



ISSN Print: 2664-8717
ISSN Online: 2664-8725
Impact Factor (RJIF): 8.36
IJRE 2025; 7(2): 543-548
www.englishjournal.net
Received: 18-08-2025
Accepted: 20-09-2025

Anika Khan
Lecturer, Department of
English, Northern University
Bangladesh

Sustaining Reminiscence: Cultural Memory, Reflective Nostalgia and Ethical Memory in the Bengali “Coffee House” Song

Anika Khan

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33545/26648717.2025.v7.i2h.517>

Abstract

The iconic Bengali song *Coffee House-er Sei Adda Ta Aaj Aar Nei* is a rich cultural artifact that intensely sustains collective memory through its suggestive nostalgia linked to the historical urban space of the Indian Coffee House. Deeply-rooted in Jan and Aleida Assmann’s cultural memory theory, Svetlana Boym’s notion of reflective nostalgia and Avishai Margalit’s ethical memory concept, the study establishes the Coffee House not merely as a physical place but as a symbolic source that preserves, commemorates, and ethically honors the shared intellectual and artistic heritage of a preceding generation. The purpose of the paper is to explore how the song functions as a mnemonic device and ethically engages with nostalgia to preserve cultural memory amidst the inevitable passage of time and change in postcolonial Bengal. Employing qualitative content analysis of the song’s lyrics alongside historical and cultural studies of Kolkata’s Coffee House, the research investigates how nostalgic remembrance acts as both an emotional reverence and an ethical act of cultural preservation. Results indicate that while the song mourns the departure of old friends and changing social realities, it simultaneously celebrates the continuity of the space, embodying an ethical stance on remembering the past without romanticizing loss. The nostalgia in the song is reflective, balancing tradition and reality, thereby sustaining cultural memory by transmitting shared values and histories to new generations. Thus, the song maintains Bengal’s urban cultural identity amid postcolonial socio-historical transformations by fostering a dialogue between past and present. Overall, Bengali “Coffee House” song exemplifies how music can ethically preserve cultural memory and collective heritage through reflective nostalgia, respecting temporal change while sustaining a shared cultural bequest.

Keywords: Cultural sustainability, cultural memory, reflective nostalgia, ethical memory, Indian Coffee House, Bengali “Coffee House” song

Introduction

The “Coffee House” Song: A Melody of Memory

Cultural memory keeps constantly changing; yet it is sustained through literature, theatre, stories, performances and other symbols that connect the past with the present. In Bengal, music plays a vital role in sustaining memories by reflecting collective histories and social concepts. “Coffee House,” or more elaborately “Coffee Houser Shei Adda Ta Aaj Nei” ^[1] is a cult classic example of Bengali music that holds a special place in Bengal’s cultural memory. Voiced by Manna Dey, with lyrics penned by Gouriprasanna Mazumdar and music composed by Suparnakanti Ghosh, this song nostalgically captures the essence of the iconic Indian Coffee House. This venue was a vibrant hub for intellectuals, artists, and students in postcolonial Bengal. The song vividly reflects the lively “adda” (casual conversations) culture that thrived during the 1960s and 70s—a period marked by socio-political mayhem, youthful aspiration, and creative dynamism. Through its moving lyrics, it narrates the bittersweet passage of time, recalling how the group of seven friends once gathered for spirited discussions over coffee, but eventually moved on to different paths, reflecting the city’s changing social fabric and collective memory. The singer reminisces about himself and his six friends, introducing characters like Nikhilesh, the artist; Moidul, the reporter; D’Souza, the guitarist; Roma Roy, an amateur actor; Amol, the aspiring poet; and Sujata, the rich housewife. Their lives have since diverged—some achieved success, others faced tragedy, and some have passed away.

Corresponding Author:
Anika Khan
Lecturer, Department of
English, Northern University
Bangladesh

Thus, the melodious song immortalizes not only the physical space of the Coffee House but also serves as a poignant expression on urban identity, friendship, and the inevitable end of an era filled with idealism and cultural exuberance in Bengal's postcolonial life ^[2, 3].

