

The Emerging Soloist: *Kavvālī* in Bhatgaon

By

DONALD BRENNEIS
Pitzer College, Claremont

INTRODUCTION

Kenneth Burke has written that "critical and imaginative works are answers to questions posed by the situation in which they arose. They are not merely answers, they are *strategic* answers, *stylized* answers" (1957: 3, italics in original). My goal in this paper is to explore the emergence of a musical performance tradition in an immigrant Indian community in Fiji. In this exploration I will not be as concerned with the texts themselves as with the contexts for and styles of their performance and the social meanings and implications of these factors. For while the texts are not markedly different from those found in India and indeed often seem to have originated there, the performances of the texts have been radically transformed along lines both consonant with and contributing to the more general transformation of Indian life in Fiji.

The focus of this paper is the emergence of what in Fiji is called the *kavvālī rāstā* ("kavvālī style") as a variety of musical performance in rural villages. For rural Fiji Indians this style implies a solo male singer, usually accompanying himself on harmonium and backed up by *dhol* (small double-ended drum) and *majirā* (small cymbals). The piece itself consists largely of couplets and is sung in alternating slow and fast sections. Both sacred and secular texts are sung in the *kavvālī* style. Sacred pieces, generically referred to as *bhajan kavvālī*, are always sung solo, while secular texts, often referring to local events or commenting on specific topics and frequently called *Fijī kavvālī*, may involve background singers as well.

Kavvālī style in Fiji is clearly not the same as the *kavvālī* with

which Pakistanis, Indians and Indianists are familiar. In Fiji it is a solo style, rather than a group performance. Furthermore, the social characteristics of the performers are quite different. In north India, *kavvālī* singing is strongly associated with Muslim tradition and with Muslim performers. The texts, if religious in nature, derive from Sufi or other Muslim mystical traditions; more frequently they are lyrics concerning unrequited love. *Kavvālī* are considered to be difficult and are usually performed by professional or semiprofessional musicians rather than village people. In Fiji the *kavvālī* style is used most frequently by Hindus, members of either the orthodox Sanatan Dharm or the reformist Arya Samaj, and the texts most commonly present either scenes and events from the Ramayana or points of Hindu doctrine. The singers are almost always amateurs.

Religious songs, whether *kīrtan*, *harikīrtan* or *bhajan*, have long been sung in north India. They are rarely sung by soloists in the village context, and certainly not in a style derived from Muslim performance practice. Village religious singing, at least in those areas of eastern Uttar Pradesh and northwestern Bihar from which most Fiji Indians' ancestors emigrated, is largely choral and antiphonal. It is an occasion for performing together, not apart (see Henry 1974), in contrast to religious singing in Fiji.

The texts themselves raise a variety of questions, not because they are so different from those sung in India, but because they are so similar. Earlier investigators of overseas Indian musical traditions have been concerned primarily with the maintenance or loss of certain varieties of traditional texts (see Arya 1968). In Fiji texts have not so much been lost as the circumstances of their performance have been transformed. The varieties of song associated with rites of passage and calendrical festivals, for example, which were central in the Indian village repertoire and known, at least in part, to many villagers, are sung in Fiji by a few semi-professional groups. In the case of *kavvālī*, the texts, especially those of *bhajan kavvālī*, are often written and published in India. They are identical to their Indian antecedents. An investigation of Fiji Indian song tradition concerned with texts alone could easily come to the conclusion that not much has changed; even songs composed in Fiji follow a basically Indian form. But this would be a misinterpretation, for though the texts have not changed dramatically, how they are sung, when, where, by whom and, most important, why they are sung have all changed remarkably.¹ In this paper I examine some features of this transformation and locate it within the larger contexts both of Fiji Indian village life and of the range of expressive forms available in rural Fiji. Social life itself is problematic for rural

Fiji Indians in ways far different from those of north India. The Burkean questions posed by life in Fiji are quite new. I hope to suggest a number of ways in which the emergence of *kavvāli* style singing provides answers, *strategic* and *stylized* answers, to these new questions.

