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1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the transformation process from Hindustani *ghazal* into present-day Malay *ghazal* and explores possible reasons for the observed selective tolerance of one minority culture on the basis of aesthetic values over the many minority cultures that exist in the Indian population in present-day Malaysia. Cultural changes in the Malay world have been caused by frequent invasions and by migrations.¹ The upper half of the Malay archipelago was a welcoming land where seafarers stopped during voyages between the West and the East for trading and other purposes. Malays who inhabited Peninsular Malaya and some parts of Indonesia have been significantly influenced by a variety of others, including people from India.

Today, Malays comprise the largest population in Malaysia; other groups include the Chinese and the Indians. The latest mass wave of Indian immigrants were brought to Malaysia by the British in the second half of the nineteenth century to work on plantations. They were Tamils and Telugus from the southern part of India. Subsequently, North Indians, who were, at the time, still under British rule, arrived as military officers, as did people from Jaffna and Kerala, who became clerical officers and civil servants. Later, moneylenders (Chettiars) from South India and traders from various parts of India immigrated and became members of the Indian minority. Recently, Indians have become ‘a source for knowledge economy professionals’, especially in the information technology sector (Jähnichen 2010: 43).

The establishment of South Indians as a distinctive minority in Malaysia was encouraged by Sir Frederick Weld, to whom the idea that Indians are better labourers than the Chinese can be attributed; Weld based his idea on the claim that Indians were docile, malleable, and submissive to the colonial power (Jones 1958: 8–9; Hirschman 1986: 347; Ramasamy 1992: 90).

The larger portion of Indians in Malaysia come from South India; this includes the Kerala, the Tamil Nadu, and the Andhra Pradesh. A small number of Indians are from North Indian states such as Punjab, West Bengal, Gujarat, and Sindh (today a province in Pakistan). People from countries such as Bangladesh and Pakistan, which were part of Greater India until the end of the British colonial period, are considered ‘Indians’ by the

Chinese and Malay peoples, who view them as having the same historical, social, genetic, and economic backgrounds. This perception might have been nurtured by the Malaysian government's censuses, which counted all people from the Indian subcontinent as 'Indian' (Saw and Kesavapany 2006: 12–13).²⁾ Moreover, the Malaysian perception of 'Indian' is based on a supposedly larger geographical area rather than confining Indians to India. Unsurprisingly, the music of different places in the geographical area that spans India to Southeast Asia is collectively identified by Malaysians as 'Indian music' instead of being recognised as distinctly North or South Indian music or otherwise accurately categorised.

The caste system and racism are still active within the Indian population in Malaysia (Ramasamy 1984; Balasingham 2014). Dyadic labels such as dark-skinned versus fair-skinned, poor versus rich, Dravidian versus Aryan, and others are applied. The Malay call the South Indian minority in Malaysia 'Keling', with an observed emphasis on the Muslim minority in this subgroup (Emby 2014: ARCPA2660, ARCPA2663)³⁾, though usage of the term has recently come under discussion. In a public debate about whether the use of 'Keling' to refer to South Indians should be banned, Sabri Zain (2007) said, 'References to "kelings"—from the Sejarah Melayu in the sixteenth century down to the British travelogues of the nineteenth century—were not in any way used in any derogatory sense or intended as racial slurs. It was simply a word to describe the people of South India or their descendants in the Peninsula'. Dark-skinned Indians are still perceived as South Indians and are often called 'Keling' by non-Indians.

Intra-racism exists within the Indian minority, but it is rarely noted by non-Indians in Malaysia. Indians of North Indian descent 'racially' self-identity as Aryan. They speak North Indian languages, such as Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, and Bengali.⁴⁾ Among the Tamil-speaking population, there is a division between Sri Lankan Tamils and South Indian Tamils. The latter are rarely subdivided in the eyes of the non-Indian population because the Sri Lankan Tamils became clerical workers in Malaysia. The Sri Lankan Tamil migrants and all the South Indian migrants to Malaysia inherited surnames from their ancestors in South India.⁵⁾

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a personal and informal recruitment system known as the *Kangani*⁶⁾ was implemented to employ South Indians in Malaysia. Given the migrants' awareness of each other's social statuses in their respective natal places in South India, it has been impossible to avoid the transfer of the caste system (Chetty 2012; Kaur 2013). Ann Balasingham (2014), a Malaysian citizen of South Indian origin, claims that most present-day Indian Malaysians tend to determine an individual's social status based on their income and financial stability rather than intra-ethnic divisions. These overlapping division systems within the Indian population are not important to the Malays and the Chinese living in Malaysia. According to Balasingham, in economic and political matters, the government considers them all to be 'Hindus' in terms of religion, with very few exceptions.

Among the Malaysian Indians, the majority are from South India. Muslims are a minority among South Indians, while the majority of Muslim Indians are from North India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. The Malays, as far as could be observed, prefer the

cultural elements of the ‘Muslim Indians’, who mostly originate from the South Indian state of Kerala, North India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. The largest portion of ‘Hindus’ come from North India and are mainly Punjabis who follow Sikhism, which reflects Hindu ideology to some degree.

