

Dance Structures

Perspectives on the analysis of human movement

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Dance Structures

Perspectives on the analysis of human movement

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Ukrainian Shumka Dancers, Edmonton, Canada
(See chapter by Andriy Nahachewsky)

Back cover photo: Some of the authors at a work meeting in Rhodes, 1997
(See chapter by Anca Giurchescu)

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PREFACE

The study and analysis of dance structures has been of continuing interest since the mid-twentieth century; however, the lack of a compendium of studies on the varied approaches has hindered further development and comparative work. This book fills that gap and presents various perspectives on the analysis of human movement systems from a wide range of societies in several parts of the world. The contributors are members of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) and have worked together for several years to bring this book to fruition.

The volume begins with a historical perspective on the study of dance structural analysis by Anca Giurchescu, who was closely associated with the Study Group since its inception. This historical piece is followed by five essays on theory and method based on publications that have become key schools of thought during the past thirty years. These have been updated and/or rewritten, based on subsequent work by the authors. The first essay is Anca Giurchescu and Eva Kröschlová's updated version of the IFMC (International Folk Music Council) syllabus, which was published in the *Yearbook of the IFMC*. The second essay is an updated version of Adrienne Kaeppler's contribution to structural analysis based on linguistic analogies, with a short introduction comparing her theory with that of Giurchescu/Kröschlová. The third is Egil Bakka's essay on methods for analysing improvised couple dances in Norway, based on his earlier work on this subject. The fourth essay is Lisbet Torp's theoretical summary of her earlier book *Chain and round dance patterns*. The final essay in this section, by László Felföldi, summarizes the structural approach to Hungarian dance research.

These key essays are followed by ten case studies that use and extend the methods and theories presented and add new perspectives to the study of structural analysis. Often the case studies combine elements from two or more of the theoretical and methodological presentations; however, as the case-study writers were familiar with all of the theoretical essays, they have combined elements from the key essays and other theoretical works with their own perspectives, based on their research and analysis, to evolve new and additional theories and methods.

The essays by Theresa Buckland, Andriy Nahachewsky, Maria Koutsouba, and Catherine Foley use elements primarily from Giurchescu/Kröschlová, while Irene Loutzaki, Frank Hall, Arzu Öztürkmen, and Mohd Anis Md Nor use elements primarily from Kaeppler. The case studies apply the methods and theories to new materials from different cultural areas. For example, Nahachewsky combines ideas from Giurchescu/Kröschlová that originated in eastern Europe with motif structures based in the Hungarian school detailed by László Felföldi to Ukrainian dance in Canada. Koutsouba applies Giurchescu/Kröschlová to her work on Greek cultural identity. Buckland shows that structural analysis is useful for her understanding of specialized Morris dancing in northern England, and Foley uses a combination of components to help preserve a declining step-dance tradition in North Kerry, Ireland. Hall applies the theory and method developed by Kaeppler in Tonga in the South Pacific to his research on improvisation in American clogging, while Loutzaki uses these methods to analyze dance style in villages in northern Greece. Nor uses Kaeppler's choremes and movement-systems approach to

HISTORY

**A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE ANALYSIS OF
DANCE STRUCTURE IN THE
INTERNATIONAL FOLK MUSIC COUNCIL (IFMC) /
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR TRADITIONAL MUSIC (ICTM)***

Anca Giurchescu

Preliminaries

The interest in dance structural analysis that emerged and developed in Europe, and especially in eastern Europe, at the middle of the 20th century was induced and stimulated by the International Folk Music Council (IFMC).¹ This was not because dance research did not exist before, but because in the framework of this organization the study of traditional dance (later termed Ethnochoreology) had a theoretical foundation and a wide international basis. Therefore, the history of the theory and method for dance structural analysis, as well as its foundation, development and application, is interwoven with the history of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, as it is now known.²

Considered in a broad socio-political and cultural framework, dance research in general and particularly research focusing on folk dance structural makeup, developed pre-eminently in Eastern Europe, where traditional dance practice was still a living phenomenon in the mid-20th century. From an epistemological point of view, the European folkloristic perspective (that focuses on art products such as dance, music, poetry, and so on) finds its roots in the romantic efforts for national identity and the creation and consolidation of the nation states that emerged at the end of the 19th century. East European folklore and American socio-cultural anthropology have two fundamental differences: local versus universal and known (familiar culture) versus unknown (exotic culture). These two ideological orientations gave rise to two parallel scientific streams. In the domain of dance research they merged at the end of the century within the framework of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology.

In the Eastern European "socialist bloc," the State cultural management focused on the national character and the ancient roots of its traditional culture. Therefore, folklore research enjoyed institutional support. Conducting research as insiders of their own dance tradition, most researchers took into consideration a dance instance in contrast to anthropologists who, working in a foreign dance tradition, focused on a dance system as a whole. The aim was to collect, analyze and classify dances (considered artistic products) in order to discover characteristic traits that identify a national dance culture.

The necessary pre-conditions for developing a method for dance structural analysis were: (1) intensive field research activity that could produce a large stock of recorded (written and/or filmed) dance documents, and (2) the existence of a graphic notation system capable of capturing the transient performances.

At the end of the 1950s, a large corpus of dances had been collected in many countries, especially in Eastern Europe. Working in isolation, however, each country developed its own "national notation system" and a corresponding terminology, hindering cross-cultural information and communication between and among researchers.³ Roderyk Lange points out the limitations of the national systems: "Again, these systems are certainly helpful when used in a particular country and within a group of people who know that particular way of dancing"

[Lange 1980:10]. In contrast, the well established Kinetography Laban (1928) (and in a certain way the Benesh system 1956), based on universal principles, was institutionalized in Poland, Austria [Lange 1980:11] and Hungary (initially introduced by Lugossy Emma and Gönyey Lőrincz [Gönyey 1947], and adopted by a few specialists in England, Germany, former Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia).⁴

Foundation of the Study Group on Folk Dance Terminology

It became evident that a unified dance terminology and a method for dance structure analysis were necessary to disclose the dance grammar, to verbalize it and to facilitate cross-cultural research [Hoerburger 1958:62; 1959:71-73]. These aims became reality in the institutional framework of the International Folk Music Council.

Before 1960 the IFMC journals contained many articles, abstracts and reviews on traditional dance with contributions of eminent scholars such as: Douglas Kennedy and Violet Alford (England), Felix Hoerburger (F.R. Germany), Richard Wolfram (Austria), Jean-Michel Guilcher (France), Gurit Kadman (Israel), Vera Proca-Ciordea (Romania), Olga Mladenović, Ljubica and Danica Janković (Yugoslavia), and Raina Katzarova (Bulgaria). In 1950, at the IFMC conference held in Bloomington, Indiana, USA, dance scholars from North America, such as Elisabeth Burchenal and Gertrude Kurath from the USA and Marius Barbeau from Canada, were active participants.

In 1957, at the tenth annual conference, the Executive Board of the IFMC took note of a resolution proposed by dance organizations from four Scandinavian countries, which requested the IFMC to pay more attention to dance issues and especially to "control" the way dance groups present "genuine tradition" on stage [IFMC 1957:12].

The Dance Commission and the IFMC Working Group on Dance Terminology

In 1960, at the thirteenth IFMC conference in Vienna (July 24-28), Felix Hoerburger proposed that a **Dance Commission** (governed by a set of regulations and led by a board), should be created. The Commission was "to appoint *ad hoc* working parties as occasion demands."⁵ The Dance Commission aimed for communication and exchange of scientific material, unification of dance terms and notation systems, and dissemination of bibliographic information.

In 1962, at the fifteenth IFMC Conference in Zlin (former Gottwaldov, Czechoslovakia), the inaugural meeting of the Folk Dance Commission took place with the following board: Felix Hoerburger (F.R. Germany) – chair, Roger Pinon (Belgium) – secretary, Douglas Kennedy (England) and Vera Proca-Ciordea (Romania) – members. This was a crucial moment: the dance researchers introduced dance as a domain of scientific inquiry in the context of the IFMC Conference. At the inaugural session, there were representatives of sixteen countries (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, United Kingdom, United States, Yugoslavia).⁶

Felix Hoerburger considered that inadequate and inaccessible bibliographies, and materials published in at least thirty European languages, hinder both dance research and communication between specialists. Consequently, he made the following proposals "for the work of the IFMC Dance Commission": a unified definition of the concept of Dance (including the term Folk Dance with its different categories), a survey of folk dance practice and research in different countries, unification of notation systems on the basis of Kinetography Laban, and dissemination of bibliographic information [Hoerburger 1962:161].

Based on the above, the Dance Commission suggested the following program:

1. A questionnaire that should illuminate the term "folkdance," the life of dance in contemporary society, and the situation of folkdance research in Europe.
2. Publication of a comprehensive dance bibliography (since 1962).
3. Organization of an international dance film archives.

4. The organization of a Working Group on Folk Dance Terminology (under the coordination of Prof. Vera Proca-Ciortea, Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, Bucharest, Romania) [IFMC 1962:23-27].

The following members were appointed for this initial working group (two researchers from each country): Martin György (Institute of Ethnography) and Pesovár Ernő (Institute of Musicology) Budapest, Hungary; Hannah Laudová (Institute of Folklore of the Academy) and Eva Kröschlová (Academy of Arts) Prague, Czechoslovakia; and Anca Giurchescu (Institute of Ethnography and Folklore) Bucharest, Romania.

The aims of this "working core" became the source of the long-term project on Dance Structure Analysis: (1) Unification of "dance terminology and creation of a scientific language" motivated by the redundant, imprecise, and vague dance terms in use. (2) Foundation of a common theory and method for dance structure analysis. [It should be stressed that from the very beginning Structural Analysis was meant only as a stage, and not a final goal, of dance studies that imply many other research perspectives.]

At the sixteenth annual conference of the IFMC, Vera Proca-Ciortea argued in her contribution, "Premises for a folk dance terminology," that "being a syncretic phenomenon, folk dance cannot be studied separately from folk music and poetry"; that dance may be seen as a "means of communicating our thoughts and feelings through movement"; and that researchers aim to create and develop instruments for dance analysis at the level of musicology and linguistics, thus setting up a new discipline, named choreology [IFMC 1963:22-23].⁷

In 1964 at the seventeenth IFMC conference in Budapest, thirty-nine dance people attended the session of the Folk Dance Committee (chaired by Felix Hoerburger), where questions of policy and organization were discussed⁸ and where Vera Proca-Ciortea presented a report of the Folk Dance Terminology Subgroup at a round table (chaired by Roger Pinon). On this occasion the name "Folk Dance Terminology Subgroup" became official and lasted until the beginning of the 1970s when it changed first to "Choreology" and later, in 1978, at the personal request of Vera Proca-Ciortea, to "Study Group on Ethnochoreology" (Vera Proca-Ciortea, 1996, personal letter to Lisbet Torp – chair of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology).

The makeup of the group and working methods

In 1965, the following new members of the Folk Dance Terminology Subgroup augmented the core: Dr. Kurt Petermann, founder of the Deutsches Tanzarchiv, Leipzig, and Rosemarie Ehm-Schultz, leader of the Staatliches Dorfansamble, Neustrelitz, both of GDR (East Germany); Milica Ilijin (Institute of Musicology, Beograd), Yugoslavia; Pesovár Ferenc (Székesfehérvár Museum), Hungary; Frances Bloland (University of California at Berkeley), the only western dance specialist that joined the group as an active observer. In 1972, at the Wiepersdorf (GDR) meeting, Grażyna Dąbrowska (Poland), and Anna Ilieva and Raina Katzarova (Bulgaria) became members of the Subgroup.

It should be mentioned that the group was exclusively eastern European, with membership by invitation only, a fact that gave it the character of a small and close gang of friends. In spite of its initially wide, international make up, the IFMC returned to the European format, due to the "cold war" syndrome [Reynolds 1987:3]. Indeed, later in 1996, in a personal letter addressed to Lisbet Torp, Vera Proca-Ciortea argues that the limitation of the working group to only researchers of the "Socialist" countries was motivated by the lack of information and communication with the Western World.⁹

The makeup of the group was justified by the theme of focus, by the capacities of the individual researchers, and by the fact that the common working language was German. In spite of different scholarly backgrounds, the group was welded together by the members' passion, enthusiasm and expertise, and by mutual respect and collegiality. Vera Proca described the Subgroup in the following terms:

In spite of our different scholarly backgrounds – some were researchers, others dance specialists (choreographers – dancers), all were very intelligent, well oriented from the theoretical and practical point of view, with great interest in folklore, with music training, good dancers and all spoke the German language, which was the common working language of the group. Thus we had good premises for a common understanding and for starting together on the way of creation of a new discipline: the Ethnochoreology [1996, letter to Lisbet Torp].

In a very short time the Subgroup became a well-balanced working team in permanent contact and exchange of ideas (in meetings or via letters). Considering the difficult conditions in the eastern countries (such as interdiction or tight control with traveling abroad and lack of funding) the group took advantage of all the offers that could bring its members together.¹⁰

With regard to the working method (in the same letter addressed to Lisbet Torp) Vera Proca-Ciortea writes the following: "Our theoretical and methodological competence was rooted in our own research experience, in the national scientific traditions and for sure in the dance reality of our countries." This particular situation made possible a permanent cross-cultural comparison and the use of practical examples for agreeing with or contradicting some of the researchers' statements.

The task of the Subgroup in this first stage was to create "A terminology of universal validity – a tool, so to speak, with which the scientist can unambiguously express himself – and give a scientific basis by the way it defines the terms which stand for the various dance units. In working towards such terminology, it is not the various languages which cause the main problem, but rather the choice of concepts which have comprehensive validity and carry an equally applicable sense in all languages" [IFMC Study Group 1975: 119]. It was also necessary to discover and define the movement units and the rules according to which they function to structure the dance Form.

For this purpose, the meetings of the Folk Dance Terminology Subgroup were focused on precise questions that were solved through theoretical argumentation and analysis of practical examples. Discussions were free, but very intensive, leading to a phrased final statement that should reach the consensus of a majority. Elaborated papers were seldom presented.¹¹

Forerunners' work on dance structure analysis

The teamwork of the IFMC Subgroup on Dance Terminology (implicitly on dance structure analysis) is rooted in the pre-eminent achievements of other dance scholars, and especially of the young generation of Hungarian folk dance researchers. Since the beginning of the 1960s they focused on dance structure analysis and classification based on the experience of extensive field research and influenced by both the morphological school of folkloristics, and in a less explicit way, by the Prague linguistic theories. The morphological and structural approach with particular emphasis on the smallest significant dance unit (the motif) stems from the characteristic traits of the Hungarian dance tradition (eastern European as well) based mainly on individual improvisation [Felföldi 1999:60]. In 1958, Szentpál Olga worked out a method for structural analysis of women's round dances establishing motif types based on recurrence of fundamental units, and in 1961 Martin György with Pesovár Ernő published "A structural analysis of the Hungarian folk dance (a methodological sketch)," which became a well-known and inspiring work primarily for the Study Group of the IFMC but also on a wide international scale (not the least for having been written in English) [Martin; Pesovár 1961]. The authors focus less on the formal structural units than on certain regularities that are significant for shaping the Form of the dance [Martin; Pesovár 1963].

It should be noted that most of the Study Group members were acquainted with the analytical perspective on dance and dance movements by having created their own dance notation system, or for transcribing dance movements in Laban or other notation systems.

Meetings of the Subgroup on Dance Terminology and some results

Between 1965 and 1969, the Folk Dance Terminology Subgroup had seven intensive and fruitful working sessions: 1965, January, in Geltow GDR (following the Composer Union invitation) where Kurt Petermann presented the *Syllabus für Volkstanzanalyse* [Syllabus for folk dance analysis] a first result of the collaborative work. In July 1965, at the Strážnice Festival (Czechoslovakia), the eight members of the Subgroup discussed the Syllabus (on the basis of a report presented by Vera Proca-Ciortea and Hannah Laudová). Anca Giurchescu and Kurt Petermann introduced to the group the concept of Dance Form Models.¹²

In 1965, September, in Celje (at the Congress of The Slovenian Folklorists Union) the Subgroup held one public session where Milica Ilijin discussed theoretical aspects and Vera Proca-Ciortea made a practical demonstration of the structural analysis method.

A preliminary Syllabus on folk dance analysis was issued in cyclostyled format with translation in four languages: English, French, German and Russian in a limited number of copies, edited by Kurt Petermann and meant to be tried on different dance traditions [IFMC 1966; Petermann 1965]. At the next meeting of the Subgroup, held in 1966, in Dojran (occasioned by the thirteenth Congress of the Macedonian Folklorist Union and organized by Milica Ilijin),



Vera Proca-Ciortea brought up for discussion the "Systematization of the Folk Dance Forms" and Eva Kröschlová presented "The linking and grouping of Folk Dance Forms." In conclusion, the participants decided to start writing (in a final form) on the dance structural units and on dance Form models. For the next planned meeting in 1968 Potsdam-Geltow (GDR), Anca Giurchescu and Kurt Petermann agreed to prepare a set of questions to be discussed and all participants planned to present structural analyses of their own material [Sulișteanu 1968:154].

At the meeting in September 1968, in Prizren (occasioned by the fourteenth congress of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Folklorist Union) the Subgroup on Terminology enlarged the sphere of interest to discuss improving communication between dance specialists, and starting collaborative projects on cross-cultural dance research [Giurchescu 1968:96]. The next meeting took place in August-September 1969 in Bucharest, on the occasion of the International Festival "Romania 69."¹³



1972 in Wiepersdorf: Grażyna Dąbrowska, Anna Ilieva, Ernő Pesovár

First results

In 1972, the ninth "Work session of the Study Group on the Terminology of Choreology" (new name) in Wiepersdorf (GDR), was considered to be a culmination of ten years of intensive work (which succeeded in explaining implicit, existent dance grammar). According to Vera Proca-Ciortea, the following results were achieved:

1. An international terminology for all the dance structural units from the smallest and indivisible unit to the dance as an integral form.
2. Dance structural units were discovered, defined and hierarchically organized, compositional rules and dance Form-models were discovered, and the structural relationship between dance and music illuminated.

The next project of the Study Group was the construction of "a universal system of classification for folk dances." The first task was the translation of the *Syllabus für Volkstananalyse* [the Syllabus for Dance Analysis] – already presented by Kurt Petermann in 1965 – in the nine languages of the group members: Bulgarian, Czech, English, French, German, Hungarian, Romanian, Russian, and Serbo-Croatian, to make possible its application in several local dance traditions. The necessity of gathering international bibliographic material on the system of dance classification was also mentioned as an important task [Proca-Ciortea 1972:45].

In 1975, "Foundation for the analysis of the structure and form of folk dance: a syllabus" (from 1972) was published in the *Yearbook of the IFMC 1974* (see IFMC Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology 1975:115-135).¹⁴ This article, presenting the method of Dance Form Analysis – in spite of its limitations (no relevant dance examples, and a few mistaken terms) – became an article for reference, and was frequently quoted.

Different perspectives on dance and dance analysis

At the beginning of the 1970s, dance studies were influenced by European and American structural linguistics, by theories of nonverbal communication, and later semiotics.

In 1973, the IFMC conference in Bayonne (France) was instrumental for a significant meeting between a representative of American cultural anthropology, Adrienne Kaeppler – who had already published her theory and method on structural analysis using linguistic analogies, and representatives of eastern European ethnochoreology, Vera Proca-Ciortea and Anca Giurchescu, members for the IFMC Study Group on Terminology of Choreology.

Kaeppler and Giurchescu, both working on dance structure analysis, in spite of different dance cultures and different approaches to dance were able to communicate on a common level and even used similar terms to designate basic dance units. While Adrienne Kaeppler worked at the level of dance "language," aiming to discover the dance system of the Tongan community (Kaeppler 1972), Giurchescu worked at the level of "parole," analyzing dance instances, comparing and reducing variants to abstract models for reaching the level of "language" (Giurchescu; Niculescu 1971). A confrontation between the western (American) dance anthropology and the choreological European approach was presented at a round table at the IFMC Conference in Regensburg (1975), where John Blacking (South Africa) and Susanne Youngerman (USA) initiated exciting, though controversial, debates, which revealed the lack of "cross-scientific" information between American and European dance researchers [Youngerman 1976].¹⁵

Starting a new project: classification

The IFMC "Study Group on Terminology of Choreology" considered that its goal: foundation of a theory and method for Dance Form Analysis had been fulfilled. This did not mean that unanimity was reached. Questions were still open, and after its application in practice by other scholars, new suggestions and changes were expected.

The next project of the Study Group was to set up a system for dance classification using the principles and methods of structural analysis for comparing and reducing variants to theoretical models (types, categories, and so on). Between 13 and 18 September, 1976, at the tenth working meeting of the Study Group in Zaborów, Poland – organized by Grażyna Dąbrowska – the main topic was "Problems of classification of European folk dances with special regards for group (chain and round dances) and solo dances." However, a final discussion on structural analysis demonstrated that our common struggle for the creation of an overall method for Dance Form Analysis still had "open ends," which could only be solved by its systematic application in practice.¹⁶



1976 Zaborów: Sunni Bloland, (man not identified), Anna Ilieva, Eva Kröschlová, Anca Giurchescu, György Martin

The proceedings of the meeting: *Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen* [Analysis and classification of folk dances], edited by Grażyna Dąbrowska and Kurt Petermann, included the full text of *Grundlagen der Struktur – und Formanalyse des Volkstanzes* [Foundation of the structure and Form analysis of the folk dance] in a revised version, followed by Eva Kröschlová's amendments to this last version. In the section dedicated to classification of chain and round dances, five papers were included. Kurt Petermann's theory on folk dance systematization and classification (*Systematische Ordnung und Klassifikations im Volkstanz*) rounded out this important publication (Dąbrowska; Petermann 1983).

"Pains of discontinuity"

The ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology (new name) under the pressure of other dance scholars' interest in the activity of this scientific body, was essentially forced to open the doors step-by-step. The ICTM Board strongly supported this trend, which emerged at the ICTM conference in Oslo, August 1979, where about seventeen scholars from six countries (most of them members of the Northern Association for Folk Dance Research) became members of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology.¹⁷

The eleventh meeting of the Study Group, organized in November 1979 in Neustrelitz (GDR) by Rosemarie Ehm-Schulz, was attended by thirteen scholars (including representatives of the Scandinavian countries). This meeting marked an important discontinuity in the Study Group tradition by proposing a new model for the future meetings. Dr. Erich Stockmann (president of ICTM and responsible of the Study Group's activities) suggested a broader coverage of subjects organized around a principal theme, a secondary one and papers dedicated to current research (a model that developed into the present-days Symposia).



1979 Neustrelitz : Kurt Petermann, Vera Proca-Ciortea, Erich Stockmann, Rosemarie Ehm-Schulz

Fifty dance scholars from twelve countries attended a 1980 conference organized in Stockholm, Sweden, by the Folk Dance Archives of the Swedish Dance Museum. Twenty-four papers addressed two topics: "Old couple dance forms of Europe" (formulated by the Nordic Association for Folk Dance Research) and "Classification of folk dances" (proposed by the "initial" Study Group), with Kurt Petermann presenting a "Three dimensional classificatory model."

The passage from a "brotherhood" of twelve members (until 1979) to a wide-open scientific forum (forty members in 1982), implying new aims and working methods, weakened the cohesion of the original Study Group. In an ICTM Bulletin report on the Study Group on Ethnochoreology (1982), Vera Proca-Ciortea presented the new situation in the following terms: "Until 1979, the Study Group counted only twelve members. In accordance with a recommendation of the Executive Board, the group has since enlarged and consists now of forty ethnochoreologists. An attempt was made to find specialists who were prepared, through their competence and orientation to contribute to the founding of a new discipline.... We would welcome closer contacts with ethnochoreologists in America and elsewhere, since, so far, only European specialists are active in the Study Group on Ethnochoreology" [Vera Proca-Ciortea 1982:23]. However, Vera Proca-Ciortea gradually lost contact with the Study Group due to other commitments in Romania, and to "natural exhaustion of having pushed the group along a quarter of century" [Reynolds 1987:5].¹⁸

The greatest loss for Ethnochoreology as a science and for the Study Group, was the untimely death (in 1983) of two of its key members: Martin György and Kurt Petermann.¹⁹ The group passed through a period of uncertainty.

Shortly before the ICTM Conference in Stockholm and Helsinki (1985) the leadership of the Study Group passed from Vera Proca-Ciortea (who, with outstanding energy and dedication kept together and animated the group since its creation) to Rosemarie Ehm-Schulz (GDR). Rosemarie's difficult task was to mediate the passage of the Study Group to another stage with a new profile: open membership, broad geographic range (in 1983 the Study Group had thirty-six members from fourteen countries) and a broad range of topics.

In May 1986, Rosemarie Ehm-Schulz organized a meeting of the Study Group in Neubrandenburg (GDR), with the participation of nine scholars from six countries. The papers, dedicated to current research, showed for the first time the diversity of themes existing in the Study Group.²⁰ At the end of the meeting it was decided that future activities should be organized by Rosemarie Ehm-Schulz as chair with two co-chairs Roderyk Lange (United Kingdom) and Lisbet Torp (Denmark).

Twenty-five Study Group members from thirteen countries attended in 1987 the twenty-ninth ICTM conference in Berlin, where they presented sixteen papers. This was the first time (after a long intermission) that dance researchers stepped forward on the ICTM stage as a visible scientific body.

Lisbet Torp in Copenhagen organized in 1988, the fifteenth symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology. It was, in fact, the first manifestation of the Study Group with a new "ideology" and an open membership, which asked for changes in the way the group was run:

Lisbet Torp was elected Chairperson and the Study Group became formally structured with Rules of Order. A bi-annual newsletter came into existence in spring 1988, due to the initiative and editorship of William C. Reynolds. Since 1988, symposia of the Study Group were organized every second year in alternation with the ICTM world conferences (where the members of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology are active participants).²¹



1988 Study Group meeting in Copenhagen

Dance structural analysis in a new key

The symposium in Budapest began a revitalization of interest in structural analysis after an intermission of approximately ten years. For reprising the discussions on dance analysis there were some major motivations. One lies in the criticism of the Syllabus (in its form published in 1974 and improved in 1983) by a number of researchers that considered it inadequate for an analytical study of their own dance culture. Another critical point was the lack of examples for the way the method presented in theory was applied in practice. From this point of view, the re-evaluation of the Syllabus was a necessary requirement. Most important, however, proved to be the confrontation of the Syllabus with other methods for dance structural analysis based on different theoretical approaches and dance experiences.²² Now in the second stage of its existence, the activity of the Study Group reflects changes in its aim and makeup.

A round table dedicated to Structural Analysis (proposed by William C. Reynolds) was organized at the sixteenth symposium of the Study Group, Budapest 1990. Its main project was a comparison between several theoretical perspectives and methods for dance structural analysis in order to reveal their similarities and differences. The Syllabus of the "original Study Group" and the linguistic approach developed by Adrienne Kaeppler were the main terms of this comparison²³ [Reynolds 1989:3; 1990:6].



1990 Budapest: William Reynolds, Jan-Petter Blom, Adrienne Kaeppler, Elsie Dunin

With the increased membership of the Study Group and the different interests and points of view, Sub-Study Groups were organized at the sixteenth symposium in Budapest, as independent working groups between the symposia. The first Sub-Study Groups were the following: Structural Analysis (a continuation of the original Study Group on Dance Structural Analysis, organizer William C. Reynolds); Field Research Theory and Methods; Iconography; Revival; Visual Recording (not active).²⁴

The aim of the new Sub-Study Group on Structural Analysis was to widen the discussion on theories and methods of structural analysis, not only by comparing the two basic perspectives but also by acknowledging other approaches to this subject. For this purpose, the Sub-Study Group organized special meetings and meetings at the following symposia. The first working meeting was held in Istanbul 24-28 August 1993 (hosted by Arzu Öztürkmen). On this occasion, the group agreed that the fundamental difference between Kaeppler's and the ICTM Study Group's approaches to structural analysis is equivalent to the distinction introduced by Saussure between "langue" (level of system) and "parole" (level of performance). They also agreed on a definition of Motif: "A culturally grammatical sequence of movements," a "pragmatic tool in the hands of the researcher, combining both etic and emic perspectives." At the same meeting, Adrienne Kaeppler proposed, for the first time, to produce a joint document on the different methods and ideas on structural analysis to be presented at the forthcoming symposium in Poland, 1994.²⁵ Since the Istanbul meeting Adrienne Kaeppler took over the function of secretary/organizer of the Sub-Study Group.

The next meeting on Structural Analysis took place in Chania, Greece, 6-12 June, 1995 (Irene Loutzaki was the local organizer). The theme of the meeting was "From motif to genre." The main discussions focused on the concept of *genre*, and were prepared on the basis of a reading list provided by Arzu Öztürkmen.



1996 Třešť: Arzu Öztürkmen, Eva Kröschlová, Hannah Laudová, Andriy Nahachewsky, Catherine Foley

The theme of the Rhodes meeting (3-9 August 1997) was "Ethnochoreology versus Anthropology," placing dance structural analysis in a comparative frame. The issues were very broad, stretching from its final aim to the relation between "text" and "context," emic and etic local terms and cross-culturally accepted terms, and so on. At this meeting the structure of the planned publication was discussed in more detail. The book was conceived to be comprised of an historical introduction (the history of the working group while showing the scientific

background), an updated presentation of the main theories and methods for structural analysis, to be followed by a rich sample of case studies, bibliography, index, glossary and illustrations. The final discussions on the content and format of the book entitled: "Dance structures: perspectives on the analysis of dance" to be edited by Adrienne Kaeppler were carried out at the twentieth symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology, Istanbul, 1998.

This publication is the outcome of those discussions, rounding up almost half a century of efforts for analyzing, in the framework of cultural traditions, the grammar of the dance performance or of a movement system. It shows that a consensus has not been reached, either in theoretical perspectives or in methodological procedures. This situation is normal and even beneficial, as it opens the door for more inquiry and debates between and among scholars in the domain of dance structural analysis.



1997 meeting in Rhodes:

Maria Koutsouba, Mats Nilsson, Theresa Buckland, Anca Giurchescu, László Felföldi, Egil Bakka, Adrienne Kaeppler, Irene Loutzaki

Final comments

Since the Istanbul meeting, the Sub-Study Group on Dance Structural Analysis has met only sporadically. Coming to a close of its task, the group stopped focusing on themes strictly related to the theory and method of structural analysis. From this point of view, the future of the Sub-Study Group is uncertain. However, interest in movement structure has continued and may find related research themes, such as dance style or in more general terms aesthetics, the relationship between movement structure and social function, or between a dance system and other cultural systems that could make up new collaborative Sub-Study Groups in the framework of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology.

