

Listening as an Emic/Etic Process in the Context of Observation and Inquiry

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The spiral feedback and reciprocal reinforcement between the consciousness as the internal construct of perceptions on the one hand and as the externally located construction of that which is perceived on the other are a constituent part of the general process of cognition. The circularity between the act of perception (as the subjectively and culturally imprinted interpretation of the world) and that which is perceived (as the delimited object of the given reality-construct)—that is, the linkage between observer and observed—has a fundamentally illusionary nature which only becomes apparent when the reality concepts of the own culture are confronted with a basically “other” set of reality concepts. The individual conducting research outside his own culture area takes his point of departure from the area of his own culture and first analyzes the strange unknown with a transcultural, that is, an etic set of concepts, methods and cultural theories. Subject, object and method are a priori determined by the given cultural and scholarly-historical tradition. But etic construct continually falls under suspicion as bringing along with it the own “emic” prejudices. Only in the continuing process of differentiation between internal and external points of view, between “emic” and “etic” perspectives, is the reflexivity of both viewpoints recognized. Just as the concept of reality remains a flowing construct in the reflexivity be-

tween subject and object, so are definitions of “emic” and “etic” dependent upon their more “narrowly” or “broadly” fixed horizons. The principles of dialogue between dynamic internal and external views seem contradictory and yet at the same time complementary, and constitute the flowing polarity between subject and object, perceiver and perceived, method and subject matter, own and other categories. The dialogic (*Dialogik*) proceeds in a continually changing dynamic within an oscillating web, in polarities from individual to group, from “in-group” to “out-group” and in continuing dichotomies of an *intra-* and *inter-*cultural nature (Baumann 1989:89-90). Reality as a construct of cognition is neither emic nor etic, but rather the principle of dialogue in the continuous differentiation of numerous and hierarchically ordered internal and external relationships. In the dissimilarity between different points of view, between the internal and external points of view, a spiral of progression emerges which makes both polar viewpoints relative. In the end, one can recognize that which began as separated is also being bound together, or as summarized by Pike:

When I act, I act as an insider; but to know, in detail, how I act (e.g., the muscle movements), I must secure help from an outside disciplinary system. To *use* the emics of nonverbal (or verbal) behavior I must act like an insider; to *analyze* my own acts, I must look at (or listen to) material as an outsider. But just as the outsider can learn to act like an insider, so the insider can learn to analyze like an outsider (Pike 1990:34).

The two terms “emic” and “etic” mutually determine each other through their complementary system of reference (cf. Pelto & Pelto 1978). Their epistemological meaning lies in their reciprocal delimitation and they demonstrate selective perception in their polar acts of focusing. The differentiated use of these terms in the literature indicates that a simple consensus over their application is scarcely possible, since this cannot be attained in a normative-essential sense (cf. Headland, Pike & Harris 1990). “In any case, what is certain—and intriguing—is that there are many meanings today for emics and etics” (Headland 1990:23).

For these reasons this paper will take over the operational definitions as they have been suggested by Lett (1990:130) in order to investigate in the case of musical “hearing,” “observation” and “inquiry:”

- (1) how these definitions could be applied in an ethnomusicological approach,
- (2) how they function and
- (3) in what ways can they make a positive contribution?

Lett's definitions of "emic" and "etic" also illuminate the complementary character of their conceptual make-up, but go further in stating that "any etic construct must be applicable cross-culturally" (*ibid.*:139). The two definitions can be read as follows, in a synoptically organized overview:

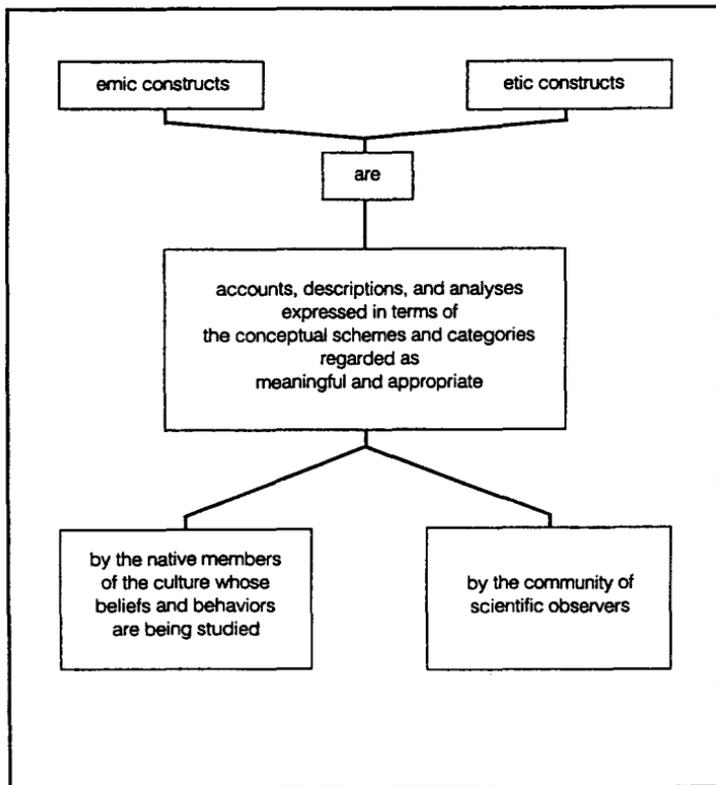


Fig. 1. Operable emic-etic definitions according to Lett (1990:130-1)

The emic construction aims to research the "folk system," that is the conceptual systematization of dates, facts and events developed by the ethnic group itself as the "insider view," while the etic construction takes as its goal the development of an "outsider view" as a conceptual tool for analytical purposes which in intercultural comparisons can provide information concerning the status of potential universals in the theory of culture. Nettl has summarized the difference between emic and etic as "two sides of a coin," and suggests that emic and etic viewpoints might better be labeled "the people's and the anthropologist's analyses" (Nettl 1983:154).

The “insider” and “outsider” views refer in their approach to all levels of ethnographic work: to the processes of observation and inquiry as well as to the interpretation of events, facts and behavior (Baumann 1987:39). As in an optical illusion, the two sides of the same reality are represented, though from different focal points. The contrasting description, which is complementary to the other pole, will also always be necessary. Either one orients oneself toward the pieces or one begins to coordinate towards the whole. Transcendent understanding is in the end based upon both complementary views (Fischer 1990:21-2).

1. From False Listening to Corrective Listening: Hearing as Insider or as Outsider

Encounters with the tonal systems of other cultures have always shown how, using the own reference system (e.g., the European scale), “strange” intervals and tonal sequences have been either misjudged as “artless-primitive” or have been “corrected” to sound like the own conceptual system. In this way, early European music history devalued traditional music cultures as “music of the primitives” or “the beginnings of music,” because the historians, who often held evolutionary world views, applied their own aesthetics as a measuring stick for the Other. Conditioning and stereotyping based on the own cultural patterns of listening can be extremely rigid towards other sounds. I experienced a good example of this with a student who was a highly trained musician and who had absolute pitch in the Western context. Cut off from the listening experiences of other cultures through her practical, European-oriented music making, she reacted vehemently when first confronted in class with a *makam*. The approximate three-quarter tones (160-70 or 130-40 cents) and the slightly smaller seconds (around 80-90 cents) sounded, according to her absolute pitch (with reference to the Western tempered system) “out of tune” and “false” to her. It was difficult to make the student understand emotionally or intellectually that she had expressed, with her absolute pitch, an ethnocentric false listening, and that she had compared the tones of the Turkish scale to an internalized “false” gauge.