2. The Transformation of Hindustani Music Practices in the Malay World

The Malays must have adapted many cultural elements from India’s various ethnic groups. The literature on Malays’ adaptation of other cultures (e.g., eating, architecture, clothing, and communication patterns) describes Malay behavioural patterns that might have paved the way for inducting Indian cultural elements into the Malay world (Mohamed Ghouse Nasruddin 2003; Milner 2008; Benjamin 2011, 2013).

Some anthropologists explore the correlation between Malay music and Malays’ behavioural patterns and their ‘nature’ in general. For example, Geoffrey Benjamin compares eating habits with musical renderings and states that ‘Just as a polite Melayu diner will sit on the floor with the food far from the mouth, break off a yet smaller piece from the already small piece of fish or meat, ball it up with rice using only three fingers of the right hand, and then move it to the mouth—so also will a skillful Melayu singer or violinist move from one note to another by a quite devious, melismatically elaborated route’ (2011: 10). These Malay behavioural patterns of eating and musical rendering are not much different from those of many people living in India and other South Asian countries.⁷⁾ Benjamin’s observation provides a useful framework for approaching creative activities among Malays. It implies that mere exposure to others’ music does not automatically lead to adaptations; rather, the entire cultural situation and spirit of the time has to be considered.

To paint a clear picture of how Hindustani music practices could influence Malay culture, it is worthwhile to examine the different groups of Indians inhabiting present-day Malaysia as well as in Malayan history. Punjabis in India were popular among the British as soldiers because of their physical appearance and high morals. Therefore, the British might have brought Punjabi soldiers to Malaya and employed them to respond to the commands of the British highnesses.⁸⁾ Punjabis, with their taste for Hindustani music, might have influenced Malay music by performing *ghazals*, *bhajans*, and some other folk songs in their leisure time and at informal gatherings. The people in Punjab are conversant in languages such as Hindi and Urdu, in addition to their mother tongue, Punjabi.⁹⁾ Last but not least, considering that some Punjabis are Muslims, it is not surprising that Punjabis have practised music genres related to Sufism, such as *ghazal* and *qawwali*, which have become popular in the Muslim community in Malaya.

However, the religious background of *ghazals* could have been adapted in other cultural contexts and ideologies. Regula Qureshi, for example, states that ‘highly formalized, stylized, and rich in metaphor, the [Urdu] *ghazal* serves the expression of emotion and cognition in a rarefied, universalized, yet intimate way through its main subject: love, both human and spiritual’ (1990: 458). This statement confirms that *ghazals* could be performed by the many non-Muslim Punjabis as well. While *qawwali* is highly

appreciated among Punjabis, *ghazal* is preferred, possibly because its vocal expression and structure are less demanding. Thus, *ghazals* were distributed beyond their religious framework, which may have contributed to the high degree of comfort that *ghazal* performers in Malaya exhibited with regard to changes to the *ghazal* idiom during the course of its adaptation. In Malaya, Punjabi soldiers held high-ranking positions in society since they worked in the British military forces. Hence, the Hindustani *ghazal* could have been introduced to Malay aristocrats by Punjabis during leisure time and the various celebrations that included performances.

However, non-Indians in Malaysia pay almost no attention to the music from South India. Jayanti Murugeya (2014), a Tamil-speaking Malaysian living in Serdang, says that Malays are great fans of Bollywood songs, but they do not like any South Indian songs. Among the many Indian music genres, Malays prefer Bollywood songs, which they perform themselves at their weddings and other gatherings and functions. Some Hindi songs are localised by setting Malay lyrics to Hindustani tunes (Malay: Irama Hindustan). The musicians of *ghazal parti*¹⁰ or other assembled groups of Malay musicians who play at informal gatherings do not play Bollywood songs in any way that is similar to the original recordings. For the most part, the basic vocal melody of the original is followed, but introductory pieces and interludes are spontaneously created, maintaining the Bollywood song's colour. Most musicians share knowledge about harmonic progressions and rhythmic patterns to be applied. Malay musicians enjoy playing Bollywood adaptations, which seems to confirm that Malays are great fans of Bollywood songs.¹¹

Apart from Bollywood songs, the Malays have not adapted any other North Indian music genres in a clear-cut manner; for example, Malay *ghazal* as practised in Johor is said to be an adaptation of Hindustani *ghazal*. However, no obvious elements of Hindustani music can be found in present-day Malay *ghazal* except for the use of two main music instruments: the harmonium and the tabla.

3. The Case of *Ghazal*

There are important questions pertaining to why the content and functions of Hindustani *ghazal* were not maintained in Malaya and why the genres and musical instruments (the harmonium and the tabla)¹² still remain, playing a major role in current Malay *ghazal* practices. Referring to previous cultural and anthropological studies of Malays' various aesthetic preferences and general behavioural patterns, this chapter mainly examines the process by which Hindustani *ghazal* was transformed into present-day Malay *ghazal* as practised in Johor (Abdullah bin Mohamed 1971; Amin 2007; Emby 2014; Sarjit S. Gill 2014). This study's findings are based on *ghazal* transcriptions, interviews, and field observations that have provided insights into the cultural preference for one minority culture over several others', due to the majority culture conditions.

