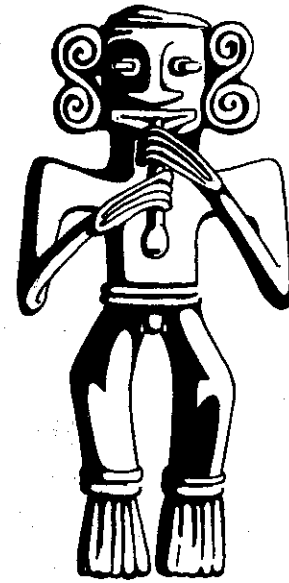


To Naim Sahib - with sincere  
thanks for your help toward  
this study (please bear with the  
mistakes) *Pegala Qureshi*

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## TARANNUM: THE CHANTING OF URDU POETRY

Regula Qureshi

**T**arannum is the musical recitation of Urdu poetry, a chanting style belonging to the Indian Muslim cultural tradition and practiced in both India and Pakistan. While identified principally with the poetic symposia where poets recite their own work to an audience, it is also used widely by non-poets at informal occasions and privately. In a culture where due to socio-religious factors music has a very limited place, tarannum is a popular expressive medium and obviously functional. Yet, references to this form are conspicuously lacking, either in a musical or a literary context. A few Urdu writers do mention it as a part of poetry (e.g., Faridi 1947:190), while some Western literary works refer to it as the singing of poetry (Schimmel 1965:49; Bausani 1958:52). Musicologists have traditionally tended to focus their attention on the Hindu chanting tradition. Furthermore, tarannum is easily ignored because of a lack of conceptualization and verbalization on the part of its users. In spite of the problems this poses, a study of tarannum is nevertheless considered worthwhile because as a synthesis of musical and other cultural factors its implications, though extending beyond the strictly musical, are a concern of ethnomusicology.

Tarannum is a musical phenomenon shaped and influenced by poetry as well as social and religious factors. It must therefore be examined in the light of all of them. The approach here will be to describe and analyze tarannum from four major perspectives, initially derived from a model suggested by Merriam (1962:120ff):

- 1) Cultural context, background, and use
- 2) Musical context
- 3) Conceptual and perceptual context of members of the tradition
- 4) Function

An attempt will also be made to place tarannum in the wider context of musical concepts and categories. The application of all these perspectives represents a combination of the two complementary approaches which Nettl calls the systematic and the intuitive (1964:13ff).

The study is based, in a general way, on participation in the culture of Urdu speaking communities in India, Pakistan, and North America, including attendance at *mushā'iras* (poetic symposia) and participation in numerous amateur symposia and informal reciting sessions. This has provided ample opportunity for the author to practice and attain reasonable competence in

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tarannum recitation. Specific non-musical data was obtained with the help of a partially structured, partially open-ended questionnaire covering such categories as social, musical, and literary context, effect, aesthetic evaluation, and personal association with tarannum. It was administered by oral interview in English and Urdu to eighteen personally known Indian and Pakistani informants temporarily residing in Canada, all with a background in Urdu poetry, most able to chant themselves, and a few of them amateur poets. Further, a set of questions pertaining to general facts about tarannum was asked from nine persons associated with Urdu literature.

The source data include taped recordings of fourteen recognized Indian and Pakistani poets reciting at *mushāiras* in Pakistan, and four amateur poets and twenty non-poets reciting at amateur *mushāiras* in Edmonton, Canada or at informal gatherings in India, Pakistan, and Canada, with a total collection of 116 chanted poems. A few of these recordings were elicited in an informal setting. The basic musical pattern, tempo, pitch, and poetic meter were identified for all poems. In addition, the musical patterns of eighty-one poems were transcribed in detail, with melodic and rhythmic variations noted and a few verses of the poem transliterated. A complete, verse by verse transcription was made of nineteen poems. Later, follow-up questions on the musical material were asked of ten reciters, and numerous recordings of songs and religious chant were compared with tarannum.

The musical terminology used here represents a compromise between Indo-Pakistani and Western usage. Established Indo-Pakistani English reflects the local language—here Urdu-Hindi—in the choice of musical terms and their semantic implication. In Urdu, chanted and spoken recitation are covered by the general term *parhna* (to read), be it *tarannum se* (with chanting) or *taht-ul-lafz se* (with speaking). Accordingly, the term “chanting” is not used in Indo-Pakistani English. Instead, “reciting” and “reading” are commonly applied to spoken as well as chanted recitation. Sometimes the distinction between the two is made by referring to spoken recitation as “reading” and chanted recitation as “reciting” (e.g., Naīm 1965:142, note 6), but the connotation is not definite. Therefore, in spite of its unfamiliarity for Indo-Pakistanis, the term “chanting” is here applied to tarannum and other related forms, with “musical recitation” used as an occasional synonym, to contrast with “spoken recitation.” Where informants are quoted, the terms are of course left unchanged.

The term “song” corresponds to Urdu-Hindi *gīt* and as such it applies to folk and popular songs. As a correlate to “singing” (*gana*) it may also cover light classical and classical art song. Neither “song” nor “singing” are applied generically to all uses of the singing voice, and they definitely exclude chanting. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these two separately conceived categories—singing and chanting—the terms “song” and “singing” are here used according to Indo-Pakistani usage.

A further compromise, that between musical and linguistic usage, is reflected in the use of the terms “meter” and “rhythm.” For the sake of clarity, “meter” will be applied only to poetry, whereas “rhythm” refers to music unless otherwise indicated. For a specific succession of tones the term “tune” is used in order to distinguish it from melody in general. Other musical terms are used according to general Western practice.

#### CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

The Urdu term tarannum is a loan word from Persian of Arabic derivation—the infinitive noun from the verb *ranam*, “to trill, to quaver” (Platts 1960:321)—and is translated by Urdu dictionaries as “modulation, melody, rhythm,” or simply “a kind of song” (Ferozesons n.d.:213; Adams 1838:111; Platts 1960:321), all somewhat helpless definitions. The way the term is actually used by Urdu speakers indicates two meanings, a general and a specific one. The general meaning encompasses all musical recitation, sacred or secular, poetry or prose. As already in early Arabic use, tarannum denotes “unpretentious psalming varied and embroidered by the singer” (Farmer 1965:1073), and thus it approximates the folklore definition of chant: “a monophonic style of singing or recitative in free rhythm. . . used as a heightened. . . speech-song. . .” (Brakeley 1949:210). The specific meaning denotes the particular style of chanting or musical recitation used for Urdu poetry, especially the *ghazal*. The term is normally applied in the sense of this meaning, and in this paper it is used in this sense.

Urdu is the spoken and literary language developed in India during the last few centuries, adapted from regional dialects of North India “through unrestrained borrowings from Persian and written in the Persian script” (Ahmad 1964:245). It has been the lingua franca of North India, also called Hindustani, but always representing Indian Muslim culture. Eventually, Pakistan adopted it as one of its national languages, while in India emphasis on the more sanskritized Hindi (in *Dēvanāgarī* script) has relegated Urdu to the status of a Muslim variant though it remains widely understood and used, often under the name of Hindi (e.g., in films).

The use of literary Urdu is principally confined to areas of past and present Muslim cultural domination, the former including the Indian urban centers of Uttar Pradesh and Panjab, and to a lesser extent Bihar and Hyderabad, the latter including urban centers of West Pakistan.

Traditional Urdu literature consists mainly of poetry—excepting contemporary trends—and the language owes a good deal of its character to the poetic idiom. Poetry is highly regarded and widely known. In addition to the many poets of standing, the ability to compose poetry has been widely cultivated, especially among educated young adults. Beyond that, a basic “repertoire” of

favorite poems is shared by a majority of Urdu speakers, not only those with a formal education, to the extent that poetry has been called "il dizionario dei poveri e analfabeti" (Bausani 1958:52; Schimmel 1965:47).

Traditionally, poetry is transmitted orally, through recitation. It is composed to be listened to rather than read, and to take in a poem is for a majority of people an aural, not a visual experience. Thus a poet could well attain fame without his works being published (e.g., Arzū, as mentioned by Saksēna 1927:195).

The favorite (most composed and recited) form of Urdu poetry is the *ghazal*. It has been the main and central medium of poetic expression for several generations, and it can be said to embody and represent the essence of Urdu literary tradition. The *ghazal* consists of an unspecified number of couplets often connected by the general mood or theme of love and related states of mind. Each couplet is a distinct entity of symbolic, lyrical expression "linked together by the formal thread of a common rhyme scheme" (Ahmad 1964:254). Originally a love lyric of Arabia and later of Persia (Bausani 1960:1028ff), the *ghazal* came to India with the Muslims as a part of the Persian cultural and linguistic heritage. While accepting the literary conventions and formal scheme of its predecessor, the Urdu *ghazal* developed a distinct character, but it remains closer to Persian than to any other Indian poetry including Hindi, notwithstanding the structural similarity of the Urdu and Hindi languages. This is mainly due to an essentially Persian *wortschatz* and an extensive use of Persian imagery and symbolism.

The main theme of the *ghazal* is love, from the particular to the universal, and from the mundane to the metaphysical. Its character is lyric, often with philosophical undertones. Its content is highly subjective but the expression extremely formalized, flowering in subtleties and refinement within the accepted poetic convention which is contained principally in a poetic idiom full of metaphors and images (Sādiq 1964:25ff). These form part of a symbolic language, in all its implied associations, used by generations of poets. It forms an essential basis for as concise a poetic form as the *ghazal*, making possible a wide scope of expression within the epigrammatic condensation of a single couplet. At the same time, this "imagerial symbolism" has tended to confine the *ghazal* to the ideas already inherent in it, their "exquisite refinement...and ways of expressing them, a thousandfold familiar already" (Arberry 1953:218).

The rhyme scheme of the *ghazal* is aa, (aa), ba, ca, da, etc., with the first couplet (*matla*) establishing the formal pattern and the last one (*maqta*) usually introducing the *nom de plume* (*takhallus*) of the poet. The rhyme itself consists of a rhyme syllable followed by a monorhyme which may vary in length from one syllable to a short sentence, then taking on the character of a built-in refrain.

The meters used in the *ghazal* and all Urdu poetry are taken over almost unaltered from the Arabic via Persian. They are based on syllabic quantity, but in Urdu usage contain an element of stress as well (Weil 1960:667ff; Russell 1960:55ff). The considerable number of different meters used represent a wide variety in length—from 9 to 24 syllables—as well as structure—from repetition of the same prosodic foot to a combination of dissimilar units. The meters used most often in Persian, and hence Urdu, include iambic as well as anacrusic types. Regular alternation of long and short syllables is rare, and many meters show a somewhat asymmetric character. Six meters most commonly used in Urdu poetry are (according to Bailey (1938:254) but here arranged in order of decreasing regularity):

1) Hazaj	U - - - U - - - U - - - U - - - U
2) Raml	- U - - U - - - U - - - U - - - U
3) Raml	- U - - U - - - U - - - U - - - U
4) Mujtass	U - U - U - - U - - U - - U - - U
5) 'Muzāri	- - - U - - - U - - - U - - - U - - - U
6) Khafif	- - - U - - - U - - - U - - - U

One *ghazal* moves strictly within the same metric structure, the only freedom being the substitution of two short syllables for one long one, or vice versa, at specified locations (Bailey 1938:256). As the concept of long and short syllables does not exist in Arabic prosodic tradition, syllables are classified according to the letters they contain. However, the scansion of verses is based on sounds pronounced, not written, which especially includes the "e muet" (*nīm fatha*) occurring after certain consonants in Persian as well as Urdu (Saksēna 1927:12; Russell 1960:49). In Urdu, especially in the more recent poetry, the rules of syllabic quantity are not always applicable to scansion, for certain syllables are used in short as well as long positions (Russell 1960:55f) and prosodical rules are less strictly observed. Since the replacement of the traditional Muslim course of study—in which prosody and rhetoric were included—by a Western educational system, poets may often have only an intuitive or imitative knowledge of meters.

