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Black beats with a Punjabi twist

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Abstract

The bonding between black and brown immigrants in Britain has resulted in the emergence of a new musical genre called Bhangra, which hybridises Punjabi dhol *rhythms with those of reggae, rap and hip hop. Bhangra's appropriation of Black sounds that are considered 'Kool' in the West has not only given Asian youth a new, distinctive voice in the form of 'Asian dance music' but has also led to the reinvention of Punjabi folk tradition in consonance with the lived realities of multicultural Britain. This essay examines various aspects of sonic hybridisation in 'the diaspora space' by British Asian music producers through tracing the history of Bhangra's 'douglarisation', beginning in the 1990s with Apache Indian's experiments with reggae. It covers all forms of mixings that came in between, including active collaborations, rappings, remixings, samplings and so on that made Punjabi and Jamaican patois dialogue in the global popular cultural space. The essay explores the possibilities of a 'douglas poetics' for Bhangra by juxtaposing the celebration of sonic douglarisation in postmodern narratives of migrancy and hybridity against the stigmatisation of biological douglarisation in miscegenation theories and ancient Indian pollution taboos.*

Introduction

In view of the long history of racial segregation and tension between Indians and Africans within and outside Africa, sonic hybridisation in 'the diaspora space' (Brah 1996) of Britain emerges from and is implicated in black cultural politics in multicultural Britain through the imbrication of the politics of class with that of race and ethnicity.[1] Bhangra, a new genre of music,[2] produced by second-generation British Asians through the hybridisation of Punjabi *dhol*[3] rhythms with the black ones of reggae, rap and hip hop has become the site for the production and contestation of blackness in a new phase of black cultural politics in which the complication of race by class and ethnicity requires a re-examination of the identity politics of multicultural nations and societies. This essay frames Punjabi African Caribbean crossings in Bhangra hybrids against miscegenation taboos that have regulated black–brown relations for centuries, to explore the possibilities of a 'douglas poetics' for Bhangra (Puri 2004). Juxtaposing the valorisation of creolisation and douglarisation in the linguistic and cultural space against their stigmatisation in the social space, it argues that sonic crossings, which take place only in carnivalesque youth-cultural spaces where normal social relations are suspended, are underpinned by anxieties about racial mixing in everyday lived spaces reflected in the texts' Punjabi lyrics. Beginning by tracing the perception of blackness and of biological douglarisation in the Indian, particularly the Punjabi, imaginary and of sonic douglarisation in

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the diaspora space, it analyses Bhangra musical texts to foreground anxieties related to black–brown mixing and concludes that a douglas poetics can indeed be progressive if it leads to the destigmatisation of mixing even in the social space.

Douglas, jotowa and douglarisation

The privileging of sonic douglarisation in the diaspora space in contemporary hybridity narratives is predicated on the elision of the stigmatisation of biological douglarisation in the social space. Similarly, the attribution of the absence of social and cultural integration between Indian and African communities to imperial segregation policies draws a veil on Indian ritual taboos against interracial mixing that had kept the communities apart on the African continent as well as on plantation colonies in the Caribbean.

In contrast to ancient Indian texts like the Rigveda which are quite explicit in making negative allusions to blackness,[4] modern Indian literatures maintain a careful silence with respect to the African people known as *hubshis* in Hindi and other Indian languages.[5] In the absence of allusions to blackness in Indian literatures, the imagining of blackness on the Indian subcontinent must, therefore, come refracted through imperial representations. Kipling's portrayal of a Sikh trooper's self-ascription in his story 'A Sahib's War' provides a fairly accurate picture of African Indian relations at the beginning of the 20th century. The Sikh narrator, Umr Singh, strongly objects to being herded with 'these black Kaffirs' as 'a Sikh – a trooper of the State' and to being appointed 'to the command (what a command for me!) of certain woolly ones – Hubshis – whose touch and shadow are pollution' (Kipling n.d.).[6] Similarly, the history of Indian African relations in the Caribbean may similarly be reconstructed through the media-hyped hostility between the two West Indian Nobel Laureates, V.S. Naipaul and Derek Walcott.[7] Although it is set in the US, Mira Nair's film *Mississippi Masala* (1991) addresses black brown racism by following South Asian migrants out of Africa through the relationship of a girl of Indian origin with an African-American male. While Nair's film has been critiqued for its simplistic resolution of race issues, Nair is the first to have engaged with the miscegenation taboo that opened up subsequent explorations of the brown desire of the black.

Yet, despite the mutual antipathy between Indian migrants and their African hosts and Indians and Africans in the Caribbean, the relations between the two communities appear to have been marked by a dialectic of desire. Hernandez-Ramdwar breaks the silence with respect to interracial mixing by contending that Indians and Africans, 'despite having historically been kept apart as a matter of colonial divide and rule politics, nevertheless interacted with one another', producing African/Indian mixed-race persons known as 'dougla' (a corruption of the Hindi 'dogala') (Hernandez-Ramdwar 1997). She explains that 'dougla', a non-hereditary identity, is 'most often ascribed to individuals who are the offspring of one African and one Indian parent' (Hernandez-Ramdwar 1997).

Hernandez-Ramdwar shows how douglas are both appropriated as signifiers of social harmony in the politics of 'douglarisation' and resisted in the construction of the discourses of African and Indian purity among more conservative and orthodox factions in the Caribbean. She makes the important point that despite the privileges that sometimes come attached to mixed-race identity and the contemporary valorisation of hybridity in the Caribbean, the etymology of 'dougla' is underwritten

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by the Hindu fear of miscegenation and contamination (Hernandez-Ramdwar 1992). She contends that despite the presence of mixed-race individuals, the negative connotations of the term, coupled with the stigma of illegitimacy, explains why it would seldom be used in self-identification and believes that the Indian fear of contamination and miscegenation and *varna*[8] caste endogamy would have led to douglas children being raised in Afro-Caribbean/creole rather than in Indian homes.[9]

Walter P. Zenner, in *Minorities in the Middle: A Cross Cultural Analysis*, agrees that, while caste had considerably weakened in the large Indian settlements of Guyana and Trinidad despite the prevalence of 'the idiom of caste', it continues to be practised strictly among Sikhs and Gujaratis in Central and East Africa, particularly in the domain of marriage (Zenner 1991, pp. 89–90).[10] He argues that while religious puritanism governed sexual relations, strong caste exclusiveness governed social relations among Sikh migrants in Africa.[11] However, despite the silence on or denial of the relationships between Sikh pioneers and African women by their descendants, evidence in the form of mixed-race children proves that puritanical ideologies or fear of miscegenation could not control the Sikh desire of the African other.[12] In their recollections, some East African Sikh pioneers and their descendants grudgingly acknowledged the common practice of Sikh males cohabiting with African women during the early years of migration, which is confirmed by written records.[13] However, *jotowas* (meaning bastards), children of Indian African marriages in East Africa, were also regarded as outsiders by the Indian community like douglas were in the West Indies.[14] With the gradual thickening of caste boundaries among Sikhs in Africa as they were reunited with or accompanied by their wives and families, the *jotowa* narrative gradually came to be inscribed with illegitimacy as compared to the now privileged location of the dougla in the Caribbean.