Many Malay musicians and scholars recognise Malay *ghazal* as an element of Indian heritage in the Malay world. The musical instruments adapted in Malay *ghazal*, such as the harmonium and the tabla, are widely used in Hindustani music genres such as *khyal*, *thumri*, *ghazal*, and Indian film music. In addition to the tabla's place in music, it is used

as the main musical instrument in *kathak* dance performances, in which the harmonium plays a subordinate role by providing melodic support. The basic concept of *ghazal* might have arrived in the Malay world from North India, although the roots of *ghazal* as poetry are in the Arab world and Persia from the sixth to the twelfth century.¹³ Based on their study of historical sources, Matusky and Tan (2004: 352–353) find that the advent of *ghazal* in the Malay world can be ascribed to the Indians who came to Southeast Asia as traders, immigrants, and musicians capable of performing North Indian *ghazal*. Abdullah bin Mohamed assumes that ‘Perhaps the Malay followers of the Temenggong centred at Telok Belanga, with their leisure and contact with Indians and Arabs, in an atmosphere of a more tolerant society, were able to develop and organise the *ghazal* in their present form’ (1971: 29).^{14,15}

4. The Adaptation of the Harmonium and the Tabla

Although the titular instruments have been discussed in detail, in this context it is more relevant to this chapter’s topic to discuss why Hindustani *ghazal* was preferred or ‘tolerated’ as an ‘import’ but not fully adapted in Malaya. Current historical knowledge indicates that the harmonium and the tabla reached Malaya from India, which is the instruments’ birthplace. Some historical connections between India and Malaya inform that the instruments were brought to Malaya by Indians (Meddegoda 2013; 2014).

The hand-pumped harmonium used in Malay *ghazal* was invented in North India by modifying the foot bellow harmonium, which was widely used by Christian missionaries during the British colonial period in India. Today, the hand-pumped harmonium is extensively used in Hindustani music practices worldwide. This portable keyboard instrument is preferred by Indian musicians for the technical and cultural advantages it offers, and it has been adapted to suit many other music practices outside of India, such as in Malaysia, Indonesia, Trinidad, South Africa, Suriname, Guyana, and Sri Lanka. Today, Malay musicians buy hand-pumped harmoniums imported from India because the instrument is not made in Malaysia. Therefore, in Malaysia, its shape has not been changed, and Malay musicians have had to adapt to all the minor modifications that have been made in India as part of marketing strategies and in response to Indian musicians’ and instrument makers’ changing preferences. The hand-pumped harmonium is a free reed musical instrument. The harmonium’s sound is produced by pumping wind with a bellow and using keys that manipulate the wind and are guided on the free reeds.

Malay musicians have developed their own playing techniques and musical behaviour in Johor *ghazal* performances. The harmonium player in Johor *ghazal* is not musically subordinated, as is the case in Hindustani music where he is merely a melodic accompanist (Meddegoda 2013). Instead of following the vocal melody, the harmonium player plays an independent melody.¹⁶ At the same time, he provides a continuous harmonium sound throughout the performance to support the singing in a practice that is similar to that associated with the Hindustani drone, which sounds continuously throughout Hindustani musical performances as background to help the vocalist create a raga mood and improvise accordingly.¹⁷ The gaps between the vocal sound phrases are

mostly filled by sound from the harmonium, and all the musicians maintain or vary the intensity, so that the vocal sound reaches the audience. The melodic shapes that are described in Hindustani music, such as *kan*¹⁸, *murkhi*¹⁹, and *khatka*²⁰, can be observed in the harmonium melodies of Malay *ghazal* as practised in Johor (Meddegoda 2013: 232–233). Some tone sequences used in raga practices can be found in the harmonium and vocal melodies that Malay musicians perform. As a matter of fact, Malay musicians do not recognise Hindustani ragas by name because they have not had much opportunity to learn ragas as taught in any Hindustani tradition; however, they might create some raga moods while singing and playing.

The Malays' preference for the harmonium and the tabla can be attributed to several reasons. The instruments can be played while in a sitting position on the floor, which definitely suits Malays' preferences for eating, weaving, conversing, and many other daily undertakings. Furthermore, the harmonium is easier to learn to play than the *sarangi*, it is easy to maintain because it rarely gets out of tune and is unaffected by changes in the weather, and it is portable, unlike other keyboard instruments, such as the foot bellow harmonium or the piano. These instruments were occasionally used at indoor gatherings such as *ghazal* performances at the sultan's and other high-ranking Malay noblemen's residences.

