To Naim Salibi — with sincere thanks for your help toward this study (please bear with the mistakes) Regula Quatrucci

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TARANNUM: THE CHANTING OF URDU POETRY

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Tarannum 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 mazhabtus (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 musicals in Pakistan, and four amateur poets and twenty non-poets reciting at amateur-musicals 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 transcribed. 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 paryasa (to read), but it taraannum or (with chanting) means recitation as distinct from 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., Nalm 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, in contrast to “spoken recitation.” Where informants are quoted, the terms are of course left unchanged.

The term “song” corresponds to Urdu-Hindi ghir and as such it applies to folk and popular songs. As a correlate to “singing” (goun) it may also cover light classical and classical art song. Neither “song” nor “singing” are applied generally to all uses of the singing voice, and they definitely exclude chant. 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 taraannum is a loan word from Persian of Arabic derivation—the infinitive noun from the verb ranan, “to trill, to quaver” (Platts 1960:321)—and is translated by Urdu dictionaries as “modulation, melody, rhythm,” but it is more precisely “a kind of song” (Ferozeens n.d.;213; Adams 1838:111; Platts 1960:321), all somewhat hopelessly 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, taraannum denotes “unpretentious psalmic varied and embroidered by the singer” (Farmer 1965:1073), and thus it approximates the foldore definition of chant: “a monophonic style of singing or recitative in free rhythm... used as a heightened... speech-song...” (Binkley 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 unstrained 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 sankritized Hindi (la Devanagari 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 dominion, the former including the Indian urban centers of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, 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; Schirmmel 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., Ārzū, as mentioned by Saksena 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 literature. 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 rhyming 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, flowing in subleties and refinement within the accepted poetic convention which is contained principally in a poetic idiom full of metaphors and images (Sādfq 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 "imagetical symbolicon" 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 (matā) establishing the formal pattern and the last one (maqāta) usually introducing the nam de plume (vākhalās) 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 (Well 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 thematic 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) Ṣafāni
2) Ṣafāni
3) Ṣafāni
4) Ṣafāni
5) Ṣafāni
6) Ṣafāni

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 muṣūl" (nīn fāʾa) occurring after certain consonants in Persian as well as Urdu (Saksena 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 1960:55) 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; Silling 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 topic for songs wherever it has occurred, with the Urdu ghazal giving rise to a musical genre, the light classical
ghazal art song (Ikram 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.1

The formal occasion for the presentation of poetry in the mushāār 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 (Chopra 1963:80; Mujeeb 1967:51). Today, public mushāār are organized in both India2 and Pakistan by the government, by colleges and universities, by state radio and television, and by private groups. Private mushāār 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 mushāār 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 mushāār 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 mushāār, others never come before the public.

As a formalized entertainment, the mushāār 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 mushāār 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.3

At large public mushāār 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 slow mounting excitement. Couplets of a ghazal are recited as units. Any couplet may be announced by “aath arz hai” (here is another 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 (zadd) 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 mushāār “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 mushāār, and at their Persian predecessors, was strictly spoken. Tarannum possibly emerged as early as the eighteenth century; however, the only available reference (Mohini 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 Momin (Aziz 1967:274), Dīgh, and possibly Ghalib (Farhatallah Big Hindi). According to Farhatallah 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 (Faridi 1947) and one by a poet (Mohini 1967) both recall how in 1906 and 1910 respectively the poet Shāhu Dīlahi (1861-1945) a disciple of Dīgh, and thus possibly a successor to Dīgh’s reciting style—stumped mushāār audiences in Tūmpur and Lucknow by reciting “in a special chant (la), with a powerful, resonant voice” (Faridi 1947:190; Barni 1961:76). A few years later the young Jigar Murābdī appeared on the mushāār scene, reciting great poetry with an impressive chanting style, intensifying by an ecstatic appearance (Mohini 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 mushāār 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-courtseans (tanaqī) 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 be verified. The emergence of tarannum in mushāār 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-
developed its own major styles of chanting. Chant plays a major role in Muslim religious practice, particularly of the Sufi 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 tarañnum 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 mushārās. 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 mushārās. 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. Tarañnum, 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, tarañnum is said to serve poets as a "rhythmic mold" while composing poetry. Humming a tarañnum 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 tarañnum 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 tarañnum in the Arabic maqām al bukhār (metric melodic) (Farmer 1965:1073) tarañnum 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 mushārā.