ENDNOTES

- * This article is a revised and amplified version of the paper presented at the 40th anniversary of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology at the 22nd Symposium held in Szeged, Hungary, in 2002 [Giurchescu 2006].
1. IFMC was founded in 1947 by delegates from 28 countries. At the first conference, President Ralph Vaughan Williams stated: "While others are dealing with how people are to survive, this conference is discussing what to do with our lives. Music and dancing are fundamental art forms beyond political considerations." The aims of the IFMC were: (1) To assist in the preservation, dissemination and practice of the folk music of all countries. (2) To further comparative study of folk music. (3) To promote understanding and friendship between nations through common interest of folk music. Maud Karpeles, the Secretary of the IFMC, was a passionate folk dancer.
 2. For a thorough panorama of European dance research in the first half of the 20th century, see Roderyk Lange 1980:10-15.
 3. Some of the national notations were created by: V. Proca – Romania 1956; S. Lisicjan - Soviet Union 1940; S. Tóth – Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, 1952; St. Djoudjeif – 1945 and B. Tzonev - 1957, Bulgaria.
 4. At the international conference on notation in Dresden 1957, with participants from ten European countries and the USA, it was acknowledged that "any major and seriously intended research on dance has used Laban's notation" and "this was one of the first great achievements in international unification of the methods applied to dance research" [Baier-Fraenger 1977:64].
 5. Two other regulations (out of six) governing the Dance Commission are the following: "Its terms of reference shall be to make recommendations to the Executive Board on all matters relative to the study and practice of folk dance. It shall consist of representatives of folk dance organizations and institutions and individual experts appointed by the Executive Board in consultation with the national committee (when such exists) or the liaison officer in the country concerned, together with the secretary and treasurer as ex officio members" [IFMC 1960:19].
 6. Eight papers were presented on dance by new researchers, most from eastern Europe, such as: Martin György and Pesovár Ernő (Hungary), Raina Katarova (Bulgaria), Hannah Laudová, Zdenka Jelinková (Czechoslovakia). A paper by Stefan Tóth was read by Kliment Ondreika, and two papers were presented by non-Europeans: Gurit Kadman (Israel) and Dora Lapson (USA). Vera Proca-Ciortea and Costea Constantin (Romania), Felix Hoerburger, Roger Pinon, and Richard Wolfram (Austria) also attended the conference [Reynolds, 1987:4]. At the inaugural session (July 17, Zoltan Kodály, President of the IFMC) three main fields were discussed: 1. Collection, 2. Research, 3. Practice.
 7. At the same conference the Executive Board considered that "the discussion of matters relating to the dance should be open to all members." Therefore the Dance Commission was replaced by a small Folk Dance Committee responsible to the Board [ICTM 1963:14].
 8. An interesting question raised by the Committee on this occasion was the way "Folk Dance can best be handled within the framework of the IFMC Conference: as plenary sessions or as sectional meetings?" This debate would last for a long time.
 9. "Indeed, the fact that the foundation of the Study Group occurred at a Congress that took place in a socialist country, necessitated that our group be made up of people from this very zone. This fact did not please the Executive Board. But we knew very little of the Western researchers and also we could only with difficulty come into contact with them. All was strongly kept under (control) censorship and especially the correspondence. I personally was not politically involved and was not under observation." (The letter written in German, October 1996, is in Lisbet Torp's possession. Translation into English by the author).
 10. For example IFMC/ICTM conferences, meetings of the National Committees, of the Association of Folklorists (Yugoslavia), the Union of Composers, and international folklore festivals, such as in Strážnice (Czechoslovakia) and Bucharest (Romania).
 11. I recall my colleagues each with his personality, temperament, and way of arguing. A warm feeling of friendship, understanding and respect dominated the passionate discussions which were always stimulating, never competitive.
 12. The meeting was attended by western scholars as well: Roger Pinon (Belgium), secretary of the IFMC Dance Committee, Lucile Armstrong (England), Frances Bloland (USA), Gurit Kadman (Israel), and Richard Wolfram (Austria).
 13. Between 1962 and 1967 the activities of the Subgroup on Terminology overpowered the Folk Dance Committee and the Executive Board of the IFMC decided to "discontinue" this Committee but to re-appoint the Group on Dance Terminology [IFMC 1967:12].
 14. William C. Reynolds, a student in Labanotation at the time, translated the article from German into English.

15. "Another contrast is that many European scholars, especially from Eastern Europe, have to cope with problems of applying the results of their work nationally, but most Third World scholars, who have similar problems, are influenced and trained by American universities, rather than in Europe" [Blacking 1975:22].
16. Especially Martin György, Eva Kröschlová, and Anca Giurcescu, who carried out discussions on strophe/stanza, dance suite/cycle, and the relationship between dance and music.
17. Norway: Egil Bakka, Jan-Petter Blom; England: Roderyk Lange; Sweden: Irene and Juno Sjöberg; Finland: Kari Bergholm, Pirkko Liisa Rausmaa; Iceland: Sigrídur Valgeirsdóttir; Denmark: Henning and Ida Urup, and a representative of Færøerne.
18. In the letter of 1996 to Lisbet Torp, Vera Proca-Ciordea expressed a kind of distrust for the enlargement of the group that happened in 1979, at the ICTM Conference in Oslo: "The Study Group grew from 12 to 47 members. I made the remark that it will be impossible for me to correspond regularly with so many people.... The enlargement of the Study Group brought no profit. When Rosemarie took over the leadership of the Study Group, I could see that she worked only with the 'old set'."
19. Martin's passion, creativity, seriousness, and openness to dialogue will remain as an inspiration for all newcomers in the field. He was a dancer, a thinker, and a wonderful person. Kurt Petermann had a sharp scientific mind, a great strength, and dedication in his work. He was modest and always supportive.
20. The following papers were presented: Lisbet Torp: "European chain and round dance: A comparative Study," Grażyna Dąbrowska: "Differenzierte Probleme der ethnochoreologischen Dokumentation in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart" [Different problems of the ethnochoreological documentation in the past and present], Egil Bakka: "Augenblickliche Volkstanzforschung in Norwegen" [Current folk dance research in Norway], Roderyk Lange: "Trends der heutigen Volkstanzforschung" [Trends in current folk dance research], Anca Giurcescu: "Tanz Text und Kontext: Aspekte zur choreologischen und anthropologischen tanzforschung" [Dance text and context, choreological and anthropological perspectives in dance research], Owe Ronström: "The role of music and dance in the building of an ethnic community," William Reynolds: "Diskussionbeitrag aus seiner bisherigen Arbeit" [Themes for discussion stemming from his former work].
21. A listing of the Study Group for Ethnochoreology symposia (since 1988):
 - 1988 – 15th symposium. Copenhagen, Denmark (organizer Lisbet Torp)
Theme: "The dance event, a complex cultural phenomenon"
 - 1990 – 16th symposium. Budapest, Hungary (organizer Felföldi László)
Themes: "Dance transmission and diffusion," "Implement dances," "Reports on current research," "Round table: Dance structural analysis" (moderator William Reynolds)
 - 1992 – 17th symposium. Nafplion, Greece (organizer Irene Loutzaki)
Themes: "Dance in its socio-political aspects," "Dance and costume"

Lisbet Torp was re-elected as Chair in 1992, with Egil Bakka as Vice-Chair, and Anca Giurcescu Secretary

 - 1994 – 18th symposium, Skierniewice, Poland (organizer Grażyna Dąbrowska)
Themes: "Ritual and ritual dances in contemporary societies" (based on case studies), "Dance - music relationships"
 - 1996 – 19th symposium, Třešť, Czech Republic (organizer Daniela Stavělová)
Themes: "Children and traditional dancing," "Dance and style"

The 35th anniversary of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology was celebrated at the ICTM World Conference in Nitra, Slovakia, 1997.

 - 1998 – 20th symposium, Istanbul, Turkey (organizer Arzu Öztürkmen)
Themes: "Traditional dance and its historical sources" "Creative process in dance: improvisation and composition," Round table: "Local dance traditions and the interaction with the larger world: from local to global and back again" (moderator Colin Quigley).

Her term coming to an end, Lisbet Torp stepped down as Chair and Anca Giurcescu was elected Chair with Elsie Dunin, Vice-Chair, and Theresa Buckland Secretary. It is to Lisbet Torp's merit that the new-oriented Study Group reached a full maturity and stability during this most fruitful decade. Her engagement, scientific openness, creative initiatives, straight spirit of democracy and sense of humor helped to create a special atmosphere that became a marker of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology.

 - 2000 – 21st symposium, Korčula, Croatia (organizer Elsie Dunin)
Themes: "Sword dances and related calendrical dance events," "Revival: reconstruction, revitalization," Panel: "Ownership and appropriation of tradition in dance" (moderator, Georgiana Gore)

2002 – 22nd symposium, Szeged, Hungary (organizer Felföldi László)

The symposium was dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Study Group.

Themes: "Re-apprising our past, moving into the future: research on dance and society," "Dancer as a cultural performer"

2004 – 23rd symposium, Monghidoro, Italy (organizer Placida Staro)

Themes: "Visible and invisible dance," "Crossing identity boundaries."

Theresa Buckland elected Vice-Chair with Tvrtko Zebec, Secretary

2006 – 24th symposium, Cluj-Napoca, Romania (organizer Kőnczei Csilla)

Themes: "From field to text: translations and representations," "Dance in space"

Her term coming to an end, Anca Giurchescu stepped down as Chair and László Felföldi was elected Chair with Theresa Buckland Vice-Chair and Tvrtko Zebec Secretary. Anca Giurchescu became the Honorary Chair of the Study Group.

22. Some of these approaches to dance/movement structural analysis were:

Adrienne Kaeppler, as presented in this publication, using analogies from structural linguistics for movement analysis that focus on structural components of a dance system (or any structured movement system), rather than on dance performances (or "instances" of the Syllabus).

The Norwegian ("Scandinavian") system of dance analysis created by Jan-Petter Blom in 1960, based upon vertical rhythmic-movement patterns (called *svikt*). The *svikt* analysis is a method for the characterization of different dance dialects and for the study of dance-music relationships. The study of *svikt* patterns was continued by Egil Bakka and applied in dance education (Bakka 1984, and see chapter four in this volume).

The "Hungarian" system although following in general terms the Study Group Syllabus, developed a more elaborated system (including the concepts of "support" and "motif stem") for classifying the dance significant units (motifs) (Martin; Pesovár 1963).

Lisbet Torp analyzed a wide body of European chain and round dances and described the structurally significant units and the principles of their composition. By defining the main structural features with a high degree of generality, she established a number of categories applicable to the systematization of European chain and round dances (Torp 1990; and see chapter five in this volume).

Judy Van Zile, a dance researcher and movement analyst whose work is grounded in the concepts and system of Labanotation (Van Zile 1984, and see chapter fifteen in this volume).

William C. Reynolds adapted structural analysis in the comparative study of dance variants for describing the mechanism of the process of improvisation (Reynolds 1989).

Other methods for dance structural analysis that parallel the original Syllabus use different terminology (for example Bucşan, Andrei 1971), or apply linguistic analogies as used by Adrienne Kaeppler, for example, to Greek dance traditions such as by Irene Loutzaki.

23. At the round table, moderated by William C. Reynolds, the participants were: Adrienne Kaeppler, Judy Van Zile, Hannah Laudová, Eva Kröschlová, Anca Giurchescu, Lisbet Torp, Egil Bakka, and László Felföldi.
24. During the last fifteen years, other Sub-Study Groups came into existence: 19th-century couple dances; Ritual complexes in comparative perspective; Dance, migration and diaspora; Dance-music relationships; and Visual recording.
25. Participants at the meeting: Egil Bakka, László Felföldi, Anca Giurchescu, Corina Iosif, Adrienne Kaeppler, Eva Kröschlová, Irene Loutzaki, Andriy Nahachewsky, Arzu Öztürkmen, and William C. Reynolds. A report by Andriy Nahachewsky on the Istanbul meeting presented the participants' new ideas and points of view on structural analysis based on case studies (Nahachewsky 1993).

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**THEORY:
KEY PUBLICATIONS
AND SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT**

THEORY AND METHOD OF DANCE FORM ANALYSIS

Revised version of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology collective work:
"Foundation for folk dance structure and form analysis" (1962-1976)

Anca Giurchescu and Eva Kröschlová

Preliminaries

Since 1976, when the last meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology (former IFMC Study Group for Dance Terminology) took place in Zaborów, Poland, and the final form of the collective work "Foundations of folk dance structure and form analysis" (Grundlagen der Struktur- und Formanalyse des Volkstanzes) was published in 1983,¹ critical application of the method in different dance cultures, increased communication and exchange of opinions between specialists with different scholarly backgrounds,² a broader theoretical approach, and more analytical work, both in performance situations and on dance documents, made necessary the updating of the original version in order to incorporate relevant changes that occurred during the last two decades.

We are aware of the limits imposed by the fact that this work originated as the result of a collaborative effort, the authors of this article being, from the very beginning, part of the team. For these reasons, we tried to keep a balance between faithfulness to the founding ideas and to the accuracy of the initial version, which was conceived and written in German, and the necessary changes that express more recent points of view. From this perspective, we hope to present an improved version of Folk Dance Form Analysis theory and method, being aware, however, that it will never be the final one.³

Theoretical foundation and aims of Dance Form Analysis

An introduction

Interest in Dance Form Analysis grew in eastern European countries (Hungary, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, "former" Czechoslovakia, "former" East Germany, and "former" Yugoslavia) at the end of the 1950s as a reaction to the ethnographic approach to dance, based on literary descriptions in general terms and its functional aspects. For the few East European specialists, scientific research on folk dance was crucial for the analysis, comparison and systematization of a rich and still vital dance tradition that in many social-political contexts functioned as a national and cultural identity marker.

The necessity to build a theoretical foundation, to create a method and scientific tools for dance analysis enabling to 'verbalize' dance in proper choreographic terms, is rooted in a more general European approach to folklore that conceived it as a wide body of cultural products. Therefore the main focus of interest was the study of coherent dance-texts (in performance situation or as recorded documents) aiming to disclose and make explicit the grammar and system of organization, which are implicit to and characteristic of a given dance tradition. An intensive field research activity that produced a large stock of recorded (written and/or filmed) dance documents was a necessary pre-condition for starting and developing the theory and method of Dance Form Analysis.⁴

The challenging task for establishing the scientific foundation of dance research was given to the Study Group for Dance Terminology, founded in the framework of the International Folk Music Council, with the participation of researchers primarily from East Europe.⁵

The epistemological roots of East European ethnochoreology are basically anchored in the scientific traditions of folkloristics, especially ethnomusicology and linguistics, and in ethnography, history and natural sciences. Ethnochoreology, as an independent domain of scientific research, was influenced in the first place by ethnomusicology, not only because dance and music practices were conceived as tightly related (at least in the European tradition), but also because in the first half of the twentieth century, ethnomusicology succeeded in becoming a well-established and dynamic science of its own. Because of their long experience and important scientific results, both ethnomusicology and ethnolinguistics were taken in consideration, though for many reasons ethnochoreology followed its own way. Along this way an important and most difficult task was the creation of a theory and of a method with its implicit tools for the analysis of dance structure.

Although dance has structural features similar to other artistic means of expression (especially music and speech, with which it shares the temporal dimension), it has particular traits, a particular structural makeup, and proper rules of grammar, because dance is an expressive system of its own, independent and self-sufficient. Therefore, the Study Group for Dance Terminology had to solve a threefold task: to define the characteristic dance-units, to create an adequate and proper terminology, and finally to establish the rules according to which a dance performance is recognized by people as being "correct", according to a given tradition.⁶

Form analysis, as carried out by the Study Group for Dance Terminology takes into consideration a dance instance and not the dance system as a whole. In other words, it is the level of "speech" and not that of the dance "language" that becomes the object of inquiry for Form Analysis.⁷ In order to reach the level of language the analyzed texts are compared and reduced to abstract models (genre, type), thereby disclosing the dance system as known and used by people in a given dance tradition. For not having a given Form, but for getting a Form every time it is performed, each dance performance represents in fact a particular realization in practice of the dance language.⁸

Considered in a holistic perspective, dance has several levels of meaning, each requiring a different scientific approach. Therefore we would like to stress that Dance Form Analysis is not the sole purpose of ethnochoreological studies. It is, however, one of the most important because Form Analysis provides a method and scientific tools for dance research at its formal level of significance.

Aims of Dance Form Analysis:

- To make possible a discourse about dance by employing a dance-specific metalanguage that may differentiate dance from other means of expression such as music and speech.
- To identify the structural units of a dance text, to disclose their hierarchical organization, and to show the rules according to which they function as organic parts of a dance system. In other words, Form Analysis intends to reveal and describe the a priori grammar of a dance system.
- To make possible the study of basic processes such as creation (improvisation), change and diffusion considered in a diachronic perspective.
- To provide tools for the study of dance style and aesthetics and for disclosing pertinent traits that make dance a symbol for cultural and/or ethnic identity.
- To study the relationship between dance, music, poetry and other means of artistic expression.

- To reveal the relationship between dance structure and function, explaining the compatibilities and incompatibilities between a given dance (or genre) and a certain function (social, ritual).
- To classify dances within a dance system, in order to characterize cultural zones (dialects) or dance traditions.
- To enable cross-cultural comparison by establishing terminological and conceptual equivalences.
- To help the pedagogical process of dance teaching and learning.

About the universality of the method

The article "Foundation for the analysis of the structure and form of folk dance: a syllabus" states in its introduction: "The system of Form developed had to be applicable without limit to the folk dance material of all ethnic regions" [IFMC Study Group 1974:117]⁹ More cautiously, the Czech researchers argued, "the analysis according to these principles shows its large applicability. It is necessary that the results be confirmed by reality" [Kröschlová; Laudová 1972-1973].

From an anthropological perspective John Blacking argues: "...any single, supposedly universal method of analyzing all dance could never be scientific: it could only be dogmatic and ethnocentric" [Blacking 1984:9].

Presently, with a perspective of at least three decades, we may admit that the method for Dance Form Analysis proposed by the initial Study Group, and founded in the experience and knowledge accumulated by studying European dance tradition, has cultural limits indeed.

For example, for our analysis the **time dimension** is very important, and therefore emphasis is put on rhythm, considering it a fundamental patterning feature of dance movements and organizer of the basic Form units. However, for some dance categories of western Europe (such as quadrille, country dances, and square dances) the main patterning feature is the **space dimension**, and therefore importance may be given to the floor patterns and couple formations. The viability and importance of this work lies, however, in the fact that dance/dancing is conceived as a coherent system; that there were established criteria for determination of the Form-units that make up this system; and that there were disclosed grammatical rules and compositional procedures according to which, the dance-system functions. These basic ideas and results have an indisputable universal applicability.

The dance document

The method for Dance Form Analysis was created as an etic-based instrument for investigation. Being insiders of their own culture and possessors of a broad knowledge of a given dance idiom, most of the analysts have experienced and recorded in the field the dance material. Therefore, dance analysis was usually based on written documents (field notations or transcriptions from visual recordings).¹⁰

However, no definition or generalization can be based on an exclusively etic or emic point of view. Both perspectives have to be corroborated. Analysis based on dance documents should rely on and be validated by a dialogue between researcher(s) and performer(s).¹¹

Dance Form

From the various meanings given to the term Form¹² we understand the internal and external configuration of the dance structural units, organized in a hierarchically ordered entity. The movements of the human body are the constructive material. A set of movements, in order to be considered a dance in a given culture, should build through internal organization a choreographic Form.¹³ They have a determined temporal succession and a certain relationship between and among them, and take on particular functions for the dance Form, considered as a whole. *Thus the Form of the dance is the result of an organic process in which smaller units with a shape and structure of their own function as parts of larger structural entities.*¹⁴ Thus they function as

Form-units and cannot and may not be confounded with non-Form relevant movement material. That is, the concept of "Form" refers to dance structure and composition.

The task of Form Analysis is to reveal the way the material is organized on the interrelated structural levels; at one end of the hierarchical scale is the smallest constructive unit, at the other end the whole dance.

In order to determine a given dance Form, its structure is **decomposed**, starting with the highest and largest unit (the whole dance) down to the smallest ones, and **recomposed** again, progressing in reverse direction (from simple to complex), composing the small units into larger ones. Only by relating a given structural unit to the whole dance Form will it be possible to judge whether a structural entity (unit) may be described as a Phrase, a Motif, or another unit.

In structural analysis, dance is studied on both a systematic (vertical) plane with focus on the relationship between and among the structural units for establishing their hierarchical and functional relationship, and a syntactic (horizontal) plane, which deals with the progression of dance in time and space through irreversible combinations of dance elements governed by compositional rules.¹⁵

In the forthcoming section there will be presented and discussed the technique of **dance segmentation**, the **structural levels** of the dance Form, the **compositional principles and procedures**, the **syntactic functions** of the Form-units and the **lines of patterned movements**. All these aspects have a general character and function at every hierarchical level of a given dance. Therefore they are placed all together in this first section.

Dance segmentation

The structural units are identified by the analytical procedure of **segmentation**, which concentrates on the syntactic level of dance taking into account its systematic makeup. The cuts are indicated by change in one or more constitutive factors of the dance. Segmentation starts with the larger units and progresses to the smallest constituents.

The segmented units are always clearly delineated and stand in contrast to each other. The contrast is stronger at higher levels, because more factors are involved to mark caesuras. Segmentation takes into consideration changes in all **structure relevant factors**, which are listed as follows:

Participants:	gender number	men, women, mixed limited, not limited
Grouping:		non-grouped, grouped (couple, threesome, and so on)
Geometrical formation:		line, circle (open, closed), column, scattered couples
Connection (between dancers):		not existent, existent (hand hold, shoulder hold, etc.) open, closed
Type of movements:		step, stamp, spring, jump, rotation, swing, gestures (pantomime)
Direction of movement (related to the dancer):		forward, backward, lateral, etc.
Direction of pathway (orientation in space):		in place, forward, backward, lateral, circular, etc.
Movement quality/shape:		free/bound; light/strong; sustained/abrupt, etc.
Intensity/dynamics:		ff, f, mf, p, pp, etc.
Tempo:		fast, quick, moderate, etc.
Meter:		2/4, 3/4, 7/8, 5/16 etc.
Rhythm:		rhythmic formulas

Lines of patterned movements:	mono-kinetic, poly-kinetic (monoform, polyform)
Relationship between dance and music (in structural terms):	congruent, non-congruent
Relationship between dance and poetry: ¹⁶	structurally relevant or not; or congruent, non-congruent
Relationship between dance and implements:	structurally relevant or not

The same factor of contrast that produces separation of units at one level may produce cohesion (their unification) at a superior level. When occurring, repetition or recurrence is a proof of the unit's individuality.¹⁷ For the accuracy of the structural analysis, it is of primary importance that the segmentation carried out by researchers on dance documents are checked and tested with informants in a fieldwork situation.

The structural levels of Dance Form

The vertical segmentation (decomposition) of a choreographic Form reveals the following hierarchical organization of the structural levels:

A dance (T) decomposes in Parts (P) or Strophes (St), sometimes in Sections (S) or only in Phrases (Ph). Dances made up of a single Phrase (One-Phrase-Dance) decompose into motifs. Thus the number of structural levels making up the dance Form may be different from dance to dance.

Parts (P) decompose in Sections (S) or only in Phrases (Ph). One-Phrase Part decomposes directly into motifs (M).

Sections (S) decompose into Phrases (Ph).

One-Phrase Section decomposes directly into Motifs (M).

Phrases (Ph) decompose into Motifs (M).

Motifs further decompose into distinct subordinate units, the Motif-cells (Mc), which in turn are made up of Motif-elements (Me). These last constructive units cannot be further decomposed.

(See Appendix.)

Compositional principles

Each Form-unit (from the smallest to largest) functions syntactically by interrelating with others, according to certain compositional principles and procedures, in order to build structural entities at superior hierarchical levels.

All the Form-units are structured according to two contrastive principles of composition: **linking** and **grouping**. Form-units organized according to the **linking** principle are arranged next to each other in a linear succession so that their number and relationship have no decisive role. These units frequently appear as **open**.¹⁸ Form-units organized according to the **grouping** principle have a precise number of component entities set in a fixed and contrastive relationship. In other terms, their number and correlation (succession, proportion) are in a stable balance due to internal contrast. These Form-units usually appear as **closed**.

These two basic principles are not exclusive. Each structural level of a dance may subscribe to a different principle, one subscribing to the linking principle and another to the grouping one. For example, improvised dances (or fragments of a dance) have generally an open form,¹⁹ even though their component units have more often a closed form. Conversely, whole dances or only dance structural units having a closed form may be comprised of units with an open form. Both principles may coexist on the same structural level as well.

Conjunction of the structural units making up a dance is a compositional trait characterizing the manner in which the dance Form is shaped in a performance situation. Conjunction has different degrees of variability inscribed between fixed and free connection (binding) of the units, in other words, from a strict reproduction of a traditional model to improvisation.

Compositional procedures

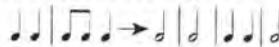
The compositional procedures are **repetition** of the same or modified Form-unit and **connection** (joining) of two or more different units. Repetition may be realized in several ways: **identical** (homogeneous) repetition, **varied** repetition, and with modifications such as **extension** or **contraction** and **augmentation** or **diminution** of the repeated unit. (See Appendix 2b for repetition indexes.)

Variation of a Form-unit refers to modifications of the plastic (movement character and direction), rhythmic or dynamic features, with at least one dominant feature remaining unchanged, unless the given unit loses its identity and is considered a different one. (For example a_v represents a variation of the motif a ; if the unit a is varied several times and in different ways, there are used numerical indexes such as: $a_1, a_2, a_3 \dots$). Variation may occur for example, in space (modification of the direction of movement), alternation of the body parts (right-left), in rhythm and through modification from monokinetic/rhythmic to polykinetic/polyrhythmic form.²⁰ (See Appendix 3a for variation symbols.)

Extension may affect the internal structure of the unit through the repetition of one or more of its components (Example $abc \rightarrow abbc$). It may also take place peripherally, whereby a structural entity is added at either end of the basic unit (Example $ab \rightarrow ab+c$ or $ab \rightarrow c+ab$).

Contraction is produced through the loss of one or more constitutive entities, resulting in a shortening of the basic unit (Example $abc \rightarrow ab$ or $abc \rightarrow ac$ or $abc \rightarrow bc$).

When **augmentation** occurs, the metric-rhythmic structure of the unit is doubled. Conversely, by metric-rhythmic **diminution** they are reduced by half. For example the metric-rhythmic basic formula a becomes through metric augmentation $a_{mr<}$:



- through metric diminution becomes $a_{mr>}$:



(See 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b and 3c in Appendix for repetition, variation and modification indexes.)

Connection occurs as **juxtaposition** (simple connection) or **fusion**, meaning that two or more units are totally integrated, thereby losing their own individuality.²¹

Syntactic functions of the Form-units

The Form-units, starting with the smallest one, up to macro structures and finally to the dance as a whole (for example in the context of a dance event) subscribe to a set of syntactic functions. The functional status of a unit is established in relationship to the immediate superior Form-unit and to the entire dance. There are **basic** (principal) and **secondary** units.

Basic (principal) units are the carriers of a choreographic theme and determine the identity of the higher Form-unit. Each structural level may have one or more basic units. They cannot be removed without the immediate superior entity (or the whole dance) losing its structural identity and its meaning for a given social community. Determination of basic Form-units is crucial for dance comparison, classification, and for the study of creative processes. Units of equivalent importance, when linked together, are always in relation to interdependency.

Form-units of **secondary** importance cannot exist independently. They are dependent and determined by the principal ones. Secondary units have either complementary or ornamental function. According to their compositional function and to the place they occupy in a higher structural entity, Form-units may be designated as **introductory**, **core**, **final** and **connecting** (binding). There also are functionally non-differentiated units, especially those constructed on the principle of symmetrical or identical repetition. (See the kinetogram and the description of the dance *Alunelu* as an example for syntactic function of the Form-units.)

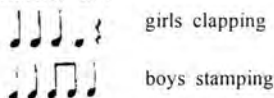
Lines of patterned movements

The poly-kinetic and polyrhythmic structure may characterize all Form-units, from the smallest one (Motif-element) up to the level of Motifs and further to more complex ones to the level of the whole Dance.

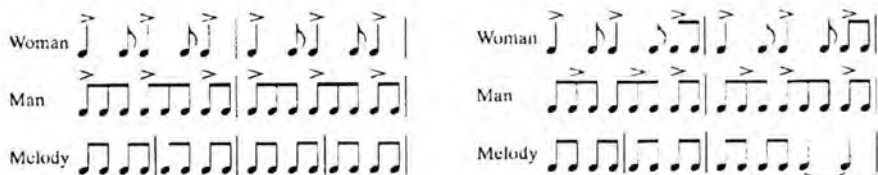
Mono-kinetic units have a single movement line and are implicitly mono-rhythmic. Poly-kinetic and/or poly-rhythmic units have two or more parallel running rhythmic and/or movement patterns. For example, in the introductory phrase of the Slovak dance *Mak*, each step is simultaneously accompanied by handclap, keeping the same 2/4 rhythmical patterns:



Both poly-kinetic and poly-rhythmic superimposition is illustrated by the children's-dance *Šijeme vrecja* of Slovakia where simultaneously performed handclaps and stamping follow two different rhythmic patterns: 2/4



In a poly-kinetic and/or poly-rhythmic unit, it is not a question of how many body parts or people are moving. Relevant is only the synchronic superimposition of different kinetic and/or rhythmic patterned lines of movement in a vertical perspective. They may be conceived as two or more synchronically running 'voices' in a polyphonic musical composition. (Example: In the dance *Šijeme vrecja* [above], boys are stamping while girls are clapping). Another example is provided by the Romanian couple dance *Susul* of Transylvania, region Bihor:



The concept of **lines of patterned movements** is a significant addition to the initial method for structural analysis.²² It occurs in instances when synchronically executed movements in several parts of the body (legs, arms, hips, hands, and so on) or when several dancers are equally important and independent, thus building two or more parallel lines of patterned movements. Each line may be analyzed separately in its structural makeup (for example, the line of arms weaving motifs and the line of step motifs in couple dances such as Springer of Norway, or the line of stick-handling motifs and that of leg motifs in the Gypsy stick dances *botollo* of Hungary). The structural relationship between the lines of motifs may be dimensionally concordant or non-concordant. In the latter case, the syntactic perspective in Form Analysis is crucial (for example, the arm movements motif may take 2 measures while the leg-movement motif takes 3 measures, thus in a phrase of 12 bars the motif of arm-movement is performed 6 times while the motif of leg movement only four times). During a dance performance, the hierarchy of importance and the type of relationships among the lines of patterned movements are changeable.

Form-units

The material of the Form-units

Just as tones are the material of music, body movements are the material of dance. Individual movements such as a step, hop, swing, turn, leap, stamp, clap, finger snap, hand grasp, movement of the head, arm, or hips, a gesture, and so on, are considered **kinetic elements**. The

negation of movement, the stillness or **pause**, may also be considered as meaningful dance material.

In order to become a dance (or a certain organized succession of movements recognized as such in a given culture) the kinetic elements may establish a certain relationship in terms of time, space and strength, and create coherent and stable choreographic Form-units that apply to culturally accepted grammatical norms. Therefore, being the expression of a certain structure, the Form-units should not be confused with the kinetic elements.

The shortest phase of the smallest Form-unit realizes itself "in one beat"; however, the content of this phase may not be only a single, simple movement – for example, transfer of support or a step – but a simultaneous combination (a superimposition) of several kinetic elements, as for example in Indian Kathakali, where a *mudra* (arms, hands, fingers, eye and eyebrow movements) combine simultaneously with body and leg movements in one single beat. (These all together constitute one Motif-element).

The central focus of Dance Form Analysis is the **Motif**.²³ Starting from this basic level, the analytical study follows two directions. The one takes into consideration the process of dance composition and progresses to larger and more complex units, situated on higher hierarchical levels, up to the Dance as a whole. The other direction follows the process of de-composition and segments the Motif into smaller distinctive units, progressing towards the minimal and indivisible Motif-element.

The Motif - M (Symbol: a, b, c, and so on.)

Motifs are "culturally grammatical sequences of movements made up of smaller structural units": Motif-cells and Motif-elements.²⁴ A motif is the smallest **significant** Form-unit having meaning for both the dancers and their society and for the dance genre/type within a given dance system. At this level, the Motif-elements are rhythmically, plastically and dynamically integrated, resulting in a choreographic pattern that may evoke in both the performer and observer a feeling of stability. It is the carrier of a choreographic idea on which higher structural levels and finally the entire dance are founded. Motifs may be repeated, modified or combined with other structural units.

Motifs are stored in the dancer's mental and kinesthetic memory as part of his creative competence. When new variants are created, especially in the process of improvisation, the dancer relates spontaneously to preexistent motif-models stored in his mental and kinesthetic memory according to his dance competence. The Motif carries sufficient information about a dance idiom that its simple repetition may result in a virtual dance, recognized by people as belonging to their own tradition.²⁵

Characteristics:

- The Motif recurs in one or several dance performances.
- The Motif is made up either of a single unit (one segment) being described as **One-Cell-Motif** or of more units (multi-segment) and described as **Multi-Cell-Motif**. Examples of one-cell-Motifs are the "one step" Motifs of the Hungarian *Csárdás*, the introductory *march* (walking) Motif of the Romanian ritual dance *Căluș*, and many other dances with "one step" Motifs such as the Playford *country dances* (England) and the 'historical dances' *Basse danse*, *Pavane*, and so on. (For Multi-Cell-Motifs see the kinetogram of the dance *Roveňáčka*: Motif **a**, measures 1-4 is a **homogeneous** Multi-Cell-Motif made up by identical repetition of the cell **a'** (that is, 'step-close'); Motif **b** measures 8-9 is a **heterogeneous** Multi-Cell-Motif (that is 'heel-toe + step-close-step' double-polka).
- Motifs of greater structural complexity (compound motifs) can be made up of two or more **Sub-Motifs**, which are coherent structural units but without functional independence. They function only as components of the given motifs. When occurring in

other structural contexts, however, Sub-Motifs may function as independent motifs. (For example in the kinetogram of the dance *Roveňáčka*, measure 9, the Motif-cell d' 'step-close-step' functions as Sub-Motif of the compound motif b).

