

EASTERN

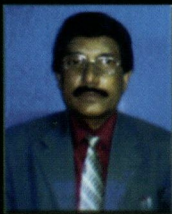
# Folklore of Assam

Kasim Ali Ahmed

### About the Books

The book entitled 'Folklore of Assam' is a humble endeavour towards the study of Folklore in Assam. It is written by Dr. K.A. Ahmed in a lucid and simple language. It covers various aspects of Folklore including the popular Tales, Legends, Proverbs, Riddles as well as Nursery rhymes current among the people of Assam, more particularly in Lower Assam region.

Since Assam has a rich tradition of oral literature, the indigenous people of Assam have a magnificent treasure of verbal art or oral literature, which incorporates both songs and narratives. This small volume is an attempt to highlight some of these folklore materials collected from different parts of Assam during the last decade of twentieth century. However, a comprehensive study on Folklore, its different aspects, as well as some valuable introductory reports on Folktales, Legends, Proverbs, Riddles and Rhymes are incorporated in this book. Further more, it also covers a short historical background of Assam, along with a brief discussion on different cultural zones and sub-zones. All sections of people including the students of Folkloritics and Researchers may be benefited from this book.



### About the Author

Kasim Ali Ahmed (1957) was graduated from Goalpara College, Goalpara with Honours in Assamese in 1979. He obtained his Ph.D. Degree in the Dept. of Folklore Research, Gauhati University, Guwahati in 1995. At present he is the Principal of Goalpara College, Goalpara.

He has written a good number of articles both in English and Assamese which have been published in different Newspapers and Magazines. He has also written several books of high potentials with researchive materials. The books to his credit are :

1. Muslim Contribution to Assamese Culture.
2. Communalism in Indian Politics.
3. Popular Folk Songs of the Muslims of Assam.
4. The Muslim of Assam.
5. Fundamentals of Indian Society.
6. Folk Tales and Legends.
7. Status of Women in India.
8. A History of Goalpara District
9. Muslims of Assam

# Folklore of Assam

*Kasim Ali Ahmed*



**EBH Publishers (India)**  
Guwahati-1

*Kasim Ali Ahmed*  
Folklore of Assam

398. 20934162  
AHM

7320  
21/10/11

*All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner and the publisher.*

ISBN : 978-93-80261-48-5

© Author, 2012

*First Published in 2012 by*  
EBH Publishers (India)  
an imprint of Eastern Book House  
136, M.L. Nehru Road, Panbazar  
Guwahati-781 001 (India)

Phone: +91 361 2513876, 2519231, 99547 05692

Fax: +91 361 2519231

Email: [info@easternbookhouse.com](mailto:info@easternbookhouse.com)

[www.easternbookhouse.in](http://www.easternbookhouse.in)

# Contents

<i>Preface</i>	–	<i>vii</i>
<b>1. Introduction</b>	–	<b>1–12</b>
Definitions of Folklore	–	2
Classification of Folklore	–	4
Folklore studies	–	9
<b>2. Cultural Zones of Assam</b>	–	<b>13–21</b>
Upper Assam Zone	–	15
Lower Assam Zone	–	15
Cultural Sub-Zones	–	17
<b>3. Folktales</b>	–	<b>22–41</b>
Classification of Folktales	–	24
Wonder or Romantic Tales	–	24
1. The Tiger and the Boy	–	24
2. <i>Athkurá Rájá</i>	–	28
3. <i>Mayur Bádsháh</i>	–	30
4. <i>Maruchmati Kanyá</i>	–	32
5. <i>Champavati</i>	–	34
6. The Woodcutter and his Wives	–	37
7. The Crow and the Wren	–	39
<b>4. Tales of Cleverness and Cheating</b>	–	<b>42–50</b>
1. The Old couple and Twenty <i>Koi</i> fish	–	42
2. <i>Jalá</i> and <i>Tentun</i>	–	44
3. The Old woman and the Thief	–	45
4. <i>Ghugu</i> and <i>Fân</i>	–	48

