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The Construction of a Diasporic Tradition: Indo-Caribbean “Local Classical Music”

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*You take a capsule from India
leave it here for a hundred years,
and this is what you get.*

Mangal Patasar

In recent years the study of diaspora cultures, and of the role of music therein, has acquired a fresh salience, in accordance with the contemporary intensification of mass migration and globalization in general. While current scholarship reflects a greater interest in hybridity and syncretism than in retentions, the study of neo-traditional arts in diasporic societies may still provide significant insights into the dynamics of cultural change. In this article I explore such dynamics as operant in a unique and sophisticated music genre of East Indians in the Caribbean.¹ This genre, called “tān-singing,” has largely resisted syncretism and creolization, while at the same time coming to differ dramatically from its musical ancestors in India. Although idiosyncratically shaped by the specific circumstances of the Indo-Caribbean diaspora, tān-singing has evolved as an endogenous product of a particular configuration of Indian cultural sources and influences. As I shall suggest, the study of tān-singing, precisely because of its diasporic isolation and uniqueness, not only illuminates aspects of nineteenth-century performance practice in North India, but also reveals with special clarity some of the processes which have animated socio-musical change in South Asian cultures in general, both subcontinental and diasporic. In particular, this study attempts to show how an “intermediate” genre like tān-singing can idiosyncratically synthesize and rearticulate elements both from the canonic, text-based, pan-regional stratum of Indian culture as well as from vernacular,

regional, oral traditions. Tān-singing reflects the fluid relations between these strata—traditionally classified in terms of “Great” and “Little Traditions” (see Singer 1972; Powers 1980:72)—and the richness of cultural practices which straddle them and problematize their conceptualization as dichotomous entities.

East Indians came to the Caribbean as part of the international proletariat of the British Empire’s sugar capitalists. After the Emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies (1834–38), local white planters sought to enhance the supply of cheap manual labor by the importation of indentured workers from various regions, primarily India. Between 1845 and 1917, some 417,000 laborers came to Trinidad, British Guiana (now Guyana), and the Dutch colony of Suriname, with lesser numbers migrating to other West Indian locales. While around one-fifth of the workers returned to India, the remainder stayed, their descendants now constituting the largest ethnic communities in these three countries, outnumbering Afro-Caribbeans.² The first generations of immigrants tended to remain concentrated in culturally isolated villages and plantations, largely avoiding contact with the “mainstream” culture of the more Westernized black and mixed-race “creoles.” Despite their almost exclusively agricultural backgrounds, the Indians’ traditions of thrift, industriousness, and family cohesiveness eventually enabled many to acquire sufficient land or capital to enter commerce, such that they have now come to dominate the economies of all three countries. In the early 1990s, electoral victories by Indian-oriented parties in Guyana and Trinidad disrupted the political hegemony previously enjoyed there by Afro-Caribbeans. Increasing interaction with creoles has both enhanced mutual respect and heightened ethnic tension. Meanwhile, Indo-Caribbean culture, including music, has exhibited trends both toward syncretic creolization as well as essentialist revivalism, accompanied by an increasing institutionalization of pluralist rather than creole-dominated assimilationist paradigms of national culture (see Vertovec 1992, Manuel 1998a).

While no two diasporas are alike, the Indo-Caribbean experience is particularly unique in its distinctive forms of isolation from and links to the ancestral homeland culture. Most of the immigrants came from the Bhojpuri-speaking *purab* (“eastern”) region of what is now Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in North India; a koine version of Bhojpuri (a member of the Hindi language group) thus became an immigrant lingua franca, which, although still common in Suriname, is now known in Trinidad and Guyana only by certain elders. Similarly, Bhojpuri regional culture in general came to constitute the underlying basis of most aspects of Indo-Caribbean culture, from festivals to cuisine and music. However, after 1917, contact with the Bhojpuri region, and with subcontinental Bhojpuri culture in general, effectively ceased altogether. Subsequent contacts with India consisted primarily of a trickle

of Hindi books, Hindu and Muslim holy men, and, from the 1930s, commercial films and records which together represented the new, pan-regional, cinema-based popular culture and a commercialized form of the Hindu/Muslim "Great Traditions." Indo-Caribbean culture subsequently evolved as an idiosyncratic synthesis of these influences, together with those from the local creole "mainstream."

Indo-Caribbean music culture has been conditioned by the same distinctive set of sources. The Bhojpuri folk stratum is represented by such genres as the strophic songs still sung by elder women at weddings and other functions, and by the male ensembles which form during the vernal Holi festival to sing responsorial chowtāl songs (see, e.g., Myers 1998). Bhojpuri folk music also continues to provide the melodic, textual, and choreographic basis for the contemporary folk-pop idiom of "chutney" (see Manuel 1998a). For its part, modern *bhakti* (devotional) Hinduism is the source for many of the bhajans that are avidly sung at collective song sessions (*satsangs*) and other occasions. Meanwhile, certainly the most popular kind of music among Indo-Caribbeans has for decades been Indian film music, itself a product of the pan-regional mass culture of the subcontinent. Finally, creolization is manifest in the fondness of the younger generation for reggae, hip-hop, and soca, and in the dramatic recent emergence of chutney-soca as a syncretic pop hybrid.

Tān-Singing

Although far less popular than film music, chutney, or bhajans, the genre known variously as "tān-singing," "local classical music," or *baithak gānā* (sitting music), occupies a respected position in local culture, as arguably the most sophisticated and consciously cultivated form of Indo-Caribbean musical expression. Tān-singing consists of serious, generally devotional songs rendered in Hindi by a solo vocalist, typically accompanied by harmonium, dholak (barrel drum), and "dantāl" (*dand-tāl*), a metal rod struck idiophonically with a U-shaped clapper. Tān-singing is performed by semi-professional (usually male) specialists, who are hired to sing at night-long wedding parties, wakes, religious events, and other functions, including occasional formal competitions held in concert halls. Performers, like their audiences, are predominantly working-class, petty-bourgeois, or small farmers; many start out in bhajan groups or even as film music singers, and go on to learn tān-singing informally by imitating and accompanying senior artists. Outside Suriname, few singers are able to converse much in Hindi/Bhojpuri, although several have enough command to extract lyrics from the old Hindi anthologies which serve as sources for most song texts. Due in part to the decline of Hindi in Trinidad and Guyana, tān-singing's continued

vitality is dubious, although it is still avidly performed and enjoyed by handfuls of enthusiasts, including some members of the younger generations.