Sonic douglarisation in the diaspora space

Despite the social stigmatisation of douglas in the Indo-Caribbean islands, sonic douglarisation appears to have begun in forms such as calypso and soca well before the emergence of contemporary chutney and Bhangra. According to Kim Johnson, in *Unity of Dougla music: The Beat of a Different Drum*, the crossover of African and Indian music began a long time ago with the African side making the first move in a calypso as early as 1920 that culminated in Killer's 1947 hit 'Every time ah passin gal, you grindin massala' (Johnson 2008). These sonic experiments, framed against the backdrop of ethnic absolutism and originary narratives of purity, occurred within the racialised discourse of miscegenation in which hybridity was perceived as contaminating rather than liberatory. According to Shalini Puri, douglarisation continues to be underwritten by the discourse of contamination in the Caribbean even today but she argues that 'the very anxiety surrounding the figure of the dougla is a measure of its radical possibilities' (Puri 2004, p. 220). She suggests that 'one might think of a douglas poetics as a means for articulating potentially progressive cultural products de-legitimised by both the Afro-Creole dominant culture and the Indian "Mother Culture"' (Puri 2004, p. 221).

Bhangra's hybridisation with reggae in Britain emerges, in contrast to douglas music in the Caribbean, from a narrative of caste hierarchies and ritual taboos practised on the Indian subcontinent as well as in Africa.[15] Therefore, Bhangra's fusion with African Caribbean sounds in Britain, framed in the dialectic of desire that

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binds the black with the brown, replies to the miscegenation taboo through which the figure of the dougla was bastardised in older theories of race. Rather than Swahili, the link language between Indians and Africans in Africa – a form of Jamaican patois peppered with Punjabi, rechristened Indian patois – is the new patois of exchange between direct and twice migrants and their African Caribbean neighbours. Yet new narratives of douglarisation or creolisation in which Bhangra is privileged might be a facile explanation of a more complex bridging of the racial divide in which the sporadic crossing of sonic boundaries in the carnivalesque space of youth culture could conceal deeper anxieties about racial mixing.

Peter Manuel (1995, p. 228) has called attention to 'the complex ways in which postmodern and modern/pre-modern forms of meaning interact and coexist' in 'the musical borrowing in the context of two subcultures: hip hop and South Asian diaspora communities' to foreground some of these tensions (Manuel 1995, p. 227). Ben Rampton's fieldwork on language use among adolescents of Indian, Pakistani, African Caribbean and Anglo descent in Britain in 1987 has, similarly, brought to light a different understanding of creolisation from that in the Caribbean. Distinguishing 'language crossing' from 'code-switching', Rampton describes it as 'the use of a language which isn't generally thought to "belong" to the speaker' and points out that these crossings occur in spaces where normal social relations are relaxed (Rampton 1995, p. 291). While Rampton is largely speaking about language crossings, his findings are equally relevant to the understanding of sonic crossings. The privileging of sonic douglarisation in the postmodern aesthetic of pastiche, migrancy and hybridity is made to confront the stigmatisation of social douglarisation in modern segregationist as well as in pre-modern miscegenation theories. While sonic douglarisation might produce a transgressive musical culture, it may not necessarily lead to destigmatisation of social douglarisation because, as Rampton argues, crossing occurred only in 'moments and activities in which constraints of ordinary social order were relaxed and normal social relations were not taken for granted' (Rampton 1995, p. 291).[16] Recollections of Bhangra pioneers about their fascination with black culture unambiguously confirm 'the sharply felt social and ethnic boundaries' from both sides mentioned by Rampton that make the black brown encounter acquire particularly transgressive overtones.

African Indian *Jugalbandi*[17]

The African Asian dialogue first received academic attention through the work of social anthropologist Les Back when he celebrated its Handsworth translation by the pioneer of the Bhangra reggae fusion, a Hindu Punjabi called Steve Kapur, aka Apache Indian (1995). Back's contention that Apache Indian's relationship to ragga music could not be separated from his broader involvement in multiracial peer groups and the wider black community brought Bhangra into the contentious politics of blackness under construction in the 1990s. Teasing out a Marleyian connection, Back traced Apache Indian's reggae leanings to his black friends in school and his induction into the Caribbean sound system and the dance hall scene by Sheldon and Wooligan, illustrating the kind of crossings mentioned by Rampton (1995, pp. 335–6). Back's borrowing of Gilroy's metaphor of the crossroads to describe Apache Indian's music as a cultural crossroads at which the language and rhythms of four continents meet and his first-hand account of the Maxi Priest Apache Indian

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performance of 'Fe Real' in *Make Way for the Indian* (1993) marked it as a historic moment of black, white and brown boundary-crossing on the dance floor. In Jamaican patois peppered with Punjabi phrases, Apache invited all ethnic groups to participate in his new experiment with reggae, which had Priest speaking pure Punjabi:

X-amount of susri car, O kith thar nianae
Buchair teek har and x-amount of salarm 'I' acum
Fe all the muslim ragga muffin possie everytime.

