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Correction Notice

Correction to Karadeniz (2020)

In the article “Traditional References of the Modern Ballade by Akses” by İsmet Karadeniz (Musicologist - International Journal of Music Studies, 2020, Vol 4, No. 2, pp 198–226. https://doi.org/10.33906/musicologist.773604), the “10-beat” rhythmic pattern of the *Çeng-i Harbî usûl* is referred to incorrectly as “15-beat” four times beginning from the “Example No. 7: mm.370-462” section of the article. All of these “15-beat” terms of the article should have appeared as “10-beat”.

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Research Article
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In Defence of the Term and Concept of Traditional Music

ABSTRACT
Regardless of Eric Hobsbawm's negativistic understanding, 'tradition' is a powerful and dynamic (and in no way traditionalist) concept in academic folkloristics. The widespread scepticism against 'traditional music', both as a recognizable field of research and a matter of theoretical thought, is based on an insufficient and sometimes stereotypic understanding of a term and concept with a fascinating history. I argue that there is good reason to maintain a term which is intrinsically linked to core issues of ethnomusicology, among them community-based music, cultural innovation, oral/aural transmission, sonic orders, and stylistic pluralism.

KEYWORDS
Ethnomusicology
Folkloristics
Traditional music

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> "The interest evinced, since the beginning of the present century, by several European nations in the popular songs, folk-lore, and other monuments of the mental condition of man in different parts of the world, is therefore a sign of progress not less delightful than the most important discoveries which have been made through the agency of practical science."
>
> Carl Engel (1866: vii)

Definitions always have something suspicious about them, especially when we consider the impressive rise of 'inclusiveness', both as a social ideal and a rhetorical figure. There is no identity—be it of phenomena or of groups of humans—without exclusion. That is why, in my conviction, group identity should not be emphasized too much, and for the same reason 'identity politics' is in the focus of most critical intellectual debates nowadays (see Francis Fukuyama, Steven Pinker, Slavoj Žižek, Jordan Peterson, Alain Finkielkraut, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Bari Weiss, to name a few). Less problematical (in terms of ethics, but not necessarily methodology) is the categorization of things, processes, and ideas, including processes and ideas related to music. When we talk about 'popular music', we presuppose that there are other styles and genres of music not covered by this concept—which does not mean that they cannot be popular. In the first case 'popular' is used as a classifying, in the second, as a qualitative adjective.

Do we need classifying adjectives to distinguish one type of music from another? This is probably the case in many different encounters within the world of music, for practical reasons alone—when a connoisseur of a certain musical genre enters a CD shop or a music library, or when a musician looks for fellow musicians. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that a considerable part of musical performances cannot be subsumed under common categories. Do musicologists in general, and ethnomusicologists in particular, need a concept of 'traditional music'? To answer this question, I will try to briefly outline both the concept of tradition and of traditional music in ethnomusicology, as well as in neighbouring academic fields.

Concepts of *tradition*

Concepts based on the notion of 'tradition' have a long history in ethnomusicology and folkloristics, but the first discipline to establish *traditional* as a classifying adjective is sociology, with its concept of 'traditional society'. Furthermore, according to Ewa Dahlig-Turek, "Polish cultural sociologist Jerzy Szacki suggests three possible meanings of 'tradition': (1) process of transmission, (2) object of transmission, and (3) evaluative attitude towards the transmitted content." (Dahlig-Turek, 2012: 313). All three of these meanings should be considered in the present discussion.

Sociology

Far from being universally acknowledged in sociology, the concept of *traditional societies* is opposed to *industrial societies* or (more frequently today) to *modern societies*. When Reinhard Bendix pointed to "the ideological implications of the ideal-typical contrast between tradition and modernity" (1967: 320), he was aware of the risks of the "evaluative attitude" (Jerzy Szacki, see above). Consequently, he warned against "contrasting the liabilities of the present with the assets of the past" (1967: 320). From his balanced position, he gave the following characterization:

> "Typically, traditional societies achieve intense solidarity in relatively small groups isolated from one another by poor communication and a backward technology and that also tend to create for their individual participants an intensity of emotional attachment and rejection which modern men find hard to appreciate and which they would probably find personally intolerable. Typically, modern societies achieve little solidarity in relatively small groups and by virtue of advanced communication and technology these groups tend to be highly interdependent at an impersonal level. In this setting individual participants experience an intensity of emotional attachment and rejection at two levels which hardly exist in the traditional society, namely in the nuclear family at its best and its worst, and at the national level" (1967: 320).

Folkloristics

Folklore, according to a widely accepted definition, is "artistic communication in small groups" (Ben-Amos, 1972: 13). Henry Glassie locates the social framework of such groups similarly to the way sociologists define traditional societies:

> "The "small group" is like the "traditional society," a human aggregate assembled by customary conduct. Its order derives from powers held among its members that remain theirs to enact, modify, or discard in the moment. The opposite of the traditional society is the society governed by codified law and controlled by powers vested in the state" (Glassie, 1995: 401).

One reason for the attractiveness of traditional societies for folklorists, as well as for anthropologists, is the "intensity of emotional attachment" that Bendix observed in small-scale communities. During extensive fieldwork experience, folklorists develop a passion for the quality of social relations, the value of hospitality, the power of shared feelings (Hondrich, 1996), and, of course, for the quality of artistic expression. Naturally, folklorists' understanding of tradition can differ in many ways from that of the sociologists, who tend to describe "premodern" societies as uniform, entirely ritual-bound, and directed towards the past, when it comes to their cultural expressions. Without aspiring to a definition, Glassie nevertheless devised an intellectually productive concept of tradition:

> "Accept, to begin, that tradition is the creation of the future out of the past. A continuous process situated in the nothingness of the present, linking the vanished with the unknown, tradition is stopped, parceled, and codified by thinkers who fix upon this aspect or that, in accord with their needs or preoccupations, and leave us with a scatter of apparently contradictory, yet cogent, definitions" (Glassie, 1995: 395).

In Glassie's understanding, tradition (1) points to the future, "its character is not stasis but continuity" (1995: 396), (2) it is about human creativity, "a generative process", as Colin Quigley (2012) later puts it, (3) it is exposed to the threat arising from normative claims to codify aspects of tradition, selected by outsiders, who "drifted into dreams of a mythic time before change, and invented natural, static, functionally pat cultures" (Glassie, 1995: 398). In other words: Glassie defends tradition from traditionalism.

Unlike most sociologists, Glassie makes a case for the creative individual in traditional societies:

> "[…] culture and tradition are alike in that they are constructed by individuals and people who, as a consequence of interaction develop ways that, being shared to draw them together, while distinguishing them from others" (1995: 398-399).

Later Glassie's students developed his performer-centred approach, fundamentally abandoning the opposition between the individual and the tradition, so extensively debated in earlier folklore studies: "the individual and tradition are inseparable and mutually constituting" (Cashman et al., 2011).

Glassie concludes his philosophical essay by putting the versatile nature of tradition in a functional context of history and human culture:

> "As resource and process, as wish for stability, progress, or revitalization, tradition—or something like it with another name—is the inbuilt motive force of culture. […] The big patterns are the yield of small acts. History, culture, and the human actor meet in tradition" (Glassie, 1995: 409).

Folklorists' passion for artistic creativity in small groups may evoke a somewhat idealistic picture of tradition. According to Glassie, "its opposite is not change but oppression […]. Oppressed people do what others will them to do. […] Acting traditionally, by contrast, they use their own resources" (1995: 396). This may be the case in the field of expressive culture—to name only the traditions of women's songs and ballads as an individual or collective response to the hardships of pre-industrial patriarchal society, slave songs in 19th-century USA or in contemporary Mauritania. From a sociological and historical perspective, however, it would be hard to draw a strict border between tradition and oppression. We have no reason to fall into the trap of traditionalism, downplaying or justifying the existence of oppressive regimes in traditional societies—with regard to women and socioeconomic and ethnic minorities with their sometimes very limited resources.

In addition to Glassie's criticism of the intellectuals' normative claims towards culture, one cannot overlook traditionalist discourses and ideological directives which can emerge from within cultural communities—sometimes with harmful consequences. One example is the dramatic reduction of Spanish lessons in Catalonian schools—the language of half of the Catalonian population and the precondition for cultural participation and economic success in Spanish society (Held, 2018). In a similar way, both white romanticism and indigenous traditionalism, according to journalist Jonathan Kay (2018), can be a serious obstacle for social development in some communities of the Five Nations. The situation in the Andean region in the first half of the 20th century was slightly different: according to Julio Mendívil, it was not local communities, but Spanish-speaking intellectuals of the *indigenistas* movement that opposed Spanish language education for children of indigenous peoples.[1]

To return to the post-ideological mainstream of theoretical folkloristics, we should admit that for all the fundamental significance of tradition to folklore, folklore is dependent, however, neither on the concept of tradition, nor of traditional society. American folklorist Richard Dorson (1916–1981) could move easily between folklore of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, urban legends, and folklore of recent immigrant communities, hardly to be described as "traditional societies". Following Alan Dundes, "the American folklorist can be interested in collecting American Indian tales one day, and the games of primary school children the next" (1966: 232). Similarly, Russian folklorist Konstantin Shumov (b. 1959) is a specialist of traditional Russian tales and epics in the Perm region, as well as tales of tourists, and the customs of cigarette smokers.

Eric Hobsbawm

In anthropological writings, at least until recently, the concept of tradition has been frequently associated with Eric Hobsbawm's idea of "invented traditions". The title of the rather short introduction (Hobsbawm: 1983: 1-14) is far more frequently cited (typically garnished with a stereotypic reference to Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities") than its content. In 1983, the idea of purposefully created and ideology-driven traditions might have been new to most historians, but not to folklorists (Baker, 2000: 107; Bendix, 2009: 253), nor to sociologists (Bendix, 2009: 211). The focus of folklorists and anthropologists, however, is less on what Hobsbawm defined as tradition: "'Tradition' in this sense must be distinguished clearly from 'custom' which dominates so-called 'traditional' societies" (Hobsbawm, 1983: 2). For good reason, a Hobsbawmian concept of tradition is hardly productive in theoretical folkloristics: "From a folklorist's perspective, however, this notion that tradition is characterized by invariance, while custom 'does not preclude innovation' (Hobsbawm and Ranger [to be precise: only Hobsbawm], 1983: 2), is unconventional since most folklorists view customs as tradition and tradition as dynamic" (Baker, 2000: 107). Paradoxically Hobsbawm himself, six pages later, distinguishes "invented traditions" from "the strength and adaptability of

[1] I am indebted to Julio Mendívil who directed my attention to his book *Cuentos fabulosos: la invención de la música incaica y el nacimiento de la música andina como objeto de estudio etnomusicológico* (2018) where these issues are critically discussed.

genuine traditions" (Hobsbawm, 1983: 8). Whatever "genuine traditions" are for Hobsbawm, they seem to be closer to traditional societies: "Where the old ways are alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented" (1983: 8). This is actually not new for anyone who is interested in the expressive culture of face-to-face groups in traditional or modern societies. We cannot blame a Marxist historian (concerned about the workers' solidarity with the nation state and their weak enthusiasm for revolutionary adventures in times of mass prosperity) for his lack of interest in humans' artistic creativity. However, it is disturbing how easily Hobsbawm misconceives the corresponding intellectual discourses:

> "Nevertheless, a general hostility to irrationalism, superstition and customary practices reminiscent of the dark past, if not actually descended from it, made impassioned believers of the verities of the Enlightenment, such as liberals, socialists, and communists, unreceptive to traditions old or novel" (1983: 8).

Folklore, even more than literature and 'art music', is a field that reveals Hobsbawm's low competence in the history of ideas with regard to tradition. A short glance at the Hall of Fame of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment folklorists in different European countries may show the following:

- Russian polymath and enlightener Nikolay A. L'vov (1753–1803[jul.]/1804[greg.]) was the author of the first scholarly folk song collection in Russia (1790).

- Joseph Sonnleithner (1766–1835), a key figure in the Viennese court and a progressive agent of Enlightenment values in culture and education, initiated an unprecedented folk music collection in most parts of the Austrian Empire.

- Archduke John of Austria (1782–1859) played a major role both in the modernization of education and the industrial development of Styria, as well as in the collection, preservation, and revival of local folk music.

- Pavel Rybnikov (1831–1885) was a member of a democratic circle in Russia and the founder of fieldwork-based epic studies as well as of performer-centred research; many of his followers, to mention only Aleksandr Gil'ferding, were of firm liberal convictions.

- Evgeniia Linëva (Eugenie Lineff, 1853 jul./1854greg.–1919), an opera singer who kept a conspirative correspondence with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, is more famous as a passionate and highly innovative fieldworker and the author of the first collection of Russian folk songs based on phonogram recordings.

- Another key figure in Russian music anthropology, Sergei Rybakov (1867–1922), more loyal to the cultural politics of the Tsarist regime, saw his military service in the Southern Ural in the context of Enlightenment values. An agent of social progress, he criticized local religious fanaticism and patriarchal oppression no less than cultural arrogance as well as economic and ecological exploitation by his Russian compatriots.

- The initiator of the first English folk revival, Cecil Sharp (1859–1924), was a Fabian socialist, and his temporary collaborator, the dance teacher Mary Neal (1860–1944), was a suffragette and progressive social worker. Albert L. Lloyd (1908–1982), a leading figure in the second revival, was an active member of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

- One may also mention the paradoxical nationalist cult of traditional North Russian epics in the Stalinist era (Ziolkowski, 2013).

All these enthusiasts (and professionals in many fields) valued traditional expressive culture, but never identified themselves with the old way of life of a pre-industrial patriarchal society, or even strove to restore it: "to praise traditions does not necessarily mean that one wants to revive traditional society or that one is against modernity" (Ronström, 1996: 17 cf. Morgenstern, 2017: 279). Such traditionalist agendas evolved later, in the context of certain antimodernist and overtly reactionary trends, notably in European life reform and the late romanticist youth movements of the late 19th/early 20th century.

Concepts of *traditional music* in ethnomusicology

Nowadays, at least in a European and American perspective, traditional music is often used as a synonym of folk and peasant music (Quigley, 2012: 47); the latter is less common in recent ethnomusicology. According to Quigley, "the term 'traditional' doesn't seem to occur all that often as a modifier together with music" (2012: 47). I was therefore surprised to find this modifier ('traditional' as a classifying adjective) in the *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (Terry, 1914), with a strong conceptual emphasis, to which I will return. But it turned out that the concept is even older.

The English term "traditional music" evolved in the British intellectual environment of the mid-19th century and was adopted by other languages considerably later. It may have been introduced by Scottish lawyer and musicologist George Hogarth:

> "The great importance of what is called National Music, or, in other words, the popular or traditional music of different countries, not produced by regular composers, but handed down among the people from generation to generation, is now recognized" (Hogarth, 1839: 54).

The adjective 'national', in the cultural thought of that time, referred less to the nation–state, but to ethnic groups, very often to those, whose expressive culture is different from the cultural mainstream of the cosmopolitan elites (see below)[2]. What is interesting is the comparative approach, and therefore the case for diversity in Hogarth's statement, and its general recognition in the intellectual discourse. Thus, the first mention of "traditional music of all countries" takes up the long tradition of European perspectives on the musics of the world, going back to the works of Charles Burney (1726–1814), William C. Stafford (1793–1876), and François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), to name only the most popular authors of their time.

[2] The equation of 'national' and 'folk' was also widespread in German musical discourse. See Felix Mendelssohn's famous invective: "No national music for me! Ten thousand devils take all folkishness!", in translation by Matthew Gelbart (2013: 4).

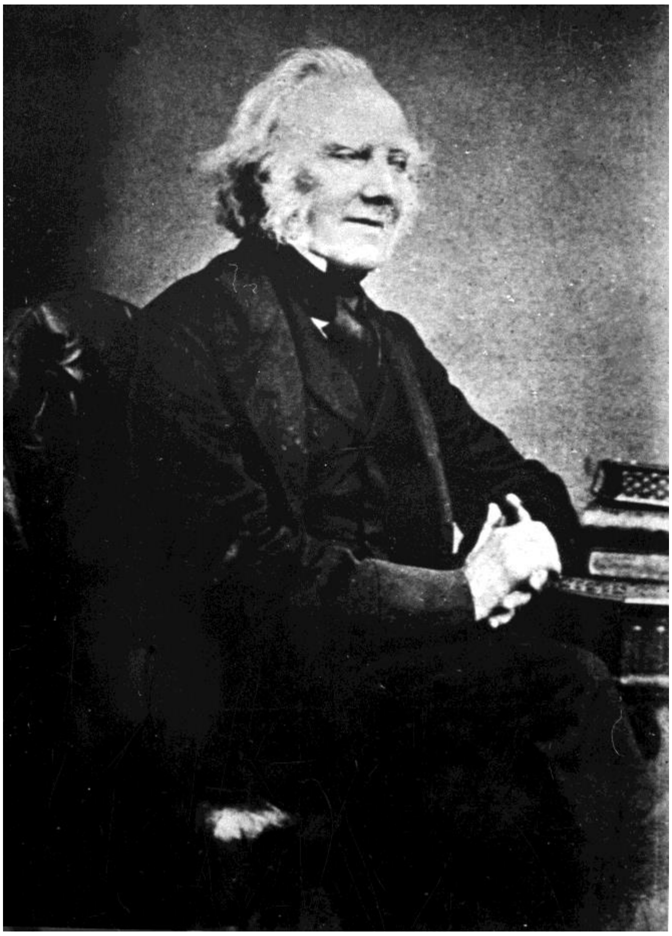

Figure 1. George Hogarth (1783–1870), Scottish lawyer, musicologist and the possible inventor of the term "traditional music" https://www.alamy.com/george-hogarth-image268813817.html (used by permission)

The concept of traditional music is in line with both of the key issues of early academic folkloristics: the focus on the lower classes and the paradigm of orality:

> "For a National Music is a Traditional Music. It is handed, or rather it floats down from age to age, solely by the strong hold it has upon the feelings and associations of the humbler classes of society; for, by the humbler class of a nation, not only national airs, but national legends and national customs are preserved" (Doubleday, 1857: 19).

English musicologist Richard Terry (1864–1938) also points to the variability of traditional music—a necessary characteristic of vernacular music from oral/aural transmission: "Shanty music being traditional music it is always alive. Two sailors never sing a Shanty exactly alike" (1914: 136). In line with progressive folk song scholars, such as music theorist Wilhelm Tappert (1830–1907) and philologist John Meier (1864–1953), he understands vertical transfer processes as a natural phenomenon in traditional music: “Many a Christy Minstrel melody was adopted on board ship, for anything could be made into a Shanty” (1914: 137). In the spirit of the post-romanticist, realist turn of European folk music research (Morgenstern, 2018: 13–15), Terry (unlike some enthusiastic, but selective folksong collectors of his time) was ready to acknowledge the coexistence of different style strata in traditional music:

> “Like all traditional tunes, some shanties are in the ancient modes, and others in the modern major and minor keys. It is the habit of the 'folk-songer' (I am not alluding to our recognized folk-song experts) to find 'modes' in every traditional tune. It will suffice, therefore, to say that shanties follow the course of all other traditional music. Many are modern, and easily recognizable as such. Others are modal in character […]. Others fulfil to a certain extent modal conditions, but are nevertheless in keys, e.g. ‘Stormalong John,’ No. 10” (Terry, 1921: viii).

In the late 19th century the term traditional music was rivalled to a certain extent by its quasi-synonym *national music*, as defined by German-British musicologist Carl Engel (1818–1882): “National Music in a more strict sense of the term” (Engel, 1879: 1), as opposed to “the elaborate productions of distinguished composers” (Engel, 1879: 1) he understood as “the popular songs and dance-tunes traditionally preserved by the country-people and the lower classes of society, which form the great majority of a nation” (Engel, 1879: 1). Interestingly, Engel himself was not very convinced of his term, contrasting it with a well-established concept in his native language: “The Germans call it *Volksmusik*, a designation which is very appropriate, and which I should have rendered *folk-music*, had this word been admissible” (Engel, 1866: 1).

In an atmosphere of growing nationalist sentiments in late-19th century Europe, the Herderian concept of the national as an expression of culture, rather than a political claim, Engels’ concept of *national music* (as an English pendant to *Volksmusik*) had little chance of survival—especially as “the elaborate productions of distinguished composers” themselves were increasingly inspired by national ambitions and agendas. While *traditional music* remained a key concept of British academic musicology (Terry), a new cultural-political movement with strong pedagogical aspirations asserted the concept of *folk music*. This was the time of the first English folk revival with its leading figure Cecil Sharp, the co-founder of the Folk-Song Society (1898) and founder of the English Folk

Dance Society (1911). His collaborator Maud Karpeles (1885–1976) was a key figure in the foundation of the *International Folk Music Council* (1947).

In 1981 the Council was renamed the *International Council for Traditional Music*. Philip Bohlman suggests that "the change was not so much a result of believing in traditional music as of losing the faith in folk music" (1988: xiii). At the same time, as early as 1965, the *Archives of Folk and Primitive Music* at Indiana University was renamed *Archives of Traditional Music*. Obviously, the concept of traditional music was more inclusive to ethnomusicologists studying Asian music of social elites, such as classical Iranian music. As Bruno Nettl informs us, the latter "is denoted by the word *sonati*, which means 'traditional'" (Nettl, 2015: 294). Thus, 'traditional music' can be an emic term. One can argue that 'folk' is not less inclusive than 'traditional', as "[f]or the contemporary American folklorist in the 1960's, the term 'folk' can refer to *any group of people whatsoever* who share at least one common factor" (Dundes, 1966: 232). However, this fruitful concept is limited to North American folklore theory and will hardly be accepted by the rest of the world. Since the Enlightenment, the attribute 'folk' is generally understood as a specific social location in the vast majority of a pre-industrial society (the 'common people'), and folk music refers to styles and genres, historically related in one way or another to these social formations (Morgenstern, 2014: 177f.)

It is obvious that the concept of traditional music is well-established, and that no alternative term has been seriously proposed. It is also obvious that it is continually met with scepticism: "The concept of 'tradition' is problematic in ethnomusicology" (Quigley, 2012: 46). Max Peter Baumann understands "traditional music" as a "programmatic term" (1991: 23) in the context of other "operational principles" (1991: 23), which "have become international and label reality more or less clearly, but at the same time they articulate leading interests and specific group viewpoints" (1991: 23). Baumann's scepticism does not arise from the very concept of traditional music, but from its possible associations with "value attributes such as 'authentic' or 'original'" (1991: 23). Oskár Elschek is even more sceptical. Acknowledging that "traditional Music" has the capacity to replace hierarchical terms "such as 'primitive music,' […] "music of High Asian (and also High American) cultures" (1993: 34), he doubts that

> “what have come to be termed “traditional music cultures” are more static, more persistent and more bound to tradition than those of e.g. European art music. I am somewhat critical of these trains of thought since they do not imply opposites but rather a difference of degree, a different time and space dynamic, a different transparency of change and an emphasis on micro-instead of macro-changes” (1993: 34).