The tabla's adaptation in Malay *ghazal* was rather different than the harmonium's. Nevertheless, any tabla played in Malaysia was produced in India. My previous study showed that the tabla's adaptation in Malay *ghazal* differed significantly from its use in learning and performance practices in Hindustani music culture (Meddegoda 2014). Specifically, Malay musicians do not use fixed tabla mnemonics to learn to play the instrument or to learn to perform with it (Muhammad Fadir 2013; Abdullah Omar 2013, 2014); they learnt by observing other players and receiving instructions from them in casual settings. Abdullah Omar, the tabla teacher in Akademi Seni Budaya Dan Warisan Kebangsaan (ASWARA),²¹ said that he teaches 'Pattern one',²² which help students improvise while accompanying Malay *ghazal* (2013, 2014). He shows students how to play some basic strokes, and then the students are expected to learn by watching live performances and listening to recordings. The advent of tabla in Malay *ghazal* remains obscure due to a lack of evidence. However, the information that has been gathered thus far offers some logical explanations that elucidate the advent and subsequent appropriation of the tabla in Malaysia.

The Indian way of learning to play the tabla employs rigorous training methods that might have been too challenging for Malays or perhaps seemed unnecessary to Malay aspirants for the same reasons they did not adapt the Hindustani repertoire of harmonium playing and singing. However, Malay musicians and audiences have been inspired by the performances of Hindustani musicians visiting Malaya, specifically in Johor and Penang. Malay aspirants to Hindustani music must have learnt some ragas, compositions, talas, and playing techniques on tabla and harmonium from Hindustani musicians. Mostly, Hindustani musicians came to Malaya as individual *ghazal* groups, music trainers, or as accompanying musicians in Parsi theatre performances.²³ There is currently no evidence that these Hindustani musicians stayed in Malaya permanently and continued performing

their music and teaching it to Malays. Some local musicians and prominent Malays, such as Mohd Salleh Bin Peran,²⁴ Engku Cik Ahmad, Engku Sulaiman, Engku Ahmad, Engku Abd. Aziz B. Abd. Majid, Encik Dapat, and Hj. Musa B. Yusof,²⁵ possibly had possibly regular contact with musicians and singers who had arrived as soldiers and military officers, with Punjabi and other North Indians among them (Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz 1978: 3, 5). Malays acquired some skills in terms of playing and singing Hindustani music, albeit via a short training period that was insufficient to yield full competence in this alien music genre. It is also questionable whether acquiring competence was the main aim of the Malay musicians who learnt from Hindustani musicians. This raises the question of why Hindustani *ghazals* were not fully adapted by Malays.

In Malaya, the tabla and the harmonium were adapted via Hindustani *ghazal*, which might have been practised by Hindustani musicians in Malaya and later by Malay musicians, who have taken over the genre. However, because Hindustani *ghazal* is sung in Urdu, Malay audiences could not understand it. Malays were accustomed to listening to Urdu *ghazals* based on Hindustani tala and raga moods. However, they could not take over Hindustani *ghazal*, which was cultured and functioned in Hindustan in a remarkably different atmosphere than that in Malaya. Therefore, Malays used traditional *pantuns* (quatrains), sometimes composing new Malay *pantuns* on existing *ghazal* melodies and, in many cases, new melodies. Nonetheless, they named their songs *ghazals*, since the same Hindustani musical instruments play an iconic role in these ensembles' sound. The tabla is used only in *ghazal* ensembles, whereas the *rebana* (frame drum) is used in many music ensembles in Malaya. The tabla was later added to local traditional performance genres involving ensemble music and dancing and singing such as *dondang sayang*, *inang*, *ronggeng*, and *joget* (Matusky and Tan 2004) and has, in rare cases, been replaced with the *rebana* in *ghazal* ensembles. In adaptation processes that bear similarities to this one, the violin, the *gambus* (*ud*), the maracas, the *marwas*, and the tambourine have also found their way into Malay music practices.

5. An Analysis of *Ghazal* Transcriptions

In *ghazal* transcriptions, especially with respect to the harmonium's part, various degrees and methods of adaptation of Hindustani music elements can be observed.

The entire flow of an average *ghazal* performance is shown in the chart in Table 1. Between the single A and B parts, there are instrumental transitions of different lengths. However, the order of *pantuns*, mostly four for different text grouped into A and B according to their melodic similarities, is quite fixed.

The spectral view (middle part of figure 1) shows that the instrumental part (the introductory piece) has an evenly-distributed flow of energy and that only the tabla stroke 'ge' gives it a distinctive feature. The regular dark spots due to 'ge' in the lower area of the spectral view indicate a cyclic rhythmic pattern played throughout this piece. This rhythmic pattern is known as Keherwa tala among Hindustani musicians and some Malay musicians. The basic rhythmic pattern of Keherwa tala, as shown in Table 2, is taught in Hindustani music culture. In Hindustani music culture, it is not necessary to play a

Table 1 The formal and melodic structure of Johor *ghazal* (as flow and as sequence, scheme by the author).

