

The Concept Of Ideal Masculinity In Pashto Folklore as Portrayed Through Feminine Perspective

Dr. Neelam Farid

Ph.D. from Area Study Center, University of Peshawar.
neelamateeq123@gmail.com

Abstract: *Pashto folklore represents the distinct Pashtun culture and characteristics of Pashtun men and women again with their peculiar distinctness. This folklore has many genres but Pashto tappa is the most popular, which reflects all the different aspects of Pashtun culture. It is simple, short, anonymous and covers the whole social history of the nation. It would be apt to say that it has sprung from the ideal Pashtun code of conduct, Pashtunwali. Pashtunwali, as a code of life has provided guidance to Pashtuns about the different aspects of their life. Those who do not follow the rules of the code are considered as lesser Pashtuns. In short, Pashtunwali besides other aspects of Pashtun life has provided the concept of ideal masculinity from feminine perspective. Pashto tappa as a genre of the folklore has been termed a feminine genre by experts and scholars. They have provided different justifications for the argument. Firstly, it is an anonymous genre and so women have expressed their feelings very openly in it, without the fear of being known to the world due to the social norms. Moreover, so many tappas give a clear impression that these portray feminine feelings on different occasions. There are numerous tappas, which portray feminine feelings about ideal masculinity. Pashtun woman is the product of the social system and code, where the rules of Pashtunwali are strictly followed for ideal masculinity. It provides a system, where man is considered as the protector and provider for the family. He is also the defender of the family honor and is not a shirker from his responsibilities through thick and thin. A man, who is not able to fulfill all these responsibilities is considered a lesser Pashtun (moozi) and is not idealized by Pashtun woman. Pashtun woman laments her lot if she is compelled to live with a lesser Pashtun. She cannot go against the social norms but her feelings have been expressed in Pashto tappa. She would prefer being single or widow than be the wife of a lesser Pashtun.*

Keywords: Ideal masculinity, Pashtunwali, Pashto folklore, feminine perspective, moozi (a lesser Pashtun)

Introduction

Before making any discussion about the concept of ideal Pashtun masculinity, which is found in Pashto folklore from feminine perspective, the appropriate thing would be to go to the background of Pashto folklore. Folklore is that knowledge about any culture and society, which deals with its social and individual life, social history and literature since time immemorial. Folklore has existed in human societies since time immemorial, as one of the traits of human nature is that they express themselves spontaneously in verse on different occasions, specifically those of happiness and grief, which cannot be extricated from them from different others emotions. Humans always feel the need for this sort of expression, whenever they are overwhelmed by strong emotions. The folklore of a nation is reflective of the thinking and approaches of its people even of centuries ago. So, the folklore of a people brings before us their individual and collective life, amalgamated with their customs, traditions; how they have

presented it to the outside world and furthermore, the way they have preserved it by word of mouth for posterity. In short, it can be deduced from the discussion in hand that folklore is the collective asset of any nation, its culture and furthermore, its simple illiterate people. Folklore is the expression of the simple illiterate folk of the countryside and its language is also simple, free from artificialities and is understood by the folk as soon they hear it. If people are proud of their folklore, they have the right to do so as it makes them distinct among the nations of the world. This reality cannot be overlooked that no culture is inferior or superior to another one but each its own distinct identity, which bestows distinctness to its people, compared to the distinctness of other people and their culture. The values conveyed through the folklore of a nation have also homogenous elements across the globe, as humans have been bestowed with the same homogeneity. Folklore, according to Wikipedia, is the body of literature, which is expressive of the collective and both individual behavior, manners and habits of a people, their culture or even a sub-culture or sub-cultures, which fall into the larger sphere of one distinct culture. The sub-culture or cultures have slight differences but striking analogy at the same time. Folklore collectively includes all the oral traditions of a people, for instance, tales, myths, legends, proverbs, poems and jokes. Besides all these features, folklore includes all other oral traditions or any other material aspects of that culture, like style of buildings, dresses, jewellery, different manners peculiar to specific people, customs for celebrating occasions and events from the smallest to the largest, and so no. In other words, folklore is a vast field and takes into its lap the overall aspects of the life of a specific culture.

The folklore of a people pervades over the entire social system of that nation, ranging from their life, values, customs, traditions, habits, religion, beliefs and all other aspects of the simple and folk of the countryside, where Nature as well as human nature exists in pristine form. The folklore of a nation evolves from its collective life, the more it emerges and progresses, gives a separate identity to the nation and its folk, through which they are known to the outside world. The unanimously accepted truth about folklore is that nations and cultures are known to the world through it. It would be a wrong assumption to say that cultures and their folklore is superior or inferior to other cultures. All cultures are distinct and so is their folklore. With the emergence of modern urban culture and mechanized life, many aspects of nations have under the influence of swift technological advancement, vanished away from the map of the world. The right thing is that the folklore of nations should not completely vanish away and the same is true about the pristine surroundings from which it has evolved. Folklore and Nature in the most uncorrupted form, has always remained a source of solace to man. It may be very aptly deduced that folklore has also been a source of spiritual solace to man as it comes from man in very original and pristine form and surroundings. Whenever man finds himself exhausted from the mechanized life at the most depressed moments of his life, he runs away to Nature and finds comfort in the lap of Mother Nature. Nature is an integral part of man, where he may go any time and find escape from the mechanized urban life. On this basis, the assumption can be made that Nature and also the folklore of different societies need to be preserved in original form. It has been in this regard that many efforts have been made by experts on folklore to preserve it for posterity, otherwise the future generations will know nothing about it. A threat was felt by scholars and analysts that folklore of nations will vanish away with the passage of time due to modernization. That is why they felt the need for its preservation and the efforts started in the same connection. A variety of different aspects of the folklore of cultures are still visible in the life of the countryside, which still exists in the purest form. The purity and simplicity of the culture of the countryside and its folklore, away from the mechanized life of the urban societies, has the capacity to fill one with amazement and enthrall them during their depressed moments, due to the same mentioned traits.