Tân-singing is in many respects a historical enigma. On the whole, it appears to have coalesced in the first half of the twentieth century, assuming parallel, closely related forms in Trinidad, Guyana, and Suriname. As suggested above, tân-singing has evolved along endogenous lines as a neo-traditional idiom whose form and content bear no particular creole, Afro-Caribbean, or Western influence (although such could be found in the calypso-influenced organization of the occasional formal competitions³). As such, it clearly invites analysis in terms of Indian folk, light-classical, and classical influences, or to some extent, in terms of the potentially problematic concepts of Great and Little Traditions, as applied, for example, by Slawek (1988) to the study of Benares *kirtan* singing. At the same time, while reflecting obvious links to subcontinental traditions, tân-singing is a unique genre quite distinct from any counterparts in India, past or present. It is in this sense that its development is best understood as a product of a particular configuration of folk, classical, oral and written sources, idiosyncratically synthesized and elaborated into a new idiom, which, however distinctively local, is regarded as a bastion of tradition in Indo-Caribbean culture.

The oral tradition of Bhojpuri folk music appears to be the source for much of tân-singing's melodic content. Tân-singing's reliance on the quadratic meter which in India would be called *kaherva*, along with a nameless seven-beat meter, although common throughout much of North India, can also be assumed to derive in this case from Bhojpuri tradition, as can the predominance of diatonic melodies (corresponding to Western C, D, E and G modes). The ubiquitous Indo-Caribbean dantāl also appears to derive from the Bhojpuri region, where it is an archaic folk instrument, and, perhaps more importantly, where folksongs are often accompanied by the similar-sounding *manjira* chimes (also used in the Caribbean). Also of Bhojpuri origin are the seasonal song-types *kajri* and *chaiti*, which constitute minor subgenres in the tân-singing repertoire. Finally, although the *Ramayana* epic is revered throughout India, it has a particular pre-eminence in the purab region, and, hence, in tân-singing lyrics as well. Its special status derives not only from Rama's mythical association with the town of Ayodhya, but especially from Tulsidas' *Ramcharitmanas*, a sixteenth-century rendering of the epic in the vernacular Awadhi dialect (of an adjacent linguistic zone), which constitutes a Bible of sorts in purab-region and Indo-Caribbean Hinduism, as well as a source for some song texts in tân-singing.

If Bhojpuri regional culture has provided a sort of unacknowledged stylistic backbone of tân-singing, many of the genre's more overt aspects—

especially those that are dignified with names—clearly derive, whether directly or indirectly, from North Indian classical and semi-classical music (Hindustani music). Thus, for example, musicians speak of *rāgs* and *rāginis*, use Hindustani terms like *tāl*, *tān*, *theka*, and *paran*, and sing items in accordance with a modified time-theory (i.e., akin to the Hindustani association of *rāgs* with specific times of day). More significantly, the major sub-genres of *tān*-singing bear names of Indian classical or light-classical genres, viz., *dhṛupad*, *thumri*, *tillāna*, and *ghazal*. Names of other lesser genres, like *qawwālī*, *bihāg*, and *khemṭa*, also suggest parallels with Hindustani counterparts. In a more general sense, musicians articulate a certain reverence for music theory in the abstract, and apply certain formal criteria to the correct execution of their art, for example, in terms of the appropriate rhythmic accompaniment to given sub-genres. Such factors all suggest an obvious relationship, however oblique, with Hindustani music, and together afford *tān*-singing itself some of the distinguishing features of a “classical” music, albeit perhaps a vestigial one more in the realm of sophisticated village culture.

Despite these evident classicisms, musicians remain ignorant of many of the most basic aspects of Hindustani music theory; they use Hindustani terminology in a thoroughly idiosyncratic manner, and perform most sub-genres in ways markedly different from their North Indian namesakes. The very term “*tān*-singing” is exemplary. One might well suppose, for instance, that “*tān*-singing” would imply the singing of *tāns*—i.e., fast, melismatic, melodic runs. In fact, in Hindustani terms, there are virtually no *tāns* in *tān*-singing, which instead resembles most North Indian folk music in being predominantly syllabic, with a limited, albeit essential use of simple melismas and ornaments. Instead, the term “*tān*-singing” has a curious etymology: It became the custom to refer to a skilled singer as a “*Tan Sen*,” after the celebrated Mughal-era court musician. Thus, one might say, “A *Tan Sen* will be at the wedding tonight.” In vernacular parlance, “*Tan Sen*” became commonly modified to “*Tan Singh*,” since *Singh* is a common Kshatriya surname among Indo-Caribbeans. Given the transition from Hindi to English, it was then a short and quite logical step from “*Tan Singh*” to “*tān*-singer.” Similar distortions explain the resignification of *tāl*, which, in the Caribbean, denotes not “meter” but rather what in North India would be called *tibāī*, i.e., a rhythmic cadence consisting of a short pattern repeated three times.⁴ Similarly, while *tān*-singers have retained the concept of associating musical entities with times of day, this custom has been adapted to the standard format of the all-night song session. Thus, a *tān* session (typically at a wedding party) properly commences around 10:00 pm with *dhṛupad* and *tillāna*, followed by several *thumris*, mixed with a few *ghazals* and *bhajans*, including perhaps a *bihāg* around midnight, and eventually seg-

ueing to early-morning genres like *lāvni*, *prabhāti*, and *holi* (the latter being associated in India with the eponymous vernal festival).⁵

Differences from Hindustani music are most conspicuous in practice itself, that is, in the formal features of Indo-Caribbean genres like *dhṛūpad*, *tillāna*, and *thumri*. Indo-Caribbean *dhṛūpad* resembles both concert and temple-based North Indian *dhṛūpad* styles in proceeding from a slow initial section to an accelerated one in which the text is reiterated in a more syllabic style. However, in its brevity, its absence of improvisation, and the fast tempo of its final section, the local classical *dhṛūpad* is quite different from Hindustani counterparts. Accordingly, two singers told me that *dhṛūpad*, or “*durpad*,” should be sung quickly, since the word derives from Hindi *ḍaurna*, “to run.” (In fact, it derives from Sanskrit *dhruva*—refrain—and *pad*—verse.)