<b>5. Humorous and Etiological Tales</b>	–	<b>51–60</b>
A. Tales of Humour :	–	51
1. The Deaf Family	–	51
2. The Old couple and Three <i>Koi</i> fish	–	52
3. The Woman and the Drum maker	–	53
4. The Queer activities of <i>Jolā</i>	–	55
5. The Simulated Divine	–	56
B. Etiological Tales :	–	57
1. Why Big Trees have small fruits?	–	57
2. <i>Feskullā</i> , the King of Birds	–	58
3. The Tiger and the Cat	–	58
4. Why there is enmity between Dog and Cat?	–	59
<b>6. Legends</b>	–	<b>61–75</b>
A. Legends of Events	–	62
1. Grandfather of Hatim Shah and Seven Sisters	–	62
2. Khorāsāni Pir and the Tiger	–	63
3. The Saint and the Temple of Har-Gauri	–	65
B. Legends about Persons	–	65
1. Haji Ghazi and Fatema Bibi	–	65
2. Pir Shah Kamal and the Brahmin Priest	–	66
3. The Divine Power of Khorasani Pir	–	68
4. Adam Guru and Kalitākusi	–	69
C. Place Legends	–	69
1. Origin of the name Krishnai	–	69
2. The Fakir and the people of Bāmunbâri	–	70
3. Netai Dhubunir Ghat and Chandardinga hill	–	71
4. King Habra and Habraghat	–	73
5. Origin of the name of Malegarh	–	74
<b>7. Proverbs : A part of expressive literature</b>	–	<b>76–95</b>
Proverbs Proper	–	77
Proverbial Phrase	–	80

<b>8. Folk Beliefs and Superstitions</b>	<b>– 96–108</b>
A. Folk Beliefs	– 96
B. Superstitions	– 106
<b>9. Riddles : A Part of Folklore</b>	<b>– 109–121</b>
● <b><i>Classification of Riddles :</i></b>	<b>– 110</b>
A. Riddles Proper	– 111
B. Riddles of Calculation	– 116
C. Riddles of Tales	– 118
<b>9. Nursery Rhymes</b>	<b>– 122–133</b>
Nursery Rhymes	– 122
Game Rhymes	– 127
<b><i>Bibliography</i></b>	<b>– 135–137</b>
<b><i>Glossary</i></b>	<b>– 139–143</b>
<b><i>Index</i></b>	<b>– 145–162</b>

## Introduction

Folklore is relatively a new discipline. It emerged as a new field of learning in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although folklore studies cover oral traditions of the people of various cultures of the world, and appeared under different names in the past, the present scientific term 'folklore' is almost accepted universally.

Folklore is perhaps as old as mankind. The word 'folklore' was first introduced in a letter signed by Ambrose Merton, published in the *Athenaeum* of London, on August 22, 1846. Its writer who used this pseudonym for his real name William J. Thoms, urged that accounts of "the manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs etc. of the olden time" be recorded so that later students could turn for information from these dying remnants of the unrecorded past that were termed 'Popular Antiquities or Popular Literature.'<sup>1</sup>

Thoms had realized that scholarly work on materials of folkloristic nature was being carried on under various labels such as 'Popular Antiquities' or 'Popular Literature' and therefore required a single label to designate this area of enquiry. He therefore suggested 'a good Saxon compound Folklore – the lore of the people' to replace all other somewhat cumbersome terms, in the above stated letter to the *Athenaeum*.

It is also true that materials of folklore had been studied with scholarly interest long before Thoms coined the term. The works of the Grimm Brothers, particularly of J Grimm's "Household Tales"<sup>2</sup> appeared in 1812, was said to have been the pioneer of this

discipline, and was recognized by Thoms himself, and which is very often used as evidence by western scholars to trace the growth of folkloristic studies. Barring this, scholarly collections of folklore materials were also done in Asia, particularly India even much earlier than Grimms. In this regard, the name of *Kathâsaritsâgara*, *Panchatantra* and *Jâtaka* are worth-mentioning.