The Indian Coffee House: A Cultural Landmark

The Indian Coffee House is a legendary chain of coffee-houses in India. It is renowned for its unique cultural and social significance rather than just its coffee. It has long functioned as more than a cafe; it is a socio-cultural landmark in Bengal's intellectual history. Established in the 1930s under the banner of the Coffee Board of India on College Street, near Presidency College, Kolkata, the chain was initially set up to promote coffee consumption in the country. The Coffee House is unique because of its nostalgic atmosphere, simple decoration, and reasonable menu, which often includes traditional Bengali coffee, snacks, and light meals. Over time, beyond food and beverages, it has served as a gathering place for long, informal conversations, debates and cultural discussions on politics, economics, philosophies, histories, arts, literature, education representing the vivacity of the city's urban social life. Writers, poets, artists, academics, intellectuals, politicians, student leaders frequently visited the Coffee House, turning it into a center where literature, art, and politics intersected. Gradually, the Coffee House came to symbolize not only a physical network but also an institution of shared cultural practice, embodying the traits of urban modernity in postcolonial Bengal. Its reputation was further reinforced by its role in sustaining dialogue across generations, linking ordinary hospitality and friendliness with wider cultural, social and political movements. Even today, the Coffee House stands as a cherished testament to Bengal's heritage, a historical site where cultural richness, treasured communal memories and enduring moral values of the region converge in harmony to create a living legacy. Moreover, its spirit is encapsulated in Bengali "Coffee House" song as a nostalgic spot of talented young friends where creativity, appreciation and visions were interlaced over coffee mugs ^[3].

The Resonance of the Song: Memory, Nostalgia and Ethics

"Coffee House" is a widely celebrated song among Bengali people (both India and Bangladesh) resonating over successive generations due to its lyrical evocation of history, heritage and culture including its musical appeal. Although the song has received literary appreciation, it remains relatively unexplored in academic scholarship, despite its popularity. Prevailing studies have largely overlooked its potential as a symbol of cultural memory, as theorized by Jan and Aleida Assmann ^[4-5], where shared experiences and collective identities are preserved spanning generations. Similarly, while the song stimulates nostalgia, few discussions examine its reflective attributes, as conceptualized by Svetlana Boym ^[6], which laments the irreversible past while critically engaging with loss and disappointment. Furthermore, the song raises vital questions about the ethics of memory, following Avishai Margalit's ^[7] perspective on remembering and forgetting: whose stories are highlighted, which struggles are acknowledged, and what moral responsibilities are suggested in sustaining collective memory.

Grounded in the aforementioned theories, the research seeks to:

- Analyze the song as a marker of Bengali cultural memory.
- Investigate the song's reflective nostalgia and its engagement with past consciousness.
- Evaluate the ethical implications of memory as represented in the song.

Accordingly, the paper aims to answer the following questions:

- How does the song sustain Bengali cultural memory and reinforce collective identity?
 - How does the song evoke reflective nostalgia and connect listeners with past experiences?
 - How do the song's lyrics and themes convey the ethical dimensions of memory?

Materials and Methods

Cultural Memory and South Asian Musical Heritage

The theory of cultural memory, developed by Jan and Aleida Assmann, offers a key framework for understanding how texts and practices sustain collective identity. Jan Assmann distinguishes communicative memory—short-term recollections spanning three to four generations—from cultural memory, institutionalized in durable forms like monuments, texts, rituals, and arts. This framework preserves continuity and values across centuries ^[4]. Aleida Assmann expands the model by contrasting canon—actively remembered traditions—with archive, where dormant materials await future reinterpretation. She also stresses the politics of remembering and forgetting, showing that cultural memory is not neutral but contested, shaping identity, historical consciousness, and responses to cultural tribulation ^[5].

Music serves as a vital medium for sustaining cultural memory in South Asia, particularly in India and Bangladesh. In India, Falguni Pathak's music videos of the late 1990s and early 2000s, tied to Navratri celebrations, became milestones in shaping festive practices and generational memory ^[8]. Traditional instruments like the Bhopu in Jharkhand further illustrate how workshops and exhibitions preserve musical heritage across generations ^[9]. In Bangladesh, folk genres such as Jarigan embed religious and historical memory, while the documentary *Muktir Gaan* highlights music's political and mnemonic role in mobilizing resistance during the 1971 Liberation War ^[10, 11]. Together, these examples show music's power in transferring cultural identity and historical consciousness.

Reflective Nostalgia across Asian Musical Forms

Svetlana Boym's concept of reflective nostalgia, outlined in *The Future of Nostalgia* (2001), provides a lens for understanding how individuals and societies engage with the past. Unlike restorative nostalgia, which reconstructs an idealized past often tied to nationalism, reflective nostalgia emphasizes longing, introspection, and the emotional distance from what is lost. Marked by self-awareness and inconsistency, it values the experience of memory over restoring the past, making it especially relevant in fragmented postmodern contexts. In literature and the arts, it appears through themes of memory, loss, and temporal disruption, illuminating the interplay of personal and collective histories ^[6].