SOCIAL LIFE IN RURAL FIJI

The experiences of immigration, indenture, plantation labor and post-plantation village life have had an important range of effects on Fiji Indian communities.² Central to these effects is the fact that, at least on the level of overt ideology, hierarchical caste organization has been replaced by a loose system of egalitarian but ambiguous and flexible social relations. Contributing to this social levelling were the initial loss of caste in crossing the "black waters" of the ocean, the inevitable pollution during transport and the communal life of the plantation barracks, the difficulty of ascertaining *jāti* membership and the shortage of appropriate spouses. On the plantation and in rural villages most men did essentially the same work; the traditional division of labor underpinning the rural caste system in north India fell away.

As one man said, "In the village all are equal." It is a problematic equality, however. Not every villager is a potential peer. Sex is a crucial dimension; women are not considered the equals of men. Adolescent boys are accorded less respect than older married men. As there are no formal criteria or ceremonies to mark the transition from adolescence to social adulthood, disagreements about how one should be treated are common. Even adult males are very sensitive to the accomplishments of others. A primary source of conflict is *jhaln* ("envy"), most frequently occasioned not by direct insult but by another's becoming too visibly successful.

Coupled with this tender egalitarianism is the acephalous character of rural Fiji Indian political organization. After their indentured period on the plantation, Indians had the chance to lease land from the government or Fijian kin groups. The areas in which they lived, however, were never defined as villages in any administrative sense, and there were no formal offices and no official political structures within the rural settlements. This administrative vacuum was rarely filled, as the fear of being thought too proud or too successful often precluded visible local leaders from emerging. Successful leaders are those who do not appear to be leading.

The most important local level organizations are religious associations called *mandali*. The immigrants were generally orthodox Hindus, but the Arya Samaj made a major proselytic drive during the 1920s and 1930s. Arya Samaj missionaries found fertile ground,

especially as their ideological position on such features as caste fit the Fiji situation better than orthodox belief did. Even though *sāmāji* are still a minority in Fiji, the worship service format and other types of performances associated with weekly *mandali* meetings, including speechmaking and singing, had a major influence on orthodox Hindus as well.

A final crucial feature of the cultural transformation of Fiji Indian life, and one particularly important for musical performance, is the role of instruction and knowledge. Something of an epistemological revolution has taken place in Fiji. The Indian caste system can be seen in some ways as a systematic division of knowledge, with each subgroup controlling particular domains of both secular and religious knowledge. Specific groups held monopolies on how to do specific things. In Fiji everyone had to learn similar practical skills. In the egalitarian context of village social life, furthermore, participation in matters of "common knowledge," i.e., the ability to understand gossip, speeches and the like in light of village occurrences, became a crucial marker of group identity. Villagers' concern for such understanding provides an important resource in politics and disputes.

Most important, a principal goal of religious communication in Fiji Indian communities is *śikcā* ("instruction"). This derives in part both from the Arya Samaj idea that believers not only can but should instruct their fellows and from the general proselytic thrust of reform Hinduism; the imported ideology of reform Hinduism provided a mandate. There is further an increased stress on moral behavior and character rather than on devotion in Fiji Indian Hinduism. Moral didacticism is a striking feature of most public events. Although the stress on *śikcā* itself originally was linked with the Arya Samaj, every Hindu in the rural community I studied claimed that the chief goal of and purpose for religious communication was instruction and mental improvement. The willingness not only to teach but to be taught as well is a critical attribute of the devout villager. This is particularly relevant for an understanding of Fiji Indian music, as will be evident below.

THE "KAVVĀLĪ STYLE"

Central to the *kavvālī* style is that it is a solo form in Fiji. The singer may be accompanied by a backup chorus, but this is fairly rare. Singers frequently play harmonium as well. A drummer provides rhythmic background and is frequently joined by someone playing small cymbals or "bottles," i.e., striking the necks of empty beer bottles with large nails. With very few exceptions, all the performers are male.