The *ghazal* tradition, as a whole, can be said to be characterized by a general emphasis upon form, rhyme scheme, meter, and to some extent even idiom. All these require great verbal dexterity on the part of the poet. They also result in an easy familiarity with the formal frame and the basic themes on the part of the audience. The isolable nature of single couplets furthers their being remembered and "quoted," even as a part of daily speech, often without the context or the poet's name being known. Literary critics and scholars agree that the *ghazal* owes much of its appeal to its musical quality (Bausani 1958:47; Sādiq 1964:18-19), which appears to emanate principally from the refrain-like monorhyme with its emphasis on the return to the familiar at the end of each couplet. Certainly the *ghazal* has been a favorite text for songs wherever it has occurred, with the Urdu *ghazal* giving rise to a musical genre, the light classical

ghazal art song (Ikrām 1955:45). However, the full implication of this musical quality in the *ghazal*, or indeed in any other form of poetic expression, is yet to be explored.<sup>1</sup>

The formal occasion for the presentation of poetry is the *mushāira*, or symposium of poets. At these highly popular events poets are invited to recite their work to a responsive and critical audience. Taken over from Persia, this institution has flourished in India since the Mogul Period (1556 to about 1775), originally in the form of a composing contest which existed as a part of cultural life around the princely courts and the urban aristocracy (Chōpra 1963:80; Mujeeb 1967:515). Today, public *mushāiras* are organized in both India<sup>2</sup> and Pakistan by the government, by colleges and universities, by state radio and television, and by private groups. Private *mushāiras* are confined to the circle of acquaintances of those who are financially able to arrange events. They thus include mainly people of some social and literary standing. College *mushāiras* are on the whole attended by students and others with some educational background, while public ones attract a variety of people including many without formal education. In accordance with the traditional confinement of women to the realm of the home, participation in *mushāiras* has mainly been restricted to men, though women do attend them in a separate enclosure. Among the poetesses practicing this art, some recite regularly at *mushāiras*, others never come before the public.

As a formalized entertainment, the *mushāira* has a traditional etiquette. Like all occasions of entertainment in the sub-continent it begins late in the evening and lasts until well beyond midnight. At a private *mushāira* the audience is seated on the floor which is covered with white sheets or carpets, while the poet recites sitting on a special carpet or platform, a lighted candle in front of him. Betel leaves and other refreshments may be offered to both poets and audience.<sup>3</sup>

At large public *mushāiras* the poet usually stands on a podium and addresses, often with the help of a loudspeaker, a multitude seated on chairs. The poets recite in turn, usually beginning with the least prominent ones and progressing to the better poets who appear later in the program. This creates an atmosphere of slowly mounting excitement. Couplets of a *ghazal* are recited as units. Any couplet may be announced by "shēr arz hai" (here is a [nother] couplet), and a particularly good verse is especially pointed out by the poet. For a full impact on the audience both lines of the first couplet and at least the first, or both lines of the following couplets are recited twice. According to traditional practice the poet pauses after the first line, allowing the audience to repeat part or all of it, he then repeats it himself and follows it with the second line, which in turn is followed by applause—or criticism. The audience reacts spontaneously, often interrupting a good couplet at the point of return to the already anticipated rhyme pattern. Disapproval is expressed with silence, and approval with calls of "wah-wah" (bravo) or "mukarrar" (once again), supplemented, at

large public gatherings, by Western-style boos or hand-clapping. The poet welcomes every interruption of applause with a polite raising of the upturned hand (*ādāb*) and readily repeats any couplet since there is no continuing thread of content to be followed. This allows for continuous, free interaction between poet and audience which leads to a high degree of "emotional harmony" in an atmosphere of intensity and excitement. "Not rarely thousands of listeners stay on from eight or nine o'clock until early morning, shouting applause, criticizing, repeating verses, with their enthusiasm mounting from hour to hour. Young and old, rich and poor, educated and illiterate take part in these public symposia of poets, all with equal enthusiasm and delight" (Schimmel 1965:47). The *mushāira* "model" is reflected in amateur and informal gatherings as well, though the level of excitement is rarely as high.

Tarannum today pervades formal and informal recitation to the extent that probably 80 percent of all recitation is chanted. However, there is general agreement that originally recitation at Indian *mushāiras*, and at their Persian predecessors, was strictly spoken. Tarannum possibly emerged as early as the eighteenth century; however, the only available reference (Mohānī 1967:1), based on a satire by the contemporary poet Sauda, is not conclusive. By the mid-nineteenth century tarannum existed and was apparently used by such poets as Mōmin (Āzād 1967:274), Dāgh, and possibly Ghālīb (Farhatullah Bēg 1960). According to Farhatullah the practice originated in Delhi, but it probably remained sporadic, for fifty years later tarannum appeared as an innovation. The two first-hand accounts referring to the introduction of tarannum, one by a literary writer (Faridī 1947) and one by a poet (Mohānī 1967) both recall how in 1906 and 1910 respectively the poet Sāil Dēhlavi (1861-1945)—a disciple of Dāgh, and thus possibly a successor to Dāgh's reciting style—stunned *mushāira* audiences in Rampur and Lucknow by reciting "in a special and unusual chant (*lai*), with a powerful, resonant voice" (Faridī 1947:190; Barni 1961:76). A few years later the young Jigar Murādabādi appeared on the *mushāira* scene, reciting great poetry with an impressive chanting style, intensified by an ecstatic appearance (Mohānī 1967:2). In spite of the critical reaction by orthodox poets and literati, tarannum quickly gained favor, especially among young poets, and of course among *mushāira* audiences. Today, only a few of the established poets do not use tarannum.

It has been suggested that tarannum possibly emerged as a consequence of the decline, during the last century, of the professional singer-courtesans (*tawāif*) who had been the principle exponents of the *ghazal* art song. There are certainly enough musical parallels between the *ghazal* art song and tarannum, but because of the unfavorable social implications any connections between the two forms cannot easily be verified. The emergence of tarannum in *mushāiras* must also be viewed in the light of the pervasive presence of religious chant in a region which is a part of the Islamic as well as Indian cultural area, each of which has de-

veloped its own major styles of chanting. Chant plays a major role in Muslim religious practice, particularly of the Shi'ā community, and for most Muslims the concept of musical recitation as a medium of expression is assimilated through exposure and participation at least in some religious group recitation.

The ability to chant tarannum is transmitted through exposure to recitation in childhood and through participation in school and college recitation. The "standard" of chanting in these various contexts can be said to be set by the poets reciting at mushāiras. Poets usually cultivate their own personal style of chanting based on a single melodic outline, or sometimes several of them, often of their own creation. Members of the audience remember the chanting style or the tune along with the poem and in turn present them at informal gatherings or amateur mushāiras. In general, anyone able to chant poetry is often requested to do so and complies freely. Beyond this, many who do not feel competent to recite before others hum or chant poems for their own private enjoyment. Tarannum, then, being the prevailing medium for a favorite form of cultivated entertainment and self-expression, is known to most Urdu speakers who have some acquaintance with poetry, and it is practiced in some context by a majority of them.

In addition, tarannum is said to serve poets as a "rhythmic mold" while composing poetry. Humming a tarannum melody is said to keep the poet aware of the metric scheme and to enable him to probe the scansion of the finished verse. Poets certainly do hum their poetry—some also hum while composing—but whether they actually use tarannum for scansion or need it for that purpose, as some informants say, cannot be generally ascertained. In spite of an interesting parallel to this use of tarannum in the Arabic *naghmāt al buhūr* (metric melodies) (Farmer 1965:1073) tarannum cannot be defined as a metric melody, for according to all evidence it began serving in such a capacity only after its use for public recitation, and it is primarily associated with the mushāira.

#### MUSICAL CONTEXT

The music of tarannum is analyzed with reference to two major contexts. One is the context of the poem and its recitation, the other the context of North Indian musical styles, especially light classical music. Considering tarannum in the first context sheds light on the word-music relationship and on the musical features affected by the poem and its recitation. These are mainly rhythm, performance style, and to some extent form. Considering it in the second context sheds light on its affinity with standard musical forms of the region and on the musical features derived from such forms. These are mainly melody and form.

The music examples included with this paper have been selected with the aim of being representative of the whole musical range of tarannum. The

selection includes poems of various styles and metric patterns, recited at different occasions by reciters of different geographic origin, literary ability, musical talent, social status, sex, and age.

In tarannum recitation poems are chanted to a wide variety of melodies and melody-types which often coincide neither with a particular reciter, nor with a particular poem or type of poem. The same poet may use several different tunes, or, conversely, several poets may use the same tune. Similarly, the same tune may be used for several different poems, and, more rarely, the same poem may be chanted to several tunes, usually by different persons. Thus, in spite of the fact that for the reciter and native listener tarannum, as a general concept, is inseparable from the poem and its reciter and closely derived from both, the actual tunes of tarannum are apparently independent musical entities and can only be identified and analyzed as such, apart from the particular reciter or poem. This fact has made melodic affinity the obvious criterion of classification for our total sample of tarannum chants as well as for the examples included with this paper. Rhythmic and other stylistic similarities in melodically different examples are referred to in the analysis. This by no means implies that rhythm and other stylistic elements are of less significance than melody.

The melodic material of tarannum can be grouped in two overall categories:

1. *Stock tunes*, i.e., melodies of a recognizable pattern and outline. Our music examples include a number of such stock tunes, as used and modified by six of the recognized poets, three of the amateur poets, and fifteen of the non-poets. Nearly 75 percent of the poems of the total sample are chanted to these stock tunes. Some of the tunes are associated with a particular poet who first used them or, less typically, with a song tune; others are anonymous.

2. *Individual tunes*, i.e., tunes based on similar overall melodic ingredients but differing widely in individual outline and tonal grouping. These are mostly individually improvised tunes, some even varying from poem to poem, as recited by the same person. They range from tonally simple tunes with a narrow range to tonally complex ones with a wide range. Depending on the presence of characterizing elements in the tune or in the chanting style of its reciter, any of these tunes is a potential stock tune. Several reciters use tunes of both groups (Exs. 18, 32).

