274-290.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.279.

⁵³ See Appendix 1.

outside the home while women worked inside the home and these 'lines' were never crossed. Public and private spheres are firmly established by the wider patriarchal framework and are accepted by a neighbourhood in Lockwood.

This structure is based on a homeland norm that men are dominant and women exist on the margins. However, once in diaspora these strict rules of patriarchy no longer maintained over a group of people. So it is important to the community that *some* of these values are continued and one way this happens is through recipes. By enabling the women to cook these recipes the community retains a sense of the 'old' values in a 'new' land. One of the effects of these recipes being cooked by women is communal nostalgia in which gender roles are communally re-consolidated in diaspora. The need to maintain traditional gender roles is partly an act of *nostalgia* as patriarchy demands that traditional gender roles are assigned but attempting to sustain these roles *in diaspora* is both difficult and nostalgic. It is the former because rules are 'looser' in the western host culture and it is the latter because the diasporic wants to or rather *needs to* hold on to some elements of the homeland. Holding onto traditional gender roles is, therefore, a nostalgic desire that is vested within the diasporic community.

Irigaray's work *Sexes and Genealogies* has been very significant in informing my ethnographic oral history methodology in arguing that the maternal voice is marginalised through patriarchy:

Everywhere and in everything men define the function and the social role of women.... The social order, our culture, psychoanalysis itself, are all insistent that the mother remain silent, outlawed.⁵⁴

Patriarchy and how it controls the lives of women reflects the need for exploring how gendered cultural identity and practices function in diaspora. I contend that it is the paradox of functioning

⁵⁴Margaret Whitford, *The Irigaray Reader* (Blackwell Publishers, UK, 1991), p.11.

within patriarchy that provides a space for a voice for diasporic women. This acknowledges the risks of suggesting a differentiated notion of women's behaviour in diaspora and in the homeland.

Evidence of the presence of maternal power within the matrilineal is shown in numerous studies carried out within minority communities. Beoku-Bett's study on the Gullah people of Southern America highlights the transmission of cultural practices from one female generation to the next through matrilineal transference of knowledge.⁵⁵ The importance of the maternal voice in diaspora has also been shown to be significant by Ketu Katrak,⁵⁶ and through analysis of my data the transmission of the maternal voice is apparent in the diasporic women of Lockwood.

Writers on female genealogy, including Natasja VanderBerg, build on the work of Irigaray when suggesting that it is the female genealogy that is often diminished through levels of patriarchy.

The suppression of the genealogy of women correlates to the reduction of women to the role of natural reproduction. The creation of a genealogy for women "the putting into words" the lives of women – is important because women have traditionally been denied the right to define, through words, their own world.⁵⁷ [Emphasis in the original]

Female genealogy is seen as empowering women and can be seen as being paradoxically both a threat and a supportive element within patriarchy. Women are seen in the role of reproduction and their genealogy is seen as significant yet arguably their role as conduits of inter-generational traditional knowledge also challenges and continues the position of patriarchy. Through oral texts they build their 'own world' that simultaneously reaffirms dominant ideologies and yet offer the

⁵⁵Gullah is a community of African-American people who live in parts of Southern America but hail from West and Central Africa.

⁵⁶Ketu Katarak 'Food and Belonging: At "Home" in "Alien Kitchens"' in A. Avakian (ed), *Through The Kitchen Window: Women Explore Intimate Meanings of Food and Cooking* (Beacon Press, USA, 1997).

⁵⁷Natasja VanderBerg, 'Witnessing Dignity: Luce Irigaray on Mothers, Genealogy and the Divine' *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering*, 7,1, (2005), p. 137

risk of subversion through its separateness. Here, Vanderburg's assertion is parallel to Irigiray's and by extension this may be then adapted to apply to a discussion of the Lockwood's women.

THE KITCHEN

Writers on domesticity have often explored the important role of the kitchen and its material characteristics such as furniture, appliances, utensils and food storage.⁵⁸ Andrea Newlyn sums up the role of the kitchen when she says:

It's always this way, because a kitchen is in the middle of things, in the middle of life, as I'm living it now, this moment, the detritus of the past heaped like a midden everywhere you look.⁵⁹

The idea that a kitchen has a *history* connected to it informs my study. Like Newlyn, Laura Sloan Patterson, also emphasises the importance of the kitchen, and claims that it acts like an "entryway" to the home. This study extends this idea by suggesting that women view the kitchen as not only a place to house all the cooking utensils but as a *space* in which to live and breathe. This is a concept also picked up by Webster in her work *Imagining Home* where she sees the kitchen as a retreat and refers to it as a safe-haven but also as a place of "exile."⁶⁰ The notion of the kitchen also being 'out of place' is presented. The modernised kitchen of a Victorian terraced house in Lockwood provides that alternative setting. The significance of an alternative spatiality links back to my reading of Kristeva's exploration in *Women's Time* as discussed earlier.⁶¹

Many writers perceive the space of the woman and her cultural practices as a separate entity and this can be seen in their work.⁶² The concept of a diasporic woman's private domestic

⁵⁸Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Temple University Press, USA, 2010); Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster (eds) *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions* (Ashgate, London, 2003); Arlene Avakian, *Through The Kitchen Window* (Berg, USA, 2006).

⁵⁹ Laura Sloan Patterson, *Stirring the Pot: The Kitchen and Domesticity in the Fiction of Southern Women* (McFarland and Company, USA, 2008), p. 1.

⁶⁰Wendy Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, Race and National Identity 1945-64* (Routledge, London, 1998).

⁶¹ Julia Kristeva, 'Women's Time', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 7, 1, (1981). pp.13-35.

⁶² Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Temple University Press, Miami, 2010);

'space' is endorsed by Webster (along with other writers) who integrates concepts of food, identity and place. Webster argues that a place of 'comfort is needed' for the female whilst others argue that a separate space exists for these culinary practices to flourish in. I propose the notion of a space within a space being needed not only for the culinary practices but also for the culturalisation of the voice of the diasporic woman. Drawing on these works, this dissertation positions the kitchen not only as a place of confinement but also as a space for expression for women in diaspora. This expression can take many forms and one form is that of nostalgia and remembering.

Arguably if women search out a place in the home in which they feel comfortable and secure both as individuals and in company, their use of the kitchen as that arena suggests that food preparation has elements of empowerment. The relationship between food and gender must be clearly fused together with identity and power. Marilyn Frye, suggests that:

A woman can speak with authority and be heard more easily in kitchen because under the patriarchal division of labor this is the space in which she has the greatest authority.⁶³

Frye asserts here those women's voices 'can be heard' in this space *because* of patriarchy and it is in the kitchen that she is powerful.

STUDIES OF SOUTH ASIAN WEDDINGS IN DIASPORA

In contrast to the breadth of literature on immigrants and diasporic cultures there have been only a small number of ethnographic studies examining the cultural value of South Asian weddings and the role that songs play in them. Pnina Werbner's study allows us to further understand the cultural value and performativity of songs with British South Asian women in Lockwood. She

Floyd & Forster (eds) *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions*; Webster Wendy *Imagining Home: Gender, Race and National Identity 1945-64* (Routledge, London, 1998); Anne L. Bower, *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories* (University of Massachusetts Press, USA, 1997); Hugh Croshield, 'Embodied Food Politics' *Social and Cultural Geography*, 14, 12 pp. 234-236.

⁶³ Marilyn Frye, *The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory* (Crossing Press, New York, 1983), p. 93-94.

argues that “emergent patterns of stratification and underlying hierarchies are reified and publicly proclaimed through the wedding ritual”.⁶⁴ For Werbner, the wedding ceremony described becomes one of the more significant cultural customs that takes place in diaspora as it is an expression of cultural identity. She asserts that the songs are thereby relocated from the original space to the domestic space in diaspora. I will build on this enquiry and propose that the cultural and spatial relocation of these songs is an important element of the soundscape of diasporic wedding ceremonies.

Katy Gardner, like Werbner, explores the power of narration through the anthropological study she carries out in a small rural community in South Asia.⁶⁵ It shows not only the central position of women in the ‘homeland’ but it expresses how a whole culture can migrate into diaspora and conspire to generate an identity. Similarly, this can be seen in the anthropological work of Smita Jassal.⁶⁶ Her work reinforces the cultural value of folk songs, in particular wedding songs, and their significance in both the original culture and the culture in diaspora. Jassal analyses the contribution made by women and their songs to a culture. The wedding songs of South Asia are seen as a ‘rite of passage’ with emotional tangles becoming ‘loose’ and new bonds being formed. Jassal asserts that:

Wedding songs serve both to explain the action taking place during the ceremony and, more significantly, to induce the appropriate responses to this action.⁶⁷

The songs provide a structured controlled outlet for emotion from the singer and the audience. In this study the focus is less on the emotional outpouring and more on the ‘literary action’ within the narrative. This study will build on her work by analysing the dynamics of wedding songs in a specific diasporic setting.

⁶⁴ Werbner, ‘The Virgin and the Clown: Ritual Elaboration in Pakistani Migrants’ Weddings’ p.230.

⁶⁵ Katy Gardner, *Songs at the River’s Edge: Stories from a Bangladeshi Village* (Pluto Press, London, 1997).

⁶⁶ Smita Tewari Jassal, *Unearthing Gender: Folksongs of North India* (Duke University Press, London, 2012).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.127.

When analyzing these songs I show how context as well as content provide meaning. Kirin Narayan explores folklore songs and theory and asserts that Alan Dundes's formulation for correctly analyzing folksongs must be used: "*folklorists must actively seek to elicit the meaning of folklore from the folk.*" [Emphasis original]⁶⁸ Using oral history methods and analyzing the narratives of the samples, my study has followed this theory and applied it to wedding songs in diaspora rather than in the original homeland.

Kirin Narayan argues that wedding songs generally are about being released from one situation to enter into another. She writes that for women this can often be an emotionally challenging experience:

Women's explicit testimony about sad songs reveals that they view singing as a way of letting out sorrow and finding solace... Singers often observed that songs spoke about the difficulties of different kinship roles at different stages of life (daughter, sister, wife, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, mother, mother-in-law, grandmother)⁶⁹

Narayan here explores the inter-generational dialogue as a significant aspect of wedding songs. Her views on the underlying reason for these songs provide a partial rationale for their longevity as well as for their continued practice in diaspora. Narayan aligns her work with that of Gardner. She undertakes her fieldwork in the homeland and analyzes the songs as they are sung in their naturalised setting.⁷⁰ The wedding songs studied by Narayan, like those of Gardner, speak of another time and place as they still retain the words but are now performed in a diasporic setting.⁷¹ They explore how this facet of South Asian weddings is replayed in diaspora and my study builds on this concept and shows how cultural practices generate an identity for a community elsewhere.

⁶⁸ Alan Dundes, 'Metafolklore and Oral Criticism', *The Monist*, 50, 4, (1975) pp. 505-516.

⁶⁹ Kirin Narayan, 'The Practice of Literary Criticism: Women's Songs in Kangra, India', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 108, 429 (1995), pp. 243-264.

⁷⁰ Kirin Narayan, 'Birds on a Branch: Girlfriends and Wedding Songs in Kangra', *Ethos*, 14, 1, (1986), pp. 47-75.

⁷¹ Katy Gardner, *Songs at the River's Edge: Stories from a Bangladeshi Village*.

3.3 NOSTALGIA

Nostalgia links the present to the past and has the ability to have an emotional as well as a psychological effect on individuals and communities. Svetlana Boym has stressed the importance of nostalgia as a communal device to stay connected to the homeland whilst in diaspora. She asserts: “[n]ostalgia is about the relationship between individual biography and the biography of groups of nations, between personal and collective memory.”⁷² This thesis demonstrates that individual memory soon becomes communal nostalgia and is sustained through recipes and songs, to ultimately provide a community with an identity.

However communal nostalgia is a rather complex issue and is not a homogenous aspect of diasporic communities. A. L Epstein’s study of the Jewish community and its differing generations in an American setting shows that the concept of nostalgia changes dramatically from one generation to the next within a North American context.⁷³ His study found that nostalgia can skip a generation and re-emerge with the third generation. In contrast to Epstein’s study I find in my two generations that there is a direct transmission of nostalgia from one generation to the next.

The dynamics of nostalgia differ from community to community. Nostalgia, as a concept, becomes ingrained within most of the households of Lockwood through the repetitive practice of these recipes and songs.

WHAT IS NOSTALGIA?

Nostalgia allows for a ‘false’ or ‘distorted’ vision of the past to be held in a memory, which then can become shared by a community. The twentieth-century poet Caproni illustrates this complexity of nostalgia in his long poem entitled *The Homecoming* where he writes about the subjective and arbitrary nature of nostalgia:

⁷²Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (Perseus, New York, 2001), p. xvi.

⁷³ Arnold Leonard Epstein, *Ethos and Identity: Three Studies in Ethnicity* (Tavistock Publishing, London, 1978)

*Nothing has changed from how it was not
I have returned there
where I have never been.
Nothing has changed from how it was not
On the table (on the checkered/tablecloth) half-full
I found the glass
Never filled. All
has remained just as
I never left it⁷⁴*

Nostalgia is about the selection of memories that allow us to recall the past in a favourable light. The selection, when mixed with emotive nostalgia, can at times 'play' with memories. It remains a mix of the real and make-believe, for what we choose to discard is never an arbitrary decision but is based on culturally significant reasons. Nostalgia becomes a sanctuary for many diasporic individuals and as time passes this particular nostalgia becomes progressively distorted. Nostalgia then becomes a sanctuary for a relocated community whilst also obscuring. With each passing moment the dislocated community now in relocation imagines an increasingly idyllic past.

Nostalgia contains negative and positive connotations. This duality allows for nostalgia to be both a joyous concept whilst simultaneously bringing heartache, which is highlighted through the primary data of this thesis. Ralph Harper talks about the

inherent contradictions in nostalgia'... [It] combines bitterness and sweetness, the lost and the far and the near, the new and the familiar, absence and presence. The past which is over and gone, from which we have been or are being removed, by some magic becomes present again for a short while. But its realness seems even more familiar, because renewed, than it ever was, more enchanting and more lovely.⁷⁵

The paradox of nostalgia is evident in Harper's assertion of the juxtaposition of 'absence' and 'presence', 'near' and 'far' when exploring nostalgic desires. The past becomes the present 'for a short while' which allows for a *nostalgic past* to be part of the diasporic community's present. The

⁷⁴ Giorgio Caproni, *Poesie 1932-1986* (Garzanti, Milano, 1989).

⁷⁵ Ralph Harper, *Nostalgia: An Existential Exploration of Longing and Fulfillment in the Modern Age* (Case Western Reserve University, USA, 1996), p. 120.

writers I have discussed above all align their work to the idea that nostalgia in diaspora allows a person to live in the past whilst constructing a home in the present. The past is forever in the present for the diasporic community and this allows them to be stable whilst simultaneously being dynamic.

The past ties the community to elements of the subaltern whilst simultaneously allowing the women to step out of subalternity in diaspora. In the homeland, the women and these cultural practices are subaltern in origin; however, once these women attain, amongst other things, a sense of financial or cultural independence in diaspora they are no longer subaltern even though the practices themselves remain so. As a result, the women are geographically and emotionally affected through this dislocation and relocation. Nostalgia becomes a symptom of dislocated and subsequently relocated communities in diaspora and I argue that nostalgia acts as a lubricant for a diasporic identity and ultimately provides the community with an identity anchored in the past.

Within this notion of nostalgia I delineate a clear distinction between memory and nostalgia. Memory is a complex phenomenon. It is a faculty that allows the diasporic community to remember all the positive and negative aspects of experience whereas, in contrast, nostalgia is a memory of a time that only recalls the positive things about the past. Nostalgia is a part of memory that allows the diasporic community to bask in the glory of yesterday. A certain type of nostalgia is recalled through these recipes and songs and the effects of this are shown here in my analysis. I view nostalgia as a secondary cog to memory for the distinction between the two can and does become rather indistinct and ambiguous.

When applied to communities in diaspora, nostalgia shows the deceptive emotions at play for those who use a distorted image to lead to a false sanctuary. Diasporic nostalgia is half remembrances with the gaps filled with what they think should go there. Caproni's poem talks of a

time and events that are remembered and a past that has now been romanticised so much that it is barely recognisable. This contradiction reflects the paradoxical nature of nostalgia in diaspora for it shows nostalgia to be something that is not quite remembered accurately but conjures an illusory scene re-created by the individual living in diaspora. A series of Potemkin villages seem to be built by the diasporic community and it is these that play a role in creating an identity through nostalgia.⁷⁶

MIGRATIONAL NOSTALGIA

Nostalgia, for the diasporic individual and community, lives in a cyclical time and space. It is a mode of thinking of time and space as a separate entity that stands alone and differentiates itself from the linear historic time paradigm. Its existence allows a community in dislocation to view the past *inside* the present. The recipes and songs analysed in this chapter fuse together and create a nostalgic discourse for a diasporic community. It is through the process of cooking and women gathering together and singing the songs that a certain type of nostalgia, a migrational nostalgia, is created from the past in the present for the future. This creates three time and space paradigms that all come together in diaspora for the migrant and provide a sense of identity. I have presented the significance of nostalgia and termed it 'migrational nostalgia' as a notion the diasporic community perpetuates through its cultural practices.

One of the best ways to more clearly illustrate this would be to use Walter Benjamin's exploration of 'The Angel of History'. He writes:

A Klee painting named 'Angelus Novus' shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage and hurls it in front of

⁷⁶ The Russian myth which tells the story of how a hollow village, referred to as 'Potemkin', was created by the Russian military to fool the Empress Catherine during her visit in 1787.

his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing in from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress.⁷⁷

When read from a diasporic viewpoint the past depicted here is the nostalgic remembrance of the homeland. The present is the contradictory nature of being in a diasporic culture or having a diasporic identity and the future can be read as the upcoming storm. The 'storm' itself is full of contradictions and depicts not only elements of the present but also the future. The wreckage of which Benjamin writes and refers to, the trauma of having left one's homeland and culture behind, whilst the debris that piles up before the diasporic subject is the perceived threat of losing homeland roots amidst the progressive culture of diaspora, perceived as the 'upcoming storm'. These terms suggest that the diasporic subject perceives two different things – the trauma of loss and the on going threat to identity – what she perceives is in fact 'one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage and hurls it in front of [her] feet.' The messianic angel of history has travelled from the homeland to the diaspora and experienced the notion of migrational nostalgia but interestingly has its face 'turned towards the past' as it is propelled from the past, into the present and the future. The debris of culture surrounds him and humanity's angel of history has his eyes fixed on the past as he is dispatched into the present and the future. This is the nature of migrational nostalgia; the present is faced with the past in order to create a future. She is remembering selective elements of the past in the present and sustaining that individual's nostalgic remembrance through the transmission of female genealogy. The temporalities that are formed are created and recreated in relocation through the practices of a culture that has its roots

⁷⁷Walter Benjamin, 'A theses on the History of Philosophy' in Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (Pimlico, London 1999), p. 249.

in subalternity and one that is in dislocation. The past encircles the present, which is entwined with the future.

NOSTALGIA AND AUTONETIC CONSCIOUSNESS

Nostalgia and memory work in many different ways and connect the diasporic individual to the past. One of these ways is through the emotionally charged neurological elements of the body. Svetlana Boym writes that nostalgia has “a[n] amazing capacity for remembering sensations, tastes, sounds, smells ...of the lost paradise those who remained home never noticed.”⁷⁸ This tool of nostalgia not only links the present to the past but also intensifies the feeling of being dislocated from the homeland, emphasising the fact that an individual now lives in relocation.

A significant element of nostalgia is referred to as ‘autonetic consciousness’ allowing one to recount an experience and connect that memory to a particular smell or taste, a feeling of pleasure, a visual image or a certain touch.⁷⁹ Nostalgic remembrances are heightened by the aroma of the cooking processes suggesting an autonetic memory trace. This is true of all five senses when they come into contact with an object or events that bring memories to the surface. These sensory elements are characteristic of connectors to selective and episodic memories on food and eating resulting in powerful emotional memories existing in the past being brought forward through a smell or a touch. Memories, personal or communal, can be recalled and events brought out through these recipes created in relocation.

MIGRATING RECIPES

Writers of post-colonialism often underline the fragmentation of diasporic literature and link the experience of living in diaspora with a voluntary immersion in nostalgia. Rushdie, for

⁷⁸ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, p.4

⁷⁹ Daniel L. Schacter, *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains and Societies Reconstruct the Past* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 2000). The best known example of this is in Proust’s *Remembrance of Things Past* which tells how the adult narrator would soak certain biscuits in tea which would then invoke elaborate yet vivid childhood memories.

instance, presents the idea of idealising a past through nostalgia when he uses the analogy of the broken mirrors capturing the sense of rupture and seeing differently.⁸⁰ He argues that the past is 'distorted' as the only memory we have is 'broken' and it becomes that emotional yearning for the past that never was. This links with works by Hussain, Puwar and Raghuram who also assert that the figure of the South Asian woman is fundamentally dichotomous.⁸¹ My study builds on the idea of a memory created through 'broken' fragments of remembrance and suggests that aspects of nostalgia and shattered memories help to create a shared identity for diasporic communities. The memory may be 'broken' and 'fragmented', it may not be whole and the result will be incomplete, yet it will be desirable in countering insecurities. Memory and remembering play a crucial role in nostalgia and culinary practices in diasporic cultures.

Heck carried out a research project entitled 'Food and Memory' where she elicited culinary memories from a social group of Portuguese migrants now resident in a suburb of Sao Paulo, Brazil. It concludes that memory plays a significant role in the re-creation and passing on of food in diaspora and vice versa. My study will build on this knowledge by including not only the culinary practices of a diasporic community but other aspects of cultural memories attached to diasporic identity.

Anita Mannur shows the effectiveness of maintaining culinary practices within diasporic communities. Mannur has contributed to the discussion on the condition of diasporic communities and suggests that nostalgia infuses diasporic cultures. She argues that the relationship between diasporic cultures and nostalgia is complex when understanding the role of food-related narratives:

The desire to remember home by fondly recreating culinary memories cannot be understood merely as reflectively nostalgic gestures; rather, such nostalgically

⁸⁰ Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* (Granta, London 1991), p.10.

⁸¹ Hussain, *Writing Diaspora: South Asian Women, Culture and Ethnicity*; Nirmal Puwar & Parvati Raghuram, *South Asian Women in the Diaspora*.

framed narratives must also be read as a metacritique of what it means to route memory and nostalgic longing for a homeland through one's relationship to seemingly intractable culinary practices which unflinchingly yoke national identity with culinary taste and practices.⁸²

While I concur with Mannur on the significant role nostalgia plays in culinary practices, I also believe that there is a fine line between her notion about the role that culinary practices play in helping to create a sense of national identity and that of a more localised identity. In my study it is apparent that these practices help to re-create a *communal* identity for a particular diasporic community, which essentially becomes a community within a community. Whilst my work will be informed by Mannur's critique and explorations of the connections between nostalgia and culinary practices it will also expand the field of inquiry by exploring local cultural practices in Lockwood.

In *Through the Kitchen Window*, Arlene Avakian, has provided a personal memory narrative with each recipe.⁸³ In one of these narratives, Ketu H. Katak, writes about a diasporic person's need for authenticity and the attempt to recreate smells of home:

I began to cook Indian food, to invent several recipes, creating from memory, from observing my mother, following the trail of appropriate tastes and smells -add some turmeric, pop the mustard seeds (the black ones) in hot oil (careful not to burn them), add cumin seeds fry in the basmati rice and add water. Bring to a boil and as the aromas waft in, be transported into other skies.⁸⁴

Katak captures the importance of the senses in evoking nostalgia and nostalgic desires. The idea of a food aroma filling the house as the dish is being cooked brings with it strong elements of nostalgia and associations with past occasions.⁸⁵ She explores the symbolic meaning of food to one culture in diaspora. She has given a glimpse into not only her personal memories but also allows the reader to see 'through the kitchen window' into the culture of a community in

⁸² Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture*, p.29.

⁸³ Arlene Avakian, *Through The Kitchen Window* (Berg Publishers, USA, 2006).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 271.

⁸⁵ The 'Nostalgia' chapter (5) of my thesis analyses this in more detail.

relocation. What is so clearly expressed here is not just the importance of memory to a diasporic community but what triggers those remembrances.

Katrak also proposes that recipes are initially learned by being shared and transmitted between older and younger women and also between siblings using both the vertical and horizontal dimensions of female genealogy. As a result, many voices contribute to each recipe being practised in diaspora not just one voice. In her essay she discusses the plethora of voices that have culminated in the making of the dish referred to as *Ketu's Potatoes*:

A recipe has so many different hands and minds in its history - I cannot recall who taught me what, and what parts I invented. That is the boundaryless pleasure of cooking; no one authorship. What counts is the final taste. *Rye na Papeta*, which my friend's call "Ketu's Potatoes" Yes, today, I cook this dish, but many hands and minds are part of its history and its success.⁸⁶
[Emphasis in original]

She asserts that each recipe practised in diaspora contains the many voices that have influenced its evolution for it is the culmination of many voices coming together; they form a cohesion of ideas, gestures, methods and ingredients. I will build on this and posit that the recipe becomes a shared narrative and as such the end dish is a collective end product.⁸⁷

The food anthropologists reviewed in this chapter have all spoken of the significance of the mother's voice in the transmission of the cultural practices. Although Luce Irigaray, can be described as a feminist philosopher rather than a food anthropologist, she has commented on the value and significance of the maternal role in cultures. She states:

The relationship between mother/daughter, daughter/mother constitutes an extremely explosive kernel in our societies. To think it, to change it, amounts to undermining [*ébranler*] the patriarchal order.⁸⁸

⁸⁶Ketu H. Katrak 'Food and Belonging: At "home" and in "Alien Kitchens" in A. Avakian (ed) *Through The Kitchen Window: Women Explore Intimate Meanings of Food and Cooking*, p.271.

⁸⁷This is best illustrated with the recipe-narratives of *Wasaar* and *Haleem* which can be found in the appendix

⁸⁸Luce Irigaray, 'Maternal genealogy and the symbolic' in M. Whitford (ed) *Luce Irigaray: Philosophy in the Feminine* (Routledge, London, 1991) p.77

This 'vertical' relationship is important not only for playing a significant role in female genealogy but also for allowing the patriarchal order to take place. This study builds on this kernel and explores the idea that subaltern cultural practices of the homeland now practised in diaspora become threads of emotion linking a line of women in diaspora and in the homeland.

A nostalgia for a certain type of past is recalled through the practice of the recipes and the songs. Romantic views of a *different time* and place are re-presented to a community. The term 'romanticisation' in this context is the overpowering emotion that allows you to see something as near perfect despite facing stark facts to the contrary. For instance it is through the recipes, a pre-industrial way of life is romanticised: the idea of eating in the morning and working on the fields all day and coming home to delicious home-cooked meals. It is the simple way of life that the community now see as gone and it is with these selective memories that they attempt to re-connect with the qualia of the homeland. Living in the diaspora is a contradictory state as you live inside one border but the pull of another is constantly present.

Nostalgia shows how a community in diaspora can remember but can also provide a strategy for adjusting to a new environment. It is the role of nostalgia juxtaposed alongside the role of culinary patterns linked to the diasporic community, which allow the presence of a renewed culture. Very much like Caproni's poem, nostalgia plays a significant role in creating a renewed present. A nostalgic past based mainly on half-remembrances and selective memory provides the diasporic community with a strategy to employ when adapting in diaspora. A present that exists *because* of the past is partly what binds the diasporic community together. It is through elements of women's recipes and songs that nostalgia is able to play such a seminal role in creating a trajectory for the diasporic community to adjust to a radically different milieu.

3.4 SPACE

THE DIASPORIC HOME

Writers of human geography often talk of the parameters of space and place.⁸⁹ The concepts of 'place' and 'space' are problematic and contested in the field of academia. The diasporic condition is an aspect of postcolonial writing that has been extensively explored by postcolonial writers. James Clifford, Anita Mannur, Sunaina Maira, Smadar Levie and Barnor Hesse all examine South Asian immigrants abroad.⁹⁰ A useful definition of diaspora is offered by Hesse:

A diaspora is constituted when communities of settlers articulate themselves in terms of displacement from a homeland. The homeland acts as a horizon for the community, enabling it to construct its collective subjectivity. A diaspora is formed when a people are displaced but continue to narrate their identity in terms of that displacement.⁹¹

This becomes a very useful exploration of the term diaspora and allows me to apply it to my study. I have concentrated, in particular, on the role women play in creating an identity. The transmission of knowledge from woman to woman and generation to generation can also be seen in the work of other anthropologists.

Beoku-Betts has written extensively about the role of food in the cultural identity of marginalised groups. She postulates that women "often take responsibility for cooking and feeding, and they appear to be the custodians of food rituals and practices that perpetuate the

⁸⁹Tim Putnam, 'Beyond the Modern Home: Shifting the Parameters of Residence' in Linda McDowell (ed) *Undoing Place? A Geographical Reader* (Hodder Headline Group, London, 1997); Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (University of North Carolina Press, London, 1992); Trevor Barnes and Derek Gregory (eds) *Reading Human Geography: The Poetics and Politics of Inquiry* (Arnold, London, 1997); bell hooks, 'Homeplace: A Site of Resistance' in L. McDowell (ed.) *Undoing Place? A Geographical Reader* (Hodder Headline Group, London, 1997).

⁹⁰James Clifford, 'Diaspora's 'Cultural Anthropology', 9, 3, (1994), pp. 302-338; Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Temple University Press, USA, 2010); Sunaina Maira, *Desis in the House: Indian American Youth Culture in New York City* (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2002); Smadar Levie, *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies Of Identity* (Duke University Press, London, 1996); Barnor Hesse, *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglement, "Transruptions"* (New York Zed and St. Martin Press, London, 2000); Nayanika Mookherjee, 'Mobilising Images: 'Encounters of Forced' Migrants and the Bangladesh War of 1971', *Mobilities*, 6, 3,(2011).

⁹¹Barnor Hesse, *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglement, Transruptions* (St. Martin Press, London 2000), p.38.

group's survival."⁹² She illustrates that it is part of the woman's role to preserve a culture and this is achieved through the function of recipes in diaspora.⁹³ She further asserts that "[b]y transmitting these skills, which are part of the collective memory, the senior generation of Gullah women foster and sustain cultural identity across generations, thus broadening the base of cultural knowledge in the community."⁹⁴ She argues that they attempt to create and maintain a cultural identity that is separate from the dominant culture that surrounds them and this is achieved partly through these recipes and other culinary skills. The same thing is true for the women in Lockwood; both sets of women are maintaining a female genealogical line through shared food memories and transmitting this collective memory to the next generation.

Migrants travel geographically, from one place to another, taking with them memories and cultures. This journey is also used to describe the oral texts in 'The Migrating Recipe'. Food anthropologist Heck explores the fundamental characteristics of recipes migrating in this essay:

New ingredients, daily contact with another food culture, the evolution of the family embracing other ethnic groups creates a peculiar style of cuisine. Often the legacy of an immigrant cuisine is a *pot-pourri* of cuisines encountered by the family during their collective history and their recollection of the trajectory of their experience in settling down in a new country.⁹⁵

Recipes from the homeland usually modify themselves to their new environment in the diaspora. Heck uses the term 'migrant recipe' to describe transcultural movement of cultural practices. This becomes significant to my thesis for it allows the recipes to not only reside inside the liminal space but also acknowledges their movement from one place to another; this process involves not only geographical movement from one continent to another but also movement through times.

⁹²This community sees itself as being diasporic as they were 'forcibly' removed from their original African homeland and 'transplanted' to parts of South Carolina, USA: Josephine Beoku-Betts, 'We Got Our Way Of Cooking Things: Women Food and Preservation of Cultural Identity', *Gender and Society*, 9, 15, (1995), p.537.

⁹³They are known for preserving their African cultural heritage through their cuisine, music, folk beliefs, farming and fishing traditions.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 541.

⁹⁵Forster and Floyd, (eds) *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions*, p.215.

KRISTEVA AND SPACE

Julia Kristeva presents the idea of placing the domestic sphere inside a time frame. In her essay 'Women's Time' she argues for an alternative temporality for women's lives and that the concept of time is different for those residing in the domestic sphere:

As for time, female subjectivity would seem to provide a specific measure that essentially retains *repetition* and *eternity* from among the multiple modalities of time known through the history of civilisations.⁹⁶

Kristeva presents the idea that the concept of time is not only gender specific but that it is just that: a *concept*. I use her theory of an alternative temporality and spatiality in Chapter Six where her theory on time will be linked to Bhabha's discussion of spatiality to create a liminal space in which subaltern diasporic oral literature exists.

My study focuses mainly on Kristeva's concept which she terms as 'Women's Time,' as this perspective allows me to locate the knowledge of this particular diasporic group. She has carried out a significant amount of research on melancholia and nostalgia.⁹⁷ I acknowledge, nonetheless, that the insecurities of diaspora and women's role in safeguarding tradition now contribute to communal identity.

Kristeva presents an alternative time paradigm to gendered temporalities. According to her theory each of these temporal paradigms co-exist with one another. In her writing this third space becomes utopian and gender becomes fused into its (metaphysical) nucleus. It is this cyclical space that is of interest and most useful to my thesis for I contend that the recipes and the songs exist in

⁹⁶Julia Kristeva, 'Women's Time', pp.13-35.

⁹⁷These works by Kristeva link nostalgia to a Lacanian view of melancholia and explore the figure of the woman in depression within the symbolic order. John Fletcher and Andrew Benjamin *Abjection, Melancholia and Love: The Work of Julia Kristeva* (London, Routledge, 1990); Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1989); Lynne Huffer, *Maternal Pasts, Feminist Futures: Nostalgia, Ethics, and the Question of Difference* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1998); Julia Kristeva, *New Maladies of the Soul* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1995); Jennifer Radden, *The Nature of Melancholy: from Aristotle to Kristeva* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000); Kelly Oliver, *Reading Kristeva: Unraveling the Double-Bind* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1993).

this space. This space becomes entwined with a temporality that co exists with other temporalities.⁹⁸ Kristeva claims that we live in three time paradigms, one being 'linear historical' time which is connected with the male gender. This is "the time of departure of transport and arrival, that is, the time of history."⁹⁹ This controls all manners of social and political structures and is considered as the over-arching time of history. She continues by connecting women's time with cyclical and monumental time and further links this with the maternal for it is laden with repetitions and maternal gestures connected with the female gender. This temporality, like the recipes and the songs "preserves cycles, gestation and the eternal return of biological rhythm that is similar to the rhythm of nature."¹⁰⁰ Since the recipes and songs are preserved through such continuous practice, Kristeva's model of time can be used. These recipes and songs are performed in a specific time and space, which forms a distinctive and exclusive feminine domain within the domestic sphere, and they also rely on cyclical time because they are by nature repetitious and filled with maternal gestures.

There is a male domain and there is a female space and the two rarely intersect within the British South Asian homes in Lockwood. Here, the kitchen is a place of exclusion representing that place into which the women go to not only as a place of exile but also as one of sanctuary. Very similar to nostalgia the kitchen becomes an emotional place in which to achieve solace. Both become places to seek out; one is a state of mind and the other is a physical place to turn to for those in this diasporic community. The kitchen becomes a space for using the culinary skills involved in making these dishes. Frye also hints at the hierarchy that lies within the kitchen and its influence upon the women who inhabit it.¹⁰¹ The power hierarchy of the teacher and the

⁹⁸ Julia Kristeva 'Women's Time'.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Frye, *The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory*, p. 93-94

apprentice that exists inside this space must be acknowledged.¹⁰² The domestic space also becomes an arena in which the wedding songs are performed.

The songs are sung on the eve of a wedding and work in the alternative space of diaspora inside the domestic sphere. A space of the past combines with the time of the present to create a third space within the home. The women claim ownership of a space and time to create their identities, which are bound together with the subjectivity of personal oral texts. This space permits the women to maintain aspects of a particular cultural identity, which is closely linked to the idea of 'home'. This is both in the homeland, and in the diaspora. This helps to maintain the wider communal and cultural identity. She (the woman inside the domestic space) is able to create a wider communal cultural identity in a patriarchal community through the space that is recreated in diaspora. This manifests itself through the transmission and knowledge of songs and recipes practised within the home.

THE THREE SPACES

My thesis also sees and acknowledges the three main liminal spaces that exist: first, there is the textual space that exists between the canonical and non-canonical works, second, there is the cultural space existing between the diaspora and the homeland; and third, there is the geographical space created between the diaspora and homeland. These three modes of space make space a significant element of my study.

