Austronesian Soundscapes

Performing Arts in Oceania and Southeast Asia

Edited by Birgit Abels

Austronesian Soundscapes

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Edited by

Birgit Abels

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Introduction

Birgit Abels

In contemporary academic mappings of musical cultures, the term 'Austronesia' is far from common currency. It does not seem particularly handy at first glance: The area where people who speak Austronesian languages live covers a huge amount of the globe's surface from Madagascar to Rapa Nui, making it a seemingly elusive category of reference. Conventionally divided into Taiwan, the Malay Archipelago, Oceania, and Madagascar, Austronesia comprises a huge number of diverse cultural traditions, bound together by their affiliation with the Austronesian expansion and language family, and a shared ancestry. This has restricted the usage of the word mostly to linguistics and archaeology. In light of the gargantuan size of the area covered and the sheer multitude of cultural practices practised here, music and dance researchers too often tend to dismiss the term as a construct that seems of little use in academic research. Oceania and Southeast Asia, the two concepts this book carries in its subtitle, are more common categories of thinking in the study of the performing arts, but here too, related concerns apply. And there are valid reasons why this is so – for if one considers Austronesia, Oceania, or Southeast Asia to be mere 'geographical drawers', bounded by space and defined by borders, as a cartographic given and a 'geographical canvas' (Subrahmanyam 1997: 743), then their value to performing arts research is limited indeed.

Constructs

Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, Oceania, Nusantara, Southeast Asia, Austronesia. All of these terms and several more were constructed between the 18th and 20th centuries. Some were to last until the present day while others were, for various reasons, not.[1]

While 'Polynesia' had already been used by Charles de Brosses in the mid-17th century to refer to the islands in the Pacific basin plus the Philippines, Taiwan and Indonesia, it was in 1832 that the Frenchman Dumont D'Urville proposed the still-prevalent distinction between Polynesia (the 'many islands'), Melanesia (the 'black islands'), and Micronesia (the 'small islands')[2] (Dumont d'Urville 1832). This

geographical division of Oceania, a term the coinage of which is also accredited to D'Urville, was based on various European powers' claims to territory and then-accepted notions of racial classification. The political landscape of D'Urville's day has by now completely changed and the notion of race has been deconstructed, but the terms continue to be used up to the present day. While at the time of their invention, those words did not reflect any indigenous thinking whatsoever, they are now used, even cherished sometimes, by Pacific islanders in political, economic, academic, and cultural contexts. In this way, the constructs of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia have developed from a colonial tool facilitating the occupation of Pacific islands into a device of versatile power contestation and a reference in Pacific negotiations of identity.

The earliest known reference to the term 'Nusantara' ('allied nations', cf. Tarling 2000: 179f.) dates to the late 14th century, when it appears in Javanese chronicles. Here, Nusantara refers to a number of tributary states to the Majapahit kingdom in eastern Java. The term gained currency again in nationalist movements of the 18th and 19th centuries in the Philippines, British Malaya, and Indonesia. In the course of the 20th century, it came to be used as a synonym for present-day Indonesia, a re-coining of the original Javanese term attributed to early Indonesian nationalists.

Southeast Asia, by contrast, is a much more recent construction: the term first emerged in European academia at the beginning of the 20th century, but gained tangible momentum only in the post-war political restructuring of Asia. Today, it denotes the political territory of the ten ASEAN member states plus Timor Leste.[3]

'Austronesia' was introduced by the German Austrian linguist and anthropologist Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt. He proposed that 'Austronesian' be used in lieu of 'Malayo-Polynesian' to describe the language family hitherto known by that name; the word, he argued, would, unlike Malayo-Polynesian, not implicitly exclude language family members from non-Polynesian Pacific islands (Schmidt 1899). The term soon found circulation among European anthropologists and linguists and remained popular until the mid-20th century.

Various agendas motivated the creation of these and many other terms. Their nature was cartographic with, at times, a socio-evolutionary twist (Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia; Oceania); nationalist (Nusantara); political and diplomatic (Southeast Asia); academic (Austronesia); and often, several motivations overlapped. As the underlying motivations to abandon or continue using them changed, the perceived appropriateness of the terms changed as well; often not because of but in spite of the mindset within which the terms had originally been coined.

Perspectivity

The geographic references we make are highly perspectival, and may be reflected in the names we give them. Southeast Asia is a point in case; so is 'the Middle East'. From whose perspective is a region designated as the 'Southeast' or 'Middle East'? Who, and where, is part of the 'West', and who and where is not?

The Micronesian island nation of Palau (Belau) has, by all evidence, been an important gateway for trade and travel in the Pacific ever since it has been inhabited, eastbound as well as westbound. In Palauan, any foreigner, passing through or staying, is a *chad er ngebard*,[4] a 'man from the West': Europeans the same as East Asians, US-Americans as well as Pacific visitors. This, however, is not related to the idea of a 'West' vs. a 'non-West', and has a pragmatic background instead. Due to the currents, any ship wishing to call at Malakal, Palau's main harbour, had to approach the islands from their western side. Palauans are astutely aware of the double implication that chad er ngebard has assumed with the increasing exposure to Europeans and, later on, since the late 16th century, Americans.[5] When they refer to 'the West' with reference to the non-indigenous concept, this is usually done in an inclusive sense that also covers, for instance, Japan. Both meanings are used in contemporary Palauan parlance.

There are many more 'Wests' than the – unclear – concept of the 'Western world' and the Palauan notion of the chad er ngebard; perhaps as many as there are ways to order space, and they may partially overlap. The 'West' and 'the Middle East' are very obviously much less geographical units than a meaning derived from perspective. This meaning that a speaker attributes to the 'West' (and to Austronesia, Southeast Asia, and Oceania, for that matter) is what merits the use of the concept as a research tool. 'Austronesia' is one of many devices people living in its territory use to bestow meaning on the space they live in, one of the many building blocks used in the construction of place, and one of the several 'connectivities' (Kolig et. al. 2009: 11) that define the place of the Self in a world characterised by globalisation. And this they do: across the vast area inhabited by Austronesian-speaking groups, various cultures make references to distant ancestral lands and early, long voyages preceding island settlements. Oral history revolves around concepts of origin and with it, issues of place, kinship, and alliances. In the present, Austronesia is also referenced as a community drawing its strength from its shared ancestry and cultural diversity and, as such, a framework for identity negotiation (cf. the contribution by Dan Bendrups in this volume).

Austronesia: a concept

In this edited volume, 'Austronesia' is used as a concept in the sense of Mieke Bal (cf. Bal 1999, Bal 2002): as a dynamic and versatile device of intersubjectivity that 'travels' – between individuals, communities, re-searchers, subject disciplines, geographically distant and not-so-distant groups – across history. In the course of these travels and the ensuing interaction between people, it takes on, and even generates, new mean-ings. All these meanings can be used as tools in the cultural analysis of performing arts, a main strength of which is their flexibility (including the possibility of questioning them). 'Austronesia' is profoundly contin-gent (cf. Sutherland 2005; Durand-Dastès 2004) .

   Austronesia, in this usage, does not epitomise a set of facts. Rather, it directs the researcher's and the readers' attention to the networks, his-tories, people's experiences, and arenas of ideas within the area of the same name. As a contingent device, Austronesia – like Southeast Asia and Oceania – serves as a lens, which allows us to view details that would go undetected using another lens. Due to its fluidity, such con-cepts require very cautious use: they do not allow for wide-angle gener-alisations, instead opting for a depth of field approach (to stay with the same metaphor). The contributions in this volume, then, do not so much seek to explore the meaning and utility of those concepts, but to understand the geographical and cultural knowledge behind and be-yond them. This book is about the space(s) contested in the area that is (also) called Austronesia.

The contributions

The organisation of the chapters in this volume roughly follows recon-structions of the Austronesian expansion in space and time, about which, however, no academic consent has yet been reached. It does seem certain though that between 5000-2500 B.C., Austronesian-speak-ing communities started migrating from Southeast Asia to the area of today's Papua New Guinea and, about 500 years later, settling the other Melanesian and subsequently Micronesian and Polynesian islands (Spriggs 1997). Since the expansion to Madagascar commenced from Southeast Asia, this book will begin its exploration of Austronesian cul-tural spaces in Southeast Asia.

   In analysing several layers of the musical performances during ritual peace negotiations among Kalinga groups of the northern Philippines, Glenn Stallsmith shows the complexity of the process by which the Kalinga construct, negotiate, and finally sanction place and its mean-ing(s), and the extent to which music plays a pivotal role in this

procedure. Fine musical details have an impact on the construction of the meaning that, in sum, defines Kalinga place – a place whose sonic geography negotiates several concepts of local, regional, national, and transnational categories of belonging.

In one great leap, Henry Spiller takes us from New York's Central Park, where the narrative of Paul Simon's 1967 song 'At the Zoo' is set, to the zoo in Bandung, Indonesia. On Sundays, visitors to the Bandung zoo not only watch wild beasts in captivity, but also staged performances of Sundanese dances, an apparently unlikely combination which, however, bears a more logical connection than meets the eye, as Spiller's analysis points out: the same fine line between conservation, domestication, and captivation can be detected with regard to wild animals and the perils they pose in a zoo and in connection with preservational efforts targeting the controlled continuation of performing traditions and the meaning(s) they carry.

With Mohd Anis Md Nor and David Wong, we turn toward two of the many performing art traditions that constitute the soundscape of the Malay world: the Malaysian *zapin* dance tradition, and the keyboard culture of the Chinese in Sabah, Borneo. Both accounts show that processes of hybridisation are crucial in the negotiation of a highly dynamic and therefore distinct set of 'shifting images of identity' (cf. van Meijl and Miedema 2004), which defines the concept that is Malaysia.

As the seasons elapse each year, local communities in Flores, Indonesia, meticulously follow a prescribed performance schedule for the 'singing of the rice'. In her analysis, Dana Rappoport shows how, in the course of this process that marks pivotal events of the agricultural year, local culture connects the land on which it thrives and the oral history in which it finds meaning with the spiritual concepts that inform the underlying worldview; and how, in sum, this process is crucial in the development of local concepts of Self.

We then follow Ron Emoff to Madagascar. Emoff analyses the performance of specific children's songs during spirit possession healing ceremonies among the Betsimeraka people along the east coast of Madagascar. Here, musical details, participatory interaction, and movements add up to the musico-performative aesthetic of *maresaka*, which facilitates the benevolence of the ancestral spirits and their willingness to facilitate the healing process.

With Raymond Ammann's analytical appraisal of formal stratification in types of Melanesian ceremonial music, quoting examples from Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia, we enter the world of the performing arts in the Pacific. Ammann suggests that fractals, i.e., patterns of musical organisation that recur on various levels of the musical form, are not only mirrors of larger societal and cultural patterns, but also fundamental to performing art traditions across much of Austronesia.

In a different but related vein and further backing up Ammann's hypothesis, Paul Wolffram shows how the performing arts among the Lak of southern New Ireland, Papua New Guinea serve to construct social reality. In their ritual context, sound, word, and movement render the physical and spiritual universe of the Lak visible. Wolffram argues that Lak rituals, therefore, are very tangible performances of Lak social being.

With Kirsty Gillespie's discussion of *tikol*, a Lihirian song form, we remain in Papua New Guinea. By comparing tikol songs, Gillespie points out moments of continuity and change in this song type, relating them to their transforming environment.

Jennifer Cattermole also uses a particular song type, *sigidrigi* songs, in order to demonstrate how Fijians use this expressive medium to construct and relate to place as well as various groups of people within and without their community. She argues that for many Fijians, sigidrigi songs embody a nexus between the local and the global.

In Tonga, *tau'a'alo* paddling songs were used when people worked together to achieve specific ends. Although paddling and other activities involving coordinated movements have become rare in contemporary Tongan society, Adrienne L. Kaeppler demonstrates that tau'a'alo remain a powerful metaphor for concerted efforts and the spirit of shared Tongan identity.

Ted Solís directs attention to another Polynesian island, namely Hawai'i. His analysis concerns the Puerto Rican diaspora, which most strongly defines itself through what he calls the music and dance complex. Against the background of the history of the Puerto Ricans in Hawai'i and in comparison with other diasporic communities in Hawai'i, he comes to the conclusion that the Hawai'i Puerto Rican musical language is unique in its idiom, Hawai'ian, and at the same time developed from Puerto Rican 'homeland' roots.

Dan Bendrups discusses the role of the performing arts in contemporary Rapa Nui efforts to generate links with other Austronesian cultures, a development which should be seen in connection with the 'Austronesian revival' in Taiwan (cf. Strathern and Stewart 2005: 24ff.): in both cases, one's 'being Austronesian' has important and intended political connotations (and highly sensitive ones, in Taiwan). Because of their representational nature, festivals including the Taitung Austronesian Festival and the Festival of Pacific Arts play pivotal roles in this process, providing platforms for the negotiation of cultural identity in a globalising as well as localising context.

In an equally contemporary perspective, Toon van Meijl discusses Maori musical practices and their dynamics over the past few decades, relating them to the various transformations that New Zealand's society has undergone.

Karl Neuenfeldt's chapter on Torres Strait Islander Music is a reflection of the author's recent efforts to produce several CDs/DVDs of the music that the respective communities themselves chose to represent their performance traditions. Relating these choices to contemporary *Ailan Kastom* and larger Australian contexts, Neuenfeldt argues that by choosing sacred over secular music, Torres Strait Islanders gain a stronger sense of belonging.

Together, the contributions provide ample evidence that 'Austronesia' is not bound together by a shared cultural identity that can be described in terms of a single, monolithic musical idiom. Rather, several main themes inform the concepts that Austronesian peoples tend to have about their performing arts, and the strategies in which the latter are woven into other cultural and societal processes. Acknowledging the multi-layeredness of the attachments that define our identities, the authors in this book treat Austronesia, Oceania, and Southeast Asia as concepts and frameworks of references that are useful in some, but of little relevance in other, contexts. What we observe in this volume are the flows, juxtapositions of, and tensions between musical ideas, body language, representations, knowledge, transformations, identifications, networks, communities, and people that the various notions of Austronesia, Oceania, and Southeast Asia frame.

Notes

1   For instance, 'Asianesia', a term used by British sociologist J.C. Logan to describe the territory covered by Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, and present-day Indonesia. See Kroef 1951.
2   See *The Journal of Pacific History History 2003* on D'Urville's terminology's impact.
3   For reflections on the history of the term Southeast Asia cf. Kratoska et al. 2005 and Chandler 1985.
4   According to Palauan orthography and phonetics, *ch* indicates a glottal stop, hence the indefinite article 'an'.
5   Cf. Jolly et al. 2009, Abels 2008: 21ff.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

1 Creating Places through the Soundscape

A Kalinga Peace Pact Celebration

Glenn Stallsmith

Introduction

Warfare and revenge killings define much of life for the Kalinga of the northern Philippines. Fears of war express themselves in a range of beliefs and values that include appropriate hospitality for visitors, taboos regarding travel and regulations about spirit-world interactions. Even activities as seemingly mundane as planting a rice field and walking on certain trails are affected by tensions between Kalinga sub-groups.[1] The Kalinga are somewhat notorious for violence, and other Filipinos often revert to stereotypes of headhunting mountain dwellers when describing them. Some suggest that *kalinga* is derived from a word for 'enemy' in neighbouring ethnolinguistic groups (Billiet 1970: 26). The Kalinga certainly recognise their own reputation as warriors and former headhunters, especially when outsiders' fears prevent development opportunities and other initiatives from reaching their region.

Each Kalinga sub-group is linked to every other sub-group through a series of bilateral peace treaties called *bodong*.[2] These bodong agreements mediate interactions between members of the sub-groups and provide the basis for a traditional system of law and order. The prescribed regulations of a formal peace pact are intended to minimise the potential for conflicts, which may even include guidelines regarding the selling of property to outsiders and the acceptable treatment of women. Almost any violation of the peace pact terms can be seen as an excuse to avenge an outstanding grievance, so even minor disputes can quickly lead to outbreaks of open hostilities. A subsequent act of retaliation can result in a broken agreement, an outcome that no one wants but which few are able to stop. A broken peace pact can quickly escalate into a cycle of retaliatory attacks on members of the opposing sub-group, even threatening to harm individuals who have migrated to distant towns and cities. In the case of such an outbreak, members of the warring

sub-groups have an incentive to re-establish a broken peace pact agreement, with some families contributing up to several hundred thousand Philippine Pesos to settle a dispute.[3] In order to stop the violence and prevent further attacks, representative members of each sub-group will try to negotiate a new agreement. If they are successful, two of the negotiators will become the new peace pact holders for their respective sub-groups. Their new responsibilities include maintaining the terms of the bodong for their respective sides.

From the early decades of the 20th century, researchers identified the peace pact process as an important component of the Kalinga warrior-headhunting complex (Worcester 1912; Barton 1949; Dozier 1966; Bacdayan 1967; Scott 1969; DeRaedt 1989). Kalinga scholars have also added their own perspectives, often correcting the misconceptions of foreign ethnographers (Magannon 1972; Sugguiyao 1990). Some anthropologists and ethnomusicologists have documented certain aspects of the Kalinga's music processes in the context of war and peace making (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970, 1974; Prudente 1984; Maceda 1998; Constantino 2002).

Music and dance are indeed essential processes in the establishment and maintenance of peace. After two sub-groups negotiate a new bodong agreement, both of the new pact holders must reinforce their respective positions. This includes proving that they are men of means by hosting a celebration in each home village. This multi-day celebration includes speeches, feasting, vocal performances, instrumental music and dancing. No one has thus far described how the music and dances of a Kalinga peace pact celebration function in the creation of locally meaningful places. At the core of this chapter are my analyses of four musical performances from a specific celebration between two sub-groups. I hope to show how these songs and dances provide the means for contesting differences between the two sub-groups, even as the subjects also forge common identities. A Kalinga bodong celebration is a site where multiple and local places are invented, tested and negotiated through the soundscape. The following section provides a theoretical framework linking the social processes involved in music-making and place creation.

Social constructions of places

Over the past few decades, ethnographers have begun to problematise music as a process that happens in and through social interactions. Researchers have departed from theories that objectify music as a manipulated product, viewing music as more than a thing to be bought, sold, downloaded or stolen (Stokes 1994; Solomon 1997). A similar shift has taken place in the social science literature that focuses on

places. Contemporary researchers theorise places as social constructions that are constantly 'ascribed, negotiated, and performed' (Stewart 1991: 409). Places are replete with the shared memories and shared knowledge of the people who make them. They are more than arbitrary, fixed spaces that happen to be inhabited by groups of people. Places happen; they are created and formed by people through meaningful interactions, more like 'an event than a thing' (Casey 1996: 26). Feld described how the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea ascribe and create meaningful places through their songs and poems: 'as place is sensed, senses are placed; as places make sense, senses make place' (1996: 91). People create places from their physical surroundings through interactive processes mediated by speech, poetry, songs, and other meaning-based performances (Tuan 1991).

Following in this tradition of viewing place constructions as social processes, Entrikin (1991) described places as dialogues between contrasting viewpoints. In other words, places happen where opposing perspectives intersect – where de-centred, objective viewpoints meet grounded, subjective ones. This tension resembles what Stokes (1994) called a 'double boundary' – the result of insider-versus-outsider claims and counter-claims. These opposing perspectives are heard as local, multiple voices (Rodman 1992).

In her analysis of Tuscan contrasto songs, Pagliai (2003) described duelling poet-singers who claim, contest, and negotiate multiple places. The contrasto performer evokes place names throughout the extemporaneous songs as she attempts to connect her birthplace with the places that are meaningful to the audience members. Even as she exploits these connections, the singer also works the other side of the double boundary by dissociating the listeners from the places claimed by her opponent. Contrasto performers manipulate double boundaries as they create identities from multiple perspectives; their voices make claims from the inside even as they attempt to impose views from the outside.

In this chapter, I describe the Kalinga as creators of places that reside between these double tensions, which are created and experienced through multiple, contingent voices. Kalinga, like other constructed places, exists in-between a double boundary. Outsiders create and claim their own perspectives of Kalinga places in efforts to control and contain this remote region. Meanwhile the Kalinga people articulate claims from the inside as they define themselves vis-à-vis outside groups. However, the insiders' voices are also multiple, claiming local boundaries and negotiating affinities and differences among their own Kalinga sub-groups. Throughout the rest of this chapter I will try to demonstrate how Kalinga people create local, multiple places through the music performances of a peace pact celebration – an event that is unique to Kalinga among the ethnolinguistic groups of the northern Philippines.

Setting Kalinga in place

I will use the double boundary concept to explore Kalinga as a place constructed from both insiders' and outsiders' perspectives. From the viewpoint of the Philippines national government, Kalinga is the name of one of six provinces that comprise the Cordillera Administrative Region. With 182,326 people occupying 3,120 square kilometres (National Statistics Office 2007), Kalinga has one of the lowest provincial population densities in the republic.

Figure 1.1   *The Cordillera Administrative Region on the island of Luzon*
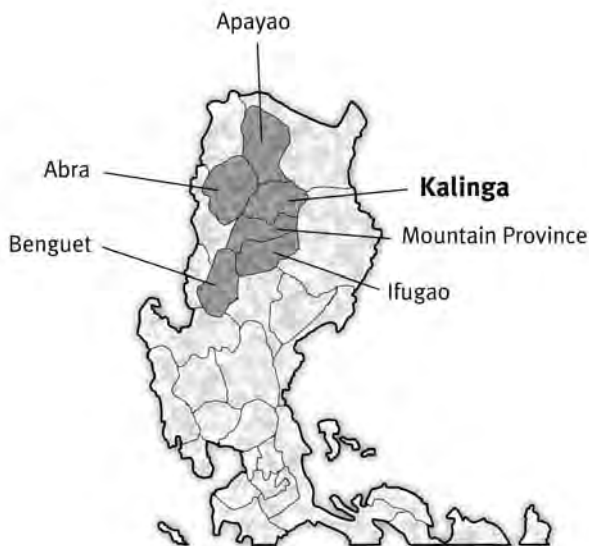
Like all provinces of the Philippines, Kalinga is headed by an elected governor. The province is divided into eight municipalities, each with an elected mayor. These eight municipalities are further divided into *barangay*, the smallest local government units of the Philippines. Each barangay has an elected captain and council who oversee local projects and mediate disputes.

Government boundaries are not the only systems imposed on Kalinga places by outsiders. *The Ethnologue*, published by SIL International, divides Kalinga into eight language areas, none of which correspond to the eight government municipalities.[4] (Gordon 2005) Neither of these two boundary systems matches the 40 or more peace pact territories.

Figure 1.2   *The Eight Municipalities of Kalinga Province*

If these two systems represent the outside forces of the double boundary, we need to ask how Kalinga voices claim, negotiate, and contest places from the inside. Bacdayan suggested that meaningful Kalinga places are created through the peace pact process:

> The present divisions into municipal governments in which several regions are grouped together as a political and administrative unit, or alternatively in which the regions are cut up into two or more barrio governments, has by and large been meaningless as territorially integrated units. Naturally in the peace pact system of relationships, the original regional territorial divisions are the recognized pacting units (Bacdayan 1967: 65).

When questioned about their place of origin, Kalingas will reply using one of the bodong sub-group names. Unless their peace pact place name happens to correspond with a municipality or barangay name, these local government unit labels are not meaningful identifiers. The bodong system not only reflects insiders' perspectives, but it is a process through which the Kalinga create places inside the double boundary. This chapter examines how these participants articulate local conceptions of meaningful 'vernacular regions' through four music performances at a peace pact celebration (Jordan 1978).

The peace pact system allows for the Kalinga to simultaneously create and negotiate several layers of places. Insider voices contest outsider-imposed boundaries even as they forge a continuum of identities stretching from local to regional to national. In the analyses of the following

four scenes, I describe these processes as observed in a specific peace pact celebration. In the first two scenes, multiple voices differentiate the two primary places and identities of each sub-group vis-à-vis the other. The third scene describes how places are made and contested by insiders. In the final scene, the participants use shared musical elements to introduce an innovative, pan-regional performance style.

Creating places in the soundscape: four musical scenes from the celebration

The four analyses in this section are grouped into four 'scenes'. In April 2005, the Mangali and Sumadel Kalinga sub-groups celebrated an existing peace pact with three days of feasting, speech-making, singing and dancing.[5] Broken peace pacts that are re-established must always be celebrated, but that was not the case here. On this occasion, the elderly Mangali pact holder was pre-emptively transferring his responsibilities to his son. Doing this before his death would prevent the agreement from lapsing, an unfortunate result that may spark an outbreak of violence. This Mangali-Sumadel agreement has been intact for a long time; the two sub-groups have not been at war in living memory.

My primary field research took place in Mangali, so the voices represented in this section are those of my Mangali consultants. Even the analyses of the Sumadel performance (scene 2) were filtered through Mangali perceptions before being translated into English by some of the participants and I. A more complete account of this event would include Sumadel voices and perspectives. However, I believe that the Mangali perspectives represented here will demonstrate how Kalinga voices – even those from the same sub-group – can be both local and multiple.

Scene 1: Merging of places in the soundscape: the tadok of the Mangali hosts

Day One: 4: 30 p.m.
The Sumadel visitors arrived in the village of Licoutan playing pitched bamboo flutes in an interlocking rhythmic pattern. As they approached on foot, the Mangali hosts commenced a welcome dance accompanied by the sounds of bronze gongs (*gangsa*). The louder gongs of the Mangali hosts filled the soundscape and easily overpowered the bamboo flutes of the visitors. Even at the edge of the village their flutes could no longer be heard over the sounds of the gongs, so the Sumadel visitors stopped playing. As they filed into Licoutan, the new arrivals were greeted by their Mangali hosts.

The gangsa plays a unique role among the musical instruments heard in Kalinga soundscapes. They are the only non-bamboo

instruments, and they must be imported from outside the area. Each gong has a handle tied to a string knotted through two holes in the rim of the instrument. This circular, flat, rimmed idiophone is played in two different styles – by beating it with a stick while holding it by the handle, or by striking it with open hands in the player's lap. The former style is known as *tadok*, which is performed while dancing and playing simultaneously. In fact, the verb form of tadok does not distinguish between the actions of beating the gong and dancing in a circular formation.

Six player-dancers from Licoutan were performing in the tadok style when the Sumadel visitors arrived. The number of player-dancers is usually determined by two factors – the number of gongs present at the occasion, and the space available for dancing. This welcome dance was performed in a small area between houses in the middle of the village; the six-by-four-meter area could not have accommodated more than these six performers. Provided with a larger space, such as the one used for the continued celebration on the following day, a tadok ensemble may grow to 30 or more performers.

The Mangali tadok rhythm is the result of three repeated rhythmic patterns: *tokkotok*, *tabbeleng*, and *sapul*. Each player chooses one pattern and plays it for the duration of the given performance. Only one or two will normally play the most important sapul pattern. One to three others will play the tabbeleng pattern, leaving the easiest tokkotok pattern for the rest of the performers. On this afternoon one player sounded the sapul, another the tabbeleng, and four played the tokkotok.

I will analyse these three patterns according to an eight-beat cycle. The tokkotok pattern is sounded on each of the eight beats, with the first and fourth beats played more loudly (represented in Figure 1.3 by accent marks). The remaining six beats in the tokkotok are played softly and dampened by the stick in a way to prevent the sound from ringing out. While teaching me to play the tokkotok, one Mangali consultant described it in this way: 'It's like playing one-two-three [pause], one-two-three [pause].'

The tabbeleng pattern is also sounded on every beat, but it emphasises the second, third, sixth, and seventh beats of the cycle.

The sapul rhythm is the most important of the three tadok patterns; it is usually played by whoever grabs the best-sounding gong. Unlike tokkotok and tabbeleng, the sapul pattern is not played on every beat of the cycle. Instead, the fourth note of each cycle is sustained and allowed to ring out for two beats. One consultant explained the reason for this: 'In the sapul there is the same beating [as the other two patterns], but there is a long pause of beating to bring together all the sounds of the gongs.' An interlocking pattern emerges when the three rhythms are played properly. A skilled sapul player may vary the rhythm to maintain

Figure 1.3   *Tokkotok pattern*

Figure 1.4   *Tabbeleng pattern*

the listeners' and dancers' interest, as long as he maintains that clear overall pattern. Masking important rhythmic structures by playing on the wrong beats would cause problems for the entire ensemble. The sapul holds together the sound of the entire group. One performer described the unity of the three patterns like this: 'The sound of the gongs will be one, and it is the sapul who leads them to make a song.'

Most players hold the gong in a way that dampens its sound, in order to keep from covering up the emphasised beats of the other patterns with an uncontrolled ringing. Some players accomplish this by resting their left hand on the gong's rim while grasping the instrument's handle. This dampening technique is used especially by those who play the tokkotok pattern. Only the tabbeleng and sapul players hold the gong loosely to allow their sound to ring out. One consultant explained the difference in playing the tabbeleng and tokkotok:

> You control the sound in the tokkotok, not letting it go free. But in the tabbeleng, you let it go free. The tabbeleng and tokkotok are almost the same beat, but you control the tokkotok and don't let it ring out like the tabbeleng.

Due to its importance in the overall pattern, the best-sounding gongs are used for the sapul. One of the best gongs in all of Mangali is located in Licoutan. The hosts proudly sounded their prized instrument – named Puso (heart) – as they welcomed the Sumadel guests on this afternoon. Like other high-quality gongs, the sound of Puso is

Figure 1.5 *Sapul pattern*

remarkable in its ability to be heard from afar. One Mangali man noted: '*Antayudkani*', meaning: 'We will be projected far'.

Because the sound of the gong usually fills up the soundscape, its uses are strictly prescribed. For instance, one may not play the gongs for personal enjoyment. Doing so would wrongly signal an assembly or celebration. In addition, these instruments may only be used for a celebratory occasion such as this peace pact renewal or a child dedication ceremony. Because of their association with joyous occasions, one may not sound the gongs in the presence of anyone who is in mourning. If a celebration is planned for a village where someone has recently died, the event's planner must postpone the event or seek a different venue. The gongs create a mood incongruent with the soundscape of a family who is in mourning. This important celebration would have been indefinitely postponed if someone had died in Licoutan during the preceding week. See fig. 1.6[6] for a picture of Mangali men and women ready to dance in traditional costumes.

Scene 2: Negotiating differences in the soundscape: the tadok of the Sumadel visitors

Day Two: 9: 15 a.m.
Early the next morning, it was time for the Sumadel visitors to play and dance in their own tadok style. Unlike the cramped space used by the welcoming group on the previous evening, this celebration venue had a large space that was available for dancing. Consequently, the Sumadel performance included a line of 17 player-dancers and several additional women dancers. However, it was not only the numbers of performers that set apart this Sumadel tadok from the Mangali version in scene 1. Rather, the two groups differed mostly in terms of tempo, rhythmic patterns, and dance steps.

On the previous evening, the Mangali hosts played at approximately 226 beats per minute. This morning, the Sumadel group commenced significantly faster – at 248 beats per minute. Then they slowed to 220 by the end of their four-minute performance. This apparently marks an important difference in the gonging styles of the two groups. One

interviewee described how the Sumadel players usually play: 'They rush at the beginning, but then they slow down more than we do.'

The component rhythmic patterns also mark significant differences between the groups. One Mangali explained: 'Their [Sumadel] way of starting the gongs is different. They usually produce the same sound from the beginning to end – the tokkotok. We in Mangali play all three rhythms from the beginning.' Another Mangali consultant also described the Sumadel sounds in terms of the Mangali rhythmic structures: 'They only play two patterns – the tokkotok and tabbeleng.'

After listening to and discussing the performance, the consensus about the Sumadel style was that it has no sapul. To Mangali listeners, the Sumadel tadok seemed to consist of two main patterns: a Mangali-like tokkotok that emphasises beats 1 and 5 (see fig. 1.3 above) and a pattern resembling the tabbeleng that emphasises beats 2, 3, 6 and 7 (see fig. 1.4 above). My attempt to represent the resultant rhythmic structure of the Sumadel tadok style is depicted in fig. 1.7 below. Fig. 1.8 shows a summarised rhythmic structure for the Mangali tadok that accounts for the defining emphasis of the fourth beat. According to the Mangali interviewed for this study, their sapul pattern signals a style of gong performance that is unique to their place.

The Sumadel player-dancers' steps also marked a significant difference between the tadok styles of the two sub-groups. Each Mangali dancer stepped forward onto his left foot on beats 1 and 5 of the eight-beat cycle. On beats 3 and 7 he stepped onto his right foot and kicked his left foot forward. By contrast, each Sumadel dancer stepped forward onto his right foot on beats 1 and 5. He then stepped onto his left foot on beats 3 and 7 while kicking his right foot back into the air. The Mangali people call the Sumadel style of dancing *binowagan* – the preferred method of dancing the tadok in Tinglayan municipality (where Sumadel is located) and in Mountain Province.

These first two scenes show how seemingly subtle changes in rhythms and movements of a common performance style mark significant differences between two Kalinga sub-groups. These differences in tempo, rhythmic structures, and dance steps in the tadok are important soundscape markers for members of the Kalinga sub-groups. Just as

Figure 1.7   *Summarised Sumadel tadok pattern*

Figure 1.8   *Summarised Mangali tadok pattern*

shifts in phonological sounds mark both larger language distinctions as well as small-scale dialectical differences, gong sounds can function to create places.

   Scenes 1 and 2 showed that variations in tadok styles help define a place's double boundary from the outside. However, insiders may also use music and dance forms to create meaningful distinctions within the same peace pact unit. Tadok style differences can create places on the inside of these double boundaries, as insiders make claims and contest them among themselves. For example, a man from the Mangali village of Licoutan identified a certain gonging pattern by comparing it to 'the way they do it in Mantopngan.' The Mangali villages of Mantopngan and Licoutan lie only two miles apart and are covered by the same peace pact agreements. These seemingly minor intra-group differences point to processes of dialogue and negotiation between insiders, even as outsiders push from the other side of the double boundary. In the first two scenes, we saw how two different pact units clearly made claims as separate places. The next scene describes how one village differentiates itself from the rest of the Mangali sub-groups through insider knowledge and special language in a song text.

Scene 3: Claiming local place differences through song: ullalim performance from Bawak

Day Two: 9: 45 AM
Later that same morning, each of the eight Mangali villages presented a gift of food as their contribution to the festivities. These food presentations included a song performance from delegates of each village. The delegation from Bawak village presented a dish of sweet sticky rice, and one of their women sang a solo epic story song (*ullalim*). Among other functions, the ullalim song genre is often used to recount epic tales of the hero Banna and his exploits in marriage and warfare. Ullalim performances can last all night, depending on the singer's stylistic choices and the audience's responses. The basic storylines follow a familiar pattern, but each iteration represents a unique realisation of both text and melody.

Fig. 1.9 below is a transcription of a section of the Bawak ullalim per-
formance, within the limits and constraints of standard staff notation.[7]
The words that appear beneath the notes are an attempt to show phone-
tically what the singer actually sang. The effect labelled 'tremolo' in fig.
1.9 is what sets ullalim apart from other Kalinga vocal genres. This is a
desired stylistic effect in which the singer alternates quickly between
two pitches that are up to two hundred cent apart. My Mangali consul-
tants said that a good performer uses this tremolo effect to provoke an
aesthetic effect for the listener. However, in the same way that a gong
can ring out and cover important rhythmic patterns, too much wavering
is undesirable as it can obscure the meanings of the words.

A cursory analysis of the transcription in fig. 1.9 shows that it seems
to agree with Billiet and Lambrecht regarding the pattern of the tremolo
notes:

> The syllable preceding the last or the second to the last syllable
> of any verse is the tremolo syllable. It is preceded by a syllable of
> a pitch one tone higher; this syllable is preceded by a syllable that
> is followed by an abrupt stop resembling a distinct glottal stop
> (1970: 80).

The melograph representation in fig. 1.10 reveals some aspects of the
melodic variation and loudness that the transcription above cannot.
Only the first line of the Bawak ullalim is represented here.

Figure 1.9   *Ullalim by a Bawak woman*

The Mangali ullalim is performed in seven-syllable lines – a structure found in several traditional Kalinga song styles. In order to stay within this constraint, the performer employs techniques such as elision, reduction, and duplication of syllables. She will also substitute special words and abbreviations in order to fit more words into a given line. For example, *oyya* is a modification of *osa e' algaw*, meaning 'one day'. Other changes enable the singer to conclude the lines with a rhyming vowel. For example, *gomma* can be used instead of *somsomok* for 'thinking'. Similarly, *susunud* (sibling) is usually performed as *susunda* if it comes at the end of a line. These substitutions often make ullalim difficult for young people to understand; many claim that the words are too 'deep' for them.

Below are the standard Minangali words that are depicted phonetically in fig. 1.9. With the exception of line three, each line meets the seven syllable constraint.[8]

si dekotni inandila	our sticky rice, which is like a tongue
we inkani igawa	that we entered with
atta susunud nanangindawa	(presenting) to our siblings from the south
kadi ummoy anamma	who are coming to decorate the
atte bodong appiya	pact of peace
si boboloy Bayoya	in the village of Licoutan that was made
we kingwanda ummonunna	by the older ones

Figure 1.10 *Melograph of the first line of the ullalim*
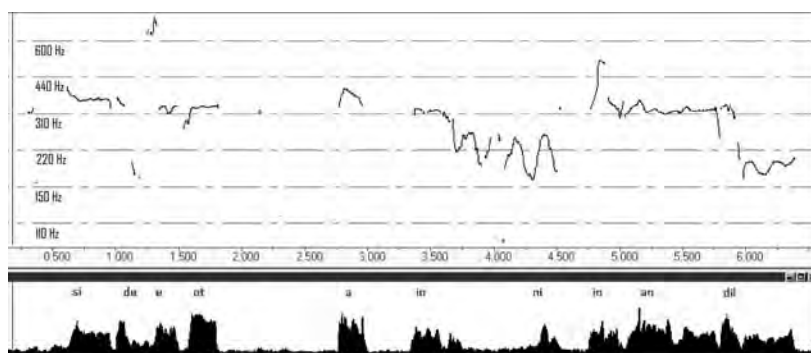
In line six, the singer used the name Bayoya instead of Licoutan for the host village. This place name is derived from *boyoyo*, a term for the lowest-hanging and most beautiful beads of a woman's necklace. Licoutan sits near the river at the bottom of the Tanudan valley (see fig. 1.11[9]). The group from Bawak would have descended approximately 500 meters in elevation to join the celebration in Licoutan that morning. The singer's word picture of beads honours the host village while simultaneously claiming her own place as a resident of an upper village. Everyone in attendance – even the Sumadel visitors – would recognise that Bawak sits higher on the mountain than any other Mangali village. In fact, its special place in the landscape as the farthest-removed Mangali place puts Bawak in a unique position. Indeed, Bawak is a marginal Mangali place, as evidenced by the fact that it holds some peace pacts separately from the other seven villages.[10] This woman's performance claims Bawak's allegiance with the Mangali even while subtlety contesting their claim on it. This ullalim performance expresses some of the insiders' perspectives about place and Mangali boundaries, even within the context of a wider celebration with another sub-group. Even something as seemingly concrete as the fact that both villages belong to a given peace pact unit become fluid and changeable here. Takaki noted that by using alternative names the Kalinga can claim, contest, and negotiate shared places:

> A speaker's choice of one name over others may be deliberate in order to bring about desired effects ... A designed choice may be made to appease, cajole, persuade, impress, or intimidate the audience who share knowledge regarding the past and the present of the pertinent regional and interregional issues (1984: 68-69).

The Sumadel visitors' place is not even mentioned in this ullalim song; the performer simply calls the guests 'siblings from the south' – a label that could be applied to dozens of other Kalinga culture groups. Her failure to name the place of the opposite group may be her way of contesting any right the visitors may have to this festival place. It also demonstrates that the singer has no special knowledge of Sumadel places; she does not have the power to name them, explore their landscape, or hear what their toponyms 'have to say' (Basso 1988: 102).

Scene 4: Merging identities in the soundscape: an innovative dance performance

Day Two: 10: 15 a.m.
After all eight Mangali villages presented their food contributions, the son of the Mangali peace pact holder stood with his father to formally

accept the transfer of his new responsibilities. Following this transfer portion of the ceremony, five young women and two young men from Licoutan gave a music and dance presentation. The five women stood in front of the crowd and danced to the music of the men playing the *baladong* flute and the *kullitong* zither. This is not a standard juxtaposition of dance styles or instruments. The two instruments are traditionally played alone, either for the enjoyment of the solo performer or for sending messages to a would-be lover. Both instruments are quiet and difficult to hear beyond a reasonable proximity, so an amplified public-address system was used for this performance.

The kullitong is a five-stringed bamboo tube zither. The strings are cut out from the bamboo skin of the instrument and tuned with wooden bridges. The kullitong is played using both hands, with each hand controlling two or three strings. One finger plays a single string in a repeated rhythmic pattern. The other fingers sound a melody, which is often based on a resultant melody of the *tuppayya* gong style.[11]

The baladong is a bamboo lip-valley flute with four holes – one on the back of the instrument and three on the front. The back hole is bored in the middle of the instrument, and the three front holes are made based on the finger widths of the instrument maker. This usually results in the fourth hole being positioned halfway between the back hole and the end of the flute. Unique structural differences in each instrument, in addition to variations in the way each player blows, make precise tuning difficult (Maceda 1990: 204). Therefore, the standard notation of figure 1.12 is an approximation of the actual performance, devoid of tuning nuances – especially in the overblown note that is several cents less than a perfect octave above the fundamental tonic.[12] The melody depicted here is a *salidummay* tune played by most of the ethnolinguistic groups of the Cordillera.

While two young men played the flute and zither, five young women danced. Unlike the women's dance (*sangni*) that accompanied the tadok in scene 2, this performance did not require the dancers to move around in the performance space. Instead, they remained in their positions and moved their legs in place while imitating the steps of the sangni dance. The dancers' arm movements resemble the sangni style of alternating between two primary positions – hands on hips, and bird-like flying movements.

Although the choice of non-bronze instruments is an obvious difference between this performance and a traditional tadok, the most striking feature of scene 4 is its non-participatory nature. This presentation was choreographed and staged, with a fixed number of participants, creating a strict boundary between participant and observer. The performers had rehearsed their synchronised movements beforehand, which

Figure 1.12 *Baladong melody*

prohibited the kind of fluid exchange between performer and audience that usually occurs during tadok events.

This clear distinction between performer and audience may be the most salient difference between this innovative dance in Scene 4 and those of Scenes 1 and 2. However, rather than labelling a given dance as one type in a binary set – either 'participatory' or 'staged' – Nahachewsky (2001) suggests a more nuanced description of cultural innovations such as this performance in Scene 4.[13] Instead, we may describe a given cultural tradition as the result of an ongoing series of innovations, emphasising instead a society's level of 'reflectiveness' on its past traditions. The innovators in Scene 4 did indeed reflect on Kalinga traditions by using specific dance steps, rhythms, and melodic materials. While the previous three scenes created very local places (Mangali as different from Sumadel in scenes 1 and 2; Bawak as unique within Mangali in scene 3), this innovative performance is the only one during the celebration that created a shared, pan-Kalinga place. The melodies, rhythms, instruments, and dance moves all come from Kalinga, but they do not use specific structures that are unique to a given sub-group. The performance in this scene restated within the soundscape what had been announced moments earlier – i.e., these two Kalinga sub-groups are now united through a formal peace pact agreement. In terms of the local justice system, these places have joined to form their own new, pan-Kalinga place.

Conclusion

The four scenes in this chapter have demonstrated how Kalinga people use meaningful features of music and dance to create, contest, and negotiate meaningful places. Indigenous songs and instruments make boundary claims from the inside even while outsiders draw from the same intangible materials to contest these claims. Prior to the 20th century most Kalinga people rarely travelled outside of their own cultural area as defined by the peace pact agreement boundaries. Today, the Kalinga are much more mobile, and they increasingly need to define

themselves in larger contexts of the province and nation. For instance, all Kalinga university students must leave their home villages in order to study in cities. In doing so, they must come to terms with being part of an ethnolinguistic minority while living in an urban lowland society, a context in which many Cordilleran people find themselves exoticised as 'others with culture' (Rosaldo 1988; Finin 2005) .

In some ways the Kalinga have used this exoticism and otherness to their own advantage. National media outlets portray an essentialised Kalinga place that exists between the 'postcultural top' and the 'precultural bottom' – i.e., somewhere between the colonised lowlanders and the 'uncivilised' Negrito groups (Rosaldo 1988). In presentations for tourists, television programs, and 'cultural interest' stories for national media outlets, Kalinga is showcased as a place where the preservation of cultural rituals and materials are the only necessary component for a well-functioning, indigenous society (Cabreza 2005; Caluza 2006; Salvador 2006). The cultures of the Cordillera often function as an Other within mainstream Philippines societies, contributing both tangible and intangible cultural materials to a collective national identity. These appropriations, combined with a tendency to assume that current Kalinga practices are ancient, have fuelled movements to preserve and strengthen the bodong system. Even lowlanders may seek to strengthen their own links to the land by vicariously appropriating the timeless antiquity of the Kalinga.

Moreover, government-sponsored efforts through the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) and the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) promote the documentation of traditional cultural practices. Some outsider artists and musicians collaborate with Cordilleran musicians and use their instruments in compositions that index indigenous places. Joey Ayala, Chin-Chin Gutierrez, and the group Pinikpikan are popular recording artists who have used Kalinga instruments, rhythms, and melodies in their songs. Kalinga artists, such as Benny Sokkong from Lubuagan, lead revivalist efforts for Cordilleran peoples and represent them for a global audience.[14]

Development groups, government agencies and NGOs often rely on outsider-constructed boundaries to delineate the scopes of their projects. However, a more nuanced perspective of local place constructions may result in better-implemented programs for specific communities (McKay 2005). In scene 4, we saw how disparate Kalinga cultural materials can be fused to create new places. As members of distinct sub-groups increasingly trade, study, and govern together, unified expressions of Kalinga-ness will emerge. Anthony Seeger noted that songs marked the local places of small bands of indigenous Brazilians and, at the same time, formed a 'generic, Indian, identity (2004: 136). In an era of rapid cultural and linguistic changes, increasingly interconnected economies,

and frequent of migration, it is likely that more pan-Kalinga places will be created. Will sub-groups like the Mangali merge with neighbouring culture groups, blending languages, music styles, and other traditions? Will Kalinga songs change from being primarily local identity markers to those of pan-Kalinga, or even pan-Cordilleran, identities?

I will conclude with a brief note about how Mangali people talk about music's function in the soundscape. Features of the Minangali language describe a 'going out' of musical sounds. I previously mentioned that gong sounds announce that there is an occasion to celebrate – functioning as a non-lexical message that is 'sent out' across the countryside. Obviously, the peace pact system is rooted in the link between land and life, giving much significance to boundaries and places. A group's ability to fill their soundscape with music signals their potency and their ability to protect their borders. I have written elsewhere about Minangali verbs and musical instruments (Stallsmith and Machlan 2006). My colleague and I speculated that music sounds fall into a category of 'sent away' objects like clubs and spears. We have seen that a well-made gong will project its sound across a great distance. Other evaluative statements about the gong indicate that a skilfully realised rhythmic pattern is equivalent to giving the instrument a voice. By contrast, a poorly played gong is said to have no voice.

These two lines from a *suggiyaw* harvest song remind us of the 'sent away' functions of Kalinga sounds. Songs and dances play important roles as their creators claim identities, create places, and negotiate opposing perspectives.

| *Suggiyaw miballayaw* | Suggiyaw [song] that will be carried in the air |
| *Insap-uydad lamoyaw* | It will be blown somewhere |

Notes

1   I visited the village of Guilguila in Tanudan, Kalinga for research trips from March 2003 until July 2006. This chapter is based on materials from my 2007 M.A. thesis in Ethnomusicology from Bethel University, St. Paul, Minnesota, USA.

2   *Bodong* means peace pact in the Minangali dialect of the Lower Tanudan Kalinga language. This word undergoes phonological changes in other Kalinga languages. For example, *puchon* is used in other Kalinga languages.

3   At the time of this writing, 47 Philippine Pesos equal one US Dollar.

4   SIL International is a volunteer, non-governmental organisation that assists communities in language development efforts. In the Philippines, SIL works in cooperation with the Republic of the Philippines Department of Education to carry out linguistic research and documentation of that nation's minority languages.

5   Mangali is the name of the largest Kalinga sub-group in Tanudan municipality. The people and the area they inhabit are referred to as Mangali. Their language is called

Minangali. Approximately 7,000 live in the eight Mangali villages, with several thousand living in other places throughout Luzon. The people of the Sumadel sub-group live to the west of Mangali, in Tinglayan municipality.

6 Fig. 1.6: Mangali men and women ready to dance in traditional costumes. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

7 I recognise that the five-line notation used for figures 1.9 and 1.12 is less than an ideal method for depicting all of the nuances of these two performances of Kalinga music. I have chosen this method for figure 1.9 mostly in order to depict the syllable changes that are realised in the performance, allowing the reader to compare them with the standardised spellings further down.

8 The first syllables of lines one and seven are performed in a way so that they do not count toward that line's seven syllables. This highlights an inherent flexibility within the system that depends on a performer's technique and ability to emphasise or de-emphasise certain syllables.

9 Fig. 1.1: Landscape of Tanudan valley. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

10 The villagers of Bawak do not have a separate peace pact agreement with Sumadel. In this particular agreement, they are included with the other seven villages.

11 See Benitez (1983) for an analysis of resultant melodies played on the gongs and their influence on other traditional Kalinga music performances.

12 Like figure 1.9, this melody would be better represented as a melograph. However, this flute performance occurred with the simultaneous ostinato pattern of the zither. Therefore, it was impossible to isolate the melody and create a computer-generated melograph.

13 Hoerburger (1968) proposed a system of determining differences between first-existence (participatory) and second-existence (staged) folk dances.

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2   Sundanese Dance as Practice or Spectacle

It's All Happening at the Zoo

Henry Spiller

Introduction

Despite its scant 30 years of history, for most of that time *jaipongan* has been the emblematic 'traditional' dance of the province of West Java (Jawa Barat) in Indonesia and of the Sundanese culture that dominates the province. With lively, dynamic drumming accompanying dancers in colourful costumes, when presented on the 'stages of the state' (Widodo 1995), jaipongan easily captures the attention of non-Sundanese Indonesians and foreigners alike, yet manages to impart a distinctly Sundanese flavour as well. Jaipongan conformed well to the ideals of Indonesian cultural policy promulgated by Soeharto's New Order regime (1965–1998), which promoted the compilation of pan-Indonesian culture from the most attractive 'peaks of culture' of the many ethnic groups and regions that comprise the modern Indonesian nation (Yampolsky 1995). In New Order West Java, regional culture was perceived as a corrective to the negative effects of globalisation, but only when it was subject to appropriate 'conservation, guidance, and development' (*pelestarian*, *pembinaan*, *pengembangan*), and provincial government regulations outlined exactly how to accomplish this (Jurriëns 2004: 34-36).

Jaipongan has roots in *ketuk tilu*, which is an umbrella term for a variety of West Javanese social dance traditions. It is the Sundanese version of a dance genre, characterised by the free dancing of male audience members who interact with professional female entertainers, that is common to many Southeast Asian cultures.[1] Ketuk tilu and kindred performance arts are not the peaks of culture the framers of Indonesian cultural policy had in mind because they are associated with illicit sexual behaviour on the part of the male participants and prostitution on the part of the female performers. In ketuk tilu, male participants are inspired to dance by the presence of lively, animating drumming and

the beguiling voice and appearance of the female entertainers. In the process of transforming ketuk tilu from a social occasion to a stage dance, jaipongan choreographers succeeded in eliminating the appearance of bad behaviour by presenting a spectacle of dancing that emphasised virtuosic singing, dancing, and drumming, as well as visual splendour, with little opportunity for audience participation.

Nevertheless, jaipongan's sensual undertones – artefacts of its ketuk tilu roots – engendered considerable controversy in the genre's early years and continue to raise an occasional eyebrow among conservative Indonesians, even in post-New Order Indonesia. It is precisely this sensuality, however, that imbues jaipongan with its appeal by directly referencing traditional forms of Sundanese participatory dance. With its sensuality kept carefully in check, jaipongan continues to fill the need for an icon of Sundanese performing arts in regional, Indonesian national, and international contexts. It no longer, however, provides a viable outlet for Sundanese men with a compulsion to dance, so they turn to *dangdut* – a popular music and dance genre that shows influences of Portuguese-tinged Malay music, Indian film music, and American rock and roll (cf. Frederick 1982; Manuel 1988: 210-212; Taylor 1997: 82-88; Weintraub 2006) – for those looking to dance in the company of professional dance hostesses. They have come to feel that jaipongan dance, with its complicated choreography and emphasis on performing ethnic Sundanese identity, is only for watching, not for dancing.

But there is a place where all these different approaches to Sundanese music and dance can coexist – at the Zoo.

In Bandung, the capital of the province of West Java and the centre of Sundanese culture, the Bandung Zoo[2] is a popular weekend destination for families with young children, groups of teenagers, young couples on a cheap date, and anybody else looking for pleasant diversion. Located in a tree-lined neighbourhood in the hilly and cool northern part of the city, the Zoo provides an inexpensive way to escape from the oppressive heat and daily grind of life in this enormous metropolis of more than three million people.

The Zoo displays animals as well as tropical flowers and trees. On Sundays, in a special pavilion, traditional Sundanese performing arts are on display as well. The Zoo administration's goals in presenting the regular cultural performances at the Zoo are comparable to their aims for keeping the animals in captivity – namely, conservation (of Sundanese culture in this case), and the education, entertainment and recreation of the visitors.[3]

Several of the long-term participants in the Zoo performances note that the regular cultural performances began in the 1970s. They are the legacy of the Zoo's first director, the late R. Ema Bratakusumah. Ema was disturbed by the notion that ketuk tilu was disappearing in the

Bandung area because he saw something in ketuk tilu that he felt was particularly Sundanese. He built a special pavilion in the park for performances and instituted regular Sunday performances, established a Zoo-sponsored performing arts group, many of whose members work at the Zoo as administrators, animal caregivers, and support personnel, and invited local ketuk tilu enthusiasts to come and perform.

Some domesticated animals are kept in the Zoo, but most of the beasts on display are regarded as wild – beyond direct human control. Wild vs. domestic is also a good way to characterise the difference between ketuk tilu and jaipongan. Ketuk tilu is wild in that it involves behaviours that most modern Sundanese regard as uncivilised, including putting women on display and sexual promiscuity. Jaipongan, on the other hand, could be considered domesticated because it retains some of the appearances of ketuk tilu but eliminates its wildest elements.

The music and dance performances at the Bandung Zoo can be characterised as ketuk tilu in captivity – like the captive animals, its wildness is still in evidence, but contained in various ways. In this essay, I describe how putting culture into captivity in the Bandung Zoo encapsulates wider dialogues about invented tradition, authenticity, and competing meanings of Sundanese music and dance in New Order and post-Soeharto Indonesia. Are Sundanese performing arts more about 'watching' or 'experiencing'? Is it more authentic to *look* and *sound* Sundanese by wearing costumes and playing traditional music, or to make the audience *feel* Sundanese by letting one's desire for the female entertainers and compelling drumming animate their bodies? And who gets to decide what is truly Sundanese? I propose that the captive ketuk tilu performances at the Zoo represent a dialogue about these questions. The Zoo performances provide participants an opportunity to watch *and* experience traditional *and* modern approaches to Sundanese dance.

Wild vs. captive vs. domesticated

Conservation, entertainment, and education may be the immediate goals of zoos, but the enduring popularity of viewing animals in captivity suggests that zoos have a more basic cultural significance as well. In his 1967 song *At the Zoo* (which provides the inspiration for the title of this article), singer-songwriter Paul Simon persuades us that 'it's all happening at the zoo' by cataloguing various animals' anthropomorphic foibles; the 'it' he refers to is human culture, and the wild animals on display at the zoo are interesting because they provide a glimpse into human nature. Simon's song foreshadows more academic examinations of the cultural significance of zoos. Sociologist Bob Mullan and anthropologist Garry Marvin comment that, far from being the 'essentially

unproblematic institution[s]' that most people regard them to be, 'zoos tell us stories of human power, the exercise of control and domination' (Mullan 1987: xii, 45). By bringing people into close proximity with wild animals, zoos provide a context in which individuals can probe their own understanding of the boundaries between the concepts of wild and civilised, between nature and culture. According to Eric Baratay, zoos 'symbolize the intentions and actions of human societies towards wild-life and, in a more general sense, towards nature ... the zoological garden brings the various aspects of societies' relationship with the wild into focus' (Baratay 2002: 9-10).

Mullan and Marvin assert that the category of 'wild' is a cultural construct that 'connotes the unknown ... and potentially unsafe' (Mullan 1987: 4), in contrast to the controllable and predictable security provided by civilisation and culture. The thrill of experiencing this contrast directly – the proximity to the wild, along with the satisfaction of wielding power that neutralises its danger – is one of the qualities that people find compelling about zoos.

In Sundanese rituals and symbology, images of wild animals represent the struggles between nature and culture; interaction with wild animal imagery provides a mechanism for coming to understand and control the human desires and powers that Sundanese philosophy regards to be 'wild' (Hellman 2006). In Sundanese cosmology, the universe consists of the world above (the skies and heaven), the middle world, and the underworld (Sumardjo 2005). The middle world, where humans live, is sustained by rice. Rice originated in a struggle between the heavens and the underworld, but is sustained by a struggle between forces of order and chaos in the middle world – the struggle between those who cultivate the earth and the pests and animals that destroy farms (Wessing 1978: 47; Epskamp 1987: 130). Wilderness areas are meant to be subdued and controlled for human expansion (Benjamin and Chou 2002: 434).

Although the perception is that the animals in the zoo are wild, of course it is more accurate to say that they are in captivity – a state that attempts to contain and control wildness. This captive state stands between domesticity – the state in which animals are irrevocably altered (genetically and/or behaviourally) to become a part of culture rather than a thing of nature – and wildness. Domestic animals fall clearly on the civilised side of the divide, and they no longer symbolise nature or the wild.

The inescapable reality of human beings' own bodies makes it difficult to attempt to draw clean lines between notions of wild and civilised. However, bodies do not 'admit a firm boundary between nature and culture' (Descola 1996: 15). The Sundanese understand that they have a wild inner essence – *nafsu* (passion) – that can be controlled by *akal*

(reason). These Islamic notions about reason and passion (cf. Peletz 1996) dovetail with indigenous Sundanese agricultural mythology as well in that the same divine source that gave birth to Nyi Pohaci (a.k.a. Dewi Sri), who, as the rice goddess, is the source of all useful plant material, also begat two wild animals (Kakabuat and Budug Basu) whose goal is to ruin these useful materials if they are left unattended and uncontrolled by humans (Sumardjo 2005).

Sundanese dance history and gender ideology

The Nyi Pohaci myth also lies at the root of Sundanese men's social dancing, which, according to Gandamihardja, grew out of agricultural rituals in which a girl was chosen to represent the goddess while the village men danced around her (Gandamihardja 1978/79: 33). In Sundanese mythology, the female earth (Nyi Pohaci) is inseminated by the male gods in the form of rain. Erotic dance movements and sexual activity between the men of the community and female participants standing in for the goddess are both imitations of these forces of nature as well as sympathetic magic meant to influence them. Ideal masculine behaviour acknowledged humans' wild side enough to ensure fertility and agricultural success, but did not sink to the wanton destruction represented by Nyi Pohaci's animal brothers. It acknowledged feminine power – awesome, dangerous, and necessary in its reproductive capacity – and the need to harness and control it. Thus, the male Sundanese dance has, since its beginning, provided a way to interrogate people's inner conflict between nature and culture and conflated it with gender ideology. Dance events provided a culturally sanctioned space in which the contradictions of reason and passion could be explored.

These rituals required the temporary suspension of everyday standards of behaviour. Music – particularly drumming, which, for most Sundanese, is imbued with the power to literally animate bodies – defined the ritual space and provided an excuse for suspending normal behaviour. Dance events, then, historically provided a socially acceptable excuse – agricultural success – for wild behaviour, as well as a rubric – music and dance – for inciting such behaviour.

Over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, the names and details of events that revolved around participatory male dancing varied from time to time and place to place. It is currently common to group them all under a single term: ketuk tilu. The word ketuk usually refers to a small knobbed gong, and tilu means three in Sundanese, so the name ketuk tilu means 'three ketuks' and is generally thought to refer to a musical instrument – a gong chime with three ketuk (see fig. 2.1) – that is sometimes included in the accompanying musical ensemble. In

current usage, however, the term refers to an entire performance context that involves specialist female singer-dancers, typically known as *ronggeng* in West Java, and participation in free dancing by the audience inspired by the rhythms of the prominent drumming (Amelia 1996; Sugiharwati 1980: 9; Tirasondjaja 1979/80: 20). Some people still remember that these kinds of dance events were popular throughout West Java; local variants of this context had unique names[4] and accompanying ensembles, which may or may not have included the eponymous three ketuk.

A number of Sundanese authors[5] present generalised, idealised reconstructions of the protocols of ketuk tilu events in the past. Events were divided into two segments: (1) an introductory, performed segment with a predetermined order of songs, dances, and prayers, and (2) a participatory segment driven by the desires of the male participants. An event began at approximately 10 PM, and was held outdoors, illuminated by a standing oil lamp called an oncor. The opening ceremony began with an instrumental overture (*tatalu*), which was followed by the ronggeng-performed dances called *jajangkungan* ('walking on stilts') and *wawayangan* ('acting like a wayang puppet'). The ronggeng sat while the troupe leader prayed for a successful evening accompanied by an invocation song ('Kidung'). The distinction between the two segments of the performance was marked by a special liminal song ('Erang'), which belongs to both sections in that it was the last of the predetermined pieces but also the first piece that invites participation. In contrast to the subsequent free-dance songs, however, men could dance to 'Erang' without paying. During the second segment, male participants would request and pay for songs, which one of the ronggeng would sing while the others danced with the men.

Quite a few of the songs associated with ketuk tilu are relatively simple, characterised by short phrases and symmetrical formal structures that enabled great freedom for improvisation by the dancer. The singer, too, had considerable freedom in selecting stock verses for these tunes. The man who paid to start the dance got to choose the piece, and he usually selected a form and a song that enhanced the kind of dancing he wanted to do – sophisticated, brutish, humorous, acrobatic, artistic, and so forth.

Ketuk tilu's musical conventions enable this dancing freedom. Pieces usually begin with a special section called *nyered* ('dragged forward') or *nyorong* ('pushed forward'), which does not vary from piece to piece.[6] After nyered, the *lagu* ('song') begins. Each song has a particular, recognisable tune set in one of three pentatonic Sundanese modes (*salendro*, *sorog*, or *pelog*), undergirded by a rhythmic framework that is articulated by strokes on the *goong* (a large hanging bossed gong). The main song

can be repeated any number of times, according to the will of the dancers or the drummer.

The drumming for the main song basically has two sections. In the first section, the drumming for each goong phrase alternates between static and dynamic drum rhythms, climaxing in a cadential pattern that impels the musical motion toward the culminating goong stroke. In the second section, called *mincid* ('small steps'), the drummer repeats short rhythmic patterns throughout the musical phrase. For the first section, dancers are, in principle, free to do whatever they like, as long as it 'fits' the drumming, which means moving during the flurry of drumstrokes that characterise the dynamic portion, and striking a pose when the flurry ends. During this section, dancers typically concentrate on moving their upper bodies and arms, with occasional steps. The male dancers usually move away from their ronggeng partners during the goong phrases, only to approach the ronggeng again as the goong phrase comes to an end. Most typically, the cadence involves stepping up to the ronggeng and pretending to kiss or touch her on the accented beat just before the goong stroke; the stroke itself is met with silence. The female dancers are supposed to 'serve' their partners by anticipating their movements and reacting appropriately, and their dancing involves stepping and arm gestures as well. At some point, after a few repetitions of the main song's cycle, a signal is given that leads to the mincid section. The term 'mincid' suggests walking, and dancers focus on their foot movements in the mincid section – comprised of stylised stepping, often with complicated patterns involving foot taps without shifting one's body weight.

After several repetitions of the main song, the beat quickens a bit to the goong stroke, and nyered is tacked on as a sort of coda. Following each dance by the men with the ronggeng there is a second, men-only dance called *oray-orayan* ('moving like a snake'), in which the paying male dancer leads the other men around the performance space in a line. The ronggeng were objects of desire for the men, and the oray-orayan dance was meant to restore fellowship among the men and prevent arguments or fights among the men over ronggeng. In the past, these conflicts sometimes proved to be fatal for some of the participants (Herdiani 1996: 45). Male participants were reputed to have gone to great lengths to get closer to the female performers, for example, by extinguishing the oil lamp that provided the event's only illumination and groping the ronggeng under the cover of darkness, or making special arrangements with a ronggeng to meet outside the circle of light for a sexual liaison (Somawijaya 1990: 57; Sugiharwati 1980: 37).

Figure 2.1   *(left to right) goong, ketuk, kendang (photo by the author 6 December 1998)*

Dancing gender ideologies

These types of performances contribute to the construction and mainte-
nance of Sundanese gender ideology – the complex and convoluted sys-
tem of conventions and ideas that differentiate genders based loosely
on biological sex differences (but which go far beyond biological dic-
tates). Judith Butler has compellingly deconstructed gender's appear-
ance as a stable, core identity and revealed its iterative nature, which is
'tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a
stylized repetition of acts' (Butler 1990: 140).

   Iteration and repetition provide a powerful means for making just
about anything seem normal – even the paradoxes that characterise gen-
der ideologies. Sundanese men generally live within the constraints of a
double standard. On the one hand, they are expected to govern their be-
haviour according to a sense of *malu* (in Sundanese, *era* or *isin*) – a
complex combination of modesty, shame, and embarrassment (cf.
Geertz 1973; Boellstorff 2004; Keeler 1983; Heider 1991) – that serves
to keep them in their proper place and conform to norms of behaviour.
Men strive to be powerful and to influence others, but the ideal man
does all this without attracting undue attention. As an adjective, the
word malu captures a range of feelings of inappropriateness, unworthi-
ness, and unsuitability. As a noun, it describes a potent superego force
that governs all actions and reactions and pressures people to conform

– or at least appear to conform – to prescribed social conventions. On the other hand, men are also expected to acquire influence and power and jockey for better positions. If they can accomplish this while appearing to be properly malu, all the better.

There are a number of strategies for contending with malu. Some men strive to give the impression that they are so physically powerful that they do not have to mobilise their strength to get their way because the implicit threat is sufficient. Others attempt to portray an air of invulnerability despite their unassuming physical presence through a mastery of spiritual or mental disciplines. Still others might choose to deflect intrusions by being humorous. It is also possible to flout malu and behave badly – an approach that is generally disdained but not without its rewards.

Dance movements and other interactions among dance event participants were a means for iterating, practicing, and refining these various masculine strategies, removed from the direct consequences of real life but keenly observed by one's peers. Any individual might practice dance movements that appear to be strong, or refined and mystical, or funny, or shamelessly bold. If he did them well enough, others might come to believe that the individual's movements represent his character. If he performed them often enough, he might even be able to convince himself. The agricultural roots of dance events provided a crucial 'natural' foundation for Sundanese notions of manliness and its attendant contradictions, but, over time, dance events transcended any functions that were exclusively agricultural. Both aristocrats and commoners created and maintained contexts not only for performing gender through improvisational dance, but for accruing status and establishing pecking orders as well.

Despite this emphasis on participatory dance in the past, and the key role these dances play in Sundanese culture, it has become devalued more recently in favour of presentational dance. Official Indonesian national policy sought to establish a pan-Indonesian identity by singling out the finest achievements of various regional cultures. These cultural policies were introduced by Indonesia's first president, Sukarno and saw their heyday during Soeharto's New Order (1965-98; see Sutton 2002; Yampolsky 1995). In response, Sundanese artists focused on finding or inventing Sundanese dance traditions that could represent Sundanese culture on national and international stages.

My own investigations into Sundanese dance during several field trips to West Java over the past 25 years have led me to conclude that, despite a devaluation of amateur male dancing, it remains an important part of Sundanese life. Many men are avid dancers, and find opportunities to indulge their desires in ritual contexts, such as weddings and circumcisions, as well as in new contexts, such as nightclubs. The

reaction of men, upon hearing dance drumming or seeing a female performer, typically means striking up a dance pose, even if they are not actually engaged in the act of dancing, for a moment or two. The frequent citation of ronggeng figures in popular culture as an index of masculine behaviour – such as Ahmad Tohari's literary trilogy *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* (Tohari 1982),[7] Surawidjaya's 1969 film *Nji Ronggeng* (see Richardson 1994; Hanan 1992), and popular songs such as Doel Sumbang's 'Ronggeng' (Spiller 2007) – suggests that modern Indonesians know and understand the protocols of traditional men's social dancing very well.

Participatory dance as ritual

My examination of a variety of participatory Sundanese dance genres suggests that there are three clusters of practice that characterise Sundanese men's improvisational dance events (Spiller 2001; 2004). First, there are the professional female singer-dancers, known as ronggeng, among other names. The ronggeng image is one of sexual allure. They dress to emphasise the parts of their bodies marked as feminine, such as cleavage and buttocks. They also exaggerate behaviours, such as flirtatiousness and rapaciousness, which are regarded as feminine traits. Second, we have the drum rhythms that the participants regard as an animating force. The drum patterns suggest movement, and willing participants are hard-pressed to resist them upon hearing them. The third and final element is the free dancing by men that is inspired by the ronggeng and the drumming. The sense of 'freedom' on the part of the male participants cannot be overemphasised – freedom to move however they please, once goaded into dancing by the drumming, without any perceived constraints.[8]

It may be true that not all of the ensembles that fall under the ketuk tilu rubric include the ketuk instrument, but they all include drums, and a key feature of ketuk tilu events is free dancing instigated by the rhythms of the drums. The drum gives audible accents to the dance, and the dancers' satisfaction depends on the cleverness of the drummer in anticipating, accompanying, and accenting their movements. Sundanese commentators stress that the men's dance movements are personal, individualised movements, and that the sequence of movements is chosen spontaneously. While their foot movements should coordinate with the drum rhythms, they are free to move their hands and the rest of their bodies according to their own wishes and desires (Sugiharwati 1980: 38; Somawijaya 1990: 56; Fajaria 1996: 17; Amelia 1996: 86; Sumiati 1996: 31).