The folklore of non literate people consists of their myths, tales, proverbs, riddles, and verse, together with their music; and comprises the least tangible expression of the aesthetic aspects of culture. To varying degrees, these forms combine with each other and with the graphic and plastic arts, to make up the rituals, dances, and other means of group expression we term drama.<sup>3</sup> In Europe, where peasant populations preserved customs of an earlier period, there was a real place for the systematic, scholarly investigation of ways of life that no longer survived among urban people. In 1888, the American Folklore Society was founded, of the four categories of 'the fast vanishing remains of Folklore in America' that were set up as the objects of study, only one, "Relics of old English Folklore (ballads, tales, superstitions, dialect etc.)" was equivalent to the content of folklore as it was conceived in the old world.<sup>4</sup>

### **Definition of Folklore**

However, the term 'folklore' as suggested by William Thoms, a British antiquarian, in 1846 has gained its popularity all over the world, though it exposes some mixed reactions among the scholars. Thoms' contribution in coining and introducing the term 'folklore' as we realize it now, had two important consequences for the global folklore scholarship.

- (1) It leads to the establishment of an academic discipline known as Folklore or Folkloristics in many parts of the world.
- (2) It also generated a long and unending controversy about the definition and also its inclusion in the gamut of this new field of inquiry.

Folklore has been defined differently by different scholars.<sup>5</sup>

These definitions of folklore are more varied than fingers. 'The essence of folklore, however, is something that cannot be contained in a definition but that group upon one with folklore experience'<sup>6</sup> The literary meaning of the term 'folk' is the people in general, or the common people of a country. According to Anthropological terminology – "Folk, a group of associated people; a primitive kind of post-tribal social organization, the lower classes or common people of an area"<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, this term is defined as 'Folk in ethnology the common people who share a basic store of old tradition.'<sup>8</sup> While according to Encyclopedia of Anthropology – 'A less ethnocentric and broader definition of folk would be any group of people who share at least one common factor (for example common occupation, religion or ethnicity)'<sup>9</sup>

The term 'lore' denotes learning or knowledge, especially handed down from past times, or possessed by a class of people. Hence, folklore, according to English Dictionary, is a study of the traditional beliefs, tales etc., of a community.<sup>10</sup> Barring this, the word folklore is used both for the body of tradition and the science of studying it.<sup>11</sup> Further more, 'folklore now denotes either – (a) the materials thus collected or (b) the systematic scientific analysis of such materials'.<sup>12</sup> Again, in view of Alan Dundes – 'these materials and the study of them are both referred to as folklore. To avoid confusion it might be better to use the term folklore for the materials, and the term 'folkloristics' for the study of the materials.'<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the basic definition of folklore has not yet been formulated to any one's complete satisfaction.<sup>14</sup> From the historical perspective V J Propp observes that the entire creative output of people is folklore. The basic structure of folklore is – it is an international phenomena, it is linked with the part of the history of mankind and it is the lower strata of the middle classes of the people.<sup>15</sup> He has also added that folklore is a historical phenomena, and science of folklore is a historical discipline. Ethnographic research is its first step.

Highlighting the definition and forms of folklore William Bascom says, "Definition and classifications are neither particularly interesting nor necessarily fruitful, but if any field of study needs clarification of its basic terminology it is clearly folklore, which

has so long been pagised by inconsistent and contradictory definitions."<sup>16</sup>

The traditional character of folklore is an analytical construct. It is a scholarly and not a cultural fact. Therefore tradition should not be a criterion for the definition of folklore in its context. Some traditions are folklore, but not all folklore is traditional.<sup>17</sup>

