Recent Trends in Pakistani Protest Songs: A Critical Discourse Analysis of 'Alu Anday'

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Abstract

Pakistan has a long and rich tradition of protest music and poetry. However, when it comes to protest songs on electronic media, it is evident that Pakistan's protest music culture has entered a new and exciting phase in the recent decades. As compared to the only available heavily censored state electronic media of the past, the emergence of private electronic media channels and the new social media has provided a far greater scope and flexibility to the young singers and musicians to voice protest through music. With the growth of these media and Internet in Pakistan, the singers and artists are more empowered than ever to engage in free expression as a marker of their political and social activism. In this context the current research explores the recent trends in Pakistani protest songs from the linguistic and semiotic perspectives. For this purpose a song 'Alu Anday' sung by the band by 'Begairat Brigade' in 2011 is taken as a sample. Critical Discourse Analysis model of Fairclough (1989, 1995) and semiotic framework of Berger (1998) are combined and adapted for the purpose of analysis. Applying different stages of discourse analysis (description, interpretation and explanation) as given by Fairclough, it is examined how the song linguistically and semiotically creates meaning on the levels of text, discursive practices and social structures; and thus serves as a commentary on the current socio-political situation of th country.

1. Background of the Research

Songs and music have always been used as a medium to protest against political and religious prejudices, and social injustice. However, with the emergence of internet and social media not only the speed and potential of such protest have increased but also the possibilities have increased immensy. The global trend of using musical platform for protest can be observed in Pakistan as well. There are several young artists and bands who are creating protest music to voice against the current social and political issues that the people of Pakistan are facing.

2. Literature Review

This section of the paper provides a review of the materials and literature relevant to the topic of the current research; and thus, provides a theoretical underpinning for the current research. It is mainly devided into two parts: part a deals with CDA and its significance, whereas part b reviews literature relevant to Semiotics and Socio-semiotics.

2.1. Part a. Critical Discourse Analysis and its Significance

Discourse Analysis is basically the analysis of "language in context" (Gee 2005: 1). Within the broader sphere of Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis has emerged so strongly and independently that today it is simultaneously considered as an approach and a discipline in itself. Fairclough (1995) defines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as follows:

By critical discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a)

discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (pp. 132-3).

According to Wodak and Meyer (2001: P.1), the two terms "Critical Linguistics (CL)" and 'Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)' are often used in the same meaning. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) as quoted by Wodak and Meyer (2001: P.1) consider CDA in terms of 'language as social practice' and rely on 'the context of language use to be crucial' (Wodak, 2000c; Benke, 2000 as quoted by Wodak and Meyer, 2001: P.1). Flowerdew (2008: P.196) state the aim of CDA as to 'uncover hidden assumptions' and expose their claims to authority; whereas Flowerdew (2008) believes tht CDA perceives 'discourse and society as mutually constitutive', which employs, 'a society is not possible without discourse and discourse cannot exist without social interaction'.

The concepts of ideology and power are centeral to CDA though a variety of approaches, theoretical foundations and methods are used within CDA. In fact CDA has an interdisciplinary nature that shows the dialectic relationship between language and culture/ society. Fairclough is of the view that our language, which shapes our social identities and interactions, knowledge systems, and beliefs, is also shaped by them in turn. According to CDA language is a form of social practice which is socially conditioned. CDA perceives 'language as a form of social practice' (Fairclough 1989: 20). It focuses on the power dimensions and the ways in which social and political domination is produced, reproduced and exerted through a text.

According to Wodak the term discourse is used in different contexts in different ways such as 'in a variety of humanities and social science disciplines, including the applied branches of linguistics' (Wodak 1989: 7) which results is creating certain ambiguities regarding the term. Discursive practices are connected to a discourse in a way that they play their role in shaping, establishing and transforming power relations between/ among those involved in that discourse. This involvement may be direct or indirect, implicit or explicit, overt or covert.

Fairclough is one of the main proponents of CDA; however, there are other theorists who have contributed in virious ways. Michel Foucault, Micheal Halliday, James Paul Gee, Hillary Janks, and Van Dijk are a few names that can be referred to for their significant amount of work and contribution. Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA consists of three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are:

- The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts).
- The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and eading/listening/viewing) by human subjects.
- The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes.

According to Fairclough each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis

- 1: text analysis (description),
- 2: processing analysis (interpretation),
- 3: social analysis (explanation).