When the gap between the listening customs of culture A and culture B is less evident, it is still possible for an ethnocentric corrective listening to occur. In this process a small difference to the own conceptual system is perceived and, when the deviations are not too obvious from one's own emic

Air Chinois.

Chançon des Sauvages du Canada.

Danse Canadienne.

Air Suisse appellé le Rans des Vaches.

Allegro.

Corrente.

Allegro.

Allegro.

Allegro.

Allegro.

The image shows a facsimile of a musical score. It consists of several systems of music. The first system is titled 'Air Chinois.' and has two staves. The second system is titled 'Chançon des Sauvages du Canada.' and has two staves with the lyrics 'Ce ni- de jouer, ce- ni- de jouer. He be be be be beu - - - ra beu - ra ouï té.' below the notes. The third system is titled 'Danse Canadienne.' and has two staves. The fourth system is titled 'Air Suisse appellé le Rans des Vaches.' and has two staves. The fifth system has two staves with the tempo marking 'Allegro.' above the first staff and 'Corrente.' above the second staff. The sixth system has two staves with 'Allegro.' above the first staff. The seventh system has two staves with 'Allegro.' above the first staff. The eighth system has two staves with 'Allegro.' above the first staff. The ninth system has two staves with 'Allegro.' above the first staff. The tenth system has two staves with 'Allegro.' above the first staff.

Fig. 2. Facsimile "Air Suisse appellé le Rans des Vaches" ("Kuhreigen") as transcribed by Jean Jacques Rousseau (Dictionnaire de la Musique, 1768, Appendix N)

The image shows a synoptic comparison of two musical variants. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and 3/8 time, showing a melodic line with a slur over a triplet of notes marked '(3)'. The bottom staff is in bass clef and 3/8 time, showing a corresponding bass line with a slur over a triplet of notes marked '3'. The second system also has two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and 3/8 time, showing a melodic line with a slur over a triplet of notes marked '(3)'. The bottom staff is in bass clef and 3/8 time, showing a corresponding bass line with a slur over a triplet of notes marked '3'. Vertical dashed lines connect the two systems, indicating the comparison of the two variants.

Ex. 1. "Air Suisse appellé le Rans des Vaches" ("Kuhreihen") according to Rousseau (1768, Planche N: Opening Section, transposed to C) in synoptic comparison with the beginning of a melody variant of "Frutt Chueh-Reihe" (1910-12) according to Gassmann (1961:202)

viewpoint, the own-cultural reference system is simply slightly expanded. Rousseau transcribed in his *"Dictionnaire de la Musique"* (1768), for example, a *"Rans des Vaches"* (Example 1). The neutral fourth (the so-called *"Alphorn-Fa"*) notated in this transcription was simply given as a sharpened fourth within the C-major scale. In reality, this *Alphorn-Fa* is actually a "too high" eleventh partial that lies between F and F-sharp. One hundred fifty years later, this notation system was slightly broadened using additional diacritical markings, as was documented for example in variants of a melodic flourish by Gassmann (Example 1).

As a rule, active corrective listening and the "fitting" of pitches and rhythmical patterns to one's own reference system are based upon the emic scales and beat conceptions. This "fitting"—itself an emically determined form of corrective listening—becomes a gauge which then from the outside comes to terms with the Other in an etic way, which is a well-known ethnocentric phenomenon. This phenomenon runs like a thread through the history of intercultural perception as well as transcription. The reference system is, in the case of Rousseau as well as Gassmann, the European notation system which, as an etically defined perceptual and conceptual system, seeks to closely analyze an oral, non-literate tradition through visual (literate) means. At the moment, one hardly realizes how the own categories of thought patterns are superimposed over the "other" reality. The "etic" way of listening and seeing that comes from outside uses its own perceptual and conceptual tools, without questioning them as "emic" constructs. This is an attempt to understand the "strange" and unaccustomed in terms of the "own" notational-literary categories; it is

an approach by an outsider to an inside system, in which the outsider brings his own structure—his own emics—and partly superimposes his observations on the inside view, interpreting the inside in reference to his outside starting point (Pike in a letter to Harris; Harris 1990: 49).

A similar situation can also be seen in the observation and description of yodel melodies. The neutral third and seventh degrees of yodel melodies of central Switzerland are still widespread in more isolated regions. These are yodel melodies whose intervallic relationships cannot be fitted into a "prescriptive" tone system and which therefore also cannot be "correctively" heard "from the outside" in the context of a well-tempered system. Such "wild songs" were at first scarcely documented, but rather ignored because they were beyond the capabilities of systematic transcription. They were therefore stamped with the label "primitive" or "exotic," and for a long time were regarded as not worthy of attention. This occurred also in the simplistic

evolutionary construct that was widespread until around 1900, according to which it was believed that such unstable tones and scales bore witness to the early stages of the own, advanced tone system. According to this etic-ideological construct, everything “starting from the beginnings of simple melodies” were advancing steps towards the more complicated forms of the later “*Kunstschönen*,” or fine arts (Adler 1885:9).

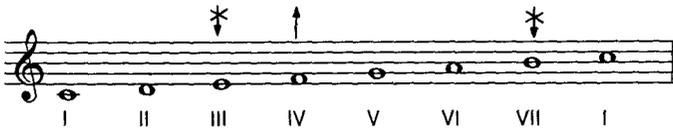
Ex. 2. A Muotathaler “archaic” cattle call and yodeling melody (“*Chuereiheli*”/Kuhreihen) that resists etic “corrective listening” and cannot be fitted into the tempered system. Singer: Toni Büeler, Muotathal (Switzerland), 1973 (Baumann 1976:145).

In an investigation of the repertoire of Toni Büeler, I documented several such cattle calls (*Chuereiheli*), yodel calls and yodel melodies (*Jüüzli*) (Example 2). In reply to my remark that the endings of his *Jüüzli* had no downward glissandos such as were recorded in the first magnetic tape recordings in Muotathal and as presented in the transcriptions of Sichardt (1939:53-4), the singer answered that this fact was related to the competition judgments of the Swiss Yodelers Association. In the yodeling competitions the judges look for the “pure” intonation of tones and that these are steadily held in timbre and volume to the end. When he went to such a competition for the first time, Büeler was rounded laughed at for his “sloping” tones and was told that he was not even able to hold a single concluding tone. Noting this to himself, the singer came back the next year to the competition and won the first prize—he was so well able to take over the musical norms brought in from the outside through the music schools (cf. Baumann 1983:53).

When one is confronted with such phenomena as an outsider, it could seem that this example is an intra-cultural phenomenon of yodeling in central Switzerland. Only upon closer examination does one realize that through the focused, locally conceived view, different musical dialects confront each other which can, in their higher differentiation between insider and outsider views, also be perceived as inter-cultural.

In his film “*Jüüzli* of the *Muotatal* [Switzerland]” (1987) Zemp has thoroughly examined the problem of yodel melody in relation to the neutral third

and seventh degrees. He presents in his analysis the basic conflicting aesthetic views of the traditional yodeler (insider) against those of the “educated,” inter-regionally active Yodelers Association (outsider). The “imposed etic view” (Berry 1990:90) of the Swiss judges basically demands from the competition participants the pitches of the C-major scale. The traditional yodelers who continue to use the orally transmitted neutral third and seventh degrees are criticized for singing off-key. Trained singing allows only the tempered C-major scale with the higher fourth degree (the *Alphorn-Fa*) as an archaic and stereotypical element in the so-called “natural yodel” (*Naturjodel*). The compulsory norm has become therefore for all practical purposes the “corrected listening” form of the transregional outsider (Example 3).