X-amount of Sat Sri Akal. Oh how are you doing?
How are the children? And X-amount of Salam Alekum
For all the Muslim Raggamuffin possie everytime. (Fe Real 1993)

Back's narrative strongly reverberated with the resonances of a similar moment in post-war Britain in Gilroy's own book *There Ain't No Black in the Union Black*, when the dance floor became the site for the interrogation of racial boundaries by young black males and white females (Gilroy 2002). His deployment of the imagery of liminality in the production of an intermezzo culture foregrounded the transgressive potential of playful gestures that strike at the roots of cultural antagonism. His mention of 'the race riots' in Handsworth, far from accidental, also called attention to the symbolic significance of simple political acts in challenging hegemonic structures.[18]

Despite the strong evidence of language and culture crossing among African Caribbean and Asian youth noted by Rampton, Apache Indian was criticised by his detractors for wanting to be 'kaala', or black. Although Apache Indian defended Priest's Punjabi lines in their Bhangra reggae collaboration 'Fe Real' as reflecting contemporary British reality, it was perceived as a curiosity rather than as emerging spontaneously from Apache's multi-ethnic, multiracial Birmingham or Rampton's Southall.[19]

In a place like Birmingham, you see a lot of Asian people picking up things from the black kids 'cause they're living together, or on the playground together. So you hear reggae in the schools and on the streets, but you also hear traditional Indian music as well. (Quoted in Wentz 1993, p. 86)

In attempting to celebrate the moment of African Asian fusion at the Priest Indian performance and other Indian shows, Back expresses his surprise at the African responses to Indian's Punjabi call overlooking the spontaneous crossing of Punjabi with Jamaican patois on streets and playgrounds that Rampton (1995, p. 334) has revealed. If the children in Apache's neighbourhood could have started greeting him in Punjabi after the unprecedented success of his first album, his black collaborator's calling out to the audience in pure Punjabi to jump and shout should logically not have come as a surprise:

Thusi tupor o sadi gol harn wonor	Jump, Repeat after me
Uchee bolor o harn hoon gol kror	Shout, yes speak on now
Thusi tupor o thusee thekor thekor	Jump, yes look look
Uchee bolor everyone tupor	Shout, everyone jump. (Fe Real 1993)

Although he saw reggae as a way 'to unite people' round the time of the riots in 1985, when racial harmony between blacks and Asians was at its lowest ebb, Apache Indian displays a deep awareness of the limits of the intercommunity dialogue.

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Though scholars have deconstructed the last line in 'Arranged Marriage' to underline Apache's rejection of traditional in favour of a modern Western notion of relationships, they have overlooked the idea that he speaks of a symbolic rather than literal unity between the African Caribbean and Asian community. His 'Arranged Marriage', while serving as the site for wide-ranging discussions on the conflict between Asian and Western values, masculinity and the intermezzo reinvention of tradition, has not been framed within the miscegenation narratives undergirding the 'dougla' or 'jotowa' constructs of the *dukawala*[20] in East Africa that Apache himself encounters in the Punjabi corner shop he enters, sporting dreadlocks.

> I remember I walked in [into a shop] and as soon as I walked through the door people started to talk in Punjabi. They saw my locks and they checked me as a black guy. I can't remember exactly what the shopkeeper said but it was something like 'watch out this black guy is going to tief [thieve] something. … This made me realize, that opened my eyes to what was happening in the street and what people like Bob Marley were saying about what black people go through and what tribulation meant. What made it worse was that it wasn't white people saying these things. (Quoted in Back 1993, p. 150)

As the offspring of Punjabi migrations to the UK from the 1950s to the 1970s, Bhangra's interrogation of boundaries acquires a symbolic significance in view of the strict taboos against mixing caste boundaries practised within the community. Similarly, his postmodern play on the concept of the arranged marriage and the idealised Indian bride who would cook for him and 'seva kurre' [serve] him was missed by feminist critics who viewed it as endorsing the worst form of patriarchy. But the theme of arranged marriage regulated by the rules of *intervarna* marriage that continues to serve as an idealised norm for choice of partners among South Asian migrants in Britain is a grim reminder of the pre-modern that still structures social relations among Asian communities. For Apache Indian, whose Sikh wife Harj's parents did not talk to the couple for a decade because of their objections to her marrying a Hindu, the playful postmodern reconstruction of the pre-modern invokes the taboos related to mixing only to overturn them (Apache 1993, p. 86). Instead of burying racial difference, Apache Indian humorously brings a highly sensitive subject into the open. Despite the possibilities of crossing of linguistic and sonic boundaries in multicultural Britain, the boundaries of religion, colour or race remain impermeable, and mixing is still framed within the purity fetish. Juxtaposing the utopian vision of sonic collaboration against the real issues that confront the community, Apache capitalises on his global visibility to address political subjects such as caste, arranged marriages, honour killings and so on.

With 'Independent Girl', Apache Indian and Malkit Singh confirmed the compatibility of Jamaican patois with pure Punjabi through constructing a new Punjabi praise song to the beloved in which Apache sang praises of 'the Independent Girl' in Jamaican patois:

Independent Girl from you no say
you are one away in the whole wide world
a you run things sohniaye

Malkit echoed his sentiments in the pure Punjabi of folksong:

Ni man mohniaye ni hai sohniaye	Oh sweet girl you take away my heart
Tere husan tau bach da koi	No one can miss your beauty
Aaj kal di toon haigee Heer Saleti	You are the modern dusky Heer.

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The collaboration between the Bhangra reggae pioneer and the Punjabi folksinger set the tone for further collaborations between British Asian, British Caribbean and Punjabi Bhangra practitioners within UK and India in which the Punjabi pre-modern was forced to encounter the Western postmodern.

Apache Indian's collaboration with Jazzy B in the album *Romeo* appears to be an apparently unproblematic integration of Jamaican patois in pure Punjabi. In the song 'jine mera dil lutiya', Apache sticks to Jamaican patois, leaving Jazzy B to sing the folksy Punjabi lines praising the fair and lovely girl who has stolen his heart:

akhiyan da samne udher ghumti	She floats before my eyes
jhape di bar mukh chumti	and kisses my face
gala gor gor	her fair cheeks
gor gor dhudh nalo chitiyan	more white than milk. (Jine Mera Dil Lutiya 2005)

Not only in its borrowing of formulaic lyrics fetishising whiteness, but also in its functioning within traditional Punjabi courtship codes, the Punjabi praise song has the beloved responding to her fetishisation through permissible conventions of rustic Punjabi culture. Apache's lines in Jamaican patois about wanting to hold her in his arms and the highly sexualised visual images of the music video relocate the purity fetish of the Punjabi village regulating gendered boundaries to the multicultural mixing of the urban cityscape. Jazzy B, singing in pure Punjabi, is made to embody a Punjabi tradition that is juxtaposed against the cultural values represented by Jamaican patois. Jazzy B, who 'grew up in Canada listening to traditional music of Punjab' but was 'also exposed to rock, hip hop and reggae' that he incorporated in his music, strongly believes in sonic hybridisation, because if Bhangra musicians 'were to limit ourselves to traditional Bhangra then it will remain in the villages of Punjab' (quoted in Chhibber 2005). However, in his personal life, he remains, like several other Bhangra practitioners, deeply committed to traditional Punjabi values including the sanctity of marriage, respect for elders and religion.