However, as mentioned arlier, CDA can not be attached to the namevof a particular linguist or researcher. Historically, according to Wodak and Meyer (2001: P.4) CDA as a "network of scholars" appeared in the 'early 1990s', 'following a small symposium in Amsterdam, in Renkemauary 1991'. Being supported by the University of Amsterdam, Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak in their two days of interaction, discussed theories and methods of discourse analysis and CDA in particular. According to Wodak and Meyer (2001: P.4), the start of this CDA network is coupled with the launch of van Dijk's journal *Discourse and Society* (1990) simultaneously through several books like *Language and Power* by Norman Fairclough (1989), *Language, Power and Ideology* by Ruth Wodak (1989) or Teun van Dijk's first book on racism, *Prejudice in Discourse* (1984).

Flowerdew (2008: P.196) interlinked the origin of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in Critical Linguistics (CL), which was a 1970's movement developed at the University of east Anglis. Scholars running that group were led by Fowler (e.g. Fowler 1991, 1996a), as well as Kress, Hodge and Trew (e.g. Fowler etal.1979) who were interested to develop a 'social approach to linguistics which recognized power relationships as a central theoretical issue and text as its main unit of analysis' (Kress 1989 as quoted by Flowerdew, 2008:1P.96).

Cameron (2001: P.123) illustrated that critical discourse analysis or CDA can be applied to both "talk and text" rather it is more a 'textual' approach, which is often applied "either to writing or to certain kinds of speech" as analysts are inclined to 'work with 'institutional' rather than 'ordinary' talk, and many are particularly interested in the language of the media'. Renkema (2004: P. 282) explained that analysis of this approach tries to detect "societal problems", specifically "discrimination" and the term *critical* in this approach means, 'an analysis cannot be neutral or free of values'. Cameron (2001: P.283) put forward her assumption that Critical Discourse Analysis concentrates more on 'power relations and ideology, which are precipitated in discourse', and therefore 'force the reader and or listener to perceive reality in a specific' way. So, the word critical in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is of great significance as it helps us determine and distinguish the perspective of CDA from other forms of discourse analysis. According to Wodak the approach of CDA is 'emancipatory and socially critical' in the sense that it provides methods of analysis that help intervension to support the weak, the sufferer and the victim of social injustice.

Today Critical Discourse Analysis has provided the students and the researchers with interdisciplinary tools that can be used equally successfully by linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and researchers from varied walks of life. According to Hodge & Kress (1988) whereas other forms of discourse analysis 'aim to provide a better understanding of socio-cultural aspects of texts,' CDA 'aims to provide accounts of the production, internal structure, and overall organization of texts'. Apart from language structure, ideology plays a significant role in CDA as Kress (1988) asserts that no linguistic form or structure would have a meaning in isolation until and unless it is put in an ideological context.

2.2. Part b. Semiotics and Socio-Semiotics

Semiotics is the study of system of signs. A sign can be anything ranging from an object to a colour to a sound. The Swiss linguist Ferdinend Saussure (1857-1913) and the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839- 1914) are the two major contributors to initial

Semiotics. To Sausure signs have a social role and significance, whereas Peirce has studied them more as a formal doctrine. However, as Chandler (2001: 2-4) asserts, today semiotics "involves the theory and analysis of signs, codes and signifying practices" both.

Saussure asserts that the 'value' of a sign is determined by 'its relations with other signs within the system'; so a sign has no 'absolute' value independent of this context (Saussure 1993:p.80) He uses an analogy with the game of chess, thus pointing out that the value of each piece depends on its position on the chessboard (Saussure 1993:p.88).

However, over the time it was realized that signs change meaning in varied social contexts. In fact Michael Halliday was the first to introduce the term 'social semiotics'. Halliday considers the evolution of language as 'meaning potential' (Halliday 1978: 39), and to him language provides a speaker a set of resources that affect his/her ability to communicate meaning in particular soial context. Thus, socio-semiotics or social semiotics deals with the semiotic practices of a particular culture and community by analyzing texts and social contexts. Today social semiotics has emerged as 'a new and distinctive approach to the practice and theory of semiotics' (Leeuwen: 2005, p.2)

Considering the questions as to how social semiotics can be helpful in understanding various texts in various contexts we need to take into account what Leeuwan (2005:p.3) asserts, 'Social semiotics is not 'pure' theory, not a self-contained field. It only comes into its own when it is applied to specific instances and specific problems, and it always requires immersing oneself not just in semiotic concepts and methods as such but also in some other field'.