Indo-Caribbean *tillāna* is even more idiosyncratic. In Indian classical music, *tarāna*, or its Karnatak equivalent *tillāna*, has for centuries been known and documented as a song in relatively fast tempo, whose text consists of non-lexical syllables (*ta na dir dim*, etc.).⁶ Indo-Caribbean *tillāna* uses a relatively unsyncopated quadratic rhythmic accompaniment somewhat suggestive of Hindustani *tintāl*, the meter of the typical Hindustani *tarāna*/*tillāna*. However, the *tillāna* of *tān*-singing employs not meaningless syllables but a lexical Hindi text; in *tān*-singing, it is thus distinguished from other genres by its rhythmic accompaniment and its stock melodies. Like most genres in *tān*-singing, it also soon segues into a section in which the *dholak* player performs flashy, virtuoso patterns, which Indo-Caribbeans call *barti* or *daur*, corresponding to the Hindustani term *laggi*, denoting such sections as used in light-classical and folk music.

For its part, Indo-Caribbean *thumri* bears certain similarities to its Hindustani counterpart (described in Manuel 1986, 1989). It commences in a relatively subdued tempo, using a syncopated, irregular metrical accompaniment (*theka*), over which the singer renders a refrain, which precedes and punctuates two or three verses (*pad*); it then proceeds to a *barti*/*laggi* section, and concludes with a short return to the original tempo and *theka* pattern, over which the refrain is sung two or three times before concluding with a short *tāl*/*tihāi*. On the whole, however, the Indo-Caribbean *thumri*, in both its Guyanese and Trinidadian variants, would be unrecognizable as such to a North Indian. Its distinctive rhythmic patterns are unlike the standard Hindustani *thumri* meters (*dīpchandi*, *jat*) and contain various unique rhythmic features, to be discussed below; there is no systematic process of melodic-textual elaboration (Hindustani *bol banāo*) in Caribbean *thumri*; like most *tān*-singing, it is less melismatic and more restricted in its modal and melodic repertoire; and lastly, its verses are more likely to be in praise of Rama than of Krishna, in accordance with the lyrics found in singers' anthologies.⁷

Traditional Indo-Caribbean renditions of ghazal are more similar to Indian counterparts (for which see Manuel 1988-89), in consisting of rhymed couplets punctuated by barti/laggi interludes. In recent decades, however, the inability of listeners to understand Hindi/Urdu has eroded the logic for this formal structure, so that it has become the norm to commence the barti section after the first verse and continue it until the end. As one elderly singer told me, "People don't understand Hindi any more, so with the music going up, down, up, down, it gets boring; here we like a lot of break-away rhythm, so we break *tāl* into the barti soon and keep going that way." Meanwhile, most of the lyrics, while adhering loosely to ghazal rhyme scheme, are in Hindi (typically Braj Bhasha dialect), rather than the Urdu preferred in India. Other sub-genres in *tān*-singing differ in various ways. Indo-Caribbean *bihāg*, rather than being a *rāg* or modal entity as it is in India, is based on a short, catchy, stock melody, sung in 7/4 (see ex. 1 below). (In this sense it resembles other lesser *tān* genres, like *lāvni*, *danḍak*, and *bidāpat*, which are each sung in a single, discrete stock tune.) *Khemṭa*, which in Hindustani music is an obscure term for a variant of the six-beat *dādra tāl*, in *tān*-singing denotes a light sub-genre with a peculiar meter which is best described as lying somewhere between 6/4 and 4/4.

Finally, *tān*-singing differs from Hindustani music in that its theoretical aspects are largely implicit rather than explicit; while musicians may be quick to point out mistakes or discrepancies in performance, they are hard-pressed to articulate (e.g., in response to my questions) matters pertaining to formal features; they conceive of songs more in terms of lyrics than formal features; while speaking reverently of *rāgs* and *rāginis*, only the most knowledgeable use these terms to connote modal entities (such as *Bhairavi*); *tān*-singers are ignorant of some of the most basic fundamentals of Hindustani music (including *sargam*, or sol-fa); and lastly, in the absence of any canonic, codified theory, their statements and, to some extent, their performance practices often contradict each other. Moreover, with one or two exceptions, twentieth-century *tān*-singers have not had any significant direct exposure to North Indian classical music, whether in the form of recordings, visiting performers, or pedagogical literature.⁸

Classical and Light-Classical Sources

If the historical development of *tān*-singing may defy reconstruction, we can nevertheless perceive how its affinities to Hindustani music have been shaped by a specific set of oral and written sources and influences. Unfortunately, among the many historical uncertainties is the question as to whether the ranks of the indentured immigrants included any individuals with more than a fragmentary knowledge of Hindustani music practice and theory. Colonial-era accounts attest to the presence of performers, and

significant numbers of immigrants belonged to castes like *dom* and *dhār bi*, whose traditional occupations have included music-making (see, e.g., Laurence 1994:114, 116; Klass 1961:61). However, other factors, including *tān*-singers' aforementioned unfamiliarity with the rudiments of Hindustani music theory, cast doubt on the supposed presence—or, certainly, the influence—of classically-trained musicians. Instead, it appears that the seminal performers and teachers were predominantly enthusiastic amateurs with an incomplete and garbled understanding of Hindustani music, derived primarily from indirect sources.

These sources themselves comprised a diverse set of oral and written traditions and media, including various intermediate genres on the folk-classical continuum. One of these genres may have been the forms of *dhṛūpad* performed in temples in various parts of North India; while these regional *dhṛūpad* styles range from soloistic genres like *baveli sangīt* to the simpler, responsorial *samāj* sung in Brindavan, they share a bhakti character and a reliance on written songbooks for lyrics (see, e.g., Gaston 1997, Dvivedi 1992). It is quite likely that the Indo-Caribbean *dhṛūpad*, with its devotional, invocatory character and its textual reliance on old songbooks, derives less from the court *dhṛūpad* than from such temple-based counterparts. In this sense it would represent an instance of the general tendency, noted by Jairazbhoy (1981:617), for the bhakti movement to serve as a medium of vertical interchange, spreading cultural products of the “Great Tradition” throughout India.