Folklore is created by the simple folk of the countryside, those who have pure and simple souls, whose life is free from the tinge of artificialities of the urban influences. It is in such simple environment that the folklore of nations has evolved. The emergence of modern mechanized life stopped the way to the evolution of folklore. That is why all nations have their asset of the folklore, which evolved throughout

the ages before the modern mechanized life. Experts are aware of the fact that the evolution of folklore has stopped and they lay stress on the preservation of the one which exists. They also feel a threat to the existence of the already existing, as it will vanish away if not preserved in the written form. It is the same simple folk, who have spontaneously expressed their feelings about the different aspects of their life, like joys, sorrows, different celebrations and also their problems, in a language free from artificialities and which is understandable to all the illiterate folk of the countryside, which exists in different genres of the folklore. Folklore is expressed in language, which touches the soul of a listener in the first instance. An interesting aspect of the folklore is that it has passed down to generations throughout the ages by words of mouth. The folk, from whom it has evolved have not felt the need to preserve it. The younger would hear it from their elders and would remember its each and every word. It was with the rise of modern education and urbanization that the interest of the younger generations was lessened in it. A stage reached when experts and scholars felt the need to preserve it for the time to come, so as to pass it on to the next generations, otherwise, they were sure that it will vanish away and will not be known to the world. It only existed in oral form. It has been with the above mentioned intention and planning that only recently experts and scholars started the collection and preservation of folklore, as they thought it necessary that if it is not done, this precious asset of nations will vanish away slowly and gradually and will not be known to the future generations. Scholars and experts have felt an intense need for the preservation of the different genres of the folklore of nations, as it is through these that the past social history of cultures can be known by posterity. Experts are also of firm belief that these genres cover all subjects related to the life of the folk of nations (Shaheen, 2013, p. 23). The author of Rohi Sandaray says that Tappa has evolved from that region and environment, which was inhabited by the Aryan tribes. The region inhabited by the same tribes was located between the two rivers in central Asia, named Ammu and Indus and was collectively known as Baakhtar. Pashtun tribes are scattered in the same region even today. Experts also very firmly believe that the origin of these tribes, their customs and social life can be traced back to the point from where tappa has emerged and has reached till the present stage. This genre is the true representative of the feelings of the folk, both in body and spirit. No single poet has ever made a claim that a specific tappa is his creation. It has been on this basis that the folklore of a culture is considered the collective asset of the whole nation. Literary critics, moreover, possess unanimity of opinion that tappa is the reflection of the spirit of Pashtun nation, as these have been expressed spontaneously by the folk of the countryside on different occasions, without any prior planning. The feelings expressed through tappa show a strong likeness with the traits of Pashtuns and their values.

Scholars and experts believe that Pashto folklore has evolved from Pashtunwali, which is a code of life for all Pashtuns. Even Pashtunwali has evolved over a period of centuries from these people and has given Pashtuns a sense of identity and honor and has provided them a guideline for their individual and social life. Benson et al (2014) also believe that Pashtunwali is a centuries old code and that it has served as a stepping stone for the social, moral and religious life of Pashtun society. Children since childhood internalize the ideals of Pashtunwali and they also hear stories about the bravery and courage of their ancestors (Husain et al, 2015), evolved from the same code. The bravery of Pashtun man holds significance, as it provides the concept of ideal masculinity to all Pashtuns. Pashtun woman since childhood internalizes the feeling about ideal Pashtun man under the influence of Pashtunwali, as it portrays her feelings about different aspects related to her life. Woman in the social hierarchy, therefore, looks up to Pashtun man for the social and economic security of her life and the man who fulfills these responsibilities is an ideal Pashtun according to her standard. The folklore of this language, at a deeper level also reinforces the idea of Pashtun idealism, embodied by Pashtunwali, as a code. The rules of Pashtun masculine idealism, as enunciated by the Pashtun code of conduct, have also passed on from generation to generation orally. These are instilled in young men so as to shape and their idea about ideal masculinity (Khan et al, 2015) and they are also guided to follow the same path for achieving honor and respect in the social structure. The crux of the discussion is that Pashto folklore and the genre

(tappa) under discussion and its portrayal of ideal masculinity from female perspective has evolved from Pashtunwali. It would not be wrong to say that the study of Pashto tappa about ideal masculinity from feminine perspective will provide a glimpse into the Pashtun code of conduct as well. There is hardly any difference between ideal Pashtun masculinity from feminine perspective and the one provided by Pashtunwali.

PASHTO TAPPA AS AN EFFECTIVE GENRE OF THE FOLKLORE

Tappa is the most significant genre of Pashto folklore and without it any talk about the folklore of this language would be incomplete. It is the type of genre of Pashto folklore, which is unique to this language and its folklore. It is a genre, the likeness of which cannot be found in the folklore of world literature. Only Mahia (a genre of the Punjabi folklore) is in close similarity to it, as both are composed of one and a half lines (Shaheen, 2008). Due to its uniqueness, different scholars have written about the different aspects of this genre and it has also been discussed and analyzed from different perspectives. According to Khalil (p. 13), Pashto folk poetry is the most authentic expression of Pashtun culture. There are different genres of Pashto folk poetry but out of all these, tappa is the most popular, on the ground that it very genuinely presents the traditions and norms of this culture in true form and spirit. Another distinctness of the genre is that it very fluently expresses an idea in two and a half lines and its lap is very vast to give place to any subject about the individual and collective life of this nation. According to Dawood (p. 15), Pashto tappa is different from other genres of the folklore in the sense that it portrays the whole life of the nation. It is the collective asset of the whole Pashtun nation. There is hardly any aspect of the nation and its social life, which has not been covered by this genre. Moreover, experts believe that tappa is the oldest genre of Pashto folklore. Tappas used to be sung by the folk on different occasions. In other words, tappa is about the very innate feelings of the Pashtun folk about different occasions and situations since time immemorial.