The language of the *kavvālī* is not the local variety of Hindi, referred to frequently as *janglī bāt* (“jungle talk”), but is somehow marked as special. *Bhajan kavvālī* are marked by the use of a heavily Sanskritic vocabulary, even if the meanings of specific Sanskrit terms are not easily apparent to most listeners. Secular songs such as *Fijī kavvālī* contain numerous Urdu words and phrases; singers claim that the very use of Urdu conveys especially powerful emotion. I would argue that these are essentially emblematic uses of code switching, that they let the audience know what the singer is doing. The Urdu phrases themselves do not so much heighten emotion as their insertion says, “What I am doing now is intensifying emotion.”

The verse structures of *bhajan kavvālī* and *Fijī kavvālī* are different. Religious songs usually consist of couplets which are repeated whole or in part, while secular ones include both couplets and long declamatory passages. In both cases one of the definitive features of the *kavvālī* style is the alternation of slow and fast passages. In Fiji Indian terms the slow passages are called *ṭekā*. The faster sections are called *celtā* (“moving”) and are usually accompanied by drums and cymbals as well as harmonium.³

The texts of a *bhajan kavvālī* (*Ārya bhūmik me sāmājīk kāryakā kalpabrkhā lagāgae*) and a *Fijī kavvālī* (*Roe mā aur pitā gamke māre*) are included in the appendix. Both were recorded in Bulileka, Fiji, from the singing of Birjanand Sharma and his group. Sharma is a particularly admired singer who performs in a number of communities. While his performances are considerably more polished than those of most local singers, the textual features of the songs are characteristic of *kavvālī* singing in rural Fiji. Both songs were written in Fiji. The *bhajan kavvālī* is a fairly standard Arya Samaj piece celebrating the dissemination of reform Hinduism through the efforts of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj. The *Fijī kavvālī* is based on a particularly notorious murder in Suva, the capital city, where a young Fiji Indian woman was abducted and later found dead. Both songs were sung from written texts; most *kavvālī* singers keep notebooks with verses they have composed themselves, heard from others or copied from published sources. *Bhajan kavvālī* are frequently learned from hymnals published in India, while *Fijī kavvālī* occasionally appear in one of the Hindi-language newspapers. The texts in the appendix were transcribed from field recordings.

Both types of *kavvālī* are preceded by a harmonium rendition of the tune and by a vocal *ālāp* or exploration of the song’s tonal material. The *bhajan kavvālī* typically begins with a fast *celtā* section accompanied by harmonium and rhythm instruments and then moves into

a repeated pattern of *tekā* first lines and *celtā* second and repeated lines. The *tekā* lines are sung solo and unaccompanied, the *celtā* lines include instruments, and there are instrumental breaks between couplets in which the tune is played at *celtā* speed. The melodic form is usually a descending terrace, with the lowest pitches being sung in the middle of the line, at least in *celtā* passages. In *tekā* lines the terrace is often inverted, that is, the singer's voice rises to the highest tone at midline and then descends. As the pieces are sung in high tessitura, towards the top of singers' ranges, this combines slow speed with considerable vocal tension, giving what villagers interpret as a sense of stress and intensity to such passages. Indeed, one of the most important features of good *kavvālī* singing is the intensity conveyed.

The *Fiji kavvālī* is structurally more complex as it includes both solo and responsive singing as well as couplets and declaimed passages. There are variations in the performance of *tekā* sections; they are sometimes solo, sometimes multivoiced, and sometimes with harmonium accompaniment. The rhythmically declaimed passages are a striking feature of secular *kavvālī*. The emotional focus of such songs is most intensely marked in the last two or four lines of these sections, where the singer's voice is pitched an octave higher than in the following sung section and where textual repetition within lines indicates the singer's near distraught condition. While *bhajan kavvālī* texts frequently celebrate particular religious figures or practices, secular *kavvālī* combine lyric and narrative features. In the example in the appendix there is a repeated lyric commentary (*Roe mā aur pitā . . .*), while the declaimed verses focus first on the singer's deep emotion and then on two separate episodes in the story. The texts of *Fiji kavvālī* appear to be more closely related to the north Indian *birha* than to the usual Muslim *kavvālī* (Henry 1981).