Introductory instrumental piece	A1 1	A1 2	B1 1	B1 2	A1 1	A1 2	B1 1	B1 2	Concluding instrumental piece
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Typical structure of Johor <i>ghazal</i>	Signs applied according to melodic similarities
Introductory instrumental piece	<i>This piece can be played without percussion instruments, like a Taksim, but mostly, cyclic rhythmic patterns of 6/8 or 4/4 were played on the tabla.</i>
Pantun 1	A1-1
Pantun 1 repeated	A1-2
Pantun 2	B1-1
Pantun 2 repeated	B1-2
Pantun 3	A2-1
Pantun 3 repeated	A2-2
Pantun 4	B2-1
Pantun 4 repeated	B2-2
Concluding instrumental piece	<i>Mostly cyclic rhythmic patterns of 6/8 or 4/4 were played on the table, as in the introductory piece.</i>

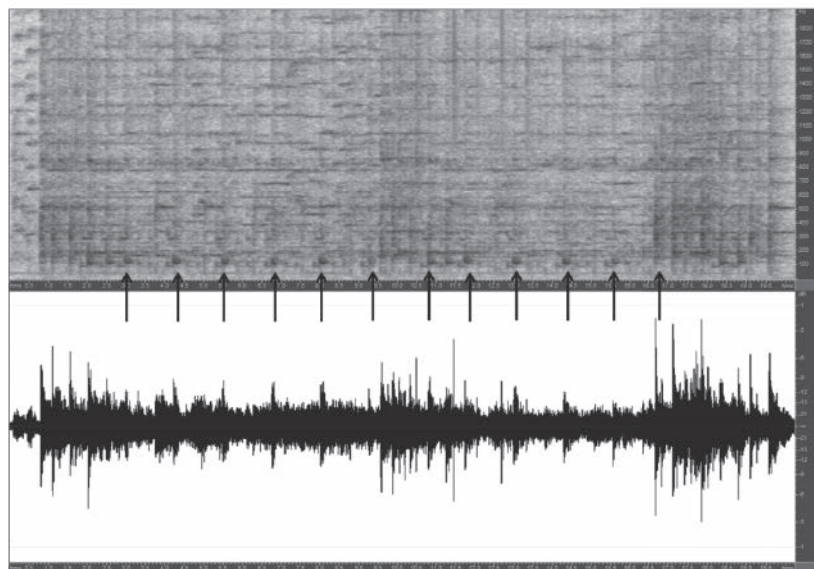


Figure 1 A transcription providing spectral and waveform views of the *ghazal* ‘Sri Mersing’ (introductory instrumental piece, transcription and visual analysis by the author).

Table 2 The rhythmic pattern of Keherwa tala is indicated with mnemonics (Scheme by the author).

Main beat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Theka</i> [rhythmic pattern in mnemonics]	Dha	Ge	Na	Ti	Na	Ka	Dhi	Na

Table 3 The tabla sound of the rhythmic pattern played in the introductory piece in ‘Sri Mersing’ is illustrated, applying Hindustani tabla mnemonics (Scheme by the author).

Main beat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Theka</i> [rhythmic pattern in mnemonics]	Dha	Ge	Na	Tin	-	Ge	Dhin	-

particular sequence of rhythmic tones in Keherwa tala, since this tala is mostly played in flexible music forms such as *thumri*, *dadara*, and Hindi film songs. The most important feature to be maintained in this tala is the presence of eight units in one rhythmic cycle.²⁶⁾ The waveform view indicates that the tabla strokes do not cause the volume to rise and that the intensity increases towards the end of the introductory part.

The difference between Tables 2 and 3 shows that the basic rhythmic pattern of Keherwa *tala* has similarities with the rhythmic structures found in Malay *ghazals*. However, these basic rhythmic structures might have been ‘translated’ into a musical understanding that fits Malay musical concepts.

6. Lyrics

The history of *ghazal* underpins Islamic practices. The *ghazal* practised in North India was not connected with any Sanskrit drama or any other Hindu or Buddhist religious literature (Bauer 2006). *Ghazal* was originally a literary genre that is strongly related to languages such as Arabic, Persian, and more prominently, Urdu (an Indo-Persian synthesis). Meisami defines Arabic *ghazal* as ‘poetry about love, whether incorporated into the *qasida* or in an independent, brief poem’ (1998: 249). According to Bausani, the content of Persian *ghazal* may pertain to love, spring, wine, or God. However, the formal structure needs to be maintained with regard to its length, rhyme scheme, and the *takhallus* (poet’s pen name) in the final line (1965: 1033b). As Table 4 shows, the concept of *ghazal* poetry has changed in Malaysia, with some inclusions and exclusions. The *ghazal* practised in India is sung in Urdu. The very first exclusion in *ghazal* might be the Urdu lyrics, which were understood by only a few among the audiences in Malaya. Many drama scripts and classical literary works in Malaysia are adaptations, transformations, and translations of North Indian Urdu works, which can also be identified as indigenised, reshaped, or localised versions of Indo-Persian Urdu works. Braginsky and Suvorova find that ‘All the more so, as, in their plots and rhetoric, these Urdu originals are close to earlier Indo-Persian works, which served as the source of and the model for the creation of the synthetic genre of Malay fantastic adventure *hikayat*.’ (2008: 123)²⁷⁾ On the condition of Malay translations from Urdu *dastan* (story), they further state that:

Table 4 Poetry elements used in Urdu *ghazal* and Malay *pantun*/Malay *ghazal* (Scheme by the author)²⁸⁾.