Tappa without any doubt is considered as the oldest genre of Pashto folklore. In this context, the famous orientalist Jens Envloidsen (2020, p. 4) says that the various subjects, themes and also the structure of Pashto tappa has a striking resemblance with Aryan traits of tribal life. These subjects expressed from different perspectives in the genre are the very profound human feelings about love, separation, optimism even in the worst circumstances, fear, cowardice, bravery, courage, honor, dignity, integrity, patriotism and so on. Pashtuns' reactions and responses to different social customs, weddings, griefs and celebration of social and religious nature have found place in the wider lap of tappa. The specific feature of this genre is that it has provided vent to the feelings of the folk in the simplest diction. The folk of the countryside are illiterate but they do not let illiteracy stand in the way to the expression of the most original feelings, expressed in tappa in the simplest diction and touches the hearts of those who listen to these. The trait of simplicity has made this genre understandable to the folk. The feelings, as have been expressed in tappa, can be relied upon for authenticity, as these possess the originality of expression and profundity of thought and hold a mirror to the Pashtun society. Tappa can be termed as the reflector of the psyche of the Pashtun nation and hardly any aspect of Pashtuns' life may have escaped from the lap of this versatile genre. It will not be wrong to say that any anthropologist, who wants to know about the social life of this nation, should consult this genre for the purpose and would then not feel the need of going anywhere else.

Raza (1989) says that Pashto tappa has been transferred from generation to generation by word of mouth. It has provided an open and genuine expression about the various aspects of the life of the folk of the countryside. Due to the universality of ideas transmitted by this genre, people of every generation feel that it is about their feelings and different aspects of their life. Besides the social history of Pashtun nation, it has covered the events of their real history, as there are numerous tappas about the Pashtun warriors and their historical events, which they have against the foreigners, specifically the British.

TAPPA AS A FEMININE GENRE

Experts on Pashto folklore believe that tappa is a feminine genre, as mostly it has given vent to feminine feelings. There are different reasons in support of the argument. Firstly, it is an anonymous genre and, for that matter, its poet is not known to the world. Due to this reason it has provided a platform to women for the expression of their feelings, without being known to the world, as in traditional societies they (women) cannot express themselves with full freedom. This is not the only factor, on the basis of which, Pashto tappa, as a genre of the folklore, has been unanimously termed as feminine by scholars and experts of the folklore. This can also be termed as a rare feature of the genre. Pashtun women are also the product of their social environment and possess fertile imagination and rich feelings, a prerequisite for the creation of poetry. Tappas are the natural expression of feelings and fertile imagination. Pashtun woman is the part and parcel of the social structure and, therefore, has expressed her feelings in the form of songs in this genre of the folklore. There are many tappas, which are truly the presenter and reflector of the very genuine feminine feelings on different aspects, specifically related to their life and also to the men in their life. There is a very open and fearless expression of feminine feelings in Pashto tappa tell about the very strong perspective of woman on those issues related to her life on the one hand and which are significant issues in the context of Pashtun code. It is quite true to say that due to the social restrictions, inhibitions and vigilance put on her views, she has expressed her feelings anonymously. The views, as have been expressed in tappa on various subjects and specifically the subjects related to the life of Pashtun woman, bring into the reader's mind feminine perspective. There are tappas, where women lament their lot and the injustices done to them by society in the name of norms and customs. They also lament their lot of how they are silenced in one form or the other in the name of going against the social norms. Pashtun culture has set ideals for woman and if she goes against those set ideals, she faces public defamation and is termed as bad woman in the social context. Here an instance of two tappas will bring the point to light (Shaheen, 2013; 25). There is an instance is of two tappas, as have been cited in the introduction to Rohi Sundaray (Shaheen, 2013). These two tappas portray two different perspectives, out of which one is masculine:

Sa ajar khwand da shahadat dey

Da zankadan salgai waham khanda razeena

TRANSLATION: (Martyrdom is an addiction to me due to my overwhelming urge for tasting the experience. I am dying with a smile on my face)

The above mentioned tappa in very lucid diction expresses the strong passion and enthusiasm of a young man, who is not afraid of death as the cause for which he is fighting is greater than death. Moreover, Pashtuns are the followers of that where martyrdom brings one to second life. Martyrdom is not the end of life and Pashtun knows this philosophy very well. The great causes mentioned in Pashto folklore behind martyrdom can be that for one's land or for religion. Contrary to this tappa, there is another one, which brings before us the feelings of a young girl, who cannot go to war herself to become a sharer in the fight for the great cause of her lover or husband but will also not stop him from going to war for the same purpose. She knows very well the honor of martyrdom for the cause of one's land. She is ready to face the consequences, which even be in the form of the loss of her lover or husband, as the word *janan* may mean one of them:

Ka tor orbal mey merategee

Pa watan jang dey janana na maney kawoma

TRANSLATION: (Even if I lose my lover or husband for the cause of the soil, I will never stop him from going to war).

