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Abstract

This thesis seeks to augment previous scholarly research on Hindi film song through the presentation of a multivalent approach to thoroughly understanding and interpreting Hindi film song sequences. In a case study of the song sequence “Pardā Hai Pardā” (“There Is a Veil,”? from Manmohan Desai's 1977 film *Amar Akbar Anthony*), the three essential elements of these sequences (on-screen visuals, text, and music) are connected to the context of South Asian history and culture to demonstrate how scholarly approaches to music, film, and cultural studies can be united to create a more interdisciplinary approach to analysis. The approach also incorporates principles of semiotics: in the case of “Pardā Hai Pardā” the symbol of the veil alludes to the themes of contested spaces and tradition and modernity. Such a study offers a form of rebuttal to the argument that song sequences are “disposable”: it uncovers and draws attention to elements within the sequence that communicate meaningful cultural themes through particular musical, formal, and symbolic structures.

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LIFTING THE VEIL ON HINDI FILM SONG SEQUENCES: AN APPROACH TO
ANALYSIS

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Presented to

the Faculty of Arts and Humanities

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Maria A. Souliotis

November 2015

Advisor: Dr. John J. Sheinbaum

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This thesis seeks to augment previous scholarly research on Hindi film song through the presentation of a multivalent approach to thoroughly understanding and interpreting Hindi film song sequences. In a case study of the song sequence “Pardā Haĩ Pardā” (“There Is a Veil,” from Manmohan Desai’s 1977 film *Amar Akbar Anthony*), the three essential elements of these sequences (on-screen visuals, text, and music) are connected to the context of South Asian history and culture to demonstrate how scholarly approaches to music, film, and cultural studies can be united to create a more interdisciplinary approach to analysis. The approach also incorporates principles of semiotics: in the case of “Pardā Haĩ Pardā,” the symbol of the veil alludes to the themes of contested spaces and tradition and modernity. Such a study offers a form of rebuttal to the argument that song sequences are “disposable”: it uncovers and draws attention to elements within the sequence that communicate meaningful cultural themes through particular musical, formal, and symbolic structures.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION – INVENTING A RHETORIC ON HINDI FILM

In the twentieth century, Indians ... have invented themselves, and they have kept that inventiveness alive (Khilnani 2004: 194).

In his book *The Idea of India*, political scholar Sunil Khilnani expounds upon the “inventiveness” of Indians in the spheres of politics, economics, and society, but glosses over a fourth domain that carries just as much weight as the first three: the realm of aesthetics and culture, which has assumed greater complexity through the advent of filmmaking and the evolution of popular music. India responded to both by crafting a national cinema that became the source for Indian commercial music. Since the release of the first Indian “talkie” in 1931, “India has become the largest feature film-producing nation,” releasing approximately 795 films per year (Arnold 2001: 253) in 51 South Asian languages (Booth 2008: 85).¹

As the Hindi-language film industry rose to worldwide prominence, it became known as “Bollywood” (Booth 2008: 85), a term that now implies certain filmmaking

¹ The Hindi-language film industry is India’s largest; “in addition to Hindi, the most prolific industries (in rough order of size) have been those in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Oriya, and Punjabi” (Booth 2008: 85).

expectations. Observers have characterized Bollywood and Indian popular cinema² by their “cinematic extravaganzas” and penchant for “escapist entertainment” (Arnold 2001: 253) – traits in which music plays a key role (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 116). “An average of six to ten songs per film enhance the entertainment value and highlight the film’s main characters” (Arnold 2001: 253). These songs are presented not as “background music,” but as sequences that assume the form of a wholly musical scene. “Film songs became the first commercial popular music in India, mass produced on vinyl, cassettes and CD’s and marketed nationwide,” and they “represent a significant portion of India’s popular music market” (Arnold 2001: 253). Nilanjana Bhattacharjya and Monika Mehta contend that what Ashish Rajadhyaksha names as the “distribution and consumption activities” of these songs and their associated films has “transformed Bombay cinema into Bollywood”: “in short, ‘Bollywood’ is an industry, a product, and a brand name” (2008: 106) – an entity that carries a great deal of cultural weight.

The popularity of Bollywood and the Indian commercial cinema has not deterred criticism, however, for many spectators (both Indian and non-Indian) find fault with the song sequences that give these industries their distinctiveness.³ “Many people express ambivalence or even condemnation toward [song sequences], saying perhaps that [they are] a simple, impersonal product catering to the masses, or ... an unorthodox, culturally

² Though many of India’s films fit into what Joseph Getter and B. Balasubrahmaniyan term the “hegemonic mainstream commercial cinema,” a great many others fall under the umbrella of “the art/parallel cinema,” a “noncommercial” industry that veers from “established commercial genres” to provide socio-political commentary (2008: 115). One of the most renowned directors of the parallel cinema is Satyajit Ray (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 26), who is best known for *The Apu Trilogy* (1955-59) and *Jalsaghar* (1958).

³ Connie Haham observes that Bollywood receives “regular dismissal ... by critics in both India and in Europe.” She also describes the “ambivalence” of “many NRI’s [non-resident Indians] or second-generation South Asians”: “while avidly watching Hindi films, they caustically complain of their lack of realism and logic” (2006: 147).

debased phenomenon” (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 116). Edward K. Chan states that these observers are inclined to characterize Bollywood and its song sequences as “kitsch” because of Bollywood’s tendency towards “racially encoded excess”: they argue that “an overabundance of emotion, a ‘surplus of signs,’ and ... cultural differences that reside outside the logic of mainstream American popular culture” transfigure Bollywood into an industry of aesthetic overindulgence (2008: 265).⁴ Bollywood song sequences also have the tendency to become dramatic non sequiturs due to their perceived vapidness, as well as their sometimes vague associations with the film and its context. In the article “Lyrically Speaking: Hindi Film Songs and the Progressive Aesthetic,” Ali Mir laments how the politically-minded film songs of the first half of the 20th Century, in which lyricists pushed first for Independence and then for social reforms in the newly-independent nation, gave way to “banal lyrics” as embodied by such songs as “I Am a Disco Dancer” (2007: 214). Song sequences are one of the reasons why Lalitha Gopalan “has characterized Indian popular cinema as a ‘cinema of interruptions,’” for additions such as these challenge “notions of narrative totality” (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 50). Mir concurs, claiming that the songs of the 1970’s and beyond have no function except to “interrupt the narrative and provide some light moments” (2007: 215).

Attitudes that characterize Bollywood and its song sequences as insipid entertainment may be overly dismissive, however, for several scholars provide theoretical evidence that supports the cultural value of film song. In “Music Studies and the Idea of Culture,” Richard Middleton writes that “culture always has a political force (even when

⁴ At the same time, many critics simultaneously “praise popular Hollywood films and ... rail against Bollywood films,” even when “both could be criticized equally” for their “examples of illogic” (Haham 2006: 147).

it is posed as antipolitical); indeed, it often threatens to absorb or displace the sphere of politics as more conventionally understood” (2003: 6). Various forms of media and cultural representation have the potential to project particular conceptions of the experiences of Indian individuals, influence social values, and shape an individual’s relationship to contemporary Indian society. The cinema is an especially effective medium because it brings multiple modes of representation together through storytelling.⁵ Mark Slobin names “American film as a metaphor for the larger society” and identifies music as “a principal player” in the conditioning of this metaphor (2008b: 73).⁶ I contend that the metaphor holds for Indian popular cinema as well: the industry is a product of a specific society (i.e., South Asia) that is far-reaching in its cultural scope, and emphasizes the use and role of music in film production. The stylistic contrast between a scene of dialogue and action and a song sequence enables the latter to become “a special moment within a film” that “can express emotions and identities in ways unlike the balance of the movie” (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 118). The certainty that song sequences can (and are) communicating on a metaphorical level (even if the associations are not immediately apparent), combined with Bollywood’s interweaving of both filmic and musical rhetoric, demands that song sequences be given a thorough critical review.

The enduring popularity of Bollywood and its song sequences with Indian audiences, as well as the Indian government’s responses to the film industry, acknowledges the power these commodities have in shaping conceptions of “Indianness.” Music’s “centrality” in Bollywood film (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 17-18) is the result of

⁵ Granted, many films do not rely on narrative structure, but communicate through multiple modes of representation nonetheless.

⁶ Slobin does not specify whether the American film music he refers to is diegetic or non-diegetic.

Indian cultural antecedents that have no exact parallel in Western filmmaking. Indian traditions of theater, storytelling, and dance rely on “the deployment of songs to propel a narrative” (Mir 2007: 206). “Early films derived their narratives and mise-en-scène from existing theatrical traditions including the Parsi theatre, a composite of the nineteenth-century British melodrama, and folk forms such as *nautanki*⁷ and *sangeetbari tamasha*, Sanskrit drama, mythologies,⁸ and Urdu performance traditions” (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 56). When silent film came into existence,

[Indian] audiences accustomed to indigenous entertainment genres comprising music, dance and spectacle demanded more than the moving pictures. Thus, even during the silent era, the screening of films was accompanied by live performances ... Well-known music director and lyricist Gulzar recalls, “In front of the screen was a pit where musicians would sit and provide live music for the visuals in the film ... The loud music of tabla, sarangi and harmonium played very loudly [*sic*], would drown out the sounds not only of the noisy film projectors but also of the calls of roaming hawkers selling paan, beedis and lemon soda ... The audience would send requests for their favorite songs *regardless* of the visuals and situations on the screen” (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 19-20, emphasis in original).

As Indian audiences continued engaging with the new medium of cinema, film became a “mode of nation-building” (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 13), with songs “operating as ‘capillaries’ through which ideas of national belonging [were] circulated, consumed and reproduced” (Bhattacharjya & Mehta 2008: 105). Bollywood, being the industry based in “the most widely spoken indigenous language in independent India” (i.e.,

⁷ A form of theater and operatic drama from North India that featured folk stories and mythological dramas with song and dance.

⁸ In particular, the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* (Mir 2007: 206).

Hindi), took on a particularly national character (Booth 2008: 86). A great deal of films and songs addressed the social issues that faced the newly-independent nation. Heidi Pauwels contends that “the (sub)genre of the ‘devotional’ movie” was both “progressive” and “anti-Brahminical,” for it “turn[ed] *bhakti* saints into spokesmen⁹ for socio-economic equality and the uplifting of untouchables, inspired by Gandhian ideals” (2007a: 99). Such ideas were also disseminated through song. Mir describes the 1950’s as the era of “progressive lyrics,” where songs such as “Hum Hindustani” (“We Indians”) encouraged “the youth of the Nehruvian era to engage in the process of nation building,” while others such as “Pyasa” (“Thirsty”) criticized Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru for India’s “failure ... to fulfill its promise of an egalitarian society” (2007: 210-12). In more recent decades, film song has provided a way for Indians in the worldwide diaspora to form a sense of global Indian community. Film song was arguably the vehicle to transcend India’s boundaries and move into the larger global market.¹⁰ Once it reached “the global South,” Bollywood “served to negotiate questions of tradition and modernity and continues to inform identity formation even as these societies are being transformed by geopolitical conjunctures” (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 9).

The Indian government issued many rebuttals towards Bollywood, film song, and popular culture in the form of censorship¹¹ and other regulations, insinuating that these

⁹ Pauwels opts for a gendered noun, as *Mirābāī* is the only female “woman-saint” to have been the subject of devotional films (2007a: 101).

¹⁰ I infer this from Slobin’s commentary, which states that music can adequately satisfy “the instinct to move toward larger [film] markets” (2008b: 74).

¹¹ Film content involving sensuality and drug use is censored most frequently. According to director Mahesh Bhatt, “kissing was permitted in early Hindi films. It was done away with as part of the freedom struggle [during India’s movement for independence]. Kissing was seen as something European” (quoted in Alter 2007: 39). The restrictions were not removed until the 21st Century, and “the industry is still prudish

forms of media were potent enough to negatively influence India's cultural climate. The state refused to recognize filmmaking as a legitimate industry and levied taxes on its output (Bhattacharjya & Mehta 2008: 107).¹² It also extended its regulatory influence to radio (via All India Radio, abbreviated AIR) and later the cassette and TV industries (Sen 2008: 90; Bhattacharjya & Mehta 2008: 108-15). Although Bhattacharjya and Mehta claim that the government regulated "the content of film music ... only indirectly through other laws regulating other industries and technologies" (2008: 108), there are several instances where this was not the case. Nationalistic song lyrics were censored by the British in pre-Independence India, and when progressive lyrics became prominent in the 1950's, the newly-independent Indian government followed suit (Mir 2007: 208-09, 212). In 1952, film music was banned from AIR on the grounds that it was "too vulgar and too Westernized" (2007: 213), although evidence suggests that the political nature of progressive lyrics may have been the real reason. The establishment of the National Film Development Corporation (NFDC) in the 1960's, which sought "to foster and finance the production of an alternative cinema," was a backlash against what it deemed as "debased and commercial" popular film in general and song sequences in particular (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 13). Sangita Gopal and Sujata Moorti interpret the "interest taken by the

about displaying flesh." New censorship codes in the early 2000's ruled that "a film must not show the use of tobacco in a positive light," which all but banned smoking from Indian cinema. However, filmmakers have found creative ways to circumvent these restrictions. The "wet sari scenes" of Raj Kapoor's films are characterized by "the eroticism of six yards of drenched cotton clinging to the ample contours of a starlet's body" (Alter 2007: 8, 189-90). Similarly, in his account of the making of the 2006 film *Omkara* ("Othello"), Stephen Alter noted that a female character in the film "ask[ed] one of her patrons to put out his cigarette, though the song she sings uses innuendoes of smoke and embers to suggest romance and passion" (2007: 190).

¹² The government officially legitimized the film industry in 1998, "allowing producers to get bank loans and ... transparent financing." In the 1980's and 1990's, however, "Mumbai's criminal underworld" was "a source of funding" for the Hindi cinema. "A number of Bollywood celebrities became indebted to mafia dons, who resorted to extortion and murder when their investments failed" (Alter 2007: 6-7).

state in the industry,” especially in light of Bollywood’s recent global prominence, to represent “a struggle over the meaning of national identity” in which (as Bhattacharjya and Mehta note) “film music emerges as a key site” (2008a: 35).

Though the cultural significance of Bollywood is clear, much of the existing scholarship on Bollywood and Hindi film song does not explicitly link film criticism and musical analysis. Joseph Getter and B. Balasubrahmaniyan write that studies of Indian cinema by such scholars as M. Madhava Prasad “do not address music except in passing, but rather focus upon characters, narrative, visual elements, governmental policies, or industrial histories.” What’s more is that “little academic literature has been published specifically on film music in India” (2008: 118). The works of Alison Arnold and Peter Manuel are repeatedly cited as the premier sources of scholarship on Hindi film song, as they were two of the first scholars to probe the historicity of the topic in depth (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 118; Morcom 2007: 7-8). Arnold’s doctoral thesis is chiefly concerned with the history of Bollywood as a music-making industry and the development of Indian popular culture in the early 20th Century. Manuel’s 1993 book *Cassette Culture* “investigates the effect of the advent of cassette technology in India on the world of Indian popular music” and relates the methods, modes, patterns, and implications of Hindi film song’s dissemination. Greg Booth has also contributed several shorter studies of film song in which he “provides further evidence for the integration of songs with their films and visuals” (Morcom 2007: 7, 13). However, these studies do not offer detailed musical and contextual analyses of individual song sequences.

Anna Morcom’s *Hindi Film Songs and the Cinema* (2007) is arguably the most extensive published volume on what she describes as the “symbiotic relationship”

between film narrative and film song. She responds to Arnold, Manuel, and Booth (all of whom allude to the connections between film and song) by asking “to what extent are film songs an integral part of films, and to what extent are they an independent musical tradition” (Morcom 2007: 205, 13)? The core chapters of Morcom’s book aim to characterize style by comparing “Indian” and “Western” influences: her examinations of several *filmī qawwālīs*, or film songs derived from the devotional music of Sufi Muslims, explore the scope of this relationship in Hindi film and contextualize the music of each song in relation to the action of its corresponding sequence. Sections in other chapters discuss the Bollywood production process and the extent to which Bollywood filmmaking borrows from Hollywood conventions. In her concluding remarks, Morcom declares that songs are “profoundly integrated with Hindi films” and the “narrative style and structure [of these films] is designed for songs” (2007: 239).

This thesis seeks to augment Morcom’s research through the presentation of a multivalent approach¹³ to thoroughly understanding and interpreting Hindi film song sequences: by connecting the three essential elements of these sequences (music, text, and on-screen visuals) to the context of South Asian history and culture, my model for analysis unites different scholarly approaches to music, film, and cultural studies, thereby

¹³ I borrow the term “multivalent” from James Webster, who describes “multivalent analysis” as follows:

In multivalent analysis, a musical work is understood as encompassing numerous different ‘domains’: tonality, musical ideas, rhythm, dynamics, instrumentation, register, rhetoric, ‘narrative’ design, and so forth. . . . Many of these domains must be interpreted not only in terms of ‘what happens,’ but also dialogically or hermeneutically, in the context of generic expectations and other contextual aspects. This adds what one might call a meta-multivalent dimension to the analysis (2010: 128).

Though Webster refers specifically to Western art music notated in scores without an external context, I hold that his concepts of various “domains” may be expanded to encompass *all* forms of music-making across the globe – hence my application of “multivalent analysis” to Hindi film song sequences.

creating a more interdisciplinary analytical approach. The emphasis I have given to the context(s) of Hindi film song sequences is grounded in the theory of “associative structure,” which refers to the “relationships between ... musical events and things ‘outside’ the music.” According to Nicola Dibben, “musical material ... is socially and historically constituted,” and listeners interpret these materials in relation to the “historical usage” and “social ... contexts” they are presented or associated with. “The theory of associative structure makes possible the interpretation of immanent analysis with the socio-historical and extramusical context” for the analysis (2003: 344-46, 350). Gopal and Moorti’s observation that Bollywood “encounter[s] ... historicity” through song sequences (2008a: 5) validates the use of associative structures in Hindi film song analysis, for the underlying principles of the two are complementary. As there has been little research on associative structure (Dibben 2003: 344), my thesis also constitutes a case study in how this theory may be employed.

My plan for analysis takes each element of a Hindi film song sequence (whether visual, linguistic, or aural) as a sign that can impart meaning. Identifying the sequence’s symbols provides a basis for determining visual, textual, and musical processes at work in the sequence, which in turn may be used to name and summarize its themes. I then contextualize the analysis by relating the underlying symbols, processes, and themes of the sequence to the themes and plot of the source film, as well as to the historical events of the era in which the film was released and to socio-cultural issues in past and present-day India. In this thesis, I have chosen the song sequence “Pardā Haĩ Pardā,”¹⁴ from

¹⁴ Performed by Mohammed Rafi; Music by Laxmikant-Pyarelal; Lyrics by Anand Bakshi (Bhatia 2013: 145).

Manmohan Desai's 1977 Hindi film *Amar Akbar Anthony*,¹⁵ to demonstrate the applications of this analytical approach. The paradigm I outline in this study is indebted to Morcom's scaffolding in that it links music with the action and themes of a sequence. However, unlike Morcom, I do not attempt to say anything definitive about Hindi film song style, nor to compare it to Western film music. I seek a case-by-case approach to analysis, in which sequences are considered on their own terms, so that the communicative potential of each sequence is not restricted to the implications of genre per se.¹⁶ Through analytical procedures designed to be flexible, inclusive, and multifaceted, I aim to validate the symbolic and cultural value inherent in all Hindi film song sequences.

¹⁵ Produced by Manmohan Desai and Subhash Desai; Screenplay by Prayag Raaj; Dialogue by Kader Khan (Bhatia 2013: 145).

¹⁶ Identifying Bollywood as a genre is problematic because it assumes too much about an entire film industry. Furthermore, "Indian films ... are not musicals": as Gopal and Moorti explain, "to call Hindi films 'musicals' because they incorporate song-dance is to fundamentally mischaracterize them," for "the ubiquity of song and dance cannot be rendered in generic terms" (2008a: 2). The frequent use of song sequences in Hindi films transcends Western conceptions of genre (e.g., Drama, Comedy, Romance, Horror, etc.), suggesting that these sequences function as rhetorical devices that are integral to the message of the film.

CHAPTER TWO: FILMIC COUNTERPOINT – THE PARADIGM FOR ANALYSIS

Conceiving a Paradigm for Analysis

My paradigm for analysis represents an attempt to reconcile the sensory elements of a Hindi film song sequence with the subjective reactions of the viewer by relating analysis and commentary on these sequences to elements of the sequences themselves. I arrived at my approach to Hindi film song sequence analysis through my own “fieldwork” with Bollywood films. My research processes did not entail the extensive travel often associated with ethnomusicological fieldwork, nor did it require me to live amongst members of the global South Asian community, but it did demand me to actively engage with a culture that is not my own in order to uncover new insights for a musical-cultural phenomenon. The viewing experience challenged me to be an active and conscientious viewer, for I needed to be careful not to formulate any hasty judgments about what I was experiencing. The best way for me to make sense of my Bollywood experiences demanded that I connect the content of Hindi film song sequences to the context of South Asian culture.

My research for this project began when my long-standing attraction to Bollywood *filmī gīt* (film song) merged with my scholarly pursuits. Although I have enjoyed listening to this music since I first encountered the genre as a high school student, I didn’t watch many South Asian films in their entirety until I began studying

Hindustani classical music and *kathak* dance as a graduate student. In watching South Asian films, I actively sought a better understanding of Indian popular culture, with special attention to portrayals of South Asians as well as commentaries on contemporary social issues. I also conducted a comprehensive review of the existing literature on Hindi film song and consulted what I learned from a film studies course to ensure that my methods corroborated with current scholarship and analytical methods in the Humanities.

From the period between February 2014 and October 2014, I watched a total of 33 Indian films (listed in Appendix A).¹⁷ I saw 16 of these as weekday matinee programs on Time Warner Cable's Hindi-language channels, including but not limited to Filmly, ZeeTV, and SONY TV Asia. I viewed 12 others on DVD, and I watched the remaining 2 (*The Lunchbox* and *Queen*) on Time Warner Cable's Video-on-Demand and a primetime world television premiere on SONY TV Asia, respectively. I viewed at least one film from each of the decades from the 1950's to the 2010's. Some of these films were obscure; others were bona fide hits. As I watched each film, I took notes on every song sequence, noting interesting thematic developments and musical characteristics and the most meaningful lyrics. I then reexamined the plots, themes, and song sequences of these 33 films, choosing to focus on Hindi-language films produced entirely in India that contained a number of song sequences. This meant leaving out two international films (*Monsoon Wedding* and *Fire*), two Tamil films (*Roja* and *Kandukondain Kandukondain*), a Bengali film (*Jalsaghar*), and a Hindi film that lacked song sequences (*The Lunchbox*).

¹⁷ As I possessed only a basic knowledge of Hindi, I ensured that each film I viewed had English subtitles.

To narrow the scope of my research, I revisited song sequences that I personally found the most memorable and entertaining in order to extract attributes I could analyze with an interdisciplinary approach. I reviewed these sequences by watching them on YouTube and tracking down loose translations of their lyrics on Bollywood fan sites. My research goals encouraged me to investigate sequences for a variety of traits:

- An innovative synthesis of music, lyrics, and on-screen visuals
- A traceable relationship to the film and its plot (by means of advancing action, addressing plot problems and/or themes, or both)
- The use of symbols, or objects or elements that can be read as symbols
- Allusions to “Indianness” or aspects of Indian society

The presence of these characteristics across a multitude of sequences convinced me that Hindi film song sequences deserve a holistic approach to analysis. These traits formed the basis of my paradigm for analysis as I continued to explore Hindi film song sequences before and during the writing of this thesis. After an extensive review of a number of thought-provoking sequences, I found “Pardā Hai Pardā” (“There Is A Veil”) from the 1977 film *Amar Akbar Anthony* to be one of the best examples of a sequence that successfully incorporates the elements I saw as central to the effectiveness of a Hindi film song sequence. (Plus, it was one of my personal favorites.)

Background on the Source Film: *Amar Akbar Anthony*

The source film of “Pardā Haiṅ Pardā” is *Amar Akbar Anthony*, an action-packed *masālā* film¹⁸ that alludes to the religious and social concerns of mid- to late 20th-Century India. It was director Manmohan Desai’s fourteenth feature film and marked the first time he produced one of his own films (Bhatia 2013: 4, 145; Haham 2006: 29). Inspired by a “newspaper story about a man who dropped his three sons in a park and then set out to commit suicide,” Desai and screenplay writer Prayag Raaj crafted a story that became “the final word on the lost-and-found [film story] formula” (Bhatia 2013: 14-15, 81).

The plot involves the separation and eventual reuniting of three brothers: Amar (portrayed by Vinod Khanna), Akbar (Rishi Kapoor), and Anthony¹⁹ (Amitabh Bachchan). Religious identity becomes a significant factor in the story’s telling. Early in the film, the three young boys are separated from their Hindu parents. While Amar is taken in by a Hindu family, Akbar is adopted by a Muslim tailor, and Anthony is found by a Catholic priest. According to Connie Haham, “the plot of *Amar Akbar Anthony* is almost mathematical in its logic, almost geometrical in its complexity” (2006: 31), for the

¹⁸ The term *masālā*, originally “a mixture of spices” in South Asian cuisine, is often applied to Indian films that juxtapose a multitude of differing plot elements and themes. Getter and Balasubrahmanian define a *masālā* film as a single movie in which “several interrelated plot lines ... unfold simultaneously, reaching a conclusion at the climax near the end” (2008: 115). *Amar Akbar Anthony*’s storytelling, which relies on what Desai described as “a series of episodic highlights” (Rajadhyaksha & Willemen 1999, 430), contributes to its identity as a *masālā* film (Dwyer 2005, 14).

¹⁹ The character’s full name, Anthony Gonsalves, is a clever nod to the Bollywood music arranger of the same name, who “provided notated scores, orchestration, harmonized arrangements, and sometimes musical interludes for the compositions of music directors during the latter 1930’s” and was considered “one of India’s leading violinists” (Booth 2008: 90; Bhatia 2013: 54). Gonsalves was also the teacher of film music composer Pyarelal Ramprasad Sharma, who composed *Amar Akbar Anthony*’s music with musical partner Laxmikant Shantaram Kudalkar. Pyarelal convinced Desai to change the last name of Amitabh Bachchan’s character from Fernandes to Gonsalves in honor of his guru, and Desai obliged (Bhatia 2013: 54). Bachchan solidifies the allusion through his performance in one of the other hit song sequences from the film, appropriately titled “My Name Is Anthony Gonsalves.”

plot is equally concerned with the criminal activities of Kishen Lal (the father of the siblings) and a gangster named Robert; the boys' blind mother, Bharati; and the love interests of each title character as it is with the theme of reunification. Various circumstances serve to reunite the adult brothers and their parents, but they do not discover their relationships to each other until the latter half of the film. Although "the plot line proceeds with the implacable logic that only fiction can provide," *Amar Akbar Anthony* is nevertheless "rich in thematic goals" (Haham 2006: 35, 41). The film is considered "a metaphor for multiculturalism of the most benign kind," and "the message is slipped in without any moralizing" (Bhatia 2013: 106-07).

The cultural value of "Pardā Haī Pardā" is partly due to *Amar Akbar Anthony's* status as an innovative hit film. *Amar Akbar Anthony* is considered Desai's "breakthrough film" in that it allowed him to "[move] from being a well-known director into the role of a producer-director who wielded a great deal of power in the Hindi film industry" (Rajadhyaksha & Willemen 1999: 430; Haham 2006: 29). It ran for 75 weeks (a "Golden Jubilee"),²⁰ "propelling Desai to the very top as the most successful director of the year and arguably of that decade" (Bhatia 2013: 5; Haham 2006: 30). The film owes part of its success to the director's "special touches" and "Manmohanisms" regarding characters (such as the "suffering mother" and the stock "handicapped character") and themes ("unity among different religions and ethnic groups ... and the bullying by power structures that oppressed the masses") in addition to "peppy songs and twists and turns in the plot" (Bhatia 2013: 11, 127). New Cinema director Shyam Benegal

²⁰ "At a time when movies played in large single-screen cinemas, often with a seating capacity of nearly a thousand," they "were considered a big success only if they ran for at least twenty-five continuous weeks, the much-coveted silver jubilee" (Bhatia 2013: 5).

summarizes Desai's storytelling strategies, including those of *Amar Akbar Anthony*, as the ingredients of "a new mythology," one in which "stereotype[s] ... [are] changed ... into ... archetype[s]" (quoted in Haham 2006: 23). As a result, "the film became a reference point in Indian cinema history" and "has gone on to become a classic" (Haham 2006: 30-31).

One of the "clichés" Desai manipulated in *Amar Akbar Anthony* was that of Amitabh Bachchan's "Angry Young Man," which bolstered the actor's star status. Bachchan had previously garnered fame by starring in "Vijay" films such as 1973's *Zanjeer* ("Chains") (Bhatia 2013: 90, 128). Such films feature "a turn toward angry, working-class heroes rebelling against corrupt and oppressive bosses" and "exemplif[y] the spirit of labor unrest, youth discontent, and lower-caste and Dalit assertion characteristic of" the Emergency period²¹ (Lutgendorf 2007: 37). However, the character type was disappearing by the time *Amar Akbar Anthony* was made, as "audiences were moving away from the vengeance-seeking hero" in favor of "a bit of everything." In *Amar Akbar Anthony*, Desai reinvented Bachchan's "Angry Young Man" by casting the actor as "both the hero and the comedian" (Bhatia 2013: 71, 129). The transformation was a successful one, for it "confirm[ed] Amitabh Bachchan's box office supremacy" and "[solidified] the Manmohan Desai-Amitabh Bachchan working relationship" (Haham 2006: 43).

²¹ Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared a state of emergency in June 1975 in response to threats to national security in India. The proclamation allowed her to rule by decree, and subsequent governmental policies put a severe hamper on Indian civil liberties. The Emergency, as it came to be known, came to an end in March 1977, around the time when Morarji Desai was elected Prime Minister.

Amar Akbar Anthony offers another variation on the “Vijay” film through its focus on three characters, and each of them utilizes different modes of communication to progress the action of the film. Anthony relies mainly upon action, while Amar favors dialogue.²² Akbar, however, is a man of music, and his most memorable moments in the film occur during song sequences. The attention the film gives Akbar through its song sequences permits this character to respond to social trends in contemporary India with a musical expressivity that is very different from the reactionary behavior of the “Angry Young Man.” “Pardā Hai Pardā,” Akbar’s longest song sequence in *Amar Akbar Anthony*, is therefore ripe with communicative potential.

“Pardā Hai Pardā,” the first song sequence to appear in *Amar Akbar Anthony*,²³ is a prime candidate for analysis because it contains many noteworthy musical, textual, and visual elements that speak to the themes of the film, as well as to the cultural and historical contexts in which the film was produced. The “Pardā Hai Pardā” sequence serves an important function in the context of *Amar Akbar Anthony*, for it allows the character of Akbar, a Muslim and professional *qawwālī* singer, to woo his love interest Salma (against her father’s wishes) in the setting of one of his concerts. “Pardā Hai Pardā” is an example of a *filmī qawwālī*: it borrows many of its musical traits from the traditional Sufi Muslim devotional genre of *qawwālī*, mixing them with other materials

²² In fact, Amar is not given a solo song sequence at any point during the film. He is featured in just two sequences, “Humko Tumse Ho Gaya Hai Pyar” (“I Have Fallen in Love with You”) and “Amar Akbar Anthony (Anhoni Ko Honi Karde)” (“The Impossible Becomes Possible”), which are ensemble numbers with Akbar and Anthony.

²³ Although “Ye Sach Hai Koi Kahani Nahin” (“This Is True; It’s No Story”) is featured during the opening credits, its on-screen visuals are minimal and do not feature any major dramatic action. “Pardā Hai Pardā” is therefore the first real song sequence.

that are derived from Hindi film song to create a hybrid song style. In addition, the song engages in the creation and interpretation of symbols through its lyrical and visual allusions to the practice of female veiling, which is common amongst Islamic communities across the globe. Through its focus on an Islamic character performing Islamic music in order to address traditional Islamic social values, “Pardā Haī Pardā” speaks directly to the film’s larger themes of religion and the reconciliation of conflict, serving as an allegory of social change. Finally, the emphasis on Islam addresses the question of religion in Indian society at large.

In my paradigm for discussing Hindi film song sequences, I frame a multivalent analysis of the content of “Pardā Haī Pardā” with commentary that establishes the sequence’s cultural context and delineates its themes in relation to South Asian socio-historical issues. The opening commentary uses the primary symbol of “Pardā Haī Pardā,” the veil, as a basis for discussion on the implications of the veil across the world and throughout history. The centerpiece of my case study is the multivalent analysis of the sequence itself. Finally, I supplement the analysis with interpretive commentary that illuminates the stances “Pardā Haī Pardā” and *Amar Akbar Anthony* appear to take on several social issues pervading contemporary India.

The Theoretical Basis for the Analytical Paradigm

The very essence of a Hindi film song sequence offers a direct challenge to a Western viewer’s expectations for cinematic content in a narrative film. Namely, a song sequence transforms a scene into an interstitial space that brings song to the forefront of

the audience's attention. The centrality of music allows the content of a song sequence to become highly differentiated from that of the rest of the film, and a sequence may even go so far as to come off as a non sequitur. Many sequences give the impression that time has stopped, while others teleport the characters into a scenic "fantasy land" that has no apparent connection to the film's setting. Other sequences are diegetic in that the characters in them are performing music in the world of the story.²⁴ I contend that analyses of these sequences mandate a critical study of the interrelationships between music, text, and visuals in the sequence so that viewers can make sense of the seemingly non sequitur character of Hindi film song sequences. Though existing scholarship on Bollywood film does not frequently address the three elements as an interrelated group, literature on Western cinema nevertheless provides ample commentary on the applicability of music and semiotics in film, which gives my paradigm a valid theoretical basis.

Stuart Hall's essay "Encoding, Decoding" helps justify why Hindi film song sequences are worth analyzing in the first place. He writes that a particular "event must become a 'story' before it can become a *communicative event*" (1999: 508, emphasis in original), alluding to multivalent messages that convey significant ideas on a number of interpretive levels. Hindi films use song in the process of constructing stories. Sequences represent the transformation of an event – be it based in fact or fiction – into stories that communicate certain themes both literally and symbolically. This process is further enhanced by multiple means of communication: music, lyrics, and visual elements

²⁴ It should be noted that similar remarks have been made about arias in Western opera, as well as song-and-dance numbers in film versions of Western musicals.

including movement, gesture, and dance. The inner workings of each Hindi film song sequence are different from one to the next because the combinations of the three elements are designed to transmit different messages.

The term “song sequence” implies an ordered progression of events that are centered on music and characterized by a sung text,²⁵ and this sense of order acts upon each domain of content. Hindi film song’s reliance on conventional popular song forms establishes consistent expectations for the repetition of important musical ideas and the inclusion of lyrics. On screen, visual elements are employed to tie music and text to a specific cinematic context. Although these features can illustrate lyrics in a literal fashion, visuals often serve to emphasize character development, the progression of plot points, or the prevailing mood at these interstices of the film. They provide a layer of meaning that is necessary for experiencing songs in the context of Hindi film.²⁶

Hindi cinema’s conscious decision to create a complex web of content within song sequences demands that multi-modal methods of analysis become synthesized in order to derive meaning for the sequence. This is quite a contrast from conventional

²⁵ Geoffrey Chew’s definition of song does not have any mention of text: he describes it as “a piece of music for voice or voices, whether accompanied or unaccompanied.” However, Chew then goes on to specify that song involves “the declamation of the text” and that the accompanying music is judged by its “fidelity” to the text in addition to its “expressiveness” (2001: 704).

²⁶ Audiences can (and often do) consume Hindi film song through cassettes, CD’s, or MP3’s without viewing the associated film. However, I am of the opinion that these songs lose some of their meaning when experienced only through recording on the grounds that the original context of these songs is a predominantly visual medium (i.e., the cinema). Songs such as “Pal do pal kā sāth hamārā” (“We Have a Few Moments Together,” from the 1979 film *The Burning Train*) support my stance. This 10-minute sequence features “an extraordinary juxtaposition of styles”: although a *filmī qawwālī*, the song contains dramatic chase music in its Instrumental Interludes. “Pal do pal kā sāth hamārā” depicts “the maiden voyage of India’s first Super Express train.” The music of the Instrumental Interludes sounds like a non sequitur until one experiences the accompanying visuals: on screen, the film’s hero chases after the train in his car in an attempt to stop a bomb aboard the train from exploding (Morcom 2007: 101, 110). The implications of commercial recordings of Hindi film songs are beyond the scope of this thesis.

methods of film analysis, which are largely concerned with visual images. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright hold that “often the meaning of [a visual] image is predominantly derived from the objects within the frame” (2009: 29). In film, this principle manifests itself in the concept of *mise-en-scène*, in which all items that appear before the camera (setting, props, lighting, costumes, makeup, and character behavior/movement) are presented in ways that communicate important messages to the audience (Bordwell & Thompson 2013: 112-15, 503). However, the film’s sounds are excluded from the components of *mise-en-scène* because they do not appear in tangible form in front of the camera; they are considered a separate device for communication within the film.