Poetry elements used in Urdu <i>ghazal</i>	Terms in Urdu	Terms used in Malay <i>pantun</i> /Malay <i>ghazal</i>
Rhymed verses (couplet): A <i>sher</i> is a couplet, i.e. a two-line poem. Each couplet embodies a single thought and is complete within itself. The plural of <i>sher</i> is <i>ashaar</i> . A <i>sher</i> is also called a <i>bait</i> (bay-t).	<i>sher</i>	<i>pantun dua kerat</i>
Another term for <i>sher</i>	<i>bait</i>	
The best <i>sher</i> in a <i>ghazal</i> is a <i>bait-ul-ghazal</i> , also known as <i>husn-e-ghazal</i> .	<i>bait-ul-ghazal</i>	
A line in a couplet or a verse is called a <i>misra</i> .	<i>misra</i>	
The first line of a <i>sher</i> .	<i>misra-e-oolaa</i>	
The second line of a <i>sher</i> .	<i>misra-e-saanii</i>	
Metre: Both lines of a <i>sher</i> must be in the same metre. All <i>ashaar</i> (plural of <i>sher</i>) in a <i>ghazal</i> must be in the same metre (<i>bahr</i>).	<i>bahr/beher</i>	
Meaningless dummy words that define the length of a <i>sher</i> (poetry). The basic purpose of these is to specify long and short syllables' places in an actual word.	<i>arkaans</i>	
Rhyme proper: The rhyming pattern of the word(s) just before the <i>radiif</i> at the end of the line in a <i>sher</i> . This is a necessary requirement, which is followed even in the absence of other rules.	<i>qafiya</i>	
End-rhyme: A word or phrase that is repeated at the end of the second line in every <i>sher</i> . The same word(s) is/are repeated. The <i>matlaa</i> has both lines ending in the <i>radiif</i> .	<i>radiif</i>	
Opening verse (first couplet): This is the first <i>sher</i> of a <i>ghazal</i> , and both lines of the <i>sher</i> must end in the <i>radiif</i> . Usually a <i>ghazal</i> has only one <i>matla</i> .	<i>matla</i>	<i>pembayang</i>
If a <i>ghazal</i> has more than one <i>matla</i> , then the second one is called <i>matlaa-e-saanii</i> .	<i>matlaa-e-saanii</i> / <i>husn-e-matla</i>	
Final verse (second couplet): The <i>sher</i> that contains the <i>takhallus</i> is called the <i>maqta</i> . It is the last <i>sher</i> of the <i>ghazal</i> .	<i>maqta</i>	<i>maksud</i>
Poet's pen name: A <i>shayar</i> (poet) usually wrote under a pen name called a <i>takhallus</i> (takh-ul-lus).	<i>takhallus</i>	
Frequently-used registers, e.g. <i>e</i> 'of' and <i>-o</i> 'and'	<i>izafats</i>	
Rhythmic speech	<i>tah tul lafz</i>	
Chanting style	<i>tarannum</i>	<i>tarannum</i>
Competitive poetic symposium	<i>mushaira</i>	
A poet's collected works ²⁹⁾	<i>diwan</i>	
Composer of the poem	<i>shayar</i>	
Poems	<i>shayari</i>	<i>shair</i>

Not only each micro-episode, but also the majority of sentences of the Urdu narrative passages find their counterparts in the Malay text, even if frequently with slight changes, permutations and, naturally, in the garb of traditional Malay formulas intended to arrange the flow of narration. However, the Malay text reveals remarkable differences in the conveying of stylistic embellishments of its original. (Braginsky and Suvorova 2008: 123)

Thus, many literary works such as Malay *syair*³⁰⁾ and *hikayat* are adaptations of Urdu and early Indo-Persian literary works, which were widely influenced by Sufism and

Islamism in general. In Malay *ghazal*, the essential feature in itself is the use of Malay traditional *pantuns*, which are far from the Urdu literary adaptations. Malay *pantuns* are basically sung to express the beauty of nature and emotions such as love from various perspectives.

The formal structure of *ghazal* in some literature shows that there are similarities between the traditional Malay *pantun* and the Urdu *ghazal*. The minimum number of verses in an Urdu *ghazal* is five, and the maximum number is twelve. Meanwhile, a Malay *pantun* needs to consist of at least two lines known as '*pantun dua kerat*' and a maximum of sixteen lines known as '*pantun enam belas kerat*'.