There are different drum patterns for different types of movements. Dancers and drummers are involved in a constant give-and-take with regard to the types of movements and drum patterns that will come next. During walking movements, for example, a dancer may start with small steps, which the drummer accompanies with relatively quiet, high-pitched sounds. If the dancer shifts to large, leaping steps, the drummer may respond by increasing the volume and begin peppering his patterns with low-pitched strokes. Alternatively, the drummer may initiate pattern variations, to which a dancer would almost certainly respond with larger movements. If there are several dancers, one of them may initiate the change to which the drummer responds, compelling the other dancers to follow suit as well.

This interaction provides a flexible framework, which the individual participants can manipulate to suit their own purposes. The dancers themselves focus on displaying their own tastes and personalities in their dancing. I contend that they are also dramatising and normalising the contradictions of Sundanese gender ideology through these performances by masking the contradictions as aesthetic displays.

The conventions of dance and drumming are such that it is rarely unequivocal who – drummer or dancer – is leading and who is following.[9] By appearing to 'follow' the drumming, a man may retain the appearance of proper humility by fitting into the status quo. A clever man, however, can dance in such a way that the drummer is compelled to follow his lead. By getting the drummer to follow him, he surreptitiously obliges all of the other male participants to follow him as well, all while appearing to conform. This ambiguity of leading and following is an important source of signification in participatory dance. By enacting this contradiction of Sundanese masculinity, the relationship between Sundanese movement and dance drumming actually allows participants to enact parts of their masculine identities in dance. The dancers focus on producing an aesthetic display of tasteful dancing. The significance of what they are doing, however, is more far-reaching: they are actually positioning themselves within the matrix of Sundanese gender ideology. The male participants' freedom is not limited to their dance movements. By choosing particular songs, men can set the tone and direction of an event as it progresses.

Ronggeng – the female singer-dancers – provide a proximate cause for the posturing, for which the real audience is the other men. The ronggeng reinforce the liberating sound of the drums to inspire and incite the men to temporarily cast aside their inhibitions and dance uninhibitedly. A ronggeng's exaggerated femininity engages a man's wild masculine side – the lusty passion that Sundanese gender ideology holds is submerged in every man, subject to the control of his reason. The double whammy of ronggeng and drumming – forces outside the

men's control – empowers them to permit this wild side to emerge. And it is precisely this 'freedom' – and the skill with which men exploit both their freedom and the constraints of drumming to dance on the border between virtue and vice, convention and creativity, respectability and reputation, culture and nature, civilised and wild – that is particularly aesthetically pleasing to Sundanese, whether they are actively participating or merely watching.

Ketuk tilu and presentational dance

In the 20th century, many developments in Sundanese dance have been the direct result of attempts to find ways to conserve this Sundanese dance aesthetic in a moral climate that has become increasingly intolerant of the wild behaviour it expressed and a political milieu that encouraged transforming local traditions into performing arts. The problem, of course, was that if aesthetic value is a direct function of the wild behaviour, then eliminating wild behaviour has usually meant eliminating the aesthetic value – throwing out the baby with the bathwater. Some of the 20th century's more successful 'domestications' include *ibing keurseus*, based on the aristocratic version of men's social dance, which focuses on sophisticated dance movements and drumming. Although ibing keurseus is usually performed by a solo male dancer, the accompanying music surreptitiously refers to the ronggeng's siren voice, but relegates the female performer to the passive role of a seated female singer known as a *pasinden* (cf. Weintraub 2004b). Some more recent stage choreographies (called *tari rakyat* – 'people's dances') that include folkloric adaptations of so-called village dances performed by professional male and female dancers have also captured some of this aesthetic sensibility, and reflect a post-New Order government approach to cultural policy, in which popular sovereignty and local empowerment are encouraged (cf. Picard 2004) as well. These pieces sidestep the morality questions by exaggerating the sexual tension to the point where it becomes merely comical, or by turning the male character into an inept buffoon.

Probably the most successful domestication to date is jaipongan – that most iconic of all Sundanese dances – which regulates the ronggeng's potency by splitting her traditional duties into two specialties – that of singer and dancer – and relegates any aspiring amateur male participants to the role of viewers. Jaipongan compensates for the relative safety of the dancers' choreographed movements by amplifying the volume and speed of the drums, and thus the perception of its wildness. All of these domestications, however, are presentational dances that impart their Sundaneseness only by hinting at the kinds of

interactions that characterise ketuk tilu. They prevent, or at least discourage, any actual participation of amateur male dancers.

Despite their enduring aesthetic appeal, the incidence of ketuk tilu-like events declined in the 1950s after Indonesia fought for and won back its independence (Sugiharwati 1980: 2). Various forms of ketuk-tilu-like events are even purported to have been outlawed in the 1950s in some areas (Amelia 1996: 60; Somawijaya 1990: 16; Azis 1883/84: 5; Sugiharwati 1980: 9; Sukarya 1997: 3). While the domesticated presentational dance genres fit a modern, Indonesian nationalist ideal for peaks of performing arts with regional or ethnic flavour, they leave many Sundanese men unsatisfied. In the transformation of Sundanese dance from 'practice to spectacle', as Acciaioli might characterise it (Acciaioli 1985), their ability to explore their engagement with Sundanese masculinities has been eliminated. Men do find other opportunities to dance freely with erotic female performers to wild drumming – in seedy dangdut clubs, for example – but old-fashioned Sundanese dance, as exemplified by ketuk tilu, is for all intents and purposes extinct in Bandung.[10] Except at the Zoo.

Ketuk tilu at the Zoo

During my stay in Bandung in 1998-99, the Zoo presented Sunday performances that were billed as *ketuk tilu buhun*. The designation buhun – 'old-style' – reflects the organisers' efforts to provide Zoo patrons with a peek into a nostalgic Sundanese past by performing a representation of an old-fashioned dance party, adhering as much as possible to the protocols and conventions of dance parties as they might have been performed in the past.

The Zoo performances that I attended in 1998, 1999, 2001, and 2008[11] loosely followed the traditional format of ketuk tilu events. At about 10:30 in the morning, the musicians began to play listening music on a *gamelan salendro* (a ten- to 12-piece bronze percussion ensemble) beginning with a 'Kidung', a piece associated with the beginning of ketuk tilu events. At about 11:30 AM, one of the musicians would take his position to play the three ketuk and goong. Meanwhile, the other ketuk tilu musicians (the drummer, *rebab* [spike fiddle] player, and singers) did not need to change positions. Idle musicians continued to sit on stage, or moved toward the floor to socialise, join the dancing, or return to their Zoo posts. After a brief ketuk tilu instrumental interlude, a Master of Ceremonies (MC) for the Zoo performing arts events, solemnly announced from backstage that the ketuk tilu buhun performance was about to begin as four to eight women entered the performance area, wearing brightly coloured traditional outfits. The entrance

of the women was greeted with tittering from the audience, or sometimes boisterous laughter, because although the women were clearly dressed as ronggeng, they appeared to be much older than how people expected ronggeng to look.[12] The ronggeng performed jajangkungan, which involved facing the audience and rising solemnly on the goong strokes, and wawayangan (see fig. 2.2), in which they danced in a circle, and filed off stage.

The next dance typically involved a single ronggeng and one of the featured male performers. These experienced dancers were invited to participate because of their special knowledge of ketuk tilu, and they received a small stipend for their efforts. They entered wearing what people thought the clothes of a labourer or agricultural worker should look like, which have come to signify Sundanese tradition in modern West Java. The oldest featured male performer usually had the honour of dancing first. More often than not during my 1998-99 visits, the senior member was Aki Ahi,[14] who told me in 1999 that he was 105 years old and had been dancing since he was 20.[15] Aki Ahi looked very frail indeed, but as the music approached the first goong cadence, he stepped astonishingly quickly toward the ronggeng to mark the drum accent with an exaggerated pelvic thrust (see fig. 2.3). The audience invariably erupted into raucous laughter and applause at this display, simultaneously pleased by the aesthetic correctness of the gesture and amused by the delicious incongruity of an elderly man executing an explicitly sexual move.

When the piece ended, the ronggeng left the stage and the featured male dancer began the oray-orayan (see fig. 2.4). Some or all of the other featured male dancers in attendance fell in line behind him, and together they inscribed the snake-like floor plan. Some of the Zoo employees who played gamelan often joined them, and sometimes male audience members joined in as well. At the end of the oray-orayan section, the men left the performance area as the ensemble played nyered again.

The performances lasted until 1:30 PM. During the remaining time, the group typically performed more ketuk tilu songs, often with several couples on the floor at the same time. Each ketuk tilu dance was followed by an all-male oray-orayan dance. The ketuk tilu numbers were interspersed, however, with other songs and dances requested by the audience, who backed up their requests with donations. The songs that inspired the most people to come out on the floor to dance were songs appropriate for *joged* dancing, which, in current Sundanese usage, refers to freestyle dancing to pop or dangdut music.

Ketuk tilu in captivity

Like traditional ketuk tilu performances, the Zoo performances in-
cluded a version of the opening ceremony, and continued with dancing
by featured male performers and ronggeng, followed by men-only oray-
orayan dances. But these events could hardly be considered real ketuk
tilu in a natural habitat. Ketuk tilu is a nocturnal activity, whose perfor-
mance space was defined in part by the lamp's sphere of illumination.
The darkness beyond provided both a metaphorical and actual cover for
any illicit activities. The Zoo events took place during the morning, and
there was no escape from the milling Sunday crowds. There was never
an oil lamp for the performances I attended. At the Zoo, a lamp's illu-
mination would be not only superfluous, it would spoil the spectators'
view. Even without the cover of darkness, one Zoo administrator told
me many people still assumed that ronggeng were available for sexual
liaisons. This was not something that was likely to happen at the Zoo,
however, because the ronggeng were all *nini-nini* ('old ladies') – well
beyond an age where they would conventionally be considered
desirable.

The nini-nini ronggeng may flirt and flash wicked smiles, but the
audiences were always keenly aware that they were not 'wild' ronggeng.
The featured male dancers were not, strictly speaking, amateurs, either.
Rather than paying for the privilege of dancing, they were paid for their
expertise. They even wore costumes – traditional labourer's clothes that
were now worn primarily to evoke nostalgia for a rural Sundanese past.

Meanwhile, the MC was backstage, out of sight, with his disembodied
voice emanating from loudspeakers as if it were the voice of tradition it-
self. He used the term ketuk tilu buhun to emphasise the music and
dance's status as ancient artefacts. He introduced the dancers as vener-
able masters of this ancient tradition, and their own palpable patina of
age was inscribed onto ketuk tilu itself, making it seem like a relic to
the audience, as hoary and fragile as the old men and women perform-
ing it.

All these differences contribute to a sense that this is spectacle, not
practice – a performance to be watched, not an event to participate in.
In the wild, a ketuk tilu performance has two main segments: a rong-
geng-only part, followed by an audience participation section. By con-
trast, the entire captive Zoo event proceeds as a performance, with no
conventional juncture to signal when the audience can participate. The
domesticated ronggeng, the professional male dancers, the disembodied
voice of the MC, and the absence of a transitional piece all contribute to
the erection of a figurative fence around ketuk tilu to contain it in a me-
taphorical cage. By the time the MC got around to mentioning that it

was customary for the audience to join in the dancing, they had already received the message that ketuk tilu was better off left to the experts.

Although ketuk tilu requires little specialised knowledge or skill to perform, many Zoo patrons were intimidated by the thought of dancing to the music. I often observed men, whose joged dancing was graceful and effortless, appear surprisingly awkward when they trepidatiously joined in the oray-orayan after a ketuk tilu dance. In both cases, the movements were 'free' and, from a kinetic point of view, are the same; when labelled ketuk tilu, however, I suspect the movements suddenly became difficult because they were no longer motivated by 'freedom', but rather imposed from within by domesticated tradition.

Resistance in Zoo performances

The people who organise these Zoo performances are certainly cognisant, however, that producing shows as total presentational performances are tantamount to a total domestication of ketuk tilu. One Zoo administrator pointed out that a true Sundanese performance must include audience participation and respond to the requests and desires of the attendees. So, despite some of the performers' conservative wishes to include only sanitised ketuk tilu performances, audience requests to play more contemporary musical genres were honoured.

Figure 2.2 *Ronggeng at the Bandung Zoo dance wawayangan (photo by the author 20 June 1999). Also see video 2.1[13]*

Figure 2.3 *Aki Ahi (photo by the author 6 December 1998)*

Many of the Zoo patrons are confused about which parts of the perfor-
mance are ketuk tilu. One Zoo administrator lamented that, while
everybody has learned that ketuk tilu is a dance form that is *asli Sunda*
(originally/authentically Sundanese), many cannot or do not distinguish
between old-fashioned ketuk tilu and modern jaipongan. But, perhaps
this distinction is moot, because the songs that inspired the most peo-
ple to venture out on the dance floor were those appropriate for joged
dancing (see fig. 2.5[17]). The musicians did their best to accompany
these generally diatonic songs using the pentatonic gamelan instru-
ments at hand.[18] After dancing to joged music, the crowd was often re-
luctant to return to their roles as viewers and take their seats to watch
the rest of the ketuk tilu performance (see video 2.3[19]).

The tension between the presentational and participatory aspects of
the Zoo performances was sometimes obvious, sometimes covert, but
never absent. During one of my visits to the Zoo, I arranged to video-
tape the ketuk tilu performance. The old-timers were eager for me to re-
cord the dancing that reflected their vision of traditional ketuk tilu for
posterity. So, following the opening ronggeng dances, upon their com-
mand, several ketuk tilu songs followed in rapid succession, without
any intervening joged tunes. But the audience's pent-up desire for
something else eventually ended this unusually long run of ketuk tilu
with a vengeance. Despite the efforts of some of the featured

Figure 2.4   *Oray-orayan (photo by the author, 6 December 1998). Also see*
               video 2.2[16]

performers to keep the focus on ketuk tilu, the pasinden was flooded
with – and responded to – requests for joged songs.

   The only way that the lead male dancer could insist on another ketuk
tilu song was to play his trump card, a sure crowd pleaser; he coerced
the most exotic specimen in the Zoo that day – *ethnomusicologus*
Americanus (i.e., me) – to dance (see fig. 2.6[20]). This was indeed a hit
with the audience, which was, for one moment, content to watch and
marvel at this unusual spectacle, but it was not long before the crowd
was dancing joged again. At this point, the lead male dancer took the
extraordinary measure of giving the pasinden money himself in the
hope of convincing her to stop the string of joged songs and perform
more ketuk tilu.

   She seemed to agree, and the joged song ended rather abruptly soon
thereafter; as the musicians geared up to perform another ketuk tilu
song, however, a member of the audience requested a joged tune. The
pasinden began to sing a joged favourite ('Tilil Kombinasi') instead of
the ketuk tilu song she had just agreed to perform; the other musicians
followed suit, and the crowd was back on the floor.

   These kinds of intrigues strike me as a small-scale re-enactment of
the wider controversies regarding whether Sundanese music and dance
is for watching or experiencing, and about whether it is more authentic
to look and sound Sundanese by wearing traditional outfits and playing
ketuk tilu songs, or to make the audience feel Sundanese by actually
going out on the dance floor to dance. The dancing at the Zoo's

controlled ketuk tilu performances represent a certain dialectic regarding these issues.

The announcements over the loudspeakers presented both sides of the issue. The invisible MC may have informed the audience that they were watching ancient-style ketuk tilu performed by venerable old masters, but if there was a request for a joged song, it was the pasinden who announced it over her microphone. At times, the MC was totally unaware of the request, and the pasinden would override his announcement with her own.

In effect, the audience presented two distinct interfaces during the performance: the disembodied voice of the MC and the visible pasinden. It is as if one represented the invisible authority of tradition that was telling them to watch, conserve, and learn about Sundanese culture, and the other, which presented a familiar object of desire that encouraged them to act and enact their own identities. The failure of these two voices to tell the same story is emblematic of the struggle between dance as a static cultural symbol, on the one hand, and participation in dance events as an everyday activity, on the other.[21]

Conclusion

Once upon a time, traditional ketuk tilu events provided a ritual context, a framework to explore and assert Sundanese concepts of masculinity by performing and iterating their contradictions. The events at the Bandung Zoo in 1998-2001 diverge from this framework. In keeping with a post-independence Indonesian government agenda of transforming regional performing traditions into presentational forms that domesticate local traditions within a unified nationalist ideology, the event sponsors emphasise ketuk tilu's 'good' qualities while minimising or eliminating its seamier elements. The differences attempt to reorient the events so that they have a presentational (rather than participatory) focus without completely erasing the participatory roots, and downplay ketuk tilu's original meaning – enacting gender ideologies – in favour of a new one – iconicising Sundanese identity.

The Zoo's captive ketuk tilu differs from invented traditional Sundanese dances, such as jaipongan, which, although based on participatory dance forms, emphasise the aural and visual spectacle of Sundanese styles and eliminate the wilder elements. These invented traditions fit snugly into the New Order Indonesian nationalist model of peaks of culture that help articulate a uniquely Sundanese identity that conforms to national Indonesian values. Jaipongan's regional Sundanese rural roots also make it compatible with post-New Order approaches to arts policy that emphasise re-empowering local traditions.

But it is precisely the freedoms – the wildness – that these invented traditions eliminate, which make the dances meaningful to Sundanese participants in the first place. At the Zoo, with the wild ketuk tilu in captivity on display, visitors were encouraged to safely explore the aesthetic paradoxes and cultural ramifications of both sides of these questions for themselves. Upon encountering sanitised ketuk tilu performances, however, they attempted to restore those elements that were excised and recuperate some of the ritual and participatory significance. By insisting on traditional protocols, such as choosing the songs and participating in the dancing, and eschewing rigid restrictions on style, the audience managed to restore social practice to the presented spectacle and to some extent, resist the domestication of Sundanese dance – and Sundanese identity.

It's *all* happening at the Zoo.

Notes

1   For example, central Javanese *tayuban* (see Notosusanto 1995, Hefner 1987, Widodo 1995, Brakel-Papenhuyzen 1995, Hughes-Freeland 1990, Hughes-Freeland 1993, Suharto 1980), east Javanese *gandrung* (see Wolbers 1986), Balinese *joged* (see Bandem 1981), Buginese *pajogek* (see Sutton 2002: 56-57), and Malay *ronggeng* (see Tan 2005).
2   The Zoo is formally known as the *Yayasan Margasatwa Tamansari*, and popularly among Indonesians as *Kebon Binatang Bandung* (which means 'Bandung Zoo').
3   Conservation, education, and recreation are the typical emphases of modern zoos (Polakowski 1987: 26-43). For example, the American Zoo and Aquarium Association is 'dedicated to the advancement of zoos and aquariums in the areas of conservation, education, science, and recreation' (American Zoo and Aquarium Association 2004), the South East Asian Zoos Association (of which the Bandung Zoo is a member organisation) includes as part of its mission 'to share the goals of conservation, education, recreation and research with our public' (South East Asian Zoos Association 2004).
4   Somawijaya's complete list of names for ketuk tilu-type performance genres is as follows: *baksa, belentuk ngapun, jipeng, doger, kursus, melodi senang hati, ngalaga, ngareueus pare, sirimpi, sampiyung, topeng, topeng babakan, ronggeng gunung, dombret, tari dadung,* and *ketuplak* (Somawijaya 1990: 17).
5   Amelia 1996; Sugiharwati 1980: 36; Tirasondjaja 1979/80; Somawijaya 1990: 27, 35; Herdiani 1996; Sumiati 1996; Fajaria 1996: 35-39; Suhaenah 1996; Turyati 1996; Sukarya 1997; Azis 1883/84; Atmadibrata 1996: 80-81; Johana 1974/75; Atmadibrata 1997: 45-46; Sedyawati, Parani, and Proyek Pengkajian dan Pembinaan Nilai-Nilai Budaya Sedyawati 1995; Soepandi and Atmadibrata 1976: 76-81. Their generalised protocol for ketuk tilu events appears to be based primarily on the performance practice of one of the few remaining ketuk tilu troupes in the Priangan area – Lingkung Seni Kandaga Kancana from Ujungberung (just east of Bandung, for a description of this group written by its leader, see Johana 1974/75). A second major source for scholarly descriptions of ketuk tilu protocols (e.g., Herdiani 1996; Sumiati 1996) is an annual ritual sponsored by the small rural community of Paneungteung, near Lembang (north of Bandung). This annual occasion appears to be one of the few such non-folkloric ketuk tilu performances still occurring in the Bandung area. The ketuk tilu

music and *ronggeng* are supplied by Lingkung Seni Manggu Sari, led by Dohot Tarmana (who is also involved with the ketuk tilu performances at the Zoo) and includes many of the same musicians and dancers who appear at the Bandung Zoo. Specific information about musical forms and music-dance relationships is based on my own observations of ketuk tilu as performed at the Bandung Zoo, on discussions of ketuk tilu drumming and dancing with ketuk tilu expert Salam Mulyadi and the late drummer Tosin Mochtar, and on the writings of Gugum Gumbira Tirasondjaja (1979/80), Chandra Sukarya (1997) and others.

6   Abun Somawijaya characterises this as a separate piece called '*gending Sorong/ Nyorong*' (Somawijaya 1990: 52).

7   For a translated excerpt, see Tohari 2000; for a full translation see Tohari 2003; see also Cooper 2004.

8   Sundanese scholars, too, often discuss dance events as having three characteristic elements, but not always the same three that I have identified. Scholar and choreographer Mas Nanu Muda, for example, frames his discussion of men's dance events in Subang by identifying *sinden* (singer/dancers), *panjak* (musicians), and *bajidor* (dancing audience members; Muda 1997) as the three key elements. Fajaria suggests that three elements, *instrumen-instrumen* (musical instruments), *nyanyian* (singing) and *tarian* (dance) complement each other to create a performance (Fajaria 1996: 30), and Turyati (1996: 1) and Suhaena (1996: 16) both identify the elements as *tarian* (dance), *nyanyian* (singing) and *tetabuhan* (instrumental music). Amelia identifies three points of similarity in several different genres: (1) the role of *ronggeng* as singer-dancers who dance with male participants, (2) the presence of a simple musical accompaniment including drums, and (3) participation by the audience in free dancing based on the drum rhythms (Amelia 1996: 83-86). This last formulation comes very close to my own.

9   There is conflicting rhetoric in Sundanese discourse about dancing and drumming with respect to who actually leads. According to some, it is the dancer who controls all aspects of the performance; the drummer is supposed to anticipate the dancer's next moves and perform not only the drum patterns that match the movements, but to execute them in a way that enhances the dancer's personal subtleties and dynamics. Drummers are capable of leading dancers through a performance and minimising any shortcomings in musical knowledge the dancer might have. As a result, some believe that it is the drummer, not the dancer, who leads. Sundanese drumming expert Pandi Supandi allows for both possibilities. He first states that '*setiap gerak pokok ... selalu diberi aba-aba oleh tepak kendang. Dengan demikian kendang berperanan sebagai pemberi aba-aba pada gerak tari*' [For each basic movement there is always a command given by the drum pattern. Thus, the *kendang* acts as a command-giver for dance movements] (Upandi 1977: 33). This implies that the drummer is in control. He then adds '*tidak selamanya terjadi. Hal seperti ini hanya terjadi jika penari belum mahir. Sedang penari yang mahir akan sebaliknya, justru gerak tari yang memberi aba-aba pada tepak kendang*' [it does not always happen this way. It happens like this if the dancer is not that skillful. With a skillful dancer it is the other way around, and it is the dance movements that give commands to the drum patterns'] (Upandi 1977: 33). By intimating that a 'skillful' dancer is the exception rather than the rule, Upandi avoids directly addressing the question of who leads.

10 The towns of Subang and Karawang (north of Bandung) are famous for their modern versions of ketuk tilu called (among other names) *bajidoran*; these events are characterised by large, deafeningly amplified musical ensembles, garish flashing lights, and hordes of enthusiastic amateur male dancers know as *bajidor*.

11 My research in 1998-99 was supported by a Fulbright (IIE) fellowship and the American-Indonesian Exchange Foundation (AMINEF), with sponsorship from the

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12 In 1999, the youngest one told me she was 55.

13 Video 2.1: Zoo ronggeng dance jajangkungan and wawayangan. Performance at Bandung Zoo 2 May 1999. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

14 Aki is a title used to address very old men.

15 In 2001, I was told that Aki Ahi was still alive, but no longer able to dance; in 2008, I was told he had passed away.

16 Video 2.2: Zoo dancers perform ketuk tilu dance ("Geboy") followed by *oray-orayan*. Performance at Bandung Zoo 2 May 1999. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

17 Fig. 2.5: Zoo visitors dancing *joged* (photo by author, 4 April 1999). http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

18 All three basic Sundanese pentatonic modes (*salendro, sorog*, and *pelog degung*; see Spiller 2004: 149-154, 169-173; Harrell 1975; 1980; Cook 1992; 2001; Weintraub 2001; Weintraub 2004a: 128-162) include the interval of a fifth, which is an important foundation for diatonic melodies as well. To accompany a diatonic song, the gamelan musicians play the pitches, called *bem* and *barang,* that form this fifth interval (approximately equivalent to the Euro-American notes D and A) with a repeated rhythmic pattern of some sort, or else they play stereotypical melodic patterns centred around one of these pitches (usually *bem*). The result is a gamelan-like musical texture that emphasises the interval of the fifth between *bem* and *barang* and effectively tonicises *bem*, which is the pitch the singer then uses as her tonic ('do') as well. However, few of the other *salendro* pitches played on the gamelan match closely the other diatonic pitches in the melody (Spiller 2001: 228-237).

19 Video 2.3: Zoo visitors dance to the *dangdut* song 'Pemuda Idaman.' Performance at Bandung Zoo 2 May 1999. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

20 Fig. 2.6: Ethnomusicologus Americanus (photo by the author 6 December 1998). http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

21 At the ketuk tilu performance during my most recent visit to the Zoo in 2008, there was no backstage MC at all. The on-stage *pasinden* made all of the announcements. Although a single visit is hardly sufficient to say so with any certainty, this modification may suggest an even further distancing from the New Order policies that molded the ketuk tilu performances that this essay analyses.

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3 Malay-Islamic *Zapin*

Dance and Soundscapes from the Straits of Malacca

Mohd Anis Md Nor

Introduction

One of the most significant contributions of the confluence of east-west cultures in the Straits of Malacca since the 15th century has been the geo-political recreation of its performative traditions, asserting indigenous supremacy through the processes of syncreticising alien features into hybridised traditions.[1] With the coming of Arab traders from the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula, the 805-kilometre narrow stretch of water between the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian island of Sumatra, named after the ancient Malay Sultanate of Malacca, became the most important gateway between the Middle East and Southeast Asia. The Arab presence in Southeast Asia became more significant with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, with the subsequent migration and assimilation of new Arab traders into the local populace. Arab migrants, the large majority of whom were men, migrated at an early age and married local women within the Arab settlement. Arab offspring from mixed marriages identified themselves with the country of their birth rather than the land of their forefathers and created indelible hybrids among the local performative traditions. Mutual familiarities that are expressed through a shared cultural medium such as music and dance between Arab offspring and the local population led to the formation of hybrid entities. The fusion of syncretised Arabic music and dance with Malay performative nuances could be observed in many performance traditions in Southeast Asia. *Zapin*, a profoundly syncretic Malay-Arabic-Islamic music and dance tradition in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, is an example of such a hybrid.

Zapin is a hybrid of Arab zaffin dance and the music of the Hadhramaut Arabs[2] usually associated with zaffa or wedding processions, and Malay dance movements and soundscapes. Zaffin is an exclusively male performance tradition normally performed in the Arab

quarters of Hadhramaut and signifying patriarchal traditions. Malay zapin (which is now known by various other names such as *jipin*, *jepin*, *japin*, *zafin* and *dana* in Malaysia, Indonesia, Southern Thailand, Brunei and Singapore), on the other hand, celebrates events associated with weddings, circumcisions and social events of religious significance such as *maulidur rasul* (Prophet's birthday). It took root amongst the Malay-Islamic communities in the Straits of Malacca and became one of the most widely diffused Malay-Islamic folk dances and music traditions in insular Southeast Asia. Like many other Malay folk music and dance traditions, zapin became indigenised through royal patronage, which engendered a new political hegemony by affirming indigenous supremacy over a hybrid invention. Hence, Malay zapin is recognised by its regional specificities that are often based on its affiliation with former Malay rulers or Sultanates. In Sumatra, variants of Malay zapin are associated with the former Sultanate of Langkat, Deli and Serdang in north Sumatra; the Sultanate of Pelalawan and Siak Sri Indrapura in present day Riau province; the Sultanate of Jambi and the Sultanate of Palembang, which shared historical affinities with the Sriwijaya kingdom that reigned from the seventh to the 13th century; the Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga in Penyengat, Bintan; and the principalities of Karimun, Bengkalis and Tembelan (Nor 2000: 17-61, 249-291).

The Peninsular Malays and the Sumatra East Coast Malays, during this process, had adapted new ideas and syncretic forms into their own cultural milieu, creating new dance and musical forms. Borrowing and adapting Arabic music and musical instruments such as the '*ud* (lute) while creating a local version of the instrument in the form of the gambus, inventing the *tambur* (which is similar to the *darabukkah*) and the local *dok* (drums), and *marwas* (similar to the *bandir* or *bindir* single-headed frame drum), the Malays re-created a new dance and music tradition through the fusion of Malay aesthetics and Arabic music. Zapin has not only become a music and dance form of the Malays on both sides of the Straits of Malacca, it has also spread far and wide throughout the Malay Archipelago over the last millennium. Today, zapin has become a highly respected dance and music tradition among the Malays, who consider it to be Arab-derived and Islamic, yet it upholds Malay decency, propriety, ownership and the performative hegemony of the Malay world or *Alam Melayu* (Nor 1993).

For the Malays, the Malay world is constructed as a world of people belonging to the family of the Malayo-Polynesian language groups that form the cultural sphere of influence based on the idea of the Malay race. Most of the languages spoken in this region are part of the Austronesian language sub-group.

Alam or world not only denotes the concept of the world a person lives in but also the sustainability of the individual self and his

community, self-esteem, customary law, governance and communal well being. Alam is also the individual's teacher and purveyor of artistic knowledge, creative discourses and aesthetics. It is in this context that his world or Alam becomes his ultimate source of creating and interpreting his performance art: dance, music, ritual performances, ritual healings and traditional theatre. In the field of dance, the Alam as his immediate environment offers him the knowledge of stylistic imitations from the imagery of the flora and fauna that surround him. Thus, the Malay adage that says 'alam terkembang menjadi guru,' which translates as 'the surrounding world as thy teacher,' cites the very essence of aesthetics in Malay music and dance. The surrounding world is also the provider of the Malay landscapes, soundscapes and dancescapes, which are stored in the memory in the form of oral literature and written literary narratives. The codification of symbols, sounds, stylised movements and performance semiosis are transferred from one generation to another through memories of oral literature or deciphered from the written manuscript. All forms of Malay performative traditions, which include all forms of music and dance are in one way or another associated with the stylistic codification of sounds and movements that resemble and symbolise the indigenous environments of the Malay performer (Nor 2007a: 30-31). Hence, performative traditions that resonate with the world or alam that surrounds them are construed as indigenous to the Malay world. In this sense, zapin became an indigenous tradition in spite, and at the same time because of its hybrid nature.

Zapin music and dance

From its emergence in the thirteenth century, zapin dance and music in the Straits of Malacca became signifiers of eclectic Malay-Islamic performative nuances indigenous to the alam melayu of the Straits of Malacca. Shaped through the syncretic adaptations of the Hadhrami-Arab trader-settlers' dance and singing genre, the resultant performance tradition represents an embodiment of indigenous creative exploits merging two different worlds, that of the patriarchal Arab-Islamic performative traditions and Malay cultural influences. In spite of the continual presence of two different styles of zapin in the Straits of Malacca, an older variant known as *zapin arab* (Arab Zapin) and the generic Malay zapin known as *zapin melayu*, the two worlds came together through the processes of engaging Islamic aesthetics while affirming an Islamic world view and belief system in the Malay communities of the Straits of Malacca. Zapin arab is an exclusive dance tradition of Arab descendants while zapin melayu is performed by Malays in the Straits of Malacca.

Zapin syncreticities can be observed in all aspects of its performance. The melody of a zapin piece, for example, is sung by a vocalist or carried by the 'ud or *gambus* (lute), the violin, the harmonium and/or the accordion. The gambus is derived from the Middle Eastern 'ud, a pear-shaped chordophone with rounded wooden back and short fretless neck. It has five to eight strings in double courses plus a single string that are all plucked with fingers. The harmonium is the Indian version of the instrument, an aerophone with free reeds and a keyboard, operated by a pair of hand bellows. Marwas are double-headed cylindrical, shallow-body, hand drums with skins attached to the body by laces of rope that are tied snugly to tighten the skin as the players play percussive rhythmic patterns. The dok is a single-headed, cone-shaped drum struck by fingers to punctuate certain beats of a given marwas pattern, which provides heightened syncopated rhythmic patterns within the ensemble of the marwas drums (Nor 2004: 128-130).

Zapin music, which usually accompanies the zapin dance, is played in three different sections; the *taksim*,[3] an improvised solo played by a single 'ud or gambus (lute) player; the melodic section with *kopak*, loud marwas drumming patterns in interlocking style; and *wainab* or *tahtim*, which forms the 'coda' for a piece and utilises an extension of the main melodic phrase and the loud kopak drumming pattern (Nor 2004: 128-130). While Arab influence is strong, the divisional units or sections in the zapin music closely follow a generic 'indigenous' pattern of temporal units marked by drum, gong or cymbal beats in a musical texture that provides kinaesthetic impulses for a dance or a structured movement system.

The musical sections of zapin music correspond with the sections of the dance performance. All zapin performers are required to enter the dance area in a single file or in double rows and present a 'salutation' to the taksim, played by a single 'ud or gambus (lute) player. This is followed by the linear formation of zapin performers who dance facing one another while repeating dance motifs and tracing a recurring forward and backward dance path, which is interrupted by a series of skips and squatting positions, also known as the kopak. At the end of each performance, in the wainab, the dancers perform jumping and squatting dance motifs to the accompaniment of relatively faster drumbeats.

The gambus and the vocal part produce a heterophonic musical texture. The three marwas drums provide a repeated rhythmic pattern four beats long and the dok drum punctuates this pattern with its low, resonant timbre on specific beats. The temporal unit is repeated without change to underpin the melody and to accompany the movements of the dancer. The Malay Zapin musicians have retained the Arabic-derived drums and timbres, but have structured the rhythmic pattern based on a previously extant understanding and sensibility of how a

repeated, underpinning time unit and a rhythmic pattern should occur in Malay music and dance. (Matusky 2004).

Zapin dancers are required to master the basic units of dance consisting of eight-beat dance steps, which are repeatedly performed throughout each dance. There is a slight difference in executing the dance steps in the course of a given performance. Zapin performers begin each eight-beat phrase by remaining motionless on the first count before stepping the left foot on the second count and continuing with the right foot on the third count. This is alternately done with both feet for the rest of the eight-beat phrases. Each dance step and its accompanying arm and hand movements denotes the most basic unit of movements that is still void of specific meaning. The smallest meaningful unit of zapin, however, emerges after the fourth count as a series of basic units are combined to become eight-beat phrase-forming dance motifs, which are recognised as *langkah* in Malay, a concept equivalent to that of dance steps.

The time taken to learn each langkah or dance motif may vary between individuals because it also requires the ability to master the basic dance steps that each langkah consists of (Nor 2003: 62-66). Hence, a zapin dancer must be able to master the 'grammatical' units of each dance chronologically. While the steps in each dance may only require coordinating leg movements, it is a different situation for the arm movements and hand gestures. This is where specific skills and dexterity become important. In the 'syntactical' sequence of these 'grammatical' choreographic units, the zapin dancers interact with drummers and other zapin musicians with mnemonic vocalisations when improvisations of specific langkah are being executed. Most of the improvisations deal with syncopated dance movements within zapin music; vocal signs are deliberately made to encourage others to join in the dance or as signals to the musicians to end their performance. Call and response structures may be used between musicians and dancers when they reciprocate mnemonic vocalisations (Nor 2007b: 360).

The stylised dance movements are based on selected examples of local flora and fauna. They may be categorised according to specific animals, flowers, plants, roots or physical landscapes as recollected in oral literature; some may refer to a particular animal or plant species.

The total number of dance phrases in zapin may even be limitless because of its spread across the entire Malay Archipelago. It has been observed that variants of the same phrases are found not only over a broad area but are also localised by dialectical differences that refer to specific natural entities (terminology denoting variants of dance phrases may differ regionally). Stylised movements in zapin are categorised according to ethno-semantic categories and some of the most common variants are,

alif	the first alphabet in the Arabic script (ا) (see fig. 3.1[4])
anak	baby or child
ayam	chicken (see fig. 3.2[5])
sut or *sot*	14th character in the Arabic script (ص)
pusau	twirl (see fig. 3.3[6])
patah	broken
lompat	jump or skip (see fig. 3.4[7])
siku	elbow
keluang	fruit-bats (fig. 3.5[8])
ikan	fish
titi	bridge
batang	tree trunk (fig. 3.6[9])
sisip	to slide into (fig. 3.7[10])
pecah	to break (see fig. 3.8[11])
sembada	poisonous ants

(cf. Nor 2007b: 36)

The above-mentioned stylised presentation of the zapin dance motifs and musical accompaniment in the Straits of Malacca are found throughout the region and are associated with former Malay Sultanates both along the western shores of the Indonesian island of Sumatra and in southern Peninsular Malaysia.

Semiotics of zapin in the Straits of Malacca

The semiotics of zapin are both secular and spiritual. As a performance to be viewed for celebratory reasons involving social events such as weddings, circumcisions or events of communal significance, the zapin becomes a secular event. However, the zapin can also be a form of mute *dhikr* (remembrance or reciting litanies) consisting of mental or verbal repetition of one of the divine names over the regular four-beat drumming patterns executed through repetitive steps of dance motifs often covertly practiced by Sufis in their *tariqat*.[12] Performers and practitioners of zapin music and dances, secular or Sufi, use zapin to signify salient features of their maritime world through their stylised depiction through dance motifs and dance phrases.

  Alif (ا), is the first character in the Arabic script and not only represents the first letter of a highly respected alphabetical system that took root in the Malay-Islamic communities in Southeast Asia after Sanskrit, it also symbolises the importance of the single vertical downward stroke character or word that is associated with the notion of a single and almighty God. Thus, transforming dance movements construed by a series of *motifs* into the form of the letter alif on the dance floor

are akin to sending a resounding message of submission to the supreme creator while acknowledging that the dancer, like the world around him, is part of God's creation. Variants of alif include how the dancer carries his body and weight in executing the stylised versions of the word in dancing the *ragam* or 'motif' (which may consist of several dance phrases).

Similarly, other Arabic characters, including *sut* or *sot* (ص), are part of both the spiritual and non-spiritual world of zapin. Spiritually, the letter sot holds a similar rank as the alif, as do all letters of the Arabic script because of their association with the qur'an. Both letters are intrinsically associated with stylistic designs, which may stand by themselves or be modulated into continuous symmetry like climbing vines on a growing tree. In the same manner, the ragam of alif may be performed once or repeated several times according to the wishes of the performers. Both letters symbolically remind the performer and audience of the relationship of the dance form with the Arabic world, the progenitor of the zapin dance in the Malay world (Nor 2007a: 37).

Anak denotes infancy, childlike, playful or petit. Performing dance motifs in a ragam named after *anak* as in *anak ayam* (chicks) or *anak ikan* (fish fry) imitates the stylised gaits and manoeuvres of chickens or a school of small fish finding their way, walking or swimming, into the wide open world. Movements in these ragam may look childlike, funny or awkward but they remind us of what nature provides and that awkwardness is part of life, while acknowledging that it mirrors the ability to respect life as it appears at every stage of life (Nor 2007a: 37).

Pusau, *patah* and *lompat* are verbs that indicate twirling, breaking and jumping, respectively. They fit in precisely with the energetic movements of zapin. Although stylised and restrained, the dance motifs that are sequenced into ragam with any of these three verbs symbolise a reverence for action-oriented motifs and phrases that are closely linked to nature. For example, in the case of pusau or twirl, a ragam named *pusau belanak* (twirls of the mud skippers) represents dexterity and agility, symbolised through the fast-moving yet weary-looking mud skippers (a fish that turns, flaps and twirls on muddy river banks) twirling and skipping in the mud at low tide, searching for food. Likewise, in the case of the *ayam patah* (chicken with a broken leg), a stylised sequence of motifs with invalid chicken movements trying to cope with life symbolises events in nature that teach the mind about the difficulties we will face as we move on in life. *Lompat tiong* or the leaps of the hill myna bird (*tiong*) in a stylised manner imitates the leaps of the tiong, a small but highly efficient grasshopper and dragonfly hunter. The semantics of the above-mentioned zapin dance phrases remind both the performers and audience of the importance of adjusting one's physicality to the harshness of the surroundings where size and body mass

alone do not necessarily determine the outcome of one's survival (Nor 2007a: 37-38).

Keluang (fruit bats) and *sembada'* (wild ants) remind the dancer of both the benevolent and malevolent animals. The fruit bats are natural transporters of seeds (in their droppings), which they disperse over a vast area, spreading new plants as they consume mature fruits during the course of the season. Their amazing wings, folded close to their bodies and never in full view unless the bats are air-borne, which happens only at night, have an impressive wingspan. Thus, the folding elbow (*siku*) of the fruit bat is greatly respected because, in a humble way, it hides the might of the wings it carries. A dance phrase like the *siku keluang* (fruit bat's elbows) extols the benefits of not revealing one's might unnecessarily, which teaches humility and humbleness. A zapin dancer dances the siku keluang by using wide and extended steps within the eight-beat phrase, which alludes to the large floor created by the same humble steps that are normally small and narrow.

On the other hand, the sembada' dance motifs remind us of how a creature as small as an ant can inflict intense pain. The painful bite of the wild sembada' ant is legendary in southern Kalimantan. In this ragam, the zapin or jepin (as it is known in southern Kalimantan) dancer enacts stylised dance movements consisting of short steps, jumps and hops that are analogous to the gaits and movements of someone bitten by the malevolent wild ant. This particular dance movement reminds the performer, whose environment is closely associated with the rain forest, about the vulnerability of living in close proximity to poisonous insects and warn us to be careful while walking barefoot in the forest. It also reminds us of the richness of the forest that will continue to challenge foragers, both men and animals (Nor 2007a: 38).

The *titi* and *batang* dance motifs are closely related to one another. Titi means bridge, while batang denotes tree trunks. A bridge made of a fallen tree trunk is known as titi batang, which is often used by villagers to cross over streams and small rivers. However, a tree trunk is not necessarily easy to walk across unless one knows how to place one's foot over the often slippery and moss-covered tree trunk. The act of carefully stepping on the tree trunk while balancing one's body is recaptured in the titi batang dance motifs. The entire titi batang dance phrase may consist of several motifs depicting the stylised movements that symbolise the crossing of a slippery tree trunk bridge (Nor 2007a: 38-39).

Malay-Islamic performative nuances

Zapin signifies an Arabic-Islamic past as well as a Malay-Islamic performance tradition. Zapin is a local creation of dance and music; when it

emerged, a strict code of performance ethics and a specific style of music and dance governed its form and function. It was a distinctly male performance tradition and thus women were not allowed to participate as performers and were relegated to the role of passive audience members. The gender-specific demarcation of role-players in the genre was in line with the strict Islamic code that segregated men and women from openly mixing with one another unless amongst the muhrim, the closest members of one's immediate family.

The Malay zapin has the abstract qualities of Islamic arts, which allows it to portray the ephemeral permeation of Islamic aesthetics and Malay artistic conventions over time. Malay-Islamic performative nuances are clearly observed in the Malay zapin of the Straits of Malacca via the recognisable artistic manifestations that have absorbed and perpetuated the notion of *al-tawhid*, the Islamic concept of Allah's Oneness. This oneness is recognised in the indigenous artistic manifestations based on the merging concepts of abstractions, stylisations and repetitions that are depersonalised through the abstract (*mujarad*). The word *tawhid* is derived from Arabic 'one', 'unique' (*wahid*), standing for the unity, oneness, peerlessness and transcendence of God. Islam declares that the transcendence of God is part and parcel of Islamic philosophy, of life and of the believers' way of expressing that God has created all humans capable of knowing him in his transcendent state (Nor 2003a).

This notion of oneness can be found in the zapin. As in most other Malay dances, the zapin is a highly stylised dance form. Most of the dance motifs were created from nature-inspired sources. The movements of birds, fish, bats, chicks, rustling leaves, trees and fallen tree trunks, as well as humans performing their daily chores are represented in the dance motifs. The nature-inspired dance motifs and the letter-derived motifs are linked and performed together in several dance sequences throughout the dance. Although each dance motif may be performed separately, the goal is to create a conjunction of several dance motifs in a single line of dance sequences. Two rows of men dance the zapin facing one another. A set of predetermined dance motifs is repeated by the dancers during the accompanying song and ends when the musicians and dancers stop their performance together. The Zapin is esteemed as a manifestation of Islamic art in Malay dance where several elements of performance are considered. In earlier versions, the zapin not only avoided gender mixing among performers, it also never featured overtly realistic dance gestures. The structural characteristic of stylised dance gestures and the symmetrical and repetitive dance motifs invoke the visual artistic elaboration of a never-ending arabesque pattern, a result of the continuum of dance motifs. These performance elements of the zapin reflect the patterns of Islamic visual art.

Arabesques and curved designs woven into fabrics; painted on adornments, and constructed in architectural monuments in the plastic arts of the maritime Malays in the Straits of Malacca and elsewhere in Southeast Asia are represented in the zapin dances and the accompanying music. Islamic arabesques and Malay curvilinear designs in the visual arts echo similar virtues of infinite form that seemingly continue and multiply in space and time from a single point such as a dot in space. The infinity of God highlights the artistic perimeters of Malay-Islamic art while the lines, angles, squares, hexagons, foliage and twisting trunks are used to quantify spatial horizons, vertical and horizontal spaces.

Arabesques in Islamic visual art are of two types: the conjunct (*muttasil*) and the disjunct (*munfasil*). A conjunct arabesque resembles a continuum of abstract motifs, which are combined in an unlimited, never-ending succession. The disjunct or munfasil comprises a combination of self-contained motifs. Most of the folk dance motifs in the Malays are analogous to the self-contained units of the munfasil arabesque. Each dance motif is interwoven with other dance motifs to produce a larger symmetrical and repetitive pattern. The symmetrical repetition of the dance motifs combines the munfasil and the muttasil arabesque patterns, thus symbolically representing the infinity of Islamic designs.

The notion of the transcendence of God that is depersonalised through the abstractions (mujarad) of the arabesque remains the most common basis for artistic explorations in zapin music. Iconic structures as embodied in the Islamic arabesque are represented in zapin music and dance, which are aesthetically related to the stylistic essentials of Middle Eastern music and the Islamic arts:

> Perhaps the most outstanding characteristics of Islamic artistic forms, regardless of the medium, are: 1) its non-developmental nature; and 2) its conjunct and disjunct arabesque movement. An Islamic artwork is non-developmental in that it does not reveal a steady progression to one peak of aesthetic tension ... the Islamic art work has many centers of tension, many successive parts, each one as important as every other one. Each of these figures or parts follows in a pattern of close succession, but it does not evolve 'organically' from the preceding part (al-Faruqi 1975: 12).

The essence of tawhid as the guiding structure in the Islamic arabesque serves as an outline for understanding Islamic dance iconography. The arabesque as the symbol par excellence for Islamic arts embraces the following elements; abstract form (mujarad), modular structure,

improvisation, division, succession or durational, ornamentation or pro-fusion of details, repetition (*takarrur*) and coherence (*tanasuq*).

The infinite designs of the abstract forms compel dancers and chor-eographers to depersonalise and denaturalise dance movements by re-constructing the essence of these movements from their natural sources, such as the flora and fauna that inspired these reconstructions. This is achieved through the abstract stylisations of nature in self-con-tained dance motifs, which are harmoniously serialised into a constella-tion of motifs that is continuous and incessant. It resembles an infinite journey that only pauses when a dance has ended. There is neither a single climax nor a single focal point because the dance continues to evolve. Thus, dances do not have a specific beginning since any of the dance motifs can potentially begin or end a performance. The dance motifs may be arranged according to individual or group preferences but there is freedom for improvisations. This enables dancers to rear-range the sequences of dance motifs freely.

Embellishments, or the ornamentations of motifs, are encouraged through improvisations that are based on pre-arranged concepts of de-signs in the form of floor plans, the kinaesthetic use of space, intricate footwork, bending and turning of torso, etc. The ornamentations are analogous to creeping vines that seem to branch out from a single dance motif stem. Each dance motif is a modular structure that pro-vides enough room for improvisation as the dance progresses.

Moreover, the organised sound of the zapin music ensemble repre-sents an abstraction of Malay aesthetics and Islamic arabesque, which flow unendingly until performers decide to stop, which is comparable to a respite from the never-ending performance of infinite abstractions (mujarad) of the transcendence of tawhid. Each new performance is a continuation of the previous performance. Zapin songs are a conjunct (muttasil) arabesque of abstract motifs in the form of pantun or qua-trains in the Malay poetic form. Consisting of four-line alternating rhyming stanzas, the first and second lines of the pantun verse are not related in meaning to the third and fourth lines, although all the verses are highly illusive, metaphorical and imbued with symbolic meanings throughout the eight to 12-syllable lines. Each pantun stanza is a dis-junct section (munfasil) of a zapin song, which follows an ABAB rhyme scheme that is often interwoven throughout the song. The embellish-ments in the music performed by musicians (gambus, harmonium or/and violin players) or a singer who performs the vocal ornamentation (*grenek*), a form of vocal ornamentations through melismatic improvisa-tion, conjures up the 'mujaradness' of zapin music. Consequently, za-pin music replicates the Malay-Islamic soundscapes in a way that is si-milar to the constructions of the dancescape of zapin's structured move-ment system.

The structural configuration of zapin dance and music, as described above, negates any specific beginning or end while remaining abstract (mujarad) and highly stylised. The structured movement system (dance) and organised sound (music) are built upon modular configurations of conjunct modules (muttasil) that are repetitive and symmetrical. Each module consists of self-contained, completely disjunct units (munfasil). Embellishments in the form of individual or group improvisations are ornamentations that add to the abstractness of disjunct units and conjunct modules. Culture-specific elements and styles of dance and music are incorporated into zapin music and dance. Embellishing the different movement and sound styles as the iconic representation of the arabesque in Islamic societies not only gives the zapin its own identity and form but also offers a plausible way to integrate the zapin into the Islamic *ummah* (community).

Malay-Islamic dancescapes and soundscapes of the Straits of Malacca

Many elements from the above-mentioned discussion on zapin dance and music illustrate an initial juxtaposition of Malay aesthetics and Islamic influence, which have evolved through the discourse of syncretic exchanges and diffusion over a relatively long period of time. As a dance, the zapin is devoid of bodily contact and sensuous gestures despite its highly stylistic dance form. The dance is highly repetitive with its symmetrical movement sequences within a matrix of dance motifs, while the infinite abstractions of organised sound conforming to the abstract quality of Islamic art, while also displaying the essence of Malay aesthetics, make zapin an extraordinary hybrid performative tradition in Southeast Asia. The structural characteristic of stylised dance gestures and the symmetrical repetition of dance motifs within a prescribed floor plan invoke the visual artistic elaboration of a never-ending, arabesque pattern (Nor 1993: 88). The zapin performance is divided into three main musical sections: beginning with a prelude or salutation section – the taksim – followed by the main dance section with its interwoven dance motifs and musical quatrains, and ends with a final section of a loud interlocking drumming section and coda called the *wainab*. The three sections are each separated by specific presentation and performative styles but still manage to form an integral part of the zapin repertoire. Each of the dance and music sections are interwoven with self-contained stylised dance gestures and soundscape, which are combined into a series of symmetrically repeated motifs of movement and sound over a prescribed repetitive cycle that represents a never-ending arabesque pattern. These visual and aural semiotics

underscore the importance of the zapin as a Malay-Islamic performance tradition par excellence in how it connects celebratory events from the secular world with the nuances of Islamic aesthetics and philosophies. The Zapin symbolises the merging of the secular and spiritual worlds, which is supported by the royals of the former Sultanates of Deli, Serdang and Langkat in north Sumatra from the northern Straits of Malacca to the principalities of Tembelan on the fringe of the greater Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga in the south.

The Zapin has evolved over time and has taken root in the contemporary performing arts in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore. New choreographies have emerged that include nuances of both modern and post-modern compositions. Yet it never fails to impart a sense of ownership and belonging to the people who live in the former Malay Sultanates along the East Sumatran coastline, in the Malay Peninsula and in Singapore, along the watershed of the Straits of Malacca. The semantics of structured movements and organised sounds in the zapin are rooted in both Malay and Islamic cultures and are based on the notion of an exemplary exposition of stylised yet abstract representation of infinite designs, continuous and incessant, resembling an infinite journey in search of the one and peerless other.

Notes

1   'Performative' is both a noun and an adjective according to Schechner 2006. The concept of the performative, which was originally explored by J.L. Austin in *How to Do Things with Words* (Blackburn 2005), a lecture delivered at Harvard University in 1955, which described the state of utterance that encourages people to act. In performance studies, performativity implies a 'performance principle' in all of its aspects of social and artistic life.

2   Hadhramaut, located in today's Republic of Yemen, is comprised of a valley complex separated from the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula by a mountain range. The location of Hadhramaut on the great trade route from Southeast Asia to the Mediterranean coast has, since Roman times, also contributed to the out-migration of the Hadhramis to Southeast Asia (Nor 1993).

3   *Taksim* is derived from the Turco-Arabic word '*taqsim*', which means the 'division' or 'sectionalisation' of an improvisational musical form for a solo instrument or voice.

4   Fig. 3.1: *Alif*, stylised movement in *zapin*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

5   Fig. 3.2: *Ayam Patah*, stylised movement in *zapin*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

6   Fig. 3.3: *Pusau Belanak*, stylised movement in *zapin*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

7   Fig. 3.4: *Lompat Tiong*, stylised movement in *zapin*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

8   Fig. 3.5: *Siku Keluang*, stylised movement in *zapin*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

9   Fig. 3.6: *Titi Batang*, stylised movement in *zapin*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

10 Fig. 3.7: *Sisip*, stylised movement in *zapin*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
11 Fig. 3.8: *Langkah Pecah*, stylised movement in *zapin*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
12 *Tariqat* means 'way' and is used here in the sense of a Sufi religious order. *Tariqat* may utilise a *dhikr* that is accompanied by physical movement to achieve an ecstatic state.

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4   The Contemporary Musical Culture of the Chinese in Sabah, Malaysia

David T.W. Wong

Introduction

Analysing musical culture has been the prime interest of many musicologists and social scientists for many decades. Bennett (2008) outlines early attempts at theorising popular music and culture where music is seen as an ideological way to dominate the masses but also a subversive resource for the working class, a reaction to repression, in other words, a mirror of reality. Since the mid-1990s, a much more convincing approach, led by Frith (1983), dismantled the earlier top-down approach in favour of a dynamic interactive process in which the everyday reception, appropriation and aestheticisation of popular music texts, artefacts and associated resources are integral to the production of musical meaning and significance (Bennett 2008: 430).

According to Oxford Music Online, classical music 'is used as a generic term meaning the opposite of light or popular music'; it has 'an orderly nature, with qualities of clarity and balance, and emphasising formal beauty rather than emotional expression (which is not to say that emotion is lacking).'[1] Writing about classical music for the piano, Whiting (1985) describes it as a body of work that was the result of an extremely detailed compositional process over a long period of time, meticulously rehearsed and performed the same way each time. Classical music can be popular music in the sense that it may be the choice of the majority of people as reflected in the significant place it has in their cultural world. Parakilas (2004: 36) also argues that classical music's adaptation to new uses and new media gives it new kinds of popularity. Before the era of mass communication made possible by radio, classical music was something special beyond one's everyday experience: students rehearsed hard to acquire the skills necessary to play it and the knowledge to fully appreciate it. Following the advent of the radio and later, recorded media, live streaming and user-generated content such as those on YouTube, classical music 'is no longer a ritual which you must dress up and travel to a public building to hear' (2004: 50).

It is useful to apply the 'dynamic interactive process' approach when trying to understand the music making of the Chinese in Sabah. Certainly, the top-down approach, exemplified by repression and reactionary sentiments, does not apply. Music in Sabah highlights the intricacy of music and culture that one is inseparable from the other, and one cannot be studied without the other. This integrated music-culture approach is illustrated by numerous studies. For example, the survival of the *Huayue Tuan* (Chinese Orchestra) in Malaysia was linked intrinsically to the national cultural meanings of being Chinese in a pluralistic society (Tan S.B. 2000). Many troupe members attended the regular rehearsals to discover their sense of being Chinese in Malaysia and new localised meanings in the performance of their repertoires. In Sabah, inter-ethnic social contacts produced new forms of performance practice, for example, in the use of fewer small gongs amongst the Iranun, Bajau and Tindal Dusun and a kind of 'standardisation' of repertoires (Pugh-Kitingan 2004). Further afield, music making amongst some of the foreign-trained Chinese musicians in Shanghai in the 19th and 20th centuries introduced the piano and Euro-American repertoires and compositional methods to the Chinese city that was very much regulated by communist officials. Even though newer 'Western' thoughts and methods were used in compositions that were essentially Chinese in theme, musical material and/or use of instruments, the fact that foreign elements, with the piano probably being its most potent icon, have been introduced into Chinese musical culture, were sufficient for officials to actually prosecute the violating musicians. Many were sent to labour camps, sought refuge overseas or committed suicide (Kraus 1989).

Piano education in Sabah

In Sabah, piano lessons began spreading in the 1970s when a few piano teachers began teaching the instrument in their own homes. Most of these teachers had spent time in the UK or US, studying music and earning diplomas in either the teaching or performing of the piano. It was also during this period that the country gained its independence from the British. However, much of the infrastructure such as transport and legislative systems created by the British were maintained after independence. Many of the Chinese spoke English and, in their keenness to associate with the 'modernist West', they continued speaking the language and adopted some aspects of British customs such as wearing shorts and hats, smoking, and drinking tea. For some years, these teachers were considered to be mere 'shadows' of the British in that the piano lessons they gave in their often grand residences was akin to

absorbing something 'Western' or 'modernist'. With increased living standards and the desire to gain 'cultural uplift', many Chinese parents considered it important to send their children to piano lessons. Piano teachers increased from about five in the 1970s to about 20 in the late 1980s, some 50 in the 1990s, and approximately 80 in the early 2000s (David Wong 2009: 62). The dramatic increase from the late 1980s was due to the semi-professional teachers who had not yet passed their grade 8 examinations (normally the socially, rather than musically, acceptable prerequisite for becoming a piano teacher) but had begun teaching piano students at home to earn an income before furthering their studies or finding full-time employment (2009: 70-71). At the turn of the 21st century, about 95 per cent of the approximate 1,000 instrumental examinations annually taken in Sabah, were for piano (other instruments include string instruments, electronic organ, flute, saxophone, guitar, horn and drums). The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (UK) is the most widely used syllabus, although some teachers also use the Trinity Guildhall (UK) and Australian Music Education Board syllabi for variety.

Piano as a cultural symbol

The steep rise in the popularity of the piano is best explained as a cultural phenomenon. The piano is widely used in schools, churches, public venues, hotels and lounge bars, as well as in individual homes. Even though some places have begun to use digital pianos, the important role of the acoustic piano remains. Its association with the 'modernist West' reaffirms Parakilas's assessment of cultural significance:

> Even when classical music reaches people in numbers which would be impressive for popular music, that popularity is explained ... by the music's special associations rather than by its universal appeal (2004: 36).

While Parakilas is referring here to classical music, it also applies to the piano as a symbol and promoter of classical music, as observed in how Europeans perceived how the piano and classical music were not readily well received in America in the early 20th century (Roell 1989). Indeed, it took European pianists many decades to establish the instrument and the classical canon in mainstream American concert programs. In Britain, the piano also took several decades during the 19th century before it was accepted as a valid concert instrument on its own, which led to advent of the solo recital (Ritterman and Weber 2007). Performers such as Ignaz Moscheles, William Sterndale Bennett, Alexandre Billet,

Charles Hallé, Franz Liszt and Clara Schumann, made deliberate efforts to elevate the status of the piano from its role as merely providing accompaniment and interpretation to that of an instrument for which original compositions could be composed and played to fill an evening concert program. Ritterman and Weber (2007) described how the existing musical culture and repertoire made it easy to gradually introduce the piano into mainstream concerts. Moreover, more ambitious attempts to delineate piano concert programs were needed to create space for the instrument in the existing musical culture. This interactive process gave rise to more types of concerts in terms of the repertoire and sizes of ensembles beyond the standard chamber music configurations. Taylor (2007) even goes so far as to say that European colonisation of much of Asia and Africa in the 16th through 19th centuries consolidated European tonality: the Imperial against the Other, the continent and the oceans, the authority and the subordinate:

> Music in the service of the powerful was an old story ..., but what was new was that tonality ... provided a potent new means of depiction and representation and thus, powerful new means of control and containment (Taylor 2007: 31).

Rupke and Blank (2009: 143) discussed how the arrival of American popular musical culture and artefacts into China interacted with the local Chinese culture and were influenced by it. The local audiences 'pick and choose ... cultural elements that resonate most closely with their life, their needs and their personal goals'. The Chinese government and powerful local institutions also approved certain American cultural elements while rejecting others. Thus, American culture was 'mitigated, altered, and moulded by the local culture' into a form suitable for use by the people (2009: 143). Dawe (2003) discussed the interactive process that takes place when we play musical instruments: we 'reproduce them, so to speak, in our own image – we colonise them.'

Toynbee (2003) supports the analysis of musical creativity as a cultural process from a different angle. Composers need to work with(in) certain 'codes' (the 'doing it this way') prevalent (enough) of their time: pop musicians are more likely to be 'code shapers' (2003: 109), more so than classical composers who tend to write within the codes of a certain style and the musicians adhere to the accepted performance practice. Patrons likewise expect to be satisfied by their musicians' fulfilment of the codes and work requirements, and audiences to be satisfied with the musical entertainment provided within the codes. I agree with Toynbee, since the 'form codes' (e.g., sonata, rondo, Mass, oratorio) are a fundamental way of communicating ideas. The performance practice of historical pieces re-enacts past codes in real time in a different world,

culturally and socially detached from the present. For example, court and religious musical forms from the Baroque era follow their respective codes to serve their own religious, official and social purposes, and composers writing in the Classical and Romantic eras tended to not deviate from the accepted codes of the time. Major deviations have almost always been frowned upon and composers often lose the much-needed support of their patrons and audience when they do. Performing these pieces today is a journey back into time in order to relive the codes and experience the sound and cultural worlds of the past. This is the essence of classicism that Whiting (1985) believes is attractive to the non-Euro-American world.

Chinese identity

The intricacies of the culture-music relationship are well illustrated by Chinese music making in Sabah compared to Chinese settlements elsewhere in Southeast Asia. The Chinese have a relatively short history in Sabah, since emigration of significant numbers from south China only started in the late 19th century. In the 1960s, the Chinese formed about 23% of the population of Sabah, which declined to about 16% in the late 1980s, and now stands at about 9.6% according to the 2007 census.[2] Most of them reside in coastal towns such as Kota Kinabalu, Kudat, Sandakan, Tawau and Lahad Datu. The British colonial government, together with the Basel Missionary Society in Hong Kong, initially provided various incentives to attract immigrants from south China to join the British programme to till new land, increase the population and secure a foothold in this part of the South China Sea. Despite the very favourable government incentives, following the initial emigration to the new land, a large number of immigrants used their own means to travel to North Borneo. Most of them were sponsored by family who already lived there and provided accommodations and jobs, which were mostly in the agricultural sector. This was the deal for Sabah's Chinese settlements that was to last for almost a century. Within a generation, the Chinese began to shift away from a rural to an urban lifestyle. By the early 1960s, when north Borneo was about to join Malaya, Singapore and Sarawak to form Malaysia, the Chinese in north Borneo (renamed Sabah upon gaining its independence) were already represented in most levels of society and a wide range of employment sectors including business, education, administration, legislation and politics.[3] David Wu's observation that the Chinese diasporas have preserved their culture despite the fact that they live far away from mainland China is applicable to the Sabahan Chinese as well:

> The Chinese in the peripheral areas [outside of China where Chinese are a minority] have embraced an unspoken but powerful mission: to keep themselves within the acceptable definition of Chineseness and to engage their members within the Chinese community in the preservation of Chinese civilization despite their non-Chinese environment ... [O]verseas Chinese (regardless of racial mixture) remain Chinese in the fullest sense as long as they are able to claim a Chinese male ancestor, a home place in China where this ancestor supposedly emigrated, and observe some manner of cultural practices (1991: 151).

The Sabahan Chinese have maintained their culture in the new land. Before the independence of Malaysia, the ethnic Chinese in Malaya and Borneo regarded themselves as *hua* sojourners, i.e., *huaqiao*, overseas Chinese. The political overtone inherent in huaqiao (华侨) – Chinese nationals temporarily residing overseas – have been analysed extensively by numerous writers including Suryadinata (1997) and Wang Gungwu (1991a; 1991b). The two largest Chinese dialect groups in Sabah, the Hakkas and the Cantonese, often use *tangren* (唐人), (Tang people: *tongin* in Hakka and *tongyan* in Cantonese). This may be because of their keener association with the Tang Dynasty, which was one of the most glorious periods of Chinese history rather than with China itself (Tan 2000: 37-38). The Sabahan Chinese also had a relatively peaceful settlement history compared to other Chinese immigrants in Southeast Asia, which led to a higher rate of social integration, for example, in the early decades of settlements the Chinese worked together with the local people to build schools where Malay was the common language (Tregonning 1958: 173). Moreover, the Chinese were also represented in the highest political and legal offices in the state (D.T.K. Wong 1998: 175-78).

   Understanding Sabah's social history is critical when analysing the musical culture of the Sabahan Chinese. The influx of large numbers of Chinese immigrants may have contributed to a period marked by regular interior migrations as dictated by employment opportunities. There is little evidence of significant Chinese traditional music making in any period: the two Chinese traditional music ensembles, *Pingming* (平民) in Sandakan, and *Changhong* (长虹) in Kota Kinabalu, rarely promoted their own music outside of their social circles.[4] The Chinese Orchestra in Sabah Chongzheng (崇正), known locally as Tshung Tsin Secondary School, formed in the late 1970s and remains active to this day, but basically confines its activities to the school. Apart from the annual School Cultural Nights, the public rarely get to hear them perform, or hear any other Chinese traditional music, for that matter.

Looking back at the early periods of immigration, the people who made the voyage were usually considered social outcasts in south China by their fellow Chinese due to their Christian faith. However, this does not fully explain why music making in north Borneo during this period made so little impact on the culture of subsequent generations. The earlier hardships they suffered from their fellow Chinese in China, often led them to sever their emotional ties with the mainland upon their arrival in Borneo, which may have led them to rejecting Chinese traditional music making as an activity that might arouse the place-identity they had just left behind. However, in the absence of firsthand evidence on music making from the early immigrant period, it is difficult to determine the social factors involved, since many other Chinese cultural activities and customs have been maintained in Sabah, e.g., ancestral worship, filial piety, kinship networks, dialect associations, and the observation of Chinese holidays. The Sabahan Chinese are also regarded as cultural Chinese by the locals, by mainland China, and scholars within and without Asia.[5]

Hakka cultural influence on musical culture

One notable feature of the Chinese in Sabah is the high proportion of speakers of the Hakka dialect. The Hakka population increased from about 46% of the total Chinese population in 1921, to circa 57% in 1991, while the total Chinese population increased from about 257,000 to 1,309,000, an increase of some 600% (Zhang 2002: 32). The Hakkas are believed to be exceptionally hard working, displaying a ready adaptability to their surroundings, and they have migrated across great distances in mainland China in order to find adequate agricultural employment.[6] Hakka musical traditions in Guangdong, as noted by Jones (1995: 322-63), are rarely found in Sabah. Jones (1995: 325) also points out the high level of migration amongst Hakka musicians and that it is common to find a music society in each settlement, a pattern repeated among Hakka migrants in Taiwan and Southeast Asia – the Pingming and Changhong ensembles in Sabah were probably founded in this tradition. Further research is required to determine the cultural factors that caused the elimination of Chinese traditional music in Sabah. My speculation is that four factors contributed to this condition: persecutions of the Hakka Christians by fellow Chinese on the mainland because they embraced the religion of the British colonisers; their dissociation from Chinese rituals or customs, including music, that conflict with their Christian beliefs; their many decades of dire poverty where communal attention focused on survival rather than leisure activities; and the patterns of rapid immigration to north Borneo, which meant

that many of the poorer migrants could only take their most essential belongings (leaving little room for musical instruments), knowing they were going to start their new life in Borneo.

Chinese settlement history in Sabah illustrates their commitment to improving their familial and social livelihood for future generations. The highly 'compact' immigration history of nearly a century did not include music, making this a stark contrast to Hong Kong's late 19th-century immigrants to San Francisco who brought along their musical instruments and performance practices to the new land (Riddle 1983). These immigrants were, however, relatively well-to-do and were seeking better economic opportunities in America. In Sabah, there was little evidence of any lasting efforts by subsequent generations of Chinese to revive their traditional music traditions.