According to Khalil, as he has cited from Jens Envoldsen (2020), Tappa has close connection with feminine feelings and perspective. There are numerous tappas, which doubtlessly express feminine

feelings about ideal manhood and those virtues, which go into the making of ideal masculinity. Furthermore, there are tappas, expressing feminine feelings and perspective about honor, bravery, justice, fulfillment of duties and responsibilities and also being true to all commitments even in the worst circumstances. A true Pashtun will provide protection to his enemy if he knocks at his door for help. This may involve danger to his own life. He will welcome guest even if he has to face the worst or has to suffer devastation. He will protect the honor of women not only of his own immediate family but also of his extended family. A true Pashtun will protect and safeguard the honor of that woman, who is not related to him. Envoldsen believes that the virtues, which a Pashtun beloved or wife looks for in her lover or husband and as has been expressed by her in this genre are virtues of the ancient Aryan tribes (P.4). Khalil further says that “as large number of tappas used to be sung by women on different occasions, so, these portray feminine psyche, perspective and feelings. In this connection, there seems a probability that a large number of tappas have evolved from women (Envoldsen, 2020). There are reasons in support of this argument. This genre is the portrayal of very natural and spontaneous expression of the feelings of women on different occasions, like grief, weddings, other occasions like the birth of male child and also as songs of encouragement to men who have gone into far away lands to provide economic support to their families or otherwise, have gone to war for the cause of their faith or soil. It does not mean that all tappas have been expressed and composed by women. The feminine feelings in the genre about different aspects of their life may have come from those men, who understand the plight of women in the social structure due to the ruthless customs and traditions. The target of the customs and traditions is mostly woman, whether justified or not.

It would be wrong to stamp Pashto tappa as completely feminine genre. Tappa is the collective literary asset of the whole Pashtun nation. It has been feminine genre, as it has provided space to the feminine feelings and its open expression, which is rare opportunity to woman in the very conservative society of Pashtuns. Many tappas have come from men as well. There are so many tappas, which seem to have come from women, as due to the social inhibitions and restrictions in the culture, women may have felt it very easy to express their innermost feelings in this genre, without the fear of facing social ridicule and condemnation for their openness of mind and its public expression. In conservative, traditional and patriarchal structures, woman is appreciated for coyness and her openness about her personal feelings is discouraged. Feminine idealism in the culture is associated with her compliance to the norms and silence. So, tappa, as an anonymous genre has provided a safe platform to women, to sing their hearts out about the injustices done to them and also being given away to men in marriages, whom they do not idealize, rather detest them strongly. Envoldsen further says that Pashtuns live under the tribal code, which has also provided a guideline to them for ideal manhood, covering virtues of courage, valiance, chivalry, honor and justice. The code of ideal masculinity is the social requirement from men. These traits are of idealism are also the ones, which a young Pashtun girl wishes to see in lover or husband. It is on the same basis that scholars and analysts believe that women have remained one of the major contributors to Pashto tappa, as this genre is also the representative of feminine perspective on so many aspects of Pashtuns’ life. Woman has been silenced in Pashtun culture but it is in tappa that she has found voice. It has been only in Pashto tappa that the miseries and hardships of Pashtun woman have been known to the world. The argument on the basis of which, Pashto tappa, as a genre of the folklore has been termed feminine genre, is justified to a greater extent.

ANALYSIS OF PASHTO TAPPAS ABOUT IDEAL MASCULINITY FROM FEMININE PERSPECTIVE

Pashto folklore has evolved from the Pashtun code of life, commonly known as Pashtunwali or Pakhtu (Pashtunwali to the outsiders and Pakhtu to Pashtuns) and, which besides so many other aspects has provided a code, requiring certain traits from an ideal Pashtun (Khattak, 2008; p. 8). According to Rzehak (2011, p. 1) “Pashtunwali presents an ethnic portrait of the Pashtuns about themselves as a nation, on the basis of which they declare themselves as a distinct group, who have their separate

language, history, culture and also behavior. It is their behavior as a way of life about the different aspects related to them, which has bestowed distinctness to them and which is termed Pashtunwali. Rzehak is of the view that Pashtuns term their values, traditions and rules of behavior in one word, known as Pashtunwali. According to the concept of Pashtunwali, Pashtuns are expected and also believed to act according to the norms, imposed on them by the same. In short, Pashtunwali expects Pashtuns to act and behave honorably. There is no room for a Pashtun to live a life of dishonor according to this code. Doing Pashto symbolizes acting honorably and following the rules of the code of Pashtuns. Rzehak (2011, Pp. 1-2) says in "Doing Pashto," that it was after 1950s that Afghan scholars started to study Pashtunwali from folkloric perspective. The study provided a proof to the argument that the evolution of Pashtunwali can be traced back to the evolution of Pashto folklore and vice versa.