The collaboration of Coventry-bred Tarsame Singh Jarnail (Taz) and Kendall Smith of Caribbean origin, in their album 'Spirits of Rhythm' in 1994, similarly reverberates with the subversive resistance of a forbidden liaison. Their renaming of their band Stereo Nation underlines the polemical nature of the Indian Caribbean collaboration that is aimed as a conscious intervention in the racial politics of Britain:

> We officially formed back in 1997 as I was working with DJ Kendall. Each word of the name Stereo Nation has its own meaning. The thinking behind the 'stereo' was that a stereo means left and right and there was two of us. The 'nation' comes from the fact that we are from two different nations thus bring the two nations together, hope that all makes sense! (Desitunes n.d.)

For Taz to invite the 'hubshi' [African] – 'whose touch and shadow are pollution' (Kipling n.d.) – to sing 'Come Be My Lover' alongside him is a declaration of the end of the segregational politics that had kept the two communities apart for centuries. Although the lyrics still sing of heterosexual love, the chasm between brown and white is visually communicated and bridged as Taz, clad in white, and Smith in black attire call out 'Come be My Lover' and affirm the brotherhood that Gurdial Singh Pandhal, the son of a Sikh pioneer who arrived in Kenya in 1892, mentions, through Taz and Kendall engaging in an homoerotic embrace.[21]

Although the rhetoric and polemics of blackness have been shaped recently, the desire of the other that the song articulates is as long as the black brown contact. The visual translation of the spectroscopic economy of black and white in

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Stereo Nation's 'Come be my Lover' articulates the South Asian absence in the British nation, the Punjabi identification and disavowal of whiteness as Taz and Kendall, clad in white and black respectively, appear as mirror images of one another. The video stages the Indian desire of the black body with Taz and Kendall, mirroring one another's movements, drawing closer to one another until Kendall locks Taz in an affectionate embrace. A frame that reverses black and white in a negative of the image of Taz as black and Kendall as white is inserted briefly to interrogate the racialisation of bodies.

Yet, the celebrated Bhangra reggae collaboration between Taz and Kendall in 'I've Been Waiting' is undermined by anxieties about blackness reflected in its Punjabi text. The Punjabi lyrics of the song, composed in the formulaic style of the Punjabi folksong, borrow from Punjabi folksong its fetishisation of whiteness. Following Punjabi folksong convention, Taz eulogises his slim, fair-skinned beloved who can drive young men crazy even when she is fuming with anger:[22]

Laal Laal Buliya	Your rosy lips
Te gora gora Rang	Your fair skin
Munde Haye ni Haye saare karde	Make all the young men sigh
Haye ni gussa patlo da	Oh my, the slim one's anger!

This fetishisation of the fair-skinned beloved continues in the album 'Gallan Gorian' in which he begs his beloved to let her fair cheeks turn even fairer but not break his heart:

Gulaan Gooriyan theh Gooriyan tho kar sajna
Vai Gulaan Gooriyan theh Gooriyan
Na tho dil sada thurfaa sajna
Sadeh dil noo juraa purchadeh

Let your fair cheeks turn even more fair
Don't make my heart ache like this
Try to ask my heart. (Gallan Gorian 2007)

Instead of interracial crossing, the woman's reply, sung by Taz's real-life wife, is a reiteration of sentiments of undying love usually expressed in the Punjabi women's song genres of māhīā and ḍholā.[23] The insertion of the traditional Punjabi genre, articulating the longings of young wives waiting for decades for their beloveds' return from overseas, in the reggae album transports the boundaries of the home village to the new diasporic space. The retention of Punjabi rustic values in the private space in the adopted land, despite the compromises made in the professional space, makes boundary crossing other than in the sonic sphere difficult, if not altogether impossible.

Although the fetishisation of whiteness and recall of Punjabi cultural codes through Bhangra's Punjabi lyrics disrupts the positive narrative of black brown brotherhood, the black brown sonic collaborations in the diaspora space transform the Punjabi space. By the end of the millennium, black male bodies, complementing black sounds in the Bhangra video, are integrated not only in collaborations such as the Apache Indian Maxi Priest or Taz Kendall ones but also in Bhangra albums produced in India in which Punjabi *munde* [boys] produce a new street culture and modernity in relation to blackness. This happens as much by the integration of the black beloved as the object of the Punjabi *Jat* or peasant's desire as by the incorporation of the body of the black other through the Punjabi *Vir* or warrior's performance of the black male body.

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The object of the Punjabi male desire: different shades of the *Soorni Curi* [beautiful girl]

The problematic appropriation of blackness in Bhangra's sonic regime is replicated in the visual economy of Bhangra through the incorporation of the black beloved as the object of the Punjabi male desire. Bhangra's journey exhibits a gradual transformation of the beloved from the from the archetypal light-skinned *gori chitti sohni* [milk-white beauty] to the dusky *Hindustani* [Uttar Pradesh] farmworker with large-scale in-migration of landworkers from Uttar Pradesh to Punjab and the new black beloved with Punjabi out-migration to Britain.[24] Simultaneously, the casting of attractive dusky models in Bhangra videos alters the imagining of blackness in Punjab's scopic regime.

Punjabi folksong is conventionally structured by a certain ambivalence with respect to skin colour. Except in the isolated praise song to the male black beloved in the folksong *kaala shah kaala* [my black lord], Punjabi folksong fetishises whiteness epitomised by Sohni, the iconic heroine of the Punjabi legend *Sohni Mahiwal*. However, Sohni shares iconic space with the legendary Heer of *Heer Ranjha*, who is depicted, like the Persian Laila, as dark-skinned with big eyes, straight nose and full lips in the Punjabi poetry. This fetishisation of the exoticised dusky beauty in Punjabi folklore permits the gradual integration of the black object of the Punjabi male desire in contemporary Bhangra texts.[25] Even so, the object of adoration in Bhangra continues to be represented as light-skinned until a new beloved enters the Punjabi space or Bhangra moves out of Punjab.