The transcription, as found in the music examples, aims at being readable; thus conventional Western notation is used as far as possible. Staff notation is quite satisfactory for transcribing tarannum for it follows a consistent pitch pattern which, along with North Indian music in general, corresponds closely enough to the European system to give an adequate rendering of the tunes. Minor variations in pitch, often caused by mechanical causes such as lack of breath, are indicated by arrows above the notes. Definite pitches sounded with less intensity are marked by small notes, and approximately sounded pitches

as ↓; both are of defineable duration. Pitches held only briefly are given as grace notes and notated ⤵; glides between notes and to or from notes are indicated by ↘ and ↙ respectively.

Rhythmic transcription is not always without problems. Due to the absence in tarannum of a recurrent musical meter, the use of bar lines is inappropriate. Notes are grouped together where the stress pattern indicates such a grouping, and rhythmic exactitude is attempted only up to the point of comprehensibility. Since note values are not placed intentionally by the reciter to conform to any rhythmic scheme, they are not considered sacrosanct (see Bartók and Lord 1951). Rubato, where mentioned, indicates rhythmic freedom "without awareness of escaping from a regular accentual framework" (Hopkins 1966:31-32). Metronomic readings apply to the most stable durational unit, generally the note value representing a short syllable. However, tempo measurements in some cases indicate no more than an average within the total poem. The transposition of all examples into the key of C is used to facilitate comparison.

As a whole, the transcription is based on the premise that "what is musically significant is what man can hear" (List 1963b:196); still, listening to the tapes at half speed was used to check accuracy in pitch and duration. The Urdu text is transliterated according to standard English practice, with the addition of the phonetic sign ə to represent the "e muet."

*Performance style.* Features of performance style tend to characterize a musical expression such as tarannum more than do form, rhythm, or melody. The discussion of these elements, therefore, should precede that of other musical features, especially since staff notation is too restrictive to allow their inclusion in transcriptions, a fact which leads them to be neglected in favor of the more easily accessible musical data.




The performance style of tarannum has basic characteristics in common with spoken recitation. Recitation is essentially a linguistic communication, and actually it is the word that dominates in both tarannum (musical recitation) and taht-ul-lafz (spoken recitation). Given this fact, several stylistic characteristics of chanting stand out:

1. The basic unit of verbal communication, the line or half-couplet (*misra*), remains intact. Internal repetition, so common in songs, does not occur. Interruption for the sake of the words—not the tune—does occur occasionally. The reciter may leave a first (b) line unfinished to "start it over" for emphasis, or bring a second (a) line to the point of the rhyme pattern in order to allow the audience to anticipate its ending (Ex. 11). The initial words of a first line are sometimes used as a kind of refrain between couplets, a practice found only in chanting (Ex. 18). Phrasing within the line corresponds to the word phrases, or at least it never runs counter to them.

2. The overall speech rhythm is maintained, and syllables are neither excessively prolonged nor shortened. The tempo of tarannum corresponds to a slow declaiming speed, with many recitations beginning slowly and gradually increasing their speed, especially in a very long poem. Even then, tarannum is usually slower than taht-ul-lafz.

3. Words are pronounced as spoken, with enunciation of vowels and consonants as clear as in spoken recitation. As in a slow declamation the "e muets" after certain consonants are usually pronounced; they are thus vocalized in chanting, but not at the same level of intensity as other vowels. This contrasts with Indian classical and much other singing where different vowel sounds are brought to a common level so as to carry a more or less uniform succession of sounds. Similarly, different consonant types are not leveled off in tarannum to serve as uniform interruptions between such vowel sounds. Voiced consonants are sounded with regard to the length accorded to them by the poetic meter; thus in Example 28 (also in Exs. 16 and 31), the liquids are sounded longer than the short vowels preceding them, with the *r, l, n*, of *ghar, gul-, -shan* receiving at least 75 percent of the total duration assigned to each syllable.

Vocalization results in the modification of one liquid, the (tongued) *r*, when it occurs at the end of a long syllable, especially if positioned at the end of a line. Instead of being tongued—which would make vocalization impossible—the *r* is sustained with one or both sides of the tongue touching the hard palate and air passing to the middle, not unlike the English *r* (e.g. in Exs. 26, 35). This modification appears to be peculiar to tarannum and is not normally used in singing.

What further characterizes the chanting style of tarannum are two durational devices used in vocalization which apparently serve to emphasize the rhythm emanating from the poem. One is the glottal stop, with which a long final note of a phrase or line is abruptly ended rather than left to fade out with a less definite duration, as usually happens in song. The glottal stop is preceded by a very quick slight lowering of the pitch from which the previous, higher pitch is attached in a slight upward glide and then stopped immediately by the closing of the glotti (in notation , graphically something like ). The second, somewhat less frequent device, is a type of rhythmic pulsation subdividing long notes () within a phrase. It is produced in a similar manner except that the sound continues after the attack from the slightly lower pitch.

Voice production in tarannum chanting is by no means uniform, though we can identify a vocal style typical for tarannum as being that which is used by about one-half of the reciters represented in our total sample. The majority of the other half corresponds to the tense, often high-pitched vocal style—whether actual or apparent—associated with the classical music which Lomax describes as typical for the "oriental bardic" area of Asian high cultures (1959:936; 1962:443). Occurring less frequently is the mellow, relaxed, and often nasal



sounding vocal style typical of many popular singers (e.g. Talat Mahmūd and Mēhdi Hasan) and of Panjabi folk singing (especially of "Hir"). Of course mixed vocal types also occur, so does the "scratchy" voice production of those with a lack of vocal control.

The vocal type typical for tarannum is characterized by a dark timbre and a relatively low volume due to more mouth than laryngeal resonance. It apparently reflects the sound character of the spoken declamation of Urdu poetry which, unlike the "bright" sounding, frontally produced colloquial Urdu and Hindi, is dominated by "dark" vowel production expressing the appropriate pathos. Observation suggests that the combination of two factors, both derived from Persian, at least partly account for this particular sound pattern. First, a high number of Arabic and Persian loan words abound in long vowels, especially the long *ā*, *āo* and *ō*, as well as the many nasalized end-vowels. The proportion of these long and often dark vowels is therefore far higher in poetry than in colloquial Urdu. Second, and perhaps more significant, is the fact that nearly all Arab-Persian meters have a high proportion of long syllables (usually at least half or more) which cause these long, dark vowels to be elongated or stressed so that their prominence in the total sound pattern increases. The common occurrence, in these meters, of two or more long syllables in succession seems to further contribute to the pathos usually associated with poetry recitation. (e.g., the poems of Exs. 4,27,32).

The volume of tarannum ranges from medium to high. At large public gatherings the outdoor setting further necessitates a sometimes forced loudness. The volume usually remains constant, though some reciters do make dynamic changes in accordance with the poetic form, contrasting a loud first line with a softer second line or emphasizing the point of return to the rhyme pattern by a drop in volume.

The facial expression during a tarannum recitation remains constant; it on the whole approximates the characterization of the "oriental bardic" type of Lomax (1959:936,942). However, the typical "strained, tense" expression, with a "painfully knotted brow," should be interpreted as a reflection of intensity and pathos rather than sadness and misery, which it may seem to be to one outside the culture. Intensity may give way to relaxation, even a very slight smile, at the return to the rhyme pattern, which is the "point of resolution" of the couplet.

Gestures range from the contained, well-mannered show of the upturned hand (*ādāb*) to dramatic arm and hand movements or an occasional head shake. On the whole, reciters limit their movements to a stylized "pointing-out" gesture with hand or arm.

Altogether there exists a wide variety in the style of presentation of tarannum, especially as regards voice production. Unlike art or popular music, where the aim is toward a definite standard of voice production,

tarannum gives expression to the poet or reciter through vocal or other characteristics of performance style, at times leading to eccentricity or mannerism. In addition, the popularization of *mushāiras* has resulted in a wider variety of settings for recitation which accounts for changes in performance style as well as audience response. In addition, the enormous spread of popular song recordings, including *ghazal* and film songs, has influenced the general concept of vocal production even of poets. These "ecological" changes run largely parallel to, but behind, those affecting Indian classical music as described by N. Menon (quoted in Archer 1964:32).

*Form.* The formal unit of tarannum chanting corresponds to the couplet and is repeated with each successive couplet of a *ghazal*. It consists of two distinct tunes: one for all the *a* lines carrying the rhyme pattern (tune A), and one for all the *b* (*c,d,etc.*) lines without rhyme pattern (tune B). Thus tune B precedes tune A in all couplets except for the very first one (*matlā*) where the first line, also a rhyming line, is chanted to tune A, repeated usually to tune B, and followed by the second line chanted to tune A. Both tunes are approximately equal in length and tempo; they could be said to form a unit of symmetrical binary form (Apel 1953:87).

The two tunes are distinguished principally by their tessiturae: tune A is the lower lying one, centering around the lower tonic, or rarely the fifth, and usually moving within a narrow tonal range; tune B lies higher, usually in the upper tetrachord, centering around the fifth or upper tonic. Possessing a wider tonal range, it is often the more flamboyant of the two. A melodic cadence at the end of A and frequently at that of B as well—be it identical or parallel form—renders each tune melodically complete.

Modifications of this basic formal scheme occur in nearly a quarter of the total sample; however, more than half of these modifications merely amount to the use of only one tune for both *a* and *b* lines, a practice which at times is due to the lack of musicality in a reciter who cannot distinguish one tune from another (Ex. 7). Indiscriminate use of both A and B tunes for *a* and *b* lines mostly occurs in interview recordings by non-poet reciters. One particular tune (Exs. 8-10) whose A tune lacks a descending cadence is sometimes reversed, so that A goes with *b* lines, and B with *a* lines. A more interesting modification is the extension of the pattern of the first couplet to all the others, so that the first line of all couplets is chanted first to A, then to B, followed by the second line chanted to A again. This results in a three-part sequence, with the binary scheme expanding into a ternary one (Exs. 18,19).

The overall formal scheme of tarannum tallies with the basic form of the songs used in North Indian classical and light classical music, Muslim hymns and religious songs, and many folksongs of the region. The A tune corresponds to the *asthāi* ("at home"), which represents the "burden of the song," the B tune to



the *antarā* ("interval"), "usually a broad, melodious tune. . . [in] contrast with the first part [and] using the higher tetrachord" (Gosvāmi 1961:190,214). The musical rendering of ghazal poetry to this classical *asthāi-antarā* pattern is exemplified by the ghazal art song, which is in turn reflected in tarannum usage.<sup>4</sup>

*Melody.* As in its formal structure, so in its melodic organization tarannum falls within the gamut of North Indian light classical and folk music, showing certain basic features of both. Such features are particularly the use of two superimposed corresponding tetrachords (Gosvāmi 1961:282) and scale types corresponding to the light, "mixed" ragas (Jōshi 1963:23). The tonal basis for all tarannum melodies is diatonic, often with the seventh (raised and lowered, Exs. 26,34) or fourth (raised and lowered, Exs. 8,31) and, less commonly, the third (raised and lowered, Exs. 11-13,2-5) occurring in either raised or lowered position, or both, usually depending on the direction of the melody and tetrachordal correspondence. The extent of tonal organization varies widely. Whereas in some examples tunes A and B together expose a complete raga-type scale (Exs. 2,14,27), more often only the descending scale is completed by the cadence of the B tune, since ascent to the upper tonic is often made by a leap, leaving the ascending scale incomplete (Exs. 21, 32). Where the upper tonic is not reached, the B tune, centering around the fifth, may simply relate to the A tune, centering around the tonic, by tetrachordal correspondence (Ex. 36).<sup>5</sup>

Melodic movement is generally by conjunct motion, though interspersed with leaps of a third. The widest interval, a fourth, occurs in only 20 percent of the tunes in the sample, mostly in the form of an initial device to reach the upper tonic in the B tune (Exs. 14,21). Leaps are more often upward than downward. A strong impression of legato is created by some reciters through the use of "melismatic anticipation" (Exs. 18,22,29).