The rules of conduct, as have been embodied by Pashtunwali to the whole Pashtun nation in any corner of the world, can be found in the dichotomy of both honor and shame. These rules are based on honor of the individual and group, the spirit of bravery possessed by Pashtuns, equality and mutual respect: furthermore, respect for elders, mutual consultation for the purpose of decision-making, sincerity and steadfastness, retaliation and compensation for the wrongs, generosity, hospitality, support to the needy and pride in identity (Rzehak, 2011; Pp. 1-2). A person who strictly follows these rules of Pashtunwali and who believes that he will do his utmost to abide by them even in the worst circumstances, is considered an ideal Pashtun. To put it in other words, it is not possible for a single Pashtun to be the possessor of all those traits, identified by the Pashtun code or Pashtunwali but even if he possesses some of these traits, he fulfills the criteria for a good Pashtun. Contrarily, he will be considered moozi (a lesser Pashtun). The traits required of an ideal Pashtun are the universal traits required of a good human being; an ideal Pashtun, as has been enunciated by Pashtunwali, should be honorable, true, committed, honest, characterful, loyal, faithful, brave and supportive to others. He should be true to his friends and should stand by them in time of trial. More than that he should be a good son, brother, husband and father and be aware of his duties and responsibilities. These traits are considered as the requirement for a good Pashtun, otherwise, it is believed that the one who is devoid of them, is not a Pashtun, whether dead or alive. In Pashto tappa such a man has been termed moozi (a lesser Pashtun). Any Pashtun, who does not live up to the standard of those rules, which are identified by Pashtunwali, is considered as moozi and the word is derogatory in Pashto (Khattak, 2008; Pp. 8-9). The discussion about ideal masculinity in the light of Pashto tappa also leads to the argument about the feminine perspective on ideal Pashtun masculinity. Pashtun woman's concept of ideal masculinity is similar to the one, which has been provided by Pashtunwali. Shah et al (2018, p. 54) are of the strong view that Pashtun code of conduct comprises traits, such as bravery, honor, commitment, sacrifice, truthfulness, honesty and sincerity. Pashtun woman wishes to see these traits in an ideal Pashtun, a lover or husband. She eulogizes all those traits in Pashtun man, otherwise, she mocks at that man, who is devoid of these traits and addresses him in the tappa as moozi. Moozi (a lesser Pashtun), according to Tair (1980, p. 259), is a man, who is harmless but lacks in the qualities required of an ideal Pashtun. An ideal Pashtun is the one, who contributes to the social structure in one form or the other. He participates in the welfare and well-being of society. The social structure takes pride in the words and deeds of an ideal Pashtun. Compared to him, moozi (a lesser Pashtun) is devoid of these qualities. He is the one who wastes his time in useless activities. He looks up to others even for his basic needs. Moozi does not play an effective role in the social structure. Moozi (a lesser Pashtun) does not make any contribution to the immediate community and also the larger structure. Pashtunwali has bestowed masculine attributes on man and the possessor of these becomes the best protector, decision-maker and also the defender and financial provider for woman. Pashtun woman loves a man with these traits and is ready to live with him. A man, who does not work hard to provide for the family has been strongly condemned by her in the folklore. She prefers to live without such a worthless man and will herself do the work in order to make both ends meet.

There are two types of Pashto tappas, which in explicit words express feminine perspective, as to who

is an ideal Pashtun and who is not; one kind eulogizes the traits of a Pashtun, who falls true on the touchstone of idealism, while the second one uses derogatory language for the one (moozi), who according to her viewpoint is a lesser Pashtun. So, moozi is a character in Pashtun culture and also in the folklore, who is mocked at by Pashtun woman. It is not only Pashtun woman, who derogates Moozi (a lesser Pashtun) but he also faces public denunciation. Not only in the folklore but also in real life men, who do not involve themselves in constructive activities are mockingly termed as moozi (a lesser Pashtun). Moozi is condemned and treated with derogation because he does not fall true to the concept of ideal manhood, from the social perspective and also from that of a woman, which she has nourished and cherished since childhood. This viewpoint of Pashtun woman is also eloquent to the fact that an ordinary or lesser Pashtun (moozi) can never be idealized by her. She worships a man, who is not an ordinary one, but a figure, larger than life and is the symbol of bravery and courage. Pashtun woman is ready to sacrifice her youth to the memory of a brave Pashtun. A tappa says:

Zalmo maidan key weeney toiye krey

Paigley ranndey krey chey kontoon na qablaweena

TRANSLATION: (Young men have shed their blood in the battlefield. May the young women be deprived of their sight, as they are not accepting widowhood) (Shaheen, 2013; p. 43).

Pashtun man is the product of his environment, is the son of his soil, and his personality and ideals are shaped and molded by the code of Pashtunwali. The appropriate thing would be to say that a Pashtun since childhood internalizes the very basic rules of the Pashtun code and his aim is to live up to them. Pashtun woman also as the product of her environment and she pursues the rules of the code. A girl since childhood observes the ideal rules and norms of Pashtunwali, being inculcated into individuals about the same idealism. She knows very well that all males related to her should be the embodiment of the guideline, as has been set for them because these are necessary for living respectable and honorable life in the social structure, otherwise, she will be ostracized by other girls for bring the daughter, sister, wife or mother of a man, who is a lesser Pashtun on the standard of Pashtun code. Pashtun beloved or wife does not discourage her lover or even if it is husband, for showing exceptional courage and valor against the enemies:

Da teerey toorey na dey zaar sham

Da ghaleem weeney toyawa che noom dey weena

TRANSLATION (May my life be sacrificed over your sharp sword. Keep on shedding blood of the enemy, as it will win you the name of a brave son of the soil) (Shaheen, 2013, p. 43).

This is the ideal of a Pashtun woman about ideal Pashtun masculinity. She wants man to be brave and courageous in all relationships. She has a strong sense of honor and dignity of masculinity, when it is about the cause of faith and nation. Pashtun woman will not idealize a man, who flees from the battlefield. Similar rules have been set for Pashtun men by the Pashtun code (Pashtunwali). An ideal Pashtun will not bring feud or battle upon himself, family or nation. He will be peace loving and will prefer peace over bloodshed. He will defend and protect the weaker against the stronger. If war is imposed on him, he will then fight till his last breath. A tappa about the great hero and warrior of Pashtuns, Ramdad Khan, says that:

Ramdad da teekhtey sarrey na dey

Da kotey ghott warpasey goorey marr ba weena

TRANSLATION: (Ramdad will never flee away from the field. Search all the corners of the room for him. Most probably he is dead).