Gallan goriyan de vich toye, assin mar gaye ni oye hoye.
Your fair dimpled cheeks drive me crazy. (Jasbir Jassi)

Gallan goria.
Your fair cheeks. (Stereo Nation)

Goora rang, veeni vich vaang, ni mukhde di sang. (Jazzy B)

Tere bull ne gulabi, tak ho gaya sharaabi.
Gazing at your rosy lips, the Jat was intoxicated. (Malkit Singh)

Gore mukhde chand de tukre noon
Vekh ke kehnde ne putt sardaran de.
Looking at your fair countenance like a full moon
Say the sons of sardars. (Jassi Sidhu Malkit Singh)

Although Bhangra lyrics continue to draw on traditional formulaic composition in praising the beloved, female beauty is gradually decoupled from the idealised *gori chitti* or milk white skin through a visual economy of representation offered by the music video. An unexpected insertion of dusky skin in Bhangra takes place through the Bhangra video featuring dark-skinned Mumbai models like Malaika Arora Khan who do not necessarily conform to the idealised *sohni* of Punjabi poetry. Since the dusky Arora Khan represented the Punjabi female love interest in the music video of Malkit Singh's *gud nalon ishaq mitha* produced by Bally Sagoo, dark-skinned beauties have been incorporated in the Punjabi spectroscopic imaginary. For instance, 'the soorni curi' or Punjabi beauty is represented as wearing a sari and performing *bharat natyam* moves in Apache Indian's 'Arranged Marriage' video, conforming to the image of the exoticised oriental female rather than to the Punjabi stereotype. Even the representative Sikh lass Preeti Kaur of *mundian te bach ke raheen* is not represented

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as 'milk white'. Sukhbir's *ishq tera tadpaye* is equally interesting in its opening of a space for black and white bodies, though the beloved is still represented as light skinned as she is in Apache Indian's 'Pyar Pyar Lovin''. In Snap's 'The Power of Bhangra', the *kudi* or girl to whom the Punjabi *munde* or boys call out their praises is a dark-eyed plantation girl wrapped in a bright orange sari. The naturalisation of dusky or even black skin in the Bhangra text has transformed the Punjabi representational space opening up new identity positions so that the presence of black bodies in the Bhangra video circulating not only on national but also on regional television no longer seems shocking.

With Bhangra's travels outside Punjab, the Punjabi male desire shifts away from the quintessential Punjabi *sohni* to new objects of adoration such as the Gujarati lass for whom the Birmingham-based Punjabi folksinger Malkit Singh is believed to have composed his 'Paro'. Even in albums where the beloved is represented as Punjabi, her transposition to a different space transforms the Punjabi stereotype of female beauty. Malkit Singh played a lead role in reinscribing the notion of female beauty through his collaboration with Apache Indian in 'Independent Girl' in which he called out *ni sohniye* [Oh beautiful one!] to the *aaj kal di toon haigee Heer Saleti* [Oh beautiful one! You are the modern Heer) of the Punjabi male's desire and claimed to be her Ranjha (*Tera sadian da Ranjha main Jogi*). Malkit Singh's incorporation of the modern dusky beauty as the 'Heer saleti' in the Punjabi legendary discourse of 'Heer Ranjha' relocates Bhangra's desire of the black to the dialectic of the light-skinned *arya* male's desire of the dark-skinned *dasyu* female on the subcontinent. Despite strong strictures against intervarna marriages in Hindu scriptures defined within the discourse of miscegenation, the desire of the light-skinned *arya* for the dark-skinned *dasyu* female has been the stuff of Indian poetry.

The Indian desire of the dark-skinned beloved has also been epitomised in Majnoon's obsessive love for the dusky Laila in Persian poetry.[26] It is Stereo Nation who engage directly with the Laila figure in the album *Laila*:

Oh Laila Oh Laila	Oh Laila Oh Laila
Oh Laila Oh Laila	Oh Laila Oh Laila
Thojpeh jaan lotadoon reh	I would give up my life for you

However, the song slips into *bambaiya* [Bombay] in the Hindi (Indian Pop version) to exoticise the Laila beloved as the Goan Christian:

Um thonkow chayheelaa re
I am crazy about you
Maria Maria
Maria Maria

In the Spanish (DJ Kendall) version, she crosses into the Spanish other:

Para mi hay una solita
Se llama Laila y todo todo lo que esta haciendo
Estoy loco por ella

The insertion of a Swahili line in both versions of the songs is a reminder of the historic Indian African encounter with Swahili serving as the lingua franca of the trade between India and Africa across the Arab world:

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Woyow yoyow	The girl has walked on the lane of love
Oh gudee ishiq dee thor geyee reh	Youth can ravish one's heart
Woyow yoyow	Nakupendeh na weh weh. (Indipop version)

Performing the black body

The Punjabi desire of the black body is articulated as much through the co-option of the dusky beloved in the aural and visual economy of the Bhangra text as through the Punjabi performance of the black body through the Punjabi *Jat*, mimicking its movements and gestures. The focus on sonic hybridisation in studies of Bhangra has concealed other kinesic features through which the Bhangra body, in addition to sound, identifies itself with blackness. Apart from its mixing with Jamaican patois, diasporic Bhangra might be separated from that produced in India in Bhangra performers' appropriation of black body language and movement. Bhangra illustrates the corporeality of identity as Punjabi youth perform blackness by mimicking black body language. Rupa Huq (1996) has argued that British Bhangra turned Asian 'Kool' through the appropriation of black 'Kool'. The appropriation of Black Kool extends beyond the semiotics of youth styles such as Apache Indian's celebrated dreadlocks to include a corporeal orientation through which the Punjabi body articulates its desire of the black body. In view of the significance of *kes* [hair] in the production of Sikh subjectivity and of dreadlocks in Rastafarian, Apache Indian's dreadlocks and Jazzy B's spiked hair underline the performative nature of identities and the symbolic deconstruction of essentialist notions of identities. The Punjabi performance of the black body – the head nod and shoulder shake, the slouch and the walk – in addition to 'talking the talk' – reinscribes the imperial Punjabi body of 'the martial race'. No longer the body of the warrior or *Vir* constructed in Sikhism or imperialism, the Punjabi body performs the body of the black underclass in a gesture of solidarity to lay a claim to marginality.

Apache Indian's collaboration with Malkit Singh in 'The Independent Girl' deserves a special mention for its enactment and deconstruction of Punjabi identity through corporeal semiotics. Complementing the juxtaposition of pure Punjabi against Jamaican patois peppered with Punjabi are the conventional and hybridised images of Bhangra represented through sartorial style as well as bodily movements and signifiers. If the turbaned Sikh enacts the conventional representation of the *kesdhari* Sikh by donning the *lungi kurta* and jacket, Apache sports African Caribbean youth styles. In contrast to Malkit's pure Bhangra moves, Apache Indian sways and moves his body in imitation of dance hall and reggae. Although Malkit offers a frail version of the idealised *Vir* [warrior] body of Punjabi folksong as compared to the Punjab-based singers Gurdas and Harbhajan Mann, he enacts the discursive production of the body of the soldier in the imperialist army through which Sikh subjectivity has been traditionally constituted. Ears in a straight line with the shoulders, chest thrust out, direct gaze, lips parted in a smile, Singh leaps and jumps, enacting the agricultural movements of the Punjabi villager as well as the martial acrobatics of the Sikh soldier. Apache, on the other hand, affects a slight slouch, his head wagging from side to side, shoulders wiggling and arms raised forward, mimicking the languorous movements of the black plantation worker.