At the All India Science Congress in its 60<sup>th</sup> Diamond Jubilee Session, held at Punjab University, Chandigarh, in January, 1973, in its Anthropology and Archaeology section, the following definition was accepted as the first Indian definition of Folklore : "Folklore is the total creation of the life practice and the ideational pursuits of mainly collective spontaneous and anonymous efforts of an integrated society; it is fundamentally distinguished in its features, more or less from the cultural effort of the so-called unsophisticated primitive society and the sophisticated one, basing mainly on tradition and independent of formal training it is manifested in oral and gesture language, art and craft, costume and culinary, tune and melody, signal and symbol, sports and drama, charm and cure, custom and ceremony, belief and superstition, religion and rite, fair and festival etc., though, in cases, it develops in creative process or disappears in forgetfulness, yet, on the whole implanting its roots in the past and illumining the reality of dynamic time in the evolutionary process it extends its continuity in future in the interaction of social relation."<sup>18</sup>

Folklore has dual relationship with humanity and social science. It has its own discipline. It is a total collection of a group of a society. The study of folklore is also stereoscopic and multi-dimensional. Folklore embodies the notions, customs and traditions, beliefs and practices, values and systems, and moral laws of a community or a tribe.

### **Classification of Folklore**

According to R M Dorson, the folklore and folk-life studies can be categorized into four broad sectors. They are :

1. Oral literature,
2. Material culture,

3. Social folk customs, and
4. Performing folk art.<sup>19</sup>

## 1. Oral Literature :

Oral literature called Verbal art or Expressive literature is 'spoken, sung and voiced forms of traditional utterance.' Traditionally this has been known as folk literature as well. Oral narrative is one big sub-division of this group, which in turn has its own manifold distinctions. For example, myths, fairy tale, romantic tale, religious tale, folktale, legend, animal tale, anecdote, joke, numskull tale etc., are the major form of oral narrative genre. Each of these forms will have many sub-forms depending on the culture in which the form or forms are available.<sup>20</sup>

The oral poetry or folk poetry is another major sub-division of oral literature. It has also its own family of related forms. Such as-folksongs, ballads, lullabies, folk epics, work songs etc. Most of these folk songs are associated with various rites and rituals, such as- birth, marriage and death are commonly found in almost all parts of India. In addition to these, various songs connected with different ceremonies, festivals, customs and practices, like-Bihu songs, songs of Mohoho, songs of boat race, songs of Haidar Ghazi, songs of Satyapir or Satyanarayan, Manasa geet, nichukani geet etc. According to their forms, these folksongs can also be classified into several minor sub-divisions.

Folksongs or more particularly the oral literature treasures up traditions. It is transmitted from one individual to another as well as from one generation to another over the centuries. An acquaintance with different aspects of oral literature not only gives one an insight into the folk mind, but it further influences one's attitude to the folk themselves. Oral literature is indeed an important means of understanding the basic social set up, cultural mooring and artistic aspirations and characteristics of a community, particularly of a tradition bound one.<sup>21</sup>

Proverbs and riddles are also an important part of oral literature. Unlike prose narrative forms and oral poetry, proverbs and riddles do not show much multiple existence, but are highly

structured set forms of oral literature.<sup>22</sup> The proverbs and proverbial expressions have important functions in societies, and now form an inseparable part of the written literatures throughout the world. Riddles have stayed in the folk life and still function in folk societies as important devices for imparting knowledge about cultural semantics, logic and the behavioural paradigms among the younger members of such societies. A substantial number of collections of proverbs and riddles in various Indian languages have appeared now.

Folk speech, a local and regional form of phrase that deviate from the standard language, is one of the minor parts of oral literature. The main characteristic of folk speech is that it is more restricted to oral circulation. Within the total vocabulary of every speaker there are a large number of words that he never writes and seldom uses in formal situations. These words or expressions may be taboo words or expressions or they may be a kind of passive vocabulary. Moreover, these characteristics of folk speech are not only limited to vocabulary but these exist at the level of grammar, idiom and phonetics. For example, slang in this respect is folk speech. Besides these major forms of oral literature, there are other minor forms which also fall under the above genre.