Socio-semiotics mainly builds on Semiotics, though the terminology may differ. So, though in semiotics the 'sign' was considered as a fundamental concept, social semiotics prefers the term 'resource'. According to Kress (1988:18) 'signs may not be divorced from the concrete forms of social intercourse' but in social semiotics:

resources are signifiers, observable actions and objects that have been drawn into the domain of social communication and that have a theoretical semiotic potential constituted by all their past uses and all their potential uses and an actual semiotic potential constituted by those past uses that are known to and considered relevant by the users of the resource, and by such potential uses as might be uncovered by the users on the basis of their specific needs and interests. (Leeuwan 2005: p3, 4)

When it comes to the nature of semiotic resources it is important to understand that there can be a wide range of such resources; and they are not limited to speech and writing. They are even not limited to images, pictures, symbols, sounds and colours. Almost everything has the potential to be a semiotic resource. Leeuwan (2005) has used a very interesting example of 'walking'. To him, this apparantely 'non-semiotic behaviour' thatis a 'basic locomotion' can convey different meanings in different cultural and institutional contexts. 'Social institutions – the army, the church, the fashion industry – have developed their own special, ceremonial ways of walking. Through the way we walk, we express who we are, what we are doing, how we want others to relate to us, and so on. Different ways of walking can seduce, threaten, impress and much more' (Leeuwan, 2005: 4-5).

Thus, social semiotics considers the role of various types of practices of social meaning-making, whether they are visual, verbal or aural in nature (Thibault, 1991). Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001 have made an observation in this regard that generally a 'multimodal collection' of various resources is used to convey a message.

3. Research Methodology: Sample and Research Framework

This section provides details of the aims and objectives of the research, criteria for the selection of sample, justification for the sample, theroatical model of this research, and research framework that is used for analysis.

3.1. Aim and Objectives of the Current Research

The main aim of the current research is to investigate the current trends and practices in Pakistani protest music by examining the selected Pakistani protest song 'Alu Anday' from linguistic and semiotic perspectives. It is examined how in the political and socio-cultual context of the country the song linguistically and semiotically creates meaning on the levels of text, discursive practices and social structures.

The objectives of the research include:

- To explore which linguistic and semiotic resources are exploited to convey the intended satire
- To examine how linguistic and semiotic signs gather meaning in the broader political and social context of the country

3.2. Research Questions

The current research aims at finding answers to the following questions:

- What are the current trends and practices of Pakistani protest music?
- Which linguistic and semiotic resources are exploited to convey the intended satire?
- How do linguistic and semiotic signs gather meaning in the broader political and social context of the country?
- How do text, discursive practices and social structures operate on conjointly connected levels?

3.3. Criteria for Sample Selection

The current paper is based on a conference paper presentation that was made in an International conference. Originally four songs were analyzed and presented in the conference paper presentation. However, since it is not possible to write the analysis of all the four songs within the word limit and scope of a research paper, the current paper is based on only the analysis of one song. Criteria for the selection of songs in conference paper was:

- ▶ No Association of the selected song with any commercial brand
- No Association of the selected song with any political party
- Maximum number of viewership on youtube on the date of sample selecton i.e. 13/05/2013

Song	Year	Of sample selection i.e.	Number of Viewers
Aalu Anday	2011	Begairat Brigade	876,127
Apne Ulloo	2011	Shehzad Roy and Wassu	490,010
Waderai ka beta	2012	Ali Gul Pir and his team	912,335
Awam	2012	Faris Shafi and Mooroo	200,773

Table 3.1: Details of the the selected data

However, for the current analysis only one song *Alu Anday* is selected. The justification for the selection of this particular song for the current paper is that it was the first protest song in Pakistan that was released on social media when it was rejected by traditional media (television) due to censorship policies.



Figure 3.1: Screenshot of history of viewship of the selected song

3.4. Research Framework for the Current Research

The sample song consists of both video and audio data containing political and social satire. So, both the linguistic and semiotic features of the sample are analyzed in the current research. Critical Discourse Analysis model of Fairclough (1989, 1992), semiotic framework of Berger (1998) and Social –semiotic approach of Van Leeuwan (2005) are combined and adapted for the purpose of analysis. Complete transcribed song is provided in the appendix. However, within the text of the current research elected parts of the language of the song as well as screenshots of the video are used for the purpose of discussion.