An equally interesting juxtaposition may be seen in the Jassi Sidhu Malkit Singh collaboration in *ki kehne* in which the two Sikhs, belonging to different generations, are seen singing praises of their beloveds. While the two *kesdhari*[27] Sikhs with their

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turbans and beards appear like mirror images of one another singing in pure Punjabi, the difference in their body language marks the visible signifiers through which Sikh subjectivity is constituted in the present. Not only their turbans, one UK and the other Indian, but their movements, dress and singing styles mark the transition from tradition to modernity as they sing *ki husn tere di sift kariye jihne moh laye ne dil sardaraan de* [How do we praise the beauty of the one who has captivated the hearts of the son of sardars?]. As Jassi enters the frame with a 'black' British walk and Malkit follows, raising his hand in a Bhangra arm movement to the line *put sardaran de* [sons of sardars], it becomes quite evident that the body of the *sardar* or Sikh is open to continuous reinscription, despite being regulated by the discursive practices of Sikhism and imperialism. Even when they stand shoulder to shoulder in the nightclub, Malkit's preference for the traditional singing style with the arms and body bending and moving forward and Jassi's standing and swaying in one position foregrounds the reinvention of Sikh body in consonance with the African Caribbean body.

To appreciate the penetration of blackness in the Punjabi mindscape, one needs to mention the Canada-born Birmingham-based Jazzy B, whose hairstyle and sartorial preferences have ushered in a new trend in Punjabi youth styles and fashion, making him a youth icon. It is Jazzy B rather than Apache Indian who has facilitated the unproblematic integration of black sounds and bodies in the Punjabi visual and sonic space through his borrowing of black styles and body movements in his composition of the formulaic praise song. Jazzy B draws on both white and black youth styles to produce a quintessentially Punjabi youth grammar that reflects his sonic mixings. While Apache Indian's Jamaican patois that reverberated with the British Asian experience in the diaspora was too unfamiliar to make inroads into PunjabPunjab, Jazzy B's incorporation of black tunes and moves into the Punjabi cultural repertoire has reproduced Punjabi youth bodies in the homeland in the image of the diaspora.

With the 'Jazzy B Apache Indian feat', black brown collaborations, naturalised in the UK sonicscape since the 1990s, have become integrated in the Indian popular music space with the significations of Jamaican patois remaining symbolic and connoting an unspecified modernity rather than any particular musical style. It is the incorporation of the black figure in Indian popular cinema that replies to the perception of blackness in the Indian popular imaginary and the caveats against miscegenation. To this effect, the RDB, Snoop Dogg, Akshay Kumar feat in the Hindi film *Singh is Kinng* (2008) is emblematic in its reinscription of black brown relations. Unlike music videos in which black and Punjabi tunes symbolically articulate modernity and rusticity, the verbal and visual significations of the 'Singh is Kingg' number dehierarchise blackness. The sartorial semiotics, with both the Hindi film star Akshay Kumar and Snoop Dogg resplendent in ethnic Sikh wear, position black and brown in a position of equality that is reaffirmed by the song's lyrics.

Akshay
Singh is Kinng
Singh is Kinng
Singh is Kinng
Hun har koi jaane

Snoop
Yeah! I'm just a King
Sitting on my throne all alone

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Can you dig what I'm saying?
Bring me some grapes over here babe

Apparently, it was Snoop's desire to wear a turban similar to that worn by the film's hero that determined the sartorial decision. But the powerful image of an African American rapper clad in ethnic Sikh attire, instead of sporting hip hop fashions, has done more to naturalise blackness in Indian popular culture than the British Asian music video.

The black brown equality, playfully suggested in 'Singh is Kinng' through Snoop Dogg's rapping on the Punjabi lyrics, is further explored as brotherhood, not in a Hindi, but in a regional Punjabi, film called *Yaariyan* (2008). Since Hazra Singh Ramta's Punjabi song 'Ramta Africa vich', which is a hilarious account of a *tumbi*[28] player's experience in various African cities such as Nairobi and Kampala, the film is probably the first direct engagement with the Punjabi African encounter. While Ramta's song plays in a humorous fashion on the dark complexion of the *tumbi* player that leads to his being mistaken for an African dignitary, the film explicitly engages with the relations between Africans and Punjabis in East Africa through including a black Kenyan character called Venky Odumba. The film begins with an accidental meeting between the Punjabi protagonist Jassa Singh and Venky at a bus stop where Venky responds to Jassa's exclamation in pure Punjabi, leading to their becoming friends and Jassa's inducting him into the Punjabi fraternity purely on the basis of his fluency in Punjabi. The film proceeds to explore the fraternity between the African and Punjabi migrants that enables them to survive in Canada, which is aptly captured in the image of the Bhangra the three perform in the title song.

Limits of douglarisation

Pointing out that music could function both as symbol and as simulacrum, Manuel (1995) identified shades of both in South Asian diasporic productions and made a distinction between referential and embodied meanings of music. According to him, 'referential' meaning, or referential aspects of musical meaning, would comprise the senses in which music's significance is tied to its more overtly extra-musical associations with such entities as rituals, religion, nationalism, specific occasions, personal memories and the like' (Manuel 1995, p. 230). 'Embodied' meaning, on the other hand, 'is more abstract, residing in such matters as the tensions and aesthetics in subcultural popular musics resolutions created by the ebb and flow of melody, rhythm, harmony, timbre and their interrelationships' (Manuel 1995, p. 231). While the majority of music producers in Britain appear to be deeply entrenched in the black music culture, the referential associations of reggae, rap or hip hop subsume their generic difference and the referential appropriation of black rhythms can enable sonic douglarisation without disturbing normal social relations. In addition to its appeal as a musical genre, reggae's referential signification as 'Kool' music in the British imaginary plays an equally crucial role in its appropriation by South Asian producers.[29] Although the music producers might be aware of the finer distinctions between reggae, dance hall, rap or hip hop, these distinctive musical genres might signify interchangeable signifiers to an average Bhangra fan, one of whom defines Bhangrarap as 'anything that is danceable' (Katrak 2002, p. 79). Jamaican patois in Bhangra albums suggests no more than a foreignness that must be juxtaposed against

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Punjabi. If reggae signifies modernity and 'Kool', Punjabi folk song comes to signify rustic authenticity. The disconnect between the Punjabi and Jamaican lyrics strengthens the referential significations of the two languages and musics.