The overall melodic contour of tunes A and B conforms to a general pattern dictated by their formal function, but in both there exists much variation. A number of A tunes are undulating (Exs. 8-10, 18-23, 30), especially when they are centered around the tonic, but are arc shaped (Exs. 1-4, 14-17) or even descending (Exs. 11,28) when the tonic is the base. In the B tune, the ascent to fifth or upper tonic, followed by a descending cadence, automatically suggests the contour of an arc, often with a lower descending than ascending line. In some cases the B tune is not melodically developed but consists either of an upward melodic extension of A (Exs. 8,29) or of a simple replica of its outline a fourth or fifth higher (Exs. 2-6,25).



The range of A usually does not exceed five or six tones, except in the case of some "finished" song types where it easily spans an octave or even more (Exs. 34,35). Most B tunes range between six and eight tones.

Structural elements or motifs characteristic for song styles of the region are observable in most tarannum melodies. They occur more consistently in the

B than in the A tune. Thus for B the initial is usually an ascending leap or step up to the resting point of a fifth or upper tonic (Exs. 2,10,14), followed by descending or undulating passing motifs. The final is usually a descending melismatic three-note cadence (Exs. 2,11,14,28). For A, the initial may ascend (Exs. 9,15,36) or descend (Exs. 18,32) to the tonic, or ascend from the tonic to the third (Exs. 2,11), followed by complementary, descending or ascending passing motifs and a final corresponding to that of B. Structural similarities between A and B are found in nearly 75 percent of all tarannum tunes. In about half of these the whole final phrase of A and B is identical (Exs. 8,14,27,35); in the rest, only the final cadence is identical or parallel (Exs. 2,25,31,34).

Perhaps the most typical melodic characteristic of tarannum is what could collectively be termed melodic variability, based on the fact that tarannum tunes are generally not fixed melodic sequences even when they have a recognizable "standard" length and melodic pattern. In the first place, pitch progression varies with the reciter, resulting in individual variants of the same basic tune (see all examples of STOCK TUNES) even when chanted to the same poem (Exs. 5-7,18-20). What remains relatively constant are tonal organization, overall contour, tonal centers and some characteristic motifs, especially in initial or final position. In the second place, pitch progression varies with the poem, so that the same tune, chanted by the same person but with poems of different length or metric pattern, or both, may show considerable melodic variation. Since most poets use a small repertoire or only one tune for all their poems, this kind of variation is standard for tarannum. Of course a tune may be varied in this way by different reciters as well. Most tarannum tunes tend to fit one of the popular meters (see p. 429), in length as well as in long-short distribution, and are used most frequently with poems in these meters. With a meter of a different length, the overall contour, initial, and final are usually kept intact. Extension is achieved by the repetition of tonal centers or "resting notes," or by their alternation with neighboring tones; compression is brought about by omitting such repetition or alternation (Ex. 16: 10 syllables long; Ex. 17: 20 syllables long). Changes in the sequence of long and short syllables result in variation of motifs and phrases in length and pitch content, with resting notes retaining their relative position within the overall melodic sequence, usually coinciding with long syllables (Exs. 2-5).<sup>6</sup> Finally, pitch progression can vary with couplets of the same poem chanted by the same reciter. Caused by irregularities of the poetic meter or of word shapes, these variations are usually confined to ornamentation and alternating tones (Exs. 36,37), corresponding to observations by List on ballad variations (1957:105,109).


*Rhythm.* The rhythmic structure of tarannum is based on the poetic meter. Corresponding to the short and long syllable, short and long time units form the basis of tarannum rhythm on which the poetic meter is realized musically.

These units vary from extreme irregularity, with neither short nor long unit of a consistent duration and with ornamentation adding to a general rhythmic diffuseness (Exs. 5, 36), to extreme regularity, with both units consistent in length and mutual relationship, best represented by an eighth and quarter note, respectively, in Western notation (Exs. 17, 28). The norm for tarannum seems to lie somewhere in between these two extremes, with the unit representing the short syllable of a relatively consistent duration, corresponding to an eighth note. The unit representing the long syllable varies in duration and rhythmic structure from the equivalent of two short units, usually in the form of one long or two melismatic short units, but also in the form of somewhat more complex rhythmic patterns as  or , to an extended melismatic unit of no definite rhythmic relationship with the short unit. Occasionally, an unstressed long syllable may be represented by a short unit. The same variability extends to the pauses following a phrase at the point of caesura, and at the end of the line. The result is a composite and flexible rhythmic structure, with the short unit providing regularity as a pulse, the long unit and the pause either reinforcing that regularity when standardized to double the length of the short one, or breaking it by providing for rhythmic variation and irregularity.

The extent to which this rhythmic freedom is exercised depends not only on the reciter and his innate sense of rhythm but also on the meter itself. Regular meters composed of several identical feet contain a regular rhythmic pattern whose musical realization implies repetition of a sequence of short and long units. If both units are standard in length and relationship, this recurrent sequence creates a regular rhythmic pattern with an underlying pulse or beat (Exs. 17, 24, 28, 32). Occasional short pauses between phrases and slight variations in syllable length do not obscure this basic rhythmic movement. The regular musical rhythms established by the countless song versions of poems with regular or near-regular meters have also influenced their recitation, especially when the tarannum is echoing an actual song, as happens in the recitations of some non-poets (Exs. 22, 31). The influence of songs on the general rhythmic style of tarannum is further evident in the tendency to continue within the "beat" throughout the line, and to continue from the first to the second line without interruption. This occurs with poets as well as non-poets (Exs. 18, 28, 31).

Another characteristic of tarannum rhythm is the extent to which the poetic meter is accurately rendered no matter what rhythmic units are used by the reciter. In almost half of the total poems in the sample the complete metric pattern is realized rhythmically without alteration. In about 30 percent of the sample the meter is altered to a minor extent, usually by long syllables being shortened, especially at the beginning of the line and after a caesura, in order to form a kind of upbeat. This natural musical tendency occurs with almost no exception in meters beginning with two long syllables (e.g. the Muzāri) where

often both long syllables are shortened to form a group of three short units. In 20 percent the metric pattern is considerably altered, again nearly always by the shortening of long syllables. The short rhythmic unit then tends to dominate the rhythm completely and the remaining long syllables are rendered in multiples of the short unit, usually in groups of two (Exs. 21, 29, 37). Often the meter may then be distorted to fit a preconceived rhythmic framework because the tune is associated with or remembered in a version based on a different meter or on a song with a regularized rhythm (Ex. 23, 31). This, however, is more an exception to the established fact of rhythmic variability and adaptability in tarannum chanting. A competent reciter is able to alter a tune to suit different meters, even if that means drastically shortening or lengthening it (Exs. 16, 17) or almost reversing the quantitative pattern (Exs. 2-5).

In general, alteration of the meter in the rhythmic realization of tarannum is not random but seems to follow a tendency toward replacing quantity with quality, i.e., a long syllable may be chanted to a short unit, but that short unit will then occur in a position of stress. Such a position can only exist within a recurrent rhythmic pattern with a regularized pulse or beat. Thus in Example 23 the recurrent metric foot  $- \cup \cup$  is consistently reproduced by ; however, the first short unit, by its position in the rhythmic pattern, is obviously stressed, as in a 3/8 rhythm. Similarly, Example 18 reproduces  $- \cup - \cup$  by four equally long units, but because of the strongly suggested 4/4 pattern the notes representing the two long syllables are heard as stressed, those representing the two short ones as unstressed. This characteristic musical process is typical for songs, and it has no doubt come to tarannum through songs, even if indirectly, as in Example 18, the original tarannum of a noted poet.

Tarannum as a musical whole is clearly related to and influenced by other musical forms of the same region, especially those based on poetry derived from the Arabic-Persian tradition. These are, on one side, the *ghazal* art song as practiced traditionally by courtesan-singers for Muslim nobles and now widespread in a more popularized form through recordings and films; on the other side are the Muslims hymns chanted at religious occasions (*marsiya*, *nauha*, *nāt*, *hamd*) including the group song of Islamic mystics (*qawwālī*). An attempt to isolate factors significant to tarannum in particular, according to frequency of occurrence and informants' values (as suggested by List 1963 b:193-97), proved difficult when working on the basis of a conventional definition of music. For what apparently distinguishes tarannum from other forms are not so much the purely "musical" characteristics but rather features of performance style and context.

Basic to tarannum recitation is the overall concentration on the word, expressed most directly in aspects of performance style and rhythm, but also in melody and form. The second major characteristic of tarannum, related to the first one, is variability of rhythm and melody. While the extent of this variability

differs according to the reciter's taste and ability, the exercise of such musical freedom—within stylistic limitations—also indicates the importance, in tarannum, of the reciter's individual contribution—his personality, his personal style—over that of the musical material he uses.

The combination of word domination and variability typical for tarannum exists neither in the ghazal art song nor in Muslim hymns. In the ghazal song the words, though important, are to an extent dominated by melody and rhythm, and thus also by the presence of melodic and rhythmic accompaniment. The considerable variability of the ghazal song is based on conscious musical improvisation within a consciously perceived musical framework. The Muslim hymns, on the other hand, are word-dominated like tarannum, but due to their religious content and context the reciter's personality remains subdued even in solo chanting, hence the general lack of musical variability and performance features expressing personal style.

Is it possible to identify tarannum on the basis of these "significant factors," even for an outsider? It may at times be "difficult to tell when an Indian [or Pakistani] is reciting a poem and when he is singing a song" (Bright 1963:27), but it can likely be done, provided, however, the "outsider" works on the basis of a more comprehensive definition of music, be it singing or chanting, which would include relevant features of style and context.

#### CONCEPTUAL AND PERCEPTUAL CONTEXT

Due to the general lack of verbalization about tarannum an assessment of how it is conceived and perceived by members of the culture in which it flourishes can only be made indirectly on the basis of observation and information elicited. At one level tarannum is placed consciously, within the conceptual framework of the culture; at another level it is perceived, often unconsciously, through feeling and reaction.