## **2. Material Culture :**

Physical folklore is generally called material Culture in contrast to verbal art or oral folklore. According to Dorson, "Material culture responds to techniques, skills, recipes and formulas transmitted across the generations and subject to the same forces of conservative tradition and individual variation as verbal art."<sup>23</sup> This aspect of folklore and folk life is visible rather than oral. The questions concerning a student of material culture is varied. He might want to know how men and women in tradition oriented societies construct their homes following the traditional norms of folk architecture. He might as well want to know how people in traditional societies "make their clothes, prepare their food, farm and fish, process the earth's bounty, fashion their tools, and implement, and design their furniture and utensils."<sup>24</sup>

Folk arts and crafts, as is well known, are objects of material culture that simultaneously give pleasure and serve some practical social and economic end. One of the most interesting and fascinating aspects of material culture of India is its arts and crafts. These arts have followed definite continuity in the history of folk arts of this country. The style of life in Indian villages and the folkways of Indian masses in general have, and still are, helping these arts to survive the thrust of the changing times.

Folk arts in India have a vast range in terms of forms, diversity and function. The decorative paintings on the rural homes, having both aesthetic and the ritualistic significance are a pan Indian phenomenon. Although the motif of such paintings might vary from one region to another or from one folk culture zone to another, the structural unity seems by and large the same.<sup>25</sup>

### **3. Social Folk Customs :**

Another important area of folklore and folk life, very close to material culture, is the field of social customs. In the words of Dorson, "Here the emphasis is on group interaction rather than on individual skills and performances."<sup>26</sup> Investigations in this area are more concerned about the family and community observances of the people living in villages, tribal belts and even industrial areas of Indian cities.

Of particular importance are the rites of birth, initiation, marriage, death and similar rites. These rites have special significance in Indian social life and therefore have a well spread field. Songs and tales and other forms of oral literature associated with these rites form an essential part of the oral literature, while as social custom and ritualistic observances are studied in Social Folk Custom. Similarly, the ritual and custom associated with various festivals prevalent in different parts of India also form an important segment of Social Folk Custom.

The religious aspects of Social Folk Custom in India are multi-dimensional and highly complex. This aspect also encompasses the most complex caste hierarchy we have in our society as well as the religious hierarchy. The religious practices

of many tribal groups of the country, who did not maintain close contact with the Indian mainstream also shows maintenance of indigenous modes of worship which have been preserved carefully from generation to generation over the centuries.

#### **4. Performing Folk Arts :**

The fourth and the last sector of Folklore and Folklife studies may be designated as the Performing Folk Arts. This sector concerns primarily traditional music, dance and drama. The word performance in the light of folkloristics is associated with every item of folklore, irrespective of its generic applications. According to this concept all items of folklore when delivered are performed. However, performance here strictly means the conscious presentation of these arts, such as dance, drama, folk music etc., by individuals or groups who carry these art forms from one generation to another.

One of the most important areas of this sector is the traditional music, which is passed on by ear and performed by memory rather than by the written or printed musical score. Besides having its limited independent place in the genre of performing folk art, traditional music usually crosses generic barriers and forms part of many other genres. For example, folk dance, folk drama, dance-drama, oral poetry, ritual and prayers always carry some element of music with them.<sup>27</sup>

India has a rich tradition of ancient folk music. The cultural diversity of the land make it more colourful and enchanting. The potential of collecting, preserving and even using the traditional music of this country for much entertainment and other cultural purposes is so great that even a generation of hard work may not be enough. However, for the sake of theoretical purposes also traditional music of India has a hidden potential. The traditional musical instruments of this land are also equally importance. A particular kind of folk music is, at times, identifiable by its instrument only. The impact of instruments on folk music in India is so strong that many kinds of folk traditions are known by the name of the instrument.