In 'Bhangra Remixes', I have argued that 'the diaspora space' enables the black brown sonic contact 'through accentuating rather than dissolving cultural difference in the performance of new Punjabi/Indian/Asian ethnicities' (Roy 2008, p. 95). I have demonstrated that despite the crossing of racial barriers in the 'dancing' public sphere, the purity of sacred spaces is protected from alien encroachments and that while 'brown bodies might freely w(rap) with black and white on the dance floor, the self's hidden spaces remain impermeable' (Roy 2008, p. 107). 'Despite the declaration of black brown brotherhood voiced through the sonic collaborations and patois', I concluded, 'the hybrid Bhangra cordons off a secret space locked in Punjabi language and the Punjabi female's veiled body to protect it from the stranger's profane gaze, including the urban Indian's' (Roy 2008, p. 107).

Conclusion

While the diaspora space can accommodate the 'dis-allowed' douglas music (Puri 2004, p. 191), the borrowing of pre-modern Punjabi folksong by South Asian music producers inserts the postmodern into the pre-modern in which the boundary fetish, rather than mixing, is the norm. Despite South Asian youth's appropriation of African beats in their self-constitution, parental disapproval of douglarisation in the cultural sphere is predicated on 'pollution' theories. While the diaspora space of Britain appears to be more liberatory than that of the Caribbean with respect to sonic douglarisation and the douglas poetics might well serve as a means of articulating delegitimised cultural products, the dougla continues to be 'dis-allowed' except in carnivalesque spaces and activities where normal social relations and constraints are temporarily relaxed (Puri 2004, p. 191). The invocation of boundaries in the Punjabi text is a reminder that cultural douglarisation may occur only through temporary breaches of normalised social boundaries and may not necessarily result in the destigmatisation of biological douglarisation.

Endnotes

1. Avtar Brah (1996, pp. 99–102) links semiotic constructions to wider debates concerning political communities and identities and rejects the applicability of Black identity to Asians while recognising its implications for political solidarity. Breaking the silence on race, Raj S Dhooleka (2003, p. 138) argues that new racism creates a specific experience of difference that allows culture, ethnicity and identity to coalesce.
2. Bhangra is derived from a Punjabi folk genre of the same name that was reinvented after the Partition of Punjab to construct a regional Punjabi identity.
3. *Dhol* is defined as 'a double-headed barrel-shaped drum played with sticks' (Schreffler 2010, p. 4).
4. '… *the black skin, the hated of Indra*' [RgV.IX.73.5]. 'Indra protected in battle the Aryan worshipper, he subdued the lawless for Manu, *he conquered the black skin*' [Rg.V.I.130.8] [Ann.114]. The sacrificer poured out thanks to his god for 'scattering *the slave bands of black descent*', and for stamping out '*the vile Dasyan color*' [Rg.V. II.20.7, II.12.4] [Ann. 115].
5. One of V.S. Naipaul's lesser known stories, 'One Out of Many' (1973), in *In a Free State* articulates, through its Indian protagonist, the Indian religious horror of ritual pollution through the protagonist Santosh's contact with a *hubshi*, the Hindi term used to denote people of African descent. M. G. Vassanji's account of *dukawallahs* in East Africa, despite its glimpses into the wider African society, testifies to a similar suspicion of racial mixing. There is no mention of African friends or neighbours in the stories of Indians (Valiben Jethwa, Nairobi, 1950–2006;

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Rambhaben N. Parmar, Tanzania, 1970–2006; Gangaben Panchal, Nairobi, 1970–2006; Shabina Vayani, 'Kyondo' bag, 1980–2006; Jaswant Singh Riyait, *Nine Days to Nine Hours*, Nairobi, 1977–2006; Pritam Singh Basson, Nairobi, 1966–2006) who moved from Africa to Leicester between the 1950s and 1970s. An African vegetable vendor is remembered by one of them through the 'kyondo' bag that she gifted her at the time of her marriage (*Moving Here: East Africans in Leicester*, http://www.movinghere.org.uk/stories/stories.asp?PageNo=2&ProjectNo=37).