- Motifs may be **mono-kinetic** or **poly-kinetic** and/or **poly-rhythmic**.
- The flow of movements that make-up a Motif shows impulses of different intensity and quality, which are described as **accents**. As a choreographic expression of a rhythmic pattern, the motif is bound in a dynamic bow by means of movement accents (stresses) of different strength and position.²⁶

The Motif may be further de-composed and analyzed into distinctive subordinate units called **Motif-cell** and **Motif-element**. They function in relation to each other only as components of a Motif or Sub-Motif.

The Motif-cell – Mc (Symbol: a', b' c', and so on)²⁷

The Motif-cell is the simplest configuration of Motif-elements that are organized rhythmically, plastically and dynamically, and generally are focused on **one** strong accent. Bio-mechanically the Motif-cell is always limited. Considered in its temporal makeup, the Motif-cell is comprised of minimally two, mostly three, phases (including pauses) that may be described as Motif-elements.

There can be Motif-cells of the legs, arms, hands, hips, and so on, functioning individually or combined. (For example, slapping the raised leg as in Hungarian, Slovak and Romanian Young Men's Dances).

Characteristics:

- A Motif-cell has no independent function. It depends on other cells, joining together into a Motif.
- Within the framework of a multi-segment-Motif, the cells are either homogeneous (similar) or heterogeneous (different).
- A Motif-cell, though remaining structurally a Cell, may carry out the function of a Motif. In this instance the unit is designated as **One-Cell-Motif** (see above the **Motif**).

The Motif-element – Me (Symbol: α , β , γ , and so on and 0 for pause)

The Motif-element is the smallest structural entity resulting in one or more movement-impulses perceived as realized simultaneously, in "one beat". It is not further divisible in successive distinctive units; it can only be analyzed in simultaneous movements.²⁸ The content of a motif-element is not necessarily a simple movement, but it may be a combination of more than one kinetic element, all together performed simultaneously on one beat. Thus, a Motif-element may be simple, **mono-kinetic**, comprised of a single kinetic element or complex, **poly-kinetic**.

Characteristics:

- Considered within a Motif or a Motif-cell, the Motif-element carries out rhythmic and dynamic functions.
- Arrested movements (pauses) having constructive functions for the higher structural units are also considered Motif-elements.
- If a Motif-element is taken out of its structural configuration, no accent can be perceived. Only in the framework of a Motif-cell or a Motif can a Motif-element be recognized as carrier of a stress.
- Its function is to combine with other Motif-elements in order to build a larger structural unit (a Motif-cell or a Motif). These higher units endow the Motif-element with choreographic meaning.

The Phrase – Ph (Symbol: A, B, C, and so on)

The Phrase is the simplest compositional unit that has sense for the people and by which dances or dance genres (types) are identified. The Phrase is the first concrete realization of the dance, because the Motifs can exist only as components of Phrases. The Phrase is not only a quantitative summation of Motifs, but stands at a qualitative higher level and has a well defined individuality, carrying more information on the dance Form and aesthetics.²⁹ Through repetition, modification or combination with other Phrases, it becomes the component unit of **macro-structures**.

A single Phrase may function at the highest structural level of the dance as **One-Phrase-Dance** when this one Phrase is built by identically or varied repeated Motifs, and closed or not by a final cadence. (These are usually simple chain/round dances, sometimes made up by the identical or varied repetition of a single Motif.)

Characteristics:

- The Phrase can consist of similar Motifs repeated, or of different Motifs organized as a closed group or as an open chain. Phrases built according to the grouping principle are comprised of contrasting Motifs that are closely interrelated constituting a stable unit. Phrases built according to the linking principle are comprised of several similar or different Motifs ranged one after the other. (Example: In the kinetogram of the dance *Roveňáčka*, measures 1-7, see the phrase A).

Phrases may build **macro-structures** by applying the same compositional procedures, which unite Motifs into Phrases. The definition of macro-structures such as Strophe, Section and Part is founded in the dance reality studied and experienced by the researchers themselves within a well-determined cultural space. Applying the analysis to other cultures, it can be demonstrated that the established macro-structures do not cover all the possible structural levels. There exist in traditional dance systems structural units having certain individuality, and sometimes a name of their own, and which are recognized as such by the local people. These units cannot be equated with any of the macro-structures described in this method. Therefore, being aware that each performance has its own structural makeup and hierarchical complexity, the Form Analysis should primarily disclose motifs and phrases as basic Form-units, and that their higher organization should be followed according to rules of grammar and principles of composition. From this broader perspective the macro-structures could be described as being of first, second, third, degree, and so on.

The Section – S (Symbol: 1, 2, and so on)

Sections can be established only when higher structural units (Strophe, Part or the total Form of the dance) fall not conspicuously into Phrases. Linking or grouping of Phrases creates this intermediary macro-structure. It is defined by its own repetition or reprisal, by introductory or closing (final) Motifs, or by the appearance of a new contrasting unit. Minimally two Sections (or one repeated) function as components of higher Form-units such as Strophes, Parts or the whole dance. (For example, in the kinetogram of the dance *Roveňáčka*, measures 1-14 see Section 1 – made up by the repetition of the Phrase A).

The Strophe – St (Symbol: I, II, and so on)

The Strophe (stanza) is a closed higher Form that is comprised of Phrases (sometimes of Motifs) and organized according to the grouping principle. Strophes build higher units (Part or the total Form of the dance) solely according to the linking principle. Their repetition is either identical (homogeneous ranged Strophes) or modified. Strophes are never grouped. All the Strophes are dimensionally identical. The Strophic organization of the dance Form is usually related to a similar organization of the musical Form, and to a similar organization of the song

texts. (For example, the dance *Roveňáčka* presented in the kinetogram is at its highest level made up of homogeneous ranged Strophes.)

The Part – P (Symbol: (I), (II), and so on)

The Part is the highest structural unit of the total dance Form. It consists of Phrases, Strophes or Sections that are linked or grouped together.³⁰ The Parts are well defined structurally, thematically and musically, and are united to other Parts by virtue of contrast, according to the principle of grouping.³¹ The dance-game *Katze und Maus* (Cat and mouse) of Mecklenburg, Germany, is an example of a two-Part dance Form. (See the Analysis Table in Appendix 5a.)

It has to be mentioned that Sections, Strophes and Parts are not necessarily present in the structural makeup of dances.

The total Form of the dance – T (or the name of the dance)

The Dance is the highest structural level resulting in an organic and autonomous entity through the summation of all the integrated structural units with their particular compositional patterns and functional interrelationships.

A certain dance is differentiated from other dances by its individuality (structure, artistic expression, content, and so on) and generally is designated by a proper name. The choreographic structure stands in close relationship to the structure of the accompanying music, when it exists, as well as to the structure of other patterning factors, such as versified texts, utterances, pantomimic gestures, masks, and so on.³²

Characteristics:

The Total Form of the Dance is structured either according to the grouping principle, in which case it breaks down into two or more Parts, Sections or Phrases, or according to the linking principle, in which case it breaks down into Strophes, Phrases, or directly into Motifs (as a One-Phrase-Dance).

Form-models

Most of the actual Forms of European traditional dances stem from a limited number of Form-models that are configured according to the **linking** and the **grouping** principles of composition. The configuration and the inter-relationship of the structural units making up the dance Form may differ from one hierarchical level to another, therefore it is only through in-depth analysis that takes into consideration all the levels, that the complexity of the compositional Form of a given dance can be revealed. For example, one hierarchical level may subscribe to the linking principle, while another level to that of the grouping principle (such as in many Strophic Forms). It is also common that both linking and grouping principles function on one and the same hierarchical level (such as in Rondo Form dances).

For dance Form determination, considered in its totality, it is relevant which and how many hierarchical levels are structured according to the linking and/or the grouping Form-models and how the structural units combine.

Form-relevant relationships describe a number of dance categories that may be designated as **Form-categories** that are a basic criterion for dance systematization.

Form-models organized according to the Linking Principle

Chain Form: The segments making up the Chain Form are lined up one after the other. The structure of the segments that is – their organization, number and succession – are not pertinent factors for this Form-model.

Homogeneous Chain is characterized by the unlimited (ad libitum) repetition of one unit.³³

Formula: a a a a..... ; A A A A.....; I I I I.....; I I I I.....

A different unit may close the homogeneous range only if it does not change the overall impression of an open chain form.

Formula: A A A A.....B³⁴

Examples of structural units organized according to the homogeneous Chain Form-models:

- The third Phrase of the Czech couple dance *Roveňáčka* (measures 16-23 in the kinetogram) is made up of a homogeneous Chain of Motifs.

Formula: $\frac{C}{c c c c}$ or $\frac{C}{(c)^4}$

- The Croatian dance *Vuzmeno kolo* whose highest level is a homogeneous Chain of Phrases, the Phrase is organized as a homogeneous Chain of Motifs.

Formula: $\frac{T}{\frac{A}{(a)^6}}$

- The same Form-model applies to the Romanian women's song-dance *Coconița*:

Formula: $\frac{T}{\frac{A}{(a)^4}}$

- The Hungarian couple dance *Gólya*, whose highest level may be characterized as a homogeneous Chain of Strophes.

Formula: $\frac{T}{I}$

Variation Form. The structural units of this Form-model are considered to be variations of the basic unit, meaning that they correspond in minimally one, but usually in more than one, trait. (See Endnote 18) The number and succession of the segments are not determining factors in this Form-model.

Formula: A A₁ A₂ A₃ A₄ or A A₁ A₂ A₁ A₃ A₂ A..... or other possibilities.

A closing unit may also limit the variation Form.

Formula: A A₁ A₂ A₃B

Examples of structural units organized according to the variation Form-model:

- The slow Part of an improvised Hungarian *Csárdás*

Formula: $\frac{I}{a a_1 a_2 a_3 a_4}$

- The first Part of the Hungarian *Verbunk* of Kapuvár

Formula: $\frac{I}{A A_1 A_2 A_3 A_4}$

- The Romanian couple dance *Ca la Breaza* is generally performed as a chain of varied Phrases closed by the reprisal of the initial Phrase.

Formula: $\frac{T}{\underline{A} A_1 A_2 A_3 A_4 \underline{A}}$

Heterogeneous Chain Form. The individual segments of the heterogeneous Chain Form are different and without any consistent organization. That is, their succession, repetition, reprise, variation, and so on, have no fixed order.

Formula: A B C A D E F A F₁ F₂ B C or other possibilities.

A closing unit may also limit the heterogeneous Chain.

Formula: A A B D D₁ D₂ C F (final unit)

Examples of structural units organized according to the Form-model of heterogeneous Chain:

- The Strophe of the men's dance *Troaca* of Oltenia, Romania, which may be considered a homogeneous Chain of Phrases:

Formula: $\frac{I}{A B C D}$

- The turning couple dance, *Hrozénská*, of Moravia, Czech Republic, which is a heterogeneous Chain of Sections:

Formula: $\frac{T}{1 2 3 4}$

Rondo Form. The Rondo Form is identified by the regular recurrence of one or more basic units in a certain order. The number of segments is not a pertinent factor for this Form-model. (The basic unit must recur minimally three times).

Formulas: $\underline{a} \underline{b} \underline{a} \underline{c} \underline{a} \underline{d} \underline{a} \underline{e} \dots$; $\underline{A} \underline{B} \underline{A} \underline{C} \underline{A} \underline{D} \underline{A} \underline{E} \dots$; $\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{1} \underline{3} \underline{1} \underline{4} \underline{1} \underline{5} \dots$;
 $\underline{a} \underline{b} \underline{c} \underline{a} \underline{d} \underline{e} \underline{a} \underline{f} \underline{g} \dots$; $\underline{A} \underline{B} \underline{C} \underline{A} \underline{D} \underline{E} \underline{A} \underline{F} \underline{G} \dots$; $\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{1} \underline{4} \underline{5} \underline{1} \underline{6} \underline{7} \dots$;
 $\underline{A} \underline{B} \underline{C} \underline{D} \underline{E} \underline{F} \underline{C} \underline{D} \underline{G} \underline{H} \underline{C} \underline{D} \dots$

A closing unit may limit the rondo Form, and the reprise of the introductory unit usually ends it.

Formulas: $\underline{a} \underline{b} \underline{c} \underline{b} \underline{d} \underline{b} \underline{e} \underline{b} \dots \underline{a}$; $\underline{A} \underline{B} \underline{C} \underline{B} \underline{D} \underline{B} \underline{E} \underline{B} \dots \underline{A}$; $\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{3} \underline{2} \underline{4} \underline{2} \underline{5} \underline{2} \dots \underline{1}$;
 $\underline{a} \underline{b} \underline{c} \underline{a} \underline{d} \underline{e} \underline{a} \underline{f} \underline{g} \dots \underline{a}$

Examples of structural units that are organized according to the rondo Form-model:

- The Strophe of the Serbian girls' dance *Devojčica platno beli* may be considered a rondo of Motifs.

Formula: $\frac{I}{\underline{a} \underline{b} \underline{a} \underline{c} \underline{a}}$

- The Sections of the Romanian men's dance *Fecioreasca* may be described as a rondo of Phrases

Formula: $\frac{I}{\underline{A} \underline{B} \underline{A} \underline{C} \underline{A}}$

- The Slovakian girl's dance *Mak* is at its highest level a rondo of Sections. The Quadrille *Freischütz* of Westfalen, Germany, has the same Form-model.

Formula: $\frac{T}{\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{1} \underline{3} \underline{1} \underline{4} \underline{1} \underline{5} \underline{1} \underline{6} \underline{1} \underline{7}}$

Form-models organized according to the Grouping Principle

Two-segment Form: This Form-model consists of two equally important and contrasting segments (units) tightly bound together in a stable balance.

Formula: a b; A B; 1 2; I II, (I) (II)

Examples of structural units that are organized according to the two-segment grouping principle:

- The two-segment Phrase of the Czech couple dance *Hulán* is made up of two contrasting Motifs.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{A}{a \quad b}$$

- The second two-segment Section of the Czech couple dance *Roveňáčka* (measures 8-23 in the kinetogram) is made up of two contrastive Phrases.

$$\text{Formula } \frac{2}{B \quad C}$$

- The two-segment Strophe of the Hungarian couple dance *Gólya* is made up of two contrastive Phrases.

$$\text{Formula } \frac{I}{A \quad B}$$

- The two-segment Part of the Hungarian *Verbunk* of Kápuvár is made up of two contrastive Phrases.

$$\text{Formula } \frac{(I)}{A \quad B}$$

- The two-part circle dance *Țărăneasca* of Moldavia, Romania, is made up of two contrastive Parts.

$$\text{Formula } \frac{T}{(I) \quad (II)}$$

A particular two-segment form, characteristic of Baroque dances (for example Allemande) is the so-called *Proportz-Form*³⁵ in which the second segment is metric-rhythmically different and usually a shortened (contracted) form of the first segment.

Three-segment Form. The three-segment form is comprised of three equally important and contrasting segments (units) with a fixed relation of interdependence. They are either all different or the third segment is an identical or varied reprisal of the first segment.

Formulas: a b c; a b a; A B C; A B A; A B A₁; or 1 2 3; 1 2 1; I II III; I II I

Examples of structural units organized according to the three-segment Form:

- The three-segment Phrase of the middle part of the Bavarian *Steirisch (Plattler)* originally from Austria.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{B}{a \quad b \quad c}$$

- The three-segment Section of the *Kleine Bunte* of Mecklenburg, Germany.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{I}{A \quad B \quad C}$$

- The three-segment Strophes of the Romanian chain dance *Brăul Zbarcii*, of the German *Sternpolka* and of *Doudlebská polka* of southern Bohemia.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{I}{A \quad B \quad C}$$

- The three-segment Strophe of the Czech couple dance *Pásla jeleny*.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{I}{A \quad B \quad A}$$

-The three-segment dance *Haidăul* of Transylvania, Romania, comprised of three contrastive Parts.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{T}{(I) (II) (III)}$$

Among the so-called 'historical' dances, the Gavotte and the classical Minuet have often a three-segment Form A B A.

Multi-segment Form. This consists of a variable number of more or less equally important segments (minimally four) that often are framed by an introductory and closing unit.³⁶ The segment sequence is not pertinent for this Form-model however; they are usually in a stable and consistent relationship to the bordering (limiting) units.

$$\text{Formulas: } \begin{array}{l} A B B C; A B A B; A B A C \dots \\ A B C D E; A B B_1 C D; A B A_1 B C \dots \text{ and other possibilities.} \end{array}$$

Some multi-segment Forms are characterized by the organization of the component units in a *reversing form* such as: A B C D C B A.

Examples of structural units organized according to the multi-segment Form-model:

- The four segment Phrases of the dance *Fecioreasca* of Transylvania, Romania.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{A}{a b b_1 c}$$

- The five-segment Phrases of the Austrian dance *Wickler*.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{A}{a b c d e}$$

- The four-segment Strophe of the column dance *Tampet* of Sachsen, Germany.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{I}{A B C D}$$

Dance Suites and Cycles.

When the structural entities are individual dances (T), they may build Suites and/or Cycles. These hierarchical levels refer to the structural and compositional make up of a "dance discourse" considered in the context of a given event.³⁷ The dance discourse is a large syntactic and semantic unit comprised of individual dances and is more than the sum of its component parts.

Within the framework of a dance discourse individual dances may occur in sequences that are bound by customary association in such tightly knit groupings that the number and order of the dances never vary. Suites are sequences built according to the grouping principle.³⁸

A Suite may be identically or variously repeated or reprised ad libitum thereby making up a whole dance discourse.

Example of a three-segment Suite of Transylvania, Romania, made up of three contrasting dances: *Sărita* (men's dance), *De-a lungu* (processional couple dance), *Împiedecata* (turning couple dance). The Suite is repeated with variations ad libitum.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{\text{Suite}_{A}}{T_1 + T_2 + T_3} + \frac{\text{Suite}_{A1}}{T_1 + T_2 + T_3} + \frac{\text{Suite}_{A2}}{T_1 + T_2 + T_3} \dots$$

Other examples of Suites: *Hétfêles* (Hungary) made up of seven dances.

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{\text{Hétfêles}}{T_1 + T_2 + T_3 + T_4 + T_5 + T_6 + T_7}$$

The Czech Suite *Devítinotová*

$$\text{Formula: } \frac{\textit{Devítinotová}}{T_1+T_2+T_3+T_4+T_5+T_6+T_7+T_8+T_9}$$

When two or more different Suites invariably follow one another in a given order, they build a still larger structural unit named **Cycle**. The dance Cycle is the largest repeatable structural unit within a dance discourse. The passage from one Suite to the next is marked by a very short interval. Cycles, however, are separated by long intermissions (about 10 to 15 minutes). During a dance event, Cycles may be variously repeated ad libitum.

Example of a dance Cycle of Transylvania, Romania, made up of two contrasting Suites: Suite A is identical with the example already mentioned above. Suite B is comprised of the couple dance *Bătuta* in quick tempo followed by *Romanca* in moderate tempo and closed by the varied reprise of *Bătuta*.

$$\text{Formula: Cycle1 } \left[\frac{\textit{Suite}_{A_}}{T_1+T_2+T_3} + \frac{\textit{Suite}_{B_}}{T_4+T_5+T_{4v}} \right] + \text{Cycle2 } \left[\frac{\textit{Suite}_{A1_}}{T_1+T_2+T_3} + \frac{\textit{Suite}_{B1_}}{T_4+T_5+T_{4v}} \right]$$

The dance Suite may be traced back historically to the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Examples of Suites from the 16th and 17th centuries formed initially by the grouping of two contrastive dances: *Bassa danza* and *Saltarello*, *Pavane* and *Gaillarde*, and so on.³⁹

Relationship between the choreographic Form and the musical Form

In most traditional cultures dance is closely bound to dance-music in its structural makeup, artistic expression, and interpretation. The following range of factors determine the inter-relationship between the Form of the dance and that of dance-music:

- Tempo
- Rhythm
- Dynamics
- Meter
- Melody
- Harmony
- Instrumentation
- Polyphony
- Textual segmentation.

The change in one or several of these constitutive factors results in caesuras (breaks/cuts) that delimit the Form-units of both music and dance. It has to be mentioned, however, that not all factors are at work in every dance and music performance and that their hierarchy of importance is changeable. In addition, they do not exercise the same influence on the dance Form, meaning that the structural units of the dance do not always correlate with those of the music, be it in rhythm, meter, dynamics, in their temporal dimension and inner organization.

- Differences in **tempo** appear seldom; change of tempo within one of the components (dance or dance-music) always influences the other one. Difference in **rhythm** (poly-rhythm) occurs always at the Motif level and may expand to all Form-units of the dance. For example in the Romanian chain dance *Brânza*, of the shepherd's repertoire (Transylvania), polyrhythm occurs between dance, the musical accompaniment and the versified texts shouted by the dancers:

Music	
Text	
Dance	

[The dance Strophe takes 40 musical measures;

Section 1 takes 8 musical measures; Section 2 takes 16 musical measures; Section 3 takes 16 musical measures;

Phrase A takes 4 musical measures; Phrase B takes 8 musical measures; Phrase C takes 8 musical measures. All Phrases are repeated;

Each constitutive Motif takes 2 musical measures (a, a₁, b, b₁, c, d, d₁, d₂).

In dances made up as a homogeneous Motif Chain with no apparent choreographic limits, musical cadences function to determine the structure of the dance Form.

- Partial dimensional congruence occurs when the highest structural levels of dance and music are concordant, while frequently at the level of Motifs the dimensional relationship is non-congruent. Common examples are provided by dances based on Motifs with ternary organization (ternary meter or ternary grouping of Motifs or Motifs combining ternary and binary meters) superimposed on binary musical Motifs. In these cases dimensional congruence occurs after a determined number of repetitions. The point of coincidence between dance and music may describe a superior structural unit.⁴²

Examples:

- The Czech couple dance *Roveňáčka*, dimensionally non-congruent at the Motif level but congruent at that of Phrases (See kinetogram of the dance *Roveňáčka*).
- The Croatian dance *Vuzmeno Kolo* (as shown before).
- In the Romanian women's song-dance *Purtata*, of central Transylvania, the melodic line is comprised of three Motifs (each having two 6/8 measures) while the dance Phrase is comprised of four Motifs (each of 1½ musical measures of 6/8, in other words a Motif-cell of 3/8 in ternary grouping). Though there is no dimensional congruence between the dance and the music Motifs, congruence is achieved at the level of the Phrase after a certain number of repetitions of the ternary dance Motif (for example, 4 or 8 times); note that both the music and the dance Phrases have the dimensional extension of 36 eighths.

Ph	≡
M	≠

Congruence with the musical phrase may also be achieved by extension of the last dance Motif. Example of Fixed Form *Sârba* of Romania:

T	Sârba		Congruence with music
Ph	A 16		≡
M	a ⁻⁴	a _c	≠ a ≡ a _c
2/4	12	4	

- Congruent relationship may also be achieved by addition of a final Motif to complete the dance Phrase. Example of the Romanian chain dance *Chindia*:

T. Chindia			Congruence with music
Ph.	$\frac{A}{8}$	=	=
M	a ⁻	b	≠ a = b
2/4	6	2	

- Non-congruence between dance and music at higher structural levels occurs when dance and music have different numbers of structural units. For example, the chain dance *Alunelu infundat* of Romania (see the verbal description of the kinetogram):

T	Alunelu infundat					Congruence with music
S	$\frac{1}{10}$		$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$		≠ 1 = 2, 3
Ph	$\frac{A}{4}$	$\frac{B}{6}$	$\frac{C}{4}$	$\frac{B_1}{4}$	=	≠ B = A, C, B ₁
M	a _{<}	b _÷	c	d _÷	b _÷	=
2/4	4	4	2	4	4	

- Another way of non-congruence may occur when dimensional concordant dance Motifs combine with a structural unit of different extension in time. For example, the round dance *Şchioapa* of Romania:

T	Şchioapa				Congruence with music	
Ph	$\frac{A}{13}$				=	≠
M	a ⁻	a ⁻	a ⁻	a _{>}		= a ≠ a _{>}
2/4	4	4	4	1		

The dance Phrase (repeated ad libitum) takes 13 measures while the Phrases of the accompanying melody are all comprised of 8 measures.

Complete dimensional non-congruence is seldom found in eastern European dance culture. It occurs, however, when the structural units are dimensionally nonconcordant at all hierarchical levels.⁴³ Example of the Romanian round dance *Cazacu*:

T	Cazacu				Congruence with music
Ph	A 9½				≠
M	a	b	b	c	≠ a, c = b
2/4	3	2	2	2½	

The dance Phrase (repeated ad libitum) takes 9½ measures, while the Phrases of the accompanying melody are all comprised of 8 measures.

Coincidence. When the Form-units of dance and music are dimensionally congruent, but do not begin at the same time, the resulting shift between the units is referred to as periodic non-coincidence. (The symbol is \neq). Non-coincidence between the music and dance performance is exemplified by the beginning of the Romanian couple dance *Învârtita* of southern Transylvania:

The *Învârtita* dance and the dance-music are both comprised of Phrases of four or eight measures. The dance however, starts constantly on the fourth measure of the musical Phrase; periodically the end of the dance Sections are congruent with those of the musical Phrases.⁴⁴

Coincidence occurs when the Form-units of dance and music begin or finish simultaneously. (When both dance and music begin together, the symbol is \neq ; when dance and music finish together, the symbol is \neq .)

Conjunction refers to the succession (linkage) of dance and music structural units according to whether they are in a fixed, constant relationship or in a free, independent one. Fixed conjunction is characteristic for fixed form dances, which have their own corresponding melody (type) such as song-dances, fixed Form *Brâu*, fixed Form *Sârba*, and fixed Form couple dances of the Romanian repertoire; *Stern Polka*, *Mak*, *Roveňačka*, *Hulán*, *Pásla Jeleny* of the Czech repertoire and the Hungarian *Golya*, and so on. (The symbol is \parallel .) With free conjunction there are three possibilities:

- Dance units may have a fixed succession while the musical units have free occurrence. For example, the rondo Form of the Transylvanian *Brâu* is accompanied by free linkage of musical Phrases; the Czech couple dance *Hrozénská* is performed to a song cycle in which the sequences of songs and their number is free. (The symbol is $\{ \}$.)
- Dance units show a free linkage while musical units are in fixed conjunction. For example, it is common in the Romanian dance tradition to improvise the structure of many dance categories, such as the Common *Sârba*, *Brâu*, *Breaza* and *Purtat*, to fixed form musical accompaniment. (The symbol is $\{ \}$.)

A fragment of the couple dance *Mănușelul* of Transylvania, Romania (from a dance recorded in the field):

Music	A A ₁	A A ₁	B B ₁	B B ₂	A A ₁	A A ₁	B B ₁	B B ₂	A A ₁	A A ₁	B B ₁	B B ₂	A A ₁
Measures	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Dance	A B	C	D	D	A ₁	C ₁	D ₁	B ₁	C ₂	A ₂	B ₂	C ₃	E
Measures	4 8	12	12	12	12	8	16	8	12	8	12	8	12

- Both dance and music units may have a free succession of their component units. This structural relationship existing at the level of Motifs is a matter of free choice within the framework of the Phrase (or Section) in the process of improvisation. Some examples are the improvised variants of the men's Springing dances of northern Transylvania, Romania, such as *Roata* and *Bărbătescu* of Maramureș, the improvised couple dance *Geampara* of the Danube Valley, and the Moravian men's dance *Verbunk*. (The symbol is { }.)

Inner organization refers to the relationship between dance and music in terms of their structural Form. From this perspective non-congruent relationship is the most common trait for the older dance strata of many European traditions. The great majority of dance melodies have the form AB or AA BB. Other Form-models are: ABC, AABBC, ABCB_v, ABCDE, as well as varied linking of a Phrase /Motif.

Examples of non-congruent inner organizations are the two Czech dances *Mak*, with a rondo Form on a Strophic musical Form, and *Sternpolka*, with a three-Phrase Form ABA, the musical Form being ABB_v.

A common case of non-congruent inner organization is the superimposition of bipartite Form melodies onto dance with either varied or homogeneous linking of a Phrase, or of three or more Phrases in free or fixed succession. In a variant of the Romanian men's dance *Haidău* of Transylvania, both dance and music are Strophic; however, the melody constantly repeats two Strophes while the dance develops as a varied range of Strophes:

Dance	I	A	BB	C	II	A	DD	C	III	A	EE	C	Etc ---
2/4		4	8	4		4	8	4		4	8	4	
Music		A	A			B	B			A	A		Etc.---
2/4		8	8			8	8			8	8		

Dance: Roveňáčka

The image displays a musical score for the dance 'Roveňáčka'. It consists of two staves of music, one for the upper voice and one for the lower voice. The score is annotated with various symbols and letters, including 'a', 'b', 'a1', 'a2', 'a3', 'a4', 'a5', 'a6', 'a7', 'a8', 'a9', 'a10', 'a11', 'a12', 'a13', 'a14', 'a15', 'a16', 'a17', 'a18', 'a19', 'a20', 'a21', 'a22', 'a23', 'a24', 'a25', 'a26', 'a27', 'a28', 'a29', 'a30', 'a31', 'a32', 'a33', 'a34', 'a35', 'a36', 'a37', 'a38', 'a39', 'a40', 'a41', 'a42', 'a43', 'a44', 'a45', 'a46', 'a47', 'a48', 'a49', 'a50', 'a51', 'a52', 'a53', 'a54', 'a55', 'a56', 'a57', 'a58', 'a59', 'a60', 'a61', 'a62', 'a63', 'a64', 'a65', 'a66', 'a67', 'a68', 'a69', 'a70', 'a71', 'a72', 'a73', 'a74', 'a75', 'a76', 'a77', 'a78', 'a79', 'a80', 'a81', 'a82', 'a83', 'a84', 'a85', 'a86', 'a87', 'a88', 'a89', 'a90', 'a91', 'a92', 'a93', 'a94', 'a95', 'a96', 'a97', 'a98', 'a99', 'a100'. The score is divided into sections by dashed lines and includes a diagrammatic structure at the bottom with various symbols and letters.

Origin: Přím, Rychnov (East Bohemia), Czech Republic
Notation: Josef Vycpálek (published in *České lidové tance*, Praha, 1921)
Analysis: Eva Kröschlová

Dance category: Couple dance
Formation: Free couples in a circle
Linkage: close and open position
Measure: 2/4
Tempo: MM \downarrow = 88

Form Analysis (in verbal description)

The choreographic Form of the dance has four levels.

The highest structural level represents an open homogeneous Chain of Strophes.

The Strophes have a two-segment Form, made up of two Sections.

The first Section is made up of an identically repeated Phrase; the second Section is made up of two different Phrases.

In Phrase A, the four-segment Motif a is alternatively corresponding repeated with the following modifications: metric-rhythmic contraction, kinetic modified, and expanded with a Motif-cell. (Thus, the unit a₁ is a spatial, metric-rhythmic, plastic, and expanded variant of the unit a).

In Phrase B the Two-segment Motif b is four times identically repeated.

In **Phrase C**, the two-segment **Motif c** is four times identically repeated. Both **Motif-cells** of the **Motif c** are modifications of the second Motif-cell of the **Motif b**. (The units d'_{ks} and d'_{ks}' are in fact kinetic and spatial variations of the unit d' .)