Like the folk music, the area of Indian folk dances is also very vast. Most of the time the folk music and dance go together and share many characteristics. These art forms not only require the keen eye of an expert as far as the ear and action is concerned, they also need equal attention of the costumes, stage, instruments, the audience and the over all interaction of all these aspects, which are essential for the totality of the performances.

Folk drama is another important field in the performing folk art sector. The traditions of Indian folk drama are vast. Most of the forms of folk drama are associated with ritual and festivals and have close affinity with music and dance. Many fascinating forms of Indian music and dance are linked as dance-drama and recognized as a kind of a new genre; on the assumption that it contains the elements of both the dance and the drama.

### **Folklore Studies**

Folklore is a universal topic, its substance includes material from all areas of life; but the particular study of this material as a distinct topic and the methods of this study distinguish folklore from other disciplines, though there is, of course, some overlapping and disagreement among scholars as to the exact provinces of their studies.<sup>28</sup>

In the universal level, the subject and scope of Folklore is found to be contradictory. Melville J. Herskovits in his presidential address to the American Folklore Society had said that the Folklore scholar of today should confine himself to oral tradition, but Lord Baglon in his presidential address to the English Folklore Society about the same time had advanced exactly the opposite view, namely that the Folklorist should move away from oral to material tradition.<sup>29</sup>

Folklore is not only the oral literature, but also it has extended a wide range of study covering various additional subjects. This is reflected in the words of Sophia Borne. 'Folklore, in fact, is the expression of the psychology of early man, whether in the fields of philosophy, religion, science and medicine, in social organization and ceremonial or in the more strictly intellectual religious of history, poetry and other literature.'<sup>30</sup>

While defining the Folklore in broader sense of the term, W.R. Bascom mentioned in the international encyclopaedia of the Social Science, "Folklore includes folk arts, folk crafts, folk tools, folk costumes, folk custom, folk belief, folk medicine, folk recipes, folk music, folk games, folk gesture and folk speech, as well as those verbal forms of expression which have been called folk literature but which are better described as verbal art. Verbal art, which includes such forms as folk tales, legends, myths, proverbs, riddles, and poetry has been the primary concern of folklorist from both the humanities and the social sciences since the beginnings of folklore as a field of study."<sup>31</sup>

It appears that folklore was studied in ancient and medieval times both in the east and the west. But, in the modern times, before the term 'folklore' was coined, such studies were being done under various names such as 'popular antiquities', 'comparative mythology', 'annals and antiquities' and primitive literature.<sup>32</sup> Folklorists and cultural experts, who study oral tradition, have not maintained a clear cut distinction while using terms for the data and the analysis which studies such data. Traditionally, the term 'folklore' has been used for both, i.e., data as well as analysis. Attempts to maintain this basic distinction to restricting the use of the term 'folklore' to data only and use the term 'folkloristics' for analysis seem to have not succeeded as the term 'folklore' continues to be used interchangeably for data as well the analysis along with the term 'folkloristics' for analysis only. Although folklore studies include a variety of oral materials and their various genres and forms, obviously, it is the narrative which has been studied in scientifically advanced and academically sophisticated manner.

India occupies a special place in the history of world folklore. The marvelous tales of Indian society have contributed in shaping the theoretical growth of folkloristics itself. In the eastern civilization, no country offers the students of folkloristics an excellent opportunity to trace the links of unity amidst clusterized diversity except India. In the words of K M Munshi, "Throughout the history of India, the process of integration comprises the simultaneous movements; one owes its origin to Aryan culture and

operates by virtue of the momentum which the values of that culture possess, the other works itself upward from the way of life of the Early Dravidians and other non-Aryans cultures in the country into the framework of Aryan cultures, modifying its forms and content, though not the fundamentals, weaving into a harmonious pattern continuously. The first movement provides vitality and synthesis; the second contribute vigour and variety. But, it is the harmonious adjustment of both that gives to India, age after age, her strength, tenacity and sense of mission."<sup>33</sup>