In the field of anthropology the liminal space is seen as a rite of passage. It has long been seen as a temporary place of existence in many tribal communities around the world. Arnold Van Gennep referred to this as "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position

¹⁰² This power position is further analysed in Chapter Six.

and age.”¹⁰³ The rite of passage would include the stages of separation followed by transition and finally incorporation. An example of this is a boy, in a small community/tribe in Mongolia, reaching the age of thirteen and entering the threshold of manhood, having to climb a mountain or enter a cave or a forest in order to be considered a man by his elders. This mountain, forest or cave becomes a space he enters; it becomes his liminal space. Once he has accomplished his task he is welcomed back into the community as a man. This temporality and spatiality that he entered became the transitional stage and *his* liminal space. His detachment from the group was his cultural rite of passage and his return to the tribe heralded his incorporation and acceptance. This led to his ‘liminal’ state/period described as a cultural realm, which was temporary. His return ‘to the fold’ is deemed as a ‘welcome back home’, completing this rite of passage. As Victor Turner writes “Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial [sic].”¹⁰⁴ The idea of the liminal being the third space is presented here and it is in this domain that, I assert, the recipes and songs dwell. By adapting and applying Genep’s theory to the oral texts explored in my study I assert that the kitchen is transitional.

These recipes and songs are not carried out in the homeland and not quite the new land but in a ‘third space’. The domestic arena in diaspora is a liminal space and one that is neither in the homeland nor in the ‘new’ land. This ‘in-between’ state and the ‘alien territory’ is the space of liminality for it is Bhabha’s ‘alien’ concept which can be adapted for oral literature in diaspora to become something beyond the cultural practices of the ‘other’. The third space therefore builds on my reading of Genep’s liminality and women’s domestic acts of recipes and songs exist in this temporary existence.

¹⁰³ Arnold Van Genep cited in Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti –Structure* (Routledge, London, 1969), p.94.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid p.95

3.5 CONCLUSION

The texts I have used fuse together to create a theoretical framework which allows for the oral texts of a particular diasporic community to be read as works of literature. Furthermore, a culinary discourse is created through the space of the kitchen. Texts such as *Culinary Fiction* and *The Future of Nostalgia* argue that aspects of nostalgia and memory combine to recreate pasts that exist in the present. Boym presents nostalgia to be constructed through individual and collective narrative.¹⁰⁵ Further to this, narratives which recall the complex power relationship between food and gender are explored through the edited collection *Food and Gender*. Counihan analyses the significance of this dynamic relationship and my study builds on this by connecting it to a diasporic community.¹⁰⁶ This returns us to Yeats's Mrs Connelly mentioned earlier who was aware of the presence of other narratives existing in a parallel or in a 'counter-memory' in practices old and new. These other practices allow for a culinary discourse to exist in a diaspora. The anecdote reminds us of not only the presence of another memory but also of the presence of *other* lives that are often under-represented and poorly understood.

There is a large body of literature on diasporic cultures in general.¹⁰⁷ Many post-colonialist writers have dedicated large sections of their research to notions of cultural identity in diaspora. These texts assert that diasporic identity is best understood within a social and political framework. However, my thesis will also assert that micro-processes are highly influential too as seen in how women's transmission of recipes and songs help to create a communal identity in a

¹⁰⁵ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*; Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture*.

¹⁰⁶ Carole M. Counihan and Steven L. Kaplan, *Food and Gender: Identity and Power* (Harwood Academic Publishers: Amsterdam, 1998).

¹⁰⁷ Martin Bulmer, *Diasporas, Cultures and Identities* (Routledge, London, 2012); Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur, *Theorising Diaspora: a Reader* (Blackwell Publishers, Malden MA, 2003); Mar Gallego Duran, *The Dialectics of Diaspora: Memory, Location and Gender* (University of Valencia, Spain, 2009); Marianne Hirsch, *Rites of Return: Diaspora, Poetics and the Politics of Memory* (Columbia University Press, New York, 2011); Vijay Agnew, *Diaspora, Memory and Identity: A Search for Home* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2006); Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, (Routledge, London, 1996); Susanne Freidberg, 'Editorial Not All Sweetness and Light: New Cultural Geographies of Food' *Social and Cultural Geography*, 4,1, (2010)pp 3-5; David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat* (Routledge, London, 1997).

social framework. By approaching recipes and songs as traditionally unorthodox pieces as narratives, my ideas concur with those of Bower, Leonard and Rudrum. This study is also informed by the many anthropological studies that have been carried out in communities around the world as shown by Beouki-Betts's work.

From this literature review it is possible to show how particular theories have been used to establish the significance of the South Asian woman within diasporic communities. An in-depth analysis of the oral literature will now follow.

4 MAPPING THE MATRILINEAL

Each of us has a female family tree: we have a mother, a maternal grandmother and great-grandmother, we have daughters...it is easy to forget the special quality of the female genealogy; we might even come to deny it. Let us try to situate ourselves within that genealogy so that we can win and hold on to our identity.

*Luce Irigaray*¹

Lockwood's initial wave of female migrants from South Asia carried with them a culture and constructed an identity around the importance of recipes and songs. These oral texts assist their culture to survive and thrive in diaspora. This chapter examines how these texts construct and sustain a sense of female genealogy and draws upon Irigaray's two-dimensional notion of vertical and horizontal relationships that pass down knowledge between mother and daughter and share knowledge between women and among sisters. The women's distinctive oral heritage has survived through telling and recreating the same recipe and singing traditional songs. The voices of the women and their attempts at sustaining connections with their homeland and matrilineal line will be explored in the collected data. Examples will refer back to primary evidence cited in the next three chapters and may be considered in their full narrative context on the accompanying compact disc.

4.1 THE WAY MY MUM USED TO MAKE IT

Recipes are authoritative in expressing maternal transmission of genealogy. The vertical mother-daughter relationship is central to the transmission of inter-generational cultural knowledge within Lockwood. Recipes are one of the ways women not only claim power but also

¹Luce Irigaray, *Sexes and Genealogies* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1993).

'tell their story' which then allows them to create communal bonds. Estelle Jelinek points out that in women's autobiography "the emphasis remains on the personal matters not the professional, philosophical, or historical events [...]"² This can be applied to the recipe-narratives in this study. The recipe becomes a vehicle for autobiographical narrative that tells *her* story. Through passing on and reproducing recipes and dishes in the domestic arena, women construct their own histories based on personal events.

The story of the mother becomes ingrained in the recipe narratives transmitted. The following extracts are from Maria who is a mother as well as a daughter. She was born in South Asia and came to Lockwood aged two and is the eldest of five siblings, the rest of her siblings were born in diaspora. All of her culinary skills have been learned from her mother, practised and will eventually be passed on to her own daughter. She provided the following narratives, which are shown in part below, revealing her close relationship with her own mother:

We usually eat wheat flour chapatti. I ate this first in Lockwood about five years ago when my mother made it. It is yellow in colour it comes in two colours yellow and cream colour. The flour my mother says should be a cream colour. She told me this works better.

She taught me how to make it.

Makhi Roti

My mother taught me this. She first made it in Pakistan but now we make it here in Lockwood. The daal in Pakistan and here may be slightly different but not much.

Sometimes we make this alone or sometimes we make it with *channay*. You can make this or add *channay* daal to the recipe. You can make it either way.

Moongh Daal

My mother used to get up and make this every day. This is our national dish. My mother taught me how to make this. She taught me how to make this for chapatti I was 10 or 11. She

² Estelle Jelinek, *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography From Antiquity to Present*, (Twayne Publishers: Boston, 1986), p.xiii.

would make it and make chapattis in the evening and sometimes put in a box for the next day in the fridge. It's very easy even small children can make this. In one bowl you put flour and add water not too cold and not too hot. My mother told me that water must be luke warm and start kneading for 6 mins. Make a guess how much water needs adding then make chapattis. Your chapatti will be soft my mother told me. If your dough isn't made properly your chapattis will not be nice. Roll it out on a work top then cook it on a 'tavva'. When it is cooked on both sides cook it on a naked flame for 10 seconds

Roti da Atta

Maria begins *Makhi Roti* by telling us of her routine diet. She then recounts to us where she first ate it and when she first ate it, who taught her this recipe, where she first made it and where she now makes it. This is reminiscent of Jean-Francois Lyotard's anthropological work with the small tribal community in Central America mentioned earlier. His description of the formulaic nature of 'telling tales' can also be detected in the recipe narratives illustrated above. We are told how and where the dish was first consumed at the beginning of each narrative. This is evident in many of the recipe-narratives that are offered in this study. This is the first piece of information given to us which reflects its importance to Maria. Narrators, whether in Central America or in Northern England, employ very similar narrative devices to tell their story. To this end, spaces and times become significant for they reflect not only the power of this maternal bond over time and space but also the *need* for this relationship.

Makhi roti is a dish which is now practised in the space of diaspora. We are given a firm sentence saying 'this is our national dish' providing the sense that allegiance to the homeland is instilled by food choices made by the diasporic. The two elements of mother and nationalism seem to be fused together here and also begin this narrative, reflecting their importance to Maria. There is also a sense of pride and ownership, again perhaps infused with nationalism, which reoccurs. Maria's words also illustrate the trans-global nature of oral transmitted cultural practice as identifiable dishes are replicated here and now. The maternal voice travels across national

borders within the memories of the woman migrant. The geographical distance between Lockwood and the Punjab has not substantially altered the recipes but adds to their resilience as they remain in the memories of the women wherever they may be.

We are provided with a childhood memory which involves the mother. The time of day is narrated also and this is significant as we get a sense of the mother's daily routine embedded within this recipe. The opening words of the recipe narrative are 'My mother used to get up and make this every day'; these reveal not only her daily timetable but her culinary habits. They also reveal how Maria remembers her mother. Maria informs the listener about how she assembles the ingredients and the temperature of the water, something she learned from her mother. She again weaves her mother into this narrative – 'my mother told me' – and this adds to the sense that the mother is inherently part of the recipe.

The ability of the daughter is affirmed with the words 'make a guess' and this is at the heart of all the narratives provided by Maria. It is only once the 'training wheels' are removed that the mother can say this and it is remembered by the daughter as it signifies a turning point in the relationship. This marks the moment when the mother is now confident enough in the daughter's culinary knowledge which signifies that transmission has taken place. The next line cements the mother's confidence in the daughter's ability: 'your chapattis will be soft my mother told me.' This tells us of the mother's confidence not only in her daughter but in herself for teaching her daughter to a certain standard. As this is the daughter telling us this so it also shows the daughter's awareness of the mother's confidence and pride. This knowledge, once gained, becomes almost a rite of passage.

The final few lines provide the daughter with practical advice on how to make that perfect chapatti. It is the mother's teaching/instructional voice that is infused within all the narratives provided by Maria. The mother's voice can be heard throughout as she teaches the daughter how

to cook the right way or to make the dish as authentic as possible. The apprentice looks towards her mother for guidance on the water temperature. The daughter is told by her mother that “if your dough isn’t made properly your chapattis will not be nice”. This narrative is full of advice to make this recipe including the ‘right’ water, how long to roll for and finally the need to cook it on a naked flame. She informs us of colour; this is significant because it gives us a sense that this is what her mother taught her. The legitimacy of this dish is subjective to each woman but it also is real to her. The ending ‘she taught me how to make it’, provides us with another sense of its legitimacy for *her*. Such details reveal how culinary practice is transmitted via hints and gestures and, more significantly, how continuity of homeland traditions are able to flourish in diaspora because of the matrilineal relationship. Each of these narratives foregrounds the mother’s significance and highlights the teacher-pupil relationship between mother and daughter.

The role of the mother allows the apprentice her own knowledge as it validates both their skills and simultaneously allows memories of women from past generations to be recalled. Here we have Maria narrating the method for *Makhi Roti*, which calls for water and flour to be mixed. This might appear simple, however, the ‘end product’ is a result of *how* these two basic ingredients are mixed as well as a mixture of past voices:

When my mother made it...once it boils add a little salt to the flour. Using a spoon add the hot water little by little, mix it little by little kneading it. Make a little dough/paste. If you had used boiled water your roti will be fine if your water hadn’t boiled or your flour was old or cheap then your roti will not be fine.

Makhi Roti

The instructional nature of the recipe, once again, is strong and can be heard ‘once it boils, add using a spoon...’; here the nostalgic voice of the mother ‘teaching’ the daughter can again be heard. The daughter learns how to make this dish by adding the ‘hot water little by little’, so the temperature and consistency are also learned by Maria and here she sees the learning process

nostalgically as she narrates the recipe. The daughter learning from the mother is implicit because of the reference to the mother making it. This differs from her earlier narration as she learns of what will happen if she does not heed the advice or the lesson she has learned. The mother has implicitly warned her that 'your roti will not be fine'; the act of remembrance clearly becomes nostalgic as she thinks back. Cautions about the flour and temperatures illustrate how the teaching/learning process of the past can be heard. Cooking, as Luce Giard asserts, "[is a] memory of apprenticeship, of witnessed gestures and of consistencies."³ In *Roti da Atta* Maria narrates that "[s]he [my mother] taught me how to make this for *chapatti*. I was ten or eleven. I would always watch her." The transmission of recipes is both implicit from the maternal bonds and explicit in the teaching process.

The implicit recall of maternal authority is an integral part of how this next recipe is remembered and carried out today in diaspora adding to its nostalgic value. This knowledge is only obtained through the 'watching and learning' process, which can take many years. The recipe for *Moongh daal* also requires this type of remembering:

Chop and place all in pot. Put in pot. You can use oil, ghee or butter. My mother uses butter. Then put it on the gas. When it all goes brown add the *wasaar*. It's up to you. About 45 minutes later. Add one spoon of salt. My mother uses butter.

Moongh daal

We are told a series of instructions and in addition we are told of past culinary practices, which are an act of remembering. The words 'My mother uses ...' implies that Maria does not any longer. It suggests that her culinary practices differ somewhat from her mother's. The words "it's up to you" suggests this 'change' is incorporated into the dish with her mother's 'blessing' and are also

³Luce Giard, 'Doing Cooking', in Michel De Certeau, L. Giard & P. Mayol, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1998), pp. 149 - 223.

repeated in one of the *Wasaar* recipe narratives given by Aqsa.⁴ This gives the pupil not only a sense of power and agency over her cooking methods but also a sense of ‘freedom’ in that the mother is saying to the daughter ‘you can use oil, ghee or butter’. This is reminiscent of Noam Chomsky’s theory, which makes the distinction between competence and performance.⁵ He proposes that once you have acquired the skills and are ‘competent’ in the dish, a person is able to ‘perform’ it as she/he pleases as it is ‘up to you’. This links to the earlier point about how the dynamics of power are held by the female cook in diaspora. Lockwood's culinary memories suggest that the concern with how a dish was learned, and from whom, reveals that autonomy and authentication occur as recipes are shared. The correct sequencing of ingredients involves finding an agreed or acceptable process that negotiates between personal and collective memory. Thus the way recipes are remembered and passed on across generations initiates both recollection of the past and, arguably, thinking about the future.

Aqsa was born in South Asia and travelled with her mother to Lockwood at the age of five. She is now in her mid- forties. She acquired all of her culinary skills and knowledge from her mother and other women in the community. She provided the two following recipe narratives and they illustrate the prominence of the maternal presence:

This is how you make Punjabi wasaar. My mother used to make it and now I make it. We have learned this from Jalandhur. People from Pakistan have learned it from Jalandhur now it has come here.

This is how you make wasaar.

(Punjabi) *Wasaar 2*

Now I will tell you how to make curry (my emphasis)

⁴ See Appendix 1.

⁵ Noam Chomsky, *Reflections on Language* (New York: Pantheon books, 1975).

Pot 1

1 cup of gram flour (*Besin*)

400g of yoghurt

Put this in a blender and add 3-4 pints of water

Blend this – yoghurt, *besin* and water. Put to one side

...

Cook until paste. Just like a *handi*

Curry

The opening words of both recipe narratives clearly indicate the assurance that Aqsa has that she knows this to be true. In the first one the words ‘this is how you make’, illustrate there is no doubt what so ever that her method is correct; furthermore, the only way to make this right is because *her mother* said so. The way she learns this is by watching her mother and learning from her. In the second we have Aqsa’s authority that this is how you make the dish and this is its process. She is adamant that this is how to make the dish and implies that all other methods and ingredients are wrong. This is how *she* learned it using one cup of flour, yoghurt and water, and so it must be right.

Regional names are given by Aqsa, which illustrates the importance of place to a dish. The words ‘Punjabi’ and ‘Jalandhur’ are repeatedly used in this short narration, anchoring down the recipe to its place of origin. Similar to the anchoring of a people, Aqsa is anchoring down the recipe in order to provide a sense of cultural communal identity.

She is then told to blend the ingredients and ‘put it to one side’ giving us very specific instructions to follow. Aqsa’s maternal teaching voice which teaches this to the next generation comes across clearly. To cook a paste *just like a handi* assumes that Aqsa already knows what ‘just like a *handi*’ means indicating a strong sense of prior culinary knowledge. It is assumed that the apprentice has gained this information and is now adding to it. The role of the maternal voice is

highly significant during the transmission of the recipes and ultimately for their survival. Thus, the maternal voice provides each recipe with a dimension of authenticity.

The maternal voice remains a significant factor in the recipe narratives. I requested a recipe and what I received was a narrative filled with mentions of her mother. This illustrates the fact that the mother's voice is clearly present and dominant whenever and *wherever* these recipes are practised. The presence of the mother's voice has migrated too and in diaspora the migrant still relies on this voice from another space and time for many reasons including authenticity and nostalgia.

Sofia was born in India and migrated to Lockwood as a young married woman bringing with her her eldest daughter Maria. Sofia acquired most of her culinary knowledge from her mother and aunts in South Asia. She provided a recipe-narrative for a sweet dish, *Halva*, and Aqsa spoke about *Wasaar*, both furnished their narratives with references to their mother:

This is the way my mother used to make it and she told me.

Halva

In Pakistan you had to buy them[spices] from the town/market and let them 'sit in the sun' for two days to dry. My mother used to dry turmeric powder by dry cooking it. Dry it first and then grinding it using a pestle and mortar. She then would take it to the '*chakki*'.⁶

(Kashmiri) *Wasaar1*

Sofia, like Aqsa, begins with an assertive statement that reflects the power of her knowledge and the method of transmitting this knowledge. We get a strong sense that this is the only way to make it for Sofia's mother 'told' her. Once again, this illustrates not only the vertical transmission

⁶ This refers to a domestic grinding machine called a '*chakki*'. Each village has one or two of these machines which grind- daal to flour and spices to powder. Women would take their spices or daal to a '*chakki*' to have them ground to powder from a flour miller.

but the importance of the method of transmission between mother and daughter. We are told that this is a past homeland practice, it is also a way for Sofia to remember her mother and how *she* used to live and the bond between them. The role the mother played in her life and her legacy remains today in diaspora through the transmission and practice of this recipe. For it is not only the recipe which is transmitted but also the story of her mother's life which is repeated and passed on. We learn how women, including Sofia's mother and Maria's grandmother, used to live by taking cooking powder to a 'miller'. Sofia has resided in Lockwood for almost thirty years yet it is her mother's voice in the homeland that legitimises her culinary practice. This relationship (between mother and daughter) also underlines the value of female labour through a particular generational bond. For a community in diaspora remembering in a particular type of way becomes significant. Sofia, who is now in diaspora, is able to recall her mother's voice through the making of this recipe. Whilst mixing and the stirring the ingredients for these dishes together she is able to replicate the actions of her mother providing the performative element of the recipe-narrative simultaneously; this knowledge allows her to keep her mother's voice alive, an authentic act that is desired by a dislocated community in relocation.

The recipes evolve into narratives and so not only is a food procedure passed down but it is passed down in a way which also represents a life story. The fusion of the personal narratives with the recipes becomes a record of the efficacy of the female line. The recipes and the matrilineal become inter-dependent and reinforce these female bonds through collective and inter-generational practice. The transmitting of the recipes across the generations from woman to woman is presented:

This recipe my mother taught me and in Pakistan her mother taught her. In Pakistan my aunts (dad's sisters and mum's sisters) all make them. Women pass it on to other women.

Pinnia

Aqsa makes clear who taught her this recipe and who taught her teacher. The vertical dimension of genealogy is clearly portrayed here as is the horizontal line. The words 'women pass it onto other women' gives us a sense of affirmation that this is a culinary practice which will endure.

Adeela, in the following recipe, makes explicit the mother's role in maintaining a recipe in diaspora across successive generations:

My mother taught me this recipe in Kamalia (Punjab). I taught my daughters and they will teach their daughters

Fresh Wariaa

Again, place is identified: Adeela's words reveal how a mother speaks from another time and place and that she continued the process. Adeela's role in passing on her mother's cooking recipes includes not only her own daughters but also other women, including myself. The act of transmission becomes part of the recipe's narrative and dynamics within a diasporic setting. The mother here is 'speaking' from the homeland in a different space and time paradigm to the daughter. Specific names of places in the homeland are mentioned adding to the compartmentalising of foods and constructing a cultural identity through ingredients and processes. Adeela also reveals the method of continuity for this recipe in diaspora and how it is transmitted as it trickles down and the daughter now narrates this recipe. The mother's role in sustaining this practical link from past into present lifestyles illustrates how maternally transmitted knowledge can also generate elements of empowerment within and beyond the home, as will be seen in discussions of domestic space associated with cooking in Chapter Six.

It is through these culinary practices that women are esteemed beyond the role of reproduction. The power associated with this work is kept within the domestic arena and diminishes once the woman steps out of this arena. Natasja Vanderberg asserts that women

“through words [construct] their own world”.⁷ Both Irigaray and Vanderberg assert the importance of female genealogy for the female voice. This voice is manifest within the recipes and songs and it is its transmission that builds a ‘world for women’. There is a certain kind of power wielded inside this relationship which is only valued within the home and the value of this transmission is dissipated outside this female bond. A powerful discourse available to women exists in the mother-daughter relationship where domestic culinary labour is valued and appreciated. The mother’s voice is highly valued in this transmission providing the maternal voice with a sense of power.⁸

4.2 MATERNAL MELODIES

The cultural practice of songs becomes integral to a community’s need for nostalgia; as in Henderson’s words: “songs embody emotion and [...] singing makes experiences of sadness and pleasure reverberate with memories of fondness and loss.”⁹ He writes of a nostalgia that is generated by songs – through both their words and their melodies. These more traditional songs are all sung a few days before a wedding by a group of women.

CREATING A SPACE FOR TRADITIONAL SONGS

As with some of the recipes women spread out a cloth indoors and sit on the ground to sing. They encourage each other to take part in this exclusive feminised space and the sharing of collective female memories helps to summon and emotionally prepare those family members close to the imminent union. The lyrics deal with family relationships, love, food and domesticity, evoking traditions in which girls fall in love with boys and where mothers and communities sing on

⁷Natasja VanderBerg, ‘Witnessing dignity: Luce Irigaray on mothers, genealogy and the divine’, *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering*, 7, 1, (2005), pp. 132- 141.

⁸ It is in Chapter Six that I discuss power inside the domestic sphere.

⁹ David Henderson, ‘Emotion and Devotion, Lingering and Longing in Some Nepali Songs’ *Ethnomusicology*, 40, 3 (1996), pp. 440-468.

the eve of their weddings. Some songs are light hearted and are presented for their comic effect; others deal with more serious issues. In many ways the songs can be seen to be critiquing the patriarchal and kinship structures that surround them as they portray 'typical' village life in the homeland and references made to this type of life are recognisable and understood by all the women in the room. In order to highlight the nostalgic value of these songs, I became a participant observer as they were being performed in a gathering of women. For its entertainment value particularly there is a strong performative as well as oral element to the songs.

SPACE AND NOSTALGIA

Werbner believes that "at critical points in the [wedding] rites the link between the past and the present emerges, anchoring the ritual in its context."¹⁰ It is through the replication of these lyrics in their new diasporic setting that elements of nostalgia are generated not only by the performers but the audience also. The transferred ritual from the homeland to Lockwood increases in significance for the diasporic community as it becomes a rite performed and preserved. This also links back to the argument on liminality and spaces created through rites of passage.

THE GATHERINGS

The actual occasions were very typical social gatherings with women and children. There were children playing, food being served, old friends being reunited, everyone talking at once and in the middle of all this we had women singing. The songs have been recorded twice as a result of the background sounds: once in these gatherings and again by the singers themselves in a room in their home. The ritual I have described here, the pre-wedding ceremony, is very widespread and attempts to negotiate the problematically dangerous and disorderly powers of gender boundaries of the past with the looser markings carved out by a contemporary diasporic community. Women

¹⁰ Ibid.

'perform' these songs but it is men who allow women to sustain this practice and it is the men who when choosing a marriage partner select a girl who is familiar with these cultural practices. The cooking of these recipes and singing of these songs are geographically widespread through marriage.

A hall or community centre is not hired for this occasion because cultural habits require them to be sung from the bride's natal home. The songs are sung for five to six nights before the wedding. In Lockwood, as the singing occurs, men must leave the rest of the house and return only when the last woman has left the room. Women of all ages gather and from them a few women volunteer to sing the songs. No professional singer is hired but the women inside the room and invited guests from the community become the singers *and* the audience. The occasions are limited to women with very few of them from 'out of town'. Many of the women bring with them small children and as a result there is a noisy room filled with women and mainly female children.

Songs, like recipes, are significant conduits of intergenerational cultural transmission between women. Wedding songs, however, also represent the threat of rupturing the vertical relationship through marriage and the potential loss of a maternal genealogical link. The voice of the mother in both recipes and songs maintains the female line in the face of threatened loss. The thesis will now move to the significance of songs and female genealogy. It is important, at this point, to explore in some detail the social cultural and maternal context in which these songs are sung. It is the temporary use of micro spaces within the homeplace that the women occupy to perform this cultural practice and construct part of an identity.

Wedding songs cast a long shadow of loss over the singer and the hearer as loss is an emotion inherent within them. A recurring idea is that the loss of a woman to marriage will result in a loss of female genealogy for she will now be absorbed into the genealogy of her husband. Irigaray suggests that: "under the rule of patriarchy the girl is separated from her mother and from

her family in general. She is transplanted into the genealogy of her husband...one genealogy has been reduced to the other's".¹¹ This 'loss' or 'erasure' is felt within the domestic sphere and includes any vertical and horizontal dimensions to female genealogy so song lyrics reflect directly what is happening in the room at that moment. The idea of one genealogy being 'written over' evokes Spivak's ideas on palimpsest as a multi-layered record of knowledge that risks being lost through not being acknowledged or valued. The songs acknowledge that through marriage, the female voice becomes lost and forgotten and this can be understood as a kind of epistemic violence. When discussing imperialism and colonialism Spivak agrees with Foucault when she says "whole sets of knowledges have been disqualified as being inadequate."¹² Sustaining traditional wedding songs recognises yet contests the process of loss as the songs themselves become a type of palimpsestic narrative. Spivak's notion of the erasure of female knowledge is evidenced in the fragments of memory found in Lockwood today and points to a particular type of erasure taking place. Songs and recipes are the means to counter the erasure but arguably the knowledge sustains part of a wider body of maternally transmitted knowledge that is threatened by the consequences of patriarchy and emigration.

These songs illustrate how paternal laws tolerate the maternal voice, allowing it to exist in a way that *intersects* with female genealogy rather than simply eliminating it.¹³ The idea of bargaining with patriarchy to achieve a sense of autonomy (albeit one that is limited and constrained) is presented to the audience (the women in the room) and seems to be familiar to them. The women have bargained with dominant hierarchies and structures and gained space to voice their grief. However, this space is allowed or given through the paternal laws and thus is not a space that necessarily equates with subversion but instead suggests an acceptance of patriarchy

¹¹Luce Irigaray, *Sexes and Genealogies* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1993).

¹²Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the subaltern Speak?', G. Nelson and L.Grossberg, (eds.) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (University of Illinois Press, USA, 1988).

¹³Jaques Lacan, asserts in his work which stems from psychoanalysis, that paternal laws and patriarchy are a strong element of the Symbolic Order and the maternal voice exists within it.

and its hierarchies. The idea that women themselves ‘encourage’ strands of patriarchy through female genealogy is posited here. This is the paradox between the women’s voices in the room and the women’s voices in the songs that my study exposes.

Maternal and paternal sides of the female line sit together and daughters will soon become mothers and mothers in law.¹⁴ The presence of older married daughters mixed with younger unmarried daughters singing of female separation becomes ironic. The content of the song and the mere collective presence of the female relations run contrary to each other. The irony of having the female line all together in one room and singing about loss and grief simultaneously generates a tension. This illustrates the paradoxical nature of not only cultures in diaspora but also of the matrilineal role in diaspora. These gatherings bring out two levels of female genealogy: one inside the songs and the second outside the songs. This tension of matrilineal perspective becomes problematic because the female genealogy outside the song is at odds with the female genealogy *inside* the song. A number of the songs illustrate this tension.

A genealogical connection is being made with the presence of the women. The maternal and the paternal females inside the song *and* inside the room are being invited to sing and celebrate. This results in binding and ‘bridging’ of the two levels of maternal and paternal relatives. The creation and the reinforcement of the female bonds occur within and outside the song. One narrative focuses on the awareness of the different women in the audience. *Mehndi hai Rachnewali* gives the audience an opportunity to sing and voice their emotions:

Sing mum and aunty
Sing sister and sister in law
Henna will brighten, colour will stain
Sing dad’s sister and dad’s younger brother’s wife
Sing mum’s mum and dad’s mum

Sing mum’s mum and dad’s mum

¹⁴ These include: mother and daughter, maternal aunt and niece, sister and sister, grandmother and grand-daughter, paternal aunt and niece.

Get in the good mood and decorate

Mehndi hai Rachnewalli

As the girl encourages the older women to join in and sing, and ‘decorate her hand’ their involvement contribute to the bride’s departure so that she leaves with their blessing. The song reinforces the maternal and paternal genealogical continuity. As Minh-ha identifies in her own work, the assembled women and the women in the song lyrics are vital to inter-generational cultural transmission.¹⁵ There is the acknowledgment of differing generations forming both a connection as well as a *disconnection*. This paradox becomes the ‘elephant in the room’ and is one of the more prominent features of cultures functioning in diaspora. The songs connect whilst simultaneously separating the generations.

The profusion of female voices heard inside the song explores the vertical and horizontal dimension of female genealogy. These wedding songs feature a female voice in the central role and this becomes the voice the audience hears. This voice is not heard outside the four walls and only holds power whilst it is being sung to an empathetic audience. All the women in both horizontal and vertical dimensions of female genealogy are encouraged to join in. The girl is encouraging all the female relations, to actively take part, in the singing and be heard as well as bringing together the maternal and the paternal side of the family . Interestingly, unlike some of the other wedding songs, these lyrics offer only the bride’s perspective.

This study will now look at two song narratives: ‘Untitled (Miriam’s song)’ and *Madhaniyaan* which illustrate the complexity of the maternal role inside and outside these narratives. Although some songs, like the Lockwood recipes, are the product of many voices not all strive for inclusiveness in the same way. ‘Untitled (Miriam’s song)’, for example has no name as

¹⁵Trinh T Minh-ha, *Women Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism* (Indiana University Press, USA 1989).

it represents 'everywoman'.¹⁶ It becomes symbolic for every woman in the room regardless of her age or marital status. We see the mother in the role of 'teacher'; the audience hears the voice of the mother, which is the same as the voice that we hear in the recipes analysed earlier in this chapter. In these songs, this voice becomes the dominant voice we hear. 'Untitled (Miriam's song)' describes the relationship between a mother and her daughter and the daughter's imminent departure from the natal home and her immediate family. As a sort of love song from the mother to the daughter, this long lament is, despite its exaggeration, a song for 'every mother' and all the mothers in the room. This heightens its emotional impact.

O piece of my body
My daughter, you are the shining star of my heart. (x 2)

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

This begins with the mother telling the daughter how much she means to her emotionally and physically. She injects the entire narrative with messages of love towards her daughter. References to the daughter as 'the shining star of my heart' might be considered to be overly sentimental but they show the strength of the mother's feelings for her daughter. Repetition emphasises the pain of not only the mother but the immediate family. This song foregrounds the mother's voice and her significance in her daughter's life and highlights the contested nature of vertical dimensions of female genealogy.

The 'grief' expressed in the song conflicts with the 'reality' of the women sitting in the room, as heard in Miriam's lines:

Your mother is such that
She is hiding and crying at home on her own
The heart is not accepting even though I'm trying

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

¹⁶This song has been given a name for the sole purpose of my thesis.

The mother does not want the daughter to see her grief and pain so she 'hides'. This is reminiscent of the recipes analysed in previous chapters, which speak of the need to 'hide' in order to 'cook'. For example, the yoghurt recipe requires that the pot is 'hidden' under a blanket and placed in a 'dark place,' which is very similar to the behaviour of the mother in this song. This is significant because it shows the maternal link between food, voice and the period of fertility. This idea presents elements of the maternal body such as the milk and the period of gestation as something to be rejected and as such form a part of what Kristeva terms abjection.¹⁷ This reading of the abject involves the rejection of the maternal so it can be read that the mother is no longer needed by the daughter and is thereby rejected by her.

The mother-daughter bond is further illuminated when the mother asks her daughter for forgiveness. What she is precisely asking forgiveness for, however, is ambiguous. There is almost an acceptance of patriarchy and its structures in the song and the mother's request is an acknowledgement and also an admission of it. The mother teaches the daughter the rules of servitude that feed into the cyclicity of patriarchy as well as female genealogy. Even when she congratulates her daughter on starting a 'new life':

Congratulations, on starting a new life
Congratulations, on going to your in-laws

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

The mother is not congratulating her on her marriage and gaining a husband but on swapping one domestic space and genealogical line for another for she is congratulating her on her gaining 'in laws'. This separating or parting of the ways becomes a rite of passage not only for the daughter but also the mother. This is a recurrent theme within the songs and the recipes explored in this

¹⁷ Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); John Fletcher and Andrew E Benjamin, *Abjection, Melancholia, and Love: The Work of Julia Kristeva* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990); Anne-Marie Smith, *Julia Kristeva: Speaking the Unspeakable* (London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 1998).

chapter. The horizontal movement of genealogies is part of diasporic cultures and illustrates the cyclical nature of the mother-daughter bond.

The relationship between mother and daughter is laid bare for all the women in the room. This collective grief sharpens the emotional bond amongst all the women gathered. The girl prepares for her leaving the house or natal home which is imminent:

Your presence has brightened this house
Your innocence is in everyone's sights

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

Here, she is likened to a 'shining light' in an otherwise darkened house by the mother. The mother concedes that her daughter's 'sweet nature' is admired by all. The references to sweet nature and innocence support the patriarchal ideas that this is how a daughter and wife ought to be. The mother's emotional talk about the daughter is voiced. A loved one being compared with light is also present in *Phoola de bahaar* with the line 'Light of my heart'. In both narratives the daughter is seen in a positive way again reinforcing that old patriarchal view of women as shining beacons of innocence.

The mother's dependence on the daughter is also expressed through these song narratives. The reliance upon one another becomes almost too much to bear for both the women inside the lyrics and the women outside the lyrics gathered in the room. The next verse shows this when the mother expresses

Your soul is my life
The thought of you leaving is destroying me

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

The mother now takes a step back from this seemingly claustrophobic relationship acknowledged by the women in the room. The daughter has served the mother in the natal house and is now

leaving her. This particular close relationship of the mother and daughter has been brought to an end by the imminent marriage.

The mother is also voicing her concern for the siblings who are also 'losing' a sister. Here the horizontal dimension of female genealogy is expressed. The loss of a sibling and the slow breakdown of a family unit are central, and Miriam articulates this:

Your sisters are gazing at each other
But they are masking their true feelings
Your brothers who used to fight with you
Over little things, they would argue with you

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

The mother now tells the daughter about the pain that her brothers and sisters are also going through today as the sisters are 'gazing' at each other. This is clearly meaningful on two levels: the unmarried sisters are also sad at their 'loss' and are sad that they know that they will themselves soon leave and they are also witnessing their own futures for they too will lose their maternal genealogical line. The mother is also acknowledging the brothers in her narrative. In these songs we rarely hear of the brother's pain at the departure of a sister but this song not only acknowledges their pain but also places them in the heart of the song's narrative. What is clear is that the family has been torn apart by the daughter leaving. The close family connection is presented here with the tears of the siblings with the mother voicing their physical actions whilst her sisters mask their true feelings.¹⁸ Her use of hyperbole, saying that there are so many tears falling that they are 'washing their faces', expresses the amount of emotional pain the family is feeling at the girl's departure. The tears are falling precisely because with the loss of the sister/daughter comes the loss of the vertical and horizontal genealogical line. These women are grieving for the loss of both.