Kinetic content of the Motif-cells [see notation in the kinetogram]

- a' = 'step-close' clockwise (in circle direction), in close couple position
- a'^1_{mr-k} = 'gallop-step' counter-clockwise in close couple position.
- b' = final hop in close couple position with a pause
- c' = bounces with heel and toe touch in open couple position
- d' = 'polka-step' forward, clockwise (in circle direction) in open couple position
- d'_{ks} = turning 'polka-step' clockwise (in circle direction) in close couple position



The entire choreographic Form of this dance is congruent with the music Form in inner organization, dimension, succession and conjunction. This congruent relationship is found at the Strophe, Section and Phrase levels. At the lowest level the relationship between the dance- and music Motifs is differentiated: the dance Motifs **b** and **c** are congruent in dimension with the corresponding musical Motifs. The inner organization of the Motifs is not congruent. Congruent in rhythm is only the Motif a_1 . The meter is common for both choreographic and musical Forms.

Graphic table of Form levels

Roveňáčka						Relation to the musical Form				
						Org.	Dim.	Conj.	Rhyt	Mtr.
T										
St	I					≡	≡		≠	≡
S	1	2				≡	≡		≠	
Ph	A =2	B		C			≡		≠	
M	a	a_1	$b_{=4}$	c =4		≠	≡(≠a)		≠(≡ a_1)	
Mc	$a'_{=4}$	$a'^1_{=4}$ mr>k	b'	c'	d'	d'_{ks}	d'_{ks}'			
Me	$\alpha \beta$	$\alpha' \beta'$	γ o	$\delta \epsilon$	$\varphi \eta \lambda$	φ_s λ_s	η_s	$\pi' \eta' \lambda' \lambda'$		
Measures	4	2	1	8		8				

Shorthand graphic notation (without notation of the relation to the musical Form and of the level of Motif-elements)

$$I [[: 1 [A (\frac{a}{a'=4} + \frac{a1}{a'^1_{=4} \text{ kmr>+ } b'})^{=2}] + 2 [B (\frac{4b}{c' d'}) + C (4c \frac{\quad}{d'_{ks} d'_{ks}'})]]]^m$$

Note: The structural analysis of the dance *Roveňáčka* has been demonstrated by Eva Kröschlová and recorded on video by Egil Bakka at the University of Trondheim, Norway, in 1999.

Dance: Alunelu înfundat

	<p>Origin: Bechet, district Dolj (Oltenia), Romania</p> <p>Collector: Vera Proca-Ciortea, 1951</p> <p>Kinetogram: J-Ph. Van Aelbrouck</p> <p>Analysis: Anca Giurchescu</p> <p>Dance category: group dance</p> <p>Formation: straight line</p> <p>Linkage: 'back basket hold'</p> <p>Measure: 2/4</p> <p>Tempo: MM. $\dot{=}$ 120</p>
--	--

Form Analysis (in verbal description)

The Form of the dance is comprised of **four** hierarchical levels.

The highest structural level represents an **open homogeneous Chain of Strophes**.

The **Strophe** is made up of **three grouped Sections** by virtue of contrast in kinetics, rhythm, pathway and internal organization [1,2,3]

Section 1 has a **two-segment Form** and is comprised of **two grouped Phrases (A, B)**;

Section 2 has a **two-segment Form** and is made up by the **Phrase C** identically repeated ($C \bar{}$);

Section 3 has a **two-segment Form** and is made up by the **Phrase B₁** identically repeated ($B_1 \bar{}$).

Phrase A is made up of an **extended Motif**, having *introductory* function: a_z

Phrase **B** is made up of **two grouped Motifs**. The first Motif is **alternating-symmetrical repeated: b÷** and has a *principal core function*. The **juxtaposed Motif c** has a *final* (closing) function for the whole Strophe.

Phrase **C** is made up of an **alternating-symmetrical repeated Motif**, having *introductory* function: **d÷**.

Phrase **B₁** is made up of an **alternating-symmetrical repeated Motif: b÷**.

Note: The *introductory* Phrases A and C (and their constitutive Motifs) have a general character and may be found in other dance types as well; therefore they are not pertinent for characterizing the *Alunelu* dance type and have only a compositional role.










The **extended Motif a_<** is comprised of a **Motif-cell a'** alternately repeated three times and closed by a **Motif-cell: b'** having a well marked *final* function by virtue of contrast in kinetics, pathway and rhythm: **a' a'" a' b' (a'"³ b')**

Motif **b** is a **grouping** of three **Motif-cells c' d' c'<** the final **Motif-cell: c'<** being an extension by kinetic and rhythmic modification of the **first Motif-cell c'**.

Motif **c** is a **varied linking** of three **Motif-cells**. The basic **Motif-cell: e'** is alternately repeated and modified by kinetic and rhythmic extension: **e' e'" e'< (e'"³ e'<)**

Motif **d** is comprised of **two grouped Motif-cells: f' a'₁**.

Kinetic content of the Motif-cells

a'	= grouping of 3 Motif-elements: forward step-close-step	
b'	= alternate repetition of one Motif-element: step backwards (right-left)	
c'	= grouping of 2 Motif-elements: step in place, crossing step	
d'	= grouping of 2 Motif-elements: step in place, step backwards	
c'<	= grouping of 3 Motif-elements: step in place-crossing-on place	
Note: the basic Motif-cells c' and d' play a <i>principal</i> role because 'crossing steps' combinations are characteristic of <i>Alunelu</i> type.		
e'	= grouping of 2 Motif-elements: step forward, stamping	
e'<	= grouping of 3 Motif-elements: step forward, stamp, stamping step	
f'	= alternate repetition of one Motif-element: diagonal step (right-left)	
a'₁	= spatial variation of the Motif-cell a': lateral step-close-step	

Relationship to the instrumental music accompaniment:

Meter: full congruent (2/4)

Rhythm: polyrhythmic at the Motif level

Inner organization: non-congruent. Musical Form A B, the dance Form heterogeneous grouping of Phrases: A B C C B₁ B₁

Dimension: congruent only at the level of Motifs (music and dance Motifs have 2 measures). The dance Phrases (4 and 6 measures), as well as the Section I and II (26 measures), are not congruent with the musical Phrases, each made up of 8 measures.

Graphic table of the Form levels

Alunelu						Relation to the musical Form					
						Org.	Dim.	Conj.	Rhyt.		
						Mtr.					
St	I					*	≠	≠		≠	≡
S	1		2		3	≠	≠		≠		
						(1)					
Ph	A	B			C	=	B ₁	=	≠		
									(B)		
M	a _{<}	b	÷	c	d	÷	b	÷	≠	≡	
Mc	a ^{'=3} b'	c' d' c' kr<	e' e''	f' a' ₁	c' d' c' kr<						
			e' kr<								
Me	αβ _r	εη ελ	απ απ φ _r	δδ''	εη ελ εη						
	δδ''	εηε _r		αβ _r	ε _r						
Meas.	4	4	2	8	8						

Shorthand graphic notation:

$$I || I [A (\frac{a_{<}}{a'^{=3} b'}) + B (\frac{b \div}{c' d' c' c'_{kr<}} + \frac{c}{e' e'' e'_{kr<}})] 2 [C (\frac{d \div}{f' a'_1})] 3 [B_1 (\frac{b \div}{c' d' c'_{kr<}})] || *$$

APPENDIX

1. Symbols for the structural units of dance (Form-units) (See note 27.)

T = Dance	(Latin <i>totus</i>)	Dance name
P = Part	(Latin <i>pars</i>)	(I) []
St = Strophe	(Greek <i>strophe</i>)	I [[]]
S = Section	(Latin <i>sectio</i>)	I []
Ph = Phrase	(Latin <i>phrasis</i>)	A ()
M = Motif	(Latin <i>motivus</i>)	a

 Mc = Motif-cell (Latin *cella*) a'

Me = Motif-element (Latin *elementum*) α, β, δ, and so on.

Note: the brackets are used only for the shorthand graphic notation and not for the graphic table of the Form levels.

2a. Indexes for general variation of dance features:

- A_v general variation of the unit A (or a_v, β_v, etc.)
- A₁ first general variation of the unit A
- A₂ second general variation, etc. (A A₁ A₂ A₃ B B₁ ...)
- A_p participants (variation in number and gender)
- A_k kinetic (variation in the shape of movements)
- A_d dynamic
- A_s direction in space (floor pattern)*
- A_r rhythmic
- A_t tempo
- A_{sq} sequence/succession of units

A_f = geometrical formation in space

* Note: general variation of the direction in space may be refined by using the detailed indexes for variation in space presented below in 2c.

2b. Indexes for structural and metric-rhythmic modification:

$A_{>}$ contraction of component units

$A_{<}$ extension through repetition or addition of a unit

$A_{m<}$ metric augmentation

$A_{m>}$ metric diminution

2c. Indexes for variation in space:

∞ Alternating (weight changes, the direction is the same)

Example: If a is steps L, R forward, then ∞a will be steps R, L forward

— Symmetrical in frontal plan: right-left (same weight, direction changes)

Example: If a is steps L, R to the left, then $\text{—}a$ will be steps L, R to the right

÷ Alternating – symmetrical (weight and direction change)

Example: If a is steps L, R to the right, then $\div a$ will be steps R, L to the left

| Corresponding (same weight, direction changes in sagittal plane: forward – backwards)

Example: If a is steps L, R forward, then $|a$ will be steps L, R backwards

∩ Alternating – corresponding (weight and direction change – in sagittal plane)

Example: If a is steps L, R forward,) then $\cap a$ will be steps R, L backwards

∴ Alternating turning (weight changes, turning in same direction – as in waltz or polka)

Example: If a is steps L, R, L turning to the right, then $\therefore a$ will be steps R, L, R turning to the right

∴ Alternating- symmetrical turning (weight and turning direction change)

Example: If a is steps L, R, L turning to the left, then $\therefore a$ will be steps R, L, R turning to the right

- The indexes for variation in space are written with **lowered characters** and placed on the left side (preceding) the symbol of the structural unit (∞a , $|a$, etc.)

2d. Indexes for repetition.

= Identical

= Ad libitum

≡ Identical ad libitum

- The indexes for **varied repetition** in space are **similar** to those employed for variation in space but are written with **raised characters** and placed **right up** (next) to the symbol of the structural unit ($a^=$, $A^!$, etc.).

- A number following the index indicates how many times the given unit will be danced (a^{-3} , A^{15}).

- In the graphic table of the Form levels, the indexes will be placed in the right upper corner of the corresponding structural level.

1	⁻²	2	⁻⁴
---	---------------	---	---------------

(Section 1 will be danced identically twice; Section 2 will be danced symmetrically four times).

- In the case of the shorthand graphic notation, the indexes will be placed up, on the right side of the closing bracket.

$$1 [\quad]^{=2} \quad 2 [\quad]^{-4}$$

3. Indexes for the line of patterned movements:

^{mk}A mono-kinetic

^{pk}A poly-kinetic

4. General symbols:

♂ Man

♀ Woman

(♂) All men

(♀) All women

○ Pause

5a. Table of Form Analysis:

T	Katze und Maus (Cat and mouse) ⁴⁵							
P	(I)				(II)			
St	I				*			
S	1		2		*		3	
Ph	A		B		C		C	
M	a		b		c		c	
Music	3/4	16	2/4	8	2/4	8	2/4	8

5b. Relationship between dance and dance-music on the table of Form Analysis:

		Relation to the musical Structure				
		Org.	Dim.	Conj.	Rhyt.	Mtr.
Ph						
M						

5c. Symbols for structural relationship between dance and dance-music:

Dimension:

Congruent =

Non-congruent ≠

Coincidence:

Coincident: beginning simultaneously \models ; finishing simultaneously \models

Not coincident: \neq

Conjunction:

Fixed linkage of the dance and music units: \parallel

Dance fixed and music free linkage: $\left. \begin{array}{l} | \\ | \end{array} \right\}$

Dance free linkage and music fixed: $\left. \begin{array}{l} | \\ | \end{array} \right\}$

Free linkage of both dance and music: $\left. \begin{array}{l} | \\ | \end{array} \right\}$

ENDNOTES

1. However, as demonstrated by Eva Kröschlová in articles "Supplement to the article 'Dance in the ICTM' [1988] and "Discussion contribution to the 'Foundation of the structural and form analysis of folk dance' [1992:5], even in this final stage a total agreement has not been reached with respect of the consistency of the system in all its parts, the type and use of graphic symbols, and the clarity of some definitions. The dance examples were considered insufficient and not enough relevant.
2. Opportunity given especially by the ICTM Sub-Study Group on Dance Structural Analysis periodical meetings: Budapest 1990, Istanbul 1993, Crete 1996, and Rhodes, 1997.
3. This version is primarily based on the form published by ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology [1983] corroborated with other published or publicly presented contributions produced by the IFMC/ICTM Study Group members as follows: IFMC/ICTM Study Group (1965, 1974); Kröschlová; Laudová (1972-1973); Petermann (1976), Giurchescu, (1984, 1995), Kröschlová. (1988, 1992).
4. In 1959, the ethnomusicologist and dance researcher Felix Hörburger presents the process of dance research as following: "The results of these collecting activities are then deposited in archives where they are classified and catalogued in preparation for further investigations. The material is analyzed and its components are studied and compared with possible variants, so that they may eventually yield information which throws light on its origin and enables us to place it correctly in relation to history, period of style, ethnic roots, and social stratum" [Hörburger 1959:71].
5. The initial IFMC Study Group for Dance Terminology, established in 1962 at the 15th IFMC Conference in Zlin (called Gotwaldov under the Communist regime) of the Czech Republic was comprised of the following researchers: Eva Kröschlová, Hannah Laudová (former Czechoslovakia), Martin György, Pesovár Ernő (Hungary), Vera Proca-Ciortea, Chair of the Study Group, and later Anca Giurchescu (Romania). Rosemarie Ehm-Schultz, Kurt Petermann (former GDR), Milica Ilijin (former Yugoslavia), and Raina Katarova (Bulgaria) joined the group in 1964, with Grażyna Dąbrowska (Poland) and Anna Ilieva (Bulgaria) following in 1972, and Roderyk Lange (Poland) in 1979. See also: Reynolds [1987:3-6; 1988:2-4], Kröschlová [1988:3] and Giurchescu [2006:252-263].
6. Basic pioneering work has been done by Szentpál Olga [1958], Martin György with Pesovár Ernő [1961] and Hanna Podešvova [1964].
7. This distinction is similar to Saussure's "langue-parole."
8. The difference to Kaeppeler's theory and method of dance structure analysis lies in the fact that she primarily operates at the level of the dance language [Kaeppeler 1972]. This difference is founded in the anthropological scientific perspective that deals with "foreign," unknown traditions and from an emic point of view, while the European ethnochoreology is carried out mainly in the framework of the researchers' national cultural traditions and mostly from an etic point of view.
9. Further: "The method worked out here attempts to give the scientist the possibility of studying, from a unified point of view, dances of various national origins and from different historical or social contexts" [ICTM Study Group 1974:119].
10. It is obvious that historical dances can only be analyzed with help of a written document.
11. John Blacking argues: "The essential point is that there should not be two separate processes of collection and laboratory analysis. The major task of analysis is thereby shifted to the field, where ad hoc experiments can be combined with dialogue, so as to test each conclusion" [Blacking 1984:16].
12. The term **Form** is used in choreology with various meanings, such as: spatial formation (circle, line, square, couples in a row, and so on), the plastic aspect of movements (types of steps, gestures, postures, grasps, and so on), and the progression in space (floor patterns).
13. The dance Form undergoes many changes and is subject to many different determinations, which become apparent at the point where social, historical and environmental factors interlock with the physical, psychological and mental factors. For Dance Form Analysis however, none of these aspects is taken into consideration. The only pertinent features are the structural ones.
14. "Structure unfolds not as a series of discrete, independent units, but as an organic process in which smaller units, while possessing a shape and structure of their own, also function as integral parts of a larger rhythmic organization [Cooper 1960:2].
15. The analysis of the dance Form is crucial for the study of improvisation taking into consideration that this creative process is in essence regulated by rules of grammar and by compositional principles. Therefore terms such as "fixed" and "free" connection (*Gebundheit*) are employed.

16. The term *poetry* refers to dance song-texts and to recited or shouted verses as well. All kinds of structurally relevant relationships should be studied (rhythm, structure of the verses, content).
17. Changes in complementary factors of the dance, especially the melody and rhythm of music, help dance segmentation.
18. Minimum of four units identically or varied linked together constitute a Chain. If the Chain is ended by a closing unit (cadence), the number of previous units must be appropriately larger in order to be considered an open Form.
19. There are examples of open form dances, such as the improvised solo men's dances of the Czech Republic, that are closed by a final motif without losing their open character.
20. Exemplification of the processes of **variation** by taking as a model the simple pattern 'step-close-step' made up of a one-cell motif (*Wechselschritt* that is 'change-step'):

Types of movement: on full-foot, on the ball of the foot, on the heels, walking, hopping, stamping, bouncing, and so on;

Poly-kinetic: related with movements of the arm, head, trunk, hand, finger, hips, etc.;

Direction (related to the dancer): forwards, backwards, right, left, diagonal, all kind of combinations, etc.;

Direction in space floor-patterns: free, in a circle, in a straight line, in zigzag-line, etc.;

Formation: couple, threesome, solo, line, circle, etc.;

Participants: women, men, mixed, children;

Connection: closed, open, hand-hold, shoulder-hold, back-basket-hold, etc.;

Tempo: MM. $\downarrow = 60$, MM. $\downarrow = 80$, MM $\downarrow = 120$, etc.

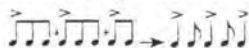
Meter: 2/4, 3/4, 4/4, 3/8, 5/8, 8/8, 7/16, etc.

Rhythms: Different rhythmic formula in binary, ternary, asymmetric and composed meters.

Dynamic: ff, f, mf, p, pp.

Line of patterned movements: mono-kinetic or poly-kinetic, and/or mono-rhythmic or poly-rhythmic.

21. Fusion of two structural units is not a common procedure. However, the fusion of three constituent Motif-cells into an indivisible Motif is a characteristic of the Men's Corps dances of northern Romania such as *Bărbătescu*, where the Motif-cells $a' + a' + b'$ are fused through syncopation into the *dohmic* Motif a_t .



22. This concept has been discussed and elaborated upon following the ICTM Sub-Study Group meeting in Istanbul, 1995, by Egil Bakka, Lisbet Torp and Anca Giurcescu.
23. The word originates from the Latin *moveo, movere, movi, motum*. This verb involves the idea of moving both physically and emotionally. Motif is related with "motivation," with **action** and therefore it has to be conceived as a dynamic (working) unit with a compositional function.
24. At the Sub-Study Group on Structural Analysis meeting (Istanbul 1993) a common definition of the Motif was agreed upon.
25. Therefore, the first step in studying a dance system is to identify, compare and reduce Motifs to genres/types.
26. The patterning factors of Motifs may be different in different dance traditions. For example, in the southeastern European dance cultures the main patterning factor of Motifs is rhythm. Though defined simultaneously by all pertinent dance parameters, the Motif is shaped primarily by the rhythmic-metrical formula comprised of one or several metrical feet.
27. The original graphic symbol for the Motif-cell (a lowercase letter barred by an oblique line), as well as other graphic symbols and indexes, have been changed to make them available for computer writing.
28. The Motif-element which represents the minimal Form unit having a certain organization should not be confused with the movement material, generally termed as kinetic element (for example: step, hop, swing, leap, and so on).
29. The concept Phrase as given here is not identical with the musical Phrase. In previous works on Form Analysis, the terms of "motif-group" and "motif-line" were applied to designate a Phrase, thereby already indicating the way Motifs are organized to build up a Phrase.
30. In the case of simple structured dances the Part may be made up of a Motif chain.
31. The contrast can be realized by change of participants, grouping, tempo, meter, kinetic vocabulary, internal organization, and so on.
32. Sometimes to decide whether a certain dance sequence should be considered an entity (a dance) or only a part of an autonomous dance, it is necessary to analyze the way the given sequence functions (by substitution) in other choreographic contexts.

33. Identical repetition should always be considered as relative. Relevant is the intention to reproduce a structural unit without changes.
34. The formulae will show only the Phrase level, although the Form-models may be shown on all structural levels.
35. The same dance melody was played in slow duple then quick, triple time. The first melody, and respectively dance, was called in German *Vortanz* and the second *Nachtanz*, or *Tanz* and *Proporz*.
36. All Form-models and all structural entities can be framed by introductory and/or closing units.
37. Martin [1970, 1980] and Giurchescu [1959, 1987] studied these forms of dance organization.
38. The cohesiveness of a dance suite is emphasized in several ways: dances are performed without interruption, the partners are never changed, and the component dances are conceived as building "one dance" (one entity). Changes in the structure of a Suite indicate an evolutionary transformation or its disintegration.
39. Other examples of Suites throughout Europe: *Laridé+ Le bal+ Laridé* and *Ronde+ Bal+Passepiéd* (Britagne, France), *Ozvodna+ Krzesany+ Zelona+ Polka* (Orava, Slovakia), *Sürü tempó+ Ritka tempó+ Magyar négyes* and *Lassú+ Lassú csárdás+ Csárdás* (Hungary).
40. Metric nonconcordance is only one reason for dimensional nonconcordance at the level of Motifs; it may also occur as a result of a dance's particular mode of composition on all structural levels.
41. The symbols will be written in the Analysis Table of a given dance, to the right of the corresponding factor column and on the corresponding structural level (see example 5b in Appendix).
42. Ternary composition of dance motifs is often the result of the functional differentiation of component Motif-cells into *introductory*, *core* and *final* (described previously). Their superimposition on binary structured musical Motifs results in dimensional non-congruency.
43. If concordance occurs only randomly and after an indeterminate number of repetitions, it is not perceived by the dancers as pertinent to the relationship between dance and music.
44. Usually, dancing does not begin simultaneously with the musical accompaniment because a short period is needed for dancers to 'feel the music' and catch the rhythm. Dancing usually starts on the second or fourth measure of the first or second melodic line with the corresponding fragment of the choreographic Motif. Thus, the next musical line and dance Phrase are congruent.
45. The second Part (II) cannot be segmented in Strophes. The Strophe I* is repeated as many times as many couples participate. The second Section 2* is repeated until the man catches the woman. Motif a is a waltz turning pattern in close position; Motif b is a running pattern without handhold; Motif c is a polka turning pattern in close position, both Motifs are performed to 'gallop' music.

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METHOD AND THEORY IN ANALYZING DANCE STRUCTURE WITH AN ANALYSIS OF TONGAN DANCE

Adrienne L. Kaepler

Prologue 2007. Movement systems and structural analysis:
acts, system, and communicative competence

Introductory statement

The methodology to analyze dance structure that I developed in the mid-1960s had two aims: 1) to develop a method that could be used to analyze any movement system and 2) to analyze specific dances. It is important to note that at the time of my research and development of the method, I was unaware of the similar work being carried out in Europe. The discussions about structural analysis by the IFMC Study Group on Dance Terminology (see previous chapter) were in progress at the same time, but I did not know about the work of this group until the IFMC Conference in Bayonne in 1973 (published in 1974). Nor did the IFMC Study Group know about my work (published in 1972).¹ Thus, it is remarkable that the two studies have so much in common. The basic difference, as I see it, is that the European Study Group took as their primary unit "a dance" or "dances" while I focused on the more abstract concept of "dance" and the structure of the various movement genres used by a specific culture. Although I, too, analyze specific dances (and other movement sequences), I look at them as surface manifestations of underlying structured movement systems [Kaepler 1985].

The differences between the structural analysis of the IFMC Study Group on Dance Terminology (described in the previous chapter) and the structural analysis that I developed, and their analogies with language are summarized in the following diagram:

Language Linguistic theory	"Dance" (Kaepler) Movement theory	"A Dance" (IFMC) Movement sequence realized in practice
Phonemes Significant sounds of a language; have no meaning in them- selves; basic units of a language.	Kinemes Significant movements of a language; have no meaning in themselves; basic units of a language.	Motif-elements Distinctive movements of a language; have no meaning in themselves; basic units of a language.
Morphemes Smallest unit that has meaning in the structure of a language. Put together according to grammar to form:	Morphokines Smallest unit that has meaning in the structure of a language. Put together according to grammar to form:	Motif-cells Distinctive units that have no independent meaning or function. Put together according to grammar to form:

Words

Vocabulary of a language. Put together according to syntax to form:

Language Clause

Culturally grammatical grouping of words, e.g. a subject phrase or a predicate phrase. Put together to form:

Sentences

Often two culturally grammatical phrases, for example, subject and predicate. Put together to form:

Larger Grammatical Units

Such as paragraphs, chapters, and so on.

Specific Instances of spoken or literary linguistic forms

Such as a specific novel, play, or speech.

Language Genres

Literary or spoken forms, such as novels, short stories, plays, orations, or poetry.

Motifs

Frequently occurring combination of morphokines that forms a short entity.

[**Motif Paradigm** Small set of related forms with one morphokine common to a set, together with all the morphokines with which it can occur.] Motifs choreographed in association with meaningful imagery form:

Choremes

Culturally grammatical choreographic unit made up of a constellation of motifs that occur simultaneously and sequentially. Put together to form:

Phrases

Often based on something external to movement, such as poetic or musical phrases. Put together to form:

Larger Movement Units

Often based on something external to movement, such as poetic or musical verses. Put together to form:

Dances

Specific choreographies. Can be pre-set or improvised/spontaneous.

Dance Genres

Prescriptive structural elements from the lower levels of dance structure and elements external to movement form these ethno-semantic categories.

Motifs

Smallest significant Form-unit, having meaning for the dancers and the dance system. Put together through repetition, variation, or grouping to form:

Phrases

Often two culturally grammatical groupings of motifs. The simplest compositional unit having sense for the people and by which dance types are identified. Put together according to linking or grouping principles to form:

Macro-structures

Culturally determined structural parts, such as sections, strophes, parts. Put together to form:

Dances

Structural units are organically integrated with other patterning factors, such as music, poetry, or implements. Often designated by a name.

Dance types

Conceptual models made up of motifs and grammatical rules that determine how dances are actualized (pre-set or improvised composition).

Another difference in the theoretical conceptualization of the two methods, is that the European researchers analyzed movement traditions in which they were participants, while I worked with movement traditions that were not part of my dance background. Thus, the Europeans could begin with knowledge about the movement traditions and analyze individual dances of known genres (or types as they are known in European dance research), while I had to first find out what the genres were and how they differed. The European group worked with known material in the folklore tradition. They sought to establish a theory and method for the structural analysis and classification of their own dance traditions. In contrast, my work was anthropological, studying in a society in which I became a participant/observer. I looked for concepts about movement as part of systems of knowledge and did not take for granted that there was such a concept as "dance." My aim was to discover what is involved in having "communicative competence" with regard to movement. That is, how do individuals combine grammatical knowledge with performance knowledge and know how to carry out or understand movement in specific contexts.

The analysis of structure is not an end in itself but can furnish data and tools for further analysis, such as the case study chapters in the second part of this volume on style, improvisation, and so on. As an anthropologist I am interested in socially constructed movement systems, the activities that generate them, how and by whom they are judged, and how they can assist in understanding society. Thus, my aim was not simply to understand the structure of dance in its cultural context, but rather to understand society through analyzing movement systems.

METHOD AND THEORY IN ANALYZING DANCE STRUCTURE

During the 1960s, anthropologists became more and more aware of the methodological and theoretical advances of linguists who systematically applied Kenneth Pike's conceptualization of "emic" analysis. According to Pike [1954:8], it was "an attempt to *discover* and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of the particular pattern." He went on to say that "emic criteria savor more of relativity, with the sameness of activity determined in reference to a particular system of activity" [Pike 1954:11].

Such concepts were not really new to anthropology but have their roots in the research of anthropologists who wished to understand the functioning of a society in terms of the participants of that society. Malinowski [1922:25], for example, told us long ago that our goal should be "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world." And Boas [1943:314] succinctly stated that "if we choose to apply our [Western] classification to alien cultures we may combine forms that do not belong together.... If it is our serious purpose to understand the thoughts of a people the whole analysis of experience must be based on their concepts, not ours." The "post-Bloomfieldian linguists" who emphasized this concept evolved a methodology through which it could be applied and used it to produce grammars that grouped morphemes into classes in a way that was inherent or natural to the languages themselves. One of the crucial concepts was the etic/emic distinction through which it was possible to apply Boas's wish to understand the "thoughts of a people" to the sound (or phonological) element of language. It is important to remember in this context that such analysis is based on minimal contrastive units of sound and how they are combined, according to a particular group of people, into meaningful sequences.

Language, although it can be analyzed separately, is an inseparable aspect of culture and the methodology developed by linguists, based preeminently on contrastive analysis, re-entered broader anthropological thought with what came to be known as the "new ethnography." Conklin, Frake, Gladwin, Goodenough, Sturtevant, and others realized the potential of applying contrastive analysis and other techniques, such as componential analysis, to cultural domains other than sound. Kinship systems, color categories, religion, and botany were subjected to

"emic" analysis in order to make theoretical statements about social structure, color perception, religious systems, and botanical classification that embedded native points of view. The new ethnography had its roots in ethnoscientific analysis that employed linguistic analogies. With this theoretical and methodological background, I used emic analysis to analyze dance in order to make theoretical statements about movement systems that embedded native points of view.

Ethnoscientific analysis as used in anthropology seeks to analyze culture (or parts of it) in such a way that the resulting description is comparable to a grammar, which would enable an investigator to learn to speak a language.² Such a description of dance would give a reader the information necessary to operate as a member of the society being studied with regard to any activity that includes or could include dance. Beginning without a priori assumptions that a concept similar to the Western concept of dance even exists in a society, a researcher's cultural notions about what constitutes movement categories and how they are structured must be put aside. In other words we want to know what movements are significant and how they can be combined from the point of view of the holders of the tradition themselves.

The knowledge embedded by tradition holders can be described as "communicative competence." In order to understand movement, performers and observers must have "competence" in an enlarged Chomskyan sense.³ Competence or knowledge about a specific dance tradition is acquired in much the same way as competence in a language is acquired. Competence relates to the cognitive learning of the shared rules of a specific dance tradition, as Saussure's concept of *langue* is acquired.⁴ Competence enables the viewer to understand a grammatical movement sequence never seen before. "Performance" refers to an actual rendering of a movement sequence, *parole* of Saussure, which assumes that the performer has a level of competence and the skill to carry it out. The concept of competence/performance has been refined by sociolinguists and discourse analysts. Dell Hymes posits rules for performance as well as grammar in what he calls "communicative competence" [Hymes 1977] and Mikhail Bakhtin, noting that both *parole* and *langue* are controlled by laws, takes the "utterance" as a unit [Holquist 1983]. Movement sequences are analogous to utterances, and if one does not know the movement conventions, he or she will not have communicative competence and will be unable to understand what is being conveyed. Dance is *not* a universal language. In addition to movement meaning, meaning in a larger sense (such as symbolic, narrative, and so on) is not inherent in movement itself; meaning is attributed to movement by people who are part of the larger activity and depends on knowledge of the cultural system, such as male and female roles in movement, social status, social structure, and access to politics and power.

Analogy with language. Movement and grammar

Only a small segment of all possible movements are significant in any single dance or movement tradition. These units of movement are put together in a culturally appropriate way that forms a grammar of rules and syntax. These significant units and patterning can be discovered but are valid only in terms of a specific system or dance tradition. The method used to obtain this end, borrowed from structural linguistics, is based on "emic" analysis. Whereas an "etic" difference refers to an actual difference (for example, in sound or movement) that is culture-free, an emic difference refers to differences that are recognized by a particular culture.⁵ That is, we need to find what holders of the tradition consider to be the significant elements, just as a linguist does. One can elicit whether a movement is perceived as the same as or different from another movement (that is, does it contrast). It is then possible to make an inventory of the significant movements of the dance tradition.⁶ The two basic units of linguistic analysis are phonemes and morphemes. A structural analysis of dance distinguishes movement analogues of phonemes and morphemes, that is, "kinemes" and "morphokines." The concept of "emes" is basic here and can best be illustrated with phonetics and phonemics. When describing languages, linguists first of all may take down in phonetic notation all the sounds they hear – just as a dancer might take

down in a kinetic notation (such as Labanotation), all of the movements they see. A linguist then subjects the phonetic notation to emic analysis to obtain an inventory of the significant sounds of a language. Likewise, a dance analyst can subject the kinetic Labanotation to emic analysis to obtain an inventory of the significant movements, which I have termed kinemes.