Reflective nostalgia in Asian music often intertwines with cultural identity and historical memory. In China, the Dongbei Renaissance and Gem's *Wild Wolf Disco* evoke regional and generational pasts, blending tradition with modernity^[12]. In Japan, the shakuhachi flute embodies the notion of *furusato* (hometown), symbolizing ties to origins and the passage of time^[13]. Vietnamese *Nhạc Vàng*, especially among the diaspora, conveys themes of exile, longing, and loss, serving as a bridge to a lost homeland^[14]. In Thailand, *Phleng Phuea Chiwit* (Songs for Life) began as protest music in the 1970s but later incorporated nostalgic impressions on social struggles. Collectively, these forms feature music's role in expressing memory and identity^[15].

Ethical Memory in Global Music Traditions

Avishai Margalit's *The Ethics of Memory* (2002) explores the moral dimensions of remembering, emphasizing the obligations individuals and communities have toward the past. He distinguishes between "ethical memory," which pertains to close personal relationships such as family and friends, and "moral memory," which extends to humanity at large. According to Margalit, memory is not merely a private act but a responsibility tied to justice, unity, and the acknowledgment of suffering. Forgetting, when intentional, can risk erasing dignity and identity, while responsible commemoration nurtures moral communities. His work underscores how memory functions as an ethical practice that sustains collective accountability and human connectedness.

Ethical memory, understood as the preservation of collective histories and moral values, is deeply embedded in musical traditions across diverse cultures. In North America, African American blues and Native American powwow songs embody narratives of oppression, resilience, and communal identity^[16, 17]. Similarly, Latin America's Nueva Canción integrates political resistance with cultural heritage, while West African griots sustain genealogies, social values, and historical consciousness through oral-musical traditions^[17-18]. In South Asia, Qawwalis and Bhajans transmit spiritual, ethical, and cultural teachings across generations (19-20). These traditions illustrate how music functions not merely as entertainment but as a moral agent that links communities to shared struggles, responsibilities, and enduring cultural values indispensable for continuity.

Research Lens

This study uses qualitative content analysis of the Bengali "Coffee House" song to explore how lyrics and musical elements express reflective nostalgia, ethical consideration, and collective cultural memory. Historical and cultural studies of the West Bengal's Coffee House provide contextual basis, situating the songs within their socio-cultural and literary background.

Discussion

Preserving Cultural Memory through "Coffee House"

Chronological records show that the Indian Coffee House was a center for intellectual debates, literary discussions, and cultural exchanges that shaped social ideologies in Bengal^[3]. Within this context, the Bengali song "Coffee House" reminisces the Coffee House as a symbol of collective identity. This aligns with Jan and Aleida Assmann's idea of cultural memory, which emphasizes preserving experiences through stories, rituals, and symbols

so that communities remember them beyond individual lifetimes^[4-5].

The song's opening line, "Coffee Houser sei addata aa jar nei,"^[1] translated by the author as "Those gatherings at the coffee-house are no longer there today... where have those golden afternoons gone?"^[1], expresses nostalgia and signals a shift from actual events to shared memory. The first stanza recounts the lives of friends like Nikhilesh, Moidul, D'Souza, Rama Roy, and Amol, highlighting struggles such as departure, ailment, or death. By naming them, the song ensures their thoughts and feelings remain alive in the community, reflecting Assmann's idea that cultural memory keeps experiences alive through stories^[4-5].

The second stanza contrasts Sujata's marital material prosperity as depicted in the lines "Heere ar johrote agagora mora se"^[1] or "She is covered with diamonds and jewels from top to bottom" (translated by the author) with the quieter struggles of others, like Nikhilesh as an advertisement illustrator and D'Souza's reserved demeanor. This shows how personal lives were shaped by broader social and economic changes in postcolonial Bengal. In this way, the song acts as a record, connecting individual experiences with wider societal shifts.

The third stanza highlights habitual actions including the smoking of Charminar cigarettes, debates and discussions about poets like Bishnu Dey and painters like Jamini Roy, and regular meeting times. These routines served as rituals that withstand the Coffee House's spirit. Assmann emphasized that repetition of rituals and symbols strengthens cultural memory^[4-5]. Historical accounts confirm that the College Street Coffee House was a space for sharing art, politics, and literature^[3]. Through these repeated actions, the song transforms fleeting moments into lasting cultural memory.