MUSICAL CONTEXT

The music of tarañnum 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 tarañnum 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 musical examples included with this paper have been selected with the aim of being representative of the whole musical range of tarañnum. 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 tarañnum 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 tarañnum, as a general concept, is inseparable from the poem and its reciter and closely derived from both, the actual tunes of tarañnum 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 affinities the obvious criterion of classification for our total sample of tarañnum 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 tarañnum 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 tarañnum 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 errors above the notes. Define pitches sounded with less intensity are marked by small notes, and approximately sounded pitches
as $l$; both are of definable duration. Pitches held only briefly are given as grace notes and noted $\ddagger$; glides between notes and to or from notes are indicated by $\nabla$ and $\nabla$ 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 $\alpha$ to represent the "e must."

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 (mitra), 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 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 musts" 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 Exx. 16 and 31), the liquids are sounded longer than the short vowels preceding them, with the $r$, $l$, $n$, of ghaur, gula-, 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 Exx. 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 in 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 glottis (in notation $\nabla$, graphically something like $\sim$). The second, somewhat less frequent device, is a type of rhythmic pulsation subdividing long notes (7\textsuperscript{2}/8\textsuperscript{2}/2) within a phrase. It is produced in a similar manner except that the sound continues after the attack from the slights 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 Mahmud and Mehdil Haan) 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 ā, 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, 52).

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 (adab) to dramatic arm and hand movements or an occasional head shake. On the whole, reciters limit their movements to a stylized "pointing-cut" 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,
the antard ("interval"), "usually a broad, melodious tune...[in] contrast with the first part...and using the higher tetrachord" (Goswami 1961:190,214). The musical rendering of ghazal poetry to this classical antard-antard pattern is exemplified by the ghazal art song, which is in turn reflected in tarannum usage.4

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 (Goswami 1961:282) and scale types corresponding to the light, "mixed" ragas (Bhut 1963:23). The total range for all tarannum melodies is diatonic, often with the seventh (raised and lowered, Exx. 26,34) or fourth (raised and lowered, Exx. 8,31) and, less commonly, the third (raised and lowered, Exx. 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 (Exx. 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 (Exx. 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).5

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 descent to reach the upper tonic in the B tune (Exx. 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" (Exx. 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 (Exx.8-10,18-23,30), especially when they are centered around the tonic, but are also as sharp as Exx. 1-4, 14-17) or even descending (Exx. 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 (Exx. 8,29) or of a simple repeat of its outline a fourth or fifth higher (Exx. 24,25).

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 (Exx. 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 (Exx. 2,10,14), followed by descending or undulating passing motifs. The final is usually a descending melismatic three-note cadence (Exx. 2-11,14,28). For A, the initial may ascend (Exx. 9,15,26) or descend (Exx. 18,22) to the tonic, or ascend from the tonic to the third (Exx. 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 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 (Exx. 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 reciter but with poems of different length or metric pattern, or both, may show considerable melodic variation. Since most reciters 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).6 Finally, pitch progression can vary with couples of the same poem chanted by the same reciter. Caused by irregularities of the poet's meter or of word shapes, these variations are usually confined to ornamentation and alternating tunes (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 metter. 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 note 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 \( \frac{3}{2} \) or \( \frac{5}{4} \), or to an extended melismatic unit of a 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.17,24,26,32). 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 Mužāri) 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 \( \text{-mm} \) is consistently reproduced by \( \text{m-m} \); 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 \( \text{m-m} \) 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, the ghazal art song as practiced traditionally by courtiers-singers for Muslim nobles and now widespread in a more popularized form through recordings and films; on the other side are the Muslim hymns chanted at religious occasions (mavvil, nāth, nūr, hāmād) 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 tareenam, 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 tareenam 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 tareenam, 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 tareenam 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 1965:27), 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 tareenam 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 tareenam 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, tareenam 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 court and noble class ( history). There is the tradition which 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 Musalmans...and a native gentleman 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 acquiescence 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” (informants); it has therefore been considered dangerous and unlawful (haram) by most exponents of Islamic tradition (Titton 1954:40-41; Farmer 1957:42; 43; 56; 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 (Ackerman 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 za‘ir (excitation) as against ghinā (singing), thus exempting religious musical expression from censure (Farmer 1954:517). 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 some, improper; chanting is considered poetry and, according to some, improper.