¹⁸Joan Riveiere explores the notion of femininity as a social 'mask' from a very psychoanalytic point in Joan Riviere, 'Womanliness as Masquerade', *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 10, (1929), pp.303-313.

The girl's childhood is presented to the audience in the song. Recipe narratives narrated by Maria and others illustrate a way of life and also this is present in the songs. In this song narrative that is provided by Miriam we have the mother telling the audience:

Here, you wore torn or old clothes
Many years have gone by like this
Sometimes, we had to go hungry and thirsty
Sometimes, I was strict and soft with you
I woke you up in your sleep many times

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

The mother narrates the financial and personal hardships she (the daughter) has endured. By reflecting on her life she is 'entertaining' the women in the room and also she is admitting to colluding with patriarchy while the daughter was growing up. Here we see not only an acknowledgement but a yielding to patriarchy as well as the paternal law. She (the mother) speaks of the 'many times I have woken you from your sleep' forcing the girl to wake up and tend to her. Through waking her up during her sleep and asking her to serve her she is ultimately preparing her for a life of servitude. The mother is again 'teaching' the daughter how to 'serve' and is protecting and perpetuating patriarchy. As such the daughter is learning the hierarchy of patriarchy from her mother. At the same time the audience is hearing a full discussion of the girl's childhood.

The daughters of these women have not travelled from one nation to another yet they are being taught the same recipes and songs. It is during these childhood years that the girl child observes her mother, aunt, sister, cousin and grandmother gaining that 'authentic voice' of both the recipes and the songs. It is during this time that the woman will 'learn' the parameters of domesticity. When she says I was 'strict and soft with you' it suggests a paradox not only in her language but her attitude towards her daughter:

You always served me well.
But your face never expressed any dissatisfaction.
For god's sake keep your heart clean

Any past pain please forgive us.

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

The mother is again expressing humility and asking forgiveness from the daughter for any pain she may have caused. This seems very formal, suggesting that the mother is already distancing herself from the daughter. The emotional state of the mother is identical to the emotional state of her mother before her and will be the daughter's emotional state in the future. The repetition of the emotion of loss is felt in diaspora alongside the emotion of maternal love. The cyclical nature of this emotion partly reinforces the line of female genealogy.

Acceptance of patriarchy by the community of mothers leads to its survival and the repetition of patterns of patriarchal life. It is the submission to these patterns to which this particular band of mothers adheres that discloses the true grief in this song narrative as heard in Miriam's lyrics:

But remember these few words of mine
Don't complain if you have to bear pain

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

Female genealogy is seemingly accepting of patriarchy while being simultaneously subversive to it. This is yet another example of a contradiction illustrating a very ambiguous culture. She sees her daughter not as some kind of porcelain doll needing to be wrapped up but someone who needs to learn the harsh reality of what she must now face and tells her 'not to complain'. The voicing of this acceptance of fate itself is an act of subversion. There is an inherent contradiction here – on the one hand these women are 'accepting' patriarchy by submitting to it but on the other hand their voicing these 'complaints' is an act of subversion. This paradox of patriarchy runs throughout the songs and the recipes.

In this particular song the daughter is thanked for having gained a husband through the correct channels and accepting the paternal law.. When Miriam sings the following lines she is expressing to the audience that she gained her husband through acceptable cultural means:

Congratulations, you are going to your in-laws
You have acquired your husband in a lawful manner

‘Untitled (Miriam’s song)’

She vehemently asserts that the mother daughter relationship must be concluded according to the laws of God. The paternal law of which Irigaray speaks is present within this song. This is a male law that encompasses patriarchy, the symbolic order and God and it steps in and halts maternal genealogy. She asserts that “God designates himself: in words, in the texts of the law, through incarnation in different modes[...]she the woman would need to pass through man in order to have a relation, for herself, to man, to the world and to God.”¹⁹ Lacanian symbolic order, which is one of language, fuses together with patriarchy to become the Irigarayan Paternal Law and forces maternal genealogy to come to an abrupt halt. So in essence the mother is in fact asking for patriarchal approval for ‘moving’ the female genealogical line and *joining* another line.

The mother prepares the daughter for a life of austerity and teaches her how to ‘accept’ any difficulties that may come her way. It is implied that the daughter must be stoical in the face of adversity for the mother herself has experienced identical emotions as a daughter and in the future she (the daughter) will be saying the same words to her daughter. The cycle of loving and bringing up and then having to let go is continuous, eternal and present in these songs and in the recipes also. As Adeela states “I taught my daughters and they will teach their daughter” which reflects Minh-ha as she asserts “Let her weave her story within their stories, her life amidst their

¹⁹Luce Irigaray, *Ethics of Sexual Difference* (New York, Cornell University Press, 1993).

lives.”²⁰ The weaving of generations is taking place through the Irigrayan model of vertical dimensions of female genealogy. Miriam provides the following couplet and expresses this to the audience:

May your house receive divine blessings.
May your lap be filled with children, with God’s grace.

[...]
I hope all your dreams come true

‘Untitled (Miriam’s song)’

These two lines become the wishes and prayers as the matrilineal heritage is passed on and again we have the suggestion of one space being replaced with another. The mother sees the conjugal home as belonging to the daughters. The reference to children also suggests a continuation of the generations wished upon the daughter by the mother. Both of these two prayers can be seen as blessings from the mother to the daughter.

The notions of this destiny and fate are embedded within the females. The song thus becomes very emotional as all the women see that they ‘have no control’ in their own fates:

Separation with you is undebatable
This is the law of God and I have no control over it.

‘Untitled (Miriam’s song)’

One of these modes that is part of the paternal law is this concept of destiny, which my study has seen in many of the songs. The idea that this relationship between patriarchy and destiny has run its course and that fate has ordered the bond to be broken is presented here. So it is the concept of destiny and fate and accepting these as part of a hierarchy that must be accepted no matter how difficult.

²⁰ Trinh T Minh-ha, *Women Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism* (Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1989).

The song makes a sudden and unexpected turn and explores the theme of nationalism, which runs strong in the narrative. Like female genealogy, nationalism or the love of the homeland is an important aspect of diasporic life. Miriam reinforces the idea of cyclicity within the context of this song narrative:

It's a passing from one generation to the next
[...]
Under your shadow your children will grow
They will be a guiding light for their country and faith (x2)
This will repeat itself.

'Untitled (Miriam's song)'

The mother expresses that her daughter should rear children who will eventually grow up to lead their countrymen. This becomes a source of tension when it is sung in diaspora. The contradiction of being 'loyal to your country' whilst not actually living there is made explicit. This contradictory emotion is strongly present within the domestic sphere of the room. With the words 'this will repeat itself' there is that sense of something never ending something that has been repeated and repeated over time. The repetition of this could be a sign of the continuity of the female genealogical line, passing on the nationalistic baton to the next female generation. It becomes clear that as well as space and time being cyclical so is the maternal presence in genealogy. The continuation of succeeding generations, illustrate, the cyclical aspect of female genealogy. The theme of nationhood is also present in the recipe for *Saag*, the recipe for *Punjabi Saag* and *Kashmiri Saag* and further connects the songs and the recipes together.

Loyalty to your 'home' nation is reflected in 'Untitled (Miriam's Song)' the reality of continuing the female genealogy through giving birth. The connection between nationalism and female genealogy is implied. The strong presence of a vertical dimension being present and *not erased* through marriage is also suggested by the mother to the daughter. The genealogical line is

being shattered as the daughter leaves her natal home only to be restored once she has her own daughter, and only to be broken again in the future. This gives song its eternal message alongside the idea that this has been happening and will continue to happen for years to come. It is also implied here that the mother is looking forward to the wedding day and the circle is completed only for it to start again somewhere else. The notion of daughters becoming mothers is inherent in this song and reinforces the idea of a matrilineal genealogy. The reproduction of mothering inside and outside the songs allows for the links in the chain of female genealogy despite existing within a patriarchal structure.

In the song called *Madhaniyaan* the audience hears the daughter's perspective although not her voice directly. The title literally means the 'churning stick used to make butter', but metaphorically it gives women power for they are the ones that keep families and more importantly the genealogy 'turning'. It is another instance which illustrates the overlapping of songs and food.

The idea that all daughters are strangers or guests of the father is voiced within this gathering and in this song. We now hear the daughter's perspective on leaving the natal home. The father and mother acknowledge the daughter as a stranger and an outsider. She is no longer going to continue the genealogical line at her natal home but is 'taking it away'. The parents have raised the bride with love but she has now become an outsider and "one who has gone to her in laws house". So in effect we have come full circle as the female in the song 'moves' from one location to another but all moves obey the paternal law. The departure of the girl means the breaking of the genealogical chain as she moves to someone else's home. The culture of this group of women demands that each woman in the natal house, except the mother, will leave as soon as she is married and it is this acknowledgement by the mother making the audience feel empathetic towards her:

Father from/through your palace
Your loving daughter (*pardesan*) is leaving for a strange place

Madhaniyaan

The house is referred to as a 'palace,' which itself connotes images of majestic beauty and marble stoned walls when the reality was more like to be that she was living in a very basic house with few amenities. However, to her it is a palace of the highest order as it is her father's home. The girl is leaving the house of her father for her husband's which is referred to as a 'strange place'. She is leaving her home behind for a 'stranger,' which implies that she is marrying someone she does not know and again this describes a particular homeland culture that is sustained in diaspora. The rules of marrying are looser in diaspora but the significance of this narrative being sung in Lockwood today is that the mother-daughter bond still resonates with the community.

The Punjabi word '*pardesan*' is used which literally means a person living in an unfamiliar home. It is a term used to describe the diasporic human, someone who is away from his/her homeland. Many of the first immigrants who travelled to England saw themselves as 'pardesees' and so for the bride to use this term underlines her mental and emotional state. Not only is this an emotionally charged term but also one which is used during nostalgic moments. This word connects back to the point made in the recipes earlier about national boundaries and transculturation. The migrant, like the recipe and the song narratives, is now outside the homeland's borders. It also shows her state of mind for she sees herself travelling to a foreign home/state. The daughter is breaking the link both mentally and emotionally. She is taking away the link in the chain, which connects her to her maternal family even though this song mentions the father. The main reason for saying 'father' in this song is that the house and any material possession are linked to patriarchy and the daughter is seen as another of *his* possessions.

The girl is once again presented as a possession of the male line:

Seven coloured dove is calling
[...]
The brothers have
Moved the wedding carriage forward

Madhaniyaan

A dove is a particular type of bird which symbolises many attributes including, purity, love, peace, sacrifice and interesting as is it is seen as being sacred to the mother. The bond between mother and daughter is one which is exemplified in this and other narratives. One reading of this could see the bird reflecting the girl, as she passes from one state of being to another. A bird is usually kept in a cage and this becomes its home. Therefore, if the dove is representative of the girl we can say that the home of the girl can arguably be seen as her cage also. These words show us that she is moving from one cage to another and from one genealogy to another by her brothers in the family.

The female genealogical line being moved forward by men is significant for it shows that patriarchy is allowed to interfere with female matters. This also tells us that patriarchy interrupts the female line by attempting to 'hijack' it implying a very patriarchal view that only male heirs can move the bloodline forward. This also tells us that the brother, or rather patriarchy, attempts to disrupt female genealogy by the linear movement of the girl's bridal carriage. It becomes significant in diaspora for it presents the idea of female genealogy intersecting with patriarchy. The movement of the bride is a tradition which is continued in diaspora and, therefore, so is the idea of movement of the genealogies.

The bride is leaving the property of the father for another property belonging to her husband and his parents. Anthropologists have argued that the liminal is constructed on the cultural threshold: leaving one place or a 'structure' only to enter another one. This becomes significant as she is being 'released' from one set of patriarchal laws to another. The song is

intercepted by the voice of the audience or one of the women in the gathered congregation. The following line from *Madhaniyaan* illustrates this:

Four walls of the home and the floor begins to tremble with
emotional pain
Mother daughter say their parting goodbyes, four walls of the
building are trembling with emotional pain

Madhaniyaan

It speaks of the possible final meeting of the mother and daughter just before her wedding. The 'four walls' are a clear indication to her natal home and even they are 'trembling with emotional pain' for the imminent departure of the daughter. The physical presence of the girl inside these four walls over many years has seen her build up a close bond with mother as well as the building itself. Under patriarchal laws, any land and buildings, in this case the house, is owned by the father and as a consequence the houses in these songs become male-owned. This becomes a significant point as explored through the concept of a diasporic home earlier in the thesis. By applying this song to the concept of a house being a strictly patriarchal domain the female therefore constructs *her own home* within the house.

The female is bound to the continuous laws of patriarchy that exist inside the home. The image of the female as a 'bird in a cage' is brought to the attention of the audience in this song. This image is very specific and is one which represents the female as the bird and patriarchy or the paternal laws as the cage.²¹ This is expressed to the audience when Zaina sings:

Father, from/through your palace
With seven colours, your dove is calling

Madhaniyaan

²¹This image is also reminiscent of the autobiography of Maya Angelou, *I Know Why The Caged Bird Sings* (New York, Random House, 1970)

The 'colourful' home is being left for a mundane existence. By calling her father's home a palace it reiterates the saying that the 'home is the castle' which again is a very patriarchal ideal. Through saying this, the daughter is clearly upholding patriarchal views. The woman is comparing herself to a bird of peace and one that is 'doted' upon but is leaving. A dove is a very tame bird, which is often kept as a pet in captivity; the kind that can be caged and also 'set free'. A dove acts as a messenger between two people. The relevance of this particular bird in this song could be a direct reflection on the bride. The paradox is that she is 'swapping' one cage for another and this contradiction is present within this song leaving this line sung, from the perspective of the daughter, to be filled with tension. The bird becomes symbolic of the girl's situation. The bride is compared to a bird flying, both in the form of a physical and emotional release from her natal home.

Once married the woman finds herself in the paradoxical position of possessing independent wealth whilst simultaneously submitting to patriarchal structures and laws. Jewellery becomes symbolic of a mother and daughter relationship as well as an indication of independent wealth for the new wife. This is clearly expressed in *Madhaniyaan* when Zaina narrates the following verse:

Earrings – mother's heart has shuddered
Today, as she kissed her beloved daughter's face
Mother's heart shuddered
Today, when she kissed her beloved daughter's face

Madhaniyaan

The word used for earrings is also the same word for 'kisses'. Earrings are, in some cases, bestowed, much like the kisses, upon a bride by her mother before her marriage to secure the connection between the mother and daughter. The piece of jewellery becomes a symbol representing the bond between mother and daughter and also a symbol of cultural identity. The 'wedding bangles' are mentioned in this narrative and they represent, along with the earrings, the

bride's femininity and also it is a sign of the jewellery bestowed upon her by her parents. The giving of jewellery to the 'leaving daughter' is valued and is culturally specific. The jewellery as well as having cultural significance and an aesthetic quality provides the bride/wife with a sense of empowerment. The jewellery becomes a 'mark' for her to wear, which tells the outside world that she is married and has left her natal home. The paradox of her situation is the movement of one domestic space to another whilst possessing monetary and golden wealth as well as a sense of independent wealth. This act allows for the connection between mother and daughter to exist and for the daughter to have a physical 'mark' to take with her to her husband's home.

The notion of the specific cultural practice of henna decorating the hand of the girl is presented:

Henna put on once your married
Will not come off even upon death
Goes on the bride
Will not come off even upon death

Madhaniyaan

Henna fades with time lasting usually for no more than two weeks, but here the markings will not disappear so to say that it will last until death is rather macabre. Henna, is also something very firmly associated with femininity and is also gendered and culturally specific. In childhood henna is seen as having a decorative purpose, however in this instance of transition it takes on a whole new meaning: Henna becomes a symbol of the domesticity and all things patriarchal that will be obligatory for the bride from now until her death. This stark contradiction is not lost on its audience; on the one hand we have a temporary decoration but on the other this temporary marking becomes a permanent stain. Thus even when the girl leaves the home and appears to break the link, this trace of maternal genealogy is permanent and will stay with her 'even upon death'. One way to read this is that it illustrates the certainty of patriarchy and that she will not escape its laws. It comes across almost as a piece of motherly advice to the girl: Henna, like the

maternal voice, will always make an imprint on the woman's life. To this end, henna becomes symbolic of the many facets of a woman's life including domesticity, patriarchy as well as maternal genealogy.

The song narrative in *Mehndi hai Rachnewalli* also explores the significance of henna as a tool of fate and destiny. When she sings the line 'henna will brighten, colour will stain' the girl is singing literally about the colour left behind with the henna and is distinguishing between henna and colour; whilst one brightens the other stains. The word 'stain' comes with negative connotations whereas the henna will 'brighten'. Henna is applied to the hands and after several hours it is washed off and the colour of henna deepens and 'brightens' as time goes on. It is only after a few days the colour begins to diminish. The henna seems to defy the linear structures for it to go against the laws set by a linear temporality by turning darker as time goes on. Henna comes to represent a very real cultural indicator for the girl's future.

Henna, rather than the literal act of adding colour to the bride's hands has become symbolic of matrilineal genealogy. Henna is applied for the wedding, and is beautiful and decorative, but then it fades, washes out, dispersing a tinge throughout the part of the body it was applied to. One way of reading this is that the henna is symbolic of the girl, her natal home and her female genealogy, which now is going to continue in another home after she is married. The girl's new life she will start as the 'new' genealogy line begins in the husband's house. This is expressed in the following line in *Mehndi hai Rachnewalli* "New happiness is coming your way." The idea that she will begin a 'different' female genealogical line is implicitly presented here. She has moved horizontally and will carry on the female line somewhere else. Her marriage will simply allow her to move the broken genealogical line and *re-establish* it elsewhere.

The constraints of patriarchy are also applied to fate: the idea that even the stars are governed by man is very much suggested here. As a cultural concept, fate is woven into the

narratives of the recipes also. This is expressed in *Mehndi hai Rachnewalli* clearly when she narrates: “My beloved, The stars will fall into your lap.” The certainty that happiness upon marriage will occur is presented as well as the idea that children will be born. This re-inforces a very patriarchal view that women will only be happy when children are born and by women singing a song which seems to uphold this view they are aware of this paradox. Arguably, marriage does not bring happiness neither does the birth of children, and by singing and hearing this song the women in the room become aware of this contradiction. As a result, this song becomes a subversive act against elements of the glorification of patriarchy.

The idea of a female genealogical line is further developed in the song *Mehndi hai Rachnewalli*. This song is slightly more optimistic and is sung from the perspective of the girl. A woman from the audience volunteers to sing this particular song aimed at the bride and her immediate family gathered around them. Zaina narrates that the girl’s fate is being ‘cemented’ by having her hands decorated as they have added colour:

Henna has added colour
Hands are showing a deep red

[...]

New happiness is coming your way

Mehndi hai Rachnewalli

When she sings the line “new happiness is coming your way” again, the idea of female destiny is presented to the audience. In most of the songs analysed here there is strong belief in the idea of fate that daughters will become mothers and thus continue female genealogy. The ‘new’ cycle of genealogical change mixed with the new husband/life culminates with the idea that ‘new happiness’ is within her reach. The idea of fate and destiny exist in and are part of female genealogy in the natal home and the ‘new’ space she will enter after marriage. These two

narratives present themes of fate and destiny as well as the application of henna as specific cultural markers. This is a cultural practice which began in the homeland and continues and is sustained in the diaspora indicating the communities need to draw a sense of comfort from it.

The women inside the song narratives and outside the songs situate themselves on both axes: vertical and horizontal. The relationship between mothers and daughters and the bond between women of the same generation is vital; both of these relationships are played out inside and outside these songs. Through the oral narratives of the recipes and the songs we see that a clear link can be established between patriarchy and the female genealogical line. The two intersect without one cancelling the other. The songs are reflective of the recipes for they too are 'secrets' kept by the women. It is a secret known to all the women gathered there and one that cannot be heard outside the room/domestic sphere. The songs are all expressed within the feminine space in the liminal space created by these women and their voices. This, it can be argued, is precisely what happens when the women leave the natal home and enter the conjugal home or rather when she leaves one genealogy for another.

Genealogies in diasporic Lockwood incorporate a number of matters made from community, history and nationhood. Chandra Mohanty asserts that she " began defining genealogies as a crucial aspect of crafting critical multicultural feminist practice and the meanings I have come to give to home, community and identity."²² In her essay she defines genealogy by connecting the personal with the historical and then through community and identities of home. This becomes applicable to my thesis and the community analysed in this collected data for the recipe and song narratives provide a sense of community, a direction of home and possess a shared history of nationhood.

²² Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Crafting Feminist Genealogies: On the Geography of Home, Nation and Community' in E. Shohat, (ed.) *Talking Visions: Multicultural Feminism in Transnational Age* (University of Massachusetts: USA, 1999), p. 485.

Questions of home, history belonging and community not only become complex but are so closely bound together that in diaspora they become one. Mohanty asserts “that home, community and identity all fall somewhere between the histories and experiences we inherit and the political choices we make through alliances, solidarities, and friendships.”²³ When applied to my thesis, genealogy is seen as something that binds communities together. The idea of inheriting experiences echoes the assertions made in this chapter and allows cultural practices to be transmitted genealogically.

Voices of women from the past, present and future can be heard in the narratives – both recipes and songs – provided by each of the subjects discussed in this chapter. There is the notion of nationalism, which runs through the recipes as well as the songs. Nationalism and an ‘allegiance’ to your homeland are woven into these oral narratives. Having a [mis]placed loyalty to your homeland is a feature of the recipe-narratives as well as an integral part of the song-narratives. We also have the voice of the mother, which provides an over-arching legitimacy to both recipe and song. The songs critique patriarchy yet also perpetuate its existence and this creates a tension as they subvert the status quo whilst staying anchored inside the patriarchal sphere.

What becomes clear from both the recipes and the songs is that they hold more power collectively than individually. These recipes become highly nostalgic but that is the great strength of female genealogy in diaspora as it brings elements of the past into the present and generates a cultural milieu for future generations. The voices of the women become the centre of a cultural identity, which is both individual yet communal. The paradox of these oral texts is reflected in the recipes and songs as the women situate themselves on the vertical as well as the horizontal axes of female genealogy. The voice of the mother (figure) is the dominant voice in both the recipes

²³Ibid.

and the songs and her physical presence is not necessary for them to exist. The female line continues and is repetitious as the matrilineal moves horizontally as well as vertically; it is through marriage that female genealogy 'side steps' horizontally. My study considers that the horizontal movement of female genealogy means not only movement within the immediate family but also the movement across familial lines. The movement of the female from one family to another is horizontal yet has a vertical dimension too. Through marriage she gains 'a mother in law' restoring the broken genealogical line. The 'new' vertical dimension of female genealogy allows for the cultural transmission of recipes and songs to continue and be dynamic. This chapter concludes that these recipes and songs reaffirm the notion that diasporic female genealogy is both vertical and horizontal.

5 THE DYNAMICS OF NOSTALGIA IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF DIASPORIC IDENTITY.

*And, sick of the Present, I cling to the Past;
When the eye is suffused with regretful tears,
From the fond recollections of former years;
And shadows of things that have long since fled
Flit over the brain, like the ghosts of the dead*

Thomas Pringle¹

Nostalgia is a powerful emotion; it is particularly important for communities that have been dislocated from their homeland and relocated in a diaspora. Pringle evokes the melancholic nature of nostalgia and the overpowering effect this has on the individual. I show the significance of the personal to these recipes and songs and how the practical element of each oral text constructs not only a dish but also nostalgia for an idealised past identity that may never have existed. These personal, practical and communal strands of diasporic cultural life work in parallel with and have consolidated nostalgia within the diasporic community. This chapter focuses on how nostalgia threads through recipes and songs in Lockwood and how this works towards a future anchored in the past.

I show here the complexity of nostalgia, particularly where some narratives are recalled whilst others are actively ignored by the younger women. There are those recipes that harbour the need for continuity and are practised regularly whilst others retain the same cultural patterns of communal need but are less practised. This complexity is revealed in the way nostalgia is entwined with authenticity and a need for a sense of place is evoked through the use of tools, processes and ingredients.

¹Thomas Pringle, 'Afar in the Desert' in, C.F. Bates, (ed.) *The Cambridge Book of Poetry and Song* (Thomas Y Crowell, New York, 1882), p.437.

5.1 BROKEN MIRRORS IN THE KITCHEN: THE ROLE OF NOSTALGIA IN RECIPES

When women come together sharing ideas on how to prepare dishes, they may disagree occasionally on how best to crush chillies or soften chick peas or in what sequence the ingredients should be added. The dishes themselves, however, remain essentially the same. What gives these dishes added nostalgic value is that all of these women are connecting to a shared cultural memory that, through repetition, has become entrenched in the community. As Floyd and Forster have asserted “[p]ersonal histories or pasts, constructed through memory, or the process of remembering with others, are often centred on food.”² This demonstrates the complexity of not only nostalgia but the mode in which it operates at an individual and communal level. Recipes such as *Pinnia*, *Aloo Saag*, *Wasaar* and *Haleem* require more than one or two women's involvement to work successfully and this combination and shared supervision by a group of women who come together to make these culinary dishes sustains nostalgic practices and helps to bind the community together.

A utopian past is imagined and retold for these particular recipes to exist in diaspora where the act of food production can produce nostalgia about remembered homeland experiences. Women foster the narratives as they become part of their lives. As a result, the telling of recipes becomes a metaphorical yardstick by which each woman measures her life experiences; they become an individual timeline of memories and rites of passage, which includes the process of relocation. Each narrative element contributes to part of the collective feminine past. Romantic visions of a past and how things used to be in times of hardship and struggle are portrayed through autobiographical details. The recipes for

² Janet Floyd & Laurel Forster, *The Recipe Reader: Narratives Contexts, Traditions* (Ashgate, London, 2010), p.7.

Pinnia, Aloo Saag, Wasaar, Makhi Roti, Moongh daal, Haleem and *Lassi* all give a sense of individual and communal nostalgia to those living in diaspora. These recipes recall cooking processes, ingredients as well as constant references to the past which when combined create a particular romantic nostalgia.

Searching for this past can make individuals and communities try and recreate processes and ingredients, or something *as near as possible* to the right products, in diaspora. As Aqsa narrates:

In the past women used a pestle and mortar to grind ingredients. Grind them and put them to one side. Soak the sultanas. In the wok, heat the butter and soya butter on a low heat. When it's golden brown the aroma of the dish spreads to all over the house. Then take it off the gas to avoid burning. Then add all the ground nuts and mix well. Then wash the sultanas and add, add the ghor. Then add the ground poppy seeds. Mix well. Let it get a little cool. When it gets cool enough to handle, roll into little balls using your hands. They are the size of golf balls. Then place into a separate tray/bowl
This recipe my mother taught me

Pinnia

The opening evokes a traditional scene, that of women using historic equipment, but the modern references creep in: a wok, gas, golf balls. The phrase 'in the past women used' instantly takes us back to a different time and also introduces the idea that this is a gendered activity as women used to do this. It further implies that women no longer use this tool; however the continuity of this recipe in Lockwood illustrates this to be untrue.

As seen in the previous chapter, the instructional nature of this dish comes through very strongly, here with the verbs 'grind' and 'put'. Aqsa tells us to 'mix well' adding the next ingredient and then 'letting it cool'. Throughout this short narrative we are constantly told

how to create this dish. Aqsa has learned this recipe through female inheritance. It is almost as though Aqsa is teaching the listener with this process of transmission. The accumulation of commands builds up creating a nostalgia for a past time through this female inheritance. Memories of the mother are brought out through the narration and transmission of this recipe.

This dish is cooked in a traditional wide-based pot for even distribution of all the ingredients, however, once in diaspora the dish used is a wok, which is more readily available. Migration thus leads to adaptation and substitution of an equivalent wide-based pan from another cultural context encountered in diaspora. In this instance, the authenticity of the dish can reside in the ingredients that go into the pan, rather than the size or shape of the vessel.

Finding the actual ingredients is valued within the diasporic community as part of the production process for both providing a stamp of approval and authenticity to the final dish. Poppy seeds and soya powder would be a staple ingredient in many households in the original homeland but not in Lockwood. Changing ingredients risks creating a 'different' tasting dish; however, the authority of neither the cook nor the dish is compromised as the cook is now competent in not only making this dish but also in generating nostalgia through its preparation. This is illustrated with *Pinnia*, which combines dry ingredients with a little oil and butter. It sustains and nourishes the body and the mind as it includes high energy food rich in calories such as butter, nuts and sugar. In the original dish sultanas added a natural sweetness, although in Lockwood, white sugar has been added for the sweeter palette of those living in diaspora.

The recipe narrative ends by instructing us to the size of the 'pâtés' and where to place them. This not only gives us a recipe for a dish but by telling us how to prepare and serve it we are presented with a sense of what is transmitted from mother to daughter and this generates a nostalgic remembrance for a past. The continued practice of this dish by second and third generation British South Asian women of Lockwood shows the power of nostalgia.

Though the women are producers of this food it is the men who consume it. By consuming it they also partake in the nostalgia which is generated from these practices. As small boys they may have memories of their mothers/aunts/older sisters making the food and performing these songs. They invest in these cultural practices by purchasing the food and by consuming it. They further contribute by making space and seeing the songs as important and part of the wedding ceremony. These practices generate a communal cultural identity through the maintenance of a shared cultural heritage. Men's roles in making the food and singing the songs may seem to be very minimal but they are crucial.

The desire for a past remembrance entwines not only the head and the heart but involves other sensory elements, which include the power of smell. This can be seen in the recipe for *Pinnia* which requires melted butter and plenty of fruit and nuts. As these ingredients are being cooked the aroma of the cooking pervades the house. When Aqsa speaks of *Pinnia* she explains "the aroma of the dish spreads to all over the house"³ and as such it has an autonegic effect on every person in the house. As this takes a few hours to cook, the aroma of the dish cooking wafts through the house. This gradually brings to the surface a Proustian memory and also becomes a tool for nostalgia to operate within the

³ Appendix 1.

confines of the home. As recreating this dish occurs in Lockwood the culinary nostalgia becomes *owned* by the community and plays a seminal role in the identity of those reproducing this 'back home' practice.

Recipes are narratives with the power of showing how people of yesterday held memories of a way a life and their culinary practices. As Maria speaks about the recipe of *Aloo Saag* she says:

I first had this in Pakistan. I saw my mother make it when I was 10 or 11 and asked her to teach me. This dish is very time consuming to make. Firstly you must buy the mustard leaves (*saag*) from the shops, then clean it thoroughly, this can take 2 or 3 hours. Put it on the gas. Clean it and cut it with a *daath*. Once finely cut, put it in a pot and put it on the gas. Cut the potatoes into medium chunks. Put into water and on one side.

When the saag is a bit cooler begin to blend it with a *kotna* until the *saag* is soft. My mother taught me how to make this.

In another pot –

An onion, garlic, ginger, *wasaar*, tomatoes, salt and ghee. Cook until brown, then mix the potatoes into pot two. When the potatoes are cooked add the mustard leaves, the butter comes to the surface and the *wasaar* will give an aroma and you will know when the *saag* is cooked.

Aloo Saag

This recollection illustrates not only what is remembered but *how* it is remembered. The narration begins with a nostalgic memory of bygone days with the opening words harking back to a different time and space. Most of Maria's recipes begin with her narrating *where* she first ate it, either in Lockwood or in Pakistan: "I first tasted this in Pakistan... Then started to practise this in England... I first had this in Pakistan...". This again reflects the narrative devices shown through Lyotard's work mentioned earlier in Chapter Three where he asserts that storytelling has a complex set of narrative devices and a storyteller has fixed formulas for the beginning of each oral tale. Similar devices can be found here in this recipe

narrative as Maria narrates this recipe its significance becomes a process of adhering to formulaic oral story-telling. The way an oral tale is narrated clearly locates the recipe as an act of remembering.

In this act of remembering, the recipe is interwoven with the memory of her childhood and of her mother's voice as it permeates throughout the story. Through the narrative there is an instructive voice of not only Maria but also of the mother whilst she was teaching her daughter. It is clear that it is only by standing side by side in the kitchen with her mother that the daughter has learned the way to cook this dish. For instance, she learns 'the dish is time consuming', and 'when the *saag* is soft' and when the 'potatoes are cooked'. Maria's instructional voice is framed within the mother's instructional voice that is the source of authenticity. Power comes through maternal transmission.

There is a certainty within the transmission of this recipe for when Maria says 'you will know' she affirms the power of the female cook. The confidence embedded within this narrative is 'learned' through the transmission of the recipe. Maria narrates the importance of individual and communal effort that goes into this dish. A clear message is transmitted: that nothing of value is achieved without effort. The decision to make this recipe is not the resolution of one person alone but the shared effort between teacher and student and the many voices of generations of women. Maria is not just remembering her mother but she is also remembering *for* her mother. The maternal voice binds the community together and is sought after in diaspora.

The pursuit of nostalgia, then, becomes the seeking out of authenticity, which is ultimately chasing the voice of the mother. The narrative mentions how to blend the ingredients using traditional tools such as a *daath* and a *kotna* making the narrative an

authentic memory from the homeland and imbuing it with a sense of authority and continuity. The use of authentic tools is in pursuit of the authority related to that maternal voice. Their use assists, therefore, in generating a nostalgia for a past time in the present. Traditional tools are still used where possible and provide a material sense of authenticity to most of the recipes. These characteristics help to recreate the homeland experience. For example, the ingredients for *Pinnia* need to be ground together. In the original homeland a pestle and mortar or a grinding stone would be used to bring out the flavours and fragrant smells of crushed ingredients. The ethnographer Smita Jassal asserts the cultural value of the grinding stone:

Grinding grains and spices requires considerable effort, and women sit on the courtyard floor with the *jata* (grinding stone) held between their legs. The physical act of grinding also resonates with the grind of daily life for the village women. One may surmise that in cases where women sing the same kinds of song day after day, they indeed absorb the lesson imparted in the course of this activity. In short, the apparently benign and empowering practice of women singing the songs of the millstone enables wider social and gender-specific lessons, about both power and powerlessness, to be most effectively learned.⁴

This illustrates the idea that women were not only managers of consumption and makers of food but also processors of agricultural produce. Specific tools are called for in some of the recipes and these, like the recipes, have travelled into diaspora. The daily food production reflects the daily grind of domestic chores, which includes cooking. The use of the *jata* and the repetitive act of the physical grind becomes symbolic of the lives of many of the women in the homeland. Village life in the homeland is being recalled but the focus of these recipes is their sustainability in diaspora. Many first generation women brought grinding stones

⁴Smita Tewari Jassal, *Unearthing Gender: Folksongs of North India* (Duke University Press, London, 2012), p.34.

with them and passed them on to the next generation. As a result, many households in Lockwood today still use a grinding stone to re-create not only an authentic flavour to a dish but also to re-create physically that 'bit of home' which has been left behind. Even with increased wealth, many community members still prefer these methods as they offer a clear and direct link between the food production process and the past. Using this implement in an identical process provides a tangible link to the homeland and the past. These actions are now repeated by second and third generation women in Lockwood as shown below. In using recipes that originate in the pre-migratory homeland the quest for legitimacy is sometimes marked by an almost obsessive desire to use the same or identical tools and repeat the same processes in diaspora. To preserve these procedures and to replicate them in diaspora gives a sense of purpose and reality or authentic value that underpins the nostalgic value of the dish. In the case of recipes, the *effect* of using specific tools and processes is to create a dish as close as possible to the original, in other words, to the earliest remembered instances in the country of origin. This desire within the individual and the community to keep food preparation as authentic as possible based on communal nostalgic memories contributes to the legitimisation of cultural practices in diaspora mediated and re-created through these recipes.



FIGURE 2. SAAG KOTNA. APPROXIMATE DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGIN: PUNJAB CIRCA 1970.



FIGURE 3. A DAATH, APPROXIMATE
DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGIN:
PUNJAB CIRCA 1970.



FIGURE 4 A KOTNA AND A DAATH.

Implements associated with the homeland including a *kotna* and a *daath* are used in contemporary diasporic Lockwood and highlight the power of nostalgia. As Aqsa states a clay pot is used in the recipe for *yoghurt* production and this is a staple utensil in many Lockwood homes. The clay pot is significant for it represents a ‘way of life’ recalled through the utensil. Its use enhances the authentic taste of the final dish and simultaneously links to home life from a past era.

Traditional equipment gives dishes a sense of authenticity that cannot be found with tools housed in the modern kitchens of today where most tools are electric. This particular migration occurred before electricity became widely available in rural areas of the homeland. These culinary practices are nostalgic for the very practice perhaps activates a mental projection of the homeland in women’s minds. The importance of a static fossilised image of the homeland carried into a diasporic setting is illustrated in the continued use of the same or identical pot, which was originally used in the homeland. This creates and sustains a nostalgic desire within the diasporic community and this ripples down the generations. The young women in this study who were born here continue the traditions of

those who have migrated from the homeland. They assert how they in time will be teaching their daughters.