*Concept.* As a concept, tarannum must be viewed against the general attitude towards music and singing. The practice of art music in North India has traditionally been the domain of castes or classes of professional musicians with a low social standing (Hutton 1964:121,280), and singing and dancing have long been associated with the courtesan class (*tawāif*). There is the tradition, handed down from the time of courts and nobles, for the rich and cultured elite to patronize music and musicians, but "amateur performers are very rare amongst the Mussulmans . . . [and] a native gentlemen would consider himself insulted by the simple inquiry: can you dance, sing or play?" (Mir Hassan Ali 1917:107). This observation is largely valid even today, especially for the urban middle and lower middle class. True, there is casual singing, inspired by the immense spread of recordings which has led to general familiarity with songs, but it occurs mostly among young adults and hardly before elders. Today, through various

efforts and influences and as a reflection of the majority religion, the status of music and its practice is rising in India, but much less so in Pakistan which is largely retaining the traditional Muslim middle class attitude toward both. Informants' reactions confirmed this observation, though their acquaintance with Western practice and the fact that the questions were asked by a Western musician personally associated with their community resulted in some very positive ratings of music.

Music being associated with low class performers and prostitutes, the prejudice against it is essentially social, exclusively so for non-Muslims. This is confirmed by the four Hindus and Sikhs interviewed. For Muslims it has a distinctly religious foundation. Music, in Islam, has always been associated with emotional excesses and "the wrong kind of pleasures" (informant); it has therefore been considered dangerous and unlawful (*harām*) by most exponents of Islamic tradition (Tritton 1954:140-41; Farmer 1957:427,435; Pickthall 1961:76-77). At the same time "the Islamic countries have ever supported a rich development of the art," and outright addiction to music, often in association with poetry, wine, and love, has been a phenomenon often referred to (Ackermann 1938:2805). Religious chanting and the singing of hymns, on the other hand, have never been conceived of as music: Muslim legal tradition terms it *ta'bīr* (cantillation) as against *ghinā* (singing), thus exempting religious musical expression from censure (Farmer 1954:817). In contrast to singing, usually performed by professionals with accompanying instruments for the sake of music enjoyment, chanting is performed by non-musicians without instruments and for the sake of words. In fact the presence, real or potential, of instruments is commonly considered a criterion for distinguishing between singing and recitation. Singing, though it includes words, is considered music and, according to Muslim tradition, improper; chanting, though it includes music, is considered poetry and, according to tradition, proper.<sup>7</sup>

While not religious, tarannum, on the basis of its word orientation and literary context, definitely falls into the category of chanting. To the majority of informants and other members of the culture tarannum is neither music nor singing, and none would call it a song, though all recognize something in common between tarannum and music. All agree that no musical knowledge is needed to recite tarannum and that, in fact, a poet or non-musician may be better suited for it than a trained musician who would "miss out on the words" or "bring it closer to singing" (informants). Some go as far as to see the ability to sing and to recite as mutually exclusive, for one presupposes a musical background, the other a literary one. This points to the fact that, as recitation, tarannum is conceived of as an integral part of the wider concept of poetry and thus associated with the poet who, unlike the musician, is not identified with any particular class but traditionally respected as one committed to a "spiritual" art. It follows that any prejudice held against music and singing is not extended

to tarannum, and the hesitation some informants show about singing before any audience does not apply to their chanting a poem. An exception to this would be some orthodox poets and literati who, in line with an older generation of poets, condemn tarannum as a corrupting musical influence on poetry used only by applause-seekers.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless tarannum remains a poetic, not a musical concept.

On a more specific level, tarannum further emerges as a distinct conceptual entity. Song forms such as the *ghazal* and *gawwāti*, though musically closely related to tarannum, are considered basically different, and very few informants recognized any similarity between the music of both. Within the category of recitation, the sharp distinction between religious and secular contexts resulted in several outright refusals on the part of informants to compare tarannum with any of the religious hymns, though a few did see some affinity between tarannum and any one of the several hymn types. Only two informants, in an effort to satisfy the interviewer, were able to visualize tarannum within a larger framework of musical expression, one calling it "a crude form of folk singing," the other one placing it along a continuum between classical music and folksong.

*Percept.* Tarannum as a percept is closely linked to tarannum, the concept. Because tarannum is not conceived of as singing, conscious attention is not directed to it as something musical. To the reciter as well as the listener tarannum does not exist apart from the poetry it supports. It is therefore never perceived in isolation but rather through, or in conjunction with, the words as presented by the individual reciter. Observation suggests two levels of perception of a chanted recitation, that of conscious *listening* to the words, as against that of an unaware *hearing* of tarannum. All informants able to distinguish between the two English verbs (Urdu knows one verb, *sunna*, for both) confirm this distinction, as expressed by one poet: "the ears enjoy tarannum, the mind enjoys the meaning [of the poem], heart and mind enjoy more if tarannum is good."

The low level of awareness of tarannum necessarily limits verbalization about its perception to statements of intuitive expression. Direct questions do reveal a general but vague recognition of musical properties in tarannum. It must be remembered, however, that most informants are not able to identify common musical elements because they do not have a background in music. They also lack an awareness of such basic musical concepts as rhythm or melody—including their terminology in either Urdu or English—though they may have a fine innate sense of both. The few informants with a musical background "never thought of tarannum as something musical," and apparently they do not apply their musical ear to it unless prodded to do so.

Specific questions describing and isolating various musical elements, as well as a few definitions forwarded by informants independently, point clearly to the perception of one musical element considered essential to tarannum:

rhythm. The rhythm of tarannum is perceived as an extension of the poetic meter; some even consider tarannum inherent in the flow of the words. A majority of informants see rhythm as the linking factor between tarannum and the poem, and some reciters, using several tarannum tunes, recognize that they select a tune to fit the poetic meter. On the other hand, several informants, including some reciters, do not see a connection between tarannum and poem: "there is no fitting, you just recite." There is no indication that differences in the rhythmic realization of a poetic meter, or rhythmic variations between couplets of a poem are perceived consciously, though recitation distorting the metric pattern of the poem is usually recognized.

Unlike the music- and melody-oriented Western analyst, the Urdu speaker does not perceive tarannum melodically. Thus, neither similar tunes used by different reciters, nor different tunes used by the same reciter are generally recognized as such. This lack of melodic perception most strongly reflects the conceptualization of tarannum as non-music, a notion so deeply rooted that it makes even a highly musical reciter ignore the existence of the tune he uses. To such a reciter, concentration on, or even awareness of tunes inevitably lead to singing, making the poet turn into a *gawayyā* (songster). This is illustrated by the words of a competent reciter when asked about his use of a raga-like tune (Exs. 16,17). He conceded that "this mode of my recitation was a result of my interaction with x [an amateur singer] . . . and that meant an unhappy drift of my tarannum towards music as such. . . . I almost *sang*. People identified it with Rag Kedar. For me, it was *original*" (written communication).

This and other reciters using a variety of tunes do of course distinguish between these at least subconsciously. In several cases, including the one quoted above, the interviews actually stimulated melodic awareness, especially once the informants became interested in the research project. As a result, a few musical reciters obligingly recalled a variety of once-heard tunes and chanted them with fitting poems. Attempts to identify the source of various tunes, however, rarely succeeded, for tunes tend to get confused with the reciting style of the poet who is supposed to have used them. One informant, attempting to identify the tarannum of three famous poets, chanted their three poems to one and the same tune, which happened to be one used by yet a different poet (Ex. 22). The informant neither was aware of this, nor would it have been of any consequence to him, for it is the personal reciting style of the poet, or reciter, which apparently penetrates consciousness and forms the basis for distinguishing between one tarannum and another.

Evidence to this point was best furnished by three informants when, as an experiment, they were asked to chant a particular poem unfamiliar to all three. They did so, in each other's presence, each using the same tune familiar to and previously used by all of them (Exs. 5-7). When the three recordings were played back to them, only one commented on "some similarity" between the three

performances; the other two did not respond to the suggestion made to this effect by the interviewer. The first one then proceeded to recite the same poem in the style of a friend not present. Intending to imitate his friend's more forceful and rhythmic style, he chanted the same tune as before, only faster, louder, and an octave higher. All present considered the imitation successful. Even to the reciter the similarity of both tunes did not seem apparent; the change in pitch, along with that of speed and volume made it a different tarannum for him. Further, none of the eleven informants familiar with the chanting of the three reciters acknowledged any similarity between their tunes. All agreed that the recitation of those three persons was entirely different—as different as their individual chanting style.

By the same token, different tunes chanted by the same reciter are generally heard as one and the same tarannum. One reciter with a repertoire of at least seven different tunes but with a very distinctive voice production and performance style, was especially named by several informants as having "just one tarannum which fits all poems," whereas he himself explained that two types of tarannum are all he has: one for poems with a long meter, the other for poems with a short meter. No reciter was able to hum a tarannum tune without any words, and only one could recognize his tunes when hummed by the author.

The stylistic elements which lie at the basis of tarannum as a percept can at most be identified but not dealt with specifically, partly for lack of specific concepts and methods of description on the part of the author, in addition to the difficulty in verbalization on the part of informants. Voice production, including timbre, pitch and volume, along with such rhythmic factors as speed, and type and degree of rhythmic patterning, are basic features which tend to remain stable regardless of tune or even poem.

In this connection the factor of originality must be considered. Informants who compose poetry themselves distinguished between poets who create and use their own tarannum and imitators who may acquire their tarannum from various other sources. Of course even poets "pick up" tunes, though not usually from other poets. If they do the latter, the imitation may be recognized and even resented, as in the case of one Pakistani poet who apparently ended up by changing his tarannum to something not yet imitated. On the other hand, a great many poets and non-poets have used the tarannum tunes set into circulation by the late Jigar, often without their being recognized. Here again it seems to be the individual *rendering* of a tune, especially the rhythmic distribution of pitches and the vocal style which are perceived as personal attributes and whose imitation is recognized. This became apparent to the author after chanting a religious hymn to a much-used tune in the individual version associated with one amateur poet present at the gathering. Others in the group had heard and recited this very tune in his (Ex. 21) and other versions. While the others apparently failed to recognize the tune or its origin, he did so immediately and reacted with indignation.

## FUNCTION

The function of tarannum manifestly is to enhance the presentation of poetry. It is overwhelmingly favored over spoken recitation at *mushāiras*, and at informal gatherings of non-poets spoken recitation is hardly ever heard. Most informants agree that tarannum has an effect on the poem recited, making it more "impressive" and beautiful. One specific function of tarannum is generally recognized: it serves to make the poem be remembered more easily. By giving each line of a couplet a distinct melodic character, and above all by emphasizing the rhythmic pattern within each line, tarannum reinforces the total structure of the poem on a musical level thus providing the listener with a mold in which to fit the actual word pattern of any particular couplet, a universally recognizable process. On the same basis, tarannum can also provide a structural mold for poets composing or scanning the meter of a poem. This function of tarannum can be considered a "feedback" of recitation by which a tune becomes shaped by—and hence identified with—a poetic meter; it is based on a kind of musical substitution.

While tarannum is not considered to affect the actual meaning of the poem, a majority of the informants agree that they experience the mood of the poem more intensely with tarannum. Admittedly, the mood of a poem is a rather elusive concept, especially when considered in the context of direct, personal transmission from poet or reciter to audience. Hence, to separate the mood of a poem from that of the poet reciting it on one side, and from that of the listener on the other seems artificial, the more so because all three tend to influence and reinforce each other. Thus tarannum is also seen as affecting the poet, making him more "involved," "intense," and "absorbed in [the poetic] rhythm," as well as "giving more emphasis to his feelings." A few informants also hold that tarannum affects their own mood. In each instance the underlying quality of tarannum appears to consist of the intensification of "feelings."