While not religious, tareenam, on the basis of its word orientation and literary content, definitely falls into the category of chanting. To the majority of informants and other members of the culture tareenam is neither music nor singing, and none would call it a song, though all recognize something in common between tareenam and music. All agree that no musical knowledge is needed to recite tareenam, 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 so 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, tareenam 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 litterati who, in line with an older generation of poets, condemn tarannum as a corrupting musical influence on poetry used only by applause-seekers. 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 gawwâti, though musically closely related to tarannum, are considered basically different, and very few informants recognize 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 folklore.

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 it to statements of intuitive expression. Direct questions do reveal a general but vague recognition of musical properties in tarannum, but 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 gawwâti (singer). 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 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 perception 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 a 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.

The function of tarannum manifestly is to enhance the presentation of poetry. It is overwhelmingly favored over spoken recitation at musaharás, and at informal gatherings of non-poets spoken recitation is hardly ever heard. Most informants agree that tarannum has an effect on the poems 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 subscription.

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 one another without reinforcing 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 musahara 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 tahīl-ul-lafs, 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. 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 "nu-
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 paths to the audience it has an immediate effect on their senses, they get momentarily lost in the beauty of the mir (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 listener” (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 mushairas 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 (1963:39) 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 melodic 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 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 like being more often as "good" than "beautiful." The terms of appreciation used for tarannum are acha (good), jordan (matchless), and possibly hub (well done); the many Urdu terms denoting beauty are "just not correct for tarannum." Informants. 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 traditional in its form and content and has remained unaltered by recitation, but it is much wider in scope. 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 literacy in the background and thus have some acquaintance with concepts of art and aesthetics. For the same time they are generally "non-literate" as far as music is concerned, and in no respect are they 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 minstrelsingers.

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 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.
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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 Murshiduddin (see p. 431). It has been identified as a melody of rīg Ghil-Khanās by Harold Powers, University of Pennsylvania. Some versions introduce different tonal material (Exx. 3, 6).

Example 1

**reciter:** unidentified poet, of Pakistan  
**place/date:** Karachi, Pakistan, January 1962  
**occupation:** Indo-Pakistan mushās

**Meter:**  
**Tonic:** E

**Tunes:**

```
line a: Hung' is 3  
gyan-e pin-ũzō to mas-5  
B  
no tune B
```
Qureshi: Tarannum; Chanting of Urdu Poetry

Example 10

Reciter: Shafīf
Place/Date: Edmonton, May 1, 1966
Occasion: Amateur Mushaira

Meter: lal-lu-lu-lu-lu (Muzzafar)
M.A. = ca. 132
Tonic = E

A
1. Jān-i wāfā se kān ri-a aur pi gā-yā

B
2. Sa-qi se baarā ke jām ri-a aur pi gā-yā

B
3. Eh-ri st jabe hua-o ke ma-o-nā bā ni hai hā-ri-

A
4. Al-rah Mi-īs ka jām ri-a aur pi gā-yā

Stock Tune III: A well-established tune heard not only at mushālias but at mīlās (celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad) where it is chanted to a well-known hymn (nūr, Ex. 13). Tonal pattern resembles that of Kafi.