According to Fairclough's three-dimensional model for CDA there can be three possible levels of analysis:

- Text (description)
- Discursive practice (interpretation)
- Social practice (explanation)

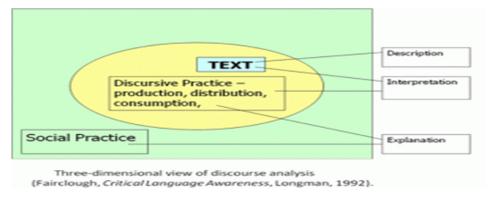


Figure 3.2: Three dimensional model for CDA

Applying different stages of discourse analysis (description, interpretation and explanation) as given by Fairclough, it is examined how the song linguistically and semiotically creates meaning on the levels of text, discursive practices and social structures. In the current research Fairclough's CDA model (1992) is combined with semiotic analysis model of Berger (1998). In semiotic analysis, an arbitrary and temporary separation is made between content and form, and attention is focused on the system of signs that makes up a text. Thus 'a meal, to stray from television for a moment, is not seen as steak, salad, baked potato, and apple pie, but rather as a sign system conveying meanings related to matters such as status, taste, sophistication, and nationality' (Berger: 1998, p. 4).

Berger (1998) has provided a check list of semiotic analysis for media which provides guidelines for the current research. According to Burger:

- Isolate and analyze the important signs in your text.
- What are the important signifiers and what do they signify?
- What is the system that gives these signs meaning?
- What codes can be found?
- What ideological and sociological matters are involved?
- What is the paradigmatic structure of the text?
- What is the central opposition in the text?
- What paired opposites fit under the various categories?
- Do these oppositions have any psychological or social import?
- What is the syntagmatic structure of the text?
- How does the sequential arrangement of elements affect meaning?

- Are there formulaic aspects that have shaped the text?
- How does the medium (of television) affect the text?
- What kinds of shots, camera angles, and editing techniques are used?
- How are lighting, color, music, and sound used to give meaning to signs?
- What contributions have theorists made that can be applied?
- What have theorists in semiotics written that can be adapted to your analysis of television?
- What have media theorists written that can be applied to semiotic analysis?

Checklist for Semiotic Analysis taken from: http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/5171_Berger
This checklist of semiotic analysis is not rigourously followed but it addresses the use of signs in the selected dta as semiotic resources hich are then further interpreted in the light of social-semiotics approach which helps giving meaning to any/every sign in the social and cultural

4. Presentation and Analysis of the Data

This section deals with the presentation and analysis of the song selected for the current research.

4.1. Background of the Song

context.

The song is the first venture of a youthful band *Beygairat Brigade* released in October 2011 through Youtube. It is significant that it was released on social media after it was denied release on the traditional media (television). The video of the song is of 3 minutes and 18 seconds duration approximately. The song stands as a significant example in the long tradition of protest music and poetry, the song challenges censorship policies and power of the state. Thematically it challenges the prevalent violence, corruption and misuse of power in the country.

As the song was released it gathered both national and international media recognition immediately. So, The Economist declared it as a "witty, lively, and enjoyable", song and further wrote 'Pakistanis thrilled over a music video, available online, in which young singers poke fun at politicians, army chiefs'. The New York Times stated it as a song that 'takes a tongue-in-cheek swipe at religious extremism, militancy and contradictions in Pakistani society' and is 'a rare voice of the country's embattled liberals'.

4.2. The Band Itself

The video features three mischievious and cheeky singers of *Begairat Brigade*, dressed in school/college uniform. We find them singing out loud the issues and ills of our society. On the Textual level 'Beygairat Brigade' literally means a Brigade without Honour. When we look at discursive practices we notice the presence of different discourses and different voices simultaneously: Military Discourse, Media Discourse, and Protest Discourse. Whereas the term 'Brigade' in mlitary discourse refers to a force that is employed to exert power and authority of the state, the term 'Gairat Brigade' is a recent coinage in media discourse which is used by the so called custodians of religion to refer to the power and authority that they (want to) exert to safeguard religion. In the local news media they are referred to as the Ghairat Brigade, or Honour. From these two discourses the term has seeped down to protest discourse where these young singers have used 'Begairat Brigade' to openly mock the military and religious conservatives. In the

broader socio-cultural context the name of the band is itself a satire of Pakistan's nationalists and conservatives.