The weight that Hindi films place upon song challenges observers to integrate *mise-en-scène* with critical analyses of sound. In the Hindi cinema, *mise-en-scène* is exploited through song sequences, which overemphasize many on-screen features such as facial expressions and character movements. Some writers have justified this form of exaggeration. In his book *Film Technique and Film Acting*, filmmaker Vsevolod Pudovkin elaborates on the movement component of *mise-en-scène*, arguing that dramatic emotions manifest themselves in and are byproducts of particular physical actions (1958: 73). By this logic, one can assume that Hindi film song sequences exaggerate facial expressions and character movements in order to illustrate particular emotions, thereby giving a sequence greater meaning. Yet the foundation for content in Hindi film song sequences is sound (in the form of music), which *mise-en-scène* does not account for. In Hindi film song, music is not merely juxtaposed with visuals, but is fully integrated with it. The phenomenon can be likened to what the Russian film director and

theorist Sergei Eisenstein observed and labeled as “counterpoint” in the early sound films from across the world.²⁷ The “synthesis of ... the spatial counterpoint of the image and the temporal counterpoint of the music” (Eisenstein 1957: 52) necessitates that methods of discussing musical elements in a Hindi film song become more fully integrated into the analysis of the filmic whole.

Hindi film song’s reliance on music, text, and visuals to create meaning complements Roland Barthes’s and Stuart Hall’s discourse on multiple modalities for meaning in images and signs. In “Rhetoric of the Image,” Barthes stresses the interrelationship between linguistic and iconic messages to bring meaning to the experience of viewing. “Text ... and image stand in a complementary relationship” in that “text *directs* the reader through the signifieds of the image” (1977: 37, 41, 40, emphasis in original). The additional sonic component enables Hindi film song to become what Stuart Hall labels a “televsual sign,” which “is ... constituted by the combination of two types of discourse, visual and aural” (1999: 511). Both Barthes and Hall contend that discrete components of an image or sign are ever interdependent, for they always have the potential to communicate beyond the literal. Text and image can convey connoted messages, which are often more significant than denoted messages (Barthes 1977: 37). Moreover, televsual signs are icons that straddle the boundary between the literal and the symbolic. They retain “some of the properties of the thing

²⁷ Eisenstein argues that “counterpoint” is an appropriate term for the phenomenon he observed because it combines the “perception” and “differentiation” of the subject’s elements, allowing for the same “law” to govern “the domain of the spatial-pictorial” as well as “the domain of the temporal-pictorial.” He reminds the reader that “counterpoint is to music not only a form of composition, but is altogether the basic factor for the possibility of tone perception and tone differentiation” (1957: 52).

represented,” but derive meaning and value from viewer discourse (quoted in Hall 1999: 511).

Hindi film song sequences constantly experiment with the associations between text, images, and aural elements, expanding the possibilities for meaning through the addition of more complex content. They are therefore free to communicate symbolic messages in addition to literal messages. The 1998 film *Dil Se* (“From the Heart”) provides an excellent example of this in its first song sequence, “Chaiya chaiya,” in which the male and female leads sing and dance atop a crowded passenger train as it makes its way through rural India. In his commentary on the sequence, Anustup Basu writes that “the top-angle, panoptic position of the camera,” depictions of daily life, “a transnational techno rhythm,” and “Urdu poetry” introduce “a thickened cluster of signs [within] the otherwise linear continuum of the narrative ... The sequence allows for a momentary incursion of health [i.e., repose] ... that the subsequent narrative will ‘shock’ the camera out of” (2008: 162). “Chaiya chaiya” and the rest of the Hindi film song sequence oeuvre demonstrate that different levels of meaning can be and are communicated through the interplay between music, text and visuals. The communicative potential of a sequence is only realized through the analysis of the relationships between the three content domains.

Communicative reality is another matter, for the message a viewer of a sequence will receive is heavily dependent upon the cultural and situational context of that sequence. This means that a viewer will only discern a limited number of possible meanings from the sequence because context directs his or her interpretation of its

message. Sturken and Cartwright declare that “the production of a sign is dependent on social, historical, and cultural context” (2009: 29). Dudley Andrew elaborates upon this idea in his book *Concepts in Film Theory*, arguing that it is impossible to critique a film outside of its context because “every cinematic rendering will exist in relation to some prior whole lodged unquestioned in the personal or public system of experience” (1984: 97). In the case of Hindi cinema, the “prior whole” is India itself, and the “system of experience” involves the relationship between a viewer and Indian culture. To speak of Bollywood film therefore involves a discussion of regional, social, and cultural themes that may not be addressed as readily in other world cinemas.

As manifestations of India’s response to global popular culture, Bollywood and Hindi film song potentially possess the aptitude to impart what Stuart Hall refers to as the “dominant cultural order” (1999: 513),²⁸ which is nevertheless fluid and not entirely impervious to change. Hindi film songs have been shaped by the stylistic evolution of Bollywood cinema, which in turn has responded to a changing viewership. India’s history as a nation has involved a great deal of movement, a factor that is an increasingly important determinant in shaping cultural values and tastes (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 62). Indians routinely cross the boundaries political lines attempt to set, and Bollywood follows suit. Hindi cinema has assumed geotelevisuality²⁹ through the South Asian diaspora (Basu 2008: 157): as Bollywood cinema has become increasingly transnational,

²⁸ In describing the dominant cultural order, Hall states that this system seeks to “impose its classifications of the social and cultural and political world” (1999: 513).

²⁹ Basu defines this as “the projection and reception of images, sounds, and words through worldwide distances, across territorial, cultural, linguistic, and religious frontiers. This also means ceasing to consider such borders as static and positive [i.e., present and tangible] demarcations” (2008: 157).

the contexts for experiencing song sequences have proliferated. Song sequences may be encountered in a cinema in Mumbai, on a DVD in Denver, or anywhere in between. They are consumed by Indians living in India and throughout the diaspora, as well as non-Indians across the globe. These sequences serve as a testimony to Sturken and Cartwright's assertion that a culture cannot be properly understood "without analyzing [patterns of] its production and consumption" (2009: 61), the latter of which is addressed through examinations of context.

Situational context plays upon the meaning of signs as well (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 29), and compels an individual viewer to distill a particular meaning from an image that has already been conditioned by any number of cultural referents. In the case of a Hindi film song sequence, there are many factors that play into situational context. Sequences can have a more or less logical relationship to their source films depending on how they relate to and are situated within the film's overarching plot. While some sequences serve as a stand-in for a regular scene and advance portions of the story, others feature content that is radically different from the rest of the film. Film songs may also be found completely outside the context of the source film in the form of recordings, and a consumer who experiences songs without the visuals may not have the same aesthetic experience as a film-goer watching the sequence. Situational context also concerns individual viewers, for the question of "Who is viewing?" has an infinite number of answers. The multiplicity of influences on a viewer's background (e.g., gender, nationality, country of residence, native language, age, religion, political

leanings, social background, etc.) will ultimately affect his or her personal relationship to what a sequence presents.

Cultural and situational contexts for experiencing Hindi film song sequences are inextricably intertwined, as “viewing involves a set of relational social practices” (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 49). These procedures, which concern who views as well as what is viewed, are tied to the discourse on the relationship between the individual and society. Sturken and Cartwright offer the reminder that this relationship is highly complex, and that the individual and his or her experiences should not be favored over society and its ideas, or vice versa (2009: 72). However, there are several key ways to summarize patterns of individual responses to society’s messages. Each pattern of response stems from the viewer’s understanding of herself “as being a member of a social group that shares codes and conventions through which the image becomes meaningful” (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 50). Before she can engage with a Hindi film song sequence, the active viewer should acknowledge that these sequences are the product of reactions to 20th- and 21st-Century South Asian culture.

Interpretations of what is viewed may be characterized in a few key ways. A dominant-hegemonic reading results when the reaction is one of identification: the viewer absorbs its “connoted meaning ... full and straight” (Hall 1999: 515). Although dominant-hegemonic readings of Hindi film song sequences often come from within South Asian culture, it is also possible for cultural “outsiders” to generate these readings through their identification with features of the sequence. However, it is equally possible that an individual viewer will not possess or identify with the cultural “codes” the

producers of the sequence operated with. In these cases, the viewer might develop an oppositional reading of the sequence (Hall 1999: 516-17). She may find particular aspects of a sequence engaging and dismiss others as off-putting or incomprehensible. As was the case with dominant-hegemonic readings, oppositional readings can come from individuals within or outside of the sphere of South Asian culture. A viewer can also approach a Bollywood film by consciously understanding herself as a member of a specific social group that operates with a different set of codes from that of the film. Such groups may share similarities in a number of areas, such as culture, age, gender, and religion, which can translate into a set of codes for interpreting a sequence's content. The inherent diversity amongst the factors influencing codes means that readings may not be strictly dominant-hegemonic or oppositional. On the contrary, they enable "the viewing practices of most viewers [to] fall along a continuum of negotiated meanings" (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 75).

The various forms of content (visuals, text, and music) compound the already-numerous possibilities for meaning in the Hindi film song sequence, for content determines whether the viewer's interpretation of the sequence is literal or symbolic. The viewer's engagement with the sequence begins when he or she first receives the messages of the sequence. Barthes argues that because all messages are sent at the same time, "the distinction between ... messages is not made spontaneously in ordinary reading." A viewer must discriminate amongst the elements of what she is experiencing in order to garner meaning from the sequence. To do this, a viewer relies on situational context (Barthes 1977: 36-37). Situational context for Bollywood is chiefly derived from the

viewer's familiarity with India and its popular culture. By using this schema to understand and interpret a sequence, a viewer of a Hindi film song sequence actively employs principles related to the theory of associative structure. A viewer encounters multiple modalities for messages in watching a Hindi film song sequence. According to Barthes, these messages may be based in language or icons that may or may not hold a symbolic meaning for the viewer (1977: 36). The viewer of a Hindi film song sequence is less likely to understand its message if she cannot engage with its Hindi linguistic content or on-screen events that allude to South Asians and Indian culture. However, multiple modes of representation in Hindi film song sequences increase the likelihood that the same viewer will be able to glean meaning from portions of the sequence.

Barthes' remarks on the literal and the symbolic in an image, coupled with the nature of the sources for messages in a Hindi film song sequence, explain why Hindi film song should not be dismissed as a disposable byproduct of Indian culture. In "Rhetoric of the Image," Barthes acknowledges that it is possible to distinguish literal messages from symbolic ones, but holds that "the literal message appears as the *support* of the 'symbolic' message" (1977: 37, emphasis in original). This indicates that any and all images have the potential to communicate a symbolic message, even if one cannot perceive any messages beyond the literal. Hindi film song sequences, by virtue of their association with India, therefore have an innate potential to be highly symbolic of South Asian culture. Sequences also benefit from the ease in which they blend multiple modalities for communication, producing myriad combinations of expressive content. In Hindi film song sequences, music creates hybrid messages in that it bridges the linguistic

and iconic, merging song lyrics with melodic and rhythmic content that assumes greater meaning through musical analysis. Examining a sequence's music can yield symbolic insight into its meaning, especially in cases where linguistic and visual content fall short. As music is the central factor in transforming a scene into a sequence, it would be an error to discuss Hindi film song without considering music as critically as the other elements of a sequence.

Visuals, text, and music offer a concrete reference point for forming critiques of Hindi film song sequences, and one may fall back on them whenever context begins to complicate interpretations. At the same time, the context of each sequence must never be ignored. A viewer's level of enculturation into Indian culture will impact how deeply he or she can engage with the cultural codes of a Bollywood film. Many levels of viewer engagement are possible because each viewer experiences Hindi film song sequences with a different schema. The conscientious viewer of a Hindi film song must recognize the differences in cultural and situational context that may separate her from the sequence and acknowledge that she may not receive all of the "codes" encrypted in a sequence. This thesis seeks to demonstrate one way in which content, codes, and context may be mediated through the comprehensive analysis of a single Hindi film song sequence, "Pardā Haī Pardā," which includes commentary on the complex phenomena operating within and upon the sequence.

CHAPTER THREE: UNVEILING THE SYMBOLS OF A SONG SEQUENCE

The first stage of Hindi film song sequence analysis involves the identification of a sequence's principal symbols in order to determine how the sequence reflects particular aspects of South Asian society. Symbols may be derived from any feature of the sequence, including song titles, lyrics and on-screen visuals. Examining the symbol's role in South Asian culture generates a contextual foundation for multivalent analysis. The following commentary explores the implications of the veil, which functions as the primary symbol of "Pardā Haī Pardā," in a variety of cultural settings to underscore its ambiguous, context-specific connotations.

An Overview of the "Pardā Haī Pardā" Sequence

In *Amar Akbar Anthony*, "Pardā Haī Pardā" is presented as a *qawwālī*, or Sufi Muslim devotional song. The sequence begins in an auditorium, where a curtain opens to reveal a stage. What appears to be a performance of time-honored North Indian Sufi music is about to take place: an all-male ensemble in traditional dress begins to clap along to the rhythm of the familiar *dholak*, a South Asian doubled-headed barrel drum. Yet the music soon veers away from the conventional when the group's lead singer, Akbar, leaps onto stage. Suddenly, the sounds of a full orchestra are heard, giving the performance a classic Bollywood-song aura that doesn't intuitively fit with the setting. As Akbar continues to perform, he notices Salma, a woman he has tried to woo to no

avail, enter the auditorium with her sisters, all led by their father. She and her sisters are covered in black from head to toe, complete with translucent black veils over their faces. Akbar then chooses to devote all of his energy to Salma, flirting with her as he sings in an attempt to get her to remove her veil. Akbar also interacts with Salma's father, Taiyyab Ali, as well as Anthony (who, unbeknownst to everyone, is his long-lost brother), who is accompanied by a blind woman named Bharati (who, also unbeknownst to everyone, is their long-lost mother). At one point, Anthony dances onto the stage to present Akbar with a money garland before dancing off again. Shortly after, Salma's initial apprehension about lifting her veil to reveal her face transforms into acquiescence. The sequence concludes with Salma revealing her face, leaving her seat, and walking on stage to meet Akbar, to the audience's great delight. To the observer of these events, the performance is perplexing in many ways: What motivates the characters' actions? Why is Salma and the prospect of her unveiling so central to the content of the performance? And why is a pop idiom juxtaposed with a traditional style of music?

The hybrid music and multi-faceted themes of "Pardā Haī Pardā" actively invite discourse on its significance to the Hindi film song oeuvre. "Pardā Haī Pardā" specifically addresses Muslim life in India through its repeated references to *pardah*, a term related to the practice of female veiling and seclusion. Understanding the social impact of *pardah*, as well as conceptions of what it means to veil, illuminates the commentary "Pardā Haī Pardā" provides.

The Veil in the West

Veils and the practice of veiling are arguably as old as human history. The concept of covering and viewing what is covered have antecedents in nature (Heath 2008c: 103), and different cultures have developed a variety of methods to transpose the phenomenon of covering into human daily life.³⁰ In regions such as the Middle East, India, and North Africa, veiling as a method of covering for women has come to characterize the religious life and cultural identities of these regions. As a result, the veil has transcended its literal existence as a wearable object to become a concept (Heath 2008a: 3).

Western observations of the veil in the East have resulted in two primary reactions to the practice. The first, an outgrowth of colonial encounters with the East, links the veil to an imagined exotic locale characterized by a degree of eroticism unknown to the West. Such a fascination likely began with the French translation of the *Arabian Nights* in 1704, which resulted in “*turcmania*,” as “all things Oriental suddenly became fashionable” (Heath 2008a: 13, emphasis in original). Glimpses into the Muslim world led Westerners to view its milieu as exotic (Scott-Baumann 2011: 24) and superimpose their own interpretations onto its cultural practices. Jennifer Heath argues that Westerners invented the concept of the harem in Orientalist art. The harem was a place “where strange men could never enter. Thus, they [Westerners] often employed prostitutes, street musicians, and dancers as subjects for their whimsies” (2008a: 14). This vision met certain needs for 19th Century Victorians: “Victorian men may have

³⁰ Jennifer Heath notes that covering is gendered in that women typically veil, while men wear masks. However, “masking can be a form of male veiling” (2008c: 103-04).

regarded the orient as a site of sexual freedom,” while women likely connected with the idea that the harem provided a safe space for female sexual expression. In constructing the harem, veils and the practice of veiling became reductive symbols of eroticism, “a repeated fetishistic image of otherness” (Grace 2004: 40, 55). The women of the harems were then unveiled through the collective imagination (Heath 2008a: 14).

The appearance of Heinrich Heine’s 1841 poem *Atta Troll* would only heighten the craze. As it depicted the Biblical character of Salome, considered the “culprit in the death of John the Baptist,” the poem’s inherent allure “coincided with the spread of colonialism and Europe’s growing fascination with the East.” When Oscar Wilde penned his drama *Salome* in 1893, he capitalized on all elements of the tale’s attractiveness through his invention of the “Dance of the Seven Veils.” Salome’s dance of unveiling secured the veil’s association with the erotic: Richard Strauss soon recycled the titillating scene into his 1905 opera *Salome*, which borrowed Wilde’s play for its libretto (Malik 2008: 143, 139-40, 144, 148-49). In both Wilde’s drama and Strauss’s opera, the presentation of the veils is accompanied by an atmosphere of perverse carnality that is made to satisfy the Western appetite for the perceived exotic (Malik 2008: 144; Heath 2008a: 3).

Westerners also happened upon the veil outside of literature. “Belly dance” showcases at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exhibition in Chicago made Eastern dance *en vogue* as women sought to “[reinvent] themselves as exotic dancers” (Malik 2008: 151). The fad would later work its way into the modern dance movement (Malik 2008: 151; Dox 2006: 60-61), as well as establish a subculture of Western belly dancers.

Contemporary belly dancers in the West negotiate the erotic connotations of the art by practicing dance to develop sexuality and self-confidence outside of an objectifying male gaze (Dox 2006: 59).

The second form of response is grounded in a sense of irreconcilable differences between socio-political realities of the East and West. As with the overly sensual mode of reaction, this mindset has its roots in the cultural exchanges that accompanied colonialism:

It was in the 19th century that the veil became a matter of public debate. The peculiar practices of Islam with respect to women had always formed part of western rhetoric of the inferiority of Islam. With colonial penetration, this rhetoric became increasingly central through a fusion of the earlier rhetoric of inferiority of Islam with the language of newly emergent feminism in the West (Ahmad 2006: 5037).

The fact that Muslim women were veiled played into many facets of the West's conceptions of the East. Veils have been deemed "emblematic of an oppressed minority within patriarchal structures" (Grace 2004: 1), a view that in turn influences how the West sees itself in the world: "the idea of the oppressed exotic woman may even feed the fantasy of the white colonial male that he is needed to rescue the Muslim woman from this oppression" (Scott-Baumann 2011: 25).

In the late 20th and early 21st Centuries, the veil became a political symbol as world events (particularly the Iranian Revolution, the Persian Gulf War, and 9/11 and its aftermath) cast Muslims in a less-than-favorable light. Contemporary Western society conceives of the veil "almost entirely politically," often appropriating the veil as a symbol of "oppression and obedience to absolute male and religious authority" (Heath 2008a: 6, 8). Building on the framework of colonialist discourse, contemporary Western

criticism often goes as far as to repeatedly insinuate that cultures that veil are inferior. “Americans frequently assume that any veil means that a woman is ‘religious,’ while other women who do not wear one are ‘Westernized’” (Zuhur 2008: 317). The mental distinction alludes to the prevailing attitudes that appear to be pervading the contemporary Western subconscious: that a “forward-thinking,” secular culture is ideal, and that Islam counters this with its “supposed . . . backwardness and ignorance” (Heath 2008a: 18).

The two broad interpretations of the veil that Western discourse offers confirm the status of veil-as-concept. “The figure of the veiled woman, with its symbols and connotations, exposes middle-class ‘white’ European attitudes, fears, and bigotry otherwise hidden behind the mask of . . . sobriety.” Flaws in these conceptions have turned the veiled woman into a “symbol of the desirability of eastern culture” and a figure that “remains mysterious and obscure” (Grace 2004: 37, 66).

The Veil in the East

The veil has achieved status as a concept within Islamic culture in the East as well, but for different reasons. Though closely intertwined with the history and tenets of Islam, practices of veiling are quite diversified. The presence or absence of veils is related to the social practices of a particular area, and is rarely associated with the connotations it has in the West.

The history of veiling practices in the “Muslim World” reveals that the religion of Islam was not necessarily the sole impetus for the phenomenon. It was rare for women to

veil both prior to and immediately following the development of Islam, for the practices of veiling and seclusion only applied to upper-class women (Ahmad 2006: 5037). However, “the arrival of Islam ... presented a new approach to existing systems” (Jackson 2011: 45). As Muhammad’s social standing grew, his wives were kept distanced from other people in accordance with societal precepts (Ahmad 2006: 5037). Islamic tradition also describes instances in which the Prophet himself took the veil, indicating the often-overlooked reality of male veiling in the Arab world (Heath 2008c: 111). The veiling habits of Muhammad and his wives were consequently appropriated into what was essentially a paradigm for model citizenship. These ideas were accepted most readily in areas that already practiced gender seclusion (Ahmad 2006: 5037).

The East responded to Western colonialist attitudes about veiling in ways that sought to negotiate identity in the modern world. In the early 20th Century, some Muslims began to see “puritanical Islam” as “the only escape from” the influences of colonialism (K. Hasan 2011: 122-23), resulting in “the resurgence of Islam as a political and spiritual force in the 1960’s” (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 190). *Hijab*,³¹ which “has come to indicate the veil worn by Muslim women, usually referring to the wearing of a headscarf and loose garments” (Calderini 2011: 49), became increasingly commonplace amongst Muslim communities across the globe. It turned into a symbol of Islamic identity; in India, *hijab* marked wearers as members of the Muslim minority (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 190; Shaheed 2008: 295). By the 1990’s, veiling had crossed over social classes to become an ever-present reminder of identity (M. Ghamidi 2011: 143).

³¹ The term comes from the Arabic word for “barrier” (Shaheed 2008: 295).

Eastern social discourse also used the veil to define political policies in emerging independent governments, as well as attitudes on gender. For some observers, the veil was tied up with notions of traditionalism – something that “forward-thinking” leaders sought to sidestep. “Several governments in the Arab Muslim world considered the ‘uncovering’ of women to be a step towards a Western model of modernity,” and many adopted Western dress (M. Ghamidi 2011: 144). One notable example was Iran: in the period from 1941 to 1979, the Shah imposed uncovering, labelling the *hijab* as a symbol of “backwardness” (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 197; M. Ghamidi 2011: 144). The 1990’s saw Eastern discourse on veiling respond to feminist concerns as commentators debated on the practice of *hijab* as a woman’s own choice (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 191).

Given the history of veiling in the Islamic world, it is not surprising that there are so many conceptions of what it means to veil and isolate women in the context of the prevailing social structure. The abundance of terms related to veils and veiling is indicative of the many nuances inherent in the practices of veiling. Although the Qur’an does refer to women’s public dress as *hijab* (K. Hasan 2011: 115), *sitr*, the practice of covering itself, is taken from classical Islamic law (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 191). *Hijab* does not account for the individual elements of dress themselves, which are referred to with other terms. The *khimar* is the name the Qur’an gives to the woman’s headscarf. The headscarf might be used in the practice of covering the face, or *niqab* (K. Hasan 2011: 115, 121). In India, headscarves in general are also referred to as *odhni*; when a woman pulls one over her face, it is considered a *ghunghat* (Jain 2008: 231). *Jilbab* is the shawl

or cloak as identified by the Qur'an (K. Hasan 2011: 115). The terms *chadri* and *burqa* are synonymous with this aspect of a woman's attire (Jain 2008: 231; Heath 2008a: 11).

The loose application of the term *hijab* ignores its religious associations and multiplicity of meaning, as well as other concepts regarding women's roles in society. In its "noble" context, *hijab* "in its highest sense refers to the veil between humanity and God that is lifted in the Hereafter for those who purify their souls sufficiently" (U. Hasan 2011: 65). Classical Islamic law, on the other hand, associates *hijab* with "confinement" (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 192), which is closely affiliated with *pardah* (or *purdah*). Taking its name from the Urdu word for "curtain" (Shaheed 2008: 295), *pardah* was applied to the practice of female seclusion, particularly in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Calderini 2011: 49-50). The concept of *pardah* indicates that space creation, in which women are separated from their environment to varying degrees, is a reality in the Muslim world.

Canonical Islamic texts provide guidelines – but not ultimatums – for "rules" regarding veiling and gender segregation, leaving the issue of interpretation up to individual discretion. Muhammad did not make any specifications for a woman's appearance in public situations (U. Hasan 2011: 72); therefore, conceptions of *hijab* in this context are drawn from Qur'anic commentaries (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 193). The issue of dress code generally arises within discussions of social protocol, and rarely on its own. In fact, the Qur'an does not mention *niqab* at all (K. Hasan 2011: 121), and commentaries only address *sitr* in regards to procedures for prayer and the restraint of the male gaze (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 191)

There are certain tenets for behavior in situations where members of both genders are present, suggesting a two-way “etiquette” system. First, the Qur’an demands that the gaze should be lowered in mixed company; “this command is first addressed to men, and then repeated for women” (K. Hasan 2011: 116). However, interpreters argue that because a woman’s body is *‘awrah* (“private”) (U. Hasan 2011: 68), “women must not reveal their chest and neckline before men” (J. A. Ghamidi 2011: 109) so as not to tempt the male gaze. Although much of the responsibility for modesty in dress is on women, the attention to the gaze implies that, ideally, “public morality and decency are ... not just the concern of women ... but men as well” (K. Hasan 2011: 116). Gender segregation is also employed as a means to restrict the gendered gaze in public settings, as the Qur’an “encourages gender segregation wherever appropriate and/or possible” (U. Hasan 2011: 79). Islamic guidelines state that although any person who needs access to a public place (such as a mosque) may enter, the ingress of women into these spaces demands that both men and women “restrain their gazes” (J. A. Ghamidi 2011: 106). Separation of men and women arguably keeps the gaze at bay, especially in situations where the gaze would detract from the integrity of the situation: indeed, mosques separate worshippers by gender.

“Rules” such as these create separate social spaces for men and women, in that they establish expectations for behavior based upon assumptions of masculinity and femininity. They also provide parameters for ideal mixed social spaces, which are characterized by a specific protocol. However, the dictums that engender these spaces are ever-contested (Zuhur 2008: 317), meaning that the definitions and boundaries of spaces

are volatile. As Muhammad stated that “values and guidelines” could be “adapt[ed] according to time, place, context and culture” (U. Hasan 2011: 76), examining the veil in relation to contemporary space creation in the Middle East and India can yield a number of insights into social norms.

Space Creation in the East

The Islamic discourse on spaces creates a binary system: there is “permitted space” and “forbidden space,” the latter of which is separated from the world by the *hijab* (Grace 2004: 17). *Hijab*, therefore, upholds this dichotomy, acting as “an organizing principle in society” (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 196). Through veiling, women establish their roles and identities within the community, which further demarcates social spaces.³² However, veils also enable crossings between “permitted” and “forbidden” spaces. In Middle Eastern and Indian societies, where the indoor environment of the home is relegated to women, veiling is a sort of solution that allows women to enter the “‘outer’ male space,” ensuring space dichotomy does not disintegrate (Grace 2004: 24).³³ Women who enter public space have made the conscious choice to do so; the veil gives them the necessary permission (Shaheed 2008: 302; K. Hasan 2011: 119). The fact that women are allowed into public mosques for worship “is proof of women’s mobility.” However, women are still relegated to separate quarters for worship (Calderini 2011: 51), which

³² Aisha Lee Fox Shaheed generalizes that across the world and throughout history, “clothing indicates the wearer's social position, marital status, region, ethnicity, profession, rank, religion, and so forth” and can “be used to mark differences within a community” (2008: 294).

³³ “In many countries (such as Saudi Arabia) the wearing of the veil currently provides the sole means of a woman's access to public (male) space” (Grace 2004: 103).

subdivides this particular space further. A dichotomy of “permitted” and “forbidden” spaces, a method for crossing between these spaces, and the subdivision of these spaces therefore imply that the very concept of space-building is a complex, multi-tiered phenomenon: it results in levels of spaces connected by a network of social interaction.

As *hijab* is essentially “about public modesty and propriety” (K. Hasan 2011: 119), the veil may be seen as an advocate for female and societal integrity. Women veil as a “defense against sexual harassment,” for it affords them a degree of anonymity in the eyes of the traditional Islamic *weltanschauung* (Jain 2008: 242). The high value that Middle Eastern cultures place on communal life is complemented by *hijab*. Veiling works to diminish individualism through standardizing women’s appearances, which “creates a semblance of homogeneity” (Shaheed 2008: 294; U. Hasan 2011: 77). The veil now crosses over social classes as a relatively typical form of female dress in the Islamic world (M. Ghamidi 2011: 143). However, its presence may still be traced to the general disapproval of shared social spaces, which stems from the belief that women are “dangerous to society (i.e. men)” (Grace 2004: 115). Grounded in tradition and beliefs, veiling and seclusion affect men and women alike as social spaces are perpetually negotiated.

India and the Veil

India adds another dimension to conceptions of veils and veiling, for the practice is also common amongst non-Muslim Indians. Hindus in India also practice *pardah*, tracing the custom to “traditions of modesty and piety” (Grace 2004: 160). The probable

antecedent for Hindu *purdah* is the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which depicts Sita as a veiled woman (Heath 2008a: 16). “The *Rāmāyaṇa* story, in its multiple readings, reinterpretations, and retellings defines first the limits of legitimate sexuality and the violation of those limits” (Jain 2008: 236). The trials virtuous Sita faces in the course of the epic speak directly to notions of social purity. Contemporary Hinduism consequently views the veiled woman as one who “maintains the spiritual purity of her society” (Grace 2004: 31).

Hindus incorporate “a complex system of religious rituals, social codes, and strict discipline” to uphold social ideals such as the purity of woman. Women will typically veil to denote both their personal social status as well as their status in relation to family members. As is also the case in many Islamic settings, Hindus might also set aside separate places for women, both at home and in public (especially during worship) (Grace 2004: 167, 166, 207). The north Indian veiling practice of *ghungat nikalna* provides one example of how complicated these systems can become. In this practice, a married woman will veil in front of her elder male in-laws, as well as the senior men of the community, but may uncover in front of her junior male in-laws. It is based in the idea that newly-married women threaten the social hierarchy within their new families and must be kept at bay. However, it also ensures that the division of labor in agrarian communities is maintained. *Ghungat nikalna* therefore determines how a woman fits into every aspect of her community, creating complex (even paradoxical) networks of relationships between community members (Sharma 1978: 218, 222, 219, 225-26, 230).

Indian attitudes towards female covering manifest themselves in what may be considered the most quintessential piece of South Asian attire: the sari. According to

Roxanne Kamayani Gupta, the sari is a form of the veil. It does not hide a woman's body completely, but covers it in such a way that it attracts while preserving modesty. Just as the veil allows Muslim women to identify themselves as such, the sari gives Indian women a way to define themselves in the context of a predominantly Hindu society. Through the sari, a woman can display her "caste, class, religion, sexuality, and ... sophistication." Saris also play a role in space creation. Gupta contrasts the feminine sari with Western male dress, the favored attire for Indian men, arguing that this constitutes a "double-standard ... based on the classic division between home and the world." As is the case with the Muslim veil, the sari creates an inner female space that is closely linked to conceptions of tradition (Gupta 2008: 62-65).

The appearance of female covering in a wide variety of contexts within India shows that the practice has implications "not only with religion but also with class, caste, and traditional values" (Grace 2004: 3). This complicates the discourse on what it means to veil. The process of negotiating social spaces is consequently exacerbated because the meaning of a space is always dependent upon the particular religious and social background of the individual who encounters it.

The Significance of "Pardā Haī Pardā"

"Pardā Haī Pardā" proves to be both a by-product of and contributor to the Indian discourse on the veil. The sequence depicts a multitude of direct responses to societal norms. It makes an attempt to challenge the status quo of female veiling, which serves to negotiate identity and social spaces in multiple forms. Multiple allusions to Indian

Islamic life within the context of Hindu India have a number of implications for interpreting the sequence's meaning.

Akbar's constant petition for Salma to remove her veil plays into interpretations of the "rules" for women's public dress. The sequence suggests that Taiyyab Ali represents a conservative Islamic worldview. He always seeks to prevent Salma from lifting her veil, and finds Akbar's conduct towards his daughter offensive. His worldview is one that requires women to veil, whereas Akbar's is the polar opposite. Salma, who has only donned a veil to satisfy her father, occupies the space between these extremities. She vacillates being covered and uncovered throughout the sequence, symbolizing the inconstant nature of the supposed directives for veiling.

The song is also concerned with multiple forms of the gaze. Akbar's mission is to goad Salma into unveiling so he can satisfy his desire to see her face. His attention to Salma is indicative of just one of the many forms of the male gaze in film. Looking and the exchange of glances is ever-present, even before Salma lifts her veil, for the sequence depicts interactions between Akbar and multiple characters. Patterns of looking break the Islamic guidelines that demand restrained gazes in public spaces where women are present. By exploiting the gaze in these ways, "Pardā Haī Pardā" confronts Eastern conceptions of what it means to look. The interpretation of the rules and attention to the gaze also allude to notions of individuality. Salma's act of unveiling reveals her as a woman with a unique appearance, allowing her to stand out from her sisters. A break in this group's homogenized appearance tests the fabric of communal life.

“Pardā Haī Pardā” alludes to space negotiation in a number of ways, challenging what Daphne Grace calls the “binary logic” of social spaces (2004: 31). The women attending Akbar’s concert have left the “inner female space” of the home for the “male” public space. They are not relegated to a separate section of the auditorium as they would be in a mosque. However, Salma and her sisters are still separated from everyone else in that they are fully veiled. Their appearance suggests that one form of the “forbidden” inner female space remains intact. The concert setting demonstrates the dichotomy of permitted and forbidden spaces, separating performers and audience members with the threshold of the stage. As it is only an individual’s role that determines his or her placement, each space can be thought of as both permitted and forbidden, depending on the context. Akbar, Anthony, and Salma test such boundaries through their actions, which causes binary space systems to disintegrate.

“Pardā Haī Pardā” is based upon the Muslim song genre of *qawwālī*, but is framed by India’s non-Muslim majoritarian (i.e., “Hindu”) social milieu. Akbar performs the *qawwālī* for a diverse audience in a secular setting rather than a Muslim audience in a religious context. His remarks on veiling are therefore heard and interpreted by Hindus, who also have a tradition of veiling, as well as members of other religions that may or may not veil (such as Anthony, who is a Christian). This phenomenon is replicated through the song’s inclusion in a popular film: the audience viewing the film *Amar Akbar Anthony* is equally diverse, meaning that each viewer will respond to the sequence differently.

The use of a *qawwālī* in the context of a Bollywood film means that contrasting aesthetics will be forced to act upon each other. Examining the music of “Pardā Hai Pardā” reveals that certain modifications have been made to both the typical *qawwālī* and film song structure. These modifications create a meaningful structure for the accompanying text and visuals, which also portray conflicting ideas. What “Pardā Hai Pardā” ultimately communicates is a result of the specific interactions between these three factors.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE MULTIVALENT ANALYSIS

A critical analysis of Hindi film song sequences requires a detailed review of its content, with particular attention to the ways visuals, text, and musical style interact to create meaning. As these domains are interfused with the framework of a sequence's musical form, it is also important to diagram and describe the song's formal sections to understand how the elements and their interactions engender form. In cases where the song is closely allied with a genre outside of Hindi film song, examining the song's relationships to this genre in addition to Hindi film song provides an avenue into understanding how particular idioms influence content and formal elements. These approaches permitted me to use the theory of associative structure to uncover musical, textual, and visual processes that may possess symbolic qualities.

“Pardā Hai Pardā”: An Overview

Raj Kapoor³⁴ has built scenes around songs. I follow Raj Kapoor. – Manmohan Desai on his sources of inspiration in Hindi cinema (quoted in Haham 2006: 25).

I must always like a song. But for a good song, there's always a situation. The situation comes before the scene and doesn't force the scene. – Manmohan Desai on film music (quoted in Haham 2006: 7).

³⁴ Raj Kapoor (1924-1988) is one of the most critically acclaimed figures in Hindi cinema. He is best known for starring in, producing, and directing *Awaara* (“Tramp,” 1951) and *Shree 420* (“Mr. 420,” 1955), both of which are considered Bollywood classics.

Manmohan Desai's personal tenets for filmmaking are invaluable: in my view, they point to the thorough integration of musical and dramatic processes within a Hindi film song sequence, which is evidenced by such sequences as "Pardā Haī Pardā." In making a film about three brothers who practiced different religions, the *Amar Akbar Anthony* director "must have sensed an opportunity" in regards to the musical variety of its song sequences. The Muslim brother, Akbar, was made a *qawwāl* (a performer of *qawwālī*) and given one such song, "Pardā Haī Pardā," to perform in a song sequence (Bhatia 2013: 73). The resulting convergence of Hindi film song and *qawwālī* gives the song its hybrid musical structure, form, and style. These traits underscore the plot and themes of the sequence, which are concerned with changing the contemporary social milieu in India.

In examining the interrelationships between each element of a Hindi film song sequence, a multivalent chart can be particularly useful. The chart I created for "Pardā Haī Pardā" (Table 1, below) contains chronologies of the formal, visual, lyrical, and musical processes in the sequence. Each event is labelled with its timing within the sequence, allowing the reader to quickly identify simultaneous events. Such a chart demonstrates that process and form are inextricable: elements only acquire meaning through their relationships with other elements.