Another indirect source for such elements was provided by the varieties of regional theater—particularly *Indarsabha*, *Gopichand*, and *Harishchandra*—that flourished until the cinema era in North India. Eventually known collectively as *naṭankī* in India, these were historical costume-dramas incorporating music and dance, in the form both of folksongs as well as simplified renditions of Hindustani *thumri*, *ghazal*, and an occasional *tarāna/tillāna* (see Hansen 1992). These theatrical idioms also flourished in the Caribbean, where they would be staged by amateurs relying on homeland memories, knowledgeable elders, and cheap imported chapbooks containing scripts and song-texts (such as can still be purchased in Trinidadian bazaars). This genre—with its distinctive combination of folk and classical features, and of oral and written traditions—appears to have been a source for much of the Hindustani content of *tān*-singing, as well as for the idiosyncratic use of terms like *ḍaur* and *chaubola*.⁹

In the 1930s-40s, commercial 78 rpm records imported from India came to constitute another oblique source for Hindustani music influence. While Indian classical music had been recorded and marketed in India since 1901, the recordings that later reached the Caribbean were primarily of film music (which, then as now, was shunned by most *tān*-singers) and, more signifi-

cantly, qawwālīs and light-classical ghazals. The most influential qawwālī records were those of Kalloo and Pearu Qawwal, which provided models for many t̄an-singers and strengthened the position of that genre in t̄an-singing (especially in Suriname); these qawwālīs, however, differed stylistically from the modern, group song, instead consisting of Urdu verses rendered by a solo vocalist in certain characteristic stock melodies.¹⁰ In t̄an-singing, as in some Indian vernacular contexts, “qawwālī” became a designation for any up-tempo song, whether in Hindi or Urdu, which used such melodies and incorporated characteristic breaks in which verses would be sung in free rhythm.¹¹ Equally influential were the ghazal records of K.L. Saigal and K.C. Dey, self-taught Indian vocalists who sang in a tune-oriented, somewhat simplified light-classical style. As with qawwālī records, t̄an-singers both reproduced such songs and, more often, set new lyrics from songbooks to the tunes on the records. Collectively, such records would not provide t̄an-singers much familiarity with the modal and rhythmic richness of Hindustani music; however, they did enrich the stock of melodies and provide models for vocal style in general.

Song Anthologies: Creative Uses and Misuses

For t̄an-singers, the most important link with Indian music, and with Indian high culture in general, has come through the anthologies of Hindi song lyrics which began to be commercially published on a mass basis in India in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Ranging from short pamphlets to thick tomes, these books are primarily collections of Hindu bhajan texts, whether anonymous or written by known poets. Among t̄an-singers, the most popular are those which were published in India around the turn of the century. A few of these, like the *Brahmanand Bhajan Mala*, are still marketed in India and occasionally imported to the Caribbean. Most, however, are obscure, long out-of-print collectors' items, tattered and crumbling copies of which are treasured and zealously guarded by t̄an-singers, for whom exclusive and extensive knowledge of song lyrics has always constituted a professional cachet. Because the lyrics in these books are in standard Hindi or, more commonly, the Braj Bhasha dialect, it is these dialects that predominate in t̄an-singing, rather than Bhojpuri, which lacks the status of a written language in the Caribbean.¹²

Volumes of song and chant lyrics appear to have played an important role in Indian culture for at least two millenia. Amidst a rich diversity of poetry-based performance idioms and a milieu of mixed literacy and illiteracy, collections of verse have occupied focal positions in the dialectic interaction of urban and rural, folk and classical, and oral and written traditions. Long before the advent of printing, hand-written copies of signifi-

cant texts, from the Vedas to the twelfth-century Sanskrit *Gita Govinda*, circulated widely throughout India and achieved canonic, "Great Tradition" status. At the same time, such books remained embedded in oral culture, both in the origin of much of their contents and in their continued reliance on dissemination through performance, especially song. In Bhojpuri culture, both local and diasporic, the single most important such text has been the aforementioned *Ramcharitmanas*, which, as spread through various forms of oral performance, continues to be cherished, studied, and extensively quoted even by those illiterate in Hindi (or any language).¹³ Print technology has only increased the centrality of such texts, making them available on a mass basis in a culture where oral performance of song and verse continues to marginalize prose and solitary reading. For t̄an-singers as well as many in the subcontinent itself, bhajan anthologies have constituted indispensable and seemingly authoritative ties to canonic forms of devotional Hinduism.

Of particular relevance for this article are the sorts of links provided to Hindustani music culture by published song anthologies. The songbooks contain no particular information about music per se, offering only lyrics, without musical notation.¹⁴ However, most lyrics are preceded with headings, usually indicating either genre (e.g., thumri, bhajan, ghazal, l̄avni, etc.) and/or, in many cases, a r̄ag and t̄al in which it should be sung. In doing so, the modern songbooks perpetuate a venerable tradition dating back to such works as the *Gita Govinda*, which specifies appropriate r̄ags and t̄als for each poem.¹⁵ Various rationales may have inspired the inclusion of such headings, which are faithfully included in subsequent recensions and editions through the centuries. While the genre of a given poem may be self-evident in the case of distinctive forms like ghazal (with its easily recognizable rhyme scheme), labels would be handy indications for poetic forms which are distinguished by the more subtle parameter of prosodic meter, such as *dandak*, *savaiyya*, and the *dohā*, chaubola, and *ḍaur* of naut̄anki. In other cases, while unable to specify melody, they can at least designate the appropriate genre or style of rendering (e.g., thumri, qawwālī, etc.). Meanwhile, indications of r̄ag and t̄al were presumably designed to serve as mnemonic aids to carriers of a continuous oral tradition who had previously learned the specific tunes in question. Such, for example, is the case with professional dhr̄upad-like kirtan singers of the Pushtimarg tradition of the Mathura area, who orally transmit and perpetuate specific traditional melodic settings in accordance with the r̄ag designations in their centuries-old verse anthologies.¹⁶ When such direct oral/melodic traditions are broken, as is typically the case, the r̄ag indications cease to serve any particular function, except as vague suggestions, presumably retained by publishers to provide some sense of continuity with the past. Of course, such conti-

nuity may be purely imaginary at best, for even when the headings look familiar, they may have originally denoted entities quite different from modern namesakes. Thus, for example, a North Indian singer confronting a *Gita Govinda* verse labelled “rāg Hindol” might sing that lyric in the current rāg of that name, but the modern “Hindol” differs substantially from its medieval counterpart.