Kinemes

Kinemes are units treated as comparable or analogous to phonemes; that is, they are elements selected from all possible human movements and positions and are recognized as significant by people of a given dance tradition. Kinemes are those actions and positions which, although having no meaning in themselves, are the basic units from which all dance of a given tradition is built. The first task of a structural analysis of dance is to locate for a specific tradition the basic movement units and define the range of permissible variation within these units.

Linguists deal in sound and have the efficient tape recorder to record and instantly play back to the listener to judge whether sounds are the same or different, whether there is variation, or if the performance was good or bad. For movement there is no comparable mechanical device that is easy and efficient. Modern video technology is one solution, but even with aids of this kind I feel that the movement analyst should also be willing to do "play-back" for native identification and evaluation by performing. Learning to perform a dance tradition accurately, and especially all variations and genres is a time-consuming job and often not possible in the time available for field work. However, one learns quickly what is "wrong," or "unacceptable," or "different" by making mistakes, and the resulting analysis will probably be more credible and accurate.

When faced with a new or unfamiliar dance tradition, the first impression may be of overwhelming complexity, especially when several body parts are moving at the same time. In order to make sense out of a universe of movement that may seem at first glance to have no pattern or regularity, a productive procedure is to isolate these smallest significant units, kinemes, and then to analyze what is done with them to build a totality (dance).

In a dance tradition where several parts of the body move at once, the most economic procedure is to analyze each part of the body separately and attempt to discover which are the significant elements for each of these body parts. Eventually an inventory of the kinemes can be made. Such inventories are also potentially useful for cross-cultural comparison. In order to isolate kinemes the first step is observation and comparison of movements in different contexts. The next step is to find by questioning and experimenting which differences in movement – etic differences – are recognized as significant – emic differences – by the people themselves and which are considered only variants of the same movement. This can be accomplished by questioning dancers if movements are the "same" or "different," either demonstrating oneself or watching a third party.

In the field, first I watched whole dances to find what parts of the body and sections of the parts moved, and what sorts of movements these were. Next I tried to watch certain individuals do the same movements over and over. This was accomplished by having people teach me dances and thus they had to do the movements repeatedly. While learning I questioned my teachers if movements should be done one way or another. If they said it "didn't matter" or if they did not perceive differences in what I did, I concluded that the movements were only allokinemes of a kineme (comparable to allophones of a phoneme). In this way I learned how much the movement varied as done by one person (personal variation). Then I tried to see several people do the same dance or dances of the same genre that would use the same kind of movements. From this I learned how much variation there was from individual to individual (interpersonal variation). A combination of these two types of variation gave me a chance to see the same movement performed in several contexts (contextual variation). After I learned the movements I performed them in what I considered to be correct and incorrect ways. My teachers would correct versions that were not acceptable.

In summary, my procedure was to make observations and form hypotheses about what the significant units were. Hypotheses were tested by performing the movements for holders of the dance tradition or questioning them while watching other dancers, thus verifying, modifying, or rejecting them.

The kinemes or significant units of movement include positions as well as small units of motion. The kinemes include only the contour of movement. Timing is not part of their definition. In Tonga, for example, the timing of the kineme can vary and still be considered the "same." Kinemes are arrived at by a contrastive analysis similar to the process of arriving at phonemes. That is, the significant element is whether one movement is perceived as the same or different as another movement; in other words, if it contrasts. Actual physiological differences which do not contrast (that is, not considered different) can be said to be *allokinemes*. The sum of all the *allokinemes* defines the limits of the kineme and specifies the amount of variation allowable before it becomes a "different" kineme. After an inventory of kinemes has been delineated we can analyze how they are combined to form larger units.

Morphokines

The second level of structural organization of dance movement is here termed the morphokinematic level and is analogous to the morpheme level in language structure. A morphokine can be defined as the smallest unit that has meaning in the structure of the movement system. This does not imply that morphokines must have narrative or pictorial meaning (although they sometimes do), but only that they are recognized as movements (kinemes, like phonemes, being largely unconscious as separate entities to the people who perform them). Morphokines are combinations of kinemes and only certain combinations are meaningful. These may be linear sequences of kinemes (like a linear sequence of phonemes in language) but also frequently include two or more kinemes performed simultaneously. Morphokines combine kinemes – motions and placement in space – into flowing movements that have a beginning and end. A morphokine may consist of single kineme, repeated one or more times, or a combination of kinemes. These units cannot be divided without changing or destroying their "meaning." These combinations are recognized as movements by holders of a specific dance tradition and may be given names. Morphokines can be analyzed in two ways:

- 1) With regard to their internal structure (that is, their kineme composition – the kinemes that are used and in what sequence) – only certain combinations of kinemes are meaningful – and grouped into categories or classes.
- 2) With regard to their external distribution or syntax. The number of possible morphokines in a given dance tradition is theoretically unlimited, just as the number of morphemes of a given language is unlimited.

Some linguistic concepts, such as *lexemes* or *sememes*, were not found to be useful in the analysis of dance structure, but larger forms, such as words, clauses, and sentences, were. Instead, morphokines (which have meaning as movement but do not have lexical meaning) were found to be organized into a relatively small number of motifs, which, when ordered simultaneously and sequentially (that is, choreographed), form dances.

There may, of course, be disagreement within the society about which differences are *emic*, and the analyst with the help of cultural movement specialists will have to decide how to deal with disagreements. The system may include subsystems for various movement genres or on levels of formality and/or context. The analyst cannot simply observe; *ethnoscience* analysis is based in participation and questioning. As Edward Sapir noted in 1927, a person

who simply observes will be guilty of all manner of distortion. His emphasis will be constantly askew. He will find interesting what the natives take for granted as a casual kind of behavior worthy of no particular comment, and he will utterly fail to observe the crucial turning points in

the course of action that give formal significance to the whole in the minds of those who do possess the key to its understanding [Sapir, in Mandelbaum 1949:546].

This method has been used to analyze the structure of Tongan dance. It must be emphasized that the levels of organization are specific to, and valid for, the Tongan tradition alone. The kinemic and morphokinemic levels, I suggest, are the most universal and can be derived for any movement system – further levels of organization being more dependent on the external cultural system (see diagram at the beginning of this essay).

This essay presents the entire kinemic system derived for Tongan dance and important examples from the morphokinemic and motif levels. The genre level has been the subject of other papers.

THE STRUCTURE OF TONGAN DANCE

Kinemes

From all the physiological possibilities of movement the Tongans employ a constellation produced by three parts of the body: legs, arms, and head have significance in the Tongan movement system. These three body parts are not of a similar order or of equal importance. The pattern and variation of leg movements is quite simple. The head is used mainly for style. Arm movements are intricate and varied and are the most significant movements and are most important for the storytelling function of Tongan dance. Torso and hip movements are not considered significant. We will look at the body parts separately and delineate the kinemes.

Head

The first part of the body to be considered for emic significance is the head. Head movement adds style to a dance, makes a dance more aesthetic, and differentiates good dancers from poor dancers. It is an accepted fact that head movements should be included and that the use of the head makes a rendition different from one that does not use the head. There is only one head kineme that has significance in the Tongan movement system and this is a tilt where the head moves quickly to the side – usually the right side. Kinemes for the head will be labeled H. Kinemes will be designated by a capital letter followed by a number. The letter designates the body part while the number designates the specific movement or position.

Legs

The second part of the body with emic significance is the legs. The letter L will designate leg kinemes. In Tongan dance only a small number of leg movements and positions are significant. It is mainly the leg movements that contrast between genres. There are eleven leg kinemes.

These are:

L1 Forward step.

- a. regular step (see Figure 1);
- b. forward to "place."

L2 Backward step.

- a. regular step;
- b. backward to "place."



Figure 1.

Tu'imala Kaho performs a choreme from the dance "Hala Vuna" (see below). She steps forward in L1 and performs a fū clap (M.I.a.22).

L3 Side step.

- a. regular step (Figure 2);
- b. sideward to "place."

L3 a. and b. form the primary leg movement of the *lakalaka*⁸ genre.

Figure 2. The men of the village of Lapaha perform a choreme from the *me'etu'upaki* dance. They step sideward in L3 and perform a motif with the *paki*, paddle.



In L1, L2, and L3 the length of the step is not emic and can vary from a walking-size step to one of only a few inches. Men take larger steps than women.

L4 Jump with both feet in which one foot slightly precedes the other.

- a. forward;
- b. backward;
- c. sideward;
- d. in place.

In variations a, b, and c the upper legs are kept together. These movements are usually done by women, who are the performers of the *ula* genre in which these movements are used. Today they are also used in the *tau'olunga* genre. Occasionally men will do a larger version of these jumps. Variation d is a jump from a closed to an open position in low level and is done only by men.



L5 Bend the knees low in place (Figure 3).

This movement is also from the *ula* and done by women. The knees should be bent as far as possible while keeping the feet flat on the floor and the back straight. The ability to do this movement properly separates those who traditionally perform the *ula* (that is, women of Lapaha village or who are associated with the Tu'i Tonga line of chiefs) from those who have learned it by copying and do not realize the importance of the straight back.

Figure 3. Lātūfūipeka Tuku'aho performs a choreme from a *tau'olunga*. She performs L5, bend the knees low in place, and an arm motif using F6. Photo Tulua Brothers, Nuku'alofa, Tonga.



L6 Turn

- a. quarter turn (Figure 4);
- b. half turn;
- c. whole turn.

Figure 4. The village of Kanokupolu performs a lakalaka. Men and women perform L6a, a quarter turn.

Variation **a** is a pivot around one's own axis and is accomplished by turning the body one quarter and then stepping forward. Variation **b** is a half pivot with weight on both feet, one in front of the other.

Variation **c** is a full 180-degree turn done simultaneously with a step, the opposite lower leg being raised to the back (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Tu'imala Kaho performs a choreme that includes L6c.



Figure 6. Queen Sālote College teachers perform a tau'olunga with a choreme made up of an upper body movement from the M.L.A. motif paradigm and L7.

L7 Rotation of the lower legs. With feet flat on the floor, the heels move slightly out and in to mark time when no other leg kinemes are used. This is important for feeling the pulse of the dance (Figure 6).

L8 Quick lift of the foot by a bend of the knee (Figure 7, right).



Figure 7. Two girls perform movements from a tau'olunga. The girl on the right performs L8, the girl on the left performs L1.

L9 Touch of the foot without shifting weight

- a. to the front (men in Figure 8);
- b. to the side;
- c. to the forward diagonal, crossing in front of the opposite foot.



Figure 8. Men of Lapaha perform a me'etu'upaki. They perform L9a, touching their left foot to the front without shifting weight.

L10 Kneeling position

- a. on both knees;
- b. on one knee.

In variation **a** the dancer kneels on both knees with the body upright. Variation **b** has one knee on the floor and one foot on the floor and is done only by men (Figure 9).



Figure 9. The end of a phrase of a lakalaka from the village of Kanokupolu. The men end their virile movement with fisted hands and kneel in the L10b position. The women are ready to perform the final pasi clap, M.I.a.21.

L11 Cross-legged sitting position.

In the Tongan version of sitting cross-legged, for women the upper legs should be nearly parallel (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Tu'imala Kaho in the cross-legged seated position L11 considered correct for women. Her left palm is in P1.

Men (see Figure 15) and young girls need not keep their upper legs parallel, although they may do so. While in this position the foot may mark time by moving up and down. This position is called *tangutu fakata 'ane*, sit in the manner of a man, even when it is done by women. Ideally, the only time a woman may sit in this way is when she is performing a sitting dance – the formal position for women is *faite*, with the legs bent to one side. Some girls and women sit *faite* when performing a sitting dance, especially if they are of high rank, or if their costume does not permit a cross-legged position.

From this inventory we can now make statements about the use of the legs in this tradition. First we can say that the legs are always flexible at the knee. The main movements of the legs are straight to the front, back, or side, and the flexing of the knees. Leaps, that is, jumps from one foot to another, and large steps are not significant categories for Tongan women. Perhaps this is because full use of the upper leg would be required for a leap or large step. This limited use of the upper leg is probably most important for a characterization of Tongan leg movements, especially for women. Although the upper leg certainly does move when taking steps or bending, it moves always as a result of movement of the lower leg and never for itself. In the earliest accounts of Tongan dance the dancers are described as being clothed only between the waist and the knee. Still today it is not considered in good taste to expose or noticeably move this part of the body. Women, especially, who move this part of the leg are considered to have very poor taste and are, indeed, even vulgar. In Tongan dance terminology the upper leg does not exist. Movements of both the upper legs and hips are repressed, the traditional costume of a tightly wrapped skirt-like covering making it difficult to move this part of the body. This is relaxed in the dancing of young girls and men. If a dancer at a very informal occasion wishes to be risqué, however, she does so by moving the upper legs and the hips.

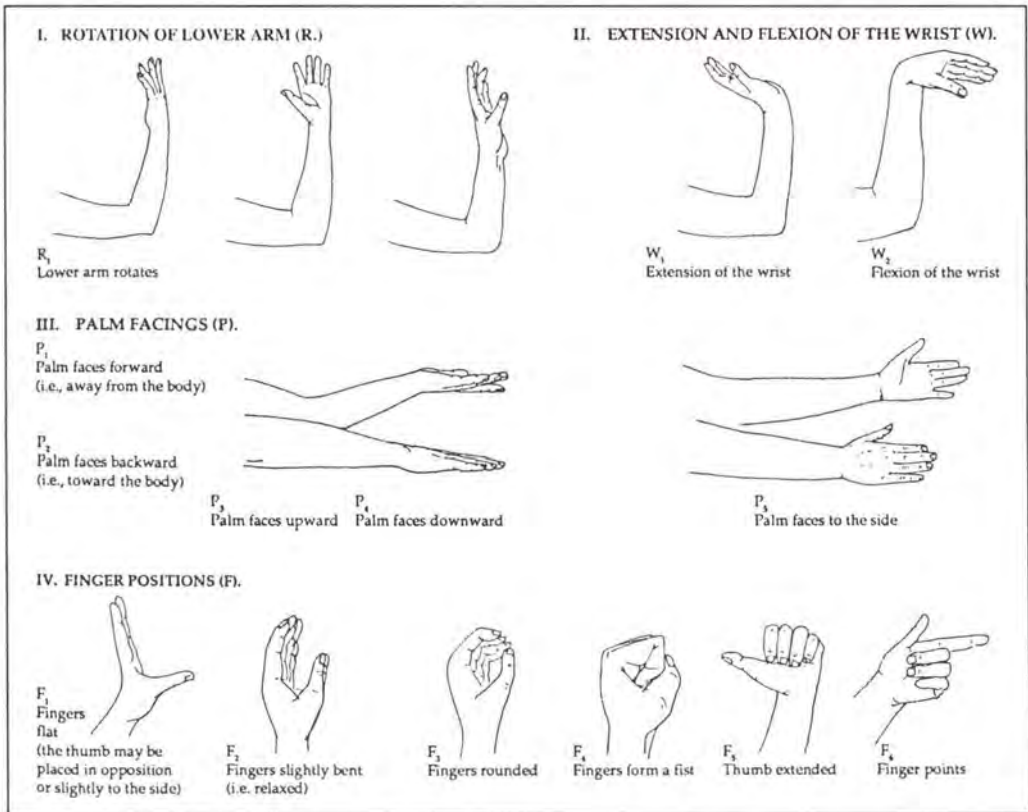
Arms

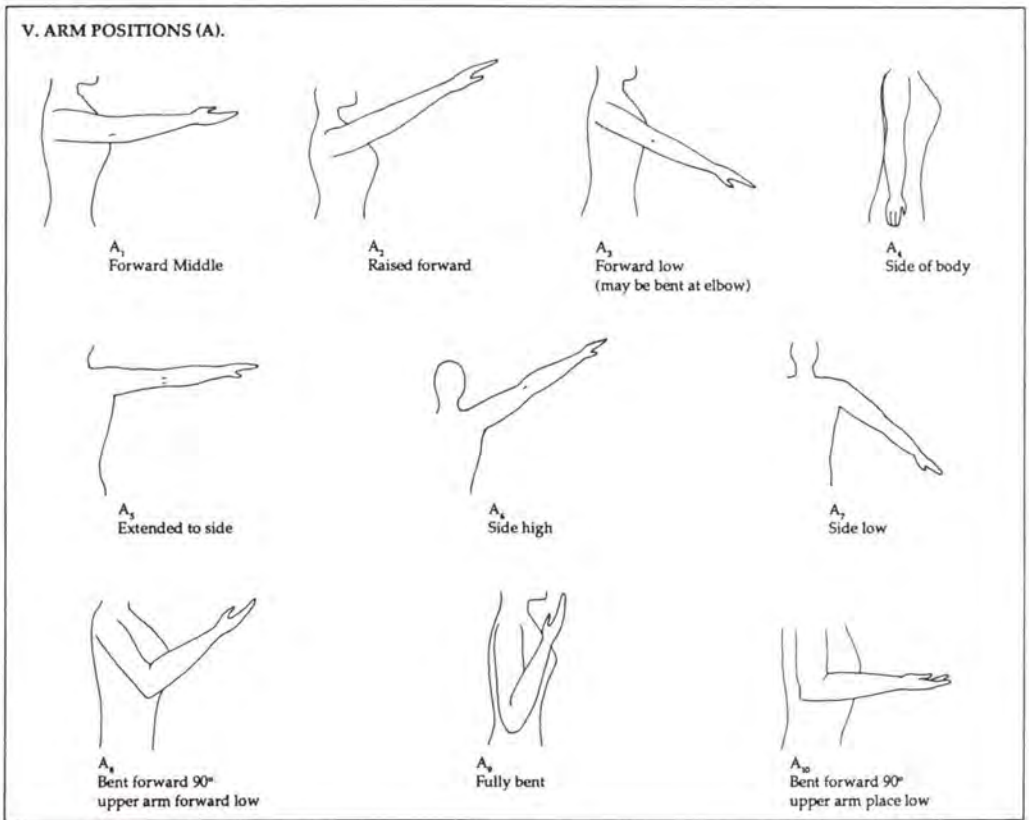
The third and most important part of the body emically significant in Tongan dance is the arms. The arm movements, intricate and complex as they seem, can be broken down into six basic groups of kinemes. These groups are I) rotation, or turning, of the lower arm; II) bending and flexing of the wrist; III) five directions for the facing of the palm; IV) six finger positions; V) seventeen arm positions; and VI) touching and brushing. It is the combination of these 34 kinemes that form Tongan arm movements. Arm kinemes are (see drawings):

- I. Rotation of the lower arm (R).
 - R1 Lower arm rotates or turns
- II. Extension and flexion of the wrist (W).
 - W1 Extension of the wrist (Figure 11).
 - W2 Flexion of the wrist (Figure 12)
- III. Palm facings (P).
 - P1 Palm faces forward (that is, away from the body) (see Figure 10).
 - P2 Palm faces backward (that is, toward the body) (see Figure 6).
 - P3 Palm faces upward
 - P4 Palm faces downward
 - P5 Palm faces to the side

IV. Finger positions (F).

- F1 Fingers flat (the thumb may be in opposition or slightly to the side).
- F2 Fingers slightly bent (that is, relaxed)
- F3 Fingers rounded
- F4 Fingers form a fist (Figures 9 and 18)
- F5 Thumb extended
- F6 Finger points (see Figure 3)





V. Arm positions (A).

A1 Forward middle

A2 Raised Forward

A3 Forward low (may be bent at elbow)

A4 Side of body

A5 Extended to side

A6 Side high

A7 Side low

A8 Bent forward 90 degrees, upper arm forward low

A9 Fully bent

A10 Bent forward 90 degrees upper arm place low

- A11 lower arm in front at waist (see Figure 6).
- A12 Crossed diagonally to shoulder or front of chest with upper arm close to body.
- A13 Crossed diagonally to middle of chest with upper arm raised.
- A14 Horizontal at chest level⁹ (Figure 13).
- A15 Lower arm vertical from shoulder level
- A16 Hand on hip
- A17 Hand on head

VI. Touching and brushing (T)

- T1 A touch (Figure 14)
- T2 A brush (Figure 15)

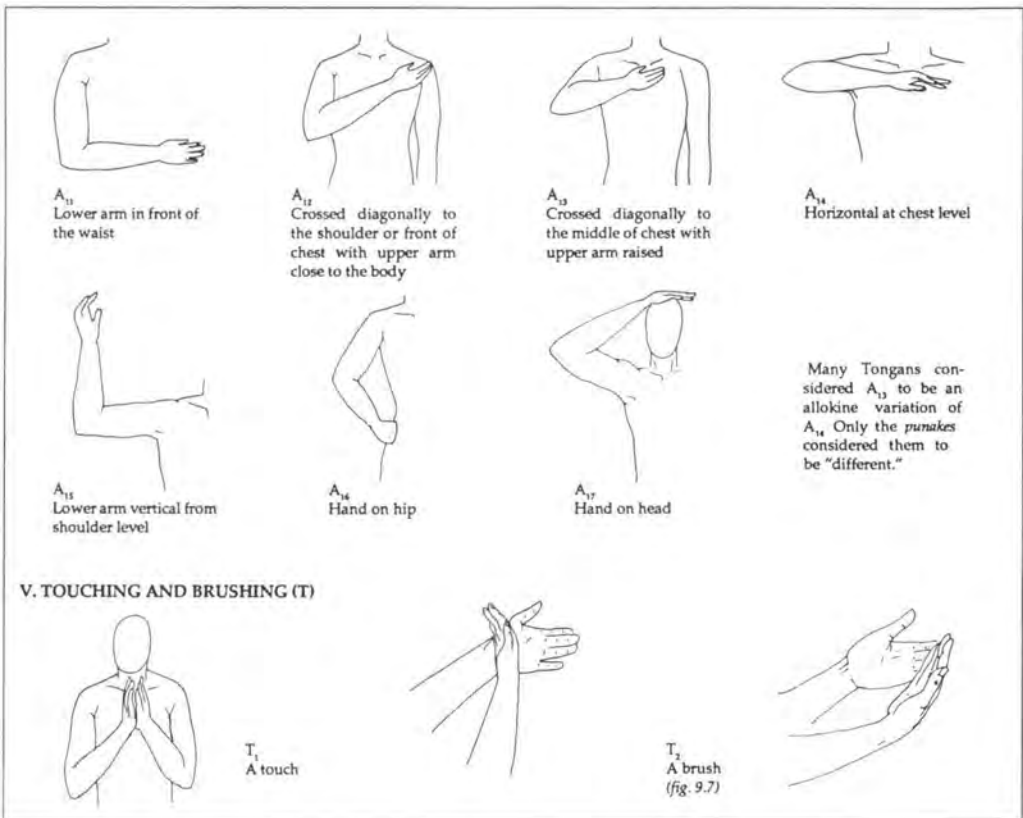




Figure 11.
Tu'imala Kaho with her wrist extended in W1.



Figure 12.
Tu'imala Kaho with her wrist flexed to W2



Figure 13. The women of Tatakamotonga perform a lakalaka.
Most of their arms are in the "correct" position of A14, as choreographed by Malukava.



Figure 14.
*Tu'imala Kaho performs morphokine M.II.b.5.,
which includes a touch, T1.*



Figure 15. Hou Koula, dance leader of the "Tafi" of Fua'amotu,
performs the tafi motif based on T2.

We can characterize Tongan arm kinemes as using mainly the lower arm. The upper arm is usually only the means by which the lower arm is moved to the correct position in order to perform the lower arm movements. All groups of arm kinemes – rotation, wrist extension and flexion, palm facing, finger flexion, arm position and touching are centered on the lower arm. Aesthetics, meaning, and interpretation alike all depend mainly on the lower arm. When speaking of arm movements, Tongans refer to what is done with the *nima* – the hand and lower arm. They do not refer to the upper arm, although there is no vulgar connotation in moving it, as there is in moving the upper leg. When movements are made with the arms close to the body they are called *haka nonou* (Figure 16) and are considered difficult to do and therefore are more applauded. These movements contrast with *haka loloa* – movements with the arms extended – that is, with the upper arm away from the body. Extended arm positions that take the upper arm away from the body are used more often by men than women (Figure 17).



Figure 16. Queen Sālote College students perform a *mā`ulu`ulu*. Their arms are close to their bodies, *haka nonou*.



Figure 17. The men and women of Foa, Ha`apai, perform a *lakalaka*. The men perform with outstretched arms, *haka loloa*, while the women have their arms closer to their bodies.

Torso

Occasionally in Tongan dance the torso bends or twists but this is not considered significant or *emic* to Tongans, which is shown by the fact that when I performed for my teachers and varied only the rotation or bending of the torso, they would say that the performances were the "same." On the other hand, if I varied foot or arm movements, I was corrected immediately. Movements of the torso may make the performance more aesthetically pleasing, but they do not make it right or wrong, or different. Such movements can tell us something about the dancer, but not about the dance. The torso movement has no name and I had difficulty trying to make Tongans understand to what I was referring. Perhaps this movement is not recognized as significant because it

is not part of the more older movement genres. The torso may be bent or turned in the contemporary *tau`olunga* genre, but these movements are considered style rather than structure [Kaepler 2002]. Indeed many Tongans do not consciously perceive torso movements, just as Americans are seldom conscious of the sound of glottal stops.

Hips
In Tongan dance the hips do not move in a way that is significant or emic to Tongans. However, there is a natural movement of the hips following the leg movements. Absence of exaggerated movement of the hips is considered significant. In fact, when a Tongan contrasts Tongan dance with other Polynesian dances, one of the principles or dimensions of contrast is hip movement.

Summary of the kinemic level of Tongan dance

An inventory of Tongan dance kinemes enumerates 46 that are significant in the movement system. Many of these have various physiological possibilities or allokinemes, which are variations of Tongan kinemes.

Morphokines: meaningful movements

The second level of structural organization of dance movement is here termed the morphokinemic level and is analogous to the morpheme level in language structure. As noted above, the number of possible morphokines in a given dance tradition is theoretically unlimited, just as the number of morphemes of a given language is unlimited. Only a small number of Tongan morphokines will be given here to illustrate the method.

Tongan morphokines (M) can be grouped in four large classes which can be internally subdivided. These classes are:

- M.I. morphokines of the hands and arms.
- M.II. morphokines of the legs.
- M.III. morphokines of the head.
- M.IV. other morphokines.

The first large class of morphokines uses arm kinemes and can be divided into three subclasses. The first subclass is a group of active hand and lower arm (*nima*) movements (M.I.a.) that can be performed in a number of different environments. This was verbalized by Tongans who said, for example, "you can do this movement in this position or that position." The second subclass is a group of the environments (M.I.b.) in which the lower arm movements occur, and consists of combinations of arm positions and palm facings. This was found to be an economic way to treat these morphokines, for if the two groups were combined into one class it would have been necessary to delineate several thousand morphokines. One movement (M.I.a.1.) can be varied in several hundred ways, but by classing the morphokines in the system devised it was possible to include all the variations in only fifteen morphokines (that is, M.I.a.1. can occur in the arm kineme placements A1 - A15) and still account for all the relevant data. The third subclass is a group which combines lower arm movements and the environment in one morphokine (M.I.c.) – these morphokines cannot be subdivided without destroying their meaning.

The second large class of morphokines uses leg kinemes, and can be divided into two subclasses. The first subclass uses leg kinemes only (M.II.a). The second subclass consists of various combinations of leg, hand, and touching kinemes (M.II.b).

The third class of morphokines is a single head movement, which is the one head kineme (M.III.). This side head tilt is meaningful as a movement and, in addition to being spontaneous, may be choreographed with, or instead of, arm movements in prescribed places in a dance.

The fourth class of morphokines consists of body movements that are not significant at the kinemic level but are important at the morphokinemic level (M.IV.). These movements do not occur alone but are part of the bodily environment, that, along with other morphokines and/or motifs, form choremes (see below).

***Nima* morphokines, M.I.a.**

A morphokinemic analysis of my Tongan data has delineated 23 important M.I.a. *nima* (hand and lower arm) movements that can be performed in more than one arm position environment.¹⁰ These movements are done by both men and women; however, in the women's versions there is a greater emphasis on the flexibility of the wrists.

M.I.a.1. is the most common and characteristic morphokine in Tongan dance, and co-occurs in any environment from M.I.b.1. through M.I.b.15. M.I.a.1. is the essential movement of what is called *haka*, hand and lower arm movements. It is a combination of five kinemes – rotation of the lower arm, R1, extension of the wrist, W1, and three finger kinemes, F1, F2, and F3. The sequence of kinemes is:

- 1) From kineme F1 or F2 (depending on where the previous movement ended) fingers begin to flex or bend (this flexion starts with the little finger; the index finger is last to bend and does not bend as far);
- 2) When fingers are almost to kineme F3 the lower arm begins to rotate, R1, while the fingers complete their flexion to F3 and the wrist moves to W1;
- 3) Immediately upon finishing the lower arm rotation (so that the palm is facing the opposite direction from which it began), fingers open to F1 with an accent while the wrist moves back to its neutral position;
- 4) After the completion of 3 in this sequence, the lower arm rotates in the opposite direction, bringing the palm facing back to the position in which it began.

Rhythmically, this morphokine usually begins on an upbeat so that 3 falls on the beat. This sequence of kinemes constitutes M.I.a.1. which may now be used to refer to the entire action.

M.I.a.2. is similar to M.I.a.1., but is not so frequently used. The emphasis is on the flexion of the wrist. It co-occurs with M.I.b.10., M.I.b.11., M.I.b.16:

- 1) With fingers in F1 or F2 and palm facing P2, wrist begins to flex;
- 2) When wrist is partially flexed, the lower arm begins to rotate, R1, and wrist completes its flexion to W2;
- 3) Immediately after the lower arm finishes rotating, wrist returns to its neutral position and palm faces in a different direction from which it began (usually P1 or P4);
- 4) Fingers extend to F1 with an accent.

M.I.a.3. partially circling the hands around each other, is another important movement in Tongan dance and is the essence of a motif called *ha'ota* (see below). M.I.a.3. is a half circle of the right hand around the left hand and co-occurs with M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., M.I.b.19., and A9-A12:

- 1) Hands with fingers in a slightly flexed position, F2, palms face each other, left palm facing the chest, P2 and right palm facing forward, P1 (in actual performance the palms do not really face each other squarely at the beginning, but the right palm begins above the left);
- 2) Right hand circles over, and in front of, the left hand by a rotation of the lower right arm, R1, while the arms open slightly to the sides.