The sensory elements of the body enable the connecting of a smell or a touch with a particular memory. Maria makes specific mention of the aroma of *Wasaar* cooking. Like with *Pinnia* this also produces an autonomic response. The aroma of the *Wasaar* as well as the *saag* cooking away adds to the nostalgia this generates. The recipe also suggests a communal nostalgia for all those in the house and those who may enter the house during the cooking process. The idea that this is a practice that *used* to be carried out in a past time in Pakistan generates a nostalgia for yesterday.

A clear demarcation of time runs throughout this story, Maria informs us of the necessary colour of the potatoes which is 'brown' and waiting for the 'rise of the butter'. These are significant for they indicate a length of time that this dish requires. She tells us repeatedly about the prolonged length of time this will take '2 or 3 hours' and 'it is very time consuming'. The repeated mention of the time frame required to make this dish reinforces the idea that this is not just a matter of creating a dish but is ultimately a pursuit of authenticity or legitimacy. These requirements generate a nostalgia as well as a sense of authenticity. In this sense they are reminiscent of the 'Arabian tales' that are told incrementally over several nights.⁵ The diasporic cook is in a similar position to the teller of these elaborate tales as she is also narrating stories that need to be told. Whereas the Arabian tales were told to prolong a woman's life, these recipes are told for the continued survival of the diasporic community. The comparison of the recipe-narrative to a wider set

⁵ Queen Scheherazade begins to tell King Shahryar a story but does not complete it. This forces the king to postpone her execution until he hears the conclusion. The next night she tells the ending of the first story but also *begins* a new tale. This goes on for 1001 nights.

of oral traditions and literary texts illustrates the symbolic power of the female voice within the different literary contexts.

The cyclical nature of the recipe is emphasised in the transmission as well as the practice of this narrative. The recipe is very time consuming: to shop for all the ingredients and then a few hours to prepare for it and finally a few more hours to cook it. This linear format is apparent here; the list of ingredients is the beginning, with the method becoming the middle, and the way it is eaten, stored, used or distributed marks the end. This is continuously repeated making their practice cyclical. As a result, I assert that these recipes exist in an alternative temporality that is cyclical.

Unlike the alteration of ingredients in *Pinnia*, in *Aloo Saag* the use of mustard leaves offers continuity as they still are used in diaspora. Their availability in Lockwood is a reminder of dislocation and relocation from a former homeland and is an expression of migrational nostalgia. The ingredients came originally from the fields of Kashmir and are purchased locally in Huddersfield so that now they are cooked and prepared in the relocated kitchens of Lockwood. The recipe finishes with the use of *Wasaar* and ghee. Wherever it is possible ghee is used instead of commercial butter or margarine to give the dish an added element of authentic traditional flavour and texture. The use of one recipe to complete another dish recurs in Lockwood culinary practice and *Wasaar* illustrates how one recipe reinforces the linked nature of cooking practices in the retention of cultural knowledge and transmission of food-related processes among women. This could also be read in terms of fragmentary narrative and narratives being read as a 'patchwork'.

While some of the culinary practices in diaspora may differ from identical recipes in the homeland, the changing nature of the process of this recipe reflects the dynamic nature

of the female genealogical line even in diaspora. Trinh T Minh-ha asserts that, “No repetition can ever be identical but my story carries with it their stories, their history, and our story repeats itself endlessly [...]”.⁶ A new and changed life story is inserted through female genealogy and this voice is ‘carried’ with succeeding generations. It is inevitable that over time the procedure of making the recipes may alter slightly but the end product can still be considered to be authentic. I argue that authenticity is legitimised through the presence of the maternal voice.

Change as well as continuity is part of those dynamics of cultural transmission. Just as movement is part of diasporic cultural experience, traditions as well as tools, adjust and adapt through relocation. This is illustrated through the recipe for *Lassi* that requires and reflects such adjustment to keep it in circulation in Lockwood. Traditionally, *Lassi* is a summertime drink that links to the practical need to keep oneself cool as temperatures rise in summer as heat and humidity prevail. Although heat in northern England, rarely, if ever, approaches those of Punjabi summers, *Lassi* continues to be made. Its capacity to cool is relatively insignificant in relation to the nostalgic association with the homeland.

Warm milk, then let it cool—let it simmer overnight.
Add a little yoghurt.
Remove the butter skin off the milk.
Add sugar or salt
Whisk it and it’s ready to drink

It keeps you cool, even in Pakistan
I’ve taught my daughters how to make it and now I’m
telling you.
In the olden days they used to use a whisk by hand
nowadays (in Lockwood) they use electric grinders. My
mother taught me this recipe and I have taught this to
my daughters.

Lassi

⁶ Ibid.

Once again we hear the instructional voice of the mother teaching her daughter coming across very strongly. In this narrative we hear 'warm', 'add', 'remove' and it is these instructional verbs that provide this narrative with its teaching element. Adeela then narrates what its function was in the past as it 'keeps you cool'. Also, one of the reasons for its continued practice in diaspora is its ability in generating a collective nostalgia for a past. Adeela tells us how this recipe will be passed onto the younger generation and how she herself learned it. As well as the recipe being transmitted the nostalgia is also transmitted.

This drink is repeatedly made in Lockwood not for its original purpose but for the nostalgia that comes with it. The words 'in the olden days' suggests a yearning for a past that is idyllic. It also allows the younger drinker to possess a mythical nostalgia for a past that has been transmitted to them by older members of the family or community. The consuming of this drink becomes almost like an initiation ceremony for an identity based upon the past. The older community not only 'pass on' a drink but transmit nostalgia. The older generation maintaining this drink in diaspora becomes invaluable for it allows them to hold onto a piece of the past and root their identity in the homeland.

Reflected in the ingredients, the processes and the tools themselves are history, the past and memory. It is clear here that this next recipe is not only a set of instructions but is also a short historical narrative, which creates a nostalgic effect. This becomes much more than 'just a recipe'; it becomes a social history and a biography as well as a set of instructions on how to create a dish. Aqsa provides a long narrative for this recipe, which is another example of a personal memoir:

Back in Pakistan, India there are courtyards, spread a cloth on the floor. Here you need an open space, where you can, spread a plastic sheet or three or four black bin liners – open them and sellotape the sides and use them. It's up to you.

My mother kept a big white plastic sheet and put all the powders in the middle. With two or three women together it'll be quicker; with one it will take longer.

Back home two or three older women would get together. Spread a cloth then a plastic sheet on top. Mix together *methi* seeds, tumeric powder and make a well and fill it in with olive oil, about 8 or 9 litres even a full jug – good expensive eating oil. Then they sit down and rub the powder with oil together with their hands. They rub together using their hands until it's a fine powder like the ones they started with. This takes two to three hours. They rub this with the palm of their hands – they called this '*masna*' until a fine powder with no lumps. You see, when you add the oil it becomes lumpy, a greasy powder. Then, after 2 or 3 hours, put them in clay pots. Back home they only had clay pots, here people go to Ikea and get jars with lids and put them in store rooms.

Sind Wasaar 2

To begin with we are told where this takes place – in the homeland and in Lockwood. This is significant for it illustrates the idea of migrating recipes which has been mentioned in Chapter Three. Once again, we have the nostalgic opening that provides the entire narrative with a nostalgic framework. Aqsa narrates 'Back in [...]Here you need [...];' weaving in and out of two time and space paradigms. Whereas the recipe narrative for *Aloo Saag*, focused on a separate time this recipe narrative also refers specifically to space. The presence of courtyards and 'spreading a cloth' are a clear marker of a division of space needed. We are presented with a food narrative that interweaves the diasporic present with a nostalgic past. The present can only be narrated through memory fragments of the past.

In the previous recipe of *Aloo Saag*, Maria spoke of the use of authentic tools in the making of food; however, here Aqsa tells of the use of inauthentic tools such as binliners and sellotape and the use of branded jars instead of 'clay pots' illustrating the need for adaptation in diaspora. It is clear that these small alterations do not invalidate the recipe but only serve to strengthen its significance. It is remarkable that the detail of the branded jars emphasises the sense of adjustment but perhaps also makes a link between past and present in their specific naming of something that is different from the dish in an earlier and 'original' homeland setting. In diaspora, the sense of belonging is heightened through the recreation of this updated recipe in a different time and space and the making of this recipe brings out a nostalgic sense of past times.

We are told how to carry this practice out whereby the legitimacy of the practice is provided through memories of the mother. Aqsa weaves in how she learned this recipe: 'My mother kept[...];' This tells us not only of the importance of how she learned it but also how the memory of her mother is now being kept alive through the narration and the continued practice of this dish. As Maria did, Aqsa in also injects her narration with 'it will be quicker' 'you see', 'they called this' so we can hear the mother's voice, implicitly, as she teaches her daughter. In this narrative we hear the narrator and her mother supplementing the recipe with pieces of advice and information such as, 'good expensive eating oil[...] they called this *masna*[...]you see, when you add the oil it becomes lumpy'; there is a clear transmission of knowledge taking place. Aqsa weaves her mother's *presence* into the narrative and again this reflects the power of the maternal voice. Through the mother's voice this recipe provides not only instructions on how to make this food but also the reasons behind it and its social importance. Authenticity, in this way, helps to validate and legitimise, and is offered through the mother's voice as discussed in the previous chapter.

The idea of a group of people having a set of shared interests is clearly portrayed here as several women (in Lockwood) come together to re-create an old tradition. Aqsa narrates the names of the specific spices that need to be used here as she tells of how during the making of this the women talk amongst themselves and re-create a sense of camaraderie. The 'coming together' of a group of women strengthens communal bonds but also generates a nostalgia for a different space and time. Her recipe asks that these spices are rubbed together by hand using a little oil with each spice being suggestive of different lives that, like the spices are, 'mixed' together through the preparation of this dish. The physical act of using their hands to rub the spices together provides the women with a sense of cohesion. The *feel* of the different textures in their hands and the fact that they are creating something that will be used in most dishes adds to this sense communal solidarity. There is also a clear message that many hands make light work and that women's food production generates value through collective endeavour. Also implicit is the idea that everyone contributes a little but gains a lot. A feeling of nostalgia is evoked when recreating this dish in diaspora; the blending of the ingredients is only possible because there is a blending of the women who gather together.

Authenticity occurs in different ways and for different reasons. In some recipes it is marked through the tools that are used such as in the recipe of *Saag* where a *dhaat* is called for. In other recipes it is the method which marks authenticity such as in *Wasaar* which requires a very specific sequential rotation of ingredients. Another instance where this occurs is in *Moongh daal*, which has been practised both at home and away and can make the bond between women that much firmer. The (slightly) altered nature of this homeland recipe and the fact that it is repeated in diaspora tells us about the power of not only the transmission of these recipes from one generation to the next but the method of this

transmission. There are many instances where the tools or the ingredients do not appear to matter in terms of legitimisation. This creates a tension and opens up questions regarding *what* exactly constitutes authenticity. I argue that it is the presence of the maternal voice that provides legitimisation and elements of nostalgia that *support* it. Maria clearly acknowledges her mother but also recognises that these recipes in Lockwood are “slightly different”. There is an element of authenticity within this recipe that can only be achieved by following the teacher’s words.

These dishes are regularly created by a band of women as well as deliberately created to bring cultural traces of the Punjab and Kashmir into Lockwood. Their active communal nostalgia is necessary in diaspora because without shared memories women would not have such prominence and significance. The recipes allow for a certain type of nostalgia to exist that is bound up with nationality. For instance, the *Saag* and *Wasaar* recipes provided by Aqsa and Maria are named after specific regions: *Sind Wasaar*, *Punjabi Wasaar* and *Punjabi Saag* and *Kashmiri Saag*. When these dishes are being cooked their names provide associative homeland links for the members of the household as well as the community. They enable the diasporic individual to evoke particular homeland memories and carry them onwards. This migrational nostalgia from the homeland to the diaspora is one inevitable consequence of migration but the link between the homeland and the diaspora has been called ‘The Broken String’.⁷ The emphasis on where the recipes originate demonstrates the women’s self-reflection on where they came from and reveals that this link is not completely severed but only fractured. The act of including the place name element along with the generic term can produce nostalgic and romantic visions of a homeland. The communal activity of recreating the recipes specifically as they are

⁷Dennis Walder, *Postcolonial Nostalgias: Writing Representation and Memory* (Routledge, New York, 2011).

remembered prior to migration and pre Partition can evoke images of a golden childhood and a homeland that is Eden-like as well as a communal identity for women. However, some nostalgic recipes evoke ideas of community and overcoming adversity while other recipes have more negative associations with hardship and illustrate the complexity of actively forgotten dishes.

In contrast to the desire to remember which is associated with *Wasaar* and *Saag* and despite the links to poverty there is also the desire to forget recipes, which then leads to the idea of selective memories. One of the mnemonic strategies employed by the diasporic community is *active forgetting*. While some recipes are recalled and practised, others that are not remembered are equally important. These recipes are culturally valued by members of the community. The recipe may not be practised as often as the others but it still retains its cultural importance. This occurs in a few of the recipes that I have analysed so far and this is most probably a result of the association with the homeland and the economic practice of using one dish to create another dish so as to avoid waste. Poverty is strongly associated with subalternity in the homeland and these conditions lurk beneath the recipes. The cultural practices of the subaltern women of the homeland and the women of Lockwood are linked through associations of poverty, which is further associated with migrational nostalgia.

Interviews have revealed that certain dishes, although known about, are *allowed* to be no longer made but have not been erased from memory. Interviewees have revealed that there are certain dishes which are linked to past traumas. The recipe for *Tookray* is very simple but is now rarely practised in Lockwood. This may be due to its association with poverty and community members now wishing to disassociate themselves with food

practices that evoke past economic hardship. Food associated with disadvantage could understandably be seen as something not to repeat. The recipe itself calls for:

Old chapattis
Butter
Unrefined sugar congealed into small blocks. (*ghur*)
Water

Stale *chapattis* - tear into little pieces and put to one side.

Put the gas on underneath the wok, add the butter then add the pieces of chapattis.

In another pot put water and *ghur*, cook for a while. When it has turned into a syrup take off the gas. Then add the syrup mixture to the *chapattis* and in a low heat allow the two to cook. When the chapatti pieces have soaked up the syrup then take off the gas. The *Tookray* are now ready. You can eat them with anything you like or on their own.

Tookray

This recipe is one that is actively *not remembered* and *not or rarely practised* in diaspora.

The recipe is a commentary not only on economic adversity but also on the idea that one dish can be used in order to make another dish. The main ingredients for this dish are *chapattis* that are a cooked food dish on their own and are now used in the making of another dish. Stale food is required in this recipe. The ingredients listed above are simple and cheap reflecting their cooks' economic status. For instance, *Ghur* (purified cane sugar) is used in this dish, which gives the dish sweetness and is widely and easily available in that part of South Asia. Aqsa then narrates the way to cook these and the sequence of actions 'put into another pot [...]add the syrup [...]take off the gas [...]'. A wok is used, again showing the adaptation of tools in diaspora. Aqsa gives an instructional narrative filled with pieces of information. We hear clearly that this is how she also learned this recipe and how to create

and serve this dish. She makes a point of repeating the fact that stale chapattis are used and soaked on a 'low gas'. She then announces that the '*Tookray* are now ready' and how we should consume the dish: 'you can eat them with anything you like or on their own'. She seems to be telling us exactly how she was taught it thus repeating the cyclical nature of transmission and cultural culinary practice. Memories are indeed selective for the recipes practised in diaspora are equally dependent on forgetting as they are on remembering.

'Pickled gooseberries' also illustrate the idea of active forgetting as this again is a recipe that is seldom prepared in Lockwood.

Wash and the drain the gooseberries. Remove their tails from both sides—top and tail them. Take them off and put slits into them—slit them not all the way but half-way through. Then add plenty of salt to them—plenty. Put to the side for one day covering them.

In the meantime the salt will drain all the water.

On the second day get a frying pan and put a little oil – two or three spoonful's with some salt and add the gooseberries and cook them for a little while until they are tender.

Pickled gooseberries

In diaspora, the fruit is picked, washed, and prepared for cooking. The process of creating this dish is nostalgic and circular in the sense that the process of cutting the gooseberries began in the past and is now not actively practised in diaspora but is actively forgotten. Inserting the slits also serves a very specific and nostalgic purpose of remembrance and continuity as this is an exact culinary act of the past being sustained. We are then repeatedly told how much salt to add, adding to the instructional voice of the teacher. We are then told *why* this is significant to this particular recipe.

Recipes not practised with as much fervour in Lockwood as others may appear to play no role in generating a diasporic identity. I assert, however, that it is the very dishes

that are not transmitted which help to create that identity. For instance, 'Pickled gooseberries' may be actively forgotten because in diaspora it is easier to go into a specialised store and purchase these. However, the very fact that they are available in stores and are regularly eaten suggest their continued value and importance held within a community.

The concept of time is illustrated through the narrative and in particular its relationship with domesticity and gender. What I gathered, through informal chats with the narrator, is that the fruit is then packed into jars and stored away.⁸ Once these jars are filled they are placed in a dark cupboard for about four months to 'cook'. Scarcely re-created by first generation women it has become less popular among second and third generation women because it is more convenient to buy commercial pickle and since this is a condiment and not a main dish the diasporic community do not put too much emphasis on it. Also, this is a dish that does not fit into the modern lifestyle of home, work and children as it is considered to be too time and space consuming. However, for first generation women this is a traditional pickle that had its origins in the fields and mountainous regions of India and now resides in the stone terraced streets of Lockwood, West Yorkshire. For the first generation of South Asian women who came into Lockwood there was a wish to sustain this dish from the past but whilst this need has diminished for second and third generation women, the dish continues to be a cultural marker for communal identity. Despite being rarely practised nowadays its functioning role in the make-up of the identity for the diasporic community is that it acts as a conduit to the past home.

⁸These informal conversations were not recorded however I was also able to have formal conversations with academics presently working in the field of oral history; This is published as, Lilo Nein, *Authoring Spaces Who speaks in Performance?*, (Revolver, Berlin, 2011), pp .72-75.

Homeland recipes also pattern identical processes that have been used for generations. The continued practice of these recipes and particular processes in diaspora allows for the community to foster elements of a past existence whilst additionally bringing aspects of authenticity to the table, thereby binding a diasporic community with a past generation's gastronomy. For instance, making *Haleem* takes many hours to prepare, cook and finally to distribute amongst the community. Aqsa's recipe narrative for *Haleem* offers both historical and a cultural context:

This was mainly made during wars. When during wars people had little to eat and shops were burnt down. Some people would say I have one chicken others "I have two onions" and so people would gather all the ingredients outside and cook whatever they had in one place and everyone would eat it. It's a tradition in Pakistan to eat this way.

This is *Haleem*.

When there were floods in Pakistan recently people ate haleem. In difficult times people make this dish and eat it.

Haleem

This narrative tells of a sense of community unity during times of hardship in the homeland as well as more tranquil times in diaspora. The words 'bringing with them whatever they had' tells not only a reminder of difficult times but a romantic re-telling of hardships endured by a community of people. It tells of poorer times, which are now viewed as 'idyllic' as it was a time when 'people came together' and it is a recipe which connects the past to the present in the homeland. The reality of poverty is in stark contrast to the nostalgia with which it is now seen. It is also comparing the wider social and communal values of the past to the present by suggesting 'people came together and helped each other out then but not now'. Even today in Lockwood the recipe narratives are a testament to the previous

generations of women elsewhere. These recipes create nostalgia for the past but also create a shared social history of a recipe and a people.

Aqsa narrates a dish that requires a skill that she has acquired over time through listening and cooking. This knowledge is gained through observing others be they mothers, sisters or aunts. The gradual acquisition of creating *Haleem* invests the female cook with a significant amount of domestic power. From a communal aspect it has overpowering nostalgic meanings for a collective group of people.

Aqsa narrates *Haleem* and recalls a rather more traumatic past associated with conflict. So this dish not only is a recipe but also a personal account of a specific social history of a community. She recounts how a community in the homeland coped and how in diaspora members of this community still acknowledge past traumas through their food choices.⁹ The recipe calls for boiled lentils mixed with meat then mixed with rice to make a dish that satisfies a nostalgic desire that re-creates a 'home away from home'. The mixing of the flavours and the textures is reflective of that acceptance of other ingredients into the dish to re-create something that is different to other traditional foods and that can appeal to all members of the community. *Haleem* creates a particular type of diasporic nostalgia. The use of lentils in this dish is symbolic for these ingredients are associated with poverty. To add them within a diasporic setting brings authenticity and reminds the community of past (poorer) times thus enabling specific versions of the past to be remembered. Some recipes with associations to poverty are practised whilst others are allowed to languish in the corners of memories never to be practised. This further presents the idea that this diasporic community is contradictory. However, *Haleem* can act as a bridge to the past

⁹ As suggested by Freud in: Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (Liveright, New York, 1950).

home but it also operates as a powerful device by which diasporic identity is maintained and protected. It may be a communal dish but it also contains memories or elements of autonegative consciousness, which helps to define the dish and make it more subjective for the women.

It is nostalgia, that sense of romance and loss, which makes the individual in diaspora *want* to re-create a small part of home 'out of place' through culinary practice. At the same time culinary practice also has individualised memories for many people. The connection between foods and the past or more specifically nostalgia is intrinsic to the reverence surrounding these recipes. The value of these dishes works as one communal thought in the nostalgic memories of a group of people. Culinary practice becomes a kind of cultural tissue that binds a community together. Having established so far the centrality of recipes in the role of nostalgia for the diasporic community, my study now focuses on the role song lyrics play in relocated cultural settings. It is significant that women come together to re-enact these songs in times of celebration. My study finds the singing of these songs occurs in an environment that is re-created in Lockwood to allow the women to feel 'safe'. The act of singing allows the women self-expression that can be denied them elsewhere inside the domestic arena. The women are repeating patterns of the homeland and the Irigirayan silence is paradoxically audible.¹⁰ Again, a contradiction of voice and silence can be read as part of this culture.

¹⁰ By this I mean the voices are heard but only by the other women in the room. So, in a sense their voices become 'silenced'.

5.2 PATTERNS OF REMEMBRANCE: THE ROLE OF SONGS IN COMMUNAL NOSTALGIA

Like recipes, song lyrics and the performative act of singing are key elements in how communal nostalgia negotiates diasporic identities in Lockwood. Nostalgia here is performed to fulfill the needs in the present for the women gathered. The songs not only serve as entertainment but also have a psychological function in which women can share whatever their existential disappointments in the present maybe. This cultural practice binds the women, of all generations, through emotional turbulence in their lives both past and present.

After a short while a small group of women begin the singing. Romantic relationships are explored in 'The Shawl' (*Lathay di chadar*). This very traditional and archaic song is notable for its effect upon the assembled women. Historically, the fabric from which the shawl is made was readily available in rural areas and served a double purpose. It was durable and strong whilst also having long-standing cultural significance to wedding celebrations. It is also common for dead bodies to be wrapped up in this type of cloth, making it a site for mourning as well as celebration. This type of shawl remains culturally significant for these reasons and has found its way into folk songs and literature of that region of South Asia.

The archetypal theme of a love relationship between a girl and a boy is dealt with in this song. References to 'chickens in the yard' 'ropes', 'garden walls', '*chapatti* flour' and food evoke strong connections with a South Asian rural domestic environment and generate a sense of nostalgia among the gathered women. The lyrics begin with a young girl calling out to a young man:

Come in front of me
don't walk on by in a sulk, my beloved

from my wall, from my wall
A rope has broken
You didn't ask and I didn't say

The Shawl

Her commanding tone is notable as are the references to familiar household items, such as wall and rope, from an idealised rural setting. The difficulties of this relationship in a homeland setting *suggest* an emotional response from all the females gathered in the room. Once they hear this song it can take them back to a different time and place. This is due to the act of singing itself and also the type of relationship expressed in the song and, in particular, the way it is played out to an audience.

The song is sung from the perspective of the girl and so we hear and empathise with her voice. It is a voice the women rarely hear out of these circles so to hear it is not only a 'novelty' but weight is added to the voice by the simple fact that women themselves are singing this. It is women singing to themselves about the experience of loss, and in doing so they are consoling themselves by becoming both the singer and the audience. Here she expresses her frustration at the mixed messages being given and received between her and the boy. The lines above are repeated and the duplication of the words "you didn't ask and I didn't say" shows the misunderstanding due to the failure of communication between the two. A rope is something that binds and connects and a wall is symbolic of something firm and rooted which divides and separates. So by saying a rope has 'broken' from my wall suggests her having been uprooted, and her connection being 'broken' is suggestive of the girl leaving her family after marriage. This verse implies not only a broken connection but

also a self-expression that is denied. The female voice in this song is in effect also 'silenced' for it does not leave the four walls of the room.

In contrast the boy's desires are portrayed throughout the song. The activities of the young boy are constantly referred to:

From over my wall, from over my wall
you winked at me
[...]
over my wall over my wall
You threw a stone over my wall

The Shawl

His actions may appear juvenile but they also indicate a time of pre-sexual innocence to the women gathered in the room. By 'winking over the wall' and 'throwing a stone over the wall' we learn of the eagerness of the boy but also his inexperience at articulating his emotions. It also implies the impassive nature of the female as opposed to the very active nature of the male. The male's eagerness for a sexual relationship with the girl is implied through the winking and the stone throwing. Convention prevents the girl from any hint of promiscuity as such behaviour would bring her shame. By singing this song and re-telling this narrative the women are reminded of the conventions of courtship in the homeland.

The dynamics of a female-to-female relationship are played out in this particular song. The traditional methods of song writing are employed such as a repeated chorus and rhyme but the subject matter can be read as much darker in tone. The daughter in law continues to sing:

...I asked for them
And she hit me with a stick
[...]
I asked for them

She got annoyed
[...]
I asked for them
And she hit me with a broom

The Shawl

The girl is stating that it is the mother in law who makes the food thereby consolidating traditional gender roles. This reaction clearly conveys the stereotypical mother-in-law in communal and patriarchal culture. What is portrayed here is a power struggle between the women for the male. Interestingly, the two women, themselves trapped inside a very rigid patriarchal system, are seen here to be fighting each other over the affections of their 'jailer'. The relationship between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law is a source of amusement for the women gathered. The character of the cruel mother-in-law is a stock character in many of these songs. The reaction of the mother-in-law is repetitively negative with words of physical violence: 'annoyed', 'hit me with a stick', 'hit me with a broom'. The constant bickering between the two women brings light relief to an audience wanting to be entertained through elements of nostalgia.

These songs originate from a highly patriarchal culture and to have somebody other than a woman singing them would be unthinkable. Also, the three dishes mentioned here – chappatis, eggs and rice pudding – are all simple foods that almost all present can relate to cooking. The song ends with a repetition of the chorus:

Linen shawl with grey stone colour upon it
Come in front of me
Come in front of me, don't walk on by in a mood, my
beloved.

The Shawl

The final few lines are also highly significant as they speak of a desire to be physically noticed by the boy. One way of interpreting these lines would be by seeing that the woman is inaudible to the male and therefore typical of the condition of the woman's voice in the patriarchal society from which this song originates. Patriarchy and its structures imposed upon the women gathered are explored in the song narratives. The fact that this is repeated in diaspora could be ironic as it shows the current generation sharing this perception of inferiority to males. There is a resistance implied by these words and heard by a diasporic audience.

This repetition of the request implies the girl can only be made whole by the male which further re-affirms old patriarchal views. This inherent contradiction creates a tension within the generations of women gathered. The woman is subverting the old patriarchal view held within the homeland that she is 'broken' without a husband by singing and upholding these old views in a dominant tone, but in the homeland her emotional fragmentation is echoed by the fragmentation within the song. In diaspora the movement of this particular notion of patriarchy does not migrate well. The singers perhaps are not subaltern yet they sing odes belonging to the subaltern, arguably adding to the communal nostalgic effect for the women present. It is illuminating because these words are sung by women for women. The listening crowd is affirming the female views and the singer is *re-affirming* them by singing them. Like the recipes, these songs have travelled 'wholesale' from the homeland to Lockwood and with these songs a sense of authenticity is attempted, but the women's attitude in diaspora is changed in relation to their change in power.

Women being objects of commodification at the hands of men is also addressed in *Kala Doria*. As they originate from a very patriarchal society these lyrics are painfully

evocative for female listeners. By listening to these words the women recreate patterns of the homeland without the strict codes of patriarchy.

After you have sold your goods
Sell your sister in law and get remarried (x2)

Kala Doria

The lyrics for *Kala Doria* can be read in two ways: first that they bring a little light humour to an otherwise dark song and secondly that they bring together elements of the old patriarchal misogynistic communal views held by the society that the listening crowd is now in a position to challenge. Women find these gatherings so rewarding because they allow them a space to create a sense of solidarity.

Despite this understanding of a patriarchal structure women are considered more culturally valuable the older they are. Patriarchy of this type has been dislocated and now is relocated in diaspora. This song continues with the theme of women ageing in a patriarchal society:

My sister in law is old and I can't sell her now
I will sell you – who is young and fresh

Kala Doria

Such words seem callous and shocking but humour is inserted into this song for comic relief through the various voices heard as the misogynistic themes of the song can be considered too dark at times for a 'happy' occasion.

This song goes on to explore the idea of a girl who gets herself trapped literally and metaphorically:

Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door
Stuck on the hook

Kala Doria

The sense of being trapped is strongly conveyed in a song that is sung in gatherings and on the night before a wedding. This song and the meanings behind it not only resonate today because issues of patriarchy and power struggles still exist but they can also be used to seek solace in nostalgia by bringing a piece of homeland to diaspora.

Many voices speaking together take part in this song. A conversation about selling and buying ensues and again can be read in two ways:

After you have sold your goods
Sell your sisters and get remarried (x2)

Can't sell my sisters because they are not my property
I will sell you – because i married you yesterday and you
are mine.

After you have sold your goods
Sell your father's sister and get remarried (x2)

I can't sell her (father's sister) because her husband is too
fierce
I will sell you who has had all my income

Kala Doria

The conversational form suggests comic role play but the words reveal an altogether darker tone. Elements of heteroglossia can be seen here as multiple voices are being heard in one text.¹¹ Here the voices of the husband, the street seller and the women are all heard in one song. The lyrics touch upon polygamy, which is common in the communities from where this song originates. Women are seen as property and like land they can be bought and sold as indicated in the lyrics. As ethnographer Naryan writes "It's good to sing songs about pain.

¹¹Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres & Other Late Essays*, Carl Emerson and Michael Holoquist, (eds.), Vern W. McGee, (trans.) (University of Texas Press, Austin, 2004).

They make you remember.”¹² The nostalgic value of these traditional songs is culturally significant and the fact that ‘they make you remember’ is one of the many reasons behind their survival in diaspora for people *want to remember and not forget*.

Food plays an important role in the songs to not only create a nostalgia for a past ‘golden’ time but because, as seen from the recipes, food narratives exist as part of a wider gendered discourse. Making of food is included within the song itself (*chapattis*, eggs and rice pudding) which again connects food making to singing. In *The Shawl* the line, “my hands are in flour dough” imply that the girl is (already) caught in, literal and metaphorical terms, a trap of domesticity and patriarchy, an image portrayed earlier in ‘The Black Hair Piece’. The cooking vocabulary may be understood as both empowerment and disempowerment, which is contradictory and yet it offers listeners an ambiguous productive tension. The women are the only ones exposed to these recipes and songs and thus a discourse is preserved away from the homeland. Gendered discourse is dislocated only to be relocated in diaspora.

Elsewhere, humour is used to explore issues relating to patriarchy and men. The song ‘Seven Friends’ is acted out, unlike the other songs I have collected which are just sung. This song has strong elements of humour in it and must be performed for its full dramatic value. It was only by attending a pre wedding ceremony that I was able to put the words on a page to voices heard and actions witnessed. The roles of the seven friends were played by two sisters whose performance is played out to the amusement of the crowd. The singers could not instantly recall all the lyrics so it was a disjointed and fragmented performance but it held the attention of the audience. Members of the crowd called out the lyrics to help the

¹² Kirin Narayan, *Songs Lodged In Some Hearts* L. Smadar in *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies Of Identity* (Duke University Press, London, 1996).

sisters with remembering the words. This sort of fragmented singing is often repeated in the homeland, as ethnographer Kirin Narayan asserts:

women's songs are learned, shared, and transmitted within small groups. In performance, one or two women usually lead the singing while the others blend in. Before plunging into a particular song, singers often confer in mutters and fragments of melody to plot out the words, the verse order, and the tune...For women's songs, then, everyone is a potential performer and a member of the audience.¹³

The 'actors' were in full character as they played out the lyrics of the song to a captivated audience. The sexual bawdiness of this narrative combines with the comic action to bring this song ritual to life. Pnina Werbner suggests that "it is through performance, in turn, that the ritual itself regains its validity."¹⁴ She argues that rituals provide not only an authenticity to a community but they bring a sense of the homeland to the people. Initially, *Seven Friends* seems to be a light-hearted song about marriage and friendship. The lyrics describe a group of seven friends standing and gossiping and complaining about their spouses:

One friend's husband was a postman
All night long he did not let me sleep
As he kept stamping his letter.
All night long

All night long he did not let me sleep
As he kept stamping his letter.
All night long

Chorus
Seven friends standing together and keep on telling their
stories (x2)

One friend's husband was a driver
All night long he did not let me sleep

¹³ Kirin Narayan, 'Songs Lodged in Some Hearts in L. Smadar,(ed) *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies of Identity* (Duke University Press, London,1996), p.188.

¹⁴ Pnina Werbner, 'The Virgin and the Clown :Ritual Elaboration in Pakistani Migrants' Weddings', *Man*,21, 2 ,(1986) ,pp.227-250.

As he kept pressing his horn.
All night long.

All night long he did not let me sleep
As he kept pressing his horn.
All night long.

Seven friends

'Seven Friends' can be seen as a song-narrative where seven stories offer an insight into the social position of women. It is also a song which is bawdy and raucous. One woman tells of her husband the postman 'stamping his letter' all night, another tells of her husband a dancer who 'kept showing his moves' whilst another kept 'pressing his horn.'¹⁵ The song is full of implicit sexual references. This song is only performed because it is exclusively a female domain but it also brings comic relief to a body of otherwise rather depressing narratives. It has retained many of its original features and has all the little nuances that make it what it is: the humour, the female reaction, the women singing it, the feelings of empathy it evokes and most importantly the nostalgic effect it has upon the gathered women. As a result the song is sung in relocation mainly as it is strongly linked to migrational nostalgia. Arguably, the relocation of the song has had very little effect on the lyrics and the mannerisms with which this particular song is delivered as the themes of male dominance and sexual exploitation are still relevant to some women

The song upon initial listening is a light hearted song about the intimacy between a man and wife but it can also be interpreted as an account of domestic abuse. The listener is told about the gathering (seven friends standing together) within a room. The words "seven friends come together" are then repeated which emphasises the cultural importance of women's gathering in the homeland. Performing this song in diaspora create or generates

¹⁵ Appendix 2.

nostalgia for a culture which originates from back home. The nostalgic effect of the repeated chorus is deliberately emphasised in diaspora to create a sense of sadness and loss, as a woman is leaving for marriage, perhaps especially among older women for whom it recalls their own personal experiences and memories. As a result, this 'happy' song has very dark and sad undertones to it and it is an assembly of both these characteristics of this particular song that allow it to be read as contradictory.

The theme of fate is repeated in *White Cockerel* and *Kala Doria* with the former being a song that specifically mentions henna (a traditional hand paint) on the girl's hands:

The hands have got henna on them- O fortunate one (x2)

All the fortune/play is on the hand lines (x2)

White Cockerel

The notion of fate and destiny is accepted and understood by the listening women. They are powerful determinants of the personal fortunes of the girl. The colourful hands become significant for they not only add to the bride's 'beauty' but they also perform an important communal rite. This song and others like it become a rite of passage for many women: not just the bride to be but a communal rite of passage for all the assembled women.

There is an element of 'gallows humour' present in these texts. The girl's coyness is illustrated and this is played out to comic effect within the confines of a female audience. Listeners today in diaspora in Lockwood find this lack of assertiveness from the girl humorous but simultaneously it brings back some familiar memories for the older women. These songs reassert and reinforce gender politics of the homeland which are not accepted yet they appear in the song repertoire of young South Asians in Lockwood. These inherent

contradictions lie in the cultural practices that have their roots in subalternity and as a result hold the culture together in diaspora by anchoring it back to the homeland.