6. The work of imperialist racial stereotyping is evident in Umr Singh's contempt for the African people he is asked to command in Stellenbosch: 'They were enormous eaters; sleeping on their bellies; laughing without cause; wholly like animals. Some were called Fingoes, and some, I think, Red Kaffirs, but they were all Kaffirs – filth unspeakable' (Kipling n.d.).
7. Paul Theroux substantiated Walcott's oft-quoted comment on Naipaul's 'repulsion towards negroes' through several examples in an essay published after the release of Naipaul's official biography: 'Is it West Indian waggishness when he speaks of "negroes at [Princess Diana's] shrines, weeping openly", or "little negro children running up and down the street [in London], causing me distress"? Or consider his reaction to the news that the cricketer Viv Richards and his Indian wife have had a baby: "How could she have a child by that nigger?" Or this comment on the Nobel prize (1988): "Of course I won't get it – they'll give it to some nigger or other"' (Theroux 2008).
8. *Varna* [colour] has been interpreted as colour but also as vocation or calling.
9. This is borne out by fictional characters in Naipaul and Vassanji's novels as well as by the testimonies of mixed-race individuals in Africa and the Caribbean (V.S. Naipaul, *A House For Mr Biswas*, 1961; M.G. Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack and Other Stories*, 1989). Hernandez-Ramdwar's allusion to the strong sentiments invoked by calypsonian Selwyn Demming (singing under the name Brother Marvin) and his wife Shafina's calypso showing that 'the history of the two races are so mixed up that there is no reason for division among us' clearly points to the dominance of racial hostility to the 'brotherhood of the boat' (Baboolal 1996).
10. He also makes a reference to the lack of acceptance of children of mixed parentage among Asians leading to their being identified with their mother's kin in all matters.
11. The persistence of the distrust of mixing may be attributed to the conservatism that Parminder Bhachu notes among East African Sikhs in their private lives, which contrasts with their willingness to upgrade their marketable and social skills, in her book *Twice Migrants: East African Sikh Settlers in Britain* (Bhachu 1985).
12. Although his partner Munshiram Aggarwal's son Hansraj summarily dismissed the rumour about Pioneer Sikh Kala Singh's Masai wife in an interview, records indicate that the practice of Sikh men taking African wives without engaging in nuptial rituals stopped only with the arrival of wives from India after the 1920s ('Sikhs of East Africa', http://www.sikh-heritage.co.uk/heritage/sikhhert%20EAfrica/sikhsEAfrica.htm).
13. Like the gentle Husaini in Vassanji's *The Gunny Sack and Other Stories* who withdraws, with her son, to a marginal position in the household after the protagonist brings back his bride from Gujarat, the possibility of children produced through cohabitation with African women has been confirmed by descendant testimonies (Vassanji 1989). For instance, Nauranga Singh of Meru mentions marriages between three Sikhs, Amar Singh, Nooran Singh and Meher Singh and Sikh Meru women in the mid-1950s and 1960s ('Sikhs of East Africa', http://www.sikh-heritage.co.uk/heritage/sikhhert%20EAfrica/sikhsEAfrica.htm).
14. One of the wives mentioned by Nauranga Singh, Anu Wanja Singh, the daughter of a 'fundi' Kirparam Singh and a Meru woman, speaks of growing up Meru with her parents communicating in Swahili ('Sikhs of East Africa', http://www.sikh-heritage.co.uk/heritage/sikhhert%20EAfrica/sikhsEAfrica.htm).
15. Balwinder Dhaliwal, narrating her account of growing up in Britain in the 1950s, testifies to the persistence of caste ('if the children came from a different caste that was considered lower than yours you wouldn't be encouraged to go round to their houses'),and arranged marriages. In her documentary, *Dating Black*, Anita Rani shows that dating and marriage between Asians and those from the black community are still relatively rare, by speaking to three young British Asians who dated black in face of the lesser acceptance of mixed relationships with black people than with white people (Rani 2008). In her chat show, 'We the People', Barkha Dutt asked the people of India, represented by a panel consisting of renowned models, actors and heads of advertising companies, 'Is India a country of closet racists'? The candid answers were revealing for the prevalence of a strong colour bias in India, reflected and reproduced in the Indian media, in which the opposition between white and black is polarised as 'sweet' and 'dirty and sexy', idealised wife and seductive mistress (Dutt 2009). The celebrated Indian adman Alyque Padamsee defended his endorsement of the fairness cream 'Fair and Lovely', by citing the preference for light-skinned women in matrimonial advertisements in Indian newspapers (Dutt 2009).
16. Rampton's sociolinguistic analysis yields numerous instances of language crossing between adolescents. He cites 68 episodes in which white and African Caribbean adolescents used Punjabi, and more than 250 episodes in which a Jamaican creole could be heard in the speech of all adolescents (Rampton 1995).
17. A *jugalbandi* is a performance in Indian classical music that features a duet of two solo musicians.

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18. Looking at the same texts as those examined by Back, Manuel concluded that 'the holistic study of subcultural expressions should not reify the usage of campy jouissance, but situate it in the context of the very real subcultural struggles for identity and subjectivity' (Manuel 1995, p. 238).
19. Apache Indian defended Priest's Punjabi lines with the explanation: 'He speaks Punjabi; why shouldn't he sing in it?'.
20. Indians in Africa, particularly Gujaratis, were largely *dukawala*s [shopkeepers], whose relations with African people were marked by hostility.
21. Pandhal recalls: 'We had very good labour too, mostly the Luos. They nicknamed my father "Macho dogo" because he had "small eyes". We lived with our labourers as we still do, all in the compound (though in separate houses of course). In those early days we were all like brothers, Europeans, Indians and Africans' (Pandhal, 'Sikhs in East Africa'). Yet, neither Gurdial Singh nor other pioneers recall any anecdotes about their African brothers, unlike those relating to white Europeans.
22. In an interview, Taz acknowledged the influence of Punjabi folk music that his parents listened to along with that of Bollywood in his own music.
23. According to Gibb Schreffler, 'the fixed-structure forms of māhīā and ḍholā are characteristic of Western Punjab's short verse types. The five-line 'fixed-form' dhola may be analysed as a modified version of the three-line mahia. Both commonly evoke themes of separation from and longing for the beloved, and as such they both often use the epithets mahīā and ḍholā in their language' (Schreffler 2011, p. 92).
24. Although the subject of Bhangra continues to be the Punjabi peasant or Jat, the object of his desire changes over a period of time (Anupam Sharma, personal communication, March 2006).
25. In his vituperative attack on Naipaul in *The Mongoose*, Walcott sarcastically states that Naipaul's phobia of the black man does not seem to have extended to the prostitutes in Trinidad he is believed to have gone in search of: 'He doesn't like black men but he loves black cunt' (Walcott 2008). Walcott's view of the novelist of Indian origin might be applicable to Indian ethnicities in general whose abhorrence for the 'negro' does not appear to have controlled the desire of the dark-skinned female.
26. According to the Aryan invasion theory, *Aryas* are light-skinned invaders who subjugated the dark-skinned indigenous people they called *dasyus*. A description of Laila from *Saadi Gulistan* is as follows:

    My closest friends blame me for loving her,
    but if they saw her they would understand.
    And you, my love, ravisher of my heart,
    let your face shine once on those who scold me
    and they will miss the lemons in their hands,
    and slice their flesh, and bleed for your beauty.
    (*Saadi Gulistan*, trans. Norman 2004)

27. Kesdhari Sikhs are Sikhs whose hair remains unshorn in accordance with the principle of five Ks (*Kes* [hair], *kada* [bangle], *kangha* [comb], *kirpan* [sword], *kaccha* [underwear]) enjoined by the strict Khalsa sect on Sikhs (Axel 2001). In the ancient caste system, the four castes were *kshatriya* [warrior], *Brahmin* [scholar], *vaishya* [trader] and *shudra* [one who performed menial tasks]; the body of the *kshatriya* was idealised as that of the *Vir* or of the brave soldier.
28. Tumbi is a high-pitched, single-stringed instrument used in Punjabi folk music as invented and popularised by the renowned Punjabi folk-singer Lal Chand Yamla Jatt and used by Punjabi singers since the 1960s.
29. Rajinder Dudrah argues that 'the alternating fit between modern technology and traditional South Asian music genres was able to occur not only because of technological developments within western modernity but also because of the flexibility inherent in the musical genres themselves' (Dudrah 2002, p. 202). While Dudrah throws light on the referential borrowings of Bhangra from reggae, Rupa Huq foregrounds the symbolic nature of the appropriation of the 'Kool' factor in black music in the reinvention of Asian Kool.

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