Regardless of his reservations about the term ‘traditional music’, Elschek admits that “we at present have no alternative term” (1993: 35).

Discussion

The concept of ‘traditional music’ is quite understandable for most musicians, listeners, researchers, and cultural entrepreneurs. It is also a categorization frequently used by festivals, competitions, and cultural foundations—and, last but not least, it is used in the current names of a sound archive and the largest international organization of ethnomusicology, the ICTM.

Scepticism about this term and concept arises from five interrelated sources:

1. The misreading of ‘traditional’ as a qualitative rather than a classifying adjective.
2. The equation of ‘tradition’ and the purist imperative of ‘traditionalism’.
3. A collectivist reading of ‘tradition’.
4. The assumption that the concept of ‘tradition’ is based on a static understanding of culture.
5. The expansion of Hobsbawm’s criticism of ‘invented traditions’ as a project of modern nationalism to any kind of tradition.

Ad 1.

Any music is in some way ‘traditional’, otherwise it would not be recognizable as music. There is no musical invention without reference to previous musical experience. The discussion below may show how continuity, as well as the social process of predominantly aural/oral transmission, are more typical for styles and genres referred to as ‘traditional music’.

Ad 2.

The confusion of *tradition,* as a theoretical concept and cultural reality, with reactionary *traditionalism*—with its naïve and dangerous idealization of everything attributed as traditional—is based on an uninformed resentment. Normative claims to tradition as a value criterion, which Regina Bendix calls “the scholarly practice of separating the genuine from the fake” (1997: 212) have been the subject of critical discussions in both folkloristics and ethnomusicology. Ideological claims of traditionalism and purism are generally more anchored in populist and pedagogical agendas, than in academic scholarship (Morgenstern, 2018: 21f.).

Ad 3.

Considering the existing theories on the creative individual in tradition (Glassie, 1995; Quigley, 2012; Cashman et.al., 2011), it is not possible to equate the concept of tradition with an understanding of culture as something homogeneous. The long history of performer-centred research in folkloristics and ethnomusicology (Morgenstern, 2018 17f.) shows the opposite.

Ad. 4

The very idea of tradition is indicative, by nature, of a process taking place in society. Theorists of expressive culture have plenty of evidence and grounds to make a case for tradition as a dynamic and creative process.

Ad. 5

Hobsbawm’s not entirely new “observations about invented tradition of the period since the industrial revolution” (1983: 9) are restricted to ideological agendas from a very specific (neo-Marxist) perspective. As far as they were not developed earlier by folklorists, they can be of some use for revival issues. The general significance of Hobsbawm’s largely negativistic understanding of tradition is of limited use for the study of the world’s musics.

Below I will discuss aspects of what is generally called “traditional music”, to make clear the justification and perspectives of this concept in modern ethnomusicology, as well as its inherent ambiguities and limitations.

Shared styles and repertoires (community-based music)

Traditional music is more present in societies with less perspectives for 'choice', 'affinity', and 'belonging', to use Mark Slobin's key words for the study of subcultures[3] (1993: 55–57). For instance, European folk music, in a historical perspective, while often differentiated according to age, gender, and social status, was fairly understandable for all members of a given population. The integrative power of traditional music is inseparable from the intensive communication of the generations, which is of crucial importance for the very concept of tradition. In Central-Eastern Europe, instrumental music has been, or continues to be, in the hand of family ensembles, in particular of semi- or fully professional wedding bands with the leading figure of the first violinist. In Austria, since the interwar-period, quasi-dynastic folk-music families have been a driving force, such as the Derschmidt family in Upper Austria or the Windhofer and the Dengg family from Salzburg. They are of crucial importance for the social location and cultural sustainability of traditional music. Networks in popular music are fundamentally different and are very often associated with a specific subculture with lower potential for social integration (in which subcultures are usually not interested). We know 'folk-music families', klezmer dynasties, and 'blues families', but I have never heard of "rock'n'roll families", let alone 'punk families'. These genres are more bound to the specific experience of a distinct social setting and (at least in their heydays) practiced more within or for one age group. This is one of the reasons why we don't label rock'n'roll and punk as traditional music.

Tradition vs. innovation

Speaking generally, traditional music is about musical communities valuating change of styles and genres (as the intersection of structure and function) to a lesser degree than others do. One would hardly qualify music played at festivals like *Wien Modern* or *Nordic Music Days* as traditional music. In Western art music, the audience expects a composer to create pieces of music significantly different from those composed a generation ago. The same holds generally true for popular music. An exception to this rule may be revival movements with explicit reference to the original style.

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[3] Subcultures, in a narrower sense, are countercultures, opposed to the values and habits of the societal mainstream. Musical subcultures are typical phenomena of musically pluralistic societies.

One may admit that the claim for innovation is ubiquitous in many music cultures studied by ethnomusicologists and folklorists. Thus, popular German broadside ballads from Early modern times are very often entitled ‘A new song’ (often sung to an older melody). Austrian folklorist Hans Commenda has observed a general and deeply rooted preference for new, rather than old songs, in traditional settings in Upper Austria (1960: 18). According to Sergei Rybakov, among the Muslim Bashkirs and Tyeptyars of the Southern Ural, songs lived “not longer than a lifetime, replaced with a new generation by a new song cycle” (1897: 198, original in Russian). This phenomenon is in some way reminiscent of personal songs in Native American communities.

All this evidence for musical and poetic inventiveness as a social value does not exclude a pre-existent stylistic frame. The generally lower intensity and slower tempo of change in traditional music ensures that the inventions are recognizable and understandable for the community. That doesn’t mean that a change of musical styles and repertoires cannot trigger generation conflicts in traditional societies. In the 18th and 19th century, the arrival of the violin, and later, of the accordion in some European regions was not always welcomed by the older generation, not to mention that couple dances, such as the *Waltz* and the *Polka*, were largely considered to be immoral. But these conflicts, as a rule, subsided after some time, and the innovations were soon considered an integral part of local tradition.

Traditional societies

A great deal of what we call traditional music is directly associated with traditional societies (in the sociological sense), or at least originating from them. In the 19th century, “pre-modern” communities of peasants, herdsmen, and hunters, were the preferred settings for field studies by folklorists and ethnomusicologists. North American post-war folklorists increasingly turned also to modern urban societies and minority and applied issues, later followed by ethnomusicologists (cf. Morgenstern, 2018: 21f.). This is fertile soil for studies in social and musical change, as well as in the persistence of traditional expressive culture in a modern society. A good example is the *Horon*, a circle dance, deeply rooted in the East Black Sea Region of Turkey. It is an indispensable part of the wedding ceremony and other meaningful social events, shared by generations and often by both sexes. The instrumental component of this dance can vary, according to the local preference for the bowed lute—*kemençe*, or the bagpipe—*tulum*, but in some regions this may be of secondary significance, as recognisable dance music can be performed on both instruments. In the Rize Province, at one time the *kemençe* was more in favour than the *tulum*. However, the situation changed in recent years, and the bagpipe, formerly associated with the shepherd culture, regained popularity in the local community.

This is not an issue of revival, as there is a continuous social demand for performing a *Horon* at weddings. Revival movements emerge as countercultures in the modern world and are an integral part of it (Ronström, 1996). The participants of the *Tulum ve Horon Kurultayı* (*Tulum* and *Horon* Assembly) in Çamlıhemşin[4] were neither countercultural revival enthusiasts nor typical representatives of what can be called 'traditional society', many of them working in different spheres (Metin Gültan, businessman; Nihat Ataman, mining engineer; Remzi Bekar, 'Divan' City hotel head waiter), remote from traditional occupations of the pre-industrial age, in which the *Horon* and the *tulum* are historically located. And it can be taken for granted that most of the participants of the *Kurultay* are also used to listening to and performing musics that differ from this ancient repertoire.

Not all music used in more traditional settings is commonly referred to as traditional music (I will return to stylistic pluralism later). On the other hand, the concept of traditional music encompasses a great deal of highly elitist music, initially located far from traditional societies.

Non-Western art music

While ethnomusicology may occasionally focus on practices of Western art music, there is no doubt that music associated with or (formerly) restricted to the social elites in East and South East Asia and in the Middle East and North African is of much higher priority in the discipline. Why may scholars in this field feel more comfortable with the notion of traditional music? I think the reason is the more conservative nature of most of these musical systems, if compared with both Western folk and art music. A cursory comparison between the history of the Japanese *gagaku* ensemble and the development of musical instruments in Europe since the Middle ages will confirm this. Similarly, the

[4] I was privileged to visit in September 2018, thanks to the generous invitation of the Editor in Chief of this journal

history of the Persian *radīf* is indicative of a highly canonical musical system, based on aural/oral transmission over a lengthy training period.

Orality paradigm and orality bias

The significance of oral/aural transmission is fundamental to non-Western art music, as well as to European folk music. Artur Simon even comes to the (not entirely convincing) conclusion that "in all musical cultures studied by the ethnomusicologist music is transmitted and learned by ear"[5] (Simon, 2008: 44). As a matter of fact, *notation* can be a crucial part of ethnomusicological studies in non-Western musics (Ellingson, 1992). The folklorists' admiration for artistic achievements (both musical and poetic) not necessarily depending on staff notation and printed texts is the starting point for the paradigm of orality, seminal for the concept of traditional music from the mid-19th century. For a long time, however, researchers tended to underestimate the role of notation in traditional music—for instance, the fact that numerous vernacular fiddlers in Central Europe, Scandinavia, and in the British Isles were musically literate. In Austrian folk music research, 18th/19th-century musical manuscripts play a much more important role than fieldwork-based transcriptions. Bruno Nettl has addressed what we can call the 'orality bias' with subtle irony, reminding the "dear reader" of his or her own experience. "Ethnomusicologists and folklorists used to distinguish easily between 'oral' and 'written' cultures" (Nettl, 2015: 295) but "Music is transmitted to almost every individual in many ways" (Nettl, 2015: 295).

Sonic orders, stylistic pluralism, and the *mediascape*

Arthur Simon, starting from John Blacking's "sonic order" (Blacking, 1973: 11), defines the goal of ethnomusicology as "the study of the sonic orders of all ethnic systems, the intercultural comparison of their elements and their mutual influence in interethnic relations"[6] (Simon, 2008: 45). This is close to Max Peter Baumann's older concept of the "music-ethnic group" (*musikethnische Gruppe*). While many of Baumann's criteria seem outdated, it is true that ethnomusicologists often deal with groups of people sharing

[5] "In allen vom Ethnomusikologen studierten Musikkulturen wird die Musik nach dem Gehör tradiert und erlernt" (All translations by the author)
[6] "die Erforschung der sonischen Ordnung aller ethnischen Systeme, der interkulturelle Vergleich ihrer Elemente und deren wechselseitige Beeinflussung in den interethnischen Beziehungen" (All translations by the author).

“goals, norms, and emotional interrelations” (Baumann, 1976: 69), which can be established only under the condition of “a certain durability” (1976: 69) of these social entities. We may assume that shared musical norms and expectations of such groups demand a certain aesthetic quality and complexity, not always accessible to the outsider. According to Rudolf M. Brandl “it is considered an ethnomusicological rule of thumb that the aesthetical aural parameters are wrongly chosen if in the analysis of an alien music style appears to be simple”[7] (2008: 302).

Brandl’s “rule of thumb” is grounded both in anthropology and in humanistic ethics. However, it is hardly valid for any musical expression of any social group. For instance, a chanting group of football fans (however distinct their repertoire is from the fans of competing teams) cannot be referred to as a musical culture. They do not form a “music-ethnic group”, as football fans would hardly mention chants when asked about their preferred musical style. To be sure, ethnomusicologists deal with ritualized genres, similar in one or another way to football chants, highly effective in the given context by virtue of expressive qualities, but lacking an aesthetic function. Nevertheless, in all musical cultures we also can find genres directed towards competent and attentive listening and appreciated for their aesthetic qualities. These are at the core of Blacking’s “sonic order”.

Mark Slobin has offered an alternative approach with his seminal concept of *micromusics*:

> “Once it was easy to say that a “culture” was the sum of the lived experience and stored knowledge of a discrete population that differed from neighboring groups. Now it seems that there is no one experience and knowledge that unifies everyone within a defined “cultural” boundary, or if there is, not the total content of their lives” (Slobin, 1993: 11).

What Slobin insists on is the reality of musically pluralistic societies, providing opportunities for *choice*, *affinity*, and *belonging* (to reiterate his key concepts). The brief example of the Black Sea *tulum* players mentioned above indicates that traditional performers may feel comfortable in pluralistic societies. Dietrich Schüller and Helga Thiel (1985) have shown in detail how folk musicians in rural regions of Austria show a high

[7] “Es gilt als musikethnologische Faustregel, dass die ästhetischen Hörparameter vom Forscher falsch gewählt sind, wenn in der Analyse ein fremder Musikstil in seinen Konzepten schlicht und einfach erscheint”.

diversity of musical tastes, sometimes dramatically differing from their folk music activities—let alone the preferences of some conservative folk music instructors.

There is no contradiction between the recognition of distinct local traditions and stylistic pluralism (or *stylistic plurality* after Schüller and Thiel). A cursory glance at Russian traditional instrumental music may demonstrate this. As so often in traditional music, any issue to be discussed depends on genre. In most regions of European Russia, a dominant genre, associated with walking, sitting together, but not with dance events, is based on a typically polyphonic interplay of a leading instrumental part with performance of short songs (quatrains). The regional and local manifestations of this genre are highly diverse. In the central Pskov Province of Northwest Russia, until recently, every micro-area had its own, very sophisticated tune, which as a rule was not played (or played only in a schematic manner) by the musicians in the neighbouring areas (Morgenstern, 2013). Most singers were completely unable to join in a tune of this genre played by a non-local musician. The compatibility of dance repertoires is different. Any dancer from that region would be able to perform an improvised solo dance (*pliaska*) at any traditional dance event, for example in the Ural region. The local participants would probably notice some regional patterns, but the dancer could feel comfortable in the performance situation. These dances belong to a Russian "superculture" (Slobin), alongside with late 19th century romances, and Soviet folk-like songs from the repertoire of Lidia Ruslanova and Liudmila Zykina. An average dancer from the central Pskov Province would be also able to perform a *Polka* when not at home, but would probably not do so in Belarus or Poland, where this dance is more diversified in terms of style and function, and more sophisticated.

It is interesting to see how the traditional music from the Pskov Region entered the *mediaspace* (Slobin after Appadurai). Until 1987 the tune *Sumetskaia* was hardly known to anyone apart from the inhabitants of the Ostrov district (with its subdivision the Sumetskii rural council) and five other central districts of the Province. Then a record with field recordings by the Leningrad Conservatory (Mekhnetsov, 1987) was released, including the *Sumetskaia*, performed by the hitherto unknown balalaika player Aleksei Leonov (1927–2008). Soon the tune and the player became famous among enthusiasts of Russian traditional instrumental music, including myself. While the liner notes did not reveal Leonov's home village of Fishikha in the Porkhov district[8], Leonov later became a 'star performer' (Cashman et al., 2011: 11–14) for me and other fieldworkers, and for the growing Russian folk music community. Nowadays, when the balalaika and the accordion can only very rarely can be heard in the villages of the Pskov region, the *Sumetskaia* is available in dozens of individual and local versions, essentially from late-20th century field recordings. It became a hit in the repertoires of countless revival and experimental ensembles all over Russia. In 2015 the folk-rock band *Otava Yo*'s recording of *Sumetskaya* reached first place on the February video chart of the *World Music Network*, with more than 36 million views on *youtube*.

What about popular music?

The distinction of traditional music from other types of music is not always clear and strict, but it probably works in more fields of our study than it does not. It is not without reason that we usually think of different styles, genres, and repertoires, when we talk about traditional and popular music. Speaking very roughly (and perhaps too roughly for many of my readers), popular music, compared with traditional music, is directed on the one hand at more narrow social settings and age groups, but, on the other hand, more towards international audiences (which rock guitarist wouldn't like to be a world star?). Pieces of music are more often commodified and brought to the listener through audio-visual media than through live performance. Pieces of popular music may be known to the majority of a society, but the number of true fans is much lower. For this reason, popular music is typically less integrative for a population as a whole. This is the type of music where 'choice', 'affinity', and 'belonging' (Slobin, 1993) come into play most strikingly.

There are many overlapping areas between traditional and popular music. One of them is revival movements of traditional music sharing repertoires and some stylistic features with their chosen reference culture, and many contextual functions and strategies of dissemination with popular music. The blurred relation between 'traditional' and 'popular' leads us to the relation between popular music studies and ethnomusicology.

[8] All local specifications of the recordings were kept secret by the editor of the record.

On the subject matter of ethnomusicology

Ethnomusicology is about *'music in culture'* or if you prefer, about the 'world's musical cultures', and culture cannot exist without tradition—at least when we understand culture as shared human experience, values, and expectations. In this perspective, culture corresponds more to the English "way of life" than to "lifestyle", as German anthropologist Christoph Antweiler (2020) puts it. The latter is more associated with personal idiosyncrasies and fashion which limits its capacity to connect generations and social formations within a society.

One problem remains concerning the intrinsic structure of a society. I am not going to reject the straw man argument about 'homogeneous cultures', but it is interesting to see how the idea of cultural diversity shapes recent conceptual changes in ethnomusicology. In the second edition of *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, Bruno Nettl stated that "[o]ur area of concentration is music that is accepted by an entire society as its own" (2005: 13). In the third edition, this phrase was removed. While Nettl did not abandon (in a radical postmodernist fashion) the idea of recognizable "musical cultures that are alike in some ways and different in others" (2015: 16) he gave more space for minority issues. Nevertheless, the definition of ethnomusicology as "the study of all of the musical manifestations of a society", not "*in* a society" (2005: 17) remained unchanged. It seems that in folklore theory, with its traditional emphasis on face-to-face groups (regardless of their location in minority or majority settings[9]) the question of how a society and a particular culture actually has to be defined is of less relevance, while it is still open in ethnomusicology.

Slobin has described the subject matter of ethnomusicology before the 1960s with the triad "Oriental, folk, and primitive" (1993: 4) in which the first is "Asian 'high cultures'" (ibid.), the third "all the 'preliterate' peoples of the world" (1993: 4), and the second "the internal primitives of Euro-America" (1993: 4). We have every reason to reject this triad for its geographical vagueness ('Oriental') as well as for its cultural arrogance ('primitive')—especially as traditional societies of Africa at that time had already experienced some progress in literacy. But the limitations of the triad were met with

[9] US folkloristics were initially minority-oriented, insofar as two of the five subdivisions of "American folklore" were "Lore of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union" and "Lore of the Indian Tribes of North America" (American Folklore Society, 1888: 3).

fundamental criticism just a few years after the introduction of the English term ‘ethnomusicology’: Willard Rhodes defined its subject as “the total music of man without limitations of time and space” (1956: 460, cf. Reyes 2009: 9f.). However, the claim of an authoritative ethnomusicologist is one thing, while the question “what do ethnomusicologists do?” (Reyes, 2009) is quite another.

In search of “a discipline recognizable as ethnomusicology” (Reyes, 2009: 13), it would be useful to not just repeat that any music can be studied with ethnomusicological methods, as seems to be the consensus today. A cursory look at the publication lists of leading ethnomusicologists, at the programs of the World conferences and study group symposia of the ICTM, at the meetings of the *Society for Ethnomusicology* and the *European Seminar in Ethnomusicology* may show that the “breakdown of this model” (Slobin, 1993: 4) has not been as dramatic as is seems—at least when translating the triad into contemporary language: *musics of the social elites in Asia*, *traditional (folk) musics of modern stratified societies*, *indigenous musics*). Certainly, we can observe an increased presence of popular music in ethnomusicology. However, Gerd Grupe’s *Ethnomusicology and Popular Music Studies* (2013) may indicate that these overlapping fields of research are nevertheless conceptualized as being different. This is evident from the titles of contributions such as: “’Popular Music’ versus ‘Art’ and ‘Ethno’. Consequences for Musical Analysis” (Regine Allgayer-Kaufmann); “The *Mbira*/*Chimurenga* Transformation of ‘Dangurangu’. A Music-Analytical Case Study from Zimbabwe at the Intersection of Ethnomusicology and Popular Music Research (Klaus-Peter Brenner); The use of Ethnography. On the Contribution of Ethnomusicology to Popular Music Studies (Julio Mendívil).

The thought-provoking claim that ethnomusicologists focus on “all of the world’s music” (Nettl, 2015: 17) should not obscure the fact that there is something like a core business of ethnomusicology in terms of the musics under study. Bruno Nettl could never have ventured to turn towards “Mozart and the ethnomusicological study of Western culture” (1989) without a decade-long involvement with “ethnomusicological core business” in such different fields as traditional (and other) Blackfoot music and the Persian *radīf*. And without a firm basis in fieldwork on Central Asia and East European folk music, Mark Slobin could never have developed his influential theories on “micromusics of the West”. Today, a professor in ethnomusicology would probably not reject a student’s project on football chants (which is probably more a core topic in folkloristics, cultural studies, and, of course, the sociology of sport). But this student will be more successful if he or she has profound experience in the main fields of ethnomusicological research.

Finally, a "discipline recognizable as ethnomusicology" (Reyes) has to clarify its main agendas in relation to the international scholarly organizations of its neighbouring disciplines in musicology, the *International Musicological Society* (IMS) with its stronger (but by no means exclusive!) background in Western Art music, and the *International Association for the Study of Popular Music* (IASPM). The presence of ethnomusicologists in these organizations, and also of IMS and IASPM members in international organizations of ethnomusicology, offer favourable conditions for such a debate. From my background in folk music research and European ethnomusicology, I may humbly suggest that the emphasis on method alone (fieldwork and the comparative approach without which we never could even think to recognize cultural diversity) is not sufficient to outline ethnomusicology's main subject matter.

One last point: while most ethnomusicologists study music cultures of the present day, culture cannot be properly addressed without history. Ethnomusicology needs history for many reasons (McCollum & Hebert, 2014). One reason is the very concept of traditional music: "*Tradition* denotes, after all, something that has been established over a longer time span—and, how would we know that something is a tradition if we did not know anything without its past?" (Strohm, 2018: 6). We can also turn Reinhard Strohm's fundamental question to dynamic processes in the world's musical cultures: How can we claim that "[c]ulture is stable, but it is never static" (Merriam, 1964: 162) without history? And this is not only vital for an adequate understanding of styles and genres, of 'music in culture', and for a deeper valuation of human creativity. It is no less vital for other issues that many ethnomusicologists study (perhaps even most of all): Without a historical perspective the notion of 'change' (so adored in 'critical humanities'—as if change is necessarily something good) becomes meaningless. Without profound historical knowledge, it is impossible to distinguish oppressive traditions from traditions of empowerment, to identify cultural innovation, and to ensure social progress.