Overall, tarannum is generally held to make a poem sound more impressive to the point of "covering up" the shortcomings of a mediocre poem. It is a fact that a *mushāira* audience can accord enthusiastic applause to an insignificant poem presented in a fine tarannum and sometimes fails to respond similarly to a superior poem recited in plain *taht-ul-lafz*, i.e., spoken recitation. This holds especially for large public gatherings with a lower level of literary sophistication. Conversely, to some literati and poets tarannum provides the kind of enhancement which good poetry and those who know how to appreciate it do not need.<sup>8</sup> Both of these assessments corroborate what is implicit in all interviews and stated explicitly by several informants: that tarannum has a direct effect, independent of the poem, which is based on its musical properties and characterized mainly by the enjoyment of the musical sound—including the factors of rhythm, pitch, melody, and timbre—produced by the singing voice. This "mu-

sical" effect of tarannum is felt to be aural and immediate, and it results in a general atmosphere of excitement and absorption. In the words of one poet: "Since tarannum conveys pathos to the audience it has an immediate effect on their senses, they get momentarily lost in the beauty of the *shēr* (couplet) along with tarannum."

All these manifestations of its effectiveness essentially point to the fact that tarannum functions on a different level of communication, the musical one. Because the song communication appears to be more direct—"natural," in the words of one reciter—its appeal may not only enhance but supersede that of the spoken communication, especially as the traditional stylistic boundaries of chanting are left behind by some of the poets themselves. Hence there is the concern of the more orthodox about the intrusion of music, along with tarannum, into poetic recitation. They feel that the use of tarannum tends to obscure the intrinsic, literary value of a poem, and this results in a lowering of literary standards of poets and audience alike.

Yet, in spite of protests from purists, the popularity of tarannum is increasing, and stylistically it is moving closer to actual singing. In a sense, Urdu poetry is rightly seen as "becoming a coalition between music and poetry" (informant). Considering the general lack of opportunity for musical expression available to the average Urdu speaker, and considering the amount of what must be called "natural musical talent" for such expression—as demonstrated by the tarannum examples—it would appear natural that tarannum should become a vehicle for musical expression and enjoyment subordinated to, and to quite an extent controlled by, the verbal art of poetry, but present in its own right as well. In the guise of poetry tarannum is a musical expression which is exempted from social stigma and religious censure.

The implied function of tarannum, then, appears to be musical. It certainly coincides with one primary definition of the function of music, that of "stimulating and expressing emotion in the performer and imparting it to the listeners" (Burrows 1933:54, as quoted in Merriam 1964:219). Tarannum shares this musical function with religious chanting. Thus the emergence of tarannum can be considered the establishment of a musical outlet within the traditional bounds of "recitation," but in a secular context.

However, the context of poetry can continue to provide the setting for this musical expression only as long as Urdu poetry and the practice of *mushāīras* remains vital and alive. Whether increased Westernization will effect a change in attitudes that would eliminate the need for such a setting to cover up a musical practice is not easy to predict. In India, where music is increasing in prestige and respectability, such a change might be foreseen: tarannum could be expected to vanish or merge with singing. In Pakistan tarannum will likely continue to flourish, though musically the trend towards song will continue here

as well. Within these two countries another, more vital factor affecting tarannum is the position taken in regard to Urdu and Urdu literature. Relegated to insignificance in India, its cultivation as a national language in Pakistan probably insures the continuation of the tarannum tradition in that country.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, tarannum might be examined in the light of some general concepts in an attempt to place it within existing categories of musical expression.

Though a form of musical recitation, tarannum can hardly be classed with what is commonly termed chant. On the classification chart developed by List (1963a:9) to accommodate various intermediate forms between speech and song, tarannum practically coincides with song, for it is melodically independent of speech intonation. However, its rhythmic dependence on speech, which distinguishes tarannum from song, cannot be taken into account by a classification system based only on pitch characteristics (List does not mention rhythm as a distinguishing characteristic common to speech and song). A similar system based on durational characteristics does not exist; such a system would need to consider significant distinctions between various forms of chant and song.

While tarannum cannot be considered art music even in a very loose sense, it fits surprisingly well into the category of folk music, as a comparison against a standard model of folksong shows (Herzog 1950:1035ff). The folksong characteristics concerning music alone apply to tarannum as well: tarannum has no written music nor teaching technique (learning is by ear), though conscious awareness of form or construction may be there. Furthermore, the reciter takes for granted the capacity to use his voice. His intonation is not "pure" but moves according to the upward or downward movement of the tune. The melodic compass usually stays within one and one-half octaves. Rather than tonality, melodic movement or contour are important melodic factors. "Melodic flexibility" is prevalent without the reciter/singer being aware of rhythmic or melodic changes in the tune, especially those occurring between stanzas or couplets, "but the basic pattern of the melody is apt to remain intact." Melodic changes can be made by flexible changes of the text; however, strictly musical variations counter to text or meter are unlikely for tarannum.

Regarding form, the stanza of the text is equivalent to the melodic stanza, text line and melodic line coincide, and the foot of the poetic meter provides the basis for, if not the actual unit of, the musical rhythm. However, the metric structure of tarannum corresponds neither to the free heterorhythmic, nor to the regular isorhythmic type mentioned by Herzog; it falls somewhere in between. Regarding text-melody relation, tarannum, as folksong, does not fit



any particular text, and the number of texts may be large while the number of basic melodies could be quite limited. But the reasoning that melody is a necessary medium, since the text cannot stand alone, does not hold for tarannum. What does hold is that the tune content is "abstract," not programmatic, and consequently reciters/singers rarely articulate on mood or emotional quality of tunes. Also, there is no analytic or aesthetic theory in the mind of the reciter/singer. He has little conscious aesthetic awareness, referring to a song—or tarannum—which is liked more often as "good" than "beautiful." The terms of appreciation used for tarannum are *acochha umda* (good), *lājawāb* (matchless), and possibly *khūb* (well done); the many Urdu terms denoting beauty are "just not correct for tarannum" (informant). That many informants use the English term "beautiful" for tarannum is insignificant; it only shows how easily culturally determined differentiations get blurred by the use of a foreign language. Standards of excellence do exist in tarannum, but they are not definite.

Deviations from the folksong model mainly relate to the basic difference between folksong text and a tarannum "text." Therefore the basic definition of folksong as "the music and poetry of groups whose literature is perpetuated through oral tradition" is only partly applicable to tarannum. True, Urdu poetry is traditionally passed on and even perpetuated by recitation, but at the same time it has always been written down as well. More important, it is a fully developed art. Far from being non-literate, the poet, the non-poet reciter, and even the listener all share some degree of literary background and thus have some acquaintance with concepts of art and aesthetics. At the same time they are generally "non-literate" as far as music is concerned, and in this respect they can be said to create and perform on a "folk" level, although a very sophisticated one. Unlike folksong, where text and music interact on the same basic plane, tarannum combines two dissimilar levels, with the more developed one, poetry, in a position of dominance and unreciprocated influence over the less developed one, music.

The problem of classification for styles such as tarannum arises from the Western tendency to identify "oral" with "non-literate" simply because in the Western tradition the literate is usually written as well. In tarannum "oral" and "literate" elements are combined. Rather than any "folk" category this chanting tradition could be said to resemble that of the Medieval *troubadours* and *meistersingers*.

A further problem concerning such styles is semantic: the fact that according to the local classification a vocal style is termed recitation or chanting does not necessarily imply that it is also musically less developed or lies closer to speech than song. And the classification of such a style as non-music in a particular cultural area should not lead the researcher to overlook a musical expression simply because of problems concerning terminology in working with informants.

Karachi, Pakistan

This study has been made possible by the help and cooperation of many: above all, the eighteen informants interviewed, the poets and reciters recorded, and scholars and friends. My sincere thanks go to all of them, and particularly to my husband, Saleem M. M. Qureshi, who has opened to me the world of Urdu culture and given his resourceful and untiring support to my work.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Among other poetic forms recited at mushāiras, the *qat'a* (literally "fragment" of a ghazal) closely resembles the ghazal in form and content, whereas the *rubāi* is structured somewhat differently. The *qat'a* as well as the *nazm*, a freer, more "modern" form, may be chanted, the *rubāi* usually is not.

2. In India an institution patterned after the mushāira has recently been developed for Hindi poetry, the *Kavisammelan* (gathering of poets). Applied to a very different poetic tradition, the *Kavisammelan* has as yet not gained popularity over the mushāira.

3. For an excellent account of both mushāira types see Schimmel (1965:46-50). Also, compare the fitting description of a traditional *mahfil* (there a concert), quite similar to the mushāira in etiquette and atmosphere, by Joshi (1963:77-78).

4. Perhaps the *asthā-antarā* pattern is ultimately derived from the same poetry through the *qawwali*, the song form of Muslim mystics. Based on ghazal poetry, the *qawwali* is said to have greatly influenced the standard classical form *khayāl* during its initial development, including the change from an earlier four-part to the current two-part form (Gosvami 1961:128; Kaufmann 1959:26-27).

5. The existence of these variations tempts one to search for a possible historical sequence. There is some evidence that the tunes used early in this century were on the whole simpler and less melodically expansive, while today tunes in the style of popular and film songs can be heard from recognized poets. But there is much overlap on both sides, and, above all, there are no reliable means to ascertain the age of most tarannum tunes due to the absence of early recordings (there exists one adequate but not very representative commercial recording of tarannum, produced by H. M. V. of India: 7EPE 1274).

6. This confirms Poladian's observation that accented tones, or here also tones stressed by elongation, coincide with stable pitches (1942:207). However, rather than showing that accented tones are stable, evidence from tarannum tunes points to the reverse: stable tones are accented, i.e. stable tones are more likely to receive stress than unstable ones.

7. The generic distinction between (musical) recitation and singing is made by Hindūs and Sikhs as well. Thus, scriptural chanting or "reading," sacred text in hand, cannot be called singing. But the same text can be sung with accompaniment as a hymn when so designated, and music plays a prominent part particularly in Hindu worship.

8. This point of view is expressed poignantly in the poem by the powerful (and unorthodox) Josh Malihabādi:

Gā gā ke mushāirōn ke maidānōn mēñ  
tārīf ke ghās char rahe hañ shoarā  
Sīnē pe ghazal sarā chālāte hañ chhuri  
karte hañ surōn se shērōn ki khānah puri . . .

Singing (away) in the meadows of the mushāiras,  
The poets are chewing the cud of praise.  
These ghazal singers are piercing my chest (as) with a knife,  
With musical notes they are covering up the defects of (their)  
couplets.



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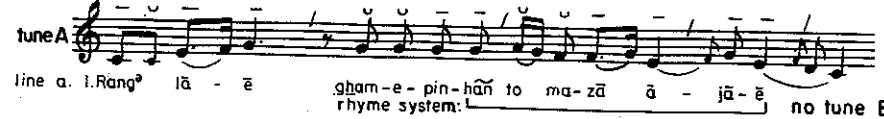
STOCK TUNES

*Stock Tune I*: This is perhaps the most frequently heard and used tarannum tune, said to have originated with the late poet Jigar Murādabādi (see p. 431). It has been identified as a melody of rāg Pīṭī-Khamās by Harold Powers, University of Pennsylvania. Some versions introduce different tonal material (Exs. 3,6).