- M.I.a.3.a. is the essence of a motif called *kako* (see below) when performed in a vertical arm position at either shoulder in A9-A12. It is a combination of M.I.a.3. and M.I.a.1. In *kako* the right hand continues around the left to its starting position and fingers extend to F1, after a rotation of the lower arms, R1.
- M.I.a.4. is the reverse of M.I.a.3. and is a movement called *ao*, its usual environment is M.I.b.18. but can occur in other environments:
- 1) With right hand below left and fingers in F2, right palm facing up, P3, and left palm facing back or down, P2 or P4;
 - 2) Right hand circles in front of, over and behind the left with a rotation of both lower arms, R1, bringing the palms to face each other after the circling movement.
- M.I.a.5. is similar to M.I.a.3.a. except that the fingers form a fist, F4. It can co-occur with M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., M.I.b.19., or A9-A12;
- 1) Fingers in F4, palms face each other, left in P2, right in P1;
 - 2) Right circles over, and in front of, left with a rotation of the lower arm, R1, continuing until the right hand is behind the left, both palms facing P2;
 - 3) The lower arms rotate and wrists extend to W1 with an accent.
- M.I.a.6. is similar to M.I.a.4. except that the fingers are fully flexed to form a fist. It usually co-occurs with kineme A11 (which functions as a morphokine);¹¹
- 1) With fingers in F4, palms facing the chest, with right hand in back of (that is closer to the chest) left hand;
 - 2) Right fist circles under and entirely around left fist, back to its starting position (the left fist also moves slightly but the emphasis is on the movement of the right fist);
 - 3) Wrists extend to W1 with an accent.
- M.I.a.7. is similar to M.I.a.3. but ends with the palms facing forward. This is accomplished by adding another rotation of the lower arms, R1. M.I.a.7 co-occurs with M.I.b.17.a., M.I.b.18.a. and M.I.b.19.a:
- 1) With fingers in F2 palms face each other, left palm facing the chest, P2, right palm facing forward, P1;
 - 2) Right hand circles, over, and in front of left with a rotation of the lower arm, R1;
 - 3) Both lower arms rotate, R1, so that palms face forward, P1, wrists extend to W1, and fingers to F1 with an accent.
- M.I.a.8. is the essence of a motif called *toli* and often has the narrative meaning of "to pick:"
- 1) Starting from F1 the fingers flex to F3 while wrist extends to W1 with an accent.
- M.I.a.9. is the essence of a motif called *milolua* (see below) when performed with both hands, one above the other:
- 1) With fingers in F4 the wrist flexes to W2;
 - 2) Wrist then extends to a W1.
- M.I.a.10. consists of moving the lower arms in opposition to each other. It usually co-occurs with A8 or A10:
- 1) With fingers in F2, palms face opposite directions (either P1 and P2, or P3 and P4), lower arms are moved in the directions of the palm facings;
 - 2) Lower arms rotate, R1, so that palms face in opposite directions from where they started;
 - 3) Lower arms are moved in the directions of palm facings.
- M.I.a.11. is similar to M.I.a.10 except that the hands move from side to side and together rather than in opposition to each other. It usually co-occurs with A10:
- 1) Right palm faces up, P3, left palm faces down, P4, fingers are in a slightly bent position, F2;

- 2) Lower arms rotate and move to the left, fingers extend to F1;
 - 3) Fingers relax to F2;
 - 4) Lower arms rotate and move to the right, fingers extend to F1.
- M.I.a.12. is similar to M.I.a.10 except that the hands both face forward. It usually occurs with A8:
- 1) With fingers in F2, both palms facing forward, right lower arm moves forward and left lower arm backward and fingers extend to F1;
 - 2) Fingers relax to F2 while left lower arm moves forward and right lower arm backward, and fingers again extend to F1.
- M.I.a.13. is a circling of the hands around each other with palms facing forward, and is sometimes called *teki*. It usually occurs in A13:
- 1) With fingers in F2 and both palms facing forward, arms form a circle with left hand above right;
 - 2) Right hand circles behind left hand until right hand is above left hand and fingers extend to F1 (usually with an accent on the beat);
 - 3) Fingers relax to F2 while left hand circles behind right hand until left hand is above right hand and fingers extend to F1.
- M.I.a.14. is the essence of a motif called *tui* (see below) and involves rubbing or brushing the backs of the hands together and rotation of the lower arms. It co-occurs with A10 or A13:
- 1) With fingers in F2 and palms facing in opposite directions (for example, right hand facing backward and left hand facing forward), the backs of the hands are brushed together, T2, by moving one upward or forward and the other hand downward or backward;
 - 2) Both lower arms rotate, R1, so that the palms are facing in the opposite direction from which they started and the backs of the hands touch each other;
 - 3) Backs of the hands brush together, T2, by moving one hand forward (the opposite one that moved forward previously) or up and the other hand backward or down.
- M.I.a.15. is a combination of M.I.a.1. and M.I.a.14. It differs from M.I.a.14 in that the palms both face in the same direction at the same time and the fingers curl as the lower arms rotate as in M.I.a.1:
- 1) With palms facing upward, P3, and arms crossed right over left at wrist, the fingers from F2 begin to bend;
 - 2) Lower arm rotates, R1, and the fingers complete their flexion to F3;
 - 3) Immediately upon finishing the lower arm rotation, the fingers open to F1 with an accent and palms face down, P4;
 - 4) Right arm moves forward and left arm moves backward brushing little fingers, T2;
 - 5) Lower arms rotate in the opposite direction, R1, bringing the palm facings back to the position they began, P3, this time with left hand on top of right, and fingers from F1 begin to flex in preparation for a repeat of the movement.
- M.I.a.16. derives its character from the extension and flexion of the wrist. It usually occurs moving from A13 to A9:
- 1) Starting from a relaxed or neutral position of the wrist and fingers in F1;
 - 2) Wrist bends forward, W2, and fingers flex to an oval allokinde of F3;
 - 3) Wrist extends backward to W1 and fingers extend to F1.
- M.I.a.17. is a side movement of either arm with the elbow leading. It co-occurs with A11 or A14:
- 1) Fingers are fully flexed, F4, palm faces down, P4;
 - 2) Elbow extends with an accent by a quick shoulder extension.

- M.I.a.18. is a snapping of the fingers. This is called *fisipa* in Tongan. While the fingers are snapping, T3, the lower arm is usually rotated, R1. It can occur in nearly all environments.
- M.I.a.19. is a morphokine in which the hands brush each other:
- 1) Fingers in F2, palms face each other to the sides, P5;
 - 2) Hands brush together, T2, starting with the fingertips of the right hand at the heel of the left hand and end with the fingertips of the left hand at the heel of the right hand.
- M.I.a.20. brushes the edge of one hand, T2, over the palm of the other hand. The movement involved is an extension of the wrist, W2, which changes the palm facing.
- There are three types of clapping used in Tongan dance. They will be noted here as three separate morphokines, because each has a different meaning, which is mainly based on the sound made by the clap. Each can be performed in several different environments.
- M.I.a.21. is a clap called *pasi*. The palms are flat and hit each other equally in a more or less vertical position. The sound made is a sharp one, that is, high pitched:
- 1) Hands in finger position F2 and palm position P5 strike each other, T1, with an accent.
- M.I.a.21.a. is a variation of *pasi*, M.I.a.21., that opens the hands so the palms face forward:
- 1) Fingers in F2, palms in P5, hit each other, T1;
 - 2) Hands open forward by rotating the lower arms, R1, so that palms face forward.
- M.I.a.22. is a clap called *fū*. In this clap the hands hit each other diagonally. The fingers are held tightly together and the palms are cupped. The sound is a hollow one, that is, low pitched:
- 1) Left palm faces backward, P2, right hand faces forward, P1, fingers in F2 (the thumb may be held in the usual way, or it may be touching the fingers);
 - 2) Hands hit each other, T1, with an accent.
- M.I.a.23. is a clapping movement in which the back of the hand hits the other open palm:
- 1) Right hand in F4, left in F2, palms both face backward, P2, right hand behind left (that is, closer to the chest);
 - 2) Back of right hand hits palm of left hand, T1, with an accent.

Environment morphokines, M.I.b.

The morphokines so far presented can be performed in a number of arm position environments. The arm position is not part of the morphokine since the definition of a morphokine was that it could not be divided without changing or destroying the meaning. Thus, the arm positions constitute separate morphokines that co-occur with morphokines of group M.I.a. The significant feature is the placement of the upper arm. The morphokine that can occur in the largest number of environments is M.I.a.1., which co-occurs with M.I.b.1. to M.I.b.15.

Many morphokines of group M.I.b. alternate only the direction in which the palm is facing, while the arm position remains the same. Others change both arm position and palm facing. Some environments consist of a single kineme – in such cases the kineme designation will be used instead of giving it a M.I.b. designation. This group of position morphokines is not equal in importance to group M.I.a.

Nineteen of the most important M.I.b. morphokine environments are given here. Most of the other environments can be simply noted by their kinemic designations.

- M.I.b.1. is a morphokine in which the arm is extended forward in middle level, A1, with palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4. Thus, a *nima* morphokine in its environment may be written, M.I.a.1./M.I.b.1.(r).
- M.I.b.2. is arm extended forward high, A2, with palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.

- M.I.b.3. is arm forward in low level, A3, with palm facing alternating between forward, P1, and back, P2.
- M.I.b.4. is arm in place low, A4, with palm facing alternating between forward, P1, and back, P2.
- M.I.b.5. is arm in side middle, A5, with the palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.6. is arm in side high, A6 with palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.7. is arm in side low, A7, with palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.8. is arm bent forward in A8, with palm facing alternating between backward, P2, and forward P1.
- M.I.b.9. is arm bent in A9, with palm facing alternating between backward, P2, and forward, P1.
- M.I.b.10. is arm bent in A10, with the palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.11. is arm bent in A11, with the palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.12. is arm crossed diagonally to shoulder in A12, with the palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.13. begins in A12, with palm facing backward, P2, and moves to A9 with palm facing forward, P1.
- M.I.b.14. begins in A12 with palm facing backward, P2, and moves through A15 with palm facing forward, P1, and finally ends in A9, the palm remaining forward.
- M.I.b.15. begins in A12 with palm facing backward, P2, and moves to A1, with palm facing forward, P1.
- M.I.b.16. begins in A9, with palm facing backward, P2, and moves to A1 with palm facing forward, P1.
- M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. are three environments used for performing several M.I.a. morphokines in two or three positions--left side, in front of the body, or right side.
- M.I.b.17. is the environment for the left side of the body. The left arm is in A10, the right arm in A11, left palm faces backward P2, right palm usually begins facing forward, P1, and ends facing backward, P2. Performing some M.I.a. morphokines (for example, M.I.a.7.) may require an additional change in palm facings so that they end facing forward, P1, which we can call M.I.b.17.a.
- M.I.b.18. and M.I.b.18.a. are the environments for performing in front of the body. Both arms are in A11; palm facings are the same as in M.I.b.17. and M.I.b.17.a.
- M.I.b.19. and M.I.b.19.a. are the environments for performing on the right side of the body. The left arm is in A11, the right arm in A10; palm facings are the same as in M.I.b.17. and M.I.b.17.a.

Narrative morphokines, M.I.c.

M.I.c. morphokines include *nima* movement and arm position environment in one morphokine. They are performed primarily in only one environment and are joined in such a way that to separate them would destroy their meaning. These morphokines frequently have narrative qualities that interpret words of poetry. Some of the M.I.c. movements are a stylization of movements of everyday or ceremonial life and have a pictorial quality. Only 14 will be presented here.¹² It is this category especially that has almost unlimited possibilities for creation of new movements.

- M.I.c.1. consists of the palm of one hand hitting the elbow of the opposite arm:
- 1) Right hand in F2 and left hand in F4, right arm in A11, left arm in A9;
 - 2) Palm of right hand hits, T1, left lower arm at elbow;
 - 3-4) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.3. consists of the fingertips of one hand touching the other arm:
- 1) Left arm extended, A1, right lower arm horizontal in front of chest, A14, palms face down, P4, fingers in F2;

- 2) Fingertips of right hand touch, T1, inner side of left arm at elbow;
3-4) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.4. consists of touching the tips of the thumbs to the chest:
1) With fingers in F5 and arms in A13 tips of the thumbs touch the chest, T1, one above the other;
2) Hands alternate so that the second time the thumb tips touch the chest the other one is above.
- M.I.c.5. consists of touching the fingers of both hands to the chest one above the other:
1) Fingers in F1, palm facing backward, P2, arms in A13;
2) Fingers are touched, T1, to chest one hand above the other;
3) Hands remain in this position and move slightly up and down to keep time.
- M.I.c.8. consists of touching the palm of one hand to the chest while the other arm is extended forward:
1) Left arm is extended forward in A1, palm faces down, P4 and fingers in F2; right arm in A13, palm faces backward, P2, fingers in F1;
2) Fingers (especially middle two fingers) of right hand touch chest, T1, while fingers of left hand extend to F1 on the beat;
3-4) Movements repeat symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.10. consists of pointing to alternate sides:
1) Arm moves to A14, palm in P2, fingers in F6; at the same time the other arm moves to A5, palm in P1, fingers in F6;
2) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
In performing this morphokine the hands may touch the chest.
- M.I.c.13. marks the beat by moving extended index fingers of folded hands from shoulder to shoulder:
1) With arms in A9-A12, the three flexed fingers of F6 are interlocked, a movement of the lower arms moves the hands slightly forward to mark the beat;
2) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.14. consists of extending one arm to the side and then bending it inward to touch the back of the other hand:
1) Left arm in A5, with palm facing forward, P1; right arm in A11, fingers of both hands in F2 extend to F1 on the beat;
2) Left arm bends to A11, palm facing down P4, and touches, T1, the back of right hand;
3) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.15. is a morphokine in which the arms extend from side to side. This movement often has the narrative meaning "from here to there:"
1) Left arm in A5, palm faces forward, P1, right arm in A14, palm faces backward, P2, fingers of both hands extend from F2 to F1 on the beat;
2) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.16. is the fingers of one hand alternate between touching the elbow and the back of other *nima*:
1) Left arm in A9, palm facing backward, P2, fingers in F2; right arm in A11 palm facing backward; P2, fingers in F2;
2) Fingers of left hand extend to F1 and fingertips of right hand touch the left elbow;
3) Left arm moves to A11, right arm rotates R1, so that both palms face down, P4;
4) Fingers of right hand touch back of left hand;
5-8) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.

- M.I.c.19. describes an arc with the hands, and often has the narrative meaning of "rainbow:"
- 1) Both arms in A8 (right slightly higher than left), with palms facing forward, P1, fingers in F2;
 - 2) Arms move slightly to the left, down, right, and up.
- M.I.c.20. consists of moving the arms from side to side at waist level across the front of the body, ending with one hand perpendicular on top of the other:
- 1) Right arm in A10 moves to A11 while palm facing changes from side, P5, to back, P2;
 - 2) Left arm in A10 moves to A11 while palm facing changes from side, P5, to back, P2;
 - 3) at the same time right arm moves back to A10;
 - 3) Left hand stops by resting perpendicularly (that is, on its edge) on top of right hand and at a right angle to it; left palm faces back, P2, right palm faces side, P5.
- M.I.c.21. is called *palu* and is a stylization of squeezing kava with water while it is being prepared:
- 1) Arms in A3, the palms face each other, P5, almost touching, right slightly behind left, fingers in F2;
 - 2) Right hand moves forward and left backward;
 - 3) Both wrists fully flex to W2 (until palms both face backward) while fingers flex to F3;
 - 4) Fingers extend to F1 while wrists move back to neutral position;
 - 5-8) Movements repeat symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.23. involves touching the head:
- 1) Right hand, with arm in A17, touches, T1, the top of the head; at the same time left arm extends to the left side, A5, with palm facing up, P3, fingers extend from F2 to F1, (finger extension of left occurs at the same time as right hand touches the head);
 - 2) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite;
 - 3) Right hand repeats 1) above while left arm, extends forward, A1 palm facing up, P3, fingers extend from F2 to F1;
 - 4) Left hand remains in last position; right arm extends forward to A1, and claps the left hand, T1.

Va`e morphokines, M.II.a.

Va`e (foot and lower leg) morphokines, M.II.a., function in two ways in Tongan dance – it is mainly *va`e* movements which differ between genres and *va`e* movements may help interpret words of poetry. In many cases lower body motifs are repetitions of *va`e* morphokines. Five important morphokines of this group are enumerated here.

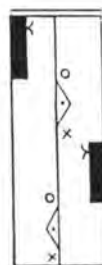
M.II.a.1. is the most important leg morphokine in Tongan dance and consists of a side step (L3a) and a sideward step to place (L3b), see Notation 1. This latter step need not take the weight and is placed slightly diagonally with the toe turned out (Figure 18).



Figure 18. The women of Kanokupolu perform their *lakalaka*. They use morphokine M.II.a.1. made up of a side step (L3a) and a sideward step to "place" (L3b). This latter step need not take the weight and is placed slightly diagonally with the toe turned out.

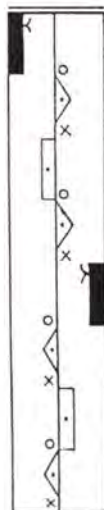
This morphokine is the main lower-body movement used in *lakalaka* and is performed by both men and women; however, women take quite small steps that barely leave the ground, while men take larger more forceful ones:

- 1) Left foot steps side left, [l] L3a(l);¹³
- 2) Right foot moves side left to touch in place, L3b (r);
- 3-4) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite, that is, [r] L3a (r); L3b (l).



Notation 1. Morphokine M.II.a.1.

Notation 2. Morphokine M.II.a.2.



Notation 1

Notation 2

M.II.a.2. is similar to M.II.a.1. except that another side step is added, see Notation 2:

- 1) Left foot steps side left, [l] L3a(l);
- 2) Right foot steps side left to place, L3b(r);
- 3) Left foot steps side left, L3a(l);
- 4) Right foot moves side left and touches in place, L3b(r);
- 5-8) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite, that is, [r] L3a(r) L3b(l); L3a(r); L3b(l).

M.II.a.2.a. is a variant of M.II.a.2. differing in that the fourth step is a touch to the forward diagonal:

- 1) Left foot steps side left, [l] L3a(l);
- 2) Right foot steps side left, to place, L3b(r);
- 3) Left foot steps side left, L3a(l);
- 4) Right foot crosses in front of left foot and touches the toe to the left diagonal L9c(r);
- 5-8) Movements repeat symmetrically opposite, that is, [r] L3a(r); L3b(l); L3a(r); L9c(l).

M.II.a.3. moves forward and back:

- 1) Left foot steps forward, L1a(l);
- 2) Right foot moves forward to place, L1b(r);
- 3) Right steps forward, L1a(r);
- 4) Left foot moves forward and touches in place, L1b(l);
- 5) Left foot steps backward, L2a(l);
- 6) Right foot moves back to place, L2b(r);
- 7) Right foot steps backwards, L2a(r);
- 8) Left foot moves back to place, L2b(l).

M.II.a.4. moves forward in consecutive steps:

- 1) Left foot steps forward, L1a(l);
- 2) Right foot steps forward, L1a(r);
- 3) Left foot steps forward to place, L1b(l).

M.II.a.4.a. is a variation performed with one forward step and a step to place, L1a(l); L1b(r).

M.II.a.5. moves backward in successive steps:

- 1) Left foot steps backward, L2a(l);
- 2) Right foot steps backward, L2a(r);
- 3) Left foot steps backward to place, L2b(l).

M.II.a.5.a. is a variation performed with one backward step and a step to place, L2a(l); L2b(r).

Many M.II.a. morphokines are single kinemes or repetitions of single kinemes such as L4, jumps; L5, bending of the knees; L6, turns; L7, rotation of the lower leg; L10, kneeling; or L11, sitting cross-legged. In such cases we may simply use the kineme designation. In the relatively modern *tau'olunga* the foot movements are sometimes more complex, but in the more traditional dances the M.II.a. morphokines are quite subdued, especially for women.

Leg-touch morphokines, M.II.b.

M.II.b. morphokines combine leg movements, and a touch of the hand.

- M.II.b.1. consists of one palm, with fingers in F1, hitting the thigh either while in the cross-legged sitting position, L11 (where it is called *pāpātenga*), or in a standing dance.
- M.II.b.2. consists of both palms, with fingers in F1, hitting thighs simultaneously either while in the cross-legged sitting position, L11 (where it is called *ha'aki*) or in a standing dance.
- M.II.b.3. consists of the hands hitting the thighs alternately while walking forward. This is often done in groups of three – that is, left, right, left, L1a(l); L1a(r); L1b(l).
- M.II.b.4. combines a brush of the hands with a touch of the thigh:
 - 1) Left arm in A8 with palm facing P5; right palm brushes, T2, the left palm from top to bottom;
 - 2) Right hand continues down to touch the thigh, T1.
- M.II.b.5. combines a brush of the hands as in M.II.b.4. with a touch of the inside of the opposite lower leg near the ankle (see Figure 14).
- M.II.b.6. combines a brush of the hands as in M.II.b.4. with a touch of the outside of the ankle and L6c, and full turn (usually right hand and right ankle).
- M.II.b.7. consists of M.I.a.2./A8 followed by the open palm in F1 hitting the thigh while in L5. This may be done with one hand or both simultaneously.
- M.II.b.8. consists of raising the foot from the floor by a bend of the knee, L8, and touching the knee first with the thumb and then with the little finger.
- M.II.b.9. combines M.I.a.1./M.I.b.1. with a touch of the knee in the crosslegged sitting position:
 - 1) In cross-legged sitting position, L11, the hand rests on the knee;
 - 2) The hand moves to A1 and back to touch the knee while performing M.I.a.1.
- M.II.b.10. combines M.I.a.1./M.I.b.11. with a touch of the knee:
 - 1) In cross-legged sitting position, L11, the hand rests on the knee;
 - 2) The hand moves to A11 and back to touch the knee while performing M.I.a.1.

Head morphokine, M.III.

There is only one head morphokine that is emic and it is the kineme H1. This side head-tilt, *fakateki*, may be used in two ways. It may be used alone, that is, instead of arm movements, as part of the choreography, for example, after M.II.b.7. (l & r). More importantly, however, it is used in addition to the pre-set choreography as an aesthetic element, when the dancer feels the spontaneous urge to do so. This arises from the dancer's internal feeling of *māfana*, inward warmth, which is aroused in the dancer because of participation and, in turn, arouses the

spectators' *māfana* by empathy. It is by the *māfana* use of the head that an excellent dancer compels the spectators to focus attention on him or her. Skill in use of the *fakateki* is the most important single element for choosing the individual to fill the position of best dancer, *mālie taha*, in large group dances. Today the head is occasionally bent forward – apparently a recent innovation used primarily in *mā'ulu'ulu*.

Other morphokines, M.IV.

Body movements are not emic in Tongan dance and they do not occur alone. I have not listed kinemes for the body because, according to Tongans such movements are not significant. Occasionally, however, the body does bend or twist forming part of the overall environment of the dance and these movements are necessary for a characterization of the style. These movements may help interpret poetry and are usually modern.

M.IV.1. has two variants in which the body bends forward from the hips.

M.IV.1.a. bends the torso forward (in a sitting dance) as if in a sleeping position.

M.IV.1.b. bends the torso slightly forward from the hips. This is used in the modern dance genre *tau'olunga* and takes the place of L5 in traditional dance forms.

M.IV.2. has two variants in which the body rotates or twists.

M.IV.2.a. is a twist or rotation of the torso from the hips. This is usually done to emphasize arm movements that are performed to the side of the body in a standing position.

M.IV.2.b. is a rotation or twist of the chest. This variant is essentially the same as M.IV.2.a. but is done in sitting dances, where a rotation of the chest is sufficient to follow the movements of the arms.

M.IV.3. is a sideward rotation of the head and is used in conjunction with arm movements. The head follows the arm movements. If the arms are not performing identical movements, the head movements, M.IV.3. follows the arm that is farthest away from the body. Although it is not choreographed, it is understood that M.IV.3. should be included in a performance.



Figure 19. Women of Lapaha perform a *mā'ulu'ulu*. Their facial expression is happy, smiling, and "alive."

Facial expression, though not *emic* is also a component in Tongan dance. The facial expression is usually a happy smiling one. Occasionally the expression becomes serious to reflect the words or mood of the poetry. The eyes, too, play a part. The eyes 'smile'; as an extension of the smiling face (Figure 19) – the same word, *mata*, means both eyes and face in Tongan. During the head morphokine, M.III., the eyes may make a quick side move that corresponds to the side tilt of the head.

Summary of morphokines

We can characterize the morphokine groups as follows:

- M.I.a. Important and frequently used *nima* morphokines that are basic constituents of the dance system. Without this group of movements the dance tradition would not exist. Most of these morphokines do not have narrative meaning. However, their co-occurrence with certain morphokines of group M.I.b. can convey narrative or symbolic meaning. M.I.a. morphokines are also used as fill-in, connecting, beginning, ending, and dividing movements, as well as main elements of movement in all dance types.
- M.I.b. Morphokines that are not important by themselves but constitute the environment for the movements of M.I.a. morphokines. M.I.b. morphokines are arm position and palm-facing combinations which are usually passive – the action being one of the associated M.I.a. movements. M.I.b. morphokines have no meaning in themselves, but derive their meaning by combining with the M.I.a. movements. One might call this group the residue left when the meaningful movement of M.I.a. has been subtracted.
- M.I.c. Active morphokines which combine actions similar to those of group M.I.a. with environments similar to M.I.b.

The morphokines of group M.I.c. frequently have narrative meanings which interpret words of the text. The narrative meaning is figurative in that one idea can be alluded to by several sets of movements and conversely, one movement can have several sets of meanings. Interpretation is not in terms of realism or pantomime, nor is it symbolic, in that one movement does not always convey the meaning of one word, phrase, or idea. The narrative element of dance movement is often conveyed through M.I.c. morphokines, usually in a subtle and sophisticated manner. Tongan dance movements usually interpret the most apparent level of poetry by alluding to various concepts in an abstract way. The apparent level of the poetry in turn obscures the deeper meaning of the poetry which is the real reason for its creation. Thus the dance creates a double abstraction. The movements allude to the poetry, while the poetry alludes to the hidden meaning (*heliaki*).

Some of the M.I.c. movements are a stylization of movements of everyday or ceremonial life. Particularly important are those derived from the making of *kava*; for example, M.I.c.21. depicts the squeezing of the *kava* root with water. These movements can be used to refer to other actions, but often are quite specific. I would conjecture that a few of the morphokines of group M.I.a. have a similar derivation and at one time referred to the making of *kava*, but have since lost their narrative meaning. For example, M.I.a.9., when done with two hands is called *milolua*, which refers to the wringing of the *kava* strainer. Today it is sometimes used with this meaning and at other times with other meanings. M.I.a.5.; M.I.a.6. in A9-A12 environments may refer to the twisting of the *kava* strainer around the hand. It may be that M.I.a.3, called *kako*, derived from a stylization of wiping the rim of the *kava* bowl, although it is not used in that way today. M.I.a. morphokines can have more than one meaning, or no meaning at all, depending on the arm position environment of group M.I.b., and thus are quite different in function from the primarily narrative M.I.c. group.

- M.II.a are leg morphokines that function two ways in the structure of the dance. First they help to define the genre (or conversely the genre specifies what M.II. morphokines

will be used). For example, a dance that uses mainly or only M.II.a.1. and M.II.a.7. belongs to the *ula* genre. Secondly, the M.II.a. morphokines sometimes, in conjunction with M.I. movements, help interpret poetry (for example, M.II.a.3. may be used when referring to walking) or to keep time while the more important movements of the arms are performed.

- M.II.b. is a group of morphokines in which the hand touches the legs. This group of morphokines combines elements from M.I. and M.II.a. in such a way that to separate them would be to destroy their meaning.
- M.III. is a tilt of the head that may have a prescribed place in the choreography or is used at the discretion of the dancer. This depends on rhythm, words of the poetry, emotion of the dancer, and mood of the audience. It is of prime importance in distinguishing good dancers from poor ones.
- M.IV. is a small group of body movements that are non-emic or non-significant in themselves, but are predictable. Although these morphokines do not necessarily have meaning, they sometimes help to interpret poetry and are essential to the style.

From examining these four classes of morphokines and their relationships we can state in very general terms what components are necessary in any Tongan dance. For example, in the overall structure of a dance there must be morphokines of group M.II. throughout as a substratum and each dance type or genre has its characteristic M.II. morphokines. Further, the essential character of Tongan dance derives from the varied arm movements that are the most important part of the dance. Finally, body movements are never used alone, but only in addition to arm movements.

When notating Tongan dance emically it is possible to do so with morphokines. Notating a dance, one need only note the morphokine designation and add r or l for right or left. The notes can be made directly on a music staff to show timing for a particular dance or they can be rendered into Labanotation.

We can now proceed to examine how morphokines are combined into larger entities.

Motifs

The third level of Tongan dance structure is the motif level. A motif is a frequently occurring combination of morphokines that forms a short entity in itself. I have called these often-used combinations "motifs" because of their likeness to motifs in folklore or in the visual arts. Some motifs are named, but those that are not are often associated with certain words and illustrate the Tongan cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than by straight-forward statement.

Vahe, dividing motifs

Like folktales or songs, dances often have conventionalized ways of beginning, ending, and dividing sections. In Tongan dance, beginnings, endings, and divisions are rendered by a group of movements known as *vahe*, which literally means "to divide." *Vahe* is sometimes qualified with the name of a dance type, such as *vahe ula* (*vahe* used in the dance type *ula*). At other times, the word *vahe* is not used; rather, the name of the movement is used and it is understood that this is a *vahe*. The two most common dividing motifs are *vahe ula*, and *fū e ua* (*fū* done two times).

Vahe ula is the beginning and ending movement of the *ula*, as well as a divider between stanzas. It combines the following sequence of morphokines:

left hand	both hands	right hand
1.		M.II.b.7.
2. M.II.b.7.		
3.	M.I.a.7./M.I.b.18. (r slightly preceding l)	
4.		M.II.b.1.
5. M.II.b.1		
6.	M.I.a.21.	

Fū e ua consists of *fū* (morphokine M.I.a.22.) done first to the left and then to the right at about shoulder level, A9-A12. This is often done at the beginning and between stanzas in *lakalaka* and *mā`ulu`ulu*, and sometimes at the end. In dances of the *tau`olunga* genre it often divides the verses, and may or may not be done at the beginning. At the beginning of a *lakalaka* the dance leader will shout "*fū e ua*" and count "*taha, ua*" (one, two) while the dancers perform their two *fū*. This sets the beat as well as begins the dance.

"Haka" M.I.a.1. motif paradigm

The most common recurring motif in Tongan dance is based on morphokine M.I.a.1. done in any environment from M.I.b.1. through M.I.b.15. and perhaps other environments as well. M.I.a.1. is usually done with both hands at the same time. Both arms may be in the same M.I.b. position, or in a different one, or the M.I.b. position of one or both arms may change while the motif is being performed. The word "*haka*" (arm movement in its narrow sense) means this group of arm movements. When "*haka*" is used in this way, quotation marks will be used to distinguish it from *haka* in its more general meaning of any arm movements in Tongan dance.¹⁴ The morphokine M.I.a.1. and all the M.I.b. environments in which it can be performed can be called the M.I.a.1. or "*haka*" paradigm. A morphokine paradigm includes a small set of related forms in which there is one morphokine common to a set, together with all the morphokines with which it can co-occur. There are at least fifteen environments in which M.I.a.1. can occur for each arm, and many can be performed simultaneously.

The most common use of "*haka*" is as a fill-in movement – that is, it is used between narrative elements or to fill in a phrase after the narrative section has been completed. In dances in which there is no narrative element, "*haka*" is used simply for the beauty of the movement. "*Haka*" can also be used narratively, such as the following examples:

M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9. can be used to indicate an ear (or hair) ornament, *tekiteki*. In this case one hand performs the "*haka*" near the ear and the head is turned away from the hand. Ordinarily the dancer's eyes would follow the hand doing the "*haka*".

Another example of narrative interpretation by "haka" is M.I.a.1./M.I.b.14. to mean *kalauni*, (crown), to refer to the sovereign. Here a "haka" is performed with the right *nima* while moving from M.I.b.14. and with the palm facing forward the *nima* moves to the top of the head (where a crown would be worn) and describes an arc from left to right.

Two "haka" that follow each other in different positions may indicate "from place to place." For example, in sitting dances, M.I.a.1./M.I.b.3. followed by M.I.a.1./M.I.b.7. "haka" in front of the body followed by "haka" at the side of the body interprets from the "sea to the beach." A similar example is left arm in M.I.a.1./M.I.b.5. and right arm M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9. followed by right arm M.I.a.1./M.I.b.5. and left arm M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9. to interpret "from north to south." This is not, however, a one-to-one relationship. "From north to south" can also be expressed in movement by a motif that moves the arms alternately from A5 to A14 along with changes in palms facings by rotations of the lower arms (Figure 20). Many frequently used combinations of "haka" have no narrative meaning but are used simply because the Tongans like them.



Figure 20. Expressing "from north to south" in movement during a *tau'olunga*.

M.I.a.2. motif paradigm

Morphokine M.I.a.2. forms a paradigm similar to that of "haka" M.I.a.1.; however, it is more restricted and less frequently used. M.I.a.2. is the morphokine that is common to a set of M.I.b. morphokines. The environments in which it occurs are diverse and it may not be readily apparent that this morphokine is the common element.

M.I.a.2. can be performed with one arm alone, with both arms at the same time, or with one arm slightly preceding the other. Its most characteristic appearance is in the *vahe ula* dividing motif in which it is combined as M.II.b.7.