The 1906 San Francisco earthquake, caused a disappearance of music making, which was, however, followed by the revival and localising of Chinese traditional music making – the music drew inspiration from their lives in San Francisco rather than Hong Kong. This catastrophe caused countless injuries and deaths and also destroyed the social infrastructure, which, of course, included music facilities. Such social calamities led to a process whereby the local cultures selected foreign cultural elements that resonated most closely with their own social and personal needs at the time. The Sabahan Chinese, however, neither reconstituted Chinese traditional performance practice nor adopted or adapted the music of the locals. Instead, they adopted Euro-American classical music totally as their own, in particular the piano and piano compositions.

Interest in the piano

The early immigrants probably came into contact with Euro-American music in churches and in schools or teacher-training colleges in Borneo. Many churches were established in the period of the late-19th to mid-20th centuries by Lutheran (Basel), Anglican, and Roman Catholic missionaries as well as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.[7] Some colonial officers probably had pianos in their private homes or offices. These may have been imported from other British bases in China, India or elsewhere in Southeast Asia. The earliest evidence of a piano is the John Strohmenger,[8] of a vertical-strung construction, which was used in a Catholic mission school in Sandakan before World War II, and donated to the Sabah Museum in the 1980s (D.T.W. Wong 2009: 61). There were probably other pianos, although evidence is scant[9], that were shipped to North Borneo before the John Strohmenger, and eventually exported when they departed.

The smooth introduction of the piano in Sabah may have been aided by the earlier use of two other keyboard instruments here. I remember, in the 1970s, seeing that some churches, such as the Sabah Evangelical Mission, had harmoniums instead of organs. This is understandable since the instrument's lighter weight and lower cost made it a preferred choice over the organ or piano. I thus have come to believe that the harmonium was probably a popular instrument in churches and schools in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[10] As living standard rose in the 1960s-1970s, many churches[11] purchased portable organs to accompany their church services. The controversies caused by the appearance of the organ in Euro-American churches in the 17th and 18th centuries never materialised in Sabah. It is, nonetheless, important to point out that church authorities did attempt to curb the role of the organ: for example, in America, it was first strictly limited to being 'play[ed during services] but not during communion' (Ogasapian 2007: 57). Between the 16th and 18th centuries, its role changed in the Lutheran church, from being used during the liturgy in alternation with the choir to actually accompanying the singing of a congregation, eventually conflicting with the choir which it threatened to replace (Herl 2004: 151). The harmonium, organ and then the piano have been considered part of church services in Sabah since the early colonial days. The social and musical context made acceptance of these instruments relatively easy; for example, the lack of accomplished singers meant that the choir relied heavily on the instruments for maintaining the right pitch and accompaniment.

Since the 1980s, the piano has been the preferred instrument in Sabah, replacing the organ, in both churches and schools. This choice by churches again illustrated the dynamic interactive relationship between music and the cultural domain of the time. Back when churches still used the organ, there were still older organists who played the instrument. Arguably, one could play an organ adequately without too many lessons, unlike the piano. Organists only need to hit the correct chords to accompany the choir, and they were not expected to do much more than that. Subsequent generations produced more pianists, which provided more musical variety to church choirs and religious songs. It was also a time when the guitar became increasingly popular. The advent of the piano in churches in Sabah occurred just when the living standards began improving and church members began preferring the piano over the organ (D.T.W. Wong 2009: 99-104).

The first generation of piano students in the Sabah of the 1970s-1980s may have initially been attracted to the piano out of a curiosity for the modern 'West', or it may have been due to parental 'encouragement'. I taught piano during that period and, my experience interacting with my peers, and hearing the teaching experiences of other piano

teachers, indicated that some students initially just wanted to be able to play their favourite pop songs from Hong Kong or Taiwan. But they soon understood that they would have to learn 'Classical' pieces and scales and arpeggios in order to pass their music examinations, and practice every day at home. The drop-out rate, however, was surprisingly low. More recent conversations with piano teachers indicate that approximately two-thirds of their piano students show a consistent reluctance to attend lessons and show little interest in the music being learned. The students continue to attend because of their parents' insistence. Some other students even claimed that they attended piano lessons, despite being uninterested, out of filial piety – by attending the lessons rather grudgingly but making no complaint to the parents. This high percentage of reluctant students is typical for piano teachers, across all levels of proficiency. By the time their children reach secondary school, many parents choose school work over piano lessons for their children.

The increase in the number of pianists in the late 1980s and the retirement of organists soon meant that churches began purchasing pianos instead of organs. While religious musical groups began forming in churches in the late 1990s, many church leaders insisted on the limited use of the guitar and drums by insisting that they be played at lower volumes. Given the fact that Sabahan churches are now well established, and that there are many more available musicians, conflicts between church leaders and musicians have arisen, similar to those mentioned above (Herl 2004; Ogasapian 2007). However, the importance of the piano shows no sign of fading in churches in the new future.

Cultural meanings of the piano in Sabah

The introduction of the piano into America encountered a multitude of cultural problems because many Europeans thought that America's preference for the steam engine and the polka precluded it taking 'more serious' and elaborate musical forms seriously (Lott 2003: 3-8). In contrast, the introduction of the piano and the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music syllabus into Sabah occurred without any noticeable resistance as several piano teachers began teaching piano out of their own homes. When the public became aware of the piano and the classical music one could play on it, many in Sabah became interested in taking lessons. The introduction of the piano may have been initially instigated by the colonial office for those close to the colonial families and their churches to better be able to continue with their own musical interests.

While one can find many piano students in Sabah today, only a few actively perform at church services. This is mainly because piano students take lessons so that they can pass their examinations. They rarely play outside of their learning or domestic environments. Based on personal experience, I believe this is also due to the lack of performance space in Sabah.[12] Many teachers, in fact, point out that 'preparation for the exams' is the ultimate aims of almost all of the parents who buy a piano for their children and then force them to take weekly lessons. The 'triadic relationship' (Davidson and Scutt 1999) between teacher, parent and student/child highlights the higher than expected level of influence of the teacher over the way the student develops his or her musical knowledge and skills. The teacher often has little choice but to prepare their student for their exams and meet the expectations of the parents. In Chinese culture, respect for one's elders has a strong influence on the teacher-student relationship, to the extent that in some cases the parents and the students expect to be told exactly how to play a piece of music by the teacher and using one's intuition is frowned upon.

Learning to play the piano in Sabah is actually a kind of 'culturally detached' performance practice, since very few piano students have ever been to a classical piano solo recital, let alone a chamber music concert or orchestral performance. Piano teachers in Sabah told me that very few of their students listened to CDs or watched videos to learn their piano pieces or develop their general musicianship. The lack of cultural engagement with the 'host' culture, which is inherent in the piano examination pieces and gives rise to the existence of these pieces, coupled with the lack of public performance whether formal or informal (for example, in their own schools), requires a reconfiguration of the music-culture relation. The solitary nature of piano lessons and their general lack of interaction with other musicians calls their musicianship into question. Their teacher is the primary, or only, source of classical music training, he or she teaches them not only the skills required to play but also the knowledge necessary to interpret a piece. Most students learn the pieces they need to learn for their examinations and the scales and arpeggios throughout the year in order to prepare for the annual examination. Realising that there is a need for more interaction, there have been some recent efforts to stage live concerts in Kota Kinabalu, such as the Kota Kinabalu Music Society[13] concert series and the Jesselton Philharmonic Orchestra,[14] and some other initiatives[15] advertised on Facebook. It is still too early to assess the success of these projects. The interest and enthusiasm that piano teachers and their students show for attending these events will probably help determine their success.

The involvement of piano students with their music created a kind of 'imagined' musical world, which is neither European, Chinese or local. I believe that in order to understand this musical world one requires an

understanding of how the Chinese view themselves and their social and cultural identities. The absence of deep background knowledge of European culture does not concern the Chinese for the most part, as long as they can play the pieces technically. To fully understand this phenomenon will require a thorough sociological study. For now, the extent to which these students learn their examination pieces adds cultural factors to the research on musicians' 'deliberate practice'. (e.g., Ericsson et al. 1993; Howe et al. 1998; Krampe and Ericsson 1996; Lehmann and Ericsson 1997).

The piano is very much associated with social status in America during the decades at the turn of the 20th century:

> While at one level this [book] examines the piano and its industry, it is fundamentally concerned not so much with the piano as with ideas about the instrument, with tracing the piano's function and stability as a cultural totem, a symbol for an age. The piano is significant as a foundation of Victorian middle-class values, reigning as a centre for family life and an indicator of social respectability. Within this value system the instrument is also a medium for cultural uplift and a conduit for music appreciation and moral rejuvenation (Roell 1989: xiv).

Roell also noted that a piano in the home demonstrated a family's ability to afford one and lessons that come with it (1989: 23). This observation is similar to ones that are found among the Sabahan Chinese. The elders of the Chinese immigrant communities in Sabah wanted their offspring to have better lives. They talked about the hardships of working in the agricultural sector that their parents and grandparents experienced. They urged their children to get education to be able to earn a better living. The piano is a cultural icon while the music learned is usually of a higher social status (D.T.W. Wong 2009).[16] The 'original' culture of the Sabahan Chinese back on the mainland continued in their adopted land, but, instead of rejuvenating their own traditional music or acculturating their own music to that of the locals, they adopted the piano and its music, which is associated with a third location.

Musical leisure activities

Two other musical activities regarding Sabahan Chinese musicianship deserve mention here: Chinese pop music and school bands. They are described as 'leisure' as opposed to the piano with its more formal lessons and examinations.

Interest in pop music (in both Cantonese and Mandarin) began to rise in the 1980s, when increasing numbers of audio equipment became readily available in local electronics stores in Sabah. The rise of this pop music (Erni 2007; Witzleben 1999) in the Chinese-speaking world (Hong Kong-based 'cantopop' and 'mandopop' from China and Taiwan) began to re-establish and revitalise cross-border Chinese cultural links with overseas Chinese migrants, and the young generation in Sabah was no exception. In the early 21st century, these songs became readily available on various platforms in particular the World Wide Web and mobile devices such as media players. In Singapore, young school-kids created *xinyao* ('songs composed by Singapore youths') movement in the 1980s (Kong 1996). In Sabah, activities were limited to pop songs sung in school concerts but rarely anything substantial outside of school.

While many Sabah piano students are keen on Chinese pop songs and keep up with the latest news and albums of their pop bands and icons like any keen fan anywhere, very few of them are interested in playing these songs themselves. My data reveals a general trend that many of these pianists claim they would 'struggle' to play the melody and they would rather just sing and enjoy the musical expression that way, rather than having to concentrate on the playing. The piano lesson culture has created a musical cognitive situation where students can play a piece they have been taught even though they may not enjoy the music or know what the song is about. However, they complain that they are unable to apply their piano lessons to learn how to play pop melodies.

In the late 1990s, about 15 primary and secondary schools (most of them Chinese schools or schools with large numbers of Chinese students) purchased musical instruments and formed their own marching brass and wind-instrument bands. They were coached by members and former members of the Chongzheng Concert Band, which was comprised of students from Chinese schools in West Malaysia who, in turn, were probably taught by British band members (D.T.W. Wong 2009: 8-14). These school bands trained some 400-500 wind instrument and percussion players per year. If one includes members of the Chongzheng band that have played since the early 1980s, Sabah now counts several thousand band musicians. But after they leave school and their bands, these experienced wind instrument and percussion musicians see less and less musical activity because of a general lack of performance space and music clubs.

The significance of the school bands is the personal interest and incentive that they give Chinese youth to actively pursue music making. These students join the bands voluntarily or because of peer influence. In contrast to the world of piano playing or pop music, there is a great

deal of inter-ethnic interaction in these bands. Some bands use bamboo flutes, trumpets and drums, while others use a full range of woodwind instruments (e.g. flute, oboe), brass (e.g. trombone, tube, saxophone), and percussion instruments. Many of these bands are busy in in-school and out-of-school activities such as sports, day parades and rallies where they play on the same stage or field as the state police band. Their repertoires tend to include arrangements of folk songs, popular marching song and pop songs. Informal musical training is provided, often by a senior member of a group of new recruits. Most bands use solfége notation as this is much easier to learn than staff notation. The Chongzheng Concert Band uses staff notation, though its predecessor, the Marching Brass Band used solfége. Due to the busy schedule, the solfége notation system is a quick way to teach them how to play their instruments. However, the coaching methods have much to do in the way of improvement, since very few musicians develop the correct ways of playing their instruments (D.T.W. Wong 2009: 13-15).

Conclusion

The dynamic interactive process approach positions culture and music on the extremes of an analysis continuum. To analyse one in isolation undermines the contribution of the other. To analyse both equally in an interactive manner helps us to appreciate how music is fully intertwined in the time, place and culture of the community the musicians represent. The case of the Chinese in Sabah exemplifies this approach. The modernisation process that occurred at a time of mass migration played a very significant role in Chinese cultural expression, their deliberate attempt at severing their history in South China added to their interest in learning to play the piano and classical music. Amidst this music-cultural analysis is the realisation of the special, extra-musical, association with the 'modernist West' as exemplified by the piano and its music.

The piano serves as a cultural symbol, the piano is central to many Chinese homes. It gives the young pianists an immediate feeling of cultural achievement that is not easily attainable in other ways. The Sabahan Chinese have a strong desire to modernise and provide the best opportunities for their children, which serves as one of the chief reasons for the acceptance of the piano. It seems that the Chinese have wholeheartedly accepted the piano and its music. However, by examining the music-cultural process of the instrument and its repertoire, this study shows that the Chinese attribute localised meanings to the piano in the construction of their culture, using it as an indication of social respectability rather than ascribing 'Victorian' values (Roell 1989: xiv). Although their adoption of the piano and its music could be perceived

by others as siding with the imperialist past (Taylor 2007: 31) and alienating themselves from the other ethnic groups, the piano remains a key in the cultural meanings of being Chinese in Sabah.

Notes

1   'Classical'. *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev. Michael Kennedy (ed.). *Oxford Music Online*. 14 Feb. 2009 <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e2198>. Last accessed Feb. 2009.

2   'Monthly Statistical Bulletin, January 2007: Sabah', *Department of Statistics Malaysia, Sabah,* quoted in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sabah, accessed March 2008.

3   For further information on the Chinese in Sabah, see Tan Chee Beng (1998), Danny Wong (1998; 2003; 2007), Zhang Delai (2002), and also chapter 2 'Sabahan Chinese Culture' in David Wong (2009).

4   Personal communications with Leopold Chen and Jean Chin, 19 July 2008. I think these ensembles existed before World War II but further fieldwork is required to ascertain this and their activities.

5   Examples of authors from the Asian region include Han Sin Fong(1975), Lee Kam Hing (2000), Edwin Lee (1976), Lee Yong Leng (1965), Danny Wong (1998) and Zhang Delai (2002), while authors from outside of Asia include Franke (1989), Harrisson (1950), Heidhues (1993), Holloway (1971), Purcell (1965) and Tregonning (1958). However, one notable exception are the Baba (or Peranakan, Straits) Chinese who were acculturated Chinese who married natives from the Malay archipelago (Clammer 1980; Tan Chee Beng 1988; Winzeler 1985); also see: http://peranakan.org.sg/ (last accessed Feb. 2009).

6   On the Hakka, see also Constable (1996), Leong Sow Theng (1997), Danny Wong (1998) and Zhang Delai (2002).

7   For further reading, see Han Sing Fong (1975), Hunt (1992), Goldsmith (2007), Danny Wong (1998) and Zhang Delai (2002).

8   John Strohmenger was a pianomaker, established in London in 1835 and acquired by Chappell of Bond Street in 1938. See: http://www.uk-piano.org/history/history_1.html, last accessed Feb. 2009.

9   Thus far the John Strohmenger is the earliest documented piano I could find. One useful source is the Sabah Ports Authority, which I believe has archived the historical records of imports including pianos.

10 The Sabah Ports Authority may also have import records of harmonium.

11 From my recollections, in the early 1980s, most of the churches in Kota Kinabalu and Tuaran (about 20 miles north of Kota Kinabalu) I attended or visited had a portable organ. These churches included Grace Chapel, All Saints Anglican, Sacred Heart Cathedral, Likas Basel Church and Sabah Evangelical Mission.

12 Despite the creation in recent decades of several venues that could be used for classical concerts, Tun Raffae Auditorium (more popularly known locally as the Yayasan Sabah Auditorium) in Kota Kinabalu, remains the best choice because of its relatively good acoustics, size, and location away from the congested town centre.

13 Their web site: http://www.geocities.com/kkmusicsociety/, last accessed Mar. 2009.

14 Their web site: http://jesseltonphilharmonicorchestra.blogspot.com/, last accessed Mar. 2009.

15 At the time of writing, the 'Sabahan Musicians' (http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=34311656382) and the 'Sabah Classical Music Group' (http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=48594013678), both last accessed Mar. 2009.

16   A similar case of an instrument playing the role of a 'medium for cultural uplift and a
     conduit for music appreciation and moral rejuvenation' (see Roell's quotation above)
     is found among African-Americans in America's Deep South in the late 19th century.
     As their living standard improved, it led to changing social attitudes and values, and
     the adoption of the guitar and its ragtime, jazz and blues as a demarcation from the
     fiddle and the banjo. The guitar is a genteel instrument produced in a factory and cost
     a sizable amount of money. The guitar signalled a change from earlier instruments
     that were strongly associated with slavery and demeaning stereotypes (Evans 2001: 13).

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5   To Sing the Rice in Tanjung Bunga (Eastern Flores), Indonesia

Dana Rappoport[1]

Introduction

This chapter discusses the place of polyphonic singing in the life of a village in Eastern Flores (Indonesia).[2] Even today, the people of this area fear starvation: finding food here is more difficult than in other places, as their slash and burn agriculture is dependent on rain that seems to never be sufficient. In the village of Waiklibang (see map, fig. 5.1), people sing during various times of the year. In its course, the agricultural year calls for the performance of prescribed songs directly rooted in the myth of the origin of rice, which includes a recounting of a primordial sacrifice. In this particular part of insular Southeast Asia, this myth is not merely known or told, but sung, danced and performed. Referencing this myth according to a prescribed pattern, music has the capacity to evoke a strong emotional response in people, even moving some to tears. This paper suggests how the expressive modalities of poetics and song, bound by performance codes, in their textual and musical structure, reconfirm the myth of the origin of rice, communicate deeply felt sentiments, and thus arouse feelings.

  I came to Eastern Flores to study the polyphonic vocal tradition, its setting, its techniques, and its uses. My interest was aroused when I first visited as a student, accompanying a friend in 1992, to record the various musical traditions of Flores over a period of five weeks. Music is ubiquitous on the island, but I was especially taken by the 'strange' duets we recorded in the Tana 'Ai area in the Sikkanese region (Rappoport 1995). Since then, I have wanted to return to study the two-part songs of Eastern Flores and beyond. Indeed, the very defining feature of the music of Eastern Flores is that people sing in two parts, and that the voices move within a narrow compass, using a contrapuntal technique. According to my own calculations, the intervals between the two voices often vary between 100 to 300 cents.[3] This technique has been called 'the Balkan sounding style of East Flores',[4] after Jaap Kunst who looked at the similarities between the Eastern Flores style and Balkan songs (Kunst 1942; 1954). Later, also in the tracks of Jaap Kunst,

Figure 5.1 *Map*

Gerald Messner detailed some of the musical features he found in the same villages that Kunst had visited (Riang Puho), showing that this two-part musical style, which he called *Schwebungsdiaphonie*, resembles the vocal music of southeastern Europe and Oceania (Messner 1980; 1981; 1989).[5] In 1995, Philip Yampolsky went one step further when he recorded, published and provided excellent commentary on six beautiful songs in *Music of Indonesia* (vol. 8), which remain untill 2009 the only available published examples of this musical genre from Eastern Flores.

At the beginning of the 21st century, this musical tradition, though still in use, is disappearing in many villages of Eastern Flores. While only the elderly population performs almost all of the vocal music, traditional musical instruments have disappeared, with the exception of the drums (*gedan*) and gongs (*gon*).[6] Alternative ensembles imported, like the brass band *fanfaré* or the flute orchestra *orkes suling*, have recently been revived after many years of inactivity. Reasons for these changes include Christianisation and Indonesianisation, both of which emphasise Euro-American instruments or Euro-American modern music.[7] These developments have altered the place that indigenous musical traditions occupy in the lives of the people of Eastern Flores. The youth favour contemporary dance over traditional work songs, probably because the traditional life reflected in those songs no longer reflects their reality. Even in remote places where there is no electricity, the people play new songs on DVD players. In cities and villages, weddings are celebrated utilising very loud sound systems. There is also a market for VCDs (Video Compact Discs), with stickers announcing 'regional music' (*musik daerah*), which shows new songs in the regional language, performed as karaoke – most of the time, these films present dances from Adonara and Lembata, such as the round dance called the *dolo-dolo*, which is probably from Adonara.[8]

The setting

Tanjung Bunga, or 'Cape of Flowers', lies at the extreme end of Flores island in the administrative district of East Flores (Flores Timur). At 343 km², it is a relatively sparsely populated island, with some scattered settlements. It belongs to the Lamaholot linkage, which extends from the eastern end of Flores to the islands of Adonara, Solor and Lembata to sites on the coast of the islands of Pantar and Alor. 'Lamaholot' is the current name for the area's linguistic group and is used only in academic writings.[9] Before 1945, they were called the 'Solor people'. People usually called themselves *ata kiwan*, 'people from the interior', as opposed to the people, mostly Muslim, who live along the coasts and make their living from fishing. During the 20th century, a number of

villages were forced to relocate from their mountainous homelands to the coast. Lamaholot representatives have never 'regarded themselves as constituting a unified ethnic group with a common purpose' (Barnes 1996: 3). They demonstrate close relationships with their immediate neighbours, though rivalry between neighbouring villages was still strong when I was doing my fieldwork.

The economy in Tanjung Bunga is not thriving; the people have low incomes, poor living conditions, malnutrition, and high rates of illiteracy (only 46 per cent of the pupils passed their National Exam Ujian Nasional, Flores Pos, June 2007). As in other parts of Flores, most of the people depend on variety of forms of cultivation; they supplement their staple crops of rice and maize with a variety of secondary crops, and they also hunt deer, pig and monkey. There are no irrigated rice fields, with a few recent exceptions in the small enclave of Konga. Crop failure and famine are frequent, as the area can only count on a short rainy season. Thus, food, which is scarce, is of primary importance, since crop failure could mean death. The rice culture is associated with an entire ceremonial cycle during the agricultural year, where song has a primary place in society. 'Singing the rice' during the course of the year is not entertainment but an essential part of their survival.

The great majority of Tanjung Bunga people are Roman Catholic, though some are Muslim and a few are Protestant. While Catholicism arrived in Eastern Flores in the 16th century, many people still practice the older traditional beliefs, worshipping the figure(s) of their dual male-female divinity, *Lera Wulan Tana Ekan* ('Sun Moon/Land Earth').[10] This syncretism remains fundamental with respect to the spiritual value attributed to the land, which is regularly fed and reinvigorated by animal sacrifices called *huké tana*.[11]

Tanjung Bunga belongs to a larger zone where two-part singing is common. Musically, the Lamaholot linguistic group is divided into two traditions clearly delineated geographically. On eastern Flores and western Solor, the people together sing exclusively two-part (diphonic) songs, whereas on Adonara, east Solor and the Lembata Islands, people sing only one-part (monophonic) songs together in large choruses. The first area has six polyphonic styles, some of them closely related to one another (Rappoport forthcoming). This type of singing can be found starting in Tana 'Ai and ending in Tanjung Bunga; it covers part of the Sikkanese and Lamaholot languages.

In the village where I did my fieldwork, songs are performed for three kinds of rituals: for the ceremonies related to the agricultural calendar, for the renewal of clan houses, ceremonial houses or boats, and for the birth of children of a certain clan. For each of these rituals, various narratives, whose contents differ according to the circumstances,

are sung. Songs are not performed for weddings, and rarely at funerals, though these events are very important parts of their social life.

The ceremonial cycle of the agricultural year

The agricultural calendar is marked by a cycle of rituals (see fig. 5.2), performed each year in specific fields, i.e., those belonging to the main land-owning clans.[12] Every land-owning clan must perform the agricultural rituals in one of their fields every year. Each of these clans (*suku tuan tana*) has to choose a field that will, for one year, become the 'ritual field' (*man witi*, 'garden goat'), because, in addition, whoever's field is chosen must also provide the animals to be sacrificed.[13] As a countermeasure, all of the clans of this village will come to work this field as a customary labour donation. Thus, these rituals are considered fruitful for the entire community (the *lewo tana*, 'village'). Every year, each land-owning clan chooses a 'rice maiden', a girl of approximately fifteen years of age, to perform as the main character of the myth, for the entire agricultural year.

The season begins with the opening of new fields. In August, when it is still dry, it is hunting season (*hewan hoton*). From September to December, new lands are prepared: trees are cut (*tiné*), burned (*seru ma*) and cleared (*putun*). The planting season starts with the opening of the rice barn (*buka keban*, 'open the rice barn'), long after harvest. For the ritual dokan gurun, 'to put up and to enclose [the rice in the rice barn]', the myth of the rice is enacted, sung and danced during an all-night ceremony by both men and women, who sing the myth, *opak gurun ga-wak be'ola tugu* ('story to protect, to encircle the food of the field'). The next day, in the field, the water of coconuts is poured over the earth to cool it (*ulan awo*[14]).

When the western monsoon season arrives at the end of December and rain is about to fall, the ritual of sowing (*sikat man*, 'to plant with a stick') is performed. Again, during the night, the story of rice is sung. The following day, men and women begin the sowing, first in the 'ritual field' followed by the rest of the other fields of the different clans.[15] The men make seed holes with dibble sticks while women plant the seeds, while singing *berasi*[16] all day long. Pigs are slaughtered; the rice maiden is brought out into the middle of the field. The pig is sacrified in lieu of the maiden. If the fields are far away, some of the men move into field huts and live there until the crop is ready to be harvested in order to guard the crops from predatory monkeys, rats and wild pigs.

Weeding the fields (*batun keremet*, 'to weed the grass') follows in February. Two months later, the maize is harvested, followed by the rice (*geta tahan*, 'to harvest rice'). If the harvest is good, the people may

Figure 5.2. *Agrarian and musical calendar*

TIME	NAME	ACTION	SONGS	DESCRIPTION
August	**Hewan hoton** "to hunt"	Hunting	Ø	
	Bulun "to put up signs"	Marking the field	Ø	
September	**Tiné'** "cutting"	Cutting trees	•Berasi tiné' "to cut"	Male two-part songs.
October	**Seru' man** "burning the field"	Burning	Ø	
	Putun "to clean the ashes"	Cleaning ashes	• Berasi buko "to cut"	Male two-part songs.
November	**Dokan gurun** "to put up; to enclose"	Preparing seeds		Three chain dances in front of the temple illustrating the origin of rice. The song is organised in three groups 2+2+1 (opak, hode' ana, nukun)
			• Haman opak belun	Male chain dance.
			• Nama rigi "difficult"	Female chain dance, cyclical pattern of 16 beats.
			• Nama neron	Female chain dance including lian kenolon, lelen, lian maneron
			•Go'ok	Male two-part song.
			•Soka	Slow female dance accompanied by gongs and drums.
			•Hedung	Male war dance accompanied by gongs and drums.
Day after	**Ulan awo** "burned remains" "field ready to sow")	'Cooling' the field with coconuts	Berasi	
			Goé	Male two-part songs (see January)
	lete rauk duli pali "to cool the field"		Obarik	
December	**Sikat man** "sowing with sticks"	Sowing	• Haman opak belun	Song of the origin of rice, chain dance

Month	Ritual	Activity	Song	Description
	Hetonikat "to replace sowing »"			Recalls the origin of rice; the story of the seeds brought to the field; and a special request for rain.
			•*Berasi panalaran* "while walking"	Male two-part song in free metre; high-pitched; contrapuntal polyphony
			•*Berasi sikat* "sowing"	Female two-part songs
			•*Go'ok*	Male two-part songs with ostinato in second voice
January	*Batun kremet* "weeding"	Cleaning the field	•*Goé*	Male two-part songs, morning
			•*Obarik*	Male two-part songs, afternoon
April	*Rekan kawo* « to eat new maize »	Harvesting maize	Ø	
May	*Geta'* or *polo man*	Harvesting rice	• *Haman opak belun*	Song of the origin of rice, chain dance
			•*Lian semogon*	Male two-part songs; response by chorus; dancing
			•*Najan*	Male two-part songs (6), contrapuntal polyphony
			•*Berasi panalaran*	Male two-part songs in free metre, counterpoint
			•*Berasi ina waé*	Female two-part songs; drone polyphony
			•*Lian kenolon*	Female two-part songs with chorus
			•*Haman*	Song for threshing the rice, sung by teenagers; homophonic
			•*Go'ok*	Male two-part songs; contrapuntal ostinato
July	*Pula' tahan* "to thresh rice"	Threshing	• *Haman opak belun*	Song of the origin of rice; chain dance
			•*Lian semogon*	Male two-part song; response by chorus; dancing
			•*Go'ok*	Male two-part songs; contrapuntal ostinato
August	*Rekan wata wu'un* To eat the new maize	Giving food to *guna dewa* (good spirits)	Ø	

decide to perform a big festival called polo' man. All of the villagers come to participate in the harvest of the fields owned by the land-owning clans. Once again, the myth is performed throughout the night. The rice, newly harvested, is immediately threshed by foot while the young men sing a round dance and put the rice in a field granary (orin). Between July and September, the rice is threshed in the other fields (*pula' tahan*, 'to thresh the rice'), an activity that is accompanied by the lian *semogon song*.

Regardless of the rapid changes that the rest of the musical world of the village is undergoing, the mythical account of the origin of rice is performed as faithfully as ever, four times a year (for storing, sowing, harvesting, and threshing). Moreover, in Waiklibang, ten types of songs are sung for every step of the rice cultivation, each one related to a different activity such as the preparation of the fields, the cutting and burning of the trees and weeding, harvesting, and threshing the fields, (see fig. 5.2). All of these share similarities: they are two-part songs that alternate between pairs of singers, and associate the rice with a young girl who is about to be sacrificed.

The mythical account of the origin of rice

1   The narrative

In Waiklibang, the myth of rice tells how food plants originated from the body of a sacrificed human being. 'Long, long ago', people only ate beans. In order to survive, a young girl ordered her seven brothers to buy swords. She requested that they prepare a field, to slash and burn the field, and then to kill her in the middle of the field with other animals as an offering. Her youngest brother sacrificially kills her, and after a short time, her body turns into rice and other vegetables.

This myth has numerous names depending on the part of the ritual being sung. A variant of this tale is found in many other parts of Indonesia,[17] as for Waiklibang, it is often called *opak tutu ukut raran Tono Wujo*, the 'story telling the road of Tono Wujo'. While it is common in Eastern Flores, it seems to be fairly unknown on the neighbouring islands of Lembata and Adonara where maize is the main crop.

The myth of rice is performed four times a year in a semi-theatrical way in a long seven-hour performance. It includes many different characters and takes the listener through time and space. Since the version differs from village to village[18] and since it is beyond the scope of this chapter to publish the entire 2,268 octosyllables of the tale, I will present a summary of this myth, as told by 60-year-old Nene' Suban:

Pati Mangu had a child named Pati Sogen La Galio, who was born in the forests, in the top of a tree, at Kajo kula wutun, tale' tolek lolon. Pati Mangu raised Pati Sogen. His mother had no other descendants. He became a teenager. He was hunting with a bow at Duli Pali, at the top of the mountain, looking for deer. When some deer were spotted, he praised himself and shouted: 'Huu raé Pati Sogé, hé raé La Galio!' He brought back a deer to the house, placed it in the ceremonial house *koko*. He moved his finger closing and opening the holes [*peso sason puit rurén*] blowing into his double flute. He was the first double flute player of rurén. Through his flute, he could ask who was going to be his wife, as he was still young. His flute responded: your wife is far away, at Lali Residoa Dowo Homo, very far down.

Tonu Goé Burak Jawa Rerek asked for Tonu Osé Longo Wujo Laju Burak. She appeared in human form. After having delivered children, she went to the *nitun* then to the harin place.[19] Tonu Osé Longo Wujo Laju had seven boys and one daughter, Nogo Gunu.

This girl asked her brothers to work in the fields, to buy some knives and axes. After they had burnt the field, Nogo Gunu gave them some advice: 'You must find some goats and pigs. After that, bring me to the fields so I can guard the fields against the monkeys.' At that time, beans (kacang) were the only food available. Then, the sister invited them to the field: 'Kill me in the garden; kill the pigs and the goats, then kill me.' The six brothers took their knives but were unable to kill her. Only the youngest brother succeeded in killing her until her body was destroyed. Her teeth became maize. Her flesh and her blood became rice. The remaining part became vegetables and beans. On the eighth night, the brothers came to see the garden. They saw that the rice was growing. When they returned home, their mother said: 'Why isn't Oa here?'[20] And they responded, 'The monkeys were too aggressive.'

After four months, the mother visited the garden. She was standing at the bottom of the garden (*maa lein*), when an answer came from the top of the garden (*maa weran*). She then went to the rising sun (*heti*) and an answer came from the setting sun (*lali*). Then she went to the setting sun and an answer came from the rising sun; then she went to the top of the garden, and an answer came from the garden. She came back to the bottom and the answer came from the centre (*hedi ra*). After she came to the center, the seven brothers showed her the rice and said: 'Oa is here.' [Affectionately,] the rice covered the mother's body. It was ripe.

From harvesting this field, they filled seven rice barns; after they sold the rice, the brothers bought elephant tusks (for the

wedding). So, one person, a girl, gave seven people the ability to take a wife. But the seven brothers quarrelled. They fought and that's why Tono Wujo, ashamed, went away in order to be shared by all villages.[21]

This summary is the most complete one I have recorded because it includes both the beginning and the end. The main topics are established in just a few lines: space (forest, ceremonial house, village, field), time, hunting, communication through a magic flute, supernatural beings, the slash and burn process at the behest of the girl, the brotherhood link, sacrifice, metamorphosis from a human body into the crops, the wait (eight nights, four months), the anxiety and emotions of the mother, the voice in the field, the cuddling, the quarrelling, the bride's wealth, and the fleeing of the rice maiden.

2   The myth in a dance

This myth is sung throughout the night, which is accompanied by dancing, until the next morning. After the dance, the ritual continues on into the following day.

   According to the calendar, the dance can be performed in front of the temple,[22] in front of the land-owning clan house (lango belen) or in the sacred harvested field. In front of the temple, a circle of holy stones stands, called batu nuba nara or nuba bela. This is the naman, 'place for threshing' or place for dancing. The dance is performed in a counter-clockwise motion, around the stones. Previously, there were two places for the dance in all of Tanjung Bunga. In Waiklibang, in the old village,[23] there are still two places where this dance can take place. The closest to the sea is Nuba Ladohari, which is usually associated with *lera wulan* ('sun moon') and the male part – that is where the men's war dance (*hédun*) is performed. The location closest to the mountain is called Punpatilepatala, and it is associated with *tana ekan* ('land earth'), and is considered female. The latter location is where the rice maiden, Tono Wujo, is considered to sit. The female place is paired in the poetry with the male *nédun*, 'place of the war dance', where gongs and drums sound during every ritual.

> *Nuba pia naman tukan*   Nuba stones in the center of the threshing place
>
> *bela pia nédun lolon*   bela stones in the heart of the hédun place[24]

The myth is performed through a simultaneous dance and song. I have seen it performed at three different stages during the annual cycle: when storing the rice in the granary, before sowing and during the

harvest (fig. 5.2). Each time, it was told through a series of dances, each with their own unique steps and performers.[25] One dance that is appreciated everywhere in Tanjung Bunga is *haman opak bélun*. This is the famous dance of Tanjung Bunga and Bai Pito, recognisable by the clothes of the dancers, standing in a row with their feathers, and bells on their backs and their feet. The dance has been partly described by Ernst Vatter (1932) and Jaap Kunst (1942: 7). Vatter also recorded a silent movie of the dance in 1929 (1963).

The name of the dance varies even in the same village. *Lian naman*, 'song in the place of dance', or haman opak bélun, 'to thresh to tell the story', are commonly used.[26] Indeed, one possible origin of the dance could be the real act of threshing during the harvest while singing. In Waiklibang, threshing rice using one's feet is done while a round dance song is sung in the field.[27]

In all of theses names, connections with certain aspects of the performance become transparent: the ground is threshed (*haman*) in the place of the dance (*naman*); an epic is told (*opak*) in a lively song (*mura lian*). The name of the dance itself shows that it is much more than a series of moves; it is a ceremonial narrative. Despite the various names, the dance itself is the same almost everywhere, performed by a line of dancers adorned with white feathers.

The dancers' clothing is one of the unique aspects of this dance. Dancers wearing an ikat (decorated cotton textile made in a special process) shine with white and metal – white feathers and sticks adorn their headgear, goat hair is worn on their hips, with many metal bells and knives attached. They also wear many accessories: bracelets, earrings with red threads, waistbands, swords, sticks, head cloths, suits, etc.[28] The beauty of the costumes astonished Jaap Kunst (1942: 7), who saw this dance in the 1930s in Tengah Dei. The singers told me that the energy of the dance comes from the dancers' costumes; if they are badly dressed 'their body is not right, they bore us when we look at them.' It is very likely that the ornaments are references to specific parts of the myth. They may represent the ornaments of the rice maiden, or may be metaphors for rice.

Unlike the other main round or chain dances of the neighbouring areas that are performed while holding hands or interlocking arms (like the dolo-dolo, *lilin*, and lian naman on Adonara), the haman opak bélun is performed in a chain without holding hands. The dancers stand in a semi-circle, whereas the singers remain inside and revolve around the sacred stones. Four dancers – those in the front (*gagi waé*) – stand apart, and their function is to keep the dance going. Periodically they make pelvic movements. Another dancer, standing apart from the rest, holds a spear between the pairs of singers (*hodé' ana*). They all move in a sequence of six steps that continues all night long: Left, Right, Left, Right,

Right, Left. The beat is pounded out on the ground and is marked by
the ringing of bells. On the last beat there is no threshing. The impor-
tant element of the dance is the motion of the pelvis, visually and soni-
cally emphasised by the kedewak belt, the bells and chains, and the goat
hair and shell decorations, all of which reinforce the energy conveyed.

3   The myth in a speech

This dance may actually refer to three kinds of epics: the origin of rice,
the origin of the clans, and the origin of the baby boy.[29] These epics are
only ever mastered by special storytellers. In Eastern Flores, as in many
places in the Austronesian world, these men have religious powers,
which are expressed through ritualistic speeches.

n clan. Social structure consists of two kinds of clans: sovereign/lord
status (*suku raja tuan*) and the other, subordinate status (*suku wu'un*
'new clans'). The first have the rights and obligations to make offerings
to the earth (*huké tana*). There are, theoretically speaking, four main
clans (*koten* 'head', *kelen* 'tail', *hurit* 'knife', *maran* 'prayer'[30]), with each
of their names related to their distinct obligations during the animal
sacrifices.

Since ancient times, the Maran clan in Waiklibang reserves the right
to perform ritualistic speech and songs. The ritualistic roles were dis-
tributed 15 generations ago, or, more precisely, at the time of the chief
ancestor Hajon Béra Puang Bala of the Lohayong dynasty when a father
gave various rights and duties to his four different sons. The first
Maran thus became a chanter (*todo bawa*) and healer (*molan*).[31] That is
why today the Maran clan does the singing; even today, chanters and
healers still come from the Maran clan, as this gift is hereditary. Thus,
speech and song are closely related and belong to the ritual sphere, to
an old, religious way of life.

Three expressions are used in Waiklibang to refer to those who mas-
ter speech and song.[32] Although they are not all synonymous, their
meanings are sometimes similar. *Todo bawa* is the name of the storytel-
ler, also called opak, the one who recites and prays (*tutu marin* 'utter,
pronounce'). He has permission to tell the myth in its entirety. In the
village, he is considered to have a higher status than even the healer.
He is the one whose voice is 'heard' – todo bawa means 'to hit the
drum continuously'.[33] His mission – mastering ritual speech, thus facil-
itating the reproduction of life – can cause the performer's death.
Sacred within the community, the storyteller is the key person in the
performance because his knowledge is both literary and historical. In
every village, even today, one to three storytellers can be found; without
them, the myth and dance cannot happen.

The *sason rurén*, 'zither flute', is another metaphorical name for the ritual 'singer of tales.'[34] His knowledge comes from a supernatural power, as a magical gift. He is the one who knows the tales and the history without having to be informed by others. He can go to a village and chant its past, even if he does not belong to it. The mastery of speech is not shared freely; it is a power held by a few. If there are more than two who possess this knowledge, this fact often leads to war.

Kukak kolon, from *kukak* 'blackbird' and *kolon* 'bird; also a metaphor for the male sex', is a metaphor for good singers. The expression originates from a tale that recalls how a man who longs to have the voice of the kukak kolon bird went to a specific place and took the insides from a young bird's mouth. After four days, he became mute. On the fifth day, he began to sing the hode ana' song in an extremely melodious way. When this man died, people saw a bird leaving his body (Bapa' Kebojan, personal communication, 12 January 2007).

The todo bawa, sason rurén and kukak kolon figures illustrate how intimately the ability to sing is related to the power of religious speech. The hierarchy of singers is fixed: the storyteller (opak, todo bawa, sason rurén) is considered of greater status than the singer (kukak kolon).

4   The myth in a song

In the haman opak bélun song, the myth is sung through a special arrangement of the voices.[35] On an isochronous beat, with the beat stamped out by the feet, three groups sing alternately: (1) the storyteller and his embroiderer, (2) then two pairs of singers (3) and possibly a soloist (see fig. 5.3 and video 5.1[36]). There are seven singers and a total of 30 dancers.

a.   The opak (storyteller) is introduced by his embroiderer (nukun opak). The opak chants the myth while the nukun opak repeats the opak's last word, adding a layer of vocal flourishes to the former's voice. Various other techniques, (counterpoint, parallel voices, drones) are also used (audio sample 5.1[37]). During the entire night, two different opak singers and two or three embroiderers may sing alternately.

b.   After one hundred lines, four singers in pairs (hodé' ana) 'receive the line', the last line of the opak. This musical sequence contrasts with the preceding account of the myth: now dancers shout enthusiastically, insufflating energy onto the dance. The first pair is called the *ana puken* ('origin line'); while the second pair, the *ana wutun* ('closing line'), repeats the words of the former. The two pairs stand near each other. One pair includes the first voice, called *hodé'* ('to receive'), and the second voice, called *nuku* ('second voice') or *teren* ('voice of animal calling its children'). Most of the time, the hode' ana lyrics are an echo of the

Figure 5.3 *Cycle of voices in the song haman opak bélun*

1. *opak* "storyteller"	2. *hode' ana* "Receiving the line"		3. *nukun*
opak + nukun opak 2 voices: 1. *opak*, "storyteller" 2. *nukun opak* or *nukun keru'* ("short" *nukun*)	*ana puken* "line origin" 2 voices: 1. *hode'* 2. *nuku*	*ana wutun* "closing line" 2 voices: 1. *hode'* 2. *nuku*	*nukun belaha* "long *nukun*" 1 voice
Myth presented in duet form	Free lines, refers to the myth		Improvisation (optional)

storyteller but they may also be linked to the context of the perfor-
mance. 'Hodé' ana, it's only a variation, only an expansion: opak and
nukun are the absolute essence of our ancestors, they tell the names
...', Paulus Iké Ruron, a singer from Lamatou explained to me in
November 2006.

c. The hodé' ana is sometimes followed by a soloist, the nukun blaha
('long second voice') or nukun ana ('second voice line'). Semi-impro-
vised, this secondary account may be related to actual situations within
the village, or to the singer's own mood. Though it is less important
than the myth, this part may provoke a deep emotional response. The cy-
cle then continues with the main storyteller. The organisation of the
song is based on a clear assignment of musical tasks for specific
performers:

> Opak stops first, then comes hodé' ana. They stop because peo-
> ple who listen are bored, because in this dance, opak is paired
> with hodé' ana, alternating with nukun blaha, in order to make
> clear that the night may last long ... (Bapa' Arnoldus Kebojan
> Maran, opak singer, personal communication, January 2007).

The opak, hodé' ana and nukun blaha singers have musical and literary
talents that are not shared freely within the community, and also not

among the singers themselves. Few people master the art of singing within this musical texture characterised by a droning voiceover and counterpoint; fewer still master the storytelling.

5   The myth as a play

During the agricultural cycle, a maiden is chosen by each land-owning clan to represent the rice maiden at every stage of the cycle.[38] She first enters the clan's house (*lango belen*) to stay while the rice is still being stored in the rice barn, before she begins to participate in the women's songs. At dawn, the women dancers are wrapped together in one old Indian piece of textile (*ketipa*) by the ritual's leader (*madun mula'* literally 'post to hang, to stand'), who then leads them inside the rice barn (located inside the clan's house) so that they can sing the berasi songs at around 5 AM (see video). On the ritualistic level, this represents the calling back into the house of the rice maiden's soul, whose spiritual presence is required for the preparation of the seeds.

A few months later, in the sowing period, the girl who represents the rice maiden is brought to the field to be symbolically 'sacrificed' in front of a hut built for her (the *mau majon*), together with food offerings and animals (pigs and goats). Prayers (*tutu marin*) are performed, the earth is fed (*huké*), and the blood of the animals is sprayed on the coconuts. Then the place is cooled with coconut water. Four months later, during the rice harvest in May, the girl emerges again in order to stand at the head of the harvesting line-up (*nerak puken*, 'land origin'), near the ritual's leader. The first day of harvest is the time for 'cleaning her bed' (*hoi uli*), which happens between 3 and 6 PM. Her clothes – the same ones she wore a few months earlier – are brought to the field; sacrifices are made again.

Thus the entire year's rituals are marked by the ongoing performance of the primordial myth through dance, song, speech and 'play'. The rice maiden remains mute throughout the play; the play's lyrics are conveyed solely through prayers and songs.

The myth in working songs

A particular song is performed for each agrarian activity. Each song's organisation, melodic shape and lyrics depend on the kind of agricultural work and the time of the day. Two-part singing is the essential unifying musical principle, combining a first voice (hodé') with a second voice (*tenewo* or *nuku*). Men and women usually do not sing together. Over the course of all of the performances, the myth of the origin of rice is regularly recalled.

a   Sowing

The two-part *go'ok* song is performed during sowing and harvesting. This song is said to originate from Muleng in the Paji region, a few kilometres from Waiklibang. The leader (hodé') delivers the complete lyrics, whereas the embroiderer (nuku) sings only a few words of these

Figure 5.4   *Go'ok*

lyrics. In this waning song, the embroiderer performs an ostinato line involving three pitches, employing a particular type of voice vibrato (audio sample 5.3).[39] This style, common in Tanjung Bunga, is called gereket or gelokor (derived from gereken, 'to call the chicken'). Small intervals often separate the two voices (cf. fig. 5.4 and audio sample 5.3).

Some of the lyrics are rooted in myth. In the audio sample, the song text inquires about the divine origin of the rice maiden, here called Muken, who comes from a land far away inside the earth, the Muguragan land:

Adigo, Muken moé lewun bota	Hi, Muken, from where do you come?
tana Muguragan tobo	in Muguragan land you sit
Molan moé mata mo tanirek	Healer, if you can
saé' seba' kaju lolon	search for the leaves of the tree

While they are sowing, another song, the *berasi nikat*, is sung, employing a different type of counterpoint. The lyrics, in hexasyllabic lines, describe the rice maiden as a thirsty girl:

Tuso mala biné'	He breastfeeds his sister
buat mala ana'	he cradles his child[40]
Biné' tapin wai	Sister asks for water
ana' teren kajo	sister calls for rain[41]

Over the course of the songs and the telling of the myth, the rice maiden is given various names: *muken, biné ana'* ('sister's child'), *Tono Wujo, Nogo Ema* or *Nogo Gunu*. This variety mirrors her many metamorphoses.

b Weeding

When the people are weeding, they sing the *lian keremet* ('songs grass'), often considered to be 'the saddest' of the songs, because they don't know yet if the harvest will succeed. This example refers to the most dramatic part of the myth of rice, which is when the rice maiden is about to be killed in the centre of the field (*duli tukan*):

Hon dai béto géré	Invite here all the people
rédén duli tukan	in a line in the middle of the field
Pulo hon léin dai	Ten from below going up
léma beto weran géré	five from above

In these lines, the space is given structure: the centre, the lower part and the upper part of the field. It recalls the part of the myth in which the mother searches for her daughter in the four cardinal directions. The melodies and lyrics that are sung in the morning, called *goé*, differ from those of the afternoon, the *obarik*. The voices may move in loose parallels, responding to one another in free metre and countermovements (fig. 5.5, audio sample 5.2[42]).

Figure 5.5   *Goé*

c   Harvesting

The harvest indicates the time when at least eight kinds of songs are sung (fig. 5.2).[43] The *najan* are particularly valued in Waiklibang; they are performed by one to ten alternating pairs of singers standing in the harvest line. There are six kinds of najan that are all associated with different times of the day, and all of them are based on different melodic patterns.

at dawn	*najan gulen wati*
in the morning	*najan leron or reron* ('najan daylight')
in the mid-morning	*najan wajako* ('najan offer us [betelnut]')
at midday	*najan lera leron* ('najan sun-day')
in the afternoon	*najan lera owa/lera lere' - ketohé* ('najan sun-afternoon/sun down - towards evening')
before going back	*najan perawi'* ('najan request')

Six types of najan according to the time of day

Fig. 5.6 gives an example of a *najan gulen wati*, sung at dawn, which requests that the sister gets up (audio sample 5.4[44]). The breasts and hands of the maiden in all of these najan song texts, serve as metaphors for rice.

Najan perawi' are often considered to be the saddest; the lyrics describe parting ('you stay, I go back'), the sun has set, and people feel the end approaching.

Figure 5.6   *Najan gulen wati*

Another important harvest song is *lian semogon*. Male pairs sing it with a chorus responding with 'O'; it is accompanied by a lively dance. The lyrics again recall the myth of the rice maiden.

> *Kato kai boté biné'*   I always rock this sister
> *kato kai buat ana'*   always cradle this child

Biné' go raé apun papuk   Every day, sister is cooled by the dew
ana' go raé réra pak   sister is warmed by the sun

Apun papuk beringin   The dew makes her feel cool
réra pak té pelaté   with the sun she feels hot

Na'an seba' lakin pito   Brothers, hunt seven male animals
ama sawa ulen lema   and find five male pigs

Lakin pito getan kaé   Seven male animals already complete
ulen léma gait kaé   five male pigs already

(recorded May 17, 2007 during the harvest in Waiklibang)

This sample shows the importance of the body and of motion (the rice maiden is cradled and rocked), the contrasting sensations (she is cooled, then warmed), and the tragic essence of the tale becomes evident with the announcement of her sacrifice.

Despite the brevity of this overview, we see that the myth of rice origin provides the general background for most of the songs; many of the lyrics emphasise femininity, childhood and sacrifice.

The making of feelings through songs

I noticed people on several occasions when recording in the field who were seriously attempting to contain their feelings of sadness. One man even told me how the song made him cry. Obviously, the songs evoked melancholic feelings. Did this sadness come from the music itself, or from the lyrics, or was it a combination of the two? What feelings were expressed when singing these songs about cultivating rice? Bapa' Gabriel Dagan Maran, one of the most appreciated singers in Waiklibang, told me that the songs made people remember (*hukut*, 'remember with nostalgia', *peten*, 'remember') and that they felt their 'inside hard' (*one' suké*) or their 'inside suffering' (*one' belara*). As we search for the link between sound and sentiment, the classification of songs, the main topics, and the feeling of the singers as they themselves described them may help us to understand.

1   Songs vary according to time

In many places in eastern Flores and west Solor, the prescribed songs change according to the location of the sun in the sky. They are related to five or six times of the day: early morning, mid-morning, midday, afternoon, and sunset. The passage of time is included in the lyrics and the melodies (each melody is linked to a specific time).

The passage of time as expressed in the songs affects the nostalgia of the singers: when the sun sets, feelings of sadness follow suit. During the cleansing of the field, after the performance of the song, Bapa' Lego spoke to me about the sadness of the goé song, which reminded him of fleeting time, and times gone by:

> While singing, we perform with the feelings and soul that we have: we feel sad, very sad. Because we think about the times that have passed, earlier times already far away, [we realize] that we only take care of the present while we let the old times escape. Goé and Leko Lau are the saddest songs, which describe the situation of our times. Now we only imagine the old times; we sing about them, it makes us sad, like old tales. In the olden days, here [i.e., in Waiklibang] we could be singing in a dozen pairs of singers. All the guys you see here would be singing, many of them would be able to sing, but now, it's only us, the elders, and that's all. So now we do it like this. In the next 20 years, if we sing like this, we will think about that, and it's sad. People who can do that are no more. [... Remembering] the older times makes us feel sad. When we are doing that [i.e., singing], we drift away in thoughts (*bayang sendiri*), we gaze (*renung*), we feel sorrowful (*rasa sedih*) (Bapa' Lego, personal communication, 19 January 2007).

Bapa' Lego claims that singing activates memories of the past, producing melancholy. Singing taps into his consciousness of two separate times (the past and present). His sorrow also stems from the gradual disappearance of the singers, which has had a serious effect on his work activities. In another village, singer Paulus Pati Koten considers the saddest song to be the long *nukun blaha* narrative, which reminds him of the difficulties of the earlier days, when he worked in the field and did not harvest anything:

> The saddest song is the *nukun panjang*, 'long nukun'. It tells about the suffering of this village or the suffering [that ensued] when our ceremonial house (*koké*) had to be destroyed, and then we worked in the field and there was nothing to harvest. After that, all the men sat down and proceeded to offer prayers to the ancestors. After that, the ceremonial house was rebuilt, and then we could harvest again; so it tells about the suffering that continued for years and about the years when there was nothing to harvest, and we felt sad. However, maybe there was an order to destroy the ceremonial house, so, in the end, all of the people had their difficulties and had to search for wild potatoes (*ubi hutan*)

and other things. Now, people don't search anymore for that [wild potatoes]. Some people can cry. Only Mama Ema Hurit can tell stories like this. The younger generation are unable to tell the long nukun. It depends on one's personal gifts [from above] (Paulus Pati Koten, Lewotala, personal communication, 11 November 2006).

Sadness also surfaces in the songs that recall the hard times, the struggles for life and the battles over religion, the latter often by evocation of the time when in 1971 the Indonesian government ordered the destruction of ceremonial houses, the centre of their religious life.

2 Songs emphasise the idea of parting

During the harvest, the workers 'touch' the 'sister' (*biné ana'*). Sadness, for them, arises after a long day in the field when they are about to leave and ask the maiden for her permission to return:

Biné' koré léro léra gopé kaé ién go	My sister, when the sun sets
Na'an goperawin' moé lekut léin toran	your brothers request you to fold your legs and wait
Tobo téden pati leran urin	Sit and wait for your brothers until tomorrow
ama gopa tenamo galuk lima lota koba	your father asks to cross your hands
ban béda nuan doré	wait for your father.

(from najan song, Waiklibang, 2006)

Singing a song is the only way to talk to the rice maiden. The song can express concern with gentleness and parental care. The song humanises the plant, expressing a sense of respect for it. Singing this song to the rice maiden every year, at every stage of the cycle, results in a continuous remembrance of the parting. The song thus deepens the emotional loss by recalling tragic patterns – the suffering of the mother, the sadness of the brothers, the separation of brothers and sister, mother and daughter, brothers and brothers. This mythical parting, for the performers, stands for nearly every possible kind of separation. Listeners and singers alike remember their late parents or a deceased child, someone may remember his beloved who is away, someone may remember his dead singing partner, while someone else may remember parting with his brothers.[45] A particular kind of sadness seems to emerge when a late singing partner is remembered, especially if the pair sang together for a long time. The surviving singer often becomes so miserable that he refuses to ever sing again.

3   Other dysphoric topics of the myth

Apart from loss and the passage of time, other dysphoric patterns recur in the myth that arouses distress and anxiety: murder, blood, mutilations, death, quarrels, loneliness, and rape. The tragic nature of the myth culminates in the sister's decision to die at the hands of her own brothers. Her suffering begins after her death, when she undergoes a metamorphosis of the soul. One part of the myth (lines 1,462 to the end) recalls her journey and the various rapes she has endured. After being raped, she gives birth to a baby, which is killed by the people from Adonara (lines 1558 and seq.). This is the reason why she does not propagate in Adonara; even today, rice is not the main crop there, and the myth is also not performed there.

Paradoxically, murder gives way to the 'birth' of crops, the staple food essential for survival; thus, from sacrifice comes life. The killing of human beings, the fertility of plants, and the fecundity of life are inseparably interrelated here. This link between death and life allows the people of Tanjung Bunga to experience a particular gravity that is attached to being alive, a specific awareness of life itself. Music, here, does not seem related to cheerfulness, nor is it a playful activity; it is closely connected with this tragedy, singing is a serious matter, an intense act, probably essential for their survival.

4   Musical texture and emotions

> We have to do it with feeling: if we are only rough, it is not good ... It's good that the flute is smooth and harsh at the same time (*bagus kalau halus kasar*). The song must evoke a soft feeling (*perasaan lembut*). It must go down (Bapa' Leo Lego Koten, personal communication 19 January 2007).

According to Bapa' Lego, the art of singing requires smoothness and at the same time, harshness, and a soft feeling, in addition, it 'must go down' as well. Are these criteria manifested in the musical texture itself? At first listening, the voices do not seem especially smooth; they are mostly open and unstrained, with open throat singing resulting in a sharp timbre. The male voices, interestingly, sing in the higher ranges, while female voices are found in the lower ranges (Messner 1989: 24). The nearby neighbours of the Waiklibang villagers in Lewotala, who listened to my recordings of the songs, considered the voices 'rough', and so did other observers who found them 'tight and tense' (Yampolsky 1995a: 8).

Tanjung Bunga's music is almost exclusively characterised by two-voice textures. This musical preference is rooted in the myth of the

Siamese brothers, according to which, a mother gave birth to a boy with two heads; the two voices have to harmonise to become one sound (Rappoport 2010). To this end, various techniques are used, including parallel movement, counterpoints, ostinato, and alternating drones. The main feature of this aesthetic is the weaving together of the two parts at very narrow intervals (100 to 300 cents) (figs. 5.4 to 5.6). The minor second, often described as rough in tempered music,[46] is here considered a consonance (Messner 1989: 22). The close proximity between the two parts requires a great deal of practice and a high degree of harmony, which I also noticed between other pairs of singers: closeness in intervals necessitates physical proximity. Singers often perform with the same companion throughout their lives, usually someone whose voice has a complementary timbre to harmonise with. The quality of the intervals, the similarity of the voice timbres and the intimate weaving, in a sense, is what makes these songs 'smooth'. Moreover, the flow of the songs is never rapid, the beat is always between 80 to 120 beats per minute.

Another point is the downward melodic movement (figs. 5.4 and 5.5). Although the tonal ambitus of the song is small, the descending movement is obvious: the melodic line commences from the top pitches (340 Hz = F), in the course of the melody, then descending towards the finalis (240 Hz = B) (in go'ok 204 Hz, in najan 242 Hz, in goé 247 Hz).

Conclusion

In Lamaholot culture, vocal performance is connected with the need for food; musical life depends on the growing of rice. The essential nature of this staple is regularly recalled through the performance of a famous myth, which is also widespread in other parts of insular Southeast Asia: A maiden has to be sacrificed so that she can be transformed into rice that can feed the whole region. In a small area at the extreme eastern end of Flores, this myth is performed through two kinds of performance genres. In the haman opak bélun dance, it is told in its entirety. Meanwhile, the work songs, echo fragments of the myth. These performances, vital for their livelihood, mark the lunar calendar and the structure of time.

Through the songs, special attention is paid to a central figure, often named the 'sister child', an allegory for the rice plant. In addressing the rice plant as 'sister', the myth anthropomorphises the plant.

The sentiments expressed in the singing performances mostly deal with the passage of time, loneliness, loss and death. The songs evoke individual memories related to these topics via the key theme of 'time'.

The myth of rice, which revolves around a tragic death, is interpreted individually, drawing on personal memories. Sorrow is the main emotion evoked by these songs. Throughout the songs, there is an ambiguity between the two sentiments experienced simultaneously: the happiness that comes with socialising on the occasion of a successful harvest, and a sense of tragedy that is linked to the phenomenon of personal loss, which lends these songs a particular intensity that floats endlessly through this strange borderland between dysphoria and euphoria.

Notes

1   Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Centre Asie du Sud-Est, Paris.
2   The fieldwork was performed among the Lamaholot linguistic group, during a period of 11 months, from August 2006 to July 2007, with the support of Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) in Indonesia and Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in France. I am grateful to these institutions and to Ninuk Kleden, my sponsor, for allowing me to undertake this research. My warm thanks go to all the singers and people from Tanjung Bunga, especially from Waiklibang.
3   Pitch analysis was done using Acousmographe, developed by E. Favreau and Yann Geslin in 2006, Groupe de Recherches Musicales (GRM).
4   In 'Indonesia/General/Musical overview/Genres and ensembles', *Grove online*, Philip Yampolsky, accessed February 2008.
5   For similar phenomena in Papua, see Duvelle 2003.
6   The twin flute (*rurén*), fiddle (*sason*), musical bow (*arabeka*), and bamboo zither (*keniit*) have almost disappeared. The only place where I could attempt to record a fiddle (*sason sina*) player was in Wulangitan district; however, the musician proved to be too old to be able to perform properly.
7   Indonesianisation began with the independence of Indonesia in 1945. It is part of a political strategy toward unification and uniformisation proclaimed in national development plans, which strives to create a national culture despite the regional variations, with a national language as the main tool. It is rooted in the *Pancasila,* the 'five principles' of the nation (see Bonneff 1980).
8   This mixed round *dolo-dolo* dance is very much alive in Adonara and Lembata islands and the urban quarters of Larantuka during the feast of San Juan in June.
9   Lamaholot is one of the many Austronesian languages of Eastern Indonesia belonging to the Central Malayo-Polynesian group (Wurm S.A. 1983). The number of speakers including those in Adonara, Solor and Lembata is c. 220,000, (Badan Pusat Statistik 2005a; 2005b).
10 In the song *Opak tutu ukut raran Tono Wujo,* which I recorded in 2006, a dyad says: '*Koko Ratu rera wulan/Balé Nini tana ékan*' ('Ceremonial house from Ratu Sun Moon/ ceremonial house from Nini Land of Earth'). *Ratu*, the male figure, and *Nini*, the female, represent the original couple. In Tanjung Bunga, their images are often sculpted into the posts of the ceremonial house. See also Graham 1996: 159 and Barnes 1996: 159.
11 About the translation of this expression, see Graham 1996: 158, note 4.
12 A village contains a certain number of clans (between three and a dozen), a few of which are the land-owning clans.
13 In Waiklibang, one of the three main land-owning clans, the Maran clan, includes seven big families (Uré, Lado, Belili, Waen, Puru, Raga, Bugit). The responsibilities for

the field and hence, the observation of the agricultural year, is shared among the families following an alternating scheme.

14   *Ulan,* 'burned remains', *awo,* 'field already burned and ready for sowing'.

15   If two clans are lords of the same land in a village, like Waiklibang, the *sikat man* sowing ritual must be performed twice. In Waiklibang, the two main clans are the Maran and Koten, so the ritual is first performed by the Maran clan, then a week later by the Koten clan. The second time it is performed it is called *helonikat* ('in replacement for sowing').

16   The word *berasi* (*blasi, belasi*) is used all over Eastern Flores and West Solor to designate various two part songs connected with agricultural work. In Waiklibang, *berasi* is a duet, sung by members of the same sex and associated with different aspects of work (to cut the wood, to walk to the field, to plant). Its musical syntax is based on short lines, a rapid alternation between pairs of singers; and cadences of the two voices in an ascending movement towards the vowel "i". Each pair sings one dyadic octosyllable on a short pattern of ten pulses. Female *berasi* is considered 'easier' than male *berasi*.

17   The tale of the rice maiden is predominantly found in Flores, though more so in Eastern Flores and Solor. Cf. Mabuchi 1964; Josselin de Jong 1965: 284; Friedberg 1980: 267; Lewis 1988; Hoskins 1989; Erb 1994; Pelras 1974; 2002.

18   See the version of Belogili in Kohl 1998.

19   *Nitun* are the spirits dwelling on earth, *harin* are the spirits dwelling in the sea.

20   *Oa* is a nickname for young girls, like the Indonesian *nona.*

21   Translated from Lamaholot to Indonesian by Franz Liwun from Waiklibang, January 2007.

22   Ceremonial houses are common in the southern part of Tanjung Bunga, in the 'Demon part', whereas northern Tanjung Bunga, 'Paji', has no ceremonial houses (about Demon/Paji, see Ruth Barnes 1987: 18). Ceremonial houses may have different names (*balé, koko, koké, korké...*). A ceremonial house built on pilings and without walls, has a vegetal roof, which is changed annually or, nowadays, permanently replaced with a metal roof of some kind. Each building is maintained by one specific clan. Some buildings were destroyed in c. 1970 but have since been rebuilt, for example, in Watuwiti in 2006.

23   After 1965, people were summoned to leave their traditional villages to relocate along the coast. The original village of Waiklibang called Ratulodong remains uninhabited but people still perform their rituals there. It is about three kilometres from the coast in the mountains.

24   Excerpted from the tale of the origin of rice, *haman opak bélun, gurun gawak be'ola tugu,* recorded in November 2006, lines 821-822.

25   In Waiklibang, the three dances performed to tell the myth were 1) *haman opak bélun,* 2) *nama nigi*, and 3) *lian maneron. Nama nigi,* from *nigi* 'difficult', is a chain dance with difficult steps, which is performed on a cycle of 16 beats. The musical organisation has to follow this cycle and the melody has to match the steps; *lian maneron* is a female chain dance on a different melody. The singers move in a circle around the *nuba* stones. The song also alternates voices – *opak, hodé ana* and *nukun* – but in a very different way than the *haman opak bélun.*

26   In Waiklibang, the dance is often called the *mura lian* or 'lively song'. At Lewotala, a few kilometres from Waiklibang, it is called *hodé' ana opak béle',* 'to welcome the line, to tell the great story', or *haman hodé' ana,* 'to thresh, to receive the line'. *Ana* here means 'poetic line' and is different from *ana',* 'child' (Leo Koten, personal communication, January 2007).

27   The threshing dance is performed by young men, in a single file that rotates four times in a counterclockwise direction ('Left, Right, Right, Left') while shouting

colloquial, sexually suggestive, or childish lines in a combination of the Lamaholot and Nagi languages. The whole dance is performed with great hilarity.

28 In 1965, in connection with attempts to eliminate the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), people were forbidden to perform this dance. Most of the dancing clothes were lost at that time. However, the villagers continued to perform this dance in secret and without the traditional costumes. Despite the loss of the latter, the dance was apparently performed as it was in older times. In 2006, dancers from Waiklibang decided to recreate the costumes and in this process also asked me to help find some bells for them.

29 *Opak tutu ukut raran Tono Wujo,* 'story telling the road of Tono Wujo', is the story of the origin of rice. *Usu asa,* 'origins [of the clans]', is sung for the renovation of ceremonial houses. *Bai béda,* 'baby boy', is the story of the children of Liwun's clan sung during the *lodon ana'* ritual.

30 This quadri-partition does not appear everywhere. In Waiklibang, there are not four sovereign clans, but three: Maran, Koten, Liwun. The Maran clan is the oldest here, whereas the Koten clan is considered the youngest.

31 Yacobus Uré Maran, personal communication, November 2006. The link between singing and healing also became clear when I was told the story about the curing of a child through song, in Kawaliwu. In another place close by, Muleng (Tanjung Bunga), the main singer I met in 2007, Bapa' Siwat, was both a healer and a chanter.

32 These expressions vary in every Tanjung Bunga village.

33 *Todo* means 'to hit, to help', and *bawa* has two musical meanings: 1) in the north of Tanjung Bunga, it is sometimes the name for the first voice in a two-part song; 2) in Lembata, *bawa(r)* means 'drum' (Kédang, Ilé Apé, Watuwaver).

34 *Rurén* is a ring-stop twin flute played by a single player. The two bamboo tubes (*bulo*) are 38 cm long. One has seven stops and the other only six. They are tuned at an interval about 180-220 cents, approximately a major second (about this flute, see Vatter 1932: 81; Kunst 1942: 138, Yampolsky 1995b: 17-18).

35 The terminology of this song, with reference to Riang Puho, has been commented on by G.F. Messner (Messner 1989: 17-18).

36 Video 5.1: 'To sing the Rice.' Video documentary recorded in Waiklibang (Tanjung Bunga), Flores, from November 2006 to May 2007. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

37 Audio sample 5.1: *Haman opak bélun.* Recorded 13 October 2006, Waiklibang (Tanjung Bunga), Flores. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

38 In Waiklibang, two clans (Maran and Koten) each perform the ritual cycle in their own field. So for each of these two clans, one maiden was chosen.

39 Audio sample 5.2: *Go'ok.* Recorded 8 November 2006, Waiklibang (Tanjung Bunga), Flores. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

40 *Buat,* 'to sail, to cradle'.

41 *Biné* (sister) *ana'* ('child') is a metaphor for *Tono Wujo*. Like many other expressions in Lamaholot these two words are paired based on the principle of *kenahan'/kenapén* or complementary pairing of words (Taum 1994: 211).

42 Audio sample 5.3: *Goé.* Recorded 2 December 2006, Waiklibang (Tanjung Bunga), Flores. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

43 In May 2007, during the harvest, from 2 PM to 6 PM, *berasi panalaran, lian semogon, najan* and *lian kenolon* were sung. At 7 PM, *haman opak bélun* was danced until the next morning. Then, at 5 AM, the performers went harvesting and while doing so sang *najan, lian semogon,* and *berasi* until 12 AM midnight.