Such headings can pose hermeneutic problems for users who choose not to ignore them, especially when, as is often the case, the labels are enigmatic or inscrutable in various ways. Most of the Indian songbooks used in the Caribbean are full of archaisms and oddities, dating as they do from a period just prior to the relative standardization of Hindustani music theory and rāg repertoire in the second quarter of the twentieth century. In the aforementioned *Brahmanand*, for example, song headings specify various now-extinct or otherwise unheard-of rāgs, such as Banjāra, Kasūri, Rāśra, Marvāri, and Mangal, while the popular *Kabir Bhajanratnavali* (containing verses of the fifteenth-century Kabir) suggests renderings in the obscure rāgs Jetshri, Māru, and Jatsār. Other worm-eaten Indian books showed to me by tār-singers contained improbable headings like “ghazal-thumri” and “rāg ghazal.” Interpretation is further confounded by the abundant typographical errors (e.g., rāgs “Shaṭ” and “Eraj,” presumably for the orthographically similar “Paṭ” and “Paraj”).

Among tār-singers, most of whom pride themselves on setting lyrics from their songbooks to melodies of their own choice, the most common practice is simply to ignore the printed headings. As one told me, “You can set it however you like, as long as it fits.” Thus, while the ghazal lyric and performance form is somewhat distinctive, most lyrics found in songbooks can be accommodated without difficulty into the familiar tār genres of thumri, bihāg, lāvni, and the like. Occasionally, however, singers, having made such free settings, will continue to identify their pieces with the original printed headings, perhaps assuming that such labels indicate formal features like prosodic meter (as is sometimes the case) which would persist even in their original rendering. Thus, one Trinidadian musician sang a thumri for me which he called “rāg Asāvāri”; while it bore no modal resemblance to that Hindustani rāg (which is unknown in the Caribbean), the songbook from which he took the lyric prefaced the verse thusly.

While such practices would hardly be acceptable in the realm of Hindustani music, what is significant is the process of re-naming that they precipitate. It is quite clear, as has been hypothesized by a few of my informants, that such generative processes have animated much of the distinctive “new tradition” of tār-singing. We may, for example, imagine a likely scenario: Around 1920, perhaps, a respected and influential tār-singer finds a verse labelled “rāg Bihāg” in a songbook, and sets it to a catchy tune, de-

scribing his item as “Bihāg.” This melody then becomes popular among other singers, some of whom, however, interpret “Bihāg” as denoting the new tune. They then popularize the tune under this title, and, lo, a new “Bihāg” is born. The identification is reinforced when singers in subsequent generations find other lyrics in verse anthologies labelled “Bihāg,” and, in the interests of upholding tradition, they set them to the melody of Bihāg—not, of course, Hindustani Bihāg, which they do not know, but the new tradition of Indo-Caribbean bihāg, which is a simple tune rather than a mode (Example 1).¹⁷ It is undoubtedly in this manner that the distinctive Indo-Caribbean versions of bihāg, lāvni, bidāpat, daṇḍak, and the like arose. Their original meanings, naturally, are quite distinct, and are largely unknown in the Caribbean: In India, “lāvni” denotes a variety of regional, text-driven folk genres, daṇḍak is an obscure Hindi meter, and “bidāpat” is a popular corruption of “Vidyapati,” the fifteenth-century Maithili poet whose verses are still sung in the Bhojpuri region; but all these terms acquire new meanings and new lives in the Caribbean.¹⁸

In some cases the “new traditions” of t̃an-singing represent reincarnations of older ones, if not exactly marginal survivals. For example, in the early stages of my research I had assumed that the t̃an-singers’ custom of singing “tillāna” with a Hindi text rather than non-lexical syllables represented another case of their having confused and corrupted an Indian tradition. I had to revise my opinion when I was shown tattered copies of old Indian songbooks like *Anand Sagar* which contained Hindi verses labelled “tillāna” or “tarāna.” Such books clearly reveal the existence of an alternative North Indian nineteenth-century performance tradition, which, however, never made its way into musicological literature or modern canonical practice. I was similarly suspicious of the Indo-Caribbean tradition of singing ghazals in Hindi, since ghazal in India is overwhelmingly identified with the Urdu language. However, this Indo-Caribbean custom also turned out to have a basis in nineteenth-century performance practice, as reflected in the hundreds of Hindi ghazals found in songbooks like the *Brahmanand*. Another “corruption” I encountered came in the form of one of the many songs whose last verse contained the *chāp* (signature, seal) of the medieval poet Tulsidas; the Trinidadian singer of this particular verse informed me that his teacher had written the text himself and merely insert-

Example 1: Indo-Caribbean Bihāg

ed Tulsidas' name. From a Western or even a modern Indian perspective, this practice might seem an egregious falsification; yet, as Hawley (1988) has shown, it was extremely common in traditional Indian bhakti literary culture, where poets would routinely insert the sobriquets of earlier authors, whether to pay homage, to lend authority to their verses, or to accord with a certain established mood associated with a given author.¹⁹ Thus, several of the apparent eccentricities and corruptions found in *tān*-singing turn out to constitute perpetuations, in perhaps idiosyncratic forms, of vernacular pre-modern Indian practices.

Metrical Modulations

The distinctive ways in which generations of *tān*-singers have collectively scrambled and reassembled Hindustani and folk music traditions are perhaps most apparent in the formal idiosyncracies of musical practice itself. While a thorough treatment of this subject is beyond the scope of this article, a look at some of the peculiar metrical modulations in Indo-Caribbean *thumri* may provide some sense of the uniqueness of the genre as a whole. As noted above, most *tān*-singing genres can be understood as being set to syncopated variants of the quadratic meter which in India would be called *kaherva*; that term, however, is uncommon in the Caribbean, and local-classical artists, like most of their Indian folk counterparts, have no formal conception of meters with fixed, specified numbers of beats. On other levels the complexity of *tān*-singing's rhythms is formidable. Genres like *dhṛūpad*, *ghazal*, *tillāna*, and *thumri*, although all set more or less to a quadratic meter, are distinguished from each other partly by the specific kinds of *dholak* accompanimental patterns employed both in the verse sections and the rapid and dense *ḍaur/barti* (Hindustani *laggi*) section. Virtuoso *dholak* players abound, including among the younger generations, and I would opine that many of them could hold their own against the hottest North Indian folk drummers. Accordingly, alongside the fireworks occurring in the *ḍaur* section, the rhythmic accompaniment to the aforementioned genres is typically highly syncopated and active.