The contexts for the performance of *bhajan* and *Fiji kavvālī* are quite different. *Bhajan kavvālī* are part of the program at weekly *mandali* services. Known singers are chosen by the *mandali* chairman and asked to sing. Any member of the *mandali* might be called upon to make a speech on such occasions, but only men considered good singers will be included in the program. Along with speeches, catechisms and the telling of religious exempla, such songs provide instruction for *mandali* participants. While *Fiji kavvālī* and other secular songs also should be didactic, they should entertain as well. And their performative contexts differ also: they might be sung at home in small family gatherings or in early evening *yaqona* parties in which men drink a traditional Fijian beverage,⁴ gossip, tell stories and otherwise amuse themselves. *Fiji kavvālī* are also important at weddings,

name-giving ceremonies and other ritual events, where they are performed by guests while the ritual itself is taking place.

Central to an understanding of *kavvālī* singing in Fiji is that it is evaluated at all and that some people are recognized as good and some as incompetent singers. Singing is one of the few areas of Fiji Indian life in which overt criticism and praise are possible without disturbing the delicate balance of social relations. Central to such evaluation is the belief that *kavvālī* singing should provide instruction, that songs should have an important message from which all will benefit. Even what on first hearing seems to be a primarily expressive performance is meant to teach a valuable lesson.

More specific aspects of evaluation include, first, the singer's repertoire. One should know a range of song texts and tunes (*dhun*). Singers also should know how and when to use particular pieces. A second important concern is intensity. Stress, power, vocal strength and a dense musical texture are highly valued. Generally, for example, the more instrumental voices added to a performance, the more beautiful it is considered to be. Intensity is also conveyed through the use of *bhāw*, hand gestures which do not have specific meanings but rather, when appropriately used, have a cueing effect. They highlight particular passages and generally convey a high emotional pitch. Such other features as the characteristic high tessitura of *kavvālī* tunes also denote profound feeling.

Such intensity must not be unrestrained; control is crucial and frequently distinguishes good singers from bad ones. Fox-Strangways wrote of unpolished Muslim singers in India that they were "apt to tear a passion to pieces" (quoted in Henry 1974: 198). The same is true of less accomplished *kavvālī* singers in Fiji; they rely too much on volume, high pitch and high speed to carry the emotional weight of their performances. As a result, their words are frequently unintelligible, a critical flaw when instruction is a primary goal. Good singers are clear, display emotional involvement and the mastery of difficult vocal technique as well. *Tekā* passages and those song genres such as *ghazal* which are primarily slow are considered to be very difficult, very "deep," and much more beautiful than *celtā* passages. They allow both controlled intensity and the opportunity for melodic embellishment.

SOURCES OF THE KAVVĀLĪ STYLE

Here I am concerned not with the underlying reasons for the popularity of *kavvālī* style singing in Fiji, but with specific influences bearing on the development of this style. An important source is the Arya Samaj

tradition of singing missionaries. Many village *sāmāji* claim that they were first attracted to reform Hinduism because of the performances of itinerant singers from India. Such proselytic singing is clearly related to the *bhajnopdeshak* tradition of north India studied by Vatuk (1979), in which soloists perform songs arguing for religious and social reform. In such polemic and proselytic singing, clarity of performance is crucial, as is the stress on what the song is about, what it conveys.

A second cluster of sources are Indian musical performance genres. The *birha* of rural eastern Uttar Pradesh (Henry 1974: 190–193) appears to prefigure both the solo performance style and narrative focus of *Fiji kavvālī* more than do Indian *kavvālī*. More recent sources include film songs and popular recordings played on Radio Fiji's Hindi broadcasts, which people hear almost constantly. Although in the folk music lexicon Fiji film songs are distinct from *kavvālī*, the differences lie in the texts rather than in the musical characteristics of the two genres. These types of popular Indian music are both inescapable influences on and, perhaps more important, crucial clues to the kinds of redefinition of Indian culture in which Fiji Indians are engaged.