Conclusion

The term and concept of traditional music can be fruitfully maintained and developed in ethnomusicology, as long as: (1) ethnomusicologists recognize tradition as a creative process (Glassie, 1995; Quigley, 2012); (2) their focus is not reduced to only one tradition but maintains an intercultural perspective (Hogarth, 1839); (3) if they do not bring tradition in opposition to the creative individual (in addition to Glassie and Quigley, s. Cashman et al., 2011); (4) if they recognize the limited value of Hobsbawmian "invented tradition" for most expressive cultures under study, and (5) if ethnomusicologists distinguish between *tradition* that "music cannot exist without" (Elschek, 1991: 34) as a matter of scholarship and *traditionalism*, as a value-oriented political and ideological agenda.

Until we find another term, *'traditional music'* can help to give us a better understanding of meaningful manifestations of music, based in a local community and shared by more than one generation, and which cannot be easily replaced by something fundamentally new.

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Towards a Response-able Electroacoustic Composition Practice: In Search of Sympoietic Multivalence

ABSTRACT

This paper proposes a relational model for electroacoustic composition practice. In the model, relationality focuses on perspectives of response-ability of the composer with more-than-human agents, within an entangled sympoietic musical space. Here, the response-practices are built on acts of listening that entail, aural analysis and embodied practice with material objects. Within the scope of this paper, more-than-human agents are narrowed down to only recorded sounds (fixed media sound files) and physical material objects.

In investigating such response-able compositional practices, the model follows Post-humanist and New-materialist strands focusing on various concepts proposed by Karen Barad and Donna Haraway. And in doing so, it aims to re-figure some of the conventional discourses about the concepts of poietic agency, and of multivalence within the composition practice.

KEYWORDS

Electroacoustic composition

Response-able composition

Sympoiesis

Material agency

Intra-action

Sound-based composition

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This paper proposes a relational model for electroacoustic composition practice. In the model, relationality focuses on practices of cultivating response–ability of the composer with other humans and *more–than–human* agents, within an entangled *sympoietic* musical space.[2]

Here, the response -practices are built on a statement of aurality i.e., sound–as–heard. By privileging this position, the whole proposal revolves around resonances and potentialities of acts of listening -within entangled relations. These acts entail aural analysis and embodied forms of listening through sounding–with material objects.

Today, 'more-than-human' points to a post-anthropocentric thinking. Within the scope of this paper, *more-than-human* agents include other living beings, environments, and non-living things, like inanimate materials. This paper especially focuses on relations with physical material objects/instruments and agents within recorded sounds (fixed media sound files).[3] The human agents are narrowed down to improvising musicians.

In this study, the term response-ability follows paths introduced by the theoretical physicist and feminist theorist Karen Barad (2007), and scientist, philosopher, and feminist scholar, Donna Haraway (1992, 2016). Put briefly, response-ability, is the ability and/or capacity of oneself to respond to others. Within this study, I begin by specifically asking how such practice brings about the producing and sharing of knowledge in the musical context. Both Barad and Haraway's understanding of the production of knowledge is connected to and entangled with the social and material practices of the world. According to both scholars, the production of knowledge is read under the relational and requires response-abilities. Such stance, first and foremost, starts by the act of attending, noticing, caring, and allowing oneself to be affected and touched by the resonances that emerge within the relation. Attention and intention to notice are key here, as they rely on the premise that one shall perceive enough to be able to care enough.

[2] Taking in hand Donna Haraway's definition, sympoiesis is "a simple word; it means 'making-with'. Nothing makes itself; nothing is really autopoietic or self-organizing … Sympoiesis is a word proper to complex, dynamic, responsive, situated, historical systems. It is a word for worlding-with, in company. Sympoiesis enfolds autopoiesis and generatively unfurls and extends it" (Haraway, 2016: 58).

[3] Here I take in hand a wide range of sound sources that could reside within a sound recording. These include living and non-living entities; which encompasses various musical contexts that either include or not, conventional approaches. The goal is to explore such experimental practice through various forms of relational agency with all sounds.

In investigating such response-able compositional practice, the model follows post-structuralist, non-anthropocentric, feminist, and new-materialist strands, focusing on various concepts proposed by the theoretical physicist, and feminist theorist Karen Barad, and the scientist, philosopher, and feminist scholar Donna Haraway. And in doing so, it aims to re-figure some of the conventional ways to think about the concepts of poietic agency, and of multivalence within the electroacoustic composition practice.

Basic Conceptual Framework

Firstly, there is the need to establish a basic ground for what is meant by multivalence in this paper. Multivalence is a system that is capable of holding within it more than one value, application, interpretation, and/or meaning; therefore, the existence of dissimilar actors is a *sine qua non*. It is generally assumed that difference paves way for separatism and othering, suggesting power relations of I/other, insider/outsider that are based on binary categorizations. In order to setup a multivalent poietic space, there is the need to establish a logic of the 'and' rather than an 'either/or' one. This does not mean getting rid of the binary; it is about including it to form an expanded understanding of practicing the act of knowing through sound. Here, the logic of 'and' moves away from systems that have singular central figures of power and control.

Therefore, when practicing such multivalence in the musical domain, the model tends to move away from essentialist notion of the composer, which was painted as a power– and genius–oriented figure by the classic, early 19th century paradigm.

The interest in practices of de-centering is not at all new to poeitic thinking in musical discourses: following a boom in the 20th century, today we have many discourses that shake the conventional hierarchical top-down music making practices, scrambling the composer-audience-performer vector, and applying a sonic sensitivity to sounds and their sources. The practice proposed in this model partly presents a novel and experimental approach through introducing response-able, new-materialist perspectives.

It is important to note that the conventional, singular-power-oriented poietic figures and acts are not ostracized within this model. This position truly cannot be rejected all together, as it is inevitable that the poietic agent creates forms of hierarchies and control on various levels within the composition process. Some very obvious ones are: assumptions, capacities, motivations, and taste in the creative process during the compositional act. The goal of this research is not to address an ideal — ethical or moral — compositional strategy. The idea of rejecting and somewhat blacklisting an approach towards relations with sound and forms of musicking falls contrary to the main philosophy of multivalence. Even though not explicitly defined as an 'ethical model', it is inevitably interwoven, as the whole of the practice could be read under what Barad calls "ethico-onto-epistemological" approach, which is an enmeshed understanding of being, knowing, and valuing, wherein this practice directs exercise through its acts of caring, daring, and sharing.[4] It is interested in thinking-by-sounding-with, exploring what a response-able composition practice might be like.

In opening up possibilities for such response-able practice, the model points out a spectrum of agentic capacities that are mostly overlooked in most of our electroacoustic discourses in composing-with recorded sounds and physical material objects.

The practice focuses on two main strands of actions that move simultaneously through the course of the composition process. The first is a perpetual inviting, joining-in, staying-with and becoming-with agents, ranging from living to non-living entities.[5] Such being-with positions the composition process within an entangled multivalent space that opens up socio-musical imaginaries for response-able practices.[6] And second strand consists of 'the I' generating and evaluating multiple instances of one's own responses to/with others through response-able acts.[7] Both of these perspectives open up a space, in which the agents other than 'the I' are no longer the object of studies, but the generators of

[4] Barad states that she uses ethico-onto-epistemology to "foreground the entangled nature of ontology, epistemology, and ethics. The analytic philosophical tradition takes these fields to be entirely separate, but this presupposition depends on specific ways of figuring the nature of being, knowing, and valuing" (Barad, 2007: 409).

[5] Here I refer to Haraway's "Staying with the Trouble". She describes: "Staying with the trouble requires making oddkin; that is, we require each other in unexpected collaborations and combinations, in hot compost piles. We become-with each other or not at all. That kind of material semiotics is always situated, someplace and not no place, entangled and worldly" (Haraway, 2016: 4).

[6] In this paper, socio-musical imagination springs from the term "sociological imagination", which means to read things through a web and network of social connections, highlighting relational ontological positions.

[7] In this paper 'the I' is used as an umbrella term describing the first-person poietic agent (composer); an agent with an intentional desire to compose through a response-able practice. I avoid using the term composer because of its conventional centralized stance. In this paper 'the I' is understood as a multivalent entity of constant becoming, it repositions itself within the network of agents distributing centralized power relations through acts of listening, performing, composing.

knowledge itself, opening up sympoietic potentiality. Therefore, the model does not propose a practice to study, 'musical objects' that are contained in and of themselves, but rather, a practice built on a continual relational network with other agents.

In unpacking such relationality, let's begin with Barad's concept of *Intra-action* (2007). *Intra-action* is unlike interaction, wherein entities already exist before they encounter one another, maintaining a level of independence. *Intra-action* proposes that entities emerge within their relationship, not outside of it. This goes hand in hand with Haraways's concept of the generative "becoming-with".

Haraway explains: "[i]f we appreciate the foolishness of human exceptionalism then we know that becoming is always becoming *with,* in a contact zone where the outcome, where who is in the world, is at stake" (Haraway, 2007: 244).

Both intra-action and becoming-with move away from prescribing agency a static and passive meaning, like a thing someone or something has, as if it is an individual property. Presupposing that these entities have an ability to act magnifies their agential, performative, and relational stance.

Barad's notion of agency expands beyond humans and living beings to matter material and discourse. In what she calls "agential realism", matter, living beings and discourse are intra-active and therefore inseparable: reality comes into being through intra-active agentiality (Barad, 2007: 90). From such perspective, the notion of reality is not fixed and agency is not an ontological given; there is a generative act of agentic capacities and constant becoming-with. Haraway states:

> "Lynn Margulis knew a great deal about "the intimacy of strangers," a phrase she proposed to describe the most fundamental practices of critters becoming-with each other at every node of intra-action in earth history… I propose holoents as a general term to replace "units" or "beings"… I use holobiont to mean symbiotic assemblages, at whatever scale of space or time, which are more like knots of diverse intra-active relatings in dynamic complex systems, than like the entities of a biology made up of preexisting bounded units…" (Haraway, 2016: 60; emphasis mine).

In foregrounding such relations of humans, animals, organisms, technologies, objects, and environments, Haraway is interested in considering and tracing the constant entanglement of humans and *more-than-humans*, looking at how others change us, as well as how we change them through our relations.

Therefore, through such intra-active entanglement, a field of non-predetermined, non-linear and generative listening-thinking-doing-with opens up. In the domain of sound, this understanding first and foremost puts forth an agent that simultaneously performs acts of listening and responding. And, more importantly, rather than listening/responding-to, 'the I' is interested in listening/responding-with.

In joining-in with the other, interest and curiosity are key words. Haraway re-situates the definition of response-ability through Hannah Arendt's words "to go visiting"[8] . Haraway states:

> "Visiting is not an easy practice; it demands the ability to find others actively interesting, even or especially others most people already claim to know all too completely, to ask questions that one's interlocutors truly find interesting, to cultivate the wild virtue of curiosity, to retune one's ability to sense and respond—and to do all this politely! (Haraway, 2016: 127).

Therefore, a response-ability that builds on such a position, is not only about acknowledging agentic capacities and entanglement of relations, but incorporating such awareness into curious, attentive, and responsive practice of sounding-with.

In taking up such perspective, let us begin by look at the act of composing with recorded sounds.

Response-ability-with Recorded Sounds

With the practice of working with recorded sounds, the act of making the recording itself is a form of composing. If the sound recording is done by 'the I' her/himself, then there is already an inherent *intra-action* between the trio of environment, the recording machine, and 'the I'. But once the act of making the recording is taken out, we are left with a question. How is 'the I' to intra-act with those agencies that reside within sound recordings once the recording is made?

[8] "To think with an enlarged mentality means that one trains one's imagination to go visiting" (Hannah Arendt, from *Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy*; as cited in Haraway, 2016: 126).

Once the sounds are recorded, the agents become sonic agencies within a material-fixed-sound file. The agencies within the fixed-media recording cannot give real-time-response or feedback. Therefore, the relational plane is limited within appearances of the other on 'the I'. Consequently, this practice of response-ability follows a phenomenological understanding. As Diana Coole states, "Phenomenology does not begin with an idealist model of agents then seek their facsimile in the real world; rather it reads ambiguous signs of agentic expression as they emerge within a shared lifeworld" (Coole, 2005: 125).

Intra-activity then, occurs between various agentic capacities of the response-abilities of 'the I'. These capacities are generated by listening-with, staying-with, and doing-with the agents within the recorded sound. Accordingly, *intra-action* also simultaneously occurs with 'the I' and the co-habituated multivalent musical spaces. Although the other may seem limited because it cannot respond back, the recording is kept as is, without any heavy electronic manipulations. It is important for the model that sounds are recognizable and have strong source-cause relations with their sources. As the model is interested in cultivating response-abilities of 'the I', keeping the recorded sounds intact opens up a process for the composition, wherein 'the I' becomes-with the others and by moving simultaneously in/around/over/under them, opens up a form of entangled encounter. Therefore, the aim of the model is to work literality-with, not just with the metaphors of the other.

This stance, is not at all foreign to electroacoustic practices. Various strands of soundscape studies exemplify a practice that has a heightened sensitivity to sound and its cause within recorded sound files. Rather than treating the recorded sound as a disembodied sound file, soundscape practice has interest and a desire to recognize and look for various types of agencies within the sound and its context. And, more importantly, it is interested in the relationships of various agents and environments.

To exemplify one among various approaches in soundscape composition, let's take a look at Hildegard Westerkamp's approach. Here she expresses her relationship to two different living beings (a cricket and a raven) in two of her compositions in the in the process of composing with the recorded sound:

> "I do feel that sounds have their own integrity and feel that they need to be treated with a great deal of care… I could not just manipulate it [cricket

> sound]. It had to be a sonic discovery journey to retain the level of magic for me. And I remember a moment in which I said "Stop". The journey was beginning to turn into electronic experimentation and the cricket was being obliterated. Same experience with the Raven Beneath the Forest Floor. I tried to make it into a regularly beating drum… it simply wouldn't let me. So, I returned to the shape of the original full call, slowed that down and received from it a drum-like sound. It took a whole day to fly into electronic land and return to the raven call" (McCartney, 2006: 33).

This is quite different from the form of decentering practiced by John Cage through his chance operations, where he lets indeterminate agents shape and/or change music without having a relational process with them per-se, as he is not interested in that.

In Westerkamp's approach, there is a sensitivity to sound and its source; an interest in the other, a desire to be in a relational space and a heightened sensitivity to the entangled co-creative space.

It is important to note that within such a position, there is also the modest understanding that underlines an awareness of the fact that we never truly understand the other. All forms of relation include a form of erasure of the actual, as something gets lost and/or re-written during the transmission/translation taking place in the relation.

When we take this perspective form soundscape studies and adopt/adapt the relational stance of 'the I' to all sounds, a new window of composing posture opens up.[9] In acknowledging various agencies of sound, one can begin listening and sounding differently from the conditioned ways of responses that come from the bulk of our discourses. Here it would be useful to introduce Casey O'Callaghan's ontological definition of all sounds:

> "Sounds themselves… are particular individuals that possess the audible qualities of pitch, timbre, and loudness… They enjoy lifetimes and bear similarity and difference relations to each other based on the complexes of audible qualities they instantiate" (O'Callaghan, 2007: 17).

This brings us to an important topic connected to our musical discourses: the issue of language. The topic is much larger than the scope of this particular paper, however, it is

[9] Broadening the circle to also include physical material objects and other musical practices (Ex: various categories of recordings incorporating conventional or non-conventional instruments and agents).

also important to point out the effects language has on our discourses. We find that assertive expressions in prevail in the language of electroacoustics; it attributes passive and static notions to sounds, which are to be 'controlled' and 'manipulated'. These are usually expressed through the use of metaphors, images, and symbols in describing sounds, behaviors, functions, processes, hardware, software etc. Such language carries on the practices of the power-oriented, centered composer figure. From 1990's on, this issue has been subject to critique by many scholars (McClary, 1991; McCartney, 2006; Bosma, 2006; Rodgers, 2010; to name a few), and today, there is a growing sensitivity to the language in the discourses of electroacoustics.

Passing on information to one another in adding to the common knowledge, and the discourses we build upon, language sits at the heart of much of our music-making practices. Such a shift of language consequently affects our perspectives, behaviors, and engagement strategies; therefore, it establishes the basic feature, in which we could begin to be a part of the discourses of symbiosis, in search of multivalence.

This being said, let us move on to the apparatuses that are used within the model to realize the response-able music making practice that we've built on so far.

Musical Apparatuses

The model uses objective musical apparatuses in describing sounds and their behaviors, for guiding both the listening experience of aural analyses and response practices of 'the I'. The apparatuses function to open up multiple agentic capacities of both the other and 'the I'.

Firstly, the model takes up a *sound-based* approach and *spectromorphological* descriptions of sounds. And secondly, it incorporates kinetic, gesture-based models called Temporal Semiotic Units[10] (TSU), helping to guide the relational experience of 'the I'.

The term *sound-based* is coined by Leigh Landy to describe music that is based on a wide range of sound types that fall outside the solely note-based organizations. This opens up a musical understanding that provides equal ground to various sound types that are

[10] Les Unités Sémiotiques Temporelles (UST)

more-than solely pitch-based structures. In the model, these sounds are described through *spectromophological* terminology.

Spectromorphology is s term coined by Denis Smalley for describing sound shapes, based on the interaction between the sound spectra (hence spectro-) and the way it changes (morphs) through time. It is a descriptive tool for aural perception. Any sound, one way or another, could be described through a *spectromorpholocial* description, ranging from traditional instruments to everyday objects, from soundscapes to many other electroacoustic practices.

Both the *sound-based* approach and *spectromorphological* terminology are used because they allow to connect a wide range of sound types and sources within an equal, common ground. It is of value to note here that seeking such equality doesn't mean seeking sameness. Equality in this case, is about gathering a variety of sounds (perception of these sounds) within a shared multivalent plane afforded by these apparatuses, in order to investigate differences and possible relationalities.

Secondly, the model is interested in a movement-based approach i.e. reading behaviors of sounds through various motion models. In doing so, the model uses Temporal Semiotic Units, which have been devised in 1992 at the Laboratoire Musique de Informatique de Marseille (MIM) by a group of composers and artists led by François Delalande. These gesture units are used to describe kinetic motions through both their morphological descriptions and semantic meanings. On top of this, the units are devised to function within the sound and visual domains, providing a container that affords holding both. Having such a system that is defined, yet able to be re-territorialized, is an apparatus that is capable of producing pluralities. The TSU's function to be companions for the listening experience, directing the intentionality of the listening through sets of morphologies and semantic meanings presented in these units.

From both the analysis and performance perspective, neither the sound, nor the movement apparatuses presented above function to pin down acoustic elements through scriptural reading, but rather act as companions in supporting consciousness of 'the I'. These tools afford relational acts, allowing multiplicities of readings, and are not set up to produce absolute, fixed-form results. This, as a result, affords diffusing monolithic ways of listening and acting. And so, through such aural analysis of describing sound types and motions, the aim is to generate various affective traces of the agents on 'the I'. Usually, one ends up with more than one interpretation of sounds and motions.

Embodied Response-ability with Inanimate Physical Material

After the aural traces have been generated, 'the I' moves into a tactile form of listening, i.e. listening through embodied-performative-responses. By switching apparatuses from aural to tactile, a series of leakages and ruptures are generated between perspectives. These are then used as tools to disorient and de-center a fixed, authoritarian poietic figure. In moving to the tactile performance phase, one more agent joins into the assemblage: the inanimate material object.

The 'material' in music-making practice can mean many things, from the physical electronic hardware to various acoustic objects that could be categorized under conventional and non-conventional musical instruments, form digital interfaces to the sound file itself — and the list can go on.

In this paper, the model looks at materials that are limited to only physical acoustic objects used as musical instruments. Such objects include non-conventional materials used in musical ways, and/or conventional instruments used in either traditional or non-traditional ways. What is common to all, is that 'the I' interacts with all materials through a *sound-based* and gesture-based approach.

Here, the model takes up a rather unconventional view of adopting new materialist thought, into *intra-action* of human 'I' with materials. Instead of assigning static and passive stance to the materials, the poietic agent pays attention to possible agentic affects the material has on oneself.

A useful ground to building a new-materialist perspective is through Guy Reibel's practice of play-sequence. Reibel devised and taught play-sequence (*Séquence-jeu*) first at Paris Conservatoire national Supérieur de Musique et de Danse de Paris (CNSMD) in 1975 for teaching electroacoustics. Play-sequence is practiced by means of a performer, a sounding object-body, and a microphone, where the composer explores various gestures of sounding capabilities of the object (and of course, one's own capabilities). The reason

Reibel devised such practice was to introduce intentionality that links gestural and bodily listening and composing[11] into the *musicking*[12] *practice*.

If we carry play-sequence into new-materialist thought, we end up opening agential capacities of material, and 'the I'; consequently, possibilities of *intra-action*. In the proposed model, the practice of intra-active relationality with material agency is realized through two concentrations. They relate to the affordances and indeterminate qualities of the materials in contact with 'the I'.

The first practice is through affordances and expressive capabilities of material bodies, including bodies of both the inanimate object and 'the I'. Every physical material has a body, and a way that their body can physically interact and move with a human body. So, this perspective is highly embodied, opening the practice up to a form of carnal composition. It entails paying attention to and observing how one's own body moves, the possible gestures, in which interaction is possible, and is realized through a constant series of embodied feedback loops.

The second practice is based on *intra-action* with material that have indeterminate qualities of sound production. In other words, engaging with materials that have unstable and unforeseeable sound qualities and behaviors wherein sounds are not fully controllable to every extent by 'the I'. For example, 'the I' might expect a particular sound to occur with its interaction with the object, but the sounding result might be different, which, in return, changes the following response of 'the I', creating a dialogic relation, yet again pursuing the practice of de-centering.

[11] Annette Vande Gorne in her book *Treatise on Writing Acousmatic Music on Fixed Media* introduces a series of gesture archetypes to serve as tools in practicing the play-sequence. She explains play-sequence as: "In summary, play-sequence is a recorded musical phrase, two or three minutes long, obtained in a single continuous performance based on a single method of playing a single sound body" (Vande Gorne, 2018: 10).

[12] "Musicking" is a term coined by Christopher Small to include all acts related to a wide definition of 'performing' music. He explains: "The essence of music lies not in musical works but in taking part in performance, in social action. Music is thus not so much a noun as a verb, 'to music'. To music is to take part in any capacity in a musical performance, and the meaning of musicking lies in the relationships that are established between the participants by the performance. Musicking is part of that iconic, gestural process of giving and receiving information about relationships which unites the living world, and it is in fact a ritual by means of which the participants not only learn about, but directly experience, their concepts of how they relate, and how they ought to relate, to other human beings and to the rest of the world" (Small, 1999: 9).