These songs form an integral part of communal nostalgia through transmitting homeland traditions into diasporic settings. They preserve and recycle patterns of affirmed gender roles through the lens of comedy, as seen throughout the verses in *Seven Friends* and confirmed by the lyrics that women sing. As Naryan observes “the singing appears to help women to adapt to the constraints placed upon their lives while serving as a powerful emotional catharsis.”¹⁶ The autonegetic effect is activated by the melody and the words. The females present are enmeshed in a creative matrix that draws on collective experience of the homeland and merges it with individual hopes and fears for the future in the diaspora.

These oral practices were and are carried out by a community of women who have worked to re-imagine a homeland in diaspora. Rushdie contends “that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands.”¹⁷ Women, through the practice of these recipes and songs are succeeding in re-creating a homeland that then extends to the broader community. This imaginary homeland is fixed in a collective communal female consciousness triggering the nostalgia. The creative tension which arises from this becomes the paradoxical nature of not only living in diaspora but also practising the recipes and songs in Lockwood. They bring out nostalgic desires in the individual and also nostalgic tension becomes a ‘way of life’ for many of the first generation of South Asian, from my cohort, immigrants living in Lockwood. The personal memories of the women have now become communal memories to a new generation of women.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁷ Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homeland: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* (Granta Books and Viking, London 1992), p. 10.

Memories held by a diasporic community are then practised 'wholesale' by the same group of people in diaspora and become more powerful as collective nostalgia. Collective nostalgia helps to maintain a communal myth of the homeland. A utopian past is created through communal nostalgia that is recalled by everyone. As Anita Mannur puts it:

For diasporic communities, spatially and temporally distanced from the geographic parameters of the nation-state, a collective sense of nationhood and an affective longing for the home, and a fear of "losing" tradition morphs into a desire to vigilantly retain viability and visibility through a systematic attempt to ossify the fragments and shards of cultural practice deemed "authentic."¹⁸

This seemingly irrational yet communal fear is behind the repetition of 'homeland' patterns in diaspora. This explains the continued use of identical tools and processes and the gender-based setting for the songs.

Nostalgia permeates the lives of members in the diaspora and is the overriding reason behind the sustaining of oral texts considered in this study. Nostalgia is highly emotive and potentially all-consuming as countless hours can be spent looking back to a place and time that now exists only in the mind's eye. Women create and generate nostalgia and further connect it to feelings of belonging. Present conditions in Lockwood explain why these women see these gatherings as so personally rewarding. Nostalgia is performed to provide for needs in the present.

The aim of nostalgia, which is the foundation of most diasporic oral literature, is to facilitate a renewed cultural experience. This is a need that is balanced out with a utopian or imagined culture. In order to preserve a culture, nostalgia is necessary, whether this is imagined or not. The songs also have within them, as illustrated, a sense of the trauma of

¹⁸ Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Temple University Press, Miami, 2010), p.48.

loss. This echoes notions of migrational nostalgia which are explored earlier in Chapter three.

The romanticisation of the country of origin can be so entrenched in diasporic literature deeming it almost unrecognisable but it is needed in order to sustain a sense of culture. As Heck writes in *The Migrating Recipe*:

The need to maintain a traditional identity within a foreign country is so strong that food may develop a mythical status, a 'more authentic' flavor, than actually found in the country of origin.¹⁹

Food and cooking are intrinsic to creating an identity in diaspora and can assimilate memories of the homeland. The songs and recipes discussed above activate a cultural fusion that illuminates the tensions of living in diaspora: the concept of being dislocated and never fully belonging to your adopted country and the feeling of forever looking back to your country of origin to preserve a time and place which has become over-romanticised and can be an obstacle to coping with the world of the everyday. Pringle²⁰ speaks of a time gone and a present that is filled with a yearning and a sense of loss. His melancholic words are applicable to this diasporic community as their nostalgic desire is given a sense of credence.

¹⁹Mariana de Camargo Heck , 'Adapting and Adopting: The Migrating Recipe' in J. Floyd & L. Forster, (eds.) *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions*, (Ashgate Publishing Ltd., London, 2003), p. 208.

²⁰ Charlotte Fisk Bates, *The Cambridge Book of Poetry and Song*, (Thomas Y Crowell, New York, 1910).

6 SPACE, TIME AND FEMALE EMPOWERMENT IN DIASPORA

The whole notion of 'women's work' within the separate spheres ideology coalesced around a distinction of space and activity.

Jane Haggis¹

The lived experiences and spatial imaginaries of transnational migrants revolve around home in a range of ways: through, for example, relationships between home and the homeland, the existence of multiple homes, diverse home-making practices and the intersections of home, memory, identity and belonging.

Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling²

This chapter examines how the dynamics of space practised in a diasporic setting may generate an identity for a community in diaspora. The opening words are reminders that the oral practices of migrant women's lived experiences disclose the complexities of how they build relationships and roles for themselves in, around and through aspects of home. Implicit in these links is the interweaving of change and continuity that occur through time and across space. This chapter's focus is twofold: it considers dimensions of the past and present time and issues of space and place within the songs and recipes gathered in Lockwood. It also discusses the spatial and temporal circumstances in which these oral texts occur. The relationship between domestic space, identity and empowerment emerges through considering how women wield power within the domestic space and create a viable identity in diaspora through their recipes and songs.

¹Jane Haggis 'Good wives and mothers or 'dedicated workers' ? Contradictions of domesticity in the 'mission of sisterhood', Travancore, South India in K. Ram, and M.t A.Jolly (ed) *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial experiences in Asia and the Pacific* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998), p. 104

² Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, *Home* (London, Routledge, 2006), p.199.

Despite living within a patriarchal community, gendered patterns of using domestic space for shared food preparation and wedding-related songs contribute to diasporic women's identities by enabling them to negotiate boundaries and assert authority within clearly defined areas of cultural practice. Once a woman steps out of her domain, any power she accrues with the songs and the recipes is diminished and she once again becomes invisible and silent within the public sphere. These cultural practices thus function in the household space as women only gatherings become a gendered space inside which women assume roles of authority for the duration of specific activities. Although the household spaces revert to family use, the women's authority is built through their participation in culinary and marriage preparations. Even though the women's control over household space lasts only as long as the activity, their involvement enhances their status and authority and may contribute to a shared sense of empowerment at least within the domestic sphere. Arguably, their temporary occupation and dominance of real spaces also creates a more liminal space or third space within which women maintain a symbolic presence as guardians of cultural knowledge within their communities. This less literal exploration of space is discussed later.

This chapter thus supplements the preceding explorations of nostalgia and the maternal voice by analysing recipes and songs in relation to places, spaces and times. These variables are important when considering the diasporic relocation of these oral texts from one geographical setting to another and their connections between past and present circumstances. They are also very evident in the songs and the recipes. Timescales, for instance, vary considerably from timing mentioned in individual instructions, to the decades over which successive generations have learned, practised and passed on particular traditions. Cooking may take a few minutes while preparation may take hours or days and

storage may involve weeks or months. Dishes are associated with seasonality and, as already mentioned, occasions and life cycles or periods of fertility. Time is also central to the wedding songs: the lyrics express different aspects of transition and a bride's rite of passage from girlhood to becoming a married woman. The timings of the events at which the songs occur are also very specific: these gatherings occur in the immediate days preceding a wedding.

Similarly there is great spatial variation whether considering the micro-spaces of storage cupboards and food preparation spaces to the use of the whole room within a house or the relation of that terraced house to adjacent streets and houses. The geographical links between Lockwood and South Asia provide the overall spatial context to the study and are reinforced by both unspecified settings and named places and regions within different narratives. Exploring these dynamics in relation to the songs and recipes shared by Lockwood's women is where detailed attention now turns. Oral clues to the significance of time and space within the Lockwood narratives are closely examined.

The construction of a place of safety is being built by these women through food and song. It is through these two strands of cultural practice that women create a liminal space through the process of cooking and the process of singing. The kitchen spaces and the temporary rooms for the singing become the liminal spaces that these diasporic women have carved out for themselves. This place of safety is both empowering and disempowering to women of all generations.

6.1 FROM THERE TO HERE: FOODS COOKED IN THE HERE AND NOW

The significance of recipes is that they demand a space to be created within the domestic space that is connected to the women. The repetition of buying the ingredients and then physically clearing a place for these dishes to be re-created reinforces the cyclical and shared nature of these recipes. It reinforces the culinary knowledge shared by the women, which binds them in the realm of domesticity. The creation of a domestic space is a power enabling strategy used by the women to give themselves a sense of power denied to them outside the domestic space. The entire process is similar to a ceremony being conducted with elements of performativity in it both in the homeland and in diaspora. The gathering of multiple women combined with the singing whilst making the food provides a specific cultural power that is sustained only through a collective desire for a diasporic identity.

Regional identities, as discussed in Chapter Five, are significant as they also allow a nostalgic connection to the homeland. The need for an alternative space and time becomes apparent in the different recipes for *Wasaar* and *Saag* that originate from the Sind, Kashmir and Punjab regions. The recipe for *Kashmir Wasaar* implies the power required for its production, as its vast volume of assembled ingredients requires space in the home before preparation starts:

Wasaar takes a lot of time. You will need to start early in the morning. You need a big pot as it is going to be used for a whole year. The place you find to make it has to be pretty large and clean. Remember, this has to be made starting early in the morning. Then your *Wasaar* will be made properly.

(Kashmir)Wasaar 3

Time is mentioned throughout this recipe. Maria narrates that the cook must start 'early in the morning'. We are then informed of the need for space also. A space for the 'big pot' is needed and the space for 'performing' this recipe needs to be large thus signifying the importance of space. The word 'remember' reminds us that this is an act of remembrance not only for Maria but for her mother and also for the eventual transmission of this recipe narrative to her daughter. This recipe demands that the woman has to first identify a specific space within the domestic space needed for this dish. The Russian doll effect of a literal and a physical space within another space is apparent here. At the end of the recipe narrative we find that this can be stored for up to a year leaving the cook seeking out another space in the home in which to store the finished dish. For these recipes to exist in diaspora, spaces inside the diasporic home must be created and it is the acknowledgement of the necessity to provide these spaces that gives the woman power within the home.

Furthermore, during the making of *Kashmiri Wasaar*, singing takes place, increasing the power of the collective female voice (and exerting an audible presence which contrasts with a silent presence at other times). Songs called *Tappay* and *Mayia* are specific melodies about the pains of domesticity such as marriage and leaving the natal home after marriage. Through this recipe a community of women blend the elements of homeland nostalgia in a diasporic setting:

When the women get together, one they make the *wasaar* and two they chat and gossip. They also swap recipes and methods of making foods. New recipes are swapped. My one friend told me that she used to sing whilst making this. *Tappay* and *Mayia* would be sung.

(Kashmir)Wasaar 3

The importance and value placed on community and foods together are evident in this recipe. Whilst rubbing the spices together they talk, telling each other about what was happening in their lives and what had happened. This seemingly idle chatter of the women provides them with some power for it is this that gives them a sense of agency. It also creates a social space for the women by the women. They find strength in belonging whilst the anecdotal and fragmentary narratives help them to renegotiate identities and strengthen bonds. They are carving out a space for themselves: a space that can offer a sense of solidarity and community. The homeplace constructed here becomes in a sense a site for resistance as this has now become *their* space. It is clear to see that an appropriation of space is taking place with these recipes and songs. It is only the making of the recipe that brings the women together and creates these bonds. The practice of the recipe becomes a mode that allows agency to be created and re-negotiated within a space that is both domestic and cultural. This narrative also brings together recipes and songs as cultural practices when a certain type of song is sung during the making of this recipe, which allows for the re-creation of a space which has been created through the generations in the homeland space.

Claude Fischler, argues that a space is vital to the creation of identity.³ The space requirements for making *Wasaar* highlight the spatial demands of much British South Asian culinary practice. This is carried out in a 'controlled' environment and is seen as belonging to women and therefore is a gendered domestic space. By this I mean it is occupied by carefully selected women and takes place inside the house of the host based upon their culinary knowledge. For those chosen it enhances feelings of power and belonging. The

³Claude Fischler, 'Food, self and identity,' *Social Science Information*, 27, 2, (1988), p.275.

making of this dish therefore helps to negotiate a personal identity whilst simultaneously promoting a communal shared identity.

Spaces and places are inherently attached to food making practices as explored in Chapter Four.⁴ Each region has its own identity and food plays an important role in reinforcing that identity in the homeland and in diaspora. The following narratives speak of the same dish but sequence different ingredients differently:

Fresh mustard leaves finely chopped
Fresh spinach leaves finely chopped
Salt
Finely chopped fresh green chillies to own preference
Fresh Methi leaves chopped
Fresh Fennel leaves chopped (using a 'daath')
Coarse corn flour

My mother taught me this and her mother taught her and this cooks in most Punjabi homes.

This is a Punjabi dish. Lots of Punjabi people eat this with Makhi roti.

Punjabi Saag

Two Garlic bulbs crush them
Finely chopped green chillies or red chilli powder two small spoons. Add salt
Yoghurt is needed
Fresh mustard leaves finely chopped- wash it properly

Kashmiri Saag

These two recipes for *Saag* are presented in this study as regional dishes and have a regional identity that relates to the ingredients. Taste, ingredients and method differ from *Punjabi Saag*; for instance, in *Sofia's Kashmiri Saag*, ground almonds and bajra seeds are added. Both present the same dish from the homeland but achieve this via different routes: Aqsa and Sofia's recipes for *Saag* differ yet are very similar. They both require space and

⁴ Doreen Massey, *For Space* (Sage publications, London, 2005).

time to be cooked in the correct way. In the first recipe above from Aqsa we are told of the many types of green leafy vegetables required thus illustrating the need for space within the kitchen. All the vegetables must be finely chopped bringing a type of rhythm to the procedure. This cutting requires the use of a homeland tool.

Sofia narrates what sounds like a completely different recipe. For here, there is not an array of leaves in the kitchen. Whereas Aqsa requires a *daath* for the chopping Sofia's procedure does not call for one. However, both are valid and legitimate because this is how *their* mothers taught them and ultimately it is they who offer validity to a dish as discussed in Chapter Four. Aqsa says at one point 'to own preference', which encapsulates the message of both these recipes, for they both are left to the apprentice. This reflects the words 'it's up to you', as discussed and explored in the previous chapter, reflecting the confidence of the mother in the daughter and in herself.

The *Punjabi Saag* differs slightly from the one in Kashmir and again it is named after its place. *Saag* in diaspora is eaten with a flatbread known as *Makhi Roti* as told by Aqsa.

Food historian Sucheta Mazumdar has observed:

Eating *makkai ki roti* (corn flat breads) with *Saron ka sag* (mustard greens) in the spring is more of a symbolic statement of Punjabi regional identity today that nostalgically celebrates the rural roots of its sons of the soil...⁵

Foods cooked in the diaspora have their roots in the homeland and generate an identity for a community in relocation. Mazumdar refers to the diasporic community as the 'sons of the soil' conjuring up a very romantic view of the men in diaspora still having a connection to the homeland through eating this particular combination of dishes. The belief that eating

⁵ Sucheta Mazumdar, 'The Impact of New World Food Crops on the Diet and Economy of China and India, 1600-1900', in Raymond Grew (ed.) *Food in Global History*, (WestviewPress, Boulder, Colo, 1999), p. 58-78.

these foods together somehow will take you back to the 'motherland' is inherently present in this practice. *Punjabi Saag* is also known as *Saron ka Sag* (aka *Saag*) and is traditionally eaten together with *Maki ki roti* in Lockwood which in turn heightens its emotional nostalgic value by evoking communal memories which are not necessarily connected to each individual and their homeland experience of this dish. This nationalistic side to food and recipes can also be found in the songs. Both songs and recipes are transmitted from one generation to the next and embedded within these narratives are direct overtones of region and places in the homeland.

The interweaving of temporal and spatial processes reveals the women's empowerment and authority. Despite being in diaspora, having control over the bodies of others also provides women with a sense of protracted power. The notion of the past is further linked to the present through the active practice of culinary memories. This particular narrative recalls the power of the past in the present:

In the past our grandmother and mothers used to make this for long journeys, field workers and new mothers. In Lockwood mothers still make it for their daughters who are new mothers.

Pinnia

The beginning of this narration instantly takes us back to a different time and space and then this is followed by an immediate gendering of this recipe. Women in the past 'our grandmothers and mothers' brings this now to the immediate present and links it back to the personal. The vertical dimension of genealogy is firmly presented. This is a practice that has been running before our time and will carry on after our time. Aqsa, brings it to the immediate diasporic present by saying 'In Lockwood' it is continued. The idea that new mothers are given this sustains the reach of this cultural practice. We are provided with a

cultural culinary practice, which began in the homeland and is now continued to be practised in a different space and time.

Food production allows women to be empowered and build relationships by telling their stories in a space that they know is custom built for an exchange of female dialogues. This is a space and time which repeats with women through the generations. The dialogue taking place is a narrative strategy through which the women are able to have some control. These narratives thus exist in a time frame connected to the female past and present. This is illustrated with the time-consuming recipe for 'Lambs' feet':

You will need three or four pounds, you must have plenty of them, they take a lot of time to make .This is how to make lambs' feet. First you clean them, take any hair off them by burning them off. They don't look nice in the pot. Take a big pot of water and place the meat inside add salt. In the olden days they would use log fires for cooking. At the end add chopped coriander using a daath. Finely chop it and set it aside. In the olden days old women did this.
Put it on a low gas, this cooks all day it takes 7 or 8 hours to cook.
Lots of people put it on in the evening and it's ready the next morning.

Kharroray

Aqsa sets a very firm and assured tone from the very beginning; this reflects that she feels the knowledge she has acquired from her mother is secure. Repeated reference to cooking times signals the significance of tasks. The 'burning of the hair' reflects knowledge and experience of making this dish. The laborious task of 'cleaning them, burning the hair off' is a domestic chore which has migrated through time and space. The time paradigm of this recipe exists in a cyclical temporality which Kristeva explores in her influential essay.⁶ The

⁶Julia Kristeva, *Women's Time Signs: Journal for Women in Culture and Society*, 7, 1, (1981).

repetition of the instruction that the meat needs to be put on a 'low gas' brings time into a domestic act; this adds to the notion that this is a recipe that is practised in a cyclical time. This is further emphasised by the fact that lambs' feet are something that would generally be discarded in British culture.

Aqsa injects the past throughout the narrative of this recipe: 'In the olden days' reveals how one domestic temporality contains another temporality of the past homeland. The transmitting of this recipe adds to the sense that a new space is being created for this cultural practice to exist. She also tells of chopping the coriander 'using a *daath*' and placing it 'aside', so a place within a space must be located by the 'old woman' in the homeland and the dynamics of this tradition are carried forward in diaspora. The cultural value of homeland tools has been explored in the previous chapter but its connection to the value of women needs to be acknowledged.

Culinary practice occurs in the private world of the woman in the homeland and remains in this sphere in diaspora. Elderly women carried out this task for this is a fairly light activity requiring little strength but a lot of skill, which they possessed. The skill and knowledge of how to use a *daath* was revered in the homeland and is an act that is maintained in diaspora today. As a result, elderly women were valued and acknowledged for their culinary wisdom as well as their life experiences in this particular patriarchal community. This illustrates the idea of female genealogies and the transmission of knowledge through the generations and through time and space.

The past has a strong influence on the present for the diasporic. This is further illustrated through the recipe for *karaylay*. These are made with the vegetables called ‘bitter melons’:

Place all these in a pan and then put on a low gas and allow to simmer/cook. When the masala is made – when the butter comes to the top and all ingredients are mashed together and the ingredients are not visible – lower the gas. Cut the *karaylay*’s into small pieces, scoop out the insides and throw away. Then shallow fry them in oil. This will take out most of the bitterness of the vegetable.

Karaylay

She has been taught this procedure and has the ability to narrate it because of the repetition of making this dish in diaspora. She has continuously repeated this routine to the point of narrating it into a voice recorder at any given moment.

There is again that element of this dish which relies on prior culinary knowledge; “When the masala is made, when the butter comes to the top” are both representative of the notion that Maria now is expecting her audience to ‘know’ this. She will eventually transmit this knowledge to her daughter teaching her *when the masala* is made and the *butter rises*. This assurance is again transmitted and presented as part of this recipe. This confidence is empowering for her as she is clearly aware that she is acknowledged to have expertise.

Maria informs the listener to “scoop out the insides and throw away” illustrating the need for space. It also tells us that Maria herself knows how to ‘scoop out a *karayla*’ presenting a culinary skill within a culinary skill that has been observed and transmitted. She ends with a firm knowledge of this procedure telling us that following this method ‘will take out most of the bitterness’. Again she is affirming to us the knowledge that she knows to be

true which she knows both because her mother told her and also because she has practised this dish many times.

The relationship between women, food and power can be a fluid one. As women practise these recipes in diaspora they become their de facto guardians. Kurt Lewin carried out a field report on the food habits of women and suggested that women controlled the flow of food into the domestic arena in their role as 'gatekeepers.' Lewin identified that the food reached the table from various sources: "the grocery store, the garden and the refrigerator."⁷ She (the woman) becomes the guardian of the food that is allowed into the kitchen. Crucially, this term gatekeeper denotes images of a protector: someone guarding something, a secret perhaps or something very precious. The need for a 'guard' is consciously passed down through female genealogy, as discussed earlier. This study has found that women become sentinels for aspects of a culture which are in diaspora and therefore in danger of becoming diluted by other cultures.

Women perceive themselves as the nourishers of children and adults providing essential life-giving sources to those around them in a cyclical temporality. It is the mother who determines how and when family members will be fed; giving her power, as food writer Sara Sceats asserts that "in being fed both husband and children are subordinate to her."⁸ Sceats makes the connection between food and fertility in her works and links food and women's bodies together with aspects of the maternal contending that

⁷Alex McIntosh and Mary Zey, 'Women as Gatekeepers of Food Consumption: A Sociological Critique' in C.M. Counihan & S. L. Kaplan (eds.) *Food and Gender: Identity and Power* (Harwood Academic Publishers, New York, 1998), p.135.

⁸Sarah Sceats, *Food, Consumption & the Body in Contemporary Women's Fiction* (Cambridge University Press, New York, 2000).

Women's bodies have the capacity to manufacture food for their infants which categorises them as feeders...with all that this implies of power and service.⁹

There is a clear link between the female body and its scope to create food and nourish others. We have here a portrayal of maternal love as being powerful but as simultaneously limited because of the traditional patriarchal stereotypes that come with being the 'nurturing' provider. Within the Kristevan time model, maternal bodies are recognised as having limited power and it is the making of these recipes that limits that power.

The recipes draw on a cyclical timescale that can be linked to fertility and birth. A place of 'darkness' and 'safety,' both terms associated with the womb, is required for some of the recipes to be practiced in diaspora. This place becomes expressive of the conditions of fertility, which then guides the period of time required for some recipes to be ready. The recipe for *Yoghurt* is also one that needs to be located in a 'warm' space to 'fertilise and cook':

Wrap the pot in an old blanket... and place in a warm place... leave in a place in the house.
In the morning when you open it up the yoghurt will be set.

Yoghurt

The yoghurt is connected to aspects of the maternal body because of the time and space needed. The place identified must be warm and the 'heat must be sustained by wrapping the pot in a blanket'. The sustaining of this dish in diaspora reflects the repetitive nature and draws upon the cyclical aspect of this culinary practice. Similarly, the recipe narrative for the 'Pickled Gooseberries' calls for the cook to "Put to the side for one day, covering them." The

⁹ Sarah Sceats, *Food, Consumption & the Body in Contemporary Women's Fiction* (Cambridge University Press, New York, 2000), p. 2.

process by which this dish is made demands a space within a space. By 'placing' the fruit to one side we have not only a mimetic representation of culinary practices from the homeland to the diaspora but we have a space within a space which itself is cyclical. Shirley Ardner asserts that "some spaces [are seen] as "feminine" and other as "masculine" and thus allocated certain kinds of (gendered) activities to (gendered) places."¹⁰ This is why 'taking over' places is important, especially if those spaces are within those household spaces initially associated with the male sphere of influence. It becomes a fruitless task to attempt to isolate space from gender as the two are inextricably linked in this context.

As well as requiring a particular space, these recipes also require a 'cooking time'. This connects cooking with a place of safety and reassurance for both the mother and child/cook as well as the dish. We have the link between cooking and the maternal. The cooking period for many of these dishes is lengthened to months, which reflects the period of fertility and gestation. The ritualistic aspect of 'Pickled Gooseberries' is multifarious, from the gathering of the ingredients to the cooking to its consumption. It has the power to bring together a community and evokes strong emotions about the past but it also links food and the female body firmly together.

Repetition is an important aspect of these foods. The recipe for Yoghurt, for example, requires the repetition of actions based on traditional knowledge gained over time and preserved in diaspora. This food may evoke connotations of the dairy rooms of Northern England but it is in line with a tradition that firmly belongs inside the domestic spheres of diasporic homes in Lockwood. This recipe calls for approximately a gallon of unpasteurised milk and a tablespoon of commercial yoghurt.¹¹ What makes this yoghurt

¹⁰ Shirley Ardner, *Women and Space: Ground rules and Social Maps* (Croom Helm, London, 1981).

¹¹ See Appendix 1.

different to commercial yoghurt is that once these two items are mixed in a ceramic dish it has then to be placed in a dark and warm part of the house 'hiding' overnight. It is wrapped up in a thick blanket which must not be removed until the yoghurt is made several hours later. Both the yoghurt and the fruit pickle must be placed in darkness for them to 'cook' or 'fertilise'. In repeating these steps both these recipes lend themselves to Kristeva's temporal mode for they have strong links to periods of fertility and the female body.

The women in this arena are not only keepers of recipes but they also become owners of a space which allows them an identity. Alex McIntosh and Mary Zey assert that:

The concepts of power, influence, and control are essential to our understanding of women's domestic role, especially its food related responsibilities and its relationship to the exercise of power in the home.¹²

It is through understanding the dynamics and the hierarchy of power that we understand women's position within that hierarchy. Much of the woman's power is food-related and further to this much of the South Asian woman's power is held through these oral texts which is why the women guard them and give them such priority in diaspora. It also provides us with an explanation of why the oral texts exist in a cyclical time because to do so is not only necessary for the recipes and songs to be 'carried on' but, arguably, also for the very survival of the women themselves.

It is by focusing on the recipe of *Haleem* that I suggest power is found and wielded for its makers. This is a recipe which functions fully as a part of a culinary discourse and becomes significantly powerful in the realm of culinary discourse. It takes a long time to buy the ingredients, then prepare the dish and cook it on a linear timeline but it is the power of

¹²Alex McIntosh and Mary Zey, 'Women as Gatekeepers of Food Consumption: A Sociological Critique' in .C.M. Counihan & S. L. Kaplan (eds) *Food and Gender: Identity and Power* (Harwood Academic Publishers, New York, 1998), p.131

the cultural consensus that makes it part of a larger cyclical spatial and temporal framework in diaspora. As with other recipes this recipe requires a specific space and time to be carried out. As discussed earlier Aqsa states: “A big plastic sheet is needed”, in order for a large plastic sheet to be used a suitable space in the home must be identified. Iris M. Young argues that a space is needed in order for an identity to exist and this identity is never fixed “but always in process.”¹³ This is a rather general comment but when merged with diasporic culinary narrative and an alternative spatial and temporal framework it provides a greater understanding of a diasporic identity, which develops through shared experiences. This culinary practice demands a literal space within the kitchen and in asserting the need for space the women claim power and an identity that is communal.

The production of all of these dishes becomes a cyclical ritual that is created in the kitchen and in a space by the women who are thousands of miles and many years away from the women who practised these dishes in the homeland and observed the ‘rules’ as apprentices. The domestic space discloses how the horizontal and vertical transmission of culinary knowledge is sustained after migration. It also becomes a reflection of the marginalisation of women on which this research is focused. However, the ownership of the space readmits power and control to these women. These women become the gatekeepers of the recipes as they are essentially in control of them inside the domestic space. The contradiction of the power and the subjugated position of women encompassed in recipes and their place is the very nature of the diasporic cultural identity.

It is these culinary practices that exist in a separate spatiality and temporality that provide not only a feminine identity but a communal identity. The recipes themselves

¹³Iris M Young, ‘House and Home: Feminist Variations on a Theme’ in D.Olkowski, (ed.) *Resistance, Flight, Creation* (Cornell University Press, New York, 2000), p.49.

become a mode of communication helping to subvert the patriarchal hegemony that usually dominates. The making of food is associated with all things domestic: cleaning, child-rearing and general household chores. The endless repetition of these acts through time and space places them in a separate temporal mode. My reading of this third space and of Kristeva's cyclical model demonstrates how the recipes can become a political tool that allows the female to become part of the power structure. The women who keep the recipes, like the elders of the community, confer initiation rather like a performance. It is through this knowledge base that women reclaim power for themselves in a space and time thus allowing them to generate a gendered identity.

I have shown that through recipe narratives the diasporic individual is able to retain elements of the homeland whilst living in the diasporic present. The dynamics of nostalgia and space are all legitimised through the maternal voice.

6.2 HAPPENING TUNES: SPATIAL PARAMETRERS OF SONGS

These songs inhabit two spaces; one outside the songs and the space inside the songs. The first is the physical space, which is created in diaspora for these songs to take place. A place in the house must be found for the women gathering in the bride's natal home. Secondly, there is the time and space that exists *within* these songs. The songs, much like the recipes, become narratives that speak of a space and time that is contained *inside* the narratives. These songs are mostly about the transitional stage between single life and marriage. The song narratives exist on the threshold of the next stage of life and are a rite of passage for many women. Turner asserts that the 'rites of passage' for each culture force the individual to enter a liminal space. I argue that the physical gatherings occupy this liminal space and that the songs exist in this alternative and enclosed space and time. As

these songs are sung in a particular social gathering, they are part of the domestic sphere occupied by women. The songs, like the recipes, allow the home place to become a site for resistance. These songs are practised in an alternative temporality and are not 'performed' outside the private paradigm of the woman's time that was initially argued for by Kristeva. Like the repeated sharing of stories and recipes, sung in diasporic settings, these texts have meaning for both the singer and her audience which is both individual and shared and rooted both in the past and the present. Werbner asserts:

The control of rites by women does not signify, in simple terms their association with nature. They are, indeed mediators with nature in the wedding rites because they are the feeders and the nurturers, and thus are, in effect, the owners and controllers of the domestic domain. It is this domain into which nature threatens to intrude and disrupt. Hence they control the pre-marriage 'magical' rites.¹⁴

We get a strong sense of the position of women inside the domestic arena as Werbner also portrays these songs as rites of passage.

The girl has to leave the domestic space that is connected to the natal home. This is both physical and emotional. In *Na Ro Babula* (Don't cry father) a specific domestic space is called for and a specific area in the domestic arena is mentioned by name:

The wedding trumpet rings in my courtyard
The loved ones have come to put you in the wedding cart
(audience perspective)
[...]
The house walls are crying
It's the first time we have been separated (the voice of
the daughter)

Na Ro Babula

¹⁴Pnina Werbner, 'The Virgin and the Clown: Ritual Elaboration in Pakistani Migrants Weddings', *Man*, 21, 2, (1986) p.245.

The garden or courtyard becomes a starting point for the ceremony reflecting that the house and the garden has been home to the bride. She has been ushered into her wedding palanquin by her parents. The personification of the walls alters the home; now it becomes yet another person that is being 'left behind'. This is reflective of the line analysed earlier in *Madhaniyaan*: 'Four walls of the home and the floor begins to tremble with emotional pain' which presents the walls of a house as having emotions. When she says 'it's the first time we have been separated' the ambiguity of whether she means her father or the house is presented. She is in mourning for the domestic space that she is leaving – be that her parents, siblings or the actual physical environment, which in this case has been the home. This song becomes a love letter from the one who is leaving to the private enclosure of the domestic arena and all who inhabit it.

Memories and the past are literally being left behind. The domestic space in which her childhood years have been spent now must be left. The bride continues to sing:

Dolls and toys are my mark
Today I will leave behind memories

(daughter's voice)

Na Ro Babula

She recalls her childhood playthings that remain after her own departure. Her memories of a life spent within the boundaries of the domestic arena are all that remain. It is suggested that she laments that her relationship with her father will inevitably be diminished by her marriage.

A strong emotional bond is displayed between the father and daughter. Her question of the father 'tell, why did you attach yourself to me?' reveals an emotional closeness between father and daughter as he says:

The one that played on my lap
Now I've given it somebody else

Na Ro Babula

The father's response implies he is resigned to an inevitability of losing his daughter to marriage. Fate recurs in these songs and is a belief held by many within the original culture and the diasporic culture. The idea of giving and receiving recurs too, as does the implied theme of selling a daughter:

Daughters are born to be strangers
[...]
One day I was meant to be separated

Na Ro Babula

The song explores the same theme with more subtlety. Here we are shown the contradictory nature of not only the song but the complexity within the very nature of the ritual performance of giving daughters away. This implicit contradiction is clear in performance as is the notion that daughters, like spaces, are only temporary. We hear the father accepting the idea of being separated from his daughter. The tone of this lament is one of sorrow and heartache and here we have the relationship of the father and daughter illuminated.

The sobering notion that being female automatically makes you a stranger in your father's house is an archetypal patriarchal view recognisable to the female audience present. Sadness pervades the entire song as its explicitness also offers a reminder that this song is sung within the 'four walls' that grieve for the bride's imminent departure. Thus a

space is created for not only the song to exist but also for the subject of the song to exist. The female inhabits the domestic sphere too, as do the 'four walls' literally and metaphorically. Furthermore, the female and the house are firmly connected to domestic space and will be forever bound to this space. This connection is cemented not only by the words but by the empathetic reaction of the audience. This song-narrative contains different temporalities. The women gathered are in the domestic Kristevan time mode but the song narrative is also dealing with a space and time *within* it.

The polyphony of voices in this song narrative reflect the many voices in each recipe as each 'story' told includes the speech genres of a heteroglossic dialogue. The polyphonic nature of this song-narrative reflects the complex nature not only of the subject matter but also the complex nature of the practice of the song narrative. Bakhtin asserts that: "the listener becomes the speaker"¹⁵ This is the case with many of the songs in this study as they need a listening audience, for the people performing these songs have gone through or will go through the same emotional dislocation that this song exposes. There is the sense that they are very much singing to themselves and in effect, empathising and consoling themselves and each other. Following a definition of heteroglossia as hybrid utterances, we can see these songs as on the one hand indicative of the oppression of female protagonists and on the other as expressive of the resilience of the singer and her listeners in the context of the third space in the home. As ethnographer Jassal states "Songs constitute the spaces wherein the collective voice of women may be said to have evolved."¹⁶ The sense that the *collective* voice is dynamic in diaspora and holds more power in diaspora is something my

¹⁵Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres & Other Late Essays*, Carl Emerson and Michael Holoquist, (eds), Vern W.McGee, (trans.) (University of Texas Press, Austin, 2004), p.68.

¹⁶ Smita Tewari Jassal, *Unearthing Gender: Folksongs of North India* (Duke University Press, Durham, 2012), p.5.

thesis builds upon. This is made more poignant as the dwellers of this sphere are in full knowledge of the fact that once they step outside their allotted arena, any power will dissipate and they will become silent again.

The linking of past and present also occurs in *Saab ki baraatein*. There is a clear division here of time and space outside and inside the song running parallel to each other: “All the wedding processions have passed through; won't you too bring the wedding cart.” This is an old romantic song exploring the notion of romantic love that is celebrated both in the homeland and in diaspora.¹⁷ The voice of the girl pleads for her groom to join the wedding party. The word ‘procession’ is suggested which has connotations of lots of people gathering in a particular place. Again the domestic space is required for the wedding ‘procession’ to occur. This is a gathering of people that is part of the social event and spatial divisions are parallel to each other.

The duality of the girl’s emotions is now presented. The girl continues with declarations of love for her groom:

once you've made me your bride, take me away, my
prince
I used to dream and long for someone;
what amazing desires were in my innocent heart!
tears rose to my eyes
oh, tears rose to my eyes, but no one came for me
and now you too must make someone your own and call
out to them

Saab ki baraatein

There are two images: firstly, we have the archetypal yearnings for a loved one, secondly, we have a much more complex portrait of someone or something coming to almost ‘rescue’

¹⁷This song stems from the villages of the Indian subcontinent however it has been used in Bollywood films of recent years where it has garnered further recognition from the wider diasporic community.

the girl. With the line 'I used to dream and long for someone' there comes the stereotypical version of a female being, or more importantly needing, to be 'saved'. She continues by lamenting that her rescuer or prince did not come for her. The fairy-tale ending which the bride to be wants does not appear and is partially responsible for her present emotional state. The space and time of the narrative within the song can be located in the past and the homeland but also has genuine connections with the women present as they replay patterns of the past but relate them to their own present and future.