Example 11

Reciter: Majrūh Sultānpuri, poet of Sultānpur
Place/Date: Karachi, January 1962
Occasion: Indo-Pakistani Mushaira

Meter: lal-lu-lu-lu-lu (Majazz)
M.A. = ca. 134
Tonic = G

B
1. Zāb-ūn ha-nā-ri na sanjāh hā ka-rān- kā-rā Nāy-

A
2. Hān aj-nā bā-ī ki tar-hū ḍān-ē kī sq ham rūs-

Example 12

Reciter: K. K. Patwari, amateur poet of Panjab
Place/Date: Edmonton, February 4, 1967
Occasion: Amateur Mushaira

Meter: lal-lu-lu-lu (Muqaddib)
M.A. = ca. 150
Tonic = F

B
1. Mājūhā pāk-e-tonā me-nā bē-ka-sā

A
2. Şor bā shām bi-top la-gā jī-e hān

Example 13

Reciter: Miss Amna Rasūl of Karachi, with group
Place/Date: Edmonton, June 24, 1968 and October 1967
Occasion: Recording session, also mūli dā

Meter: lal-lu-lu-lu (Muqaddib)
M.A. = ca. 160
Tonic = B

B
1. Sha-ī kā-ī st dar qis-ār kar-ne-mā-lā

Example 14

Reciter: S. Anfīr Hussain
Place/Date: Edmonton, September 30, 1967
Occasion: Amateur Mushaira

Meter: Yagūr (complet)

B
1. Sūtān ē-nā-ī jīgar dī kā sha-ūnā ghum-āntā hā-

A
2. Jān dēnāe hāi su-vār kā mud ḍān-bā jī-e hāi
Example 15
reciter: R. K. Pathrill
place/date: Edmonton, September 23, 1966
occasion: amateur mushtasa

ghezal: Jigar (matla, line 1)

Example 16
reciter: R. K. Pathrill
place/date: Edmonton, November 11, 1966
occasion: amateur mushtasa

Example 17
reciter: R. K. Pathrill
place/date: Edmonton, November 11, 1966
occasion: amateur mushtasa

Example 18
reciter: Fana Kambah, of Karachi, U.P.
place/date: Karachi, January 1962
occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushtasa

Example 19
reciter: Miss Iyat Nairol, of Karachi, formerly of Lucknow
place/date: Karachi, Summer 1967
occasion: informal reciting session

Stock Tune V: Used and spread by poet Fana Kambah to the extent that after his reciting at only one or two mushtasas in Pakistan many remember his poem and tune (Ex. 10, 19).

Qureshi: Tarannum, Chanting of Urdu Poetry
Example 26
reciter: late poet Adlī Sahāranpuri
occasion: mushākā

Example 27
reciter: Miss I. Nazīn
place/date: Karachi, Summer 1967
occasion: informal reciting session

INDIVIDUAL TUNES

Example 28
reciter: poet J. Būdī Azīd
occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushākā

Example 29
reciter: Mustādī Shāfi, of Karachi, formerly
place/date: Karachi, February 1961
occasion: informal reciting session

Example 30
reciter: R. K. Pathrīlī
place/date: Edmonton, September 30, 1967
occasion: amateur mushākā

Example 31
reciter: Manṣūr Ahmad
place/date: Edmonton, February 23, 1968
occasion: informal reciting session

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

Example 32
reciter: poet Fani Kitipuri
place/date: Karachi, January 1962
occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushaira
ghazal: by reciter (mati)

Example 33
reciter: poet Shihir Hafizpurri, of Hafizpurri, U.P.
place/date: Karachi, January 1962
occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushaira
ghazal: by reciter (couplet)

Example 34
reciter: poet Imtiyaz Ali Shafi', of Karachi
place/date: Karachi, January 1962
occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushaira
ghazal: by reciter (couplet)

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. Anis Husain
place/date: Edmonton, April 29, 1967
occasion: amateur mushaira
ghazal: by Yagusha

Example 37
reciter: poet Fani Kitipuri
place/date: Karachi, January 1962
occasion: Indo-Pakistani mushaira
ghazal: by reciter (mati)
Example 37

réciter: R. K. Pathri

place/date: Edmonton, May 1, 1966

occasion: amateur mushaira

text: Awadz Ghazi

Meter: uRM

M.M. J = 168

A

a. 1. Dost n-i-

ni-

m-i-

na t-

ka-

ni-

sh-

h-

se

b. 1. Dost n-

... ...

A

a. 2. Jab se ham i-

g-

ni-

k-

g-

pay-

va-

n-

k-

g-

n-

a-

se

b. 2. Jab se ...