44 Audio sample 5.4: *Najan.* Recorded 2 December 2006, Waiklibang, Flores. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

45 *Na'an* is the brother on the mother's side (Pampus 2001: 161).

46 See Schaeffner 1968 [1980]: 327; Rappoport 1997: 297.

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MADAGASCAR

6   Tromba Children, Maresaka, and Postcolonial Malady in Madagascar

Ron Emoff

[I]n ritual healing, discrete occurrences of imagery are endowed
with the valence of performative force, and assume a specific ef-
ficacy in transforming other dimensions of the self ... each image
or sequence of images is a performative act that puts into play a
particular rhetoric of therapeutic transformation, where what is
transformed is the patient's orientation and engagement in the
world (Csordas 1996).

Throughout Madagascar, Malagasy people engage performatively in an-
cestral reverence and spirit possession in a ceremonial practice known
as *tromba*. Powerful ancestral spirits, often those of royalty that ruled
much of Madagascar prior to French colonial control (officially from
1896 to 1960) are recalled into the present in tromba ceremony, to take
human form and to interact with the living. Royal ancestral tromba spir-
its are coaxed, appeased, even cajoled – in large part musically – into the
present, most immediately to heal illness, though they are also called
upon for their capacities to resolve disputes, offer advice, alleviate daily
problems, and otherwise empower the present. This chapter addresses
the significance – musical and other – of appearances at tromba ceremo-
nies of distinctive tromba spirits, ones that become embodiments of the
children of Malagasy royal ancestors. In tromba spirit possession,
Malagasy people construct or awaken a flexible, fluid, combinative, and
musical self, inevitably to heal illness, to recreate and affirm social order
and familial bonds, as well as to redress varied social and other inequi-
ties, both past and present. In addition to being a devotional practice,
tromba spirit possession ceremony is an active, expressive and interpre-
tive event in which Malagasy comment dramatically upon, empower,
even alter their place in the world, both past and present.

  A tromba ceremony typically begins with a musical benediction per-
formed most often either on diatonic button accordion (introduced into
Madagascar by Europeans in the latter part of the 19th century) or on
valiha (see fig. 6.1[1]), a term that designates a family of diatonically
tuned, stringed instruments used throughout Madagascar. This instru-
ment's body is commonly made from bamboo, roofing sheet metal, or
pine planks, depending upon the acoustic properties desired by

members of specific groups of Malagasy people. The bamboo valiha is tubular while the sheet metal and pine versions are rectangular, each approximately 4 feet in length. A valiha usually has 21-24 strings aligned either around the bamboo body, or on either vertical face of the rectangular version. The valiha's strings are made by individually un-braiding single strands of a bicycle brake cable or a heavier gauge in-dustrial cable, and then stretching this wire the length of the instru-ment and fastening it at either end. The accordion or valiha is accompa-nied by one or more kaiamba shakers, made from lengths of bamboo or from a metal can, with small round pebbles or plant seeds inserted.

   The initial instrumental section performed upon valiha or accordion serves to awaken ancestral spirits and to alert them to the need for their appearance in the present ceremony. Varied spirits are adept at healing different illnesses, and individual spirits each have their preferred mu-sical composition to which they will arrive in the present moment. Thus the repertoire for a ceremony varies depending upon which spirits must be called on that particular occasion.

Space and temporality in tromba ceremony

Tromba ceremony conflates past and present into one another, to com-bine royal ancestral court and everyday dwelling place of the living, and to allow ancient royal spirit and living personality to interact. A tromba ceremony merges temporalities, spaces, and the personalities that inha-bit(ed) them. Manipulations of musical time, in which individual instru-mental parts shift in and then out of phase with one another, set the psychical and emotive stage for reorientations of historical time.[2] For example, the beginning of *kaiamba* shaker phrases sometimes aligns with the beginning of melodic-rhythmic phrases played on valiha or ac-cordion. Yet, often in the performance of the same composition or set of compositions, the kaiamba phrase *does not* so align with valiha or ac-cordion phrase (illustrated in fig. 6.2). Such alteration can yield a sense of constantly shifting musical frame, and can generate an aural experi-ence of ungroundedness in which it becomes difficult or impossible to ascertain or follow a particular sense of 'the beat' – one may readily be-come lost or absorbed in the valence of the shifting in and then out of phase sections.[3] Some Malagasy tromba-istes have explained that live musical performance helps to '*manova ilay fotoana*', to alter time. The saturation of the tromba house – itself a conflation, for instance, of an ancient Malagasy king's royal court and a contemporary Malagasy per-son's dwelling space – with complex polyvalent musical articulations, sets not only temporal, but also spatial parameters, both past and pre-sent, of the tromba possession experience.

Figure 6.2 *Comparison of segments of a particular valiha performance in which kaiamba shaker phrases do (a), and then do not (b) align with valiha phrases. While Malagasy tromba musicians do not represent musical performance with or in written notation, the staff system here, which will likely be familiar to many readers, nicely conveys the alignment, then the disalignment of pulses, which I am discussing in this musical example.*

Another mode of aural shifting occurs in Malagasy ceremonial music, in which the rhythm kept by kaiamba shaker may be heard in combined groupings of 6, 3, or 2 pulses (illustrated in fig. 6.3). Ceremonial participants may shift from clapping any one of these three rhythms throughout the course of a tromba ceremony. I must note that Malagasy do not express any perception that components of their ceremonial musics are 'out of synch' with one another. I use 'out of phase' to refer specifically to the physical disalignment of waveforms or musical pulses, not to suggest any sense, Malagasy or my own, of rhythmic discordance or abnormality.

Diane Thram (2002) writes that an energy and power emerge from the collective experience of music-making's unique temporal structuration and flow, a resultant socialising togetherness in (musical) time which, in turn, enables a level of concentration that results in an 'abandonment of self-consciousness' (Thram 2002). In Malagasy tromba ceremony, continual shifting in musical-temporal relations signals, aurally and indexically, the concomitant reorientation of place and particular spaces (as mentioned, in the coalescence of ancient royal court and current everyday dwelling, for instance), and the incorporation into the ceremonial body of ancient and, in many ways, foreign spirits. During possession, the medium's own consciousness is then transferred temporarily to the tomb of the attending spirit (an action itself transcending a fixity of place and time). Thram continues,

I am suggesting that this same 'force' or the energy created in the process of making music (or full participation in

Figure 6.3 *Malagasy ceremonial music's tripartite rhythm. In European art music terminology, 'hemiola' refers to the simultaneous use of triple and duple meter, which creates a syncopation of rhythmic pulses. Malagasy do not use this term to describe their tripartite rhythm, which is distinct from hemiola, for one in its very tripartite structure. Unlike in most uses of hemiola, any of the three component Malagasy metrical configurations may be accentuated in performance by itself, or in any combination with the other two – thus this Malagasy mode of rhythmicity is often unfixed in form, reliant upon improvisation, and subject to the implicit sense of non-occurring components (even when not overtly accentuated, all three rhythmic components are heard or felt in Malagasy musical experience). The kaiamba overtly accentuates the uppermost and lowermost rhythms represented here – Malagasy, nonetheless, hear, and may clap, for instance, the triple-meter component, diagrammed on the middle line of this illustration and implicit in the kaiamba's rhythm.*
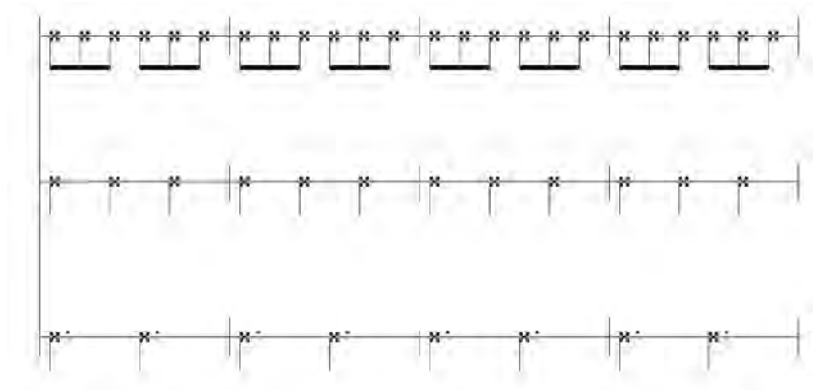
performance of any kind, for example acting, story telling and so on) has a positive effect on the performer that is beneficial to his/her entire being, and therefore therapeutic (Thram 2002).

Musical performance brings people together sentimentally and in collective action in tromba ceremony, thus, in a broad sense, this ceremonial practice is therapeutic for all participants as they commonly express that they feel socially, spiritually, and bodily charged during – and often relaxed after – these ceremonies. For example, one *Betsimisaraka* spirit medium, Detty, often tells me after a tromba ceremony, '*mahasitrana jiaby ilay tromba*', 'this ceremony is good for (literally, 'heals') us all.'

Simultaneously, tromba ceremony creates a more direct and tactile power, as it brings about the embodiment of healing spirits that possess the power (not possessed by the living) to heal illness. Yet music's efficacious role in these ceremonies extends beyond its capacity to evoke and embody healing spirits in order only to heal the immediate corporeal ailments of individuals.

Familial relations and 'maresaka'

Malagasy express, re-enact, and reinforce familial ties in tromba practice. The living commonly address ancestral spirits with terms such as 'grandfather' (*dadilahy* or *dada be*) and 'older brother' (*zoky be*). They often use such terms as well in tromba ceremonial song texts. Tromba spirits, conversely, may refer to the living as their children. The living treat ancestral spirits with the respect and adoration afforded elder family members. Each tromba typically has a personal attendant, an unpossessed ceremonial participant that tends to the needs and desires of the tromba (and simultaneously to the body of the medium, occasionally massaging it, for example).

Tromba practice extends familial bond and hierarchy across time, place, even local group distinctiveness in Madagascar. For example, the spirits that come to possess Betsimisaraka people, historically the predominant group in the east coast Tamatave region, often reside in tombs themselves far from Betsimisaraka territory and from the mediums there that take these distant spirits into and onto their bodies. Some of the most powerful ancestral spirits are Sakalava, a group of Malagasy people that once formed formidable pre-colonial kingdoms throughout the northwest and western parts of the island. The Sakalava kingdoms are doubly powerful in the perceptions of many Malagasy because these kingdoms stand in opposition to the Merina hegemony that extended over much of Madagascar throughout the 19th century (until the official onset of French colonisation in 1896). Members of the Merina group from the central part of the island still often hold positions of political and social power, both in their home region as well as in other parts of Madagascar, including the Tamatave region. Merina royalty are also incorporated into tromba practice, thus this practice may enact inequities in power structures from the past (as well as the present), as, for example, on occasions in which Sakalava and Merina royalty simultaneously appear and interact with one another in the course of a particular ceremony.

Betsimisaraka tromba practice, as well as that of other Malagasy groups, enacts in part the consuming of difference, as transcendent, effectively foreign spirits come to control or to replace the bodies,

psyches, and behaviours of Malagasy mediums that are not Sakalava or
Merina. Indeed, cultural practices – histories, language, means of sub-
sistence or commerce, and music, for example – among Sakalava or
Merina people are distinct from those of Betsimisaraka. Tromba cere-
mony becomes a complexly subtle enactment of concepts of, and rela-
tions to, power in various forms, for one, as tromba-istes on the east
coast of Madagascar inculcate distant and foreign Sakalava ancestors
into a Betsimisaraka familial schema and simultaneously into the
Betsimisaraka medium's body. Tromba ceremony provides varied
means of consuming and reworking foreign modes of power.

During possession, the Betsimisaraka body also exerts control over,
and imposes limitations upon, the Sakalava royal spirit (evident as male
spirits inhabit female bodies, or the converse). Some spirits, such as
Georges Klintsky and Sadam Hoseny, *not* the spirits of ancient
Malagasy royalty (as are many tromba), are even more powerful foreign
others, yet in their capacity to be incorporated into and consumed in
tromba ceremony, they become more Malagasy. The power emergent in
localised sound production similarly awakens all of these foreign spirits,
brings them into the present, directs their actions among the living,
and eventually escorts them home to their sepulchral or other place of
rest.[4]

An array of other spirits that are not of royal descent may become
embodied in the present moment to interact with the ancestral spirits
present as well as with each other. Among Betsimisaraka, the combin-
ing motion, dialogue, laughter, dance, and musical participation of nu-
merous and varied possessed mediums with each other all contribute to
the immediate efficacy of a ceremony. In fact, these ceremonial ele-
ments create *maresaka*, a term that refers, among other things, to a
Malagasy performative aesthetic. Maresaka can mean literally 'good
talk', and is often part of a daily greeting throughout Madagascar, *Inona
ny mareska*? 'What's new?' When Malagasy on the east coast exclaim
maresaka izay! or *maresaka e*! – 'in the groove' might be homologous –
they are usually making an aesthetic evaluation, often of a performative
moment that is particularly pleasing, intense, or masterful. Maresaka, a
combinative Malagasy aesthetic principled upon incorporating, combin-
ing, recycling, and mixing into a dense performative texture, is princi-
pally a sound aesthetic, yet it may reside as well in visual, interactional,
and other sensual a-musical components of a Betsimisaraka tromba
ceremony. One visual component of maresaka in such a ceremony is
the joyous social interaction that occurs between revered ancestral spir-
its. In this case, maresaka's multi-sensual nature is evident in the com-
bining experience of good sound (musical and other), engaged talk, and
the sight of ancestral spirits enjoying themselves, dancing, conversing,
sometimes arguing, and otherwise *living* in the present moment. Here

maresaka involves not only sound production among the living, but as well the resultant sound, motion, emotion, and often commotion of ancestral spirits interacting and celebrating joyously in the present with the living.

Temporal re-ordering in and by musical performance encompasses both a taking control over time and a giving into it, a constant reworking of musical time concurrent with a surrendering to historical times. The complexities and subtleties of a performative weave between musical time and historical time, in which musical timing (particular shifts in which are illustrated in fig. 6.2) in part redirects and reorients historical times, contribute qualitatively to the ceremonial maresaka valued by both tromba spirit and the living. Tromba musicians perform the particular densely textured musical compositions favoured by individual spirits, with the proper maresaka-producing improvisational acuity and intensity, without which these royal spirits will not take embodied form in the present ceremony. Maresaka encompasses as well, more implicitly, Malagasy ingenuity in extracting dormant acoustic value along with unique historical and spiritual significance from apparently disparate non-musical materials, such as industrial cabling and roofing sheet metal used in the construction of valiha, or when Malagasy structurally rework from within once colonial instruments such as the accordion. Maresaka thus often relies upon a densely textured integration of varied sonorities (expressed with the proper intensity), visual elements, bodily movements, and implicit meanings that evoke a long history of Malagasy creativity and musical imaginativeness. Much of maresaka's power emerges in the very processes of combination themselves, in Malagasy capacities to assemble vibrant and effective cultural systems based in part upon integrative and incorporative multi-sensual creative expression.

Tromba spirits have human personalities, thus, as they may be compassionate and obliging, they may also be obstinate and demanding.[5] They might not appear at the present ceremony at all if they so choose. Thus, sound production in itself does not directly bring spirits into the present moment nor does it immediately alleviate illness. Among tromba adherents with whom I lived and worked, though, no tromba ceremony could occur in the absence of the musical performance of appropriate repertoires imbued with the proper improvisational skills. Tromba participants assert that music is efficacious in tromba ceremony specifically as it creates and embodies maresaka, thus, as it combines in densely textured configurations with various other ceremonial components such as social interaction, the evocation of strong sentiments, and varied other significant sensual qualities (for one, the ceremonial pervasiveness of the scent of burning *emboka*, or incense).[6] In my experience, Malagasy do not become spontaneously possessed upon hearing music

outside of the combinative milieu of tromba ceremony. Numerous trom-
ba practitioners say, '*raha tsisy mosika dia tsy misy tromba*', 'if there's no
music, there's no tromba.'

It is important to note that tromba practice varies significantly, musi-
cally and in other important ways, across different groups of Malagasy
people, and that there are distinctive styles in which maresaka may be
performed. One significant factor that imbues much Betsimisaraka
tromba practice itself – including Betsimisaraka music – is the profund-
ity of contact many Betsimisaraka currently have and have had through-
out the past with Europeans and other foreigners.[7] This contact encom-
passes colonial intrusion into Madagascar. Betsimisaraka territory hosts
the Indian Ocean town, Tamatave, historically an established major sea-
port to the outside world.

Tromba children

Child spirits may be called to appear at Betsimisaraka tromba ceremo-
nies (though not necessarily at the tromba ceremonies of some other
Malagasy groups). Tromba children do not possess the healing powers
of their spirit parents, and they do not typically empower the present
precisely in other ways in which their parents are adept, such as fore-
seeing the future, resolving disputes, affecting natural elements of the
environment, or altering one's fortune. Tromba children are, in one
sense, peripheral spirits since they do not participate in the overt promi-
nent functional process of healing fulfilled by their parents. Yet, they do
contribute significantly to a Betsimisaraka tromba ceremony's healing
power, by providing a mode of performative embellishment, thus by
creating a uniquely empowering maresaka of their own. Child spirit-in-
duced maresaka emerges, for one, as these youthful spirits initiate and
engage in much good talk. The appearance of a tromba child heightens
the healing potency of a possession ceremony in part by creating a per-
formative ecology of familial spectacle, one that, among other things, is
appealing to elder tromba spirits and thus coaxes their cooperation in
the present ceremony. While they are beloved ancestral progeny, these
youthful spirits often require much attention and guidance from living
tromba participants. Invariably, tromba children heighten the sentimen-
tal and interactional intensity of a tromba proceeding (see fig. 6.4[8]).

Like their parents, tromba children may have particular and unique
songs to which they will take human form, though some tromba chil-
dren as well do not have their own preferred compositions, and will ap-
pear to one of their parents' compositions. One song that is commonly
performed in Betsimisaraka tromba ceremonies to entreat a particular
tromba child to appear is represented in fig. 6.5.

Figure 6.5 *'Milalao Andriamarofaly' – Numerous voices, female and male, typically perform this song in chorus, most often textured as near-monophonic chant. The 'Andria-' preceding 'marofaly' is elided in this song, primarily as informality in addressing the tromba child. The vowel 'o' that finalises 'maro' is also elided in this singing, a convention of the Malagasy language in which word-, or word segment-final vowels are commonly left for the most part un-voiced.*

A group of both possessed and non-possessed participants in a Betsimisaraka tromba ceremony typically sing this composition to entice a royal tromba child, Andriamarofaly, son of a powerful Sakalava king, to appear.[9] They are singing, 'milalao, milalao, milalao, Andriamarofaly.' The name 'Andriamarofaly' translates literally as 'Sir Many Joys (or Much Joy)', and here he is being nurtured, to 'play, play, play' in the present moment. This song is notable as the valiha, upon which densely textured polyphonic phrases are usually played for tromba ceremony, here models in homophonic-like style the linear vocal line performed by the singers. Also of note, the musician performing upon the valiha for this song does *not* perform his harmonic accompaniment to the singing with the usual improvisation within short-duration phrases that imbues adult tromba compositions. Thus, this particular tromba child composition is structurally and performatively quite distinct from the adult tromba compositions that commonly precede and follow it in a ceremony. In fact, it exhibits characteristics of Betsimisaraka lullabies or children's songs, for example, in its short-duration melodic motive with phrase-final descending line, which is

then reiterated (with variation) at a lower pitch level, and its short re-peated lyrical phrase of text.

   The male tromba child arrives onto and into a woman's body. The medium represented in figs. 4 and 6 is a Betsimisaraka woman, Marie. While possessed she has no consciousness of her own (she becomes the child spirit), nor does she later recall her words and actions while possessed. The white substance on the tromba's face indicates both a playful masking as well as a respectful adult application of *tany malan-dy*, a gypsum-like mineral that purifies the head, place of tromba spirits' entrance into the body. The tromba child dances playfully with his woo-den animal toys then begins to mime the alcohol consumption of some tromba spirits as well as of living Malagasy, by offering beer to his toys. Yet the boy tromba/woman medium also drinks, which signifies some degree of foreignness, for non-royal Malagasy children typically do not drink alcohol. This action may also serve as inclusion into tromba prac-tice of one sign of Marie's own individual personality, habits, prefer-ences, or an instance of bodily memory (here, for the appealing taste and effect of alcohol, in which Marie does occasionally indulge in her everyday life). Bodily memory is significant here because the medium's own spirit and consciousness have gone, while she is possessed, to re-side in the tomb of the possessing spirit. In no way do I mean to dis-count the veracity or realness of the tromba possession experience for Malagasy people. Rather, I am suggesting here and elsewhere in this chapter that personal individual components of the medium's life ex-perience seep into and emerge in tromba practice, not necessarily as conscious act, but as embodied recollection of varied gestures, beha-viours, tastes, and modes of socialisation.[10] The cap worn to the side by this tromba child is also mimetic of foreignness – baseball caps them-selves are not widely popular among Malagasy youth, much less so worn in this fashion.

   In its flamboyance and difference, the behaviour of this tromba child contributes to ceremonial maresaka, as does the resultant comment, discussion, direct dialogue with the tromba child, and humour this spe-cial child generates among other tromba participants. This tromba child personifies in part gendered, generational, and social boundary cross-ings, or, perhaps more accurately, cross-boundary conflations in and upon the medium's body. Royal Sakalava (thus in varied ways foreign) boy-child and Betsimisaraka woman coalesce here, in part to display be-haviour and action that are distinctively atypical among Betsimisaraka themselves. This combinative spirit may even be enacting subtle and gestural social critique, perhaps even mockery, in its mimesis of (over) indulgence in alcohol – which even Malagasy toy animals imbibe! The tromba child's offering of alcohol to the zébu cattle toy indicates simul-taneously the focal significance among Malagasy of zébu, especially in

spirit matters. Here the tromba child gesturally anthropomorphises the toy representation in a ludic display of the universality or pervasiveness of alcohol consumption.

Tromba child behaviour may include crying like an infant or much high-pitched squawking, and flailing about in a tantrum. Aurally, the maresaka produced at a tromba ceremony is enhanced by the talk and variety of other vocalisations produced by the tromba child, by much dialogue between the tromba child and other ceremonial participants, by the playful nature of all this, and from the constant sounding of a tromba composition performed by the musicians.[11] Once the child tromba has arrived, the musicians typically begin to perform a new composition, one addressed again to adult tromba, thus one with the usual polyphonic structural complexity that displays the improvisational acuity of other adult ceremonial compositions. The child tromba song, which often accompanies comic behaviour, and which does not create the same mode of intensive maresaka expressed in other tromba compositions that precede and follow it, greatly contrasts the more austere tromba composition, which accompanies immediately the more serious business of healing.

Playfulness, Othering, back-talk

Throughout Madagascar there is a general communicative aesthetic of indirectness, of stepping around direct linguistic and other communicative modes of conflict, confrontation, or aggression.[12] Malagasy generally find it even unpleasant to witness a loud or impertinent affront between foreigners, which may be overseen and overheard at the market in Tamatave, for example. By this same aesthetic, Malagasy children and teens typically do not talk back to parents or elders, who are highly respected, for one because they are closer in temporal terms to the ancestors (or to becoming ancestors). Mockery of familial adults or their behaviours is rarely if ever publicly expressed among Malagasy youth. And young Malagasy children are typically obedient and respectful around adults, not impertinent, temperamental, loud, or otherwise effusive, as are tromba children.

In a particular ceremony I attend, a tromba child begins to speak indirectly yet publicly about the *vazaha*, the white stranger – myself (unseen behind the camera in figs. 4 and 6). At first, he indirectly expresses his concern that vazaha in general use foul language ('teny ratsy'), which causes animated discussion with other tromba participants who try to convince the tromba child that not all vazaha use such language, nor do those that use it do so all the time. It is notable that the other tromba-istes sometimes respond to this tromba child with

laughter, yet they try sincerely to assuage his concerns. The tromba child is both strange other and respected ancestral spirit, as well as playful, humorous conversationalist.

The tromba child then begins to speak to his animal toys, 'Have you already had a drink? Why not?' And then, with some derision in his voice, 'Look, the vazaha is busy, doing this and that!' The tromba child, critiquing the 'always busy' style of vazaha, is preparing to address the stranger directly. It is common in tromba ceremonies for ancestral and other tromba spirits to desire and initiate communication with me – appearances by vazaha are rare if not unknown at most tromba ceremonies, and tromba spirits often seek out dialogue with the other foreigner present. Indeed, such conversations contribute to ceremonial maresaka as they incorporate the foreign (discourse) into tromba ceremony. Yet, royal ancestral tromba spirits usually engage in very amicable, mutually respectful modes of communication, even if impacted with their own subtle humour, critique, or commentary. See fig. 6.6[13].

The tromba child then begins to engage in a mode of back-talking to the foreigner, demanding, 'Give me some cigarettes!' To my response, 'But I don't smoke', and 'I don't have any cigarettes', the child tromba retorts, 'Go get me some cigarettes!' and he continues to argue contentiously with me as well as with other participants who are trying to explain to him that I'm at work at the moment and can't leave for cigarettes. The tromba child's aggressive demands, which constitute a direct display of communicative behaviour antithetical and oppositional to the widely adherent Malagasy aesthetic of indirectness, decrescendo only with the child tromba's reluctant realisation that he will not this time be able to pressure the vazaha to produce cigarettes for him. The tromba child, eventually convinced that the vazaha is busy (operating the camera and making notes of the proceedings) and thus cannot submit to his demands, turns back to interacting from a central position with the other tromba-istes present.

The tromba child eventually turns to dancing with a Betsimisaraka child that is participating in this ceremony. Betsimisaraka children themselves commonly attend and actively participate in tromba ceremonies, usually by playing kaiamba shaker or singing. In my experience, however, I never see a child become possessed at these ceremonies (there are some Christianised Betsimisaraka children who claim to be plagued by varied tromba spirits and who seek, or whose parents seek, exorcism of the tromba, primarily in the Malagasy Lutheran church). Here the tromba child models assertive behaviour contrary to that often learned and practiced by the Betsimisaraka child, whose timidity, perhaps even embarrassment is evident in his bodily posture and gestures, and his facial expressions. Yet he dances along, good-naturedly obliging the tromba child. And the tromba child, in woman's body, displays now

a combinative maternal-like gentleness in his play with his new friend, the Betsimisaraka boy.

Throughout these scenes, the tromba child is often creating a boisterous, centralised, sometimes aggressive behavioural spectacle that is not typical of Malagasy children, who are more commonly reserved, shy, and obliging, especially among and to elders. Tromba children do not simplistically model inappropriate foreign behaviours to the living so that these behaviours may be avoided or spurned. Rather, embodied child spirits take in foreignness, to consume, re-evaluate, recycle, even to become it, so as to take-on-as-they-alter its power, here in part in the form of good talk and social interaction, which in this case are manifest in the dialogue generated between a vazaha and varied Betsimisaraka. This dialogue is then gratifying to the ancestral royalty present. The tromba child, an incorporative composite figure part Malagasy yet foreigner as well (and part male/part female) allows Malagasy tromba-istes to express, on their own terms and by their own communicative aesthetic, a respectful even if humorous response to foreign intervention into their ceremonial space. The tromba child's appearance is empowering, for one, as Malagasy ways of communicating and behaving, juxtaposed with the tromba child's obstreperousness, prevail (the child tromba remains in the present moment only temporarily before departing for his place of rest in a northern royal tomb).

It is notable that the most powerful royal spirit at this ceremony sits solemnly throughout the child tromba's appearance at the far end of the small tromba house, with his attendants, and in front of the tromba altar, the principal locale in his royal court. This royal spirit takes no direct notice of or role in the antics of the tromba child. Rather, he takes in from a distance, yet favourably, the performative maresaka this behaviour creates. Indeed, Betsimisaraka tromba-istes attest that royal spirits adore a lively assemblage of varied tromba spirits interacting energetically. Such royal spirits may not even appear at the present ceremony if it is not animated enough.

Michael Lambek states that

> ... displays of Spiritness provide fertile ground for cultural reflection upon the taken-for-granted world, in particular upon power and morality. Although the behaviour is conventional and highly constrained by the codes of performance, it is also symbolically rich and open-ended, both because it does not prescribe particular avenues of behaviour to the onlookers and because of its playful quality, especially the use of music and dance and the comedic juxtapositions of phenomena that are usually kept apart (Lambek 1989).

Tromba ceremony is especially empowering as it facilitates the staging of the skill to improvise autonomously, among musicians who constantly create complex and imaginative musical improvisations on their instruments, and among other tromba-istes who improvise communicatively, sometimes humorously or sardonically, with varied tromba personalities and each other. In addition, tromba ceremony provides expressive ground for reflection upon morality, in particular as unique Malagasy codes of behaviour and interaction (fomba gasy) can be juxtaposed with and evaluated against foreign ways of being in the world (fomba vazaha).

While tromba children themselves do not heal the living nor do they resolve everyday problems, they do create a spectacle of salient empowering tenets of Betsimisaraka tromba performance. While exhibiting odd, even humorous foreign behaviours, the tromba child simultaneously enables much discussion, explanation, and guidance from the others. Here, the living may assume a parental role to an impertinent childish foreigner, a combination of revered tromba spirit and behaviourally invasive other. Indeed, the tromba child himself may very well embody another sort of combinative personality, into which is incorporated the colonial or postcolonial vazaha child, both imagined and experienced among Malagasy to possess the potential for impertinence, back-talk, tantrum-throwing, and other modes of publicly displayed aggressiveness. Other vazaha spirit personalities – pompous colonial administrators or foreign global leaders, for example – also make appearances at Betsimisaraka ceremonies, to sit beside and interact with kings, queens, and other revered Malagasy ancestral spirits. In addition to inciting much ceremonial maresaka, these particular spirits create opportunities for Betsimisaraka to dramatically enact their own place in the world, inevitably consuming the power of foreign others in the process.

Structures of curative efficacy

In tromba ceremony varied inequities that have been cast upon Madagascar become repolarised as they are musically encoded, dramatised, imbricated, and incorporated. Such refiguring of power structures occurs, for example, when a medium, that otherwise is not particularly empowered in everyday life (most mediums barely subsist, in material terms), becomes for the moment a powerful king or queen from Madagascar's distant past, with an extraordinary capacity to heal illness. The possessed medium also acquires temporarily the authority to narrativise critically upon, and to dramatise critique of, foreign personalities and behaviours, of postcolonial conditions in Madagascar, and of global

inequity, when in an everyday non-ceremonial milieu such open cri-
tique is avoided and shunned. Engagement in tromba ceremony is em-
powering and curatively efficacious in part because one interacts here
with a powerful pre-colonial past that represents, among other things,
Malagasy peoples' control of their own land (extremely significant in it-
self since ancestors are tied to particular places). To participate in trom-
ba ceremony signifies in part a stepping back into an era that predates
colonial and postcolonial interference on and control of Madagascar and
desecration of its sacred territories. Engagement in tromba is thus psy-
chically curative in its partial remedying and sidestepping of colonial-
ism and postcolonial situations (and their medical representatives –
hospitals, pharmacies, doctor's offices, etc.). Tromba healing not only
enacts a real independence from European methods, for one, of treating
illness – it creates such independence. In tromba ceremony, Malagasy
people in part construct a social reality of independence, one that is effi-
cacious in varied ways. Tromba music, as primary incentive for tromba
spirits to appear in the present moment, greatly assists in constructing
another social reality, in which Malagasy with severe illnesses do re-
cover from their ailments.

Betsimisaraka tromba ceremony is an innately incorporative event –
for one, it is attended by Malagasy people of all ages, male and female,
tromba medium and non-medium, sometimes even by non-practi-
tioners of tromba. One powerful medium and close friend in Tamatave,
Detty, at the time has a 3 year-old child that would sit transfixed on the
floor at tromba ceremonies and watch her mother become possessed by
tromba child spirits (as well as by several other adult tromba spirits).
Once possessed by a tromba child, Detty's behaviour becomes clearly
Other – boisterous, aggressive, demanding, impertinent, irrational, per-
haps even potentially frightening to a young child. Yet, in my extended
experience in Madagascar, I never see Detty's young daughter exhibit
any of these qualities, nor any fear of or for her mother possessed.
Even at a very young age, Betsimisaraka children commonly share the
intimacy of tromba possession ceremony with their parents and other
familial elders, not to learn either to model or shun the odd behaviours
of some tromba spirits in their own everyday experience, but as indoc-
trination and socialisation into a dramatised mode of empowerment
and efficacious incorporation, one resplendent with its own styles of cri-
tique and alteration. Tromba child songs invoke strongly felt recollec-
tions of familial connections, and specifically of one's own childhood,
as these distinctive songs resound iconically with structural and perfor-
mative principles of Betsimisaraka lullabies and other children's songs.
While tromba child songs and behaviour incorporate the Betsimisaraka
child him- or herself into tromba ceremony, they also invoke the
Malagasy aesthetic, maresaka, in which, for example, varied modes of

power, distinct time periods along with historically vital spaces, unique personalities, and differing gendered roles combine.

Musical performance's power and efficacy in tromba ceremony thus has multiple manifestations. For one, it sets a cognitive and psychic stage for deeply emotive devotional social interaction which generates not only collective fulfilment and wellbeing, but which enacts a vital historical continuity and connectivity of belief and practice among tromba-istes. Musical performance then directly escorts revered royal healing spirits into the medium's body to affect cures for severe illness, as it directs and orchestrates the embodied action of these spirits. While the afflicted person is healed, tromba also serves as devotionally uplifting and expressively fulfilling practice for participants other than mediums, such as tromba attendants (tending to the needs of royal ancestral spirits), musicians, children, and others that attend as non-mediums. The tromba ceremony also dramatises and affirms familial bonds, both present and tangible, and past and imagined, and, in so doing substantiates and proliferates social order. In addition, tromba ceremony affirms and fortifies the spirit power of mediums who effectively take in powerful healing spirits and who thus become known as exceptional healers – in this sense tromba can be psychically as well as financially invigorating for mediums (who are usually paid small sums for their healing services). Thus tromba ceremony is curatively efficacious in distinct ways for different tromba participants. In invoking the dead, it becomes a reinvigoration of everyday life among the living. Healing power, as well as other modes of power, are created and sustained in tromba ceremony through the very processes of incorporating otherness, of producing ever newly conceived combinations of self and other. Indeed, Detty responds to my inquiry about the unusual behaviour of child tromba, 'fa mbola havana izy', he's still family (no matter what he does or how he acts).

The purpose of tromba possession ceremony is not simply to provide an outlet to redress imbalances of power that arise currently in Madagascar and have arisen throughout the colonial and postcolonial past there. Through a much more complex expressive and performative process, music creates an image in sound (Taussig 1993), in this case, of childhood and behaviours both familiar and foreign that model the appropriate and the aberrant, the local and the distant. Such musical displays of childhood combinatively produce ceremonial, curatively efficacious maresaka. In the contrast embodied by the structural and performative distinctiveness between child and adult tromba compositions (the latter which may also commonly evoke more austere behaviour), tromba child songs themselves create specifically a playful facet of maresaka, one manifest in an incorporative combinative ceremonial ontology that indeed promotes the healthful outcome of the tromba event.

Tromba child songs orchestrate curatively and creatively the enactment of varied abilities among tromba participants to adapt advantageously to significant transformations in their social, political, historical, familial, and overall postcolonial experience in the world. In taking in foreign others while often playfully casting them in a bricolage of both desirable and shunned character traits, Betsimisaraka tromba-istes take on the power of such others, in part to reconcile the colonial past while ameliorating the postcolonial present.

Notes

1   Fig. 6.1: *Betsimisaraka* metal-body *valiha*. The wooden bridges also serve as tuning devices. There is a second course of strings accessed with left hand on the opposite face of the instrument. Exact scale configuration varies, though scale order tends to alternate from right to left hand.
2   http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
3   Throughout this chapter, see Emoff 2002 for extensive elaboration on *tromba* practice and practitioners on the east coast of Madagascar.
4   Thomas Csordas, in the citation that opens this article, evokes a 'valence of performative force'.
5   Klintsky, Hoseny, and Honorine, the Betsimisaraka medium to which these spirits come, are discussed in detail in Emoff 2000 and Emoff 2002.
6   Lambek qualifies that, on Mayotte, where spirit possession practice is influenced by that of Madagascar, 'Although spirits are individuals, it is not their unique individuality that is the main object of display' (Lambek 1988).
7   Malagasy *tromba*-istes typically speak about the relationship between *maresaka* and healing efficacy obliquely – in other words, *maresaka* is not in itself or directly a curative term. However, *tromba*-istes do use this term to assess the interactional/musical intensity of a ceremony, which then directly determines the ceremony's curative efficacy (or lack of it – on occasion when a musician does not arrive for a ceremony or several mediums are held up for varied reasons, the possession and healing cannot occur).
8   This issue is dealt with extensively in Emoff 2002.
9   Fig. 6.4: Tromba child, guardedly clutching a wooden zébu cattle toy. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
10 *Tromba* researcher Lesley Sharp identifies 'Ndramarofaly' as a royal adult male *tromba* spirit in the *tromba* practiced in the north of the island (Sharp 1993). Ndramarofaly is similar in name to Andriamarofaly (likely more phonetically written by Sharp). Betsimisaraka *tromba*-istes insist that their Andriamarofaly is a *tromba* child, evincing the variability and fluidity of *tromba* practice throughout the island (as further note, children typically are not addressed solely by the name of their father). The potential unfixity of detail in *tromba* performance may say less about its reliability as historical source than about unique Malagasy ways of envisioning, keeping, and performing history itself. In addition, while I think that *tromba* is undeniably historical, I would suggest that *tromba* ceremony does not formally represent 'oral history' – for one, it is not specifically meant to recall and pass on the past in incontrovertible or other detail (for instance, in referencing specific dates or tying particular events to such dates). Rather, it creates and invokes a present-salient past with which Malagasy can, among other things, cope with hardship and inequity.

Lambek (1988) writes that ''Young adult' and 'child' *trumbas* (orthography of Mayotte), probably do not represent actual historical persons so much as social classes of significance in the early 19th century: warriors, commoners or slaves.'

11   Laderman suggests that moments of humor in Malay 'séances' may portend reflections of a spirit's known character (Laderman 1996).

12   Lambek (1989) observes the dialogic nature of spirit possession, involving and incorporating as well the investigator.

13   See Ochs 1973 and 1974 on Malagasy linguistic indirectness.
     Fig. 6.6: The *tromba* child ventures closer, eventually launching into heated back-talk with the foreign cameraman and drawing in other *tromba* participants. Betsimisaraka children usually do not smoke – thus the cigarette indicates another mode of foreignness, or potentially the incorporation of the medium's own personality and habits into this combinative spirit personality. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

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OCEANIA

7 Fractals in Melanesian Music

Raymond Ammann

When I was preparing for my first field trip to Papua New Guinea in 1989, I read a short text by Gregory Bateson on the ceremonial flute music[1] from the Sepik River area. Bateson (1936: 158-170) refers to the significance of this music for the freshly initiated young men, who, while learning to play the flutes, also learn – according to Bateson – about the social organisation of their group. Bateson states:

> Two men play together and their flutes are tuned by trimming the length so that flute A is exactly one tone higher in pitch than flute B. Then the harmonics of A will to a great extent fill the gaps in B's scale, an arrangement, which would seem to be a characteristic product of Iatmul thought. In their social system this pattern is repeated in the Age Grades which are arranged in an alternating series, staggered like the spokes of a wheel; and again in a line series of brothers there is a similar staggering and it is expected that the first, third and fifth brothers will form an alliance in quarrels against the second and fourth. Whether the process of thought patterned by such a system have [sic] influenced the planning of the flute duet it is impossible to say for certain, but this sort of staggering is not common as a feature of social organisation and I do not know of any similar phenomenon in music (Bateson 1936).

Bateson describes the impossibility of determining whether 'the process of thought patterned by such a system' has influenced the music of the flute duet. The following analysis will show that there is, however, a very strong reason to believe that this is indeed the case. Furthermore, the phenomenon that a society's thought patterns are mirrored in its key music seems not to be limited to the flute music in Papua New Guinea, but is evident in other places in Melanesia as well (Ammann 1997; Coppet 1978). I have chosen the ayoii songs of New Caledonia as an example. In both cases, the music of the ceremonial flutes at the Middle Sepik and the ayoii songs of New Caledonia, the music is composed of small structural forms, which are repeated on various levels, from the smallest motif to the larger parts of the song. Thus, we could

say that this music is structured in 'fractals' and equally that the music is a fractal of its society.

The ceremonial flutes in Papua New Guinea

The Iatmul people, an Austronesian language group, live along the Middle Sepik River in the north of Papua New Guinea. Their ceremonial flutes, the *wabi*, have been well researched. Graf (1947; 1950), Wirz (1954; 1959), Spearritt (1979; 1982; 1990) and myself (Ammann 1989) have studied these flutes and their music. Yamada, besides his studies on the Iatmul (1983), also did research on the ceremonial *sagais* flutes of the Waxei People in the Sepik Hills (1997). In this chapter, I will concentrate on the flute music of the Iatmul. From Yamada's work it is obvious that in Waxei flute music, structural similarities in the music of the sagais flutes are evident. However, the Iatmul are carriers of Austronesian languages whereas the Waxei are not.

The ceremonial flutes of the Iatmul are generally between two to ten feet long. They are made of bamboo and have no finger holes. Most of the flutes have an additional carved upper end, showing the spiritual being represented by the flute's sound. The flutes are side blown and, having no finger holes, they are played with the over-blowing technique. Iatmul flutes are played in pairs,[2] a longer male flute and the shorter

Figure 7.1   *Theoretical pitch arrangement in a pair of ceremonial flutes. Not all of the partial tones are played during a performance*
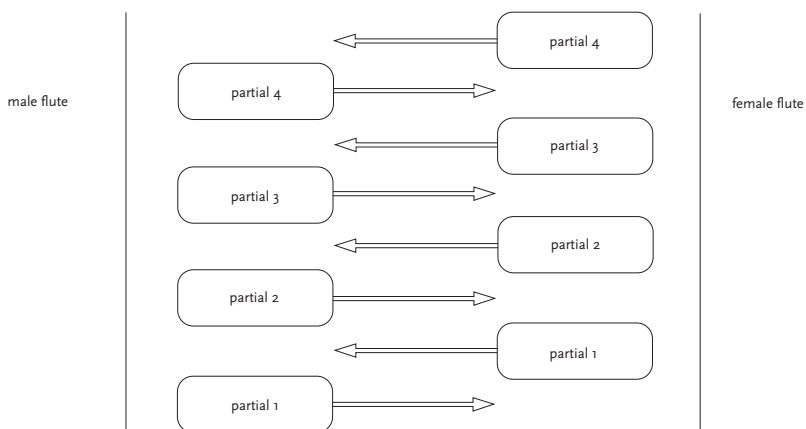
female flute. As already noted by Bateson, the lengths of the two instruments differ in such a way that the fundamentals of the two instruments are separated by approximately a major second and, consequently, the two scales interlock.

The way the flutes are played by the two musicians is also based on an interlocking system. The two flute players stand close together, facing each other as they play one or more tones in alternation. In fact, due to the large size of the instruments the musician must blow very hard to create a sound; therefore it is physiologically not possible to sound more than a few notes in a row.

Interlocking or alternation is also the basic structural form of the music pieces. I have analysed several recordings of Iatmul ceremonial flute music (Ammann 1989) and I recognised alternation in every piece. However, the most obvious and, at the same time, most complex alternation I detected was in a piece called 'Mariuamangi'.

Mariuamangi

'Mariuamangi' is the name of the pair of flutes used to perform this piece of music and it is also the name of a female ancestor figure of the Nyaura clan.[3] The recording used for this analysis was made by Robert MacLennan in 1973 in the men's house of the Kandingai and later published (MacLennan, Spearritt and Schuster 1981). The recorded performance was not part of a ceremony but was ordered by the researchers and could thus be recorded. This 13-minute performance was meticulously transcribed by Gordon Spearritt (1979).

For this piece of music, the longer one of the two Mariuamangi flutes, the male flute with the e-flat as fundamental (partial tone 1), plays the 3rd and the 6th partial tone and the shorter female instrument with F as fundamental (partial tone 1) plays partial tones 3, 4, 5 and 6. The tonal material for this piece is:

Figure 7.2 *Tonal material used in the piece Mariuamangi, are b-flat and b-flat' played by the male flute and c', f', a' and c'' played by the female flute. The notated pitches reflect the partial tones above the fundamental pitch*
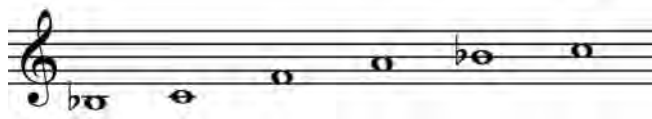
The following analysis, based on Spearritt's transcriptions (1979), concentrates on the flute music without referring to the instruments that accompany the beginning: calling pipes, *kundu*, sticks and voice.[4] I start from a wide-angle view and advance to successively smaller units. The Iatmul explained to Spearritt that the piece was divided into the *kabak* and *numbrak* parts, and each of these parts was repeated. In the following section, I concentrate on the kabak part; the numbrak part is structured in a very similar way.

Upon first listening to the kabak part, a division into slow sections and fast sections is evident. Spearritt names the fast sections moto perpetuo. The slower sections alternate with *moto perpetuo* sections:

1   beginning – slow;
2   moto perpetuo section – fast;
3   middle section – slow;
4   moto perpetuo section – fast;
5   end – slow;

In the beginning, middle and final sections, the two musicians play longer sounds in alternation and some of the musical themes are repeated in all the three sections. All three of these sections consist of five segments (1-5) in which an alternation of the third partial tones (b-flat and c) of both flutes is dominant. Based on a few motifs and, including additional partial tones, more segments are created; each segment lasts a few seconds. For the beginning segments 1, 2, 4; the middle section: 3, 2, 4; and the end section 3, 2, 4, 5. Segments 2 and 4 are played in each section and each section adds a new segment.

There is no regular beat in these sections and it seems that in the beginning they build up to the following faster section; the middle section functions as a calm and re-creative moment; while the final section calms down the entire piece. In the energetic moto perpetuo sections, the musicians alternate in high speed on the same pitch: each flute player blows one short sound in fast alternation with his partner, creating an inner tempo of more than 180 sounds per minute. This tempo creates a continuous hovering and the single sounds are not easy to detect.

Two structural units are evident upon listening to the moto perpetuo sections: a dominant and repetitive one that I call 'structural element I', and a more complex sound structure that I call 'structural element II'. Each moto perpetuo section consists of only these two structural elements.

Structural element I displays a regular pulsation of the male flute's b-flat and the female flute's a' - c - c' - c. This is the smallest unit, thus I refer to it as a 'motif'. During the performance, one flautist indicates

Figure 7.3 *'Motif' of structural element I*

Figure 7.4 *'Motifs' of structural element II*

the change from structural element I to structural element II by a nod of the head to his partner. Structural element II can be subdivided into three small motifs.

Whereas the longer male flute continues with its regular pulsation in b-flat, the female flute plays motif 1 (a' - c - c') followed by motif 2 (c' - c - a), and, finally, motif 1 again. Motif 2 obviously is the reverse of motif 1. Motif 2 is surrounded or framed by motif 1 and, between each motif, the male flute sounds a b-flat. When we focus on the pitches of the

Figure 7.5 *Interlocking patterns in structural element II. The coloured lines show the connections between interlocking pitches. The three motifs alternate with the third partial tone (b-flat) of the male flute. Each third partial tone (c') of the female flute is surrounded by the third partial tone of the male flute (b-flat) etc.*

female flute, more alternating features can be detected: the three a'
notes interlock with the three c'' notes. More interlocking levels in this
short structural element, which last for only 1-2 seconds, are indicated
in the following drawing:
On several levels, alternation and interlocking systems are evident in
structural element II, sometimes surrounding one pitch. Looking one
level higher in the structural order, alternation is also evident: two struc-
tural elements I are always followed by one structural element II: I, I,
II, I, I, II, I, I, II, I. At another higher level, the same pattern becomes
again discernible in the alternation of the faster moto perpetuo sections
with the slower sections: two moto perpetuo sections are surrounded by
one slower section.

Dualism in Iatmul society

The performance of this music is an important moment in Iatmul so-
ciety and it seems suggestive that there is a plan and symbolism behind
this complex structure. In fact, the structure of this music resembles
the basic structure of Iatmul society itself. To understand alternation as
a structural element in Iatmul society it helps to consult Iatmul mythol-
ogy. Wassmann summarises:

> Before creation there was water everywhere. Then a crocodile ap-
> peared and split in two, its lower jaw becoming the earth, its
> upper jaw the sky. The cleavage explains the subsequent division
> of society into earth and sky moieties. The first pair of brothers
> came into existence, and from them sprang other pairs of broth-
> ers by repeated issue. These pairs of brothers were the founders
> of the present clan associations. The first brother of the pair is
> the founder of the first clan group of an association, the second
> brother that the second clan group. Their sons and grandsons
> founded the numerous individual clans one or two generations
> later (1990: 24).

Iatmul society is dualistic, metaphorically based on the image of croco-
dile jaws. *Nyoui* stands for heaven or father (upper part of the crocodile
jaw) and includes the following entities: sun; day; stars; and trees.
Nyame, on the other hand, stands for earth and mother (lower part of
the crocodile jaw) with the entities: darkness; earth; night; and pig.
Society is organised in patrilineal clans and each clan belongs to one of
the two moieties either nyoui or nyame. The interaction of the clans,
the groups of clans and the age groups or people is always done in an
alternation.

A few examples, which were elaborated upon by Stanek and Wassman, show how this alternation works. For example, X's father's wife belongs to the same clan as X's son's wife and X's wife belongs to the same clan as X's grandfather. Thus, one clan is always 'skipped'. The same 'skipping' is responsible for the name giving: X receives the name of his grandfather and his son will receive the name of his father (Stanek 1983: 171).

Alternating, interlocking and skipping structures can be found in Iatmul cultural contexts other than society as well; for example, in the spatial arrangement of village houses: each moiety is located on one side of the main path and the houses of the clans are arranged in an interlocking style according to the even or odd number of each clan in the clan group (Wassmann 1988: 14).

Thinking of the two halves – moieties, partner clans, age groups, individual people – in terms of two intermeshed gears, it seems that the driving element of society lies in this connection. This idea, and also its representation in music, has already been mentioned by Bateson and Spearritt. However, the complexity of the way in which the music represents this system and the fact that it does so on all structural levels, from the smallest to the largest unit, are astonishing indeed.

Similarly, complex interlocking patterns in the arrangement of the music can also be found in certain song types in New Caledonia, likewise performed by people speaking an Austronesian language.

Ayoii, two part songs from New Caledonia

The northern part of New Caledonia's main island (Grande Terre) is called Hoot ma Whaap, after the two groups that have lived on this land since pre-contact times. The two groups, the Hoot and Whaap, maintained an exchange relationship but, at the same time, they were also often fighting each other.

During the colonial period, most of the region's music and dances was lost or altered. Today, the most important traditional songs are the *ayoii*. In Fwâi, one of the several languages spoken in Hoot ma Whaap, ayoii means 'telling a story'. Fwâi speakers designate the melody of the ayoii as *geen kot*, which can be translated as 'sound of the song', whereas the lyrics are referred to as *pae-kot*. Pae is the name of edible roots (yams, taro etc.) and thus the usage of this same name for song lyrics shows the importance attributed to the words in this song.

Ayoii are accompanied by a group of percussionists playing a continuous beat generally referred to as a 'rythme du pilou', which accompanies most of the traditional songs and dances on Grande Terre. The percussion ensemble is made up of two different instruments: the bark clapper

(*bwan-jep*, see fig. 7.6[5]) and the stamping bamboos (*hyavic*). The number of the instruments is not fixed and neither is the arrangement of the two groups; they are arranged ad hoc. The larger group strikes a stronger accentuation and the smaller group strikes in the pauses, thus forming a regular beat of alternated strokes to accompany the ayoii. Added to the pulsation of the percussion instruments are voices; shouts and whistles in a free, unregulated form.

All known ayoii consist of the same basic melody; only the words change from one ayoii to another. In order to pronounce the words correctly there are small differences in the rhythm, but the metrical and melodic structure is the same for all ayoii. The stories told in the ayoii can have various themes, but they are always told in chronological order. This stands in contrast to another song group in New Caledonia, the *cada* or *ae-ae*, in which the lyrics consist of a few symbolic words followed by neutral syllables.

The geen-kot of ayoii

The geen-kot (melodic contour) of the ayoii consists of musical themes comprised of parts A and B. Each part, A and B, corresponds to a text phrase and ends with the exclamation 'a-ii', always intoned on the same pitch. Each text phrase (1 and 2) consists of two tonal centres separated by the interval of a minor third (m3). The tonal centres could be, for example, c' - a for text phrase 1 and b - g for text phrase 2.

Figure 7.7 *Melodic contours an ayoii*
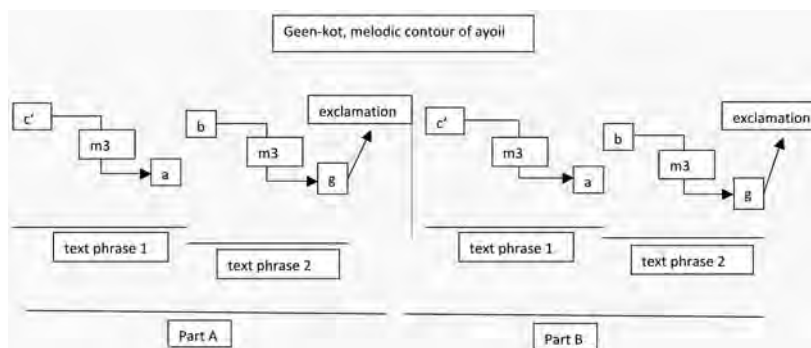
Repetition system of the ayoii

The number of text phrases is determined by the length of the story to be told in the ayoii. The singers create breaks during a song whenever they feel like it and the same 'story' continues after the break. A new ayoii may follow without a break. Thus, the length of the story is not important to the structure of a performance.

For this study, the repetitive nature of the arrangement of parts or text phrases A and B, and the order of the singer performing it, is very interesting. This aspect was already studied earlier (Ammann 1997: 138-140; Beaudet 1986: 54). This particular system of text phrase repetition has parallels in other features of Kanak[6] culture, and especially in the structure of the society.

   Two patterns have to be distinguished. First, the pattern of how the text phrases are repeated and, second, the pattern of how the two singers alternate in the course of the performance, with a third pattern being formed by the way the first two patterns interconnect.

   Each text phrase is recited in total four times in a fixed order. In the model of this system, below, the numbers (1 to 4) stand for the number of repetitions, with 1 being the first recitation and 4 standing for the third repetition of the text phrase. The letters A, B, C stand for different text phrases. The illustration does not start at the beginning of the ayoii, because there is an exception to the rule. The beginning of each ayoii must vary slightly because there is no preceding phrase for A. Therefore, phrase A is recited three times and followed by phrase B (1B).

(3A -) 1B - 4A - 2B - 3B - 1C - 4B - 2C - 3C - 1D - 4C - 2D - 3D - 1E - ...

Phrase B is recited for the first time (1B). Then phrase A follows for the fourth and last time (4A). Two recitations of the phrase B follow (2B and 3B) and then the new phrase C appears for the first time (1C). Phrase B is recited for the last and fourth time (4B).

   To this rather complex system a similar system is added, namely that of the alternation of the singers. There are two singers, thus creating three possibilities of how a text phrase can be interpreted: solo of singer I, solo of singer II, duet of singers I + II. The pattern of how these three possibilities are arranged is illustrated below. SI stands for the first or principal singer and the second singer is indicated as SII. Thus SI sings a phrase in solo, the two singers together sing the same phrase twice and, finally, the phrase is sung solo by SII.

SI - SI+SII - SI+SII - SII - SI - SI+SII - SI+SII - SII - SI -...

Figure 7.8 *Ayoii structure*
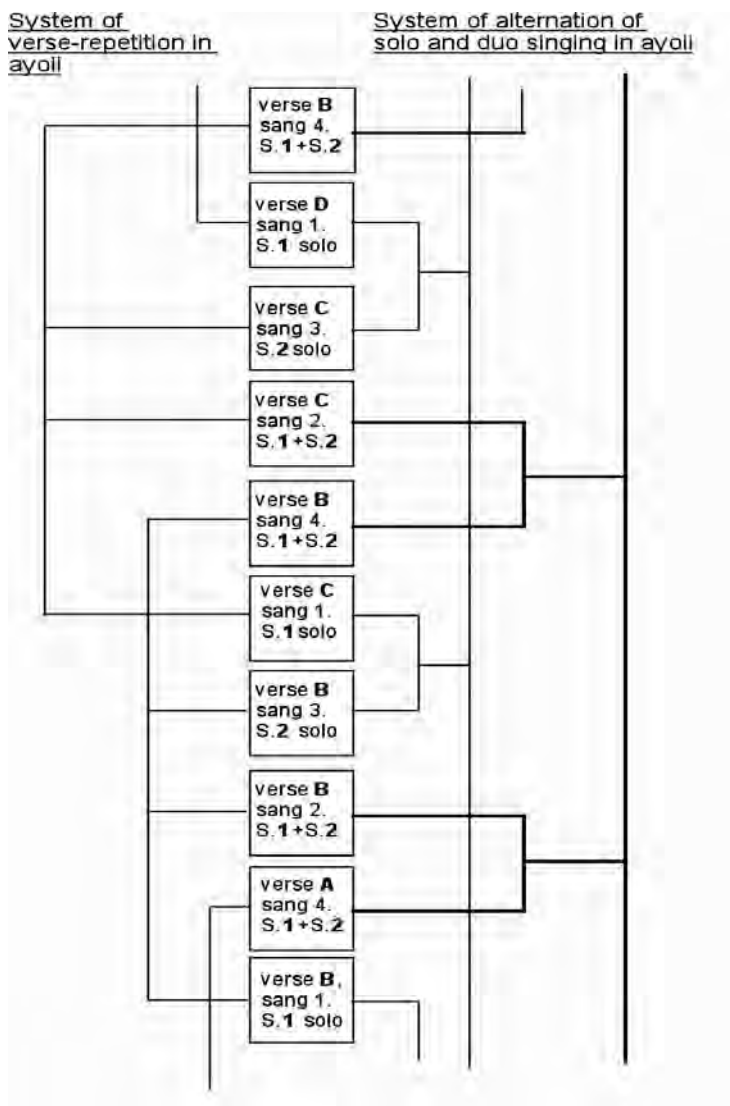
The new phrase is always introduced by SI (1B). The following phrase, the last repetition of the proceeding phrase (in this case 4A), is recited by both singers (SI +SII). Phrase 2B is recited by both singers (SI +SII) and finally SII sings phrase 3B solo. After SI has introduced the new phrase (1C), the phrase (4B) is recited for the last time by the two singers (SI+SII).

To perform an ayoii the singers need to remain focused at all times in order to keep track of the complex system. Sometimes in ayoii performances a singer makes a mistake and the whole system collapses, but after a few repetitions 'out of pattern' the two singers usually find their ways back into the system.

Symbolism in the ayoii repetitive system

The phrase repetition structure is based on a period of four, which is an aesthetic selection, not a mathematical restraint. However, the voice diffusion pattern is fixed and based on three elements (SI, SII and SI +SII). Thus, the overall structure of the ayoii is based on an arrangement of periods of four and periods of three. The text phrase repetition pattern could just as easily consist of a period based on five or six and then be merged with the repetition order of the singers but it seems that the arrangement of two different repetition systems, although very complex, is of fundamental importance to the symbolism of the song. Furthermore, these two systems add to the other alternating systems, the percussion group with the 'rythme du pilou' and the melody itself. Moreover, the two tonal centres of parts A and B also interlock.

Alternation as a driving social force, as with the Iatmul, is also evident among the people in the Hoot and Whaap regions, where it determines the food and goods exchanges in ceremonies and the system of intermarriage between groups. Alternation is also the principle by which the symbolic trees, coconut palm and araucaria, are planted in the central alleys of old villages, and it plays an important role in the design of sculptures and other art forms, such as the 'bamboo gravés'.[7] However, the essence of the ayoii structure is the complex way this alternation is made. Ayoii weave together strands of alternating patterns on several levels: tune, structure, and the accompanying rhythm. Ayoii as a whole can therefore be seen as a close musical representation of Kanak traditional life style: a conversation of give and take on several levels.

An exchange series characterised by alternating cycles is not a unique feature of Austronesian cultures, and neither is the representation of this system in music. However, the two detailed analyses reveal that alternation is the most fundamental structural marker on several levels of these complex, interweaving patterns. In fact, it seems to represent the complexity of the actual social life in these communities in a mirror-like representation. Moreover, it appears that the various structural levels of music embody microscopic renditions of the entire performance's structure and, in the same way, the music itself may be seen as a smaller representation of society in general. Bateson, in his text of 1936,

Figure 7.9 *The singing and the percussion parts, showing the various interlocking elements forming the complex system of alternation on various levels in an ayoii performance*
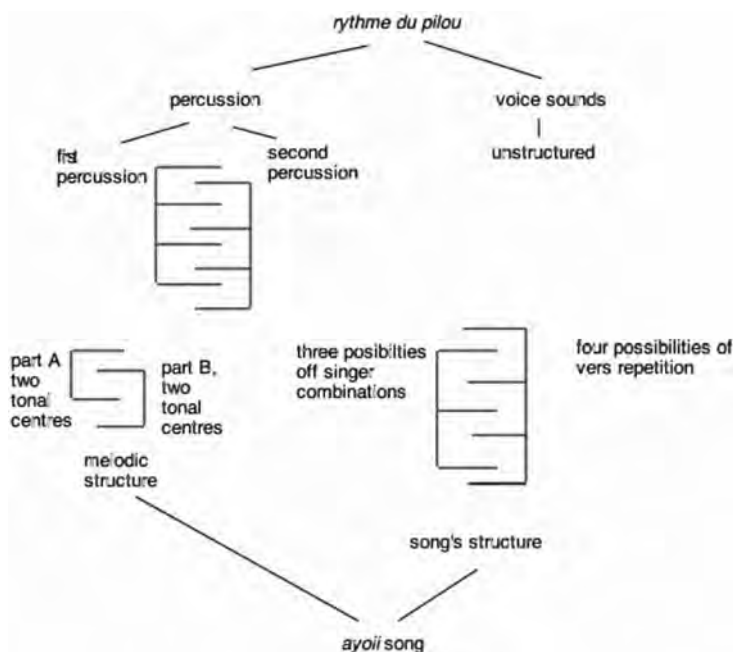
asks whether the same 'thought pattern' can be found behind both the flute performance and the alternating and repeating systems in the social life of the Iatmul. In this paper I showed evidence that the representation of social structure in ceremonial music is fundamental not only to the Iatmul but to also to the performing arts of other Austronesian peoples.

Notes

1   The instruments are also referred to as 'sacred flutes' or 'paired flutes'.
2   Exceptions are the flutes in the Iatmul village of Aibom. Here the men play an ensemble of several instruments.
3   The Mariuamangi has two other names and forms: Yivaktagwa, who carries a child and walks in the grasslands. Her brother, the dog Kambunmeri, calls her Sambentagwa. She carries her child, Sugendemi, who has a broken leg, on her head. She gets tired and lets it fall (Spearritt 1979: 480).

4 These musical instruments and the human voice are used at the beginning of the per-
   formance to summon the ancestor spirit to be present in the flute music. The *kundu*
   is an hourglass-shaped membranophone.

5 Fig. 7.6: Percussion instrument *bwan-jep* (Fwâi language for 'bark clapper'), two pieces
   of bark folded to form an isosceles triangle. The musician holds one clapper in each
   hand and strikes them together. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

6 Kanak is the official name of the Melanesians of New Caledonia.

7 Incised pieces of bamboo, which represent scenes from life and have certain designs,
   which are often based on alternating lines.

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8 'Singing Spirits And The Dancing Dead'

Sonic Geography, Music and Ritual Performance in a Melanesian Community

Paul Wolffram

Introduction

When I arrived in southern New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, in the Lak linguistic group, in July 2004 for my second period of fieldwork, word had already reached me during my journey that a very large and important ritual was about to take place in the region.[1] The ritual or *kastom*, as they are commonly known in Melanesia, was to be conducted by a Big Man in the community I was staying in. The prospect of participating in the preparations and performance of the kastom was exciting because, although I'd witnessed this particular rite before, the size of this impending ritual and the fact that it was going to take place in my host community presented an ideal opportunity for me to document it.

As an ethnomusicologist seeking to understand the music and dance practices of the region, it became apparent early during my first period of fieldwork (February 2001-June 2002) that I would need to come to terms with local mortuary processes and the intricacies of the Lak supernatural world. Lak rituals involving death and the process of 'finishing the dead' are extensive. The rites often take years or decades to complete and they are intimately related to the region's political processes and social structures. The ritual practices of the Lak are a continuing tradition, they are also part of a dynamic and shifting culture for which negotiations between change and the maintenance of traditional ways is a constant and active process.

The elaborate and extensive mortuary rites that occupy so much of the population's time complete the work for the deceased in a series of ritual processes that allow the Lak to re-conceive the deceased as a spirit. In order for this re-conception to take place all remnants of the deceased's human form must be destroyed and 'forgotten'. Forgetting is a way of life; songs, practices, and people are constantly in a process of

being forgotten or, perhaps more accurately, returning to where they came from, dissolved once more into the spiritual realm. In the same way that gardens left untended return to the jungle, in the course of a mortuary ritual, the deceased individual is returned to the realm of the ancestors, their possessions are destroyed and their being is eventually fused into the image of a single clan ancestor. Forgetting is accepted as a natural and desirable process.

In this chapter, I endeavour to describe the role of music and dance in the lives of the Lak people of southern New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. I use the preparations and performance of the major mortuary rite, mentioned above, as the context for the examples and discussions that follow. The final stage of the mortuary rites provides an ideal venue for the discussion of Lak music, dance and spirituality as these rites include extensive performances by spiritual beings. By using an actual event rather than referring to the ritual process in the abstract, I hope to portray some of the subtle intricacies of the ritual process and the active role that music and dance play in this dynamic exchange.

I begin by introducing the Lak, their land and history. This section describes the many forces of change that have influenced the region and the reaction of the local inhabitants. In the following section, I present the geography of the region, both the physical and the spiritual elements as described by the Lak themselves. Using the concept of 'sonic geography' I present a theoretical model for understanding how the Lak perceive their physical and spiritual environment and how ritual, music, and dance are located within that. This leads to a description of the supernatural elements that contribute to all Lak creative practices. The particular rites that form the context for this discussion are described in the sections that follow, along with detailed descriptions and analyses of the music, dance, and ritual practices performed in these final rites. The final section aims to draw together the geographic, spiritual, musical, dance and ritual elements of their mortuary rites. It aims to show how these elements combine to create states of ecstasy in many participants and contribute to a stable and yet changing society in which human beings and spiritual beings coexist for sustained periods of creative encounter.

The Lak and their land

The geographical location of the region with its extensive coastline has meant that the Lak have been dealing with change introduced by non-Melanesian peoples since as early as the 1600s. European sailing ships used the region's natural harbours as waypoints and periodic but brief visits became regular occurrences. During the German administration

Figure 8.1   *New Ireland Region showing the Lak linguistic group*
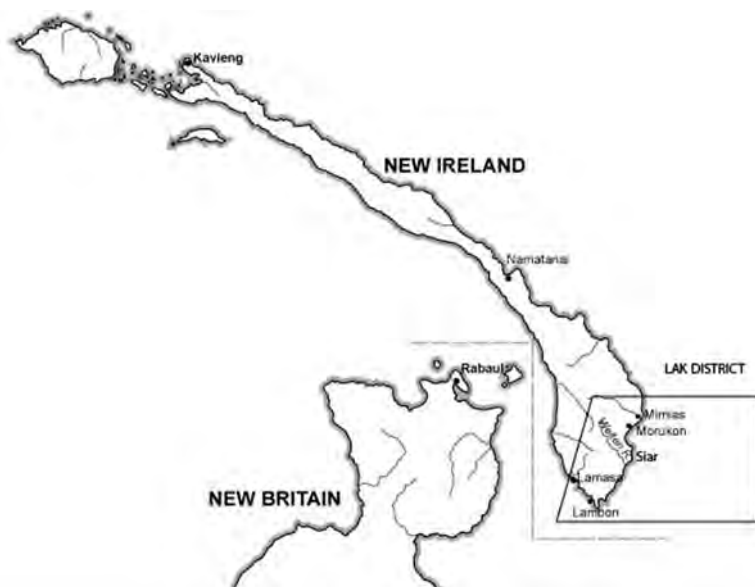
of the region from 1880 until 1914, inhabitants were encouraged to cease intercommunity fighting and communities were relocated to coastal areas for administrative purposes. The Second World War saw Japanese forces occupy the Island, making many of the inhabitants work as forced labour. Following the war, the Australian administration of Papua New Guinea involved infrequent administrative visits by Australian Patrol Officers until the country regained its independence in 1975. Throughout the 20th century, Christianity was gradually introduced. Today Catholic and Methodist churches play important roles in community life.

Despite this long period of contact with outsiders, the Lak region remains remote and difficult to access. The region is cut off from the regional administrative centre in Kavieng at the northern end of New Ireland and isolated from their cultural cousins, the Tolai of East New Britain by an administrative boundary and the often-treacherous St. George Channel. Access to Rabaul and Kokopo towns in New Britain has become increasingly difficult due to rising fuel costs and Namatanai and Kavieng in northern New Ireland are often cut off due to the state of dirt roads that are no longer maintained by the provincial government. Unlike the northern parts of New Ireland, which are largely flat, the southern area is mountainous and rugged. It is because of the isolated geographical location that many locals have come to refer to their region as Las Kona (last corner).

In recent years, foroeign logging companies have worked in the area and successive governments have tried to establish roads and transport networks. Through all this change and increasing exposure to neighbouring linguistic groups, Governmental officials, international organisations and foreigners, the Lak have maintained a strong sense of cultural identity. Internal social and political processes continue to dominate, and the traditional cultural practices, ritual life, and music and dance practices remain an essential and significant part of local life.