Finally, the form of *bhajan kavvālī* and *Fiji kavvālī* reveals the transformation of some features of long standing in the north Indian choral singing tradition, especially its antiphonal character. Whereas in India two groups of men would frequently sing religious songs by repeating lines and passages back and forth, as in *cautal*, in Fiji a similar antiphonal relationship exists between singer and his instrument rather than with other men. This is analogous to the black blues tradition in the United States, where the call-and-response form, usually a sung pattern in west Africa, is maintained in the interplay between a singer and his guitar, as with B. B. King and his guitar Lucille. In either case, the underlying antiphonal relationship is maintained, but the specifics of its performance are considerably altered.

THE RISE OF *KAVVĀLĪ*

The causes underlying the singular importance of *kavvālī* style in both sacred and secular singing in Fiji are a more complex issue, but a number of factors appears to be involved. A first factor is that *kavvālī* style singing provides one of the few socially sanctioned opportunities for individuals to show their abilities and to be praised or criticized publicly for them. Singing constitutes a performance niche in which somewhat anomalous behavior, by the standards of everyday life, is feasible. It is stylistically so clearly marked and so demanding that it defines a performance context quite apart from the ordinary. Such distinctiveness by itself, however, is not enough. It is also critical that others

are thought to benefit from *kavvālī* performance and from the instruction which it is said to offer.

The central role of instruction as a stated goal of *kavvālī* singing is striking in contrast to the reasons for singing given by the residents of Indrapur, a north Indian community studied by Henry (1974). Indrapur villagers claimed that they sang religious songs either because they were auspicious, that is, they were required for the successful accomplishment of some ritual event, or because they led to a sense of divine intoxication. Auspicious songs fell mostly to women, while men's *bhajan* singing was directed to the latter goal. In either case, the fact of participation was considered more important than its quality, at least as far as amateur village singing went. *Bhajan* singing offered Indrapur men direct, personal access to a divine audience. Singing together also dissolved for the moment boundaries between Brahmin and agricultural worker, between high and low; worshipers were released from the constraints of caste and class.

In Fiji the stated purpose of *kavvālī* singing, whether religious or secular, is mental improvement and clarity, not intoxication. The quality of performance is central; inept singers or instrumentalists should not participate. The *kavvālī* singer's audience is human and responds to his successes and mistakes quite directly; although *bhajan kavvālī* are definitely religious, they are addressed not to the divine but to one's fellows. In the context of flexible but frequently threatened egalitarian relations characteristic of Fiji, singing in the *kavvālī* style allows not the blurring of social difference but the temporary instatement of a clear-cut social order, the position of singer as teacher validated by the importance of his message, as is the audience role of student. Singers' virtuosity is prized. They can excel without occasioning the resentment and revenge of others because their messages are valuable for all involved and because the medium through which messages are carried is stylistically so highly marked. The Burkean question for Fiji Indians is one of social order in the face of possible chaos and conflict; *kavvālī* provide a very stylized answer to this question.

NOTES

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1. My perspective here clearly derives in part from current work in the ethnography of communication, especially Bauman (1977) and Abrahams (1968).

2. For a detailed discussion of this transformation see Brenneis (1979).

3. The use of these terms in Fiji is different from their meanings in India; I use the Fiji Indian meanings for these and other musical terms throughout the paper.

4. A drink prepared from the crushed roots of the *yaqona* plant (*Piper methysticum*), *yaqona* as prepared by Fiji Indians is at most very mildly intoxicating.