4.3. Title of the Song: Aalu Anday

On the Textual level *Aalu Anday*, literally means 'potatoes and eggs'. The band themselves highlighted in an interview, 'What aalu anday symbolizes in our song is what we despise'. In the Pakistani context if we think of *aalu anday*, in fact nobody will eat *aalu anday* if something else is cooked or is available. So, in this sitarical song *aalu anday* stand for the bland, boring, unwanted and leftover morsels that a common man of our society is forced to be contented with. The term 'Aalu anday' is not only the title of the song, but also is repeated frequently in the song. Emphasis on 'meri ma nay pakae aalu anday mein nai khanay mei nu lagday nay ganday' reinforces the idea. The genre practice of repetition supports this use for reinforcement. In contrast to the symbolic use of Alu anday, the symbol of chicken is used which refers to the desirable and idealized.

4.4. Setting of the Song

The song opens with the background setting of a middle class school/college class room. Three students wearing the typical uniform of a middle-class school/ college enter, sit, and open their lunch boxes. To their disappointment they find *alu anday* for lunch. Camera shows close-up shots of these singers as students, their painted faces, the bland lunch in the tiffins and a disorganized typical classroom setting to create the backdrop for what they are gong to sing out loud.

4.5 Analysis of the Song at Three Levels

According to Fairclough (2001: P. 29) CDA focuses on progressive social change; and has an 'emancipatory' nature. Though he has divided the process of analysis into three distinct levels, as mentioned in detail in research methodology section of the current work, all the three dimensions of analysis are interdependent. So, does not matter what is the point of entry for analysis, or from which dimension it is started. Since the nature of dimensions is of being 'mutually explanatory' (Janks 1997: P.27) their inter connectivity enables the analysis of one dimension to inform on the analysis based on another dimmension.

On the textual level if we examine what happens in the song, we can notice the three boys (singers), disappointed with the lunch (*alu anday*) they find in ther lunch boxes. Disappointed, they start singing. At the very outset of the song, we can notice their disapproval of *Aulu anday* that they refuse to eat. The opening text goes as:

Meri ma nay pakae aalu andy Mein nai khanay mei no lagday nay ganday Mein tay khawan ga chicen di boti Oday nal khamiri rooti Pawain ho jae chicken tu maingi dal ay

As the song proceeds they express their desire to eat *chicken thi boti*, and make references to various religious and political figures and events in the song such as Ajmal Qasab who is one of the 2008 Mumbai attackers; Abdus Salam, a Pakistani Nobel laureate; 'Qadri,' the guard who killed, the governor of Punjab (Salman Taseer).

The song continues as follows: chiiti cheeni vi bikdi black ay siyasi totiyan da lag gaya jack ay black water di nai koi tension aithay andron hi honday attack ay jivain marzi paka lo roti oo tavay ton rehndi ay choti jithay chun chun maaran ay daakoo uthay police di chori nu pharda hi koi nai

The contrast of *chiti chini* with black reinforces the dmaamge caused by corruption and the real-life crisis of sugar in the country that is sold in black, as the stocks are hoarded to create an artificial shortage in the market by the political leaders who own sugar mills. The singers further lament the situation where internal damage caused by sectarianism, religious intolerance, and political rivalry are more disastrous than the external attackes.

As the song continues we can notice the singers singing out loudly the poitical, religious and social corruption:

ina'n ganjian ny lab li patang ay CJ khan di akhri umang ay Extension tay pae gae rolay Taiyon chief di bolti v band hai Aethay Qadri banayan nawab aae Aithay hero Ajmal Kasab hai Mula nasya wich hijab hai Aithay Abdul Salam nu pochda hi koi nai

Of course in the broader social context we can trace the references to certain political figures through the linguistic chpices made in the song such as *ganjian* (bald) which refers to the then prime minister, and *khan* which refers to the opposition leader. References are also made to the issue of the then Chief of army staff's extension which was critiqued by many. Towards the end, the video further includes handwritten signs that offer controversial references. The video ends with a prediction of the possible threat of consequences of the release of this video. So, we are able to understand and interpret how the song becomes a bitter commentary and satire on varied aspects ranging from the political leaders to judiciary, to military, to religious extremists.