M.I.a.2. can be performed with both arms in M.I.b.16., with the narrative meaning of *luva*, (to give). It is also performed with one arm in M.I.b.10., and one arm in M.I.b.11., which is the essence of one of the variations of *tafi*, (sweep).

M.I.a.2. can also be performed in A15 to interpret *tue* (hooray).

The paradigm is:

M.II.b.7.(r);M.II.b.7.(l)	dividing motif of <i>vahe ula</i>
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.16.(r)	<i>luva</i> (give)
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.10 (r)	
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.11.(l)	<i>tafi</i> (sweep)
M.I.a.2./A15	<i>tue</i> (hooray).

Other haka motifs

Haka in its wider sense includes all arm movements in Tongan dance. *Haka* motifs are morphokines that are used alone, repeated, or combined with other morphokines. These often-

recurring motifs form a pool of movements that are culturally recognized, and are satisfying to choreographers, dancers, and spectators alike.

Ha`ota

After the *vaha* and paradigms presented above, the next most important motif in Tongan dance is *ha`ota*. *Ha`ota*, according to Tongans and dictionaries has no meaning except the name of a dance movement. *Ha`ota* is usually performed two or three times in succession in different arm positions. For example, *ha`ota*, M.I.a.3., will be performed in M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19.; that is, on the left side of the body, in front of the body, and on the right side of the body. Or it may be performed in M.I.b.17. followed by M.I.b.19. A variation of *ha`ota* is M.I.a.7., which is simply *ha`ota* with an added rotation of the lower arms that gives it a very different appearance.

Kako

Kako was given as a term for this dance movement by some Tongan dancers but is not listed in dictionaries with this meaning. The whole *kako* motif consists of three parts or three morphokines that follow each other. M.I.a.3.a., the essence of *kako*, is performed with left arm in A9 and right arm in A12. This is followed by ("*haka*"), M.I.a.1., with both arms in M.I.b.9., and finally by M.I.a.1. with left arm remaining in M.I.b.9. and right arm moving in M.I.b.1. It may also begin at the right shoulder, A9(r)-A12(l).

Vete

Vete is not listed in dictionaries as the name of a dance movement, nor is it usually given by Tongans as the name of a specific movement. Rather, it seems to describe what the hands are doing. *Vete* means to unwind, unravel, scatter, or disperse. The motion could be interpreted as describing unwinding or similar movements. *Vete* can be performed in two ways. M.I.a.3., (the essence of *kako*) performed in its vertical position, A9(l)-A12(r), followed by M.I.a.3. performed with both arms in A13. Or *vete* can be interpreted by M.I.a.3./A9(l)-A12(r) followed by *ha`ota*, M.I.a.3., performed while moving to its usual position of M.I.b.18.

Milolua

Milolua means to prepare *kava* in a certain ceremonial way. The *haka milolua*, instead of naming the movement, seems to describe what the hands are doing. This is a wringing movement that describes the wringing of the hibiscus strainer (to remove particles of *kava* root or to fill *kava* cups). The *haka milolua* often is performed three times in succession. It consists of M.I.a.9. performed with both hands one above the other, in M.I.b.17., followed by M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. It may also be performed three times in M.I.b.17., followed by three times in M.I.b.19.

Tene

Tene consists of extending the fingers of both hands from F2 to F1, while resting the fingertips of one hand on the side of the first finger of the other hand, that is, one palm faces down and the other faces to the side. It is often performed three times in succession while moving from M.I.b.17., to M.I.b.18., to M.I.b.19. *Tene* is not in dictionaries, but was given by Tongans as a term for this movement. The name *tene* may interpret the resting of one object on another.

Toli

Toli means to pick (either flowers or fruit) and again describes the movement rather than naming it. Flowers are very often used to symbolize chiefs. More specifically, the symbolism is often in terms of necklaces of flowers made in special ways, *kakala hingoa*. When referring to chiefs in dance poetry, it is usually in terms of allusions to picking flowers to make chiefly flower garlands. The dance movement that alludes to this allusion is often *toli*. In the *toli* motif, the *toli* or picking part, usually follows after a "*haka*" in the same arm position in which *toli* will

be performed. *Toli*, M.I.a.8., when it means "to pick," is usually performed with the lower arm in a vertical position such as A8 or A9.

Tafi

Tafi is both the name of a dance and a term used for a movement. Quotation marks will be used to designate "*tafi*" as a movement. The word *tafi* means "to sweep," and the "*tafi*" motif is used mainly in a dance called *tafi*, which has to do with sweeping the dancing ground. "*Tafi*" describes the movement. Two quite different movements can be called "*tafi*" and both interpret sweeping. The more usual "*tafi*" movement is M.I.a.2., performed with both hands close together in a low position, usually right arm in A10 and left arm in A11 or vice versa (see M.I.a.2. paradigm). It is usually performed twice, either both on one side or once on the left side and once on the right side. This kind of "*tafi*" is a movement that can also be used in different ways with other narrative meanings.

The second kind of "*tafi*" is M.I.a.20., brushing the little finger of one hand over the palm of the other (Figure 15). It is usually performed twice on one side of the body and twice on the other side. The most obvious meaning of this movement is "to sweep," but again the movement can be used in other ways with other meanings.

Tuhu

Tuhu means "index finger" and *tuhu ki* "to point to." Thus *tuhu* as a *haka* describes the pointing of the index finger rather than naming a movement (Figure 3). *Tuhu*, M.I.c.10, is usually performed by pointing first to one side and then to the other. In a modern variation of the *tuhu* motif the arms describe an arc in front of the body instead of going directly from side to side. Occasionally the dancer might point to the spectators, but not often, for it is considered rude to point to people, and it is especially rude to point to chiefs.

Sina Vai Tafae

This term does not specifically designate a dance movement. When referring to this movement, Tongans would sometimes call it "*Sina vai tafae*" because this motif is always done first in the *ula* of that name. I could elicit no name or description for this motif. The motif consists of M.I.c.13, performed first on one side of the body about shoulder level and then on the other side of the body.

Si Sia

Again, this is not the name of a movement but is used in a particular dance where "*si sia si sia*" (a set of nonsense syllables) occurs in the poetry and some Tongans called it *si sia* when using words to describe it. M.I.a.16. is the essence of this movement. In the dance, where *si sia si sia* occurs in the poetry, it is performed with one hand in an environment which moves from A13 to A9. It can also be performed with both arms in A13, the hands alternately above and below each other. When F3 occurs in this motif an *allokine* in which the fingers are in an oval rather than rounded position is used. Rather than a separate *kineme*, this *allokine* usually occurs in *morphokines* which do not include rotation of the lower arm, R1.

Tui

Tui in poetry usually means "to thread" (flowers) or "to prepare for." As a *haka*, *tui* describes the movement of threading flowers. *Tui* can also be used with other meanings or simply as a beautiful movement with no narrative meaning. *Tui*, M.I.a.14., is usually done so that the lower arm moves upward or forward, for example, A10 or A13.

Tapa

Tapa sometimes means "to flash." *Tapa* describes flashing by moving the hands back and forth in opposition to each other. *Tapa* as a *haka* is used when *tapa* appears in the poetry or when something referred to in the poetry has a flashing or sparkling quality. It can also be used

with no meaning at all, simply because the dancer or choreographer likes the movement. The motif consists of M.I.a.10. in arm positions A8 or A10.

Sideward *Tapa*

This is a movement similar to *tapa*, but the hands move from one side to the other in a horizontal plane. This motif is sometimes used to convey motion, such as the moving of waves, or change of any sort. This motif is morphokine M.I.a.11. in environment A10. "Sideward *tapa*" is my name for the motif, because I could elicit no name or verbal description.

ʻOfa; Loto

ʻOfa means love and *loto* is the seat of one's affection. In the Tongan view both of these concepts center on the chest because of their association with *māfana*, inner warmth. When either *ʻofa* or *loto* in poetry is to be expressed by *haka*, it is done by touching the chest. This can be done in a variety of ways, but perhaps the best liked is to touch the fingers to the chest, in the environment of A13, first with one hand, then the other (with the opposite arm stretched forward), and finally with both. *ʻOfa* or *loto* do not name the movement. If I would demonstrate the movement, however, and ask for a term, the answer would often be *ʻofa* or *loto* meaning that this movement sometimes interprets these poetic concepts. The motif often consists of M.I.c.8. followed by M.I.c.5.

Touching motifs

Touching motifs consist of various combinations of clapping or touching the hand to other parts of the body. The two kinds of clap (*pasi* and *fū*) have different kinds of sound; thus the type of clap used may depend on the kind of sound that is desired, or on the kind of movement that is wanted. The *pasi* clap has a sharp sound while *fū* has a more sonorous hollow sound. In some dance genres, for example, *mā`ulu`ulu*, the sound is important, whereas in other genres the sound may not be audible.

Ki`i Pasi`i

Ki`i pasi`i, clap for a short time, describes a series of *pasi*, M.I.a.21. This is not just a series of M.I.a.21. done repeatedly, however. After the first *pasi* the hands do not participate equally in the hitting movement. In *ki`i pasi`i* the left hand retains its position and the right hand, by a rotation of the lower arm, moves so that the palm faces backward, then rotates again and hits the left hand.

Teuteu

Teuteu, to get ready, is a series of *fū* claps, M.I.a.22. As in *ki`i pasi`i*, this is not just a series of repeated *fū*; after the first *fū*, the hands do not participate equally. The left hand remains in the same position while the right hand, by a rotation of the lower arm, moves so that the palm faces backward, or upward, then rotates again and the right hand hits the left hand. As its name indicates, this motif is often used at the beginning of a dance to prepare for the more complicated *haka* to follow.

Pasi, Fū combinations

Another common clapping combination, and one that is often used to start or end a phrase, is *pasi, ao, fū*, M.I.a.21., M.I.a.4., M.I.a.22.; or just *ao, fū*, M.I.a.4., M.I.a.22.

Combining *pasi* and *fū* is an often recurring motif. *Pasi*, M.I.a.21. and *fū*, M.I.a.22., can follow each other in the same arm environment or they can be performed as follows: *pasi* to the front, *fū* to the left side, *pasi* to the front, *fū* to the right side. Another common combination is liked because of the sound variation--*pasi, fū, pasi, pasi, fū*, in the following rhythm:



Tunotuna

Tunotuna is a clapping motif that is referred to by the name of the dance from which it comes. An *ula* known as *Tunotuna* is characterized by this movement, which consists of walking in a circle in a series of L6a turning steps while clapping the hands, M.I.a.21. During this motif the torso is bent forward from the hips, M.IV.1.b., so that the hands clap at almost knee level.

Pāpātenga

Repeated hitting the knee with one hand is a common beginning in sitting dances. This is morphokine M.II.b.1. repeated in a series. It is sometimes called *pāpātenga*, "slap the thigh", because women do this when angry, or for emphasis.

Pāpāuma

Another common touching motif in sitting dances is the touching of the shoulder of the adjacent person (Figure 21). This is done by the rotation of the lower arm in A5 touching first the front of the shoulder and then the back. It can be called *pāpāuma*, "touch the shoulder," which describes the movement.



Figure 21. The men of Tatakamotonga's lakalaka perform the *pāpāuma* motif.

Choremes

Motifs, culturally grammatical sequences of movement, can be choreographed in association with meaningful imagery. I call such combinations of motifs a "choreme," that is, a culturally grammatical choreographic unit made up of a constellation of motifs that occur simultaneously and sequentially. For example, motifs of the upper body and motifs of the lower body together may form a choreme. Motifs and choremes are put together to form phrases of a dance, that is, they are choreographed.¹⁵ Choreography can be pre-set or improvised/spontaneous, according to the rules or syntax of a specific genre, having prescriptive structural elements from the lower levels of dance organization. These structural elements and elements external to dance movement are named according to ethno-semantic categories or genres.

Motifs and choremes are the building blocks of dances and are implicated not only in structure but style. Motifs are culturally structured pieces of movement tied to a specific dance tradition or genre. They are not interchangeable from one dance tradition to another, although they may occur in more than one genre or dance tradition. Motifs are carried in memory as templates for reproduction to be used spontaneously or in a pre-set choreography. As frequently occurring combinations of smaller elements, movement motifs/choremes are similar to motifs in other visual arts and folklore. They are recalled and reembodyed in dances, and through this embodiment they acquire meaning and become images that take on cognitive status. When a new dance is produced, it is not only the motifs and their sequencing into a choreographic form that are of interest. In addition, who performs, how many performers there are, how the

performers interact with each other and the audience (if there is one), and how they use vertical and horizontal space, can tell us a great deal about the social and cultural context – and the culture itself.

Motifs, choremes and interpretation

These are the most common motifs in Tongan dance. They are not, however, equally frequent in the different genres. The terms I have applied to the motifs are certainly not universally recognized in Tonga. Some are well known, for example, *ha'otā* and *haka*. Others are not, although the movements themselves are part of the dancers' movement vocabulary. Indeed, except for *haka* and *ha'otā*, motif designations are descriptions of movement or relate words in poetry that these motifs can interpret. Tongans do not name all motifs but they do associate certain movements with certain words, concepts, and ideas. This is not, however, a one-to-one relationship, for one movement motif can convey or interpret many concepts and, conversely, one concept can be conveyed or interpreted by many motifs. Finally, some dance motifs may have nothing to do with interpretation of poetry whatsoever.

Tongans find it easy to convey the correct information about movement by associating the movement with words. They often allude to concepts or ideas with words without equating the meaning of the word with the concept or thing. When Tongans want to convey by words the idea of movement, they use terminology that is either descriptive or word-associated. At the same time they deny that the movement necessarily means or even interprets the described or associated idea. In the Tongan language one word may have many meanings. It follows that, if a movement motif is associated with a word, all the diverse meanings associated with the word could be transferred to the motif. Several people may have the same motif in mind but the ideas associated with it can be completely different. A word conveys what movement is wanted, but neither the movement nor the word necessarily conveys the meaning of the word.

Two main concepts associated with Tongan dance, that movements convey poetry or create beauty, can best be illustrated with motifs.

Interpretative movements

The first of these concepts is that dance conveys, interprets, illustrates, or alludes to poetry. On one level, movement motifs correspond to poetic motifs. Allusion is the essence of Tongan poetry. A poet does not refer to people or their deeds in realistic terms – that is, one would not mention someone's name or tell in words what an individual did. Instead, the person is symbolized by a flower or type of flower garland, or a bird (or since European contact a lion). Deeds are referred to in poetic terms in a roundabout way. The ability to create poetry of this kind is highly admired and sometimes even considered to be supernatural. A poet is called *pulotu*, expert, which is also the name of the indigenous afterworld.

Allusion is also the essence of Tongan dance. Movement motifs do not interpret in a realistic manner. One does not allude to a flower by holding the hands to look like a flower or a bird by moving the arms to look like wings (as might be done in Hawaiian dance, for example). Instead, the movement would suggest a flower or bird in an abstruse way.

To illustrate the double abstraction that dance creates, one stanza of a *lakalaka*, known as "Kalauni" from the village of Lapaha will be used. The stanza of poetry and its translation are as follows:

*Kulukona`o tavake fai`ana
Na`e toli he matangi māfana
Ko hai`e ofo he`ene ngangatu
Fakatoukatea`i Monotapu
He`oiaue fakatoukatea`i Monotapu*

Kulukona flower of the tropic bird created
Plucked by the warm breeze
Who is surprised at his fragrance
Double canoe of Monotapu
Oh Yes, double canoe of Monotapu.

This stanza of five poetic phrases refers to Prince Tungī (later King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV) and tells us that he was born of the highest male and female chiefs in the land. Tungī is referred to as the *kulukona* flower (a variety of a flowering tree), who was created by the tropic bird. Tavake, the tropic bird, symbolizes the highest male chief in the land, in this case Tungī Mailefihi (Prince Tungī's father). He was the highest direct descendant of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua line of kings, which is a higher blood line than that of the present line of Kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The nature symbolism continues in the second line with Tungī being plucked by the warm breeze. Warm breeze is sometimes equated with Tonga. The line of poetry refers to Tonga, the land of warm breezes, which has picked Tungī for their next King. Fragrance is considered desirable and good, and the next line of poetry says that no one is surprised at Tungī's greatness (fragrance because he is a *kulukona* flower), because he is of double chiefly parentage. *Fakatoukatea* is a double canoe with both sides equal and this poetically refers to chiefly descent on both sides. Tungī is also sacred, which is suggested by the place name Monotapu-tapu meaning "sacred." The allusions, phrased in terms of nature symbolism, refer to Tungī and his genealogy, though neither of these concepts is mentioned in words. The movement motifs, in turn, allude to these allusions, and not to Tungī or his ancestry. The choreography, of motifs put together as choremes that follow poetic phrases, is as follows:

Kulukona is choreographed by a choreme made up of M.II.b.7. (M.I.a.2. plus touching kineme) that touches the leg while it steps forward, performed first with the right hand as the right foot steps forward and then with the left hand as the left foot steps forward. *Tavake fai'ana* is choreographed by *vete* – here interpreting "create." *Tavake*, tropic bird, is conveyed by adding the quick side head movement, M.III., which recreates the head movement of a bird. The word *toli* is choreographed by the motif *toli*, in this case meaning "to pick." *Matangi māfana* is choreographed by *vete*; *kohai*, who, by "*haka*," M.I.a.1., in M.I.b.9.; *ngangatu*, (fragrance), by *vete*. *Fakatoukatea*, double canoe, is choreographed by a choreme that consists of M.I.c.14., in which the right hand extends to the right side and then touches the back of the left hand, which has been held in A11, with the palm facing down; this is repeated to the opposite side in the repetition of the line of poetry, the hand extends to the side again in a repetition of the movement; the two lines are completed with *ao, fū*, at the end of the phrase because M.I.c.14. does not fill the whole phrase of poetry.

In this example *vete* interprets "create," "breeze," and "fragrance." Notice how all of these concepts can be conveyed by the agitation of air that *vete* recreates. *Toli* is the most obviously narrative movement in this group, with its depiction of picking. *Kulukona* conveys "beautiful flower" with a beautiful movement. *Kohai*, who, is conveyed by a "*haka*," which one could say looks as if it asks a question by its placement at the side of the head with the face slightly turned to the opposite side.

Two-sidedness is created in two ways in this stanza. First it is conveyed by the choreme in which the arms move to the right and then to the left. Second it is created by the formation of the dancers. In a *lakalaka* the men and women are usually ranged in two or more rows facing the audience, the women on the left (from the observer's point of view), the men on the right.

1st formation

O O O O X X X X
O O O O X X X X

During the performance of this stanza, the men and the women walk toward each other and the two lines become four:

2nd formation	XXXX
	OOOO
	XXXX
	OOOO
	(audience)

The men then move to the front of the women

3rd formation	OOOO
	XXXX
	OOOO
	XXXX

and then all go back to their original two lines.

Ending formation	OOOO XXXX
	OOOO XXXX

This intermixes men and women and then re-emphasizes the two distinct groups as an additional reference to ancestry and Tungī's equal chiefly descent on both male and female sides.

Other movements can emphasize words by using a movement which produces a sound that resembles the word it conveys. For example, when the word *Tatakamotonga* (the name of a village) is used, the movements can be *pasi, pasi*, M.I.a.21., *fū*, M.I.a.22. *Pasi, pasi*, two sharp claps, fall on *ta ta*, and *fū*, the crosswise hollow-sounding clap, falls on *tonga*. The ability to choreograph allusive poetry is highly admired and, as noted above, considered partly supernatural hence the term for a choreographer is *pulotu haka*.

Beautiful movements

The second concept associated with Tongan dance is beauty of movement for its own sake. Some dance genres do not interpret the poetry that the movement accompanies. This is not because present-day Tongans do not understand the words, although in some cases they do not. In the *ula*, one or two lines of poetry are repeated over and over. Many different movement motifs are used to accompany these verses. The movements do not interpret the words and there seems to be no association between words and movements. The emphasis is on the beauty of movement. It is not the performer's interpretation of the words that is admired, but rather her skill in the interpretation and performance of the choreme (in this case made up of a hand/arm motif and a lower body morphokine). The choremes are known to the spectators and the dancer is judged on the execution of the movement. This judgment is usually phrased in terms of gracefulness, softness, and the proper use of the head. In addition, men maybe judged on the projection of strength.

Some of this beauty-of-movement concept is carried over to dances which interpret poetry. But in these latter, the emphasis is on conveying the words more than on the beauty of the movement motif.

There is a cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than statement. This may be the explanation for the lack of names for movement motifs. To name a motif is too obvious; a name might limit motif use to one concept. Or the movement, if associated with a name, might convey that named concept when no meaning is wanted. Movements, then, in Tongan dance, are not named, but they can be brought to mind by words.

Movements either interpret poetry or create beauty. They present an abstraction to which performer and audience member alike may attach meaning or which can be enjoyed aesthetically as movement.¹⁶ Dance is a physical, mental, and aesthetic activity to be enjoyed at one or more levels simultaneously. Some dance genres aim primarily at one or another of these possible levels. But even those that begin as an intellectual activity, often create an intense emotional

atmosphere and can become an aesthetic experience for both dancers and spectators. When verbalizing this emotional aspect of dance Tongans say that they feel *māfana* – that is, "inwardly warm or exhilarated." Spectators also feel *māfana*, especially during the performance of their favorite dance motifs, which they say they can feel kinesthetically. It is common to see spectators move their heads along with the dancers, and occasionally they get up and join the performers, even though they do not know the choreography, inspired by their inner feeling of *māfana*.

Genre level

The broadest level of dance organization in Tonga is the structure of dance types. A Tongan dance is a totality of structural elements that differ according to genre. At the genre level it is necessary to speak of the overall structure of a performance, the association of poetry with movement, the accompanying music, and the occasion of performance, in addition to dance movement itself. Today there are six Tongan dance genres, each of which has a different combination of structural elements. The three "living" Tongan dance genres (within which new dances are still created), although reputedly created or diffused in historic times, are closely related to three traditional dance genres that are still performed but are no longer created. Indeed, the living genres seem to be mainly recombinations of kinemic, morphokinemic, and motif elements of the older dance genres.¹⁷

The six genres that are performed today are of three main types based on their occasion of performance – that is, whether it be special, formal, or for entertainment.

The three older traditional genres (*me'etu'upaki*, *'otu haka*, and *ula*) are performed on special occasions peculiar to a single village, societal division, and religion; or when especially requested.

Formal occasions call for *lakalaka*, which, in effect, take the place of a speech. *Lakalaka* today are the embodiment of Tongan traditions and express them both audibly and visually. *Mā'ulu'ulu* may serve the speech-making function or may "sweep the *mala'e*" (village green) in preparation for the *lakalaka* "speeches."

Tau'olunga is the informal dance genre used for entertainment, for small groups of friends, for the King and Queen of Tonga, or for visiting dignitaries. Occasionally *mā'ulu'ulu* is also used as entertainment because its appealing combination of indigenous Polynesian and Western elements, coupled with its precise varied movements, makes it at once familiar and yet exotic to Tongan and foreigner alike.

Summary

The aim of this paper has been to present a method of analyzing the structure of dance and movement systems. Ethnoscience in orientation, the further requirement was set that it should reflect dance movements as known and performed by the carriers of the dance tradition themselves. The method devised borrows from several disciplines. The first two levels of analysis, kinemic and morphokinemic, are based on structural analysis as used in linguistics, which by induction seeks to discover units and patternings valid in terms of a particular system. The movement units isolated at these two basic levels were derived by contrastive analysis comparable to methods used to isolate phonemes and morphemes in speech.

The units derived at the motif level are similar to motif components as used in folklore and the visual arts. Their method of derivation, however, is different. Whereas, in folklore, for example, a motif is "any one of the parts into which an item of folklore can be analyzed" [Thompson 1950:753], in the method used here a motif is built up out of smaller movement units. Choremes are combinations of motifs and/or morphokines put together in such a way that they convey "meaningful imagery," that is, they are recognized as grammatical movement sequences. Choremes, sometimes in association with other morphokines, are put together

(choreographed) to form phrases. How movement phrases are formed is culturally determined. In Tonga, movement phrases are usually dependent on poetic phrases.

The final level of Tongan dance is based on ethno-semantic categories. These named categories, or genres, were found to be different combinations of structural elements from the lower levels of dance organization and elements external to dance movement.

The method presented seeks to ascertain the basic movement units and the ways in which they can be combined. Descriptions of dances and movements as seen from the ethnographer's point of view can be given an added dimension by deriving culturally recognized units and descriptions from the point of view of participants themselves. Only by using both points of view can we achieve any real understanding of dance as intentional human behavior.

A TONGAN *TAU'OLUNGA* AS A CASE STUDY

To end this essay, and to illustrate how morphokines are combined into motifs, choremes, and phrases, I use as an example the entrance and first verse of a *tau'olunga* called "Hala Vuna" including Labanotation with the choremes, motifs, and morphokines marked on the score.¹⁸

"Hala Vuna" was composed for Tu'imala Kaho in the late 1950s to honor the port town Nuku'alofa through Tu'imala. Although essentially a song of endearment for Nuku'alofa, which is symbolic of all that is modern in Tongan society (halls for dancing western style, money economy, modern buildings, and modern women), Nuku'alofa still has all the attributes of paradise, including women with flowers, rainbows, and scented trees. Nuku'alofa is the modern paradise of the Tongan islands and the modern woman Tu'imala, like Nuku'alofa, combines both old and new. The poetic text was composed by Semisi 'Iongi and the musical setting and movements were composed by Tu'imala's uncle Vaisima Hopoate. When conceptualizing the choreography, Vaisima used the poetic phrases as the basis to combine motifs and choremes into flowing movement phrases. The whole song includes three stanzas and a chorus, each with four phrases of poetry.

1	<i>Hala Vuna 'oku tapa sio 'ata</i>	1.	Hala Vuna [Vuna Road] is like a sparkling mirror
2	<i>Fetaulaki 'anga ia e folau vaka</i>		Meeting place of boats [Vuna road runs along the sea front]
3	<i>Loka nunu ai e pou 'umata</i>		Astir with waves and rainbows
4	<i>Sia 'a Hina mo 'ene kato kakala.</i> ¹⁹		Weaving of Hina and her basket of sweet-smelling flowers.

In the most apparent level of the poetry, this first stanza sets up Nuku'alofa as the modern paradise of Tonga. It is *the* place to see; people come from all over Tonga to see the new and old sights. Tu'imala is the epitome of the modern woman, a beautiful woman of high rank who can walk appropriately in both worlds.

Included here is a prescriptive movement notation of the entrance and first verse of the dance. The Labanotation was done by Judy Van Zile from my 1964 Labanotation notes and from my recollection of the dance as taught to me in 1964 by Tu'imala and Vaisima. The movements were reviewed with me by Tu'imala in 1990 and a video was made of Tu'imala at that time. The Labanotation is prescriptive, in that it preserves Vaisima's original choreography. Each time it is performed, however, it can be slightly modified to suit the occasion.

NOTATION 3.
 Labanotation of the entrance and first verse of "Hala Vuna"
 as composed by Vaisima Hopoate.

Labanotation by Judy Van Zile

30

29

28

27

26

25

4

3

2

1

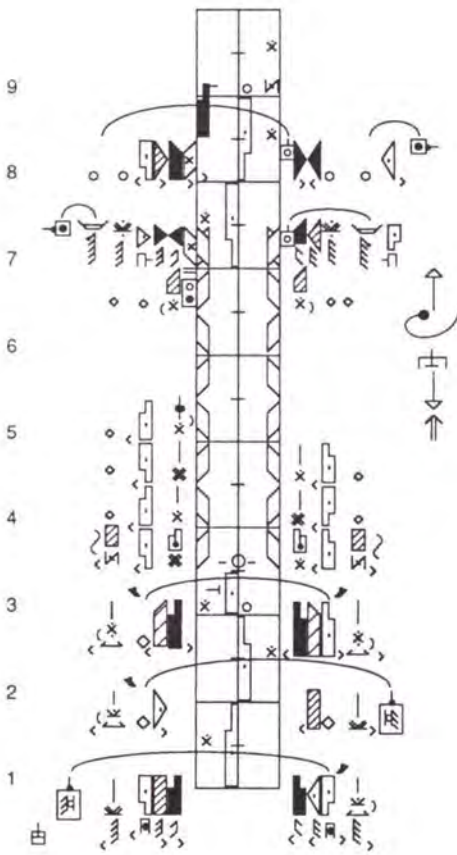
2

4

ENTRANCE

Dividing motif. A choreme made up of three *fu* claps, M.l.a.22. and leg kineme L2.

A choreme repeated 6 times, made up of two arm morphokines, M.l.c.4. followed by M.l.c.8., and repetitions of leg kineme L1.



DANCE

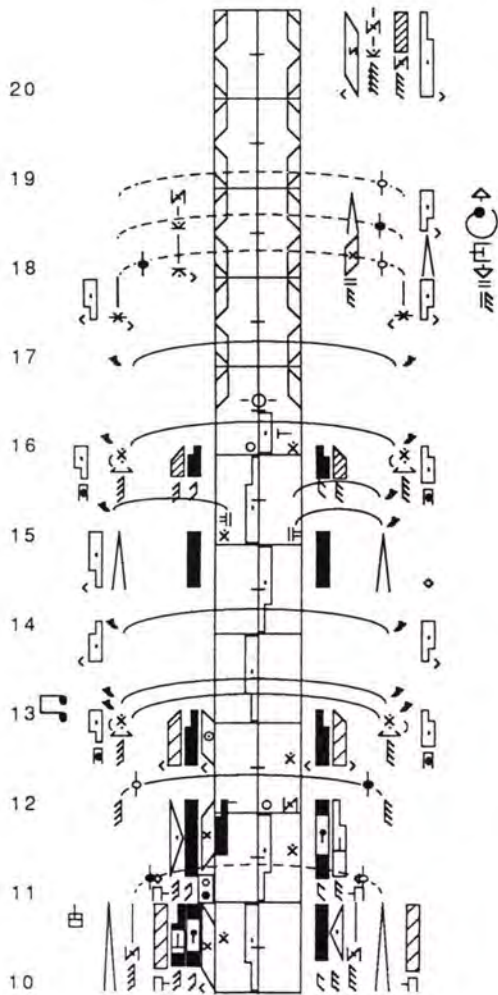


A choreme made up of M.I.c.4. in A16/F5, and leg morphokine M.II.a.5.

A choreme made up of *tapa* motif (M.I.a.10. in arm environment A8 or A13), followed by M.I.c.19.; with leg morphokine M.II.a.10.



A choreme made up of M.I.c followed by *tu*, M.I.a.22., and leg morphokine M.II.a.4.



A choreme made up of *ao*, *tue*, and a continuation of leg morphokine M.II.a.10.

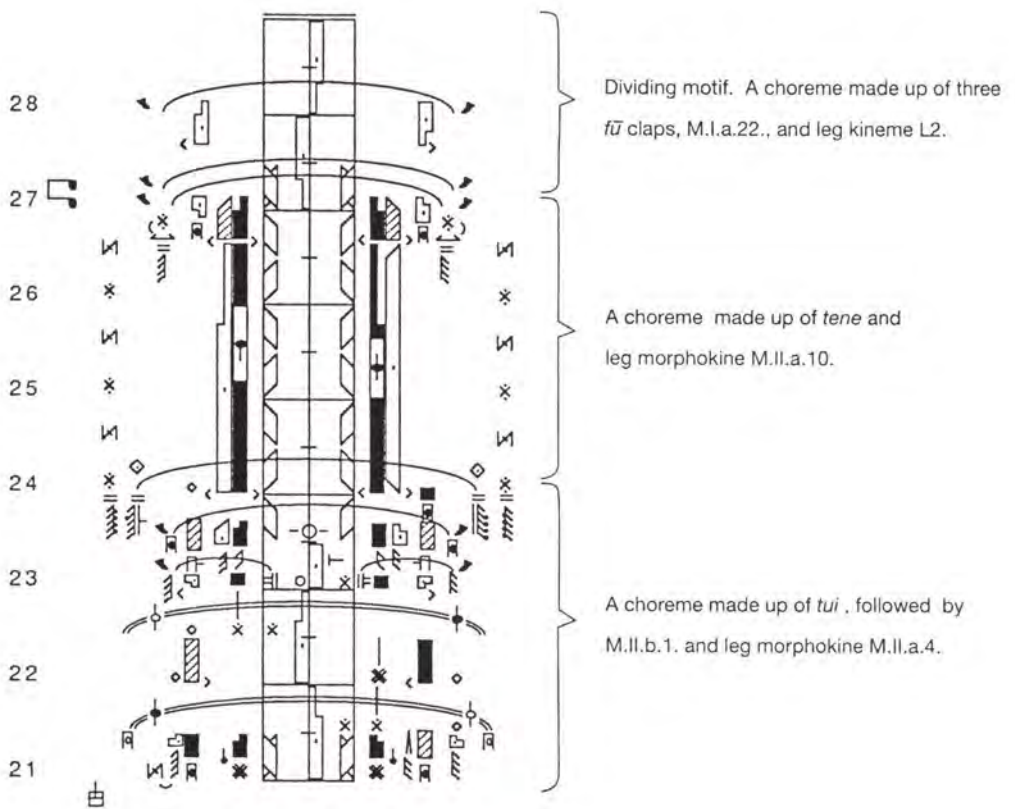


A choreme made up of M.II.b.1./L1, followed by two *fū* claps (M.I.a.22) and leg morphokine M.II.a.10.