The distinctive aspects of local-classical rhythms are perhaps most prominent in *thumri*, which is the single most popular and common sub-genre. Both Guyanese and Trinidadian *thumri* commence with a refrain (in India: *tek*, *sthāi*) and two or three sets of verses (*pad*) in moderate tempo, which then segue via an abrupt modulation to the rhythmically dense *ḍaur/barti* section; the piece closes via another abrupt modulation returning to the *tek* in the original tempo. Although the notion of a four-beat meter, such as I employ in transcriptions, is an etic concept not recognized by perform-

ers, most sections of thumri fall fairly unambiguously into a kaherva-type quadratic meter, especially as emphasized by the standard dantāl ostinato (quarter, two eighths, quarter, two eighths, etc.).

However, in the Guyanese style, the singer, or in some cases, the drummer may perform a syncopated cadential figure which effectively drops a beat from the quadratic structure, obliging the other musicians (and the ethnomusicologist tapping his foot) to change their patterns accordingly. For example, the *tek* refrain shown in example 2 below is fairly straightforward in its suggestion of a quadratic meter, which I have transcribed in 4/4. The words “Krishna-ji ko yād” (here commencing on the second beat of bar 2) are set to the syncopated pattern of a miniature *tāl* (Hindustani *tihāi*) figure, with its distinctive three structural beats cadencing on and stressing the following downbeat:

Example 2: Guyanese thumri refrain

dantal:

e - ji mil - ne ke Su - dā - ma ji Krish - na ji ko yād

However, a singer, as in the following example, might compress the third bar by commencing his rendering of the *tāl*/*tihāi* figure on the first, rather than second beat of the measure. This displaced cadential pattern, however short, would be recognized by the accompanists, who would adjust accordingly, affording an isolated measure of three rather than four beats.

In conversations with performers, my attempts to elicit verbal descriptions of this sort of process, or even acknowledgements of its existence, generally resulted in mutual exasperation, due to musicians' disinclination or inability to articulate concepts of meter. In one productive session with an expert performer, Ramnarine Sasenarine, I sang the excerpt in example 3, accompanied by myself on dantāl and him on dholak, and asked him if this was in any way wrong or odd. He replied, “No, why should it be? You are showing the drummer that you are the boss, that you are the one in charge.” Habituated as I was to thinking of North Indian meters as invi-

Example 3: Compressed version of #2

e - ji mil - ne ke Su - dā - ma ji Krish - na ji ko yād

olable entities, I was reminded of Humpty Dumpty telling Alice that his words mean whatever he chooses, since he is the master of them. Similarly, in *tān*-singing, a vocalist can be the master of the meter, not a slave to it, such that he can change it at will. Such a conception is quite different from that prevailing in India, where a quadratic meter, whether intuitively or formally conceived, would have to be maintained throughout, such that the *tihāi*-like figure above would have to start on beat 2, not 1.

The Trinidadian style of *thumri* does not accommodate such spontaneous metrical alternatives, having a more fixed and standardized *dhāb* (mold). However, distinctive rhythmic shifts are built into this mold itself, which, like those of the Guyanese *thumri*, long bewildered me to the extent that I felt that I did not even know how to tap my foot along with the song, much less transcribe it. The Trinidadian *thumri*, as illustrated in example 4a below, starts with a few renditions of the refrain, whose lead vocal phrase (*mukbra*; here, “*Rām kahā māi*”) can be seen as another “mini-*tāl*/*tihāi*” (as in examples 2-3), i.e., a syncopated pattern of three structural beats cadencing on the following downbeat. The refrain is accompanied by a fixed dholak pattern which some musicians call *theka*—a terminology I employ here, especially since it coheres with its Hindustani counterpart, implying a standardized, skeletal drum pattern outlining a given meter (Hindustani *tāl*). This *theka* could be regarded as an eight-beat pattern, or, as transcribed in 4/4 in example 4a below, as a two-bar pattern (e.g., mm. 2-3, 4-5, etc.); more specifically, it can be seen as opening trochaic figure (i.e., downbeat-upbeat), followed by a syncopated figure which, for convenience’s sake, I will call the “cinquillo,” after the similar (but unrelated) Cuban pattern; it then leads to a “mini-*tāl*/*tihāi*,” similar to that articulated by the vocalist. Typically, however, the *pad* (verse) section commences with an abrupt rhythmic shift, in which beat 2 of the meter becomes the new downbeat (beat 1). In example 4b this shift occurs at m. 24, in which the momentarily disorienting “cinquillo” figure serves as an anacrusis to the new downbeat, marked by the bracket. While I have maintained the original 4/4 bar grouping throughout this section, one can see how the downbeat has shifted to beat 2 of each measure; note, for example, the *dantāl* pattern as of m. 26, and the vocal cadence in m. 27, stressing the word “*chāi*.” During this *pad* section, the dholak player renders highly syncopated patterns (sometimes called *chaubola*, or *paran*), which, however, generally continue to suggest a quadratic feel. At the end of the *pad* (example 4c, mm. 40-42), the vocalist sings the lead phrase of the refrain, with its signal “mini-*tāl*/*tihāi*,” which, however, in terms of the newly established quadratic pulse, commences one beat too early, as it were, leading to another rhythmic shift at the return to the *theka* pattern. The result is a return to the original quadratic pulse (marked by the closed bracket), in which

beat 1 is again the downbeat. The rhythmic modulation could be schematized as follows:

(theka/refrain)	(pad)	(theka/refrain)
... 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 (2)		1 2 3 4...
(or:) ... 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 (6)		1 2 3 4...
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 ... 1 2 3 (-)		

Further irregularities occur. In the beginning of the *ḍaur/barti*, an extra beat is always added after a dramatic *dholak tāl/tihāi*, affording, in effect, a one-beat measure which, although initially bewildering to me, I have come to appreciate as a uniquely dramatic moment. Further, in analysis I noticed that while a *kaherva*-like quadratic meter usually prevails in the extended *pad/paran/chaubola* section, a beat might occasionally be lost or added here amidst the spirited *dholak* syncopations; however, the clear qua-

Examples 4a, b, c: Trinidadian *thumri* excerpts

Example 4a

1

Rā - m ne ka-hā mā - i a-re Rā - m ka-h mā-i mo-re Rā-m kā - h

2 MM=138

mā pū - ḥa t Bha-ra - t maiy - ya mo-re Rā - m ka - h

r.h. 4/4

DHOLAK (trochee) ("cinquillo") (mini-tal/tihai)

l.h. 4/4

(theka)

DANTAL

6

mā e pū - ḥa t Bha-ra - t maiy - ya

Example 4b

23

4/4 pad #1

ja - b se a - e ha - m A - va - dh - pū - ri meñ

(theka)

(chaubola)

26

ha - me u - dā - si čhāi

(etc.)

dratic pulse would be re-established when the singer returns to the refrain. Finally, while the *thumri* ends with a straightforward *tāl/tihāi*, the drummer often follows what in India would be the conclusive final downbeat with one or more desultory rhythmic strokes, like an automobile engine kicking after the ignition has been turned off.