It is unbecoming of a Pashtun to show cowardice in the worst circumstances. The tappa refers to the great Pashtun hero of the war of Malakand, who fought against the British. The singer in the tappa is

confident of the valor of Ramdad Khan and says that if he missing from his position, it does not mean that he has fled away from the field, he must have faced death with the courage expected of a true soldier. A runaway from the battlefield can not be an ideal Pashtun from the social perspective and also from a feminine perspective, as all tappas on the subject of war are about the bravery and courage, which are expected of a Pashtun. A tappa invokes man to enter the battlefield in a manner expected of a true soldier:

Jang ta bumbul geera wargadd sha

Toora waha halakaan tal beerta razeena

TRANSLATION: (When you enter the war with your thick beard, start flashing sword with the skill of a master. Do not be scared in the least, as the young one's return victorious) (Sultan-e-Room, 2018; p. 91).

Young men, who show valor in war, have been appreciated in the folk songs and those about whom neither men nor women are confident that they will show least courage in any such situation, which is becoming of a true Pashtun, are condemned in songs. In Pashto folklore only those sons of the soil are eulogized, who have shown exceptional bravery in the hardest situations, as songs are addressed only to the bravest by Pashtuns. A tappa very appropriately expresses the difference between a brave Pashtun and moozi (lesser Pashtun) in the battlefield:

Pa morcha bya takoono oshwal

Naran ba mmree Mooziyan ba bya kor ta razeena

TRANSLATION: (The enemies have attacked from the opposite position with full force. The brave will accept death and cowards will turn towards their home).

Those who shirk from going to war and such type of expeditions are ostracized in the folklore. A tappa in this connection addresses those, who stay at home, while others are fighting for a great cause. It says:

Jang kho da kali meunz ta raghlo

Naamarda paasegaa che mla dey otarama

TRANSLATION: (War has entered the mid of the village and you still stay at home. I will provide support to your back if you have some health issue) (Sultan-e-Room, 2018; p. 91).

These feelings portray female perspective on the war, battlefield and also chivalry of Pashtun man. The above mentioned tappa on the subject of war has been tauntingly addressed to young men, who shirk away from countering difficult tasks and are scared of and harm or damagedone to their own self. This kind of approach is not appreciated in Pashtun culture and it also goes against the code of Pashtunwali. As has been mentioned in the beginning of the study that Pashtun ideal manhood is about bravery and other traits about duty and responsibility and the one who does not fulfill the criteria, is considered a lesser Pashtun, according to the same standard. A lesser Pashtun has been termed as 'moozi' in tappa and is always addressed in a mocking and derogatory manner, mostly from feminine perspective. A tappa addresses moozi in the following manner:

Moozi dey khoob pa palang na kaa

Haq da haghoo dey che watan pa tooro khoreena

TRANSLATION: (Moozi or a worthless man does not deserve to sleep on a well prepared bed. It is for those who bravely fight for the cause of their land).

So, worthless men, who are full of cowardice are considered as not worthy of respect and good treatment in Pashtun culture. They are paid proper respect even by women. Women, according to the Pashtun code do not value moozi (a lesser Pashtun) and never prefer to live with him and even if they do so, it

is under sheer compulsion. A tappa about feminine feelings portrays a similar situation:

Ka seend ta daangham seend mey na owree

Bakht da moozi dey bya mey gharey la raawreena

TRANSLATION: (Even if I jump into the river, it brings me back to the bank. Moozi has been quite lucky in getting me).

The larger number of tappas about the imaginary character of moozi (a lesser Pashtun), mostly portray feminine view (who do not stand equal on the standard of Pashtun idealism and the ones who fulfill the criteria) about Pashtun masculine idealism. The fact of the matter remains that imaginary characters may also exist in reality, as every literature is about human nature and there is a possibility about the existence of every aspect of human nature both in literature and also in reality. Different characters in Literature are taken from real life. The feminine perspective depicted through the folklore, may have been their real feelings about those men whom they do not idealize but with whom they have live due to the social norms. Due to social inhibitions they have expressed these feelings through the anonymous genre of tappa. The next tappa about the same subject portrays the feelings of a Pashtun woman, which seems the true and genuine feelings of a helpless weak individual, bound in the chain of norms and traditions and going against which is an impossibility. These feelings have been expressed spontaneously in a very simple diction, which the specificity of the folklore:

Cha raata wey mooziyan tamaam sho

Zama da barkhey moozi shta maa jarraweena

TRANSLATION: (I am being told that mooziyan will be faced with certain death. The one in my life is alive and will be the cause of my cries).

The reality about folklore is that it is the natural and spontaneous expression of very personal feelings of the folk. Women have an equal share in the evolution of Pashto tappa and many tappas from the very style and diction convey a strong impression that these have been expressed by women. Pashtun culture and society stand on strict and conservative traditions, to which the foundation has been provided by patriarchy, where women have suffered at the hands of cruel and ruthless customs and norms, imposed on them in one form or another. Patriarchal structures bring women down to inferiority through one norm or the other. Women in the patriarchal structures are silenced on the pretext of going against the norms. In patriarchal structures discourses evolve strategically, which are further utilized for the exploitation and suppression of the weaker sections. The discussion has established the fact that discourses come from the powerful and superior groups, so can it be applied to the Pashtun social structure. Tappa is also a discourse, where woman has raised her voice against the powerful and the injustices done to her through their hands but anonymously. If it had been done openly on social forums by her, most probably, her voice would have been silenced. She has not been given the chance to speak against the cruelties and injustices done to her. It has been only in the tappa that she has expressed her feelings openly without any fear, as through genre she has opened her heart and anonymously. There are tappas, which express woman's feelings and perspective about different aspects related to her life. The ideal of Pashtun woman is not moozi (a lesser Pashtun), who according to her, does not fulfill the criteria and standard of Pashtunwali. They are married away to such men against their will, about which they cannot do anything but can only lament. A tappa truly expresses this aspect of Pashtun woman's life:

Khawanda bya dey maaskhotan krro

Da gullo lakhtay da mooziyano katt la zeena

TRANSLATION: (O my Lord! The night has set in. Girls as beautiful as flowers will go to the beds of mooziyan (undeserving men) unwillingly).