The iconic adaptation of Hindustani *ghazal* to Malay *ghazal* is marked by the use of the harmonium and the tabla. Both instruments play major roles in Malay *ghazal* ensembles, occupying close to the same hierarchical position as the vocal renderings. The tabla dominates the rhythmic patterns, while the harmonium leads the melodic texture. Other musical instruments used in the ensemble are the *gambus*, the violin, the guitar, the *marwas*, the maracas, and the tambourine. Among these, the *gambus* is highly regarded for its Arabic origin. In Malay *ghazal*, the *gambus* is prized for its symbolic meaning as well as for its rhythmic and melodic contributions to the entire musical structure.

7. Final Questions and Summary

The Malays' embracement of selected elements of Indian music culture might be traced to the notion that they are the majority and are therefore unconcerned about losing their identity (Chow 2014). Loss of identity is obviously a point of argument when it comes to power relations, which explains why *ghazal* was chosen to exhibit Malayness (Amin 2007; Milner 2008). On the other hand, the South Indian and Chinese peoples have developed a sense of their respective cultures that is deeply rooted in their geographically demarcated homelands, unlike the Malays who were regionally dispersed and have therefore been more creative in terms of their adaptations (Loke 2014).

Why do only the Malays prefer and practise Hindustani music? It seems obvious that the Malays chose Hindustani music because it is mostly practised by Indian Muslims. It is my observation that Malays regard music from Arab countries and Muslim Indians as superior, whereas the Chinese perceive Western art music as superior.

Why were no other music practices from South India selected? Willford mentions one of the reasons for this: 'Nevertheless, Malays show little interest in Tamil movies. They will, however, often attend Hindi films, finding the actors more attractive (i.e., lighter-skinned). Moreover, one could speculate that the stigma attached to working-class Tamil culture figures large in this preference from North Indian, as opposed to Tamil, cinema' (Willford 2007: 316).

The selective tolerance described and analysed in this study can be attributed to many reasons, all based on a choice that reflects ideological comfort with an aesthetic preference and a social habit that developed over the past century. At the outset, exposure was another important aspect, specifically the possibility of appropriating not only instruments but skills in order to achieve a satisfying musical outcome in a time of

cultural formation in the country's urban and suburban areas. In making a selection based on these aspects, one minority culture among several minority cultures appeared to be preferred or 'tolerated' over other less socially-valued minorities.

Notes

- 1) 'The latest genetic data suggest that the Negritos are descended from the first modern humans to have invaded Asia, some 100,000 years ago. In time, they were overrun or absorbed by waves of Neolithic agriculturalists and later nearly wiped out by British, Spanish, and Indian colonialists. Now, they are confined to the Malay Peninsula, to a few islands in the Philippines, and to the Andamans; everywhere they are dying out'. (Benjamin 2013: 447)
- 2) 'This definition, also disregarding citizenship or birthplace, makes sense because these people display common social and cultural traits, and hence similar demographic characteristics'. (Saw and Kesavapany 2006: 12–13)
- 3) ARCPA stands for Audio-visual Resource Centre for the Performing Arts, which is the audio-visual archive of the Music Department at the Faculty of Human Ecology in Putra University, Malaysia. All sound and audio-visual files have unique identification codes that always start with the abbreviation AV for the archive unit. These codes are traceable on site and can be accessed without further preconditions for control or further exploration. They also serve as document references for greater accuracy, allowing for the possibility of referring to audio-visual manifestations instead of pages in print media.
- 4) Observable at Lakshmi Narayan Temple in Kampung Kasipilay (off Jalan Ipoh).
- 5) Among them, some of the highly regarded surnames are Pillai, Rao, Reddy, Menon, Nair, Ratnam, Lingam, Singam, Iyer, and Iyengar. These surnames may connote higher castes and religious subgroups to which these migrants belong. Another differentiation is made by the work or profession with which a person is associated, and people are named accordingly, such as a Mudaliar, Chetti, Kaunder (or Gaunder), Pedayachi, and Vellalar. People's surnames and caste titles are formulated in India according to their religious, professional, sectorial, occupational, and functional categories in the society. More information regarding caste categories can be found on the website: <http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/SHIP/CasteFinal.htm> (accessed: 1 April 2015)
- 6) According to Kaur (2013), the *kangani* became the preferred recruitment method after 1910.
- 7) Similarly, Benjamin recognises a close relationship between general social relation patterns and the call and response in the ritual song performances of Orang Asli in Peninsular Malaysia. The ritual undertakings of the Semang people in the North include heterophonic renderings where 'Each member "answers" the lead singer in his or her own good time'. Aboriginal Malays practise a call-and-response singing form in which the lead singer is followed by the other singers without the latter overlapping on the lead singer's renderings; similarly, a 'higher degree of social differentiation [is] found in those populations' (Benjamin 2011: 3–4).
- 8) Sarjit S. Gill (2007; 2014, ARCPA2659) points out some Sikh characteristics in the context of the British's 'wise' decision to employ Sikhs for in the British administration: 'Because they were highly disciplined; basically, they are tall, and brave. Sikh Gurus always preach that they

have to defend the country and religion. So, that concept is inherited in their daily practices. (...) That was the reason why they were engaged and employed. (...) The British knew that Sikhs are very religious and therefore [the] British built Gurdwaras (Sikh temples) in police training centres and in other military areas [in Malaysia]. You will see them in Paparan, Jalan Ghani, Ipoh, Johor, Perak and also Kuala Kubu Bahru'.