Ex. 3. “Tone scale” with neutral third and seventh degrees and with the *Alphorn-Fa* (fourth raised degree), as still used by traditional singers (emic concept). The association singers trained in the tempered system criticize as outsiders, with their “etic concept,” the traditional neutral intonation of the third and seventh tone levels and only accept the stereotypical *Alphorn-Fa* in the so-called natural yodel melody (according to Zemp 1987).

Under pressure from the etically determined aesthetic, the emic-traditional view has been maintained in only a few isolated areas. Most yodeling cow herders bow to the rules of judgment and normative view of the many city people and do not want to expose themselves to laughter and ridicule from outsiders as being “untrained” or even “primitive.” The singing of end tones of yodel melodies (which in the older tradition either stopped abruptly with a glottal stop or faded away in a rapidly falling glissando) has undergone this fate. Again, the normative aesthetic brought from the outside—that one should end a melody line with an even and relaxed vocal quality—has become obligatory for most insiders. The same applies to the traditional register break, which occurs between the head and chest voice and which is not allowed by the trained yodelers (Zemp 1987;1988). In this discussion it cannot be overlooked that the confrontation between insiders and outsiders presents the dynamic basis for the intra- and interpersonal as well as the intra- and intercultural processes. The insider view can adjust itself to the outsider concept and begin to harmonize with it, and vice versa. The “insider view” can also in some cases consciously seek cognitive dissonance with the outsider. Festinger (1978:16-7), however, believes that disso-

nance—that is, the existence of contradictory relationships—is an independently motivating factor. Humans tend to reduce inconsistency (dissonance) in order to create consistency (consonance). In the cognitive dissonance between “insider” and “outsider view,” that is between two ways that “do not fit one another,” the individual attempts to avoid the further intake of inconsistency. According to Festinger (1978:42), this pressure produces a change in behavior and cognition or else caution in confronting new information and new opinions. Here lies the basis of the circular structure, which circumscribes the polar points of view as more or less flexible and understands conscious “understanding” as the approach and differentiation between emically and etically determined points of view.

2. Aspects of Transcultural Listening

In the opinion of Kubik (1983:363-4), tone system patterns, once enculturated, are so engrained in an individual that he or she reflexively compares and interprets the acoustic stimuli of the outside world with these patterns. Once learned, listening habits are probably irreversible in the perception of scales. I tend to doubt whether this is actually so; one can indeed hypothetically assume that a person can enculturate to a certain degree a second musical system. Evidence for this can be found in the case of yodeler Toni Büeler, who could adequately behave in both tone systems and avoid cognitive dissonance in front of each group. In addition, Hood's concept of bi-musicality (1960) and Alan P. Merriam's investigation of compartmentalization among the Flathead Indians (Merriam & Merriam 1967) can also be regarded as evidence of the ability to learn other musical systems. According to these ideas, a musician can move freely between two or more musical languages without mixing up the two teaching and learning systems with one another and without penetrating one or the other system syncretically. Especially when two music systems are not compatible with one another, such as that of the Flathead Indians and that behind the Christian hymns, is it possible for both systems to persist equally, side by side:

In this dual situation the Flathead have kept the two kinds of music learning and activity apart, so that no traces of traditional music appear in Western performance, and no traces of the Western idiom appear in traditional performance (Merriam 1971:315).

Hood as well considers it possible through “intense imitative practice” to alter the aural perception of Western provenance in its confrontation with another tone system to the point that aural perception is able to free itself

completely from the twelve-tone tempered scale (Hood 1960:57). Based on such reflections, one could distinguish aural perception in both categories of etically and emically suitable listening.

What is interesting in this discussion concerning correct listening with respect to suitable tone systems is that, from the European-American view, the "emic" facts are as a rule only validated through tonometric measurements. Before the tonometric measurements of Alexander J. Ellis (1885), the "scales" of other cultures were often simply judged as "wild in nature" or "incomprehensible howling." That which was "cultural" in their "tone systems" was first recognized on the basis of evidence of empirical data. This etic view of verification is, however, from the outset imbued with an "etic-analytical" scientific concept which gives preference to the category of the visually observable over the category of the hearable. The "community of scientific observers" (Lett 1990:131) is still directed by the Western consensus method of "objective" observation knowledge.

However, the fact that this "objective" procedure of tonometric measurement was called into question at a later point is shown above all in the rekindled discussion concerning the "equidistant pentatonic scale." Empirical tests have shown that among metallophones of the *gamelan* or African xylophones, for example, the "punctually" conceived tone placements and pitches cannot be regarded so "one dimensionally." As a result of their complex forms of vibration, enharmonic spectra and often "noisy" structures, individual pitches cannot—as Schneider and Beurmann have convincingly proven—be established in terms of "any kind of fundamental frequency that is analogous to the structure of harmonic sounds" (Schneider & Beurmann 1990:495, 501). As shown by spectral analysis, frequency cannot be comprehended only in terms of "pitch." Hearing tests have shown that a pure tone with a vibration of 440 Hz with steadily increasing volume is perceived by individual listeners within a group quite differently. Whereas a tone "objectively" rises for the one listener, another hears the tone in the same "objective way" fall in pitch (Campbell & Greated 1988:71). In addition, tuning according to "overtones" (namely, according to the harmonic row) often does not stand up to acoustical verification since—for example in the case of the African xylophone—the art of the tuner distinguishes itself in that he "smoothes" an enharmonic spectrum through the manipulation of wooden keys "until the particularly disturbing components are eliminated and at the same time the desired pitch impression is created" (Schneider & Beurmann 1990:518).

The "universally applicable" cents system introduced by Ellis—an octave is divided into 1200 cents, or a half-tone into 100 cents—can be under-

stood as an “etic construct” in the sense of Lett (1990:131), but it is not in this naive, “one dimensional” manner cross-culturally applicable. “Assumed” universals of octave hearing lie at the basis of this system, as well as the “artificial” reference system of tempered tuning. In reference to the latter, it is possible to indicate deviations in cents or staff notes with diacritical symbols. In addition, the question arises whether the perception of the octave exists in all cultures as a seemingly objective norm of measurement and whether octaves—without (acquired) pre-knowledge—really are so clearly identifiable. It does seem, according to Handel (1989:326) that in almost all cultures the tones that are separated from each other by an octave are musically relevant:

Although the physical argument for the uniqueness of the octave is compelling, the actual perceptual evidence is weaker. On the whole, the results of many varied studies suggest that octave equivalence is perceived by experienced musical listeners in all contexts but is perceived by less-experienced listeners only in a musical context and not when using isolated notes (Handel 1989:345).