Multiple Outputs: Outputs of Multiplicities

In expressing these affective traces and becomings, generated-with both agents within sound recordings an and physical material bodies, the goal is to explore multiple possible responses, created through response-able acts. Consequently, the musical work ends up having multiple manifestations through various relational configurations. By producing pluralities, 'the I' opens up multiple narratives where each such response has a particular kind of symbiosis, a particular self, and a particular kind of narrative. These spaces, selves, and narratives constantly let go of the previous versions. Through a constant re-positioning, 'the I' practices performing re-distribution of one's own agential center, continually considering issues of power, desire, empathy, resistance, and affirming both acts of similarities and differences.

Not deciding in advance what is to become of the final work and generating multiplicities creates paradoxical situations, which are processes of constant composition and decomposition. The final question is, then, what is to be done with these multiple responses?

The model proposes evaluation of multiple responses through what is called 'diffractive methodology'. Diffractive methodology was first introduced by Haraway in 1992 and later developed by Barad in 2007. Haraway, Barad, and many education scholars propose diffractive methodology as a way of troubling dualisms. The Baradian approach, which ties to an intra-active stance, suggests reading one text through the other to create new patterns of ideas as a result of these *intra-action*s.

In the proposed musical practice, this functions to break one's biases. Gathering both aural and tactile information and constantly feeding them into one another through source and cause relations, scrambles one-sided linearity.

The whole process of reading one's own responses-with-others then becomes a series of enacting, differentiating, and entangling: i.e., dealing with a paradox. By disrupting itself through a system and a process, it aims to disrupt the conventional, paving ways for processes that lead into new ways of thinking, listening, acting, and relating.

As Walt Whitman said: "Do I contradict myself? Very well, then I contradict myself, I am large, I contain *multitudes*" (Whitman, 2005[1855]: 55).

Having a large enough inner world to be able to hold together multitudes, and not being torn by paradoxes that come with spaces of pluralities, we can begin acting within multiplicities of oneself. Embracing such positionality, the model produces what the contemporary visual artist, psychoanalyst, and feminist theorist Bracha Ettinger would call *metramorphose* (1992). Metamorphose in biology is characterized by a change, wherein the changed version gets rid of its previous self. However, in Ettinger's neologism *metramorphosis*, by an additional 'r', the meaning changes to include both the changed self, as well as the self before the change has happened. Such a space then, paradoxically, can hold together both the singular and the multiple, the binary and the entangled, affording both and interactive, as well as an intra-active co-creation — i.e., multivalence.

Although presenting a final version of the musical work is possible, there is also the possibility of an explicit presentation: presenting the process of the work as the work itself. Such openness allows the work not to be reduced to one function. The process does not aim to produce accuracy of immediate experience nor an ultimate end-product, but a particular example of the process, a tracing of the experience and being explicit about it.

Conclusion

As Jacques Attali stated, "Music is more than an object of study: it is a way of perceiving the world. A tool for understanding" (Attali, 1985: 4).

Through a reworking of such poietic process through this particular model, informed by concepts and theories introduced above, we end up with an experimental practice of musical thinking and making. Such practice carries the potentiality to pave way for new ways of thinking-with and acting-with various agencies in the composition process, exploring forms of response-able symbiosis.

Through entangled response-able acts, agents co-exist and co-emerge over and over again within the experience of 'the I', generating multiple narratives. This may bring with itself narratives within narratives, multiplicity of spaces, and even, possibly, multiple belongings.

Informed by a socio-musical imagination, such poietic posture offers engaged insights to various forms of listening-with: a listening that neither rejects nor affirms *another*, but stays-with. I believe, that through such becoming-with-in, musical spaces of sympoiesis could have a potential to cultivate aware, caring, thoughtful outputs into the common record of our *musicking* practices.

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Flamenco: Musical Structure and the Practice of Improvisation

ABSTRACT

Improvisation is a commonly recognised marker of flamenco. Since flamenco is a musical practice that was traditionally transmitted aurally and often acquired rather than explicitly taught, there is no widely accepted teaching methodology for the increasing number of participants in this style, and even less guidance on improvisation.

The aim of this study is to show what the structural aspects of a flamenco piece are, and which of these aspects are open to improvisation. It also examines how improvisation is conceived of by practitioners, and how it is practised and taught. The observations and findings here are drawn from fieldwork centred on learning the flamenco guitar and consequent ethnographic notes.

KEYWORDS

Flamenco

Improvisation

Tradition

Transmission

Guitar

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Flamenco: Observations on Composition, Improvisation, and Variation

When I was in my early teens, I was impressed and drawn to flamenco (and Jazz) by the idea of improvisation, which was a distinguishing feature of the tradition. People referred to how the guitarists were excellent improvisers, and this ability to spontaneously compose and play seemed incredible. In my naiveté, I believed that these improvisers pulled all the musical elements together at the time of playing without any thought or previous work; as though by some sort of divine musical inspiration. In this article, I hope to shed some light on this process of creation within the context of flamenco by examining what musical elements are transmitted, and how the tradition is communicated.

First, a discussion of terms needs to be employed because what we — or the practitioners — define as improvisation or consider variation often does not align, and this misunderstanding was an issue during my fieldwork. For example, at what point does variation in a piece of music move from being an issue of performance practice to improvisation to composition? According to Bruno Nettl (2005), "Improvisation and composition are frequently regarded as completely separate processes, but they are also two versions of the same" (29). While we can decide on the outliers, it is the places within the cline that cause the problems.

In a predominantly chirographic (writing) culture, as opposed to an oral culture, it often seems that these lines are drawn around whether the composition is written down before playing or not. As the frequency of notated flamenco increases, we must also be aware that this act of notation has the capacity to alter improvisational practices. Judith Becker (in Rice 2014: 95) gives us an example of this when she claims that when students were trained using musical notation in Indonesian conservatories, improvisation and variation that existed in the aural tradition, disappeared in favour of the more frozen set pieces.

One of my informants during this research, Enrique, illustrates the problems when it comes to defining terms. In our discussions, melody and harmony were foregrounded as the essential components of improvisation. Variations in *rasgueo*, tone colour and attack, or dynamics were not considered as varied enough to be considered improvisation.

> Improvisation, you live in Turkey, you know how in modal music and *maqam* it's all improvisation, it's modal improvisation. Flamenco it didn't exist. Improvisation was never a part. We would improvise rhythmic patterns; we

> would improvise yeah, in flamenco OK. (Enrique Vargas, personal communication, January 23, 2015)

An interesting point is when a western academic definition of improvisation (in this context Jazz) is internalised by the performer of another tradition: Enrique seems to think that legitimate improvisation is only melodically or harmonically based. For Enrique, improvisation was being able to solo over a chord progression, drawing from suitable scales and arpeggios, and being able to substitute chords within these progressions. Enrique implies that because some musicians can't explain what chords they are playing or what scales they are using to improvise, that what they do is not *proper* improvisation, as though their lack of ability to explain what they do somehow invalidates their work.

> But there's no Bona fide improvisation like you have in jazz. Chord progression over which you structure your improvisation. It started seeping into flamenco thanks to Paco de Lucia, which was the first one to collaborate with jazz musicians… In flamenco still people can't read or write, improvise; improvisation is a totally different animal. You have to know your chords, you have to know your scales. (Enrique Vargas, personal communication, January 23, 2015)

It seems that Enrique is heavily invested in an academic approach: he studied for his PhD in the USA, and his musicological writings/analyses reflect this. However, his ability to play and understanding of flamenco came before the academic training: he has a tacit, practical knowledge of flamenco. While he can easily produce variations of tone, dynamics, attack, rhythmic subtleties, etc., by not including these aspects under the umbrella of improvisation, he shows that he supports a different concept of improvisation than is generally accepted in ethnomusicology.

Another point concerning flamenco improvisation is the amount of it found in any single performance. If it is a stylized theatrical presentation, such as a Joaquin Cortez dance extravaganza, or many of the amateur performances by the dance schools in Istanbul (which often use recordings, not live musicians), then it is fully rehearsed and choreographed and leaves little room for improvisation. While the skills of performers who do not improvise are acknowledged, they are generally not considered complete flamenco artists. Another informant, Andreas, reflected this attitude when I asked him how much respect was given in the community to non-improvisers.

> I would say little respect. It depends, on the other hand, I'm thinking about Antonio Gades for example. He was like very famous flamenco, did you know him?
>
> -Yeah.
>
> And he for example was the maximum dancer in his generation, but he couldn't improvise, and he couldn't even dance the *bulerías*. He never danced in tablaos or did improvised stuff but he has huge prestige. But I think you have to decide on what you specialize. If you want to do a dancey type of thing and want to get in the contemporary dance world or classical dance world, if this is your background then obviously you will not focus on improvisation, on music, on rhythm patterns, but the true flamenco dance …… improvisation. (Andreas Daiminger, personal communication, January 28, 2015)

There are, however, many performances where the artists will just turn up, perhaps not even knowing each other, and without any discussion of order of dance or song, and through knowledge of a shared repertoire perform spontaneously. Between these two points of planned to impromptu performance is a range of performance scenarios that are graded as to the amount of improvisation they contain.

The Foundational Elements of a Flamenco Piece

Before I continue this discussion, I must clarify that the examples given in this section are standard patterns that I came across in classes, saw in many performances, heard in countless recordings and found in numerous pedagogical publications. They (and their slight derivatives) are standard musical units within flamenco and are part of the common language. The source of any examples here is not significant, and alternative examples from other publications sources can easily be found.

Any competent improvisation in flamenco begins with knowing the tradition and musical material in depth. The improvisational aspects grow out of a strong base grounded in an understanding of the *palos*. A *palo* is the name given to one of the different flamenco song forms. The main flamenco *palos* are identified by two defining features: *aire* and the *compás*. The *aire* is the character or atmosphere of a song, literally the air, and each *palo* has a prescribed *aire*, whether that be the energetic bounce of the *bulerías*, or the plaintive lament of the *seguiriyas*. *Aire* is one of the terms in flamenco which, when used in different contexts, can have various meanings, and so is rather difficult to define, similar to the use of the word *blues* in blues music: he plays the blues, he has the blues, he’s lived the blues etc. The following definition by Paul Hecht (1968) is as good as any, and contains the customary vagueness.

> aire: Any definition of “aire” is approximate. We are talking about musical ineffables. The English words “air” or “aura” are inadequate. With respect to flamenco guitar, it is a particular fusion of rhythm, melody and harmonics which results in a leaping, fluid sound. “Aire” cannot be learned. You have it or you don’t. (171)

While it is sometimes not clear as to whether the person or song possesses this quality, we can best interpret it to mean the aspects of a performance needed to elicit the desired affect.

Excepting the few palos that are *en toque libre* (Eng: in free time), the other main defining feature of a *palo* is the *compás*: the *compás* refers to the sequence of beats and accents that provide the pulse in the various *palos*. These patterns are repeated end to end throughout the piece, and without this characteristic sense of pulse, the music is not considered flamenco. Each different *palo* is associated with a different *compás*. One of the most common formulas in flamenco is a combination of ternary and binary rhythms, which form a count of twelve. The *soleà* is one such twelve-count palo, often referred to as a mother *palo*, because so many other *palos* are based on it (Figure 1).

		>			>		>		>		>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Figure 1. The *compás* for *soleá*

In the *seguiriyas* we can see a rearrangement of these beats to form a new *compás* (Figure 2).

>		>		>			>			>	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	&	2	&	3	&	a	4	&	a	5	&

Figure 2. The *compás* for *seguiriya*

A more commonly used alternative count for this *palo* has been included underneath the twelve count.

There are also simple ternary beat *compás* like the *fandangos de Huelva*, and binary *compás*es such as the *tangos* (Figure 3), which, while notated in 4/4, are actually a two bar *compás*.

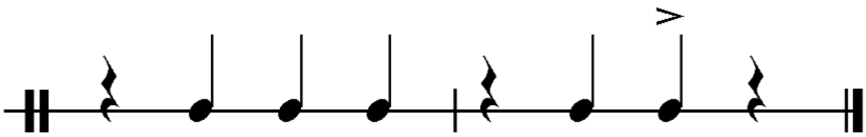

Figure 3. The *compás* for *tangos*

As stated, a flamenco performer first needs a solid feel for the *aire* and *compás* of each *palo*. This is traditionally obtained through listening to and playing the *palos* until the character and pulse are internalized. Although there are pedagogical materials that can intellectually explain the *compás* of the *palos*, my experience is that having an intellectual knowledge is not very useful, and that being able to use them correctly is still only really possible through a route that involves extensive listening and playing until the character and pulse are internalized. Being able to internalize the *compás* and not be tied up with counting seems to be a prerequisite to performing flamenco to any agreeable standard. When I initially began the style, I found that counting the *compás* while playing was too much to deal with cognitively and led to mistakes in the count, which would ruin the piece: in flamenco, the rhythmic pulse and count of the *compás* must be consistent, and a slip from the pattern is considered a grave error, because you will disrupt any other performers you are playing with and disturb any *aficionado* you are playing for. To make mistakes of this kind is to be *fuera de compás*. Experienced flamencos will not take your contribution seriously if you cannot play *a compás* (in *compás*).

Within the framework of the *compás*, there is considerable opportunity for rhythmic variation, whether by internal rhythmic subdivisions (see *rasgueo* examples), moving the accented beats within a *compás* (Figure 3), or even playing rhythms that seem counter to the *compás* (as in *bulerías*).

>		>		>			>			>	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
◆	◆	◆	x	x	◆	x	◆	x	◆	x	x

>		>		>			>			>	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
◆◆	◆	◆	x	x	x	◆	◆	x	◆	x	x

>		>		>			>			>	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
◆◆	◆	◆	x	x	x	◆◆	◆	◆◆	◆	◆	◆

Figure 3. Three examples of common accented beat patterns against the *compás* for *soleá.*
◆ accent
x silence
◆◆=◆ a short duration accent. Two small equal one big.

For the instrumentalist, usually a guitarist, the harmonic basis remains fairly stable for most of the *palos*. For example, if the *palo* is in *por arriba* and in the Phrygian type mode, the descending sequence is based on the A minor, G major, F major and E major chords (Figure 4). The G and G sharp are used interchangably in the melodic material, but not at the same time.

Figure 4. Chords and scale for *por arriba.*

If the *palo* is in *por medio* and in the Phrygian type mode, the descending sequence is based on the D minor, C major, B flat major and A major chords (See Figure 5). As in the above example, the third step C and C sharp are used interchangably, but not at the same time.

Figure 5. Chords and scale for *por medio.*

The various positions available on the guitar allows these basic chords to be voiced in numerous ways. In addition to these different voicings, more complicated chromatic harmonies have been introduced, many of which were an outgrowth of the extended chords, naturally occurring on the guitar, with chords using open strings, which creates a flamenco flavour, which was carried over to other voicings. More jazz–influenced harmonies and chord substitutions have also started to appear.

Another musical element characteristic of flamenco guitar is the *rasgueo*. This has two meanings in flamenco. The first refers to the passages of strummed *compás*, which often set the rhythmic drive of the piece, and are commonly used to accompany dancers (usually because the sound of the dancers would drown out the more delicate guitar work if the guitar is unamplified), and are also used as structural units in a piece. The second meaning is the actual right hand technique used by the guitarists to perform the strumming.

There are several factors that contribute to the variety of options open to the guitar player when dealing with *rasgueo*. If a chord is held down by the left hand, the attack will sound differently depending on whether the fingers on the right hand thrust down, aided by gravity and the extension of the fingers, or are drawn up across the strings in a gripping action. The down up action also influences the pitch order, in which the strings are engaged: from low to high or high to low. Although many guitarists strive for an equal attack by each finger, each finger still has a different weight, so choice of fingers to use in any combination will also provide scope for the player to vary the note attack. Figure 6 illustrates only a fraction of the right hand pattern options that are available in a basic *tangos*.

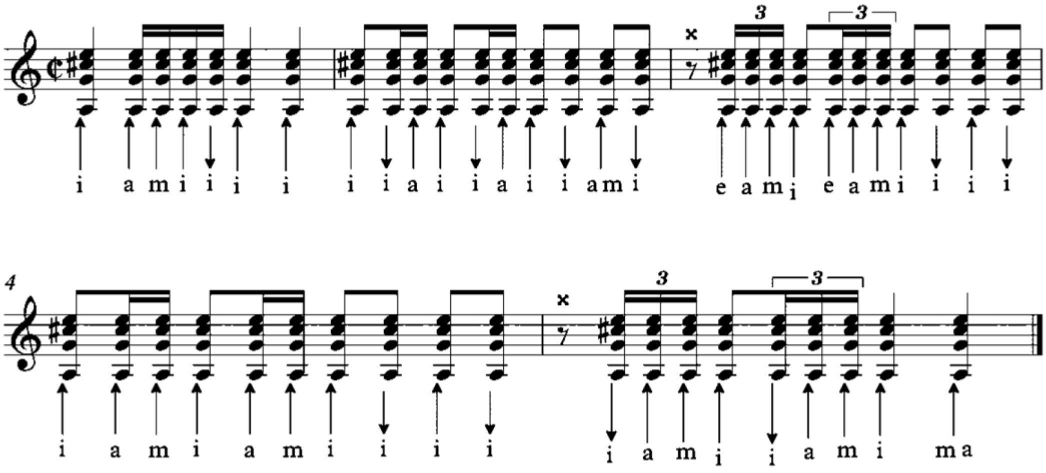

Figure 6. Various right hand *rasgueo* patterns for *tangos*.

An additional type of strumming technique, which is often classified separately from *rasgueo*, is the *tresillo*. This is a triplet–based strum that can be played with various fingers, according to the desired effect and often utilizes the thumb.

So, combined we see a huge variety of options when *rasgueo* and *tresillos* are performed. The different weights of the fingers and thumb in the right hand and the numerous combinations of upstrokes and downstrokes give a very different feel to what would rhythmically be notated as the same note divisions. The selection of which strumming pattern to use at which particular point is not only influenced by the need for variety or a habit of the guitar player, but also by the dynamics required. For example, is the guitarist accompanying a singer, one dancer, or several? Is the guitar amplified, and what are the demands of the venue's acoustics?

Other choices are available to guitarists. Accentuation of certain notes in a phrase is a small-scale area for innovation. The choice of right hand fingering will change this accentuation considerably: the thumb is often used when a weightier accent is required, or the natural inequality in the strength of the index, middle, and ring fingers can be brought into play for a different feel. Figure 7 illustrates how a *basic soleà remate* might be varied simply by changing the right hand fingering.

Figure 7. Seven examples of a *soleà remate.*

Accentuation of notes can also be changed with the left hand, where different combinations of hammer-ons and pull-offs (Sp: *ligados*) can completely change the melodic line's rhythmic feel and, sometimes, speed of a passage. A whole range of more common guitar techniques can be used to vary the mood and texture of a flamenco unit, including *apoyando*, *picado*, *tirando*, *pulgar apoyando*, *tremolo*, as well as more flamenco–oriented guitar techniques, such as *golpe*, *arrastre, apagado* and *alzapúa*.

On a larger structural level, there are semi-independent musical units or blocks, which, when placed within a *compás* and assembled, create a piece. These components include *rasgueos* (here I refer to the structural unit, which is comprised of the technique mentioned above), *falsetas, llamadas* (Eng. call)*, cierres* and *remates*. These larger units are not specifically for the guitar, but are understood at some level by all competent flamenco performers, and, using them, they are able to orient themselves within a performance and communicate with each other.

A *falseta* is a musical unit (usually played on the guitar) that is used to provide melodic interest between either sections of *rasgueo* or verses of a song. Traditionally, the melodic material is derived from that supplied by the *cantaor*. With the advent of solo flamenco guitar performances, many pieces are collections of *falsetas* chained together with short passages of *rasgueo*. Enrique explains this in the context of rock guitar below:

> You can combine licks. A lick, meaning that it's a complete melodic pattern, and jazzers operate in terms of licks, rock n rollers too. In flamenco we have *falsetas. Falseta* is a self-sufficient melodic unit and you can combine different *falsetas*, and you always combine them in a different order, they are like bricks in an edifice. They're completely autonomous units. That's another feature in which flamenco resembles jazz. If they talk about licks, we talk about *falsetas*. We can modify *falsetas*, improvise them and play them in a different way. (Enrique Vargas, personal communication, January 23, 2015)

When the *rasgueo* and *falsetas* are put together, the order is often spontaneous, according to the mood and decisions made by other performers. Most guitarists will play *falsetas* that differ considerably in mood and texture from one to the next, in order to maintain interest and provide variation.

In addition to the *rasgueo* and *falsetas*, there are other formal components that can make a flamenco composition: it helps to think of these as framing passages, or, for a linguistic analogy, as punctuation. A *llamada* (Eng. a call) is a signal to other performers that there is going to be a change, or that the next section of the piece is going to be performed. In most forms of dance, it is usually the dancer who dances to the music, however, in flamenco, it is the guitarist who must follow the dancer, and so the *llamada* is a sequence of steps that signals for the guitarist to play the related musical unit. It can be used in the beginning, middle, or end of a piece and can indicate the entrance of the dancer (*salida*) or the introduction of the *cante* or melody (perhaps in the form of a new *falseta*).

The terms *cierre* and *remate* are often, confusingly, used interchangeably. Here I shall differentiate them. A *cierre* is a type of *llamada* that signals an ending. It often involves an emphatic statement of the *compás*. In a twelve–beat *palo* the *cierre* ends on beat ten, but in a four–beat *compás*, the *cierre* generally finishes on beat three. However, this isn't always the case, and it is for this reason that performers should watch the dancer.

A *remate* is a close to a series of steps, musical phrase, or line of a song. It is on a smaller scale than the *cierre* and often takes place in the last *compás* of a *cierre*. As the *cierre* reaches the tonic on beat ten, the remate emphasises the tonic on beats ten, eleven, and twelve. *Remate* (Eng: re-kill) is a term that is borrowed from bullfighting: I assume the *kill* is the tonic, and the *rekill* is the repeat of the tonic. *Remates* have a different structure according to the *palo*, but can generally be felt as the *cierre* builds to a conclusion. The *remate* is vital in finding your place in a *compás*, if you have become lost, and is a reference point for all performers.

Flamenco improvisation generally consists of being able to reproduce and reformulate a wide repertoire of all these formal components within the framework of the *compás*, and this applies to all members of a *cuadro*. When I asked Andreas (a dancer) where his improvisational ideas came from, he tried to articulate how he uses these pre-learnt units and their structural function, but he struggled somewhat, because he has never really had to explain what he does before. I think we can now see what he means:

> I don't have a lot of material that's I would call completely my own so it's rather like steps from other teachers. Improvisation comes from combining them or just changing the order of things. A huge part of improvisation is how to interact with the music, the singing especially because in flamenco dance is this concept of *remate* at the end of the sequence to, it's like a ….. and how you organize yourself with the singing, we call that improvisation. That's really difficult. It's one thing that I'm working on. (Andreas Daiminger, personal communication, January 28, 2015)

So, in a group performance, all the players know the structures (though may not be able to label them), and will use them to build the piece, orient themselves within the piece, and communicate with other performers. These components work together along with the choice of *letras* (Eng: lyrics) by the singer to evoke the desired atmosphere.