As in Guyana, my numerous attempts to discuss these matters with performers were invariably fruitless, except in the case of one Trinidadian drummer who revealingly said of the *pad*, “yeah, it shifts, and then it shifts back.” My own initial confusion in listening to such rhythms derived in part from the fact that in my decades of listening to world music, I had never encountered such a phenomenon, in which a regular quadratic pulse is disrupted by moments in which beats are willy-nilly lost or added. Granted that those who do not count things—whether beats or coins—might be likely to lose them, but such an entity as a quadratic folk meter is likely to be intuitively felt and maintained, even if not prescribed in formal theory.

As it is, the rhythmic shifts in *tān*-singing, although inadmissable in North Indian classical music, can be said to derive from an idiosyncratic perpetuation of certain features of Hindustani music at the expense of others. In particular, *tān*-singing retains from Hindustani music the figure of the short, metrically disorienting *tihāi* and, more significantly, a fondness

Example 4c

38

o - r ghā - t ghā - tōñ meñ ma - t par jā

40

sa - b ro - va - t pa - i maiy - ya Rā - m ka - h māi

(thecka)

43

maiy - ya Rā - m ka - h māi e - e pū - cha - t

(thecka)

for linear syncopation; here, however, the animated syncopation takes precedence over strict maintenance of a quadratic meter, and both facilitates and obscures such metrical irregularities as occur. Evidently, one of the entities which Indo-Caribbeans left behind in the Old World was the notion of a strong and regular downbeat (Hindustani *sam*).

Conclusions

Indo-Caribbean culture is in most respects a thoroughly transnational entity, spread out as it is over several diasporic and secondary diasporic countries, and shaped by a variety of global cultural flows, whether from India, the West Indies, or the USA. Given such considerations, which I have stressed in another publication (Manuel 1998b), it may seem odd to speak

of a genre like *tān*-singing, as in the epigraph to this article (by a Trinidadian music authority), as the product of a self-contained “capsule” of musical heritage brought from India, which has been largely resistant to stylistic acculturation. Nevertheless, Indo-Caribbean music culture, like many others, is heterogeneous and complex, comprising not only syncretic hybrids like chutney-soca but also neo-traditional genres which, while continuing to change, have evolved along endogenous lines without any particular creole stylistic influence. It is in this sense that *tān*-singing can be regarded as a distinctively Indian product of diverse oral and written origins, whose evolutionary processes accord with those of other art forms in India, especially intermediate genres synthesizing folk and classical elements.

Accordingly, the Indic Caribbean could in some respects be approached as if it were a somewhat isolated province of India. For example, there are many sorts of similarities between *tān*-singing and the otherwise essentially unrelated music of the Langan and Manganhars of western Rajasthan. Like *tān*-singing, Langa/Manganhari music has evolved in a geographically isolated locale, containing a mixture of local, regional elements and vestigial features (“marginal survivals”) derived from an earlier and incomplete exposure to pre-modern Hindustani music. Like *tān*-singers, Langan and Manganhars have their own repertoire of modes and meters, use Hindustani terminology in their own way, and sing sargam passages to the “wrong” notes (see, e.g., Jairazbhoy 1980, Verma 1987:6–7, 22–23). As with Langa music, the study of the archaisms in *tān*-singing, such as the *tillānas* with texts and the Hindi ghazals found in old songbooks, can illuminate certain aspects of musical practice in India itself in the pre-modern period.

Most importantly, the sorts of generative processes animating *tān*-singing, including its “distortions” and “corruptions” of Hindustani music, are processes which presumably have always been basic to musical evolution in India itself, both inside and on the margins—whether geographical, social, or temporal—of the current classical tradition. For instance, modal alterations, whether regarded as corruptions or innovations, have been central to the evolution of modern Indian *rāgs*. More generally, much of the content of Indian classical music appears to have come from its socio-musical borders, whether in the form of regional traditions (e.g., the *deśī rāgs* described in treatises) or the idiosyncratic practices of musicians who are only partially trained. *Tān*-singers, we might say, are clearly “confused” when they speak of “*thumri rāg*” or label songs by the *rāg* designations (e.g., “*Asāvari*”) which they find in books. However, such resignifications do not occur only among ill-informed diasporic musicians. Much musical terminology, including *rāg* names, has always evolved via borrowings from other, often only partially understood languages, whether regional ones, foreign ones (like Persian), or dead ones (like Prakrit) transmitted through written

texts. Likewise, in India it is not uncommon to encounter inconsistent or “confused” usages of rāg-names, genre-names, and the term “rāg,” whether in vernacular or pre-modern discourse. In Haryana, rāgini denotes not mode, but a folk genre; the first historical references to thumri describe it not as a genre but as a rāg;²⁰ and even in modern colloquial discourse the term “rāg” is often used to connote melody rather than mode.²¹ The “tillānas” with Hindi texts (rather than non-lexical syllables) in old song-books represent another kind of vernacular idiosyncrasy, which has now taken on a new life in tār-singing. Indeed, the margins of the “Great Tradition,” where such non-canonic inconsistencies and idiosyncracies abound, are best seen not as sites of confusion and degradation, but as fertile breeding-grounds which both enrich canonic practice as well as producing their own unique hybrids.

Tār-singing can be regarded as one unique product of the margins, evolving through a particular synthesis of oral, written, folk, classical, and mass-mediated traditions into an independent genre with its own idiosyncratic expressivity, beauty, and legitimacy. Unfortunately, a marginal genre like tār-singing typically lacks the institutional and elite support of canonic genres, such that, as music genres go, its life span may turn out to be relatively brief. While tār-singing is far from dead, its future is uncertain, since its linguistic base has eroded and the traditional social milieu that sustained it is rapidly disappearing. While “salvage ethnomusicology” seems to be out of vogue today, I make no apologies for my hope that this genre may survive, and that its scholarly study may enhance its status and appreciation both within and beyond the Indo-Caribbean community.