The following verse is much darker in tone and more culturally observant. A woman sings about the 'reality' of her life as a wife and the loss of her natal home:

these eyes have dreamed of a beautiful night
and of bangles clattering in these hands
but when I opened my eyes to reality, I saw neither a
beautiful night nor musical bangles
what I'd heard was the cracking of my broken heart

Saab ki baraatein

Here is the girl singing of a 'broken heart'. While she could be commenting on her husband in this case it could also be because of the loss of her natal home. The movement and the clanking of her bangles signifies a joyous occasion, however the reference to her broken heart and tears suggest the complete opposite. The celebratory aspect that the bangles signify is broken here for she sings 'but when I opened my eyes to reality, I saw neither a beautiful night nor musical bangles.' She states quite clearly that the joyous aspect of the wedding celebrations is over and now it is the time to ponder the true nature of her marriage. Reality to her is 'hearing the cracking of her heart' not the musicality of her bangles, which themselves represent her cultural roots.

The theme of romantic love runs throughout this song and as a cultural taboo exists in an alternative time paradigm. It is in the following verse she speaks of her heartache:

and the splendor I'd seen was the vividness of my heart
as it was lost
and this is the sobbing of my heart
yes, this night of mine, this state of mine, becomes
everyone's as I sing of it
and as I laugh, my wet eyelashes sparkle
my empty arms wave with such style
drinking tears, enduring my sorrows,
drinking my tears, enduring my sorrows, I sing to the
company before me

Saab ki baraatein

The disillusionment of the girl becomes a focal point of the grief for the audience for she addresses the female audience a couple of times. She addresses the women gathered directly for she knows this will evoke some sympathy for her situation and more significantly the audience will be able to empathise with her state. As she 'drinks her sorrows, drinks her tears, whilst her heart sobs' the audience is able to enjoy the performance for this provides a sense of drama to the song as well as entertainment to the audience. The line '*and as I laugh, my wet eyelashes sparkle*' tells us the paradox and internal struggle of the girl. She is laughing through the tears and the bridal makeup that masks her face. The make-up, in this instance, acts as a mask for the girl's hidden thoughts. The narrative is significant as it all takes place in a time and space that exists enclosed within the song-narratives. These lyrics define a different time and space yet are still sustained in diaspora. This time paradox is presented with his song set in a temporary space in Northern England in 2013.

A song which explores further this idea of women needing/demanding a space, both physical and metaphorical, is *Bayree they valay*. Here, a narrative explores a variety of culture-bound issues that circumnavigate the 'tale' being told. A small watercraft is the spatial focus of the song:

Boatman, bring it to the river's edge
Owner of the float/raft
Boatman, bring it to the river's edge

Badree they valay

The song is sung from the perspective of the girl and at the beginning of the song we hear her plea to the boatman to bring his craft to the riverbank so she can get aboard. The vertical crossing of the river metaphorically suggests she wants to be cast adrift and be swept away down the current of married life. However, to cross it vertically suggests an alternative phase of life. The metaphor of the river is life itself or a journey. She wishes to enter 'his' space and this is made clear in the song as the tale unfolds. She makes this plea to him for she wants to 'catch up' to the ones who have left her behind.

Oh our tribe has gone , we have been left behind (x2)
Boatman,wait for us , let us catch up to them (x2)

Bayree they valay

She is explaining to the boatman that her kin have 'left her behind' and she needs to 'catch up to them.' This becomes not only a physical plea but also an emotional cry. For this song is sung on the eve of the wedding and the song is a reflection of the girl leaving her natal home and her family and tribe leaving her behind. We are dealing with a separate spatial and temporal paradigm that exists inside the song but co-exists with the spatial and temporal mode of the women present in the gatherings. Throughout the song we hear the verse that speaks of the parents' culpability:

Our parents are stupid / gullible (x2)

Bayree they valay

The girl accuses her parents of being credulous; by saying 'our' she is including the female audience in her denunciation of their parents. This is repeated throughout the song thus emphasising it to both the audience and to herself. She is accusing the parents of being shallow for allowing their daughters to marry leaving their natal home and all their loved ones. She continues with this line by singing: "Boatman, they sell their daughters". Again, we have the accusation of the parents selling their daughters with the implication of a price being paid. The emotional turmoil of the daughter is the 'price' that is being paid in terms of a possible dowry. The commodification of the female gender is once again presented in these songs and it is one where the audience is implicitly involved in the narrative. She continues: "They give their daughters far away(x2)" she is now reiterating the statement made earlier to the boatman that parents sell their daughters. By repeating this line she is emphasising her emotional state towards her parents' actions. Throughout the song the audience hears of the parents' actions toward daughters: "O boatman, they give their daughters to servants (x2)" This introduces an additional accusation of the parents selling their daughters to servants explicitly accusing the parents of condemning their daughters to a life of servitude. The daughters exiting one domestic space within the natal home are now entering another domestic space within the conjugal home. This is apparent in the 'real' domestic space and is sung about in the narrative of the song. The two temporalities become connected through a shared sense of loss and emotional upheaval. With it being repeated we are reminded of its significance to the song and the narrative being told.

It is clear that the daughter is now adrift; she is in emotional and psychological effect as she is now without parents. She cannot go back to her parents' home and she does not want to go to her in laws. She continues to describe the dilemma she is in as she says: "O

boatman, which parent shall I go to?! (x2)” Here, she sees the conflicting drama that lies ahead for her. She is speaking of those occasions that she will need to revisit her natal home. Her questioning who her parents are now is significant because she feels that she has ‘lost’ her biological parents and *not* regained another set. Alternatively she could be commenting on the fact that as a married woman she now has no parents to go to. She is making it clear that she has no time to return to. She laments that she is now without any parents and has in effect become an orphan. She makes a plea to the boatman as well as the audience and this plea would be understood empathetically by the female listeners.

Throughout this song there are references made to the contents of the boat:

There are big cooking pots on it.
Boatman, on the watercraft is also a clay oven (x2)
O Boatman, the float has got bricks (x2)
Boatman, the craft has flatbreads on them (x2)
Boatman, the craft has Kareylay on them (x2)

Bayree they valay

All of these appliances and foods can be found in a conventional kitchen. So in one way the watercraft becomes a floating kitchen and is inside the domestic domain. The female voice of the singer reminds us of the ‘cooking pots, clay ovens and bricks’ that inhabit this craft. The bricks could be a reference to the walls of the physical kitchen that is on land; one kitchen has been swapped with another kitchen. The references to food are injected into the song ‘flatbreads and ‘karaylay’ which can both be found inside most South Asian kitchens whether in the homeland or in the diaspora. This recipe requires preparation space and calls for room in the domestic space as well as culinary skills and knowledge for authenticity. It is interesting that she has chosen one of the bitterest foods to sing about, and this could also be an indication of her emotional state towards the boatman and her ‘new’ life. The use of *Karaylas* in the narrative suggests that she is bitter about her groom

and her life as a married woman. This becomes a clue for the listener/audience that a woman's place exists on this craft. The female voice is alert to the physical resemblance of the craft to a kitchen. She is able to point it out to the audience and to herself for she knows that her 'space' will always be 'in the kitchen'. This becomes both a place of refuge and a place of abandonment for the female. At the same time because the kitchen is a space of female empowerment, getting a kitchen could also be an empowering moment for her. This illustrates the contradictory nature of this particular song as a performative. It is only at the end of the song that we learn of the twist to the narrative:

We have left our parents(x2)
Boatman, you leave your kin/tribe now (x2)

Bayree they valay

The boatman is revealed to be the girl's suitor and she asks him to now make the same sacrifices she has made. The 'kitchen' on the craft is seen more clearly now to be a demarcation of the place of the woman once she is married to him. Even on the river in a watercraft he has built her a 'place of her own'. This space becomes a reflection of the space she will never be able to leave, even on water. The last line sees the woman asking the man to make the same sacrifices she has made in 'leaving her parents' and now she asks him to leave his loved ones. This line is at the end and bears little significance to the audience and to the singer for all know that this will and does not happen as the male will not lose anyone but only gain. However, we never hear the male voice in this song and as a result a response from the male for this request is not heard or even expected.

His voice becomes insignificant to both the singer and audience as the narrative 'takes over'. There is a sense of fate that manifests itself in the idea of 'all things being in the stars'. For instance, there is the theme of destiny that overshadows this song: "O Boatman,

if it is in the stars we'll meet again." The girl sings of their fate being 'written in the stars' a reference again to a belief held by many in the audience of fate. Like the writings on the hand before them, the stars now hold the future for the girl and her suitor. The whole song has an air of resignation to it, which is reflected by the words themselves. A singer is chosen specifically for her melancholic voice to reflect the inner turmoil of the narrator. Sad songs are being sung in the saddest possible way on a happy occasion, and the songs both accept and reinforce traditional gender roles at the same time as they criticise and bewail them. This reinforces the idea that this is a culture (like most other cultures) full of ambivalence and ambiguity.

The narrative of this song tells of one place being replaced by an alternative place. Both spaces exist within the domestic space and are part of what is considered to be gendered space. This song becomes subversive for it not only reflects gender difference as a social construction but sees the woman's space as a space of fixed agency. The domestic space becomes a place of limited power for the daughter who is soon to be married and it is this power that is able to wield some control and manifests itself in providing a sense of culture to a diasporic community. It must be noted that once the daughter is married she will find herself in a role of relative empowerment with a kitchen of 'her own' and in her role as a mother. In this sense an empowerment has taken place and it is a very traditional one.

There is a very strong element in the songs that a story is being told and that a narrative is unfolding in a different space and time. *Phoola de bahaar* is a narrative of a young girl who again is 'waiting' for her suitor to come along. The song has many references to flowers. It begins with a stark image of a field full of spring flowers blossoming: "The

season of flowers/a field of flowers” An image of beautiful bright flowers is placed into the listener’s mind as this is the initial image presented. Floral imagery brings with it associations of beauty and fertility and this is very significant in this song as it indicates the girl’s beauty and potential fertility. By the second verse the girl is kept waiting as her suitor has not arrived and the “Flowers are starting to wilt”¹⁸ (*Phoola de bahaar*) An image of flowers dying indicates that the girl has been waiting for some time for her man to come. Possibly, another way to read this is that her beauty is now beginning to wane as she steps out of her liminal space and begins life in her conjugal home. The song then describes how the girl has arranged the flowers in anticipation of his arrival:

Put them this side(x2)
In the middle too

Phoola de bahaar

It is clear that she is making a garland of flowers for him, which in itself was a common feature of romantic love in the homeland. The audience is left in no doubt about the emotional anxiety that this girl is enduring. The song then goes on to make numerous references to the emotional condition of her heart:

Light of heart, come
Mischievous of my heart, come
Giddy laughter of heart, come

Phoola de bahaar

Her mannerisms are exaggerated in performance to make the point that this is a girl with all the stereotypical notions of romantic love. She refers to him as the ‘light’ of her life, which represents not only how she sees him but also how he is portrayed to the audience as her ‘saviour’ or her ‘prince’. Here, fairy tale imagery is employed to present a utopian view of

¹⁸Appendix 2.

romantic love, which is encapsulated within a time and space separated yet aligned with the time and space *outside* the song and in the room where the women are gathered.

The 'seeking' out of her man is presented with the two lines:

If I can't find my lover I will look in all the streets
If I don't meet with my darling i will look in all the
stations

Phoola de bahaar

She is searching in rather unorthodox places, which are outside the traditional parameters of the domestic sphere. The lyrics here are implying the traditional female role in stark contrast between those women who stay within the confines of the four walls with those who step out of this domestic sphere. These age-old dichotomous patriarchal views of women – the virtuous married woman and the whore – are presented here when the girl in the song narrative goes to 'look in the streets and to the station'. There is also another reading of these lyrics, which sees the woman as searching for her soul mate and this is reminiscent of the women within the recipes 'seeking' out a place for the recipes. In both genres the females are seeking an alternative space and time. Just as the recipes *Haleem*, *Yoghurt*, *Saag* and 'Pickled Gooseberries' all involve searching for a place in which they may exist, the women in the song narratives are looking for 'love' and maybe a return to the natal home. However, one is seeking a place inside the domestic sphere whilst the other is looking outside the sphere. The song then continues and makes references to lanterns as well as light: "Leave an oil lamp on the edge of the roof"¹⁹ (*Phoola de bahaar*). Here she is describing her actions to the audience; by leaving a lantern on the wall²⁰ she is leaving a sign

¹⁹ See Appendix 2.

²⁰ This is a custom practised in the homeland, one which the audience will be familiar with.

for him to locate her. The references throughout these songs, 'courtyard,' four walls' and her 'edge of the roof' mark out the domestic sphere. He now has to follow the light and he will find her.

The next verse is more complex as it describes a gift given to the girl from her suitor:

O spindle of my romeo
I spin with love
O spinning wheel given by my lover (x2)
They are sold in the big towns
O spinning wheel of my romeo

Phoola de Bahaar

In *Phoola de Bahaar* a spindle is given by the man to the woman as a symbol of his love for her. In the song *Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya* the spinning wheel becomes a tool for an activity for groups of women. The spinning wheel symbolises communities of women as well as a domestic gendered chore. This is tied in with the emotional pain and sorrow of separation by marriage. As a result the spinning wheel becomes a re-occurring theme found in the songs and one that is connected to women's heartache.

The spindle and the spinning wheel feature in classic fairy tales such as *Sleeping Beauty* and *Rumplestilskin* and symbolise the very fabric of domesticity. Folklorist Jack Zipes asserts that spinning "is tied to regeneration, narration, and creation."²¹ He connects the act of spinning to the maternal, creativity and productivity and therefore places it inside the domestic arena. Similarly, we can connect the spindle references in song lyrics to acts of domesticity and to aspects of traditional femininity. Once again, even in romantic love she is

²¹Jack Zipes, 'Spinning with Fate: Rumplestilskin and the Decline of Female Productivity' in *Western Folklore*, 52,1, (1993), pp.43-60.

confined to the domestic space, which empowers and disempowers her at the same time.²²

In the former the girl pricks her finger on one and falls asleep for a hundred years and in the latter the girl is made to spin 'hair into gold'. Both these fairy tales and this song narrative place the spindle firmly inside the domestic sphere. In the song narrative the spindle/spinning wheel becomes a mark much like the toys in *Na Ro Babula*.²³ The singer then continues to describe her gift:

It was carved by a carpenter
Leg of steel

Phoola de Bahaar

She is telling her audience how special this gift is for it is rare (they are sold in big towns and hers was carved by a 'carpenter) by giving the intricate details of the spinning wheel. Her suitor went to a different place and bought it so she is boasting to the audience of the uniqueness is not only of the gift but also of her choice in partner.

The spindle comes to represent a form of patriarchy as the spindle is not only kept by the women inside the domestic sphere but is an item of a repetitive domestic chore. The image of the spindle and the accompanying spinning wheel is continued with:

It makes a noise when it moves
Its noise touches my heart

Phoola de Bahaar

Here, she is telling her audience that as the spindle moves it creates a noise and this noise reminds her of him. She is re-iterating to the audience just how special this 'gift' is to her.

She continues by speaking of the effect the gift and his absence is having on her:

²²The younger generations will be familiar with the image of the spindle through living in the West. The spindle and the spinning wheel features in classic fairy tales such as *Sleeping Beauty* and *Rumpelstiltskin* which are both learnt at primary school so the images of a spinning wheel will be familiar to some of the audience. In the former the girl pricks her finger on one and falls asleep for a hundred years and in the latter the girl is made to spin 'hair into gold'.

²³ This spinning wheel image is repetitive and can also be found in the song *Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya*.

One my heart beats faster
Secondly my bracelet is making noise

Phoola de Bahaar

By stating these numerically she is emphasising what she is displaying: the noise of the spindle reminds her of him and 'her heart beats faster'. As discussed in the previous chapter, the golden bangle is revered in South Asian culture and is worn by the bride and is often given to her by the groom's family. It becomes not only a symbol of her 'new' life but also holds as a token to the wealth and generosity of her in-laws. The golden bangle and the spindle are both symbols of her femininity that are closely related to the domestic space. The space and time of the narrative is again connected to the spatial and temporal quality outside the song and inside the gathering.

The song is directed towards the mother for on two occasions the girl's voice is interjected with:

O listen my mother
Listen, my mother

Phoola de Bahaar

By stating throughout that the song is to her mother it becomes almost an act of rebellion. The commanding voice of the girl in dealing with matters of the heart is clear. This brings this song and its subject matter further into the realm of the domestic space by connecting it to the maternal. The song is very sorrowful in tone. The history of these does not fall into the remit of my thesis; however these songs like fairy tales, it also serve as warnings of the perils of fate.

Another song-narrative that brings to the audience the notion of romantic love within a space and time separated from them and existing only in songs is the song *Bathiya buji rakdee vai*. This tells of how the girl waits for her suitor to come by keeping the main lights off and having only candlelight to watch him by:

She keeps the lights off
candles are burning all night long, my suitor, the candle
burns all night
I watched the path all night long, my suitor

Bathiya buji rakdee vai

With the words “I watched the path all night long” the song takes a melancholic turn and allows the singer and the audience into a time and space that is both utopian and dystopian:

tell me, partner, what in your heart
I started looking for you at dawn before I knew it was
evening
I’m tired of requesting, like a captured slave

Bathiya buji rakdee vai

The song tells of unrequited love telling the audience that she searched for him from morning till dusk, from within the domestic sphere which was the home. The reference to bangles links to the wedding bangles given to the bride from the groom. They become part of her womanhood and become symbolic of the liminal space that she is entering.

The song continues and the paradigm of space within the song narrative becomes much clearer: “The flowers of happiness have come to my courtyard.” The garden represents the limits of the domestic space within which she is bound. The floral imagery is often linked to beauty, fertility and womanhood. A reference to her entering a rite of passage is made. The space and time existing within these songs is very much patriarchal as the next line suggests: “I spread my eye lashes where you place your feet.” This tells us not

only of the stereotypical actions of a woman in love, albeit exaggerated, but it also tells of the customs and traditions of the homeland. The space and time of the song sung in the homeland has migrated also to the diaspora. As a consequence we have vertical space and time as well as a horizontal spatiality and temporality represented by this song.

The song ends with the same words with which it began, reiterating the fact that the girl is still waiting for her suitor:

She keeps the lights off(x2)
candles are burning all night long.

Bathiya buji rakdee vai

These words are resonating in the audience's mind as the girl in the song continues to wait for someone who is clearly not coming. Her waiting for her suitor, who is not coming, becomes a metaphor for anticipating the liminal space.

Time and space within these songs seem to exist in a vacuum yet are parallel to the time outside this liminality. The song *Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya*, yet another song of love sung from the perspective of the girl, talks of the 'shade' provided by an umbrella. The searing hot sun of the homeland is too much for the bride to bear and asks her suitor to cast a shade for her in order to make her pain more bearable. Here, whether she is talking about the emotional pain of romantic love or the pain of having to leave her natal home is presented to the audience. Even the shade provided is in the garden thus belonging to the domestic arena:

I am saying(x2)

Do umbrella shade, I will sit under it (x2)

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya

The repetition of these lines throughout the song emphasises its importance in the narrative and also expresses the alternative space and time existing within the song. She is expressing a desire for the pain to be decreased with the phrase “I will sit under it”. This song places her in the shade of not only the sun but the shadow of her man/husband. We are presented with flower imagery, which is commonly associated with beauty and fertility:

flowers on trees have blossomed, meeting of the beloved
Break the flowers off the Tori plant (lady finger plant)

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya

We have love, womanhood, fertility all presented in one line of this song. The blossoming of the tree is an analogy for the girl turning into a woman but existing in a liminal space. The breaking of the flowers may suggest the ‘breaking’ of the maternal line or the breaking of the natal home. The breaking of the ‘space’ of the singer is now presented to the audience. Again, we are presented with fragmentation of some kind.

Again the spinning wheel image recurs, and as a tool inside the domestic sphere it binds the girl to domestic chores while she expresses the pain of romantic love:

I have around my neck a chain

The spinning wheel is colourful that I set up in my
courtyard (x2)

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya

The chain is gifted to her from her suitor/groom and it becomes a symbol of womanhood. The song takes a rather dark twist in the next line as she sings of the emotional anguish she bears in the natal home for him. The reference to the spinning wheel is reflected in the song *Na Ro Babula* and refers implicitly to the domestic space that occupies this parable. The pain

of 'the four walls' of the courtyard is a direct reference to the pain within the natal home as she waits for her beau to come. The image of a spinning wheel also presents the notion of unity and women's collective practice. This image is then repeated in diaspora and is present in the recipes as well as the songs. The sense of unity and collectivity is presented to the audience, which is heightened in diaspora. The sense of solidarity amongst the women is affirmed when re-creating these recipes and songs in a different temporal and spatial paradigm. This third space is also reflected in the song *Bayree they Valay* where the woman laments the loss of her kin through marriage but gains a position of power through gaining her own kitchen.

It can be asserted that the songs, although having a spatiality and temporality within them, exist in the third space. This liminality is the rite of passage that leads a female from maidenhood into marriage – from one stage of her life to the next. The singing of the songs becomes that transitional stage that allows movement between spatialities and temporalities. The songs exist in the Kristevan temporal model of cyclicity and allow the bride to go beyond the threshold and enter into marriage. The songs that have been analysed exist in the domestic paradigm. The material substance of the songs themselves exist in a separate temporal and spatial frame which envelops itself with the context of the song. The connection between the outside space and the space within the songs provides the paradoxical nature of these songs to the diasporic ear.

Time and space are held within each of the songs as an alternative to the space and time outside the songs. A temporary place is made available to the song narratives in the domestic arena to be sung and heard. The social gatherings in which they exist are firmly within the domestic arena. As the songs, as well as the recipes, become narratives an

alternative discourse emerges and a cultural agency is created within a diasporic communal setting. This agency ultimately provides a community with a structure that enables them to possess an identity. The songs and recipes create a discourse that allows interpretations of the past and plans for the future. This fusion of the past and present is presented through the practice of these recipes and songs in a diaspora. The maintenance of them in Lockwood provides the community with a gendered discourse for the present, which involves the *past* as well as the present.

The agency of the recipe adds to my earlier argument of power being held within the domestic arena through an active gendered discourse. The eternal struggle against hardships and the cyclical nature of the recipes reflect women's time and space inside the domestic arena. For instance, the recipe for *Tookray* tells the story of a people's struggle against the odds and the hardships endured by individuals and families. This life struggle becomes eternal and cyclical for the women and their recipe-narratives. Women come together and recreate past times in the new present. This oral literature exists in the domestic space and temporality which is gendered.

These recipes and songs are thus carried out/performed in a liminal third space, which runs parallel to Kristeva's notion of linear time. In this in-between stage she suggests that

there is a great need for further development of the liminal process, for inner transformation and a "rebirth" leading to a new sense of *communitas*. Experience of the unfamiliar world beyond the threshold often causes anxiety, even the desire to return to the familiar life of the past; only to find the door is locked, the ways of the past are irretrievable.²⁴

²⁴ Hein Viljoen and Chris N. Merwe, *Beyond the Threshold: Explorations of Liminality in Literature* (Peter Lang Publishing Inc., New York, 2007), p.2.

This illuminates the liminal space for which this thesis argues and for my reading of this space as a rite of passage allowing for a 'rebirth' as the apprentice becomes competent at the craft of cooking or the girl in the song prepares for marriage. Kristeva also views the 'anxiety' present in the female once she steps out of the domestic sphere. This liminal space allows the diasporic to live in the diaspora while retaining elements of the past.

These recipe and song narratives live in the domestic sphere and are controlled by the women. This limited sense of power allows them to govern not only their own cultural identity but also provide one for the wider diasporic community. Patterns of the homeland are recycled but in a diasporic setting where the governing rules are overturned. A renewed set of patterns take their place allowing for a renewed sense of agency. The songs show the contradiction inherent in them; the brides are both excited at the prospect of moving into their new homes but at the same time sad at having to leave their family home and in particular the immediate family. This resonates in terms of marital relationships just as much for the modern woman as for the past generations of women providing a communal cultural identity.

One of the foremost aspects of these narratives is the fact that they are told like a short story – a narrative. Again, this is an aspect of all the recipes of my thesis as all the recipes and songs explored in my study 'tell a story'. This all contributes to the subjectivity of the oral text and its place in the social construction of the diasporic identity. Freeman asserts "What they [narratives] entail is the idea of *development*, that is, the fashioning of a new, and perhaps more adequate view of who and what one is."²⁵ The separate space and

²⁵ Mark Freeman 'Data are everywhere: Narrative Criticism in the literature of Experience' in C. Daiute & C. Lightfoot (ed.) *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society* (Sage, New Delhi, 2004), p.77.

time paradigms inside and outside the narratives confirm the complex nature of diasporic communal identity.

A sense of power is also derived from performing a space whereby cultural practices of a diasporic community can exist in an alternative time and space paradigm. This has been explored in many fields of academia including psychoanalysis, feminism and post colonialism. A space is allowed for the residency of cultural practices including recipes and songs. This links to nostalgia, which exists in the memories and minds of individuals and communities in diaspora. This type of nostalgia is communally held and is asserted through cultural practices, which take place within the ideologies of separate spheres. The recipes and songs of my thesis are practised and repeated in an *alternative* time and space. A liminal space is carved out by these cultural practices in diaspora by women seeking and retaining a sense of limited power. The nostalgic desires of the oral texts are transmitted through the female line. The contradictory nature of the recipe and song performatives are presented in an ambiguous culture and this further defines a cultural identity which is steeped in ambiguities and contradictions.

CONCLUSION

This thesis identifies the cultural practices which migrated with women from South Asia to a suburb in the north of England in the 1960s. Oral texts which originate from a different continent have travelled to an alternative land and have helped to generate a communal identity for three generations of women. I focus on recipes and songs as examples of two contrasting forms of cultural knowledge transmitted by women's oral tradition. I explore their cultural significance and value in creating this communal identity. I contend that a specific geographical location maintains and sustains a *different* culture because of the oral practices of the women and it is their voices, as heard in recipes and songs, which provide cohesion to a community in relocation. Song lyrics are considered as traditional literature and analysed as lyrical poems and narratives but this study also presents recipes as literary texts and argues that unorthodox material such as recipes can be read in this way.¹ Narratologist David Rudrum and foodologists Susan Leonardi and Anne Bower are used to support my position in this debate.²

This dissertation identifies three main areas of significance in how these cultural practices contribute to the creation of a communal identity in diaspora. These are the

¹Irene S. Coromina, 'An original approach to the teaching of songs in the classroom', *Forum Journal*, 31, 3, (1993).

²Leonardi J. Susan, 'Recipes for Reading: Summer Pasta, Lobster à la Riseholme, and Key Lime Pie', *PMLA*, 104, 3, (1989), pp. 340-34; David Rudrum, 'From Narrative Representation to Narrative Use: Towards the Limits of Definition' *Narrative*, 13, 2, (2005); Anne L. Bower, *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories* (The University of Massachusetts Press, Boston), 1997.

maternal, nostalgia and space. Feminist and post-colonial theories are then deployed to examine the dynamics of domestic space in diaspora. I explore the enigmatic nature of nostalgia and show how it is rooted in a utopian myth which is idyllic yet false and have used theories of narratology to present a reading through the lens of nostalgia. I demonstrate that these processes result in the dynamics of domestic space in diaspora and the creation of a powerful liminal space. The concept of vertical and horizontal links and relationships through the selected study of the group accentuates the importance of the maternal in generating a communal and individual identity.

I explore the relationships of maternal supervision and its significance to the transmission of recipes and songs within a diasporic community. This study considers all women and their voices however I explore the significance of the role of mothers as cultural transmitters. The maternal voice is the metaphorical cement which binds the generations together. Her voice alone provides a sense of legitimacy to a cultural practice. The recipes and songs combine and are transcultural in nature for they have travelled from the homeland to the diaspora in the west. Her voice has approved recipes and other performatives in the homeland for generations and now in the diaspora it is continuing to approve processes. The maternal voice is powerful enough to travel through differing paradigms of time and space in the memories of diasporic women. The legitimisation of communal and cultural identity is reinforced through both historical and contemporary practice. In revealing the dynamics of this maternal contribution to the formation of communal identity the concept of nostalgia is shown to be central.

Many diverse writers have explored this emotion and its value to global diasporic communities showing nostalgia to be a subjective and abstract affection.³ The significance of nostalgia as an emotive and sensory condition is highlighted through the oral texts of this study and I show how and why nostalgia within a diasporic community can be a false sequence of remembrances about an idyllic past. The distorted remembrance of a romanticised past creates a contradictory present with an unstable future.⁴ The personal histories and memories given by Maria, Sofia, Adeela and Aqsa in particular as they focus on their own personal histories and memories allow bringing a certain kind of past into the present. This is a contradictory condition reflecting the diasporic cultural condition in illustrating the dichotomy between what is remembered and what is real. Nostalgia for an alternative time and space is something which in itself is reflective and positions itself in that paradoxical place where it is holding on to the past whilst simultaneously changing with the times.⁵ A longing for a homeland which is steeped in romanticism and a fictitious alternative identity that is somehow 'better' becomes the norm for diasporic communities. Despite these negative associations, nostalgia is necessary and an important strand in what I see as the creation and maintenance of a diasporic identity. Personal memories connect to this mythic previous prediasporic world when traditional songs are sung or when strong sensory elements such as the smell of food being cooked occur and create associations with former times and places.

³Janelle Wilson, *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning* (Bucknell University Press, Lewisburg, 2010); Andreea Deciu Rittivoi, *Yesterday's self: Nostalgia and the Immigrant Identity* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, USA, 2002); Giorgio Caproni, *Poesie 1932-1986*, (Milano, Garzanti, 1989); Svetlana Boym *The Future of Nostalgia* (Perseus Books, New York: 2001)

⁴ Giorgio Caproni, *Poesie 1932-1986*, (Milano, Garzanti, 1989).

⁵Ralph Harper, *Nostalgia: An Existential Exploration of Longing and Fulfillment in the Modern Age*, (Western Reserve University, 1996).

The recipes and wedding song narratives serve a dual purpose. As well as providing a set of cultural instructions they also convey a personal history which then connects individuals to a communal and shared history. Estelle Jelinek's work supports this view; women's stories and histories are embedded in unorthodox orality and serve as tools to sustain and validate personal lives and experiences.⁶ This reveals that gender and community are shaped by patriarchal processes and the re-establishment of traditional gender roles become infused with a nostalgic desire that imbues even the seemingly mundane act of recalling food related knowledge with significance. This includes the commodification of women which is demonstrated in the song lyrics.⁷ Kirin Narayan supports the view that songs are maintained and sustained communally. I believe that this is also evidenced by the role of recipes among British South Asian women in Lockwood.

This study has shown that it is not simply the textual content of recipes and songs as forms of cultural knowledge that evoke strong links with the past. It is also how they are used that creates a nostalgic desire for sustaining notions of community. I have shown that the recipes are powerful devices in which women manipulate their inherent nostalgia for the formation of communal identity. The recipes which they remember and practice are demonstrated along with recipes which have been actively forgotten because of negative associations with a traumatic past including poverty and war.⁸ These aspects of recipes and song lyrics presented in this study allow for a renewed cultural experience to occur in diaspora. This all culminates in a certain type of nostalgia being remembered; one that is associated with the process of migration. Migrational nostalgia has one foot in the past in

⁶Estelle Jelinek, *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography From Antiquity to Present* (Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1986).

⁷Kirin Narayan 'Songs Lodged In Some Hearts' in L. Smadar *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies Of Identity* Duke (University Press, London, 1996).

⁸ Please see Chapter Six.

order to sustain a present and consider a future for the individual and the community. This becomes static in the present while also moving forward. I have demonstrated how one particular type of nostalgia is molded by a community to meet its needs.

I suggest that recipes and song narratives fuse together and create a three-fold diaspora that discloses the micro-politics and different spatial contexts of gender roles within contemporary British South Asian communities. Firstly, there is the diaspora relocation internationally from the homeland-itself complicated by geopolitical changes, redrawn national boundaries and still unresolved contested areas of authority. Then there is a diaspora within the community for the British South Asian Women and their relationship to wider society which is both imagined and real. Lastly, parts of the home including the kitchen become the final diaspora. The recipe performatives take place inside this third diaspora whilst the song performatives take place in other parts of the home that the women create and inhabit which suggests a successive process of containment and confinement. This third diaspora becomes not only a third space that Kristeva speaks of but it becomes a liminal space of power for the women and out of this liminal space an identity is generated for a community.

The recipes are practiced, usually in the kitchen, whereas the songs are sung only on the eve of a wedding. Both are performed inside the home and inside the domestic sphere and carried out exclusively by women. When the recipes are performed by the elders of the community to the younger women of the group they take on a teacher and student role thereby each recipe becomes a performative. The legitimisation of each recipe and each song becomes, in this sense, the vertical transmission of validation. Songs are passed from mother to daughter through communal singing which allows for a horizontal dimension to

female bonding as each contribution reinforces and legitimises the practice. The analogy of a vertical and horizontal axis as used by Luce Irigaray allows for this study to illustrate not only the significance of this relationship but also highlight the significance of the communal sisterhood relationships. Both these show the importance of performatives of the community held by the 'gatekeepers' in generating a communal and individual cultural identity. The horizontal and vertical dimension is vital not only for the preservation of cultural practices but also for the legitimisation of a cultural practice. The validity of a cultural practice is highly significant and valued by the diasporic community when transmitting cultural knowledge.

Limited power accessible to South Asian women include recipes and song lyrics which are validated as performatives through authenticity of performer and audience. Each performative only works if there is an authentic transmitter present and that transmitter can be from the vertical axis (mother, daughter, older aunt) or the horizontal axis (cousin, sister, friend, community member). Each recipe and song is sustained and preserved in the diaspora and culminates in generating a cultural identity for that diasporic community.

To understand how and why South Asian cultural practices function within Lockwood it is essential that we understand both sets of female genealogies. This is articulated through '(Untitled) Miriam's song' narrative which exposes the underlying themes of maternal genealogical loss through a 'rite of passage'. The paradox of having an internal set of genealogies juxtaposed with an external set of genealogies provides the song narratives with a sense of nostalgic desire. It is this duality which makes the song narratives culturally significant. The making of the recipes and the song lyrics complement each other and allow for a sense of cohesion. Whilst carrying out the food production processes required by many

of the recipes explored in my thesis, singing is incorporated into the practice. The recipes themselves can be seen as another domestic chore but in diaspora these recipes when put together generate an identity for a community. Recipes and songs are bound together and not only function as an anchor for a community but simultaneously work together and provide that same community with a sense of home and belonging, which further adds to a sense of identity formation. The two cultural practices exist in a liminal space and act as a tool for the South Asian diasporic community use to exist and survive.

In the closing chapter I explore the relationship between food, song lyrics and space by bringing time, nostalgia and the maternal together and show how their dynamics function in diaspora. An aspect of nostalgia and remembrance is that the past can be seen to be a metaphorical country *from* which all diasporic communities migrate.⁹ In applying L. P Hartley's words 'to be a foreign country' is quite literally another country, but also an imagined country different from the present. If this is the case then national boundaries and alternative spaces and times become more significant in diaspora. This concept of migrational nostalgia reinforces the idea of cultures being transferred, be that through recipes or songs, and literally moving from one spatiality and temporality to another. The global reach of cultural practices has become part of the fabric of diasporic communal identities.

Space and time paradigms are significant in not only the rhetoric of diasporic communities but also in the establishment of an identity for diasporic communities. These paradigms become an essential tool in allowing diasporic groups to demarcate spatial and temporal domains. Out of this a liminal space is born and a space for recipes and songs to

⁹David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge University Press, New York, 1985).

take place is created.¹⁰ Victor Turner asserts that differing communities conduct different ceremonies as rites of passage and these customs and processes create liminal spaces. This study has analysed recipes and song lyrics and found that a liminal space is needed and created within the domestic space which offers spheres of intimacy for these cultural practices.

In analyzing the contradictions of domesticity in South Asian diasporic culture, I demonstrate how traditional gender roles are nostalgically woven into relocated cultural practices. The performative element of each recipe and song lies inside the domestic space and it is this aspect of each oral text which provides the tools of transmission across the generations. Through analyzing the contradictions of domestic space for a diasporic community and applying feminist and post-colonial spatial and temporal theories I assert that a flexible third space emerges. The cultural practices as shown and analysed here are significant in that they can only be deployed within this domestic space where the women have autonomy. The domestic space becomes a place of power for the women who are denied cultural power outside this private realm where patriarchal power negates their importance. In this liminal space the women who perform the recipes and songs are able to maintain their power across the generations as protectors and guardians and as the conduits of cultural knowledge. Instead of being relegated in a patriarchal system the space allocated in the home becomes a bastion for generating a cultural identity for a community in relocation.