How Improvisation/Variation is Learnt and Taught

The teaching in the face-to-face lessons I had was based around *falsetas*, without other structural elements being identified. I was usually taught the *falsetas* by having my teacher play them full speed, then repeat them at a slower pace and break them down into pieces, so that I could copy them. How precisely I was expected to repeat the material depended on how patient/impatient my teacher was feeling that day. This method of teaching would often lead to some variance because I had either heard the *falseta* wrongly, changed the right hand rasgueo pattern or fingering out of ignorance, or just altered the passage to make it easier to play. Sometimes I was specifically taught dumbed–down *falsetas* that they thought I could cope with. The only strict stipulation, when performing these *falsetas*, was that playing *fuera de compás* was unacceptable, and this was often met with exasperation and impatience (many good players, who have been exposed to or playing this music for years, find it difficult to empathise with someone playing out of *compás*).

Another difficulty occurred when I asked teachers to repeat a passage (this was usually a part of or a whole *falseta*). When the passage had not been written down, I noticed that sometimes my teacher performed the given passage differently each time they played it. The difference in the variations of the passages would often be exacerbated if I asked my teacher to play at a slower tempo, so that I could grasp it easier. I was often frustrated, thinking that I was copying the passage wrongly, but when I looked back at my videos, I had evidence of the frequent variation of the model I was trying to work from. I never raised this issue with my teachers because they were often unaware of it, and I did not want to embarrass them.

While this sort of inconsistency is extraordinary in the classical world, it is considered perfectly normal in the flamenco world. I was told an anecdote about the frustration a recording engineer had with Paco de Lucia when they needed to record a drop in on a track. Paco could not repeat the *falseta* the same way for the re-recording.

> We can modify *falsetas*, improvise them and play them in a different way. Like Paco de Lucia's producer … Regrosser (*unintelligible*), was constantly going nuts with Paco because Paco would record a *falseta*, and he would have to do a punch in and he does it completely differently, plays different melody, and never repeats himself the same way and so Regrosser (*unintelligible*) would

> go nuts. Tomatito once was with Antonio Canales on a tour for forty-two concerts and in these forty-two concerts he had to play this one *falseta*. Not once he would play the same way in forty-two concerts, so that's an element of improvisation. (Enrique Vargas, personal communication, January 23, 2015)

Whether these are true or apocryphal is not important; what is important is that seminal figures in guitar playing are credited and admired for having such an abundance of creativity, even to the point of it, at times, being a burden.

When the *rasgueo* and *falsetas* were put together, the order was often dependant on the mood, and my teachers would often play the *falsetas* slightly differently. In the models I was given, the rasgueo patterns were in *compás*, but not predictable. The *remates* would also be varied as they recurred.

One of my lessons with Alvaro was notable. In it he demonstrated an arpeggio sequence with the right hand we had previously learnt for the *alegrías*, but here he applied it to the harmonies of *soleá por bulerías*. What was exceptional about this lesson was that Alvaro said that you could use this pattern with different harmonies and melodies, and that this was how many players improvised melodically. He demonstrated, and it made perfect sense, but it should be noted that the right hand pattern fit over the *compás* we were using. I asked if it was possible to use with other *palos*, and he said that it would not fit. We tried it over *soleá*, and it didn't work. Here we had an example of using limited materials and making them stretch over a variety of contexts, and it dawned on me that I could do this with other material I had learnt. When memorising musical material, there is a limit to what most people can store, and so adaptation of material or techniques for different contexts is an elegant solution. Referring back to our original discussion, the point, at which the use of previous material in a new context is composition, as opposed to improvisation, is open for debate.

On one occasion I saw Aliel and another guitarist jamming over the chord to the Paco de Lucia rumba *Entre Dos Aguas*. They took turns, with one playing this basic chord progression, while the other experimented with melodic ideas, using *picado* and fast runs from the related scale. This type of improvisation is common to most pop/rock styles and was not really flamenco, although they used some flamenco guitar techniques. I am familiar with jazz line improvisation over chord progressions and found their improvisation unsophisticated, and what you would expect from many guitarists getting together to jam. While this may be representative of what some players do, I am not sure it is representative of a specific *flamenco* practice.

When I asked the dancer Curro de Candega if he set time aside to practice improvisation, he explained his approach:

> I prefer to make and breathe flamenco. I prefer to see a friend dancing, and artist singing, playing, I let it go on the stage. There's no way of practicing improvisation. You can practice movements or you can practice parts that help you… If you going on, it makes the show good. The improvisation is a trip, a social, cultural movement. I think it's the best way. There are partners… (Curro de Candega, personal communication, January 28, 2015)

For Curro, improvisation is a social activity that needs interaction between performers to have any relevance. We have seen that many of the foundational musical structures in flamenco are designed to help communication between performers, and so his emphasis on the need for social interaction is not surprising. However, the lack of explicit controlled rehearsal for improvising is.

I think that it is significant that in the various flamenco guitar lessons I have taken, no time was devoted to improvisation. This is in contrast to jazz guitar lessons I received, wherein a large proportion of the lesson and practice time was consciously spent practicing scales, arpeggios, and licks to be played over chord progressions, as well as chordal substitutions. In fact, the only time improvisation was mentioned in my flamenco lessons was when I raised the subject. This absence of explicit improvisational teaching in lessons is also reflected in the pedagogical material I have examined (both videos and books). The elements of flamenco pieces are taught, but there was no explicit teaching of improvisation. I think performers come to an implicit understanding after much exposure, somewhat in the manner of language acquisition.

Summary and Conclusion

We often think of music as being transmitted through large complete units, such as whole pieces, songs, or compositions. While this is true for many musics, flamenco is transmitted through smaller units. A flamenco piece is made up of a collection of middle–level structures, such as the *falsetas*, *rasgueo* passages, and various *llamadas*, which are tied to the unvarying *compás*. These mid–level structures are consistent in their use of cadences and overall harmonies (though they may be subject to substitution in more modern pieces, the harmonic patterns are still recognisable). Variation and improvisation can occur at a micro level, often through serendipity: a mishearing of the original material, slips and errors of memory or technique, or expediency for the player, as well as by inspiration. Variation happens within these mid–level structures, but the structures themselves are stable.

Variation and improvisation also occurs at the macro level, in the placement and order in which the mid–level structures are collected together. So, the mid–level structures can act as signposts that recur and hold the pieces together. Without these repetitions and areas of stability, it would be problematic for the music to be transmitted aurally (Nettl, 2005: 295-7), because memory places certain limitations on the constituent elements of what is transmitted. This is a good example of how the aural transmission of music affects the pieces and repertories themselves. Walter Ong (2012), while discussing oral traditions in general, gives us an insight into what the majority of flamenco improvisation is.

> In oral tradition, there will be as many minor variants of a myth as there are repetitions of it, and the number of repetitions can be increased indefinitely. Praise poems of chiefs invite entrepreneurship, as the old formulas and themes have to be made to interact with new and often complicated political situations. But the formulas and themes are reshuffled rather than supplanted with new materials. (42)

The units of flamenco are combined and recombined to create new pieces. This is not just an aspect of flamenco improvisation, but an essential factor in how the tradition has been transmitted in a largely aural culture.

The mid–level structures are also needed as signposts to mediate improvisation in a group context. It is at this level that most interaction between the performers occurs, and the most improvisation occurs within. This is why the stability of the mid–level structures are so strongly rooted in flamenco, and are a clear example of the primacy of social interaction in maintaining a tradition. If the improvisation breaks away from the recognised formal components, these being mostly our mid–level structures, it may be improvisation, but is no longer considered flamenco. In flamenco, innovation occurs at the macro or micro level, the middle level is constant.

It was while reflecting on the teaching of improvisation, that the following thoughts on flamenco guitar pedagogy in general became clearer. In the teaching of flamenco for the future I recommend teachers concentrate on the high frequency items for the most common *palos*. The *falsetas* should also be taught with an eye on being able to use them, with some adaptation, in different *palos*. When introducing new material, a teacher should introduce one new element at a time, in a context that is already familiar, so as to avoid overload for the student. For example, if introducing a new right hand technique, it should be done within a familiar *palo,* with chords and left hand technique, with which the student is already comfortable. Constant recycling of all material is vital for memory retention. For most guitarists, thorough knowledge of a small amount of adaptable material is more useful than a vast collection of material.

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GLOSSARY

Alzapúa – A flamenco guitar playing technique that involves up and downstrokes of the thumb, which cause a strong pulsation, and, in some cases, syncopation

Apoyando - A right hand technique on guitar that produces a strong clear tone. The finger or thumb does not pluck out the string so much as pressing it down and coming to rest on the next string.

Arrastre – This is a quick dragging of the finger back across the strings from high to low in pitch, hitting each string *apoyando* when playing flamenco guitar.

Compás - the *compás* is the basic rhythmic pattern in Flamenco. This pattern gives the accented beats that provide the pulse in the various flamenco styles. The pattern is repeated end to end throughout the piece. Without this sense of pulse, the music is not considered flamenco. Different flamenco forms (*palos*) have different *compás*es. The harmony and melody of the *palo* are tied closely to the *compás*.

Falsetas - These are passages of solo melodic material, played periodically between passages of *rasgueo* on the guitar. They are played between verses and at the start of songs. With the advent of solo flamenco guitar, many pieces are collections of *falsetas* chained together with short passages of *rasgueo*.

Golpe - A percussive sound made by a right hand finger tapping on the guitar's soundboard.

Letra – a verse of *cante.* Each *letra* stands alone, and songs are chains of these independent *letras* — often likened to pearls on a necklace, in that they are beautiful and precious in their own right, but linked together make a work of art. *Letras* do not usually follow directly on from one another, but are linked by *falsetas.*

Palo – the term meaning a flamenco song form.

Picado - Melodic passages employing only *apoyando* strokes.

Rasgueo - These are the passages of rhythmic strumming that characterise flamenco. These driving passages set up and secure the *compás*. The term also refers to the various right hand strumming techniques used in flamenco. In the Andalusian dialect it is pronounced *rasgueo*, but in standard Spanish (Castellano) it is referred to as *rasqueado*.

Tirando - A right hand technique that is used to contrast with *apoyando*. The finger or thumb strikes the string parallel to the soundboard rather than pressing it down. The finger does not finish the stroke on the adjacent string.

Tremolo - A guitar technique where a fast succession of notes in the treble register gives the impression of a sustained melodic line, while the thumb plays an accompanying bass line.

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Svan Funeral Dirges (*Zär*): Language-Music Relation and Phonetic Properties

ABSTRACT
This paper reports on the results of a follow-up study to Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze (2020) and Mzhavanadze and Scherbaum (2020), which jointly describe the acoustical and musicological properties, respectively, of a new collection of field recordings of three-voiced Svan funeral dirges, known as *zär* in Svan and *zari* in Georgian. The focus of the present work is on language–music relation and phonetic properties. It was motivated by the pioneering work of Bolle Zemp (1994; 1997; 2001), who for the first time examined this topic from both an ethnomusicological and a linguistic perspective. We revisit some of Bolle Zemp's observations and assumptions with a substantially expanded (by a factor of 11) data set and by using computational phonetic analysis tools not available at the time of her study. Her observation of correlations between pitch, duration, and timbre features related to the interjection of *woj* (*wai*) is consistent with our analysis for only some of the singers. Therefore, rather than assigning a general semantic meaning to these correlations, we offer an alternative interpretation as a natural consequence of the formant tuning techniques, which we found employed in the vocal production of some of the singers.

KEYWORDS
Svan Funeral Dirges
Language-Music Relation
Phonetic Properties

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Introduction

Svaneti in NW Georgia is one of the rare regions at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, where very old (possibly pre-Christian) traditions are still cultivated as part of daily life. Svan funeral dirges, known as *zär* in Svan and *zari* in Georgian, performed exclusively during mourning rituals, occupy a special place within Georgian music. Due to the remote geographic situation, they are still maintained in a comparatively original form and are believed to offer insights into the oldest parts of Georgian vocal music. Svan *zär* have been the core topic of an interdisciplinary study, the results of which have been published or are forthcoming in a series of papers in *Musicologist*. These papers so far cover their acoustical and (ethno)musicological characteristics, as well as the historical and cultural context (Scherbaum & Mzhavanadze, 2020; Mzhavanadze & Scherbaum, 2020) and Mzhavanadze & Scherbaum (2021, forthcoming).

In addition to these topics, we believe that because of the peculiar vocal utterances employed, the analysis of Svan *zär* might also help shed some light onto the language-music relation in the early layers of Georgian musical thinking. The present study was stimulated by the pioneering work of Bolle Zemp (1994; 1997; 2001) on the language-music relation and the phonetic properties of *zär*. We extend her study, which was focused on the audio recording of a single funeral chant from Lat'ali (Lat'li in Svan), to the analysis of eleven different performances of five different variants of *zär,*[1] performed by singers from different villages, which were obtained during an ethnomusicological field expedition in 2016 (Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze, 2018; Scherbaum et al., 2019).[2] In addition, we want to test if her hypothesis regarding possible correlations between pitch, duration, and timbre features could be tested quantitatively by using a computational acoustical phonetic analysis. Some of the performances in the new corpus were recorded in their natural context at actual funerals, which we were allowed to document. Based on the information we received from our local informants during the 2016 expedition, the present collection represents almost half of the eleven different variants of *zär* believed

[1] Variant 1: K'ala and Ushguli, 2: Mest'ia, 3: Lenjar, 4: Lat'ali, 5: Lower Bal

[2] All the recordings of the 2016 field expedition have been made publicly available and can be accessed either through the open access long-term archive at the University of Jena, which also hosts the field report and the meta data (https://lazardb.gbv.de/search; see Scherbaum et al., 2019 for details), or through the research repository at the University of Erlangen of the GVM project (https://www.audiolabs-erlangen.de/resources/MIR/2017-GeorgianMusic-Scherbaum). Contact the first author (fs@geo.uni-potsdam.de) for access information.

to still be practiced today (Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze, 2020). The recording strategy employed during the 2016 field expedition makes the new corpus particularly suitable for modern state-of-the-art analysis. Whenever possible, one singer from each voice group was simultaneously recorded with a high-quality headset microphone and a larynx microphone[3]. In addition, the whole ensemble was recorded with a high-resolution (4K) video camera, on which a directional microphone was mounted, plus a conventional stereo microphone. The systematic use of larynx microphones allows the undistorted documentation of the acoustical contribution of each singer while all of them are singing together in their natural context (Scherbaum et al., 2015). In addition, larynx microphone recordings have been shown to contain essential information in relation to a singer's voice regarding pitch, intonation, timbre, and voice intensity. This allows the application of computer-based methods to document and analyze vocal music of the oral tradition in new ways. This includes, for example, computerized pitch analysis techniques to determine the fundamental frequency (F0) trajectories and their microtonal structure, to study the tuning systems used by the singers, as well as possible interactions between singers (Scherbaum et al., 2015; Scherbaum, 2016).

[3] For reasons of reverence we have refrained from using headset microphones for the recordings which were made at real funerals.

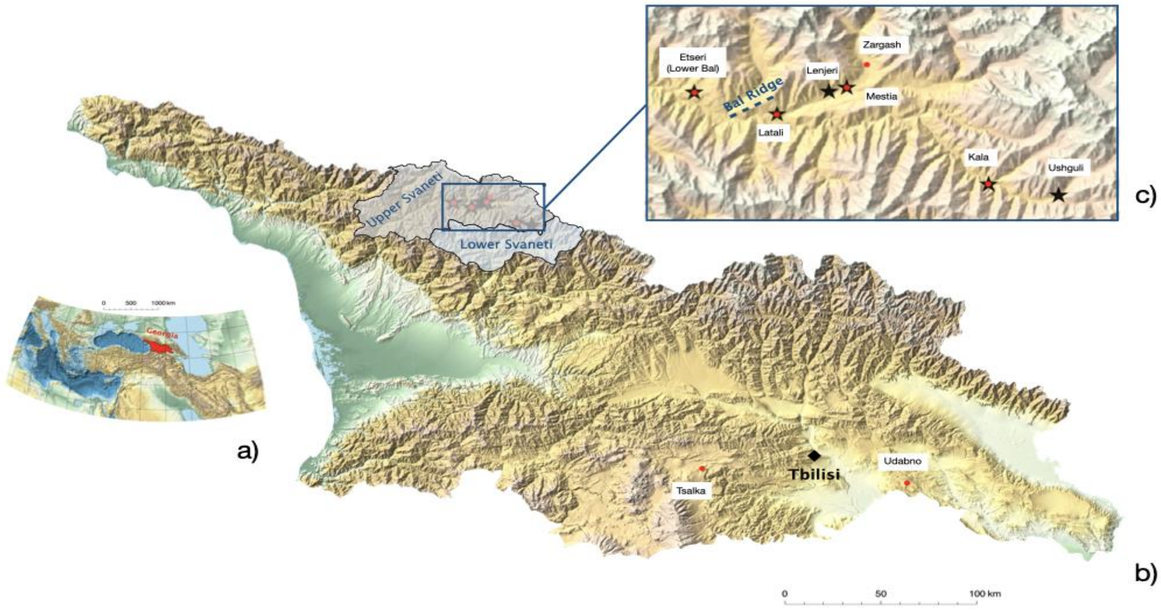

Figure 1. Geographical situation. a) The location of Georgia in its regional context. b) Study area and recordings sites (marked by red solid circles) of the field expedition of 2016. c) Locations of recording sites (red solid circles) and locations of origin of *zär* (black stars) within Upper Svaneti. The Bal ridge (altitude-wise) divides the Lower Bal and Upper Bal regions of Upper Svaneti.

The recording locations and the locations of origin of the different *zär* variants are shown in Figure 1 with solid red circles and black stars, respectively. Apart from the Upper Svaneti area, the field work also covered the eco-migrant Svan communities of Didgori, Tsalka, and Udabno, outside Svaneti, near the capital of Tbilisi (Figure 1).

Language–music relation

The quantitative investigation of language–music relations in *zär* was originally initiated by the Swiss ethnomusicologist Sylvie Bolle Zemp, who discussed the results of her studies in a sequence of papers, most of which are in German (Bolle Zemp, 1994; 1997; 2001). What made her work so innovative at the time is that she examined this topic from both an ethnomusicological and a linguistic perspective. For her analysis, Bolle Zemp had at her disposal the recordings of a single funeral chant from Lat'ali, which she phonetically transcribed using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (in its 1993 version). Employing the tools accessible at that time, she processed the chant through sonographic images and analyzed the musical content of the verbal 'text', explored all the possible references of the utterances employed in *zär*, and visualized the results in the form of sonograms. Based on the results of her analysis, Bolle Zemp suggested a strong correlation between words and music. She assigned semantic importance to the core utterance *woj*, which she interpreted as an interjection of pain.[4] She argued that as an utterance of mourning connotation, it lies at the root of several vocal formulas of the chant. In her view, 'singers' emphasize human emotions such as pain, dignity, etc. by modification of the sound characteristics of spoken language, e.g. by formation of vowels and consonants in different ways, by manipulation of the interjections, and by stylization of expressions of the spoken language through certain vocal processes (velarization, descending glissandi, nasalization). In her view, the structure of the movement of voices, the duration of a sound, the sequence of concomitants, and the interrelationship of consonant and dissonance chords is greatly conditioned by the 'text', which coordinates the musical process (Bolle Zemp, 1997; 2001). In particular, she suspected a correlation between a sequence of high/low/high timbres, high/low/high pitches, and short/long/short durations of vocal formulas. Although the research methodology of Bolle Zemp's study makes it transparent and reproducible, the analysis of only one example of *zär* limits the generalizability of her results to other variants of the chant. Besides, although the general quality of the recordings of S. Bolle-Zemp is good, the recordings of that time do not allow for the analysis of the acoustical properties of individual voices because of the then yet-unsolved problem of separating individual voices in polyphonic field recordings[5].

In this section, we are revisiting some of the issues brought up by Bolle Zemp (1997). In particular, we want to test if her hypothesis regarding possible correlations between pitch, duration, and timbre features could be tested quantitatively by using a computational acoustical phonetic analysis. Since each of the individual singers in our corpus was separately recorded, we can quantitatively exploit the acoustic properties of the individual voices, as well as their interaction for this purpose. For each voice, the fundamental frequency (F0) trajectory, as well as the sequence of individual note objects (containing onset time, pitch, duration and lyrics information), were determined (cf.

[4] A phonetically related utterance in Georgian is *wai*.
[5] This problem becomes also acute when focusing on retrospective study of the chant to reconstruct the stages of its development and changes. The quality of older archive recordings are often critically poor and sometimes does not allow even a minimal manual processing.

Figure 3 in Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze, 2020). The text of each note object was identified by a native Georgian speaker (Nana Mzhavanadze), in collaboration with two native Svan speakers (Madona Chamgeliani and Ketevan Margiani), and expressed in Svan language. For this purpose, the Svan character set on the Titus website was used[6].

In order to obtain an overview of the lyrics used in the complete collection, Figure 2 shows an overview of the relative frequencies of occurrences of the individual note lyrics in the form of so-called word clouds, in which the size of a word corresponds to the relative frequency of its occurrence in the corresponding *zär*. This frequency is not always the same for the same *zär* variant, as can be seen, for example, in Figure 2 a) and b), d) and e), g), and h), and i) – k). In particular, the Lat'ali variant, which was the subject of Bolle Zemp's work, has considerably different lyrics in the realizations by the singers from Lat'ali and from Udabno, respectively. Figure 2 indicates that overall the most common note texts in our transcriptions are *{'ჳ̂ა', 'ჳ̂ო', 'ჲი', 'იჲჰ', 'ჰა'}*[7].

[6]http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/caucasus/kartlaut.htm, http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/caucasus/kaukvok.htm

[7] In transcription: {'ûa', 'ûo', 'yi', 'iyh', 'ha'}. It should also be noted that some 'words', although they are transliterated slightly differently have the same meaning. For example: '*ჲი*' and '*ი*' are the same. So are '*ო*' and '*ჳო*', etc.