Visual events in "Pardā Haī Pardā" indicate that Manmohan Desai crafted a situation that would give birth to interesting and fitting musical phenomena while advancing the film's course of events. The sequence itself is set in the context of one of Akbar's secular *qawwālī* performances, inviting comparisons to a live experience. Much

of the visual action in “Pardā Haī Pardā” depicts Akbar’s performance, which is characterized largely by energetic movements and gestures as he attempts to charm Salma. However, audience members who display high levels of engagement with the performance appear on screen as well. Throughout the sequence, Salma, her father Taiyyab Ali, and Anthony are featured on screen reacting to Akbar’s performance in a variety of ways. Their responses prompt exciting situational developments on screen:

- Salma unveils and re-veils several times.
- Taiyyab Ali attempts to reprimand Salma whenever she unveils, but is often thwarted by either Akbar or Anthony.
- Anthony runs on stage to give Akbar an offering and dance.
- Salma joins Akbar on stage, prompting a celebration from the audience.

In general, each significant on-screen event is coupled with a noticeable change in the music (new melodies and rhythms, altered instrumentation, etc.).

The impact of the *qawwālī* style on “Pardā Haī Pardā” is far-reaching, and is observable in the musical characteristics of the sequence. The instrumentation of “Pardā Haī Pardā” evidences the merging of traditional Indian musical styles with contemporary South Asian popular music. “Pardā Haī Pardā” incorporates the Western orchestra associated with the “Old Bollywood” sound (Booth 2008: 86-87)³⁵ – strings and woodwinds, augmented by mandolins and a guitar – but also highlights several North Indian instruments in the soundtrack:

- The *ḍholak* (a double-headed barrel drum)

³⁵ See the related discussion in Chapter Six, entitled “Production Patterns and Historicity.”

- The *śahanāī* (an aerophone with a double reed)
- The *swarmandal* (an Indian zither)

Of these, the *ḍholak* and *śahanāī* are pictured on screen. A harmonium and *tablā* are also shown on screen but are absent from the accompanying audio. Principles of traditional North Indian music and performance factor into “Pardā Haī Pardā” as well. The sequence fashions its rhythmic and melodic framework upon the principles of *ṭhekā* (the drum pattern that articulates the underlying rhythmic cycle) and *ṭhāt* (one of several musical modes that form the basis for *rāga*), respectively. In addition, *asthāyī* and *antarā* structures, which may be likened to a variation on ABA form (Qureshi 1986: 66-67), can be discerned in the Refrains. The responsorial singing in “Pardā Haī Pardā” is derived from traditional *qawwālī* performance practice, and poetic Urdu lyrics solidify the connection between the sequence and this “Muslim” performance idiom.

The musical, textual, and visual elements within “Pardā Haī Pardā” articulate the song’s form, which is a hybrid of both Hindi film song and *qawwālī* styles. The sequence contains twelve large formal sections. After a three-part Introductory Section consisting of a *Chalan*, Instrumental Introduction, and *Ruba’i*, an Instrumental Transition gives way to the first statement of the Refrain. This is followed by an Instrumental Interlude and the first Verse. The pattern of Refrain-Interlude-Verse repeats, and then the Refrain is stated a third time. The song concludes with a Vocal Ending. The sequencing of the twelve sections exhibits many alternations between vocal and instrumental sections. The seven sections with vocals are the three Refrains, the two Verses, the *Ruba’i*, and the Vocal Ending; the remaining five sections (the Instrumental Introduction, the Instrumental

Transition, the two Instrumental Interludes, and the *Chalan*) are entirely instrumental. Sections such as Refrains, Verses, and Instrumental Interludes have clear antecedents in Hindi film song. However, two sections in “Pardā Haī Pardā” are borrowed directly from traditional North Indian performance traditions:

- The *Chalan* (a short *ālāp*³⁶)
- The *Ruba’i* (an introductory verse in *qawwālī*³⁷)

Lyrics play a considerable role in demarcating subsections within the Vocal Sections. Musical phrasing also generates subsections regardless of whether a passage is vocal or instrumental. One such subsection in Verse One is indebted to *qawwālī*: it is the *Girah*, a contrasting verse consisting of recitative (Qureshi 1986: 38), and appears as Section D of that Verse.

A close examination of the chart’s multivalent details in conjunction with the sequence itself forms the basis for understanding the overall flow of the “Pardā Haī Pardā” sequence. The reader is encouraged to review both, as well as Figures 1 and 2, before and while engaging with my prose analysis, which examines the visual, textual, and musical elements of the sequence before providing a commentary on the song’s form and the effects of stylistic hybridity on the sequence.

³⁶ This is the “slow, unmetred section” that opens a classical composition (Morcom 2007: 62).

³⁷ Qureshi 1986: 38.

Formal Section	Visuals	Lyrics	Musical Events
<p>Chalan (0:00-0:14)</p>	<p>0:00-0:04 – Long shot of the stage from audience, center aisle. Curtain on stage begins opening, revealing the seated musicians.</p> <p>0:04-0:08 – Medium long shot of the audience from behind musicians on stage. Curtain continues opening. The last few audience members move to their seats.</p> <p>0:08-0:14 – Same view as 0:00-0:04. Curtain finishes opening.</p>		<p>0:00-0:04 – Phrase 1. Rising minor arpeggio on guitar. Mandolins respond with minor chord.</p> <p>0:04-0:14 – Phrases 2-4. Loose melodic sequencing back to starting pitch. Similar call-and-response between guitar and mandolins as Phrase 1.</p>
<p>Instrumental Introduction (0:15-1:07)</p>	<p>0:15-0:17 – Close-up of drummer playing <i>ḍholak</i>.</p> <p>0:18-0:23 – Medium shots of musicians clapping, swaying, and drumming.</p> <p>0:24-0:28 – Medium long shot from behind musicians. Akbar leaps to the middle, begins gestures. A few audience members file in.</p> <p>0:29-0:35 – Medium shot of Akbar performing with musicians. Camera pans left to right around him.</p> <p>0:36-0:38 – Medium shot of Taiyyab Ali (Salma’s father), Salma, and her sisters entering auditorium; camera tracks back to follow them.</p> <p>0:39-0:41 – Close-up of Akbar in disbelief.</p> <p>0:42-0:44 – Medium shot of family taking their seats.</p> <p>0:44-0:45 – Medium shot of Akbar on stage; arm gestures up.</p>		<p>0:15-0:17 – <i>Ḍholak</i> appears in soundtrack.</p> <p>0:18-0:23 – 8/8 <i>ṭhekā</i> established with <i>ḍholak</i> ostinato. Musicians clap on Beat 1 of cycle.</p> <p>0:24-0:35 – Full orchestra enters (strings and wind instruments). Melody in Asavari <i>ṭhāt</i>.</p> <p>0:36-0:41 – Increase in surface rhythm: <i>ḍholak</i> plays dotted quarter-eighth pattern. (Example 3.) Mandolins play melody.</p> <p>0:42-0:44 – Descending melodic sequence.</p> <p>0:44-0:45 – Restoration of original surface rhythm. <i>Ḍholak</i> rolls.</p>

	<p>0:46-0:50 – Medium long shot of Anthony and Bharati entering, walking down the same path as the family did. Camera tracks back. Anthony waves at Akbar. The pair pass in front of the family (Taiyyab Ali in lower-right of screen).</p> <p>0:51-0:55 – Long shot: Camera zooms out as Akbar plays <i>śahanāī</i> and the pair passes in front of the stage.</p> <p>0:56-1:02 – Medium shot from behind Akbar as he plays <i>śahanāī</i>. Camera zooms to a medium close-up of Salma and Taiyyab Ali on the lower right.</p> <p>1:03-1:07 – Anthony helps Bharati into her seat before taking his seat in the aisle.</p>		<p>0:46-0:50 – Main melodic theme and <i>ḍholak</i> ostinato from 0:24-0:35 repeated.</p> <p>0:51-0:55 – Increase in surface rhythm. New complex rhythms. (Example 3.) <i>Śahanāī</i> in soundtrack.</p> <p>1:03-1:07 – Return to original surface rhythm.</p>
<p>Ruba’i (1:08-1:54) <i>Section One</i> (1:08-1:24)</p>	<p>1:08-1:14 – Medium shot. Akbar begins vocalizing and reaches in front. Stage lights go up and camera zooms out to a medium long shot. Musicians on stage visible.</p> <p>1:15-1:20 – Medium shot of Akbar; gestures to his left.</p> <p>1:21-1:24 – Medium shot of Akbar; gestures to his right.</p>	<p><i>Ahh ...</i></p> <p><i>Ahh ...</i></p> <p><i>Ahh ...</i></p>	<p>1:08-1:14 - Phrase 1. First appearance of vocals (Akbar, solo). Melisma begins low, ascends high, ends with descending cadence. <i>Ḍholak</i> absent.</p> <p>1:15-1:20 – Phrase 2. Mid-range vocals. Melisma ends with descending cadence.</p> <p>1:21-1:24 – Phrase 3. Melisma begins low, rises slightly, ends with descending cadence.</p>
<p><i>Section Two</i> (1:25-1:54)</p>	<p>1:25-1:31 – Medium close-up: Akbar begins singing text.</p> <p>1:32-1:34 – Close-up: Salma sways head in time with music.</p> <p>1:35-1:41 – Medium shot: Akbar picks up</p>	<p><i>Śabāb pe maī zarā sī</i></p> <p><i>śarāb fekūgā</i> (Let me mix this</p>	<p>1:25-1:31 – Phrase 1.</p> <p>1:32-1:34 – Solo guitar.</p> <p>1:35-1:41 – Phrase 2.</p>

<p>Instrumental Transition (1:55-2:02)</p>	<p>liquor bottle and pours a dash out. 1:41-1:42 – Medium close-up of Salma and Taiyyab Ali. 1:43-1:52 – Medium close-up: Akbar pulls rose out of box. Camera zooms out. 1:53-1:54 – Medium close-up: Salma is shocked.</p> <p>1:55 – Close-up: Akbar sticks the rose in his <i>kufī</i>. 1:55-2:02 – Medium long shot: Akbar and musicians make arm thrusts. Camera pans from left to right.</p>	<p>beauty with a dash of liquor) <i>Kisī hasīn kī taraf ye gulāb fekūgā</i> (And throw this rose towards a beauty)</p>	<p>1:41-1:42 – Solo guitar. 1:43-1:52 – Phrase 3. 1:53-1:54 – Descending glissando on <i>swarmandal</i>. 1:55-2:02 – Four identical phrases. Strings dominate the soundtrack. <i>Dholak</i> ostinato returns with small modifications.</p>
<p>Refrain One (2:03-3:09)</p>	<p>2:03-2:07 – Medium shot of Akbar gesturing to multicolored veils that are falling from ceiling. 2:08-2:10 – Close-up of Bharati “reaching” for veils. 2:11-2:13 – Close-up of Salma shaking her head and laughing. 2:14-2:24 – Medium long shot of Akbar waving veils around. Camera zooms in to a medium shot.</p> <p>2:25-2:30 – Medium shot of Akbar gesturing with fingers and towards Salma. Camera zooms out to a medium long shot: the backs of Salma’s and Taiyyab Ali’s heads are</p>	<p><i>Pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī</i> (Veil ... Veil ... Veil ... Veil ...) (<i>Pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī</i>)</p> <p><i>Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā / Parde ke pīche pardānaśī haī</i> (There is a veil, there is a veil / Behind the veil there is a secret/lady)</p> <p><i>Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dū, bepardā!</i></p>	<p>2:03-2:07 – Vocals begin on Beat 3 of <i>dholak</i> cycle. 2:08-2:13 – Musicians sing in response. 2:14-2:24 – <i>Asthāyī</i> stated and repeated. Melody in Asavari <i>ṭhāṭ</i>. Instruments drop out briefly (on first “Parda hai”) before returning. <i>Dholak</i> ostinato clear, but remains secondary to vocals. Handclaps on Beat 1 of <i>dholak</i> cycle. String figurations at the end of each phrase. 2:25-2:30 – <i>Antarā</i> line.</p>

<p>First Instrumental Interlude (3:09-3:26) <i>Section One</i> (3:09-3:15)</p>	<p>visible. 2:31-2:34 – Close-up of Salma shaking her head “no.” 2:34-2:35 – Close-up of Salma and her upset father. 2:36-2:41 – Medium long shot: Akbar leaps to the front of the stage, gestures at Salma, and leaps back to the center. Salma and Taiyyab Ali visible in the shot. 2:42-2:46 – Medium long shot from behind musicians. Akbar turns around to face musicians and interact with them. Salma and Taiyyab Ali visible in the shot. 2:47-2:51 – Medium close-up: Akbar looks over his shoulder, then brings a veil in front of his face. 2:52 – Close-up of Salma, who appears bashful. 2:53-3:03 – Medium close-up: Akbar gestures, stands up, slaps his chest, blows a kiss, and spins to sit down. Camera zooms out to a medium shot. 3:04-3:08 – Close-up of Akbar on his hands and knees as veils pass from the floor to the ceiling in front of him. 3:09-3:12 – Medium long shot of Akbar and musicians clapping along with the music.</p>	<p><i>Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā</i> <i>kar dūā to</i> (And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then) <i>Akbar merā nām nahī haī</i> (I would change my name from Akbar) <i>Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā</i> <i>Parde ke pīche pardānaśī haī</i> <i>Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dūā to</i> <i>Akbar merā nām nahī haī</i> <i>Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā</i></p>	<p>2:31-2:35 - <i>Antarā</i> line repeated. 2:36-2:41 – <i>Antarā</i> extension. 2:42-2:46 – Repeat of melody from 2:14-2:41. <i>Asthāyī</i>. 2:47-2:52 – <i>Asthāyī</i> repeated. 2:53-3:03 – <i>Antarā</i> line. 3:04-3:08 – <i>Antarā</i> extension. 3:09-3:12 – First parallel phrase. New melody and rhythmic pattern creates “interrupting” dialogue between the <i>dholak</i> and mandolins. (Example 4.) Handclaps in soundtrack.</p>
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<p><i>Section Two</i> (3:15-3:26)</p>	<p>3:12-3:15 – Medium shot: Anthony imitates Akbar’s clapping and blows a kiss towards the stage.</p> <p>3:15-3:18 – Medium shot of Salma and her family from the aisle. Salma and her sisters begin lifting their veils.</p> <p>3:18-3:20 – Medium shot of Salma and her family from the other side of the seating. Taiyyab Ali brandishes his cane at their hands, getting them to put their veils down.</p> <p>3:21-3:26 – Medium shot: Anthony moves across the aisle on his knees to reprimand Taiyyab Ali: he sits him and the women down, motions to him to be quiet, and points to the stage. (Camera pans left; zooms out to a medium long shot.)</p>		<p>3:12-3:15 – Second parallel phrase.</p> <p>3:15-3:20 – Antecedent phrase. Mandolins assume a new melody. <i>Dholak</i> plays a variation on its original ostinato.</p> <p>3:21-3:26 – Consequent phrase.</p>
<p>Verse One (3:27-5:03) <i>Section A</i> (3:27-3:54)</p>	<p>3:27-3:52 – Medium shot: Camera pans counter-clockwise 360° around Akbar, who gestures with outstretched arms. As the camera pans, shots of the stage, wings, and audience are visible. At 3:39, Anthony raises his hand; at 3:40, Akbar looks over his shoulder.</p> <p>3:53-3:54 – Medium close-up of Anthony, whose hand gestures indicate approval.</p>	<p><i>Maī dekhata hū jidhar, log bhī ūdhar dekhe / Kahā thahartī haī jākar merī nazar dekhe</i> (Wherever I look, may people look there as well / They want to see where my gaze stops at)</p>	<p>3:27-3:52 – New melodic materials. Strings double the vocals 8va. <i>Dholak</i> ostinato continues.</p> <p>3:53-3:54 – New <i>dholak</i> solo. (Example 1.)</p>
<p><i>Section B</i> (3:55-4:05)</p>	<p>3:55-3:56 – Medium shot of Akbar, from right.</p>	<p><i>Mere khavābō kī sahaṣādī</i> (She is the princess of my dreams)</p>	<p>3:55-4:05 – Four identical phrases. Low-register vocals are loud and subsume the embellished <i>dholak</i> ostinato. Strings</p>

<p><i>Section C</i> (4:05-4:20)</p>	<p>3:57-3:59 – Medium shot of Akbar from left. (Different camera angle: musicians visible.) 4:00-4:05 – Medium shot of Akbar and musicians from front; camera zooms out. 4:05-4:07 – Medium shot of Akbar and musicians from right. 4:08 – Medium close-up of Akbar. 4:09 – Medium shot of musicians on right. 4:10 – Medium shot of musicians on left. 4:11-4:14 – Medium shot of Akbar and a few musicians from front. 4:15-4:16 – Close-up of Salma, who is bashful yet attentive. 4:17-4:19 – Medium close-up: Akbar brings black veil in front of his face, then casts it away. 4:19-4:20 – Medium close-up: Salma begins to lift her veil, but Taiyyab Ali swats her hand.</p>	<p><i>Maĩ hũ Akbar illāhabādī</i> (I am Akbar of Ilalaahabad) <i>Maĩ sāyar hũ hasīnō ka / Maĩ āsik mehajabanĩ ko</i> (I am a poet of the beautiful / I am a lover of beautiful damsels)</p> <p><i>Terā dāman, terā dāman,</i></p> <p><i>terā dāman</i> (Your Side ... Your Side ... Your Side)</p> <p><i>(Dāman, dāman)</i></p> <p><i>Terā dāman nā choḍūgā</i> (I will not leave your side) <i>Maĩ har cilaman (Cilaman, cilaman)</i></p> <p><i>Maĩ har cilaman ko todūgā</i> (I will break all barriers between us)</p>	<p>double the vocals 8va.</p> <p>4:05-4:08 – High-register vocals are loud and subsume the embellished <i>ḍholak</i> ostinato. Strings double the vocals 8va.</p> <p>4:09-4:10 – Musicians sing in response.</p> <p>4:11-4:14 – Same as 4:05-4:08.</p> <p>4:15-4:16 – Musicians sing in response.</p> <p>4:17-4:19 – Same as 4:05-4:08 and 4:11-4:14.</p> <p>4:19-4:20 – <i>Ḍholak</i> rolls.</p>
<p><i>Section D/Girah</i> (4:21-4:31)</p>	<p>Medium long shot of Akbar from behind Taiyyab Ali and Salma. Akbar gestures to them; camera zooms in to a medium shot.</p>	<p><i>Na dar zālīm zamāne se / Adā se yā bahāne se</i> (Don't be afraid of this cruel world, By grace or pretense)</p>	<p>Declamatory vocals in lower register. Meter stays intact: skeletal <i>ḍholak</i> ostinato articulates <i>ṭhekā</i>. Strings double vocals 8va.</p>
<p><i>Section E</i> (4:32-4:40)</p>	<p>Medium long shot: Akbar, still gesturing, gets up from his spot on</p>	<p><i>Zarā apnī sūrat dikhā de / Samā khūbasūrat banā de / Nahĩ to terā</i></p>	<p>4 identical phrases. High-register vocals and strings most</p>

<p>Section F (4:40-5:03)</p>	<p>the floor, moves stage right, spins around, and points at Salma and Taiyyab Ali. Camera pans left.</p> <p>4:40-4:45 – Medium shot: Akbar walks back to the center and sits down. He continues gesturing toward Salma and Taiyyab Ali. Camera pans to follow him.</p> <p>4:46-4:47 – Medium shot: Musicians on the right gesture and sing.</p> <p>4:48-4:50 – Medium shot: Musicians on the left gesture and sing.</p> <p>4:50-4:55 – Medium close-up: Akbar comes on screen from the left. He points and gestures to Salma and Taiyyab Ali. As he sits down, the camera pans down and zooms out between Salma’s and her father’s heads to a medium shot.</p> <p>4:55-4:58 – 5 quick shots: Akbar hamming it up with a microphone and gestures; Salma’s surprised expression.</p> <p>4:58-5:03 – Medium long shot of Anthony from the stage: he is singing and pointing to the stage. He touches Taiyyab Ali’s chair and startles him. Taiyyab Ali looks over his shoulder at Anthony, then back at the stage; Salma and the other audience members do the same.</p>	<p><i>nām leke / Tujhe koī iljām deke</i> (Please, show your face / And make this occasion beautiful / Otherwise by taking your name (Or else I will call out your name aloud) / I will call you out by making up an allegation)</p> <p><i>Tujhako īs mahafil maī rusavā na kar dū rusavā</i> (And if I do not dishonor you in this gathering)</p> <p><i>(Tujhako īs mahafil maī</i></p> <p><i>rusavā na kar dū rusavā)</i></p> <p>Ha! / <i>Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dūā</i> (And if this secret is not unveiled by me,)</p> <p><i>to, to, to, to, to –</i> (then, then, then, then, then –)</p> <p><i>Akbar terā nām nahī haī</i> ([Then] Akbar is not your name)</p>	<p>prominent, and they cover the embellished <i>dholak</i> part.</p> <p>4:40-4:45 – <i>Antarā</i> melody. <i>Dholak</i> plays embellishments, accented rhythms, and rolls.</p> <p>4:46-4:50 – Musicians sing in response.</p> <p>4:55-4:58 – Sung on a high pitch.</p> <p>4:58-5:03 – Anthony sings.</p>
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<p>Refrain Two (5:04-5:29)</p>	<p>5:04-5:09 – Medium long shot of Akbar with the musicians. He begins waving a tambourine, and the camera zooms in to a medium shot.</p> <p>5:09-5:14 – Medium close-up: Akbar brings the tambourine in front of his face.</p> <p>5:14-5:19 – Medium long shot of Akbar with the musicians. He stands up as he waves the tambourine up and down (i.e., overhead, in front of his face and in front of his chest).</p> <p>5:19-5:24 – Medium shot: Akbar gestures outwards; waves tambourine over his head in a circle as he sits down. Camera pans down.</p> <p>5:24-5:29 – Medium long shot of stage from behind Anthony, still seated in the aisle, who is clapping and gesturing towards the stage and moving around on his knees.</p>	<p><i>Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā</i></p> <p><i>Parde ke pīche pardānaśĩ haĩ</i></p> <p><i>Pardānaśĩ ko bepardā nā kar dūā to</i></p> <p><i>Akbar merā nām nahĩ haĩ</i></p> <p><i>Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā</i></p>	<p>5:04-5:29 – Same melody as Refrain One (2:42-3:08): <i>asthāyī/antarā</i> structure, <i>ḍholak</i> ostinato, and handclap pattern retained.</p>
<p>Second Instrumental Interlude (5:30-5:59) <i>Section One</i> (5:30-5:40)</p> <p><i>Section Two</i> (5:41-5:59)</p>	<p>5:30-5:35 – Medium shot: Anthony pulls a money garland out of his jacket as Taiyyab Ali looks on.</p> <p>5:36-5:40 – Medium shot of Akbar swinging a different tambourine around his wrist. Camera zooms out slightly.</p> <p>5:41-5:48 – Medium long shot from behind the musicians, stage right: Anthony runs up the</p>	<p><i>Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā</i></p>	<p>5:30-5:35 – First parallel phrase. Music at a soft dynamic. Mandolins play new melodic fragments. (Example 9.) The unembellished <i>ḍholak</i> ostinato recedes into the aural background.</p> <p>5:36-5:40 – Second parallel phrase. Tambourine audible.</p> <p>5:41-5:48 – First parallel phrase. Reed instruments (including <i>śahanāĩ</i>) play a new</p>

	<p>stairs and dances towards Akbar, who begins striking the tambourine. One of the musicians takes up the <i>śahanāī</i>. The camera pans counterclockwise around Akbar and Anthony and zooms in to a medium shot. Anthony drapes the money garland around Akbar's neck.</p> <p>5:49-5:54 – Medium long shot of the front of the stage: Akbar tosses the tambourine aside and gets up, taking the rose out of his <i>kufī</i>. Anthony moves right and off-screen. Akbar begins dancing forward, waving the rose up and down before throwing it to Salma.</p> <p>5:55 – Medium shot: The rose lands in Salma's lap; she and Taiyyab Ali look down at it.</p> <p>5:56 – Medium shot: Akbar takes off the money garland.</p> <p>5:57-5:59 – Medium shot: The camera zooms in to a close-up of Salma, who lifts her veil as she picks the rose up.</p>		<p>melody. (Example 10.) The <i>dholak</i> drops out, then returns on a roll to play faster, louder, embellished, bass-heavy rhythms.</p> <p>5:49-5:59 – Second parallel phrase. <i>Dholak</i> roll as Anthony dances off-stage. Bass-heavy rhythms continue.</p>
<p>Verse Two (6:00-7:32) <i>Section A</i> (6:00-6:22)</p>	<p>6:00-6:04 – Medium shot: Akbar raises his hand in praise, sits down, and brings his palms in front of his face. Camera zooms in slightly.</p> <p>6:05-6:10 – Extreme close-up of Akbar's palms; he parts them to reveal a medium long shot of Salma and Taiyyab Ali. Camera zooms in to a medium shot of the pair.</p> <p>6:11-6:22 – Medium close-up: Akbar holds up</p>	<p><i>Khudā kā śukra haī,</i> (Give thanks to God,)</p> <p><i>cheharā nazar to āyā haī</i> ([her] face has been seen)</p> <p><i>Hayā kā rāg nigāhō pe fir bhī chāyā haī</i></p>	<p>6:00-6:04 – Same melody and <i>dholak</i> ostinato as Verse One, Section A. Flute doubles the vocals 8va.</p> <p>6:05-6:10 – Strings begin to double the vocals 8va.</p> <p>6:17-6:22 – Oboe begins to</p>

<p><i>Section B Lead-In</i> (6:23-6:35)</p>	<p>a mirror, reflecting Salma’s face. He attempts to kiss her reflection. Two musicians visible on the left of the screen.</p> <p>6:23-6:26 – Medium shot: Akbar gestures towards his chest.</p> <p>6:27-6:28 – Medium close-up: Anthony gestures to Akbar. Camera zooms out to a medium long shot.</p> <p>6:28-6:29 – Medium close-up: Akbar gestures, acknowledging Anthony.</p> <p>6:29-6:30 – Close-up of Akbar.</p> <p>6:31-6:35 – Close-up of Salma with rose. Red light shines on her face from lower right.</p>	<p>(But even so, the color of shame is still shining in her eyes)</p> <p><i>Kisī kī jān jātī haī</i> – (While someone loses [is about to lose] their life)</p> <p><i>Vah! Vah! Vah!</i></p> <p><i>Kisī ko śarm</i></p> <p><i>Ah, śarm ātī haī</i> (She feels shy)</p>	<p>double the vocals 8va.</p> <p>6:23-6:35 – Melody derived from Verse One, Section B. Thinner instrumental texture: low-register vocals and solo <i>ḍholak</i> ostinato only.</p> <p>6:31-6:35 – Descending melisma (on “Ah”)</p>
<p><i>Section B</i> (6:36-6:45)</p>	<p>6:36-6:38 – Medium long shot: Akbar lies on the floor and begins gesturing back-and-forth with the musicians.</p> <p>6:38-6:40 – Medium shot of Akbar facing the musicians on the left.</p> <p>6:41-6:43 – Medium shot of Akbar and the musicians on the right.</p> <p>6:43-6:45 – Medium shot of Akbar and the musicians on the left.</p>	<p><i>Kisī kī jān jātī haī</i> (While someone loses [is about to lose] their life)</p> <p><i>Kisī ko śarm ātī haī</i> (She feels shy)</p> <p><i>Koī āsū bahātī haī</i> (While someone sheds tears)</p> <p><i>To koī muskarātī haī</i> (She smiles)</p>	<p>6:36-6:45 – Same melody as Verse One, Section B, but sung in call-and-response. <i>Ḍholak</i> ostinato is embellished. Strings and oboe double melody 8va.</p>
<p><i>Section C</i> (6:46-6:51)</p>	<p>Medium shot of Akbar on one knee, gesturing toward Salma.</p>	<p><i>Satākar īs tarah aksar Mazā lete haī ye dilabar</i> (This is the way these sweethearts bother their lovers)</p>	<p>Same melody as Verse One, Section C, sans the musicians’ responses. High-register vocals. Embellished <i>ḍholak</i> ostinato. Strings and</p>

<p><i>Section C' Extended</i> (6:51-7:02)</p>	<p>6:51-6:59 – Medium shot of Akbar, who stands up and points to Salma before kneeling down again. Camera pans up and zooms out to a medium long shot. Musicians stand up and repeat his gestures.</p>	<p><i>Hā̃ yahī dastūr haī īnakā</i> (This is their tradition) <i>Sītam maśahur haī īnakā</i> (This is their tradition known to all.) <i>(Sītam maśahur haī īnakā,</i> (Known to all)</p> <p><i>Sītam maśahur haī īnakā)</i></p>	<p>flute double melody 8va.</p> <p>Melody derived from Section C. Vocal melisma ascends to the upper limits of Akbar's range, then melody cadences to the middle register. <i>Dholak</i> rolls on the first line of text. Musicians sing in response.</p>
<p><i>Section E</i> (7:03-7:10)</p>	<p>Medium close shot: Akbar covers and uncovers his eyes with his <i>kufī</i> as the camera zooms in slightly. He then lights a match and brings it in front of his face as he gestures at Salma.</p>	<p><i>Khafā hoke ceharā chupā le</i> (You may hide your face out of anger) <i>Magar yād rakh husnavāle</i> (But remember this, oh beautiful one,) <i>Jo haī āg terī javānī</i> (The fire that is your youth,) <i>Merā pyār haī sard pānī</i> (My love is like cold water)</p>	<p>Same melody as Verse One, Section E. 4 identical phrases. High-register vocals. Embellished <i>dholak</i> ostinato.</p>
<p><i>Section F</i> (7:11-7:32)</p>	<p>7:11-7:16 – Medium shot: Akbar lights a small fire on the floor in front of him and brushes it out.</p> <p>7:16-7:20 – Medium close-up of Salma, looking down; she looks back up at the stage.</p> <p>7:20-7:28 – Medium close-up: Akbar brings a red veil in front of his face and rents it in two violently as the camera zooms out in starts and stops to a medium long shot.</p> <p>7:28-7:32 – Medium</p>	<p><i>Maī ter gusse ko thādā na kar dūā hā̃</i> (And if I do not calm down your anger)</p> <p><i>(Maī ter gusse ko thādā na kar dūā hā̃)</i></p> <p><i>Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dūā to</i> (And if this secret is not unveiled by me,) <i>To, to, to, to -</i> (Then, then, then, then -)</p> <p><i>Akbar terā nām nahī</i></p>	<p>7:11-7:32 – Same melody as Verse One, Section F; <i>antarā</i> structures taken from Refrains. <i>Dholak</i> plays accented patterns and rolls.</p> <p>7:16-7:20 – Musicians sing in response.</p> <p>7:20-7:28 – Each iteration of “to” sung on a high pitch.</p> <p>7:28-7:32 –</p>

<p>Refrain Three (7:33-7:58)</p>	<p>close-up: Anthony gets up and walks to the front of the stage, gesturing at Akbar as the audience looks on. Camera zooms out to a medium long shot.</p> <p>7:33-7:37 – Medium shot of Akbar waving the two pieces of fabric in and out as the musicians play on.</p> <p>7:37-7:52 – Medium close-up: Akbar sings, facing Salma’s direction, and waves the fabric pieces up and down; more gestures.</p> <p>7:53-7:58 – Long shot of audience from the stage. Anthony and the majority of the audience begin clapping along.</p>	<p><i>haĩ</i> ([Then] Akbar is not your name)</p> <p><i>Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā</i></p> <p><i>Parde ke pīche pardānaśĩ haĩ Pardānaśĩ ko bepardā nā kar dūā to Akbar merā nām nahĩ haĩ</i> <i>Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā</i></p>	<p>Anthony sings.</p> <p>7:33-7:58 – Same melody as Refrains One and Two): <i>asthāyī/antarā</i> structure, <i>ḍholak</i> ostinato, and handclap pattern retained.</p>
<p>Vocal Ending (7:59-8:26) <i>Section One</i> (7:59-8:15)</p>	<p>7:59-8:04 – Long shot of Akbar from behind Anthony. Camera zooms in to a medium shot: Anthony raises his hand towards the stage as Akbar continues singing and gesturing.</p> <p>8:05-8:15 – Medium close-up of Salma and Taiyyab Ali. The camera zooms out to a medium long shot as she lifts her veil and gets out of her seat. Taiyyab Ali looks at her, grabs her arm in an attempt to stop her but she continues to stand up. Salma then goes on stage towards Akbar, who is still singing. Camera pans halfway around them and zooms in to a medium shot and then a medium</p>	<p><i>Ahh ...</i></p> <p><i>Ahh ... Ahh ...</i></p>	<p>7:59-8:04 – The first of three vocal melismas: this one starts low, rises high, and finishes with a slight descent.</p> <p>8:05-8:15 – Melismas Two and Three. <i>8:05-8:10</i> – Second melisma starts low, then rises higher than the melisma before. <i>8:11-8:15</i> – Third melisma starts medium-high, descends, then rises to the melisma’s starting pitch; ends on Beat One of the</p>

<p><i>Section Two</i> (8:16-8:26)</p>	<p>close-up as she kneels and covers his mouth with her hand.</p> <p>8:16-8:20 – Long shot of the audience from the stage. Anthony leaps up and throws his cap in the air, prompting the rest of the audience to get up and celebrate.</p> <p>8:21-8:24 – Medium close-up: Akbar stares into Salma’s eyes as she draws her hand away from his mouth.</p> <p>8:24-8:26 – Medium close-up: Salma casts her eyes down demurely as Akbar continues gazing at her.</p>	<p><i>Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā</i></p> <p><i>Pardā haī pardā,</i></p> <p><i>pardā haī pardā</i></p>	<p><i>dholak</i> cycle. 8:15.5 – <i>Dholak</i> drops out as all music comes to a halt.</p> <p>8:16-8:26 – Same melody and <i>dholak</i> ostinato as in Refrain One.</p>
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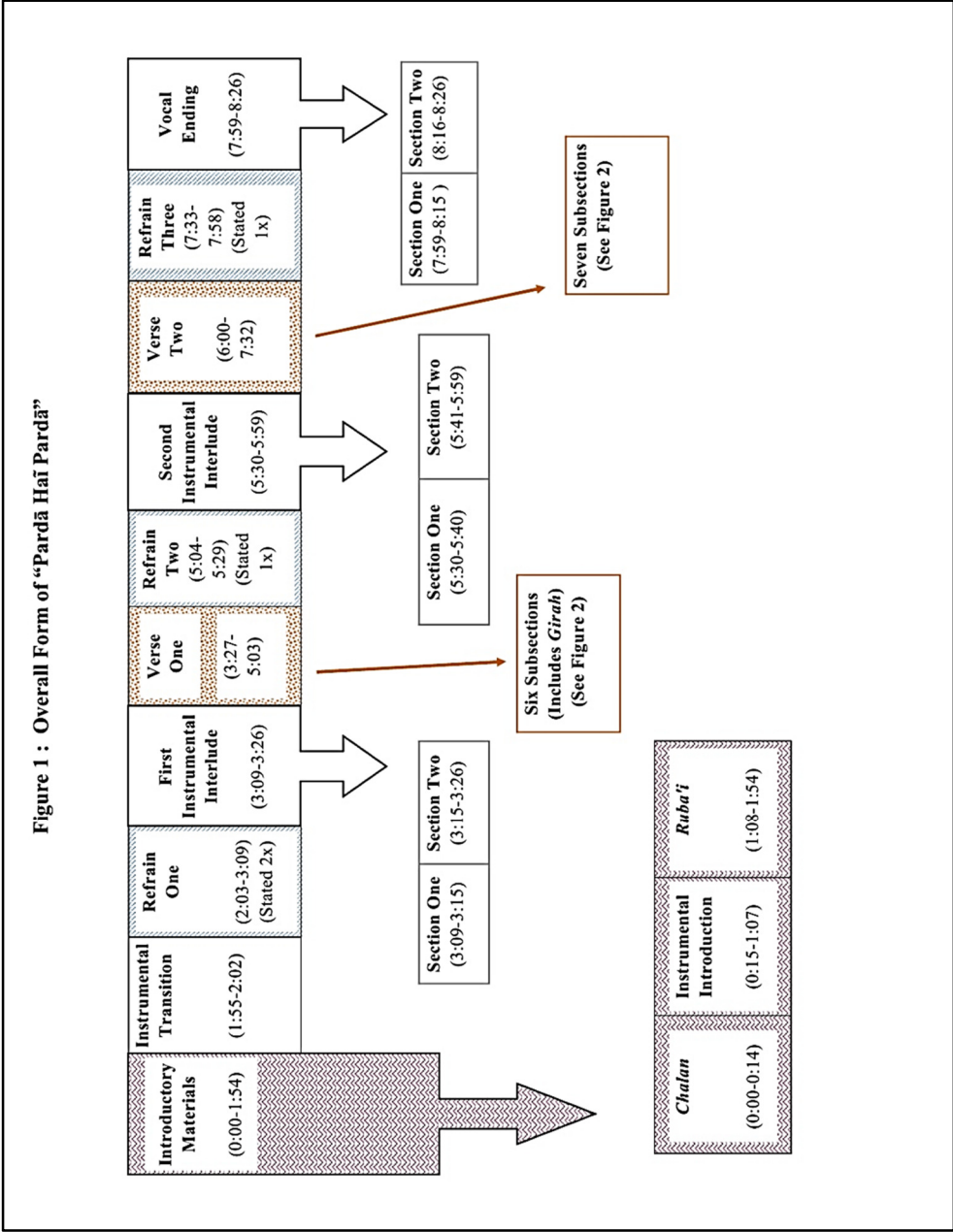


Figure 2 : Form of Verses One and Two in “Pardā Hai Pardā”

Verse One					
A	B	C	D <i>(Girah)</i>	E	F
2 Lines <i>aa</i> Scheme (3:27-3:54)	4 Lines <i>aabb</i> Scheme (3:55-4:05)	4 Lines <i>abab</i> Scheme (4:05-4:20)	2 Lines <i>aa</i> Scheme (4:21-4:31)	4 Lines <i>aabb</i> Scheme (4:32-4:40)	3 Lines <i>abc</i> Scheme (4:40-5:03)

Verse Two					
A	B Lead-In	B	C'	C' Extended	E
2 Lines <i>aa</i> Scheme (6:00-6:22)	2 Lines <i>aa</i> Scheme (6:23-6:35)	4 Lines <i>aaaa</i> Scheme (6:36-6:45)	2 Lines <i>aa</i> Scheme (6:46-6:51)	2 Lines <i>aa</i> Scheme (6:51-7:02)	4 Lines <i>aabb</i> Scheme (7:03-7:10)
					F
					3 Lines <i>abc</i> Scheme (7:11-7:32)

The rhyme scheme is renewed in each section of each Verse.