The fourth stanza emphasizes Amol's unpublished poetry, Rama Roy's theater performances, and Moidul's daily writing and reading out of newspaper reports. By preserving these contributions, often overlooked in history, the song features the ethical role of cultural memory in honoring intellectual and moral achievements^[4-5]. Historically, the Coffee House nurtured unrecognized talent, and the song encodes these practices as markers of cultural and ethical significance^[1].

The song concludes with the images of the Coffee House itself, involving the tables and the cups, and by drawing the metaphor of garden for the Coffee House, all of that were still present even though the original participants were gone. The lines "Kotojon elo-gelo kotojon i ashbe... Coffee House ta sudhu theke jay"^[1] or as author-translated "People came and went, more will come...the Coffee House stays the same" create a lieu de memoire, a physical and symbolic site where collective memory is anchored^[4-5]. The space becomes a repository of stories and traditions, allowing future generations to engage with the heritage of the Coffee House. According to Assmann, such symbolic forms help maintain collective identity, bridging past and present while preserving social and ethical values^[4-5].

To sum up, the Bengali "Coffee House" song transmits personal memories, everyday habits, and physical spaces into everlasting symbols of cultural memory. By commemorating individual lives, routines, and contributions, it ensures the survival of the Coffee House's intellectual, social, and cultural spirit. Historical studies of the Indian Coffee House support this reading, showing that

the lyrics capture a space where creativity, dialogue, and democratic rendezvous flourished. The song interprets Assmann's theory that cultural memory survives through stories, symbols, and rituals, conserving collective identity and historical consciousness across generations ^[3-5].

Reflections of Nostalgia in the "Coffee House"

With the opening lines, the song immediately establishes a mood of reflective nostalgia. The repetition of the phrase "Aaj ar nei" or as translated "no longer today" ^[1] emphasizes the irretrievability of the past, an emblem of Boym's reflective nostalgia, where longing exists without the expectation of restoration ^[6]. The Coffee House itself functions as a symbolic anchor, a site of collective and personal memory, even as the friends and moments it hosted have vanished ^[1].

The first stanza introduces the fragmented fates of the friends: Nikhilesh is in Paris, Moidul in Dhaka, D'Souza has passed away, Rama Roy is in a mental asylum, and Amol is suffering from a fatal disease ^[1]. This depiction embraces the ambivalence of reflective nostalgia, highlighting both absence and the passage of time, without attempting to restructure the past ^[6]. The song focuses on specific, personal experiences, emphasizing real lives and individual memories, rather than idealizing or mythologizing the past. In the second stanza, the song contrasts worldly success with silent suffering: Sujata enjoys wealth, Nikhilesh sketches advertisement illustrations, while D'Souza remains aloof and introvert ^[1]. This juxtaposition reflects the complexity of memory in reflective nostalgia, where experiences are neither entirely joyful nor completely tragic ^[6]. It evokes the texture of daily life, the creative and social vibrancy of the group, without suggesting that the past can be reassembled.

The third stanza concentrates on shared habits and routines: smoking Charminar cigarettes, discussing literary figures like Bishnu Dey and Jamini Rai, and meeting regularly at the Coffee House. These concrete details preserve the rhythm of daily interactions, depicting reflective nostalgia's focus on specific moments and subtle recollections ^[1]. The song underlines the importance of remembering these simple, ordinary habits rather than creating an idealized vision of the past.

The account of the unrealized potential and everyday struggles is shared in the fourth stanza: Amol's poems remain unpublished, Rama Roy acts in office plays, and Moidul reads aloud from his editorials from newspapers ^[1]. This stanza reflects the balance of failure and minor achievements that is central to reflective nostalgia ^[6]. The song suggests that memory is rooted in human imperfection and effort, emphasizing that the past should be valued for what it was, not for what it might have been had it been idealized.

The final section contrasts the permanence of the Coffee House with the impermanence of life: the table, coffee cups, and the place itself remain, while the original group of friends is gone ^[1, 2]. The repeated refrain emphasizes temporal awareness, reinforcing the idea that the past can be remembered and reflected upon, even though it cannot be recreated. The Coffee House stands as a representational witness, preserving traces of the past while offering space for contemplation of what is lost ^[6].