- 9) Because of Punjab's location between North India and Pakistan, Punjabis had to interact with people who speak Hindi and Urdu in North India and the people who strictly speak Urdu in Pakistan.
- 10) *Ghazal parti* is a continuation of local dance and music genres such as *gamat* and *boria*, in which female impersonators or male dancers in female dress perform a parody of Middle East belly dancing with a comedian to the accompaniment of a repertoire imported from Egypt and other Arab countries (Jähnichen 2015).
- 11) Jähnichen (2015) provides substantial evidence to opine that *ghazal parti* has almost no connection with the *ghazal* practices of Johor origin. *Ghazal* musicians in Johor make a clear distinction between *ghazal parti* and Johor *ghazal* as two different music genres in their music repertoire and use of musical instruments. However, the general perception of *ghazal* is complicated and still has not yet been fully realised. The word '*ghazal*' is a generic term developed among Malays; it carries a few different meanings, such as music event, love songs, music ensemble, or a type of poetry. Today, *ghazal parti* performances include Hindi film songs, Arab songs, and Malay songs. All Hindi songs are chosen from Hindi movies released between the 1930s and 1980s, which Indians living in India consider oldies.
- 12) Meddegoda (2014) describes the specific way in which the tabla was appropriated by and integrated into Malay music practices.
- 13) Between the sixth and twelfth centuries, *ghazal* gradually crystallised into its technical form as a lyrical verse metre, a process which was only fully completed by the time of Sa'di (thirteenth century) (Bruijn 2000).
- 14) The Temenggong is an official who was responsible for maintaining law and order and for commanding the police and army.
- 15) Abdullah bin Mohamed describes the political and cultural background of the emergence and development of *ghazal* as follows. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *ghazal* was performed as musical entertainment in the petty courts situated in Riau-Lingga-Johor; with the rise of a leisured class in Riau-Lingga-Johor as a result of Pax-Hollandica and Pax-Brittanica, *ghazal* was patronised among people of the leisured class; with the development of the economy in southern Malaya through trade exchange with Europe, Arabia, and India, various foreign cultural elements were integrated into Malay culture, including foreign musical instruments.
- 16) 'The *ghazal* Johor transcription shows that the accompanist tends to be musically more independent from the vocalist' (Meddegoda 2013: 232).
- 17) 'The main similarities in melodic accompaniments can be seen, as they cause continuous playing throughout the performance, perhaps due to the preference to hear a steady drone, which is fundamental in Hindustani classical music' (Meddegoda 2013: 232).
- 18) The term *kan* refers to a grace (or shadow) note having a shorter duration (and usually greater intensity) than that of the note being ornamented, and it can lie either above or below the

- decorated pitch. In the case of vocal music, it is produced by an inflection of the voice.
- 19) *Murkhi* is the fast ornamentation around the principal tone, and it consists of a number of elided tones. It is a short, sharp figure of more than two tones that are so played as to occur within a short span of time and wrap around the central tone, i.e. they are on either side of it. It is therefore heard as a quick, light trill.
 - 20) *Khatka* is a melodic embellishment in which a cluster of notes is quickly and forcefully produced prior to the tone that is most important in that particular cluster. According to some, *gittakadi* and *murkhi* are synonymous terms.
 - 21) Akademi Seni Budaya Dan Warisan Kebangsaan is the National Academy of Arts Culture and Heritage.
 - 22) 'Pattern one' seems to be a colloquial term for the essential cluster of strokes used among Malay tabla practitioners in the pedagogical context. There is no continuation, i.e. 'Pattern two' and so on. Hence, 'Pattern one' means that there is actually only one pattern.
 - 23) Parsi theatre is an early urban theatre that spread all over Southeast Asia through traveling theatre groups from Bombay, where Parsi theatre was established in the nineteenth century and owned by rich Parsi families who employed mainly North Indian musicians and actors.
 - 24) The person who was responsible for foreign affairs (1856–1912) in British Malaya.
 - 25) He is known to among present-day musicians as 'Major Pak Lomak' (nickname).
 - 26) A time unit is a certain duration that is an equally measured time distance used within the entire piece of music, though it can consist of more than one beat. It can be seen as an underlying pulse, but this term is not as neutral as the term 'unit'.
 - 27) A Malay term for written stories.
 - 28) The blanks in the right column mean that there is no adequate term in the Malay language. Urdu terms are usually not used instead. The information in the left column was gathered from the following website: <http://www.urdupoetry.com/novicenook/ghazalelements.html> and <http://www.urdupoetry.com/glossary.html>.
 - 29) *Encyclopædia Iranica*. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/search/keywords:Divan> (accessed: 1 April 2015)
 - 30) A Malay term for 'poem' or 'poetry'.

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