Example 1

reciter: unidentified poet, of Pakistan          place/date: Karachi, Pakistan, January 1962  
occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushāira          ghazal: by reciter (one line)

Meter: 0 - 0 - - | 0 0 - - | 0 0 - - | 0 0 - - | (Ramī)  
M.M. ♩ = 176 Tonic = E


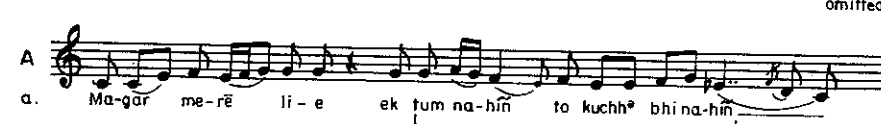


line a. i.Rang<sup>o</sup> lā - ē ghām-e-pin-hān to ma-zā ā - jā - ē no tune B  
rhyme system: 1 - - - 2 - - - 3 - - -

Example 2a



reciter: S. Ansār Husain, amateur poet of Karachi, formerly of Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India          place/date: Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, May 1, 1966  
occasion: amateur mushāira          ghazal: S. Ansār Husain (couplet) qatā

Meter: 0 - 0 - - | 0 0 - - | 0 0 - - | 0 0 - - | (Mujtass)  
M.M. ♩ = ca. 160 Tonic = E

Example 2b

reciter: S. Ansār Husain, amateur poet of Karachi, formerly of Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India          place/date: Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, May 1, 1966  
occasion: amateur mushāira          ghazal: Yagāna (couplet)

Example 3

reciter: S. Ansār Husain          place/date: Edmonton, November 11, 1966  
occasion: amateur mushāira          rubāi: Yagāna (couplet)

Meter: a - - - | 0 0 - - | 0 0 - - | 0 0 - - | (Hozaj)  
b - - - | 0 0 - - | 0 0 - - | 0 0 - - |  
M.M. ♩ = ca. 198 Tonic = F#

*rūbāi*




Example 4

reciter: S. Ansār Husain place/date: Edmonton, September 30, 1967  
 occasion: amateur mushā'ira ghazal: ? (couplet)

Meter: - - - 1 0 - - - 1 twice (Hajaj)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 230 Tonic = D  
*rubato*

B  
 b. 1. Dil ap-na ja-tā - tā hai kā - bā to na-hīn dhā - tā

A  
 a. 2. Aur ā - g<sup>o</sup> la gā - te hō kī ūn tuh-mat-ē - bē - jā sē

Example 5

reciter: S. Ansār Husain place/date: Edmonton, February 1967  
 occasion: recording session qatā: Faiz (couplet)

Meter: - - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - 1 (Rami)  
 M.M. ♩ = 152 Tonic = A

B  
 b. 1. Mun-ta-zir bai - the hāin ham - do - nōn ke māh-tā - - b<sup>o</sup>  
 bhu - rē

A  
 a. 2. Aur te-rā aks jha-laknē la - gē har sā - e ta-lē

Example 6

reciter: Sharif, amateur poet of Allahabad, U.P. place/date: Edmonton, February 1967  
 occasion: recording session qatā: Faiz (couplet)

M.M. ♩ = ca. 138 Tonic = A  
*rubato*

B  
 b. 1. Mun-ta-zir bai - the hāin ham dō - nōn ke māh-tā - - b<sup>o</sup> bhurē

A  
 b. 2. Aur te-rā aks jha-laknē la - gē har sā - e ta-lē

Example 7

reciter: M. Jamal, of Karachi, formerly of Bihar, India place/date: Edmonton, February 1967  
 occasion: recording session qatā: Faiz (couplet)

Meter: - - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - 1 (Rami)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 168 Tonic = A

A  
 a. 2. Aur terā aks<sup>\*</sup> jha-lak-nē lagē har sā - - e ta-lē no tune B

Stock Tune II: Another of the most widely used tarannum tunes, also associated with the late Jiger Murādabādi. The first version (Ex. 8) appears to be standard, usually with poems in that meter (Muzāri).

Example 8

reciter: Manzūr Ahmad, of Karachi, formerly of Sultanpur, U.P. place/date: Edmonton, February 23, 1968  
 occasion: informal gathering ghazal: Jigar (couplet)

Meter: - - - 0 1 - 0 - 0 1 0 - - 0 1 - 0 - - (Muzāri)  
 M.M. ♩ = 168 Tonic = F#

A  
 a. 1. Ai-si bhi ik<sup>\*</sup> ni - gāh ki-yē jā ra - hā hūn maīn

B  
 a. 2. Zarfōn ko mehr - o - māh ki-yē jā ra - hā hūn maīn

Example 9

reciter: Jagan Nāth Āzād, poet of Punjab, India place/date: Karachi, January 1962  
 occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushā'ira ghazal: Āzād, in Jigar's style (couplet)

Meter: - - - 0 1 0 - - 0 1 0 - - 0 1 0 - - (Hajaj)  
 M.M. ♩ = 176 Tonic = E

A  
 a. 1. Dā-man ki ha - wā iād na zul-fōn ki ghaṭ ā iād

B  
 a. 2. Ab<sup>\*</sup> kuchh bhī na hīn sōz - ē gham-ē - dil ke siw ā iād

Example 10

reciter: Sharif place/date: Edmonton, May 1, 1966  
 occasion: amateur mushāira qatā: ?

Meter: - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - (Muzāri)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 132 Tonic = E<sup>+</sup>

A  
 a. 1. Jazb-ē - wa-fā se kām li - a aur pī ga-yē

B  
 a. 2. Sā-qi sē bar-hā ke jān li - a aur pī ga-yē

B,  
 b. 3. Eh - sā - s<sup>o</sup> jab<sup>o</sup> hu - a ke ma-ē nā - bē hai ha - rām

A  
 a. 4. Al-lah Mi-ān ka jān li - a aur<sup>a</sup> pī ga - yē

*Stock Tune III:* Also a well-established tune heard not only at mushāiras but at *mīlāds* (celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad) where it is chanted to a well-known hymn (*nāt*, Ex. 13). Tonal pattern resembles rāg Kāfi.

Example 11

reciter: Majruh Sultānpuri, poet of Sultanpur place/date: Karachi, January 1962  
 occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushāira ghazal: M. Sultanpuri (maqtā)

Meter: 0 - 0 - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - (Mujass)  
 M.M. ♩ = 144 Tonic = G<sup>#</sup>

B  
 b. 1. Zabān ha-mā-ri na samjhā ia-hān ko-i Maj<sup>o</sup>-rūh

A  
 a. 2. Ham aj-na-bī ki tarhā ap<sup>o</sup> - nē hī wa tan mēn ra hē

rhyme word anticipation

Example 12

reciter: R.K. Pathriā, amateur poet of Punjab place/date: Edmonton, February 4, 1967  
 occasion: amateur mushāira ghazal: ? (couplet)

Meter: 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - (Mutaqārib)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 160 Tonic = F<sup>#</sup>

B  
 b. 1. Mujhē pāk - e - tan - hā me - rī bē - ka - sī

A  
 a. 2. Sar-ē - shām bis - tar la - gā jā - e hān

Example 13

reciter: Miss Āmera Razā of Karachi, with group place/date: Edmonton, June 24, 1968 and October 1967  
 occasion: recording session, also mīlād nāt: Musaddas, by Hālī (couplet)

Meter: 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - (Mutaqārib)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 160 Tonic = B<sup>b</sup>

B  
 1. Kha tā kā - r<sup>o</sup> sē dar guz - ar kar - ne - wā - lā

A  
 2. Bad an - dēsh<sup>o</sup> kē dil - mēn ghar kar - ne - wā - lā

*Stock Tune IV:* Probably based on a tune or song in rāg Kedar but with a different tonality in some versions (Exs. 15-17). Tune A has a wider range and more leaps than is usual for tarannum. Yet the tune is widely known and used.

Example 14

reciter: S. Ansār Husain place/date: Edmonton, September 30, 1967  
 occasion: amateur mushāira ghazal: Yagāna (couplet)

Meter: 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - 1 0 0 - - (Haza)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 244 Tonic = C<sup>+</sup>  
*rubato*


B  
 b. 1. Sitam dē-khō jigar dil ka sharīk-ē - ḡhamnahīn hō - tā


A  
 a. 2. Ieh dēkhā hai su-rā- hī khud qa-rīb- ē-jām ā - tī hai

Example 15

reciter: R. K. Pathriā place/date: Edmonton, September 23, 1966  
 occasion: amateur mushāira ghazal: Jigar (matlā, line 1)

Meter: ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ (Hazaj)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 192 Tonic = G


A   
 a. I. Nahīn jā - ti kahān tak<sup>o</sup> fikr-e-in sā - nī nahīn jā - tī


B   
 a. I. Nahīn jā - ti....

Example 16

reciter: R. K. Pathriā place/date: Edmonton, November 11, 1966  
 occasion: amateur mushāira qatā: Shāh (line one)

Meter: ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ (Kharīf)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 144 Tonic = A♭

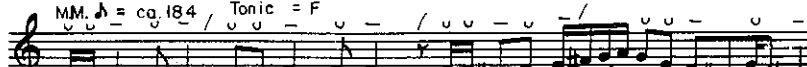
A   
 a. I. Ap-ne ān - chal fazā mēn lah - rā kar


B   
 a. I. Apne ān - chal....

Example 17

reciter: R. K. Pathriā place/date: Edmonton, November 11, 1966  
 occasion: amateur mushāira ghazal: Jār Dēhlavī (two separate lines)  
 nazm: Kaifī Azmī

Meter: ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ (Kāmil)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 184 / Tonic = F

A   
 a. I. Men ānkh<sup>o</sup> khul gayīn iak ba yak meri bē-khudī ki sa har hu - tī

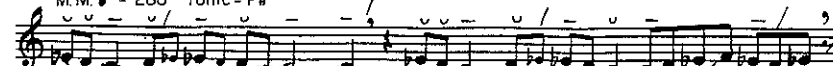
B   
 I. Woh hasī - n<sup>o</sup> ru<sup>o</sup> bhi guzar gayī woh fazā bhi zēr - o - za - bar hu - tī


Stock Tune V: Used and spread by poet Fana Kānpuri to the extent that after his reciting at only one or two mushāiras in Pakistan many remember his poem and tarannum (Exs. 19, 20).