Sonic geography

Today, the majority of the population lives in small communities spread out along the coastline. The size of communities ranges from 15 to 500 people in the largest village. Most of the communities consist of several hamlet groups made up of immediate relatives. Inland from the villages, family groups maintain gardens that provide the main source of food and many families cultivate cash crops of cocoa and vanilla. Beyond the small plantations and gardens lie areas of secondary bush and old garden sites that have merged with the areas of the jungle that have never been cultivated.

There are two distinct realms of sound in Lak, those of the village and those of the bush. The domestic sounds of the village are naturally associated with people, from the sounds produced by children playing to those of pigs and chickens wandering between houses and digging in the earth. The garden areas on the fringe of the village are also associated with people. Gardens are lively sonic environments, the sounds of people chatting as they work mix with the chatter of birds, the sounds of undergrowth being cleared, the chopping of wood and the rhythmic thud of earth being turned for planting. Walking beyond the garden into the secondary growth and eventually into areas that have never been cultivated or inhabited, the sonic geography changes significantly. The bush throbs with life, the pulsing sounds of insects, chattering of birds and other sounds of unknown origin (audio sample 8.1).[2] There is considerable overlap between these two realms and when one sits at the centre of even the largest Lak community, the sounds of the bush encroach on the domestic realm. The emptiness and isolation of remote bush areas is in complete contrast to the social and communal nature of village life. The bush is the realm of spiritual beings, ancestors and other non-human entities. Although the Lak associate the bush with isolation and emptiness, the bush is a realm of constant noise; the living jungle shouts its non-human but living presence in an almost deafening rant of continuous sound both night and day. The presence

and power of this 'uninhabited' realm of sound plays an important role in the performance life of the Lak.

The sonic and conceptual demarcations between the separate realms of village/bush and their subsequent association with the human/spirit is an essential element in understanding the Lak musical world (cf. Feld 1983: 78) The jungle is a fertile area of inspiration, power and spirituality. Men on hunting expeditions often appeal to their ancestors for help in trapping wild pigs. If lost in an unfamiliar area of the bush, travellers may seek the guidance of ancestral spirits. Moreover, while working in the garden many mothers habitually call the name of the infant child slung around their waist in a sarong. This practice is meant to ensure that the child's spirit will not wander or be stolen by the spirits that inhabit the nearby jungle (cf. Seeger 1987: 69). The link between ancestral spirits and other spiritual entities, and the large areas of bush beyond each community and it gardens dominates the local understanding of space and place.

The village spaces, as mentioned, are associated with human reproductive potential, domesticity and women. The hamlet, village and garden spaces in and around communities are essentially female spaces, and perceived as fertile and reproductive. The village and its immediate surrounds are understood as spiritually safe places and Christian Churches are important social signifiers of village spaces and the safe domesticity associated with village spaces. Many hamlets also have prayer houses and fellowship chapels that serve as regular venues for biblical studies and the hosting of weekly services that include Christian songs and hymns. The distinction between the bush and village realms is not, however, perceived by the Lak as a simple binary dichotomy between good and evil. The spiritual forces that dwell in the jungle are generally not understood as good or evil, they are sources of knowledge and power and can be manipulated by humans for either good or morally questionable purposes. In general, men inhabit both realms, they are capable of promoting their reproductive potential through association with women and through domestic work in the garden but they may also promote their creative potential by inhabiting isolated bush areas and by associating with spiritual beings. It is in the course of a prolonged avoidance of village areas and contact with women that men are able to retrieve music and dance choreographies from spiritual entities. In fact all creative undertakings from costume design to the magic used to attract an audience to view a dance troupe, gains efficacy through periods of isolation in jungle spaces.

Almost all of the men's dance performances are preceded by extended periods in the bush. During what is referred to as the *kunubok* preparations, which can last a few days or as long as a month, during which the performers eat only dry food cooked on hot stones. Those

undergoing kunubok also abstain from drinking with the aim of making their bodies light and dry. Lightness and dryness are attributes of spirit beings that also dwell in the bush areas and are said to only eat dried wood. If the kunubok preparations are successful, the dancers will be quick in their movements, their skin, adorned with red pigment will be luminous, and their performance flawless. In essence, successful male dancers move like spirits, barely touching the ground, the strong vertical movements that dominates all Lak dancing gives the impression of effortless motion in which dancers move in close synchrony.[3] See fig. 8.2.[4]

In the most extreme example of kunubok, some men seek to maintain regular contact with the realm of the spirits through initiation into the *Buai* complex. The Buai practice gives those who undergo the extensive initiation the ability to draw songs, dance choreographies and costume designs from the realm of the spirits on a nightly basis through their dreams. The initiation process can take several months in which the initiate undergoes extreme fasting and endures prolonged periods of dehydration. The result is an emaciated body, one that the Lak consider more spirit than flesh. Those who successfully complete the initiation are known as *Tene Buai*, music magicians, and they are revered for their ability to compose or retrieve new song and dance material from the spirit realm whenever they wish (cf. Eves 1998:30; Nachman 1981).

Singing spirits

Among the many spiritual entities that make up Lak cosmology, two types of spirit being are of special significance to the final stage of the mortuary rites and the process of finishing and forgetting the dead. Firstly, *talung* spirits are of importance because they play a significant role in mortuary sequence and because they have no physical manifestation, only an aural presence. The Talung are central to one of the two male secret societies of the Lak region (see Gourlay 1975). The talung society requires human participation in order to generate its voice and sonic presence. In return, the talung provide male participants with secret knowledge and they play a role in maintaining their ritual lore and social structures. The voice of the talung is distinctive, a mixture of whirring, pulsing and throbbing (audio sample 8.2[5])[6]. The sound is evocative of remote jungle areas where the sounds of insects and birds reach a similar throbbing intensity and the relationship between the sounds of bush and the cry of the talung is no doubt felt intuitively by those who hear the talung enter a village. When talung enter a village the reaction of women, children and non-initiates is immediate, people quickly retire to their homes and sit quietly inside until the spirits have

passed. The sound of the talung indicates a disruption of normality or
an event that threatens Lak social structures. The Talung only enter a
village following the death of a senior member of the secret society or
in response to a breach of secret society lore. In the first instance, the
talung often accompany the coffin of a deceased senior member to the
grave or in the case of a breach of customary practice, the talung may
literally lay siege on the village and camp outside the offender's home,
completely disrupting life in the community until compensation is
made. Compensation usually takes the form of pig(s) and shell money.
Once an offender has negotiated compensation with the senior male in
charge of talung payments, the spirits return to the talung grounds,
usually a small area of bush not far from the centre of the community.
From the talung grounds, the spirits may continue to cry sporadically
through the night for up to a week until eventually the occupation ends
and life in the community returns to normal. During these periods of
occupation, all movement after sunset is restricted, and women and
children are unable to travel to the river to collect water for fear of en-
countering the spirits. The presence of the talung in the village inter-
rupts the normal sonic geography of the region, upsetting the usual se-
paration between village and bush.

The other significant secret male society in the region also plays an
important role in the final stage of the mortuary rites. The *nataka* or *tu-
buan* spirits, as they are known throughout the Island region of New
Guinea, have a very large and distinctive physical manifestation (see fig.
8.3[7]). All nataka spirits are individuals with unique patterns, facial fea-
tures and decoration, each spirit is associated with a particular sub-clan
and a specific leader of a sub-clan. Like the talung, the nataka only ap-
pear in the village on rare occasions following the death of a senior na-
taka adept or during the final stages of the mortuary rites when the
spirits may occupy the host village for a week or more. Like the talung,
the nataka presence significantly disrupts normal village life, not only
in the host community but also throughout the Lak region. Their pre-
sence also dissolves the usual separation of bush/village realms and dis-
turbs the sonic geography. Nataka are powerful spiritual beings that are
feared by non-initiates. They have a formidable reputation for maiming
and killing those that don't respect their laws or those who are simply
unfortunate and get too close. In the past, the nataka have been known
to physically assault people, although magical poisons are said to be
more common today. Most sicknesses or injuries that occur following a
nataka event are attributed to the spirits.[8]

It takes a considerable amount of preparation and resources to gener-
ate the presence of the nataka and this is partly why events involving
them are so rare and so eagerly anticipated. The presence of the nataka
during the final stage of the mortuary rites serves a dual purpose.

Firstly, the rites 'finish' the deceased, a process that involves the nataka ritualistically removing the last physical remnant of the deceased from the village and carrying these into the *taraiu*, an area of bush that can only be entered by initiates.[9] The removal of these items is the final act in the process of 'finishing the dead' and it completes the obligations of the individual and his supporters who host the rites. Secondly, the rites are the vehicle through which the hosting Big Man is able to assume the position and social status of the deceased. As a result, the rites are politically charged undertakings and frequently the centre of discussion and potentially controversy.[10]

In order to generate a spectacular display and to successfully 'finish the dead', a host must pool all of his resources, draw on all of his reserves and activate all of his exchange relations. As explained above, each nataka figure is associated with a clan group and its leader, and it is therefore necessary for the host of the rites to involve as many Big Men and their sub-clans as possible. The ability of a host to perform a large-scale rite is consequently determined by the number of exchange relationships he has and his potential to reciprocate and contribute toward rites hosted by others in the future. The more nataka that attend a rite, the greater the exchange relations and spiritual power will be for the host.

Portung: final rites

The *portung* rites are a performance in every sense of the word, the rites involve numerous music and dance presentations and require the participation of the entire community. They are also a very public performance of the social, political and spiritual power of the host and his supporters.

The *kamgar* dances are one of the first public signs that the rites are imminent. Kamgar performances and gar songs are held each night for several weeks before the rites begin. Each evening men and women gather around the host's home and sing gar songs as they pace around a central log drum in radial lines.[11] The kamgar continue late into the night and as the impending rite approaches, the nightly chorus of singers grows as people from the surrounding communities begin to arrive in the host hamlet in anticipation of the mortuary rites. During the last few nights before the final rites, the kamgar singing continues through until dawn in an atmosphere of celebration. Men and women laugh, joke and generally enjoy themselves, rising several times an hour to pace around the log drum and sing as loudly as possible.

The *gar* songs stand in marked contrast to the songs and performances that follow in the portung, final rites. Gar songs are unique

among the many song genres in Lak, partly because they involve male and female, young and old and are therefore the only traditional song form performed by mixed gender participants. The other exceptional aspect of gar is related to the lyrics of the songs. Unlike most traditional song forms of the region, gar lyrics are often intelligible, they may be narrative, humorous and recount incidents familiar to performers as in the example below.[12]

Gar

Oi kiahoi Lak det
Oi umtool nama bill la
Rei eh duroogai ma
Long solwara bilong Duke of York
Wai tait I kisim ol
Wai tait I kisim ol
Long sol wara long Duke of York.

Translation:
Oi kiahoi everyone
Where are you all now I can't
See you, eh (To)duroogai
In the ocean at Duke of York (Islands)
Wee the current carries them
Wee the current carries them
In the ocean at Duke of York (Islands)

The gar recounts an incident that occurred in late 2004 when a group of men from the Lambom community and an individual from Siar were swamped by a wave while travelling across the Saint George Channel in a small motorboat. Although the boat was closer to New Ireland at the time of its sinking, the strong channel currents pushed the men back toward the Duke of York islands where they all safely came ashore after ten hours at sea.

Many gar, like the example above, are composed in response to topical events and feature a mixture of Tok Pisin and Siar languages. The song's composer, a member of Siar community, claimed to have simply 'thought up' the song rather than attributing the creative material to an external spiritual force. Most gar songs composed by members of Lak society are derived from the same inauspicious origins. The origins, performance style, and lyrics of gar place them in contrast with the other performances that follow during the final rites.[13]

On the final night before the portung, gar singing begins as usual shortly after dark. As the evening progresses and more people arrive in

the host hamlet a series of other nighttime dances begin. These consist of men's and women's night dances and usually include a range of traditional dance genres. As with most Lak dance forms, the dances are performed in a grid arrangement and often involve large numbers of people. No restrictions govern who presents performances. In general, each community or large hamlet group in attendance presents one or two dances. By this stage, the night before a large kastom, the hosting community is usually full of people, some of whom may have travelled for several days to attend. The dance performances often continue late into the night and when all of the dances are complete the final kamgar session resumes and continues to sunrise.

In the early morning light, the hosting Big Man and his fellow supporters gather around a large fire which will be used to cook the pigs distributed later in the day. Each of the ritual's sponsors and the host take items from their basket, which formerly belong to the deceased and cast them into the fire. This is a final act in 'forgetting the dead', and a symbolic gesture that allows the host to fill the gap created by the deceased. When this rite is completed, the pigs are placed in the ground oven for several hours and when cooked they are arranged on a specially constructed ritual stage from which they look down on the dancing that begins mid-morning.

Only women perform at this stage of the portung rites (see fig. 8.4[14]). The host must provide a basket of pork for each woman who performs in front of the men's house. The women's dances continue for most of the morning and, as the final dance troupe enters, the pigs are taken down from the stage and cut into equal portions for distribution to each of the performers. Once the women have received their baskets of meat they are free to return to their villages; however, most wait for the arrival of the nataka spirits.

Mat a matam: the dead come and look

The arrival of the nataka in the village is an impressive and awe-inspiring event. Because the spirits are so rarely seen, their entrance generates much excitement and anticipation. For senior men and women the arrival of the nataka is an emotional experience. Each spirit figure represents not one but many ancestral relations. In a lifetime, members of Lak society will witness the portung of several of their senior relations. During each portung, the last physical remnants of the deceased, including photographs or items they owned, are removed by the nataka leaving only the enduring image of the spirit figures. For the Lak, the nataka are the spiritual embodiment of their ancestors, some of whom

they knew as grandfathers, uncles and fathers and others who were only ever known to them in stories or mythology.

The nataka's entrance into the village is a moment of great drama and spectacle (see fig. 8.5[15]). As the different clans of nataka come together in front of an audience of hundreds there is a cacophony of calls and shouts from the senior men and the nataka move with perceptible vigour and bounce. When all of the spirit figures have met in the central plaza in front of the men's house, a short dance is performed to a drum pattern beaten on a log drum. When this performance is completed the nataka sit around the edges of the plaza and await payment in the form of shell money. Once they have received their payments they retire to the taraiu, ritual grounds, usually only a short distance from the men's house.

A short time later, a small number of the spirits return to the plaza to ritualistically beat the society initiates so that they too may enter the taraiu grounds and join the spirits (see fig. 8.6[16]). The women, children and non-initiated watch these proceedings from a safe distance. The spectacular nature of the nataka figures, their detailed individual patterns, and their stylised movements make for a fascinating display. Women are however, warned not to stare too long into the eyes of the spirits or walk on the ground where they have recently passed. The nataka are said to threaten the reproductive potential of women because they are by their very nature the opposite of women, who are perceived in Lak terms to be fertile and heavy with reproductive potential as opposed to spirits who are light and immortal.

Figure 8.7 *Map of Siar hamlet*
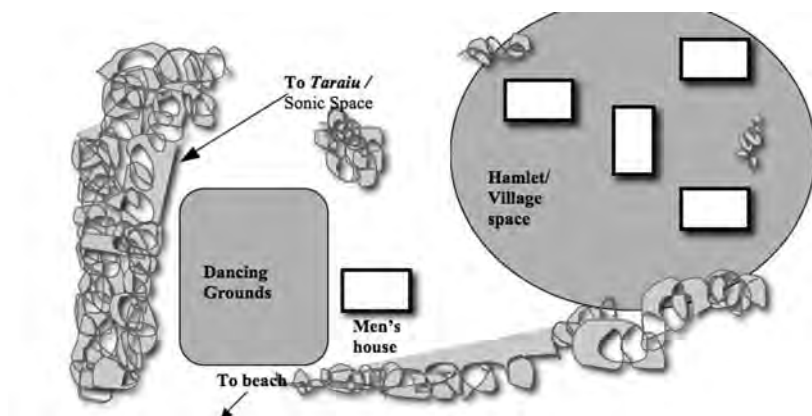
The arrangement of Siar hamlet, where the rites in 2005 were staged, provides a natural amphitheatre and a safe distance from which to view the opening displays. First, the senior members of the society received a blow on the back with a short stick from the spirits and then the rest of the members were beaten. When all of the nataka society members had been struck, the senior men walked across the plaza to retrieve young men who were to be initiated and beaten by the nataka for the first time. The senior men often have to tear the young men from the embrace of their mothers and this part of the opening rites is frequently accompanied by the wailing of the women. The weeping at this stage of the rites is culturally patterned in a descending melodic line with the occasional insertion of a few words into the melodic phrase. This patterned wailing is the same as that which follows a death in the community. The beating delivered by the nataka spirits 'kills' the initiates, allowing them entry into the taraiu grounds at the edge of the village where they will literally live with the spirits until the rites conclude.

The dancing dead

Day and night throughout the rites, the *takaun*, the cry of the nataka, sounds from the taraiu. The takaun is a distinct pattern of high-pitched 'woop woop woop' calls that continue from between ten to 30 seconds (audio sample 8.3).[17] The takaun sonically defines the realm of the spirits and announces the presence of the nataka at irregular intervals, which serves as a constant reminder of the presence of the spirits and the portung.

Just as the talung spirits alter the 'sonic geography' of the region so too does the presence of the nataka. During the rites, life in the immediate hamlet, the village as a whole and all of the communities who have participants engaged in the rites, changes dramatically. One of the most important restrictions that presides over the inhabitants of participating communities is a restriction on noise. Much like the sound restrictions that follow a death in the community, the nataka demand that a respectful silence presides. Children are constantly reminded to play quietly and laughing, yelling and singing are not tolerated. The nataka demand community attention and all other sounds are considered distractions and may be punished with fines of shell money or, in more serious cases, incur the wrath of the nataka spirits themselves. The movements of women, children and non-initiates are also restricted during the rites. They are expected to remain in their hamlets and no work can be conducted during the portung. No building, cutting of trees, cleaning, weaving, or garden work can be undertaken. Through the course of the rites, debris and rubbish accumulates, plants may

overgrow in and around hamlets, and hamlet areas begin to resemble the disorder of the uninhabited bush. Women make only short journeys to gardens for food and to the river for water. These short trips are always made in small groups that move quickly with hushed tones, always cautious of an encounter with a nataka who may be wandering between hamlets. During the rites, no visiting takes place, although the women and other non-initiates are encouraged to travel to the host hamlet at least once a day to watch the nataka perform.

Between the taraiu and the men's house lies the liminal space of the dancing ground, the gateway between the taraiu and village, the realms of the spirits and the living (see fig. 8.7). It is in this liminal space between the living and the dead that the spirits perform their most important activity, dancing. All nataka dancing takes place exclusively in this area, and it is the only public place in which *kapialai*, nataka songs, can be sung. The music and dance produced in this area is literally the combined product of men and spirits. The dancing ground becomes a looking glass onto another world, a space where spirits can cross over to move among the living, and the living can view the performance of the spirits.

Following the opening sequence of the rites, which concludes with the initiates disappearing into the secret grounds, the first of many nataka dance performances are conducted (see fig. 8.8[18]). This is largely what the spirits do for the remainder of the portung. Three times a day; in the early morning, at noon and in the late afternoon, the nataka are summoned from the taraiu to the dancing grounds by a log drum rhythm, where they proceed to perform accompanied by a large group of senior males who sing kapialai songs and beat *kundu* drums. Dance is essential to the nature of the nataka, it is in Lak terms, an activity that fundamentally reveals things as they are. When men and women perform they present their spirituality and their social personas. The Lak literally perform their social relationships, showing onlookers who they are by dancing in a group that is made up of their active exchange partners and relations. Those who dance along the side, in front and behind you literally constitute your social being. Almost all Lak dance performances are conducted in a grid formation and the coordination of movement and costumes along with the synchronous vocals and drum parts is what constitutes a successful performance. Dance for the Lak is about moving, breathing and acting together as one. In this way, the Lak display their composite identity in performance by dancing with those who form part of their active relationships (see Wolffram 2006). The Nataka do not perform in the tight grid formations that dominate human performances, they perform in their own space in the dancing grounds, oriented in such a way that the accompanying group of senior males are in front. While men's and women's dances reflect the social structures that are inherent in Lak

society, the nataka are not associated with a social structure, hence their dance moves, while structured and to some degree synchronised, are not performed in a integrated grid of rows and columns. In this way and others, the nataka also perform their own identity. Their essence can be perceived in their dance movements and in the way they walk. Like male dancers that perform an image of 'lightness', the nataka also move with a strong emphasis on the vertical. Their actions are buoyant and bouncy and their large leafy bodies serve to highlight their movements as each step results in a flurry of vertical motion and flapping leaves. Indeed, the rhythmic aspect of the nataka dance is visually articulated as their leafy bulk moves in time with the music. The nataka bodies also create an aural effect as their bouncing motion produces a staccato 'whoosh' each time the leaves strike the sides of their bodies. At other points in their performance, the nataka bend forward and perform a series of quick side-to-side movements, which generate rustling sounds in time with the drum rhythm. All the movements of the nataka, whether walking or dancing, convey an impression of lightness that defies their bulky stature and portrays their spiritual nature.

As mentioned above, senior nataka adepts are the only men allowed to move freely between the taraiu and the village, exercising the same powers as the spirits. Senior adepts are also the only humans able to communicate with the nataka. During performances, senior men call to the spirits in the language of the nataka. Men issue comments and instructions that are indecipherable to non-initiates. The phrases are intoned and delivered in a patterned format of distinctive pitch and tempo. The kapailai singing sessions begin with a log drum that summons the nataka. As soon as the drum pattern ends the singing begins and continues with only brief pauses between the kapialai until the session ends with another drum signal to send the spirits back to the taraiu. The dance choreography of every song is unique and there are literally hundreds of kapialai known among the various taraiu in southern New Ireland. Each taraiu tends to have an active repertoire ranging from 30 to 50 songs, between eight to 12 of which are performed in any one session during the portung (see fig. 8.9[19]).

All nataka songs are believed to originate from spirits and come to men through dreams (cf. Lohmann 2003: 1, Kingston 1998: 194-5). Unlike other song forms that may originate from human or spiritual sources, the kapialai are exclusive to the supernatural, and this explains why the kapialai are among the most lyrically indecipherable song forms in the region. Archaic, spiritual and secret words proliferate in kapialai song lyrics. Because of their status as the songs of the nataka and their origins from among the spiritual beings, the kapialai are perceived as particularly powerful songs and therefore their performance circumstances and style are carefully regulated. The only time that the kapialai

are performed in public is during nataka rites and precautions are taken to keep the lyrics of the kapialai secret.[20] The problem is, as Lak males have noted: 'women are smart and capable of learning quickly.'[21] This problem represents the inevitable challenge faced by the secret society. The nataka spirits and kapialai songs need to be displayed to non-initiates in order to show their power but each display or performance risks revelation and the potential erosion of the secret's power. Control over the form and materials used by the nataka are maintained through strict laws governing their use. During the kapialai, the task of controlling the dissemination of the music becomes potentially more difficult. The nataka society aims to overcome this problem by 'hiding the words in their sounds': that is, by removing the consonant sounds from the lyrics and singing through the vowel sounds. The practice is known as *moh ep saksak* (literally 'to blur the song') making it difficult for audiences to understand the words. The results render a word like 'hallelujah' into 'ah-eh-oh-a'. Some performers describe the technique as 'holding the words in the mouth', which accurately describes the vocal timbre produced. The sounds are allowed to resonate in the oral and nasal cavity while the lips and tongue remain relatively passive in the pronunciation of the consonants (audio sample 8.4).[22] Despite the moh ep saksak technique, some words are still decipherable. For example, many 'prestige words' such as *tangara* ('ancestor'), *manigoulai* ('the name of a moiety'), nataka, kapialai and *pidik* ('secret') remain audible and hint at their obscured meanings (cf. Keesing 1982). Like the nataka figures, the kapialai songs mask something that paradoxically remains in plain view. The words of the kapialai are obscured because, despite their predominantly indecipherable textual meaning, the words and names are perceived as powerful. Kapialai connote mystery and power and, like death and the afterlife, the details remain hidden, beyond human comprehension.

Kapialai song analysis

The Kapialai are monophonic with a tonal centre of about 262 hertz (middle 'C'); however, a variation of 100-200 cents is common. Like all traditional Lak song forms, the kapialai conform to a three-section structure; an introductory *lamlam* section, and two *pukun* sections, which constitute the body of the song and the performance. When considering the kapialai genre as a whole it is evident that the opening lamlam sections feature more melodic variations than the pukun that follow. However, Lak informants describe all songs of the same genre as having the same melodic structure. An examination of the three kapialai lamlam below shows that this is not strictly true, at least according to a 'Western' understanding of melodic structure.

Figure 8.10 *Pitch and rhythmic analysis of kapialai introduction example 1. Grey areas (spectrogram) show the rhythmic beats while the blue line displays the melodic line*
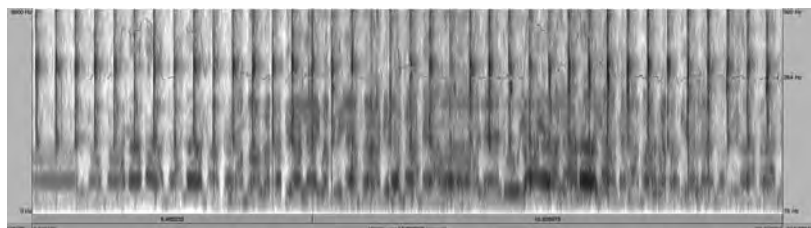
Also see figs. 8.11 and 8.12[23]

All three of these lamlam begin on or around 250 hertz and ascend, in most cases, to 480-490 hertz, followed by a slower descent back to the tonal centre; this pattern is repeated and the phrase ends. The entire pattern is repeated several times throughout the lamlam with small variations at the beginning and end of the verses. Given this broad melodic structure, it is possible to perceive the way in which all kapialai lamlam may be considered 'the same', given the similar shapes of the melodic phrases. Other similarities that may cause the Lak to group them as 'the same' include the disguised text (moh-ep-saksak singing technique detailed above), the particular vocal timbre employed, and the use of spirit languages. The kapialai are indeed the same in their texts, timbre and general melodic shape.

The dance movements performed by the nataka figures during the lamlam section are relatively simple compared to the more intense and detailed choreography that occurs during the pukun sections that follow. There is no specified pattern of movement in the lamlam and the nataka simply weave their way across the dancing grounds changing direction and speed as they please.

The pukun sections of the kapialai are subject to even greater formulaic construction with a typical melodic phrase structure of: AAB, AAC, AAB. A Pukun can be described as a series of tones whose rhythmic realisation is determined by the words. The repetitive nature of pukun approaches a chant, providing a constant aural backdrop for the exciting dance movements. As soon as the lamlam ends and the pukun begins, the nataka turn away from the kundu group and dance their way to the back of the dancing grounds. At the end of the first repetition, they turn and begin to work their way forwards. During their advance they perform the *um-mu-mi*, a section of choreography that is different in each kapialai. The um-mu-mi is signalled by a rapid kundu rhythm. The um-

mu-mi tend to consist of a series of three or four distinct movements. For example, these might involve: the nataka bending over from the waist and while in this position twisting the upper body to face left and then right; performing a figure eight in the air with the upper body in one fluid movement, then hopping on one leg while revolving 360°, and finally kicking forward with each leg in turn. When all of the nataka figures turn towards the back of the plaza and begin to dance their way back, the rapid drum rhythm finishes and the normal rhythm resumes. When the nataka reach the back of the plaza, they turn and begin to dance forward again until the kundu rhythm recommences. The two samples provided show the chant-like nature of kapialai pukun (see figs. 13 and 14[24]).

The steady kundu beat creates a repetitive driving beat to the pukun and although the lyrics of each kapialai differ, the phrases feature similar syllabic counts of around seven syllables per lyrical phrase. These features combine to give the pukun a strong feeling of forward momentum. Once the pattern of the pukun has been firmly established through several repetitions, it is disrupted by the quick kundu pattern to which the um-mu-mi is performed. During these sections the steady syllabic pattern is also disrupted and extended two and sometimes three times its normal length, the rhythmic pattern of the vocal part is interrupted by a sustained note in the upper reaches of the songs melodic vocabulary and the kundu beat shifts from groups of four to groups of three. The kundu beat eventually returns to an even-measured beat and the normal syllabic and rhythmic features of the vocal part are re-established. The two pukun extracts (figs. 15 and 15-1, 16 and 16-1[25]) show the way in which this is done.

At the end of the second bar in the first transcription and from the middle of the fourth bar in the second example, the fast kundu rhythm disturbs the steady beat established in the earlier bars.[26] The patterns described here are of a strict structural conformity and are followed by a release from that structure, producing an ebb and flow effect that can be found in many societies in Papua New Guinea (Kaeppler 1998: 480-7). In these moments of release from the regular rhythmic structure, the nataka perform the um-mu-mi choreography. The result is short climactic bursts of sonic and visual intensity. These brief moments are the euphoric highlights of the dance that create what the Lak describe as langoron (a state of excitement and euphoria only generated through music and dance).[27]

During the nataka performance, senior men may rise from their place among the singers and drummers and venture forth onto the dancing grounds to dance beside the nataka and express this euphoric langoron sensation, or simply wander between the dancing figures (see fig. 8.17[28]). These actions are also displays of confidence and power for the

benefit of onlookers and are only performed by the most senior ritual practitioners.

Back to life

In the morning of the final day, the silence of the village is broken by a cacophony of sound moving through the taraiu toward the village. The sounds of breaking branches, wood snapping and smashing, heralds the emergence of the men from the taraiu. The sounds warn those out-side the taraiu that the men are coming but they also signify the men's altered state as they break away from the realm of the spirits to re-enter the village for the first time in a week. The men come out of the taraiu in one long line and as they enter the dancing grounds, several nataka emerge from the taraiu, brandishing clubs. The nataka form a row across the dancing area and begin to perform the ritual beating once again, this time to release the men. Once beaten the men retire to the taraiu for the last time, where they remain until nightfall.

The last dance performance of the nataka is held at midday in front of a large audience of women; it is without a doubt the most emotional performance of the rites. The toh maris ma ('stand with sorrow') is an emotionally poignant event as it is the climactic performance of the en-tire rites and the last time that the nataka will be seen for possibly many years. When the nataka emerge from the taraiu to perform the *toh maris ma*, their eyes are marked with charcoal. A black streak, like a tear, can be clearly seen across their white eyes.

During the performance, several of the senior men may be seen cry-ing in the middle of the dancing plaza as the nataka move around them. Toward the end of the performance, the nataka themselves begin moving slower and with less agility. Older women among the audience may also venture forward to weep in front of the dancing ground, their post-menopausal state make the nataka less threatening to them. The older women stand close to the now sluggish nataka and cry the names of recently deceased clan members. At the end of the performance, se-nior men, fighting back tears, give each nataka a stick; one end glowing with embers, they carry the sticks with them back into the taraiu with slow and heavy footfalls. The nataka's final walk back to the taraiu can no longer be described as 'light'; all of the life and energy of movement has gone. The nataka disappear into the taraiu and once again the realms of the living and the spirits is severed.

That same afternoon smoke will rise from the taraiu, indicating to outsiders that the nataka have been cremated. A period of mourning fol-lows their death and, like any other death, the mourning continues for four days. The mourning observances imitate those performed for

community members and restrictions against work and noise remain. Most men who attended the rights from other communities return to their village, but men of the hosting community remain in the taraiu throughout the mourning period. After four days, the men of the hosting village assemble on the dancing grounds and perform a short section of a dance in front of a small audience of women. The performance is a gesture, to signify the end of the mourning observations for the nataka.

It is notable that it is a dance that removes the state of mourning. The performance can also be understood as the dancers reclaiming their status as men and humans. For over a week they have lived in the taraiu as spirits, not eating, drinking or interacting with women; the dance indicates their return to the village and a more human existence. This dance releases the village from all the mourning restrictions and reinstates normal community activities. At this stage, the women provide the dancers with a meal of vegetables and, for the first time since the portung, the men eat in front of the women, confirming their status as mortals and bring to a conclusion the entire ritual process.[29]

The portung rites described here provide an explicit illustration of the spiritual elements that underlie every aspect of Lak ritual and musical life. The same spiritual entities and concepts of sonic geography are part of all Lak song genres to varying degrees. All men and women's traditional song genres operate within the same sonic and spiritual ethos, from the spectacular men's dances performed during mortuary rites, which are preceded by extended periods of kunubok, to women's dance processions during Catholic church services. All songs and dances in the region contain a mixture of spiritual and secular elements. Nataka dance and kapialai song sit at one end of the spiritual/secular spectrum with action songs performed at school celebrations occupying the opposite end. Most of the more than 40 traditional song forms of the region are a more even mix. The euphoric experience of langoron described above can be achieved through performance or even observation of any dance performance. In all cases, Lak music and dance is a combination of the two sound worlds that are rendered audible and visible in the portung.

Conclusion

The ritual practices described here exist within a dynamic history of change and development but they also involve continuity. The Lak are portrayed in this chapter as active participants in the maintenance and determination of their own ritual, social and political lives. The concept of 'sonic geography' presented above is intended to provide a way of

understanding the meaning and significance the Lak place on the sounds that make up their environment. Sonic geography also aids in understanding other important Lak concepts, such as the relationships between bush and the village, spiritual beings and humans, heavy and light, and the creative and reproductive elements of the world as the Lak perceive them. Interactions between these sound worlds of bush and village have been shown to be central to Lak music and dance practices.

The portung rites described in this chapter provide the unique opportunity to view the spiritual dimensions of the society as the Lak conceive of them. All of the elements of the local spiritual ethos are enacted during the portung. In the liminal space of the dancing grounds between the village and the taraiu the rites create a window between worlds in which the nataka reveal their essential nature in their movements and motions. The nataka spirits also represent the political and spiritual power of those who host the rites. In this respect, the nataka embody the ultimate meeting of the human and spiritual realms. The Nataka need men to incarnate and men need nataka to attain power and prestige. These dimensions of the local sound world and spiritual ethos that are so present in the portung are part of every Lak performance. All traditional Lak music and dance is inspired, to some degree, by the relationship between humans and spirits. Lak songs are supernatural and emotive creations that, when combined with movement, can fundamentally change the nature of the world.

Lak society consists of both spiritual and human dimensions and it is dependent on a harmonious co-existence of the two realms. Through the performance of music and dance, men are able to commune with spirits and in performance draw these two realms together, to re-conceive the barrier between the living and the dead as a permeable one, through which men and spirits can pass. This is what is achieved during the nataka performances, in the liminal space between the men's house and the taraiu it is possible to glimpse and experience the world beyond, the past and the future.

Notes

1   The people of the Lak region call their language Siar. Siar is an Austronesian language of the Patpatar-Tolai subgroup (Lithgow and Claasen 1969). The information available on the lexical correlation of Siar with neighbouring languages (from Lithgow and Claasen 1969) is 70% for the Kandas, 41-51% for the Konomala, 31-51% and for the Tanglamet (Tanga) 70%. These results, based on regional surveys, are broadly indicative of linguistic patterns in the region, while the Siar and several neighbouring groups remain largely undocumented.

2   Audio sample 8.1: Sounds of the jungle. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

3 As described here, 'lightness' is expressed in dance movements through vertical motion, and its musical equivalent can be understood as male falsetto singing. The Lak consider the male falsetto voice to be the most aesthetically pleasing sound produced by humans. Deep voices are described as 'heavy' and considered dull and unpleasant to listen to. It is not surprising then, that all of the sounds produced by spirits, the cry of the *talung*, and the *takaun* call, described below, are high pitched.

4 Fig. 8.2: Male dance troupe. Note typical grid formation and skin pigment. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

5 Audio sample 8.2: Cry of *talung*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

6 My involvement and initiation into this secret society prohibits any explanation of how the sound is generated.

7 Fig. 8.3: *Nataka* spirit. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

8 *Nataka* or *tubuan* societies exist throughout Southern New Ireland and its outliers including Anir and Nissan Islands, as well as in the Duke of Yorks and East New Brittain (see Errington 1974; Matane 1972).

9 In the past, the *nataka* figures literally removed the final remains, the bones, but today the practice usually involves the removal of the wood that was used to construct a headstone and the cement grave cover.

10 For example, the event mentioned at the start of this chapter held in Siar was in many respects typical of a large secondary rite but in one significant way this particular rite was exceptional. The most peculiar aspect of the rite, though not unprecedented, was that the hosting Big Man was completing himself. Daniel Toanaroi, widely known as Rubber, is one of the region's most influential and politically powerful Big Men. Because of this, Rubber believed that no one man was capable of completing him. In most circumstances, anyone attempting to do this would be foiled by a lack of exchange partners willing to engage with him, for the simple reason that there is no chance of continued exchange relations with a man who is, for all intents and purposes, no longer, at least politically, alive. No Big Man would normally provide pigs and shell money to a man who wasn't in a position to pay him back. Rubber overcame this problem by offering his exchange partners tracts of land owned by his sub-clan. As the leader of his sub-clan and as the most politically powerful member, no other Big Man of Rubber's sub-clan was in a position to question his actions. For further details, see: *Rubber's Kastom*, ethnographic film in press 2010.

11 *Gar* is the Siar term for the song form practiced throughout New Ireland and parts of New Britain and widely known as *bot* (Tok Pisin). These performances are danced in radial lines around a central log drum in an counter-clockwise direction. In many parts of New Ireland, Lihir islands, Tabar, Tanga and the Duke of Yorks the *bot* exists in one form or another in relation to the mortuary rites. See Errington 1974: 190, Wagner 1986: 202, Kuchler 2002: 105, Foster 1995: 129.

12 In contrast to the *tikol* songs sung on Lihir Island and presented by Gillespie in this volume, most Lak traditional song genres are not narrative or intelligible.

13 Many *gar* performed in Lak are in other languages from the New Ireland and East New Britain region and many of these songs are not lyrically comprehensible to local performers. However, all *gar* feature some similarity in musical material and tend to conform to identifiable patterns.

14 Fig. 8.4: Women's Dance troupe performs during *portung* rites. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

15 Fig. 8.5: *Nataka* enter the village. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

16 Fig. 8.6: *Nataka* beating initiates. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

17 Audio sample 8.3: *Takaun* call. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

18 Fig. 8.8: *Nataka* dancing. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

19 Fig. 8.9: Senior men singing *kapialai* in front of the men's house. http://dare.uva.nl/
    aup/en/record/330210.
20 The *Kapialai* were at times informally sung for me during recording sessions in
    men's homes or in bush areas outside of the village.
21 Translated and transcribed from a recorded interview with a senior ritual adept,
    Christian Dokon.
22 Audio sample 8.4: *Kapialai*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
23 Fig. 8.11: Pitch and rhythmic analysis of *kapialai* introduction example 2; Fig. 8.12:
    Pitch and rhythmic analysis of *kapialai* introduction example 3. http://dare.uva.nl/
    aup/en/record/330210.
24 Fig. 8.13: Pitch & rhythmic analysis of *kapialai pukun,* example 1; fig. 8.14: Pitch &
    rhythmic analysis of *kapialai pukun*, example 2. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/
    330210.
25 Figs. 8.15 and 8.15-1: Pitch & rhythmic analysis, of *kapialai pukun* section, transcription;
    figs. 8.16 and 8.16-1: Pitch & rhythmic analysis of *kapialai pukun* section, transcription.
    http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
26 Transcriptions used here are meant to show how the song lyrics interact with the me-
    lodic and rhythmic elements of *kapialai* songs. The transcription does not endeavour
    to represent how the Lak people conceive of their musical structures.
27 The term *langoron* is used throughout Southern New Ireland and among the Tolai of
    East New Britain and the Duke of York Islands (see Webb 1995: 33; Epstein 1992:
    260). For detailed discussion of *langoron* practices and experiences see Wolffram
    2007: 218.
28 Fig. 8.17: A Senior ritual adept walks among dancing *nataka* spirits. http://dare.uva.
    nl/aup/en/record/330210.
29 Men avoid sleeping under the same roof as women for at least one more night and,
    before they re-enter normal domestic activities, they wash their clothing to remove
    any *taraiu* residue.

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9   Breaking the *Tikol*?

Code-switching, Cassette Culture and a Lihirian Song Form

Kirsty Gillespie

Introduction

In New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea, there is a group of islands known as Lihir,[1] which can be seen on a clear day with the naked eye from the northeast coast of 'mainland' New Ireland. The Lihir island group is made up of four islands: Aniolam (by far the biggest in the group), Malie (consisting of the island of Malie plus two smaller islands, Sinambiet and Mando), Masahet and Mahur, in order from south to north.

Lir, or Lihirian as it is known in English, is classified as an Austronesian language. It is spoken throughout the island group, though there is a dialect difference between the large island of Aniolam, where the majority of the population live, and the three other islands (which are referred to locally under the collective name Ihot, meaning 'stone place' in Lihirian, as the islands are very rocky). There are currently approximately 14,000 speakers of the Lihirian language (Bainton 2008b: 291), however, Lihirian is not the only language spoken in the island group. There has always been an interaction with neighbouring language groups – Lihir has never been an isolated place, being part of a network of exchange. However, the nature of the interactions with other groups of people has altered over the course of the 20th century, as Lihir has become increasingly engaged in commercial industries, such as copra plantations and, since 1995, gold mining (see, for example, Bainton 2008a; 2008b). The employment of workers from other parts of Papua New Guinea, and beyond, in these industries, has altered how languages are spoken on Lihir. Consequently, this multiplicity of language usage – and the social experience behind this multiplicity – has had an impact on Lihirian song forms.

This paper considers one Lihirian song genre known as *tikol*, essentially a form of storytelling in song. Performed in their ritual context around the time of the breadfruit season,[2] tikol are identifiable by their

textual structure and content. Each tikol is identified as such by the initial singing of the words 'tikol tikol' at the beginning of every song of this type. The word 'tikol' often also appears as the final word of the song.[3] The tikol song text then details a story or anecdote of some kind, and is usually delivered in the present tense, which affords the songs a particular immediacy. Tikol can be sung either solo, or as a unison chorus, by either men or women. It is the melody, along with the particular rhythmic accompaniment, that is the primary defining musical element. As with most other Lihirian song genres, melodies are drawn from a pentatonic structure. Throughout this paper, musical descriptions will be provided alongside the textual analyses, to reveal what makes a tikol and the extent to which it can be varied.

The paper first examines locally recorded examples of tikol, focusing on the ability of the song form to encode both history and Lihirian standards of moral conduct. It then turns to an example of tikol that was created locally but later recorded commercially, and which incorporates Lihirian language with the Papua New Guinean lingua franca Tok Pisin, a language that facilitates communication between the many indigenous language groups in the country. Tok Pisin has its origins in a number of different languages, the most prominent being English, and it also incorporates elements of the vocabulary and structure of Austronesian languages (Dutton and Thomas 1985: iii). This chapter will highlight the sociolinguistic phenomenon of borrowing and code-switching in language that is apparent in the examples, and reflect upon the consequences this language use may have (especially when combined with seemingly flexible song components) for the sustainability of Lihirian songs forms into the future.

Tikol as historical account

Tikol song texts consist of descriptions of actual events. As such, they can function as a snapshot into Lihirian history at particular points in time. In the following tikol (example 1) the singers describe a ship arriving, and their excitement at seeing it. The vocables la la la are said to represent a typical Lihirian call to announce one's arrival in another place. The ship is coming towards Mando, the very small island between Sinambiet and Malie.

See audio sample 9.1[4]:

tikol tikol yo rabit se wa wa lon ma ndie la sip sa sa sambang lo lo yak an ok kanie to ok ien la la la	tikol tikol I am surprised at the unknown ship approaching and it will berth right here la la la

o peh da tu o peh da ka da nga re nit-sol iun i tamban le mando ka ni lul ok ien	okay let us get up okay let us go and see it approaching at the other side of Mando and it will turn towards us

Source: Gillespie 2008, track 27

Sung for recording by a chorus of women accompanying themselves on bamboo percussion instruments, this tikol has two sections of text,[5] which are both repeated. To describe the sea-going vessel, the Tok Pisin noun 'sip' is used, as there is no exact word in the Lihirian language to adequately name this foreign object. This is an example of 'lexical borrowing' based on 'need'. Borrowing is here defined as 'the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language' (Thomason, Kaufman et al. 1988: 37), where the borrowing language is maintained but for the borrowed features, and the speakers of the borrowing language are the agents of that change (Winford 2003: 12). Borrowing in the form of nouns in particular is very common, as a speech community adjusts to changes in their society in the form of developments such as those experienced through science and technology (Winford 2003: 12; 37-9).

In sample 1, one can hear that tikol are grounded in a five-tone scale (classified in a Western harmonic system as pentatonic). Tikol begin and end on the tonal centre, and it is the beginning that is a key marker of the form. Each tikol begins with the text 'tikol tikol', stepping from the fourth degree of the pentatonic scale to the tonal centre in the first two syllables. The first three notes of the tikol sung on the tonal centre are invariably long even beats on the words 'tikol tikol'. This strong beginning – declaring the name of the genre twice and doing so on the beat – establishes a firm foundation for the story that follows.

Tikol as moral teaching

As tikol detail certain events, they can also be used to describe people's actions surrounding these events. This opens the genre up to commentary and judgement of such actions, thus becoming a moral teaching tool. In many cases such commentary is allusive and metaphorical, but, at the same time, no doubt is left as to what is being alluded to.

The following tikol (sample 2) describes a man – depicted as a python with a piece of ginger (ginger being a symbol of dangerousness and aggression) – who has stolen a chicken and killed it. The singer(s) has seen him do this, and warns the thief that the owners of the chicken may be informed, so he should prepare himself, because if the owners find out they are sure to kill him. If the thief tries to cook the chicken

he may also be heard, and if he throws it away into the sea the singers of the tikol will retrieve it and use it as bait for fishing. The song warns against thievery by detailing the consequences that the thief will encounter if he breaks this moral code.

See audio sample 9.2[6]:

tikol tikol a moran tsatsul mana laie sakat raputan a te ka sa pasim win isien ele balang ni tenden da gane gare	tikol tikol a python has come out with a piece of ginger and it has grabbed a chicken and has strangled it, it [the python] doesn't want it to cry out in case we see him
oo wa pi oka si pakitan a loi matan amakil dien e katliwa i lakan a ye wan de rerete	oo you you don't know the eyes of people they will tell on you on the tree you have to be ready
ka dien le dien bungim wa na yiel amatau wan de tor me dul a da lo nin de rise	If they find you with a knife and axe you will be cut your blood will pour out
oo ngo sa tun ka nun dan ka ngo le si sa lan na isien melien a yeh ngon sore mule	you have tried cooking it and who do you think has heard it in the fire you take it away
ngon sore mule ni tial i tes da ko pasim tan si ne i laken kanau ni lalah ka ni daldal i tes ni le na ni makamit kanda kata sa matsien isien	you take it away and throw it in the sea we will tie it onto a branch of the kanau tree it will float and bleed in the sea if it [the sea] smells raw we will spear a fish from it
tikol	tikol

Source: Gillespie 2008, track 29

A number of Tok Pisin terms are used in this tikol: 'moran' (python), 'pasim win' (in this context, meaning to constrict breathing), 'bungim' (to bring together), and 'pasim' (here meaning to tie together). These last three are all verbs, and unlike the case with the use of the Tok Pisin noun 'sip' in sample 1, these terms do not seem to have been chosen for the straightforward motivation of 'need', as there would already exist Lihirian terms for these actions. The borrowed terms, known and used by the singer (and his audience) with fluency, are more likely to be associated with 'prestige' (Winford 2003: 37), Tok Pisin being 'regarded as a means of obtaining wealth, mobility, and desirable social changes' (Mühlhäusler 1979: 163). However, it should be acknowledged that in bilingual situations, identifying reasons for lexical borrowing can be

complex and can depend on a range of factors[7] (see Winford 2003: 38-9).

This particular tikol was sung for recording by one man, without accompaniment. Like the previous tikol, this song is also based on a five-tone, or pentatonic, scale. The introduction marking the genre is present, as is a preoccupation with the tonal centre, especially in the opening text section (also evident in the previous example). A melodic feature not heard in sample 1 is the vocable (represented by 'oo'), which marks the beginning of the second and fourth text sections. This feature is characterised by a prolonged tone (a step above the tonal centre), a step up to the adjacent tone, before a return to the tonal centre. This feature will also be seen in the next example to be analysed.

Tikol and contemporary history

Tikol do not appear to be restricted in subject matter, nor, does it seem, in the language in which they can be performed. This tikol (sample 3) is sung mostly in Tok Pisin, with one line in Lihirian (the Lihirian is distinguished from the Tok Pisin by the use of italics), thus displaying code-switching, which can be defined as 'the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation' (Grosjean 1982: 145). The identity of the song's protagonist is rather ambiguous, mainly because the subject ('he') of this Lihirian line is not identified. It has been suggested that the song may have been composed initially as a farewell song for the Chinese man Chee Fat, who once served as the manager of the copra plantation[8] at Lakakot, on the southwest coast of Aniolam.[9] Lakakot is known primarily as the location for this large plantation, which is adjacent to the Aniolam hamlet of Matsuts, and the reference to this place is crucial to establishing the context for the song.

The song was initially said to have been composed in Tok Pisin so that Chee Fat could understand it, and potentially participate in the performance of it. A more likely interpretation, however, is that the song is about the departure of a non-Lihirian plantation worker returning to his home of Himau, (which is located between Hibaling and Sena, in the Sursurunga region, on the northeast coast of southern New Ireland), perhaps during the time when Chee Fat served as manager.[10] Most of the workers on the Lakakot plantation, and other plantations on Lihir, came from outside the island group (Bainton 2008b: 297). As Tok Pisin is a language with its origins in the pan-Pacific plantation industry (see Dutton, Thomas et al. 1985: iii), later transmitted between districts of Papua New Guinea by this same industry (Cass 1999), the use of that language as the primary one for this song lends it an additional historical gravity.

See audio sample 9.3[11]:

tikol tikol masta (yu) masta bilong mi [bi]long palanti man raun long ailan	tikol tikol boss you are the boss of me and of plenty of men around the island
we tatar a tikol ka ele ni nde miel	he is breaking the tikol and wants to go home
ee mi laik igo Himau na mi ting sore long olgeta	ee I want to go to Himau and I feel for all of you
ol peren bilong mi na mi sore long Lakakot	all my friends and I feel for Lakakot
wanaem[12] bilong sip bilong mi kam long Rabaul	what is the name of my ship coming from Rabaul

Source: Gillespie track 161b, recorded in 2008 (previsouly unpublished recording)

The first line is the voice of the plantation worker himself, addressing the plantation manager and describing their relationship (the manager is referred to as such with the Tok Pisin term 'masta', originating from the English 'master', which maintains its heavy colonial overtones). The second line, in Lihirian, represents the collective voice of the worker's Lihirian counterparts, who describe to the Lihirians in their audience, and each other, that the worker is about to return home, thus ending the tikol performance/their time together. The third line switches back to Tok Pisin and the worker in the first person, in which he identifies his home as Himau, and describes his heartfelt emotion at leaving his friends and co-workers. In the fourth line, he identifies Lakakot as the place he is leaving, and expresses his attachment to that place. Finally, in the last line, the worker asks the name of the ship that will come from Rabaul – the large port town of New Britain, but which is very close to southern New Ireland and therefore an access point for that area – to take him home.

There are many possible reasons for the choice of one language over another in code-switching, just as there is for the choice of one word over another in the process of lexical borrowing, and of the point at which to switch between languages. However, it is understood that the choice to move between languages is largely socially motivated, and that it can occur not only to address different audiences, but to display skills of rhetoric and leadership (Mühlhäusler 1979: 160, 172), two aspects of being which are inextricably intertwined in Papua New Guinea.[13]

Tok Pisin is used in this tikol most obviously as the voice of the protagonist, a Non-Lihirian plantation worker describing his experiences and sentiments. As the *lingua franca*, the Tok Pisin texts act as an agent of inclusivity: Lihirians and non-Lihirians, labourers and managers alike are able to understand and use it. As discussed in the above discussion on word borrowing, Tok Pisin is a language that carries prestige, and is a language that is used to engage with the modern world, in particular with the cash economy. In this way, it embodies the motivation behind a worker's engagement with the plantation industry. In terms of function as a commercial recording, as we shall soon see, the inclusivity of Tok Pisin makes it appealing to listeners across Papua New Guinea, Melanesia, and the wider Pacific. In contrast, the sole line in Lihirian is the voice of the Lihirian people in the story, in dialogue with each other. Together with the specific place references, the line of Lihirian marks Lihirian identity, and thus makes for a degree of exclusivity amongst the inclusivity of the Tok Pisin.

Musically, this tikol again subscribes to a five-tone, or pentatonic, scale. The beginning is marked by the familiar phrase 'tikol tikol' over a rising interval, as fits the standard formula. There are two text sections that are repeated in the performance; both end with an elongated final note on the tonal centre. The vocable feature of sample 2 is also apparent, which is represented here by 'ee', and uses the same relative tones. Stylistically, this tikol, which was sung by a group of men and women of Matsuts for recording, features some use of ornamentation over certain tones. This may pertain to the style of the leading singer and/or the group, rather than the song form itself, as such ornamentation does not appear in the other tikol examples analysed in this chapter.

This tikol gives a snapshot of the relations between plantation manager and labourers. If the 'masta' is indeed included in the collective 'olgeta' (all) to which the song's protagonist refers, it illustrates the relationship as a positive one, where the worker takes leave from his boss and his co-workers with no small degree of emotion. This representation of heartfelt relations in a capitalist industry located in a developing country is a far cry from the usual portrayal of exploitation and corruption in such uneven power relations, and paints an alternative picture to that of the more common negative relations between manager and labourer (as described in Bainton 2008: 301).[14] Unveiling such an alternative picture is important in understanding the detail within the fabric of Lihirian lives.

Tikol and cassette culture

The tikol of audio sample 9.3 has been recorded at least twice on commercial cassette. The first commercial recording was made by the well-known singer Patti 'Potts' Doi (not of Lihirian heritage) on his 2006 album *Tago Urere*, in collaboration with the musician William Leplep (Doi 2006)[15]. Entitled 'Tiko',[16] Patti Doi's version does not reproduce the whole text, but only the first three lines (though the 'olgeta' of line three is substituted with 'Lakakot' from line four, and thus the reference to Lihir is maintained), and line five. Line two, originally in Lihirian, is reproduced in another language that phonetically somewhat resembles the original (the language this line employs has so far not been identified, though it is said to belong to the Patpatar language group[17]). A good deal of the original melodic contour is sustained, most notably, the defining opening of the genre name (in this case '*tiko tiko*') over the rising interval (the vocable feature is also reproduced in part, though without the immediate return to the tonal centre). Nowhere on the cassette is there an attribution of this song to the people of Lihir, but that is not unusual in the Papua New Guinean music industry, where there is an immense amount of borrowing of material from a vast array of indigenous music cultures, and little acknowledgement of copyright.

The cassette on which the Patti 'Potts' Doi version of the tikol of audio sample 9.3 appeared was enormously popular throughout Papua New Guinea, and remained at the top of the PNG charts for many months after its initial release, due largely to the commercial success of the song 'Swit Love' ('Sweet Love'). This would have provided the Lihirian song form with widespread circulation. However, it is likely that the song already had this kind of circulation, having drawn the attention of Patti Doi in the first place, and being a song predominantly in the lingua franca with meaning and currency for people outside of Lihir.

After the release of Doi's cassette, the Lihirian band Berkestam released their first album. Entitled *Berkestam: Rangen, Volume 1*, the album was first released by Lihir's Dolphin Digital Records in May 2007 (Bosky 2007; Berkestam 2008). At least half of the ten tracks on Berkestam's debut album are based on traditional Lihirian song forms. The second track on side B, 'Tikol' is one of these. Berkestam's album was the first for Dolphin Digital Records, which was established in 2004 (Bosky 2007), and the album would have had limited circulation until it was re-released by CHM Supersound Studios in 2008 under the revised title Berkestam: Volume One[18] (Berkestam 2008).

Berkestam's tikol contains the same text as that of sample 3 except for a small change in line two: instead of singing '*we tatar a tikol ka ele ni nde miel*' ('he is breaking the tikol and wants to go home') the singer

has changed the text to be *'we tatar a tikol yo le wan nde miel'* – 'he is breaking the tikol and I want you to go home', a line which appears to lack both grammatical sense and meaning.[19] Berkestam's version is accompanied by the typical Papua New Guinean pop studio mix, including backing vocal harmonies (for a song that is generally sung only solo or in unison), electronic keyboards, pre-recorded drums, and a number of other synthesised instruments, including a harmonica, which serves to evoke the memory of colonial times – a very appropriate use of instrumentation for this song, which is essentially about the colonial experience.[20]

The melodic line of this cassette version closely reproduces that of audio sample 9.3, including the introductory declaration of the genre, and the vocable interval. Initially, the melody appears to again be based on five tones, as is characteristic of tikol. However, shortly into the verse, this impression is dispelled when an additional tone is incorporated, creating a major scale. The change from pentatonic to a major key brings the song in line with the diatonic traditions of popular music to which this version belongs.

It can be seen, then, that whilst a number of recurring melodic and text features can be seen between tikol, there is also a significant amount of flexibility and difference between songs, including such things as the number of text sections, linguistic and subject content of text sections, melodic shape, even harmonic structure. This equates to a wide variety of tikol, which, whilst identifiable as tikol due to their common characteristics, are able to absorb changes brought about essentially by broader social developments.

Conclusion

Tikol is a diverse and dynamic musical form. Tikol are not only descriptions of historical events, but also of people's actions, and within them, they can hold moral codings, thus becoming educational and instructive. Most significantly, however, tikol can document human interaction and exchange, which is a very important aspect of understanding the Lihirian experience. As Moyle wrote, 'today's songs will become tomorrow's oral history' (1995: 183); in this way tikol are a valuable account not only for people wishing to comprehend Lihirian life at a particular time, but also for Lihirian people themselves in recalling the events of their past.

Lihirian tikol is not bound by strict musical form, content, or language. As such, this unique song form may prove to be one of the most effective and sustainable musical traditions for non-Lihirian people wishing. Rather than 'breaking the tikol', the ability of the song form to

be inclusive of such contemporary modes of expression as code-switching and cassette culture allows it to move in synchronicity with the tides of social change.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1   The local people call themselves, their island group, and their indigenous language 'Lir'.
2   Peter Toelinkanut, personal communication, May 2009. For a description of the rituals surrounding the breadfruit harvest, in particular the making of masks for ritual performance, see Peltier 2006: 157-8.
3   This seems to be a unique form of referencing in Lihirian music; in the author's experience, other Lihirian song forms do not appear to self-identify in this way.
4   Audio sample 9.1: *Tikol*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
5   Throughout my analysis of *tikol* I have determined 'text sections' using a combination of grammatical structure (e.g., sentence endings), musical features (e.g., returning to the tonal centre) and performative features (e.g., the taking of breaths).
6   Audio sample 9.2: *Tikol*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
7   Bainton observes that since the establishment of the gold mine in the mid-1990s, all conversations are now peppered with *Tok Pisin* expressions and terms. At the local level, there is a lot of discussion about the need to preserve the local language and use a form of Lihirian without any *Tok Pisin* influence, but this rarely transpires in daily conversations (Nicholas Bainton, personal communication, 27 January 2009).
8   Copra (the dried kernel of the coconut) is a common plantation crop in the Pacific.
9   Peter Toelinkanut, personal communication, June 2008.

10 Patrol Report 4 of Namatanai Subdistrict 1958/59, by Patrol Officer J.B. Moyle, mentions that the Catholic Mission owns 'Lagakot' Plantation, and the Yip Brothers of Namatanai are the Lessees. Yip Chee Fat is listed as manager (Moyle 1958/59). The time when he was actually manager may help in dating the song's composition.

11 Audio sample 9.3: *Tikol*. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

12 The word *'wana em'* here is a contraction of the *Tok Pisin 'wanem nem'* ('what is the name'). Not used in everyday language, the contraction appears to be stylised for the song.

13 For an example of the importance of public speaking for leadership and 'male social prominence' in the Highlands region of Papua New Guinea, see Merlan and Rumsey 1991: 32.

14 Bainton suggests that, because of his Chinese heritage, the manager at the time, Chee Fat, may have experienced a different, and more positive, relationship with his workers than the European managers. (Nicholas Bainton, email communication, 27 January 2009).

15 William Leplep is reportedly from the Sursurunga region of Southern New Ireland (Patrick Turuan, email communication, 19 January 2009). It is unclear whether he is being attributed as the composer of this *tikol* in addition to performing on the track.

16 Lihirian *tikol* may be related to the song form *tiko*, which is performed by the Lak people in Southern New Ireland. From the text examples of Lak *tiko* documented by Wolffram (2007: 426; 508), it can be seen that the song forms share textual similarities including the repetition of the genre name at the beginning of the song. As there is a long history of cultural exchange between Lihir and Southern New Ireland – magic, esoteric knowledge, song forms, and secret societies are some examples of cultural phenomena that have come to Lihir from this region – a relationship between *tikol* and *tiko* is not unlikely, but more research needs to be conducted to determine their precise relationship.

17 Luke Kabariu, personal communication, 19 March 2009.

18 The Lihirian song form and ritual '*rangen*' was conspicuously removed from the title, most likely to make it more appealing to the non-Lihirian market.

19 Peter Toelinkanut, personal communication, 12 March 2009.

20 For an account of the harmonica's introduction into the lives of highland Papua New Guineans during the colonial administration, see Gillespie 2007: 69 and Gillespie 2010: 58.

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10 Fijian *Sigidrigi* and the Performance of Social Hierarchies

Jennifer Cattermole

Introduction

This chapter discusses how social power is maintained and negotiated via Fijian *sigidrigi* (derived from the English 'sing-drink') performances. This Fijian music genre consists of songs featuring three or four-part vocal harmony, which are accompanied by guitar and/or ukulele. They are mostly performed by groups of men to entertain people during informal *yaqona* (or *kava* as it is known throughout Polynesia)[1] drinking sessions. The repertoire consists of covers of overseas songs, as well as songs composed by Fijians in styles adopted and adapted primarily from North America and Britain (for example, rock, pop, country and blues), as well as the Caribbean (for example, reggae). The repertoire also includes songs adopted from the Indo-Fijians, Aotearoa/New Zealand Maori, Banaban Islanders, Hawai'ians, Tongans, and Papua New Guineans.

Prior to the 1970s, sigidrigi performance was restricted to men over 30 (particularly those in their 40s and 50s), as these were the only individuals permitted to drink yaqona with the *turaga* (chief). The younger men pounded, mixed and served the yaqona while listening to their elders performing sigidrigi and discussing village events. However, the period after Fijian independence from Britain in 1970 was a time of social change when *tabu* (restrictions) pertaining to yaqona consumption were relaxed (Masta Vilimone Kabu, personal communication).[2] During fieldwork conducted on the islands of Taveuni and Qamea, which I undertook from March to September 2005 and from mid-December 2005 to February 2006, I observed that both men and women as young as their mid-teens could drink yaqona and perform sigidrigi at social gatherings.[3]

Sigidrigi performance, therefore, is no longer the preserve of male elders, but has been opened up to lower-ranking members of Fijian society (that is, youth and females). But has the democratisation of yaqona drinking and sigidrigi performance actually created new opportunities

for the negotiation of social power? If so, how are these power relationships being maintained and contested via sigidrigi performance?

This chapter explores how sigidrigi performances can be regarded not only as musical performances, but also as events at which Fijian social hierarchies are performed and enacted. Fijian social relationships are structured by age, hereditary rank and gender. Roles based on these divisions are considered to be complementary and interdependent, as well as hierarchically organised; there is continual tension between these two models of Fijian society (Toren 1990). At the apex of the Fijian social hierarchy are elder males of chiefly lineage. In Fijian society, those of high social rank should be nurturing towards those of lower rank, accommodate their requests, and follow high standards of moral behaviour. Those of lower rank should show respect towards those of higher rank, by not joking with or teasing them, by carrying out their requests without question, and by not questioning their authority (Ravuvu 1983: 7, Brison 1999: 101). This chapter analyses how social power is asserted and contested via sigidrigi performance, and is divided into two main sections: the first focuses on age, social status and informal relationships, while the second concentrates on gender.

Age, social rank, and informal relationships

1   Order of performance

Sigidrigi performances are events at which social power relationships are recognised. This is particularly evident in the order in which the musicians perform. Elder males of high social status usually perform earlier in the evening, demonstrating that the respect and obedience accorded to them extends to all aspects of social behaviour (Ravuvu 1983: 7), including musical performance.

Learning musicians may rehearse together during the initial stages of a yaqona-drinking session, usually with the assistance of a more experienced musician. However, according to unspoken rules of social etiquette, these musicians should relinquish their roles as performers in deference to musicians who are older and more proficient. Indeed, it would be considered rude for this transition to be accompanied by some kind of verbal exchange. Once the musicians who are widely regarded as the best combination of musicians in the *koro* (village) have all arrived at the social gathering, the student musicians may, for example, briefly leave the performance space leaving their instruments behind. At this point, the older players will be asked by the audience at the gathering to play the abandoned instruments. The *qase* (elders) retire when they have become tired and/or *mateni* (a state resulting from

consuming large quantities of yaqona), and are replaced by successively younger and less proficient musicians. The student musicians are usually the last to perform, and listeners must tolerate their performance if they wish to remain at the gathering. The students often relish the opportunity to perform for an audience, and may boast about it afterwards. For listeners who did not enjoy their performance, this kind of boasting only enhances feelings of ill will towards the musicians (Rafaele Waqa, personal communication).

While recognition of social rank is usually of paramount importance in determining the order in which musicians perform, this is not always the case. Occasionally, an exceptionally skilled *cauravou* (youth) may be invited to perform with the musicians of highest social rank. This kind of recognition is regarded as an honour. For the most part, however, the everyday social ranking of musicians is preserved in the order in which they perform. Although many young adults on Taveuni are considered capable musicians, superior musical ability is generally associated with mature adults.[4] Thus, the hierarchy among musicians is considered, for the most part, (although not exclusively) to mirror the social hierarchy. There is some flexibility when it comes to considerations of variations in musical proficiency.

Owing to the limited durations of sigidrigi performances, as well as their hierarchical and competitive nature, lower-ranking musicians employ subversive strategies in order to create performance opportunities for themselves. Outside of youth-oriented performance contexts (such as school talent contests, end-of-year school concerts, social evenings, youth rallies, and National Youth Day), the opportunities for aspiring musicians to demonstrate their musical ability are mainly limited to occasions when higher-ranking individuals are absent.

In order to hasten the departure of higher-ranking musicians, those of lower rank prepare the yaqona in particular ways. For example, Samu from Dakuniba loves to sing the tatabani part,[5] but by his own admission he is not a very good singer. In order to ensure that he gets a chance to perform, he opts to serve the yaqona. He then 'knocks out' any competitors for the part he wishes to sing, as well as anyone who criticises his singing, by serving them 3 to 4 concentrated *bilo* (bowl made from half of a coconut shell) of yaqona. He does this by submerging the bilo in the infusion, and allowing it to rest on the bottom of the *beseni* (plastic basin) or *tanoa* (carved wooden bowl used specifically for preparing yaqona for consumption) before serving. This strategy ensures that his competitors and decriers quickly become mateni and have to leave the gathering. For example, he once attended a yaqona-drinking party and there were three better *tatabani* singers present, all of whom were seated near the group of musicians waiting their turn to perform. He started serving the yaqona at around 7:30 PM, and by

around 10:30 PM he was the only tatabani singer remaining. Throughout the evening, he had pretended that he did not want to sing. In the end, the group had to cajole him to perform, when, of course, that had been his intention all along. Now, whenever the other tatabani singers see him serving the yaqona, they jokingly comment: 'no, I will not sing tonight because of that devil sitting there' (Rafaele Waqa, personal communication).

Groups of young musicians, who are still learning to play and wish to rehearse, sometimes employ variations of this strategy. They may, for example, prepare a very strong infusion of yaqona so that the other people present at the gathering will leave quickly, before preparing a more diluted mix so that they can practice without fear of being ridiculed (Kusitino Marawa, personal communication). Samu from Dakuniba used to provide the yaqona for a drinking session, and invite a couple of people to come and sing with him. The young men pounded the *wa'a* (dried yaqona roots) in the *tabili* (hollowed piece of log or metal container used for pounding dried yaqona) so that it was very coarse, and mixed this for the crowd who gathered to participate in the drinking. Once this supply was exhausted, they would wait until everyone had gone home before re-pounding the residue and re-mixing it so that they could practice in private.

Groups of young, non-proficient musicians employ these kinds of subversive strategies in order to create performance opportunities for themselves. In the case of Samu, for example, his passion for and enjoyment of performing override considerations of social hierarchy and aesthetics. He has gained a reputation for his deviousness and ruthlessness, and this has enabled him to perform when his rank and musical ability would otherwise have excluded him. His transgressive behaviour has been tolerated, and even treated as a source of humour. However, while Samu may be able to boast about having performed with high ranking and/or highly skilled musicians, this has not translated into increased recognition or status. He is regularly teased[6] about his performance. This teasing is, however, ineffectual in bringing about conformity in Samu's behaviour (as demonstrated through deference to musicians of higher social status and musical ability), as Samu simply does not care about what others think of his performance.

2   Participation

As mentioned in the introduction, individuals of high social status are expected to act in a dignified manner, and to act according to high standards of moral behaviour. On Taveuni, high-ranking individuals such as chiefs and church officials do participate in sigidrigi performances. For example, *Tui[7] Rabe* as well as his brothers *Tu[8] Vici* and *Tu Seru* from

Lovonivonu, Taveuni are accomplished singers and guitarists, as are the Catholic[9] priests *Faca*[10] *Kiadi*, *Faca Lewis* (from Tutu, Taveuni) and *Faca Sam* (from Wairiki, Taveuni). The act of performing sigidrigi per se was not deemed to be immoral, although it is noteworthy that the ribald joking and extra-marital flirting that sometimes accompanies sigidrigi performance was absent from performances involving chiefs and priests. Hence, a modicum of respectability was preserved, and their high social standing within the community was not impaired.