Experiments using recordings of a pan flute ensemble in which paired instruments play the same melody simultaneously with an interlocking technique, in five parallel octaves have shown me that an unprepared ear cannot immediately hear these “parallel octaves” (cf. Baumann 1990:mus. ex. 3) This is not at all surprising. The pan flutes are very rich in overtones and the individual tones have in their “tone placement” a relatively wide range within an anhemitonic pentatonic as well. If one explains to the listeners after the first listening in a few words what it was about—how the simultaneous tones were produced and what sound principle underlies them—they say “aha!” and clap their heads, wondering why they had not spontaneously heard these parallel octaves before. This also shows clearly how selective perception is directly controlled through knowledge and what circular knowledge and listening are like. To express this in a somewhat pointed way, one can say that one hears only what one knows. On the one hand our auditory system groups the flowing-in sounds in a simple way and governs on the other hand the listening process through memory-guided schemes that compare the sounds with the incorporated knowledge of similar sounds (cf. Bregman 1990:641).

How the issue of the octave principle demonstrates an aspect of the physiology of hearing as well is shown in the observable evidence that the internal pitch scale is easily “stretched” in relation to the standard pitch scale (Harwood 1976:525). This means that musicians with, as well as without, absolute pitch

use a "stretched" internal scale on which an octave between two successive tones corresponds to a frequency ratio slightly greater than 2:1 (Campbell & Greated 1988:98).

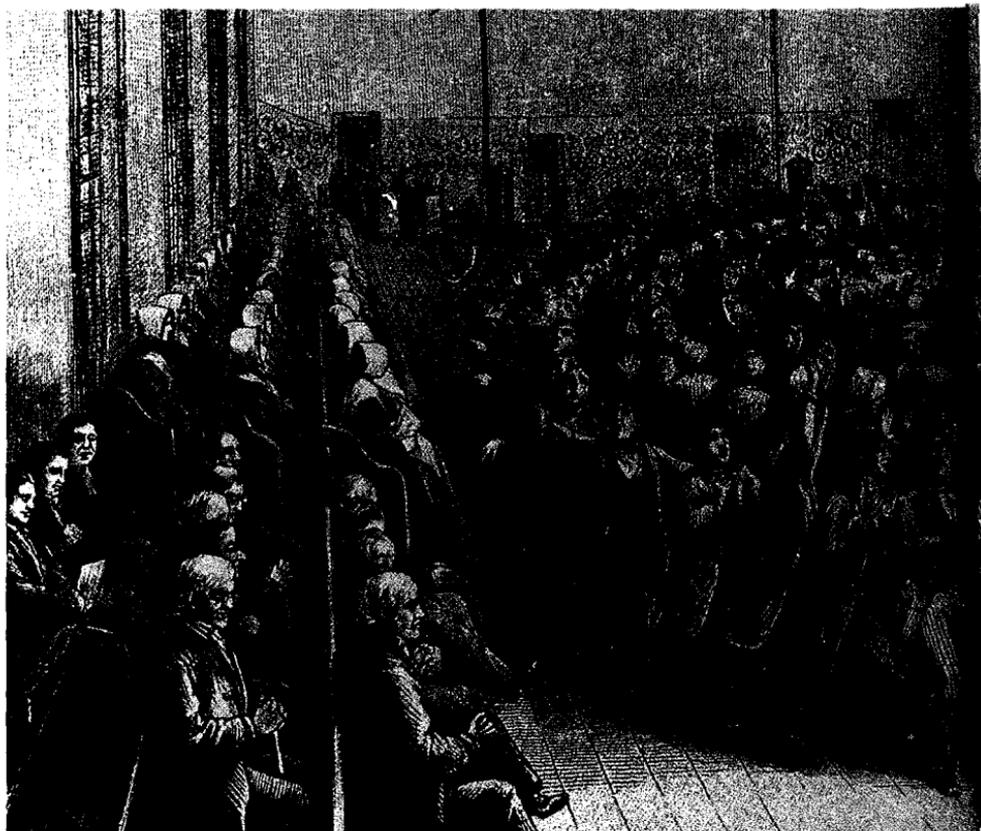
The octave as a measurement of tuning is, in the end, not simply an objective given. Quite apart from the fact that each pitch perception is also determined through "chroma," subjective as well as cultural factors provide evidence that the concept of a "universally given octave" requires a thoroughly differentiated consideration. It has already been demonstrated by Hood (1966) that the concepts of the octave and the interval of the fifth are determined by cultural factors. Through the mostly "paired tuning" of the bronze slabs in the Balinese *gamelan*, beat frequencies that "are close to dissonance" are produced. One assumes a concept of higher (*pengisĕp* or *ngisĕp*) or lower (*pĕngumbang* or *ngumbang*) tuned pitches (Hood 1966:30-1; Schumacher 1985:40). Through the beat frequencies is produced a pulsating sound, a "vibrating back and forth" (*jenjorog*), which results from the slight differences in the simultaneously sounded tones and which can be derived from the cultural concept of "compressed" or "stretched" octave. These stretched or compressed octaves differ according to the different octave placements:

The tuning of Javanese *gamelan sléndro* and *pélog* is based on distinct patterns of compressed and stretched octaves with one or more errant tones establishing a contradictory pattern (Hood 1966:30).

Tjodorda Mas, an informant of Hood, also explains:

The first octave of the *panjatiah*, an instrument voiced in the third and fourth octaves of the five-octave range of the melodic instruments, is considered a "central octave," and ... each successive octave higher is tuned a whole or a half *penjorog* sharper and each successive octave lower a whole or a half *penjorog* flatter. The degree of stretching and compressing of octaves can be determined from either *pengisĕp* or *pĕngumbang* instruments because the difference (*penjorog*) between high and low keys of paired instruments throughout all octaves is a constant factor (Hood 1966:32).

With his investigations, which above all were supported by the "insider view" of informants, Hood proved false the theoretical measurements of Kunst (1949:51-70). He demonstrated that the theory of equidistant intervals in *sléndro* as presented by Ellis and Kunst did not hold true and that the individual gongs were not tuned in "pure" octaves to one another. Hood's disproving of this theory was above all a result of his experience as a "practitioner," that is, from his active music making in terms of his concept of bi-musicality and from his consequent observation and questioning of native



musical concepts. He indirectly criticized the theoretical concept of Kunst, whose etic "studies were limited to physical description and therefore missed important features related to musical style" (Hood 1966:30). Hood's emic view led at the same time to a correction of the etically conceived hypothesis of Kunst. A striking detail can be found in the fact that Kunst's theoretical explanation of equidistant tuning was taken over in theory by the native musicians, without having changed the non-equidistant tuning of the traditional practice (Hood 1971:221-2). This provides evidence that data gathered through emic interviews do not necessarily represent factual reality (cf. Harris 1968:567). The argumentation and verification of evidence by Hood occurred however exactly in the context of the differentiation of the emic and etic views that stood in conflict with each other. Hood used in the end the frequency and cents measurements of the "etic" procedure to check the



Fig. 3. *Circular March, wheel-a-wheel dance. "The Shakers in Niskayuna, religious exercises. Possibly drawn by Joseph Becker. From Leslie's Popular Monthly, 1885 (cf. Patterson 1979:266; Andrews 1948:10)*

"emically" collected knowledge. In the final analysis, emic and etic listening, observation and inquiry must come together in a differentiated dialogue with one another. Just as the questions of the outsiders bring new formulations of problems to the insider, the etic effort can be forced to a "course correction" under emically posed questions. Listening is not a one dimensional process but rather a multi-dimensional one that is not only dependent upon the interaction of the senses but also upon what one says and what one asks (Baumann 1992:123). Each inquiry fragments a holistic view with selective perceptions. The more detailed the selective perceptions, the less secure become the general assumptions, so that McPhee, viewing the etic concept of tonometric measurement, came to the rather sobering conclusion:

No two gamelans are tuned exactly alike, and deviation in what is considered to be essentially the same scale can be great, so that one might with reason state that there are as many scales as there are gamelans (McPhee 1966:36).