The Roles of Visual, Textual, and Musical Elements

In Hindi film song sequences, the three domains of visuals, text, and music are closely intertwined because all of these can be employed to convey meaning and key themes. The three elements articulate musical form in a variety of ways, but can also confound the expectations of the viewer. In “Pardā Haī Pardā,” the actions of individual characters, the tone of lyrics, and the roles of instruments actively confront musical expectations and change the course of events while working within the template of overarching musical form.

Although the three elements can be explored in any order, they may acquire clearer meaning if they are considered in the order they were incorporated into the sequence. The history of Bollywood song production processes³⁸ suggests that the action of “Pardā Haī Pardā” was determined before the song was written, and that the lyrics of “Pardā Haī Pardā” were composed before its music. I have therefore chosen to discuss the visuals of “Pardā Haī Pardā” first, followed by its lyrics and finally its musical characteristics (specifically, the role of instruments).

Characters: Actions and Movement

The actions of individual characters in “Pardā Haī Pardā” confront musical and social conventions in a multitude of ways. Visual events convey the maverick personalities of Akbar and Anthony and trace the development of Salma’s level of engagement with Akbar’s performance.

³⁸ I elaborate upon this in Chapter Six, under “Production Patterns and Historicity.”

Akbar

Movement affords Akbar the opportunity to delve into alternative possibilities for *qawwālī* performance. Some of Akbar's movements are drawn from *qawwālī* yet push the boundaries of what *qawwālī* performance considers normative. Traditional *qawwālī* restricts gestures to the occasional raising or waving of the hand on the grounds that their "consistent execution is seen to interfere with the spiritual purpose" of this genre (Qureshi 1986: 63). Akbar draws attention to himself whenever he raises his hands. His pronounced arm thrusts and grandiose gestures delineate musical and visual spaces in the Instrumental Transition, First Instrumental Interlude, and the Vocal Ending. Other actions prove even more nonconformist. During his initial entrance in the Instrumental Introduction, Akbar employs wild gesticulations that challenge acceptable standards of *qawwālī* performance, but are permissible in *filmī qawwālī* (Qureshi 1986: 63). He creates a spectacle that portrays him as an atypical, yet captivating, *qawwālī* performer. The visuals of the *Ruba'i* demonstrate Akbar's awareness of the possibilities for movement in performance as he explores musical and physical spaces simultaneously (through melisma and gesture, respectively).

Akbar's movements in the *Ruba'i* and the Verses aid in advancing his persuasive rhetoric. In the second half of the *Ruba'i*, Akbar illustrates portions of the text by using particular props (a glass bottle, a small box, and a rose). His interactions with the props are coupled with his glances at Salma, and his gaze puts what these items symbolize into context.

Akbar also relies upon particular gestures to convey lyrical text in Verse One, Sections A-C and in Verse Two. In both Verses, Akbar's movements build in visual and emotional intensity, and culminate with the manipulation of a veil. Akbar's employment of veils is carried over into Refrain Three, where he shows off both pieces of the fabric he rent in Verse Two. Elements involving veils convey the alteration of Akbar's rhetoric from a lyrical and poetic approach to one of forceful self-assertion in which Akbar highlights himself and his accomplishments.

In the first Refrain, Akbar employs physical movement to support his identity as an iconoclastic performer. He also acknowledges Salma – an action that risks the audience's and community's disapproval of himself and Salma, for women do not have status in the *qawwālī* event (Qureshi 1986: 110-111, 139; Qureshi 2006: 149). He has openly challenged the social constructs that are in place in spite of the shocked reactions and traditionalist attitudes he encounters. Akbar also reminds the audience of his vocation through his interactions with the musicians on stage. The musical and visual alternations between Akbar and the musicians in Verse Two, Section B complement the subject of differing emotions. This form of exchange between Akbar and the musicians reinforces the notion of the stage as the musicians' space, illustrating another way this group retains synergy.

Akbar toys with assuming an accompanimental role through his use of a tambourine, representing another departure from typical *qawwālī* performance. Tambourines are not characteristic of *qawwālī*: if a lead singer chooses to play an instrument during a performance, he will most likely accompany himself on harmonium

from a seated position (Qureshi 2006: 148). In “Pardā Haī Pardā,” Akbar opts for a tambourine to accompany the music in Section Two of the Second Instrumental Interlude, upon Anthony’s arrival on stage. However, Akbar introduces the tambourine by waving it around in time with the music in the second Refrain. He then appropriates it to allude to the theme of veiling. Akbar’s decision to employ a tambourine in several creative ways turns *qawwālī* norms upon themselves through both choice of instrument and the ways the instrument is incorporated into performance.

Akbar also moves about the stage on multiple occasions in the sequence. This breaks with *qawwālī* tradition, where performers are expected to “[sit] as Sufis do” (Qureshi 1986: 115). He stands to elicit reactions from Salma in the first Refrain as well as in Verse Two, Section C’ Extended. Akbar employs movement around the stage to underscore moments of emotional intensity, as well as dramatic turning points in Verse One, Section E. The fact that these energetic movements immediately follow the emotional *Girah* suggests that Akbar is attempting to push his case against Taiyyab Ali further. Akbar dances only one time during the entire sequence, near the end of the Second Instrumental Interlude. The restriction of his dancing to this part of the sequence strengthens the Second Instrumental Interlude’s distinctive function as the turning point in “Pardā Haī Pardā.” Even though Akbar’s movements are rarely static, all of his movements are restricted to the space of the stage.

Some of Akbar’s actions are prompted by those of other characters, and form a number of verbal and non-verbal communicative exchanges. Akbar responds to

Anthony's gestures of approval³⁹ in Verse One, Section A and Verse Two, B Section Lead-In via gestures directed towards Anthony. These interactions have parallels with performer-audience member interactions in *qawwālī* performance.⁴⁰ Anthony is also the likely impetus for Akbar's dancing in the Second Instrumental Interlude; it is possible Akbar wouldn't have danced without another dancer to respond to. Akbar's interactions with Taiyyab Ali, on the other hand, push the limits of *qawwālī* protocol. In the *qawwālī* event, a man like Salma's father would have status within the event because of his gender and seniority (Qureshi 1986: 110-111). However, Akbar disregards this when he rebukes Taiyyab Ali during the *Girah* in Verse One. Salma's actions motivate Akbar to temporarily abandon his showy stage persona in the Vocal Ending. Akbar does not make any movement or sound during his relatively intimate moment with Salma: he simply gazes into her eyes in silence, creating a marked contrast to his responses to Anthony and Taiyyab Ali.

Akbar's actions function to progress the entire performance, and they coincide with lyrical details and formal structures. Although Akbar's use of these devices personifies him as a nonconformist who is initiating changes to social structures, his movements are largely performative and do not bring about many changes in the plot events of "Pardā Haī Pardā." Situational developments are actually the product of other characters' actions.

³⁹ Qureshi cites raising arms or hands (*hath batana*, *hath uthana*) and the nodding/movement of the head as "standard manifestations of enthusiasm" and "mild arousal" for devotees in the *qawwālī* event. These responses are "common to Indo-Muslim cultural expression" (1986: 121).

⁴⁰ Akbar's reaction demonstrates "sensitiv[ity] to the listeners' responses" – an expectation that traditional *qawwālī* demands of its performers (Qureshi 1986: 127).

Anthony

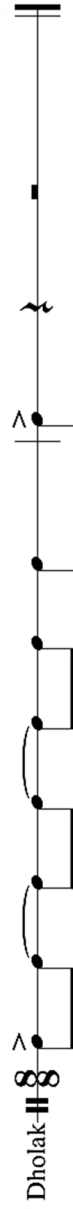
Anthony's impetus for movement lies in his role as an active spectator. He consciously chooses to react to Akbar and the other characters, and his actions disrupt the flow of events in the sequence. However, Anthony's movements provide a form of commentary on Akbar's performance, transforming him into an intermediary between the musicians and the audience.

Anthony initiates direct interactions with Akbar that are not unlike the typical performer-audience member exchanges of *qawwālī*. Anthony is the audience member who demonstrates the most engagement with Akbar's performance, and he communicates his involvement in both subtle and blatant ways. His most poignant non-verbal reaction occurs in Verse One, at the end of Section A. Anthony's hand gestures enhance his connection to the performance, aligning on beat one of each cycle of a distinctive *ḍholak* rhythm, which comes to the forefront as a solo. (See Example 1.) The focus on Anthony and the solo *ḍholak* makes this moment in time a transitional one that clarifies the division between Sections A and B. Anthony also claps along with the rhythm in the second and third Refrains, exhibiting his ability to directly engage with the music.⁴¹

Some of Anthony's exchanges with Akbar test the boundaries of acceptability because they present a challenge to Akbar's performance persona. His act of mimicry in the second phrase of the First Instrumental Interlude parodies what he sees on stage and offers a visual contrast to the inert behavior of Bharati, who sits still next to him.

⁴¹ Clapping is not one of the responses that Qureshi lists as an expressive gesture for participants in the *qawwālī* event (1986: 121); Anthony's clapping therefore represents another departure from traditional *qawwālī* performance.

Example 1: Dholak Rhythm at the End of Verse One, Section A

Dholak 

Accent Marks indicate where Anthony gestures.

Anthony temporarily usurps Akbar's role as the principal singer when he juts in to sing the final line of both Verses, disrupting the expected flow of the sequence and its music for brief moments in time. His cameos shift the visual and musical attention away from Akbar and act as a counterbalance to Akbar's performance rhetoric. As was the case in Verse One, Anthony delineates the separation between formal units (here, the Verses and Refrains) by creating transitional spaces between them.

Anthony becomes the primary performer in the Second Instrumental Interlude when he joins Akbar on stage to make a monetary offering⁴² and dance. His actions exploit the system of monetary offerings in *qawwālī* because of his adoption of a performer's role. Anthony's use of dance also underscores his performance. His movements draw much of the attention away from Akbar and serve as a catalyst for the rest of the events in the sequence.

Anthony, like Akbar, also responds to and interacts with the other characters through his actions. Movement is central to his first appearance on screen during the Instrumental Introduction. His entrance brings him in contact with all of the other important characters in the sequence, which foreshadows his role as a go-between. Anthony also affirms his rejection of traditionalist attitudes through his attention to the Taiyyab Ali's actions (particularly during the final phrase of the First Instrumental Interlude, in which he prevents him from herding his daughters out of the auditorium).

⁴² This alludes to the traditional *qawwālī* event, where devotees occasionally give money (an act called *nazarānā* or *nazar*) to "express [their] spiritual attachment to the Sufi hierarchy" (Qureshi 2006: 143; Qureshi 1986: 123). However, "it is only in secular public performances that the audience gives money directly to the musicians." In all other *qawwālī* events, "those who are especially moved by a song ... approach the master of the assembly and present cash donations, which are later distributed to the musicians" (Ernst 1997: 188).

The Vocal Ending confirms Anthony's support of Akbar, what Akbar represents, and what the performer achieved in the sequence. When Salma appears to reciprocate Akbar's sentiments, Anthony is the first audience member to jump up and dance in celebration.

Anthony becomes a foil to Akbar through his actions and balances out the visual focus of the sequence. Though he often disrupts the flow of action in "Pardā Haī Pardā," Anthony interrupts only in response to aspects of Akbar's performance. His movements generally occur at the ends of phrases or in between musical sections. The performer/audience member interactions between Akbar and Anthony establish patterns of action and reaction that evoke antecedent and consequent phrases in music – a nice correlation in light of the fact that these two characters are brothers.

Salma

In contrast to Akbar and Anthony, Salma does not utilize physical movement to a great extent. Her time on screen is mostly dedicated to her facial expressions that serve as a reaction to Akbar's performance. The instances in which Salma is motivated to unveil or re-veil are prompted by the performance and are met with different responses each time.

Salma's attempts to unveil occur in response to events involving Akbar and the musicians on stage. Her first two tries (in the First Instrumental Interlude, Section Two, and in Verse One) are unsuccessful, as Taiyyab Ali thwarts both of them. She

successfully unveils at the end of the Second Instrumental Interlude when Akbar tosses the rose to her, and her unveiling is met with a joyous exclamation from Akbar.

In the latter half of “Pardā Haī Pardā,” Salma responds to moments of heightened drama by re-veiling and unveiling. She re-veils in Verse Two, Section C’ Extended, exasperated by specific lyrics which allude to her. However, Akbar’s performance induces her to unveil once more, leaving her face uncovered for much of the Vocal Ending. Her act of crossing the threshold of the stage near the conclusion of the sequence reflects her assumption of a more active role in the course of events.

Salma’s unveilings and re-veilings are motivated by the actions of other characters, but do not serve to clearly articulate formal boundaries in “Pardā Haī Pardā.” These events take place at various points in a musical phrase, which may or may not mark divisions between subsections or larger formal units. They are mostly dependent upon emotional reactions to Akbar’s performance, meaning that there is no definite pattern that governs when they happen. In other words, Salma’s actions work *within* predetermined parameters of form in order to enhance important plot points. They suggest that Salma occupies a loosely-defined space within the world of the sequence and the film.

The actions of Akbar, Anthony, and Salma, though varied in their function, all share the common trait of interdependence. They acquire meaning by acting upon each other as well as through their correspondence with specific lyrics.

Lyrics

Though a featured song sequence in a Hindi-language film, “Pardā Hai Pardā” is sung in the hybrid language of Urdu,⁴³ which is a well-established marker of Islamic identity and complements the conventions of *filmī qawwālī*. Urdu itself is a product of Muslim rule during and after India’s Mughal period (16th-18th Centuries C.E.), when

the court language and idiom of high culture was Farsi, with Hindi being used only as a *lingua franca* to address the unlettered. From this, Urdu developed as a synthesis of both languages, based on Hindi grammatical structure with a heavily Persianized vocabulary. By the eighteenth century Urdu became the Indo-Muslim elite language and *lingua franca*, and indigenous Indo-Muslim cultural traditions were well established in the arts, including music (Qureshi 1986: 91).

However, Urdu did not achieve the “spiritual prestige” of its derivative languages in Sufi poetry, and is considered taboo in deeply-sacred *qawwālī* events. “*Qawwālī* poetry in Urdu is characterized on one hand by the works of contemporary Sufi poets, and on the other an extensive repertoire of popular poems composed especially for *Qawwālī* singing.” It is also common in Pakistan, where Urdu serves as the “national language” for a country where Islam is the predominant religion (Qureshi 1986: 85, 188). The Indian cinema took note of Urdu’s associations with Islam, as well as its colloquial status, and adopted Urdu for its portrayals of Muslims and *qawwālī*. Urdu poets such as Kaifi Azmi, Majrooh Sultanpuri, Sahir Ludhianvi, and Gulzar were not at all reluctant to pen lyrics for the cinema, and they “dominated the landscape of its lyrical production” for a “few decades” in the mid-20th Century (Mir 2007: 210). The language was utilized for many

⁴³ I am heavily indebted to my Hindi instructor, Vash Doshi, for this information.

filmī qawwālīs, allowing these songs to incorporate “poetic language” into their lyrics (Morcom 2007: 80).

Urdu suits the purpose of “Pardā Haī Pardā” in many respects. Its affiliation with Islam makes it a logical choice for a Muslim *qawwāl* to sing in, distinguishing this section of *Amar Akbar Anthony* as “Muslim.” However, the sequence maintains accessibility for many Indian viewers, as Urdu is also comprehensible by Hindi speakers. Furthermore, the poetic nature of Urdu permits the lyrics of “Pardā Haī Pardā” to convey different aspects of Akbar’s purpose. The lyrics of “Pardā Haī Pardā” do not maintain a singular poetic affect for the duration of the sequence: rather, the tone of the lyrics shifts from subsection to subsection as Akbar responds to different plot events. Changes in tone serve as an effective rhetorical device for the textual message of “Pardā Haī Pardā” because they make the communicative aspects of Akbar’s performance multidimensional.

The lyrics of the *Ruba’i*, which contains the first lines of sung text in the sequence, allude to Akbar’s purpose and the themes of “Pardā Haī Pardā.” Akbar begins “Pardā Haī Pardā” by singing in the future tense, explaining that he will attempt to win “this beauty” with liquor and a rose:

Śabāb pe maī zarā sī śarāb fekūgā
Kisī hasīn kī taraf ye gulāb fekūgā

Let me mix this beauty with a dash of liquor
And throw this rose towards a beauty

Although Islam deems alcohol illicit (Esposito 2002: 110), traditional Sufi poetry often references the substance in tandem with the theme of spiritual transcendence and ecstasy. “Sufi poetry was not about wine drinking ... It used the shock of reference to wine ... to

convey an ultimate goal for which respectability and righteousness were to be sacrificed” (Ernst 1997: 158). These lyrics have “shock value” in that they insinuate the prospect of romantic love, which stands in opposition to many traditionalist values. Akbar’s sung poetry in the *Ruba’i* demonstrates his willingness to challenge social norms, including those of respectability, in order to achieve the “ultimate goal” of winning Salma.

The Refrain confirms the suggestions of the *Ruba’i* and solidifies Akbar’s identity as a challenger to the contemporary Indian social order. The lyrics are now in the present tense, and they acknowledge the existence of a veil that is hiding a certain woman (i.e., Salma):

Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā
Parde ke pīche pardānaśĩ haĩ

There is a veil, there is a veil
Behind the veil there is a secret/lady

In the third line (i.e., the *antarā*), the lyrics begin to incorporate the first person viewpoint. Akbar states that he will be the one to remove the veil in order to reveal the lady and her secrets:

Pardānaśĩ ko bepardā nā kar dūĩ to
Akbar merā nām nahĩ haĩ

And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then
I would change my name from Akbar

The shift to first person inserts Akbar’s persona into the lyrics, showing that he has recognized and started to confront the barrier referenced in the opening *asthāyī* lines (i.e., lines 1 and 2) of the Refrain.

In Verse One, the poetic tone changes upon the arrival of each subsection, resulting in the advancement of Akbar’s emotional rhetoric. Sections A-C are the in the first person, and channel the audience’s attention to Akbar, his identity, and his purpose. After claiming that everyone wants to follow his gaze in Section A, Akbar identifies himself as a poet and a lover in Section B. This section contains four lines of text that are highly similar in structure, allowing the patterns of poetic stresses to become more or less regular:

*Mere khavābō kī śahazādī
 Maĩ hū Akbar illāhabādī
 Maĩ śāyar hū hasīnō ka
 Maĩ āśīk mehajanī ko*

She is the princess of my dreams
 I am Akbar of Ilalaahabad
 I am a poet of the beautiful
 I am a lover of beautiful damsels

The use of this simple poetic scheme to discuss being a poet is an interesting choice because poets are free to use a variety of verse forms. Although this section does not convey a high degree of technical faculty in terms of poetry, it is nevertheless rhetorically effective: its directness gets Akbar’s statements about his identity across quickly and clearly. Section C evokes Akbar’s purpose once more. He directs his attention to Salma in order to state that he will “break all barriers between [them],” proving he is serious about generating changes in response to traditionalism.

The lyrics undergo a significant change in tone to complement the aesthetic affect of the *Girah* (Section D), resulting in new forms of rhetoric for the rest of the Verse. In telling Salma to not “be afraid of this cruel world,” he adopts an imperative tone to

address her even more directly. Section E follows suit, employing the imperative mode to demand that Salma show her face:

*Zarā apnī sūrat dikhā de
Samā khūbasūrat banā de
Nahī to terā nām leke
Tujhe koī tījām deke*

Please, show your face
And make this occasion beautiful
Otherwise by taking your name
(Or else I will call out your name aloud)
I will call you out by making up an allegation

It allows emotional intensity to rise until it culminates in Section F. This final section borrows its lyrical structures from the *antarā* section of the Refrain, and its lyrics parallel the tone of the earlier set. However, Akbar repeats the last word of the second line (“to”) four times, delaying the onset of the final line to underscore the current level of emotional intensity. The concluding line of Verse One is significantly different from that of the Refrain: as it is sung by Anthony, it reinvents the original concluding line to be sung in the second person. Anthony finishes Akbar’s boast by stating that Akbar won’t be Akbar if he is unsuccessful, providing the much-needed reaction to Akbar’s sung monologue.

Verse Two’s lyrics mirror the emotional trajectory of Verse One’s poetry, yet introduce modifications that respond to Salma’s unveiling. The most marked changes in tone occur in the Verse’s altered subsections. The lyrics of the Section B Lead-In, which are in third person, speak to Indian responses to shyness:

Kisī kī jān jātī haĩ
Kisī ko śarm
Ah, śarm ātī haĩ

While someone loses [is about to lose] their life
She feels shy

Ursula M. Sharma relates that the practice of *ghungat* indoctrinates women with “the occasions on which [they] should ‘feel shy.’” The personal relationship between a woman and a man will determine whether the woman will veil; the inherent social relationship between the two is less of a factor (1978: 226). This in mind, the state of Akbar and Salma’s relationship in the Section B Lead-In is suddenly rather complex: although Salma has unveiled, Akbar is convinced that she is still expressing the shyness that is associated with veiling. Salma’s perceived shyness shows that she retains traditional values in spite of her daring decision to unveil in public this way. As a result, Salma can be taken as, potentially, the perfect blend of traditionalism and modernity. The third person lyrics also make this situation complex, for they communicate a detached stance in spite of their impassioned impetus. In Sections C’ and C’ Extended, Akbar conveys a sense of frustration that the earlier lyrics didn’t reference, lamenting the way in which “sweethearts bother their lovers”:

[Section C':]

*Satākar īs tarah aksar
Mazā lete haī ye dilabar*

This is the way these sweethearts bother their lovers

[Section C' Extended:]

*Hā yahi dastūr haī īnakā
Sitam maśahur haī īnakā*

This is their tradition
This is their tradition known to all.

The other subsections are more heavily indebted to their analogous subsections in Verse One. While Section A involves the newly introduced topic of joy, Sections E and F copy their models for thematic content from Verse One's E and F Sections.

It is important to note that Akbar is responsible for almost all of the lyrical delivery in "Pardā Haī Pardā," establishing him as the figure from which these ideas flow. However, there are a few key exceptions. The musicians on stage occasionally repeat Akbar's lines in full, or engage with the singer in call-and-response fashion, demonstrating their support of Akbar. At the very end of the third Refrain, the audience begins to sing and clap in time with the music. This suggests that the dissemination of Akbar's message was successful.

The poetic lyrics in "Pardā Haī Pardā" are rhetorically effective, for they permit Akbar to thoroughly relay his identity and purpose. The use of the Urdu language also demonstrates that stylistic hybridity is at work in "Pardā Haī Pardā," underscoring how Hindi film song appropriates elements derived from India's cultural minorities.

Instruments

The musical hybridity of “Pardā Haī Pardā” manifests itself most clearly in its instruments. The juxtaposition of heterogeneous instruments symbolizes the themes of tradition and modernity, and the interactions between these instruments are a form of commentary on the implications of these ideas.

The *Ḍholak*

The *Ḍholak* is the primary rhythmic force of traditional *qawwālī*. As *Ḍholak* performers in *qawwālī* are male (Dick 2001: 276),⁴⁴ the *Ḍholak* in “Pardā Haī Pardā” can be taken to represent the traditional male social hegemony. Its shifting role in “Pardā Haī Pardā” alludes to the transformation of accepted social norms.

The three-part Introduction in “Pardā Haī Pardā” ensures that the *Ḍholak* becomes a key element in the sequence. The *Ḍholak* first appears on screen during the *Chalan*, where it is situated alongside other *qawwālī* instruments – *tablā*, harmonium, and the *śahanāī* – as well as the tambourine. The Instrumental Introduction that follows solidifies the *Ḍholak*’s preeminence as a rhythmic force in “Pardā Haī Pardā.” A close-up of one of the musicians striking the *Ḍholak* with his hands coincides with the instrument’s first aural appearance in the soundtrack. Its basic rhythmic patterns produce an ostinato that fits into *kaharvā/qawwālī kā ṭhekā*, or 8/8 in Western notation (Qureshi 1986: 54). This ostinato becomes the rhythmic foundation for the entire sequence. The *ṭhekā* is reinforced

⁴⁴ The *Ḍholak*’s importance from the Mughal period to the present day “as an amateur and domestic instrument, often played by women” (Dick 2001: 275-76) demonstrates that this drum is not necessarily a gendered instrument. However, given that *qawwālī* performers are male and that percussion is routinely gendered as “male,” it is acceptable to associate the *Ḍholak* with masculinity in the case of “Pardā Haī Pardā.” I wish to thank Aaron Paige for the discussion that led to these insights.

by the musicians' handclaps, which occur on the first beat of each cycle. (See Example 2.)

The introduction of new characters on screen during the Instrumental Introduction is met with changes to the rhythmic framework of the music. (See Example 3.) When Salma and her family enter the theater, the *ḍholak* begins to play a dotted-quarter-eighth pattern. *Ḍholak* rolls bring visual attention back to Akbar and the stage. This offers a transition into the repetition of the main melodic theme and original *ḍholak* ostinato as Anthony and Bharati enter. As they cross in front of the stage, the *ḍholak* rhythm changes to a complex pattern that draws upon the opening ostinato and the dotted-quarter-eighth pattern. The use of particular rhythms with the introduction of specific characters suggests that the Instrumental Introduction is creating musical-visual spaces for the sequence's primary characters. The Instrumental Introduction assumes sectional form, enabling the viewer to differentiate between contrasting rhythmic patterns. At the same time, all rhythmic patterns mesh with the template of the same *ṭhekā*, just as all of the characters appear in the same setting. The rhythms suggest that the social spaces present in the sequence are about to be crossed. The pattern associated with Anthony's first crossing combines elements of the pattern that is tied to Salma's first entrance, as well as the ostinato that accompanied Akbar's initial appearance, hinting that Anthony will play a crucial role in the interactions between these characters.

In the *Ruba'i* that follows, the *ḍholak* drops out completely. Its absence is appropriate, given that the *Ruba'i* is a form of recitative. However, examining the purpose of the *Ruba'i* lends another interpretation to the instrument's nonappearance.

Example 2: Opening Dholak Ostinato

The image shows two musical staves. The top staff is labeled 'Dholak' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Hand Claps'. Both staves begin with a 3/8 time signature. The Dholak staff contains a sequence of notes: a quarter note on the second line, a quarter note on the first space, a quarter note on the first line, a quarter note on the first space, a quarter note on the second line, a quarter note on the second space, a quarter note on the third line, and a quarter note on the third space. The Hand Claps staff contains a sequence of notes: a quarter note on the second line, a quarter note on the first space, a quarter note on the first line, a quarter note on the first space, a quarter note on the second line, a quarter note on the second space, a quarter note on the third line, and a quarter note on the third space. The notes are connected by a horizontal line, and there are vertical lines between the staves.

See Appendix D for an explanation on the Dholak notation.

Example 3: Rhythmic Patterns in the Instrumental Introduction

0:36-0:41:
Salma & Family Enter.

Dholak 

Hand Claps 

0:42-0:44

0:44-0:45:
Akbar on Stage.

0:46-0:50:
Anthony & Bharati Enter.





0:51-0:55:
They Cross in Front of Stage.









1:03-1:07





Akbar uses this section of “Pardā Haī Pardā” to challenge social norms by attempting to court Salma in public. The *ḍholak* therefore has no place here, as it represents the traditionalist ideals of such individuals as Taiyyab Ali. This same logic can also be applied to the similarly meterless *Chalan* that opened “Pardā Haī Pardā”: it seeks to explore contrasting themes, including tradition and modernity, making the sound of the *ḍholak* unfit for its musical purposes.

The *ḍholak* is reintroduced in the Instrumental Transition that prefaces the first statement of the Refrain. Although this material is formally ambiguous,⁴⁵ the inclusion of the *ḍholak* permits it to be associated with the Refrain that follows. In the span of four like phrases, the *ḍholak* reestablishes the ostinato from the Instrumental Introduction (with small modifications). The *ḍholak*’s patterns in this section are then duplicated in the ensuing Refrain. As the Refrain is the section that the sequence repeatedly returns to, the rhythms of the *ḍholak* in this section establish a “baseline” for rhythmic behavior in the sequence. This enables the three Refrains to be the same in terms of the music they contain.

Though its rhythms are carried over into the first Refrain, the *ḍholak* is quickly subjected to the dominance of the vocal melody, which functions to challenge expectations for this section’s rhythmic processes. Akbar’s vocals in the first stand-alone

⁴⁵ This transition does not fit Hindi film song structure exactly. Although an Introduction precedes the first Refrain in Hindi film song, the typical Introduction is entirely instrumental. (See Figure 3.) In “Pardā Haī Pardā,” everything preceding the first Refrain is considered introductory through the lens of the Hindi film song template, yet does not completely comply with it because some sections of the sequence’s introductory materials are vocal. The *qawwālī* performance template does not account for this section either. *Qawwālī* tunes come after a *Ruba’i*, which follows a *Naghmā*; this section is neither of these. (See Figure 4.) For all of these reasons, this portion of “Pardā Haī Pardā” is best described as an Instrumental Transition.

line of the Refrain do not mesh perfectly with the surface rhythm: his singing starts on beat 3 of the 8/8 *dholak* cycle, resulting in melodic-rhythmic interactions that are out-of-sync. The normative rhythmic pattern of the *dholak* ostinato is therefore underscored by this blatant deviation from expected rhythmic processes. The musicians prolong this effect by repeating Akbar's line in responsorial fashion.⁴⁶ This process increases vocal volume (Qureshi 1986: 61); the *dholak* recedes into the background of the aural soundscape. Upon the statement of the Refrain proper, the *dholak* drops out briefly, and vocal melody and rhythm are brought back into alignment. However, the melody remains the principal aural element. The *dholak* continues to provide the supporting rhythmic framework of the ostinato until the conclusion of the Refrain.

In the First Instrumental Interlude, the *dholak*'s role in the ensemble changes to reflect the manifestation of its two subsections. Section One features a melodic entity – the mandolins – acting upon the *dholak*, which has abandoned its ostinato. These two groups create a sense of oppositional dialogue between melodic and rhythmic forces. (See Example 4.) Section Two discards this dialogue: the *dholak* plays a variation on its ostinato from the Refrain (illustrated in Example 5), while the mandolins play new melodic material (illustrated in Example 6). The on-screen visuals illustrate these musical contrasts, displaying Akbar's and Anthony's actions in Section One and those of Salma, her sisters, their father, and Anthony in Section Two.

The role of the *dholak* shifts as Akbar begins to sing again, prompting Anthony to engage with the performance. In Verse One, Section A, the *dholak* plays the same

⁴⁶ In *qawwālī*, responsorial singing strengthens the lead singer's status as a musical messenger: group singing clarifies the song text and allows for "uninterrupted verbal communication" through "continuous singing" (Qureshi 1986: 61).

Example 6: Melody in the First Instrumental Interlude,
Section Two

Ensemble

Musical notation for Example 6: Melody in the First Instrumental Interlude, Section Two. The notation is written on two staves. The top staff is labeled "Ensemble" and features a treble clef, a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#), and a 3/8 time signature. The melody consists of a sequence of eighth notes: F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4, C4. The bottom staff continues the melody with eighth notes: B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3, C3, B2, A2, G2, F#2, E2, D2, C2. The piece concludes with a final whole note C2.

ostinato from the Refrain (illustrated in Example 7), even though Akbar sings a new lyrical melody. This changes at the end of the subsection, which is marked by a new *dholak* rhythm (illustrated in Example 1) and a visual cut to Anthony. This event relates to those of the Instrumental Introduction, in which different *dholak* patterns were matched with different characters. However, this rhythm also functions to provide a transition into Section B. Anthony therefore occupies the interstice between these two subsections. As the sequence proceeds, he will continue to occupy these spaces, crossing between larger ones in interesting ways.

The *dholak* rhythms in Sections B and C embellish the ostinato from the Refrain. However, Akbar's vocal melody subsumes these patterns through relatively loud singing. Subsection C ends with a roll on the *dholak*, which corresponds with Salma's attempt to lift her veil. The use of the *dholak* roll in this context hints that the embellishment is a symbol of disruptive yet pivotal visual action.

The *dholak* serves the purposes of the *Girah* (i.e., Section D) well, playing new interpretations of earlier rhythmic structures. It plays at the same tempo as before, but its part is reduced to a skeletal version of the previous ostinato. The figure's lack of rhythmic embellishment becomes evident whenever the sound of the *dholak* cuts through the melody. The melody's surface rhythm in turn obscures the overall tempo.

As Section E reaches the pinnacle of the Verse's emotional intensity, the *dholak* assumes its most involved role yet. It continues to provide accompaniment as it intermingles with the vocal line. In contrast to the music of the *Girah*, Section E's surface rhythm and overall tempo mesh well. However, the heavily-embellished *dholak* rhythm is

Example 7: Ostinato in the Refrain

The image shows two musical staves. The top staff is labeled 'Dholak' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Hand Claps'. Both staves begin with a treble clef and a common time signature. The Dholak staff contains a sequence of notes: a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, a quarter note on B4, a quarter note on C5, a quarter note on B4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on G4. The Hand Claps staff contains a sequence of notes: a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, a quarter note on B4, a quarter note on C5, a quarter note on B4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on G4. The notes are connected by a horizontal line, indicating a continuous melodic line. The Dholak staff has a wavy line under the first two notes, and the Hand Claps staff has a wavy line under the first two notes. The Dholak staff has a wavy line under the last two notes, and the Hand Claps staff has a wavy line under the last two notes.

quickly covered by the vocal melody and strings. The disintegration of the aural balance between melodic and rhythmic forces is symbolic of the changes Akbar is gradually inducing. The *ḍholak* part in the *antarā*-derived lines of Section F is more embellished than it was during the original *antarā* of the Refrain, and it features several rolls and marked accents. These accents eventually “give out” as the music transitions into the second Refrain.

The *ḍholak* assumes a variety of interesting roles in the Second Instrumental Interlude. It recedes to the aural background in the first subsection, in which Anthony’s gradual revealing of the money garland corresponds to the big beats of the unembellished ostinato’s rhythm. After dropping out entirely after the completion of Section One, the *ḍholak* returns on a roll as Anthony crosses the threshold of the stage, playing the ostinato from the Refrain (illustrated in Example 7). This demonstrates another use of the “pivotal” *ḍholak* roll: it may signal “crossings,” events in which characters transcend their designated spaces, communicating a sense of “in-betweenness” or liminality. In the music that follows, the *ḍholak* is cast into a dance role, and its embellished bass-heavy accompaniment accentuates Anthony’s dance moves. The second half of this section repeats the process. Another crossing occurs on another *ḍholak* roll as Anthony dances off of the stage. The *ḍholak* then reassumes its dance role as it accompanies Akbar’s dancing.

The *ḍholak*’s role in Verse Two changes to reflect the modifications this Verse makes to formal structure and subsections. In the Section B Lead-In, the instrumentation thins out considerably: Akbar’s vocals are accompanied only by a solo *ḍholak*. The

retention of only the most essential musical elements of the “Pardā Haī Pardā” sequence (i.e., rhythm and vocal melody) enables lyrics and visuals to come to the forefront. The rest of Verse Two incorporates the *ḍholak* à la Verse One.

Ḍholak happenings in the concluding portions of “Pardā Haī Pardā” imitate those of the previous Refrains, with one exception: at the end of the Vocal Ending’s first subsection, the *ḍholak* cycle cuts off on Beat 1 and all music comes to a halt. This event occurs as Salma covers Akbar’s mouth with her hand. Keeping the masculine associations of the *ḍholak* in mind, its silence could be interpreted as an instance in which a female overpowers the male hegemony. This is overturned in Section Two, however, for portions of the Refrain are reiterated to bring “Pardā Haī Pardā” to a close. The sounds of the *ḍholak* therefore have the final say in the rhythmic structures of the sequence’s conclusion.

The *ḍholak*, representing masculinity and the status quo, shapes the sequence by establishing a basis for rhythmic processes in “Pardā Haī Pardā.” Although other musical forces act upon this framework, the opening ostinato eventually reassumes dominance and reemerges in its original form, suggesting that the dominant male hegemony has been upheld.

Melodic Forces

The melodic forces of “Pardā Haī Pardā” add another dimension to the interplay between musical instruments in the sequence. Their inclusion in the soundscape fills out the musical texture in ways that suggest an ongoing dialogue with the *ḍholak*’s rhythm,

other melodic forces, or both. These instruments are most audible when visual events alter plot progression: taken together, they suggest patterns of associative meanings that include femininity and change.