However, while it is considered acceptable for such high-ranking individuals to perform sigidrigi during informal yaqona-drinking gatherings, it is thought improper for them to participate in the informal dancing that often takes place at larger social gatherings at which sigidrigi is also performed. As such behaviour would generate gossip and criticism, they therefore abstain from dancing – unless they are asked to dance by their *tavale* (cross-cousins), *mataniwatini* (the spouses of same gender siblings or parallel-cousins) or *tauvu* (a term that recognises the ancestral relationship between people from two provinces, for example, Lomaiviti and Cakaudrove).[11] They accede to this request in order to avoid losing face, although to dance with anyone else would mean to invite embarrassment and ridicule and result in a perceived loss of dignity. Christina Toren (1990: 8) notes that, in some instances, the highest-status men leave soon after the dancing begins so that they are not seen as condoning immorality.

3   Teasing

Teasing is one of the key means by which musicians maintain their dominant position within the social hierarchy. Elders may give younger groups of musicians insulting or demeaning names to make fun of them and to discourage them from performing. As Tui Rabe remarks: 'for the young musicians, it can be dangerous when these old men are around.' In retaliation, young musicians may give humorous names to older groups of musicians. For example, the Qeleni Old Timers (at a performance on 16 August 2005) were jokingly referred to as *Tagapusi* ('bag of cats') by one of the younger musicians present. However, this is done discreetly (for example, muttered under one's breath in the presence of the group, or spoken out of their hearing). If the older musicians do happen to overhear these comments, or find out about them after some time has elapsed, they usually have a good laugh about it (Rafaele Waqa, personal communication). Were such comments to be mentioned in a more open manner, then some form of censorial action would probably occur.

There is a wide range of insulting expressions that can be used. Singers may be accused of talking or shouting rather than singing, or

of being mateni. The expression *ari niu* (scraping coconut) may be used to liken their voices to the harsh sound of the flesh being scraped from the inside of a coconut. Those doing the insulting may also pretend to call their chickens (who like eating shaved coconut, and will peck at the inside of a coconut whose flesh has been mostly scraped away for human consumption). Singers' voices may also be compared to the sounds of animals such as horses, goats, dogs, cows or cats (Tu Seru; Simone Vala, personal communication). For example, a group might receive the unflattering moniker of Tagapusi (bag of cats) or *Caucau ni Tagapusi* (caucau being commonly used in band names, meaning 'cool evening breeze from the mountains'), after which listeners may begin mimicking the sound of these unfortunate animals (Save Vulaca; Petero Kanawabu; Pita Cakacaka; Paulo Rataga, personal communications). Tui Rabe notes that other insulting names for musical groups include: *Voqa ni Mimi Tapesu* or *Voqa ni Vale Podre* (sound of a toilet flushing), *Caucau ni Matanidrega* or *Caucau ni Matadravu* (slang terms for flatulence).

Some of the names used by older musicians to refer to younger and/ or less proficient groups are less literal in their meaning. For example, Petero Naiqama recalls that the elders of his village called his group *Voqa ni Siele a ʻoli* (sound of the tired dog) to imply that the dog did not get enough sleep as it was kept awake by the music. Similarly, the elders (including the musicians' fathers) called Iowani Vero's group *Senaivo*,[12] which is the name of a weed. This name implied that the musicians had drunk too much yaqona, and that, while they were sleeping it off the next day, the weeds were growing and not being cleared from their plots of land.

Younger musicians expect to be criticised by their elders, and insults such as those outlined above are seldom taken to heart. Indeed, such playful teasing and joking is regarded as contributing to the overall fun of the social gathering. If taken seriously, however, this kind of teasing can discourage younger musicians from performing in the presence of their elders. For example, Wani from Lovonivonu and his peers can join in when his father and older cousins are performing, but are criticised and insulted the following day by the older musicians. As he stated: 'the next night, you find somewhere else to sing.' He does want to learn the repertoire and develop his skills as a singer and guitarist, but finds the discouragement and lack of support from his elders to be a deterrent. Tenacity and determination are thus required if musicians are to become proficient enough to perform for the enjoyment of others.

4   Relationships characterised by informality

Social relationships between tavale, mataniwatini or tauvu are characterised by informality, joking and teasing. The informal yaqona-drinking sessions at which sigidrigi is frequently performed often provide perfect opportunities for such teasing to take place, and the humorous exchanges that occur are regarded as part of the overall fun of these events. Although meant in a light-hearted and friendly way, there is power involved in these exchanges as the ribaldry and teasing is competitive in nature. It is through this kind of playful battle of the wits that the relative social status of the participants can be contested.[13]

There are many ways in which social power can be negotiated between tavale, mataniwatini or tauvu via sigidrigi performance events. For example, a member of the *matasere* may perform a song mentioning the name of their tavale, mataniwatini or tauvu or referring to their relatives. For example, Viliame Dovu (Kusitino Marawa's older brother) married a woman from Rewa, and befriended a member of Rewan band The Drekena Serenaders. The band members knew that Viliame was a member of the Tui Cakau's household, who reside in Somosomo, Taveuni. One evening they performed 'Adi Talatoka', a complimentary song about some of the women from Somosomo. These women were Viliame's ganena (sisters or female parallel cousins). Viliame responded by serving the musicians large bowls of yaqona as 'punishment'.

If a musician's tavale, mataniwatini or tauvu is in the audience, they can use the same kinds of teasing names employed by older musicians to refer to those who are younger and/or less proficient. Alternatively, if their tavale, mataniwatini or tauvu are performing, they may try to physically interfere with their performance. For example, during a performance at Lovonivonu, Taveuni (14/7/05), Rupeni's mataniwatini was poking him in the back while he sang his solo on 'Pasepa' (audio sample 10.1).[14] Another option is to serve the yaqona in larger amounts and/or more or less frequently than usual. For example, at a performance that I was recording at Qeleni (17/8/05) of the Vuanimaba Trio, Petero's tavale took advantage of this unusual performance situation by serving full bilo of yaqona to Petero (who subsequently ensured that all of the other band members received the same amount). He slowed down the pace of the yaqona rounds so that the performers had to perform more songs between each break, and insisted on them quickly resuming their performance – to the point where the musicians were going outside the house if they wanted to smoke and rest. Twice he managed to pass two rounds of yaqona to the musicians during a single break. Once the recording was completed, Petero's tavale wanted the band to continue playing, jokingly insisting that drinking yaqona and performing sigidrigi were complementary activities, but the band

members had had enough. If a musician has to leave the yaqona-drink-ing gathering for a short time (for example, to visit the *vale lailai*, or 'la-trine') and leaves his instrument behind, their tavale, mataniwatini or tauvu may take their place in the matasere (performing group). The teasing banter and jibing that ensues when the original musician re-turns is all part of the fun.[15]

Gender

Having outlined some of the ways in which social hierarchies deter-mined by age, rank, kinship and socio-geographical relationships are challenged and reaffirmed via sigidrigi performance, I now wish to fo-cus on these same issues in relation to gender. Fijian society is patrilin-eal, and men are predominantly regarded as having higher social status than women. As Asesela Ravuvu (1983: 8) states, in Fijian society fe-males are socialised to be obedient and to defer to males. In adult life, females are in many ways subservient to males. Traditionally, the males sit at the upper end of the *loga ni 'ana* (the Cakaudrove dialect term for 'eating mat') with those most senior in age sitting in the position of highest status, while the women occupy the low-status end. Females eat after the males have finished. Wives are expected to respect and obey their husbands, and while women can exert some influence on their husbands, they do not make the final decisions regarding family or clan affairs.

There are some signs of recent social transformations, however. Ravuvu, writing in 1983, noted that it was becoming more common for men and women to eat together, and that 'today ... male children are less indulged and girls are becoming considered just as important as boys' (1983: 2). Such trends were evident in Taveuni during my field-work. However, how far-reaching have these social changes been, and how do women's roles in sigidrigi composition and performance reflect and construct their roles in society more broadly? As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, up until around the 1970s, sigidrigi perfor-mance was the exclusive domain of men. Although the tabu that pre-vents women from drinking yaqona (and hence excluding them from participating in sigidrigi performances) has been relaxed, this composi-tion and public performance of sigidrigi remains a primarily (although not exclusively) masculine activity. Women primarily perform sacred rather than secular music in public, suggesting that church services are perhaps more egalitarian contexts for musical performance than yaqo-na-drinking gatherings.

Due to a combination of social pressure and work commitments, wo-men are seldom present at the informal yaqona-drinking parties at

which sigidrigi performances typically take place – even if they are held in their homes. Women often spend the period of each evening immediately after eating engaging in craftwork or resting. Although it is considered permissible for women to drink yaqona on special social occasions, it is generally not acceptable for women to consume yaqona habitually. According to Masta[16] Rabale, for example, a husband may reprimand his wife if he sees her drinking yaqona and socialising.

With few exceptions, women who perform sigidrigi songs primarily do so in domestic contexts (within the privacy of their homes, or outdoors performing domestic tasks in the company of other women). For example, women may sing *sere bass* (bass songs; also known as *sere ni qase* or 'old songs') such as 'Ko bau na yanuyanu' (audio sample 10.2)[17] and 'Bula Malea' (audio sample 10.3)[18] while they are performing domestic tasks such as weaving *loga* (the Cakaudrove dialect term for woven mats made from pandanus), or beating or decorating *masi* (barkcloth made from the mulberry plant, Broussonetia papyrifera).[19] During the performance of sere bass at large social gatherings, women and children may double the tatabani, or occasionally the laga, parts (Pita Cakacaka and Paulo Rataga, personal communication). However, due to the declining popularity of sere bass, mixed-gendered performances of secular songs are less frequent nowadays than in the past. In *trio* performances, men usually perform the three solo vocal parts. Any women present may double these parts, and thereby play a marginal role in the performance.[20]

The overwhelming majority of *sere ni cumu* composers I encountered during my fieldwork were male. I did, however, meet two female composers: Katarina (who resides in Naselesele, Taveuni) and Vitalina Diora (who resides in Qali, Taveuni). These women have composed one song each by setting new lyrics to an existing tune. This is considered a legitimate form of musical composition in Fiji. Notably, the husbands of both women are also composers. Although their husbands did not contribute creatively to their work, they did provide support and encouragement.

Similarly, the public performance of musical instruments such as guitars and ukuleles is an almost exclusively male activity (see also Glamuzina 1993: 38, 170-1; Ratawa 1991: 174). The majority of women who play guitar do so in private.[21] However, as with young male performers who lack musical proficiency (discussed above), opportunities arise for female musicians to perform in public when older, male musicians are absent. For example, occasionally women will play guitar at yaqona-drinking sessions at the very end of the evening, when the male musicians have tired of performing and have laid their instruments down.[22] Likewise, Nanise, who works at a luxury resort in Taveuni, mainly performs with her children in the privacy of her home.

However, she occasionally plays guitar with the resort band during the evening if they are one member short. During the daytime (when the resort band members are not present), she also sometimes sings and plays the iconic 'Isa lei' (audio sample 10.4)[23] outside the entrance to the resort when guests are departing.

Although public performances of sigidrigi by female musicians are rare occurrences, there are notable exceptions. For example, sisters Ema Joan and Vitalina Diora both regularly participate in trio groups as singers, ukulele players and rhythm guitarists. They often participate in the matasere that performs first during the course of the evening (the membership of which, as previously mentioned, is reserved for those musicians of high social status as well as those of a high standard of musical proficiency). In terms of their musicianship skills, they are regarded as equal to their male counterparts. Their example can therefore be read as a challenge to the hegemonic masculinity characteristic of this music genre. It demonstrates that egalitarian gender relations are possible in musical performance, and that these can co-exist with the male-dominated gender hierarchy present in Fijian society in general.

So how were they able to hone their performance skills to such a degree? The answer lies in the support, tuition and numerous performance opportunities offered by their membership in an extraordinarily musical family: their father was Romanu Solimocea, a well-known and widely respected composer and performer, while their mother Katarina sang and played ukulele. After the birth of her tenth child, Katarina began singing with her aunty Urusula when they met up to drink yaqona together. They would sing duets accompanied on the guitar by Ema Joan. Whenever they were seen together at family celebrations, social gatherings or talent contests, they would be asked to perform the songs 'Dear John' or 'Adi Vula'[24] (audio sample 10.5).[25] At the time that this fieldwork was conducted (2005), both women were elderly and no longer performed together in public due to the deterioration of Urusula's voice. All of Romanu and Katarina's children and grandchildren can sing and play musical instruments, however.

With the exception of performers such as Ema Joan and Vitalina Diora, female performers remain largely invisible and inaudible in public performances of this genre. Although the genre has opened up to female performers since the 1970s, performance and composition within this genre remains dominated by men (as does Fijian society more broadly speaking, at least in the public sphere). However, it is crucial to note that there are also sanctions pertaining to men's performance of sigidrigi. In the private sphere in particular, women are able to assert power and influence over their spouses by enforcing restrictions regarding performance of this music genre.

Musicians' wives tend to disapprove of their husbands drinking yaqo-na. Their husbands have to sleep in the following day just to recover from their exhaustion and the after-effects of the yaqona, meaning that they are unable to spend as much time working on their farms. Yaqona-drinking also deprives them of their husband's company and attention. Moreover, musical performance is often associated with impressing members of the opposite sex:[26] musicians' wives can become jealous of the female attention being received by their husbands at performance events. For example, Masta Rabale related a tale concerning a ukulele player from Qeleni. He had told his wife that he was going to the gar-den to collect food, when, in fact, he went to collect his instrument, which he had hidden out in the bush.[27] He then returned to the village, and joined a yaqona-drinking gathering that was being held for a visit-ing group of nurses. When his wife went to look for him, she found him sitting down singing a love song to the nurses, who were making admiring comments. Despite the chief being present, she grabbed her husband's favourite ukulele saying 'you said you were going out to get food from the garden, and here I find you drinking grog [a colloquial term for yaqona]', and then smashed the ukulele over his head.

Such jealousy is perhaps understandable, given the kinds of beha-viour that can occur at sigidrigi performances. As a form of *vakawela* (amusement), a female audience member may kiss one of the musi-cians on the cheek or lips.[28] The crowd may cheer to encourage this kind of behaviour, and the longer the kiss, the more humorous and en-tertaining it is for those watching. If the musician is being kissed by their tavale, they may add to the ribaldry by turning their head just in time to ensure that the kiss lands on their mouth rather than their cheek (Miliki Vetana, personal communication). Women (especially the musicians' tauvu) may rest their hands in the lap of the laga singer or the lead guitarist, or lean up against their backs. If the woman who kisses the musician is the musician's wife's tauvu, a verbal exchange between the two women may occur. After the kiss, the musician's wife may say, 'that's enough'. Her tauvu might reply, 'wait your turn at home. It's a free kiss, why not take it?' During this exchange, the musi-cians may be encouraging the musician's wife's tauvu to return for an-other kiss.

To maintain harmonious relationships with their wives, musicians may leave their bands after marriage (for example, Vili Kusitino left the Taveuni Travel Lodge band when he married in order to preserve his marriage), and either restrict (Kusitino Marawa; Miliki Vetana, personal communications) or end (Isoa, personal communication) their perfor-mance activities. While it is acceptable for *tabagone* (unmarried youth) to perform sigidrigi, as men mature and marry it is expected that their interest in sigidrigi is curtailed that and their musical inclinations are

instead satisfied by meke and sacred music. (Rafaele Waqa, personal communication; see also Glamuzina 1993: 38).[29]

Musicians' wives may try to curtail their husband's performance activities by forbidding them to perform, as the following anecdote demonstrates. A group of men from the nearby village of Valesavu wanted Iowani Vero to come and perform sigidrigi. His wife objected, and asked him to cook dinner instead. After dinner, she kept coming up with chores to keep him occupied until it was time for evening prayers. Near the end of the prayers, each family member took turns to recite the names of the saints while the other family members responded *masu lei keimami* (pray for us). Iowani was preoccupied with thoughts of performing sigidrigi, and when it was his turn to say the name of a saint he said '*Santo* Valesavu', to which his wife immediately replied 'You're not going there, don't go!' On that particular occasion, Iowani acquiesced to his wife's wishes and remained at home. However, he describes the attraction of sigidrigi performers as 'a kind of magic, like an electrical current or a kind of magnetism', and says that when he is playing it is as though he cannot hear his wife's objections. Musicians whose wives have forbidden them to attend a yaqona-drinking gathering may turn up after 3-4 songs have been performed, prompting teasing remarks from the matasere such as 'hey, who invited you?' (Iowani Vero, personal communication). Men are therefore able to override the objections of their spouses, although by doing so they risk their wives' displeasure and censure.

Conclusion

Sigidrigi performance can be regarded as a site of social interaction in which power is reaffirmed and negotiated. The relaxation of tabu (restrictions) pertaining to yaqona consumption mean that sigidrigi performance is no longer the sole purview of male elders; youth as well as women are now permitted to perform and compose music in this genre. This shift towards greater egalitarianism in sigidrigi performance is tied to broader changes in the power dynamics between the young and the old, between men and women, as well as between those of higher and lower hereditary social ranks.

Via sigidrigi performances, hegemonic power structures are both maintained and challenged. For example, the dominant position of male elders (particularly those of chiefly lineage) is recognised and reinforced through their primacy in the order in which the musicians perform. These dominant members of society also employ teasing as a strategy for maintaining their position in the hierarchy. However, youth may covertly challenge the dominance of elders via the ways in which

the yaqona (which is drunk while sigidrigi is performed) is prepared and served, as well as by responding to the insults of their elders in kind. This suggests that the power dynamic between the young and the old is gradually changing. Nevertheless, the fact that these remain covert practices suggests that respect for traditional hierarchies remains deeply engrained in Fijian culture.

The same can be said for gender relationships. While women are permitted to compose and perform sigidrigi, the women who do so are in the overwhelming minority. Such exceptions to the norm are more likely to occur when the women's male family members or spouses perform and/or compose in this genre. For the majority of women, however, work commitments as well as the social sanctions pertaining to women habitually drinking yaqona, restrict their performances of sigidrigi to private and domestic contexts. Although husbands have the final word in all decisions and can override their wives' objections to their performing activities, some do abstain from sigidrigi performance and devote themselves to sacred music performance instead, in which their wives can participate. Hegemonic masculinity therefore remains the norm, although the accession of husbands to the wishes of their wives and acceptance of the performing activities of those exceptional women who choose to compose and perform sigidrigi, suggest that there is some scope for women to assert limited agency within the marital relationship.[30]

Those who wish to command respect by acting according to the high standards of moral behaviour (for example, chiefs, church ministers and married men) may choose to abstain from sigidrigi performances (especially from the dancing, which occurs at large social gatherings at which sigidrigi may be performed), although this appears to be changing. During my fieldwork, these strictures of decorous behaviour were not rigorously observed. This did not appear to detract from the respect and reverence in which the chiefs and Catholic priests who participated in sigidrigi performance were held; it did not seem to damage their high social standing in the community.

Sigidrigi performances are also contexts in which power is contested between tavale, mataniwatini, and tauvu, whose informal relationships are characterised by joking and teasing. This friendly one-upmanship can take a variety of forms, and adds considerably to the enjoyment of the events for both the participants and onlookers.

This examination of how power is performed via sigidrigi music has demonstrated that the power dynamics within Fijian society appear to be undergoing gradual transformation, although there remains a tremendous degree of respect for traditional power structures. While sigidrigi is just one context of social interaction in which these power relationships are played out, it has provided useful insights regarding

tensions between egalitarianism and interdependency, on the one hand, and hierarchical social organisation, on the other.

Notes

1   The term *yaqona* refers to the *Piper Methisticum* plant. The roots and stems of this plant are dried and then pounded (masticated in the past), made into an infusion, and then drunk.
2   All personal communications are listed after the bibliography.
3   *Yaqona* is also sometimes administered to young children as a soporific (Kusitino Marawa, personal communication 16 March 2005).
4   This concurs with Kaye Glamuzina's (1993: 35-37) findings.
5   There are three main vocal parts in *trio* performances, which is the most common style of *sigidrigi* performed at present: the *laga, tatabani,* and *domo tolu*. A fourth vocal part, *besi* (bass) is used in *sere bass* performance. *Sere bass* began to decline in popularity during the 1990s.
6   Teasing is discussed further below.
7   *Tui* is the title used for paramount chiefs.
8   *Tu* is short for *Ratu*, and is the title given to chiefs.
9   On Taveuni, I did not come across any Methodist priests who performed *sigidrigi*. While this may partly be attributed to the predominantly Catholic social networks I was working within during my fieldwork, Taveuni's Methodists observed a greater number of prohibitions regarding *sigidrigi* performance in comparison to Catholics. It is possible that Methodist priests are forbidden from performing *sigidrigi,* and that this prohibition is strictly observed. The perception that Catholics 'have more fun' than Methodists was widespread on the island.
10 *Faca* is the Fijianisation of the English 'Father'.
11 These relationships are discussed further below.
12 Linguist Paul Geraghty (personal communication, 16 July 2007) did not recognise this term, indicating that it was probably written down incorrectly during fieldwork.
13 Such one-upmanship only occurs between people in these informal relationships. Such behaviour is deemed to be inappropriate in other forms of social relationships (e.g., relationships between junior and senior relatives, and between brothers, sisters and parallel cousins), which are characterised by formality. In formal relationships, the social hierarchy is strictly observed and not contested (for further information, see Ravuvu 1983: 4-8).
14 Audio sample 10.1: Pasepa. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
15 The hierarchical ranking of musicians creates stiff competition for places in the *matasere,* and the expense of musical instruments often results in there being few instruments available in the *koro* (village). Hence, musicians often take their instruments with them when they need to leave a gathering, especially if there are others present who might take their place.
16 *Masta* is a Fijianisation of 'master', and is an honorific used for male schoolteachers.
17 Audio sample 10.2: Ko bau na yanuyanu. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
18 Audio sample 10.3: Bula Malea. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
19 Dorothy Sara Lee (1984: 17) notes that this invites the participation of others and makes their task easier.
20 Similarly, Michael Webb (1998: 137) notes that, in string band performances in Papua New Guinea, women sometimes sing informally with men. While most bands were all male, the East New Britain province produced renowned female bands. In Fiji,

well-known female singers include Georgina Ledua, Lia Osborne (who has now passed away), and *vude* queen Laisa Vulakoro. Paulini, known from the first Australian Idol singing competition, has also achieved a measure of popularity.

21 For example, Arieta from Wairiki only plays seldomly in the privacy of her home (Pasemaca, personal communication). Lee (1998: 779) observed that young women in Naloto play guitars and sing songs in private, but only young men (aged between 16 and 40 years, but mostly in their 20s) form string bands and play in public.

22 I observed this at a performance at Naivivi, Qamea (25/5/05). After the men had finished performing, a woman picked up the guitar and was quietly but competently strumming the instrument. Similarly, at a performance at Betelema, Wairiki (14/6/05), Pasemaca played guitar. She says that she seldom plays guitar in public to accompany the singing of other people.

23 Audio sample 10.4: Isa lei. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

24 There are two humorous anecdotes related to this duo. At a talent contest held at Wairiki's Meridian Cinema, the pair dressed in special costumes for the event. The audience clapped loudly and shouted words of encouragement as they walked up the centre aisle to take their place on stage. Urusula, who is known for her unguarded tongue, began swearing at the audience. When they reached the top of the stairs, she tripped on a loose lead and commenced to swearing at the backing band (the Hilltoppers) instead. Lead singer and guitarist Mika Madigibuli passed her the microphone so that she could introduce their item. As she began speaking, Mika asked her to bring the microphone closer to her mouth. She was saying a rude swear word as she did so, and the audience responded by laughing uproariously. Their last performance took place at Wairiki in 2004. They were a programmed part of the entertainment at an event marking *Faca* Konstantino's ordination. Save Vulaca, who was acting as the MC, announced that Georgina Ledua and Laisa Vulakoro were about to perform. Katarina (who was introduced as Laisa) and Urusula (who was introduced as Georgina) then walked out onto the veranda of the boy's dormitory and began performing. This generated a lot of laughter from their audience, who were seated on the *rara* (village green).

25 Audio sample 10.5: Adi Vula. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

26 *Tui* Rabe noted that musicians are very popular with the ladies. Isoa from Navakawau and *Tu* Seru from Lovonivonu both cited the ability to impress women as one of their reasons for wanting to learn how to play. *Tu* Seru joked that he was trying to find a partner, and was using his musical talent as a trawling line. Similarly, Petero Uluilakeba joked that he joined the Vuanimaba Trio to find a new wife. Vili Kusitino says that young men nowadays often only want to learn to play lead guitar so that they can show off – particularly so that they can impress young women with their musicianship.

27 A doctor adopted a similar strategy to avoid his wife's displeasure. He purchased a guitar but did not want his wife to find out, so he gave it to Wani (Tuvu from Savuwaqa's older brother) for safekeeping. Whenever he wanted to drink *yaqona* and perform *sigidrigi,* he would visit Wani (Rafaele Waqa, personal communication).

28 When he was performing at the Taveuni Travel Lodge, Vili Kusitino recalls that female dancers would sometimes kiss the band members. Similarly, when *Tui* Rabe used to perform in Savusavu, girls would come up and kiss him on the mouth if he was performing a sentimental song.

29 Poe Campbell quit performing *sigidrigi* when he married, and became a fisherman. He did not play the guitar again for ten years, when he started playing for the church. Musicians Petero Kanawabu, and Rafaele Manaseva are members of the Charismatic Music Ministry for their parishes. *Tu* Lesi (conversation with Rafaele Waqa, personal communication) no longer composes *sigidrigi* songs because he is unable to share the

enjoyment of that music with his wife. He states: 'if you cannot share the gift of sing-
ing with your wife, then you become a prisoner of your own pride and talent. This
should not happen. Your wife is meant to share in your performance activities.' He
now composes what he refers to as country gospel songs, which both he and his wife
can perform.
30 For further information regarding Fijian gender relationships, see Ravuvu (1983: 8-
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11   Tau'a'alo: Paddling Songs as Cultural Metaphor

Adrienne L. Kaeppler[1]

In the maritime kingdom of Tonga in the South Pacific, an important musical genre was *tau'a'alo*, paddling songs, sung by paddlers to maintain their rhythm while paddling their canoes. Although Tongans now use speedboats or airplanes, the concept embedded in paddling is a metaphor for working together to achieve specific ends. In this chapter, I will examine tau'a'alo in their historic usages and how the tau'a'alo concept has been transformed in the evolution of Tongan music and dance. In keeping with the theme of this volume, I will offer a cultural analysis of their music.

Tau'a'alo were traditionally sung during certain kinds of work that required coordinated movements, such as paddling, dragging a boat to shore, or dragging a pig for presentation on the *mala'e*, 'village green'. The term consists of 'tau' – a word that has many meanings, but here refers to refrain, chorus, or the part of a poem that expresses the essence of a text, or expresses the essence of the word that follows it, in this case *'a'alo*, 'paddling'. Thus, tau'a'alo expresses the essence of paddling together, essentially a metaphor for coordinated effort. When performed in conjunction with real coordinated effort, tau'a'alo were, and are, usually quite short and sung over and over until the task is completed. Besides synchronising effort, tau'a'alo are said to 'lighten the heart and strengthen the muscles'. Today, tau'a'alo are elaborate ritual performances used in conjunction with the confirmation of traditional ceremonies, or the legitimisation of contemporary ceremonies by recourse to tradition. Moreover, the concept can be extended to the importance of working together to gain specific ends and is orally and visually projected in music and dance.

Historic references to Tau'a'alo

An Englishman, William Mariner, who lived in Tonga from 1806 to 1810, used the term *tow alo*, and noted that they 'are mostly short songs, sung in canoes when paddling, the strokes of the paddle being coincident with the cadence of the tune' (Mariner 1818, vol. 2: 320).

Charles Wilkes, who visited Tonga in 1840 on the United States Exploring Expedition, heard and saw a tau'a'alo performed. His description is as follows,

> The canoe of these chiefs was seen advancing slowly over the calm sea by the efforts of its scullers, and was filled with men, all singing the following air, keeping perfect time and making excellent music; the notes were obtained by Mr. Drayton.

Figure 11.1   *Notation 1. Tau'a'alo from the US Exploring Expedition, 1840*

> To this they sing any words, but generally such as are applicable to the mission of business or pleasure they may be on; and although the air and bass are heard most distinctly, the four parts are all sung in the most perfect harmony. From the fact that the tenors and basses sing parts of a bar, alternating with each other, and come in perfectly, it would seem that they cultivate music in their own rude way, producing a wild but agreeable effect. To this the scullers keep time ... and it is the custom ... to sing ... it while at work (Wilkes 1845, vol. 3: 20).

E.E.V. Collocott, a missionary in Tonga at the beginning of the twentieth century, notes the texts of 35 short tau'a'alo and nine musical transcriptions (Collocott 1928: 121-128), under the name of 'chanties'. He observed that they were sung while hauling heavy weights (including moving the stone slab of the burial vault of the Tu'i Tonga), making sail, rowing canoes, and dragging sleds of food for presentation. The examples that he gives seem to be in the form of leader and choral response

and usually come in two parts – the *fasi*, 'melody', and *laulalo*, 'bass in the form of a drone'.

Figure 11.2 *Notation 2. Tau'a'alo from Collocott (1928)*

Liku Tonga, liku tapu   Southern cliff-bound coast, sacred cliff-bound coast

Laulea moe ngalu.   Laulea [name of a beach] and its breakers.

This text refers to, or honours, the large waves that roll in from the south for which the *liku* area on the southern rocky coast of Tongatapu is known. Laulea beach was an old harbour from which canoes embarked to the island of 'Eua and includes the dangerous deep called *popua mate* into which currents drew the unsuspecting and threw them out into the open sea. *Lāulea* also refers to many people speaking at once, as the breakers do at Laulea beach. This is also an area from which the stones for the huge burial mounds (*langi*) of the Tu'i Tonga were supposedly cut. It was a dangerous undertaking to transport them (which would necessarily have been by sea) to Heketa or Lapaha, where they were used. Thus, this tau'a'alo is a prayerful metaphor for the paddlers working together with the sea to accomplish the task at hand.

In the 1920s, W.C. McKern, an American anthropologist, collected five tau'a'alo, noting that two of them were used while rowing and indicated at what point the rowing stroke was taken. Other examples that he presented were sung while dragging a food-laden sledge to a ceremonial feast. These were begun with the whole group shouting 'he-ie-e, he-ie-e'; then an old man sang a 'two measure solo', and the chorus joined in three parts for 'two measures' (McKern n.d.)

A musical analysis of the historic tau'a'alo with which I am familiar characterises them as antiphonal; they consist of a single melodic contour in which the repetitions are slightly varied. The melodic line is divided into two phrases. The leader begins the first phrase, with another voice (or voices) joining in shortly after. The chorus sings the second phrase. The musical interest in these tau'a'alo is in the slight variations in the essentially repetitious melodic line and polyphony. In more recent tau'a'alo, however, the interest lies primarily in the poetic references to the event for which they are composed. Early tau'a'alo texts do not have explicit references to socially stratified society as later ones do, but more specifically address working together.

Tau'a'alo in the modern world

As noted above, Tongans now travel by speedboat, ocean liner, or airplane and tau'a'alo are seldom used to coordinate the effort of paddling. In recent times, tau'a'alo have become the ritualised presentation of the last large pig and kava root for the ceremonial kava drinking (called *taumafa kava* when the King partakes) as part of large-scale government celebrations, *kātoanga*, and are often performed by the village of Holonga, one of the King's estates on the island of Vava'u. The metaphor has been transformed to emphasise the importance of working together for the good of society. The village of Holonga is on the liku (back) side of the large northern island of Vava'u opposite from the harbour. This side of the island is known as the home of certain plants – including *kaho* reeds (giant miscanthus) and *tetefa* flowers (badusa corymbifera).

   The poetry for three Vava'u tau'a'alo was written down by a member of the Tonga Traditions Committee in 1961 and is now filed in the Tongan Traditions Committee Archives in Nuku'alofa (POA 45/2C). The first tau'a'alo is said to date from the time of Tungī Mailefihi (1887-1941), and was probably used during a visit to Vava'u by Tungī and his wife, Queen Sālote. It may have been performed in Nuku'alofa on an occasion such as their wedding. In the form of a work call, the various areas of Vava'u are invited to come to do their duty to Tungī Mailefihi.

Ko e Taua'alo[2] Ke Ui [work call] o Vava'u
(Ko e ma'imoa 'a [the royal entertainment of] Tungī Mailefihi)

I
'E————I————E!   (Tali[3]) E!
'E————I————E!   E!
Punalei e!   Oh Punalei! [a place name]
Mou ha'u ki Lēlea e!   Come to Lēlea [a spring in the Neiafu
                                   area of Vava'u]
He kuo 'i heni 'a e hā'ele!   Now here is the Royal coming.

II
'Otu Motu lalo e!   Small islands off Vava'u!
Mou ha'u ki Lēlea e!   Come to Lēlea
He kuo 'i heni 'a e hā'ele!   Now here is the Royal coming.

Ko e Taua'alo

'E————I————E!   (Tali) 'E!
'E————I————E!   'E!
'Oiauē[4] Mofuefanga[5]   Alas! Mofuefanga
Tu'u keta ō Namālata   Stand and go Namālata
'Ae fuifui kotofa e!   The flock [of important people] are
                                   here at the appointed time.

Tau (Chorus)

Kasiketi he Fā	Casket of Fā [a kind of pandanus refer- ring to a specific person]
'Oku taka fākangalo ngata'a	Is hard to forget
He 'aho ni e!	Today
Ta hopo ki Hala Tengetange	We walk to Tengetange Road
Kei ope matafale[6]	Still impossible to outdo
Kau 'aufuatō ke ka'anga	I will serve until I have nothing more to give
Hingano ko fakahīkihiki tama e!	Hingano [pandanus flowers][7], the hon- oured exalted one.

Ko e Taua'alo 'a Holonga	
'E————I————E!	(Tali) 'E!
'E————I————E!	'E!

I	
'Oiaue! 'E Namālata	Alas! Oh Namālata
*Mo e hea mei Tu'ilokamana**	And the hea [flower] from Tu'ilokamana
*Tu'u keta ō mo e Vaohaka**	Stand up and go with Vaohaka.

II	
Taliua Olotapu e!	Taliua and Olotapu [two places]
Mo Fine Tāpate	And Fine Tāpate [place name]
'Uha mo Kavai mo Lōvele	'Uha mo Kavai and Lōvele [two places]
Mo nonofo kau 'alu au	You stay and I am going
Taliua Olotapu e!	Taliua and Olotapu.

III	
Likukaho, te 'ofa 'i Liku'a	Likukaho [place] my love for Liku'a
Pea mo e Hala Tetefa Leka	And also for Hala Tetefa Leka [road with Tetefa Leka flowers]
Fine Touhingano si'ene vā	Women picking hingano [flowers] are laughing
'I he toa 'i 'Utula'aina e!*	In the toa [ironwood tree] in 'Utula'aina.

Tau'a'alo have been used in recent years mainly as presentation pieces for ritual pigs and kava roots, and to commemorate the ceremonial pre-sentation of food. Their texts are essentially place names and refer to the people and lineages that live in these places, carrying out their du-ties to their exalted chiefs. Although based on earlier tau'a'alo, some be-come elaborate compositions and presentations. Examples that I heard in context were during presentations of large pigs (*puaka toho*) and large kava roots as preludes to five taumafa kava ceremonies: when King Tupou IV was installed (1967), when the present King was installed to his Tupouto'a (Crown Prince title (1975 – see fig. 11.3); when Lavaka Ata 'Ulukālala, King Tupou IV's youngest son, was installed to his Ata title (1990), and to his 'Ulukālala title (1991); and when the present King

Figure 11.3 *Tau'a'alo performance in 1975, when the present king was installed to his Tupouto'a Crown Prince title*

was installed as Tupou V (2008). On the first two of these occasions, the tau'a'alo were performed by the people of the village of Holonga, Vava'u. The third example was performed by the people of Ata's village, Kolovai, the fourth was performed by the people of 'Ukukālala's village, Tu'anuku, and the last occasion the tau'a'alo was performed by Holonga, the new King's village. On the fourth occasion, there were two tau'a'alo. One was performed by 'Ulukālala's village, Tu'anuku, and one was performed by Holonga, the King's village (King Tupou IV was present). These were more elaborate compositions compared to those collected by Collocott and McKern.

Like elsewhere in Polynesia, in Tonga, verbal and visual expressions are intricately interrelated. During the ritual investiture of the 'Ulukālala title on 16 September 1991, in Neiafu, Vava'u, the most telling piece was the tau'a'alo composed for the occasion. Like early traditional tau'a'alo, it has a formulaic musical/rhythmic setting to which poetry is sung in numerous repetitions. The poetry for this event was composed by Sunia Tuineau Pupunu and was sung in a traditional musical setting.[8]

This tauʼaʼalo has two stanzas, with four lines each, that are sung interspersed with the dragging phrase, 'he-i-e he!' In the poetry, the four lineages of Tuʼanuku village and their gifts are mentioned along with metaphorical references to the previous ʼUlukālala title holder and the new ʼUlukalala being installed. The previous ʼUlukalala is referred to as the star that disappeared from the Zodiac and the new ʼUlukalala is the star that reappeared. The surface level of the poetry refers to the women's gifts (koloa) that had previously been presented – the kie (a fine mat used as a ritual investiture garment) of the ʼUtukaunga lineage, the 200 hand-span mat, *katuafe*, of the Makapapa lineage, the 750 foot piece of black barkcloth, *lauteau*, of the Toloa lineage and the 1,000 hand-span mat, katumanō, of the Haʼa Ngata lineage.

While singing about the women's gifts, the men and women of the village of Tuʼanuku dragged the men's ceremonial gifts (*ngāue*) – the *puaka toho* (largest cooked pig) and the *kava toho* (largest kava root) – through the block-long ceremonial kava formation as symbolic representations of the men's gifts that had already been laid out on the malaʼe, village green.[9] Thus, the presentation of the tauʼaʼalo combined the four lineages of Tuʼanuku men and women and their gifts, metaphor and straightforward speech into an aesthetic form that visually and verbally illustrates the importance of working together of complementary gender and lineage groups that make up the village. It was composed by Sunia Tuʼineau Pupunu for ʼUlukālala's investiture on 16 September 1991.

Tauʼaʼalo o ʼUlukālala

1 *Haʼa Ngata e tuʼu keta ō*	Haʼa Ngata stand up and we go
2 *O fuataki atu e katumanō*	Carry onwards the katumanō [1000/countless] handspans of mat
3 *Kuo toe ha kuo toe ha*	It appears again, it appears again [new ʼUlukālala]
4 *Fetuʼu ne puli he sotiakā*	Star that disappeared from the Zodiac [last ʼUlukālala]
Io Io o o	Yes, Yes, we go.
Io Io o o A e.	
II	
5 *Koe kie ena o ʼUtukaungá*	That is the kie [fine mat] of ʼUtukaunga[10]
6 *Mo e katuafe o Makapapá*	And the katuafe [200 handspans of mat] of Makapapa
7 *Mo e lauteau o Toloá*	And the lauteau [750 feet of barkcloth] of Toloa
8 *Ko e ʼumaʼā ke taká*	The reason is needless to say.
Io lo o o	Yes, yes, we go.
Io lo o o A e.	

Another elaborate example was the 1967 tau'a'alo of Holonga for the coronation ceremony of King Tupou IV. The poetry, based on old poetic motifs used previously in Holonga tau'a'alo, was arranged by the late Honourable Ve'ehala, and the musical setting, derived from old tau'a'a-lo musical motifs, was provided by Sione Kaifoto of Vava'u. According to Ve'ehala, it was meant to be sung in six-part polyphony by two groups, which were to start singing together, then one group was to sing a section and the other group was to answer, and the final 'he!' was to be shouted by both groups together. Spectators were allowed to observe only from quite some distance away and I can only assume this is in fact what happened. Ve'ehala kindly made the poetry available; however, because of a prohibition against recording, I did not tape the performance, and apparently it was not taped by the radio station.[11]

Ko e Tau'a'alo 'a Holonga, Vava'u[12]

1 *'Oiauē Tu'ilokamana**	Alas! Tu'ilokamana
2 *'A Veitutulu 'a Mofuefanga**	Veitutulu and Mofuefanga
3 *Vaohea pea mo e Vaohaka**	Hea Grove and Haka Grove
4 *Liku'one** he tetefa tu'umaka*	Liku'one [name of a beach] and its rock clinging tetefa [flowers]
5 *Hikuongo Fatafata-mafana*	Hikuongo and Fatafata-mafana[13]
6 *He 'aho ni 'o e Vale-'ia-tama.* *Hē! Hē!*	Today is the day to be overjoyed.

II

7 *Tala ange ki Longolongofolau**	Proclaim unto Longolongofolau
8 *Moe e liku Ngaoha'a 'o Vava'u*	And the liku of Ngaoha'a of Vava'u
9 *Lēlea e nofo kau 'alu*	Lēlea I take leave of you
10 *Ke u lusa 'i he Toa ko Ma'afu.*	To sacrifice my all at the toa [ironwood tree] called Ma'afu.

III

11 *'Oiauē Matāhina*	Alas! Matāhina
12 *Laumanu siu laumanu hina*	Flock of lookout birds, flock of white birds
13 *Manu e kaho*[14] *manu kē'i ika*	Lookout birds, fishing birds
14 *Ne mafua 'i he funga fiefia*	Have bounced happily on the [waves] surface
15 *Ko e laukau ki he fungasia*	Showing off for the high people
16 *Ko e mate'anga e loto ni ia.*	The source of my overpowering love.

IV

17 *'Utula'aina** mo e Vaohea*	'Utula'aina and Hea Grove
18 *Taiō e mo hono lelenga*	Taiō [?] and its uncertain end
19 *'Aloitalau ko au e heka*	'Aloitalau I'll board the boat
20 *Fe'ao ki Lotoleveleva.*	To accompany the voyagers to Lotoleveleva.

The poetry makes extensive use of the Tongan literary device of refer-
ring to people, places, and events with the names of places, flowers,
and birds. Most of the place names are either in Vava'u (where the per-
formers come from) or in Nuku'alofa (where the performance was
held). The poetry refers to the importance of the occasion of the corona-
tion by saying that the performers have come all the way from Vava'u,
working together to pledge their loyalty to the new king. In an unusual
move, Ve'ehala has structured his tau'a'alo in verse-chorus alternation
derived from Protestant hymns. Although, at first glance, the poetic
structure appears to be ABCD, there is little doubt that the musical
structure is ABAB arranged in verse-chorus alternation. The poetic
structure can be considered ABA'B' for one can easily see the parallel.
Verses I and III (A and A') express the same concept – verse I using
place names and flowers whereas verse III uses birds – to transmit the
same message – honouring the crowning of the new king by the people
of Holonga. Choruses II and IV (B and B') likewise express the same
concept in different words, namely that the performers are Holonga
people working together to support the new king and his socio-political
system, and will return home happy to have been part of it.

   Although no recording of this tau'a'alo is available, an excellent exam-
ple of a similar tau'a'alo is included on the recording from the First
South Pacific Festival of Arts,[15] the performance of which was also led
by Ve'ehala.

   The aesthetic principle expressed here in the poetry and in the melo-
dic line is found again and again in Tongan poetry, music, and dance –
to express concepts in slightly different ways to challenge the listener's
powers of instantaneous transformation in order to experience the par-
allel. In the coronation example, the poetry of the two verses and the
two choruses express similar concepts but by using different poetic
symbolism, embodying the philosophy that although there are accepta-
ble variations in ways to do things, people must work together to
achieve the same end – that of keeping the Kingdom united. The varia-
tion in the ornamentation of the melodic line can also be said to symbo-
lically express the same musical concept in a slightly different way, that
is, an acceptable variation within the overall structure. This is based on
the aesthetic/philosophical principle of *heliaki*: through indirect refer-
ence, not going directly to the point but alluding to it by going around
it, metaphorical references illuminate, enhance or hide layers of mean-
ing. Poetically, heliaki is manifested through metaphor and allusion;
musically, heliaki is realised by alluding to the melody through poly-
phony and ornamentation; culturally, heliaki is realised by supporting
the traditional system within the realm of acceptable variation.

Tau'a'alo as cultural metaphor

The importance of working together for the good of the community and ultimately society in general is usually phrased as one's duty to the god, king, and society. This can be seen in the official motto of Tonga: *Ko e 'Otua mo Tonga ko hoku tofia*, 'God and Tonga are my inheritance.' Traditionally, this included one's duty to fight for one's chief as expressed in the tau'a'alo of Vava'u when warriors left to go to war with Pea, Tongatapu (Collocott 1928: 123):

Sia ko Kafoa, 'Alo-'i-Talau	Sia ko Kafoa, 'Alo-'i-Talau [place names in Vava'u]
Ko 'eku tatau eni, kau 'alu	This is my goodbye and I go
Ka 'ilonga he 'ikai te u ha'u	If I do not return
Kuo u kelekele 'aki'a Tongatapu.	My body will be the soil of Tongatapu.

Such tau'a'alo are also philosophical as illustrated by another example also from Vava'u that was sung while making preparations for war (TTTC n.d.: 59):

Vai ko Veimapu mo Fangatongo	The freshwater pools Veimapu and Fangatongo
Ko e hili eni pea fefe	After this [war] what will happen
'E toe tasilo nai 'a fe,	When will the water clear up again?
'A e vai kuo kele.	This freshwater pool, now polluted.

The tau'a'alo context has been transformed from paddling and warfare to the presentation of food for important aristocratic events, while the tau'a'alo metaphor has been transformed into one that represents the modern performance genre of *lakalaka* (see video 11.1).[16] These communal village-based sung speeches with choreographed movements are ideally performed by all of the adults in a village (often 200 or more), arranged in two or more rows, facing the audience, the men on the right (from the observer's point of view), the women on the left. The men and women perform different sets of movements simultaneously. The men's movements are virile and vigorous while women's movements are soft and graceful, embedding the Tongan conceptualisation of movements appropriate to men and women. The men's movements are bigger, looser, and freer, and the arms are more extended and open, while the women's movements are smaller, more restrained, and there is limited use of the upper arm; there is little movement of the legs and no movement of the hips. The men often strike the ground with their hands and even roll on the ground. Thus, the choreography must allow for the movements to refer to the poetical allusions in two different ways – one appropriate to men and one to women.

The sung speech is divided into three sections; the *fakatapu* which recognises the important lineages of Tonga and asks their permission to
speak; the lakalaka proper, which comments on the occasion in historical metaphors, the performers, and their village; and the *tatau*, a closing
counterpart of the fakatapu, which again defers to the chiefs.

As an example of a relevant lakalaka here, I will use the lakalaka of
the village of Navutoka that focuses on catching sharks. The dangerous
occupation of noosing sharks was a speciality of the men of villages
along the northeast coast of Tongatapu and the island of 'Euaiki. The
shark, called Hina after an important female goddess, is considered to
be female. She is lured by Sinilau, Hina's lover in Tongan mythology.
In the lakalaka, however, the sharks are dramatised by men who are
lured and trapped by women. These role reversals illustrate the importance of both men and women in the enterprise of fishing. There is a
gender-based division of labour in acquiring food from the sea: women
comb the reefs for shellfish and octopus and men do the deep-sea fishing. Marie-Claire Bataille-Benguigui has studied the symbolic aspects
of fishing in Tonga and I quote selected paragraphs from her study
(Bataille-Benguigui 1988: 188-190):

> The family of a fisherman at sea for the night will try to avail dis
> tractions and noise, and the children are asked not to play noisily
> so as to make the operation fail. The success of the men at sea
> thus depends on the harmony of the relationship with the people
> who remain on land, on their observing an important sentiment
> in Tongan society, the 'ofa which includes love, generosity and
> respect of others ... The success of a crew at sea depends on the
> behaviour of the village people who remain on land and on the
> events which take place there. Thus, if there is a failure at sea,
> when all material and meteorological circumstances indicate suc
> cess, it can be attributed to two causes: – death in the extended
> family of the fishermen, or the aberrant behaviour (according to
> traditional or Christian criteria) of someone in the village (e.g.,
> robbery, adultery, transgression of taboos, illegal access to land).

Thus, if the fishermen return without any fish it is not their fault because it was circumstances on land that caused their failure. Instead,
they were the victims of the behaviour of others or because of a social
disaster for which they are not responsible. In addition to the necessity
of working together with the entire community to ensure a successful
fishing expedition, the fish are considered social partners and it is necessary for fish and people to work together. According to Bataille-
Benguigui,

man has a socialised, affective relationship with the fish which has become a person which the fisherman acknowledges as a social partner of higher rank. He speaks to the fish in metaphors, using vernacular terms of address reserved to chiefs and the royal family.

One or two days before leaving to fish for shark, the crew retire to a fale siu, or a taboo fishing house on the beach, to prepare but, in fact, they are undergoing a purification rite; society is excluded and the men avoid sexual relations with all women before putting to sea. The fale siu is also considered as the receptacle of the soul of the shark seen to be a god, and as an altar consecrated to it. The fishing house must remain taboo all the time the men are at sea and some guard it while preparing food in an earth oven for the crew's return. The eating of this ritual food readmits the fishermen into society and precedes the division of the catch.

The fisherman speaks aloud to the shark as to a lover by complimenting it on the beauty of its form, offering a garland of flowers which, in fact, is the slipknot with which the fish is to be captured; he begs it to eat the bait that he offers under the name of taumafa [a term used only for the food of the sovereign]. He asks the fish to get into the canoe ... fata [a term used for the boat of the sovereign] to be with its fiance, Sinilau ... The fisherman never captures the first shark to appear, which remains Hina for him, the goddess of Pulotu, but he continues to address himself to her sisters and the species in general and captures them ... In all cases, as prescribed by the original myth, the capture techniques must be gentle; no bruising or cutting instrument that could wound the fish can be used because the fish must die naturally since it is of divine origin and of high rank. At Kolonga and 'Euaiki the shark is captured with a slipknot, it is killed with a hammer only after it had been lifted into the boat.

The shark caught by these sacred techniques

cannot be sold but are distributed in hierarchical order within the village. To sell them would be to vulgarize them and ridicule their divine essence; the result would be that they would not appear the following year and this would constitute a moral fault for the whole village.

The distribution is called *'inasi*, a term that means to share or divide and is derived from first-fruits ceremony of the sacred Tu'i Tonga chief given in honour of the god Hikuleo. The shark is divided into three

parts: one part for the chief, one for the crew, and one for the men who remained behind to guard the *fale siu* and prepare *kava* and food for the return. These shares are then redistributed so that everyone receives a piece according to the hierarchical order of the village. Sharks caught elsewhere with different techniques, however, can be distributed differently or even sold.

Because of the ritualistic preparation and proper entreaties,

> Tongans are not afraid of sharks and accidents are rare. The few observations of wounds or of death from these wounds are explained as owing to the fact that the victim committed some fault on land ... and was punished as a result. Thus, the shark administers justice and guarantees the equilibrium and morality of the society; it is not the enemy of man.

Thus, people and sharks work together within a social hierarchy and it is this relationship that is dramatised in the lakalaka of Navutoka called 'No'o'anga', shark noosing. The poetry, musical setting, and movements were composed by Niungatini Liu in c. 1930 and it was performed in the 1930s, in 1962 and also in 1967 for the government-wide kātoanga and on other important occasions, such as the opening of the new Christian church in the area in 1990 and the celebration honouring King Tupou IV's 75th birthday and 25th anniversary of his coronation, in 1992.[17] The performance begins with the long lines that are characteristic of lakalaka. During the middle section that dramatises the noosing of sharks, the men and women intermix their lines and the men become sharks and the women become fishermen in a role reversal that illustrates how the village must work together for the good of the community.

Lakalaka No'o'anga from Navutoka[18]
Composed by Niungatini Liu

1. He 'aho ni ē folau vaka	*Today we travel by sea*
Malua pe 'i taulanga	*Resting at the harbour*
Kau siutaka 'i Halakakala	*I am roaming about at Halakakala [fragrant road]*
Kia Hina ke ma veitatala.	*So I can talk to Hina [the shark].*
2. 'A e neiufi mo e hakula	*The neiufi and hakula [fish]*
He'ikai teu tali fakataka	*I am not going to react*
Na'a kavea koha toki taha	*For they might say that this is the first time*
Teu tali ta'ofi he ko e tangata.	*I am going to act as a real man.*
3. Foki tama pe i lulu fangongo	*You, shake the fangongo [rattle]*

Ke 'a ē mohe mei he loloto   To wake up the sleeper in the deep
Kia Hina ke ne fakafanongo   So Hina will listen
'A 'a Sinilau mo e tuinga paongo.   Sinilau is awake with the string of
                                                paongo [pandanus keys].

4. *Ko e ika manu ē 'i moana*   The big fish of the sea
Ta'ahine 'uli mai ke ta langa   Black female, steer here and we will
                                                start speeding

Ke ta tuli laumanu 'oku kapa   We will chase the flock of flying birds
'E hina ē pe'i afeafe taka.   Oh shark, come in a zigzag way.

5. *Loua'a si'i Ta'ahine Hina*   Poor female shark is irritated
Matafi ē Tonga he kuo te hia   Forgive me it is my own fault
Sinilau ē hopo ki tahi na   Please Sinilau jump into the sea
Kae fala mai aiā 'a Hina.   To be a mat for Hina.

6. *Ika moana 'oua 'e 'ita*   Deep-sea fish do not be angry
Kuo taaunoa 'ae lepa ia   The sea was of no use to you
He koho fata ni kei mahaia   Your bed is in a shallow place
Fotu ha long kau ofongia   Appear and I will proclaim

7. *Ofo pea vili mai*   Come to me
Ofo pea vili mai   Come to me
Vili mai malie   Keep on coming
Vili mai maliē   Keep on coming
Ofo mei fanua   Come from the land
Ofo mei moana   Come from the deep sea
Ofo mei lalo ni   Come from below
Fakataha 'ia mai   All together here
Ko e kātoanga 'e fai.   The celebration will be made.

8. *Māmālofa mai,*   Glide here
Fafanifo mai   Swim here
Fakaho'ia mai   Please me here
Kae holo ē lepa ni   That we enjoy our anchoring here
Me'a mai ki vaka ni   Come inside the boat
Kahoa tuinga papai.   Put on your pandanus key necklace.

9. *Takoto ua mai Hina ma'anu'anu*   Two lying down, Hina afloat
Maliē!   Bravo!
Vili pea ke hoko kau tali 'o nono'o   Persevere and continue, I will wel-
                                                come and noose her.
Teau![19]   One hundred! [one is worth one
                                                hundred]

10. *Ta'ahine pē 'i tasili atu*   Please young lady make a signal
Ki ha vaka siu 'oku 'i hakau   To the fishing boat at the reef
Matangi ni kuo to takutaku   For the wind is so rough
He matangi ake 'etau folau   A sudden wind of our voyage
Foki tama tongi kele'a ke a'u   You there, blow the message [on the
                                                shell trumpet]

[Tangata ifi Kele'a]   [Men blow shell trumpets]

Ka tau tafoe 'i Lomanipau.	So we can turn at Lomanipau.[20]
11. Ka 'eku tapou pea mo e tala	I am advising and telling you
Oua 'e laka 'i Fungalepa	Do not cross at Fungalepa
Telia ē lao 'oe Fungavaka[21]	Because of the 'law of Fungavaka'
12. Kuo 'osi 'eku tuli laumanu	I have finished my chase of the animals
Kau tukulolo telia 'e hau	I will surrender because of the monarch
Ka hala ha lea 'afio a'u a'u	If I make a mistake in speaking, your knowledgeable majesty
Ko e kelemutu pe louakau	I am only like a worm on a leaf
Ko e me'a noa ka neongo 'ia	I am nothing, and yet
Ko 'ete tue 'i he fiefia	I honour you with gladness
'I he aho 'o e Lou Mo'onia	In the days of Lou Mo'onia [Queen Sālote]
Taha 'eni 'aho 'i Polinisia.	The most important days in Polynesia.
13. 'Ae Tonga ke 'auliliki	You, Tonga, tell everything
'O vakaiange he potu talu ni	Look at this side of the ocean
'Oku hala si'otau Pasifiki	There are none in the Pacific
Ka ko Tonga pe kei Pilinisi.	Only Tonga still has a Prince.
14. Pea tau lulu loto pe	We shake hands in spirit
Kau foki ki he funga Manavanga	I am returning to the beach at Manavanga
Keu vesa hono lou maile	I will wear my bracelet of maile leaves
'O ka fasi 'ae funga 'Onetaka	When the waves wash 'Onetaka beach
'O te laka 'i hono hala 'one	I will walk on its sandy path
Niutao 'oku fakalata.	Niutao [a place] is still the best! Houma

Tau'a'alo and the 'Aesthetic Construction' of society

It remains to be examined how this metaphorical aesthetic construction of society is related to the social discourse of politics and power that tau'a'alo implies and that lakalaka are discussing with their audiences. Lakalaka are oratorical frames for painting socio-political metaphors, the interpretation of which depends on one's knowledge of Tongan politics, culture, history, and shared values. The composition and realisation of socially important performances are the products of historically and socially placed individuals, the Tongan world of social contestations, and who has the power and authority to select historical and cultural information and place it in nostalgic events.

As used in the shark-noosing lakalaka, the tau'a'alo, working-together metaphor, orally and visually dramatises the fact that people must work together for the good of the community and the Kingdom. Men and

women have separate but complementary roles in preserving traditions and keeping modern society running. Just as fishermen and those who stay home each have their own complementary duties, chiefs and commoners have their complementary duties to the Kingdom. Tau'a'alo is a cultural metaphor that remains relevant even today – working together in diverse situations, such as paddling, catching sharks, and working in social and political institutions. Working together and assuming one's duties and responsibilities will ensure that Tonga remains a maritime Kingdom with its own unique traditions. As stanza 13 notes, only Tonga retains its monarchy and is the best place for Tongans.

Some individuals, however, are opposed to the vision that this traditional aesthetic construction implies. They feel that the traditional concept of working together can only replicate the status quo based on birthright within the traditional socially stratified system. Their contemporary vision is a new kind of aesthetic construction in which working together is based on more democratic ideas based on Western concepts, which has been developing for some years now. To use a musical metaphor, tau'a'alo poetry could be sung to Western-oriented hiva kakala melodies and rhythmic structures, those that combine Tongan and Western values in a modern world. They feel that lakalaka that are based on such traditions as shark noosing keeps Tonga in a 19th-century time warp in which social contestation was downplayed and power was consolidated in an inner circle of aristocrats. They feel, instead, that lakalaka should discuss new social forms of parliamentary democracy that are more appropriate for the 21st century with their audiences. This discourse implies an altered metaphor that has not yet been fully explored. In spite of the recent riots and movements toward a more democratically elected parliament, traditional Tongan values are still widely shared and whatever the outcome, cultural metaphors aesthetically embedded in poetic heliaki will no doubt continue to be invoked as the proper way of constructing and analysing society for some time to come.

Notes

Ve'ehala, the late Sister Tu'ifua, Sunia Tu'ineau Pupunu, Crown Prince Tupouto'a/
Lavaka and Crown Princess Nanasipau'u Tuku'aho. Most of the Tongan texts have not
previously been translated into English, and the few texts translated by Collocott 1928
and McKern n.d. [192?] have been re-translated here. Marie-Claire Bataille-Benguigui
has translated the shark-calling *lakalaka* into French Bataille-Benguigui 1988; there
are some minor differences between the Tongan text included by Bataille-Benguigui
and the text included here.

2 Note that these examples were spelled without the first glottal stop ('), which loses the
paddling metaphor.

3 *Tali* here refers to the responding singers. *Tali* also means 'food given in welcoming
visitors' (Churchward 1959: 449).

4 Although usually translated as 'Alas', here it has the feeling of 'Oh, my goodness' or
'Heavens'.

5 Asterisks in these songs refer to *mātanga*, places or 'sceneries' of historical or geogra-
phical importance in Holonga, Vava'u listed in POA 45/2C with the three *taua'alo*.
Mātanga are used as metaphors for the area or for people who can trace descent from
the area or its lineages.

6 *Ope* from the game of *lafo* refers to a *quoit* that balances from the very end of the mat
(*matafale*) playing ground, thus, this play cannot be outdone. Here it refers to the gen-
ealogy of the person honoured, Tungī Mailefihi.

7 *Hingano* flowers are often used as a metaphor for a male chief.

8 Although some recent compositions of *tau'a'alo* make use of harmony that is more
characteristic of *hiva kakala* (see, for example, Moyle 1975, side 2, band 6), *tau'a'alo*
more characteristically retain the older form of polyphonic antiphony and include
some of the best examples of 19th-century Tongan vocal music still extant.

9 This consisted of 2100 baskets of staple vegetable foods, 550 pigs of various sizes, and
23 *kava* roots of various sizes.

10 'Kie o 'Utukaunga' is the personal name of the mat that 'Ulukālala wore as an investi-
ture garment.

11 A similar *tau'a'alo* from Holonga village was recorded by Moyle in 1973-74, see Moyle
1975, side 2, band 5. According to Moyle, the singing is done by two five-part choirs
(see notes accompanying the recording). The *tau'a'alo* recorded by Moyle has the
same poetry that was used in the 1975 installation of the Crown Prince, that is, poetry
different from that sung at the 1967 installation of the King.

12 Translation with the help of Sister Tu'ifua, Tupou Pulu, and others.

13 Names that refer to Vava'u as a whole, where it is warmer than in Tongatapu, and the
people are said to be warm hearted.

14 See Churchward 1959: 519) under *tu'ukaunga*, n., flock of sea-birds resting (*tete*) on
the surface of the sea while one or two others are flying above on the look-out for fish.
Those on the look-out are called the *manu-o-kaho*.'

15 'Tongan Festival Contingent, vol. 1', side 1, band 1.

16 For more about *lakalaka*, see Kaeppler 1993 and Moyle 1987. 'Lakalaka: Sung
Speeches with Choreographed Movements' was declared a 'Masterpiece of the Oral
and Intangible Heritage of Humanity' by UNESCO in 2003. Also see Video 11.1:
Extracts of *lakalaka*. From the film *Haka he langi kuo tau*, 'We dance in the ecstasy of
singing', filmed for the Tongan Government by Brigham Young University. http://
dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

17 I saw performances in 1967, 1992, and while working on the film *Haka he langi kuo
tau*, 'We dance in the ecstasy of singing', which was filmed for the Tongan
Government by Brigham Young University. Extracts of the *lakalaka* can be seen in the
film. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

18   The poetry was written down for me in 1967 by the composer, Niungatini Liu. Sister
     Tu'ifua helped me with the translation and interpretation of the text. Sister Tu'ifua
     saw performances of the *lakalaka* in the 1930s.
19   *'Teau!'* is only shouted by the women.
20   *'Lomanipau'* is a Fijian word, interpreted by Tongans to indicate the King's place as
     the centre of power.
21   A traditional saying.

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12   Disconnected Connections

Puerto Rican Diasporic Musical Identity in Hawai'i

Ted Solís

Introduction: 'Horns of a Diaspora': two Hawai'i Puerto Rican songs

As part of my ongoing research project in the Hawai'i Puerto Rican community, I recorded two song/dance pieces, '*Un Viaje a Nueva York*' ('A Journey to New York'), a seis in traditional Puerto Rican *Jíbaro* highland peasant musical style, and *'Pua 'Olena'* ('"Olena Flower'), a popular Hawai'ian song set to Cuban *bolero* treatment. The first embodies the highest degree of traditional Puerto Rican 'mother culture' symbolic imagery for Hawai'i Puerto Ricans. The second displays a very high degree of overt diasporic cultural linkage with Hawai'i, the host society. In actuality, neither completely typifies contemporary Hawai'i Puerto Rican musical reality. Together, however, they embody two themes that I consider key to my discussion of Hawai'i Puerto Rican (hereafter 'HPR') music and dance culture. I maintain that, in the face of a profound physical, communicative, temporal, and cultural disconnection from the Puerto Rico whence their ancestors had departed, music and dance have served as what I have elsewhere (referring in that case to Afro-Cuban music), neologically referred to as a 'pathoscape': 'an emotional [sound] landscape' (Solís 2004: 234). I believe that, for younger HPRs, poignantly aware of the broken link with Puerto Rico,[1] recordings, and music and dance practices have, in a sense, come to serve as surrogate ancestors. In utilising music and dance this way, however, they and earlier generations have repeatedly rationalised, renegotiated and reinterpreted the aesthetic criteria for what they appropriately consider 'Jíbaro'. As different as the two pieces are in origin and performance practice, they both represent attempts to come to grips with a diasporic Puerto Rican identity both imagined and immediate.

In Hawai'i parlance the word 'local' refers to traditional ethnic groups of long standing and cultural critical mass: native Polynesian Hawai'ians (hereafter 'Hawai'ians') or descendents of long domiciled

non-*haole* (Anglo/Caucasian) populations such as Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos, Koreans, and others brought to the islands as plantation workers. The 'local' Hawai'i Puerto Rican population primarily derives from contracted sugar plantation labourers brought to Hawai'i in 1900, with a smaller importation in 1921, and now number some 15,000. These immigrants did not represent a cross-section of Puerto Rico's population at that time; rather, they were drawn almost entirely from among the highland Jíbaro peasants, many of whose small subsistence farms had been recently devastated by Hurricane San Siriaco, leaving them without food and income, and thus amenable to migration in the pursuit of employment. Jíbaro emphasised their 'white' Iberian (and, to a lesser extent Amerindian) heritage (obvious and inevitable cultural and racial contact with Afro-Puerto Ricans notwithstanding) and cultural production, especially poetry, music, dance forms and performance practices, and linguistic archaisms.

In the more than 90 years since the principal migrations to Hawai'i, extensive urbanisation and cultural homogenisation in Puerto Rico have blurred its Iberian-African cultural polarity. The great cultural gap between highland Jíbaros and lowland Afro-Puerto Ricans that existed at the time of the first migration has considerably narrowed in Puerto Rico itself since that time, under the pressure primarily of large incorporated plantations and industrialisation. These processes had the effect of drawing Jíbaros from their individual shareholdings, ultimately urbanising the island, and throwing disparate racial groups together. Much of this Puerto Rico and concurrent New York cultural coalescence bypassed HPRs, who strongly embraced what they perceive as the Iberian-derived aspects of Jíbaro culture, and often substitute the word Jíbaro for 'Puerto Rican' when they refer to themselves.

HPRs assert an ethnic identity through the music/dance complex, wherein the most potent symbols are certain genres, performance practices, and musical instruments. I have elsewhere[2] referred to the maintenance of this ethnic identity as a 'Jíbaro filtering process', i.e., the musical and dance changes must be legitimised in terms of 'being Jíbaro'. Through musical culture this community has grappled with the complexities of its ethnic self-image in relation to broader ethnic categories such as 'Hispanic' and 'Latino'. My principal hypothesis in this paper is that the HPR cultural status vis-à-vis the general discourse of 'diaspora' is highly negotiated, characterised by disconnection, and by a more romantic, psychological construction than those of other Hawai'ian diasporic groups.

HPRs have until comparatively recently experienced scholarly, as well as geographical isolation. Most of the relatively few, short publications concerning the community have appeared and been disseminated locally. Most are funded or co-funded by one or another of the Puerto

Rican civic associations (e.g., Souza and Souza 1985), by state arts coun-
cils (Martin 1990) or the Hawai'i Department of Education (Carr 1980)
in connection with 'multicultural awareness' exhibits and festivals. The
late Blase Camacho Souza for decades documented Puerto Rican life
and folklore through articles in local publications and assorted exhibits.
The most extensive historical overview is Norma Carr's 1989 University
of Hawai'i Ph.D. thesis *The Puerto Ricans in Hawaii: 1900-1958*. In re-
cent years, New York and Caribbean Puerto Ricans have taken a scho-
larly interested in HPRs (note the 'Puerto Ricans in Hawai'i' subsection
in the spring 2001 (13) 1 issue of the *Journal of the Centre for Puerto
Rican Studies* (Hunter College)).

I recorded 'Un Viaje A Nueva York' in 1990, in Honolulu as part of a
CD (Solís 1994). I produced in a deliberate, activist attempt to recapture
and preserve the repertoire and instrumentation that would have been
typical of the plantation period (a typical HPR plantation trio can be
seen on fig. 12.1[3]). I had thus requested what some elderly HPRs call a
trio Borinqueño[4] ('Puerto Rican trio'): *güiro* gourd scraper, six-string
Spanish guitar, and a *cuatro* creole lead guitar. The HPR cuatro player/
vocalist (b. 1931) is the grandson of immigrants from Puerto Rico; his
son (b. 1958) provided guitar accompaniment; another HPR (b. 1934)
played *bongos*.[5]

The güiro player (b. 1934 in Puerto Rico), was one of the few non
Hawai'i Puerto Ricans to participate in local Puerto Rican musical cul-
ture, and, typically, he had come to Hawai'i as a serviceman, marrying
an HPR. Puerto Rican servicemen, whether from the Caribbean or New
York, tend to arrive in the islands with some vague awareness of their
mythic compatriots (as they think of them) who had left for Hawai'i in
the early 20th century, never to be heard from again. The servicemen
expected and hoped to be warmly embraced by the Hawai'ians. They
were nearly always disappointed; the Puerto Rico or New York from
which they came and which they represent to HPRs is very different
from both the cultural memories of their Hawai'i compatriots, and with
their current definition of Puerto Rican-ness, as we shall see in our ex-
amination of the nature of the HPR diaspora.

'Un Viaje a Nueva York' is a *seis* (a traditional Jíbaro strophic song/
dance form), which the leader had learned from a Puerto Rican Jíbaro
recording (audio sample 12.1).[6] The poetic structure is that of the vener-
able Spanish ten-line décima espinela[7] and the first verse, translated by
me from the Spanish, is

So I came to New York,
With the aim of working things out
Because there [in Puerto Rico] it was going badly
Here I feel worse

> At times the heat
> At times the accursed cold
> And at times my heart
> Skating on the snow
> And this isn't pleasing me:
> I'm going back to my shack [bohio, in Puerto Rico].