APPENDIX

*FII KAVVĀLI**

- Roe mā aur pitā gamke māre (tekā 1)
 begunāhake uski betī gumāe. (celtā)
 Roe mā aur pitā gamke māre
 begunāhake uski betī gumāe,
 5 begunāhake uski betī gumāe.
- E dilwāle suno e darḍki kahānī hei, (tekā 2)
 ham bhī mahsud hue sārā jahā pānī hei.
 E prabhū, hāl e jigr kyā likhū,
 jab dil lagtā hei kī dīlo jigr kyā likhū?
 10 Yad dilātā hū pitā jiskī betī thī.
 Kaise mānegī mā jisne paidā kī thī?
 Aise kohī kohī kīsikon māre begunāhake betī gumāe, (tekā 3)
 aise kohī kīsiko nā māre.
 Begunāhake uski betī gumāe.
 15 Aise kohī kīsiko nā māre. (celtā)
 Begunāhake uski betī gumāe.
 Roe mā aur pitā gamke māre
 begunāhake uski betī gumāe,
 begunāhake uski betī gumāe.
- 20 Ghar kiska cakra laḍkī par cali āyā. (tekā 2)
 Sōcō kāhāto kaha ūse shubalāyā.
 Ai jab laḍkī munī tō hōnī bhī sāth rahi,
 ghar se cali to mōsī bhī sāth rahi.
 Ghar se cali to waha dono phas gae.
- 25 Mōsī kō mārkar betī kō le gae.
 Mōsī kō huwāhō tō betī kō pukārī,
 magar betī nā milī, kīsmat kī mārī.
 Mōsī kō huwāhō tō betī kō pukārī,
 magar betī nā milī, kīsmat kī mārī.
- 30 Dekhō kaise wō kīsmat kī mārī, (tekā 3)
 begunāhake betī gumāe.
 Dekhō kaise wō kīsmat kī mārī, (celtā)
 begunāhake betī gumāe.

- Roe mā aur pitā gamke māre,
 35 begunāhake betī gumāe,
 begunāhake betī gumāe.

- Kahā kī mā bāp ronā terā,
 chain ātā kāhā mūskil hei jinā terā.
 Are marne wāle kucch to raham khānā thā.

(tekā 2)

- 40 Hai ek laḍkī e khānā thā.
 1972, 25 me khabar mīlī,
 ebalīn nāir jiwīt nā rahi ūnkī lāse mīlī.
 Sunte hī mā bāp, sunte hī mā bāp khāmos raha gae.
 Betī kī cāhat dil me thī behos hogae.

- 45 Betī tumhare vāste kya kya nā kiya?
 Tu choḍ calī jispe nā kiya thā?
 Mamtā hame rowāegī is wakt umarbhar.

(tekā 3)

- Honī se kabhī hāre bālak kāl.
 Kōn royā nāhi gamke māre,
 50 kōn royā nāhi gamke māre,
 begunāhake betīko māre?

Kōn royā nāhi gamke māre,
 begunāhake betīko māre?

(cētā)

- Roe mā aur pitā gamke māre,
 55 begunāhake betī gumāe,
 begunāhake betī gumāe.
 Roe mā aur pitā gamke māre,
 begunāhake betī gumāe,
 begunāhake betī gumāe.

FII KAVVĀLI: Translation

- Mother and father, struck by sorrow, weeping,
 their blameless daughter taken away.
 Mother and father, struck by sorrow, weeping,
 their blameless daughter taken away,
 5 their blameless daughter taken.

- Caring people, listen, it is a song of pain.
 We were all shocked, the whole world is ashamed.
 O lord, what can I write, with the state my heart is in?
 My heart wants to write, but what of my heart?
 10 I remind you of the father, whose daughter it was.
 How will the mother who gave her birth accept it?
 Thus someone, someone, for some reason struck someone,
 their blameless daughter taken away;
 15 let no one strike another in such a way,
 their blameless daughter taken.
 Mother and father, struck by sorrow, weeping,
 their blameless daughter taken away,
 their blameless daughter taken.

- 20 When the girl was going to the house, through fate,

- she thought what a fine day it was.
 When she left the house, there was another with her;
 when she left, her *mōsī* was with her.
 As they left the house, the two were seized.
- 25 Striking the *mōsī*, they took the girl.
 The *mōsī* remained, shouting for the girl,
 but the girl wasn't there, struck by fate.
 The *mōsī* remained, shouting for the girl,
 but the girl wasn't there, struck by fate.
- 30 Look how—struck by fate—
 the blameless daughter taken.
 Look how—struck by fate—
 the blameless daughter taken.
 Mother and father, struck by sorrow, weeping,
- 35 their blameless daughter taken away,
 their blameless daughter taken.