The life of Pashtun woman and the aspect of her life lamented in this genre of the folklore, has been most dominantly her forced marriage to a man, who is the most undesirable to her. This forced marriage of Pashtun woman is very tragic and she is left with no other option to lament it in this feminine genre. Traditions and norms of the culture compel Pashtun woman to live her life with an undesirable man, whom she abhors and detests. There are many tappas on the subject, where woman expresses her feelings that she would prefer widowhood over living with a lesser Pashtun, a man without dignity, self-respect and sense of honor. A tappa depicts similar feelings of a Pashtun woman:

Da mozeegee na kunda kha yem

Malakanan ba zakatoona rakaweena

TRANSLATION: (Better to remain a widow than living with a dishonorable man. I will live on the charity of the influential of the village).

Pashtun woman in all relationships idealizes a man, who will live and die for honor but will never bring himself down to a level, which is unbecoming of a true Pashtun. A dishonorable act by man is not tolerable to a Pashtun woman, though she cannot do anything about it, as the dominant and decision-making status is enjoyed by man and furthermore, she is chained in the clutches of norms and traditions. She can not do anything about being forced to live with a man of indignity but strongly abhors it laments it in this genre, without her identity known to the world. Pashtun woman seldom gets her ideal man, as she has no say in the decision-making about her marriage and other decisions related to her life. She spends her whole life with a man, who is not liked by her, as she is helpless in front of Pashtun traditions and social norms. If she tries to go against them, she will face social boycott, condemnation and isolation. There are many tappas, where this aspect of her life has also been lamented from feminine perspective:

Khawanda bya dey neema shppa kra

La na raza katt na mey rappee andamoona

TRANSLATION: (O Lord! Mid night has set in. The very thought of going to the most detested bed makes my whole body tremble).

Another tappa curses those parents, who marry their unwilling daughters to men, not liked by them. Women have very openly lamented such forced marriages and have cursed those parents, who force their daughters into doing so:

Chey da zargee raza ye na wee

Koroona ye rrang sha chey pa zor ye wadaweena

TRANSLATION: (May their homes be devastated, who force their daughters into marriage against their will).

The above cited tappas speak of the cruelties and injustices done to Pashtun women through norms and customs in the traditional Pashtun culture and code. They are married away to men, whom they abhor, without any romantic attachment and there is certainly no charm in the relationship to them but have to live with them, as they have no option to refuse marrying them. Pashtun women have very openly cursed their parents and the social system for their forced marriages. She cannot go against the norms but numerous tappas she has expressed her innermost feelings on the issues related to their life. These tappas speak of the intelligence, awareness and imagination of Pashtun woman, who has been through any formal training in the art of poetry writing. To add to it further, these tappas also speak about the strong likes and dislikes of Pashtun woman, her sense of honor and shame, the good traits she wants to see in the ideal man, whom she wants to spend life with, if she is provided the opportunity in the selection of a life partner. She has not been provided an opportunity for the selection of life partner but still Pashtun woman possesses a strong sense about the man and his qualities, who deserves to be her

husband. He should be a man with chivalric qualities. An ideal Pashtun from feminine perspective should be a man of commitment, sense of responsibility and honor. He should never shirk from his commitments and should not go back on his words. There are even tappas, where men with no masculine worth and traits are mocked at by Pashtun woman:

Maa dey topai pa sar ghannrrala

Da jeenakoo pa waar paida wrooka dey krramma

TRANSLATION: (From the cap on your head I took you for man. You have no masculine qualities and in that I was badly misguided).

There are numerous tappas, where Pashtun women lament their choice and selection, of having fallen in love with men, not deserving their love. The tappas below express similar feelings of Pashtun women:

Jaanan tapoos naasta da baaz krree

Za kor daleela pa naastee ogholedama

TRANSLATION: (The man I took for a hawk has been a vulture. My poor sense has badly put me in trouble).

Zama da baaz baya prey laarra

Jaanan gongey okhot troota rabaandey shoona

TRANSLATION: (I have been a very bad decision-maker. My lover has turned out to be worthless like an owl and now there is no escape till death).

CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

Pashto folklore has covered almost all aspects of Pashtun culture. It has different genres and these are about the different dimensions of the culture, which has come out of the hearts of simple illiterate folk of the countryside and has been expressed spontaneously without a tinge of any artificiality. It has also been expressed in the simplest diction and so is understood by all folk of the countryside. Tappa is the most common and representative genre of Pashtun culture and different aspects of its social life. Experts and anthropologists of other cultures can make a successful analysis of Pashtun culture from its tappa. It is on this basis that tappa has been termed as the social history of Pashtuns. The peculiar characteristic of tappa besides the simplicity of diction is that it conveys one single idea on a subject in one and a half lines. It is also depictive of the reality that Pashtuns are poets by nature, despite the distinction of gender. One tappa about a single may have been expressed by an individual without the distinction of gender and age. One of the prominent features of this genre of the folklore is that it is considered a feminine genre. This has remained the unanimous stance of experts and analysts on Pashto folklore. Tappa is the natural, spontaneous and very fluent expression of feelings on different occasions, the very striking instances of which are weddings, griefs and sorrows. It is women, who express their feelings in the more intense manner while singing spontaneously, which has given way to the creation of so many tappas. So, many tappas have evolved from women. There is an argument in support of the claim that numerous tappas on different aspects of Pashtun social life and specifically, the ones related to her own life, have evolved from them. Tappa is a genre the poet of which is not known. These are considered as the collective property of the whole nation. It is an anonymous genre and has thus provided the best outlet to Pashtun woman for the expression of her innermost soul, speaking up on so many social issues and also their own personal issues related to them. In the very strict and conservative social structure of the Pashtun nation, woman has to go strictly according to the social norms. Any deviation from the norms is considered a rebellion and her voice is silence on one pretext or another, the motive behind which is the sustenance and perpetuation of the status quo. Any deviation from the norms is dealt with strictly. The normal approach of the social structure is to punish deviant women, as they provide precedence to the other ones. The sustenance of the status quo in patriarchal cultures has been

for the purpose of the maintenance of man's superiority in the social structure.