Throughout the song, semiotic signs support the meanings that the band wants to convey. Selected screen shots are included in the analysis part to prove the point. For instance see the expressions of the boys, their traditional uniform, their getup, and infact the whole setting of a classroom with particular kind of chairs. All these aspects semiotically add a lot to the meaning making process as we can notice in the given screen shots:







Figures4.1-4.3: **Boys with playcards**

In the same way towards the end of the song we can notice these boys holding various play cards. In fact playcards with very bold messages such as 'This video is sponsored by Zionists' is a strong satire on the society where the extemists would blame Zionists for everything and anything that happens in the country (See figure 4.4). In the same way the palycard 'If you want a bullet through my head like this video' shows their consciousness of the fact that voicing aginst extremism is exteremely dangerous (See figure 4.5).





Figures 4.4 & 4.5: **Display of playcards**

Keeping the semiotic model of Berger (1998) in mind we also need to notice how does the medium affect the text?; what kinds of shots, camera angles, and editing techniques are used?; and how are lighting, color, music, and sound used to give meaning to signs? We can see that every sign, it placement and camera projection add to the meaning-making process. For instance image of cutting potatoes with a butcher's knife in the given screen-shot shown in Figue 4.6 makes more sense when we relate it to the image in Figure 4.7.



Figure 4.6.



Figure 4.7.

According to Berger's concept of the 'syntagmatic structure of the text' if we look at the sequential arrangement of elements we can notice how they affect meaning. The amage of potatoes being cut by a huge butcher's knife is followed by one of the singers in the video licking it. In everyday life we do not use a butcher's knife to slice potatoes; and when it is followed by the frantic act of licking this knife if gathers further significance- how the weak suffers brutality. Furthermore, use of a clean and direct imagery and a direct camera style in addition to the colour scheme, painted faces, the posters with certain messages create a complete range of semiotic signs that give certain meanings in the context of the song, and consequently in the broader sociopolitical and cultural context of the country.

Posters are used throughout the video to satirize the socio-political condition of the country. A single glance at the range of posters (See Figures 4.8, 4.9&4.10) makes it clear that none of the political parties is spared.







Figure 4.8

Figure 4.9

Figure 4.10

Conclusion

Overall we can state that the song *Aalu Anday* gathers great significance in the tradition and history of protest music in Pakistan for various reasons including its 'choice of social media space'. It was the first protest song in Pakistan that was directly released on social media which was a way of challenging the traditional censorship policy of media. Analyzed through the lense of Critical Discourse Analysis and (Socio-) semiotics the song provides us insights into the sociopolitical structure of the country; the imbalance, corruption and abuse that characterizes it; and the

feelings, emotions and reaction of the masses towards it. Certain linguistic devices such as satire, irony, and crude humour are combined with semiotic symbols, careful choices of symbols, and visual images to convey the intended meanings. Genre traditions of repetition and rap further add to the meaning making process; and as all of this is interpreted in the broader socio-political context of the country, through the CDA perspective, the song Aalu Anday emerges as a strong voice protesting against the widespread corruption in the society.

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Appendix: Complete Transcribed Song

Ehe Ehe meri maa ne pakaye aloo anday Ehe Ehe main nayi khaane mainu lag dene gande main to khavanga chicken di boti ude naal khamiri roti paavey ho jaaye chicken to mahngi daal Ehe Ehe meri maa ne pakaye aloo anday Ehe Ehe main nayi khaane mainu lag dene gande main to khavanga chicken di boti ude naal khamiri roti paavey ho jaaye chicken to mahngi daal ena ganjiya de napli patangey cj khan di akhiri umang ey extension te pay gaye rauley tahi o chief di bhi bolti vi band e aithe qadri banya nawab ay aithe hero ajmal kasab ay mulla nasya vich hijaab ay aithe adbul salam nu puchda ee koi nayi chiti chinni vi bikdi black ey daisi totya da vi lag giya jack ey black water di nayi koi tension aithe andaron ee hondey attack ey jive marzi pakalo roti o tavey te rehndi aye chhoti jithey chunn chunn maraan daaku uthe police di chori nu pharr da iyi koi nai Ehe Ehe Ehe Ehe main to khavanga chicken di boti ude naal khamiri roti paavey ho jaaye chicken to mahngi daal Ehe Ehe

meri maa ne pakaye aloo anday Ehe Ehe main nayi mainu lag dene gande

Ehe Ehe

meri maa ne pakaye aloo anday

Ehe Ehe

main nayi mainu lag dene gande ehe