I employ Julia Kristeva's visualisation of a third space which is outlined in her essay 'Women's time'. I align this with Homi Bhabha's reading of the third space and demonstrate

¹⁰ Arnold Van Gennep cited in Victor W. Turner *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti – Structure* (Routledge, London, 1969).

that when these two perspectives are fused together they create a means to discuss a liminal space. Drawing upon James Clifford's work, I assert that it is aspects of the diasporic home which is also relocated within this third space.¹¹ It is the women who become the unrecognised guardians of the domestic space providing them with power, albeit limited power.

This now becomes a space imbricated with issues of gender as women and their bodies are interwoven through the narratives. Sara Sceats work supports the findings here that the maternal body is linked with food that women create, even in an urbanised society, natural cycles remain significant.¹² Aspects of the lunar calendar are linked closely to the process of food making. The time and space of gestation, which is linked with a cyclical temporality, allows the links to be made between the maternal body and the birth of particular recipes.¹³ I argue for a cyclical temporality where women possess some power and the maternal body plays a role in generating a continuum.

The analysis of the song lyrics as well as the recipes recognises one domestic space being swapped for another. This is demonstrated in the song lyrics where the natal home is substituted with the home of the husband into which she fits with all the recipes which have been transmitted.¹⁴ The bride brings her recipes or finds herself surrounded by those of the older women in the new domestic space. The relocation of the nostalgia and space through recipe and song performatives occurs through female genealogy.

¹¹ James Clifford, 'Diasporas: Further Inflections: Toward Ethnographies of The Future', *Cultural Anthropology*, 9, 3, (1994).

¹² Sarah Sceats, *Food, Consumption & the Body in Contemporary Women's Fiction* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 2000).

¹³ See Chapter Six.

¹⁴ Smita Tewari Jassal, *Unearthing Gender: Folksongs of North India* (Duke University Press, Durham, 2012).

Diasporic literature which has its roots in subalternity has been undervalued and under rated. The term 'Aporia' is used to refer to what Derrida terms as 'blind spots' in literature and its structures.¹⁵ The oral texts of these women present the ruptures in knowledge and fill this 'gap' with recipes and songs thus generating an identity for the families of the women. This study has made more visible the oral practices as cultural texts within the literature inside the circle of domesticity and shown how an identity is perpetuated in diaspora. It is through the maternal voice that a sense of legitimisation is achieved and transmitted through the generations in diaspora. The primary data points to the rich potential of theorising women's oral texts as items which generate an identity for a dislocated community in relocation. It has also allowed me to see how women actively construct the subjective role of women's lives in and through the everyday and such critical rites of passage as marriage. The very nature of them being transmitted from generation to generation requires a maternal voice to present the legitimisation of each oral performative. My thesis has focused on the role of recipes and songs as performatives and analysed how they function in diaspora to sustain an identity. I can conclude that a diasporic community needs women's oral texts which incorporate elements of nostalgia, space and the maternal in order to sustain and generate a cultural and communal identity.

I will finish this thesis by reasserting the value of the pomander ball as a cultural marker. The story in the preface allows us to see the value and the role tradition plays in generating a cultural and communal identity across generations. Cultural traditions become a focal point allowing for their transmission and generating individual and communal identity. In the case of the South Asian identity this value is placed upon the oral transmission of recipes and wedding songs. It is through the practices carried out by the women in Lockwood that a

¹⁵Jacques Derrida, *Aporias* (Stanford University Press, California, 1994).

culture is sustained in diaspora. The recipes and songs are the 'pomander ball' of the women of a small neighbourhood and it is through these cultural practices that future generations will access a sense of communal identity. It illustrates the idea that all cultures are similar and connects cultures together. The pomander ball can be seen as a link which shows the similarity of the dynamics of cultures around the world. Women's oral texts such as recipes and songs become the tools for solidarity for a community in diaspora.

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APPENDIX ONE: RECIPES

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GOOSBERRIA DHA ACHAAR

Pickled gooseberries

For Gooseberry pickle you will need

Gooseberries

Salt

Oil

Red chilli powder

Fennel seeds

Tumeric seeds

Cloves of garlic

Mustard powder

How to make gooseberry pickle

Wash and the drain the gooseberries. Remove their tails from both sides–top and tail them. Take them off and put slits into them–slit them not all the way but half-way through. Then add plenty of salt to them–plenty. Put to the side for one day covering them.

In the meantime the salt will drain all the water.

On the second day Get a frying pan and put a little oil – two or three spoonful’s with some salt and add the gooseberries and cook them for a little while until they are tender.

Mango and chilli chutney

What you need

Green unripe mango
Green chillies
Fresh coriander
Fresh mint
Green tomatoes
Salt
Garlic
Butter

THE PROCESS OF HOW TO MAKE IT

Peel and roughly chop the mangoes. Take the stone out. Wash and chop the chillies. Wash and chop the green fresh coriander. Wash and chop the tomatoes. Wash and chop the mint .Peel and chop the garlic.

Put all these into a pestle and mortar and grind. Grind them and add salt. Nowadays they use a blender to save time. It takes two or three minutes.

Get a fry pan under a low heat with four or five spoons of butter.

When it is hot put the all the grinded mixture into the frying pan.

Let it cook for five or six minutes.

When the butter is released and on top – it is ready. When it is cold put in a tub and place in a fridge – this lasts a week or two.

Kashmiri Saag

Kashmir mustard leaf

Two garlic bulbs –crush them

Finely chopped green chillies or red chilli powder–two small spoons. Add salt.

Yoghurt is needed.

Fresh mustard leaves finely chopped- wash them properly

THE COOKING PROCESS

In the cooking pot

Two butter slabs

Salt

Chillies

This will make the masala

Add Garlic

Add Ground almonds

Add 2 spoonful's of *Bajra* seeds crushed.

Make paste, when the masala is made

Mix in the yoghurt

Keep beating quickly–When boiled add mustard leaves. Keep beating quickly to avoid lumps. Let it come to the boil and then turn the heat down.

If you want it to cook quickly put the heat up it will be made quickly but if you want it to cook slowly then turn the heat to a low simmer and do other work in the meantime. And your dish will be made.

This is the way my mother taught me (Kashmir). Whenever I make it now it's very nice everyone loves it.

Fresh Wariaa

Daal pates

A plate of Moonghi Daal – soak it for a few hours beforehand.

Then grind it using a pestle and mortar – add salt, pepper and gharam masala. Grind it properly.

Put the fryer on. Make into pates and fry. Put to one side.

Afterwards, make the masala. Make sure everything is red- onions, ginger and garlic are red. Cook it properly. Add salt and pepper. Add the pates and the potatoes. Cook potatoes. Add a little water.

Garnish with coriander

It makes a first class dish.

My mother taught me this recipe in Kamalia (Punjab). I taught my daughters and they will teach their daughters.

Lassi

Yoghurt-based drink

Warm milk, then let it cool– let it simmer overnight.
In the morning add a little yoghurt.

Remove the butter skin off the milk.
Add sugar or salt
Whisk it and it's ready to drink

It keeps you cool, even in Pakistan
I've taught my daughters how to make it and now I'm telling you.

In the olden days they used to use a whisk by hand nowadays (in Lockwood) they use electric grinders.

Haleem

Stew

Is made in three pots.

First you need two pots, in the first pot goes

Corn kernels
White lentils
Red lentils
Yellow lentils
Channay daal
Chick peas
Moat daal
White kidney beans
Red kidney beans
Fresh wheat or oats
Mungh daal
All daals about 50g
Gharam masala

A medium sized pot, fill 3/4 with water adding two spoonful's of salt. When the water boils you put in the daal which will take the longest to cook first. Which lentils cook the fastest you put in last. Put the corn kernels in first with the Channay daal as these take the longest, when you see this is cooked after about an hour then add the Moongh daal then the red kidney beans and at the end put the lentils in. Cook on a low simmer. When softened they are ready then turn the gas off.

In the second pot

2 kilo meat

1 cup of Ghee/Clarified butter
Large 4 finely chopped onions
4 fresh Tomatoes finely chopped
Plenty of fresh garlic crushed
Green chillies chopped
Red chilli powder
Gharam masala
Salt

Ground turmeric powder

Mix all these ingredients together in one pan including the meat.

This takes about 20-30 minutes to cook.

Add the butter and cook thoroughly. Then put to one side.

The first pot with the daals in takes upto three or four hours. The meat takes 20 – 25 minutes. When made put to one side.

Soak the rice, about 2kg, soak for 10-15 minutes.

Step 3

In a very large pan place all the cooked lentils and daals, slowly, the meat dish and mix. Then add the rice taking the water out. Put a small gas under this pan and allow the rice to be cooked. Check that the rice has enough water. If there is no water add water. Cover the rice with water, making sure the rice cannot be seen. They need to be hidden. Stir very lightly. Add jeera—about three or four spoonful's.

Add chopped coriander. Stir very slowly. Keep stirring the mixture carefully until rice are cooked. Put the lid on. This takes 20-25 minutes to cook. The daals tend to burn at the bottom so you must keep stirring. When the rice are cooked and are ready then the Haleem is ready to be served.

When it is ready, distribute it.

This was mainly made during wars. When during wars people had little to eat and shops were burnt down. Some people would say I have one chicken others “I have 2 onions” and so people would gather all the ingredients outside and cook whatever they had in one place and everyone would eat it. It's a tradition in Pakistan to eat this way.

This is Haleem.

When there were floods in Pakistan recently people ate haleem. In difficult times people make this dish and eat it.

Pinnia

A Punjabi sweet

In the past times our grandmother and mothers used to make this for long journeys, field workers and new mothers for strength. In Lockwood our mothers still make it for their daughters who are new mothers.

For this you will need

Clarified butter

Semi crushed almonds

Semi crushed pistachios

Crushed walnuts

Mixed Nuts- grind all the nuts including the four mags. In the homeland women used a pestle and mortar.

Ghor for sugar- Here you can get hold of *ghor*(unrefined sugar)

Poppy seeds

Soya powder

Grind the nuts using a chopper or a grinder. Soak the sultanas. Put them on one side

In the past women used a pestle and mortar to grind ingredients. Grind them and put them to one side. Soak the sultanas.

In the wok, heat the butter and soya butter on a low heat. When it's golden brown the aroma of the dish spreads to all over the house. Then take it off the gas to avoid burning. Then add all the ground nuts and mix well. Then wash the sultanas and the *ghor*. Then add the ground poppy seeds. Mix well. Let it get a little cool. When it gets cool enough to handle, roll into little balls using your hands. They are the size of golf balls. Then place into a separate tray/bowl

This is a cold country so they can be stored for about a year.

You can have them with tea, when someone comes over you can give them with tea. You can give them to ill people. It is also a tradition here in England to take them to someone's house as a gift.

This recipe my mother taught me and in Pakistan her mother taught her. In Pakistan my aunts (dad's sisters and mum's sisters) all make them. Women pass it onto other women.

Moongh daal

A pulse-based soup

We are going to make daal. I first tasted this in Pakistan. My mum made it and she taught me. Then started to practise this in England and she told me. Moongh daal is a family favourite and we make it every two or three weeks. The colour is light green and small kernels. My mother taught me this. She first made it in Pakistan but now we make it here in Lockwood. The daal in Pakistan and here maybe slightly different but not much.

Put one glass of daal into boiling water on the gas. Let it boil gently away.

In a separate pot

One onion

One garlic

One ginger

One tomatoe

Chop and place all in pot. Put in pot. You can use oil, ghee or butter. My mother uses butter. Then put in the gas. Start to cook it. When it (onion and ghee) all goes brown add the Wasaar. It's up to you. Cook it properly. About 30 minutes or 45 minutes later, when the masala is cooked properly, add one spoon of salt.

Separate the daal from the water then 'put the *tarka* on' put one slab of butter to the daal. Mix for a further 30 minutes. When the daal and the butter is cooked add pot one to pot two and mix well. Add a little water.

Sometimes we make this alone or sometimes we make it with *sholay* daal. You can make this or add *channay* daal to the recipe. You can make it either way.

Makhi roti

Gram flour chapatti

We usually eat wheat flour chapatti. I ate this first in Lockwood about five or six years ago when my mother made it. It is yellow in colour it comes in two colours yellow and cream colour. The flour, my mother says, should be a cream colour. She told me this works better.

She taught me how to make it. Boil the kettle, put flour in big bowl. Once it boils add a little salt to the flour. Using a spoon add the hot water little by little , mix it little by little kneading it. Make a little dough/pate. If you had used boiled water your roti will be fine if your water hadn't boiled or your flour was old or cheap then your roti will not be fine. This chapatti is a little fatter and tastes different. People usually eat it with *saag* or *curry*. That day my mum told we can eat *Makhi de Roti* with yoghurt but that day we had two or three rotis and we ate it with *Saag*. Since then we have had yoghurt with Maki Roti as well.

Roti da atta

Flour dough

I hadn't even been born and I was living with this.

My mother used to get up and make this every day. This is our national dish. My mother taught me how to make this. She taught me how to make this for chapatti I was ten or eleven. I would always watch her. She would make quite a lot – with some of it she would make roti's in the evening and put the rest in a box for the next day in the fridge. It's very easy even small children can make this. In one bowl you put flour and add water not too cold and not too hot. My mother told me that water must be luke warm. Guess how much flour to water you will need and start kneading for 6 minutes. Make a guess how much water needs adding. Put to one side. After 5-6 minutes return to dough and kneed once more. Then make chapattis. If the dough isn't made your chapattis will not be made properly.

Your chapatti will be soft my mother told me. If your dough isn't made properly your chapatti will not be nice. If the dough has air or lumps in it your chapattis will not be nice.

Roll it out on a work top. Get a rolling pin and roll it out then using your hands cook it on a 'tava'¹ when it is cooked on both sides cook it on a naked flame for 10 seconds. When the chapatti 'puffs up' or has little black marks on it. It is made and is ready to eat. If it is still wet return it on the *tavva* as this means it is not yet made.

¹ A type of iron griddle used in cooking.

Aloo saag

Mustard leaves with potatoe

I first had this in Pakistan first. I was too young and didn't know how to make it I saw my mother make it when I was 10 or 11 and asked her to teach me. This dish is very time consuming to make. Firstly you must buy the mustard leaves (*saag*) from the shops, then clean it thoroughly, this can take 2 or 3 hours . Clean and cut it with a 'daath . The finer you cut it the better the dish will be once finely cut. Wash it thoroughly as it has mud on it. Put it in a pot and put it on the gas. So it has heat to heat starts to cook.

Cut the potatoes into medium chunks. Put into water and on one side. If you put the potatoes out they will start to discolour putting them in water they will not.

When the Saag is a bit cooler begin to blend it with a *kotna* until the saag is soft. My mother taught me how to make this.

In pot 2

An onion, garlic, ginger, wasaar, tomatoes , salt and ghee, butter or oil .My mother told me to use butter as this will make the saag taste better. Cook until brown, this takes 30-45 minutes. When it is finally made turn the gas off.

From the other pot take out the saag and put in a separate pot. When the saag is cool put into a strong pot and begin to *kotn* it (blend it) So any lumps in the saag will be gone and it will be soft. My mother told me that if we don't 'kotn' it the *saag* will be lumpy. So it is necessary.

Then take the masala in pot two then mix the potatoes into pot 2 . When the potatoes are cooked add the mustard leaves. It will be ready when- The potatoes will be soft and the butter comes to the surface and the water is all gone. The wasaar will give an aroma and you will know when the saag is cooked and ready to eat.

Have it with bread or chapatti and its very tasty.

(Kashmiri)Wasaar 1

Mixed spices

For making Wasaar you need these:

Chilli powder, red

Turmeric powder

In Pakistan you had to buy them from the town/market and let them 'sit in the sun' for two days to dry. My mother used to dry turmeric powder by dry cooking it. Dry it first and then grind it using a pestle and mortar. She then would take it to the 'chakki'¹ For this you need six kilos of chilli powder, three kilos turmeric powder, one kilo dried coriander which you dry cook slightly- it has a very nice aroma. one kilo jeera on a low as dry cook this.

What's left...About 12 grams of *kala laycee*.

½ kilo of methi slightly dry cook it. In Pakistan you would grind it first. Here, dry cook it then grind it.

All these things – methi, coriander, *kali laychee*, turmeric powder, jeera – grind them.

With the turmeric powder – with ½ a litre of oil and put on a low gas and add 3 kilos of turmeric powder. Keep stirring occasionally. Leave it for about 30 minutes. It gives a lovely smell. Then after 30 minutes take it off the gas and let it cool.

Spread the plastic on the floor. Put chilli powder as well on this turmeric powder and add the oil. Rubbing this takes 3 /4 hours make sure it has no lumps left in it – make it properly

Put into a pot and start to use them.

This stores up for about a year, two years.

Here, we can get everything in powder form, you can get chilli powder and turmeric powder grinded. In Pakistan my mother would bring things home, dry them and then my mother would take them to the 'chakki'. My mother showed us this. It's very nice. It lasts a year. Whenever you make a dish use this accordingly.

¹ This refers to a domestic grinding machine called a 'chakki'. Each village has one or two of these machines which grind- daal to flour and spices to powder. Women would take their spices or daal to the miller and his 'chakki' to have them ground to powder form.

Halva

Semolina pudding

2 butter slabs

Sultanas

White cardamoms

Almonds

Coconut

Fennel seeds

Semolina powder

Put the butter in a pot and put it on the gas. When its melted add about 2 ½ cups of semolina. Turn the gas up.

In a bowl put white cardamon seeds, fennel seeds, sultanas, blanched almonds.

Get a knife and cut the coconut into pieces.

Then boil water and add sugar and get a spoon and stir it when it has boiled then add the above .

Keep stirring the semolina and when the semolina is golden brown add the other pot's ingredients. Turn up the gas for about 2 minutes. Then turn down the gas. Then let it simmer for 7-10 minutes and its ready. It's very tasty.

This is the way my mother used to make it and she told me. It's a very nice way to make it.

Punjabi Saag

Mustard leaves from Punjab

You need two pots for this

In pot 1

Fresh mustard leaves finely chopped

Fresh spinach leaves finely chopped

Salt

Finely chopped fresh green chillies- to own preference

Fresh methi leaves chopped

Fresh fennel leaves chopped (using a 'daath')

Coarse corn flour

Get all the vegetables- mustard leaves, spinach leaves, methi leaves fresh fennel leaves chop them using a daath. Just the leaves not the stalks, wash them. A daath is sharper than a knife for those who know how to use one.

Chop and wash them then in a pot $\frac{3}{4}$ filled with water when it boils place all these into it. Then add the green chillies –cut with a daath. Add salt.

This takes two to three hours to cook.

When all the water has disappeared then take a kotna and gradually add corn flour

In a separate pan place

Chopped spring onions

Butter

Finely chopped ginger

Green chillies- finely chopped

Red chilli powder

Salt

chop the chillies using a *daath* and grind them using a pestle and mortar.

Cut the spring onions finely.

Put the butter on the gas. Back home we used to use coals. Let it simmer when the butter has melted add the chopped onion, when its slightly golden yellow add the ginger and chillies. Add salt to taste. Then add the *Saag* pot to this pot and mix letting it simmer for 2/3 minutes and it's ready to eat.

This is a Punjabi dish. Lots of Punjabi people eat this with Makhi roti. This Punjabi Saag includes turmeric powder. My mother taught me this and her mother taught her and this cooks in most Punjabi homes.

Kharroray

Lamb's feet

You will need three or four lbs, you must have plenty of them, they take a lot of time to make .This is how to make lambs' feet -First you clean them , take any hair off them by burning them off. They don't look nice in the pot. Take a big pot of water and place the meat inside add salt. it. In the olden days they would use log fires for cooking.

You then wash them thoroughly. When the water starts to boil add the washed lambs feet , chopped onions, garlic, ginger, salt, ¼ tomatoes , chopped green chillies using a daath , masala-*daal chini*, black pepper, red chilli pepper, turmeric powder. At the end add chopped coriander using a daath. Finely chop it and set it aside. In the olden days old women did this. This takes the whole day to cook. Don't put the coriander in yet. Put it on a low gas, this cooks all day it takes 7 or 8 hours to cook.

Lots of people put it on in the evening and its ready the next morning. When the water disappears and the meat starts coming off the bone –that's how soft it is. The water has now evaporated and you then stir cook it for two minutes. No butter is added. Add some water. Put on low gas for a further 20 minutes. Then it is ready to eat. Then add the chopped coriander and is ready to eat.

This is given to weak people for strength. People eat this dish for breakfast. With naan bread made in a *tandoor*¹, roti is made on a *tava* but a naan is made in tandoor. Punjabi people like this a lot.

My mother taught me how to cook this. It's a popular punjabi dish and is learnt through passing it down.

This is how to cook Punjabi lambs' feet.

¹ A particular type of clay oven used in Asian cooking,

(Punjabi)Wasaar 2

Mixed spices

This is a punjabi recipe From Sind...no its from Jalandhar (part of punjab India now) method

Red chilli powder
Turmeric powder
Coriander powder
Daal chini
Moongh daal powder
Cinnamon
Saro da bhee powder
Methi seeds powder

Weigh them, depending how you like it
Salt

You also need olive oil

Women collect a year's worth of these spices.

Then you need a space in the house where you can sit –Back in Pakistan, India there are courtyards spread a cloth on the floor. Here you need an open space can open where you can spread a plastic sheet or three or four black bin liners – open them and sellotape the sides and use them. It's up to you.

My mother kept a big white plastic sheet and put all the powders in the middle. With two or three women together it'll be quicker with one it will take longer.

Back home two or three older women would get together. Spread a cloth then a plastic sheet on top. Mix together methi seeds, turmeric powder and make a well and fill it in with olive oil, about eight or nine litres even a full jug - good expensive eating oil. Then they sit down and rub the powder with oil together with their hands. They rub together using their hands until it's a fine powder like the ones they started with. This takes two or three hours. They rub this with palm of the hands and they called this *masna* until a fine powder with no lumps. You see, when you add the oil it becomes lumpy greasy powder. Then all , after two or three hours, then put them in clay pots, back home they only had claypots here people go to ikea and get jars with lids and put them in store rooms.

When the jars are filled, Then pick up the sheet and wash it or if its paper or bin liners you can bin it. Any chilli powders left on the ground can be cleaned up.

This is how you make Punjabi wasaar. My mother used to make and now I make it. We have learned this from Jalandhar. People from Pakistan have learned it from Jalandhar now it has come here.

This is how you make wasaar.

When it is made it can be stored up to a year.

This is how you make wasaar.

Tookray

Sweet pastry strips

Left over chapatti's

Butter

Water

Unrefined Cane root Sugar called *ghor*

To make it you first put the gas on. Break *roti* into small pieces and put to one side. Back home women used to put them in '*chaghair*'¹. Break the *roti* 's and put to one side. Put the gas on, put the wok on, put the butter in the wok and add the *roti* pieced and cook on low gas.

On one side put water and *ghor* on. This is called sugar water.

Once the *rotis* are cooked add the sugar water. Turn down the gas, in 10-15 minutes it's ready. Think of it as a sweet dish.

You can eat this whenever. Most people eat this during the summertime.

When I went to Pakistan my mother in law taught me and now I make it here.

¹ A hand-woven bread basket

Dhai

Yoghurt

Place about five pints of milk and let it simmer on a low gas for 10, 15,20 minutes or longer . Back in Pakistan when the main dish was cooked they used to put this on the coals and let it simmer. They call that *karna*. Here, take five pints of milk and let them simmer. Don't let it boil.

When warm turn the gas off and add two tubs of cream. Wrap the pot in an old blanket, the yoghurt pot needs to be a clay pot. Put one or two spoonful's of old yoghurt in the mix and place in a warm , warm place.. In Pakistan they call this 'jaag lorna' - to add something citrusy. One or two spoons of old yoghurt and mix well and put the lid on. In an old quilt or blanket leave in a place in the house.

In the morning when you open it up the yoghurt will be set.

In Pakistan/India people have it for breakfast. They have it with sugar before the men go to work.

This is how to make home-made yoghurt.

My mum used to make it here in Lockwood. Lots of women here make it like this.

Karaylay

Bitter melons

How to make karaylay.

My mother taught me this way.

Before you start - wash thoroughly and roughly peel the vegetable/karaylay. Remove the skin off them.

Make the masala-

Chopped Onions

Chopped two or three tomatoes

Green chillies

Salt

Wasaar

Place all these in a pan and then put on a low gas and allow to simmer/cook. When the masala is made - the butter comes to the top and all ingredients are mashed together and the ingredients are not visible – lower the gas. Cut the karaylay's into small pieces, scoop out the insides and throw away. Then shallow fry them in oil. This will take out most of the bitterness of the vegetable. Fry them for about five or six minutes on both sides. When golden brown take them out and drain off any excess oil. Add the karaylay to the masala and stir in . Let them cook until the karaylay are soft. When they are ready to eat turn the gas off add finely chopped fresh coriander on the top of the karaylay which is on a separate plate. Scatter the coriander over the karaylay. Eat them with fresh chapattis or naans. Some people have boiled rice with this. Remember these are bitter and so won't be suitable for small children or teenagers. However, Diabetic people love this the most. My mother told me this because she is a diabetic. Sometimes You can put mince meat with karaylay. Cut the karaylas (the subject makes a mistake here -says meat instead of vegetable) in half and scoop out the insides and fill them with. Make the meat with masala. Then take some string and wrap it around the vegetable with the meat. Fry them in oil – this way your karayla will get cooked and your meat. This method takes alot of time and experience. If you haven't made this before you might not wrap the string tight enough and the meat mixture will come out of the karaylay.

Making this dish takes a lot of time and space and if you decide to make the mince meat karaylay it will take more time.

(Kashmir) Wasaar 3

Mixed spices

Before making Wasaar. Get a big plastic sheet (spread this on the floor) so your carpet isn't ruined. use something that you throw away afterwards.

Red chilli powder
Turmeric powder
Coriander powder
Cinnamon powder
Ground mustard seeds
Masar de bee
Methi powder
Salt

Oil- vegetable oil or olive oil. This is best as it's the healthiest. You will need equal portions of all the ingredients apart from the salt.

Put all these onto the plastic sheet and a minimum of three or four women are needed. you will need to mix these together with oil. Remember no air or lumps must be in these. They must be mixed well. You can place this in a good pot and store it for a year , a year and a half. In Pakistan they would place this once made into clay pots for a year or two. Here you can't find these so you need to find a place in the house and suitable pot and store it and use it for over a year. It won't go off. When the women get together to make Wasaar- they make the Wasaar and also chat and gossip. They also swap recipes and methods of making foods. New recipes are swapped. My one friend told me that she used to sing whilst making this. *Tapay* and *Mahai*.¹ would be sung.

Wasaar takes a lot of time. You will need to start early in the morning. You need a big pot as it is going to be used for a whole year. The place you find to make it has to be pretty large and clean. Remember , this has to be made starting early in the morning. Then your Wasaar will be made properly. My mother taught me this method.

¹ Certain short songs sung without any instruments.

Wheat Syrup Pudding

Halva

Ghee or butter

Wheat flour

They use sugar here but back home they used ghor (unrefined cane sugar) but this may change for future generations.

Laychee powder

Place the butter on a low gas. Put the flour in and keep stirring it until it is slightly brown. On one side place some water, accordingly, and put the ghor in it. Let this cook. When the butter is on top of the flour then it is ready. When the butter separates from the flour the aroma fills in the whole house. You add the water and *Ghor* to the butter and flour pot and cook on low gas. Add half a spoonful's of laychee powder. Then cook it well. When all the water has disappeared and the halva is like a paste then it is ready.

This is very popular. This is eaten with 'pooria'¹

My mother taught me this. You must try making this dish.

¹ Like Chappatis but much more flakier.

Curry

A yoghurt based dish

Now I will tell you how to make curry

Pot 1

1 cup of gramflour (*Besin*)

400g of yoghurt

Put this in a blender and add 3-4 pints of water

Blend this – yoghurt, *besin* and water . Put to one side

Pot 2

Then make the masala on the gas

Butter

Chopped onion

Add cloves garlic

Wasaar

Salt

pepper

Cook until paste. Just like a *handi*

When it is made and you can see the onions are cooked then add the yoghurt mixture. Turn heat up , stirring all the time and let it come to a few boils. When it comes to the boil add the dry methi leaves and cumin seeds. Put on low heat. This takes a long time to cook. This takes two or four hours to cook properly.

APPENDIX TWO: SONGS

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Lathay di chaddar

Linen shawl

Lathay di chaddar uthay salaitee rang mai aa
Linen shawl with grey stone colour upon it

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Kolo dey rusk kai na nang mai aa
Don't walk on by in a sulk, my beloved

O sady kanda to O sadi kanda to tutteeay nee raseeaa
From my wall, from my wall a rope has broken

Na tu puchaya te na mai dasiya
You didn't ask and I didn't say

Chorus
Lathay di chaddar uthay salaitee rang mai aa
Linen shawl with grey stone colour upon it

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Kolo dey rusk kai na nang mai aa
Don't walk on by in a sulk, my beloved

Saday kanda to, vey saday kanda to
From over my wall , from over my wall

Mari aak vey
You winked at me

Mai attay they vich hath vey
My hands are in the flour dough (chapatti flour)

Chorus

Lathay di chaddar uthay salaitee rang mai aa
Linen shawl with grey stone colour upon it

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Kolo dey rusk kai na nang mai aa
don't walk on by in a sulk, my beloved

O, sadi kanda to, sadi kanda
O, over my wall, over my wall

Sutaai eit vey
You threw a stone over my wall

Aan-ke lagaya kalejay vech vey
And it touched me in the liver (heart)

Chorus

Lathay di chaddar uthay salaitee rang mai aa
Linen shawl with grey stone colour upon it

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Kolo dey rusk kai na nang mai aa
Don't walk on by in a sulk, my beloved

Teri ma nay
Your mother, O

Teri ma nay pakaiya rotiya
Your mother made chappatis

Assa mangheea
I asked for them

Tae paigiya sotiya
And she hit me with a broomstick

Lathay di chaddar uthay salaitee rang mai aa
Linen shawl with grey stone colour upon it

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Kolo dey rusk kai na nang mai aa
Don't walk on by in a sulk, my beloved

Teri ma nay , O teri ma nay
Your mother, O your mother

Pakhai aandhay
Cooked eggs

Assa manghai
I asked for them

Tae paighay dhandhay
And she hit me with a stick

Lathay di chaddar uthay salaitee rang mai aa
Linen shawl with grey stone colour upon it

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Kolo day rusk kai na nang mai aa
Don't walk on by in a sulk, my beloved

Teri ma nay , O teri ma nay
You mother , O You mother

Pakhaiya kheer vey
Made rice pudding

Assa mangheea
I asked for them

To paiyghay peer vey
She got annoyed

Chorus

Lathay di chaddar uthay salaitee rang mai aa
Linen shawl with grey stone colour upon it

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Abb O saamnay
Come in front of me,

Kolo dey rusk kai na nang mai aa
Don't walk on by in a sulk, my beloved.

Madhaniyaaan

Churning stick

Madhaniyaaan

Churning stick (also used for making butter)

Hai o Mereya Daadeya Rabba Kinna Jammiyan Kinna Ne Lai Jaaniya hai

O my God , some will give birth, some others will take away

Haiyo Mereya Daadeya Rabbaaaa Kinna Jammiyan Kinna Ne Le Jaaneeya hai

O my God , some will give birth, some others will take away

Loyi – Babul Teray -Mehlan Vichooo

Slowly/Shawl- father from your palace

Teri Lado Pardesan Hoi Hai

Your loving daughter is leaving for a strange place

Babul Teray Mehlan Vichooo

Father from/through your palace

Teri Lado Pardesan Hoi Hai

Your loving daughter one is leaving for a strange place

Cholay- Babul Tere Mehlan Vichoo

Clothes-Father, from your palace

Satragiya Kabootar Bolay –Hai

Seven coloured dove is calling

Babul Teraay Mehlan Vicho Satragiya Kabootar Bollay -Haii

Father, I shall walk through your grand home Seven coloured pigeon say-O

Tuliyaa – Maanvan Dheeyan Milan Lagiyyaan

Palms O palms – mother daughter say their parting goodbyes

Chare Kandha Ne Chubaare Diyan Huliyaan Hai

Four walls of the home and the floor begins to tremble with emotional pain

Maanvan Dheeyan Milan Lagiyyaan Chare Kandha Ne Chubaare Diyan Haliyaan Hai

Mother daughter say their parting goodbyes Four walls of the building are shaking

Pheta – ena Sakiyaan Veera Nay Dhola Tor Ke Agaanu Keeta-Hai

Dry reef (used for weaving in a village) the brothers have moved/forced the wedding carriage forward

Ena Sakiyaan Veera Naay

The brothers have

Dhola Tor Kay Agaanu Keeta-Hai

Moved/forced the wedding carriage forward

Ena Sakiyaan Veera Ne

The brothers have

Dhola Tor Kay Agaanu Keeta-Hai

Moved the wedding carriage forward

Mehndi Lagdi Suhagana Nu

Henna put on once your married

Nai Marde Dama Tak Laindi haii

Will not come off even upon death

Lagdi Suhagana Nu

Goes on the bride

Nai Marde Dama Tak Laindi hai

Will not come off even upon death

Jhumkey – Amrhi Da Dil Kambeyaan

Earrings- mothers heart has shuddered

Aj Mu Ladoo Da Chum Kay haiii

Today , as she kissed her beloved daughters face

Amrhi Da Dil Kambeyaaan

Mothers heart shuddered

Aj Muuuu Lado Da Chum Kay hai

Today, when she kissed her beloved daughters face

Maape

mother and father/parents

Naazan Nal Paalke Dheeyan

Bring her up with love

Ho Jaan Paraye Aape Hai aaaih

They become outsiders/strangers now

Naazan Nal Palke Dheeyan

Bring her up with love

Ho Jaan Paraye Aape Hai aaaih

They become outsiders/strangers now

Chooriyan

Wedding bangles

Saure Ghar Jaan Waliye Shaala Hon Muradaan Puriyan Hai

One who has gone to her in laws house , i hope all your dreams come true

Saure Ghar Jaan Waliye

One who has gone to her in laws house

Shaala Hon Muradaan Puriyan Hai

I hope all your dreams come true.