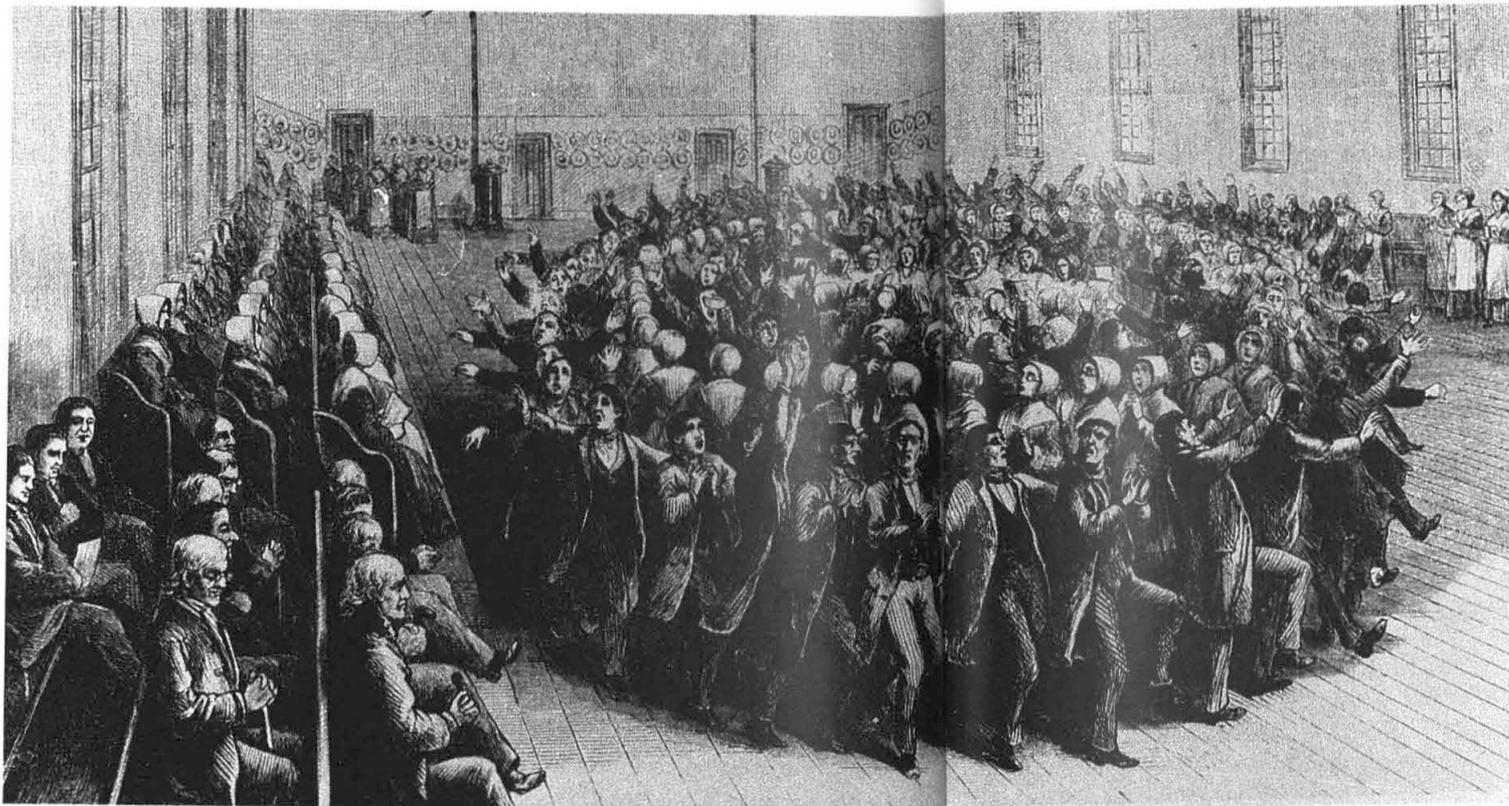


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3. Cultural Subjectivity or Listening with the “Inward Ear”

Emically adequate listening, that is, listening with the concepts and categories of a specific culture, assumes in an emphatic way the understanding of the corresponding “world.” The traditions of listening as an “inner vision” and of perceiving of voices, recited texts or “heavenly songs” are manifested in almost all the great cultures, especially through their shamans and religious founders. These traditions throw not only a particular light on a special world view, but also on a large share of each culture’s culture-inherent subjectivity of auditory impressions and visions. Mechthild von Magdeburg listened in her religious visions “with the ears of my eternal spirit” (“*mit den oren mines ewigen geistes*”), and she was instructed to write down what she heard. Mohammed recited at the command of an angel the verses of the Koran, which had previously been unknown to him; the Saint Yared heard “in the heavens the song of the angel,” Saint Gregory wrote down melodies under the impression of spiritual inspiration, the Tibetan yogi and mystic Milarepa heard in an enlightened state of consciousness the “music of the spheres.” This “subjectivistic” heightened sense of hearing as a tradition of the inward voice (cf. Baumann [forthc]), which usually is a result of an altered state of consciousness and through which complete songs, texts and books have been transmitted, seems to appear in almost all cultures. From the culture-imminent view, the inner voices are generally rooted in existing belief concepts. The high degree of “emically determined” subjectivity and individuality of these men of “heightened listening” (*Hellhörigkeit*) suggests that the intercultural concept of “emic” view itself be reexamined. This is because, as a rule, it is “abnormal” people who begin to take up a culturally prominent place in a society and to found a new tradition. Because of their strong subjectivity, their “emic” concepts are not further questioned, but rather either accepted as “God-given” or—when not accepted—thoroughly “damned.”

Gospels or hymns, for example, were received by the Shakers in the 19th century through the help of a “medium” for godly inspiration. Many “gift songs” (Patterson 1983), “songs in unknown tongues,” “circular dances” (Figure 3), “letteral notations,” and “floral gift drawings” were received in visions in an altered state of consciousness around the end of the 1830s. “Spiritual beings,” deceased Shakers, Mother Ann, Jesus, “God Almighty,” “Holy Mother Wisdom,” even “native spirits” began to appear to individual Shakers and to instruct them in auditory and visual visions to transmit their “messages” or spiritual songs to the community (Patterson 1979:25, 265, 316-7, 326).

Numerous new gospels were transmitted in trance or in dreams from angels or spirits of the dead (Figure 4). In 1837 it was said of some children in North Union (near Cleveland, Ohio), that they "heard some beautiful singing which seemed to be in the air above their heads" (Cook 1973:49). And a manuscript from Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, reports the following:

De Muder's Song.

O Hallelu! hallelu! tal a me de quay moe'nti,
Mo se lun de sun Lo Jah me pray to me
God. Me souw, me fly from de Heavens,
from de holy Heavens, On de wings of pure love.
Me descend to de Earth wid de heavenly sound.
Me bring de great blessing from de Holy Saban,
And de holy, heavenly treasures, From de
shiny Muder Ann. Ime Lo! Ho ho ho hohoho!
De great Work of de God be at hand. And he'll brin
rest and goulder into his garners, de fruit of his hand!