Notes

1. Field work for this article was partially funded by PSC-CUNY grants. I am grateful to the numerous performers and music authorities who assisted me, especially Ramnarine Sase-narine, Gora Singh, Narsaloo Ramaya, Mangal Patasar, Sookdeo Sookhraj, Jameer Hosein, Moean Mohammed, Sam Boodram, Richard Widdess, Scott Marcus, and Kathryn Hansen.

2. In Trinidad, East Indians account for around 43% of the population of 1.2 million, the remainder consisting mostly of blacks, whites, and mixed-race individuals (all collectively termed “creole”); in Guyana and Suriname, East Indians comprise around 52% and 35% of the population, respectively. In this article I use the terms “Indo-Caribbean,” “East Indian,” and, in self-evident contexts, “Indian” synonymously.

3. Impresario Moean Mohammed, personal communication. See also Myers (1983:143) regarding chowtāl competitions.

4. The term “tintāl” is not widely familiar among Indo-Caribbean musicians. It is also significant that the term *tibāi* does not appear to have been common in Hindustani musical parlance before the twentieth century (see Miner 1993:230); like other mostly twentieth-century Indian terms such as *naṭankī* and *laggi*, it is little recognized in the Caribbean. Note that my practice in this article is to use roman letters for words like “bhajan” and “tār-singing” which are familiar (rather than “foreign”) terms in Indo-Caribbean English; thus I itali-

cize only Hindi words which are unfamiliar or esoteric in that creole. My transliterations also represent a compromise between scholarly and vernacular usage, e.g., indicating long vowels, but employing 'ch'/'sh' for *ch*/*ś*.

5. This system is far more pragmatic than its Hindustani counterpart, which effectively prevents around half the *rāg* repertoire—the morning and afternoon *rāgs*—from being formally performed except on infrequent and generally poorly-attended off-hour concerts.

6. Some *tarānas* formerly contained *antarās* (second sections) in Persian, although these are rare now. The term “*tillāna*,” although primarily a Karnatak usage, is occasionally encountered in North India, and is recognized as cognate.

7. Although Indo-Caribbean music exhibits some interesting marginal survivals of sub-continental music (including an archaic form of Bhojpuri *birba*), the thumri of *tān*-singing bears even less resemblance to the nineteenth-century *bandish* thumri (for which see Manuel 1989) than to the modern *bol banāo* style which emerged in the early twentieth century.

8. An Indian visitor, H. S. Adesh, taught Hindustani music in Trinidad in the 1960s-70s, and visiting Indian artists have taught regularly at the Indian Culture Centre in Georgetown, Guyana, and at a similar institution in Suriname since the 1970s. Basics of Hindustani music are currently taught at a few other locales in Trinidad. However, *tān*-singers do not appear to have had any significant degree of exposure to or interest in such lessons. Even today, while Indo-Caribbean stores are full of cassettes of film music and modern Indian pop, one finds no recordings of classical music. Entities like *khyāl*, or artists like Ravi Shankar are thus completely unknown, except to a few serious music students.

9. Dialogues and soliloquys in *nautanki* are typically declaimed in the format of *dobā-chaubola- daur*, each having its own characteristic prosodic meter, associated melodies, and accompanying or punctuating rhythms (see Hansen 1992:ch. 8; Tewari 1974:130). In *tān*-singing, songs are typically preceded by free-rhythmic *dobās* (couplets); *daur*, as derived from theatrical usage, has come to connote the *barti/laggi* section, while *chaubola* is the typical, quadratic folk meter (called *kaherva* in India) used formerly to accompany eponymous verses in drama, and now used in bhajan, sections of thumri, and other *tān*-singing genres.

10. A few qawwālīs by Pearu and Kalloo Qawwal are contained on *Vintage Music from India: Early Twentieth-Century Classical and Light-Classical Music* (Rounder CD 1083).

11. While qawwālī is generally associated with devotional Urdu verses, chapbooks containing Hindi-language, topical, and even Hindu devotional qawwālīs are widely marketed in Indian bazaars. Such forms of folk qawwālī remain to be studied. See Heston's interesting study (1991) of chapbooks in the performance culture of Peshawar poets.

12. The Hindi language group thus includes the closely-related Bhojpuri (of the *purab* region), Avadhi (of central Uttar Pradesh), Braj Bhasha (of the Agra-Mathura region), and the formerly regional dialect which has become lingua-franca “standard” Hindi. The latter overlaps with Urdu, which, however, draws upon Perso-Arabic vocabulary and is written in the Arabic script.

13. See Lutgendorf 1991 for an insightful treatment of performance traditions of the *Ramcharitmanas*.

14. Anthologies containing *sargam* notation, such as Bhatkhande's *Kramik Pustak Malika*, which is widely used in music schools in India, have never circulated in the Caribbean.

15. It is often unclear whether such headings were first supplied by the original author or by subsequent editors.

16. The *rāg*-based *kirtan* renditions of the Pushtimarg tradition, which is also practiced in Rajasthan and Gujarat, includes non-canonic *rāgs* like Rayso Kānhra, and idiosyncratic and presumably archaic versions of other canonic *rāgs* (personal communication, Meilu Ho; also see Slawek 1988:78n, Gaston 1997, and especially Beck 1996).

17. Thus, for example, the text for Jameer Hosein's *bihāg* shown in ex. 1 derives from the *Brahmanand*, where it is labelled “*Rāg Bihāg*.” Trinidadian writer Tara Bissoondialsingh has also discussed this process of renaming (1973:45).

18. Thus, while "bidāpat" has become a melody-type in tār-singing, some vocalists observe how that word occurs, or should occur, in the last line of such verses; in India it would be recognized as the *chāp* or signature of the poet, although in the Caribbean it is either acknowledged to be incomprehensible, or is given some fanciful etymology.

19. Thus, as Hawley notes, editions of verse attributed to and containing the *chāp* of Surdas grew from around 250 poems in the seventeenth century, to massive nineteenth-century collections containing over five thousand poems. The vast body of poetry attributed to the sixteenth-century Mira Bai may be entirely posthumous (Hawley 1988).

20. In the *Tobfat-ul-Hind* (1675) thumri is referred to as a *rāgini*, and in the *Radbagovind Sangitsar* (1803) as a *rāg* (see Manuel 1989:35–37).

21. Also note how *khyāl* denotes not only the predominant Hindustani genre, but also a variety of North Indian folk genres, including the Marwari variant of *naṭāṅki* and the Braj version of *lāvni*; similarly, "Kāfi" denotes both a Hindustani *rāg* and a Multani (itself a region and a *rāg* name) folk genre.

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