Mehndi hai rachnewali

The henna is about to stain your hands

Mehndi hai rachnewali hathon mein gehri laali
The henna is about to stain the hands a deep red

Kahin sakhiyaan ab kaliyaan hathon mein khilne wali hain
Friends say that flower buds will bloom in your hands

Tere manko jeevan ko nai khushiyan milne wali hai
Your spirit, your life, are about to reap new happiness

O hariyali banno
O blooming bride

Le jane tuj ko gooeyan aane wale hain sahin
Your husband is coming to take you away

Thamenge aake baiyan goonjegi sahanaiyan angnai angnai
He will seize your arms and the pipe will resound in the courtyard

Mehndi hai rachnewali hathon mein gehri laali
The henna is about to stain the hands a deep red

Kahin sakhiyaan ab kaliyaan hathon mein khilne wali hain
Friends say that flower buds will bloom in your hands

Tere manko jeevan ko nai khushiyan milne wali hai
Your spirit, your life, are about to reap new happiness

Gayen maiya aur mausi
Your mother and aunt will sing

Gayen behna aur bhabhi khi
And your sister and sister in law will sing

Mehndi khil jaye, rang laye hariyali banni
May the Henna will brighten, colour will stain the blooming bride

Gayen phupi aur chachi
Your paternal aunts shall sing

Gayen nani aur dadi ki
Your grandmothers shall sing

Mehndi man bhaye, saz jaye ,hariyali banni
May the henna please your spirit, may it suit you, o blooming bride

Mehndi roop sanware ho, mehndi rang nikhare ho
Henna enhances your beauty and purifies your complexion

Hariyali banni kee aanchal mein utrenge taare
Stars will alight on the blooming bride's scarf

Mehndi hai rachnewali hathon mein gehri laali
The henna is about to stain the hands a deep red

Kahin sakhiyaan ab kaliyaan hathon mein khilne wali hain
Friends say that flower buds will bloom in your hands

Tere manko, jeevan, ko nai khushiyan milne wali hai
Your spirit, your life, are about to reap new happiness

Gayen maiya aur mausi
Your mother and aunt will sing

Gayen behna aur bhabhi khi
And your sister and sister in law will sing

Mehndi khil jaye, rang laye hariyali banni
May the Henna will brighten, colour will stain the blooming bride

Gayen phupi aur chachi
Your paternal aunts shall sing

Gayen nani aur dadi ki
Your grandmothers shall sing

Mehndi man bhaye saz jaye hariyali banndi
May the henna please your spirit, may it suit you, o blooming bride

Mehndi roop sanware ho, mehndi rang nikhare ho
Henna enhances your beauty and purifies your complexion

Hariyali banni ke aanchal mein utrenge taare
Stars will alight on the blooming bride's scarf

Mehndi hai rachnewali hathon mein gehri laali
The henna is about to stain the hands a deep red

Kahin sakhiyaan ab kaliyaan hathon mein khilne wali hain
Friends say that flower buds will bloom in yourhands

Tere manko jeevan ko nai khushiyan milne wali hai
Your spirit, your life, are about to reap new happiness

O hariyali banno
O blooming bride

Le jane tuj ko gooeeyan Lae jaana tuch ko Aane wale hain sahin
Your husband is coming to take you away

Gayen maiya aur mausi
Sing mum and aunty

Gayen behna aur bhabhi khi
Sing sister and sister in law

Mehndi khil jaye, rang laye hariyali banno
Henna will brighten , colour will stain

Mehndi hai rachnewali hathon mein gehri laali
The henna is about to stain the hands a deep red

Kahin sakhiyaan ab kaliyaan hathon mein khilne wali hain
Friends say that flower buds will bloom in yourhands

Tere manko jeevan ko Nai khushiyan milne wali hai
Your spirit, your life, are about to reap new happiness

Na ro babula

Don't cry father

Vajia vheray vich shenia

The wedding trumpet rings in my courtyard

Sakia doli pawan aiya

The loved ones have come to put you in the wedding cart (doli)

Theea jamdia hown paraiya

Daughters are born to be strangers

Na ro babula

Don't cry father

Na ro babula

Don't cry father

Aik den hona si mai purai

One day i was going to leave

Das, tu kuyo itni pareet kyo pai

Tell, why did you attach yourself to me

Vajia vheray vich shenia

The wedding trumpet rings in my courtyard

Sakia doli pawan aiya

The loved ones have come to put you in the wedding cart (doli)

Theea jamdia hown paraiya

Daughters are born to be strangers

Na ro babula

Don't cry father

Na ro babula

Don't cry father

Gudhiya patoli tee maria neeshania
Dolls and toys are my mark

Mai aaj tur jana yaada rahin jahnia
Today i will leave behind memories

Gudhiya patoli dheer maria neeshania
Dolls and toys are my mark

Mai aaj tur jana yaada rahin jahnia
Today i will leave behind memories

Ghar diya kanda dai durhai
The house walls are crying

Pagay pehli baar judai
It's the first time we have been separated

Vajia vheray vich shenia
The wedding trumpet rings in my courtyard

Sakia doli pawan aiya
The loved ones have come to put you in the wedding cart (doli)

Theea jamdia hown paraiya
Daughters are born to be strangers

Na ro babula
Don't cry father

Naro babula
Don't cry father

Aik den hona si mai purai
One day i was meant to be parted

Das, tu itni pareet kyu pai
Tell, why did you attach yourself to me

Vajia vheray vich shenia
The wedding trumpet rings in my courtyard

Sakia doli pawan aiya
The loved ones have come to put you in the wedding cart (doli)

Theea jamdia hown paraiya
Daughters are born to be strangers

Na ro babula
Don't cry father

Na ro babula
Don't cry father

Patha howay mapay judhaiya hain japaania
If parents knew we were going to separate like this

Jam diya mar jaan di mar jaania
They would let us die at birth

Patha howay mapay judhaiya hain japaania
If parents knew we were going to separate like this

Jam diya mar jaan di mar jaania
They would let us die at birth

Jeri ghodi vech khudai
The one that played in my laps

Aaj mai rahan ki choli pai
Today she is in someone else's laps

Vajia vheray vich shenia
The wedding trumpet rings in my courtyard

Sakia doli pawan aiya
The loved ones have come to put you in the wedding cart (doli)

Theea jamdia hown paraiya
Daughters are born to be strangers

Na ro babula
Don't cry father

Naro babula
Don't cry father

Vajia vheray vich shenia
The wedding trumpet rings in my courtyard

Sakia doli pawan aiya
The loved ones have come to put you in the wedding cart (doli)

Theea jamdia hown paraiya
Daughters are born to be strangers

Na ro babula
Don't cry father

Na ro babula
Don't cry father

Aik den hona si mai purai
One day i was meant to be separted

Das, tu itni pareet kyu pai
Tell, why did you attach yourself to me

Vajia vheray vich shenia
The wedding trumpet rings in my courtyard

Sakia doli pawan aiya
The loved ones have come to put you in the wedding cart (doli)

Theea jamdia hown paraiya
Daughters are born to be strangers

Na ro babula
Don't cry father

Phoola de bahaar

The season of flowers/a field of flowers

Phoola de bahaar

The season of flowers/a field of flowers

Rati ayo na

Last night you never came

Shava

Rati ayo na

Come at night

Phol ghay kumla gori, man-payo-na

Flowers are starting to wilt o fair-skinned maiden you couldn't adorn your body with them/please your heart with them

Shava

[yes/in agreement]

[this is sung by most of the other women in the room]

Rati ayo na

Last night you never came

Asay pava

Put them this side

Pasay pava

Put them that side

*Vich vich pava kalyian*¹

In the middle too

Asay pava

Put them this side

¹ These are small white flowers very similar to daisies

She is singing about a flower garland being made and small white flowers inserted into the garland.

Pasay pava
Put them that side

Vich vich pava ghalya
In the middle too

Je mera rajan na milya mae doond phira sab ghalya
If i can't find my lover i will look in all the streets

Ik mera rajan aya
One my romeo come

Shava

Dil da chanan aya
Light of heart, come

Shava

Dil dee mastee aya
Mischievous of my heart, come
Shava

Khira khira hastee aya
Giddy laughter of the heart, come

shava

Nee son meriea mai
O listen my mother

Shava

Deeva baal chabaray
Light an oil-lamp on the edge of the roof

Shava

Meray dil gabraya
My heart skipped a beat

Shava

Baal to baal na aya
Light up, you couldn't light up properly

Shava

Ni charka chanan da
Leave a lantern on the wall
Shava

Ni charka chanan da
O spinning wheel of my romeo

Shava

Nee mai karta preeta naal
I spin with love

Charka chanan daa
O spinning wheel given by my lover (memory)

Shava

Charka chanan daa
O spinning wheel given by my lover

Ne o vekhta vaday bazzar
They are sold in the big towns

Shava

Charka chanan daa
O spinning wheel of my romeo

Shava

Charka chanan daa
O spinning wheel of my romeo

Ne o karee kisay lahaar
It was carved by a carpenter

Latha lohyay dee
Leg of steel

Shava

Latha lohay dee
Leg of steel

Latha lohay dee
Leg of steel

Charka koonkar deenda
It makes a noise when it moves

Shava

Koonkar Lagee kalajay
When she uses it the noise reminds her of her lover
Shava

Ik mera dil pya tarkay
One my heart beats faster

Shava

Douja kangan sharkay
Secondly my bracelet is making noise

Phoola de bahaar
The season of flowers/a field of flowers

Rati ayo na
come at night

Shava

Rati ayo na
Don't come at night

Phool gayai kamla Gor, man-payo- na
Flowers are starting to wilt

Shava

Rati ayo na

come at night

Asay pawaa
Put them this side

Pasay pava
Put them that side

Vich vich pava resham
In the middle i put silk

Asay pawaa
Put them this side

Pasay pava
Put them that side

Vich vich pava resham
In the middle i put silk

Je mera rajan na milyan mae doond phira sab station
If I don't meet with my darling i will look in all the stations

Ik mera rajan aya
One my lover has come

Shava

Dil da chanan aya
Light of my heart has come

Shava

Dil dee mastee aya
Mischief of my heart

Shava

Khir khir hastee aya
Shava

Nee sun mere mai
Listen , my mother

Shava

Deeva baal chabaray
Leave a light on the wall to guide me

Shava

Mera dil kabraya
My heart would be shiver

Shava

Kal tu baal na aya
Yesterday you lighted up but you never came

Shava

Charka chanan da
Spinning wheel of of my romeo

Shava

Charka chanan da
Spinning wheel of of my romeo

Nee karee kisee lohaar
It was carved by a carpenter

Lath lohay dee
Leg of steel

Shava

Lath lohaay dee
Leg of steel

Charka koonkar denda
It makes a noise when it moves

Shava

Koonkar lagee kalajay
When I use it the noise reminds me of him

Shava

Ik mera dil paya tirkay
One my heart beats faster

Shava

Duuja kaghan karkay
Secondly my bracelet is making a noise

Shava

Charkan chanan daa
Spinning wheel given by my darling

Shava

Charkan chanan daa
Spinning wheel given by my darling

Cheeta coockar

White Cockerel

Cheeta coockar baneray thai
White cockerel on the balcony

Cheeta coockar baneray dai
White cockerel on the balcony

Kaasnee dapeutay wali-ay
O wearer of the golden shawl

Munda sadkay theray tay
The boy is in love with you/ adores you

Kaasnee dapeutay wali-ay
O wearer of the golden shawl

Munda sadkay theray tay
The boy adores you

Munda sadkay theray tay
The boy adores you

Kunda laghaya thali nu
The hook has touched the plate

Kunda laghaya thali nu
The hook has touched the plate

Hatha uthay mehndi lag gai –aik kismet wali nu
The hands have got henna on them- o fortunate one

Hatha uthay mehndi lag gai –aik kismet wali nu
The hands have got henna on them- o fortunate one

Sari kehl lakeera dee
All the fortune/play is on the hand lines

Sari kehl lakeera dee

All the fortune/play is on the hand lines

Ghadi ai stasion they aak pej gaiy veera dee

The train has come to the station and the brothers eyes fill up

Ghadi ai stasion they aak pej gaiy veera dee

The train has come to the station and the brothers eyes fill up

Heera lakh sawa lakh da ay

The diamond is ten thousand and more

Heera lakh sawa lakh da ay

The diamond is ten thousand and more

Theeya walia dheea rab isatta rakh da ay

The ones with daughters god protects and keeps their respect.

Theeya walia dheea rab isatta rakh da ay

The ones with daughters god protects and keeps their respect.

Pipli de a shawa nee

The shade of the pipli¹ tree

Pipli de a shawa nee

The shade of the pipli tree

Apna hath doli tor ke mapay kharan duawa nee

After sending them off in their wedding carts the parents then they pray for their future

Apna hath doli tor ke mapay kharan duawa nee

After sending them off in their wedding carts the parents then they pray for their future

Cheeta coockar baneray thai

White cockerel on the balcony

Cheeta coockar baneray thai

White cockerel on the balcony

Kasnee daputay wali-ay

O wearer of the golden shawl

¹ Large shaded tree that can be found in the villages of South Asia

Munda sadkay theray tay
The boy adores you.

Kasnee daputay wali-ay
O wearer of the golden shawl

Munda sadkay theray tay
The boy adores you.

Saath sahailia

Seven friends

Chorus

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Aik sahaili ka meea tha daakiya
One friend's husband was a postman

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not let me sleep

Stampoo lagaway gharee gharee
As he kept stamping his letter.

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not let me sleep

Stampoo lagaway gharee gharee
As he kept stamping his letter.

Chorus

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and kepttelling their tales of anguish

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and kepttelling their tales of anguish

Aik sahaili ka meea tha driver
One friend's husband was a driver

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not let me sleep

Bhoo Bhoo bajway gharee gharee
As he kept pressing his horn.

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not let me sleep

Bhoo Bhoo bajway gharee gharee
As he kept pressing his horn.

Chorus
Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Aik sahailiee ka meea tha sharabi
One friend's husband was a drinker

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not let me sleep

Bothal dikhaway gharee gharee
he kept showing me his bottle

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not let me sleep

Bothal dikhaway gharee gharee
he kept showing me his bottle

Chorus
Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Aik sahailee ka meea tha dancer
One friend's husband was a dancer

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not sleep

Tha-tha thaiya karaway gharee gharee
He kept showing me his moves

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not sleep

Tha-tha thaiya karaway gharee gharee
He kept showing me his moves

Chorus

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Aik sahiale ka meea tha daktar
One friend's husband was a doctor

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not let me sleep

Eenjeccion laghaaway gharee gharee
He kept injecting me

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not let me sleep

Eenjeccion laghaaway gharee gharee
He kept injecting me

Chorus

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee
Seven friends standing together and kepttelling their tales of anguish

Aik sahailee ka meea tha darzee
One friend's husband was a tailor

Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay
All night long he did not let me sleep

Tanka lagahway gharee gharee
He kept stitching me

All night long he did not let me sleep
Sari raat mouaa soanay na dhay

Tanka lagahway gharee gharee
He kept stitching me

Chorus

Saath sahailia kharee kharee faryaad sunayai gharee gharee

Seven friends standing together and telling their tales of anguish

Saath sahailia kharee kharee faryaad sunayai gharee gharee

Seven friends standing together and telling their tales of anguish

Aik sahailee ka meea tha mochee

One friend's husband was a shoemaker

Sari raat mouaa soonay na dhay

All night long he kept not let me sleep

Chapall deekhaway gharee gharee

He kept showing me his slipper.

Chorus

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee

Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Saath sahailia kharee kharee fariyaad sunawai gharee gharee

Seven friends standing together and keep telling their tales of anguish

Sab ki baaraatein

All the wedding processions have passed through

Sab ki baaraatein aayi doli tu bhi laana -

All the wedding processions have passed through; won't you too bring the wedding cart

Dulhan banaake humko raja jalay jaana

once you've made me your bride, take me away, my prince

sab ki baaraatein aayi

All the wedding processions have passed through

Chaa ha tha maine, socha tha maine

I used to dream and long for someone;

Kya kya the armaan dil nadaan ke

What amazing desires were in my innocent heart!

Aankhon mein aansu aaye

Tears rose to my eyes

Ho, aankhon mein aansu aaye par koi na aaya

Oh, tears rose to my eyes, but no one came for me

Ab to kisi ko bhi apna ke hai bulaana

And now you too must make someone your own and call out to them

Sab ki baaraatein aayi

All the wedding processions have passed through

In aankhon mein thi ek raat saji

These eyes have dreamed of a beautiful night

Haathon mein kabhi choori si baji

And of bangles clattering in these hands

Par aankh khuli to aaya nazar na raat saji na choori baji

But when i opened my eyes to reality, I saw neither a beautiful night nor musical bangles

Mera toota tha dil, uski jhankar thi

What i'd heard was the cracking of my broken heart

Saara voh rang tha mere khoone dil ka
and the splendor i'd seen was the vividness of my heart as it was lost

Yeh to hai rona dil ka
And this is the sobbing of my heart

Haan, yeh to hai rona dil ka kaahe ka taraana
Yes, this is the sobbing of my heart: what an odd sort of song!

Ab to kisi ko bhi apna ke hai bulaana
And now you too must make someone your own and call out to them

Sab ki baaraatein aayi
All the wedding processions have passed through

Sab ki baaraatein aayi doli tu bhi laana
All the wedding processions have passed through bring the wedding carriage with you

Dulhan banaake humko raja jalay le jaana
Once you've made me your bride, take me away, my prince

Sab ki baaraatein aayi
All the wedding processions have passed through

Chalo jo bhi hua, voh khoob hua
Well, whatever happened, was well done!

Ab har koi mehboob hua
Now each and every one of us has become a lover

Hai sab ke liye yeh raat meri ab to hai yehi aukaat meri
Yes, this night of mine, this state of mine, becomes everyone's as i sing of it

Haske bheege palak chamkaana hai
And as i laugh, my wet eyelashes sparkle

Sooni baahein ada se laheraana hai
My empty arms wave with such style

Gham khaake aansu peeke
Drinking tears, enduring my sorrows,

Ho, gham khaake aansu peeke mehfil mein gaana
Drinking my tears, enduring my sorrows, i sing to the company before me

Ab to kisi ko bhi apna ke hai bulaana

And now you too must make someone your own and call out to them

Sab ki baaraatein aayi

All the wedding processions have passed through

Sab ki baaraatein aayi doli tu bhi laana

All the wedding processions have passed through bring the wedding carriage with you

Dulhan banaake humko rajaji le jaana

Once you've made me your bride, take me away, my prince

Sab ki baaraatein aayi

And now you too must make someone your own and call out to them

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya

The man with the red turban

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Main Kehni Aan,
The man with the red turban/piece of cloth I am saying

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Main Kehni Aan,
The man with the red turban/piece of cloth I am saying

Kar Chhatri Di Chhan Main Chhanwen Behni Aa,
Do umbrella shade, I will sit under it

Kar Chhatri Di Chhan Main Chhanwen Behni Aan,
Do umbrella shade, I will sit under it

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Phul Kikran De,
The man with the red turban/piece of cloth, the flowers of the 'kikran' tree

Kikran Layi Bahaar Mele Mitra De,
Flowers on trees have blossomed , meeting of the beloved

Kikran Layi Bahaar Mele Mitra De
flowers on trees have blossomed , meeting of the beloved

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Phul Tori Da,
Break the flowers off the Tori (lady finger plant)

Baaj Tere We Mahiya Kuj Ni Lori Da,
Except you ,my beloved, i need nothing

Baaj Tere We Mahiya Kuj Ni Lori Da...
Except you ,my beloved, i need nothing

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Main Kehni Aan,
The man with the red turban/piece of cloth I am saying

Lagde Teer Judiyaan De Main Sehni Aan,
The pain of separation hit me like arrows I have to bear

Lagde Teer Judiyaan De Main Sehni Aan,
The pain of separation hit me like arrows I have to bear

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Do Laladiyan

The man with the red turban/piece of cloth, two young girls

,

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Do Laladiyan,

The man with the red turban/piece of cloth, two young girls

Mele Wekhan Aaiyan Karma Walaniyan,

The lucky ones have come to see the mela with their beloveds

Mele Wekhan Aaiyan Karma Walaniyan.

The lucky ones have come to see the mela with their beloveds

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Dhan Jori Da,

The man with the red turban/piece of cloth, the body of a young girl

,

Dil Da Najak Sheesha Injh Ni Tori Da,

you don't break a vulnerable heart of glass like this

Dil Da Najak Sheesha Injh Ni Tori Da,

you don't break a vulnerable heart of glass like this

Sau Sau Pain Daleelan Charkha Dayida,

hundreds of justifications- we are setting up spinning wheels

Sau Sau Pain Daleelan Charkha Dayida,

hundreds of justifications- we are setting up spinning wheels

Ik Wari Aake Tak Ja Haal Judayi Da,

come once and see the pain of separation that I bear

Ik Wari Aake Tak Ja Haal Judayi Da,

come once and see the pain of separation that I bear

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Gal Gani Aa,

The man with the red turban/piece of cloth I have around my neck a chain

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Gal Gani Aa,

The man with the red turban/piece of cloth I have around my neck a chain

Charkha Rang Rangeela Vehre Daani Aan,

The spinning wheel is colourful that i set up in my courtyard

Charkha Rang Rangeela Vehre Daani Aan,

The spinning wheel is colourful that I set up in my courtyard

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Main Kehni Aan,
The man with the red turban/piece of cloth I am saying

Suhe Ve Cheere Waleya Main Kehni Aan,
The man with the red turban/piece of cloth I am saying

Kar Chhatri Di Chan Main Chhanwen Behni Aan,
Do umbrella shade, I will sit under it

Kar Chhatri Di Chan Main Chhanwen Behni Aan.
Do umbrella shade, I will sit under it.

Bayree they valia

Women of the boat

Bayree dand nu lavie

Boatman, bring the boat to the rivers edge

Bayree they walia

Boatman

Bayree dand nu lavie

Boatman, bring to the rivers edge

Ooh asie sangu je tootia

Oh our link has been broken

jee asie sangu yaa tootia

Oh yes our link has been broken

Bayree they vallaysanu sangr laa vie

Boatman ,link us up

Bayree they vallaysanu sangr ra laa vie

Boatman,link us up

Bayree they walia bayree lagan nai dhayjkhee

Boatman, your boat has cooking pots on it.

Bayree they walia bayree lagan nai dhayjkhee

Boatman , your boat has cooking pots on it.

Ooh saaday maapay nai kamlay

Our parents are stupid / gullible/ naive/ uneducated

jeesaaday maapay nai kamlay

yes, Our parents are stupid / gullible/ naive/ uneducated

Bayree de vallay jeray theeaaa nu vayjday

Boatman, the ones who sell their daughters

Bayree de vallay jeray theeaaa nu vayjday
Boatman, the ones who they sell their daughters

Bayree day vallay bayree lagaa tandoor vai
On the boat is also a clay oven

Bayree day vallay bayree lagaa tandoor wa
On the boat is also a clay oven

Ooh saday mapai na kamlay
Oh our parents are silly/gulible/naive/uneducated

Jee saday mapai na kamlay
Yes, Our parents are silly/gullible/naive/uneducated

Bayyree they vallay, Theeaa dinday nai door vai
They give their daughters far away

Theeaa they dinday nai door vai
They give their daughters far away

Bayree day vallay bayree lagia nae eetian
O boatman, the boat has got bricks

Bayree day vallay bayree lagia nae eetian
O Boatman, the boat has got bricks

ooh saday mapai nai kamlay
Oh our parents are silly/gulible

Jee saday mapai nai kamlay
Our parents are silly/gullible

Bayree na vallay theeaa nokraan nu ditian
O boatman, they give their daughters to servants

Bayree they vallay theeaa nokraan nu ditia
O Boatman, they give their daughters to servants

Bayree they vallay bayree lagdayna poolkay
Boatman, the boat has bread on it

Bayree they vallay bayree lagdayna poolkay
Boatman, the boat has flatbreads on it

Ooh sanu aya deean khushia
Oh we are happy to have come

Jie sanu aya deean khushia
Yes we are happy to have come

Bayree they vallay toorgayande julkay
O Boatman, the waves have come

Bayree they vallay toor gayan de julkay
O Boatman, the waves have come

Oh bayree they vallay bayree lagia na lava
O Boatman the boat has anchors on it

Oh bayree they vallay bayree lagia na lava
O Boatman the boat has anchors on it

Ooh saday veer nee-aanay
Oh our brothers are small

Saday veer ne-eaanay
Our brothers are small

Bayree they vallay pakay kis kolon la jawan !
O Boatman, I cannot go back to my parents !

Bayree they vallay pakay kis kolon la jawan!
O Boatman, I cannot go back to my parents!

Bayree they wallay bayree lagiay karelay
Boatman , the boat has bitter melons on it

Bayree they wallay bayree lagiay karelay
Boatman, the boat has bitter melons on it

Assee ithay na mil sa
we can't meet here

Jee assee ithay na mil sa
Yes, we can't meet here

Bayree they wallay saday kismet malay
O Boatman, if its in our destiny we'll meet again

Bayree they wallay saday kismet malay
O Boatman, if its in our destiny we'll meet again

Bayree they walai bayree lak lak o deela
Boatman, your boat is too loose

Bayree they walai bayree lak lak o deela
Boatman, your boat is too loose

Assa shadai na mapai
I have left my parents

Je assa shadayna mapai
Yes, i have left my parents

Bayree they vallay tusee chado kabeela
Boatman, you leave your tribe

Bayree they vallay tusee chado kabeela
Boatman, you leave your tribe

Bathiya Bujai Rakdee Vai

She keeps the lights off

Bathiya bujai rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Bathiya bujai rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Vai deva bale sai raath meriya haniya deva balay sari raat
Candles are burning all night long, my suitor, the candle burns all night

Kahnu meinu thang kar nai vai?
Why are you pestering /annoying/ bothering /harassing me?

Kahnu meinu thang kar nai dekha rasta mai sari sari ?
Why are you pestering /annoying/ bothering /harassing me?

Raat mereya haniya
I watched the path all night long , my suitor

Das danee dil valee baaath
Tell me, partner, what in your heart

Fajar valyay tu rava vekha, paadnee yeh shaama
I started looking for you at dawn before I knew it it was evening

Arz kardi thack giya main, soniya vanga gulama
I'm tierd of requesting like a captured slave

Fajar valyay tu rava vekha, paadnee yah shaama
I started looking for you at dawn before I knew it it was evening

Arz kardi thack giya main, soniya vanga gulama
I'm tierd of requesting like a captured slave

Vich vicha rava sardee vay
Inside I'm burning

Vich vicha rava sardee vay gee vay sardee karahi vich raykh mayray haniya
Inside I'm burning like sand in a traditional curry pot

Diva tha dil vala baat
Tell me whats in your heart

Bathiya buji rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Bathiya buji rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Vai deva bale sari raath meriya haniya deva balay sari raat
Candles are burning all night long, my partner, candles are burning all night long

Aaja dil deya , daya maharamaan way, naaz utava thayray kusheeya day
Come my lawful partner, i will serve you flowers of happiness/ bloom in the courtyard of my heart

Phul khil jawan maya mayray dil day vayray
The flowers of happiness have come to my courtyard

Aaja dil deya ; daya maharamaan way, naaz utava thayray kusheeya day
Come my lawful partner, i will serve you flowers of happiness/ bloom in the courtyard of my heart

Phul khil jawan maya mayray dil day vayray
The flowers of happiness have come to my courtyard

Aaj mayree aikh man lay vay, aaj meri aikh man lay
Listen to me today , for once

Main thai manga gee thereeya hazaar mareeya haneeya dhekho main manga tera pyar
I have obeyed your thosands, in return, my partner, i ask you for your love

Bathiya bujai rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Bathiya bujai rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Vai deva bale sai raath meriya haniya deva balay sari raat
Candles are burning all night long

Lakh varee main khar khar mintha thenoo ghal samjaee phir bhi thenoo
A million times I have tried to explain to you but even then

Pyar karandee jachazara na aye
You don't know how to love

Lakh varee main khar khar mintha thenoo ghal samjaee phir bhi thenoo
A million times I have tried to explain to you but even then

Pyar karandee jachazara na aye
You don't know how to love

Authay main bechva palkay utay main bechava palka
I spread my eyelashes on the place

Kithay rakhay tho mayo akay pair mareeya haniya
Where you place your feet

Manga main mith thayray ghair
I ask God for your well-being every-day

Bathiya bujai rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Bathiya bujai rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Vai deva bale sari raath meriya haniya deva balay sari raat
Candles are burning all night long

Kahnu meinu thang kar nai vai?
Why are you annoying me?

Kahnu meinu thang kar nai?
Why are you annoying me?

Dekha rasta mai sari sari raat
I watched the path all night long

Mereya haniya
My suitor

Das danee dil valee baaath
Tell me, partner, what in your heart

Bathiya buji rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Bathiya buji rakdee vai
She keeps the lights off

Vai deva bale sai raath meriya haniya deva balay sari raat
Candles are burning all night long, my partner, candles are burning all night long

'UNTITLED [Miriam's Song]'

Ay laktai zigar ei mera maar paray
O piece of my body

Ai batey meray , dil ke roshan sitaray
My daughter, you are the shining star of my heart.

Ay laktai zigar mera maar paray
O piece of my body

Ai batey meray , dil ke roshan sitaray
My daughter, you are the shining star of my heart.

Karera dil o jaan madar pitar tu
You are your mother's zest of life

Sakoonay zigar aur nooray basar tu
You are the inner peace and a shining light

Ujala hai terai dham sai bheti is ghar mai
Only Your presence has brightened this house

Terey bholi surat hai sab ke nazar mai
Your innocence is in everyone's sights

Tujay daekhar hoti shard-mani
When I see you I feel hapiness

Terey roo-hei-zeba haimeri zind-igani
The sacrifice of your soul is my life

Terey gham mae haalat tabaa ho rehi hai
Your saddness is destroying my physical health

Ke tu aaj ham se juda ho rehi hai
Because we are parting today

Terey behna apas mai mu tak rehi hai
Your sisters are gazing at each other

Magar zahira tuch-se ye hass rehi hai
But they are masking their true feelings

Terai chotay bhai bee lartai se tuch se
Your brothers who used to fight with you

Zara bhaat par jagartai tuch se
Over little things , they would argue with you

Magar aaj sab ro rahai hair
But today everyone is crying

Judai ke asko sai mu doe rahai hai
They are washing their faces with the pain of parting with you

Terey Walda ke ye halat hai behti
Your mother is such that

Ke rothi chup chup ke ghar mai akailee
She is hiding and crying at home on her own

Nahee dil bahalta, behali kew kar rakhay
The heart is not accepting even though I'm trying

Kis taraan ham pe Kaleja pathar?
How can I put a stone on my heart?

Yaha tu nai phanay pathatay aur puranay
Here , you wore torn or old clothes

Kai ghuzrai aisay be aksar zamannai
Many years have gone by like this

Kabee booka , pyassa be raihna para hai
Sometimes, we had to go hungry and thirsty

Kabe sakat aur soost khanay para hai
Sometimes, I was strict and soft with you

Ootaya hai rato ko neendo se tuj ko
I woke you up in your sleep many times

Ae batey hamara zara kaam kar do
Daughter, do me a little favour/work?

Har ik bar kidmat ka tu nai ootaya
You always served me well.

Magar teray cherai be bhal tak na aya.
But your face never expressed any dissatisfaction.

Khuda ke leyay apna dil saaf karna
For god's sake keep your heart clean

Jab ghuzri hai takleef wo maaf karna.
Any past pain please forgive us.

Mubarak ho tuj ko neya ghar besana
Congratulations, on starting a new life

Mubarak ho tuj ko susraal jaana.
Congratulations, on going to your in-laws

Magar ye chand batai meri yaad rakhna
But remember these few words of mine

Kabee oof na karna agar duk be saharna
Don't complain if you have to bear pain

Teray dar pey Ootaray ghee a maray rehmat
May your house receive divine blessings.

Teray ghood bacho se bhar dhe khudrat
May your lap be filled with children , with god's grace.

Terey sai mai bachay jab palai gai
Under your shadow your children will grow

Yai deen or watan mai ujala kare ghe.
They will be a guiding light for their country and faith

Yai deen or watan mai ujala kare ghe.
They will be a guiding light for their country and faith

Ye toffee-milatt dubbarra kare ghe
They will serve the nation

Mubarak, ho tuj ko susral jana
Congratulations, you are going to your in- laws

Shariat se shokar ko pana, Mubarak
You have acquired you husband in a lawful manner

Juda tuj ko karna gwara nehi hai
Separation with you is undebatable

Hai ye hokum mai khudrat pae us chaara na hai
This is the law of God and I have no control over it.

Ai lakhti jigar ai mira mar paray
It's a passing from one generation to the next

Ai behti meray dil ke roshan sataaray
O daughter, the shining star of my heart.

Kala Doria

Black hair piece

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya

Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa ai

Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya

Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa ai

Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

O chota devra theri aik parjhai way

O brother in law you have but one sister in law – don't fight with her

Tu na larria sonia teri door bulai way

O darling, she's come from far

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya

Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa oi

Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

Mai kukree oi laynee jeree kur kur kar dee ai

I want a chicken that cluck cluck cluck's

Sorray nai jana sass

I don't want to go to my mother in law's because she

Bor bor kar dee ai

Peck peck peck's at me

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya oi

Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa oi

Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

Kukree O layneeay jeree aandhay dheendhi ai

The chicken that lays eggs- i want

Soray nai jana

I don't want to go to my mother in laws because

Sass thanai dheendhe ai

She brings past arguments into the present

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya

Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa ai

Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

Mai Kukree O layneeay jeree aandhay dheendhi ai

The chicken that lays eggs- i want

Soray nai jana

I don't want to go to my mother in laws because

Sass thanai dheendhe ai

She brings past arguments into the present

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya

Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa ai

Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

Rayla walia rayla nu vaych kay

Street seller (talking to her husband) after you have sold your goods

Nava veeya kar lo phabho nu vaych kay

Sell your sister in law and get remarried

Nava veeya kar lay phabho nu vaych kay

Sell you sister in law and get re married

(he replies)

Phabho nai vekh dee o buddee theree way

My sister in law is an old og and i can't sell her now

Thenu vecha ga jeri navee vacheree ai
I will sell you – who is young and fresh

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya
Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa oi
Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

Rayla walia rayla nu vaych kay
Street seller (talking to her husband) after you have sold your goods

Nava veeya kar lay paena nu vaych kay
Sell your sister in law and get remarried

Nava veeya kar lay paena nu vaych kay
Sell you sister in law and get re married

[he replies]

Paena nai vek dee O maal paraya way
Can't sell my sisiters because they are not my property

Tenu vecha gha -Jenu kal veeyaya way
I will sell you – because i married you yesterday and you are mine.

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya
Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa ai
Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

Rayla walia rayla nu vaych kay
Street seller (talking to her husband) after you have sold your goods

Nava veeya kar lay puwa nu vaych kay
Sell your father's sister and get remarried

Nava veeya kar lay puwa nu vaych kay
Sell you father's sister and get re married

[He replies]

Puwa nai vekh dee O puppar dada way
I can't sell her (fathers sisiter) because her husband is too fierce

Tenu vecha gha jenay khatia khadha way
I will sell you who has had all my income

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya
Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa oi
Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

Baraa sawaad aiya achare mercha daa
The pickled chillies were very tasty that i ate

Baraa afsos lagha mayai dheey chirka dha
It was very sad that my beloved shouted at me

Sath ghalia aa maiya thenu kutai puwawa ghay
Come through my street and i will set dogs on you

Kal dha chirka tenu maza chakawa day
All this shouting tou've been doing- i will get me back on you

Kala doria kunday naal arriaya
Black hair piece (piranda) stuck in the door

Ke Chota devra phabee na laryaa ai
Younger brother in law argues with sister in law (his brothers wife)

Kala doria mai aap rangani aa
My black hair piece I dye it myself

Chota devra nu mai aap vheeyandi ai
My younger brother in law – i will find him a bride myself

Kala doria mai aap rangani aa
My black hair piece I dye it myself

Chota devr nu aap vheeyani ai
My younger brother in law – i will find him a bride myself

Kala doria mai aap rangani aa
My black hair piece I dye it myself

Chota devra nu aap vheeyani ai
My younger brother in law – I will find him a bride myself

APPENDIX THREE: INFORMATION LETTER

Information letter

University of Huddersfield research project

Dear

I am carrying out a doctoral research project for the University of Huddersfield . I am interested in stories, songs, recipes and herbal remedies that you learned as a child/adult.

I would like to ask you for your permission to record you whilst you recall these narratives to me for this project. There is some more information about the project below : please read it carefully and ask me any questions you have. You can also contact me on 07950216107 at anytime to ask me any questions. My contact details are at the bottom of this letter.

What is the study about?

The study looks at the narratives that are learned by women during childhood and passed onto daughters, nieces and other female relatives. These narratives may include stories, songs, recipes and herbal remedies.

What will I have to do ?

I will come to your house (or we will meet elsewhere)and record any narratives you have learned as a child or as an adult.

How many times will you record my voice?

The researcher (me) will come to you house and record your voice only once. We will agree a time and place which is convenient and best for you.

Do you need to know information about my family?

No

What will happen to this tape?

I will listen to this tape in order to write down what is on it. No one else will listen to the tape.

The tape will be stored by me at the University in a locked filing cabinet. At the end of my study the recordings will be held in the University library only.

What happens if I agree , but then change my mind?

You can withdraw from this study at any time without giving a reason.

I agree to take part. What do I have to do now?

There is a consent form with this letter. If you are happy and willing to take part, please sign the consent form and return it to me.

Thank you very much.

With best wishes,

Razia Parveen

School of Music, Humanities & Media

University of Huddersfield

Queensgate

Huddersfield

HD1 3DH

Telephone-

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Email: u9950381@hud.ac.uk OR

raziaparveen@hotmail.com

APPENDIX FOUR: CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

University of Huddersfield research project

Please read the information letter carefully and take time to ask any questions before you sign this form. You can also contact me at the University

Razia Parveen

Researcher

School of Music Humanities and Media

University of Huddersfield

Queensgate

Huddersfield

HD1 3DH

Dr Cath Ellis

Supervisor

School of Music Humanities and Media

University of Huddersfield

Queensgate

Huddersfield

HD1 3DH

Tel: 01484 473541

Email: u9950381@hud.ac.uk

Please tick the right boxes below :

The purpose of the study has been explained to me and I have had the chance to ask any questions

Yes No

I understand what I will be doing

Yes No

I agree to take part in this study.

Yes No

Your name (please print)

Your signature

Date

Now please return this form to me.

Thank you very much!