Western stringed instruments, a staple of classic Hindi film song, make their first appearance in the Instrumental Introduction as an antithesis to the *ḍholak*. They provide much of the melodic basis for this section of “Pardā Haī Pardā.” However, their inclusion is aurally jarring: they sound only after a complete cycle of the *ḍholak thekā* occurs, representing a sudden deviation from the expectations for *qawwālī*. In addition, they play melodies drawn from Asavari *ṭhāṭ*, which equates to the Western natural minor scale (Bor 1999: 3): in Western terms, “Pardā Haī Pardā” is in the key of F# minor. (See Example 8). Asavari *ṭhāṭ* is not one of the scale forms that *qawwālī* typically uses (Qureshi 1986: 49). The juxtaposition of an atypical scale form with a typical *thekā* represents the clash between what is expected and what is innovative (i.e., the traditional and the modern). The entrance of the strings coincides with Akbar’s flashy stage entrance, which further exacerbates the break from *qawwālī* expectations. The strings are also the most prominent melodic forces in the Instrumental Transition and Section One of the Second Instrumental Interlude.

The stringed instruments in “Pardā Haī Pardā” act upon existing musical forces in one of two ways, through doubling and/or call-and-response. Strings may double the vocal melody to provide musical support for Akbar’s voice. In Verse One, Sections A-D, the strings softly double Akbar’s melody an octave higher. They also aid the vocal melody in covering the *ḍholak* rhythm in Section E. The strings continue to play a

Example 8: “Pardā Haī Pardā” Refrain

Akbar

Par - dā haī par - dā, Par - dā haī par - dā

Par - de ke pī - che par - dā - na - śī haī

Par - dā - na - śī ko be - par - dā nā kar dū - ā to

(Par - dā - na - śī ko be - par - da nā kar dū - ā to)

Ak - bar me - rā nām na - hī - haī

comparable doubling role in much of Verse Two. Stringed instruments often punctuate the music to varying degrees, creating a sense of dialogue between musical forces that is more striking than the effects of doubling. In the Refrain, the strings play upon Akbar's vocal line by filling it in with figurations in the *asthāyī* (i.e., at the ends of lines 1 and 2). This produces call-and-response between the two performing forces. Another example of call-and-response involves the role of the guitar and mandolins in the *Chalan*. The *Chalan* begins with a rising minor arpeggio on a solo guitar, followed by a full minor chord played by the mandolins. The pattern of exchange between these performing forces (i.e., solo guitar + full mandolin ensemble) repeats three more times, resulting in a 4-phrase prelude. The first subsection of the First Instrumental Interlude, in contrast, requires strings to engage with rhythmic elements (i.e., the *ḍholak* patterns). The mandolins sound in response to *ḍholak* strokes, resulting in rapid aural alternations between the two forces. (See Example 4.) This vacillation is more agitated than the call-and-response patterns found in the Refrain, and could be characterized as a dispute between rhythmic and melodic forces. It constitutes the most lucid example of musical interjections in "Pardā Haī Pardā."

Several stringed forces are given prominent roles whenever Salma appears on screen, suggesting a correlation between stringed instruments and femininity. In the Instrumental Introduction, the mandolins come forward to play the bulk of the melody when Salma and her family enter the theater. The mandolins' sound offers an timbral contrast to the strings that came before them; similarly, the visuals shift the on-screen focus to individuals other than Akbar. Solo strings also factor into the second half of the

Ruba'i. Salma appears on screen during the gaps between each of this section's three phrases as she reacts to Akbar's performance. A solo guitar plays melodic figures after Phrases One and Two. A descending glissando on the *swarmandal* accompanies Salma's look of utter shock over Akbar's confession at the end of Phrase Three. This is the only time the *swarmandal* can be heard in "Pardā Haī Pardā," and it coincides with the conclusion of the introductory materials and the beginning of the Refrain proper.

Through their on-screen pairings with characters such as Anthony and events like the aftermath of Salma's unveiling, wind instruments symbolize changes to the social hegemony. The sound of a *śahanāī* accompanies Anthony's appearances on screen during two pivotal moments in the sequence's chain of events. The first occurs in the Instrumental Introduction: as Anthony leads leads Bharati down the aisle in front of the stage, Akbar begins playing a *śahanāī*, which is highlighted as a solo instrument in the soundtrack. This *śahanāī* / Anthony pairing foreshadows later music and plot events. In Section Two of this Interlude, one of the musicians takes up the *śahanāī* as Anthony sets foot on stage, and the aerophone is heard in the soundtrack once again. The pairings of the *śahanāī* with Anthony in these situations point towards Anthony's role as a figure who can intrude upon conventional spaces and induce change. The *śahanāī* diverts aural attention back upon itself whenever it is heard, just as Anthony shifts visual focus to himself. These deflections alter the course of aural and visual events by creating new content that moves these situations in new directions.

Salma's unveiling at the end of the Second Instrumental Interlude coincides with the emphasis on Western woodwinds in the soundtrack. The use of these instruments

serves as a foil to the association between melodic strings and femininity that was established in the earlier sections. The flute and oboe are used to double the melody in Section A of Verse Two. During the beginning of the first phrase, a flute doubles Akbar's vocal line an octave higher. It subtly drops out as the strings reassume their doubling duties. However, an oboe enters on the second half of the second phrase, doubling the vocal melody as Akbar attempts to kiss Salma's reflection in the mirror. The oboe creeps back into the soundtrack to reassume its doubling role in Section B, and the flute does the same in Section C'. On a functional level, the addition of the flute and oboe differentiates the music of this Verse from that of Verse One, albeit ever so slightly. It reflects the change in dramatic context that has resulted through Salma's unveiling.

As was the case with the *ḍholak*, the melodic forces reassume the roles they held in the opening Refrain upon the arrival of the song's conclusion, suggesting a return to the musical status quo. The resurfacing of call-and-response between the *ḍholak* and the melodic forces creates a sense of aural balance between rhythmic and melodic instruments. However, melody remains dependent on rhythm: the melodic instruments play a line that fits into the rhythmic *ṭhekā*, which manifests itself in the *ḍholak*'s ostinato. The *ḍholak* mitigates any perceived changes that the melodic instruments made to the aural fabric of the music.

The interplay between rhythmic and melodic forces in "Pardā Hañ Pardā" creates a relationship that is symbolic of what may be perceived as a negotiation of the "dichotomies" of male/female and tradition/modernity. Musical events suggest that the male hegemony has been upheld in some ways and overturned in others. The enduring

presence of both rhythmic and melodic forces from the start to finish of “Pardā Haī Pardā” hints that the discourse on gender roles and the issue of tradition and modernity is ongoing: majority and minority viewpoints on these matters are always subject to change.

Characters, lyrics, and instruments modify the progression of visual, textual, and musical events in “Pardā Haī Pardā,” yet none of them are complete non sequiturs. All disruptions to content and challenges to expectations arise from the hybrid form of “Pardā Haī Pardā”: multivalent developments call attention to the template of the song’s subsections, rather than completely destroying it. In order for the visual, textual, and musical elements of a song sequence to assume their full communicative potential, the multivalent analysis should also explore the sequence’s stylistic and formal characteristics. The following discussion is therefore devoted to a discourse on these traits.

Hybridity in “Pardā Haī Pardā”

“Pardā Haī Pardā” can be succinctly described as a *filmī qawwālī*, for it borrows from the conventions of both Hindi film song and *qawwālī*. Outlining the characteristics of both styles establishes a basis for understanding the hybrid form of “Pardā Haī Pardā” at various levels of musical complexity and ultimately as an expression of wider Indian culture.

Relationships to Hindi Film Song

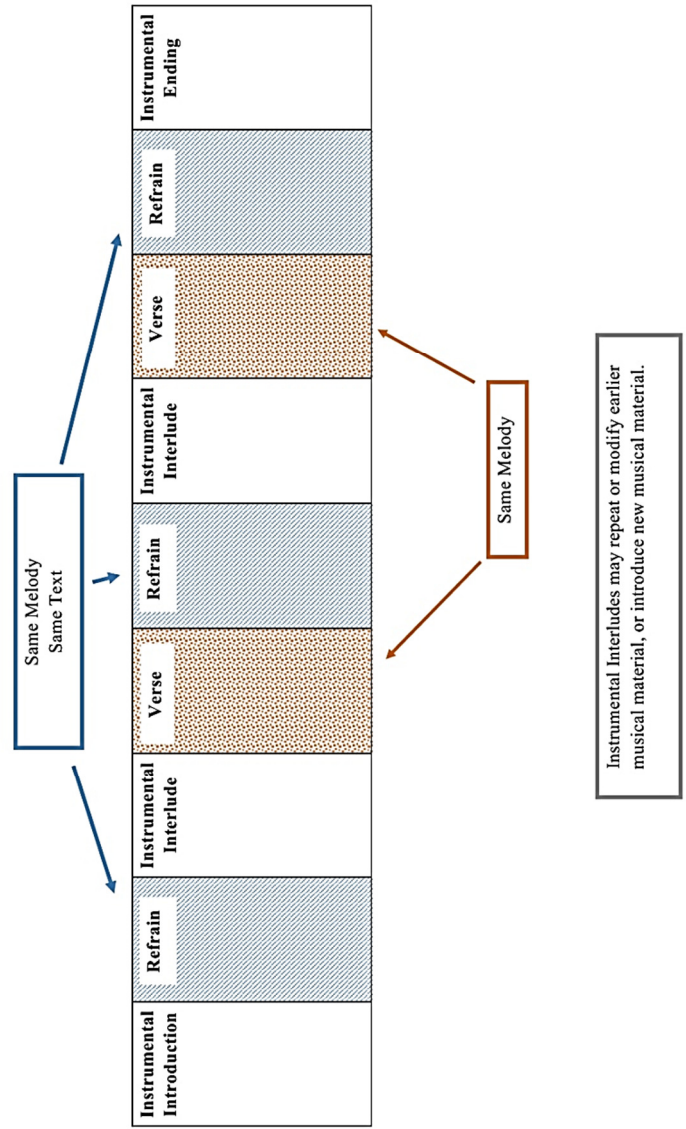
The Hindi film song form as outlined by Morcom is characterized by the alternation between vocal Refrains and Verses and the insertion of a few Instrumental Interludes. The entire pattern is framed by an Instrumental Introduction at the song's beginning, and an Instrumental Ending at the close. (See Figure 3.) In this model, sections of music and text are clearly defined. Although Morcom presents Hindi film song structure in a linear fashion, the repetition of particular musical materials enables the song to return to key ideas and motifs at various points throughout the song. Refrains repeat the same music and text. The Verse presents a different melody from the Refrain; when repeated, it is set to a different text. A Hindi film song's Instrumental Interludes are somewhat open-ended. These may repeat or modify the musical material from the Verse or Refrain, or introduce new material entirely (Morcom 2007: 62).

“Pardā Haī Pardā” draws upon Hindi film song conventions to construct its large-scale form. Diagramming the alternations between vocal and instrumental subsections and locating repetitions of text and melody reveals that Hindi film song structures – Introductions, Refrains, Verses, and Interludes – are present. (See Figure 1.)

“Pardā Haī Pardā” includes passages of instrumental music that can be likened to the introductory materials of Hindi film song. The very beginning of the sequence simulates the opening of a Hindi film song through its use of an instrumental *Chalan*.⁴⁷ After the rising minor arpeggio in the first phrase, loose melodic sequencing enables the melodic material of the latter three phrases to descend back to the *Chalan*'s starting pitch.

⁴⁷ Most Hindi film songs begin with either an Instrumental Introduction or a vocal *ālāp* (Morcom 2007: 62).

Figure 3 : Typical Hindi Film Song Structure (as Described by Anna Morcom in *Hindi Film Songs and the Cinema*)



The Instrumental Introduction that follows marks the first appearance of the *ḍholak* ostinato in the soundtrack, which can also be discerned in the music of the Refrains, Verses, and Interludes. (See Example 2.)

The Refrains and Verses of “Pardā Haĩ Pardā” utilize Asavari *ṭhāṭ* as a point of departure for their melodic content. The song’s Refrains repeat the text that gives “Pardā Haĩ Pardā” its name, and are set to the same melody. The two Verses also comply with Morcom’s description of Hindi film song Verses: these Verses present melodic materials that are different from those of the Refrain, and the texts of each Verse are unique. Differences in textual materials enable Verse One to be subdivided into six subsections, while Verse Two consists of seven subsections. However, Verse Two borrows much of its musical material from five subsections from Verse One. (See Figure 2.)

“Pardā Haĩ Pardā” features Interludes that differ from the music of the Refrains and Verses to varying degrees. For example, the First Instrumental Interlude begins with a new rhythmic pattern that is articulated by a *ḍholak* and a group of mandolins. (See Example 4.) However, this pattern is then abandoned and replaced by a variation on the pattern the *ḍholak* played in the first Refrain. (See Example 5.) In contrast, the Second Instrumental Interlude constitutes a musical departure from the rest of the song: it features many new melodies and rhythmic patterns, as well as contrasting instrumentation.

Relationships to *Qawwālī*

In contrast to Hindi film song, *qawwālī* is not necessarily characterized by a prescribed musical template. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi's descriptions of *qawwālī* suggest a template for performance, emphasizing the structure of the event over the form of an individual song. As a result, *qawwālī* performances contain multiple levels of organization. (See Figure 4.)

The *Chīz* is the name given to the basic “item of performance” in *qawwālī*. The *Chīz* itself may be broken down into a few key components. Each portion of poetic text in the *Chīz* is set to the same tune, which typically adopts an *asthāyī-antarā* structure (Qureshi 1986: 55-56, 66-67). A *qawwālī* performer might begin the *Chīz* with a *Ruba’i*. The primary purpose of the *Ruba’i* is to introduce the song proper, and its delivery in performance can be likened to that of recitative. The performer is also free to add a *Girah* anywhere in the *Chīz* (Qureshi 1986: 38). Both the *Ruba’i* and *Girah* are optional items that have the potential to contribute musical and thematic variety to the *Chīz*.⁴⁸ *Qawwālī* performers may present a number of *Chīz* in succession, with moments of silence in

⁴⁸ A *Chīz* may be prefaced by a *Naghmā*, an Instrumental Prelude to the entire performance (Qureshi 1986: 38). Though the opening 14 seconds of “Pardā Haī Pardā” is an Instrumental Prelude, it cannot be labelled a *Naghmā* because of its brevity and lack of repeated phrases. For this reason, the opening portion of “Pardā Haī Pardā” is best described as a *Chalan*. I wish to thank Sarah Morelli for the discussion that led to this clarification.

between,⁴⁹ until the end of their allotted time in front of the audience (Qureshi 1986: 56).⁵⁰

In grafting *qawwālī* characteristics onto Hindi film song structure, “Pardā Haī Pardā” adapts many aspects of *qawwālī* performance. (See Figure 1.) Elements that *qawwālī* performance deems optional have a prominent place in the musical form of “Pardā Haī Pardā.” Their inclusion allows “Pardā Haī Pardā” to heighten its sense of “Muslimness.” “Pardā Haī Pardā” utilizes a *Ruba’i*, which provides the first lines of sung text (and, in turn, the topical themes) for the sequence:

Śabāb pe maī zarā sī śarāb fekūgā
Kisī hasīn kī tarāf ye gulāb fekūgā

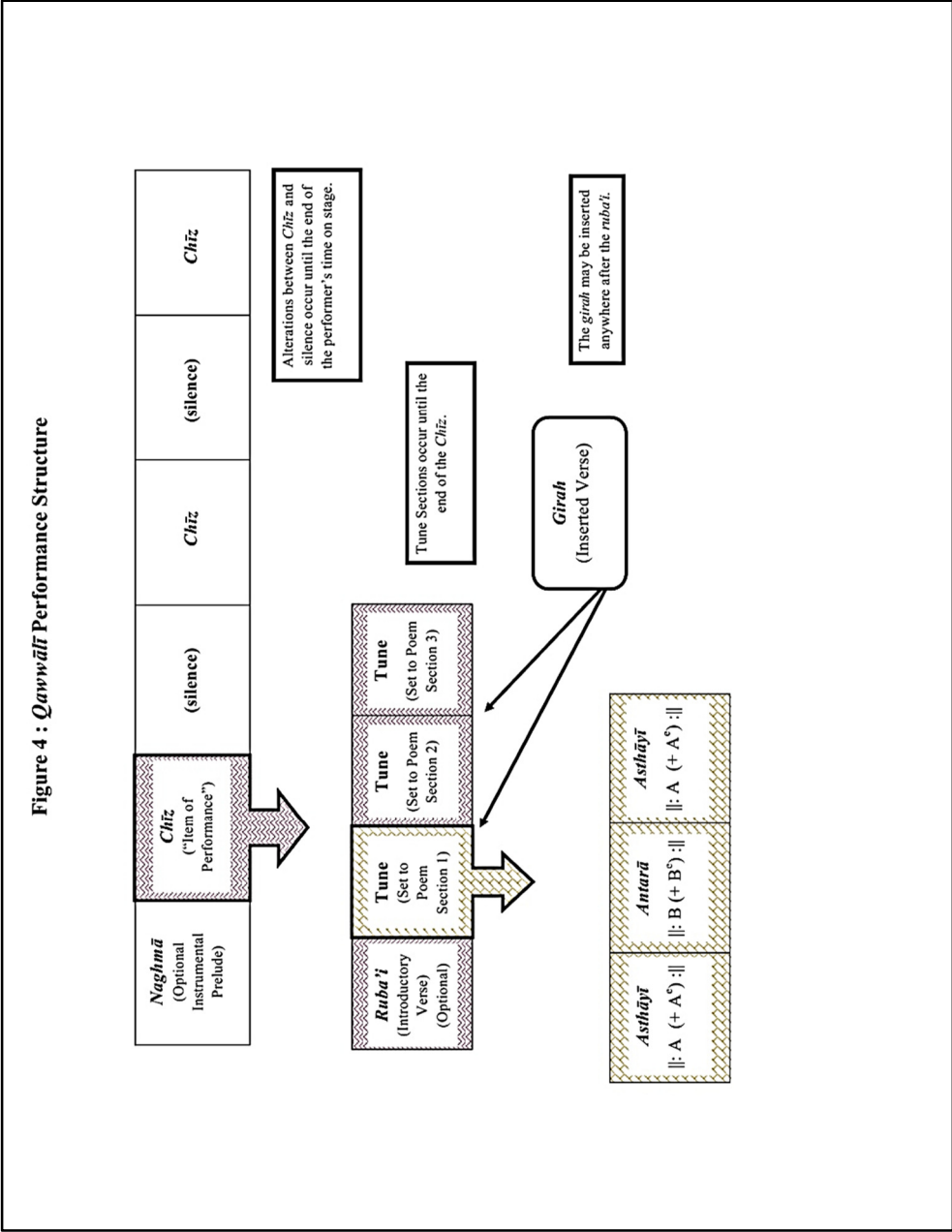
Let me mix this beauty with a dash of liquor
And throw this rose towards a beauty

This portion of the sequence also initiates interactions between the performers (specifically, Akbar) and select audience members (here, Salma; later, Taiyyab Ali and Anthony). Such exchanges are a feature of traditional *qawwālī* performance, but “Pardā Haī Pardā” will prove to use them in unconventional ways.

The use of *qawwālī* elements within the Refrains and Verses of “Pardā Haī Pardā” demonstrates that characteristics of *qawwālī* performance can be absorbed into Hindi film song, creating musical events that modify the existing Hindi film song template. The

⁴⁹ Qureshi is vague as to the nature or purpose of this silence, saying only that each *Chīz* is “bounded by silence” (1986: 56). I received the impression that the silence is only long enough to allow performers and audience members to differentiate between the end of one *Chīz* and the beginning of the next, bringing the former to a proper close before beginning the latter.

⁵⁰ In her article, Qureshi states that “there is a momentary distraction of the audience” as one performer takes another performer’s place (2006: 149). I inferred that momentary silence may be a factor here as well, lasting only long enough for performers to exit and enter the performance space.



Refrain is heavily reliant on the repetitive processes of *qawwālī* performance, which function to establish the identities of each subsection and demonstrate that subsections are meaningful units (Qureshi 1986: 57, 67). The first Refrain in “Pardā Haī Pardā” consists of two subsections: a single line (repeated once), then a strophe of four lines, (also repeated once). The first iteration of the strophe repeats its third line; the second states the four lines and concludes with a four-line extension.

Pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī
(Pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī)

Veil ... Veil ... Veil ... Veil ...
 (Veil ... Veil ... Veil ... Veil)

Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā
Parde ke pīche pardānaśī haī
Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dū, bepardā!
Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dū to
Akbar merā nām nahī haī

There is a veil, there is a veil
 Behind the veil there is a secret/lady
 And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then
 And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then
 I would change my name from Akbar

Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā
Parde ke pīche pardānaśī haī
Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dū to
Akbar merā nām nahī haī
Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā

Because *qawwālī* “[assumes] that a message must be heard at least twice in order to be internalized” (Qureshi 1986: 70), it can be inferred that the placement of repeated units within the Refrain (which in turn reappears through the course of the song) establishes the key themes of “Pardā Haī Pardā.” The first line stands alone as an attachment to the

Refrain. Its intrusion onto the structural template of the Refrain serves two purposes: it acknowledges the structural restrictions of the song template, and attempts to modify its framework. The process of recognizing and confronting barriers will be compounded by each element of this portion of the sequence.

The Refrain proper in “Pardā Haī Pardā” relies on audible *qawwālī* structures to present the primary thematic material of the song. (See Example 8.) Its four-line strophic structure allows it to fit into a modified *asthāyī/antarā* framework. The melody of the first line constitutes the *asthāyī*, or “principal section of the tune.” Like the *asthāyī* found in *qawwālī*, it is set in the lower part of the vocal range. The *asthāyī* melody is repeated in the second line. The third line’s melody ventures into the higher reaches of Akbar’s vocal range. This line, then, is the *antarā*, as it is “set to the intermittent section of the tune” (Qureshi 1986: 66, 62). The fourth line, which in typical *qawwālī* is a reiteration of the *asthāyī*, becomes an extension of the *antarā*. Akbar delivers it in a highly melismatic fashion, extending ever higher into his vocal range before descending rapidly. As a result, the first line of the Refrain’s repeat serves as the closing *asthāyī* of the first strophe and the opening *asthāyī* of the next strophe simultaneously. This obscures the expectations for the *asthāyī/antarā* structure of *qawwālī*.

The sequence also demonstrates the insertion of a *Girah* in Verse One, which consists of unique musical material that does not reappear anywhere else in the sequence. Following the conventions of traditional *qawwālī*, this *Girah* is composed of two lines⁵¹ and is delivered in a “declamatory vocal style.” However, it deviates from expectations in

⁵¹ The *Girah* is typically a unit of 1-4 couplets (Qureshi 1986: 68).

that musical meter remains intact (Qureshi 1986: 68): the *ḍholak* articulates the *ṭhekā* in the soundtrack, lessening the similarities with “recitative.”

The large-scale form of “Pardā Haī Pardā” is largely the result of blatant borrowings from Hindi film song structure, but the influence of *qawwālī* engenders a number of subsections that are disseminated throughout the entire sequence. The melding of Hindi film song form and *qawwālī* performance introduces multiple levels of organization to the formal structure of “Pardā Haī Pardā.”

The Effects of Hybridity on Levels of Musical Form

The integration of *qawwālī* into Hindi film song leads to many complexities of form within and between sections of “Pardā Haī Pardā.” Exploring the subsections of “Pardā Haī Pardā” reveals how Hindi film song and *qawwālī* styles affect the organization and role of vocal and instrumental music in the song, confirming its hybrid musical character and providing insight into its themes.

Text, Form, and Themes

The large-scale form of “Pardā Haī Pardā” is based in text, as it draws from the musical structures of *qawwālī* and Hindi film song. Qureshi states that the Indic penchant for the voice in music likely influenced the musical structures of both styles (1986: 7), implying a link to sung texts. The Sufi belief that poetry is the “principal vehicle for the expression of mystical thought and feeling” resulted in *qawwālī* forms that are based upon the structure of a text. The music underlying the text of *qawwālī* serves the purpose

of mystical expression by creating a spiritual experience through sound. Musical form, in turn, acts upon *qawwālī* text by combining lines of song in a variety of ways (Qureshi 1986: 82, 7). Text also shapes form in Hindi film song, as text patterns create Verse-Refrain structures that are readily apparent to the listener.

The text of “Pardā Haī Pardā” breaks much of the song down into discrete subsections. (See Table 1.) Many vocal subsections in “Pardā Haī Pardā” are articulated through strophic poetic templates and rhyme. Strophic poetry is present in the three Refrain sections, each of which contain the same four lines. The rhyming lines of the two Verses serve as immediate indicators of the boundaries between subsections. The lyrics in each subsection express and clarify Akbar’s purpose, while the music creates an engaging aesthetic experience for his message. Visual elements also articulate form through creative combinations with text.

An analysis of the subsections in “Pardā Haī Pardā” reveals that many of these subsections are analogous, for they feature similar poetic themes. In both Refrain and Verse subsections, the lyrics communicate a variety of declarative, declamatory, and imperative messages that are complemented by the visuals and music. Comparing Refrain sections to one another validates the role the Refrains have in conveying Akbar’s purpose, and examining the same-lettered subsections of the Verses aids in understanding how these sections construct Akbar’s emotional rhetoric.

The Refrains

The entire purpose of “Pardā Haĩ Pardā” is communicated in its Refrains, which also provide the song with its primary musical themes. In these sections, Akbar acknowledges that the veil is the obstacle separating himself from his love and announces he will do everything in his power to remove this barrier:

*Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā
Parde ke pīche pardānaśĩ haĩ
Pardānaśĩ ko bepardā nā kar dūā to
Akbar merā nām nahĩ haĩ*

There is a veil, there is a veil
Behind the veil there is a secret/lady
And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then
I would change my name from Akbar

Each Refrain is built upon the same four-line *asthāyī/antarā* framework, which keeps the music consistent with each statement of the Refrain.

The visuals that accompany each Refrain have amplified implications in “Pardā Haĩ Pardā” because textual and musical consistency establishes a poetic and aural point of return. Akbar’s actions in the first Refrain are aimed to elicit a reaction from Salma, while events in Refrains Two and Three imply that Akbar has been successful in his communicative purpose. Akbar repeatedly conveys pride through his actions and receives support from the musicians, Anthony, and the audience. The visuals of the Refrains also link back to the song’s focus on veiling and unveiling and allude to the separation between musicians and non-musicians within the Indian social hierarchy.⁵² Taken as a whole, visual elements in the Refrains progress the action of the sequence and relay the theme of overpowering obstructions.

⁵² See “Spaces for Musicians and Non-Musicians” in Chapter Five.

The Verses

The Verses of “Pardā Hai Pardā” are structured to allow Akbar to build a persuasive rhetoric in support of his goals of winning Salma’s heart and overpowering traditionalist ideals. The opening sections of each Verse demonstrate his sense of self-awareness and acknowledge present social realities. As each Verse progresses, Akbar’s rhetoric becomes increasingly impassioned. The Verses conclude with an emotional climax marked by the merging of a catharsis with a restatement of Akbar’s purpose.

The A Sections

The A Sections of both Verses capitalize on the theme of the gaze and feature musical and visual techniques that simulate distance. Each A Section is two phrases long and features a vocal melody that is long and lyrical. In the A Section of Verse One, Akbar sings of the people who follow his gaze:

*Maĩ dekhataĩ hũ jidhar, log bhĩ ūdhar dekhe
Kahã thahartĩ haĩ jãkar merĩ nazar dekhe*

Wherever I look, may people look there as well
They want to see where my gaze stops at

Verse Two’s A Section expresses his joy over seeing Salma’s unveiled face:

*Khudã kã śukra haĩ, cheharã nazar to āyã haĩ
Hayã kã rãg nigãhõ pe fir bhĩ chãyã haĩ*

Give thanks to God, [her] face has been seen
But even so, the color of shame is still shining in her eyes

The visuals of both A Sections use creative cinematography to illustrate the act of gazing and emphasize the physical distance between Akbar and the other characters.

Anthony's inclusion as a visual persona in this segment of Verse One implies that he is one of the people who gaze at Akbar. The interactions between the two men on screen suggests that an amicable connection has been made from a distance.

The A Section of Verse Two continues to comment on the distance between characters through the visuals. Akbar's parting palms may be interpreted as a different form of unveiling: Akbar now has a complete view of Salma, even though he is still physically separated from her. This action may also be read as an imitation of her unveiling. The mirror Akbar holds as he sings of Salma's "shyness" produces an unreal image by reflecting the real. Such a phenomenon complicates the sequence's visual devices, paralleling the "complications" Akbar perceives to be associated with the advent of Salma's unveiling.

The B Sections

The B materials of both Verses provide glimpses into Akbar's sense of self as it relates to the people around him. However, Verse One does this differently than Verse Two. The B Section of Verse One is concerned with Akbar's identity:

*Mere khavābō kī śahazādī
Maĩ hūñ akbar illāhabādī
Maĩ śāyar hūñ hasīnō ka
Maĩ āśīk mehājabanī ko*

She is the princess of my dreams
I am Akbar of Ilalaahabad
I am a poet of the beautiful
I am a lover of beautiful damsels

This strophe is constructed with four identical musical phrases that utilize the same poetic rhythm, rather than the *asthāyī/antarā* framework of the Refrain. The music is also modified: Akbar sings in his lower register instead of exploring a rising and falling melody. The relative stasis of the music is reflected in the steady visual focus on Akbar, who motions to himself and depicts actions in the text through gestures.

The Section B Lead-In and B Section of Verse Two demonstrate how changes in poetic tone necessitate adjustments to the musical setting as well as the visuals that appear on-screen. In these sections, Akbar sings in the third person in to provide poetic commentary on his and Salma's inner feelings now that Salma has unveiled:

[Section B Lead-In:]

Kisī kī jān jātī haĩ
Kisī ko śarm
Ah, śarm ātī haĩ

While someone loses [is about to lose] their life
She feels shy

[Section B:]

Kisī kī jān jātī haĩ
Kisī ko śarm ātī haĩ
Koĩ āsū bahātī haĩ
To koĩ muskarātī haĩ

While someone loses [is about to lose] their life
She feels shy
While someone sheds tears
She smiles

The shift away from first-person text is accompanied by changes in musical voicing. The performance forces in the Section B Lead-In consist only of Akbar's vocals

and solo *ḍholak*. Akbar closes the Section B Lead-In with a descending melodic melisma to signal the arrival of Section B, whose four lines incorporate call-and-response singing between Akbar and the musicians. The visual alternations between Akbar, Anthony, and the musicians also complement the poetry of the lyrics, which are concerned with differing emotions.

The C Sections

The C Sections of both Verses are set off from the other subsections by the heightened emotional intensity of the text, and the music and visuals serve this fervor well. In Verse One, Section C, Akbar proclaims his loyalty to Salma:

Terā dāman, terā dāman, terā dāman
(*Dāman, dāman*)
Terā dāman nā choḍūgā
Maĩ har cilaman
(*Cilaman, cilaman*)
Maĩ har cilaman ko toḍūgā

Your Side ... Your Side ... Your Side
(Your side ... Your side)
I will not leave your side
I will break all barriers between us

His singing transitions into his higher vocal register, and the musicians respond by repeating the last words of lines one and three (“*dāman*” and “*cilaman*” / “side” and “barriers”). On screen, Akbar’s heightened attention to Salma and his manipulation of a black gauzy handkerchief illustrate the lyrics. In Verse Two, Sections C’ and C’ Extended give Akbar the opportunity to call women out on their perceived cruelty:

[Section C':]

Satākar īs tarah aksar

Mazā lete haĩ ye dilabar

This is the way these sweethearts bother their lovers

[Section C' Extended:]

Hā̃ yahĩ dastūr haĩ īnakā

Sitam maśahur haĩ īnakā

This is their tradition

This is their tradition known to all.

Akbar's melody continues to occupy his higher register in Section C'. He exacerbates these emotions in Section C' Extended by using a melisma to push the melody to the upper limits of his range in the first phrase before cadencing to the middle register in the second phrase. The musicians augment their responsorial role as they repeat the second phrase (“*Sitam maśahur haĩ īnakā*”/ “This is their tradition known to all”) two times in its entirety. The intensified gestures and movements of Akbar and the musicians also match the ardor of the lyrics. The angst-ridden aspects of the lyrics in Section C' Extended are able to reach a fever pitch because of melodic manipulation, group performance, and increased on-screen movement.

Section D (Verse One)

Verse One contains a *Girah* (i.e., Section D) that is absent from Verse Two.

Akbar launches into the *Girah* after Salma's father thwarts her attempt to lift her veil:

*Na dar zālīm zamāne se
Adā se yā bahāne se*

Don't be afraid of this cruel world,
By grace or pretense

In telling Salma to not “be afraid of this cruel world,” he shifts his poetic tone to address her directly. Akbar’s vocals become less declamatory as he sings in his lower register, treating the rhythm of the melody freely. The changes in textual and musical tone are reflected in the on-screen imagery as Akbar faces Salma and Taiyyab Ali, pointing directly at them to express his dismay. Section D works within the context of Verse One; its omission from Verse Two is necessary because the latter Verse lacks the dramatic framework that evoked this *Girah*.

The E Sections

Akbar issues commands in the E Sections of both Verses, which are characterized by a rise in musical intensity and highly energetic visuals. The E Sections consist of four parallel phrases in which the same melodic fragment is set to a different line of text. In singing these phrases, Akbar adopts an imperative tone, demanding that Salma show her face in Verse One and remember the power of his love in Verse Two:

[Verse One, Section E:]

*Zarā apnī sūrat dikhā de
Samā khūbasūrat banā de
Nahī to terā nām leke
Tujhe koī īljām deke*

Please, show your face
And make this occasion beautiful

Otherwise by taking your name (Or else I will call out your
name aloud)
I will call you out by making up an allegation

[Verse Two, Section E:]

Khafā hoke ceharā chupā le
Magar yād rakh husnavāle
Jo haĩ āg terī javānī
Merā pyār haĩ sard pānī

You may hide your face out of anger
But remember this, oh beautiful one,
The fire that is your youth,
My love is like cold water

His singing quickly becomes the dominant force in the E Sections: he utilizes a syllabic vocal delivery and sings in his high register to cut through the sound of the supporting instrumental ensemble. The robust character of the lyrics and music is matched by a sharp increase Akbar's in on-screen movement, which features perambulation across the stage and the application of additional props. Through music and visuals that convey emotional volatility, the E Sections exploit the imperative frenzy of their associated texts.

The F Sections

Akbar's purpose is also addressed in the F Sections of both Verses, which are calculated to lead back into a statement of the Refrain, both musically and thematically.

[Verse One, Section F:]

Tujhako īs mahafil maĩ rusavā na kar dūĩ rusavā
Pardānaśĩ ko bepardā nā kar dūĩ to
To, to, to, to -
[Anthony:] *Akbar terā nām nahĩ haĩ*

And if I do not dishonor you in this gathering
And if this secret is not unveiled by me
Then, then, then, then -
[Then] Akbar is not your name

[Verse Two, Section F:]

Maĩ ter gusse ko thãdã na kar dũã hũ
Pardãnašĩ ko bepardã nã kar dũã to
To, to, to, to -
[Anthony:] *Akbar terã nãm nahĩ haĩ*

And if I do not calm down your anger
And if this secret is not unveiled by me,
Then, then, then, then -
[Then] Akbar is not your name

These sections recycle the poetic rhythm and musical material of the Refrains' *antarã*, creating a musical retransition into the *asthãyĩ/antarã* framework of those sections. The idea of Akbar being the one to “unveil” the “secret” offers a clear textual and thematic link back to the lyrics of the Refrain. However, the F Sections are differentiated from the Refrains in that they work to induce and resolve a form of emotional catharsis. In both Verses, Akbar delays the onset of the final line of the F Sections through the repetition of “to” (“then”) on a high pitch. The “catharsis” occurs when Anthony juts in to sing “*Akbar terã nãm nahĩ haĩ*” (“Then Akbar is not your name”), finishing each Verse with a melody that rises and descends. In both Verses, Anthony counterbalances the intense emotional atmosphere that Akbar created: he shifts aural and visual attention away from Akbar in order to reintroduce emotional equilibrium. With this aspect of the sequence's drama more or less resolved, “*Pardã Haĩ Pardã*” may freely move back into the Refrain. Such a connection between the denouement of the Verses and the content of the Refrains suggest

a cyclical process for multivalent events in “Pardā Haī Pardā,” providing thematic unity for the entire sequence.

The diverse textual themes of “Pardā Haī Pardā” coalesce through the careful organization of subsections that are inspired by Hindi film song and *qawwālī* musical templates. Both Hindi film song and *qawwālī* rely on the reiteration of key structures and themes. In “Pardā Haī Pardā,” analogous subsections honor the styles of both Hindi film song and *qawwālī*: in returning to important aesthetic entities, they ensure that listeners retain the song’s messages after the sequence is over. Table 2, below, lists the subsections of “Pardā Haī Pardā” and summarizes the themes of each.

The Role of Text Repetition

“Pardā Haī Pardā” relies on text repetition to emphasize Akbar’s purpose and heighten emotional expression in the sequence. Text repetition is another structural factor in both *qawwālī* and Hindi film song. In the *qawwālī* genre, repetitive processes are a key principle for creating influential music, and are second only to the message of the text. Repetition of important texts ensures that the message makes a lasting impression on the listener. The process of reiteration works hand-in-hand with units of text, for they create a structure that permits the “intensification” of the music (Qureshi 1986: 107, 217, 216). Hindi film song also employs text repetition to shape broad sections of the song and impress key messages upon listeners. Refrains in Hindi film song are formed by repeating the same sections of text to the same music, and returns to the Refrains represent the revival of the same thematic idea.