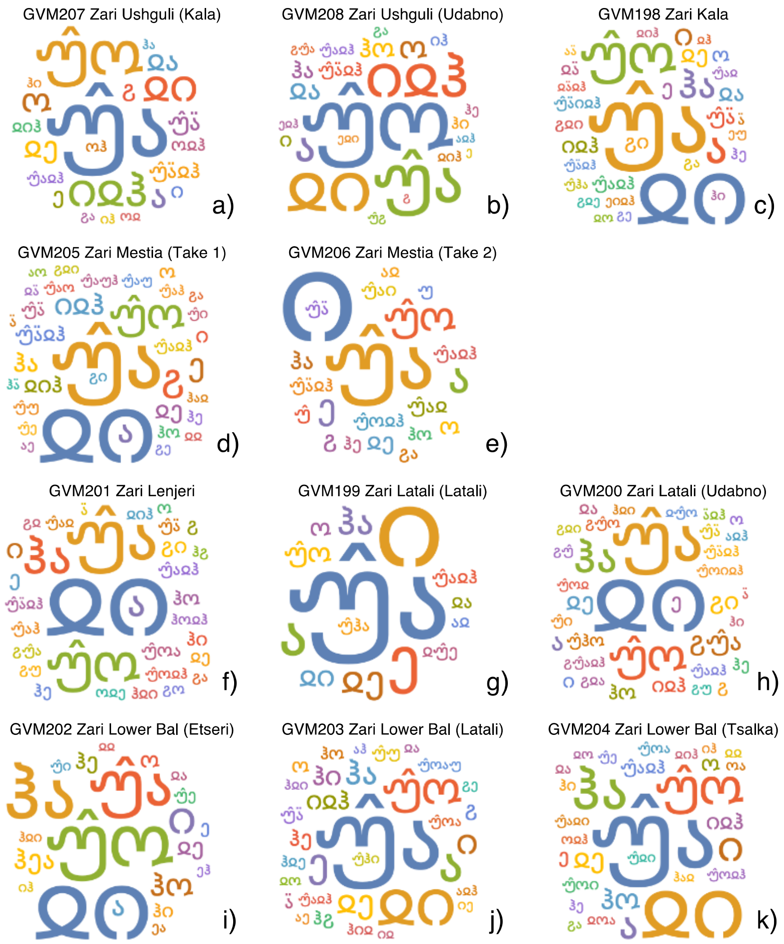

Figure 2. Word cloud derived from the set of note texts from the complete collection of *zär* recordings (see Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze, 2020). The size of a word corresponds to the relative frequency of its occurrence in the corresponding *zär*.

The main focus of Bolle Zemp's (1997) interpretation was on the interjection *woj*, which she assumed to be related to the Georgian interjection of pain, *wai*. In Svan, these two interjections would be written as '*ჟ̂აჲი*' or '*ჟ̂ოჲი*', which Bolle Zemp perceived as a single word. In our attempts to transcribe the *zär* lyrics, we almost always perceived '*ჟ̂ა*' ('ûa')- '*ჲი*' ('yi') and '*ჟ̂ო*' ('ûo') '*ჲი*' ('yi') as two different notes and transcribed them accordingly. It goes without saying that the quality of phonetic transcriptions depends strongly on the training of the transcriber. But even for well-trained transcribers, as demonstrated in section 13.4 of Reetz and Jongman (2009), it is very hard not to be influenced in perception by one's mother tongue. In the present study, although done by natural speakers and experienced singers, the identification of the note lyrics still turned out to be extremely challenging. For example, it was not always straight forward to distinguish between '*ჟ̂ა*' ('ûa'), and '*ჟ̂ო*' ('ûo') sounds, or between the different realizations of vowel sounds involving 'ი' ('i'). For the subsequent analysis, in order to overcome some of the subjectivity of the phonetic transcriptions, we performed a computational acoustical phonetic analysis.

Phonetic analysis

Since each of the individual voices was separately recorded by either a larynx microphone or by a combination of a headset- and a larynx microphone, we performed a so-called acoustical phonetic analysis, based on the analysis of voice formants. Formants are resonance frequencies of the vocal tract, which are related to its shape and controlled by the position of the tongue, the jaw, the lips, and the velum, all of which are referred to as articulators (cf. Sundberg, 1987; Reetz and Jongman, 2009). The articulatory description of *placement* of consonants or *frontness* or *height* of vowels, or the description of vowels in terms of quality or color, as used by Bolle Zemp (1997), can acoustically be related to the values of the formant frequencies. The *height* of a vowel for example is related to the value of the first formant (F1), while the *frontness* (which is related to the position of the arching tongue) is related to the second formant (F2). The first two formants are essential for the identification of vowel sounds, while the higher formants (F3, F4,..) are believed to be more related to the identity of the singer. Formants are associated with peaks in the smoothed power spectrum of the sound. In the present study, we used the Linear Predictive Coding (LPC) algorithm implemented in Mathematica (Wolfram Research, Inc., 2020), which is also used in the standard phonetic software, Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2021). Since formant frequencies are controlled by the shape of the vocal tract, they are believed to be independent of the fundamental frequency of the vocal fold oscillations (F0) (Reetz and Jongman, 2009).

Figure 3 illustrates the processing sequence of the phonetic analysis. Each of the note objects in Figure 3a) is defined by an onset time, a F0 value, a duration, and a text string representing the lyrics. For a note of interest, the onset time and duration information is used to cut out the corresponding audio segment from the audio file. This is shown in Figure 3b) for a note with the lyrics 'ჳა' ('ûa') and in Figure 3c) for a note with the lyrics 'ჳო' ('ûo'). The main panels in b) and c) show the spectrograms of the audio segments, the waveforms of which are shown by the gray and brown waveform segments, respectively, on top of the main panels. The small figures to the right of each spectrogram correspond to the Short-Time Fourier Transform (STFT) of the complete audio segment of the note object. The horizontal red dashed lines indicate the first four formant frequencies (F1, F2, F3, F4), as determined by the Linear Predictive Coding (LPC) algorithm (for details see Wolfram Research, Inc., 2020). Their numerical values are displayed together with the values of the fundamental frequency of the notes in the tables in Figure 3 d) and e).

Finally, F1 and F2 are plotted on a so-called vowel map in Figure 3f), together with the average formant frequencies for the vowels of American English (in magenta), collected by Hillenbrandt et al. (1994), and for German (in blue), by Sendlmeier and Seebode (2006). The positions of the two examples with the lyrics '*ჳა*' ('ûa') and '*ჳო*' ('ûo') fall roughly on a line between the German 'a:' and 'u:'.

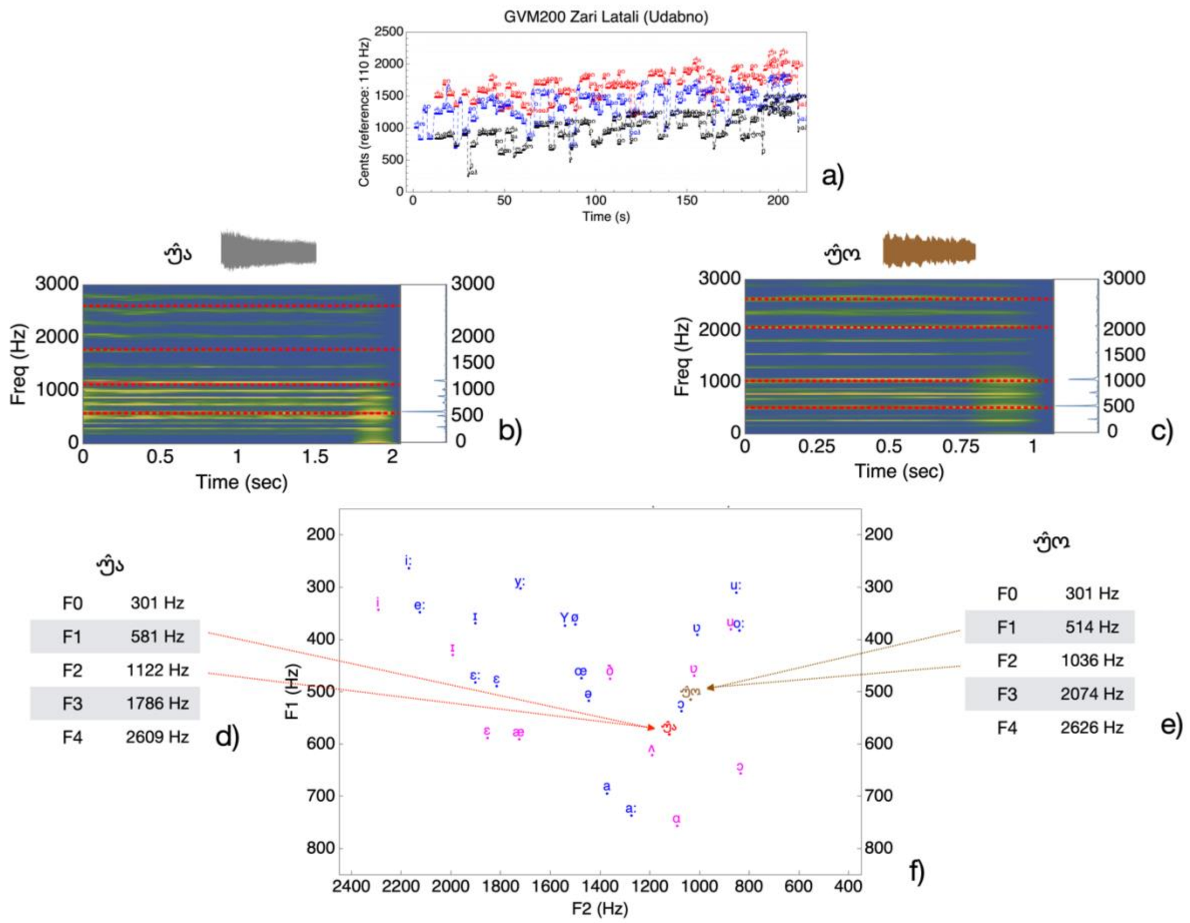

Figure 3. Illustration of the workflow of the phonetic analysis.

Figure 4 shows the vowel map for all notes with lyrics '*ჳა*' ('ûa') in red or '*ჳო*' ('ûo') in brown in the headset recordings of the Lat'ali *zär*, sung by the singers from Udabno.

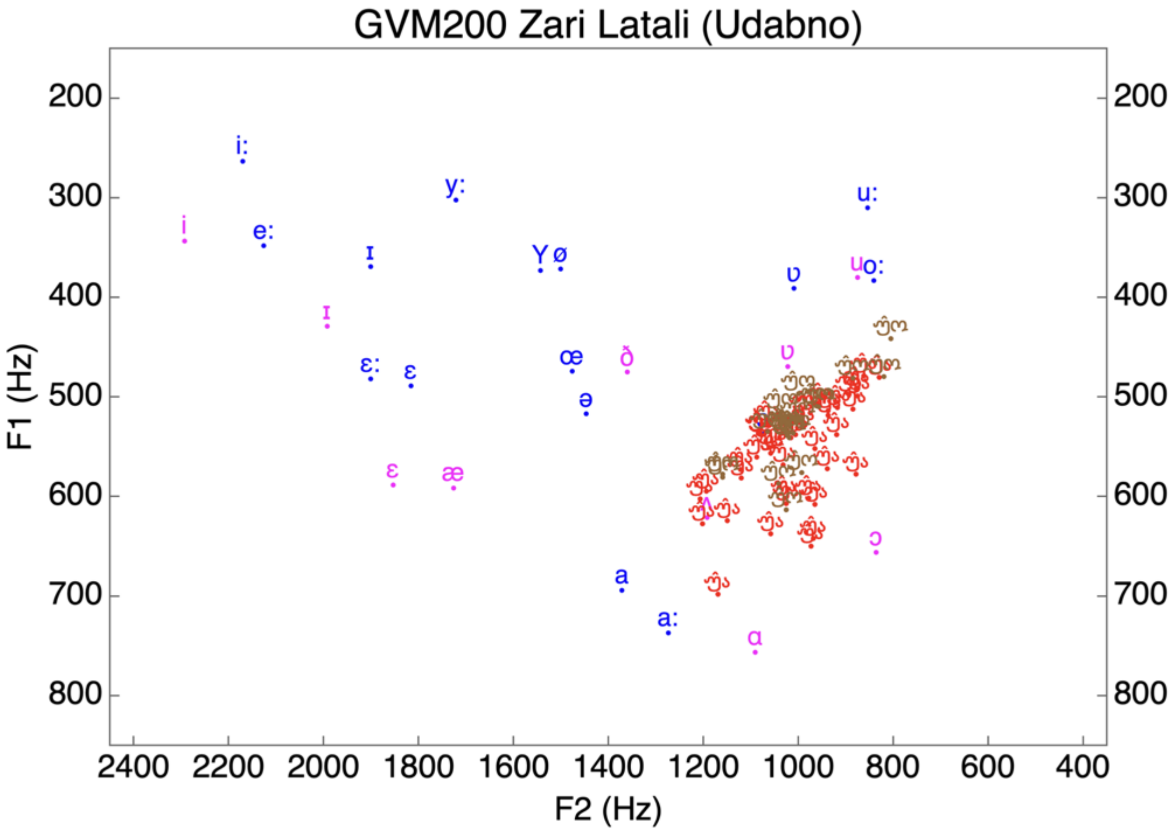

Figure 4. Vowel map for all notes with lyrics ‘ჳა’ (‘ûa’) in red or ‘ჳო’ (‘ûo’) in brown in the headset recordings of the Lat’ali *zär*, sung by the singers from Udabno.

It can be seen that the vowel map positions of the individual notes fall again between the German ‘a:’ and “u:” sounds, but largely overlap. For once, this is in line with our experience that the two sounds are sometimes difficult to distinguish. The word clouds in Figure 2 show that the syllables ‘ჳა’ and ‘ჳო’ are definitely very present in the phonetic soundscape of all *zär* variants. Comparing the durations of all notes with note lyrics ‘ჳა’ or ‘ჳო’ with the total duration of all notes in the particular *zär* reveals that in terms of durations roughly 50% of all *zär* lyrics in all *zär* variants are spent on either ‘ჳა’ or ‘ჳო’. In about 1/3 of these cases, ‘ჳა’ or ‘ჳო’ appear in combination with either ‘ჲი’ or ‘ი’ or ‘იჲჰ’ as subsequent note.

As a consequence, Bolle Zemp’s conjecture regarding the importance of the interjections *woj* /*wai* seems to be generally applicable to all *zär* variants, if one assumes that they correspond to different combinations of ‘ჳა’ (‘wa’) or ‘ჳო’ (‘wo’) for the first note text and ‘ჲი’ (‘yi’) or ‘ი’ (‘'’) or ‘იჲჰ’ (‘iyh’) for the second one in our study. But does this mean, as Bolle Zemp (1997) suggested, that these syllables have a strong mourning connotation and a sematic meaning, which, she suspected, was based on postulated correlations in changes in pitch, duration, and timbre features?

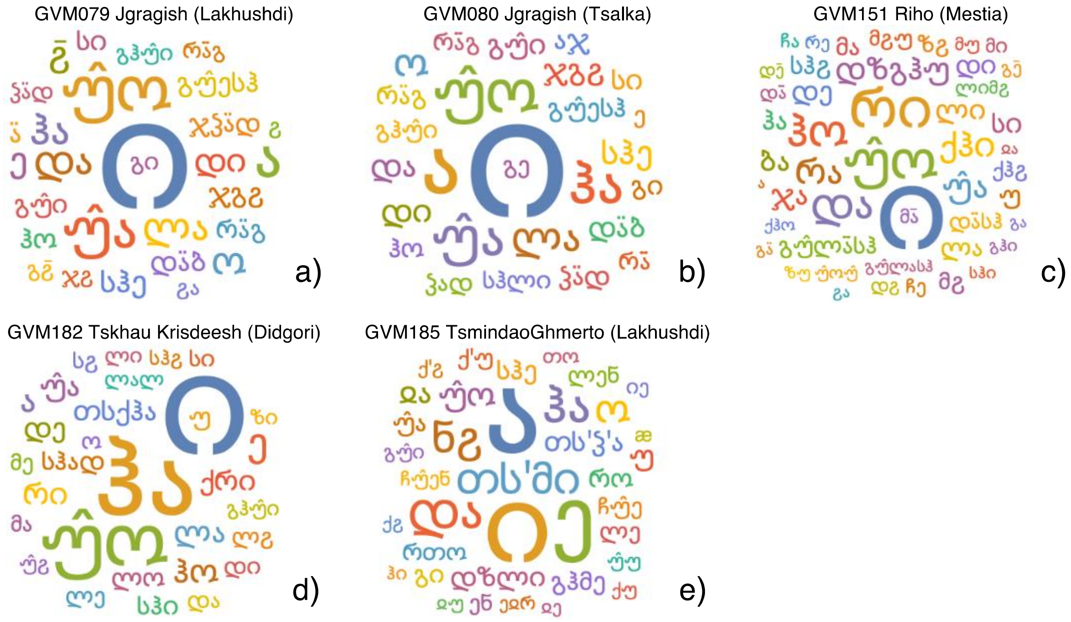

Figure 5. Word cloud derived from the set of note texts from a selection of other Svan song recordings.

As one can see in Figure 5, the syllables '*უ̂ა*' ('ûa') or '*უ̂ო*' ('ûo') are present in significant amounts in other Svan songs as well. This raises doubts regarding their connotation being limited to mourning.

Since the first formant (F1) is related to the *height* of a vowel, while the second formant (F2) is related to the position of the arching tongue, and therefore, to the amount of velarization, one can check for correlations between changes in pitch, duration, and timbre features by calculating pairwise correlations between F0, F1, F2 and note durations. For all three voices in the Lat'ali *zär*, sung by the Udabno singers, and for all notes with lyrics '*უ̂ა*' or '*უ̂ო*', these so-called Trellis plots[8] are shown in Figure 6.

[8] A Trellis plot is a group of smaller plots arranged in a grid in which each subplot is conditioned on a different variable.

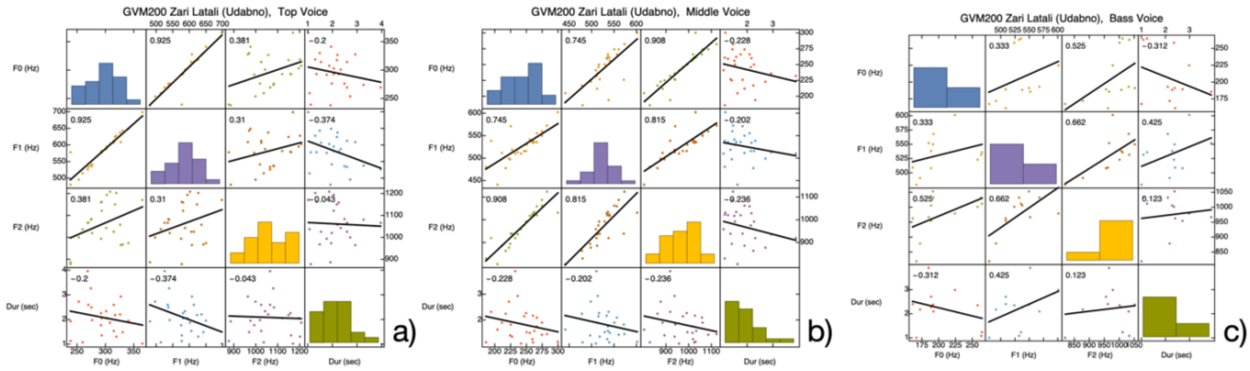

Figure 6. Trellis plot of F0, F1, F2, and note duration of notes with lyrics 'ზ̂ა' or 'ზ̂ო' in the Lat'ali *zär*, sung by the Udabno singers.

With correlation coefficients above 0.9 in both cases, Figure 6 a) and b) show strong correlations between F0 (pitch) and F1 (in relation to vowel height) for the top voice and between F0 (pitch) and F2 (in relation tongue position) for the middle voice, respectively. For the bass voice, the correlations are much weaker, and hence not really convincing. Closer inspection revealed that the top voice singer shifts his first formant towards 2 x F0 (cf. dotted line in Figure 7a), while the middle voice singer shifts his second formant towards the fourth harmonic of the sound spectrum, which has a frequency of 4 x F0 (cf. dashed line in Figure 18b). This "formant tracking" (Bozeman, 2013) gives particular harmonics, in the present case the second (H2 at 2 x F0) and fourth (H4 at 4 x F0), an energy boost, makes them appear louder, rougher, and gives them a 'ringing' quality. It is a vocalization strategy well known for both classical and non-classical singing (Bozeman, 2013; Sundberg et al., 2013 and references therein).

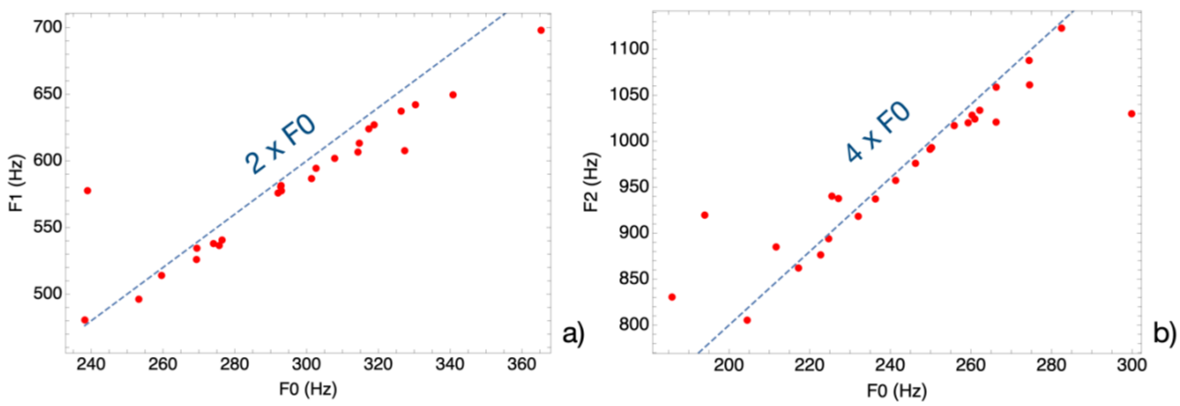

Figure 7. Evidence for formant tuning in the top voice (a) and middle voice (b) recordings of the Lat'ali *zär*, sung by the Udabno singers.

Men are known in particular to tune their second formant to higher harmonics, if they want a real powerful note, or when their voice turns over (Bozeman and O'Connor, 2017). When harmonics pass through the first formants, one can hear this as a closed timbre ('*voce chiusa*'); the more harmonics are below the first formant, the more the timbre is called open ('*voce aperta*') (Bozeman and O'Connor, 2017)

Since in the present example the correlations in changes in pitch and timbre features (we could not detect a correlation with durations) differ in style between the different voices or are not even used at all, as in the case of the bass voice, we interpret them more as an expression of personal taste of the singers, than as having a semantic meaning. In the latter case, we would expect them to be similar for all three voices.