This expression of dislocated *weltschmerz* is typical of many Puerto Rican musical productions. The discourse of Puerto Rican identity in the latter part of the 20th century has more or less assumed that identity to be paradigmatically diasporic, half or more of the Puerto Rican population living outside of the island, with the largest concentration, of course, living in the New York megalopolis. The political, geographic, ethnic, and cultural identities of Puerto Ricans, or of those who so identify themselves, are replete with cognitive dissonance and conflict. Many or most of the great iconic anthems and artefacts of Puerto Rican identity – compositions, performers, musical ensembles, some of its musical genres – were products of displacement.[8] Noel Estrada's venerated bolero '*En Mi Viejo San Juan*' (written far from Puerto Rico while he was serving in the U.S. armed forces), with its text including such nostalgic phrases as

> One afternoon I departed for a foreign land ... but my heart remained next to the sea, in my Old San Juan ... Goodbye ... My Goddess of the Sea ... I'm leaving, but one day I'll return ... to dream once again in my Old San Juan ... but time passed ... and I could not return to the San Juan that I loved ...

In fact, much of what Puerto Ricans consider iconic cultural production would be unthinkable without this displacement. *Salsa*, the musical artefact par excellence of the Puerto Rican diaspora in New York, derives largely from traditional Cuban instrumental textures, general structure, and rhythmic and improvisational performance practices.[9] Much of the 'flavour', however, is inextricably linked to Puerto Rican diasporic identity. This is the case both musically, in that harmonic practices reflect contacts with the New York jazz and *mambo* experience, and, in vocal texts, which often reflect Nuyorican (a term that combines 'New York' and 'Puerto Rican') and general diasporic angst.

The Puerto Rican-born amateur poet Carlos Fraticelli (1863-1945), and others of the immigrant generation (many of whose names are now lost) composed *décimas* and other poetry congruent with this discourse. Fraticelli's '*En Este País Hawaiiano*' ('In This Hawai'ian Land') expresses sentiments remarkable similar to those of 'Un Viaje a Nueva York'; its first verse (translation by Austin Dias) is

> Thirty-three years we have been
> In this distant land
> As we came, we still are.
> In vain do we despair,
> The fatherland is far away;
> We could be over there
> cultivating a little vegetable garden;
> For in this damned land,
> There is no love, there is no friendship.
> (Souza 2000: 31; Dias 2001: 98)

As we will see below (under 'Language Proficiency and Generational Distance'), HPRs no longer produce texts of this nature. In the face of a severe erosion of Spanish language skills necessary for even rudimentary speech, let alone the complexities of Spanish poetics, they no longer overtly participate in this angst, except vicariously, through texts of their retained and adapted repertoire. The only physical dislocation, and temporal bifurcation in their backgrounds was that undergone by their ancestors of the immigrant generation (now at least the great-grandparents of anyone younger than their middle 60s). In the almost complete absence of travel or other communication, between Hawai'i and Puerto Rico, until comparatively recently, the repertoire, media, and performance practices of music and dance express the diaspora for them. I contend, however, that they have transferred and refocused both the feeling born of their ancestors' diasporic displacement, and of these ancestors' self-identity as Jíbaros, which was even in 1900 one of social marginalisation (see 'maintenance of relative distinction from the host society', in our discussion of diasporic categories, below.) While 'Un Viaje a Nueva York' expresses what we may call 'neo-Jíbaro' sentiments, re-expressed in a modern context, 'Pua 'Olena', in a manner exceptionally overt for HPRs, expresses acceptance of the host society and incorporation of local culture. I recorded the piece, played by an ensemble known as the 'Latin Gentlemen', in 1985 (Solís 1989[10]) at a wedding, in Kaneohe, on the island of Oahu. The performers themselves, all locally born, very much embody the sort of free acceptance of diversity, and hybridisation (in local parlance, 'chop suey', i.e., 'all mixed together') that Hawai'i typically projects to the world. The cuatro player (b. 1935) was Hawaiian-Samoan-Puerto Rican; his son-in-law, the *conga* player and lead vocalist (b. 1958), of Filipino[11] ancestry; an HPR (b. 1939) played guitar; another (b. 1934) played bongós; his son, *maracas*; and a Hawai'ian on electric bass.

'Pua 'Olena' is a Hawaiian song that was popular in the early 1980s. The 'Latin Gentlemen' appropriately play it as a bolero, which, of the standard contemporary HPR dance categories, is most like songs of this

slow, dreamy 'Sweet Leilani' type (audio sample 12.2).[12] Its text (which
alternates Hawai'ian and translated English versions), is

> 'Olena leaves, protective leaves
> Hide not your beauty
> Soft whispering trade winds
> Come show your beauty
> Pua 'Olena, Pua 'Olena
> My answer to beauty
> Asleep or awake
> In the wilds of Hanalei
> Pua 'Olena, Pua 'Olena

The HPR dance occasions typically feature an admixture of genres en-
during from the immigrant generation: *vals* (waltz), *seis*, and *guaracha*
(a medium to fast song/dance form of Cuban origin, generally with
light, humorous and/or risqué texts) with others (see below), which
have, sometimes by means of tortuous logic, passed through the 'Jíbaro
filter': the Dominican *merengue*, and the Cuban bolero. Genres currently
popular at any given time serve as ready-made categories to fit the new
repertoire into, often shaping the new piece to the stylistic require-
ments of the pre-existing category. Thus, slow pieces from whatever
source will become boleros, anything in triple meter becomes a waltz,
and many medium or fast tempo pieces become, or are at least referred
to as guarachas. An examination of the performance practice of 'Pua
'Olena' likewise displays embodied acculturation. The cuatro player be-
gan his career on the ukulele, and like many other string players in
Hawai'i can also play 'slack key' guitar, a tradition that employs *scorda-
tura* tunings. Reflecting that influence, he uses a variety of slides, har-
monics, and parallel, fauxbourdon-like effects. The lead singer's vocal
quality is typical of dreamy Hawai'ian pop, with a slow, wide vibrato
and 'airiness' very different from the sharply focused nasality of Jíbaro
music (cf. 'Un Viaje a Nueva York').

I hasten to note that such degrees of hybridisation in repertoire and
especially in the ethnic makeup of the group's personnel are by no
means typical of HPR music making; rather, they embody one pole
which conforms to Hawai'i's projected 'rainbow' image more than it ty-
pically applies to HPR music, which is clearly dominated by exclusively
HPR ensembles, and which conforms much more closely to the rela-
tively marginalised nature of HPR musical culture in Hawai'i.

HPR musical culture and the concept of 'diaspora'

Rather than becoming entangled in a debate as to whether Hawai'i Puerto Ricans are part of a 'migration' or a 'diaspora', I use the latter term in its most general sense, as applied to population movements involving large numbers of some sort of distinct group. Thomas Turino uses the following definitions to 'circumscrib[e...] the concept of diaspora ...' I will examine each of his criteria as they apply to HPRs and their musical culture. They are

> (1) unification around the symbol of a homeland; (2) dispersion to multiple sites across state borders with a subjective consciousness of cultural connections and similarities between them, and often actual interchange; ... (3) the maintenance of relative distinction from the host society for whatever reasons ...; (4) longevity ... when a cultural group moves to a new home and largely assimilates within or two generations it no longer remains part of the diaspora ...; (5) [D]iasporic cultural formations are characterized by hybridity, with practices and ideas drawn from experiences in the home and a variety of host countries (Turino 2004: 6).

Chaliand and Rageau (1995:xiv) offer another criterion, that of 'collectively forced dispersion.' We can discount this latter factor, unless we extend the concept to include economic factors, which lie, to some extent at least, behind virtually every sort of migration, whether diasporic or not.

1 'Unification around the symbol of a homeland'

HPRs, in spite of their long separation from Puerto Rico (over a hundred years for the main migration) have kept alive a concept of homeland, which they maintain primarily through idealised artistic means. As we have seen, the idea of 'homeland' centres around Jíbaro values and images, and certainly refers to a late-19th-century Puerto Rico that was much less homogenised ethnically and culturally than it is today.

In the almost complete absence of physical connections until comparatively recently between HPRs and Puerto Rico, their concept of a 'homeland' has developed in relative isolation, except for the increasingly dim memories inherited from the immigrant generation; in this environment, a highly negotiated connection to the idea of 'Puerto Rico' has developed and been maintained primarily through recordings. HPRs have developed a unique music and dance culture through these means, generally maintaining the idea, throughout, however, that they

have *not* changed in a substantive way, due to their preoccupation (or loyalty, depending on one's viewpoint) to the ideal of remaining Jíbaro. The parameters of that ideal have remained so flexible, however, that they have allowed the development of a unique musical culture whose outlines are at times only dimly recognisable, a process to which we can apply the late American popular oral historian Studs Terkel's waggish, phrase-reversing aphorism that 'the more things stay the same, the more they change'.

We can refer to music and dance forms from the early plantation period, and their appropriate performance media, styles and practices, as a sort of 'deep Jíbaro' musical language. Dances from that time included the *danza*, guaracha, seis, vals, *polca*, *mazurca*, and *Aguinaldo*, a (non-danced) Christmas song. These genres came from the old country, and new pieces were composed in those styles. Other song/dance genres accreted to this nucleus over the years, notably the coastal Afro-Puerto Rican plena in the 1920s, Cuban bolero in the 1930s, and the Dominican merengue in the l950s. All of these subsequent genres, the styles and new instrumentation associated with them, underwent some sort of rationalisation via the 'Jíbaro filter' mentioned above. Of these, the vals, guaracha, seis, bolero, and merengue still comprise the core of any HPR dance, while danzas and plenas are frequently heard, albeit in greatly altered form (usually incorporated within the guaracha category).

Attitudes toward the introduction of unfamiliar musical practices, genres, and instruments have proven complex and often ambiguous. Many members of the immigrant generation, musicians and non-musicians alike, appear in general to have had their musico/aesthetic preferences 'frozen' in the timeframe of that immigration, and were resistant to change. Reasons for this no doubt evolved; they certainly include (1) from the beginning, a kind of defensive 'pulling in': a desire to maintain some stability in the face of their physical and cultural upheaval; and (2) later, when the blandishments of Afro-Latin popular forms from Cuba and other areas began to manifest themselves via recordings, a resistance to these racially charged musical symbols. This process has continued to the present, in which attitudes about contemporary Latin salsa music and dancing, for example, widely diverge.[13]

HPRs, however, readily embraced the Dominican merengue in the 1950s, especially once Jíbaro singers in Puerto Rico began recording them. In the words of one of the staunchest defenders of (what he believed to be) traditional Jíbaro music, 'Merengue is ok, if it's the Jíbaro kind: [Iconic Puerto Rico Jíbaro singing idols] Ramito, Odelio Gonzalez, Chuito ... that's nice; it's not like the Dominican Republic style.' This exemplifies the somewhat tortuous implied rationalisation involved in expanding an acceptable 'Jíbaro' music/dance corpus, which I take the

liberty of paraphrasing as 'if we receive it from the Jíbaros ['no matter the origin of the genre'] it is by definition "Jíbaro."'

Note, however, that it is typical of such material that they adapt from 'Afro' sources (as with Afro-Cuban *rumbas, sones, son montunos* and other genres), HPRs in performance usually eliminate the most overtly 'Afro' features (especially prominent in the *montuno* or *jaleo* second sections of these genres): *ostinato*, call and response, rhythmic complexity, and extensive improvisation. Audio sample 13.3, the *merengue* '*Consigueme Eso*' is in verse/chorus, rather than the more 'Afro' call and response, highly improvised style of much contemporary Caribbean merengue performance (audio sample 12.3).[14] This example features the full, typical contemporary HPR instrumentation of cuatro, guitar, güiro, congas, and electric bass.

2   'Dispersion to multiple sites across state borders with a subjective consciousness of cultural connections and similarities between them, and often actual interchange'

a.   Unidirectional migration

Except for the Portuguese and Puerto Ricans, 'local' group ethnic migrations to Hawai'i were characterised by significant ongoing contact between the homeland and the ultimate destination, and a more or less continuous back and forth flow. Koreans, for example, arrived in two long migrations, between 1903 and 1924 (Chang 2003), when the Immigration Act of 1924, or 'Johnson-Reed Act', which included the 'Asian Exclusion Act', was passed. They started to come again in large numbers after the Immigration Act of 1965, which re-opened the gates. Chinese migrants increased steadily in number from the mid-1800s, and Japanese from the 1880s, until the 1924 Act, and again after 1965. All commonly sent for or returned to their home countries to choose brides, and the Japanese frequently sent their children to Japan for their educations, returning thereafter as *Kibei* (literally 'return to America'). These processes helped maintain ongoing cultural connections.

HPRs, on the other hand, for the most part, lacked any tangible sense of physical interaction with Puerto Rico; from the immigrant generation on, they had little connection with that island and, for that matter, relatively little connection with their own family members on other Hawai'ian islands. They commonly adapted their names to those of the more established Portuguese population (e.g., 'Rodríguez' became 'Rodrigues', 'Díaz' became 'Dias', 'Caraballo' became 'Caravalho', and so forth). Many also manipulated combinations of their dual (matronymic and patronymic) nomenclature – using only one or the other as their sole 'American' family name – creating new identities in order to break their contracts when better opportunities presented themselves,

working on other plantations, often on another island. As a result, 'by the third generation although some people knew that they had blood relatives on one or more of the other islands in the Territory, they [often] did not know how to find each other' (Carr 1989: 184)

Many plantation workers came from a functionally illiterate milieu and did not communicate by mail with their relatives at home. Few had the financial means to visit Puerto Rico, although some returned permanently. The Asian and European immigrant model of 'making good' and returning to the motherland to distribute largesse and/or retire in comfort did not apply to poor Puerto Rican plantation workers with few opportunities for upward mobility. I never met any HPRs with personal connections to Nuyoricans or New York, or, for that matter, with tangible connections to family in Puerto Rico. This strongly contrasts with the situation of New York Puerto Ricans, whose culture has long been paradigmatically one 'of commuting, of a ... back and forth transfer between two intertwining zones [New York and Puerto Rico]' (Flores 1993: 104). Flores borrows Luis Rafael Sánchez' (Sánchez 1987) metaphor of the *guagua aérea* ('air bus') which transports Puerto Ricans, 'a people who float between two ports.'

b. 'Language proficiency, generational distance, and the cessation of
    Spanish text production'
Compared to the prominent Asian local groups, and primarily for the reasons outlined above, Puerto Ricans have experienced a sharp loss of homeland language proficiency. Very few HPRs who are not from the dwindling second generation, mostly born in the 1920s or earlier, can speak or understand Spanish, apart from the many 'cultural signifier' phrases known to most ethnic groups. They lack fresh infusions of native speakers to their community,[15] as well as educational institutions analogous to Japanese, Chinese, and Korean children's language schools.

One of the most respected Puerto Rican musico-literary traditions at the time of the migration, and still today in Puerto Rico, is that of the *trovador*, who composes and improvises complex *décima* poetry to the music of the seis (audio sample 12.4).[16] Hawai'i plantation Puerto Ricans relished these displays and announced them beforehand as pleasurable and culturally affirming community events. Due to the erosion of Spanish in everyday speech, however, the art of improvising décimas has been lost in Hawai'i,[17] and, for that matter, even that of pre-composing songs in Spanish.[18] Performers therefore display verses they have previously learned, sometimes juxtaposing stanzas learned from different sources and narratively unrelated to each other. Note two sets of alternating décima verses from two strikingly different poems, in what would have, 40 years earlier, been termed a *controversía* ('controversy' or

poetic dueling), which I recorded in 1985. One ('*Ser Vago Es Una Carera*') is self-laudatory, extolling the virtues of a loafer's life; the other ('*La Independencia*') exhorts Puerto Rican patriots to fight for independence from the United States of America.[19]

These 'impromptu' décimas satisfy the requirements of the situation in form, rather than content; the controversía process here is a symbolic rather than literally discursive act (also see fig. 12.2[20]). These two singers, now both deceased, came from the second generation and were fluent Spanish speakers, but not to the extent of being able to improvise poetry.

The sonic emotional symbolism and evocative qualities of the seis, with its characteristic structural pauses in the poetry, and the ostinato tonic-subdominant-dominant harmonic progressions are profoundly moving to HPRs, regardless of whether or not they understand Spanish. Note, in this regard, Peter Manuel's relevant and analogous commentary on Indo-Trinidadians, who, although they 'seldom understand the Hindi lyrics ... intuitively recognise the formal structure [of their songs], which carries its own musical momentum and flow' (Manuel 2000: 177), and who 'cherish and enjoy the sound of Hindi for its cultural resonance' (Ibid.: 178).

Even a minimal knowledge of Spanish brings with it some cachet. The few competent Spanish speakers in the musical community, whether of the older generation, younger with circumstantially exceptional exposure to Spanish, or from New York or the Caribbean are valued as singers, translators, text transcribers, or group leaders, as we shall see in the second block quote below.

Another HPR performer in his late 30s discussed his clearly conflicted feelings about Puerto Ricans from the Caribbean, focusing on the language distinction, and maintaining his scrupulousness about proper reproduction of the memorised lyrics:

> They don't think we're Puerto Ricans, because we can't speak Spanish ... but *we* know Puerto Rican music [i.e., traditional Jíbaro music]; *they* don't; the Jíbaros are from the mountains ... [i.e., not like the urban Afro Puerto Ricans and Nuyoricans so much more common among the servicemen].
> I always understand what I sing, not like X [another Hawai'ian musician]. I get help from Y and Z [both Puerto Ricans born in Puerto Rico who have assimilated into the local scene]; they help me with the lyrics [i.e., transcribing them from records]. [On the other hand] X sings the words like he thinks they sound, but I make sure. I tell X, 'what if you're singing, and someone walks in who knows Spanish, and you screw up the lyrics?

3   *'The maintenance of relative distinction from the host society; and*

4   *Longevity ... [without assimilating]'*

Physical isolation during the plantation period laid the groundwork that coalesced with subsequent social/class marginalisation. Many of the sugar plantations were for long periods of time relatively segregated by ethnic group. The resulting 'Japanese camps', 'Filipino camps', 'Puerto Rican camps', etc., were nurturing islands of traditional culture, whatever the ethnic group. Workers lived with their families in company houses and the typical dance occasions during those years were 'house dances' (in the small living rooms) which tended to preserve music and dance practices of the immigrant generation (see fig. 12.3[21]).

Since the 1930s, with the immigrant generation beginning to age, Puerto Ricans began to leave the plantations for urban areas in significant numbers. Most dances documented since the 1930s took place in civic and school gymnasiums, cafeterias, private dance halls, and clubhouses, with consequent profound changes in performance practice and protocol (see fig. 12.4[22]).[23]

Puerto Ricans, as one of the smallest 'local' ethnic groups, have never settled in any Hawai'i urban locale in numbers sufficient enough to justify referring to 'Puerto Rican neighbourhoods' or 'ghettoes'. Their cohesion resulted less from physically proximate critical masses of individuals than from family networks and other social institutions such as the fraternal United Puerto Rican Association of Hawai'i (UPRAH) and the Puerto Rican Heritage Association, active in cultural preservation. Social dancing linked to convivial drinking, whether at gymnasiums, the UPRAH hall, or in clubs and bars, has been of primary importance in nurturing traditional HPR music/dance culture.

The local self-image and an external image both reinforce and subvert group cohesiveness. An important ongoing national trope in Puerto Rico is that of the Jíbaro 'of the mountains' who

> is usually portrayed as a white male whose main influence comes from his Spanish predecessors although he has a tinge of Indian heritage. An African contribution to the jíbaro is never acknowledged or emphasized ... (Dávila 1997: 71-72, citing works on the Jíbaro as far apart chronologically as Alonso, originally published in 1849, and Laguerre 1968).

In Puerto Rico, Jíbaro cultural symbols, especially their stereotypical dress, food, and music are valued, but they are themselves often stereotypically derided in Puerto Rico for their 'backward' characteristics. They are also lauded for their stubbornness, feistiness, self-sufficiency,

hardiness, individuality, and hospitality. These are the very values that HPRs hold most dear, and constantly reiterate in discussions about Puerto Rico, their ancestors both in Puerto Rico and Hawai'i, their ability to cope with the vicissitudes of the migration to Hawai'i, the plantation period, and their relationship to other segments of American society.

Other ethnic groups in Hawai'i, however, often interpret these personal qualities as 'touchiness' and volatility,[24] which, along with their captivating dance music, and one or two tasty food items (such as *pasteles*, similar to *tamales*), have provided the enduring image of HPRs.[25] Although HPRs accept the combative stereotype with varying degrees of humor or even pride, many have as a result felt marginalised and defensive about their ethnic identity, and this has clearly contributed to a certain closing of cultural ranks.

5 *'Diasporic cultural formations are characterised by hybridity, with practices and ideas drawn from experiences in the home and a variety of host countries.'*

a. Adaption of non-Puerto Rican repertoire into the 'acceptable' corpus
Turino's final criterion applies generously to HPR music and dance production. By the 1930s, excepting the smaller 1921 labour importation, musicians had been culturally isolated from Puerto Rico for three decades. Plantation stores stocked Latin 78rpm records in small numbers, sometimes making special orders. These Latin American recordings that were available in Hawai'i were for the most part produced in Mexico, Cuba, or New York, where the largest Latin American recording studios were. Old pieces 'learned from their parents' apparently still formed the nucleus of the early 1930s repertoire. However, as we have seen, the creation of new compositions became increasingly rare, due to language assimilation. Thus, recordings were important in expanding the corpus, ultimately comprising the basis for most of the new repertoire.

Very few of the 78s reaching Hawai'i featured Jíbaro genres. Caught between a drastically declining local creative production and the lack of Jíbaro recordings, HPRs had to adapt repertoire. It is a measure of their allegiance to a traditional repertoire that HPRs forced such vital and distinctive genres as Mexican *corridos* and Cuban popular orchestral rumbas, sones and other genres onto the procrustean bed of the plantation-style guaracha, and adapted numerous Mexican and south American waltzes (the latter often creolised varieties such as the *marinera*, *pasillo*, or *vals criollo*), and Mexican narrative corridos and emotional barroom-style *rancheras* as much more sedate Jíbaro waltzes.

b. Musical instruments and hybridity

The guitar, güiro, and cuatro (in some form or other) have remained at the core of most music-making within the Puerto Rican community for over 90 years. In the 1990s, the standard ensemble consists of this same trio (cuatro and Spanish guitar now electrified) plus electric bass guitar, and bongó and/or conga drums (see fig. 12.5[26]).

Changes as accretions to the nucleus have occurred selectively in reaction to both internal and external circumstances and have continued up to the present. Along with Hawai'i material and agri-culture,[27] the most important influences are musical developments among Hispanics in the Caribbean and the U.S. mainland, and stylistic and technological developments in American jazz. The trajectory of one instrument, the cuatro, in its various avatars and surrogate forms, exemplifies this adaptation/rationalisation process.

By the mid-1930s, younger, Hawai'i-born musicians were forsaking the 'old cuatro' (in Puerto Rico 'cuatro antiguo'; in Hawai'i 'keyhole cuatro' because of its resemblance to an old-fashioned keyhole; see fig. 12.6[28]) for tenor guitar (hereafter 'tenor'), which became the standard lead instrument by the end of the decade.

The adoption by Puerto Ricans of the tenor slightly antedates that development in more mainstream American popular music. In American jazz bands, the four-stringed plectrum tenor banjo of the 1920s, played in the rapidly strummed 'Five Foot Two' manner, was ultimately displaced by the f-hole 'archtop' guitar, a louder instrument capable of being heard in larger ensembles. Many erstwhile banjo players used the four-string tenor guitar as a transitional instrument. An increasing number of guitar makers offered tenor versions of various models. See fig. 12.7[29].

A variety of tenors were thus readily and relatively cheaply available, or adaptable from baritone ukeleles and many kinds of guitars.

The familiarity of the tenor's four-string format may have attracted Puerto Ricans used to four-string (and/or four-double course) cuatros. The loudness, easy availability (relative to the old keyhole cuatro, which one could not buy in Hawai'i, and which was extinct everywhere else), and prestige of a 'modern', 'American' instrument may also have served as an added inducement.

HPRs began forsaking the tenor for the modern, curvaceous, 'violin-like' cuatro with ten strings (five double courses tuned in fourths) in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This instrument had been evolving in Puerto Rico ever since the migration of 1901, but had neither been seen frequently nor made a significant impression upon Hawai'ian Puerto Ricans. When they began travelling to Puerto Rico in the 1960s, becoming more aware of it and its capabilities, and finding ways to acquire it,

they began to readily switch from the tenor. By the 1980s most musicians played the modern cuatro. See fig. 12.8[30].

That Hawai'ian Puerto Ricans had either not been aware of, or had ignored this instrument for the approximately 50 years after it had appeared in some form in Puerto Rico (and, inevitably, in New York, which had a vigorous and on-going symbiotic relationship with the home island), is testimony to their isolation. Clearly, the actual and/or perceived advantages[31] of the 5-course *cuatro plus*, an enhanced 'Jíbaro' image stimulated a mass defection from the tenor.

Conclusion

We have seen how an immigrant people based their musico/aesthetic choices on a certain ethnic self-image, creating a rigid yet mutable set of criteria, which informed their repertoire, musical instruments, and performance practice. The Puerto Rican immigration to Hawai'i in the early 1900s, consisting mainly of highland Jíbaro peasant farmers, preceded the geographic and cultural integration in Puerto Rico of highland 'whites' and lowland 'blacks'. This integration in Puerto Rico and later New York resulted in Latin popular musics of great vitality, which by-passed the Hawai'i Puerto Ricans. The Hawai'i 'diasporic Jíbaro' community felt itself triply distinct culturally: first, as immigrants cut off from communication with their homeland, far off in another ocean; later as 'white' maintainers of a perceived Iberian background faced with the musical hegemony of an Africanised Cuba; and finally, through economic and class isolation and a relative lack of upward mobility.

They dealt with these perceptions by iconicising certain genres that were most symbolically charged for them and 'de-Africaning' more racially charged genres such as the Afro-Puerto Rican plena, and Afro-Cuban rumba and son so as to render them acceptable. HPR musicians were essentially without contact with Puerto Rico for five decades. That they consistently adapted a wide variety of non-Jíbaro musics, some as different as the Mexican corrido, to their symbolically central genres is a tribute to the vitality and importance of those genres. Through the adaptation process they were able to both maintain ethnic identity and channel their creativity from the generation of material in an old traditional style to the imaginative reinterpretation of 'exotic' materials.

The contacts that were finally re-established between Hawai'i and Puerto Rico in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in a resurgence of traditionalism in musical repertoire, style, and instrumentation. The coalescence and adaptation of a repertoire, which had insured the survival of musical ethnic identity during this hiatus had, however, become

integral processes in the creation of a distinct Hawai'i Puerto Rican musical dialect. While they believed themselves to be steadfast in maintaining Jíbaro tradition, we have seen how that very conservatism has served to reinforce the continuing vitality of Hawai'i's Puerto Rican musical diaspora.

Notes

1   The last surviving 1900 immigrant, brought to Hawai'i as an infant, died in the 1990s.
2   See Solís 1995: passim.
3   Fig. 12.1: Typical Hawai'i Puerto Rican plantation trio: Charlie Vegas, (modern) *cuatro*; Virgina Rodrigues, *güiro*; August Rodrigues, guitar (left to right). Lawai, island of Kaua'i 19 July 1991. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
4   'Borinque', pronounced 'Brinkee' in Hawai'i, is a common nickname for local Puerto Ricans. *Borinquen* was the indigenous Taino Indian word for Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans sometimes use it in poetic reference to their island and often refer to themselves as *Borinqueños*.
5   The leader prevailed upon me to allow *bongó* drums in the recording, in a nod to contemporary practice.
6   Audio sample 12.1: 'Un Viaje a Nueva York.' From Solís 1994. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
7   The *décima* is a traditional Iberian ten-line, octosyllabic or hexasyllabic poetic form found throughout Latin America. The most common in Puerto Rico is the *décima espinela,* whose rhyme scheme is ABBAACCDDC. (Lines 1, 4, and 5 rhyme, as do 2 and 3; 6, 7, and 10; and 8 and 9.)
8   Ruth Glasser (Glasser 1995: passim) is the definitive study of this musical displacement in the New York context.
9   See Manuel 1994 for an extensive treatment of this concept as applied to a broad spectrum of Puerto Rican musical forms.
10 I recorded this 1989 Smithsonian/Folkways album, *Puerto Rican Music in Hawaii: Kachi-Kachi*, in a very different spirit from that of Solís 1994, which includes 'Un Viaje a Nueva York'. Here it was my aim to present a wide spectrum of Hawai'ian Puerto Rican musical life, with both contemporary and more traditional genres, performance practices, and instrumentation, in a variety of contexts.
11 Filipinos in Hawai'i have no other Southeast Asian co-ethnics with whom to create cultural alliances, but share an Iberian cultural background with Puerto Ricans (the Philippines having been a colony of Spain for some 350 years), including many Spanish names, aspects of adapted cuisine, Roman Catholicism, and a notable love for lyrical, romantic Latin music. HPRs note the frequent enthusiastic presence of Filipinos at their dances. Some Portuguese, as well, have participated in HPR music, having been exposed to it during the plantation period when many supervisors were Portuguese. I have not encountered any data as to whether Puerto Ricans and Portuguese commonly communicated on plantations through their closely related Iberian languages.
12 Audio sample 12.2: 'Pua 'Olena.' Excerpt. With permission from Smithsonian Folkways (www.si.edu/folkways). http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
13 At any given time, two or three *salsa* bands mostly composed of Latino servicemen exist in Honolulu, playing largely at service clubs. These dances are advertised in the

networks of local Puerto Ricans, who attend these dances only sporadically. See Solís 1995 for more information about local attitudes toward *salsa* instruments and music.

14 Audio sample 12.3: 'Consigueme Eso.' Excerpt. With permission from Smithsonian Folkways (www.si.edu/folkways). http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

15 Latino immigrants have in general not formed cultural alliances with the HPR community, nor have for the most part even the many Caribbean Puerto Rican and Nuyorican military who have been stationed in Hawai'i been able to do so. See Solís 1989 for an example of this HPR resistance to significant integration with non-HPR Puerto Ricans.

16 Audio sample 12.4: 'Seis Con Décimas.' Excerpt. With permission from Smithsonian Folkways (www.si.edu/folkways). http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

17 Roberta Singer attests to the rarity of *décimeros* (*décima* extemporisers) even among the largely bilingual Nuyorican population (personal communication, 1994); functional bilingualism by no means provides the linguistic and culturally referential erudition considered the *trovador's* stock in trade.

18 One of the very few Spanish song texts composed by a Hawai'i Puerto Rican in recent years is the late Louis Rodrigues' (b. 1925) charming but relatively simple *plena 'Una Palomita',* which can be heard on Solís 1994.

19 Solís 1989, audio sample no. 16. The button accordion heard here along with guitar, *güiro,* and *maracas,* was popular on the plantations as a lead instrument, and is now all but extinct in Hawai'i. For another example of this 'pseudo-*controversía*' with unrelated 'dueling' verses, see Solís 1994, audio sample no. 3, *'Group Seis Chorreao'.* Margaret Sarkissian notes a similar process in the Portuguese/Malay Malacca settlement, where singers no longer 'duel' with improvised verses in the *branyo* genre, but rather 'collect and memorise fixed verses which they juxtapose without particular attention to textual continuity' (Sarkissian 2000: 115).

20 Fig. 12.2: Exchanging vocal *décimas*: Charlie Figueroa, *sinfonía* (button accordion); Virginia Rodrigues, *güiro*; August Rodrigues, guitar; Wayne Rodrigues, *maracas*. Makakilo, island of Oahu, 21 July 1985. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

21 Fig. 12.3: Reconstructed plantation workers' home 'Hawai'i Plantation Village', island of Oahu, 6 January 1994. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

22 Fig. 12.4: Waltzing at Silva's Ballroom; band is 'Silva's Rhumba Kings', Honolulu, 1950s. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

23 With much larger spaces and greater numbers of participants than in the living rooms in which house dances were once held, dances began to feature sound systems and amplified instruments, and the elaborate politesse necessitated by close spaces and intimate numbers of participants gave way to more 'American' dance behavior codes.

24 Carr (Carr 1989: passim) spends a good deal of time in attempting to refute local stereotypes about HPRs.

25 Ingrid Monson speaks of the downside of this essentialised recognition: 'To the extent that the recognised achievements of black people are confined to music ... this very point of cultural pride also serves to fuel stereotyped notions of the essential black subject, whose 'natural' intuitive, emotional, and rhythmic gifts define her or his possibilities' (Monson 2003: 2).

26 Fig. 12.5: Full modern Hawai'i Puerto Rican ensemble. Rose Santiago, guitar; Angel Santiago, *cuatro*; Eddie Troche, *bongós*; Ken Padilla, *güiro*; Joe Medina, electric bass. Kalaheo, island of Kaua'i, 2 July 1991. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

27 We can see, for example, that varieties of local gourds affected the availability and construction of *guiro* and *maracas,* the latter of which were popular from the late 1930s through the 50s, under the influence of recordings and Hollywood depictions of Cuban music and dancing.

28 Fig. 12.6: Natalio Santiago, 'old' ('keyhole') *cuatro*, with unknown guitarist. Hawai'i, late 1910's or early 1920's. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

29 Fig. 12.7: Raymond Galarza, with tenor based on baritone ukulele; Ricky Castillo, electric bass; *güiro* and guitar unknown. Wailua, island of Kaua'i, 15 July 1990. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

30 Fig. 12.8: George Ayala, with Martin tenor, left, and modern *cuatro*, right. Honolulu, 9 August 1985. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

31 E.g., more strings, more harmonics, a potential for wider chords, a greater choice of string combinations with more complex voicings.

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13   Performing Austronesia in the Twenty-first Century

A Rapa Nui Perspective on Shared Culture and Contact

Dan Bendrups

Introduction

Easter Island (Rapa Nui) represents the southeast corner of the 'Polynesian triangle' serving as a boundary marker in the conceptualisation of Austronesia as a geo-cultural space. It is an island with a contested history in global literatures, serving as the basis for a range of credible and incredible theories about human society, culture and conduct, and its megalithic stonework pervades global popular culture. Up until the mid-20th century, the antiquity of Polynesian settlement on Rapa Nui was questioned, with comparisons drawn more to the material cultures of the Americas (cf. Heyerdahl 1989). While more recent research has confirmed the Polynesian origins of Rapa Nui society (Fischer 2005; Hagelberg et al. 1994), the status of Rapa Nui as Chilean territory since 1888 and the enduring Chilean cultural and political influence over Rapa Nui since that time has generated a social climate in which Polynesian and Latin American influences are mixed, and much of the cultural activity undertaken by contemporary indigenous culture bearers involves the unravelling of these entwined influences.

All extant studies of Rapa Nui performance culture confirm the Polynesian characteristics of precontact Rapa Nui music and dance (cf. Campbell 1988; 1971; González 1998; Loyola 1988). These performance practices have helped Rapa Nui islanders to communicate with other Polynesians throughout their history. Rapa Nui islanders celebrate their shared heritage with other Polynesian cultures, as their linguistic and cultural commonalities help them to assert their cultural identity and independence in the context of Chilean political sovereignty. Since the turn of the 21st century, as the capacity of Rapa Nui islanders to communicate and travel internationally has dramatically increased, so too have Rapa Nui performers begun to look beyond the neighbouring islands of Polynesia into other Austronesian areas in search of new

audiences with whom to build relationships and draw closer. Music and dance, more than any other aspects of Rapa Nui culture, have facilitated this search, as it is through performance that Rapa Nui islanders are able to communicate with those with whom they do not share a close linguistic, political or historical bond. In this way, contemporary Rapa Nui performers have forged meaningful contact with indigenous performers in places like Taiwan and Borneo, far removed from Polynesia but linked by an ancient shared Austronesian heritage.

This chapter presents an account of contemporary Rapa Nui engagement with Austronesia through music and dance, focussing on the work of the prominent performance ensemble Matato'a. In order to contextualise the significance of this group's contribution to Rapa Nui cultural identity, this chapter firstly provides an overview of Rapa Nui's changing status in the Pacific over the course of the 20th century, and then explains the process by which traditional (precontact) Rapa Nui music has been maintained, modified and modernised over the last century. It then demonstrates the ways in which the musicians and dancers of Matato'a have drawn on these traditions in constructing their own performance identities to share with others in various Pacific contexts. Descriptions of these interactions are drawn from the 2008 Festival of Pacific Arts in Pago Pago, American Samoa, where Matato'a comprised the main part of the Rapa Nui delegation.[1]

The information in this chapter reflects an eight-year period of ethnographic research and engagement with Rapa Nui performance culture, including numerous encounters with Matato'a in a range of performance contexts. My engagement with Matato'a has been as a scholar (Bendrups 2006), a performer, a friend and advocate of the group, whose international professional trajectory is remarkable considering the limited opportunities for commercial performance offered by their island home. The international success of Matato'a demonstrates the complexity of contemporary discourse regarding cultural identity in the Pacific, where issues of authenticity (Jolly 1992), exchange and cultural borrowing (Moulin 1996), modernisation and globalisation (Lawrence and Niles 2001; Stillman 1999) have been raised. Indeed, the expectations and implications of performing internationally have in some ways guided the choices of Matato'a regarding the inclusion, exclusion, rendering and format of performance items. The implications of these choices are discussed later in this chapter. The theoretical framework for the research presented in this chapter draws on the theorisation of festivals as sites of cultural engagement (Manning 1983; Stevenson 1990; Stillman 1996) and the idea of cultural performance as an area of scholarly enquiry within the field of musicology. These areas are pertinent to the investigation of Matato'a in the context of Austronesia because performance is the

method by which Matato'a communicates with others, and festivals provide the contexts in which this communication happens.

Rapa Nui in cultural context

Current scholarship suggests a settlement date around the seventh or eighth century AD for Rapa Nui, probably resulting from the explorations of Mangarevan voyagers (Fischer 2005: 17-18). By the time of the first documented European contact in the 18th century, there was little evidence to suggest that the Rapa Nui islanders maintained contact routes to other parts of the Pacific, though the possibility that the island was part of a Polynesian network extending to the Americas at some point in its history cannot be totally discounted (Fischer 2005: 20). The population encountered by Dutch navigator Jacob Rogeveen in 1722 were, essentially, isolated, and this isolation led to spectacular local variances in pan-Polynesian cultural practices, best represented by the island's famous moai statues (moai aringa ora, or 'living faces' of the ancestors). Given this isolation, the Rapa Nui encounter with European navigators, then missionaries, and the access to the outside world that these agents of change provided, is of high significance to the construction of Rapa Nui history and identity.

The near annihilation of the Rapa Nui population in the mid-19th century at the hands of slave traders has been well documented (Maude 1981), as has the subsequent introduction of Christianity to the island (Englert 1964). Mission activities on Rapa Nui were initially directed from Tahiti, and, as a consequence, a new era of cultural contact between Rapa Nui and missions in French Polynesia eventuated. This renewed contact with French Polynesia stimulated an emerging sense of cultural identity for Rapa Nui in the 1870s and 1880s. The emigration of hundreds of Rapa Nui to work on mission stations in the Tuamotus in the 1870s ensured that, even after the incorporation of Rapa Nui into Chilean territory in 1888, there remained strong cultural and genealogical links to elsewhere in Polynesia.

From 1888 to 1966, Rapa Nui was administered by Chile without any real regard for the needs of its human population (cf. Porteous 1981). In 1966, however, the Chilean government gave full citizenship to Rapa Nui islanders, and in each decade since, the pace of modernisation and the extent of Chilean cultural influence on Rapa Nui has accelerated. Rapa Nui islanders are taught Spanish at school, though Rapa Nui language programs are increasingly included in local education curricula. Spanish is used for all official communication, and Chilean cultural influences saturate mass media and popular culture on Rapa Nui. In response, advocates of indigenous Rapa Nui culture are developing ever

more creative mechanisms for the preservation of indigenous language and culture, particularly though the fostering of youth culture. A recent example is the comic book series Naz y Rongo begun in 2006 by the Rapa Nui ECHO Foundation and distributed free to school age children around the island.[2]

Historical links to French Polynesia helped to refocus Rapa Nui interests towards the Pacific in the latter half of the 20th century, and were strengthened through the increasing availability of air transport after 1970. Some Rapa Nui islanders maintain close contact with family members in Tahiti, others own tracts of Tahitian land that they have claimed on behalf of the families of the islanders who migrated there in the 1870s. Since the 1970s, international tourism has also played a role in reframing Rapa Nui as an integral part of Polynesia. Tourists often visit Rapa Nui on itineraries that include other Pacific islands, and the weekly flights now operated by Chilean national airline LAN between Santiago and Papeete via Rapa Nui provide a consistent, reliable route for commercial, social and cultural exchange.

The 21st century Rapa Nui population is, therefore, well connected to two distinct fields of cultural influence. On the one hand, Chile provides Rapa Nui islanders with opportunities for education, employment, and access to the cultural landscape of the Hispanic world. On the other hand, historically-embedded links to French Polynesia facilitate Rapa Nui access to wider Oceania, where they have encountered and internalised the discourses of cultural identity that characterise the region's post-colonial history. This broad framework of access and exchange underpins the development, consolidation and internationalisation of Rapa Nui performance culture.

Rapa Nui music and dance traditions

Like many other Pacific islands, Rapa Nui has undergone a cultural revival where music and dance have played a significant role in the preservation and revitalisation of culture. More than just entertainment, Rapa Nui performance practices are significant for the ritual traditions embedded in performance, the unique signifiers of indigeneity that the music conveys, and the ancient language encapsulated in traditional songs and chants. The ability of music to serve as a vehicle for language revitalisation in the Pacific has been well documented in the Hawaiian context (Lewis 1984; Silva 1990), and traditional Rapa Nui music serves a similar function in formal and informal educative contexts. Meanwhile, the entertainment value of performance in a tourist-oriented economy (Stanton 2003) has fostered the maintenance and development of perceived traditional performance practices for this

context as well. Presently, music plays an important role in social events and traditional ceremonies, occurring alongside tourist-oriented cultural shows and other sophisticated forays into the international popular music market. The island's live music scene presents a vibrant milieu of musical influence, from the most ancient of ceremonial chants to localised rock, reggae and pan-Polynesian pop. Rapa Nui musicians seek to express themselves culturally and personally through music, often drawing on a mixture of traditional musical practices, and materials from the global influences of transnational popular music styles.

In precontact Rapa Nui tradition, music fulfilled educative, ceremonial and celebratory roles. Poetic song texts provided a medium for the transmission of oral tradition pertaining to cultural history, such as chants recounting the island's settlement, as well as ceremonial practices, such as ceremonies for making rain (cf. Englert 2002). Meanwhile, public songs provided a forum for social commentary, critique, and festivity. Terminology exists for a variety of festival types, known collectively as *koro*, particularly relating to life-cycle celebrations such as the veneration of the recently deceased (called *koro paina*) and the induction of adolescents into adult society (called *paina tuhi renga*). Songs, meanwhile, function as the medium for declarations of praise (called *hakakio*), insult and ridicule (called *ei*), or expressions of deep emotion (i.e, song genres such as *riu tangi, ate manava mate, ate manava more*).

On Rapa Nui, recitational chants (often accompanied with *kai kai* string figures) are known as *patautau*, and are considered the most ancient of Rapa Nui music styles. Sung texts are called *riu*, although this label is not always applied, and these are sometimes drawn from longer sections of patautau, or newly composed for special occasions. In ancient times, performances often centred on ensembles comprised of male and female voices and led by a *hatu*, or ensemble director. On certain occasions, the ensemble would be accompanied by a unique ground drum called a *pukeho*, which consists of two deep chambers separated by a slate sounding board, and struck by a standing performer's feet or with a wooden pole. Other ensemble members added to the rhythmic texture by striking rounded stones (*ma'ea poro*) of various sizes. Following the introduction of horses to Rapa Nui in the 1860s, the horse-jaw rattle (*kauaha*) was incorporated into this rhythmic texture.

Missionaries arrived on Rapa Nui in the 1860s, bringing Tahitian hymn tunes and establishing *himene* as a facet of local performance. Tahitian ute was also introduced around this time, developing unique Rapa Nui characteristics, but retaining the basic structure and tonal organisation of *ute* in the Cook Islands and Society Islands (cf. McLean 1999). By the 1920s, accordions (*upa upa*) were a fixed component of

Rapa Nui music, and, since 1939, the guitar has become the dominant force in Rapa Nui musical life, and guitar tonality and strumming patterns became important facets of tonal and rhythmic organisation in group performance. Contemporary hatu often play guitar themselves, thus maintaining a leadership role in performances.

Early gramophone recordings brought the tango to Rapa Nui in the 1930s. The local version of tango dancing (somewhat distinct from Argentinean *tango platense*) is now regarded a specialist art. In the 1940s and 50s, larger string bands developed alongside *aparima dances* (Tahitian-inspired action dances), becoming the mainstay of contemporary music practices. The Rapa Nui stringband repertoire has drawn on both Tahitian and Chilean musical influences. Finally, the extended presence of North American troops in the 1960s brought rock music to Rapa Nui, and musicians from this era onward have sought to emulate rock models, incorporating verse-chorus and AABA song structures, guitar techniques, and aspects of rock imagery into live performances (cf. Bendrups 2006; 2009).

Since the 1970s, Rapa Nui musicians have had increased contact with other Polynesians through events such as the quadrennial Pacific Arts Festival, and cultural performance troupes have received Chilean government sponsorship for international performances since 1973. On Rapa Nui itself, tourist-oriented venues provide performance spaces for a number of ensembles and most of the musicians who are well respected locally can be found performing live in a variety of ensemble combinations. Their music ranges from representations of traditional Rapa Nui culture by groups such as Kari Kari and Polinesia, to the more overtly pop-inspired music of Topatangi, Varua, and numerous young singer-songwriters. While it is tourism that sustains these performances, musicians clearly aim to satisfy local aesthetics, either by laying claim to accuracy of traditional representation, or through the creation of entirely new musical combinations. Over time, these initiatives have been met with varying degrees of acceptance and rejection within the Rapa Nui community, but the underlying interplay between tradition and innovation provides a firm basis for the exploration and expression of Rapa Nui cultural identity.

Matato'a in local context

Within the Rapa Nui cultural performance scene, the contemporary ensemble Matato'a (literally 'Eye of the Warrior', or in their own more elaborate translation, 'The Watchful Eye of the Warrior'[3]) stands out as one of the most prominent and successful. Their prominence is reflected not only in their on-island profile and local popularity, but also in their

international tours encompassing a wide range of festivals in Oceania, Asia, the Americas and Europe. Their success is reflected in the fact that they have managed to survive for more than a decade on funds earned from performances and merchandising. They have self-produced five commercial CDs during this time, recorded another two CDs produced and distributed by EMI and Mangrove, and have contributed songs to compilation recordings in Chile, Germany and New Caledonia. In 2007, the husband and wife managers of Matato'a opened a Belgian-Pacific fusion themed restaurant on Rapa Nui as a means of diversifying their income, but even this initiative is centred on the ensemble as the top floor of the restaurant is intended to provide a performance space for Matato'a to run dinner and show evenings for tourists.

The performance format for Matato'a draws from frameworks established by Rapa Nui performers in the 1970s and 80s. The group's founding members were involved in earlier cultural performance troupes in their youth, and drew much of their musical inspiration from the repertoire and influence of the generation of Rapa Nui performers who were popular in the early 1980s. The emblematic singer-songwriter Sergio 'Kio' Teao Atan was a major influence on his nephew Keva Atan, the founder of Matato'a and a member of the generation of Rapa Nui musicians who were active in the early 1990s. In 1996, Keva was amongst a group of young Rapa Nui musicians who were contracted by Chilean national television station TVN to perform and record a theme song for TVN's forthcoming soap opera *Iorana*, which was based on Rapa Nui with Rapa Nui-inspired themes. The Rapa Nui musicians were flown to Santiago, Chile, for the recording, and took advantage of this opportunity to market their performance repertoire to a Chilean audience, adopting the name Matato'a for their band. By 1998, Matato'a had consolidated into a thematically focussed and commercially viable popular ensemble with a repertoire that fused influences from traditional Rapa Nui music with rock band instruments, rock and reggae stylistic frameworks, and Latin American instruments frequently used in Chilean popular music such as conga and bombo drums.[4]

From their initial success in 1998, Matato'a evolved into a streamlined troupe capable of high quality stage productions. While Matato'a view the preservation of cultural heritage as the principal goal of their existence, they regard modern instruments and transnational genres as the tools for achieving this. The traditional aspects of their performances include the use of *ta kona* body paint, particular choreographic routines, and specific song forms and song texts. Like their stringband forebears of the 1970s and 80s, their dances are often modelled on pan-Polynesian *aparima* style performances, usually limited to a small troupe of four or eight well-rehearsed dancers, accompanied by up to eight musicians. This formation

functions well for festival touring as the number of participants is limited and easier to coordinate than the groups of up to 30 performers that assemble for festivals on Rapa Nui. All of the instruments and voices in Matato'a performances are amplified, which facilitates an alternation between songs from their traditional repertoire and original material composed in rock or reggae formats.

In the early 2000s, the group's leader, Keva Atan, lived in New Caledonia, writing songs and organising tours for the ensemble in absentia. Meanwhile, the ensemble maintained (and maintains) a core membership of three or four musicians on Rapa Nui and a floating membership of other musicians and dancers who drop in or out of the group depending on their availability to tour. Keva's songwriting absorbed new stylistic influences in New Caledonia, drawing on Melanesian and European popular styles that were not so readily accessible on Rapa Nui. The demo tracks he recorded and sent back to Rapa Nui were then worked on by his musical counterparts, resulting in songs that demonstrated the effects of both localisation and internationalisation. The internationalised aspects of these songs include elements such as extensive guitar and harmonica pairings, extensive manipulation of a commercial reggae style and the consolidation of a rock band backing of guitar, drums and bass. The localised aspects include the continued use of the Rapa Nui language, and the insertion of songs, song texts and performance characteristics drawn form traditional Rapa Nui music practises. As a result, the ensemble has forged a successful career at home while still being accessible to international audiences.

By the time of their second CD *Here Ma'ohi* (1999), a tendency towards social critique had crept into the subtext of Matato'a songs and performances with songs like E u'i ('Watch Out') which was an attempt to engage positively with troubled Rapa Nui youth. Subsequently, the continuing efforts of Matato'a to learn and adapt traditional Rapa Nui songs and dances has resulted in a refocussing of the ensemble's artistic vision towards local cultural heritage needs on Rapa Nui. The more their international image relies on the symbols of Rapa Nui culture that they utilise, the more their awareness of cultural heritage preservation issues on Rapa Nui has developed. This has included efforts such as the improvement of their Rapa Nui language skills, providing bi-lingual (Spanish and Rapa Nui) explanations of their performance pieces, and adopting an educationalist framework within what is otherwise a high production value performance repertoire intended for the international world music festival circuit.

Festivals as frameworks for Austronesian cultural contact

The main conduit through which Matato'a has been able to export Rapa Nui culture to a global audience has been through participation at festivals. In the Pacific context, festivals play a vital role in the maintenance of culture and identity. Festivals were prominent in many precontact (traditional) cultures in Oceania, and their traditional performance frameworks were effectively adopted by the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) in the 1970s with the creation of the quadrennial Festival of Pacific Arts. Festivals continue to occupy an important place in the annual calendars of many Pacific islands, serving to commemorate important dates from precontact and colonial historical periods, and they also provide an important reference point for the tourist economy that so many small islands rely on for their prosperity and survival.

As I have argued elsewhere (Bendrups 2008), festivals act as dynamic cultural 'contact zones', a term used by historian Mary Pratt to describe the processes of change, assimilation, revitalisation and adaptation that are the inevitable accompaniment to cultural contact in the Pacific. While Pratt's focus is on historical incidents of contact, such as processes of colonisation, the term is also useful for understanding contemporary cultural processes eventuating from intercultural contact in a contemporary Pacific that is subject to mass media and mass tourism directed from affluent, populous nations. Festivals also act as contact zones for interaction and engagement between Pacific islanders of different ethnic origin, and this is equally true for festivals that span the Austronesian diaspora, as indicated in the following examples. Matato'a have been invited to perform on at least two occasions in festivals that specifically reflect the idea of Austronesia as a contemporary geo-cultural zone of shared cultural heritage. The first of these was the 2002 Rainforest World Music Festival in Sarawak, Borneo. This annual festival was advertised as an event to unite world musicians from all continents with indigenous musicians from Borneo:

> The three-day festival is held at the Sarawak Cultural Village, a living museum where the traditional habitats of Sarawak's major ethnic groups have been lovingly reproduced. Set amid lush rainforest greenery at the foothills of jungle clad Mount Santubong, and a stone's throw away from the beach resorts of the Santubong peninsula, the village provides the ideal venue for this festival that celebrates nature, ethnic music and the indigenous cultures of the world (Jun Lin 2002).

The participation of Matato'a in the 2002 festival was described in a festival press release as their reconnection to an Austronesian cultural heritage:

> Being of Austronesian stock, and at the easternmost extremity of the great Austronesian maritime migrations that for centuries spanned the globe from Madagascar to Easter Island, the Rapa Nui are in fact long lost cousins of the ancestors of the people of Borneo. It will be an amazing meeting of the long separated cultures when Matato'a arrives in Sarawak, where they will be able to recognize some common cultural traits with the cultures of Borneo (Jun Lin 2002).

The second Austronesian-focussed festival in which Matato'a participated was the 2002 Festival of Austronesian Cultures in Taitung, Taiwan. The Festival of Austronesian Cultures explicitly engages in the conceptualisation of Taiwan as the assumed point of origin of the Austronesian diaspora, and the southeast province of Taitung as the gateway to the indigenous cultures of Taiwan (Taitung County includes the ancestral lands of the Bunun, Paiwan, Rukai, Amis, Beinan, Yamis and Gamalan peoples). Jointly organised by the Taitung county government and the National Museum of Prehistory in Taitung, the 2002 Festival of Austronesian Cultures was the third to be held and featured performers from both Rapa Nui and Madagascar, representing the widest extent of Austronesian migration.[5]

Matato'a at the 2008 Festival of Pacific Arts

In 2008, Matato'a were selected by Rapa Nui authorities to represent Rapa Nui at the Festival of Pacific Arts (FPA) in Pago Pago, American Samoa. Some members of Matato'a had performed at previous Pacific Arts festivals, but on this occasion, the 20-member delegation included a cohort of younger dancers and musicians who had not experienced the FPA, nor experienced significant engagement with other Pacific islanders. Many of these young delegates were recent graduates or current students of Chilean universities and had spent the last three or four years living in a non-Polynesian cultural framework in Santiago. This included one recent law graduate and others who were intending to occupy important public service positions on Rapa Nui. Their involvement in the FPA was, therefore, a significant contribution to their developing conceptualisation of the Pacific and their own place within it.

The Rapa Nui delegation was housed, along with many other delegations, in a seminary school complex of buildings surrounding a central

church and open lawn area. While small in number compared to some other delegations, their presence was marked by two flags hanging above the doorway of their allocated space: an official Chilean flag, and an unofficial Rapa Nui flag, or *reva rei miro*, in red and white. An elder member of the Rapa Nui delegation had insisted on displaying the Chilean flag as the official symbol of the country that had sponsored their participation. However, younger members of the delegation became increasingly uncomfortable with this representation over the course of the festival as they became more familiar with representatives from independent and self-governing Pacific states and began to appreciate the political frameworks that these other islanders enjoyed.

While keen participants, the Rapa Nui initially seemed marginalised within the context of the 2008 FPA for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC), while welcoming Rapa Nui participation, has never included any formal Rapa Nui representation within the organisation. Official SPC maps do not include Rapa Nui, and Rapa Nui demographics do not feature in SPC statistics. Therefore, Rapa Nui remains peripheral to the very organisation that runs the FPA, despite consistent Rapa Nui attendance at these festivals since the mid-1970s. Secondly, all festival communication was relayed in French and English, but Rapa Nui is the only Polynesian island where neither of these languages is predominant. Rapa Nui participation in festival meetings and planning events therefore required extra levels of translation, which occasionally resulted in frustration and misunderstanding both for them and for the local hosts allocated to take care of them. Thirdly, the very revealing costumes (see fig. 13.2[6]) that the Rapa Nui wore for their traditional performances (as well as bare-breasted performances from the PNG delegation) became a topic of public controversy among conservative Christian critics, which was only partially mediated by public announcements from the organising committee of the FPA calling for tolerance from the community in the spirit of cross-cultural understanding that the festival was designed to impart. This clash of cultures was not a serious concern, but it did serve to cement the Rapa Nui performers' status as exotic outsiders, even in a pan-Pacific gathering.

With these issues in play, the capacity for performance to function as a means of communication took on extra importance for the Rapa Nui delegation. Lacking fluency in a shared language and with some disjuncture in social codes, the Rapa Nui performers relied on the quality and content of their performances to reach their FPA audiences. The first and most obvious of their initiatives was to ensure that some members of the delegation were attired in *ta kona* body paint throughout each day in the festival village space. Ta kona is a corporeal decorative practice in which the performer's bare flesh is undercoated with mud-

based paint and then strategically decorated with traditional symbols and motifs. It is a practice that was revived only in the late 20th century by a small group of Rapa Nui performers but which has recently increased in popularity and is now a feature of festival and tourist-oriented performances. The revival of ta kona is also partly a reflection of what Rapa Nui participants have learned from other performers who displayed body decorating practices at previous FPA gatherings, collectively confirming the acceptability of this type of performance expression. On Rapa Nui, the use of ta kona is reserved for the performance context, but in Pago Pago it became a constant feature of the Rapa Nui presence. Many tourists departed the FPA with photographs of themselves surrounded by painted Rapa Nui warriors, and the visual spectacle of ta kona attracted customers and well-wishers to the Rapa Nui art and craft stalls in the festival village (see fig. 13.3[7]).

The second area in which performance served the needs of the Rapa Nui to communicate with their fellow islanders was in music and dance. These performance opportunities were time-limited to ensure that all delegations had a chance to perform, and so the Rapa Nui selected shorter pieces, or arranged shorter versions of longer pieces from their repertoire. Wishing to present themselves as technologically informed, the Rapa Nui musicians made strategic use of the microphones and stage amplification that was available to them, and performed with a drum kit, amplified ukulele and guitar, and electric bass. This instrumentation enabled them to perform both stylised versions of traditional chants and original pop songs from the Matato'a repertoire. The prevalence of a pop aesthetic in their music led festival organisers to arrange for Matato'a to perform alongside the much better-known Fijian group Black Rose, also present at the festival. These contemporary performances drew on a reggae-oriented aesthetic for which Matato'a is well known in Chile, and which proved popular with the audiences in American Samoa. The instrumentation included a hybrid mix of rock band instruments, Latin percussion, Tahitian eight-string ukulele, and West African djembe drums (see fig. 13.4[8]). Curiously, the *djembe* were a gift to Matato'a from an African group that they had met at the 2002 Festival of Austronesian Cultures in Taitung. Matato'a continued to use them in performances out of respect for the gift, to commemorate their participation at the festival and because the African drums added a unique sound to their music, as well as being a visual curiosity.

For their traditional performances, the Rapa Nui selected a repertoire that they believed would be appreciated by a pan-Polynesian audience. This included a number of aparima dances and other songs with melodic and harmonic structures based on a pan-Polynesian pop aesthetic. It also included a series of *patautau* performed with vigorous dance accompaniment, referred to in Rapa Nui as *hoko* (see fig. 13.5[9]).

Ensemble dance is not a traditional accompaniment to patautau, but it is an element that the Rapa Nui have increasingly developed in their performances since the 1970s, inspired particularly by New Zealand Maori *haka*. In the festival context, it served to draw attention to the dancers on stage and contributed effectively to the spectacle of performance.

The 2008 FPA also served as a contact zone between the Rapa Nui and the Taiwanese performers that they had met back in 2002. The Taiwanese delegation was led by Rukai tribeswoman Lily Wen (pictured in fig. 13.1), who was pleased to see Keva and Matato'a again in this context. Their mutual participation at the FPA reinforced each party's positive appraisal of the other, confirming their roles as ambassadors for their respective cultures. While direct cultural contact between Taiwan and Rapa Nui is rare, both parties experiences of the 2008 festival resonated with each other in some respects, firstly because they represent states on the periphery of the geo-political scope of the SPC, and secondly because they face similar linguistic barriers in a social context where communication in French and English predominates. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Taiwan in the FPA (and of Japanese Ogasawara in previous years) demonstrates that the FPA is beginning to broaden its Pacific representation, and that this expansion is activated through reference to an imagined contemporary Austronesian cultural framework.

Conclusion

Rapa Nui is significant to Austronesia because it is an unequivocal geographic marker of the extent of the Austronesian diaspora in an uncharted history of voyaging and colonisation. Yet Austronesia is significant to Rapa Nui not because of its past but because of what the concept of Austronesia as a coherent cultural entity offers to contemporary Rapa Nui society. As participants in contemporary Austronesia, Rapa Nui islanders are enabled with the capacity to view their own culture as part of an international, intercultural, pan-continental entity that both compliments and supersedes their identification as Polynesians and or Chileans. In this sense, it is the intangible conceptualisation of Austronesia as a coherent cultural whole, rather than the genealogy and taxonomy of Austronesian prehistory, that provides a framework for future explorations and synergies across the Asia-Pacific region.

One of the challenges for the integration of Austronesia in cultural discourse is that Austronesia spans such a wide range of cultures and places, and while close relationships exist within particular sectors of Austronesia (as exemplified by the geo-cultural and linguistic coherence of regions such as Polynesia and Micronesia), historical, political and

linguistic ties are difficult or impossible to ascertain across the region as a whole. Nevertheless, performers throughout Austronesia have embraced the opportunity to engage with other Austronesians, and as the case of Matato'a reveals, music and dance can provide a framework for communication and engagement where language and history may not. The opportunities for performance offered by engagement with wider Austronesia provide a valuable incentive for Matato'a to continue their efforts at expanding the niche for traditional Rapa Nui performance within contemporary performance frameworks, and this in turn reinforces the extent to which the legends, beliefs, stories and performance techniques of their ancestors are made relevant to the cultural needs of twenty-first century Rapa Nui.

Notes

1   This research was generously supported by a University of Otago Research Grant and a Division of Humanities Research Grant.
2   See http://www.easterislandechofoundation.org/english/revista.html for further information about Naz y Rongo and the ECHO Foundation.
3   See the group's website, http://www.matatoa.com, for further information about their trajectory and worldview.
4   The TVN recording was equally responsible for launching the career of high profile Rapa Nui singer-songwriter Mito Manutomatoma, who was initially a member of Matato'a but left the group to pursue a solo career. Mito's trajectory is discussed at length in a forthcoming journal article (Bendrups 2009).
5   See fig. 13.1: Matato'a exchange CDs and gifts with other performers at the 2002 Festival of Austronesian Cultures, Taitung (photograph by Lily Wen). http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
6   Fig. 13.2: Rapanui performers in traditional dress at the 2008 Festival of Pacific Arts (photograph by Dan Bendrups). http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
7   Fig. 13.3: Rapanui dancers greet visitors to the 2008 Festival of Pacific Arts Cultural Village. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
8   Fig. 13.4: Matato'a on stage at the 2008 Festival of Pacific Arts. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
9   Fig. 13.5: Rapa Nui dancers perform *hoko* at the 2008 Festival of Pacific Arts (photograph by Dan Bendrups). http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

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14 'To Sing is to be Happy'

The Dynamics of Contemporary Maori Musical Practices

Toon van Meijl

Introduction

Maori music is well known throughout the world. Indeed, who is not familiar with the *haka*, a dance of defiance accompanied by a rhythmically recited chant, which has become the trademark of the New Zealand national rugby team, also known as the All Blacks? The haka has become an icon of Maori culture since receiving ample attention in the media, even being used in Scottish whiskey advertisements, but it is important to establish that it is far from characteristic of Maori music. The indigenous population of New Zealand has a much more extensive repertoire of chants and songs, not all of which are performed in combination with a dance. Indeed, it would be erroneous to assume that Maori sing only before a rugby match or in encounters with tourists. On the contrary, music, especially singing, constitutes an integral dimension of Maori cultural practices in past and present.

Maori passion for singing and other types of music was first noted by the very first European visitor to New Zealand. Captain Cook remarked that Maori are fond of singing in a variety of different contexts, including ceremonies, battles and other more leisurely types of situations. He observed that they spent much of their time singing and playing a range of musical instruments (Cook 1955 [1769]: 154-294). The ethnomusicologist *avant la lettre*, Johannes Andersen (1934), provides an overview of similar findings by other explorers and travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The early ethnographer Elsdon Best (1925: 105) made a preliminary attempt to explain what he describes as Maori 'fondness for song', which he linked to the absence of a script. He argued that Maori culture relied entirely on spoken language and oral traditions, as a consequence of which they also valued song composition to commit to memory important information and associated feelings they wanted to remember and continue expressing. In the 20th century, ethnomusicology has further developed this insight by

focussing on the study of music in culture (Merriam 1964). In this chapter, music is also considered as an intrinsic dimension of Maori cultural practices, whereby the focus will be on contemporary music with an emphasis on singing (see Flintoff [2004] on the revival of traditional instruments, which is the prerogative of a few initiates).

From time immemorial, the core of Maori culture has been characterised primarily by ceremonial gatherings, which revolve around the ritual exchange of speeches that are considered incomplete until they have been finished by the performance of a chant. As such, Maori cultural practices can be distinguished from customary traditions in other Polynesian and Austronesian societies to the extent that they are organised around communal gatherings called *hui*, which invariably begin with a welcoming ceremony using a traditional protocol. The genre of chants that are sung during these ceremonies, however, is quite different from other, more secular songs, with the main difference being the European influences on the latter. The variation in types of songs is in practice even more wide-ranging, taking into account other recited songs during the ceremonies as well as other genres of sung songs, both in the more sacred context of the ceremonial centres and in other, more non-ceremonial settings and circumstances in Maori society and in New Zealand society in general.

In this context, it is highly relevant to highlight that over the past 25 years a renaissance of Maori culture and traditions has taken place, which has also brought about a successful revival of traditional musical practices. The revival of Maori music is related directly to the renewed attention given to the Maori language since it was recognised as an official language in New Zealand in 1988. In the early 1980s, the number of fluent speakers of the Maori language reached an all-time low, but since the language has been reintroduced into educational programmes it is increasingly being used again in day-to-day interactions, also by the younger generations. And Maori educational programmes generally include a music module, not only because music is considered to provide excellent strategies to teach the Maori language and cultural traditions, but also because Maori songs have simply become extremely popular. The resurgence of Maori music can be partly explained by the common expectation that it can boost the self-esteem of young Maori people who are alienated from their roots because they live in a society that is dominated by a European majority. The contemporary popularity of Maori music is testified by, among other things, the organisation of many music festivals and competitions that are held at local, regional and national levels of society. Maori 'culture groups' have also become part of the tourist industry that caters to a growing domestic market, while, at the same time, they have begun travelling overseas. Finally, Maori pop music has also become very popular in New Zealand, not only because

of its musical attractiveness, but also because it is easier to identify with pop stars of a similar ethnic background.

In this chapter, I will document and discuss both traditional and non-traditional musical practices, both sacred and secular genres, in an anthropological and ethnomusicological perspective. Special attention will be given to traditional chants or *waiata*, to the development of Maori action songs, and to the well-known haka, where the focus will be on changes that have taken place in these vocal music styles over the past decades. I begin with a brief description of the history of Maori society, directly followed by an explanation of Maori ceremonies, which provide the most important context in which Maori music plays a central role.

The setting

Some 1,000 years ago Maori people sailed in canoes from eastern Polynesia to the islands of New Zealand, where they settled over a period of several centuries (Howe 2007). Over the years, they multiplied and formed a society with a complex structure of socio-political organisation. Several decades after the first European landfall in New Zealand by Captain Cook, European settlement gathered some momentum in the early nineteenth century. However, the country was not actually colonised until 1840, when a treaty was signed at Waitangi between the first governor representing the British Crown and a number of Maori chiefs. In what became known as the Treaty of Waitangi, the Maori ceded 'governance' in exchange for the possession of their lands, forests and fisheries (Orange 1987). Notwithstanding this agreement, the interaction between Maori and Europeans became increasingly hostile, degenerating into a war in 1860. Following a series of battles, 1.25 million acres of land were confiscated from the Maori by the colonial government of New Zealand in 1864. Outside of the confiscated areas, New Zealand was brought under colonial control via the individualisation of customary land titles (Kawharu 1977). By the end of the nineteenth century, most Maori people had lost proprietary rights to their lands.

The colonial history of New Zealand, for analytical purposes, may be divided in two phases that largely correspond with the 19th and 20th centuries respectively. The first stage can be described as the period in which the Maori were dispossessed of their land, while the second can be characterised as the era of urbanisation. After the Maori lost their land they migrated massively to the cities and other urban locations where some form of employment was available. At present, approximately 85% of the Maori population lives in an urban environment,

where the indigenous population makes up an underdeveloped ethnic minority in the New Zealand nation-state.

New Zealand has a population of approximately four million people, of which more than one in seven people (14.6%) belongs to the Maori ethnic group (New Zealand Statistics 2007). The Maori people's situation in New Zealand is most strongly characterised by their structural over-representation in negative social statistics. Research into the socio-economic position of the Maori has consistently revealed that they are locked into a vicious circle of underdevelopment: low educational achievement, lower skilled jobs, high unemployment rates, low income, deprived status, low self-esteem, poor health and high crime rates (Ministry of Social Development 2007). In these circumstances, it has become increasingly important for Maori to be able to meet together at centres where the cultural atmosphere is unmistakably Maori and of which Maori remain in full control. These centres are called *marae*.