- Someone said, "O mother and father, your weeping!
 How can you find peace? You will scarcely remain alive.
 Oh murderers, you should have had some pity
- 40 Alas—just a girl—you should have had some pity!"
 1972, the twenty-fifth of May, the news arrived;
 Evelyn Nair was no more; the corpse was found.
 Hearing this, her parents fell silent.
 In their hearts they needed their daughter; they fell unconscious.
- 45 For you, daughter, what did we not do?
 You left us, what did we not do?
 From deep affection we will cry for our whole lives.
 She was just a child yesterday.
 Who would not weep, struck by sorrow?
- 50 Who would not weep, struck by sorrow,
 their blameless daughter taken away?
 Who would not weep, struck by sorrow,
 their blameless daughter taken?
 Mother and father, struck by sorrow, weeping,
- 55 their blameless daughter taken away,
 their blameless daughter taken.
 Mother and father, struck by sorrow, weeping,
 their blameless daughter taken away,
 their blameless daughter taken.

* Recorded July 5, 1980, Bulileka, Fiji; Birjanand Sharma and party.

Ṭekā 1: Sung solo, accompanied by harmonium; the first verse is preceded by an instrumental rendition of the tune and by a vocal *ālāp*. Slow.

Celtā: Sung in unison by lead singer and two others, accompanied by harmonium, *dhol* and small cymbals. Rapid.

Ṭekā 2: Sung in a declamatory style, solo, accompanied intermittently on the harmonium. Slow.

Ṭekā 3: Sung in unison by lead singer and two others, accompanied only by the harmonium. Slow.

*BHAJAN KAVVĀLI**

Ārya bhūmik me sāmājik kāryakā kalpabrkhā lagāgae. (2) (*celtā*)
 Ārya bhūmik me sāmājik kāryakā kalpabrkhā lagāgae.

Ārya bhūmik me sāmājik kāryakā kalpabrkhā lagāgae. (*ṭekā*)
 Aur we waktā satyawādī satya dharm ko batāgae. (2) (*celtā*)

Hogae to chārō ved hī yīs deś me (*ṭekā*)
 aur karke deśa kono mahāsya pīne pe lagāgae. (2) (*celtā*)

Āj jo ūtsaw huwā hei ūnke hī ūpkārise (*ṭekā*)
 aur dur durse ārya dharmi kīsī nagar me āgae. (2) (*celtā*)

Deśī deśī ṭuṭhā Rīsī Dayānand Saraswatī (*ṭekā*)
 apne trīshul karma deś kō mokshay pāgae. (2) (*celtā*)

Apne trīshul karma deś kō mokshay pāgae. (*ṭekā*)
 Ārya bhūmik me sāmājik kāryakā kalpabrkhā lagāgae. (2) (*celtā*)

BHAJAN KAVVĀLI: Translation

In *ārya* soil deep roots have been planted by *sāmājik* labor. (2)

In *ārya* soil deep roots have been planted by *sāmājik* labor.
 And those men devoted to truth have proclaimed the true faith. (2)

Four Vedas were in this land;
 that done, roots were planted in all countries in humble men. (2)

Today, whenever there is an occasion, through their aid,
 from far away *ārya dharm* has come to every city. (2)

Every nation struck by the trident of Swami Dayanand Saraswati,
 release from karma comes for all nations. (2)

Release from karma comes for all nations.
 In *ārya* soil deep roots were planted by *sāmājik* labor. (2)

* Recorded July 5, 1980, Bulileka, Fiji; Birjanand Sharma and party.

In this *bhajan kavvāli* all *ṭekā* lines are sung solo and unaccompanied; all *celtā* portions are sung solo, accompanied by harmonium, *dhol* and small cymbals. The tune is performed instrumentally before the first verse and between subsequent ones. The first verse is preceded by a brief vocal *ālāp*.

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