Conclusions

In this paper, we have investigated the topics of language–music relation and phonetic characteristics of Svan *zär*, first described and analyzed in the pioneering study by Bolle Zemp (1997). As a new contribution to the discourse on these issues, we present a computational analysis of a new set of field recording of Svan *zär*, which comprises audio and video recordings of eleven different performances of five different *zär* variants (Ushguli/K'ala, Mest'ia, Lenjar, Lat'ali, Lower Bal), sung by ensembles from seven different locations (in alphabetical order: Etseri, Kala, Latali, Lenjeri, Mestia, Tsalka, Udabno). The data for our study were audio and larynx microphone recordings of 33 individual vocal tracks, already separated by voice groups during the recording. The substantially expanded scope and the special recording setup used made it possible to address a whole range of questions from a variety of perspectives. One of the goals of our study was to compare the results of the personal analyses of Bolle Zemp (which were based on the recordings of a single performance of the Latali variant only) with the computational analysis of the new and expanded data set.

The particular results and conjectures from the Bolle Zemp studies, which we wanted to revisit were: a) the importance of the interjections *woj /wai* in *zär*, b) the possible mourning connotation of these syllables, and c) the postulated correlations in changes in pitch, duration, and timbre features. Since all voices are available separately in digital form in the new dataset, we were able to address the last question quantitatively, by using computer-aided acoustic-phonetic analysis. The findings we have obtained with regard to the various aspects can be summarized as follows.

As to a). Although the Lat'ali variant, which was the subject of Bolle Zemp's work, has considerably different lyrics in the realizations by the singers from Lat'ali and from Udabno, we found that overall Bolle Zemp's observation of the frequency of occurrence of the interjections *woj* (*wai*) in *zär* is consistent with the expanded dataset, if one assumes that they correspond to different combinations of '*ჳ̂ა*' ('wa') or '*ჳ̂ო*' ('wo') for the first note text and '*ჲი*' ('yi') or '*ი*' ('i') or '*იჲჰ*' ('iyh') for the second one in our study.

As to b). What we could not confirm, since the syllables '*ჳ̂ა*' ('ûa') or '*ჳ̂ო*' ('ûo') are present in significant amounts in other Svan songs unrelated to mourning, is their exclusive mourning connotation.

As to c). Based on a computational phonetic analysis, we could detect the existence of correlations in changes in pitch and timbre features related to the interjection of *woj* (wai) for some, but not for all of the singers. If it would have a semantic meaning, as suggested by Bolle Zemp, we would expect it to be employed by everyone. Closer inspection of singers, whose recordings showed these correlations, revealed that they employed formant tuning, a vocal technique, which is often employed by singers to make their voice appear louder, and to give it a particular rough sound quality. Therefore, in contrast to Bolle Zemp, we do not assign a semantic meaning to these correlations, but interpret them as a natural consequence of the formant tuning technique and an expression of the personal taste of the singers.

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First and foremost, our gratitude goes to all the people, who allowed us to be part of and record their rituals during the 2016 field expedition. We are thankful to Meinard Müller and his team for the stimulating collaboration within the framework of the project "Computational Analysis of Traditional Georgian Vocal Music (GVM)" (DFG MU 2686/13-1, SCHE 280/20-1), as well as for hosting the web-based repository of the GVM data. We would also like to thank Adamantios Gafos for stimulating discussions and his encouragement during the initial stages of this study.

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A Distinctive Album in Turkey: Bülent Ortaçgil's *Benimle Oynar Mısın*[1]

ABSTRACT

In this study, we aimed to explore prominent musician Bülent Ortaçgil's album *Benimle Oynar Mısın* (1974). Built upon a musicological and sociological analysis, our main goal is to investigate the effects of this album, which did not attract attention when it was first published, but gained visibility in the following years. This album, which arguably had a protest structure, emerged in the period when the Anatolian Pop movement was dominant, yet showed very different features from this genre. In this investigation, in which we also conducted an analysis considering the concepts of 'protest music' and 'protest musician', we focused on the features of the album that differed from the early musical examples of the Anatolian Pop movement, which also exemplifies the 1970s protest music in Turkey. We utilized Howard Becker's "art worlds" approach to discuss how this album, which has different musical elements and unusual lyrics for the time period when it was released, has become a milestone for music production in Turkey over the years. Then, we examined how divisions of labor occurred in the art worlds in which Ortaçgil positioned himself. One of the most important findings of this study is that, starting from his first album, Ortaçgil's positioning in the various art worlds in Turkey, in relation to the most prominent artists from Turkey, increased his opportunities to make his album and other songs recognizable over years.

KEYWORDS

Bülent Ortaçgil

Art Worlds

Turkish pop music

Protest music

Benimle Oynar Mısın

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Introduction

In this study, we conducted a sociological and musical analysis of *Benimle Oynar Mısın*[2] (1974), an album by one of Turkey's leading musicians, Bülent Ortaçgil. This album has a distinctive character in the music market, when considered with regard to its period. However, despite being very unpopular at the time of its release, this work has become a milestone for music production in Turkey over the years. In the 1970s, when protest music was on the rise with the Anatolian Pop movement, the appearance of such an album with internal interrogations and ontological concerns reflected in the lyrics raises questions about the conditions of the period and Ortaçgil's entry into the music field as a songwriter. It is also important to recognize how Ortaçgil, who followed the footsteps of musicians influenced by the Beat generation, such as Bob Dylan, positioned himself in the Beat generation of the early 1960s and the global field of protest music in the 1970s. In order to clarify the musical style, artistic preferences and tendencies, intellectual roots, and the positioning of Ortaçgil in the musical field, we conducted an in-depth interview with the artist on 17 February 2021.[3]

Although there are various articles and books on Ortaçgil, to date there is no scholarship focusing on the *Benimle Oynar Mısın* album and its position in the musical field in a holistic framework bringing together musicological and sociological perspectives. Therefore, this study is also an attempt to make a valuable contribution to interdisciplinary studies in Turkey.

Conceptual Framework

In this study, we first briefly discuss the concepts of 'protest music' and 'musician'. Discussions of protest music with respect to function and form shape the first conceptual framework. Then, we explain Howard S. Becker's "art worlds" approach, which forms the basic theoretical framework of this study. In this framework, the concepts that we mainly focus on are cooperative links, conventions, and the appreciation of art. In the next section, we analyze the origins of Ortaçgil's musical taste and background of the first album. Then, we explain Ortaçgil's positioning in the 1970s musical field in Turkey. Finally, after the general analysis of the album, we concentrate on the revival and

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[2] In English: Will You Play With Me.

[3] When we applied for an ethics committee approval at Maltepe University for an interview with Ortaçgil, we received feedback that there was no need for approval for this interview.

reception of the album. In these parts, we employ a musical analysis of *Benimle Oynar Mısın* and look at how musical elements, such as melody, harmony, rhythm, form, and Ortaçgil's vocal range are primarily used. Along with these elements, we consider instrumentation and timbral qualities of songs that build the unity of the album. Through close examination of the music and lyrical materials of the album and comparison with Anatolian Pop, the structural position of music production in the period forms another pillar of this musicological evaluation.

Discussing Protest Music and Musicians

In his prominent book *Noise*, Jacques Attali examines the development of music from a historical perspective; he discusses music in relation to the economic and political conditions, in which it has been shaped:

> "For twenty-five centuries, Western knowledge has tried to look upon the world. It has failed to understand that the world is not for the beholding. It is for hearing. It is not legible, but audible… Now we must learn to judge a society more by its sounds, by its art, and by its festivals, than by its statistics" (Attalli, 1985: 3).

On the other hand, while the meanings attributed to the music we listen to change historically and contextually, the meanings given to music categories can also mutate. Therefore, the definitions of 'protest music' and 'protest musician' cannot be taken for granted. For instance, music that used to be considered protest music may no longer have a protest character. Moreover, someone who is a protest musician may not be a real pioneer of protest music. "For instance, Ludwig Van Beethoven, one of the pioneers of classical music, was a musician who broke with tradition, while Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart came to the fore with his protest attitudes" (Eren, 2018: 135). However, it is possible to talk about the pioneering effects of certain types of music in certain continents in the development of protest music. For instance, folk music had a great influence on the development of protest music in the Anglo-American world in the 20th century. Many of the first figures that come to mind when talking about 20th century protest music, such as Joe Hill, Lead Belly, Woodrow Wilson Guthrie, and Pete Seeger prove this statement. Regarding Turkey, in addition to folk music, the minstrel tradition has had a great influence on the development of protest music. For instance, the Anatolian Pop movement, which emerged in the late 1960s, was intrinsically protest music in its character, since it was highly influenced by the minstrel tradition.

“Cooperative Links”, “Conventions” and the Appreciation of Art

As the research subject in this study is a musician, it is important to make sense of the “art worlds” shaped around him. Therefore, based on Howard Becker’s ideas, clarifying concepts such as “cooperative links,” “conventions,” and the appreciation of art is a crucial step before going further in the analysis of this research.

It is widely believed that the main factors in the creation of works of art are the special talents of the artists. If someone has more talent than others do, that person is considered to be more advantageously positioned to appeal to large audiences. However, this approach prevents us from observing the artistic production in a holistic way. According to Becker, as discussed in his prominent book *Art Worlds* (1982), there are many visible and invisible people in the artistic production process. “Art worlds consist of all the people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art” (Becker, 1982: 34). At this point, Becker emphasizes the importance of support personnel in addition to the artist. This is also related to the organization of the division of labor. For this reason, to Becker, art is considered as a cooperative activity of many people engaged in the creation of the artistic production process. From this point of view, an artistic product is shaped by the combination of different talents, efforts and opportunities. If the position of individuals in the artistic production process changes, the nature of the artistic product can also change. Therefore, different dynamics occur based on new artists and support personnel. To clarify this, Becker posits examples of different ‘Mona Lisa’ paintings. He claims that

> “Marcel Duchamp outraged many people by insisting that he created a valid work of art when he signed a commercially produced snow shovel or signed a reproduction of the Mona Lisa on which he had drawn a mustache, thus classifying Leonardo as support personnel along with the snow shovel's designer and manufacturer” (Becker, 1974: 769).

On the other hand, “people who cooperate to produce a work of art usually do not decide things afresh. Instead, they rely on earlier agreements…” (Becker, 1982: 29.) This is the very basic idea behind what Becker calls “conventions”. “Conventions make collective activity simpler and less costly in time, energy, and other resources…” (Becker, 1982: 35).

They form the basis for a common language. Just as 'culture shock', a feeling of disorientation, is experienced while adapting to an unaccustomed culture, artists or supporting personnel also experience art shock.[4]

It is also notable that Becker employs a historical, contextual, and sociocultural analysis of the art worlds taking shape under different conditions. This analysis is evident in the example of a symphony orchestra illustrated in the beginning of his book. When Becker talks about a long chain of artistic production and presentation, he mentions the imperatives, such as the invention of instruments, devised notation, skilled musicians to play the notated notes, rehearsals, arrangement of a concert hall, publicity and tickets sold, and an audience capable of listening to and appreciating the performance (Becker, 1982: 2).[5]

In order to discuss and understand how Ortaçgil positioned himself in the musical field, in the next section we focus on the origins of Ortaçgil's musical taste and the background of the first album.

The origins of Ortaçgil's Musical Taste and the Background of the First Album

Bülent Ortaçgil was not born into a family of musicians, but his father was a keen music-lover who introduced him to classical and popular music at home. One of the important factors that made a crucial impact on the development of Ortaçgil's musical taste was his experience in the US, where he moved in 1959 when he was nine years old due to his father's work.[6] Ortaçgil lived in Washington, D.C., for one year, where the opportunity to watch singers and groups such as Elvis Presley, Paul Anka, Pery Como, Dean Martin, and The Platters on TV sparked his musical interest. When the Beatles began performing in 1963, Ortaçgil, who was then 13 years old, became a great fan of the band. His interactions with young foreign teachers while studying at Kadikoy Maarif College[7] also had a

[4] From another perspective, it is possible to relate Becker's "convention" to Bourdieu's "embodied cultural captial". Just as long-term accumulation of knowledge has an effect on the creation of traditions, embodied cultural capital formulates itself as long-lasting dispositions.

[5] This situation, an audience capable of listening to and appreciate the performance, can be evaluated through different explanations in the perception of different music genres. One explanation relates the reception of popular music and "ontological security in its listeners". By exploring Adorno's ideas, Tia DeNora states that "popular music, with its 'pseudomorphism of painting' (1973: 191) and its stock patterns of presentation geared for effect, reinforced the known… For this reason, such music instilled a form of certainty and, ontological security in its listener." (DeNora, 2003: 74)

[6] His father was a doctor.

[7] That was the name of the school those years. It was later named Kadıköy Anatolian High School.

substantial effect on him. Ortaçgil heard of singers such as Bob Dylan from them, and, as he states in an interview with the Birgün Pazar, he was influenced not only by Dylan's music, but also by his protest attitude (Abatay, 2017). He later became a fan of other groups and artists, such as Leonard Cohen, The Rolling Stones, The Animals, Led Zepplin, who mostly performed guitar-based music. He took singing lessons, played the guitar and drums, and performed in music groups, until graduating high school in 1968. In this period, songwriters, guitar music, and singing with guitar accompaniment began to come to prominence all around the world. At home, Ortaçgil listened to LPs, which his father brought from the US — mostly music by Frank Sinatra, Paul Anka, the Mcguire Sisters, and Frankie Laine, as well as classical music. He explains that the foreign music broadcast by Turkish radio stations tended to be in the style of Italian and French popular musics, which did not match his taste. His musical taste was fundamentally shaped by Anglo-Saxon culture, and he did not show any interest in music that was produced in Turkey in the 1960s (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021).[8] Thus, Ortaçgil's musical taste was shaped by a very different field, compared to that of Turkey's popular music scene at that time. In other words, different musical patterns, which are the extensions of different conventions, influenced Ortaçgil. It is difficult for a person who has not grown up with Western music to appreciate Western music, and vice versa. When Becker exemplifies this situation through some musical patterns, he refers to "conventions": "…We know these patterns — the diatonic scale and the major triad — because anyone who has grown up in any Western country, lived as a child here, and, especially, gone to its schools, will know them" (Becker, 1982: 41).

In 1971, Ortaçgil released his first singles (45 rpm), *Anlamsız* and *Yüzünü Dökme Küçük Kız*, from the Disco Record Company. The album did not attract much attention, nor did it achieve any commercial success. Ortaçgil was aware that his music was not in accordance with the taste of the masses, and that his efforts had not been truly appreciated. Having no expectation of earning his living from music, he started his undergraduate education in chemical engineering.[9] Nevertheless, he continued to make music while studying at the university. In 1973, Ali Kocatepe, one of the supporters of Ortaçgil during the production of his first single, launched his own record company, *Bir*

[8] Ortaçgil stated in the interview as "I come from Anglo-Saxon culture" (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021).
[9] He worked as engineer at two companies for seven years after his graduation.

Numara Plakçılık. As the first recording, Kocatepe wanted to release an album by Ortaçgil. Even though they both knew that the recording would not have commercial success, Kocatepe had to persuade Ortaçgil to make an album.[10] This is an important indicator that shows how Ali Kocaptepe's musical taste was orientated similarly to Ortaçgil's.[11] We can also interpret this situation through familiarity with similar musical patterns, and hence, conventions. Produced by Kocatepe, the album featured skilled musicians, some of whom would later became notable names in Turkish popular music: Onno Tunç (arrangements), Ergun Pekakçan (piano), Atilla Özdemiroğlu (vibraphone, flute, and trombone), Cezmi Başeğmez (drums), and Nükhet Ruacan (back vocals). The combination of these musicians, who were familiar with similar musical traditions, around the same "art worlds," enabled them to establish a common musical language. On the other hand, it is possible to state that the distinction between the core and the support personnel is very clear, as the artist, Ortaçgil, has sought to exist as a singular musician and core personel from the beginning. In addition, one of the most important things about the album, as Ortaçgil has also stated, is that the producer does not interfere with Ortçagil's music (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021). In this context, allowing the autonomy of the artist provided free expression possibilities and facilitated the formation of "art worlds" with their own original and inner dynamics.

Although all songs in the album were produced by Ortaçgil, his brother Ercüment Ortaçgil, and Ergun Pekakçan in three years, the recordings of *Benimle Oynar Mısın* were finished in two months. It was made without any commercial concerns and shaped entirely by the aesthetic taste of Ortaçgil and the support personnel. It did not achieve commercial success, and, according to Ortaçgil, only 2000 copies were sold (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021). The album did not fit the trend of the music market, as it did not include the necessary features that an album required for commercial success in the 1970s.[12] Kocatepe states that the album was not taken

[10] Ortaçgil states that if Kocatepe did not ask him to record his songs, the album would never exist (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021).
[11] Kocatepe seems to give his support to Ortaçgil in any way he could. At his column in Yeni Asır Newspaper dated July 25, 2010, he mentions that he and his producer friends became fans of Ortaçgil after his first 45th rpm. By their support, Ortaçgil was invited to Izmir to make interviews, his songs were broadcasted on the radio and found a job for in Mogambo in Kültürpark which last very soon (Kocatepe, 2010).
[12] In the 1970s, Anatolian Pop was one of the most demanded music styles in Turkey.

seriously in the *Plakçılar Çarşısı,*[13] which was the heart of the music market at that time (Kocatepe, 2010).[14] Nevertheless, *Benimle Oynar Mısın* has since turned into a cult recording with stable sales figures over the years.

Undoubtedly, in Ortaçgil's music, it is quite possible to see the influences of the Beatles and Bob Dylan, who also deeply affected the global music markets in the 60s and early 70s, as well as other representatives of Anglo-American musical culture such as Cat Stevens, Jethro Tull, Donovan, Nick Drake, Joan Baez, Juddy Collins, Peter-Paul and Mary, and Phil Ochs.[15] These representatives of Anglo-American music demonstrated the stance on political developments and social problems of the period by turning to folk culture. In their music, they were inspired by the motifs and various elements of traditional folk songs.[16] In Ortaçgil's case, he has positioned his musical manner "…in relation to the American protest music tradition and the American singer/songwriter type" (Çerezcioğlu, 2010: 256). But unlike the representatives of Anglo-American music, Ortaçgil does not demonstrate a political tendency in his lyrics, even though he was, as mentioned above, impressed by such expressions of protest attitudes.

Ortaçgil's Positioning in the 1970s Musical Field in Turkey

Ortaçgil's first album, released in 1974, carried him to the present and solidified his place in music history. As such, it is useful to briefly look at the internal dynamics of the music field of Turkey in this period and the 1960s.

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[13] *Plakçılar Çarşısı* which was the base of many music producers, is a business center located in Unkapanı, İstanbul. Until the recent years it was the heart of the music market in Turkey where musicians all over the country who were coming to make records. But with digitilazation process of music industry it has lost its significance in the market.

[14] "Nobody took this album seriously at the *Plakçılar Çarşısı*... However, the album, which has low but stable sales for years, never came down from the showcases, and has not lost this feature to another album... It is the only album that still maintains its place in the music markets from 1973 to 2010 and it is a masterpiece" (Kocatepe, 2010).

[15] In fact, it is quite normal for an artist to be influenced by Bob Dylan and the Beatles in those years. Because the above-mentioned artists inspired too many singers and groups all over the world during their active years and later as well. According to AllMusic's top 100 artists, they are in the first two places, in which Beatles has influenced 1230 artists and Bob Dylan has influenced 669 artists. See. https://theatlas.com/charts/S1QdKOZ3-

[16] The term folk music is often used to refer to American and British music that has been passed down through generations of oral tradition. This music, which is simple and acoustic based, is mostly anonymous. While the first recordings were made with only anonymous songs, later singers such as Weavers and Pete Seeger began to include original written songs right alongside anonymous songs to thier recording. Bob Dylan, one of the most popular names of the genre, released his second album *The Freewheelin* with only original music composed in this genre and started the modern folk age, in which many artists sing their own songs.

In the 1960s, the most important musical development was the emergence of the Anatolian Pop movement, which formed the foundation for a new protest music specific to Turkey. On the other hand, the birth of this new trend did not develop independently from the developments in the political field: “The political climate in Turkey in the 1960s was essentially characterized by its libertarian stance. As a result, Turkish music came to be influenced by foreign music to a certain extent” (Eren, 2018: 133). While the 1960s were characterized as a period in which the field of cultural production was more autonomous than it was in the 1950s, the Turkish government's attitude towards local music in this period has also contributed to the development of the Anatolian Pop music (Eren, 2018: 134). It is also important to note that there were different genres such as arabesk music, which has Middle Eastern influences, but also incorporated Turkish folk music elements. However, it is not our focus within the scope of this study.

In the 1970s, it seemed that the state did not have a stable music policy; rather, policies varied according to different governments (Eren, 2017: 113). The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT)’s harsh attitude towards musicians was effective in this period: many songs were banned, adversely affecting musicians. However, “ironically, artists tried to express themselves in a political manner in this period when restrictions in the cultural field are increasing” (Eren, 2017: 119). In this period, the common protest music genres can be mainly classified as “Anatolian Pop, political pop, the tradition of minstrelsy, and labor songs that interact with the political field” (Eren, 2017: 119).

Considering the conditions of the music field of the 1960s and 1970s, it is useful to take a closer look at the conditions, in which Ortaçgil’s first album was released. "The year Ortaçgil released *Benimle Oynar Mısın* corresponds to a period where Anatolian Pop and protest music — which will be remembered with this movement — spread, following the arrangement (music) period in Turkey’s popular music life” (Çerezcioğlu, 2010: 255). To understand where the recording was positioned in the market during this period and determine the distinct elements that differentiated it from the prevailing music genres, one has to look at the general musical tastes and trends in Turkey in the above-mentioned years. Philipp Tagg (1982: 48-49) states that the difficulty of expressing a musical object, which is the product of a symbolic system that does not rely on words, can only be turned into an advantage by replacing words with other music. To do this, he uses the concept of “interobjective comparison,” meaning describing particular music through other music, and suggests comparing the considered music with other music in a relevant style and with similar functions. From this point of view, instead of just examining the album's musical qualities, revealing the similarities and differences of the album using the prevailing music genres in this period allows us to clarify the basic question of the study.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Western-based music genres that steered the Turkish music market were arrangement music and Anatolian Pop. Arrangement music was a musical trend, wherein Turkish words were written to popular foreign songs, while keeping their melodic and formal structures.[17] It emerged in the beginning of the 1960s and played an important role in spreading light Western music in Turkey. Many singers, including Ajda Pekkan, Nesrin Siphayi, Ayla Dikmen, Nilüfer, and Selçuk Ural, became very popular within this genre. But at the end of the 1960s, arrangement music came to a critical crossroads. With the knowledge of the genre's repertoire, original Turkish songs in the western style started to be composed. During the 1970s, arrangement music slowly faded away from the market, while 'Turkish light music' came into prominence with singers as such as Hümeyra, Timur Selçuk, Alpay, and Tanju Okan, marking an important change in the market.