Throughout the song, the interplay of personal memory, sensory detail, and the monumental vintage place of the

Coffee House illustrates Boym's idea of reflective nostalgia. Memory is both tender and melancholic, embracing the ambivalence of time and accepting that the past cannot be recovered ^[6]. Each stanza sustains the texture of lived experience, focusing on specific moments, routines, and emotional attachments, rather than attempting to refabricate the past. The song exemplifies reflective nostalgia by mourning lost friendships, fading dreams, and the passage of time, maintaining traces of both human and spatial memory. It depicts that memory, rather than restoration, allows the past to meaningfully inform the present, offering a more ethical engagement with time through reflection.

Ethical Memory and the "Coffee House" Heritage

The Bengali "Coffee House" song captures the passage of time and the fading presence of cherished friendships once nurtured in Kolkata's iconic coffee house. Through the lens of Margalit's ethical memory theory, which emphasizes the moral obligation to remember individuals and communities, the song becomes an elegy for a vanished intellectual culture ^[7]. This analysis explores how the song reflects the collective responsibility to preserve memory amidst loss, inequality, and transformation, set against the historical backdrop of the Bengal's Coffee House as a cultural hub ^[3]. The opening stanza reflects the disappearance and suffering of close friends, from Nikhilesh in Paris to the tragic fates of D'Souza and Rama Roy. Margalit's ethical memory theory stresses the moral duty to remember individuals who suffer or vanish from communal consciousness. Such absence creates a moral void that calls for active remembrance, an acknowledgment of the lives and losses that shape communal identity. In the context of Bengal's coffee houses, these losses resonate not only as personal griefs but also as the mourning of a vanishing intellectual community. The Coffee House in Kolkata, particularly during the mid-twentieth century, was a vibrant area where artists, writers, and political thinkers gathered to exchange ideas ^[2]. The song's mourning of absent friends thus also signifies the fading of a cultural and intellectual tradition ^[1].

The second stanza highlights the divergent life paths of individuals, contrasting Sujata's matrimonial bliss and affluence with D'Souza's quiet, observant life. Margalit's ethical memory theory extends to collective memory, positing that the moral obligation to remember includes preserving diverse human experiences, both joy and suffering ^[7]. The stanza reflects life's inequalities and the stark contrasts that emerge in the aftermath of youthful gatherings. The Bengali Coffee House, as a space that historically allowed interaction across classes and ideologies, symbolizes the hope for egalitarian engagement. The third stanza evokes the ritual of gathering with shared cigarettes, poetry discussions, and companionship that define the coffee house experience. Margalit's theory places memory within a social context, suggesting that collective memory is not only an individual act but a communal one that sustains identity and bonds ^[7]. The Coffee House, as a cultural site of intellectual exchange, becomes a metaphor for the creation and preservation of memory. In the Bengali context, coffee houses like the Indian Coffee House on College Street were central to literary and political movements, where ideas about independence, identity, and resistance were debated. The song's portrayal of these gatherings speaks to the ethical value of remembering such spaces that foster creativity, dissent, and solidarity ^[3].

Amol's unrecognized poetic talent and Rama Roy's involvement in drama symbolize marginalized memories within the group. Margalit argues that ethical memory involves the active resistance to forgetting those who remain invisible in societal narratives. The song, in highlighting these overlooked talents, criticizes the tendency to forget individuals who, despite contributing to the cultural fabric, do not achieve formal recognition. This aligns with the broader sociocultural challenges faced by Bengali artists and intellectuals in periods when recognition was uneven, and marginalized voices struggled for visibility within intellectual circles^[7]. The closing part of the song contrasts the impermanence of individual lives with the enduring presence of the Coffee House itself. Margalit's ethical memory theory posits that places and artifacts are anchors of collective memory, preserving a moral continuity across generations. The Indian Coffee House remains a cultural landmark that has witnessed generational transitions while holding persistent symbolic meaning in the collective imagination. The song's conclusion evokes the ethical responsibility to preserve these living memories, ensuring that they are not lost to time but continue to inspire future generations.