### References & Notes :

1. Herskovits, M J : *Cultural Anthropology*. New York, 1955, p.272.
2. *Deutsche Kinder und Hausmärchen* (Tales for the Children and the Family), Berlin, 1912.
3. Herskovits, M J : Op cit p.267.
4. Ibid. p.272.
5. See the twenty one definitions of folklore published in the Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, edited by Maria Leach, New York, 1949-50. Also see-Utley's evaluation of these definition 'Folklore: An Operational Definition' in Alan Dundes (ed): *The Study of Folklore*, pp.7-24.
6. Botkin, Benjamin : *A Treasury of American Folklore*, U.S.A.. 1944. A Folklore Reader edited by Kenneth and Mary Clarke. U.S.A., 1965, p.23.
7. Wirck, Charles : *Dictionary of Anthropology*, U.S.A., 1956, p.217.
8. International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore, Vol.-I. 1960, Copenhagen. p.126.
9. *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, edited by David E Hunter and Phillip Whiten, U.S.A., 1976, p.173.
10. Hornby, A S : *Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 1986, pp.333, 504.
11. Pater, Charles Francis: *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, Vol. I. U.S.A., 1949, p.401.
12. Haring, Douglas G : *The Encyclopedia Americana*, International Edition, U.S.A., Vol. II, 1968, p.422.
13. Dundes, Alan : *What is Folklore /The Study of Folklore*, U.S.A., 1965, p.3.

14. Brunvan, Jan Harold : *New Directions for the Study of American Folklore/Folklore*, London, Vol.-82, Spring, 1971, p.16.
15. Propp, V J : *Morphology of the Folktale*, Austine University of Texas Press, 1968. (Originally published in Russian as Morfologiya Skazki in 1928.)
16. Bascom, William : "The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives, *Journal of American Folklore*", Vol. 84, No.331, January-March, 1971, p.4.
17. Don Ben Ambous : "Towards a definition of folklore context", *Journal of American Floklore*, Vol. 84, No.331, January-March,1971, pp.13-14.
18. Chottopadhyay, Tushar : *Towards a Definition of Folklore*, Folklore of Bangladesh, Vol. I, January, 1976, No. 1, pp.9-15
19. See 'Introduction: Concept of Folklore and Folk-life Studies' in R M. Dorson (ed): *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, Chicago, 1972, pp. 1-50.
20. Handoo, J : *Folklore: An Introduction*, Manasagangotri, Mysore, 1989, p.13.
21. Ahmed, K A : A Study of Folk Culture of the Muslims of Western Assam : with special reference to the Muslims of Habraghat area of Goalpara District. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), Gauhati University, 1994. p.408.
22. Handoo, J : Op cit. p.14
23. Dorson, Richard M (ed) : *Folklore and Folklife : An Introduction*, Chicago, University of Cairo Press, 1972. p.2.
24. Op cit. pp.2-3.
25. Handoo, J : Op cit. p.18.
26. Dorson, Richard M (ed) : Op cit. p.3.
27. Handoo, J : Op cit. p.22.
28. Kenneth W Clarke et al : *Introducing Folklore*, USA, 1963. P. 3.
29. Dorson, R M : "The Growth of Folklore Courses", *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 63, No. 249, 1950, pp.348-349. *Folklore : An Intruction* 15.
30. Borne, Charlot Sophia : *The Hand Book of Folklore*, 1914, Lindon, pp. 1-2.
31. Bascom, William R : Folklore, *Internatonal Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by David L. Sills, Vol. 5, USA, 1968, pp.496-497.
32. Kenneth and Mary Clarke : *Introducing Folklore*, New York, 1963.
33. Munshi, K M : 'Foreword' to the *History and culture of the Indian People : The Classical Age*, Vol-3, edited by R C Majumdar et al, Bombay, Bharatuya Vidya Bhawan. 1954. London, 1938.