Fig. 4. "De Muder's Song:" Indian song in "tongues" and spirit writing in a letter. Shaker Letter Box, New Lebanon, Feb. 2, 1845 (Cook 1973:106)

This song was sung by an angel to Z. P. April 22nd 1939. George Washington was present & said, if he had heard it sung at that day, he should have bowed his heart in thankfulness to God. The angel had a very singular trumpet with two branches curled one under each wing; & the mouth of it, from whence the sound issued, was in front of the breast, & by pressing the branches it caused it to sound. Z. P. did not retain the words nor the song when she heard it sung. But on [Thursday] the 25th the words were revealed to her; and she was told she would receive the song in dream. On Monday the 29th, feeling unwell, she laid herself down and fell asleep, and in her sleep the song was given to her (Patterson 1979:25).

Such cases of "heightened listening" inspiration, received while in a state of altered consciousness, are known in almost all cultures. Shamens often hear songs in dreams or in trance, experienced in a state of higher intensity and received through a "helper spirit." Altered states of consciousness are induced through various techniques, such as controlled breathing, meditation, dreaming, fasting, dancing, drumming, drugs, etc. The Sioux Indian Brave Buffalo testified that the dream song "A Buffalo said to me" (Example 4) was brought to him from the spirit of the chief buffalo in his first dream, as follows:

When I was 10 years old, I dreamed a dream, and in my dream a buffalo appeared to me. I dreamed that I was in the mountains and fell asleep in the shade of a tree. Something shook my blanket. It was a buffalo, who said, "Rise and follow me." I obeyed (...) The chief buffalo told me that I had to represent them in life (Densmore 1972:173-4).

Voice ♩ = 69

Wa - hi - na - wa - pin kte wan - ma - yan - ka yo be yo wa -

hi - na - wa - pin kte wan - ma - yan - ka yo be yo wa - hi - na - wa - pin kte wan

- ma - yan - ka yo be yo ta - tan - ka wan he - ma - ki ya

be yo wa - hi - na - wa - pin kte wan ma - yan - ka yo be yo

Words

<i>wahi'nawa'piŋ kte</i>	I will appear
<i>wanma'yaŋka yo</i>	behold me
<i>tatan'ka wan</i>	a buffalo
<i>hema'kiya</i>	said to me

Ex. 4: "A Buffalo Said to Me," dream song sung by Brave Buffalo (Densmore 1972:174).

Comparable (emic) concepts of listening and of song inspiration are also found among the Australian Aborigines. The musician and painter Alan Maralung (ca. 1925-1990), who came from Barunga in northwestern Australia, received his *wangga* songs from two spirits (*wahru*): from a small bird *bungridj-bungridj* and from *Balandjirri*, the spirit of a deceased songman. The *wangga* songs were transferred to him in a state of heightened awareness, that is, in "dreamtime." "Boy, you listen. You might be frightened. Are you asleep?" *Balandjirri* announces himself in this way in his dream: "We've got to show you this song, Minmin Light." And *Balandjirri* as well as his "son," the *didjeridu* player, sing the *wangga* song to him in his dream and warn him at the same time not to forget the song: "I sang this *wangga* for you. It's yours" (Marett & Barwick [forthc]:12-3).

What for the shaman is the "helping spirit," is for the Quaker the "still small voice within," for the Shaker the "Mother Wisdom," for the Hindu the "inner guru," for the *candomblé* dancer the *orixá*, for the Christian the "Holy Ghost," for the Muslim the inner truth (*ḥaqīqah*), for the Zen Buddhist the "sound of one hand clapping," for the Jung psychologist the "inner teacher" Philemon, for the representative of "New Age philosophy" "channeling"—and for the materialist, however, simply neurochemical fireworks.

When one presents such a materialist with a case from an "emically" prejudiced report, such as is described for example in psychiatry, one becomes aware that the etic-empirical diagnosis of these and similar cases remain highly problematical. An organist and organ-builder (H. L., born 1889) was labeled, for example, a case of advanced paranoia. His illness, expressed through a steadily maintained state of delusion, referred to musical events. He received messages from the Other Side; his music, he said, was sent from God and he had an undetectable "para-anatomic" sending and receiving device under his diaphragm. His body was a form of cosmic organ (Figure 5). The patient wrote an essay about music entitled "Toward the Recognition of the Human Body as the Earthly Temple of God." He said that he was in contact with a soul that had formerly suffered and that now followed a

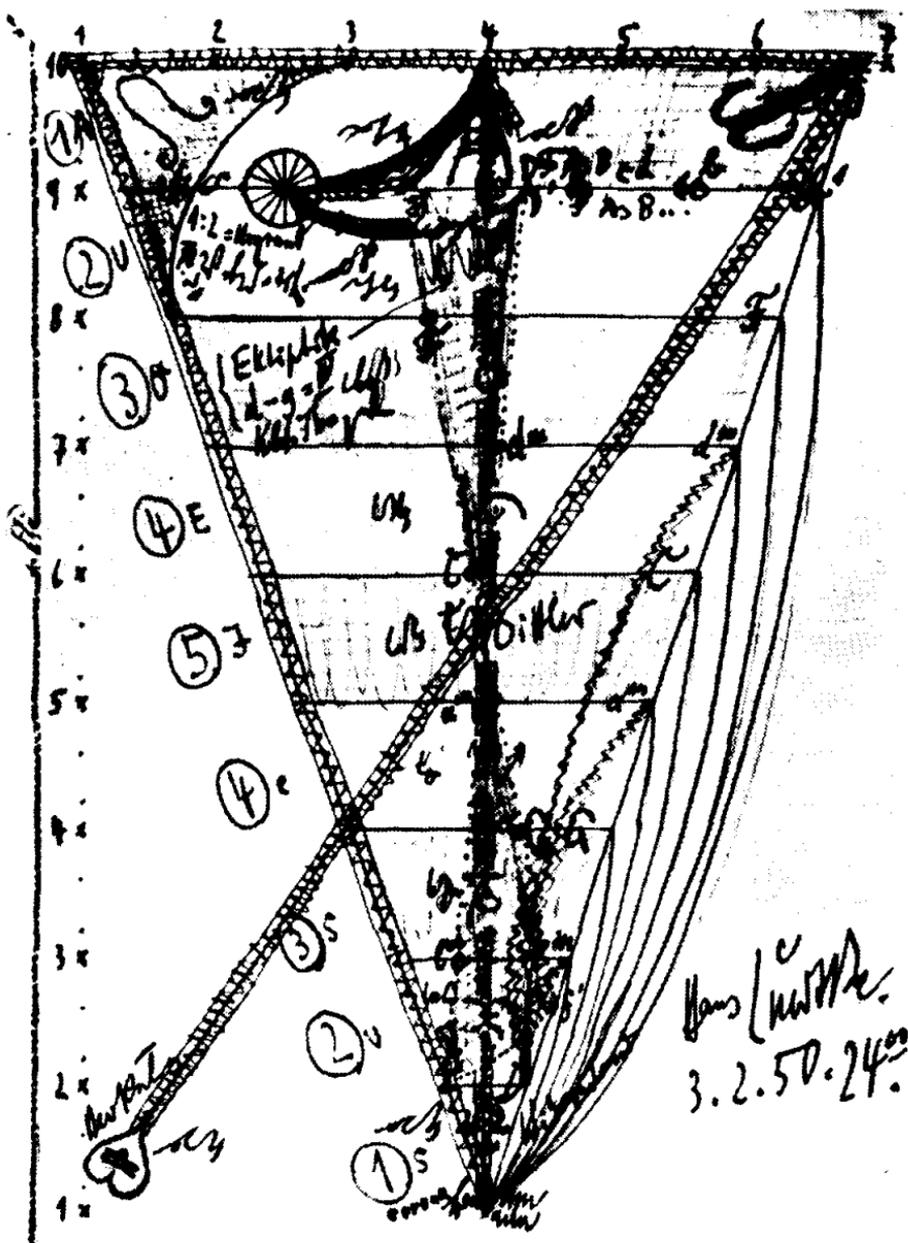


Fig. 5. Sketch of a schizophrenic, "Towards the perception of the human body as the earthly temple of God": "Rotating Spindle" as "Naval point of the World"; "Tender listening to voices from the other side" (Perler 1969:233)