Table 2 : Poetic Themes of the Vocal Sections in “Pardā Hai Pardā”

Section	Themes	Multivalent Events
Refrains (all)	Akbar’s Purpose	Presentation of Key Elements
A Sections (both Verses)	The Gaze	Emphasis of Distance
B Section, Verse One	Personal Identity	Allusions to Purpose & Key Elements
B’ Section, Verse Two	Romantic Commentary	Changes in Tone
B Section, Verse Two	Romantic Commentary	Changes in Tone
C Sections (both Verses)	Emotional Outpourings	Heightened Intensity
C’ Section (Verse Two)	Emotional Outpourings	Heightened Intensity
D Section (Verse One)	Reprimands to Influence Behavior	Spontaneity
E Sections (both Verses)	Commands related to Purpose	Energetic Presentation
F Sections (both Verses)	Akbar’s Purpose	Reiteration of Key Elements

The repetitive processes of “Pardā Haī Pardā” draw from *qawwālī* practice. Text units of varying sizes are repeated in specific places to induce particular results. The repetition in “Pardā Haī Pardā” is also enhanced through strong rhythmic accentuation (including “intensifiers” such as handclaps and loud drum strokes) and performance actions. Both of these techniques are employed in traditional *qawwālī* to augment repetition (Qureshi 1986: 218).⁵³

Individual lines and fragments of lines are repeated to highlight the song’s themes in several places throughout “Pardā Haī Pardā.” This is a deviation from traditional *qawwālī*, where each Verse line is generally repeated 1-2 times (Qureshi 1986: 198). The reiteration of fragments in “Pardā Haī Pardā” is not restricted to Verse lines, for the process occurs in the Refrains as well. In the first Refrain, the eight statements of the fragment “*Pardā haī*” highlight the veil’s importance as a symbol, and Akbar’s repetition of “*Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dūā to*” (“And if I do not unveil the face of the one under this veil, then”) draws attention to his purpose. “Pardā Haī Pardā” also uses repetition to emphasize character traits and charged emotional states. The emphasis on the word “*dāman*” (“side”) conveys Akbar’s loyalty to Salma in Verse One, Section C, accentuating the steadfast character of this subsection’s text. Repetition also underscores frustration, as when the musicians reiterate “*Sitam maśahur haī īnakā*” (“This is their tradition known to all”) after Akbar in Verse Two, Section C’ Extended. The F Sections of the two Verses contain the repetition of fragments and full lines of text to underscore the emotional trajectory of each Verse. All of the repeated lines in these two subsections

⁵³ Qureshi also identifies gradual acceleration as an element that can enhance repetition (1986: 218). As I did not have an empirical way to measure musical acceleration in “Pardā Haī Pardā,” I do not address this technique in my analysis.

reference Akbar's purpose, and are set to the same melody. The repetition of the word "to" ("then") allows the emotional intensity of each Verse to reach its peak, and this excited state endures until Anthony interrupts and restores stability.

"Pardā Haī Pardā" accentuates larger units of text through repetition, but the manner in which it executes this is different from that of traditional *qawwālī*. In *qawwālī*, entire Verses may be restated for emphasis (Qureshi 1986: 198). "Pardā Haī Pardā" does not repeat either of its Verses, but its Refrain is stated four times throughout the song, ensuring that listeners will retain the song's thematic messages. Verse Two provides an example of a repeating subsection. After Anthony's dramatic interruption in the Section B Lead-In, Akbar restates the subsection's two lines as part of the four-line B Section. The reiteration of "*Kisī kī jān jātī haī / Kisī ko śarm ātī haī*" ("While someone loses [is about to lose] their life / She feels shy") highlights the traits that make the Section B Lead-In and Section B stand out from other subsections: the shift to third-person text, a thinner instrumental texture, a lower vocal range, and a change in poetic tone.

The song utilizes repetition during a few key dramatic situations, mirroring some of the interactive processes of *qawwālī*. Repetition in traditional *qawwālī* is tied to performer-audience interactions: a performer can use the technique to encourage a favorable reaction from an audience member, or employ it when a particular line has been met with a positive response (Qureshi 1986: 219, 196). In "Pardā Haī Pardā," repetitive processes elicit reactions from Salma and Anthony at the conclusion of Section C in Verse One and at the ends of the F Sections of both Verses, respectively. "Pardā Haī Pardā" also displays how positive responses induce repetition at the *qawwālī* event. In the

sacred *qawwālī* assembly, responses in the form of “spontaneous expressions” are referred to as *kaif*, or “delight,” and encompass a variety of reactions, including pointing and verbal exclamations. *Kaif* informs the *qawwāl* that “spiritual arousal” is occurring as a result of his performance (Qureshi 2006: 141, 143; Qureshi 1986: 122). Anthony’s interjections and gestures at the transition from the Section B Lead-In to Section B in Verse Two can be read as a state of *kaif* that delays the start of the second phrase. These are then met with Akbar’s hand motions of grateful acknowledgment. At the end of the Section B Lead-In, Salma blushes and smiles demurely, prompting Akbar to launch into the repeated text of Section B.

Rhythmic accentuation and vibrant performance actions greatly enhance text repetition in “Pardā Haī Pardā.” The *ḍholak* makes itself to be a strong aural force in these sections, playing its characteristic ostinato with occasional rolls and accented patterns. Handclaps provide another layer of rhythmic accentuation in the Refrains.⁵⁴ The performance actions found in “Pardā Haī Pardā” involve performative gestures, the manipulation of props (the most important of which is the veil), and physical interactions between the musicians themselves and between musicians and the audience. Throughout the sequence, Akbar asserts his flamboyant performance persona and creates vehicles for emotion through a series of wild gesticulations. He employs props whenever gestures fall short, manipulating them to depict portions of the lyrics. Akbar interacts with the musicians and select audience members on several occasions, thereby heightening the level of group engagement with the performance.

⁵⁴ The musicians on screen clap in Verse One, Section C and Verse Two, Section C’ Extended. These handclaps are not heard in the soundtrack.

Text repetition in “Pardā Haī Pardā” simulates many aspects of *qawwālī* performance, but also transcends the genre by emphasizing the themes of a Hindi film song sequence. It occurs in moments where characters are actively striving to make their feelings known and respond to the actions of other characters. Repetitive processes therefore establish the ebb and flow of emotion within the sequence.

The Role of Instrumental Music

“Pardā Haī Pardā” contains two Instrumental Interludes that are indicative of the influence of the Hindi film song template, which incorporates Instrumental Interludes into a Verse-Refrain structure. The integration of Instrumental Interludes into a *qawwālī*-derived film song is part of what distinguishes the style of *filmī qawwālī* from that of traditional *qawwālī*.⁵⁵ These sections create additional spaces for music, allowing a *filmī qawwālī* to incorporate music that offers a marked stylistic contrast from *qawwālī* norms (Morcom 2007: 101-10).⁵⁶ Morcom argues that the dramatic situation of the plot will ultimately influence the type of music an Instrumental Interlude will contain.

“Pardā Haī Pardā” takes a middle-of-the-road approach to the musical style of its Instrumental Interludes. These two sections reflect the *qawwālī* style in that their musical forms correlate with poetic structures. They also retain some of the *qawwālī* instrumentation of the Introductory Passages, Refrains, and Verses. Deviation from

⁵⁵ *Qawwālī* principles of form, which are related to text, do not readily account for Instrumental Interludes.

⁵⁶ Sometimes the stylistic contrast within a single *filmī qawwālī* is quite radical. In describing the three instrumental sections of “Pal do pal kā sāth hamārā” (“We Have a Few Moments Together”) from the 1979 film *The Burning Train*, Morcom states that they “step completely outside any kind of *qawwālī* idiom,” for they introduce “dramatic chase music in the spaghetti Western idiom” (2007: 101, 110).

traditional *qawwālī* occurs through the presentation of music that is not found in any other segment of the song. The musical contrast this provides highlights important plot events that take place in these interludes.

Each of the two Instrumental Interludes has a bipartite musical structure that is influenced by poetic patterns and the instrumentation of the rest of the song. Section One of the First Instrumental Interlude consists of two parallel phrases, while Section Two is comprised of an antecedent and consequent phrase. The transition from Section One to Section Two is evidenced in the performing forces: the mandolins and *ḍholak* play in opposition to each other in the former subsection (See Example 4), but coalesce into a more readily apparent homophonic texture in the latter. The two sections of the Second Instrumental Interlude both contain two parallel phrases. The sections provide a dynamic contrast to each other, for the first is much softer than the second. The mandolins and the *ḍholak* provide straightforward melodic and rhythmic materials in Section One: the former plays a short melodic figure (illustrated in Example 9), while the latter provides the unembellished ostinato. In contrast, Section Two features much musical embellishment. It begins with a melodic fragment played only by the *śahanāī* and other reed instruments, which leads into a previously-unheard melody (illustrated in Example 10) that is accompanied by the heavily-embellished *ḍholak*.

The introduction of new melodies and rhythmic patterns becomes meaningful through their pairings with the on-screen visuals. In Section One of the First Instrumental Interlude, the give-and-take between the mandolins and the *ḍholak* is illustrated through the division of screen time between Akbar and Anthony, with the latter aping the

Example 10: Melody in the Second Instrumental Interlude,
Section Two

Ensemble

Musical score for Ensemble, showing four staves of music in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a time signature of 8/8. The first staff begins with a treble clef, two sharps, and an 8/8 time signature. The music consists of four staves. The first staff contains a melody starting with a quarter rest, followed by quarter notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, and a quarter rest. The second staff continues with quarter notes F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, and a half note G4. The third staff continues with quarter notes F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, and a quarter rest. The fourth staff continues with quarter notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, and a half note G4. The key signature and time signature are consistent throughout.

former's performance. Section Two's antecedent/consequent structure (illustrated in Example 6) is reflected in the heightened action and reaction of the visuals, in which the old man's attempt to reprimand his daughters is met with Anthony's move to redirect his attention back to stage. These plot events fit the period structure of this Section: each phrase features a different dramatic outcome in addition to contrasting musical endings. The Second Instrumental Interlude's first Section contains visuals that reference its instrumentation. Anthony's hand movements emphasize the strong beats of the *dholak* rhythm (which is the same as in the Refrain; illustrated in Example 7), and Akbar swings a tambourine around his wrist. Section Two of this Interlude is the first time the sequence features dance, which is supported by the energetic, bass-heavy rhythms of the *dholak*.

The Instrumental Interludes act as musical spaces that can deviate from the text-based parameters of *qawwālī* structures. They are able to introduce a great deal of musical contrast to "Pardā Haī Pardā." The musical distinctiveness of the Instrumental Interludes complements the special significance of the plot events occurring within them.

The Heightened Role of the *Qawwālī* Idiom

The increased number of spaces that subsections provide within "Pardā Haī Pardā" means that *qawwālī*-influenced materials can be freely incorporated and highlighted within the fabric of the sequence. In "Pardā Haī Pardā," *qawwālī* elements enable many portions of the song to assume the character of this idiom. These elements guide the progression of musical events through patterns of new aesthetic features. They

also create interesting deviations from the standard Hindi film song template, allowing “Pardā Haī Pardā” to assume stylistic hybridity.

Musical instruments operate to confront the issues of tradition and modernity in “Pardā Haī Pardā.” The *qawwālī* musicians and their instruments come into view after the curtain on stage opens at the end of Phrase One in the *Chalan*. The instruments present include a *ḍholak*, *tablā*, and harmonium, all of which are standard *qawwālī* instruments. A *śahanāī* and tambourine, which are not traditionally associated with *qawwālī* (Qureshi 1986: 58), are also visible.⁵⁷ However, none of these instruments are heard on the soundtrack. Instead of utilizing the harmonium in its traditional role as the main instrument of the Prelude (Qureshi 1986: 58), the *Chalan* opts for a guitar and coterie of mandolins – foreign instruments that are considerably more “modern” than the customary instruments of *qawwālī*. The discontinuity between what is seen on screen (the *ḍholak*, *tablā*, and harmonium) and what is heard in the audio (the guitar and mandolins) forms an oppositional relationship, alluding to the clash between the old and the new.

Another oppositional relationship can be found in the visuals, which emphasize the separation between the audience and musicians. In the *Chalan*, the delineation of musical phrases coincides with the shifting visual perspective, which presents these two groups of people in separate shots. The different vantage points also draw attention to the most concrete device that separates them: the edge of the stage. The contrast between melodic ascent and descent in separate phrases within the *Chalan* further underscores the division between the audience and musicians, suggesting that separate spaces have been

⁵⁷ Carl Ernst states that in contemporary Chishti *qawwālī* performances, the clarinet is occasionally employed as a melodic performing force; he does not mention the *śahanāī* (1997: 187).

created for both of them. Oppositional relationships suggested by the music and visuals hint at the theme of space creation, which the rest of the sequence will attempt to address.

The Instrumental Introduction that follows the *Chalan* epitomizes the hybrid nature of “Pardā Haī Pardā.” It does not have a direct structural antecedent in *qawwālī* performance, yet is sandwiched in between the song’s *Chalan* and *Ruba’i*. Its inclusion in “Pardā Haī Pardā” represents a hold-over from Hindi film song; however, certain musical and visual traits demonstrate that this instrumental material owes much to *qawwālī* tradition. This section establishes the rhythmic structure of “Pardā Haī Pardā” through the *theke* (which is articulated by the *ḍholak* ostinato). The musicians on screen clap on the first beat of each cycle, emphasizing the strong beat by extending one hand outward immediately after each clap. (See Example 2.) This links to the *qawwālī* performance tradition, where the recurring sense of the beat within the framework of a single meter represents the repetition of God’s name and accompanying gestures are conservative (Qureshi 1986: 60, 63).

The Instrumental Introduction also incorporates strategies that develop melody and emotional expression in *qawwālī*. The *qawwālī* technique of utilizing a descending melodic sequence to provide a segue back to the main melodic theme (Qureshi 1986: 69) is found in the middle of this section. Here, Salma and her family take their seats, illustrating melodic descent visually. “Pardā Haī Pardā” draws upon the *qawwālī* convention of increasing speed to incite and intensify emotion (Qureshi 1986: 60) by altering properties of rhythm to match the introductions of principal characters. In the segments where Salma and her family and Anthony and Bharati are introduced, surface

rhythm increases as the *ḍholak* plays embellished patterns and the frequency of the handclaps double from one clap per cycle to two claps per cycle. (See Example 3.)

Deviations from traditional *qawwālī* also have a hand in shaping the musical and visual content of the Instrumental Introduction. Akbar's appearance on stage coincides with the entrance of the full orchestra in the soundtrack, in which strings and wind instruments are the most prominent melodic forces. The use of the full orchestra is clearly a borrowing from Hindi film song, for it is not the ensemble used for accompanying traditional *qawwālī*. In addition, Akbar's flashy entrance features flamboyant gestures that are considered taboo for *qawwālī* (Qureshi 1986: 63). By both borrowing and veering from characteristics of *qawwālī* performance, the Instrumental Introduction continues to explore the question of tradition and modernity that the *Chalan* first alluded to.

The *Ruba'i* closes the three-part introductory section of "Pardā Haiḥ Pardā," yet its function is expository: it originates the song's text, as well as the communicative exchanges between the performer and audience. This *Ruba'i* can be divided into two subsections of three phrases that function to continue the themes of tradition and modernity. The first subsection consists of Akbar's melismatic vocalizations, each separated by the boundaries between phrases. The first starts low in his range and ascends high, the second sits comfortably in the middle of his range, and the third begins low and rises slightly before cadencing. All three phrases end with a descending vocal cadence. Akbar matches his three vocal explorations with gestures that allow him to explore the physical space around him – a practice fitting for the free-form *Ruba'i*, which lacks strict metric and melodic framework (Qureshi 1986: 55). In the latter subsection, the

introduction of text announces Akbar’s purpose: he seeks to overcome obstacles and win Salma’s heart. Such topics are not traditional subject matter for *qawwālī*,⁵⁸ signifying a break from the genre’s conventions. The lyrics citing liquor are paired with Akbar singing in the highest, and possibly most unnatural, part of his range, a possible reference to alcohol’s ability to distort reality. Akbar also begins to make a conscious effort to interact with Salma during the *Ruba’i*, a decision that flies in the face of *qawwālī* performance protocol.⁵⁹ As Akbar sings of “throw[ing] [a] rose towards a beauty,” he unveils his interest in Salma for the entire audience. The secret is literally out of the box as he pulls the rose out of a small ornate container during a pause in the music, glancing at Salma. Salma’s cameos on screen throughout the *Ruba’i* confirm that she is the figure Akbar is addressing.

Qawwālī elements can also intrude upon existing structures by interrupting them. This occurs only once in “Pardā Haī Pardā,” at the insertion of the *Girah* in Verse One. However, this insertion offers much in the way of musical and thematic contrast. As mentioned above, the *Girah* is characterized by a shift in poetic tone as well as vocal delivery that coincides with a change in the dramatic situation. The skeletal *ḍholak* part further emphasizes the distinctiveness of this section.

⁵⁸ *Qawwālī* songs ... are religiously legitimized ... by the Koranic frame of reference.” Some songs do discuss “mystical themes” such as “love, separation, union, etc.,” but there is a “delicate boundary between that which suggests mystical and that which suggests human love. . . . Explicitly inappropriate is love poetry that lacks a link (*nisbat*) with mysticism, whether through its content, its author or its historical situation.” The leader of the assembly is responsible for ensuring that songs are kept to “a spiritually appropriate standard” (Qureshi 1986: 116-18).

⁵⁹ Although the *Ruba’i* gives the performer the opportunity to test the themes of the song on the audience, a *qawwāl* would be expected to “[direct] his major effort to the leader” of the event (Qureshi 1986: 195, 139).

Another way in which *qawwālī* features may alter Hindi film song structure is through the superimposition of these features upon existing structures. Hindi film songs typically conclude with an Instrumental Ending, but the final section of “Pardā Haī Pardā” is vocal. The first subsection of this concluding segment evokes the melismatic singing of the *Ruba’i*. It consists of three vocal melismas, each sung by Akbar. The first melisma starts low in Akbar’s range but soon rises to a sustained note in his high register and finishes with a slight melodic descent. He begins the second melisma in a similar fashion and comes to rest on an even higher note. During the third melisma, Akbar sings in the medium-high part of his range and descends before rising back up to where he started, ending on beat one of the *ḍholak* cycle. As was the case in the previous sections, Akbar’s vocal gymnastics are illustrated through his movements. However, this section also incorporates cinematography to demarcate each melisma. The camera zooms in on Akbar from behind Anthony on the first melisma, stopping when the melody descends. Salma begins lifting her veil at the start of the melisma and finishes as he reaches the highest pitch. She then leaves her seat and heads to the stage, crossing the threshold separating the stage from the audience soon after Akbar launches into the third melisma. As he finishes, Salma kneels next to him and cuts him off by covering his mouth with her hand. For the first time in the sequence all music stops. The silence, coupled with Salma’s actions, distinguishes this moment as the sequence’s second climax.

The music and visuals of the second subsection of the Vocal Ending confirm the prevailing characteristics and themes of the sequence. Here, *qawwālī* elements are largely abandoned in favor of two reiterations of the “Pardā Haī Pardā” line that ends each

Refrain. Cinematography creates subdivisions within this outro. The excited audience is depicted dancing on screen during the first phrase. The camera then cuts to an intimate moment between Akbar and Salma for the second phrase, which features two shots of Akbar and Salma. By reverting to structures from the Refrain, the closing of “Pardā Haī Pardā” leaves the lasting impression of a Hindi film song, not of a *qawwālī* performance. The interactions between the couple, as well as the reaction of the audience, insinuate that Akbar has been successful in his purpose of winning Salma’s favor. However, the resolution also contains many loose ends. One cannot forget that the sequence’s music was shaped in part by *qawwālī*, even if it concludes with a structure more closely associated with Hindi film song. In addition, the silence between Akbar and Salma on-screen signifies that many other plot points have been left unresolved, even though the sequence has been brought to a cohesive close. It will take all the way up to the last scene of the film to fully resolve all of the dramatic conflicts that challenge Akbar and Salma’s relationship.

Summary of the Analysis

In “Pardā Haī Pardā,” director Manmohan Desai, music directors Laxmikant-Pyarelal, and lyricist Anand Bakshi consciously crafted a complex song sequence that is meaningful on multiple levels. The song’s form is the result of what can be epitomized as filmic counterpoint between visual, textual, and musical elements. Inherent complexities of form make the song’s hybrid influences immediately apparent.

The visual, textual, and musical characteristics of “Pardā Haī Pardā” operate under the principles of filmic counterpoint, conveying thematic ideas in a manner similar

to that of social discourse. Character actions on screen display action and reaction; performance actions are nearly always met with reactionary responses. The lyrics of “Pardā Haī Pardā” complement the visual elements in many ways. The intensity of their tone coincides with heightened or abating action on screen, enhancing the sequence’s overall rhetoric. Urdu is employed to conceive highly poetic lyrics that are appropriate for a “Muslim-inspired” sequence. The instruments of “Pardā Haī Pardā” are constantly in dialogue with each other, mirroring the rhetoric of the visuals and the text to provide a commentary on various forms of social discourse. Though the visual, textual, and musical elements of the sequence may be discussed separately, their perpetual interconnectedness ensures that they will almost always rely on each other to acquire meaning, resulting in filmic counterpoint.

“Pardā Haī Pardā” is characterized by its stylistic hybridity. Elements from both Hindi film song and *qawwālī* are integrated to create a hybrid song form. The sequence uses aspects of the traditional *qawwālī* performance tradition to negotiate its “Muslimness.”

In “Pardā Haī Pardā,” both vocal and instrumental subsections display the applications of filmic counterpoint. An examination of the sequence’s poetic themes (which are made manifest by the text) highlights and justifies the visual, textual, and musical processes at work. Repetition in text sections enhances many performance processes and creates variations in form. Instrumental Interludes explore musical and visual ideas that are not found anywhere else in the sequence, but continue to apply the principles of filmic counterpoint.

“Pardā Haī Pardā” can also be read as a case study of one way to vary the content of a *filmī qawwālī*. Through its presentation of a *qawwālī* performance that incorporates traits of the secular and the sacred, the sequence explores ways in which musicians and musical performances are portrayed and represented in film. *Qawwālī* elements are found in all levels of structure in “Pardā Haī Pardā,” and are largely responsible for this Hindi film song’s hybrid character. The decision to incorporate a “Muslim” style of music into a Hindi film song enables further discussion about the process of cultural appropriation in all forms of music.

The appearance and prevalence of subsections in “Pardā Haī Pardā” demonstrates that the visual, textual, and musical elements of song sequences can function in a variety of ways and at a number of levels. They also allow for the inclusion of more diverse materials: *qawwālī*-influenced elements add aesthetic variety, enabling the production of a hybrid song form. However, subsections are also inherently restricted in that they must act upon the existing large-scale form in order to exist as entities in the song. They make modifications to the formal conventions of Hindi film song but do not discard them entirely. In the following discussion, I explain how the interactions between each element of content in “Pardā Haī Pardā” can be read as a simulation of social phenomena by building a socio-cultural context for the sequence.

CHAPTER FIVE: UNVEILING THE CONTEXT OF A SONG SEQUENCE

An analysis of a Hindi film song sequence acquires greater connotive meaning only through contextualization, which requires the following:

- An understanding of the plot and background of the source film
- A debriefing on the sequence's contributions to semiotic discourse
- Elaboration on how particular processes generated by multivalent elements serve as metaphors for trends in culture and society

In this discussion, I rely on the theory of associative structure to relate the plot, themes, and allusions of “Pardā Haī Pardā” to those of its source film, *Amar Akbar Anthony*, and address how both respond to socio-cultural issues regarding gender and religion. The result is a complex social commentary that is related to issues of Indian identity.

Song Themes and Symbolism

The most noticeable theme of “Pardā Haī Pardā” is its incorporation of the veil as a symbol of separation: in so doing, it complements much of the commentary on the veil and its associative meanings. Veils have long been a trope for issues of identity and gender in many forms of discourse (Grace 2004: 2), including music. According to Jasbir Jain, its ties to the “segregation of space ... depicted in fiction, as well as in autobiographies, often led to comedies of errors, fatal accidents, and tragic turns over

mistaken identities.” At the same time, “the veil with its intermingling of mystery and desire itself calls forth romantic associations of hide-and-seek in the game of love.” This interpretation of the “romance around purdah/ghunghat” has spawned enough folk and popular songs to constitute a subgenre (Jain 2008: 237-38). “Pardā Haī Pardā,” which revolves around Akbar’s attempt to get Salma to remove her veil and subsequently integrate spaces of gender, responds to many of these symbolic interpretations.

Through its involvement with a Sufi musical idiom, “Pardā Haī Pardā” is able to respond to the spiritual associations of veiling. *Purdah* is used as a religious metaphor in both Muslim and Hindu traditions in India. “Sufi poets ... treat the devotee as female and are desirous that the veil be lifted between the devotee and the beloved” (Jain 2008: 238). In the Hindu Bhakti poetry of Mīrābāī, *ghunghat* is symbolized “as the veil between God and his devotee” (Jain 2008: 238). The quest for reality and God in both Sufism and Bhakti are responses to the Indian philosophical concept of *maya*, “the veil of illusion that takes the appearance of concrete ‘reality’ and thereby conceals the true nature of existence” (Grace 2004: 214). “Pardā Haī Pardā” is inherently connected to these spiritual emblems by virtue of its ties to *qawwālī*, yet Akbar’s desire to remove the veil is rooted in worldly romantic longings rather than spiritual advancement.

The lyrics and setting of “Pardā Haī Pardā” allude to the collision of public and private spaces as epitomized by the veil. The Refrain evokes Gupta’s concept of the body as a separating device (2008: 63) by connecting the veil with the woman it covers:

*Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā
Parde ke pīche pardānaśĩ haĩ
Pardānaśĩ ko bepardā nā kar dūā to
Akbar merā nām nahĩ haĩ*

There is a veil, there is a veil
Behind the veil there is a secret/lady
And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then
I would change my name from Akbar

This can also be read as a sign of the division between “inner and outer worlds” (Gupta 2008: 63) as manifested in conceptions of female-appropriate spaces. The setting of a *qawwālī* event is indicative of the separate female social sphere that pervades Muslim society in India. Although the *qawwālī* occasion is open to any devotee “who [is] in a spiritual frame of mind and ritually pure,” “women ... are specifically excluded because of the temptation which their presence constitutes.” If allowed to attend, women are segregated from men and seated in their own area of the assembly (Qureshi 1986: 110-11). The very presence of Salma, her sisters, Bharati, and the other female audience members (veiled or unveiled) breaks with the gendered parameters underlying the traditional *qawwālī* event. However, the fact that Salma and her sisters attend wearing the veil shows that spaces of gender are still a factor in governing male and female behavior.

The characters’ interactions in “Pardā Haĩ Pardā” present notions of tradition and modernity that can be associated with the veil. Through his ceaseless struggle to keep Salma and her sisters veiled, Taiyyab Ali aligns himself with traditionalism. His attitudes reflect conservative Muslim discourse from the early 20th Century. In *Purdah and the Status of Women in Islam*, Islamic commentator Abu’l-A’la Mawdudi defines “three ‘doctrines’ of Western society,” citing these as sources of social “perversion and

corruption.” The third of these, “the free intermingling of the sexes” (Jackson 2011: 41), is likely what Salma’s father desires to avoid. Taiyyab Ali’s conservatism casts Akbar in an antithetical role. Akbar’s rebukes during the *Girah* of Verse One are a sharp contrast to the old man’s actions, characterizing himself as a harbinger of modernity.

The multiple unveilings and veilings depicted in “Pardā Haī Pardā” can be used to support multiple perspectives in the discourse on women’s choice in regards to veiling. The sequence’s portrayal of unveiling/re-veiling is significant in that Salma initiates most of these changes in covering: no other character (male or female) assumes the task of revealing or covering her face apart from Taiyyab Ali, who swats at her hand to keep her covered in Verse One. However, the impetus for Salma’s actions is always derived from an external source. Her coverings and uncoverings constitute a response to Akbar’s performance, giving her the opportunity to express her approval or disapproval of him nonverbally. This suggests that all directives for veiling come from the rhetoric of a male-dominated hegemony.⁶⁰

The relationship between Salma and her clothing in *Amar Akbar Anthony* speaks to Indian women’s negotiation of personal identity, as well as the role of choice in this process. “Pardā Haī Pardā” constitutes the only situation in *Amar Akbar Anthony* in which Salma dons a veil. Moreover, she only wears it because her father has forced her to, which “keep[s] with the general perception of Muslims who are seen as traditional and even orthodox (Bhatia 2013: 121-22). Salma dresses in Western styles in the rest of the

⁶⁰ It is important to remember that because *Amar Akbar Anthony* was released in 1977, it could not have been affected by more comprehensive rhetoric on choice, which evolved in the 1990’s (Mir-Hosseini 2011: 191).

film⁶¹ (including scenes in which she works as a medical doctor), suggesting that these options for dress are the result of her own individual choices.⁶² Her occupation and preferred styles of dress prefigure the late 20th-Century conception of “the ‘new woman’ of India,” but her relationship to forces of traditionalism shows that “contemporary Indian society still defines and restricts the identities that women are able to adopt.” Through her patterns of dress, the character of Salma supports Grace’s claim that “negotiations of identity, agency, and even daily safety for women revolve around conflicts between tradition and modernity” (Grace 2004: 161, 172, 160).

The veil’s association with Islamic identity has also been appropriated as a symbol for “political, religious, or social agendas” (Grace 2004: 104), something “Pardā Hañ Pardā” addresses in subtle ways. “Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the veil has been a symbol of national identity and resistance” in the East (Grace 2004: 11). Veils were linked to notions of the ideal woman, a connection that feminist scholar Cynthia Enloe holds is important to nationalism:

She [Enloe] suggests that women are: 1) the community’s/nation’s most valuable *possessions*, 2) the principle *vehicles* for transmitting values to the next generation, 3) *bearers* of the next generation (“nationalist wombs”), 4) the members of the community most vulnerable to defilement and exploitation by oppressive alien rulers, and 5) the most susceptible to “assimilation and co-option by insidious outsiders” (Grace 2004: 26, emphasis in original).

⁶¹ Throughout the film, actress Neetu Singh “sports her traditional big hoop earrings” (Bhatia 2013: 120).

⁶² Sidharth Bhatia remarks that Salma’s being a physician is “an interesting choice of profession” for a woman “whose father is extremely conservative” (as it allows her to engage in “interaction with males”), yet the character of a female “doctor who wears a burqa ... in public” is “fairly typical (by filmi standards)” (2013: 121-22, 102).

Feminist scholar Valentine Moghadam interprets this phenomenon as a cultural reaction based upon perceived threats to a people's "whole national existence" (Grace 2004: 120). In the case of India, British colonial rule (1858-1947) and the Partition of India (1947, in which a new border was drawn to create the Dominion of Pakistan out of a portion of the Union of India)⁶³ were the likely sources of those threats.

Amar Akbar Anthony was released well after India's independence, but the lingering impact of Partition influenced Indian society and, consequently, the film's content.⁶⁴ The emphasis that "Pardā Hai Pardā" places on the divisive power of the veil therefore serves as an indirect allusion to Partition (Grace 2004: 188), which resulted in "Muslim" Pakistan and "Hindu" India. As Roy Jackson observes, "the issue of *pardah* became entangled with political agendas" after 1947, for it raised many questions about a woman's identity in relation to Muslim culture, as well as Muslims' status as an "other" within a Hindu hegemony – a consummate "ideological trap" for those involved (2011: 58). Grace writes that forces of Islamic nationalism, which were employed throughout the East partly to answer the question of identity, applied the veil as "a substitute for the female body." The female body, in turn, "[became] a synecdoche for a nation" (2004: 26). That "Pardā Hai Pardā" forges a link between a "veil" and a "lady" in the lyrics of its

⁶³ The Union of India later became the Republic of India, and the Dominion of Pakistan was divided into the modern states of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

⁶⁴ Desai was undoubtedly affected by these events, as "the wounds of ... Partition were still very fresh around the time [he] joined the film business" (Bhatia 2013: 97-98). According to Haham, Partition was "one historical event that surely has not yet been collectively worked through" in India. The "lost-and-found" formula in Bollywood films such as *Amar Akbar Anthony* "could be considered a psychological relief, a sort of moral aspirin, the happy endings counterbalancing a reality that is not always so happy" (2006: 139-40).

Refrain sections shows the influence that nationalist ideals had in the social consciousness of 1970's India.

Directives for veiling within the sequeunce come from men, not women, confirming that feminine identity in India is shaped by patterns of male, not female, thought. In defining their personal identities, women in 20th-Century India have been forced to reconcile not only the Westernizing influences of British colonialism, but also the omnipresent discourse of Indian patriarchy, which is heavily indebted to religious conservatism. Mawdudi's Three Doctrines of Western Society, which concern "equality between the male and female," the "economic independence of woman," and "the free intermingling of the sexes," have undoubtedly impacted Islamic attitudes regarding women's roles throughout the East. His statements highlight the "socio-economic factors" that perpetuate veiling, which are set in place "as one method of secluding and restricting women both in private and public spheres of life" (Grace 2004: 163, 100).

20th-Century Hindu commentaries on veiling responded to the Islamic position on the practice by defining women's roles in a different fashion from Islamic commentaries. In his undertaking of *satyagraha*⁶⁵ (a nonviolent form of civil resistance he deployed during the movement for Indian independence), "[Mahatma] Gandhi spoke out against the 'barbarous custom' of purdah, which, in his view, had 'now become useless and [was] doing incalculable harm to the country.'" He further "deified women as the embodiment of the virtues of selflessness, passive endurance, and non-violence." However, "these ideals of the upper-caste Hindu woman arguably formed another patriarchal discourse 'about' but not by women." Gandhi's stance corroborates

⁶⁵ This Sanskrit term loosely translates to "insistence upon truth."

philosophies of nationalism: the five tenets Enloe lists as “justification” for the importance of the veil in Eastern nationalist discourse are rooted in the process of establishing women as “passive vehicles for male-imposed meaning.” When Nehru later engaged in his own form of Gandhi’s idealistic rhetoric, he continued the “stereotyping of women that may have equally stultified any emancipation of women in real terms.” These opinions helped permit the “reorganiz[ation] and reforc[ement]” of “patriarchal structures ... by giving them ‘modern’ forms and appearances” (Grace 2004:164-65, 26, 205).

Salma’s veilings and unveilings, initiated by her yet derived from male influences, epitomize the uncertainty engulfing female identity in India. By covering and uncovering, she vacillates between being unseen and seen and thereby crosses back and forth between private and public spaces. Her wavering role as a participant in the sequence’s plot puts Homi Bhabha’s concept of the liminality inherent in a woman’s identity into practice, for it illustrates one way in which feminine identity “is in a constant state of flux” (Grace 2004: 117-18, 120). As Jain argues, “purdah continues to occupy an ambivalent space, difficult to accept in its totality, equally difficult to reject completely” (2008: 242). However, the endurance of “in-between” social practices nevertheless operates to turn men and women into what anthropologist Saddeka Arebi calls “inmates in a big prison called society,” where such social restrictions work to the detriment of male and female alike (Grace 2004: 111, 113). Although the extent of this “oppression is culture specific and often defies western ‘orientalist’ or feminist notions,” Grace asserts

that “improvements in the quality of gender relations will only come about when women secure the space they need to articulate oppositional discourses” (2004: 204, 125).

Although *Amar Akbar Anthony* has diversity in regards to its female character types, the film does not grant Salma or the other female characters a sufficient opportunity to develop and communicate oppositional discourses, leaving any possibility of a female-directed commentary out of its loose discourse on gender. Haham argues that the portrayal of women across the Hindi cinema’s oeuvre is “nuanced” and that Desai’s films comply with this pattern. There is “variety” in his young female characters, and his mother figures are distinguished by their “dependability” (2006: 157, 159). However, Desai himself said that he never drew his young female characters from life, “dismiss[ing] [them] as merely fictional.” His films are characterized by “a certain sexual undercurrent – rarely lewd or overplayed” that presents femininity as an object of desire (Haham 2006: 160, 172). This atmosphere almost certainly influenced the playful, sensuous content of “Pardā Hai Pardā,” and supports the dominance of masculine-derived commentary in the sequence. Pauwels argues that in many other Indian films, “messages” related to “gender equality” are “ambiguous,” for they are veiled by the “patriarchal” conventions of Indian cinema (2007a: 116). The same could be said of the “messages” in *Amar Akbar Anthony*.

Multi-Level Form and Space Creation

The advent of multi-level form in “Pardā Hai Pardā” parallels the creation of spaces in Indian society. The subsections of “Pardā Hai Pardā,” while well-defined, exist

only in relation to the other subsections, creating many complexities for musical and thematic content. Similarly, Indian social hierarchy relies upon the predetermined relationships between classes in order to retain its influence, but this structure is never completely straightforward. An understanding of the traditional *qawwālī* event unveils patterns of social structure, including the classification of participants in the event and attitudes regarding musicians as a social class. The following discussion relates how “Pardā Hai Pardā” openly challenges several aspects of India’s social hierarchy, yet leaves other elements of it intact.