Pashto folklore has evolved under the very dominant influence of Pashtunwali, a code for the Pashtun way of life, which has evolved throughout the historical period of their social life. Pashto folklore like the folklore of other cultures, covers all spheres of the Pashtun life but with certain traits peculiar to it. The code provides rules for ideal masculinity. According to conventions of masculinity, provided by Pashtunwali, as the folklore of Pashtuns has sprung from this code of life, a Pashtun should possess strong sense of honor and furthermore, should be full of valor and courage. An ideal Pashtun should be true to his words and commitments and must protect the honor of his own home and also those of others.' An ideal Pashtun, according to the code, must possess a strong sense of responsibility. In case of failure in the fulfilment of his responsibilities and commitments, he is considered a lesser Pashtun (moozi). The term moozi (a lesser Pashtun) is mostly used in derogatory terms by all. The concept of ideal masculinity, as has been deduced from Pashto tappa, is not separate from the Pashtun code of conduct, Pashtunwali. As there is no honorable place for moozi (a lesser Pashtun) in the Pashtun code, similarly moozi is a detestable figure in Pashto tappa, the larger number of which are supposed to have evolved from women. The ideal man of Pashtun woman is a heroic and chivalric figure. A man, who goes to the battlefield with no fear of death. He comes up to the expectations from him by the social world and also his family. He will not commit any cowardly act, due to which any woman related to him emotionally or by blood will face any embarrassment.

The traits defined for ideal masculinity by Pashtunwali are the universally recognized ones for ideal manhood, as in any culture courage, valor, commitment, sense of honor, sincerity, honesty and truth are considered good and the ones, which are contrary to these will not be acknowledged. Feminine perspective of masculinity is also mostly similar to the above standard. Women appreciate and idealize all those traits in men, which go into the making of good gentlemen. As they themselves are treated inferior in most traditional cultures of the world, they look up to men for the ideal traits. Pashtun woman is the product of the culture and the code of life and is dependent on man for social and economic security. She looks up to man for the ideal traits, set for him by the social structure and the code of life. She idealizes a man, who fulfills the criteria of ideal masculinity and she will live happily with him even if his financial status is not sound.

REFERENCES

- Hanif Khalil, Dr. (2017). Pashtun Culture in Pashto Tappa. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad. <http://www.foxitsoftware.com>.
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/literary_theory-- theory.
- Shaheen, Salma. (2013). Rohi Sandaray (Tappay). Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar. Jadoon Printing Press, Peshawar.
- Envoldsen, Jens. (2020). Sound the Bells, O Moon, Arise and Shine. University Book Agency, Peshawar.
- Khattak, Raj Wali Shah. (2008). Pashtunwali. (The way of life of Pashtuns). Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar. Lok Virsa, Islamabad.
- Rzehak, Lutz. (2011). "Doing Pashto: Pashtunwali as the ideal of honorable behavior and tribal and tribal life among the Pashtuns." Thematic Report 01/2011, Afghanistan Analysis Network. [https:// www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/special-reports/pashtunwali-tribal-life-and-behavior-among-the-pashtuns/](https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/special-reports/pashtunwali-tribal-life-and-behavior-among-the-pashtuns/).
- Shah, Rahat & Shah, Attaullah Syed. (2023). Preserving Tradition and Embracing Change: A Study of Masculinities in Pashtun Society. Sudasien-Chronik- South Asia Chronicle 13/2023/c Sudasien-Seminar der Humboldt-Universitat zu Berlin.

- Benson, Bruce L. & Zafar R. Siddiqui. (2014). "Pashtunwali: Law for the lawless, defense for the stateless." *International Review of Law and Economics* 37: 108-20.
- Hussain, Muhammad. Arab Naz, Waseem Khan, Umar Daraz & Qaisar Khan. (2015). Gender stereotyping in family: An institutionalized and normative mechanism in Pakhtun society of Pakistan." *SAGE Open* 5 (3). DOI: 10. 1177/2158244015595258.
- Khan, Qaisar. Arab Naz. Uzma Anjum. &Faisal Khan. (2015). "Ordering the social world: A sociolinguistic analysis of gender roles in Pakhtun folk wisdom." *FWU Journal of Social Sciences* 9 (2): 14-21.
- Raza, Afzal. (1989). *Pashto Lok Adab (Urdu)*. Pashto Folk Literature, Academy of Letters, Islamabad, Pakistan.
- Dawood, Dawar Khan. (1985) *Pashto Tappa (Pashto)*. Pashto Tappa. Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar. Pashto Adabi Markaz Sarai Norang.
- Sultan-e-Room, Dr. (2018). *Tppay (Pashto)*. Shoaib Sons publishers & Booksellers, G. T. Road Mingora, Swat. shoaibsons@yahoo.com.
- Tair, Muhammad Nawaz. (1980). *Tappa Aw Jzwand (Tappa and Life)*. Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar. Printers. Ghani Sons Printers, Mahalla Janggi Peshawar City.