path high above the earth in the vicinity of God. This spirit brought to him "tender listening to voices from the Other Side and also of music," in which correct breathing technique played an important role (Perler 1969:225, 233-5). As a composer, the patient was only the receiver of godly "music dictation." The musical inspiration of numerous improvisations on the piano was expanded to the supernatural-godly. As a musician, the patient became conspicuous before he fell ill because of his unique interpretations of Bach, "in which he, in sound as well as in rhythm, undertook astonishingly arbitrary deviations" (*ibid.*:233).

From the materialistic-empirical and "etic-transcultural" viewpoint of orthodox psychiatry, and with the methods of this arbitrary level of observation, most religious founders would also probably be diagnosed as mentally "sick." This would be particularly so in cases that have been abstracted from the ritualization of context or from the context of their ritualization. "Emic" subjectivity and its individual spectrum within a specific cultural context as well as within a conceptual context of altered states of consciousness becomes scarcely comprehensible from the etic-empirical viewpoint of an individual culture and cannot be taken seriously in this way. It is only with an etic-transcultural concept coming from outside that "inward listening" can be newly addressed in comparison to many diverse (emic) ideas. It appears that a wide spectrum of consciousness lies between the pathological "hearing of voices," the imagination and the subjective reality of "musical channeling," between schizophrenia, depersonalization, role playing and multiple personalities, and between shamanistic, religious and meditative spirituality (cf. Evans 1989). In practical terms this means that the interpretation of such phenomena is for the most part determined through personal beliefs and philosophy or through a personal world hypothesis. This applies both to the observers as well as to those observed. Most scientists, however, still accept the unquestioned consensual assumptions of their culture or of their scholarly community and interpret their world through them (Walsh 1990:135):

Phenomena relevant to an understanding of consciousness such as myth, dreaming, vision quest, healing, trance states, and so forth, which were once thought to be marginal to the ethnographic enterprise, have gradually become of prime concern to anthropologists, both in fieldwork and in the construction of theory. This development, combined with an inherent tendency within the discipline to consider societies, cultures, and persons from a holistic point of view, places anthropology in the forefront of disciplines able to give credence to a view of consciousness that is at the same time neurocognitively processual, nondualistic, and transpersonal (Laughlin, McManus & d'Aquili 1990:5).

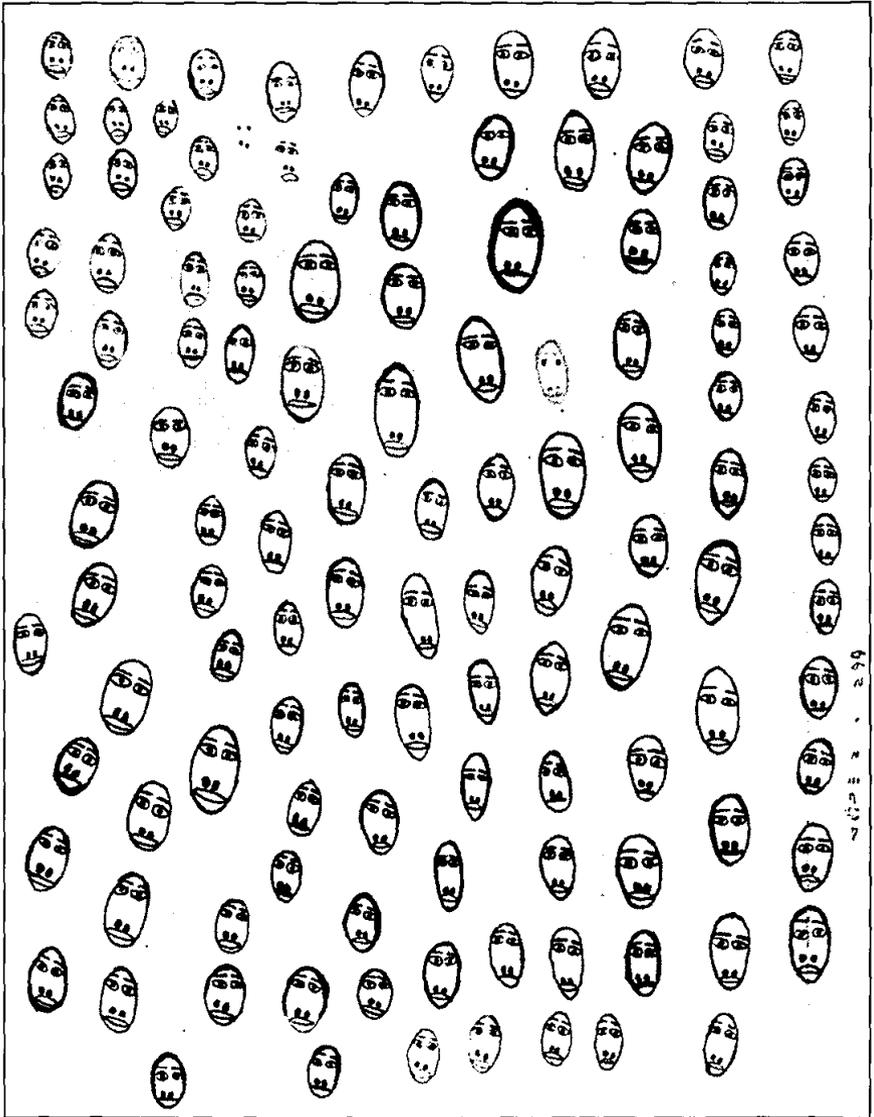


Fig. 6. "People stunned by the drum". An 'Eskimo' drawing of an audience entranced by drumming by Luke Anguhadluq, Baker Lake, 1972 (cf. Walsh 1990:175)

4. Towards Observing, Questioning and Interpreting That Which Is Heard: Reflections on the Notative or Intentional Method of Observation