Example 18

reciter: Fana Kānpuri, of Kanpur, U.P. place/date: Karachi, January 1962  
 occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushāira ghazal: reciter (couplet)

Meter: ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ (Ramī)  
 M.M. ♩ = 288 Tonic = F#

A   
 b. I. Tere wā-dōn par ka-hān tak mera dil fa - rēb - khā - - ē


B   
 b. I. Tere wā-dōn par ka-hān tak mera dil fa - rē - b<sup>o</sup> khā - - ē


A   
 a. 2. Koi ai - sa kar ba - hā - nā meri ā - s<sup>o</sup> tūt jā - - ē


Example 19

reciter: Miss Itrat Nasrīn, of Karachi, formerly of Lucknow place/date: Karachi, Summer 1967  
 occasion: informal reciting session ghazal: reciter (couplet)

Meter: ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ - - - ♩ (Ramī)  
 M.M. ♩ = 104 Tonic = A+

A   
 b. I. Tere wā - dōn par ka - hān tak mera dil fa - rēb - khā - ē

B   
 b. I. Tere wā-dōn....

A   
 a. 2. Koi ai - sa kar....

Example 20

reciter: Hilāl Ahmad, of Karachi, formerly of U.P. place/date: Edmonton, April 29, 1967  
 occasion: amateur mushāira ghazal: reciter (couplet)

Meter: 0 0 - 0 1 - 0 - 1 0 0 - 0 1 - 0 - 1 (Raml)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 138 Tonic = C♯

B  
 1. Tere wā-dōn par . . . . .

A  
 2. Koi ai-sa kar . . . . .

Example 21

reciter: Sharif place/date: Edmonton, November 11, 1968  
 occasion: amateur mushāira ghazal: ? (couplet)

Meter: - - 0 1 - 0 0 0 1 0 - 0 1 - 0 - 1 (Muzāri)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 126 Tonic = D

B  
 1. Phir dekh<sup>a</sup> mēri jā - nib ik bār<sup>a</sup> jā-te jā - te

A  
 2. Kuchh aur<sup>a</sup> muskurā lūn rōna to umr<sup>a</sup> bhar hai

Example 22

reciter: Shāhid Nūr, of Quetta, Pakistan, formerly of Aligarh, U.P. place/date: Edmonton, December 1967  
 occasion: recording session ghazal: ? (couplet)

Meter: - - 0 - 1 0 - 0 1 0 - 1 0 - 1 (Khafīf)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 152 Tonic = C♯

A  
 1. Khōlna tha hayāt - e - nau ka bha-ram

B  
 1. Khōlna tha . . . . .

B  
 2. Ek ba-hā-nā thi laḡh - zish-e - Ā - - dam

A  
 2. Ek ba-hā-nā thi . . . . .

Stock Tune VI: Based on the song version (qawwālī) of poet Behzād Lucknavī's own tarannum he used with this poem. The tune is much used by non-poets.

Example 23

reciter: Mrs. Khālid, of Karachi place/date: Karachi, Spring 1961  
 occasion: reciting session ghazal: Behzād (couplet)

Meter: ~ ~ - - 1 8 times  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 126 Tonic = A

B  
 1. Ai shanma qasam par - vā-nōn kē it<sup>a</sup> nā to merī khā - tir kar - nā

A  
 2. Us<sup>a</sup> waqī<sup>a</sup> bha-rak kar gul hō - nā jab<sup>a</sup> rang<sup>a</sup> pemah<sup>a</sup> fil ā - jā - ē

Stock Tune VII: Occurs in versions varying in melodic development, arranged here in order of increasing complexity. The version of Ex. 27, as used by the late poet Adīb Sahāranpuri, is probably the one best known.

Example 24

reciter: S. A. Qureshi, of Lucknow place/date: Wāh, Pakistan, June 1965  
 occasion: informal reciting session ghazal: Farōḡh Wāfī (one line)

Meter: - - 0 1 - 0 0 0 1 0 - 0 1 - 0 - 1 (Muzāri)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 176 Tonic = F♯

A  
 2. Tukre ieh sab<sup>a</sup> shi-ka - sta dit-ē - mai - kashān ke hañ no tune B

Example 25

reciter: poetess Parveen Fana, of Pakistan place/date: Karachi, January 1962  
 occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushāira ghazal: by reciter (couplet)

Meter: 0 - - - 1 0 - - - 1 0 - - - 1 (Haza)  
 M.M. ♩ = 160 Tonic = C♯

B  
 1. Barhē jin kē qadam rāh - e - ju - nū - mēn

A  
 2. Phirun kē kō - i bhī man-zil na hīn hai

## Example 26

*reciter:* late poet Adīb Sahāranpuri  
*occasion:* mushā'ira  
*recording:* courtesy Radio Pakistan  
*ghazal:* reciter (couplet)

Meter:  $\text{---} \text{---}$  (Raml)  
 M.M.  $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 184$  Tonic = E

B  
 b. Il - te - fāt - e — ni - gāh - e — dō — st<sup>a</sup> sē hō kar mah<sup>r</sup>-rūm.

A  
 a. Ham ne kis<sup>a</sup> ki - s<sup>a</sup> ko — ni - gā - hēñ ra ba - dāl<sup>r</sup>ē dē - kha —

## Example 27

*reciter:* Miss Itrat Nasrīn  
*occasion:* informal reciting session  
*place/date:* Karachi, Summer 1967  
*ghazal:* Yagāna (couplet)

Meter:  $\text{---} \text{---}$  (Mujtass)  
 M.M.  $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 138$  Tonic = G

B  
 b. 1. Hawā - e - kū - cha - e - qā - - - - il se bas na - hīñ chā<sup>r</sup>-iā

A  
 a. 2. Kashāñ kashāñ li - e jā - iā hai hau - s<sup>a</sup>-iā - dil<sup>a</sup> kā

## INDIVIDUAL TUNES

*Individual Tune 1:* B tune centered around fifth

## Example 28

*reciter:* poet Jagan Nāth Āzād  
*occasion:* Indo-Pakistani mushā'ira  
*place/date:* Karachi, January 1962  
*ghazal:* by reciter (matlā)

Meter:  $\text{---} \text{---}$  (Hazaj)  
 M.M.  $\text{♩} = 352$  Tonic = E

B  
 a. 1. Me rī — umr - ē - ra - wāñ hai aur<sup>a</sup> mañ hūñ

A  
 a. 2. Leh jin se rāh gāh hūñ aur<sup>a</sup> mañ hūñ

## Example 29

*reciter:* Murtadā Shafī, of Karachi, formerly of U.P.  
*occasion:* informal reciting session  
*place/date:* Karachi, February 1961  
*ghazal:* ? (one line)

Meter:  $\text{---} \text{---}$  (Hazaj)  
 M.M.  $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 126$  Tonic = D

B  
 a. 2. Rukhpar te - ri zul - fōñ ko pa - rē - shāñ na - hīñ dē - khā

A  
 a. 2. Rukhpar te - ri . . . .

## Example 30

*reciter:* R. K. Pathriā  
*occasion:* amateur mushā'ira  
*place/date:* Edmonton, September 30, 1967  
*ghazal:* Firāq (couplet)

Meter:  $\text{---} \text{---}$  (Hazaj)  
 M.M.  $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 212$  Tonic = A<sup>b</sup>

B  
 b. Pah - lē woh nigāh ik kiran thī

A  
 a. Ab<sup>a</sup> rāz - e - hayāt hō gayī hai

## Example 31

*reciter:* Manzūr Ahmad  
*occasion:* informal reciting session  
*place/date:* Edmonton, February 23, 1968  
*nazm:* Majāz (two lines)

Meter:  $\text{---} \text{---}$  (Raml)  
 M.M.  $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 144$  Tonic = B<sup>b</sup>

B  
 Jaisē mullah ka ā - mā - mā jai - sē ban - yē kī ki - tāb

A  
 Ai ghām - ē - dil kyā karūñ ai wahshat - ē - dil kyā karūñ



Individual Tune II: B tune reaching, or centered around upper tonic

Example 32

reciter: poet Fanā Kānpuri place/date: Karachi, January 1962  
 occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushāira ghazal: by reciter (matlā)

Meter: - 0 - - 1 - 0 - - 1 - 0 - - 1 (Raml)  
 M.M. ♩ = 144 Tonic = F#

B  
 a. 1. Ghar hu-ā gul - shan hu-ā seh - rā - hu - ā

A  
 a. 2. Har jaghā mē - rā ju - nū rus<sup>a</sup> - wā hu - ā

Example 33

reciter: poet Sāhir Hōshīārpuri, of Hōshīārpur, U.P. place/date: Karachi, January 1962  
 occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushāira ghazal: by reciter (couplet)

Meter: - 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 (Khaḥḥfīf)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 170 Tonic = E

B  
 a. 1. Tum ko kis<sup>a</sup> nā - - - m<sup>a</sup> sē pu - kā - rēñ ham

A  
 a. 2. Ajā tak<sup>a</sup> iēñ bhi fai - s<sup>a</sup> - jā - - - na huā

Example 34

reciter: poet Himāyat Ali Shā'ir, of Karachi place/date: Karachi, January 1962  
 occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushāira ghazal: by reciter (couplet)

Meter: - 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 (Raml)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 132 Tonic = C

B  
 a. 1. Jit<sup>a</sup> ne sā - dā dil haññ ab bhi s<sup>a</sup>ñ ke ā - wāz - ē - jaras

A  
 a. 2. Pēsh - o - pās sē bē - khabar ghar sē nikal - jā - - - tē haññ lōg

Example 35  
 reciter: poet Rāz Murādābādī, of Murādābād, U.P. place/date: Karachi, January 1962  
 occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushāira ghazal: by reciter (couplet)

Meter: - 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 (Murādārik)  
 M.M. ♩ = ca. 152 Tonic = F#

B  
 a. 1. Aur<sup>a</sup> kuchh<sup>a</sup> din<sup>a</sup> iēñ dasṭūr - e - maikhāna hai taññ - na - kā - mī ke iēñ din guzar jā - engē

A  
 a. 2. Mēre sā - qī ko naz<sup>a</sup> - rēñ ut hā - ne to dō jit<sup>a</sup> ne khā li haññ sab<sup>a</sup> jā m<sup>a</sup> bhar jā - engē

Examples of variability within a poem, rhythmically free (Ex. 36) or regular (Ex. 37). In the latter, lines with the same words are grouped together for easy comparison.

Example 36

reciter: S. Ansār Husain place/date: Edmonton, April 29, 1967  
 occasion: amateur mushāira ghazal: Yagāna

Meter: - 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 0 - - 1 (Raml)  
 M.M. ♩ = 168 Tonic = B♭  
*rubato*

A  
 a. kar - ne nahīñ dē - ti mohab - bat tē - rī

A  
 Bāt tak karne nahīñ dē - ti mo - hab - bat tē - rī

A  
 Lab pe rah<sup>a</sup> jā - ti hai ā - ā ke shikā - yat

A  
 Yār - o ghamkhār merā nām - to sab<sup>a</sup> pūch<sup>a</sup> - te haññ

B  
 Yār - o ghamkhār merā nām - to sab<sup>a</sup> pūch<sup>a</sup> - te haññ

A  
 Aur phir pūch<sup>a</sup> ke kah - dē - tē haññ qis<sup>a</sup> - mat<sup>a</sup> tē - rī

A  
 Phir pūch<sup>a</sup> ke kah - dē - tē haññ qis<sup>a</sup> - mat<sup>a</sup> tē - rī