The term marae currently evokes two related meanings. First, marae is used to denote an open space, a clearing or plaza in front of an ancestral meeting-house, which is reserved and used for Maori assemblies, particularly welcoming ceremonies. This narrow meaning of the term marae is often distinguished as *marae aatea* or 'marae proper'. Second, the concept of marae is used in a broader sense to denote the combination of a 'marae proper', a courtyard, with a set of communal buildings which normally include a meeting-house, a dining-hall and some showers and toilets (Metge 1976: 227-45; Salmond 1975: 31-90). Marae are often regarded as the final sanctuary of Maori culture (Walker 1977).

Since only a minority of the Maori population lives in rural communities, marae are few and far between the isolated villages scattered over the countryside. At the same time, it is important to add that over the past few decades urban communities have also begun building marae in cities (Walker 1989). Most marae are surrounded by only a couple of houses. This is also why marae are no longer used regularly as an extension to private dwellings. Instead, marae are used only for ceremonial gatherings on the occasion of life crises or especially to entertain guests. Under these circumstances, the houses that in pre-colonial days probably belonged to chiefs and their extended families only, have been enlarged while their ornamentation has often also been refined. Moreover, marae now have a kitchen and a dining-hall as well as lavatories and shower facilities, to enable marae communities to better handle large numbers of visitors.

Maori gatherings on marae are labelled hui. There are many kinds of hui, the most important one of which is the *tangihanga* (often abbreviated to *tangi*), a funeral wake that lasts several days. To hold a tangi is also the main reason why urban or even expatriate communities (in

Australia) construct a marae complex (e.g. Hamer 2007). Furthermore, marae are used for weddings, birthday parties, 'unveilings' (of tombstones one year after a person has died), and gatherings to honour more or less distinguished guests on a variety of different occasions.

All hui begin with a welcoming ceremony or *mihi* aimed at desacralising the visitors who are not directly related to the local kin group of their alien *tapu* or sacred state. A mihi consists of various stages, some of which are optional depending on the occasion and the prestige of the visitors. All stages of the welcoming ceremony, however, involve singing in combination with some formal movements. The various stages making up a so-called 'ritual of encounter' are described in great detail in a classic monograph by Anne Salmond, entitled *Hui: A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings* (Salmond 1975: 115-78). Needless to say, this chapter will only touch upon the components of the welcoming ceremony, whereby we shall highlight their musical dimension.

Maori ceremonies[1]

Since the main goal of welcoming ceremonies is to lift the sacred state of a group of visitors that has arrived for a particular gathering, the local hosts (*tangata whenua*, 'people of the land') stay spatially opposite the visiting group (*manuhiri*, 'visitors'). The welcoming ceremony governs each stage of the reception of the visitors, who gradually approximate the tangata whenua until they meet face to face to salute each other by pressing noses (*hongi*) at the end of the ceremony.

Before visitors enter a marae, one of their chief elders may deliver a *waerea*, an incantation to clear the path of supernatural obstacles. Subsequently, the hosts may perform a *wero*, but only when a distinguished visitor is about to enter the marae for the first time. The original purpose of the wero was to find out whether the visitor comes in peace or in war. Wero literally means 'to cast a spear', which is always performed by a male, who will proceed to the *manuhiri* and wait at the gate of the marae until they can show that their intentions are peaceful by picking up the taki or 'challenging dart'.

Immediately after the wero has been accepted, the ritual exchange between hosts and visitors proceeds with the *karanga* or 'call' by one of the local women, who will call the visitors onto the marae with a stylised recitative, performed with a high-pitched voice, welcoming the visitors. A woman from the visiting group will return a karanga on behalf of the manuhiri, appreciating the welcoming call. Each group honours the other, while they also pay homage to those whom they represent and those who have died. Subsequently, the visitors will move silently onto the marae. At that moment, other women may also begin

reciting a karanga. The karanga comprises the first words spoken between hosts and visitors. The first key to entry can only be issued by women, who also hold the key to new life, as it is sometimes argued. Towards the end of the karanga, hosts and visitors will stand on either side of the marae proper, when some women may also commence with a tangi, a weeping cry of mourning, to commemorate the dead.

When the visiting party includes distinguished guests, the karanga is followed by a *pōwhiri*, which in practice is usually begun while karanga are still floating in the air. In the strict sense, pōwhiri refers to the entire welcoming ceremony, but colloquially the word is increasingly used for the action song of welcome performed by waving twigs of greenery after the visitors have been called onto the marae. Hosts are lined up to move their hands in unison to touch their thighs before raising their hands until they are slightly above their heads. This movement is repeated in time to a chant that is mostly recited by an elderly man to which the crowd responds.

Nowadays, there are not many different chants, which are performed during a pōwhiri and it is not known how widespread the practice was in the past. The most popular pōwhiri chant is undoubtedly the following canoe chant, whereby it is important to point out that in Maori the term 'canoe' is a metaphor for a kin group whose members are able to trace their descent back to the members of a canoe that has sailed from their Polynesian homeland to New Zealand:

Leader	People	
Toia mai	*te waka*	Pull up, the canoe
Kumea mai	*te waka*	Drag up, the canoe
Ki te urunga	*te waka*	To the resting place, the canoe
Ki te moenga	*te waka*	To the sleeping place, the canoe

All	
Ki te takotoranga i	To the place where it will lie
takoto ai, te waka	at rest, the canoe

As the chanting ends, the hands are held in the upright position, until the elder signals for everyone to lower the hands. At this moment, too, people may also begin wailing to mourn the dead. Usually the length of time for honouring the dead is left to an individual's personal judgement. Subsequently, people sit down for the ceremonial exchange of speeches between the hosts and visitors. Since speech making is a prerogative of men, except on the East Coast of the North Island, senior men occupy the front seats on either side of the marae. Elderly local women may gather in the porch of the meeting-house, while visiting women generally sit close behind their speakers. Behind the men lined up to speak on behalf of the hosts, groups of women also line up

behind the front bench, or the *paepae*, mainly to support the speeches with a waiata or chant.

An elaborate protocol governs who may speak, the order of speaking and the structure of speech making itself. On nearly all marae, the *tangata whenua* usually speak both first and last. The order of the speakers depends on the tribal affiliation of the hosts. In most areas, hosts and guests speak in turns, but in some regions all speakers on the paepae will speak first, followed by all visiting speakers. Ceremonial speeches or *whaikōrero* follow a standard pattern. They usually commence with a shouted announcement, a *whakaaraara* (e.g., Tihei Mauri Ora, or 'The Sneeze of Life'), sometimes followed by the recitation of an introduction, a *tauparapara* (literally 'awakening'). The inclusion of an uncommon tauparapara adds to the prestige of the speaker. The beginning of a speech is followed by expressions of greetings for the dead and the living, mainly to establish or reinforce connections between the two groups. In fact, this is the main *take* or 'topic' of the speech, focusing on genealogical relations, identifying other common interests, and, if necessary, mentioning and countering past conflicts by the expression of present goodwill.

Each speech is invariably followed by a waiata or chant of a specific genre (see below). The practice of singing waiata is characteristic of Maori culture. It is one of the main aspects of Maori cultural practices that is encouraged and shared. Maori people increase their prestige and also enhance their self-esteem if they are able to sing traditional waiata, and it is only during *mihi* ceremonies on marae that this valued custom can be practised openly. Maori etiquette prescribes that women begin a waiata as soon as a speaker has finished his ceremonial speech, although the central role of women is flexible. Usually, however, it are women who decide which waiata will complement a speaker's words. Some elderly men will not visit a marae without a woman, not only because women are required to perform the karanga, but also because they help men with the selection of an appropriate waiata. Indeed, the act of supportive singing is very significant, more than the act of singing as such. Traditionally, waiata were supposed to reflect what the speaker had said, although this is no longer essential. When the waiata relates directly to the main topic of the speech, the mana or prestige of the speaker and his attendant group is nonetheless enriched.

At Maori ceremonial gatherings, the exchange of speeches and the singing of waiata may continue for many hours, depending on the nature of the occasion and the purpose of the gathering. New rounds of exchange may begin as successive groups are welcomed onto the marae. While the current group is being welcomed, the next may be awaiting its turn outside the marae gate. When speechmaking and singing have finally finished, the visitors are invited to salute the local group by

pressing noses (*hongi*), nowadays usually accompanied by the shaking of hands (*hariru*) and cross-gender kissing. After these salutations, the visitors have become tangata whenua, or home people, for the duration of their stay, and as such, they are also free to take part in the welcoming of other visitors. When all of the visitors have finally been welcomed, they are invited for a meal in the dining-hall. The desacralisation of the guests is then completed.

Waiata

In the strict sense of the term, waiata is a generic concept for all chants and songs and there are many forms of waiata that can be used for different purposes, including lullabies (*oriori*), laments (*waiata tangi*), abusive songs (*pātere*), songs of defiance (*kaioraora*), challenging songs (*manawawera*), love songs (*waiata aroha*) and action songs (*waiata poi* or *waiata-ā-ringa*). The qualifying term is used to indicate the use of the chant or nature of the text. Most chants sung on marae are laments (waiata tangi) or love songs (waiata aroha), both types of which may be sung during welcoming ceremonies. For that reason, the term waiata is currently also used primarily in reference to chants sung at the end of a ceremonial speech, although they were traditionally also associated with other types of activities and celebrations.

An older term for waiata as it is used today was *mōteatea* (e.g., Ngata 2004). Waiata and mōteatea (henceforth, only waiata) are typically non-narrative poems composed on or for a particular occasion and include many references to people and places. Waiata are partly composed of formulas and formulaic expressions that are sometimes very similar to expressions that are found in other songs. The verbal ingenuity of waiata is stunning in its use of metaphors, allusions, puns, proverbs and other types of imagery (McLean 1990). Images are drawn from the natural world, from human attributes, activities and possessions, as well as from mythology. Certain images, such as those concerning the contrasting opposition between light and darkness, by analogy, with life and death, were the central metaphors in the Maori language and were fundamental to the Maori worldview (Mead 1969).

In the past, waiata had an important role in bringing the past into the present. They were sung in public to convey historical experiences and messages from the ancestors, and to express a range of related emotions. The lyrics of waiata were believed to preserve the wisdom and knowledge of ancestors. For that reason, the composition of traditional waiata was also considered as a way of recording and passing down ancestral knowledge and traditional stories to contemporary

generations. Songs were expressions of a shared history, not only among singers but also between singers and the audience.

Waiata have always been performed with very few actions and with no musical instruments or choreography. They are sung quite slowly and the melodies generally consist only of a small number of notes that are often inventively rearranged. Traditional waiata melodically encompass a range of a minor third (Mclean 1996: 242). Within this range, some shifts are less than 100 cents, semitones of the tempered scale, and melodic contours are often enhanced by the use of vocal ornamentations and embellishments, such as glissandi (slides) and bends (pitches that move slightly up or down). Although this style of singing is still very common today, at least during welcoming ceremonies on marae, contemporary waiata are increasingly sung with musical accompaniment: they include more harmony, and they are often also performed with accompanying complicated actions and choreographies (see below).

Different tribes often have their own waiata, many of which were composed centuries ago. While some have been handed down from pre-European times, the large majority date from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, which can be inferred, among other things, from the texts that sometimes express a strong sense of resistance against European colonialism (Orbell 1991). Many of the waiata are these days generally accepted as common property. This has often occurred because a waiata has an appealing melody or the lyrics express the sentiments of a tribe so well that it is taken over by others. Most waiata are part of Maori oral traditions, and only a few of them have been recorded.

Certain waiata should be sung only on particular occasions. Some are used only for a funeral and should not be sung in other situations. Other waiata that have been composed specifically for funerals may sometimes be sung at other gatherings, because ceremonial speeches always include the remembrance of those who have died. The more popular melodic songs, including hymns, should generally be avoided during a welcoming ceremony on a marae. This tended to change some 25 years ago, when proficiency in the Maori language among younger generations began reaching an all-time low. But since the revival of Maori culture and traditions have gathered new momentum this tide seems to have been turned again. In the course of the previous century, few new waiata were being composed for several several decades (Metge 1976: 268). Since the Maori renaissance, however, new compositions of high quality have come to light and interest in singing traditional songs is undergoing a revival as well, especially with the emergence of bilingual education, the development of university courses in the Maori language and literature, the revival of traditional tribal schools of learning, and

the institution of special sections for traditional songs in Maori cultural competitions (see below). In sum, waiata continue to be sung after ceremonial speeches at Maori gatherings, offering Maori the opportunity to distinguish themselves in genealogical knowledge and to demonstrate their creativity in selecting a chant from an extensive repertoire that is particularly relevant for the occasion.

Waiata-ā-ringa or 'Action Songs'

Musicologists have argued that traditional Maori music, including waiata, is radically different from European music and that both types of music methods and structures are mutually exclusive (McLean 1996: 309). Despite this unequivocal conclusion, however, European music systems have had a far-reaching influence on the transformation of Maori music, including the composition of songs. This began with the introduction of hymns by 19-century missionaries, whereby a mix emerged between lyrics in the Maori language that were set to music in a European style, usually on ready-made melodies. Over time, this new genre of *himene*, a transliteration of 'hymn', also had an impact on the composition of new waiata based on European melodies, initially also often existing melodies. The best indication of the European impact on Maori waiata is the presence of major tonality, which also inspired the composition of a different style of texts, not infrequently more secular than the traditionally sacred waiata. This new genre of Maori songs emerged towards the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. In due course, they became known as *waiata kori*, 'song moving' or 'action song', or more recently, as waiata-ā-ringa, 'hand songs', referring to the characteristic hand gestures (see below).

In contrast to traditional waiata, action songs are associated with dancing, more specifically, with stylised actions that illustrate the meaning of the lyrics and which are performed by a group of people in unison. Action songs undoubtedly represent the most popular genre of Maori music among European New Zealanders, who are often not familiar with traditional waiata, but they are also popular among Maori people. They are indeed aurally and visually appealing, although traditionally their merit was situated first in the lyrics, and only secondly in the way text and actions are combined. Compared with waiata, the lyrics of most action songs tend to be markedly simpler. Composers of action songs try avoiding the use of ancient metaphors that are not commonly understood, and make use of more stereotyped phrases instead. They draw on contemporary themes more than waiata, and the ever-growing repertoire ranges from greetings, farewells, laments and love songs to political, satirical and even humorous songs.

The hand and other movements involved in action songs are to some extent non-mimetic, while others illustrate the sentiments of the text. The music of action songs is European, both in melodic idiom and in its use of harmony (McLean 1996: 344). Although, in the beginning, action songs were composed on European melodies, since the 1960s, original tunes have become more common following a trend initiated by the organisation of cultural competitions among Maori tribes. This new development also shows that Maori singing is no longer restricted to the ceremonial context on marae. Indeed, in the course of the previous century, Maori music has been extended from the marae to the stage. At the same time, this demonstrates that the action song has been important in the reconstitution and revival of Maori identity since around 1900.

The father of the action song was no doubt Sir Apirana Ngata, who was arguably the first Maori leader who showed statesmanlike qualities (Walker 2001). He became the first Maori to receive a university degree in 1893 and he was the leader of the Young Maori Party. He spent 38 years in Parliament and was even a cabinet minister for a short period. As such, he became known for the introduction of Land Development Schemes, which gave a tremendous impetus to Maori farming. Ngata, however, is probably best remembered for the widespread revival of respect for traditional culture that he initiated. He instigated the establishment of a Maori School of Arts and Crafts at Rotorua, he encouraged the construction of carved meeting-houses, he worked tirelessly to document, translate and annotate a legendary collection of waiata (Ngata & Jones 2004), but he was also the main source behind the innovation of the action song.

A major event in the transformation of Maori music, which also influenced the development of the action song, was the organisation in 1901 of a massive gathering to welcome the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall, who later became King George V and Queen Mary. In Rotorua, 6,000 people from all over the country gathered and stayed for a fortnight. Ngata not only led the group from his own tribe, Ngāti Porou, during the welcoming ceremony, but he also played a major part in the organisation of the festival. The gathering sharpened an appreciation of the contrast between area styles and conventions within a variety of traditional dance forms, which, at the same time, constituted an incentive for encouraging uniformity in some features. Action songs were not yet part of the feast, but experiments in a new direction could be detected (Shennan 1984: 23).

Between 1901 and 1950, when Ngata died, at least ten events of cultural and historical importance were organised during which Ngata is believed to have popularised action songs. It began with the translation of popular European songs into Maori, after which a popular tune was

borrowed in order to set to it an independently composed Maori text, while in a third instance new lyrics were set to new melodies. And, with the creation of new melodies and new texts, it was only a short step to add actions. Originally, the actions or hand movements were derived from the impromptu movements employed in traditional pātere, fast and vigorous chants often composed in reply to slander. The characteristic hand tremor, known as wiri, was transferred from the haka or posture dance (cf. McLean 1996: 344; see below).

The ability to perform action songs well usually develops when children grow up in an environment of adults who enjoy singing and dancing. Children routinely imitate the rhythms, coordination and style, and normally they do not even need to be explicitly taught at any particular stage of their musical development. Nevertheless, action songs have been promulgated mostly by clubs, colloquially described as 'culture groups', for young people that can be found throughout New Zealand. And a major activity of Maori culture groups is preparing for and taking part in festivals and formal competitions.

In this context, Princess Te Puea of Waikato needs to be mentioned since she was also influential in the development of the Maori action song. She toured with her group Te Pou o Mangatawhiri to raise funds for the establishment of Turangawaewae marae at Ngaruawahia, the official residence of the leader of the Maori King Movement, which the second Maori King, Tāwhiao, had designated as the place where the source of his identity was rooted. In 1929, she organised a major gathering to celebrate the opening of the Mahinarangi meeting-house at Ngaruawahia, which was followed by the opening of the King's official residence called Turongo in 1938 (King 1981).

Besides the organisation of festivals, competitions have also been organised since 1934, when at the annual commemoration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi trophies were presented for competitions in oratory, song and dance. Since 1972, these cultural competitions have been regular events in New Zealand, first named the Polynesian Festival, later the Aotearoa Maori Performing Arts Festival, and, since 2005, the Te Matatini National Kapa Haka Festival. This festival is organised biennially at various centres where winning teams from district competitions compete. Each team is given 20 minutes to present a range of chants and songs, beginning with *waiata-ā-tira* (choral or hymn), *whakaeke* (the choreographed entrance onto the stage), *mōteatea* or waiata, *waiata poi* (singing while women skillfully twirl a ball attached to a length of cord), waiata-ā-ringa, haka ('war dance', see below), and, finally, a *whakawatea* (a choreographed exit off the performance area). Teams are judged on the role of both female and male leaders (*kaea*), dress and appearance as well as performance criteria, while bonus points are given for originality. In the broad variety of genres of

songs it is difficult to say what is the most popular song genre, but it is not daring to suggest that the popularity of action songs rivals with the widespread appeal of haka.

Haka

Interestingly, the national cultural competitions in New Zealand are labelled *kapa haka*; *kapa* is 'to stand in a row or rank', while *haka* is the generic term for all Maori dance. In recent years, kapa haka is commonly used to describe the modern day performance of traditional and contemporary Maori songs. The performance may be competitive or non-competitive, although most kapa haka groups participate in some sort of competition at some stage, either held at schools, in towns, within tribal regions or on national platforms. The competitive aspect of haka dovetails with the connotation it evokes in contemporary discourses (e.g., see the Te Matatini website), in which it is often erroneously represented as a 'war dance'. Most haka that are performed today, however, are *haka taparahi*, a ceremonial dance that is always performed without weapons (Awatere 1975: 512-4). The generic term for haka performed with weapons is *tūtūngārahu*. Major variations of these two different genres are *haka peruperu*, the true war dance, which was performed with weapons when Maori warriors faced their enemy in battle. *Haka ngeri*, on the other hand, is the correct term for the most popular haka today. It refers to a chant of defiance that rouses a troupe to achieve its goals of whatever kind. It is invariably performed without weapons, and instead is accompanied by quasi-aggressive, stylised movements of hands and feet, whereby men lead while the women provide vocal support from the rear (ibid. 514).

   Anyone who has ever witnessed the performance of a haka has undoubtedly been impressed by the passion and the vigour with which it is invariably expressed. Hands, feet, legs, body, voice, tongue and eyes all play a part in the challenge, defiance or contempt of the lyrics. It is disciplined, yet very emotional at the same time. The performance of haka is grasped to convey the image of the Maori as a fearsome warrior, which originates in early European representations of the Maori (Van Meijl 1994). Over time, the Maori managed to appropriate this image to express their invincible spirit in the struggle for their rights that have been trampled upon since the colonisation of New Zealand. The image of the Maori as warriors has become metonymic of Maori culture in general, and the haka, with which Maori symbolically convey their ferociousness about the colonial past as well as their assertiveness to redress it, functions as a symbol that indicates an important redefinition of ethnic relations between Europeans and Maori. From a European

perspective, the theatricalisation of a historic drama may be interpreted as if Maori have adjusted to a European predilection for performed primitivism, but Maori themselves use the haka to demonstrate their control of a historical play that inverts colonial and postcolonial relations in dramatised form (Balme 2007: 115-21).

The symbolic significance of the haka is demonstrated par excellence by its routine performance before each match of the All Blacks, the New Zealand national rugby team. This ritual chant has been performed since 1888, when a 'Native' team, made up of mainly Maori – with only four non-Maori members – toured Great Britain. Since then, it has been immortalised by generations of All Black rugby teams that have travelled the world over. The haka gained an unprecedented international profile since the inaugural Rugby World Cup in 1987 (Gardiner 2001: 92).

Until 2005, the legendary haka composed by a chief leading a battle, entitled *Ka mate, ka ora*, became the trademark of the All Blacks:

Ka mate, ka mate!	It was death, it was death!
Ka ora, ka ora!	It is life, it is life!
Ka mate, ka mate!	It was death, it was death!
Ka ora, ka ora!	It is life, it is life!
Tēnei te tangata pūhuruhuru	This is the hairy man
Nāna nei i tiki mai whakawhiti te rā!	Who brought the sun and caused it to shine!
A hūpane, kaupane, hūpane, kaupane!	Up this step, that step, another step upward!
White te rā!	The sun shines!

The Ngāti Toa chief Te Rauparaha composed this haka after he was trapped by some enemies and he was suddenly aided to hide by a 'hairy man', or a strong man, who also provided him with a ladder so that after his opponents had left he could climb from his refuge into the light of day. In the strict sense of the term, then, the lyrics of this haka illustrate that it is not a war dance as is commonly believed, but a celebration of life over death that is nowadays invoked mainly to reinforce the cultural identity of the performers, to boost their self-esteem, and in competition also to command respect from the opponents (Kaaretu 1993: 63-8, Orbell 1978: 102)

For a long time, the haka symbolised the power of the All Blacks and their alleged invincibility in world rugby, until the team's reputation was ruined at the World Cups around the year 2000. As a consequence, the potency of the haka also diminished. In addition, intellectual property issues emerged when Te Rauparaha's descendants advised they intended to trademark the famous haka and that they would charge a fee for its use in the future. The All Blacks reacted by commissioning a

new haka, *Kapa o pango* ('All Blacks'), which ended with a throat-cutting gesture and thus became very controversial from the outset (Gardiner 2001: 107-15). There is no discussion that a well-performed haka before a crucial game can still stir the crowd and even unsettle the opponents, but, on the other hand, there are now so many international matches each year that the spectacle appears to have lost some of its appeal, and certainly its spontaneity. The newly composed haka has not been able to overcome this downside of the tradition of the All Blacks, who transformed an ancient chant into an emblem representing an entire society.

Irrespective of contemporary debates about the haka, there can be no doubt that this dance of defiance enjoys tremendous popularity with both performers and audiences. Of all Maori chants and dances, the haka is usually the most eagerly anticipated during a performance. As such, the haka is being discussed at great length in the media, but one aspect that remains underexposed is its competitive dimension. Traditionally, the haka involved a demarcation of boundaries between different tribal groups, hosts and guests, at ceremonial gatherings, or tribes involved in battle. Nowadays, the haka still functions to reconstruct the identity of the troupe of performers, which is either of tribal origin or of a certain school, for example, and this always occurs in opposition to other haka troupes, usually its competitors. It is thus not surprising that the popularity of the haka has increased since the organisation of cultural festivals, or rather, the competitions that began in 1972. This incentive for tribes to raise the standard of haka performances occurred at the same time as the revival of Maori cultural at large, which is equally evident in the organisation of cultural competitions, which attract thousands of people. And it should be kept in mind that it is not just haka that are performed at these festival-competitions, but also action songs and traditional chants. Indeed, Maori music constitutes an integral component of the renaissance of Maori culture in New Zealand society. Thus, it also adds to the prestige of Maori people in New Zealand, both symbolically and politically.

Conclusion

Until the 1960s, many people were doubtful whether Maori traditional music would survive in the future. The practice of singing waiata was considered the exclusive domain of the older generations with the younger generations falling increasingly under the spell of popular European and American music. Very few of the young could speak Maori fluently, and most lacked the essential knowledge of Maori history, the imagery and the legends that made the chants meaningful for elderly people (Ka'ai-Mahuta 2008). The generation gap that was

assumed to exist between older and younger generations in Maori so-
ciety, however, was reversed in the late 1960s because Maori protest
against the subordination of the indigenous population in New Zealand
intensified, which, in turn, has generated a large-scale renaissance of
Maori culture (Walker 2004). Maori proprietary rights guaranteed in
the Treaty of Waitangi were gradually recognised, which political pro-
cess is paralleled by campaigns to regain control of developments in
Maori society. The revival of the Maori language has probably had the
most significant impact of all these changes.

It began in 1982 with the introduction of *kohanga reo* ('language nest
(s)'), a Maori language program for young children from birth to six
years old. This initiative was eventually followed by the establishment of
bilingual primary schools, which was later followed by bilingual colleges
and even full courses in Maori language and culture at all New Zealand
universities. And music is an integral part of all these educational pro-
grams. Indeed, the singing of Maori waiata and action songs and the
performance of haka, are used to teach the Maori language, but also to
continue the ceremonial practices on marae and, by implication, to rein-
force the cultural identity of young Maori. Although this revival of cul-
ture and traditions does not appeal to all Maori people equally (Van
Meijl 2006), its impact on the recognition of Maori society within New
Zealand cannot be overestimated. Maori music has become immensely
popular among Maori but also among non-Maori New Zealanders and
the numerous tourists who visit the country each year. The widespread
appeal of Maori music in New Zealand is something that makes Maori
enormously proud of their distinct music style, which provides them
with a unique asset to shape their ethnic identity in a society that is
characterised by cultural differences and, as a consequence, cultural pol-
itics. In this context, music offers Maori people a way of dealing with
their marginalisation following the British colonisation of New Zealand.
Indeed, it can be argued that the revival and innovation of traditional
Maori music has been a successful strategy in the counter-colonial
struggle of the Maori for the recognition of their special rights as the in-
digenous people of New Zealand.

In this chapter, I have discussed a variety of songs and dances in
more or less formal settings, both on the marae and in a number of
other circumstances, including festivals and competitions. This focus,
however, was not intended to detract from the central role that music
plays in other dimensions of Maori society as well. To be sure, it could
be argued that music, especially singing, is interwoven into almost all
Maori activities. These vary from karakia, ritually recited incantations,
nowadays usually prayers, with which all meetings and other activities,
including labour, are started and finished, to the collective singing of
songs at parties until the wee hours of the morning. I have even

attended formal meetings that dealt with administrative matters, which were interrupted by a few actions songs sung during negotiations that had reached a deadlock. Singing is also integrated into the curriculum of Maori schools and educational programs. This is not simply because Maori do not separate literary expression in words from music and dancing, which they by definition see inexorably intertwined, as explained above. At the same time, Maori generally also enjoy singing, and then as loud as possible. Maori children are brought up surrounded by music and they sing unselfconsciously and with great enthusiasm, playing the guitar almost as a matter of course. In order to avoid the impression of an essentialist conclusion, however, I would like to conclude with some special words from a leading Maori artist, Katarina Mataira (1968: 211), who wrote:

> For most Maori singing is part of living. Some may aspire to the dizzy heights of the successful pop singer, but most are not concerned too much about fame and fortune. To sing is to be happy.

Note

1   Although this section follows the framework of Maori 'rituals of encounter' as set out in the classic monograph by Salmond (1975), the ethnography and interpretation of welcoming ceremonies and especially the place of vocal music therein is also partly based on the author's fieldwork. Since 1982, he has conducted more than 30 months of ethnographic field research in Maori society. During his fieldwork he was a member of the Maori culture group Taniwharau, the main culture group of the Maori King Movement in the Waikato region of the North Island of New Zealand.

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15   Australian Indigenous Choices of Repertoire in Community CDs/DVDs

Recording and Reclaiming Torres Strait Islander Sacred and Secular Music

Karl Neuenfeldt

Introduction

The Torres Strait region of far northeastern Australia is not only a major Austronesian maritime passageway that links the Pacific and Indian Oceans, it is also a cultural crossroads. Beginning in the mid-19th century, a multicultural workforce employed in the maritime industries (Mullins 1995; Ganter 1994) brought with them music and performance cultures from Oceania, Southeast Asia, the Americas and Europe (Neuenfeldt 2004; Mullins 2001; 2005; Costigan 2007). Over the past 125 years, these influences have met, mingled and mutated along with local Indigenous influences into the unique musical culture circulating today (Neuenfeldt 2008), both in the Torres Strait region and on the Australian Mainland where approximately two-thirds of Torres Strait Islanders (henceforth Islanders) now reside. As Lawrence notes: 'Wherever Islanders live – whether on the home islands or in mainland cities and towns – they express their culture and identity through music and dance performances' (H. Lawrence 1998a: 52). Music has proved to be one way of maintaining and sustaining a connection to a home island, even if Islanders may have migrated generations ago. Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of Islanders live on the mainland, it is in the cultural crucible of the Torres Strait region that change in Islander culture continues to be negotiated. Music remains a key site for exchange and innovation and for the dialogical construction of a suitable and sustainable Islander identity, a way of asserting, '"this is who we are"' (Nakata 2007: 142), through artistic expression.

There are two significant styles of music performed and composed today in Torres Strait. I use style here in Sherinian's sense of 'an idiom of recognisable musical elements (or codes), performance procedures,

Figure 15.1 *Map of the Torres Strait region. From Kleinert & Neale 2000:*
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and contextual purpose, use, and meaning' (Sherinian 2007: 238). I will
broadly call these two styles 'the sacred' and 'the secular'. However, as
will become clear, in some contexts the two styles overlap. There is also
an overlap about what is locally conceptualised as 'contemporary' or 'tra-
ditional' music and the problematic matter of defining them as distinct
categories. Apropos of Islander music, Dunbar-Hall and Gibson note in
the context of Aboriginal music: 'The co-existence of stylistic markers
[of contemporary and traditional styles] both within artists' repertoire,
and within songs themselves, attests to these definitional problems.'
(Dunbar-Hall 2004: 28) Another key aspect of Islander music is that
eclecticism has historically also been a characteristic of music (and
dance) repertoire and practice in the Torres Strait region and that still
holds true (Haddon 1901; York 2000; Hayward 2001).

   In 2007-2008, four CDs/DVDs of music, dance and oral history in-
terviews were recorded and filmed on-location in collaboration with

small island communities in Badu, Iama/Yam, Mabuiag and Warraber/ Sue Islands in Torres Strait (Neuenfeldt 2007a; 2008a; 2008b; 2008c). They were done under the auspices of the Torres Strait Regional Authority (henceforth TSRA) as part of a pilot project to assess the suitability and viability of such projects. Funding partners for the project included the Torres Strait Regional Authority, Arts Queensland, the National Library of Australia and CQUniversity Australia. The project was intentionally inclusive to properly reflect the fact that women and men, children and elders all participate in Islander cultural practices. The final CDs/DVDs contained 86 songs (and 10 dances) of which 46 were sacred and 40 secular (see fig. 15.2[1]).

The production crew consisted of Torres Strait Islanders Will Kepa (audio engineer, musician and co-producer) and Murray Lui (cinematographer), and non-Indigenous members Nigel Pegrum (audio engineer and co-producer), Brett Charles (cinematographer) and myself. We travelled to the islands either by airplane or dinghy and the equipment was transported via freighter from Cairns and then by barge from Thursday Island to the islands. The content, design and circulation of the CDs/DVDs were done in consultation with the communities and they had rights of final approval. A primary goal was not only to document but also, in some cases, to reclaim or reinvigorate traditions that had either lapsed or atrophied. In general terms, this chapter explores – within the context of the project – the role of music today in *Ailan Kastom* (Island Custom) in the Torres Strait region. In more specific terms, it explores the production process and the repertoire that the Islanders chose to record to self-represent their communities and their localised cultures to the region and mainland Australia.

My descriptions, observations and speculations are based on my involvement as a researcher, music producer and executive producer for the TSRA project. Although I am a non-Indigenous immigrant Australian, I have been involved in the recording and producing of 21 CDs in collaboration with Islander and Aboriginal communities and individual artists. Arguably, I can speak with some authority from the perspective of someone who is deeply involved not only in the cultural dialogues and cultural politics of the numerous recording projects but also the ethical, aesthetic, technological and logistical considerations informing them (Neuenfeldt 2001).

This chapter argues that, although some secular music was recorded, cultural capital seemed to accrue most readily via the recording of sacred music, in both traditional and contemporary styles. I use cultural capital in Bourdieu's (Bourdieu 1986: 47) sense of embodied and objectified but rarely institutionalised capital derived from cultural knowledge and its preservation, maintenance or artistic expression. Along with detailed descriptions and observations about the project, I

speculate on some of the social, cultural, religious and historical reasons that influenced the choice of the musical repertoire (the dance repertoire is not dealt with herein). Music plays a major role in the Torres Strait region because, as Frith suggests, '[music] offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others, of the subjective in the collective' (Frith 1996: 110). This chapter is about music by, for and in the service of a collective: the Torres Strait Islanders living on ancestral islands in the Torres Strait region. What is important is that the CDs/DVDs have gained widespread circulation and popularity and thus have become part of the soundscape of the Torres Strait, a musical means for expressing through text, sound and sentiment what it is to be an Islander negotiating what Sharp typifies as 'change in continuity/continuity in change' (Sharp 1993: 13). As Beckett says: 'To be an Islander one must have an island!' (Beckett 1987: 209) Thus, for Islanders the music (and dance) of that island – even if they can never return there to live – is arguably a key to maintaining a connection between people, places and communities. It is an important point of social, cultural, religious and aesthetic reference. See fig. 15.3[2].

Torres Strait Islanders

The Islanders are a 'minority within a minority'. According to the 2006 census, 2.5% of Australians identify themselves as Indigenous and, out of a total Indigenous population of approximately one-half million, the Islanders number approximately 25,000, or 5% (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007). Of all of the Islanders, 61% reside in Queensland, in particular, in the coastal cities of Cairns, Townsville, Mackay, Rockhampton and Brisbane, as a result of large-scale post-World War II emigration from Torres Strait for employment and education opportunities (Beckett 1987). Within the Torres Strait region, 81% of the approximately 7,000 residents are identified as Islander (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007). There are 18 distinct communities in the islands of the Torres Strait region (and two on nearby Cape York Peninsula) ranging in population from a few hundred people to the approximately 5,000 residents on Thursday Island, the administrative and economic centre. However, in the context of Australia, they are decidedly small and isolated communities and face daunting challenges that are common to other Indigenous peoples worldwide regarding health, employment and education and how they have been historically constituted as either subjects, objects or citizens (Nakata 2004).

Contemporary Islander culture is an amalgam of substantial colonial and migrant influences overlaid on a predominantly Melanesian base. The two main traditional languages, Meriam Mir and Kala Lagaw Ya

(and its dialects), are respectively linked to the Papuan and Aboriginal languages, thus reflecting the reality of Torres Strait as a north-south conduit for trade and culture between Australia and New Guinea (D. Lawrence 1998a). Torres Strait Creole has developed as the main lingua franca of the region as Islanders increasingly live and work outside the confines of their island homes, to which they had been previously restricted by draconian race-based laws (Kidd 1997; Nakata 2007). The fact that music and dance are key components in expressing and iterating who the Islanders think they are and wish to be is also similar to Indigenous peoples worldwide.

Recording in the Torres Strait region

Indigenous peoples worldwide have become increasingly involved with recording technology as it has become more affordable and transportable (Neuenfeldt 2007). Arguably, they do so in part to try to exercise some control over representations of Indigeneity but also in part because it is an affective and effective means of cultural production. Arguably, engagement with recording technology is also an aspect of a broader engagement with modernity. No longer solely the objects of technology, Indigenous peoples now use it (e.g., recordings and film) to self-represent themselves to themselves and to others. Islanders have also increasingly been using music in the process of self-representation (Neuenfeldt 2001), although, until quite recently, to a lesser extent than Aboriginal peoples in Australia (Dunbar-Hall 2004).

There is a long but intermittent history of the use of recording technology in the Torres Strait. During the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait in 1898 (Herle 1998), commonly known as the Haddon Expedition, musicologist and psychologist Charles Myers did wax cylinder recordings of sacred songs of the precolonial Malo-Bomai ceremonies whilst on Mer/Murray Island in eastern Torres Strait. Filmmaker Frank Hurley did some recording in 1920 but the next noteworthy recording in Torres Strait was not until anthropologist Jeremy Beckett's fieldwork between 1958 and 1961 (Beckett 2001). Beckett recorded a range of secular and sacred music, in particular, music performed by elderly men who had direct links to the colonial era repertoire. Recording was important to the community because

> in the case of at least some of the material, they wanted it heard in the outside world and preserved for Islander posterity, in case the younger generation might forget (Beckett 2001: 75).

Some of Beckett's field recordings appeared on two albums, *Traditional Music of the Torres Strait* (Beckett 1972) and *Modern Music of the Torres Strait* (Beckett 1981), while other field recordings were archived at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in Canberra.

After Beckett's recordings, in the mid-1960s ethnomusicologist Wolfgang Laade researched and recorded Islander music, resulting in an album – *Traditional Songs of Western Torres Straits, South Pacific* (Laade 1977) – released on the Ethnic Folkways label in the US. Folklorist Margaret Lawrie (Lawrie 2006) did recordings for her book *Myths and Legends of Torres Strait* (Lawrie 1970). More recently, ethnomusicologist Helen Lawrence has done extensive recordings and in-depth analyses of sacred music (1995-97; 1998; [1998]: 2000; and 2004).

In the last decade, a few Islanders have recorded and released commercial recordings (e.g., Christine Anu, Henry 'Seaman' Dan, Toni Janke, Patrick Levi, Aven Noah, Andrew Namok, The Mills Sisters, Cygnet Repu, Lexine Solomon). There have also been several community recordings featuring a range of sacred and secular music (Neuenfeldt 2001). However, in comparison to the extensive corpus of recordings and research on Aboriginal music, Islander music is under-represented in the national soundscape and academic discourse. What has also been under-represented are the systematic documentations of current music practices on what are termed the Outer Islands of the Torres Strait region, the smaller communities distant from the administration centre of Thursday Island. The Outer Islands retain some aspects of music practice that are unique to those communities and they are also considered the cultural wellspring for those mainland and Thursday Island-based Islanders who wish to retain a link either to their own or their ancestors' home islands. The TSRA project was initiated and implemented to help address the relative lack of representation of Islander culture on the Outer Islands.

Pre-production phase

A useful way to analyse the project is to delineate what took place at three distinct yet interrelated levels: pre-production, production and post-production. Pre-production is the phase of a recording and film project when a producer not only conceptualises overall goals and concretises logistics but also when a producer attempts to foresee problems that might arise and to prepare contingency plans to overcome or at least militate against too much disruption and dysfunction. However, all the pre-planning in the world cannot account for the unpredictability

of human participants and human interactions and the confluence of local, regional and national politics with intra- and inter-cultural issues.

A crucial issue in the pre-production of the project was how to deal with notions of 'ownership', a point of contention with not only legal but also, more importantly, cultural ramifications. In the context of Islander music, York has noted:

> A strong sense of cultural ownership prevails in Islander culture ... This partly reflects a desire to negotiate, affirm, and maintain a specific identity, not only within Australian culture at large, but also within Islander culture (York 2000: 343).

The literature of ethnomusicology has offered some suggestions on how to address the issue of ownership for Indigenous peoples' music. Of particular use has been the *Yearbook for Traditional Music's* 1996 issue (28), which contains key articles by Feld, Mills, Seeger and Zemp. In 2007, I had the pleasure of guest editing an issue of the *World of Music* journal entitled 'Indigenous Peoples, Recording Techniques, and the Recording Industry' (49: 1). Many authors in this issue noted how vexatious the issues of ownership were, as well as how complex were the roles of academic researchers involved in documenting, producing and disseminating Indigenous music. In my Introduction, I reflected on an incident that arose whilst in the pre-production phase of the TSRA project in June 2007 and the following lengthy account is quoted from it.

> The immediacy of some of the relationships, questions and concerns explored in [the issue's] articles was illuminated for me when I was editing [it] ... whilst on a pre-production visit to islands of the Torres Strait in far northeastern Australia. Community meetings were called so I could explain [the project]. Most of the meetings went smoothly and as a researcher I was encouraged about the possibilities of the project being 'user-friendly' to the communities and the production crew – thus avoiding some of the potentially confrontational issues raised in the articles I was editing at the time (Neuenfeldt 2007: 8).

However, on one island, the community meeting took a different tack and was not 'user-friendly'. Following Indigenous protocols, I acknowledged the traditional owners of the island and presented an overview of the project and the recording technologies we would use and how the community would be the ultimate arbitrators of its content and design, etc. However, before the meeting had proceeded too far along the vexing issues of intellectual property, copyright and financial control of the

CDs [/DVDs] was raised and the reaction of some community members was quite forceful. As an outsider, a 'whitefella' and an academic researcher, I felt quite uncomfortable and off-balance, unsure of the context of the heated remarks. Were they personal? Were they political? Were they premeditated?

It was soon revealed that a song associated with that particular island had been recorded and released as part of the soundtrack of a television series set in the Torres Strait region. However, according to people at the meeting, neither the island nor the local writer/composer were acknowledged as the sources of the song and another writer/composer, from another island, was credited as writer/composer – and possibly paid royalties. This was obviously a major concern for the people at the meeting and I was suddenly being called on to defend the project I was involved with as somehow different and also called on, indirectly, to defend my right as a non-Indigenous researcher to engage with Indigenous music at all. It was a reality check about the actuality – not the abstraction – of research. After protracted discussions, where everyone was canvassed for their opinions, the meeting closed and I promised to raise the community's concerns with the regional governmental body [TSRA] before proceeding further.

The incident was particularly confusing for me at the time because aside from co-writing and co-producing several tracks on the soundtrack CD I had had nothing to do with its production and, more importantly, dealing with its 'legals'. Perhaps I was somehow perceived as guilty by association: I was a producer/researcher and thus might have had something to do with the decision to misattribute, according to people at the meeting, the aforementioned song in question. Also left unremarked upon in the above account was the abiding distrust many communities have of the TSRA, which was the target of especially vitriolic comments. Even though headed by an Islander and employing many Islanders, it was still perceived by some Islanders as an instrument of invasive governance. Yet another disciplinary regime foisted on them, akin to the long litany of intrusive and coercive federal and state departments such as the Department of Native Affairs (Nakata 2007), which, up until the 1970s, controlled almost all aspects of the Islanders' lives, especially on the highly regulated Outer Islands where we were hoping to work.

Thus, politics – regional, local and cultural – had intervened in what the TSRA thought would be a 'user-friendly' project because communities continually complained the TSRA (based on Thursday Island) did not foster cultural activities in Outer Island communities. An irony associated with this particular incident is that the main antagonist against the project – incidentally an Anglican priest – died shortly afterwards as did his half-brother the protagonistic chairman of the Island Council.

Consequently, the community went into mourning after the loss of two key power brokers over a short period of time and that island's involvement was no longer possible due to mourning period restrictions and also a power vacuum in the two pivotal community arenas of politics and religion.

In yet another irony, a neighbouring island I had visited just after the incident, which had been very positive about the project, also ended up not participating. The purported reason used for withdrawing from the project was concern over 'ownership'. An email to me from the non-Indigenous CEO stated:

> ... the elders of this island have decided that they no longer wish to be part of the dance and music project ... There seems to be some concerns from within the island population over the timing and the ownership of any material which was to be produced ... The elders of the island were most concerned that the copyright would be held by the project and not by themselves ... The islanders have requested that Karl does not attend on the island and that he cancel any part of the TSRA funded program which involved [the] Island. The elders were of the opinion that the removal of copyright from them was akin to stealing their birthright.

What these incidents highlight is that even after doing extensive consultation at the pre-production stage, in particular offering many explanations of how recording and filming could help establish copyright rather than 'steal' it and that there were different and distinct kinds of copyright, there were persistent worries about who would 'own' the music (and dance). There was a definite disjuncture between Indigenous and non-Indigenous conceptualisations and definitions of 'ownership' and these concerns had to be further addressed at the production stage, when notions of 'ownership' became more concrete.

Production phase

Production is the phase of a project where a producer has to deal with whatever challenges arise during on-location recording and filming. Access to Outer Island communities in the Torres Strait region is restricted. Formal approval is necessary to visit and there are research protocols overseen both by the TSRA and local Prescribed Body Corporates representing traditional owners. Tourists can travel freely to Thursday Island or Horn Island (where the airport is); however, on the Outer Islands – except for two small resorts – there is generally little or

no commercial accommodation available. The island councils control what accommodation is available and they have to house an endless stream of technicians, builders, bureaucrats – and academic researchers. Health and education facilities also have some accommodation but that is also always in demand. Communities in the Outer Islands are also very isolated and mostly have limited infrastructures. The production crew are obvious outsiders and bring with them equipment that cannot be serviced locally. Thus they must be self-contained and are dependant on the goodwill of the community at many levels.

As demonstrated above, one strategy for establishing and maintaining goodwill is to hold community meetings, which not only serve to introduce personnel to the community but also help clarify what a project is all about. The 'coconut telegraph' in the Torres Strait is a very rapid means of communication but it is also often like the game of Chinese Whispers: information passed on through family or personal networks may end up totally different on the other end. However, as the incidents detailed above also demonstrate, community meetings can also be an opportunity to air grievances, establish power relationships, delineate the role of culture brokers or canvass possible participants. The latter is important because usually there is no pre-arranged list of participants and it often takes 3-4 days before recording or filming actually begins. No one can be required to participate and there is often a reticence to put oneself forward, which is referred to in Aboriginal and Islander cultures as 'shame'.

Production also has to fit within the predictably unpredictable ebb and flow of a small community where births, deaths, disputes and celebrations regulate social dynamics. Nonetheless, community meetings are an essential part of establishing the parameters of a project. In the case of the Indigenous members of the production crew, they are also an opportunity for the community to locate that person within the intricate web of family relationships, alliances – and animosities – that govern much of life in the Torres Strait region. In such a forum producers are on public display. They are under intense scrutiny by the community to ascertain if they have the potential to be 'community assets' in the sense of being able to offer something of value in return for what they will take away; or if conversely, they are sojourners (colloquially known as 'blow-ins', those who blow in and then out again like the wind) who will ultimately be of little use-value to the community.

Some general considerations when choosing repertoire during production

One of the clear caveats of the TSRA was that the communities, under the direction of recognised cultural custodians, would choose the repertoire, with perhaps some non-cultural input from the producers. Consequently, the choice of repertoire was broadly a dialogical process between Islanders as the cultural authorities and the music producers (and the cinematographers) as the technical authorities. However, the producers also had to consider the logistics involved in recording the different tracks. These included such factors as the availability of suitable venues for large choirs or overdubbing multi-track recordings and also the availability of singers, musicians and dancers with the seniority and knowledge to provide direction and information such as lyrics, translations or song explanations for the CDs'/DVDs' liner-notes. There were also more prosaic factors to consider such as the reliability of equipment in a humid, tropical climate notably hard on digital equipment and also reliance on a locally generated power supply with fluctuating voltage. Yet another constraint was budgetary. Only so much time could be spent on each island and the more songs recorded the more post-production would be required.

There were several non-logistical general factors that influenced the choice of the repertoire. These included: the provenance and thus 'ownership' of songs; the accessibility of songs; which extended families were considered custodians of what songs; who had the authority to make decisions about songs; and who and thus whose songs were considered to be part of the community.

A significant factor was provenance, particularly for the older sacred songs known as 'language' hymns and, to some extent, for the secular songs considered to be community songs, such as those about boats or life in the communities. It was not always possible to determine who had composed or authored such songs, although they might be identifiable as coming from a particular generation or era or sometimes a particular family. Therefore, the identifier 'Unknown Composer-Author' was used in liner-notes for such instances. By community consensus, some songs could be 'attributed' to someone but there was no means of verification. Contemporary sacred songs – kores – or contemporary secular songs – ballads or story songs – were different. Their more recent provenance meant they lent themselves to more straightforward notions of ownership. The songwriters were also often the performers so the connection between singer and song was more transparent.

Accessibility was also a factor given that historically Islanders have kept some of the repertoire to themselves. As York observed:

> Islanders tend to deliberately reserve a special portion of their re-
> pertoire for their exclusive use, preserving a unique set that is
> not only representative of familiar people or particular families,
> but is also specific to the most fundamental place in which iden-
> tity resides, the home island (York 2000: 343-344).

Of course, there was no way the producers could compel families to re-
cord certain songs. However, by stressing that, if possible, what was
preferred was a variety of styles, enough songs were made accessible,
although it is fair to say the majority of songs recorded were from the
sacred repertoire and also the vast majority of songs remained
unrecorded.

Another factor in choosing the repertoire was the historical role of ex-
tended families as custodians of songs (and dances). York suggests:

> In Torres Strait custom, [the] custodianship of knowledge is
> based in the family. Proprietorship of songs is treated with such
> importance that the name of the song-maker is passed down
> with the song from generation to generation. Ownership of a
> song is initially vested in the song-maker, ownership remains
> perpetually with their family or clan ... (York 2000: 343).

However, producers, as outsiders, would not necessarily know which
participants were connected to which families, let alone what repertoire
was identified locally with a particular family. For example, adoption
(either traditionally recognised or officially sanctioned) has also been
quite common, which is a further complication. However, some hymns
are not considered familial property given the knowledge of who origin-
ally composed or authored them is either beyond living memory or they
were brought in by missionaries (from various Oceanic islands such as
Mare, Lifu, Samoa, Niue and the Cook Islands) and adapted or rear-
ranged locally, which further confuses provenance. Consequently, some-
times establishing who actually is the custodian of a song – in particular
older ones – was a complex mixture not only of deciphering but also
appreciating the interconnectedness of socio-cultural practice such as
music, historical influences and the nitty gritty of local or regional fa-
milial, communal and cultural politics.

The availability of authoritative cultural custodians was also a signifi-
cant factor in the choice of repertoire. They could provide knowledge
not only on the provenance of songs but also the stories behind them
or language pronunciations. Producers would not necessarily know who
were considered by the community to be the cultural custodians and
they may in fact not reside in the community. For example, age alone
was not always the main criteria, although elders are customarily

afforded respect. In some instances, a person's place in an extended family's hierarchy or their personal intercultural or language skills meant they took on the role of cultural liaison. Sometimes Islanders are very mobile and members of communities come and go regularly to attend to community, family, religious or personal obligations. Elderly people in particular may move around to visit children, care for grandchildren or receive medical care. Consequently, producers have to be flexible with scheduling and be prepared to act quickly if cultural custodians are only intermittently available.

A final significant factor was that, although the project's goal was to record 'community' music, how 'community' was defined was locally determined. For example, two of the islands have immigrant populations of people from Papua New Guinea, some of whom have been residents for several generations and are interconnected through marriage and long-standing trading networks (D. Lawrence 1998). However, the possibility of recording any of their music was never mentioned. It seemed – to an outsider – that they were culturally not considered to be Islanders although they might legally be Australian citizens, a dichotomy that can have an impact on local issues such as access to housing (Fuary 2000). The communities signalled more implicitly than explicitly that the recordings were to be drawn solely from the Islander repertoire. That was not an issue for the producers but it did reinforce how little they knew about the cultural politics of the communities and how much there was to learn.

In the kinds of general situations noted above, the mediation and liaison skills of local cultural brokers were essential to what successes the project achieved. They knew the communities usually had multilingual skills and also had experience dealing with Australian 'whitefella' culture and expectations. They also knew how to approach dealing with the potentially vexing issue of copyright and 'ownership', in particular, regarding deceased members of the community, who nonetheless are still considered part of the community because they have contributed something to it – such as music – and their descendents value those contributions. The project luckily was able to draw upon several skilled cultural brokers: several who were accomplished musicians, singers and dancers, and one who was also able to use the project and her involvement in it for her university studies on community development.

The reality producers (and researchers) learn – and some do not learn to their detriment – is that they cannot simply arrive in an isolated community, turn on the equipment and instantly proceed to record or film. There is a long process of consultation that must precede production, one that hopefully leads up to appropriately addressing issues such as the choice of repertoire. The process of consultation also often follows on after the completion of post-production; in some ways, the project's

completion only creates an illusion of closure. If a mutually beneficial relationship has been established, then the producer may be called upon to engage in other interactions such as grant writing or the supply of research materials.

Some specific considerations when choosing repertoire during production

There were also several specific factors to consider when choosing the repertoire. Two crucial ones were based on linguistics (what languages to use) and aesthetics (what instrumentation and personnel to use). Both were not only socio-culturally but also politically informed considerations in the production process. They had an impact on both sacred and secular music, although arguably more on the sacred as the majority of music recorded was in that style. 46 of the final 86 songs on the 4 CDs were sacred but another 20 sacred songs had been recorded but were not included.

Hymns

As mentioned previously, sacred music is one style in the culturally significant musical repertoire of Islanders in the Torres Strait region. It includes traditional music such as Christian hymns and 'contemporary' music such as *kores*. Hymns are drawn from a range of sources including the repertoire of Protestant denominations (e.g., London Missionary Society, Church of England/Anglican) and from Indigenised hymns linked directly to the colonial era Oceanic missionaries noted above (H. Lawrence 1998; 2004). Historically, some missionaries may have used Christianised music as one means to subvert or replace pre-colonial cultural practices (Beckett 1987: 40). This was a policy common elsewhere in the region such as nearby Papua (Niles 2000), where the use of Polynesian hymns in particular served the dual purposes of an educational tool and an outlet for local creative expression. However, the various Protestant denominations had a variety of policies towards music. When the Anglicans assumed responsibility for congregations from the London Missionary Society in 1915, they allowed the use of traditional drums in worship, which had been banned by the London Missionary Society (H. Lawrence 1998: 54).

Christian hymns are now often performed a cappella by choirs using Indigenous languages and percussion and thus are stylistically set apart from kores, which may use electric instruments such as the guitar or keyboards as well as drums kits (see below). Some hymns are referred to as 'language' hymns, be they in Meriam Mir or Kala Lagaw Ya (and

its dialects), the suggestion being that by using the qualifier 'language' with 'hymn', traditional languages are privileged over other languages spoken by the often-multilingual Islanders. Due to demographic changes and educational policies, use of traditional Islander languages is under pressure in some communities (Shnukal 2004). Consequently, recording and filming songs and dances using traditional languages are often identified as community priorities, as it was on one of the islands we recorded and filmed. On Iama/Yam Island a specific community project regarding language retention and revitalisation was directly linked to the project.

In the context of language use and Aboriginal music, Dunbar-Hall and Gibson provide a useful perspective, applicable to the Torres Strait region, when they make the points that:

> Singing a song in a language establishes sovereignty on these two initial levels: songs about a place define that place as belonging to specific owners; songs sung in the language of a place delimit ownership to the speakers of that language. In this way songs act as territorialisations across both traditional and contemporary Aboriginal musical expression ... (Dunbar-Hall 2004: 72).

Thus 'language' hymns provide a link either directly to the territory of the Torres Strait region (and, in some cases, specific islands) or to a more ephemeral, yet influential, sense of 'Islanderness', which is apropos given the extent of the diaspora from the home islands and the subsequent deterritorialisation of many Islanders. Islanders on the mainland may not hear or use a traditional language on a daily basis but recordings of 'language' hymns or kores are ways of accessing it and potentially learning it.

However, language use can also create challenges during production. For example, fluency in speaking a language often facilitates singing in that language and non-fluency, when recorded, can come across as hesitant and as privileging pronunciation over performance. Also, some communities that traditionally spoke dialects of Kala Lagaw Ya (such as Dhadha Lagau Ya in the Central Islands) but now speak mainly Creole were disinclined to use the spellings associated with communities where another dialect, Kala Kawaw Ya, remains the first language. On one island, there were many discussions regarding orthography. This was a complicated and protracted procedure because the few elderly fluent speakers could not actually write in the language, which itself had not been orthographically codified until quite recently – many decades after the elders' limited formal education. Consequently, the fact that different islands used different dialects of Kala Lagaw Ya means the

different CD/DVD liner-notes used different orthographies, as per the wishes of the individual communities. It has not yet been decided what to do with orthography if the TSRA does compilation 'spin-off' CDs, for example, a CD of 'language' hymns or kores. That will have to be addressed eventually but is currently in the 'too dificult' basket. In Torres Strait, as elsewhere, language and politics are closely linked and producers must defer to community decisions on such matters. Overall, many Islanders feel strongly that hymns are a key component of Islander culture and Ailan Kastom. Hence, they are sung with enthusiasm and pride and it was a given that the project would record hymns if the communities wished to do so and most did.

Kores

While linguistic considerations had an impact on some aspects of production, aesthetic considerations had an impact on others, in particular, on the other major strand of Islander sacred music, kores. They are contemporary evangelical Christian songs sometimes performed in indigenous languages. Language choice varies because Islanders are not only often multilingual but they also adopt and adapt the kores heard at religious rallies or learnt from books or CDs (H. Lawrence 1998). For the project, it was mainly individuals, solo or duet singers, who performed kores, as opposed to the communal singing of choirs and school children. They also mostly performed songs that they or someone from their community had written. A clear mandate of the project was to do songs written by Islanders so we avoided songs written by non-Islanders. Because religious activities are a major focus for many Islanders, in particular in the Outer Islands, and because writing kores is both a form of worship and an outlet for local creativity, there were many kores from which to choose.

Recording and performance aesthetics were important considerations in the project, using aesthetics in the sense of the ways of conceptualising and presenting music. There were certainly some shared 'pop' music aesthetics (e.g., sonic fullness, recorded clarity, instrumental and vocal variety) between the producers and the communities about how the end product should ideally sound but also specifically Islander aesthetics in what was deemed culturally appropriate. It was part of the role of the local collaborators to identify those considerations and they were negotiated during the on-location recordings. For example, the soloists and duets could draw upon the multi-instrumental talents of the Islander music co-producer Will Kepa. He is unique among Islanders as having had some formal music and sound engineering training and he was able to embellish the kores – and the contemporary secular songs – by adding acoustic and electronic instruments (guitar, ukulele,

keyboard, percussion and bass) and a drum kit. This was in stark contrast to the percussion-only accompaniment of the hymns. As elsewhere (Evans 2006), contemporising Christian music is a trend with both opponents and proponents of change but it has taken a unique course in the Torres Strait region. This is partly due to the history of newer Protestant sects there (H. Lawrence 1998) such as the Assemblies of God and United Pentecostal Churches, and their impact on cultural practices (Lahn 2004); and their, at times, politically controversial competition for adherents with the previously dominant Anglican Church (Beckett 1987). It is also partly due to the way Islander music is performed in worship, which has become a marker of denominational differences in the Torres Strait region (H. Lawrence 2000). Consequently, the latter precedence had an influence on how we recorded kores. For example, members of most evangelical churches would normally not use Islander percussion (*warup/buruburu* drums, *gor/kulap* shakers, *thrum/lumut* bamboo slit drums) on kores; conversely, electronic instruments would normally not be used to accompany 'language' hymns.

Both the hymns and the kores were recorded using multi-track equipment but the kores were extensively 'overdubbed', which required a very different production approach than live recordings of choirs or school children. Whereas multi-track live-recordings capture the moment, but are difficult to edit too extensively in post-production, multi-track overdubbing means performances can be easily repeated and polished. Multi-tracking of the kores was done sequentially, albeit sometimes days or weeks apart. For example, a basic drum machine rhythm pattern and tempo was recorded first, and then an acoustic guitar or keyboard to establish a chordal pattern. The singer(s) then recorded a 'guide' vocal. What resulted was a basic 'road map' for the song and then all that had already been recorded except the drum machine was replaced, paying closer attention to the recorded quality of the instruments and also the particulars of pitch and performance for the singers. Later, in the post-production phase, a full drum kit replaced the drum machine. Because equipment had to be shipped from the mainland to the Outer Islands, some non-essential instruments were not taken along but were added later in post-production. However, the majority of the instruments and voices were recorded on-location.

Because almost all of the kores singers had never recorded before, there was a learning process involved in the project – both for them and the producers. The same was true of the choirs and school children but with the kores singers more time was taken because the intended aesthetic outcome was different and there were the technological means at hand to accomplish those ends. The producers were skilled in arranging, playing and singing in the studio context but had to be careful they did not take the songs some place the singers or writers did not

want them to go. However, the Islanders were very open to trying different musical approaches and instrumentation. In normal circumstances, a kores would be sung with one or two guitars playing chordal accompaniment and spontaneous singing. Although many Islanders in the Torres Strait region play basic guitar (or, less frequently, keyboards), by and large, they are not virtuosic instrumentalists. However, a skilled Islander instrumentalist such as music producer Will Kepa could add instrumental virtuosity whilst also remaining aware of what were the basic Islander performance aesthetics underlying the music and also the cultural meanings embedded in the music. The non-Islander producers added other perspectives such as a level of objectivity on aspects of performance and production such as pitching and tempo and a sense of the overall project and the need to remain within budget.

It would be fair to characterise the kores sessions as intense but invigorating. They were ultimately satisfying because some innovative approaches to Islander music were used – a contemporary music production sensibility if you will – and the songs showcased the considerable musicality of the singers and songwriters. Because Islanders have always been musically eclectic they were generally content to have the kores, in particular, produced to be generally familiar yet different from what had been recorded previously in Torres Strait. Overall the kores, with their fuller instrumentation and 'radio-friendly' contemporary production style (e.g., length, instrumentation and tempo), provided a contrast to the instrumental simplicity and solemnity of the hymns. It could be argued that the kores represented the present and the hymns the past, although both informed each other and both had direct links to deeply revered Christian music traditions. They are sound examples, and examples in sound, of the aforementioned ability of Islanders to negotiate successfully 'change in continuity/continuity in change' (Sharp 1993: 13). Both hymns and kores are central to expressing Islander identity through music and by paying heed to linguistic and aesthetic factors, the project succeeded in producing and documenting Islander sacred music to the satisfaction of the communities and the performers.

Post-production phase

Post-production is the phase when producers generally must edit, compile, sequence and disseminate what has been recorded (and filmed). More specifically in the context of the project, it involved everything from mixing and mastering the recordings, researching and writing liner notes, registering composers/authors and songs with performing rights and mechanical royalty collection associations, helping composers/authors obtain Australian Business Numbers so they could receive

royalties, overseeing art design, pressing CDs/DVDs and finally to help-
ing promote and market the end product.

Several specific factors had an influence on what was done, or could
be done, in the post-production phase to present the recordings as a co-
hesive whole that represented the communities faithfully and appropri-
ately. Brief examples from recording the hymns and the kores point out
some of the kinds of considerations dealt with during post-production.

One consideration in post-production for the hymns was that, be-
cause they were sung a cappella without the aid of a pitching instru-
ment (such as guitar or keyboard), pitch could vary over the course of
the performance, a stylistic tendency that was noted by Myers in 1898
(H. Lawrence 1998: 51). Pitch, and tempo, also tended to vary between
versions (takes) even if recorded within seconds of each other. In the
context of the project and its admittedly 'whitefella' production aes-
thetic, this meant that full takes had to be used if possible because it
was difficult, or at least far too time consuming, to combine versions.
Consequently, if there were glaring pitching or performance miscues in
a take it would not be used, based on the joint understanding that only
the most assured and well-recorded performances would be used on
the CDs. The process of having to occasionally record multiple takes of
a hymn was quite taxing for the choirs. Because hymns are usually
sung spontaneously as part of a worship service, repeating them too of-
ten was self-defeating as the performances tended to become weaker as
exhaustion or boredom affected the choirs. Occasionally important
hymns would be re-sung at a later session if they were considered im-
portant to the community, such as those that honoured a local church.

One consideration during the post-production process for the kores
was deciding what level of embellishment was not only appropriate but
also affordable, given budgetary constraints. That consideration was
based on the producers' discussions with the communities while re-
cording on-location. Over-producing the kores could have camouflaged
the essence of what made the music uniquely Islander and also would
mean the recorded versions could not be replicated live by the perfor-
mers. Contemporary production aesthetics often incorporate a range of
instruments to create textures that hopefully enhance the song, but ar-
guably there should be a justifiable aesthetic reason for using particular
instruments. Because reggae is a popular musical style in the Torres
Strait region, it was decided that electronic keyboards playing the synco-
pated offbeat 'bubble' could be added on some of the kores. However,
the size of the horn sections heard on many reggae recordings was be-
yond our budget but would have also meant non-Islanders would have
had to play them, and the mandate was to use Islanders whenever pos-
sible. Similarly, Torres Strait percussion or non-Islander percussion that

served a similar rhythmic purpose would be added in places if warranted.

There were several other factors that contributed to the final form of the CDs. The process of sequencing the recordings was left primarily to the producers. However, it is significant that, without hesitation, all of the communities who recorded 'language' hymns in Kala Lagaw Ya wanted them to be sequenced first on the CDs. It suggested that the combination of traditional languages and sacred music was a critical component in how Islanders wanted their place and their identity represented.

Not all of the recordings could be used because there was an 80-minute time limit on audio that could be put on a CD. Also, in some cases, the communities or the producers felt that either the performances were substandard or there were technical problems. However, a CD containing all of the unedited but mixed versions of performances was compiled and sent to each community for their private use. In one case, a community requested we record some older hymns known only to elderly singers. Although it was understood they would not be on the final CD they could be used to help educate others in the community about the melodies and words of the hymns.

Overall, in the post-production process, the producers took the raw recordings done on-location and variously overdubbed, mixed and mastered them to present them musically at the highest level possible given the project's budget and also to present them culturally in accordance with the wishes of the communities and the TSRA. After a lengthy process of consultation regarding the content of the liner notes and the choice of photographs, artwork and packaging design, there were two final steps in the post-production process. Firstly, Will Kepa took the draft versions of the CDs (and DVDs) to the communities for final revisions and approval. Secondly, he helped launch three of the CDs/DVDs (Badu, Iama and Mabuiag Island) at the Gab Titui Cultural Centre on Thursday Island during the 2008 Torres Strait Cultural Festival. The fourth CD (Warraber) became available in early 2009. Subsequently, they have been promoted, marketed and circulated to Islanders and other Australians.

Conclusions

Over the course of the pre-production, production and post-production of the TSRA project, several aspects of the choice of repertoire became clear. Sacred music is clearly central to the Islanders' definition of themselves and also their connections to the home islands. Considerable cultural capital accrues to those who can contribute to its

preservation, maintenance or artistic expression. Whether expressed through hymns or kores, such music is a significant segment of their soundscape. In the past, that soundscape was mostly created live, but now it can be accessed via accessible technologies of reproduction such as CDs and MP3 files.

The overall value of this particular project can be appreciated in the context of other recording projects in the Torres Strait region. In the last decade, I have been involved in 20 collaborative community and commercial CDs with Islanders, both in the Torres Strait region and on the Australian mainland. The music produced and widely circulated has become a major part of Islanders' cultural, aesthetic and educational soundscapes. Clearly, the projects have use-value to the communities and the individuals whose music has been recorded and circulated.

It is constructive to appreciate that the sacred music we recorded in two contexts hark back to the characterisation of the dual role of Polynesian hymns in nearby Papua (Niles 2000): as an educational tool and as an outlet for local creative expression. Arguably, sacred music helps educate Islanders in what it means to be an Islander when it comes to music; that is, sacred music's significant socio-cultural roles and the communal and individual aspirations it embodies. Sacred music is also a culturally valued form of artistic expression; one that goes beyond worship alone in the sense that the composing and writing of the music, the performance of the songs and the context of their use all help contribute to contemporary notions of Ailan Kastom, which continues to reconcile the past with the present whilst simultaneously constructing the future.

By providing an opportunity to research, record and circulate sacred, and secular, music, the TSRA project has contributed to assembling a unique Austronesian soundscape that exemplifies how Indigenous peoples can 'speak' through music about what is important to them.

Notes

1   Fig. 15.2: Cover of Neuenfeldt 2008:c. http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.
2   Fig. 15.3: Badu hymns community singers at Badu Island, Will Kepa (Engineer & Producer). http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/330210.

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Austronesian Soundscapes is a collection of essays on Austronesian musics that transcends disciplinary frontiers in the humanities and social sciences. In all of Austronesia, music plays a crucial role in the negotiation of cultural identities; yet research on the diversity of the Austronesian cultural belt's music has hitherto been rather sparse. Responding to this gap, *Austronesian Soundscapes* offers comprehensive analyses of traditional and contemporary Austronesian musics, investigating how music in the region reflects the 21st century's challenges.

Birgit Abels is a cultural musicologist with a primary specialization in the music of the Pacific and Southeast Asian islands.

"This volume is attempting for the first time to see how the performing arts contribute to understanding the interlinkages of this immense cultural area and thus providing a fresh and welcome view on these understudied, yet extremely diverse musical cultures."
— *Wim van der Meer, Associate Professor of World Music Studies, Amsterdam University*

"This highly interesting collection describes a wide variety of musical cultures (...) A great virtue (...is the) focus (...) on the ways that the arts depict issues of identity and conflict and seek to resolve them."
— *Philip Yampolsky, Director of the Robert E. Brown Center for World Music, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Editor of the Music of Indonesia series, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings*

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