On the other hand, Anatolian Pop emerged as a reaction to arrangement music, and since the beginning of the '70s, started to become the prevailing genre on the market, featuring leading artists such as Moğollar, Cem Karaca, Fikret Kızılok, Selda Bağcan, and Barış Manço. In Anatolian Pop "... the melodic and rhythmic motifs of traditional Turkish folk music and its instruments are blended with the technique and instruments of western music; it comes out as a synthesis musical genre where Anatolian and Western music cultures meet" (Camgöz, 2020: 1493). In their musical backgrounds, the performers of this genre are influenced by the representatives of Anglo-American popular music. But the genre, deriving its inspiration from Anatolian folk culture, is also strongly affected by the "Psychedelic Rock influential instrumental genre" as well (Kutluk, 2018: 129). In addition to the names above, some other prominent artists and groups that contributed to the popularization of the genre were: Modern Folk Üçlüsü, Edip Akbayram, Dadaşlar, Atilla Özdemiroğlu, Üç Hürel, and İstanbul Gelişim. Considering the Anatolian Pop movement's early development, by "utilizing Edward Said's distinction between filiation

[17] The original versions of these songs were usually pop songs with French, Spanish, English or Italian lyrics.

and affiliation" (Karahasanoğlu & Skoog, 2009: 52), Songül Karahasanoğlu and Gabriel Skoog claim that "when Cem Karaca and his contemporaries performed Anadolu Rock in the 1960s, they were enacting a gesture of affiliation in linking their performance to American and European styles" (Karahasanoğlu, 2009: 69). According to Said, "the filiative scheme belongs to the realms of nature and 'life,' whereas affiliation belongs exclusively to culture and society" (Said, 1983: 20).

While there are various approaches to characterizing the interaction of Anatolian Pop with folk music, two main approaches exist in practice: "(i) performing folk songs without making any changes to melody, rhythm, and words, only with harmonic accompaniment, in 'homophonic texture', (ii) composing popular songs inspired by folk songs and even local expressions and proverbs, in a manner that takes them as a model or by imitating them" (Öztürk, 2020: 286). In the first of these approaches, we see that anonymous folk songs are primarily used. The first implementation of this approach is *Burçak Tarlası*, an arrangement sung by Tülay German in 1964. Accepted as the first recording of Anatolian Pop, and thus marking the beginning of the genre, the arrangement was performed with Western instruments and was completely faithful to the original melody. Although entering the music market in the beginning of the 1960s with rock'n roll songs written in English, Erol Büyükburç became one of the artists who continued this approach in later years with the folk songs he modernized. According to Camgöz (2020: 1496), in the following years "a tendency in Anatolian Pop where poems of folk poets/minstrels are performed with western instruments and forms while bringing into the front a protest/political manner" occurred at the same time.

> "In the 1970s, artists such as Cem Karaca, Selda, Edip Akbayram who undertook a political mission sang folk songs of Mahsuni Şerif while artist such as Barış Manço, Tülay, Neşe Karaböcek sang folk songs of Neşet Ertaş" (Çanlı, 2018). The most well-known example of the second approach is Barış Manço's *Dağlar Dağlar*, a "composition in the style of folk song with harmonic accompaniment" (Öztürk, 2020: 286).

In summary, as the Anatolian Pop movement achieved a strong position in Turkey in the 1970s, the music industry gained power through this newly emergent protest music. However, there are also rare artists like Ortaçgil who have produced different kinds of protest music, other than mainstream protest music. In the interview conducted with Ortaçgil, the artist also states that *Benimle Oynar Mısın* has a protest character (Bülent

Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021). At this point, a general analysis of the album is required, in order to better understand the album and discuss it from a musicological and sociological perspective.

General Analysis of the Album and Comparison with Anatolian Pop

In a period when Anatolian Pop created its own *clichés* in terms of textual and musical aspects, Ortaçgil entered the music market as a singer who wrote his own lyrics and music at the age of 24 — a distinguishing feature for a singer at that time (Çerezcioğlu, 2007: 17). When we look at the musical and textual characteristics of *Benimle Oynar Mısın*, we see that it has qualities and characteristics different from those of Anatolian Pop and other genres in the field. In the next section, we introduce the basic similarities and differences between Anatolian Pop and *Benimle Oynar Mısın*, particularly regarding its instrumentation, melodic structure, sound and lyrics, and shed light on the album's position in the market.

The album *Benimle Oynar Mısın* mainly features acoustic instrumentation; while acoustic guitar and piano stand out, drums, bass, brass instruments (trumpet, trombone, electro tenor saxophone) are occasionally used. Flute, vibraphone, and strings are other instruments that are used sparingly on the album. While the guitar and the piano alternatively come into prominence, the album also includes back vocals. With some exceptions, the instrumental texture and intensity throughout the album remain quite simple: the vocal line is accompanied by two guitars and a vibraphone in *Kediler*; guitar in the *Anlamsız* ve *Yüzünü Dökme Küçük Kız*; guitar and piano in *Bahar Türküsü*; piano, guitar, and back vocals in *Yağmur*. The song that gives the album its name, *Benimle Oynar Mısın* is one of the exceptions in terms of instrumentation, due to its use of strings. The use of wind instruments is generally limited; the solo flute is heard in *Her Şey Sevgiyle Başlar*, and *Şık Latife* is accompanied by brass instruments. The solo trumpet is heard once in *Günaydın*. In the relatively more fast-paced songs of the album, *Olmalı Mı Olmamalı Mı, Sen Varsın, Şık Latife*, the bass guitar, which is the only non-acoustic instrument on the album, is used in addition to the brass and drum. As we can see, Anatolian Pop, on the other hand, tends to use different instrumentation, which typically consists of electric guitar, bass, drums, and synthesizer.[18] While Western instruments

[18] In this genre, there are also musicians who prefer mostly acoustic sounds, such as Selda Bağcan.

provide a basis for instrumentation in Anatolian Pop, various Turkish folk instruments such as *bendir*, *kabak kemane*, *bağlama*, *ney*, *zurna*, *asma davul* are also used in parallel due to their melodic and timbre characteristics. These instruments, as mentioned by Baysal (2018: 210), were also used to provide drone sounds, a practice that is never seen in Ortaçgil's music. In addition to the use of folk music instruments, the rhythmic, timbre, and melodic characters of these folk instruments may also be evoked by using western instruments.[19] Ortaçgil, in contrast, intentionally avoids the use of folk music elements in his music. Practices such as the use of folk music instruments or evoking folk musical idioms with Western instruments do not exist in Ortaçgil's music. In the interview, Ortaçgil states that he never aspired to use traditional instruments and did not have an affinity for Turkish traditional music from his childhood. He added that it is single-minded to make a kind of music just to be admired or sought after by the masses. Therefore, he refused to be a part of this trend and created and performed his music the way he loved. "Because I did not want to build what I wanted to say on something I didn't know," (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021) he says, and adds that folkloric themes are generally restrictive for songwriters. For him, folklore means keeping the old alive.

Four of the songs (*Olmalı Mı Olmamalı Mı*, *Şık Latife*, *Benimle Oynar Mısın*, *Sen Varsın*) in the album were arranged by Onno Tunç, who was just at the beginning of his career at that time. But even though the sound palette of the album was partly enriched by Onno Tunç's arrangements, *Benimle Oynar Mısın* fundamentally contains the timbral codes of American protest music. One of the main differences that distinguishes the album from Anatolian Pop in terms of instrumentation is undoubtedly the timbral absence of electric guitar. Unlike in Anatolian Pop, where solos are mostly played by electric guitar and synthesizer, the solos are usually performed by piano or wind instruments. Thus, *Benimle Oynar Mısın* obviously differs from the Anatolian Pop genre in terms of instrumentation preferences.

[19] In songs of Cem Karaca's *Zeyno* (1969) and Cem Karaca&Moğollar's *Obur Dünya* (1973), we see that zurna and davul are alluded to using electric guitar and drums. In Moğollar's song *Dağ ve Çocuk*, the keyboard evokes the zurna both melodically and timbrally. Barış Manço alludes to Black Sea kamanche with the electric guitar in *Derule*. On the other hand, davul is used instead of drums in Moğollar's *Garip Çoban* and Cem Karaca&Moğollar's *Obur Dünya*.

The vocal style of Ortaçgil undoubtedly has a great influence on the soft sound of the album, which has an acoustic atmosphere exempted from distortion sounds. Ortaçgil's docile, soft, calm, childish, sincere vocal tone is also in harmony with the character of the songs. Ortaçgil's vocal tone is more naïve and has less diversity compared to the leading artists of the Anatolian Pop such as Cem Karaca, whose dramatic singing style is "ranging from warm and clean vocals, to aggressive guttural sounds, to humorous theatricality and epic narrative style" (Baysal, 2018: 211). Anatolian Pop is generally oriented towards complex and loud sounds. "Long solos played by guitar or synthesizer on short themes that bass guitar repeats periodically, repeating rhythmic structures, improvisations, complex and loud timbre, high-emphasis performances" are among the qualities that differentiate Anatolian Pop from the album at hand (Camgöz, 2019: 115, as cited in Çerezcioğlu, 2017). In *Benimle Oynar Mısın*, there is a style similar to that of American protest music, in which the soft vocal style is accompanied with acoustic guitar, and guitar and vocals dominate the music. Therefore, the sound of the album is closer to American folk music, rather than rock music.

Ortaçgil's singing also features a 'calm' and speech-like quality, which is frequently seen in the American folk music tradition (Çerezcioğlu, 2007: 36). Ortaçgil's vocal line is mostly made up of repeated melodies and steps. There are rarely intervallic leaps of fourths or fifths, and the vocal melody always remains within the scope of tonality. We observe that in Anatolian Pop, the vocal line may go beyond the tonal sequence due to the modal qualities of the folk songs, on which the songs are based. Harmonically, the album uses the chord structures seen in Anglo-American popular music. Notably, the chord progression in *Olmalı mı Olmamalı Mı* and piano solo in *Benimle Oynar Mısın* allude to the Beatles. Although the prevailing harmonic palette in the album consists of triads, chords with added sixths, ninths, elevenths, and suspended fourths are also used. The use of cyclical chord progression, borrowed chords, and tonic-subdominat-dominant relations, which demostrates a strong affinity with Western music harmonic idiom, are some of the other features seen in the album. In Anatolian Pop, besides Anglo-American popular music harmonic idioms, the chord progressions are mostly shaped by the Turkish folk music tunes, on which the songs are based (either in style or directly through arrangement). Additionally, "the ways of harmonizing were also experimented with in relation to the modal content most of the pieces contained," wherein a variety of strategies were applied by artists, "including avoiding the dominant chord (V), especially in the cadences, and relying more on the subdominant chord (IV or iv), as well as occasionally using median relationships (both upper and lower thirds) to prolong tonic chord progressions" (Baysal, 2018: 210). In *Benimle Oynar Mısın*, integrity is notable between the harmony and melody throughout the album. Besides that, Ortaçgil uses the musical material succinctly and makes very few repetitions of sections in his songs. In terms of dynamics, there is not much variety in the songs. In Anatolian Pop, on the other hand, more dynamic features are generally seen in this respect.

All the songs on the album were composed by Ortaçgil. Therefore, Ortaçgil parallels the Anglo-American singer-songwriter tradition, not only because of his musical style, but also because he is the creator of the music he performs. Ortaçgil also wrote all the song lyrics, with the exception of *Yağmur*.[20] The lyrics are very introverted, displaying an individual, rather than social approach. In an interview with *Hürriyet Kelebek* in 2015, Ortaçgil states that he was one of the first musicians to do so (Arslan, 2015).[21] He states that, on the other hand, the individuality in his songs is not an isolated individuality from sociality. He explains that he wrote many songs that could be regarded as 'political', referring to the values and morals of the society at that time, and yet admits that they were not 'up-to-date politically'. According to him, politics does not mean up-to-dateness (Abatay, 2017). Although the album was lyrically very understated and gentle for its time, it was not far from the worldview of the '68 generation. "There is a lot of hope, it is a hopeful album," he says, and points out the protest quality of the album in this manner (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021). But beyond that, he distances himself from current politics, and therefore does not define himself as an activist or protest musician. In his opinion, the aesthetics of music and speech should always be at the forefront, rather than giving a message. "According to him, aiming to say something explicitly in songs should not get ahead of creating song aesthetics" (Çerezcioğlu, 2007: 18).

The lyrics of the songs reflect the solitude of urban life —including human landscapes—, make ontological inquiries, and give implicit messages. It is possible to define him as an urban storyteller due to the subjects he deals with in his songs. What we see in Anatolian

[20] The lyrics for this song are from the poem by Swedish poet and writer Artur Lundkvist.
[21] "I am one of the first of those who make the music of individual thoughts".

Pop, on the other hand, are lyrics that are generally extroverted, reflecting nature and the countryside. These lyrics are protest, political, antagonistic, experimental, societal, explicit, and related to the working class, freedom, and equality themes. In addition to the frequent use of folk expressions and proverbs, lyrics evoke Anatolia through the use of local dialects and accents. These practices are never seen in Ortaçgil's lyrics. He, in fact, prefers an indirect expressive manner. Instead of clear and direct expressions, he uses a more observant, descriptive, and subtly interrogative style. This is one of the other basic elements that distinguish his music from Anatolian Pop music. “The narrativeness of what he tells within the framework of various symbols is a distinctive feature of Ortaçgil songs” (Çerezcioğlu, 2007: 38). Ortaçgil thinks that the audience should actively participate in the process of listening to music.[22] He writes lyrics that are “avoiding unidimensionality, giving everyone the chance to enjoy as much as they participate, a little abstract, a little unconventional but multi-layered” (Ortaçgil, n.d.). Therefore, Ortaçgil's audience mostly consists of "intellectuals, university students, and urban people, just like protest music singers in the American protest music tradition" (Çerezcioğlu, 2007: 20).

The soundscape heard at the end of the recording acoustically concretizes the theme of urban people and city life, to which the lyrics refer. The recording opens with the first song *Günaydın* and closes with another version of the same track, in which the music ending with a fade-out blends with the urban buzzings. This marks an unprecedented practice in Turkish popular music. In addition, the theme of loneliness that pervades the fourteen songs of the album is one of the features that renders it a concept album.

Reception & Revival

Although *Benimle Oynar Mısın* is considered one of the cornerstones of Turkish popular music today, it did not resonate with a large audience at the time it was released. Because the Turkish audience was not familiar with the musical codes of the album. One of the last factors in the shaping of “art worlds” that determines its success is the reactions of the receivers. As Becker emphasized, “someone must respond to the work once it is done, have an emotional or intellectual reaction to it, ‘see something in it,’ appreciate it”

[22] This perspective also resembles Adorno’s ideas about audiences (Adorno, 1941: 17-48).

(Becker, 1982: 4). However, as mentioned earlier, the appreciation of cultural products requires knowledge and experience, shaping long-lasting dispositions.

When the album was released, Turkish popular music listeners were not yet accustomed to Anglo-American music codes. According to Ortaçgil, the general listener of those times was very conservative (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021). The interaction of Anatolian Pop with folk music eased the reception of that genre. Moreover, arrangement music made it easy for Turkish listeners to appreciate Western light music styles at that time. Additionally, artists such as Hümeyra may have appealed to the masses with original pieces with lyrics taken from folk poets. However, Ortaçgil's music was far from all of these genres. The traces of the existentialist poets and writers he read in his youth, and who inspired his lyrics, caused Ortaçgil to be perceived as 'over western' (Çerezcioğlu, 2007: 17). Orhan Kahyaoğlu also states that *Benimle Oynar Mısın* has an extremely avant-garde identity, when one looks at the pop average of the period (Kahyaoğlu, n.d.). Needless to say, Ortaçgil was one of the first artists entering the music market of the 1970s to write their own lyrics and music. Therefore, listeners of Ortaçgil tended to be urban people who were university-educated, or at least people considered to be from intellectual/semi-intellectual status, who followed foreign music (Çerezcioğlu, 2007: 31). The album might have been an appealing alternative for intellectuals who were looking for something other than the standardized patterns of arrangement music and the stereotypical discourse of Anatolian Pop.

Ortaçgil intentionally did not get involved in any of the prevailing trends of the period (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021). He always reaffirms his statement regarding his choice of music-making: the music that makes sense for him. Therefore, from this point of view, it is clear that the album was not motivated by any expectation of commercial success. Producer Kocatepe also shared this view, as Ortaçgil mentioned that Kocatepe did not interfere with the process. "Therefore, I was able to release an original product. This was a big chance and something that could not happen to everyone" (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021).

In a time when people were increasingly politicized due to political events, expectation from music was also in the same direction. However, when we look at Ortaçgil's songs, they seem to belong to a different world from the predominant spirit of the period, both in terms of music and text. In comparison to Anatolian Pop, they present a soft and naive character and do not reflect any existing ideology of the period. While having no explicit relation to current politics, the album, with its musical and implicit critical qualities, is more closely comparable to American protest songs.

Although it did not appeal to the general taste of the masses and did not reflect the ideological tendencies of the period, *Benimle Oynar Mısın* never fell out of favor on the market in the long term, due to its musical and textual qualities and depth, and was always followed by a certain audience. If we look at the reasons why this album, which was not widely visible in the 1970s, gained great importance at the end of the 1990s and onwards, we can list the following factors with direct or indirect effects:

i. Those who took part in the album in 1974 as support personnel were the most influential artists of the period.

ii. His friend from university, and later his producer, Mustafa Kaynakçı played a major role in the visibility of Ortaçgil and his *Benimle Oynar Mısın* album.[23] In the 1980s, before copyright laws were implemented, Kaynakçı used to make compilation albums. He made Ortaçgil's songs from *Benimle Oynar Mısın* visible by adding them to many compilation albums (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021).

iii. In the following years, Ortaçgil worked with prominent Turkish musicians, including Gürol Ağırbaş, Baki Duyarlar, and Erkan Oğur, for many years. This collaboration made the artist known to a wide audience with his new sound.

iv. Ortaçgil reinterpreted his songs titled *Olmalı Mı Olmamalı Mı*, *Benimle Oynar Mısın*, *Yağmur* and *Şık Latife* in the album *Eski Defterler* (1999) and thus reintroduced the 1974 album.

v. The album *Şarkılar Bir Oyundur - Bülent Ortaçgil için Söylenmiş Bülent Ortaçgil Şarkıları* (2000) had a great impact on Ortaçgil's reputation: his songs were sung by 22 artists, including prominent musicians of Turkish pop music, such

[23] Kaynakçı used to work at Piccatura Music Company.

as Sezen Aksu, Gürol Ağırbaş, Feridun Düzağaç, Yaşar, Haluk Levent, and Teoman.

vi. Two books were published discussing Ortaçgil as an artist.[24]

vii. Publishing *The Song Book* (Ortaçgil, 2002) with notated scores of the tracks in the album, made the music more accessible to amateur performers.

viii. Interpretation of Ortaçgil's *Sensiz Olmaz* by prominent arabesque musician Müslüm Gürses in the soundtrack album (Saltık, 2004) of the movie titled *Neredesin Firuze?* increased Ortaçgil's fame.

ix. Reissues of the recordings made Ortaçgil more recognized. In 2000, the album was released in CD format by the Istanbul-based Piccatura record label, and in 2004 by the South Korean label, World Psychedelia Ltd. In 2008, as a result of the revival of the vinyl, the Spanish record label Wah-Wah Records released 1000 copies of the album in LP format, which also brought more visibility abroad. In 2015, 41 years since its debut, it was released once again on LP by Rainbow45 Records in Turkey.

Of course, this list of reasons that made this album a milestone in Turkey and brought it to the masses is not exhaustive. However, the aforementioned factors appear as basic factors. We may also observe that, since the 1990s, the potential audience that could appreciate the recording also gradually increased due to wider consumption of foreign music based on Anglo-American popular music such as hard rock and its derivatives. Lastly, we can also say that after his period of working as an engineer, Ortaçgil's consistent musical production since the 1980s made him more visible in the 2000s. Fulfilling his duty as a creative artist (and core personnel) with the same devotion also supported this stability. Becker states that

> "Another difficulty arises when someone claiming to be an artist does not do some of what is regarded as the irreducible core of what an artist must do. Since the definition of the core activity changes over time, the division of labor between artist and support personnel also changes, leading to difficulties." (Becker, 1982: 19)

[24] Çınar (2018); Kahyaoğlu (2002)

Ortaçgil, who has been performing with Gürol Ağırbaş (bass guitar), Cem Aksel (drums) and Erkan Oğur (guitar) since the 1990s, seems to have long-established the division of labor.[25] Although the musicians he worked with changed over the years, his central role in the production process has not changed: he continued his core personnel role as vocalist, songwriter, and composer. It is also noteworthy that Ortaçgil mentioned the importance of the collective approval process in the formation of his music, referring to his work as "our music" in the in-depth interview. This demonstrates that he considers his musical production a collective action, similar to Becker's claims. Besides, starting from the album *Benimle Oynar Mısın*, it seems that Ortaçgil established a division of labor that develops in its natural flow, not by force (Bülent Ortaçgil, personal communication, February 17, 2021).

Conclusion

In this study, in which we conducted a musicological and sociological analysis with reference to historical conditions, we focused on Ortaçgil's first album *Benimle Oynar Mısın*. Having a protest character that is not derived from a political stance and demonstrating a musical style that did not resonate with the musical conditions of the period in which it was produced, the album did not reach a wide audience in its time. This is mainly related to the inability of the listeners to appreciate that music and the lack of opportunities to make the album gain more recognition. The album did not draw upon the features of the prevailing genres of its period. Ortaçgil wrote his lyrics, which display a highly individual quality and observation of urban life, without any direct inspiration from sources such as folk culture. While the melodic base of his music draws upon Anglo-American musical codes, the musical and textual elements are also completely free of Turkish folk music. In terms of sound, the album is built on an acoustic atmosphere that matched the character of its stylistic influences and departed from electronic and synthesized timbres of mainstream Anatolian pop music.

The difference of the musical patterns in Ortaçgil's work versus the prevailing 1970's patterns also prevented the album from gaining the appreciation of the audience at that time. This is also related to "conventions" in the formation of "art worlds." When the last link in the formation of "art worlds" could not be achieved, large masses could not

[25] In recent years, Akın Eldes has started to accompany Ortaçgil instead of Oğur.

understand the value of the artist in the 1970s. This is what Becker emphasized as “an audience capable of listening to and appreciate the performance” (Becker, 1982: 2). On the other hand, although the support personnel have changed, Ortaçgil’s regular participation in his own musical production as the core personnel has made the artist and his first album more visible over the years. Starting from his first album, Ortaçgil’s positioning in the art world of Turkey, consisting of the most prominent artists, also increased his opportunities to make his album and other songs achieve recognition over the years.

Lastly, the fact that the artist gained more visibility and that his first album thus reached more listeners today is also related to various opportunities, such as the effect of compilation albums, the influence of sponsors and individual supporters, the effect of books exploring Orgaçil’s music, and the usage of his songs as soundtracks in some movies.

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