Spaces of Status

Social divisions within Muslim society in India determine the social organization of the *qawwālī* occasion. This social structure operates upon the binary of “well-born” and “low-born” (termed *ashrāf* and *zāt*, respectively), categories that are determined by political and economic power. At the *qawwālī* event, “social status and worldly authority are recognized as legitimate indices of privilege,” giving certain participants roles that are central to the proceedings and relegating others to the periphery. Senior citizens in particular are given special status, for their “seniority ... accords to the individual the status of potential spirituality.” The leader of a *qawwālī* event embodies these characteristics: he is considered “a spiritual authority” or a “devotee of social prominence” who “gives the gathering its character.” He is responsible for guiding the assembly’s events “in accordance with the function of the occasion” (Qureshi 1986: 91, 128, 111, 109-10, 115).

The seating arrangements at a typical *qawwālī* event reflect these conceptions of social status, and the physical spaces they create influence how participants interact with one another. Qureshi describes and diagrams the setting as one that “is modelled after the concept of a royal court of Sufi divines.” The assembly leader and the spiritual leaders occupy one end of the space, while the performers are set at the opposite end. Listeners with high social status are seated near the leaders; those lacking status sit directly in front of the performers. The arrangements do not “facilitate the listeners’ focus on the performance,” for the focus of the event is “to promote for the listeners an inner concentration on the mystical quest.” Qureshi explains that although this purpose may override the social hierarchy, “the basic rules of interaction between juniors and seniors, or low and high, will not be contravened altogether.” “Social status and relationships come into operation as soon as the performance process begins. For listeners of high status, this means expressing and validating their status; for those of low status it means activating or solidifying vital links of patronage” (1986: 113-14, 129, 128).

There is probably no one figure more aware of the social hierarchy at work in *qawwālī* assemblies than the *qawwāl* himself, for his performance decisions should ideally serve to uphold this order. Taking a cue from the basic bipartite social structure of Islamic society, the performer makes a “preliminary assessment” of the participants, mentally marking them as “special” or “common” audience members. Special members are further distinguished by either their spiritual or worldly status. The *qawwāl* then uses these facets of status and identity as determining factors in his choice of song, which is calculated to find favor with the assembly of spiritual leaders (Qureshi 1986: 189, 209).

“Pardā Haī Pardā” ignores or outright mocks many conventions governing social status in the Islamic social sphere so that none of its participants retain the badge of special privilege. In particular, it discards the prestige of seniority through its portrayal of Taiyyab Ali, which capitalizes on the conservative side of Islamic identity to create a comic character. During the sequence, Salma’s father expresses his disapproval of Akbar and his performance largely through impassioned and humorous gestures, and is subsequently reprimanded by both Akbar and Anthony. The flippancy with which Akbar and Anthony treat the old man indicates that they do not consider him an exalted elder. The other key players in “Pardā Haī Pardā” do not possess any of the “indices of privilege” associated with prominent figures in a *qawwālī* event: Anthony is a Christian, and Salma, her sisters, and Bharati are women; all are outside of the traditional *qawwālī* social hierarchy. The remaining audience members in the sequence are not identified in any way, making it impossible to know who theoretically holds privilege and who does not. The elimination of special privilege means that there is no formal leader governing the proceedings of this performance.⁶⁶ Instead, figures that *qawwālī* tradition considers peripheral – the performer and marginal audience members – determine the unfolding of events in the sequence. Akbar consciously selects Salma as the primary individual to whom his performance is directed, and her reactions influence the way Akbar structures his musical rhetoric. Anthony also contributes to the sequence’s proceedings by issuing interjections and shouts of approval, which Akbar acknowledges with gestures and the repetition of the successful passages.

⁶⁶ Qureshi writes that “minor ritual and non-ritual *Qawwālī* occasion[s]” are “characterized by the absence of individual leadership.” However, these types of events rank the lowest in terms of which *qawwālī* occasions hold the most significance for the Sufi community (1986: 105).

The elimination of a basic social hierarchy in “Pardā Haī Pardā” is manifested in the sequence’s seating arrangements, in which members of different social backgrounds are mixed together. As the action takes place in a secular auditorium instead of a Sufi shrine or assembly hall, the standards for ideal seating are inverted. The front of the auditorium is considered the best place to sit, for it allows audience members to engage with the performance more thoroughly. This arrangement is indicative of the purpose of the event, which provides its listeners with secular entertainment instead of a thoroughly spiritual experience. “Pardā Haī Pardā” strategically places three of its principal characters (Salma, Taiyyab Ali, and Anthony) in the front rows to facilitate events that will impact *Amar Akbar Anthony*’s plot. These individuals interact with Akbar and the musicians not to express or garner status, but to communicate their ideas and personal values and change each others’ behavior.

Akbar’s lack of interest in spiritual or worldly status results in his identifying Salma and Anthony as “special” audience members. His criteria for labelling Salma as such concerns his desire to woo her. When Salma arrives in the auditorium, Akbar is visibly shocked to see her. His response shows that her presence had an impact on the ensuing performance: he decides to launch into a song about her veil in order to get her attention and eventually win her heart. Anthony achieves special status through his friendship with Akbar, as well as his enthusiastic responses to Akbar’s performance. In the scene preceding “Pardā Haī Pardā,” Akbar treats Anthony as an honored guest by giving him a free ticket to the performance. He also heeds Anthony’s frequent

interjections over the course of the sequence, modifying and repeating sections of the song to maintain his interest in and enthusiasm for the performance.

Spaces for Musicians and Non-Musicians

The Indian social notion of musicians as craftsmen of low standing contributes to the *qawwāl*'s paradoxical role in the *qawwālī* event. The “totally insignificant position” afforded to the *qawwāl* represents one by-product of the appropriation of the Hindu caste system⁶⁷ by Indian Muslims. The *qawwāl*'s traditional identity as a “service professional” overrides his “identity as a type of religious functionary” “so that a performer, almost by definition, cannot also be a Sufi.” These performers are not permitted to interact with their patrons apart from performing for them. However, an outside observer might argue that the *qawwāl* has merit in that he provides devotees with a vehicle for spiritual advancement. On a holistic level, he “articulate[s] a valued cultural tradition” through his “contact with the socio-cultural elite or ‘culture bearers’ who are his patrons” (Qureshi 1986: 96, 128, 97).

By carving out a specific place for musicians within its system of social hierarchy, Indian society at large creates a space for all musicians, not just *qawwāls*. Indian musicians share “a professional identity based on the highly specified skill of musical

⁶⁷ According to Khilnani, the Indian system Westerners came to label as “the caste system” actually contained a degree of flexibility: “*Jatis* [community groups] ... were far from immutable in their social rank, and regularly rose and fell within the *varna* order [system of social hierarchy]; but the structure itself showed remarkable resilience.” The system was also characterized by differentiation, for it “did not concentrate status, wealth and power exclusively in one social group but distributed them to different parts of the social order, with the result that no one social group could impose its will on the whole society.” For example, Brahmins held a “monopoly” on literacy and learning, but possessed no political authority (2004: 19). Non-Hindus undoubtedly recognized the most restrictive elements of the “caste system,” reinventing these traits within their own social hierarchies or citing them in their criticisms of Hindu society.

competence” as a result of their classification (Qureshi 1986: 98). At the same time, this marginalization leaves room for Indian non-musicians to otherize this group. The process appears to be at work in Bollywood film, in which “almost all social identities portrayed in the Hindi cinema are stereotyped.” In these films, “musicians are sometimes portrayed as clowns or otherwise comic characters.” Booth goes as far to argue that some of these representations allude to a specific political agenda – namely, “the Hindu-Muslim opposition” in relation to the traditional musics of India (Booth 2005: 66, 61).

“Pardā Haī Pardā” casts Akbar in the service role of a performing musician, but portrays his role as one of greater importance than is typically afforded to a *qawwāl*. The service Akbar provides the audience is one of entertainment, not spiritual advancement. This transforms the cultural tradition *qawwālī* represents into a secular display of this music, allowing Akbar to assert himself as a star performer. Confident in his role as the central musician, Akbar hams up his performance to communicate his purpose. His lead singer status also enables Salma and Anthony to direct their responses to the performance at him, facilitating communicative exchanges between audience and performer. Outside of the performance sphere, Akbar breaks the taboo on associating with audience members: he is close friends with Anthony, and engages in flirtatious tête-à-tête with Salma when he comes to her for a medical check-up.

In *Amar Akbar Anthony*, Desai does not “[mention] caste explicitly,” but “make[s] indirect references to questions of exclusion” (Haham 2006: 129) in the way it portrays musicians. The film upholds the marginalization of musicians in Indian society by placing Akbar, its most musical character, in song sequences and situations that

emphasize his vocation. In “Pardā Haī Pardā,” the physical space between Akbar and the musicians and the audience symbolizes the separation of musicians from all other occupational workers in Indian society: the musicians are placed upon a raised stage, the threshold of which divides them from the audience. The interactions between the musicians on stage solidify the creation of a musicians’ space. As soon as the repeat of the first Refrain begins, Akbar turns his back on the audience and sings toward the musicians, who return the gesture with their playing. Akbar’s turn towards the ensemble increases the distance (both physical and mental) between himself and the audience, emphasizing the creation of a space that the other characters will eventually intrude upon.

Akbar’s centrality to three of the film’s seven song sequences establishes a correlation between musicians’ spaces and the spaces song sequences provide for music within a Hindi film. They emphasize the ways Akbar consciously opts for music in order to convey his sense of identity and his purpose. Two of these sequences, “Pardā Haī Pardā” and “Shirdi Wale Sai Baba” (“O Sai Baba of Shirdi”) exhibit Akbar’s prowess as a professional performer in both secular and sacred contexts. In the third sequence, “Taiyyab Ali Pyar Ka Dushman” (Taiyyab Ali, Enemy of Love”), he uses music to ambush Salma’s father and call him out on his refusal to let him marry Salma. The ordering of song sequences and events within the first half of *Amar Akbar Anthony* furthers the development of Akbar’s musical identity. After the completion of “Pardā Haī Pardā,” Akbar does not appear on screen for another 54 minutes: he finally shows up again in the middle of the next sequence, “Humko Tumse Ho Gaya Hai Pyar” (“I Have Fallen in Love with You,” a sextet in which all three brothers and their love interests sing

a love song), which is almost immediately followed by “Taiyyab Ali Pyar Ka Dushman.” His presentation in musical contexts secures his role as a performer in the viewer’s mind. Outside the dimension of song sequences, Akbar continues to reference his ties with music. He is constantly inviting people to his performances, including Salma and Anthony. In a humorous turn, Akbar hums and plays an accordion while his brothers fight the gangster Robert at the climax of the movie.

The combination of Akbar’s comedy and his associations with the film’s music speaks to the character tropes Booth identifies. When combined with Akbar’s Muslim identity, these traits offer what is potentially a stereotype of Muslim characters in Bollywood film. As explained below, representations of Muslims and Islamic life in *Amar Akbar Anthony* have a number of complex connotations.

Stylistic Hybridity and Religious Issues

Through the nature of its stylistic hybridity, “Pardā Haī Pardā” is a metaphor for India’s composite religious milieu, raising questions of whether and how issues of identity can be negotiated in contemporary society. “Pardā Haī Pardā” assimilates *qawwālī* elements at deep levels of structure within the Hindi film song template, yet positions them so they may be identified as influences from outside the realm of film song. Islam, the religion *qawwālī* is tied to, is likewise acknowledged and alluded to in Indian daily life but remains a minority faith. The treatment of Muslim characters in *Amar Akbar Anthony* demonstrates that Muslims are routinely acknowledged as a

substantial presence in Indian society yet are subject to otherization by the “Hindu” majority.

The personages on screen during the “Pardā Haī Pardā” sequence are a microcosm of Indian society in the 1970’s: the group is religiously diverse, and elements of the setting intensify these differences. The auditorium itself can be taken as a symbol of India as a country, for Indians from a variety of social backgrounds can be found there. Unlike many traditional *qawwālī* events, this performance permits women and non-Muslims to attend. Its inclusivity may be associated with the populist ideals underlying the political composition of the world’s largest democracy. However, by accident or by design, the principal characters in the sequence are situated in the auditorium based on their religious affiliations. Salma, her sisters, and their father occupy their own row. The women’s fully-veiled appearance aids in marking this group as the Muslim spectators in the sequence. The other Muslim characters are the musicians, who are identified by their performance of a *qawwālī* and adoption of traditional Islamic dress. The musicians are also disconnected from the rest of the people due to their placement on the stage. Bharati’s initial placement across the aisle from Salma and her family can be read as a subtle reinforcement of religious divisions within society: her Hindu identity suggests a divide between Hinduism and Islam. Anthony, a Christian, does not fit into the Hindu/Muslim dichotomy. His position in the aisle reflects this, and he moves about and negotiates his own relationships to the other characters and events he observes. Akbar’s performance confronts divisive religious constructs as he petitions Salma to remove her veil and leave that explicit marker of Muslim identity behind. When she gives in to his

request, a moment of controlled chaos ensues as the patrons get out of their seats to move about and interact with each other. The sequence's conclusion suggests a transition towards an integrated society in which it is still possible to identify its members as practitioners of particular religions.

A variety of dramatic elements in *Amar Akbar Anthony* differentiate the Muslim characters from the other figures. The film employs traditional dress as one method of marking Muslims by their religion. "Muslim" styles of dress are made to look atypical either by appearing traditional or showy. At different points throughout the film, Akbar, his adoptive father, Taiyyab Ali, and the men of the Muslim quarter of town can be seen wearing *kufis* and *kurtas*⁶⁸ in contrast to the other men who adopt more Western styles of casual dress. Akbar's clothing is sometimes more ostentatious, which is likely due to his occupation as a musician. During "Pardā Haī Pardā," he dons a bright green and gold-embellished dress *kurta* and pants. Similarly, he sports a gold and white jacket, blue pants, red shirt, and purple scarf during his medical check-up. The most important item of "Muslim" clothing in *Amar Akbar Anthony* is the veil, which speaks to the paradox of covering in order to be identified as a Muslim (Grace 2004: 13). Salma wears one in "Pardā Haī Pardā" but otherwise opts for more Western dress.⁶⁹ In contrast, the non-Muslim female characters do not waver between traditional and modern clothing quite as much because they are not confronting the same issues of tradition and modernity that

⁶⁸ These are types of hats and tunics, respectively.

⁶⁹ Costume designer Leena Daru recalls that "Neetu's character was a Muslim, so I gave her salwar-kameezes [drawers paired with a body shirt] and shararas [traditional Muslim womens' dresses], but stylish ones" (quoted in Bhatia 2013: 121).

face Salma. Therefore, Salma's adoption of different styles demonstrates another form of Muslim "otherness."

Language also functions as a marker of identity in *Amar Akbar Anthony*. All of the characters speak Hindi, and many incorporate English words and phrases to create what could be summarized as "Hinglish." However, dialogue writer Kader Khan, "himself a man who had grown up in the crowded and unsavory [Mumbai] neighborhood of Kamathipura," made it a point to craft lines that gave each character dramatic "credibility." As a result, "each character speaks differently in keeping with his or her background ... Amar the inspector is matter-of-fact, and Anthony uses Mumbai street patois, in which grammar is often mangled" (Bhatia 2013: 14, 52-53). Variety in the speech patterns of *Amar Akbar Anthony*'s characters also manifested itself in the film's songs (particularly in "Humko Tumse Ho Gaya Hai Pyar," in which, according to Pyarelal, "each of the heroes used different phrases") (quoted in Bhatia 2013: 54).

"Islam is present ... in Akbar's speech" (Haham 2006: 37), both in regards to his manner of speaking and the languages he speaks. As "a romantic qawwali singer," Akbar "is flowery in his speech," "which is peppered with allusions to his faith" (Bhatia 2013: 53; Haham 2006: 37). Akbar also incorporates the Urdu language into his speech, which further differentiates him from the non-Muslim characters who only speak Hindi or "Hinglish." Akbar opts for Urdu when he writes to his adoptive father about the danger at Robert's house, knowing that the film's villains won't be able to read it if it's intercepted. Urdu script can also be found on some of the signs in Salma's neighborhood, suggesting that she and her father do indeed live in a Muslim sector of the city.

The use of Urdu lyrics in “Pardā Haī Pardā,” which is situated within the context of a Hindi-language film, displays how the presence of multiple languages posed challenges to questions of Indian identity in the 20th Century. “The question of whether or not India should embrace a single national language provoked some of the longest, certainly the most bitter debates in the Constituent Assembly during 1948-9: at times they threatened to split it irrevocably.” Some Hindi speakers pushed for their tongue to become the sole national language of India. “Their spokesmen in the assembly, claiming to represent a majority, demanded a purge of Urdu words ... from the Hindi language.” This petition was arguably rooted in their desire to establish India as a Hindu nation and avoid the corrupting influence of Islam that the Urdu language seemingly represented. Under Nehru’s guidance, Hindi and Urdu were recognized as two of several “official” languages, and “the principle of regional states defined by linguistic boundaries was adopted” (Khilnani 2004: 173-76). These decrees constituted a moderate response to many post-Partition demands. “Pardā Haī Pardā,” by means of its linguistic relationship to *Amar Akbar Anthony*, analogizes Urdu’s relationship to India’s languages. It does not explicitly allude to the politicization of Urdu, but it symbolizes Nehru’s achievement regarding Urdu’s status as an official language. The use of Urdu in the film also reflects its ties to Islam through its associations with a Muslim character and *qawwālī* event.

Setting is another element that classifies the identities of each character in the film. *Amar Akbar Anthony* is set in Mumbai,⁷⁰ where Desai was born (Bhatia 2013: 118,

⁷⁰ Although *Amar Akbar Anthony* does not mention the city by name, the film makes many clear allusions to well-known locales within its limits (Bhatia 2013: 118).

6).⁷¹ In the film, Desai portrayed a Mumbai of the streets (Bhatia 2013: 111) and tours the city through a presentation of a number of neighborhoods. Prior to their separation, the three boys lived with their family in Bandra, “which is traditionally seen as a Catholic-dominated” suburb, easily recognized by its Mount Mary church. Not surprisingly, Bandra is where Anthony comes of age. The park where the boys are separated is in Borivali, another suburb. Akbar, Salma, and Taiyyab Ali live in “a Muslim ghetto” that is typical for 1970’s Mumbai (Bhatia 2013: 118, 114-15). Evidence for this can be found in a number of visual details in the “Taiyyab Ali Pyar Ka Dushman” sequence: the street signs are in Urdu, a mosque and its minarets are visible on the horizon, and men in *kurtas* and *kufis* walk to a nearby bazaar. While the film does not explicitly segregate Muslims and non-Muslims, this sequence suggests that religion is influencing patterns of urban habitation.

Amar Akbar Anthony’s effort to portray Muslims and their daily life in Mumbai addresses many of the issues related to urban planning in post-Independence India, including the difficulties that religious differences appeared to impose on newly-burgeoning cities. Khilnani explains that Indian cities were a synthetic creation, meaning that Indians have had to determine what it means to live in one on their own terms. When the agents of British colonialism began building cities in pre-Independence India, they attempted to make them “cohesive” without any regard for Indian conceptions of space. They ignored the ways in which Indians associated and moved by “lineage, caste, and religion” in favor of making “precise arrangements of space with British civil and

⁷¹ Desai grew up in the southern Mumbai neighborhood of Khetwadi (Bhatia 2013: 7).

military lines.” As a result, “the cities organized by the [British] Raj’s polices reinforced contrary tendencies in Indian society,” patterns that remained intact even after Independence. The invention of cities was seen by some as a great opportunity for India’s sense of self. “Nehru’s idea of the city aspired to break abruptly with the past” but also sought “to treasure historical continuity, the layering of cultures, and the mixture and complexity that that nurtured.” However, the collision of diverse identities in the same geographic area transformed religious “indifference” into antipathy: “Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, caste groups ... began to emerge as collective actors and to conflict with one another in the city itself.” Partition had only exacerbated religious tensions in urban areas, for “more than half” of the refugees from Pakistan migrated to cities such as Mumbai (Khilnani 2004: 116-18, 115, 124, 136, 129).

In Mumbai, “the life of contradictions that India embraced the day it became a democratic republic” reached critical mass, partly through reactions to religious tensions. Khilnani describes Mumbai in the years preceding Partition as an “island” of “settled cosmopolitanism,” a vision that stuck in the collective Indian mindset for many years. Bollywood films of the era depicted the city “as at once a place of bewilderment and exploitation and an enticing and necessary destination brimming with opportunities.” Meanwhile, Partition weakened Mumbai’s “Muslim presence” as thousands of refugees arrived from Pakistan and the city’s “Muslim elite” departed. As the city began negotiating its political identity, Mumbai’s Muslims were sometimes subjected to contorted forms of Indian nationalism. The Shiv Sena, which began as an “anti-immigrant party” in the 1960’s, began targeting Muslims in the 1980’s by inciting violent

riots in Mumbai and other cities. “The Shiv Sena visualizes India ... as a hierarchical grid that contains internally homogenized communities, each insulated from the others” (Khilnani 109, 136-37, 129, 141-43). Khilnani censures the Shiv Sena’s stance, arguing that it sacrifices a cosmopolitan modernity for a flawed conception of Indianness (2004: 144).

Amar Akbar Anthony addresses what scholar Christian Lee Novetzke terms “stereotypes of identity,” which encompasses “religious identity” (quoted in Bhatia 2013: 99). The non-Hindu characters, especially Anthony and Akbar, are clearly marked (Bhatia 2013: 100). Both of these characters were inspired by urban life in Mumbai: Desai based them upon his personal observations (Bhatia 2013: 13) and molded them to fit his escapist film. According to Desai, near his childhood home,

There was a narrow strip of gutter between ... two buildings across the street. Antav, the Anthony character, came from there. He used to wear a funny hat and was very rowdy. That’s where the bootlegging went on for twenty years. All the Anthony characters used to operate there out in the night, out on the roads (quoted in Haham 2006: 30).

Haham argues that “the film appears weighed towards Christianity” because its biggest star (Bachchan) plays Anthony (2006: 37). However, as commentator and journalist Sidharth Bhatia points out,

Desai had to contend with angry Catholics who felt that the film was uncomplimentary to Christians. The Christian community has often bristled at the stereotypical way in which its members are shown – either as kindly priests or as drunks and bootleggers.⁷² This film had both. An angry

⁷² “Alcohol is frequently present in Hindi cinema, generally associated either with villainy or with moral collapse. . . . From the time of *Amar Akbar Anthony* to the filming of *Coolie* [“Porter,” another Desai film; released in 1983], alcohol is seen as ever more debilitating and addictive.” Liquor’s treatment in

debate broke out in the community press. . . . Father Joe Pereira, a well-known priest of the city, . . . pointed out that the cameraman, Peter Pereira, who was greatly admired among his co-religionists, would not do anything to denigrate the religion. The controversy died down soon enough (Bhatia 2013: 56).

Desai's son Ketan claims that the director took the inspiration for Akbar from the "amalgamation of the youngsters who lived in predominantly Muslim areas which he had seen" (quoted in Bhatia 2013: 13); he then blended his observations with his genuine enchantment with Islamic culture (Bhatia 2013: 133). His colleagues initially questioned the casting of Rishi Kapoor in the role, as Ketan Desai claims that they thought Kapoor looked too "upper-class" to play a *qawwāl* (quoted in Bhatia 2013: 16), but Desai stood his ground and made Akbar one of Kapoor's best roles. Kapoor's Akbar was well-received in spite of "the fact that [he] sang to an idol [in the "Shirdi Wale Sai Baba" sequence], which is forbidden in Islam" (Bhatia 2013: 16-18, 75-76).⁷³

Amar Akbar Anthony's characterizations of Akbar, his adoptive father, and Salma's father portray Muslims as pious individuals who are sometimes prone to comicality, conservatism, and hypocrisy, but the film itself circumvents many of the inimical connotations related to Muslim identity.⁷⁴ Dialogue works to convey the pious personas of both Akbar and his adoptive father. Akbar often makes references and

Desai's films may be a reflection on Desai's identity as a teetotaler. At the same time, in *Amar Akbar Anthony*, "Anthony's drinking is above all an excuse for humor" (Haham 2006: 127).

⁷³ The scene "may have provoked comment here and there but did not result in any controversy" (Bhatia 2013: 76).

⁷⁴ Booth writes that Indian history since Independence has made "representation[s] of Muslims and Muslim culture . . . a potentially volatile issue in South Asia." As a result, filmmakers in the 20th Century sought to avoid negativity regarding "the actual tensions, definable in religious terms, both between India and Pakistan and within India" (2005: 68-69).

appeals to God when speaking to other characters or making asides. One noteworthy instance occurs when Akbar arrives at his concert in an automobile and makes a celebrity entrance. He turns to the crowd and says, “First say ‘Allah,’ then open the doors!” Even though the performance takes place in a secular context in which Akbar has star status, this statement displays Akbar’s religiosity: he draws attention to his Islamic faith with a command that implies he places God above everything else. Akbar’s adoptive father is a “Rahim Chacha” character who is “kind and devout,” offering verbal praises or laments to God (Bhatia 2013: 101). The best example of his religiosity comes when he finds baby Akbar at Borivali Park and asks God why people abandon their children as the camera pans to a nearby statue of Mohandas Gandhi. The cinematography makes it seem as if his philosophical monologue comes to him through the presence of Gandhi – a Hindu, suggesting the dominance of a Hindu identity over “Muslimness.” Even though this man is moralistic by nature, he cannot escape the influence of the Indian cultural milieu, which the visual juxtaposition effectively illustrates.

Muslim conservatism is tied to the moral character of Akbar and to Taiyyab Ali, though in different ways. Traditionalism encourages Akbar to seek Salma’s father’s blessing instead of eloping with her, and he later names rescuing Salma and her father from a fire as his “duty.” During the movie’s climax, he takes his turn at beating up Robert only after asking God to forgive him. His “pacifist” nature is “perhaps a reminder of the wide impact of the Chisti Sufis with their emphasis on love and devotion and their openness to accommodation. Also, consciously or unconsciously, Akbar’s portrayal may

be intended to soothe and comfort those in the audience who could feel threatened by a more aggressive stance from a member of a large majority” (Haham 2006: 37).⁷⁵

In contrast, Taiyyab Ali is portrayed as a traditionalist to a fault, which allows him to become a comic and even duplicitous character. His stubborn refusal to let Salma pursue a romantic relationship with Akbar stems from his sense of a Muslim woman’s place in society, which the other characters see as backward. His struggle with Akbar is established as a subplot in the “Pardā Haī Pardā” sequence and is later elaborated through “Taiyabali Pyar Ka Dushman” and various scenes. During “Pardā Haī Pardā,” Salma’s father expresses his disapproval of Akbar largely through impassioned and humorous gestures, securing his comic identity. His affair with a brothel madam named Bijli compounds the comedy of his character: when Akbar learns of the tryst and turns around to ambush him during “Taiyabali Pyar Ka Dushman,” Salma’s father comes off as a buffoon and hypocrite.

Although *Amar Akbar Anthony* casts its principal Muslim character in more or less the same heroic light as the other leads, its liberal use of stereotypes results in a hackneyed portrayal of Muslim life in Hindu India. Such stereotyping in *Amar Akbar Anthony* and in other South Asian films makes one wonder if “whether the makers of mass-media products ... are participating (intentionally or otherwise) in the

⁷⁵ At the same time, Akbar’s role in the climactic scene simply could have been the result of practical concerns. The filming “schedule went beyond its deadline, leading to some chaos with dates” (Bhatia 2013: 59). Kapoor relates that “they shot my parts separately, just playing on a bongo and the accordion in the fight scene. . . . I also don’t actually fight in the film except hitting a bad guy once and not before I apologize to Allah by raising my hands. These shots were used as cutaways in the film, while the others are fighting” (quoted in Bhatia 2013: 60)!

reinforcement of communal prejudice” (Booth 2005: 66). *Amar Akbar Anthony*’s portrayal of Muslims is a veiled one, for it simultaneously includes and otherizes Islam.

“Pardā Haī Pardā,” Tradition and Modernity, and the Contemporary Indian Social Order

“Pardā Haī Pardā” makes a concerted effort to address the issues of tradition and modernity. The sequence casts Akbar as an agent of change whose purpose runs counter to Taiyyab Ali’s ideology. The quest to have Salma unveil symbolizes the challenges that modernity poses for tradition; the unveiling itself suggests that modernity has triumphed. Considering the sequence in tandem with India’s socio-political history suggests that “Pardā Haī Pardā” upholds elements of a social order in which “Hindu” majoritarian identity has great potential to overshadow “Muslimness.”

Tradition and modernity are closely associated with Indian conceptions of secularism. Secularism has very different implications in India than it does in the West, and *Amar Akbar Anthony* reflects this sensibility. Bhatia explains that, in India, secularism “does not suggest ... the state’s indifference to religion and religious practice. In India, the word implies respect for all religions. . . . The Hindi film industry, which has a pan-Indian reach, strongly believes in this kind of secularism” (2013: 95). Desai and his film followed suit. The director described his own films as an “escape hatch,” prompting observers such as Benegal to conclude that he was “totally uninterested in social messages” (quoted in Haham 2006: 151, 23). However, religion “is constantly present” in *Amar Akbar Anthony*, “whether for its own sake or for the sake of prompting tolerance

and mutual respect among those of different religions” (Haham 2006: 36). The scene that is paired with the film’s first song, “Ye Sach Hai Koi Kahani Nahin” (“This Is True; It’s No Story”), epitomizes the themes of “the unity of man and respect for all religions” (Bhatia 2013: 98). The fact that three acquaintances donate their blood to a woman who turns out to be their mother suggests “that all Indians, regardless of religion, are *brothers*” (Haham 2006: 36, emphasis in original). Scenes like these ensured that the film’s underlying themes retained a degree of subtlety. Bachchan remarks that “when [*Amar Akbar Anthony*] was released, its full-throttle message of communal harmony wasn’t perceived ... Manmohan Desai never spoke about his films’ agenda because he didn’t have to.” Today, *Amar Akbar Anthony*’s themes are “acknowledged unconditionally,” and the film stands as an immense proponent of secularism (quoted in Haham 2006: ix).

In spite of the inclusivity implied by its secularism, India still negotiates the identities of its people in ways that express what Novetzke calls a “Hindu secularist” or “Hindu majoritarian” “ideal” (quoted in Bhatia 2013: 99), and this process factors into the content and themes of Hindi films such as *Amar Akbar Anthony*. Religious identity is one of the parameters that is repeatedly employed to define notions of “Indianness,” and conceptions of Indian unity were based upon the relationship between individuals and religion. Although a predominantly Hindu nation, India is “the second largest Muslim country in the world” and “contains the largest body of Muslims living within a liberal democratic order” (Khilnani 2004: xiv). “Researchers generally encompass over 80% of the Indian population under the appellation ‘Hindu,’ while Muslims are thought to make up some 11% of the population, and Christians, 3%” (Haham 2006: 124). The presence

of significant religious minorities in the “Hindu” nation did not go unnoticed.

“Nationalist Hindus asserted that Indian unity could be found in its common culture derived from religion,” while others such as Nehru “turned away from religion and discovered a basis for unity both in a shared historical past of cultural mixing, and a future project of common development” (Khilnani 2004: 154). In Desai’s films, Nehru’s ideals resound in the theme of “communal harmony,” which “is most often associated with the three-religion theme” and “the understanding that the ‘Motherland’ of India is mother to all.”⁷⁶ However, the sense of “tolerance and respect for other religions” is indicative of what Haham calls “a certain Hindu worldview” (2006: 124, 37) that subsequently otherizes non-Hindu groups.

Amar Akbar Anthony depicts the negotiation of Indian identity through its portrayals of its title characters. Bhatia observes that “there is no overt ‘Hinduness’ in Amar’s character,” for “he does not pray or observe [Hindu religious] rituals.” His presence in the film conforms to the norms of “the Hindi film business,” where “it helps to have a hero who is of indeterminate caste and linguistic affiliation” that “everyone ... know[s] ... is a Hindu.” In contrast, Akbar and Anthony are clearly marked as Muslim and Christian, respectively (2013: 100, 133). However, Novetzke argues that these “religious affiliations” are nonetheless “carefully modulated to a Hindu secularist ideal” (quoted in Bhatia 2013: 99). According to Haham, these characters “are still considered Hindus by Hindu viewers” because “conversion, for Hindus, is a term without meaning” (2006: 38). This view suggests a sense of “religious immobility” (Haham 2006: 38) in

⁷⁶ Actress Nirupa Roy was known as “the mother of choice in the 1970’s” (Bhatia 2013: 89); her portrayal of Bharati in *Amar Akbar Anthony* could be summarized as a picture of “Mother India” herself.

which labels such as “Muslim” or “Christian” are disregarded. At the same time, India’s “insistence on maintaining distinctions” (Haham 2006: 38) likely contributed to “the marginalizing and exoticizing of Islam in Hindi films,” and, subsequently, the “[significant] seculariz[ation]” [i.e., decontextualization] of *filmī qawwālī* (Morcom 2007: 81). “Pardā Haī Pardā” challenges the sacred character of the *qawwālī* genre in order to mirror the confluence of social traditions in Indian society. Many elements of “Pardā Haī Pardā” speak to conceptions of “Muslim” identity, and the sequence allows viewers to ponder the roles of tradition and modernity in Indian society.

“Pardā Haī Pardā” and its characters symbolize conceptions of “Indianness” and the multiplicity of subcultures⁷⁷ through their attitudes towards religion and modernity. Taiyyab Ali employs traditionalism to assert his identity as a conservative Muslim. His entrance into the public auditorium alludes to the ingress of Muslims into Hindu India. Akbar, though also a Muslim, seems to concur with Nehru’s conceptions of Indian identity. Akbar sets the religious implications of *qawwālī* aside, mixing a variety of performance influences to achieve social integration. His performance goals supersede his Muslim identity and offer a rebuttal to Taiyyab Ali’s traditionalism.

By stressing the separating power of the Islamic veil, “Pardā Haī Pardā” evokes religious differences as well as the Partition of India in 1947, which continues to “[rustle] through the subcontinent’s public imagination” as “the moment of the Indian nation’s

⁷⁷ The merging of “a wide range of local systems” in India contributes to the formation of what Slobin describes as “superculture-subculture relations” (2008b: 78). In other words, the process creates conceptions of what it means to belong to the social “majority” in a country as opposed to one of any number of social “minorities.” The shaping of “majority” and “minority” social identities also involves the redefining of individual and group identity. Khilnani elaborates that the process of negotiating personal and community identity in India was reflexive, for “a sense of regional identity only came into being as people tried to define a larger ‘Indian’ community” (2004: 153).

origin through violent rupture with itself” (Khilnani 2004: 199, 202). Salma’s veil marks her as a Muslim and separates her from the Hindu secularist majority, paralleling the religious divide that created Muslim Pakistan out of northern Hindu India. Khilnani argues that because religion was used as a method for state-building, Pakistan’s creation resulted in “two contrasting pictures of what a modern nation-state is. . . . Pakistan founded itself on explicitly religious principles and saw itself as the state of a homogenous people.” India, in contrast, was more pluralistic. Yet “the creation of a Muslim-majority Pakistan led many [in India] to demand that the Indian state . . . explicitly declare itself defender of the interests of the nation’s Hindu majority.” As the decades passed, “the secular modernist elite . . . dragged this language of religious affiliations into the arena of national politics.” Politicians such as Indira Gandhi “flirted with religious sentiments and appeals, hinting that the categories ‘non-Hindu’ and ‘anti-national’ overlapped” (Khilnani 2004: xii, 31, 54).

Amar Akbar Anthony’s production and release during Indira Gandhi’s term in office raises questions of whether such rhetoric influenced the portrayal of its Muslim characters, especially since they are differentiated by a number of devices (including veils, conservatism, and religiosity). The association between Salma’s veil and Partition is clear nonetheless. Although it alludes to the possibility that she may be soon integrated into the unveiled social milieu of the auditorium, the veil’s primary function is to separate Salma from other personages while she remains in this public setting. Similarly, Partition “defines and constantly suspects India’s identity, dividing it between the responsibility to

tolerate differences, and the dream of a territory where all are compelled to worship in unison” (Khilnani 2004: 202).

“Pardā Haī Pardā” is also characterized by vacillations of action (particularly Salma’s unveilings and re-veilings) that speak to the dynamic processes of change at work in Indian society. Khilnani argues that India has long been portrayed “as susceptible to change and reform” because of its capricious and centuries-long political history, which has “prompted Indians to invent their own alternatives” in debates concerning history’s impact on identity. The leaders of post-Independence India, faced with the task of negotiating Indian identity, offered a variety of responses “according to their own ideas of what exactly that [i.e., “Indianness”] meant” (2004: 158, 8), resulting in manufactured social identities. Salma’s identity in the sequence is likewise defined by a synthetic guideline (in her case, her state of veiling or unveiling) that is highly susceptible to change. The events of “Pardā Haī Pardā,” in which the interactions between characters act upon Salma’s status as a veiled woman, give a concrete form to Nehru’s ideas regarding human cultures, which he saw “as overlapping forms of activity that had commerce with one another, mutually altering and reshaping each other” (Khilnani 2004: 171-72). The intricate interactions between musical elements (specifically, instruments) in the sequence also represent the collision of socio-cultural ideas in ways that are subtle and pervasive. While the processes in society are perpetual, the processes in “Pardā Haī Pardā” are finite: the sequence’s decision to have them culminate in an unveiling has ramifications for metaphorical meaning.

Salma's final unveiling ultimately validates the dominance of Hindu majoritarian identity and has a number of possible implications. On one hand, her unveiling represents the culmination of Indian secularist discourse. "The multiplicity of cultural and political voices," which Khilnani deems the nation's "most remarkable achievement" (2004: 173), plays out in the ways Akbar, Taiyyab Ali, and Anthony express their goals and ideals throughout the sequence. However, Akbar's goals prevail over Taiyyab Ali's ideals, suggesting that the institution of Islam has been overpowered in favor of a Hindu identity.