Conclusion

The Bengali "Coffee House" song warmly captures the spirit of a cherished place in West Bengal where friends gathered, shared ideas, and faced the ups and downs of life together. The evocation of shared memories and social life in song aligns with Assmann's theories of cultural memory, which highlights how collective experiences mold recollections and identities. Its bittersweet, reflective longing matches Boym's concept of reflective nostalgia, acknowledging loss without idealizing the past. The ethical emphasis on remembering all individuals, especially the marginalized, resonates with Margalit's idea of ethical memory, underlining a moral obligation to honor past lives. It serves as a reminder to honor everyone's stories, especially those often forgotten. Together, these theories explain how the song preserves Bengal's cultural heritage and maintains a living bond between past and present. Through its heartfelt lyrics and melody, the "Coffee House" song acts as a mnemonic tool and keeps the connection between yesterday and today alive, cultivating Bengal's rich cultural identity and ensuring these treasured memories are archived for the upcoming generations.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to express their sincere gratitude to the Department of English, Northern University Bangladesh, for its academic support and encouragement throughout the study. Appreciation is also extended to colleagues and peers for their valuable insights and constructive feedback during the research process. This study received no specific funding, and the authors declare that there is no conflict of interest regarding this work.

References

1. Mujibur Mujib. *Coffee Houser sei addata Video*, Debashis Sengupta [Video]. 2013 Aug 25 [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Aq5smWgbcmk&list=RDAq5smWgbcmk&start_radio=1
2. The Business Standard. How the song "Coffee House" was born [Internet]. 2023 [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://www.tbsnews.net/splash/how-song-coffee-house-was-born-427162>
3. VisitsUnderBans. College Street Indian Coffee House Kolkata History Timing [Internet]. 2025 Aug 5 [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://www.visitsunderbans.com/college-street-coffee-house.html>
4. Assmann A. *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2011.
5. Assmann J. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2011.
6. Boym S. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books; 2001.
7. Margalit A. *The Ethics of Memory*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press; 2002.
8. Times of India. How Falguni Pathak's music videos shaped a generation and became a part of India's cultural memory [Internet]. 2023 [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/entertainment/hindi/bollywood/news/how-falguni-pathaks-music-videos-shaped-a-generation-and-became-a-part-of-indias-cultural-memory/articleshow/124108565.cms>
9. Times of India. Preserving the Bhonpu, a 300-year-old tribal musical instrument in Hazaribag [Internet]. 2023 [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/ranchi/preserving-the-bhonpu-a-300-year-old-tribal-musical-instrument-in-hazaribag/articleshow/124185082.cms>
10. Wikipedia. Jarigan [Internet]. 2024 [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jarigan>
11. Wikipedia. Muktir Gaan [Internet]. 2024 [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muktir_Gaan
12. Zhao R. An analysis of popularity of *Wild Wolf Disco*. Atlantis Press; 2020 [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://www.atlantis-press.com/article/125949445.pdf>
13. Deschênes B. Reflexions of a non-Japanese shakuhachi player. *World Music Central* [Internet]. [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://worldmusiccentral.org/sense-of-place-in-world-music-reflexions-of-a-non-japanese-shakuhachi-player/>
14. Pham D. Lost, mourned, and retrieved: Exilic nostalgia in the music of Vietnamese refugees. *Rajraf* [Internet]. [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://www.rajraf.org/article/lost-mourned-and-retrievedexilic-nostalgia-in-the-music-of-vietnamese-refugees/1161>
15. Thavornbutr N. Phleng Phuea Chiwit: Music for life. *Thailand Foundation* [Internet]. [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://thailandfoundation.or.th/phleng-phuea-chiwit-music-for-life/>
16. Strait JB. Soundscapes of resistance: Delta blues and the Mississippi Delta. *Arts*. 2025;9(1):14. Available from: <https://www.mdpi.com/2313-5778/9/1/14>
17. Tumas-Serna J. La Nueva Canción: The New Song Movement in South America. *Smithsonian Folkways* [Internet]. [cited 2025 Oct 1]. Available from: <https://folkways.si.edu/la-nueva-cancion-new-song->

- movement-south-america/latin-world-struggle-protest/music/article/smithsonian
18. Hale TA. Oral Tradition 12.2: From the Griot of Roots to the Roots of Griots. *J Oral Trad.* 1997;12(2):245-267. Available from: https://journal.oraltradition.org/wp-content/uploads/files/articles/12ii/2_Hale.pdf
 19. Rao R. Devotional music and Bhajan tradition in India. *Int J Multidiscip Res Stud.* 2024;12(3):45-59. Available from: https://www.ijmrsetm.com/admin/img/28_Devotional.pdf
 20. Gaind-Krishnan S. Qawwali routes: Notes on a Sufi music's transformation in the diaspora. *Religions.* 2020;11(12):685. Available from: <https://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/11/12/685>