What is heard is in many cases dependent upon what one sees or, said another way, when one does not see certain processes, these will also be heard differently. Hearing and seeing are internally interlinked. According to Bregman (1990:652), "vision" and "audition" show a certain similarity to one another and "vision" can also result in sounds being differently perceived, and vice versa. It seems that, already at birth, seeing is related to hearing, and hearing is related to seeing. The sense of vision often understands tones differently through the "absorption of patterns of movements" by musicians (cf. Kubik 1973:173) as when the sounds come abstractly over loudspeakers, without any visual support. The selective hearing of an instrument within the complete sound body of an orchestra and its specific extrapolation through listening is more successful when it is supported by seeing and concentrating on the individual musicians who bring out the tones. The ear may be able to dissect complex polyrhythmic or cross-rhythmic patterns into their simpler components—or at all—only when (for example in African drum music) it is supported by visually interpreted movement impulses. Schlager, among others, reports about musicians from Bali who literally lead beginners by the hand until the music "sits" in their hands. A Balinese relates: "My head does not remember the melody anymore, only my hands" (Schlager 1976-I:23). Seeing, feeling, tasting, even smelling can structure listening. I once heard a student say, while awaiting his dreaded flute lesson, "It stinks here like music!"; he had associated music with the specific smell of the room where his weekly torturous lessons took place. Broadly understood, all senses participate in listening interactively. A topic often gains importance simply through focusing on specific areas such as "pitch," "tone color," and "rhythm" which may be important in the empirical-etic view, but perhaps inadequate in terms of "emic" understanding. That such inquiry is fruitful can be traced to the "etic" concept which is—as Lett says—cross-culturally applicable. This "etic" concept emphasizes less what is in the head of the individual musician as "emic" knowledge, but rather questions in which ways "emic" knowledge differs in various cultures, at which points analogous phenomena appear and how these can be transculturally explained.

Fundamentally, however, in each case of fragmented questioning we must take the interaction of the senses as an assumption, since listening can also be linked with colors, with height and depth, with that which precedes

and that which follows, with smoothness and roughness, and with joy and sadness, only to name a few qualities. Listening can be synaesthetically related to visual, spatial and temporal impressions, as well as with tactile, smell- and taste-related perceptions (Baumann 1992:123-4). And all these sensual perceptions are themselves modeled by the emic-etic dichotomy of insider or outsider understanding. To what degree this synaesthetic listening is different in individual people and how it is formed in different cultures remains open as a set of subjective, intra- and inter-cultural questions. In general it appears that each emically as well as etically posed question becomes highly complex in a holistic context as long as one does not limit himself from the beginning to only fragmented aspects.

Two paths have been principally demonstrated for the interpretation of culture. Either I ask about etic-transcultural and generalized knowledge, which uses comparative methods of observation and questioning on different cultures, or I am interested only in culture-inherent lines of questioning, according to the dictum that what interests me is only what is going on in the heads of the musicians and singers. This concept of "emic analysis" only provides evidence at the beginning for an "idiocultural valuation and conceptualization" (Simon 1978:36), or perhaps for only a local tradition, if not only for an individual musician. However, at the moment when the investigation moves into quantification, the process is usually already controlled by an etic principle of questioning and observation which is no longer based on a culture-inherent principle (cf. Masson 1981). The emic process contributes essentially to the broadening of the etic-analytic framework of observation and inquiry:

In other words, while etics can be a direct means for comparison, emics cannot be compared directly. In this case, however, emics can give an important indication or orientation to etics (Yamada 1980:189).

Furthermore,

since data gathering in the field should be evaluated from a pragmatic point of view in terms of usefulness and credibility, the problem lies not in which model, emic or etic, to use but in how to integrate them in order to collect effective and reliable information (*ibid.*:188).

The data gathered through a qualitative process about the folk taxonomy in no way excludes the quantification methods of a cross-cultural and analytical taxonomy. Fischer and Zanolli (1968) have defined these two fundamental theoretical methods of ethnography for the presentation of a cultural image as being (1) on the notative and (2) on the intentional level of observation. These basically correspond to the division between etic (transcultural)

and emic (culture-inherent) ways of observation. Both authors insist that the notative observation, measurement and notation of empirical data should not be "matted" on the level of ethnography with the intentional data of culture-bearers themselves.

On the notative level of observation the observer classifies all new phenomena at the moment of observation according to the own pre-given criteria of knowledge, that is, essentially in terms of his culture or his tradition of scholarship. Musical instruments, for example, are immediately categorized according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system, without asking whether this system corresponds to a culturally inherent categorization. The conceptual description of material phenomena and of musical ways of behavior are directed toward the current criteria and scholarly paradigms of "observable" facts. Scales are identified, for example, as pentatonic and described without clarifying whether this concept of content is at all relevant in the culture being investigated. Pitches are identified as being "high" or "low" according to a framework of perception and conceptualization that has been established in the ethnomusicological scholarly tradition and its language. In the beginning of notative research, the own language system of perception and conceptualization is "thrown over" the world view of the foreign culture. The methods of a notative level of observation implies the (at first naive) concept of a possible intersubjective verification of observation through simple acceptance and rejection of statements on the basis of watching, listening etc. However, as long as the postulate of intersubjective verification is not interculturally broadened and understood, etically conceived "observation" will remain in its own way "ethnocentric."

In contrast to this, one attempts on the intentional level of observation above all to comprehend particular musical concepts of a given culture through its idiocultural conceptualization. This occurs by questioning the culture bearers themselves. The ethnologist aims

to set aside temporarily his own cultural background and to adapt his own experience to those of the observed individuals in order to recognize the phenomena from the viewpoint of the native-born, that is, of the observed culture bearer (Fischer & Zanolli 1968:5).

With this "insider view," pitches can no longer be described simply as "high" or "low" but rather must be described appropriately to each culture, for example as "small" and "large" tones, or as "bright" or "gloomy," etc. A concept such as "music" can no longer be applied as naturally intersubjective. It must be replaced with culture-specific concepts and content. Systems of musical instrument classification must be presented ac-

ording to the culture-specific criteria of categorization, whether that means on the basis of the material from which the instruments are made, the nature of the vibrating material or the principle of playing technique. The intentional level of observation will give expression to the musical concepts of other cultures in terms of their own concepts and thoughts (cf. Baumann 1981:16-9). But such an emically conceived ethnography as intentional construction remains in its own way specifically "ethnocentric" and basically overlooks the dialogue principle in the encounter of cultures that was already a given from the beginning. Still, as a means of self-guidance and self-control, this concept—just as the dichotomy between emic-etic—has its methodological justification.

The goal of ethnomusicology is to obtain emic as well as etic (transcultural) knowledge. In terms of knowledge theory, however, both perspectives stand—as already mentioned in the beginning—in a relationship of complementary reciprocity to one other. The case of "listening" demonstrates with a few examples how "emically" won knowledge gives new life to the "etic" posing of questions. Conversely, it is also the questioning brought from outsiders which transforms the idiocultural self-estimation and value concepts of individuals and groups. Whether this latter achieves positive or negative effects can only be decided with a question of ethics which lies at the basis of a dialogue free of domination by one side or the other and which is aware of the relativity and permeability of perception and reality in both the insider and the outsider views. Only both aspects brought together, that of the insider and the outsider, can produce a transpersonal, holistic interpretation and understanding. In the final analysis, the emic-etic dialogue must not lead to the own-cultural or scholarly self-confirmation, to the creation of absolute truths or to the cementing of relationships of domination. As emic-etic dialogue, the knowledge process cannot refer absolutely to delimitation or exclusion, but rather must in the end serve those walking on the border dividing the two sides. In the interpretive process the "emic" as well as "etic" perspectives are conceived as parts which define, specify and complement each other. In the perspective of participation and interpretation, subject and object are inseparably bound to one another:

This interdependence becomes clear in that I can never begin with a pure, uncontaminated presentation of one or the other and, no matter where I begin to describe, I have to deal to some degree with a fractal that only reflects what I do: this is to describe (Varela 1990:307-8).

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