The final outcome of the sequence's events may be interpreted as the push to social "homogeneity" (Khilnani 2004: 152) that the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a contemporary Hindu nationalist political party,⁷⁸ has continually worked for. "The BJP's definition of Indian nationalism ... explicitly declared allegiance to ... *Hindutva*, 'Hinduness,' and celebrated a glorious Hindu past. . . . Although it described itself as a positive project of 'cultural nationalism,' in fact the BJP was ... designed to efface all signs of non-Hinduness that are in fact so integral to India." The BJP acted in the sphere of politics, aiming "to eradicate any legal and political recognition of cultural and religious differences." In its attempts to reform politics and law, "the BJP has focused most closely on Muslim customary law" (Khilnani 2004: 188-89). By describing the *Hindutva* of the BJP as "a self-inflated, venomous redefinition of India," Khilnani implies that this ideology reforms or outright silences minority voices. "Pardā Hai Pardā"

⁷⁸ Hindu nationalism can be traced back to "the Janata coalition, an alliance of right-wing, Hindu and farmers' parties." It came to prominence in March 1977, shortly after *Amar Akbar Anthony* was released. In the decades since, Hindu nationalism has drawn greater attention through the BJP's activities (Khilnani 48, 188).

demonstrates the shaping of social behaviors through both the directing of Salma's behavior and the silencing of her father, thereby maintaining the ideals of the secular majority. Although the plot of *Amar Akbar Anthony* conveys the theme of religious tolerance, the denouement of the "Pardā Haī Pardā" sequence seems to conform to the conventions of 1970's Bollywood, in which the "domestication" of "threats to the status quo" (i.e., the "status quo" as embodied by "middle-class, upper-caste" Hindus living in India) was a featured trope (Pauwels 2007a: 116).

The multiplicity of possible readings for the "Pardā Haī Pardā" sequence raises questions about the true intentions of Desai, the self-proclaimed cinematic escapist who "prefer[red] to let the story do the talking" (Haham 2006: 144, 151; Bhatia 2013: 140). Like many other Indian filmmakers of his time, Desai "deliberately stayed away from realism." Bhatia argues that the director presented cinematic content in such a way that audiences treated "what [was] shown [as] one big joke for entertainment value, not to be taken seriously" (2013: 69-70, 90). Novetzke adds that in *Amar Akbar Anthony*, Desai is not concerned with "actual identity" because the "religious world" of the film is inherently "stereotypical" (quoted in Bhatia 2013: 99). In other words, Desai could have been reinforcing stereotypes indirectly, whether consciously or inadvertently, through his escapist storytelling. However, at the core of each Desai film was a story, and Desai was always "keen to ... have that story taken seriously." *Amar Akbar Anthony* "is not a farce or a parody by any means," but a cohesive story whose "plot [spoke] for itself" without overemphasizing the theme of religion (Bhatia 2013: 105).⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Manmohan Desai had this to say in regards to "the message of communal harmony urged in the film":

In his responses to the reception of his films in the West, Desai remarked that “people may read meanings into my films which I hadn’t consciously intended. But they may be right” (quoted in Haham 2013: 177). Bachchan concurs with the commentators, asserting that Desai wove “significant sub-texts” into his films subconsciously. He claims that the director was “a humanist” at heart not only because of the themes his films contained, but for the methods in which he explored them (quoted in Haham 2013: vii, xi). Desai’s techniques are part of the reason why, in Bhatia’s eyes, Benegal’s “assertion” that “Desai [was] totally uninterested in social messages” is “open to challenge” (2013: 138). Now that globalization has transformed Desai into “something of an icon” (Haham 2006: 179), open discourse on his films has a great potential to further scholarship on South Asian popular culture in relation to Indian socio-political history.

“Pardā Hai Pardā” feeds into complex forms of social discourse through its commentary on processes that incite change. The sequence’s fixation on modernity is a concern that manifests itself in India’s politics, which, as Khilnani argues,

may actually contain more than a premonitory hint of the West’s own political future. The themes and conflicts that animate India’s politics ... have a surprisingly wide resonance – the assertion of community and group rights and the use of democracy to affirm collective identities; the difficulties of maintaining large-scale, multi-cultural political unions ... The older democracies might recognize that each of these stands uncomfortably close to their own doorsteps (2004: 8-9).

Had I stood on a platform preaching ‘Hindu-Muslim *bhai-bhai*, Hindu-Christian *bhai-bhai* (brother-brother),’ they would have said, ‘We don’t want to hear that bullshit from you.’ So I said, best give it in a very palatable, say, homeopathic pill. We gave a sugar-coated pill; they took it. They liked it. So we had communal harmony in it (quoted in Haham 2006: 37-38).

Khilnani's hypothesis is a significant one, for it proposes that aspects of Indian contemporary life across the globe are amazingly similar. The analytical paradigm outlined in this study responds to Khilnani by giving observers around the world a path to interpreting Bollywood. This analysis and commentary of "Pardā Haiṅ Pardā" decodes a sampling of Hindi cinema by illuminating forms of conflict – themes to which no society is immune. My approach is therefore able to uncover and draw attention to a sequence's inherent themes, establishing a form of rebuttal to the argument that Bollywood is "vapid."

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION – MORE TO UNVEIL

My model for Hindi film song sequence analysis, applied through the case study of “Pardā Haī Pardā,” exhibits an interdisciplinary approach to interpreting the meaning of these sequences. The themes of “Pardā Haī Pardā” are illuminated by principles of semiotics as well as the sequence’s connections to socio-cultural trends in India. This study also constitutes an application of the principles embodied by the theory of associative structure. The analysis of this sequence’s visual, textual, and musical elements in relation to each other, the messages of the film, and the film’s cultural context shows that song sequences are not “disposable,” for these elements enable the formation of a structure that creates meaning.

I stress the importance of examining sequences on a case-by-case basis because each song sequence has a unique combination of elements that poses a variety of challenges. In the following discussion, I explain how the considerations of “situationality,” genre, and dance, as well as trends in filmmaking, can also affect interpretations of song sequences. I then elaborate upon the applicability of my paradigm to song sequences from non-Hindi language Indian films, which pose a slightly different set of considerations. Finally, I consider the analyst herself, for the interpretation of a sequence will always be filtered by her experiences and biases.

Content Considerations that Impact Analysis

“Situationality”

In my view, the continuum of “situationality,” or how closely a song sequence relates to a specific dramatic context, is the single biggest factor shaping perceptions of song sequences as non sequitur passages within a film. Song sequences run the gamut in regards to situationality because the possibilities for combining visuals, text, and music are endless. Situationality often occurs “at the level of music”: “some songs ... have more drama manifest in the music (sometimes with extensive use of background scoring techniques) and seem incomplete without the visual sequence, and some have higher ‘audio value,’ ... retain[ing] a strong song idiom independent of the film context” (Morcom 2008: 76).

“Pardā Haī Pardā” displays that situationality is tied to the plot progression of the film, but many song sequences are not nearly as situational as “Pardā Haī Pardā” is. “Dream sequences” deliver love songs over images of “scenic locations that are often far away and sometimes entirely unrelated to where the rest of the narrative of the story unfolds” (Bhattacharjya 2009: 54). In some instances, “musical segments in the film take place in virtual registers of time and space beyond the direct control of a realist narrational logic” (Basu 2008: 153). This is arguably the case in the film *Dil se*, where song sequences such as “Chaiya chaiya” “obstructed the pace of [a] narrative” about a young journalist’s infatuation with a doomed suicide bomber (Basu 2008: 153, 160-61). Other sequences condense the timeline of the film’s events through montage: the song

“Gadbadi Hadbadi,” from *Rocket Singh: Salesman of the Year*, uses this technique to convey Rocket Sales’ drawn-out but steady rise to business success. Varying degrees of situationality suggest that song sequences may “be moving toward further disaggregation,” a phenomenon that film industry insiders “lament”⁸⁰ (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 24). Songs that are not apparently situational need to be considered through a critical lens nonetheless, and may still be approached with visual, textual, and musical analysis. Their relationships to the emotional trajectory of their source film’s narrative need further investigation.

Genre

Musical genre impacts the character of a song sequence’s music as well as expectations for its use within the film. A song that fits into a certain genre is arguably easier to analyze because the genre provides a basis for determining guidelines of musical style and situational content. “Pardā Hai Pardā,” as a *filmī qawwālī*, is closely allied with genre: it imitates *qawwālī* vocal delivery and song form, features traditional *qawwālī* instruments, and is performed by Muslims (or, at the very least, actors portraying Muslims). However, for many song sequences, genre associations are loose at best. In her survey of *filmī qawwālī*, Morcom remarks that many examples of these songs do not necessarily allude to traditional *qawwālī* through their music. She cites “the use of backing music that ... may be explained in terms of eclecticism, Westernization, or even exceptions to the norm” as the reasons for this (2007: 130-31). Morcom’s observations

⁸⁰ Javed Akhtar, “a well-known lyricist” who has worked with A. R. Rahman, has remarked that “the songs in today’s film [*sic*] cease to have a real function within the drama. The song has become a kind of perk that is offered with the film” (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 24-25).

lend credence to Hindi film song's identity as, first and foremost, popular music in which any and all forms of musical influence are deemed acceptable for use. In fact, many song sequences do not allude to a specific genre at all. Genre's inconstant applicability makes the three domains of music, text, and visuals all the more valuable in determining the unique stylistic character of a sequence.

Dance

Dance factors into many song sequences and constitutes a potential fourth domain for a symbolic, hybrid content within a sequence. The treatment of movement in "Pardā Haī Pardā" barely scratches the surface on the possibilities for dance in song sequences.⁸¹ Commentators have described dance in film as "a unique blend of influences" (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 130) "that both inheres in classical traditions and is promiscuous in its borrowings" (Gopal & Moorti 2008a: 26). Sequences that include dance display a plethora of styles: "Mere Haathon Mein" ("In My Hands") from *Chandni* ("Moonlight," 1989) is indebted to classical styles such as *kathak*, while "Sharara" from *Mere Yaar Ki Shaadi Hai* ("My Friend Is Getting Married," 2002) features elements of "bellydance" and Western club dance. Gopal and Moorti contend that dance is "a means for embodying surplus meaning" in Hindi film song sequences, for it can "[imagine] forms of becoming that the narrative forecloses" as well as any of a number of "transgressive desires" (2008a: 26). Sequences such as "Mere Haathon Mein" will likely

⁸¹ "Pardā Haī Pardā" lacks stylized dance; the only feature that comes close is when Anthony and Akbar step-shuffle across the stage in the Second Instrumental Interlude. However, their movements are not arbitrary because they correspond to specific aural events.

rely on the communicative conventions of classical dance⁸² to create meaning.

Contemporary dance styles, as demonstrated by “Sharara,” employ eclectic patterns of movement to heighten interactions between characters and illustrate elements of the text and music. The sheer variety of ways dance can and has been assimilated into Hindi film song demands that it be given ample attention wherever it appears.

Production Patterns and Historicity

Though this case study of “Pardā Haī Pardā” does not directly address it, the history of film song production has a noticeable impact on a song sequence’s content. Bollywood has actively embraced many new technologies and influences since its inception in the 1930’s. In “That Bollywood Sound,” Booth draws a distinction between two broad periods of production in the era following the introduction of sound film in Bollywood: “Old Bollywood” (from the mid-1940’s to the mid-1990’s) and “New Bollywood” (from the mid-1990’s to the present). The music of “Old Bollywood” is characterized principally by its reliance on songs arranged for large orchestral ensembles as well as “the integration of [other] foreign influences” (2008: 86-87). “Pardā Haī Pardā,” produced in 1977, fits “Old Bollywood” to the letter.

The songs of “New Bollywood, in contrast, see “large orchestras ... and a profoundly Indian filtering of foreign influences [as] things of the past in both aesthetical and industrial terms.” They have turned to “a more explicitly transnational notion of sound” that involves “computer-based composition and recording processes.” According

⁸² In writing this sentence I recall my studies of *kathak* with Dr. Sarah Morelli, who demonstrated that even the slightest finger or eyebrow movement carries great symbolic meaning in the realm of performative storytelling.

to Booth, the changes in production resulted in the near-disappearance of the classic “Bollywood sound” (2008: 86). However, “New Bollywood” remains consciously aware of its “Old Bollywood” past, as the song “Hungama Ho Gaya” (“Ruckus”) demonstrates. Originally recorded by Bollywood playback singer Asha Bhosle for the 1973 film *Anhonee* (“Untoward”), the song was given a tech-heavy remix by Amit Trivedi in Vikas Bahl’s 2014 film *Queen*.⁸³ Different technologies are employed to achieve different results in both “Old Bollywood” and “New Bollywood.” Analyses of sequences could benefit from uncovering patterns between the uses of particular technologies in certain situations to convey specific meanings.

Songwriting processes have changed over the years as well, and could have an effect on a song’s meaning. Until the 1980’s, lyrics were composed before melodies, and these texts were “based on the requirements of the script.” Since then, the process has inverted itself: according to Javed Akhtar, “the emphasis is now on the tune and it is up to the songwriter to find the right words” (Mir 2007: 216). The shift in songwriting parallels the transition from “Old” to “New” Bollywood and has arguably affected the inherent situationality of song sequences. “Pardā Hai Pardā,” a product of “Old Bollywood,” was likely composed with the action of the scene in mind, with lyrics prefiguring the music, hence my choice to analyze the sequence’s visuals first, followed by its lyrics and then its music. In so doing, I found that its visual and lyrical elements created a foundation for its musical elements to acquire meaning. An analyst could glean more understanding from a

⁸³ The version featured in *Queen* also interpolates Arijit Singh’s cover of “California Dreamin’,” originally made famous by the American popular group The Mamas & the Papas.

sequence if she evaluates its elements in the order in which they were likely incorporated into the sequence.

A third consideration related to a song sequence's production involves historicity. It is important to remember that each song sequence is produced in a specific time period and is ultimately influenced by the social issues of that era. As it was produced in the late 1970's, "Pardā Haī Pardā" was affected by a different set of issues than the sequences produced in the decades before or since. "Pardā Haī Pardā" seems to offer foresight into historical events post-1977, but the 21st-Century analyst must remember that the producers of "Pardā Haī Pardā" did not possess 21st-Century hindsight and should focus her reading of the sequence's context on its contemporary historical setting.

The Applicability of the Approach to Non-Hindi Language Film Industries in India

Although this study has focused solely on sequences produced by the Mumbai-based film industry, the analytical approach may also be adapted for use with the sequences produced by other Indian cinemas. These industries, like Bollywood, rely on film song to further "the expressive nature of the cinema" (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 116). Commentaries on these sequences can be built upon the three domains of content but need to account for regional differences.

The movie studios of Chennai, which are known collectively as "Kollywood," produce films not only in Hindi, but also in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam, "reflecting a broad division of the nation's cultures" (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 115-16). The Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam industries constitute the three largest non-

Hindi cinemas in India, and in 1979 they collectively eclipsed the output of Mumbai for the first time (Booth 2008: 85).⁸⁴ The languages used in Southern Indian films are one result of India's "reorganiz[ation] ... along linguistic lines" and contribute to the regional character of South Indian film industries. As ethnic groups in the South are "defined principally by their mother tongue" (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 115, 119), films in Southern languages have the potential to stimulate feelings of ethnic pride in viewers whose principal language is used in the film. Analyses of Southern Indian film sequences should be especially conscious of the connotations of these languages when determining how their lyrics affect meaning.

The variegated history of musical culture in Southern India is reflected in Southern film sequences. "In the early era of Tamil cinema, film music more closely resembled South India's classical Karnāṭak music"; songs employed a Karnāṭak vocal style and were built upon Southern *rāgas* (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 122-23). More recent songs have borrowed from Southern folk traditions, Bharata Natyam dance music, the Hindustani tradition, and Western popular music, to name a few of the eclectic sources of inspiration (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 121-24). Famed Hindi film song composer A. R. Rahman, who has also scored for Western films such as Danny Boyle's 2009 film *Slumdog Millionaire*, began his career as a composer of Tamil film song (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 125-26). "In a style that might be considered truly postmodern as well as transnational, Rahman's ensembles feature many traditional instruments ... but combine them in new, more global musical textures" (Booth 2008:

⁸⁴ Getter and Balasubrahmaniyan estimate that Kollywood produces 100-150 full-length films per year (2008: 120).

108). His penchant for synthesizers and sampling has contributed to his status as a composer for the “younger generation,” and “his success has shifted musical tastes and production strategies so much that now all of Tamil film music seems to bear a resemblance to his sounds and methods” (Getter & Balasubrahmaniyan 2008: 125-26). Though Rahman’s music is testimony to the cultural exchanges embodied by contemporary South Asian film song, diverse sources of musical influence can be found in South Asian film songs from any era, and analyses need to account for them.

The Limitations of the Viewer and Final Remarks

In formulating my approach to analysis, I stress original context in the interpretation of these sequences, yet concur with such observers as Chan, who contend that cultural differences between viewers will always be an issue in the consumption process (2008: 268, 280). Each viewer’s interpretation of a sequence is ultimately affected by the experiences and biases he or she brings to the event of viewing. Although an understanding of a sequence’s cultural context enables a viewer to become aware of a sequence’s intentions, readings that disregard this context are nonetheless authentic when they remain true to the viewer’s responses to the sequence. I have tried to compensate for what may be overly “filtered” experiences on the viewer’s part through analytic strategies that are open and inclusive, for these methods provide a more or less empirical foundation for describing the processes at work in Hindi film song sequences. However, I do not feel that my model feeds into what Chan describes as “the desire for pristine

consumption” (2008: 267)⁸⁵ – and this is a good thing. My paradigm’s emphasis on semiotics enables multiple interpretations of a sequence’s themes, and I openly invite non-conformist and oppositional readings of sequences. These processes ensure that an individual’s viewing experience is expressed authentically and active discourse on Hindi film song sequences is maintained.

The approach this study presents as a method for analyzing Hindi film song sequences – in which multivalent elements, semiotics, and context play key roles – offers one possibility to furthering collective understanding of the content and significance of South Asian film music. This method may not be able to unveil a sole attribute that makes song sequences special moments of meaning in South Asian films, but it can enhance one’s habits in critiquing these sequences through methods that are both innovative and familiar.

⁸⁵ Chan defines “pristine consumption” as an attempt to “transcend difference and ... confront cultural objects as abstract individuals” (2008: 267).

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APPENDIX A: FILMOGRAPHY

- Aaīnā* (“Mirror”). 1993. Deepak Sareen, director; Pamela Chopra and Yash Chopra, producers; Dilip Sen-Sameer Sen, music director.
- Aakhir Kyon?* (“Why So?”) 1985. J. Om Prakash, director and producer; Rajesh Roshan, music director.
- Amar Akbar Anthony*. 1977. Manmohan Desai, director and producer; Laxmikant-Pyarelal, music directors; Anand Bakshi, lyrics.
- Anwar*. 2007. Manish Jha, director; Rajesh Singh, producer; Mithoon Sharma and Pankaj Awasthi, music directors.
- Chandni* (“Moonlight”). 1989. Yash Chopra, director; Yash Chopra and T. Subbarami Reddy, producers; Shiv-Hari, music directors; Anand Bakshi, lyrics.
- Dil Se* (“From the Heart”). 1998. Mani Ratnam, director; Mani Ratnam, Ram Gopal Varma, Shekhar Kapur, and Bharat Shah, producers; A. R. Rahman, music director; Gulzar, lyrics.
- Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (“The Brave-Hearted Will Take Away the Bride”). 1995. Aditya Chopra, director; Yash Chopra, producer; Jatin Lalit, music director; Anand Bakshi, lyrics.
- Fire*. 1996. Deepa Mehta, director; Bobby Bedi and Deepa Mehta, directors; A. R. Rahman, musical score.
- Geraftaar*. 1985. Prayag Raaj, director; S. Ramanathan, producer; Bappi Lahiri; music director.
- Jab We Met* (“When We Met”). 2007. Imtiaz Ali, director; Dhillin Mehta, producer; Pritam Chakraborty and Sandesh Shandilya, music directors; Irshad Kamil, lyrics; Sanjoy Chowdhury, musical score.
- Jalsaghar* (“The Music Room”). 1958. Satyajit Ray, director and producer; Vilayat Khan, musical score.
- Jeet* (“Victory”). 1996. Raj Kanwar, director; Sajid Nadiadwala, producer; Nadeem-Shravan, music directors.
- Kandukondain Kandukondain* (“I Have Found It! I Have Found It!”). 2000. Rajiv Menon, director; Kalaipuli S. Dhanu, producer; A. R. Rahman, music director; Vairamuthu, lyrics.

- Kashmir Ki Kali* (“Bud of Kashmir”). 1964. Shakti Samanta, director and producer; O.P. Nayyar, music director; S. H. Bihari, lyrics.
- Kyo Kii... Main Jhooth Nahi Bolta* (“Because ... I Do Not Lie”). 2001. David Dhawan, director; Ekta Kapoor and Shobha Kapoor, producers; Anand Raj Anand, music director.
- Lagaan* (“Land Tax”). 2001. Ashutosh Gowariker, director; Aamir Khan and Mansoor Khan, producers; A. R. Rahman, music director; Javed Akhtar, lyrics.
- The Lunchbox*. 2013. Ritesh Batra, director; Arun Rangachari, Anurag Kashyap, and Guneet Monga, producers; Max Richter, musical score.
- Mere Yaar Ki Shaadi Hai* (“My Friend is Getting Married”). 2002. Sanjay Gadhvi, director; Yash Chopra and Aditya Chopra, producers; Pritam Chakraborty and Jeet Ganguly, music directors; Javed Akhtar, lyrics.
- Monsoon Wedding*. 2001. Mira Nair, director; Caroline Baron and Mira Nair, producers; Mychael Danna, musical score.
- Mother India*. 1957. Mehboob Khan, director and producer; Naushad, musical director.
- Phool Khile Hain Gulshan Gulshan*. 1978. Sikandar Khanna, director; Surinder Kapoor, producer; Laxmikant-Pyarelal, music directors; Rajendra Krishan, lyrics.
- Queen*. 2014. Vikas Bahl, director; Anurag Kashyap, Vikramaditya Motwane, and Madhu Mantena, producers; Amit Trivedi and Rupesh Kumar Ram, musical score; Anvita Dutt, lyrics.
- Rocket Singh: Salesman of the Year*. 2009. Shimit Amin, director; Aditya Chopra, producer; Salim-Sulaiman, music directors; Jaideep Sahni, lyrics.
- Roja* (“Rose”). 1992. Mani Ratnam, director; K. Balachander, Rajam Balachander, and Pushpa Kandaswamy, producers; A. R. Rahman, music director; Vairamuthu, lyrics.
- Romance*. 1983. Ramanand Sagar, director and producer; R. D. Burman, music director.
- Saajan Chale Sasural*. 1996. David Dhawan, director; Mansoor Siddiqui, producer; Nadeem-Shravan, music directors.
- Salaam Bombay!* (“Greetings Bombay!”). 1988. Mira Nair, director; Mira Nair and Gabriel Auer, producers; L. Subramaniam, music.

Sharāfat. 1970. Asit Sen, director; Madan Mohla, producer; Laxmikant-Pyarelal, music directors; Anand Bakshi, lyrics.

Swadeś: We, the People. 2004. Ashutosh Gowariker, director; Ashutosh Gowariker and Ronnie Screwvala, producers; A. R. Rahman, music; Javed Akhtar, lyrics.

Taal (“Rhythm”). 1999. Subhash Ghai, director and producer; A. R. Rahman, music director; Anand Bakshi, lyrics.

Taare Zameen Par (“Like Stars on Earth”). 2007. Aamir Khan, director and producer; Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy, musical score; Prasson Joshi, lyrics.

Yaadon Ki Baarat (“Procession of Memories”). 1973. Nasir Hussain, director and producer; R. D. Burman, music director; Majrooh Sultanpuri, lyrics.

Yaarana (“Friendship”). 1981. Rakesh Kumar, director; M. A. Nadiadwala, producer; Rajesh Roshan, music director.

**APPENDIX B: “PARDĀ HAĪ PARDĀ” LYRICS, TRANSLITERATION, AND
TRANSLATION**

पर्दा हैं पर्दा

Pardā Haī Pardā
 (“There Is A Veil”)

Lyrics by Anand Bakshi
Devanagari Transcription by Vivekanand Nayak (available on the website
“Geetmanjusha”)
Translated by Shemaroo Video and Vash Doshi

[*Chalan* and Instrumental Introduction]

[*Ruba’i*:]
Ahh... Ahh... Ahh...

शबाब पे मैं ज़रा सी शराब फेकूंगा
Śabāb pe maī zarā sī śarāb fekūgā
Let me mix this beauty with a dash of liquor
किसी हसीन की तरफ ये गुलाब फेकूंगा
Kisī hasīn kī taraf ye gulāb fekūgā
And throw this rose towards a beauty

[Instrumental Transition]

[Refrain 1:]
पर्दा हैं, पर्दा हैं, पर्दा हैं, पर्दा हैं
Pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī
Veil ... Veil ... Veil ... Veil ...
(पर्दा हैं, पर्दा हैं, पर्दा हैं, पर्दा हैं)
(*Pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī, pardā haī*)
(Veil ... Veil ... Veil ... Veil)
पर्दा हैं पर्दा, पर्दा हैं पर्दा
Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā
There is a veil, there is a veil

परदे के पीछे पर्दानशीं हैं

Parde ke pīche pardānaśī haī

Behind the veil there is a secret/lady

पर्दानशीं को बेपर्दा ना कर दूँ, बेपर्दा!

Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dū, bepardā!

And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then

पर्दानशीं को बेपर्दा ना कर दूँ तो

Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dū to

And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then

अकबर मेरा नाम नहीं हैं

Akbar merā nām nahī haī

I would change my name from Akbar

पर्दा हैं पर्दा, पर्दा हैं पर्दा

Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā

There is a veil, there is a veil

परदे के पीछे पर्दानशीं हैं

Parde ke pīche pardānaśī haī

Behind the veil there is a secret/lady

पर्दानशीं को बेपर्दा ना कर दूँ तो

Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dū to

And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then

अकबर मेरा नाम नहीं हैं

Akbar merā nām nahī haī

I would change my name from Akbar

पर्दा हैं पर्दा, पर्दा हैं पर्दा

Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā

There is a veil, there is a veil

[First Instrumental Interlude]

[Verse 1:]

[Section A:]

मैं देखता हूँ जिधर, लोग भी उधर देखे

Maī dekhatā hū jidhar, log bhī ūdhar dekhe

Wherever I look, may people look there as well

कहाँ ठहरती हैं जाकर मेरी नज़र देखे
Kahā̃ ṭhahartī haī jākar merī nazar dekhe
They want to see where my gaze stops at

[Section B:]

मेरे ख्वाबों की शहज़ादी
Mere khavābō kī śahazādī
She is the princess of my dreams
मैं हूँ अकबर इल्लाहबादी
Maī hū̃ Akbar illāhabādī
I am Akbar of Ilalaahabad
मैं शायर हूँ हसीनों का
Maī śāyar hū̃ hasīnō ka
I am a poet of the beautiful
मैं आशिक मेहजबनी को
Maī āśik mehajabanī ko
I am a lover of beautiful damsels

[Section C:]

तेरा दामन, तेरा दामन, तेरा दामन
Terā dāman, terā dāman, terā dāman
Your Side ... Your Side ... Your Side
(दामन, दामन)
(*Dāman, dāman*)
(Your side ... Your side)
तेरा दामन ना छोड़ूँगा
Terā dāman nā choḍū̃gā
I will not leave your side
मैं हर चिलमन
Maī har cilaman
(चिलमन, चिलमन)
(*Cilaman, cilaman*)
मैं हर चिलमन को तोड़ूँगा
Maī har cilaman ko toḍū̃gā
I will break all barriers between us

[Section D (*Girah*):]

न डर ज़ालिम ज़माने से
Na dar zālim zamāne se

Don't be afraid of this cruel world,
अदा से या बहाने से
Adā se yā bahāne se
By grace or pretense

[Section E:]

ज़रा अपनी सूरत दिखा दे
Zarā apnī sūrat dikhā de
Please, show your face
समां खूबसूरत बना दे
Samā khūbasūrat banā de
And make this occasion beautiful
नहीं तो तेरा नाम लेके
Nahī to terā nām leke
Otherwise by taking your name (Or else I will call out your name aloud)
तुझे कोई इल्जाम देके
Tujhe koī iljām deke
I will call you out by making up an allegation

[Section F:]

तुझको इस महफ़िल में रुसवा न कर दूँ तो रुसवा
Tujhako īs mahafil maī rusavā na kar dū̃ rusavā
And if I do not dishonor you in this gathering
(तुझको इस महफ़िल में रुसवा न कर दूँ तो रुसवा)
(Tujhako īs mahafil maī rusavā na kar dū̃ rusavā)
(And if I do not dishonor you in this gathering)

Ha!

पर्दानशी को बेपर्दा ना कर दूँ तो
Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dū̃ to
And if this secret is not unveiled by me
तो, तो, तो, तो -
To, to, to, to -
Then, then, then, then -
अकबर तेरा नाम नहीं हैं
Akbar terā nām nahī haī
[Then] Akbar is not your name

[Refrain 2:]

पर्दा हैं पर्दा, पर्दा हैं पर्दा

Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā

There is a veil, there is a veil

परदे के पीछे पर्दानशी हैं

Parde ke pīche pardānaśī haĩ

Behind the veil there is a secret/lady

पर्दानशी को बेपर्दा ना कर दूँ तो

Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dū̃ to

And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then

अकबर मेरा नाम नहीं हैं

Akbar merā nām nahī haĩ

I would change my name from Akbar

पर्दा हैं पर्दा, पर्दा हैं पर्दा

Pardā haĩ pardā, pardā haĩ pardā

There is a veil, there is a veil

[Second Instrumental Interlude]

[Verse 2:]

[Section A:]

खुदा का शुक्र हैं, चेहरा नज़र तो आया हैं

Khudā kā śukra haĩ, cheharā nazar to āyā haĩ

Give thanks to God, [her] face has been seen

हया का रंग निगाहों पे फिर भी छाया हैं

Hayā kā rāᅡ nigāhō pe fir bhī chāyā haĩ

But even so, the color of shame is still shining in her eyes

[Section B Lead-In:]

किसी की जान जाती हैं

Kisī kī jān jātī haĩ

While someone loses [is about to lose] their life

(Vah! Vah! Vah!)

किसी को शर्म

Kisī ko śarm

Ah, शर्म आती हैं

Ah, śarm ātī haī

She feels shy

[Section B:]

किसी की जान जाती हैं

Kisī kī jān jātī haī

While someone loses [is about to lose] their life

किसी को शर्म शर्म आती हैं

Kisī ko śarm ātī haī

She feels shy

कोई आँसू बहाता हैं

Koī āsū bahātī haī

While someone sheds tears

तो कोई मुस्कुराता हैं

To koī muskarātī haī

She smiles

[Section C':]

सताकर इस तरह अक्सर

Satākar īs tarah aksar

मज़ा लेते हैं ये दिलबर

Mazā lete haī ye dilabar

This is the way these sweethearts bother their lovers

[Section C' Extended:]

हाँ यही दस्तूर हैं इनका

Hā yahī dastūr haī īnakā

This is their tradition

सितम मशहुर हैं इनका

Sitam maśahur haī īnakā

This is their tradition known to all.

(सितम मशहुर हैं इनका)

(Sitam maśahur haī īnakā)

(Known to all)

(सितम मशहुर हैं इनका)

(Sitam maśahur haī īnakā)

(Known to all)

[Section E:]

खफा होके चेहरा छुपा ले

Khafā hoke cheharā chupā le

You may hide your face out of anger

मगर याद रख हुस्नवाले

Magar yād rakh husnavāle

But remember this, oh beautiful one,

जो है आग तेरी जवानी

Jo haī āg terī javānī

The fire that is your youth,

मेरा प्यार है सर्द पानी

Merā pyār haī sard pānī

My love is like cold water

[Section F:]

मैं तेर गुस्से को ठंडा न कर दूँ हॉ

Maī ter gusse ko thāḍā na kar dūā hā

And if I do not calm down your anger

(मैं तेर गुस्से को ठंडा न कर दूँ हॉ)

(Maī ter gusse ko thāḍā na kar dūā hā)

(And if I do not calm down your anger)

पर्दानशी को बेपर्दा ना कर दूँ तो

Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dūā to

And if this secret is not unveiled by me,

तो, तो, तो, तो –

To, to, to, to –

Then, then, then, then –

अकबर तेरा नाम नहीं है

Akbar terā nām nahī haī

[Then] Akbar is not your name

[Refrain 3:]

पर्दा है पर्दा, पर्दा है पर्दा

Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā

There is a veil, there is a veil

परदे के पीछे पर्दानशी हैं

Parde ke pīche pardānaśī haī

Behind the veil there is a secret/lady

पर्दानशी को बेपर्दा ना कर दूँ तो

Pardānaśī ko bepardā nā kar dūā to

And if I do not unveil the face of one under this veil, then

अकबर मेरा नाम नहीं हैं

Akbar merā nām nahī haī

I would change my name from Akbar.

पर्दा हैं पर्दा, पर्दा हैं पर्दा

Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā

There is a veil, there is a veil

[Vocal Ending:]

Ahh... Ahh... Ahh...

पर्दा हैं पर्दा, पर्दा हैं पर्दा

Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā

There is a veil, there is a veil

पर्दा हैं पर्दा, पर्दा हैं पर्दा

Pardā haī pardā, pardā haī pardā

There is a veil, there is a veil

APPENDIX C: A NOTE ON THE HINDI TRANSLITERATIONS, TITLES, AND TRANSLATIONS

I began my studies of Hindi at the same time I started the research and writing process of this thesis, and quickly learned that there is no standard method of transliterating Devanagari script, which constitutes written Hindi. In this thesis, I have kept all original transliterations from scholarly sources intact. In instances where I encountered questionable transliterations of Devanagari, I transliterated the script myself based upon the conventions found in Rupert Snell's textbook *Teach Yourself Hindi*. My Hindi instructor, Vash Doshi, reviewed each of my transliterations to ensure that each was accurate. I generally opted for heavily-Romanized film titles in the filmography, as many of these films are identified more easily with these Romanized titles.

In viewing over 30 Bollywood films, I experienced hundreds of song sequences that were unfamiliar to me. Finding the correct titles of these sequences proved difficult, as YouTube and internet searches yielded inconsistent results. Vash recommended that I consult Saavn, the largest online streaming service for South Asian film and popular song, to locate the correct song titles. Although these titles are also Romanized, I chose to incorporate them into this thesis because they came from the best comprehensive source available to me. To find the correct song titles for the sequences from *Amar Akbar Anthony*, I referred to *Enchantment of the Mind: Manmohan Desai's Films* by Connie Haham and *Amar Akbar Anthony: Masala, Madness and Manmohan Desai* by Sidharth Bhatia, which also provided the correct names of the film's secondary characters.

I was fortunate enough to find lyrics in both Devanagari and Roman script for “Pardā Haĩ Pardā” through the internet. However, these sources did not group lines of lyrics into Refrain or Verse sections. I decided to transcribe the lyrics by hand onto plain paper so I could better comprehend its poetic structure and refine portions of the Romanization. I also located two different translations of the song: one from the subtitles on the DVD, and one online. I gave Vash a “clean copy” of the transcription and directed him to both translations so he could check everything for accuracy. He informed me that “Pardā Haĩ Pardā” was not in Hindi, but in Urdu – an insight that led to important revelations as I continued analyzing the sequence. Vash then modified a few select portions of the translation to clarify some phrases that do not translate neatly into English. Thus, the version of the “Pardā Haĩ Pardā” lyrics that appears in this thesis is primarily the result of his diligent efforts.

APPENDIX D: A NOTE ON THE MUSIC

Interpreting the musical processes at play in “Pardā Haī Pardā” required me to spend considerable time transcribing portions of the song, as sheet music for this song is not available commercially. In reproducing these excerpts in Western notation, I aimed for the simplest representations possible. I did not try to notate every rhythmic or melodic embellishment, but I did succeed in reproducing the basic melodic and rhythmic patterns of each excerpt. I made certain to mark instances where the pitches of the melody rose and fell through vocal “slides” and cadences. I transcribed *ḍholak* excerpts on either 1-line or 5-line staves, depending on whether high and low *ḍholak* strokes were involved. Excerpts that place the *ḍholak* line on 5 staves notate the contrast between high and low strokes, but not exact pitches. I used Finale 2012 to generate the transcriptions that appear in this thesis.

As this was my first foray into a lengthy transcription project, I relied on the knowledge and expertise of two individuals who are well-versed in these sorts of endeavors to produce the best transcriptions possible. Aaron Paige reviewed the rough drafts of my transcriptions to ensure that I made no grievous perceptual errors as I began notating what I was hearing in the recording. CJ Garcia provided help with the Finale 2012 software and put professional-looking finishing touches on the transcriptions.

Recordings of “Pardā Haī Pardā” are available on many websites, including Saavn and YouTube. The audio/video version I cite in my thesis is the “Pardā Haī Pardā” excerpt from the *Amar Akbar Anthony* DVD (© Shemaroo Video, 2010). I have uploaded this excerpt to YouTube; it is available at

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eZkJ16juQPc>. As of this writing, it hasn't gone "viral," but it has achieved a respectable 13,000+ views.