Dividing motif. A choreme made up of three *fū* claps, M.I.a.22. and leg kineme L2.



A choreme made up of M.I.c.20. with a continuation of M.II.a.5.



Analysis

The entrance is a choreme made up of two arm morphokines, M.I.c.4. followed by M.I.c.8., and repetitions of leg kineme L1 (see Figure 1). This choreme is repeated six times (or until the dancer is at center stage). On the sixth repetition the dancer turns to face the audience and arms move to the position to get ready for the following choreme, which is a dividing motif. The dividing motif is a choreme made up of three *fū* claps, M.I.a.22., and leg kineme L2.

Each verse is made up of four poetic phrases. Each poetic phrase is made up of two main choremes, with a dividing motif after each two phrases – as follows:

Phrase 1,

Choreme a. Made up of M.I.c.1., followed by *fū*, M.I.a.22.; with leg morphokine M.II.a.4.

Choreme b. Made up of *tapa* motif, M.I.a.10. in arm environment A8 (or A13), followed by M.I.c.19.; with leg morphokine M.II.a.10.

Phrase 2,

Choreme a. Made up of M.I.c.4. in A16/F5; with M.II.a.5.

Choreme b. Made up of M.I.c.20.; with a continuation of M.II.a.5.

Dividing motif – a choreme made up of three *fū* claps, M.I.a.22.; with leg kineme L2 (same dividing motif as counts 29-30 of entrance).

Phrase 3,

Choreme a. Made up of M.II.b.1./L1, followed by 2 *fū* claps (M.I.a.22); with M.II.a.10.

Choreme b. Made up of *ao, tue*, and a continuation of M.II.a.10.

Phrase 4,

Choreme a. Made up of *tui*, followed by striking legs with open palms (M.II.b.1.); with M.II.a.4.

Choreme b. Made up of *tene*; with M.II.a.10.

Dividing motif, same as dividing motif after Phrase 2, choreme b. (same dividing motif as counts 29-30 of entrance and counts 13-14 of dance).

This example has provided a Labanotation score for the entrance and first verse of a Tongan *tau olunga* as well as a choremic analysis of the structure of a Tongan dance based on meaningful emic movements from the Tongan point of view.

APPENDIX

Labanotation Glossary by Judy Van Zile

The dance notation was carried out by Judy Van Zile, with graphics produced on a Macintosh computer using Labanwriter 3.0 software. It has been checked for accuracy by Lucy Venable and meets the standards established by the Dance Notation Bureau, New York City for a Labanotation score. Notation practices follow those established by the International Council of Kinotography Laban as of 1991.

The dance was learned by Adrienne Kaepler in Tonga in 1964. The version notated is based on Kaepler's Labanotation notes made in 1965 and her 1992 demonstration of the dance.

The dance is performed in bare feet in a very relaxed manner. Carriage of the torso should be easy, and if precise arm positions notated cannot be achieved with ease, they should only be approximated.

The contraction of the knee in the middle of most weight transferences is slightly abrupt, causing a gentle bounce. No accent mark has been used because the abrupt timing causes the emphasis, rather than any conscious effort to punctuate the action.

Except when the legs continually rotate in and out (as in measures 3-6, 16-20, and 23-26), they are in an approximately parallel position.

The movements done while entering the performing area and the dance itself are treated as two separate entities here. Hence, measures for each are numbered independently.

Two distinctive hand-claps are used in Tongan dance. In one, the hands are held in a very flat position, are parallel to each other, and produce a crisp slapping sound as they strike each other (see measure 23 of the dance). This is known in Tongan as *pasi*. The other clap is known in Tongan as *fū* (see measures 27-28 of the dance). It is achieved by placing the cupped hands perpendicular to each other (rather than the more usual parallel placement). The little-finger-surface and the thumb-surface of one hand contact the palm-surface of the fingers and the heel of the other hand respectively.



(The same pattern may be performed with the hands crossing each other in the opposite way.) The sound comes from the 'cup' formed between the two hands, and the configuration causes a muffled sound rather than the crisp slap usually associated with a hand-clap.

The meter is 2/4. The tempo is generally brisk, but may vary depending on the formality of the performance (the more formal the occasion the slower the tempo).

$$\square = \text{♩} = \text{MM 120-180 approx.}$$

ENDNOTES

1. My dissertation was completed in 1967; essays based on it were published in 1972 and 1986.
2. See, for example, Conklin 1955, 1962; Frake 1961, 1964; Goodenough 1951, 1956, 1964; Lounsbury 1956, 1964, and Kealiinohomoku 1976. Just as an adequate grammar of a language may be considered a theory of that language, an adequate grammar of dance may be considered a theory of that dance tradition. The school of linguistics that set forth this theoretical position is usually known as "post-Bloomfieldian linguistics."
3. Noam Chomsky (1928-) is a theoretical linguist (United States) noted for expounding the theory of generative grammar.
4. Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) was a Swiss linguistics scholar. As one of the founders of modern linguistics, his work is fundamental to the development of structuralism.
5. For a discussion of this differentiation, see Sturtevant 1964:101-103.
6. This is comparable to a listing of phonemes used in a specific language.
7. The groups may be different for each dance tradition just as the grammar of every language may be different. The groupings presented here represent the end result of the morphokinemic analysis.
8. Definitions of the Tongan words used in this paper can be found in Churchward, 1959.
9. Many Tongans considered A13 to be an allokin variation of A14. Only the *punake*, dance specialists, considered them to be "different."
10. The original list (Kaepler 1967) has been revised and renumbered.
11. When M.I.b. environments consist of a single kineme, the kineme designation will be used.
12. The original numbering is used in Kaepler 1967:160-182.
13. [r] and [l] = prefixes meaning "to the right" and "to the left." (r) and (l) = suffixes meaning "right foot" and "left foot."
14. *Haka* in Tongan dance does not denote a genre, although it does so in Maori (New Zealand) dance.
15. "Choreography" in this essay refers to either a pre-set arrangement of dance movements or an improvised/spontaneous arrangement of motifs. In Tonga, choreography exists only in the oral tradition and is not represented by signs or notation, as some dictionary definitions of choreography imply.
16. See Kaepler 1971.
17. See Kaepler 1970.
18. For an analysis of the whole choreography, as well as the music and poetry, see Kaepler 1995.
19. *Sia`a hina* is a spider web, *Hina* is a legendary beautiful woman. Thus, the hidden meaning is that Nuku`alofa is like a spider web woven by Hina (Tu`imala) to attract (and trap) Tongans to its charms.

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ANALYSIS OF TRADITIONAL DANCE IN NORWAY AND THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Egil Bakka

This article will not be a survey of form and structural analysis within Nordic ethnochoreology in general, but an account about methods for structural analysis used in Norway, seen in its frames of Nordic cooperation. The reason is that some parts of this methodological system were developed and are mainly used in Norway only [Blom 1961, 1981; Bakka 1970, 1973, 1978; Bakka and others 1995] whereas other parts were developed within Nordic projects [Nordisk forening for folkedansforskning 1983, 1988, 1997].

Research for the revival

Research on traditional dance in Norway and in the Nordic countries has most of its roots in the folk dance revival movement. Practically all researchers in this field had a background as dancers in revival or even in traditional settings. Their research was in many ways influenced by the needs and aims of the revival movements, and people in the revival were the main audience for their results and publications. The folk dance revival of the Nordic countries started in the late nineteenth century, and during the 2-3 first decades of the twentieth century it grew to broader movements based in national organisations which promoted participatory folk dance. In those decades quite a lot of collecting and some research were done. From the 1960s on a new wave of collection and research started. Still there were old people who could be filmed showing the traditional dances of their small communities, and very little filming had been done before. In Norway a corpus of some 5,000 dance recordings were made and methods for analysis of the filmed dances were developed. The main aim was to describe and teach the dances for the dancers of the local revival groups and in this way restore the dances to their community of origin were they were only living in the memories of the oldest generations and in many cases were already more or less lost. For this reason Norwegian and even Nordic methods and approaches to the analysis of traditional dance need to be understood from this background [Bakka 1981].

Realisation¹ – type/dance concept

Nordic dancers of traditional dance conceive the realization of their dance knowledge as the dancing of individual, specific dances with names. When we interviewed people from the rural community Ålen in Sør-Trøndelag in Norway in the mid-1980s, those born in the period 1890-1910 would have a repertoire consisting of the dances: Pols, Vals, Hoppvals, Masurka, Ringlennar, and Pariser. They might even recognize some other less important dances. In our dance terminology we call these dances local dance types [Nordisk forening for folkedansforskning 1988:182]. When a couple or a group of dancers cooperate in the act of dancing a dance type, we call the act a *realisation*¹ of the dance type. We consider the dance type as based in the *dance concept* or the *dance competence*.

The terminology group of the Nordic Society for Folk Dance Research defined the term "dance concept" as a parallel to Ferdinand de Saussure's term "Langue" and opposed to

performance² corresponding to Saussure's "Parole" [Nordisk forening for folkedansforskning. 1983]. Dance concept is used to signify that which belongs to a particular dance type, and the definition was formulated as follows: "a dance concept is the sum of motor ability, knowledge and understanding which enable a dancer to carry out a particular dance in accordance with the norms of the group." The dance concept enables the dancer to reproduce, through realisation, that which he and others understand to be the same dance, that is to say, the same dance type [Nordisk forening for folkedansforskning 1997:7].

The system for structural analysis we are going to discuss here is based on this emic way of conceiving dance knowledge as always channelled into dance types. There is normally no such thing as an act of traditional dancing which is not and cannot be identified as a realisation of a specific dance type.³ The traditional Nordic dance knowledge as it can be found in one local community consequently does not easily lend itself to be analysed as one general language from which all the dance realisations of the community can be generated. Dance types or groups of closely related dance types each have their specific vocabulary and grammar, even if different dance types or groups of dance types can borrow elements of vocabulary from each other and have similar grammars.

Results from the analysis of single realisations also become very problematic to deal with unless they are understood in the context of some type level. If you are at a dance party and try to prepare some sort of structure analysis of the dances performed, you may realize right away that out of the 10 realisations you have seen, there were 4 *waltzes*, 3 *tangos* and 3 *schottishes*. If you do not realize, and try to find the common structure of all the realisations or just analyse each realisation separately, you certainly will miss the basis for the emic understanding. In practical work the distinction between *a realisation* and *a dance type*, or between the realisation and the dance competence may not be decisive when working with dances where all realisations of a dance type looks fairly much the same, like a simple, standard version of the *schottish*. For the analysis of highly improvised old Norwegian couple dances, however, the distinction seems necessary.

Transcription – description

A structural analysis of Norwegian folk dance as we will discuss it here has dances recorded on film or video as its main material, although interviews and discussions with the dancers of course are used to supplement the recordings. The analysis starts out by selecting a (local) dance type to be analysed. Then all the available realisations of the type are analysed and a *transcription* of each realisation is made. The transcriptions then are used for a further analysis to find the patterns at type level and formulate a general *description* of the local dance type. We make the distinction between a *transcription* which is direct record of what happens within one specific realisation and a *description* which is based on an analytical comparison of several realisations of the same dance type.

The methods I am discussing here have been developed for researchers knowing the material they were going to analyse fairly well in advance. The methods are not developed for exploring unknown material. Because of this we have a basis for deciding which realisations we are going to see as belonging to the same local dance type. If we have some 25 *springar* realisations from 5 small communities (A B C D E) within the same region, we might decide that the realisations from A B and C belong to the same local dance type, and make one description from all those transcriptions whereas we might consider the communities D and E each to have their own local dance type. In this way the region will get 3 descriptions. Sometimes such decisions are easy to make because the dance types are performed so differently, other times it may be a decision based more on what is practical and convenient. We might consider it better to give a region with a wealth of variation but with few clear differences between communities a separate description for each community. In this way each community will get a description, which is

less complex than if we brought all variations together in one. In contrast, in a region with few and simple realisations, we might bring them all together in one to get a description which has a reasonable basis and a reasonable amount of possibility to make choices between alternatives. There is also a tendency within the revival for each community to wish a local dance type of its own rather than sharing it with neighbouring communities. Then, even if the patterns of difference between communities are not clear, this may make a researcher accept to make more descriptions rather than fewer out of consideration for the needs and wishes of the users.

The analysis of movement patterns

It is very usual that dance descriptions in words of both social dances and folk dances are separating descriptions of step patterns from descriptions of other patterns of the dance. Labanotation as a basic principle integrates all movement patterns in the same staff, but can for practical reason give step patterns or other relatively stable factors of a dance as a set of separate keys. The Syllabus by the IFMC Study Group on Folk Dance Terminology [1974] relates to the totality of movement patterns as one complex, but tends to let different kinds of factors be instrumental in identifying different levels of the hierarchy of structural units. This was of course partly due to what were the most typical structures in the material for which the analysis was developed; it was hardly an intention from the group. Step patterns tended clearly to be the most important factor for the identification of the smallest units up to motif levels, whereas other factors tended to be more important for the larger units. Even if this was not stated as an intention it tended to influence the way members of the group would approach new material.⁴

The role of the motif

When I finished my first work where I applied structural analysis in 1973, the Syllabus had not yet been published, and I did not know anything about its methods. In my material the old, improvised couple dances called *bygdedansar* (regional dances) step patterns and what I called *samdansmotiv* (couple motifs)⁵ [Bakka, and others 1995: 107] to me constituted two more or less independent flows of patterns, and I based my analysis on the old method of separating step patterns from other kinds of patterns. I also, parallel with the Syllabus, came to choose the concept motif as a key element in my description based on my understanding of how a traditional dancer experiences dance structure: "A traditional dancer – at least in our country – has a conception of what I would call a movement picture which he has to create in order to perform a certain dance. But the dancer does not conceive the dance as a flow of coordinated movements, but rather as series of characteristic movement combinations which function as motifs in the movement picture" [My translation – Bakka 1973: 3].

Structure only or structure and content

The Syllabus is analysing the structure only, using a tool which does not deal with the content of the units in any other way than classifying each unit as different, similar or as a more or less specified variation compared to other units of the analysed dance. The structure formula of the Syllabus numbers each unit in the order it is found in the dance, so a fragment of formula, like abc1 abc2 tells us that this fragment of the dance has three different motifs a, b and c, and that those motifs are repeated but that there are two variations of motif c; c1; and c2. If you want information on the content of the units, you will have to consult a notation. The method is meant to be general and workable for any type of dance [IFMC Study Group on Folk Dance Terminology 1974; see also this volume 2007, chapter 2].

The typical Nordic/Norwegian approach has been to develop somewhat different tools for different dance genres. The analysis is done by formulas but uses abbreviation to give information on the movement content of each unit. In the systems for analysing couple dances a selection of parameters are represented through sets of defined abbreviations. (Example, the fastening: l/r = man's left holding woman's right, the direction of turning (clockwise/ counter-clockwise) or individual movement direction of the partners (man forwards, woman backwards

and so on). The motifs are described or classified by some 4-5 parameters. There are a limited number of possible values for each parameter. One parameter is directions of turning or of individual movement, and values can be on the spot, clockwise, counterclockwise, forwards, backwards, to one of the sides or one of the diagonal directions [Bakka 1973; Nordisk forening for folkedansforskning 1988; Bakka, and others 1995].

In this way motifs can be classified into a limited, even if relatively large, number of possible types. Not all possible types are of course realized in the material. The parameters and their values serve as criteria for defining the types, and obviously a whole lot of other possible parameters are ignored. The choice of parameters is based upon a judgement of what is most important and significant for the genre.

Lines of structured movement

When I later read and explored the approach of the Syllabus 1974, I several times tested it on my material and ran into problems. The Syllabus is in general based on structures where caesuras of the larger units usually coincided with caesuras of smaller ones which allow clear and tidy structures. In some of my material of old couple dances there were hardly any such regular coincidence, and it felt problematic to apply the Syllabus method. Due to this and even other reservations regarding the Syllabus system, I initiated a discussion with Lisbet Torp and Anca Giurchescu resulting in a presentation at a meeting in the subgroup for structure analysis within the Study Group on Ethnochoreology of the ICTM in Istanbul 1993 (not published). I quote some sentences from my part of the presentation, tentatively using the term lines of patterned movement as alternative way of dealing with the concept of motif compared to the Syllabus:

In dance, motifs can be expressed by different parts of the body, and several series of motifs can be going on at the same time, independently, or depending on each other. The different lines or series of motifs or lines of patterned movement are in many ways functioning similarly as different voices in music. one line of patterned movement can be the melody, like the step patterns in chain dances. and then the arm movements can be functioning similar to a drone. Which are the criteria for deciding how many lines of patterned movement are found in one dance? When movement series are happening at the same time and the caesuras are simultaneous for all series so that the units are of same length, all the movement series can be seen as belonging to the same line of patterned movement.

When two dancers are dancing together as a couple the result of what they are doing together could be seen as a line of movement common to the two of them. Their step patterns may still to some degree be different and independent of each other, and consequently be seen as two different lines of patterned movement, one belonging to each of the dancers.

In accordance with such a view I considered the 8 bars of holding hands and circling clockwise and the 8 bars of circling counterclockwise in a reel for 3 couples as 2 group motifs already in my master's dissertation [Bakka 1973:163]. For the understanding of the Syllabus group this would be units far too large to be considered motifs, they would be on a higher hierarchical level, and the motifs would be defined by the step patterns which I considered belonging to a different series of motifs.

To me it was very surprising to realize that the Hungarian folk dance research has not worked much with these types of patterns as motifs. Couple motives, spatial patterns, and so on, are of course described in their dance recordings, but seems not to been considered interesting enough that much effort has been attached to it in the advanced Hungarian analysis. The Hungarian motif concept is actually almost exclusively used with footwork. They have worked only with single motif lines, while we work with two parallel motif lines: one line for step motifs one line for couple motifs.

Transcription system for couple motives of the old couple dances

We register motives with the help of three fixed parameters, an open addition, and a quantifying element. We register information in each independent field. The first field specifies the fastening, that is, which hands are held together or are holding the partner's body. The second field denotes which partner is active in the motive: boy, girl, or both. We call the active partner the "actor." The third field denotes the direction in which the actor is moving, or the direction of the turn, if he or she turns.

The fourth field does not have any set parameters but is included to clarify or to help to understand something which is not obvious in the first three fields. The fifth field is used for motives which include turns, and gives the number of turns for the whole motive.

A parallel approach

Adrienne Kaepler has studied dance on the Pacific island of Tonga, where arms and hands are the central expressive media of the dance. She has used parallels to the terminology of linguistic research:

- Phoneme (smallest meaning distinguishing speech sound) in dance – kineme
- Allophone (speech sounds which are not meaning distinguishing) in dance – allokineme
- Morpheme (smallest speech unit with meaning or grammatical function) in dance – morphokineme

That which determines or distinguishes movement meaning is the main factor in this approach, especially suitable for analysis of the Tongan dance, since this dance form has a meaning content which is near to that which can be verbalized. In addition it can be interesting to discuss whether the various parameters we have established for couple motives can be seen as *kines* (compared to the phones, units of the minimum distinguishable speech sound) or *kinemes*, and if we can discover the basis for distinguishing between *kinemes* and *allokinemes*. It would also be interesting to see if the term *morphokine*, which lies on a level between *kineme* and motif, could be useful in this connection. In any event, it would be important to discuss the relationship between Kaepler's approach and our own, in order to relate the different analytic systems with the thought of later synthesis [Kaepler 1972; see also this volume 2007, chapter 3].

Alternative motifs and free order

A particular problem with the Syllabus is, that it does not clearly define "the dance," the total unit which is being analysed, but it implicitly seems to assume that it is a transcription of a single realisation or a prescriptive notation which have only one single file of motifs with no alternatives along its flow and with only one possible order. Thus the system of the Syllabus does not discuss the problems of a *dance concept* (see above) as opposed to the single realisation, and does not give any methods for dealing with descriptions of dances where the order of the motifs can change, and where there are alternative motifs at certain points in the flow of a dance.

The function of motifs or units

In many dance genres there seems to be a few basic modes or types of motif function. If we take the genre of nineteenth century couple dances, the two most important types of motif function are *the turning* which in these dances include a progression along the circular path and *the progression along the circular path without turning*. In the Nordic analysis of this genre (Gammaldans) the total motif vocabulary registered was organized into five groups according to motif function [257 Nordisk forening for folkedansforskning 1988]. The old couple dances, the regional dances, are most of them having 3 parts, the winding part, the unfastened part and the couple turning part. Each of these parts has different sets of motif function according to the part where they belong [Bakka, and others 1995:104].

The analysis of step patterns

In 1961 Jan-Petter Blom published an article where he presents an analysis of the vertical movement patterns as part of step patterns in dance [Blom 1961]. This has been developed over the years to become an important feature in the analysis and teaching of traditional dance in Norway under the name *svikt*, a word which in daily language means pliancy or bounce [Bakka 1970, 1978; Blom 1981; Semb 1985, 1991; Bakka and others 1995]. An explanation for the concepts connected to *svikt* analysis is included below.

Svikt

A recent technical definition is: "The vertical movements brought about by bending and stretching hips and joints of legs and feet is in Norwegian called "*svikt*." As a technical term for dance analysis we define one *svikt* as bending, causing a lowering of the body's center of gravity, plus a stretching, causing a rising of the center of gravity. If you dance walking steps along a blackboard letting a piece of chalk follow on the board it will draw a curving line. The line will go down and return for each change of support.

Pace (*Trinn*)

A pace is the period from one change of support to the next. A change of support is changing from one foot to the other, from one foot to both feet, or from both feet to one. If you take the weight off a foot for a moment through a hop, landing on the same foot, we do not consider it to be a change of support. Consequently going from one foot to the same foot is considered to be one pace.

Step (*Steg*)

Usually step patterns in dance can be analysed as periods which are repeated, and very often these periods corresponds to the bars of music. We define a step as one such period. A waltz step corresponds to one bar of waltz music: it contains three paces, one for each of the beats of the bar. An alternative step can contain only one pace starting on the first beat and lasting through the bar. In our analysis we consider walking and running steps in dance to contain one pace each.⁶

We sort the step types of Norwegian dances according to number of paces: one pace step, two pace step, three pace step, and so on.

Pace Types (*Trinntypar*)

The paces found in Norwegian folk dance steps have been classified in three main types according to *svikt*, which is according to how many bendings and stretchings they include.

S-Pace (*S-trinn*)

This pace type has one *svikt*; one bending and one stretching as in normal walking. After a preparation of stretching, which belongs to the previous pace, one starts the pace by lowering the body while transferring the body weight onto a new support. One then stretches, raising the body as a preparation to the next pace.

Ss-Pace (*Ss-trinn*)

This pace has two *svikts*; first one bending and one stretching as the S-pace and then additionally one more bending and stretching on the same foot before a change of support.

T-Pace (*T-trinn*)

This pace has no *svikt* of its own. It is only continuing the stretching of the previous pace, as in the second pace of the waltz. It can also start a bending which will be continued by the following pace. Consequently the T-pace does not show in a *svikt* curve. The ordinary waltz step has three paces, a S-pace, a T-pace, and a S-pace, and thus it has only two *svikts*.

Leap or Hop (*Temps élevé*) (*Hopp*)

A moment when support is absent because the body is in the air.

Transcription of step patterns

When we developed a method for transcribing step patterns it was a question first of all to achieve a classification of step patterns where the style is not brought in. Style is studied in connection with the process of description, while comparing transcriptions and looking for the typical stylistic features, so transcription is not to be compared with notation.

The transcription of the step pattern registers two basic parameters: which foot is carrying the body weight and which *svikt* pattern is being executed by the weight bearing foot (*svikt* is vertical movement of the body, produced primarily by knee and ankle movements, combined with hinging on the ball of the foot. When the dancer leaves the floor as a part of the *svikt* pattern this will be stated in the transcription. In addition a few other auxiliary signs are used.

Steps for females and males are registered separately and independently of each other. They are related by comparing what each person does on the same beat in the different fields of the same entry form on paper or computer.

Through this transcription we achieve a classification of the step material. This classification has certain similarities with the Hungarian step system, and which in English is referred to as "support index" [Martin and Pesovár 1963], in German as *Stützindex* [Láni 1980]. Martin defines support as follows: "Disregarding a few exceptions, in Hungarian folk dances the body weight is carried by the legs, that is, the feet. They *support* the body and will therefore be termed supports."

Martin also highlights the well known idea that one can show footwork as being built upon five basic principles: from one support to the same (1), to the other (2), to both (3); from double support to one (4) and to both (5). The Hungarian classification (support index) operates with only 3 support principles: 1. Repeat of support, 2. Change of support, 3. Use of both as supports. They use this classification to organize the step patterns in groups. They can, for example, say that the "closing step" from the *waltz* has support index (weight bearing principle) /2 2 2/ whereas a "closing step" from the *Rheinländer* (SSShs) has /2 2 2 1/.

The analysis of support principles and the understanding of what lies behind them is built upon the same intentions as the Norwegian step type analysis: one will identify and classify units of footwork which lie under the motive level, and divide them into a few simple and basic categories. The Hungarian analysis concentrates on the change of support and makes categories of change types. The Norwegian analysis takes its basis from the *svikt* curves which the body makes during the time a support is active.

The two different systems express, on the one hand, that the footwork in Hungarian and Norwegian folk dance have dissimilar profiles. The Hungarian dances include a great deal of dancing on the spot, and points at which both feet are supporting are much more common than in Norwegian material. In Norwegian dance, transport and steps without their own *svikt* (T steps) are much more central than steps with both feet as supports. On the other hand, *svikt* analysis developed by Norwegian folk dance research is not known in other countries. The Hungarian folk dance research is built on Labanotation, which up to now has not seen the need for special symbols or conventions registering *svikt*.

Systems for common reference or multiplicity of methods

In our period, experiencing the waves of postmodernism and poststructuralism, the trend is to wish for a multiplicity, and I think, even a multiplicity of alternative methodologies for description and analysis. Our obvious problem is the lack of common references, which have always been the problem of choreology. In my mind we certainly need the systems aiming at being very general methods like Labanotation and the Syllabus as common points of reference. They have been fiercely defended and promoted by their adherents which have certainly been needed. On the other hand they need to be criticised so that problems and shortcomings can be identified, understood and related to by their users. Nothing is more discrediting for a system or a

hypothesis than being promoted as the only and absolute truth or solution. Our conventional music notation system has been criticised, shortcomings have been identified and accepted, but this has not endangered its hegemony as totally dominating system of common reference.

The very complexity of dance as object for analysis and notation still poses different problems than music. Just because of this it is a question whether choreologists will ever be able to achieve a degree and scope of mastering of general systems for notation and analysis comparable to what musicologists have. We may need to use as supplements to universal systems, systems which are considerably simpler because they are closely adapted to one particular type of material. It may turn out that it is simpler to learn such adapted systems together with the material than to call on complicated universal system for all tasks. Additionally alternative systems will very often enrich our understanding by giving new perspectives. This does not necessarily threaten our crucially needed systems for common reference; it rather yields possibilities for deeper understanding and improvement.

In analysis of dance we will normally have to concentrate on a selected set of variables and their number may depend upon for which purpose we are analysing. The variables in our transcription system may seem very few, and less than the ones we use in descriptions.

In giving values to the variables in dance analysis dance experts normally will be evaluating and classifying, rather than measuring and quantifying. We will usually, in our practical work have a restricted number of values for each parameter we are analysing. In analysing the direction of locomotion, we could quantify in degrees. A direction of 86 degrees compared to forward direction would by most of us be classified as a movement to the side, even if it is deviating slightly. In most cases I suppose such a deviation would be of no relevance and very hard to measure in normal, free dancing.

The number and selection of variables we are using and the number of possible values for each variable represent the level of detail in our analysis. In my mind there are two basic considerations to be taken when level of detail is decided. First of all the emic perspective; what are the significant differences to be taken care of in the eyes of the traditional performers. Secondly what level of detail is needed to achieve the purpose of the analysis? We may of course have purposes which make us select a level of detail different from what seems to be emically significant. We may for instance want to investigate movement variations which do not seem to be emically significant, or we may want to investigate only some of the emically significant movement patterns, ignoring other ones.

Then we face the question: should notation, transcription or description always be on a certain standard level of detail, and is such a standard material needed for all kinds of analysis and research? Some may insist that Labanotation should be the basis for all serious analysis.

Examples

I have chosen examples from two different projects to illustrate the use of the methods discussed above. One important reason for choosing these two is that there are published videos available to illustrate both of them.

The first project *Norsk dans for 90-åra* [Norwegian dance for the 1990s] had pedagogical aims, and tried to develop teaching methods for the old couple dances. As a part of this, a video with teaching material was produced on the analysis and teaching of one regional dance (*bygdedans*) *Halling frå Dalsfjorden* [Halling from Dalsfjorden].

The video contains examples of realisations with traditional dancers; it contains a survey of the motifs of the dance, divided into couple motifs and step motifs, and an example of how a young couple is doing it now, based on the traditional material and the description. Additionally there is much material demonstrating teaching, which is not of interest here.

The second project *Gammaldans i Norden* [Old time dance in the Nordic countries] is a comparative analysis of the nineteenth century couple dances of the Nordic countries aiming at

surveying and characterizing a dance genre in Denmark, Finland, the Faroe Isles, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. The dance repertoire in twelve Nordic communities was documented, and a selection of 285 video clippings showing one dance each was analysed [Nordisk forening for folkedansforskning 1988].

ENDNOTES

1. Earlier the word "performance" was used to cover the concept realisation.
2. The concept performance (here realisation) did not suggest any presentational or theatrical aim. It simply refers to the realization of a dance concept or a dance type; that one dancer, a couple or a group of dancers dance a dance. If more couples dance the same dance at the same time without being dependent upon each other, we consider each couple's dance a separate realisation of the dance type.
3. There are of course cases where the dancers have problems with identifying certain dance types through a generally accepted name. A popular, simple couple dance has been functioning as a replacement for several ballroom couple dances like *onestep*, *foxtrot* and *slowfox* among those who do not do ballroom dancing. Since they vaguely know about the connection of their dance to those clearly defined dances, for instance through music, many of them have problems with what to call their dance.
4. These are my personal observations and an understanding reached after many discussions with several members of the Syllabus group. I am not sure that members of the group would see it in this way.
5. Couple motifs are those motifs generated when a male and a female dance together. The motifs appear when partners use different holds, move together or in relation to each other, and perform turns, either individually or together.
6. We are aware that the ICTM Study Group of Ethnochoreology considers the step period for walking consists of two paces.

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PRINCIPLES AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS AND CLASSIFICATION OF EUROPEAN CHAIN AND ROUND DANCE PATTERNS

Lisbet Torp

A presentation of the main categories with matching subcategories – beginning from the simplest patterns from a structural point of view, then continuing on gradually to more complex patterns and their combinations.¹

Introduction

The theoretical models presented below result from an aim to establish an empirically derived and generally applicable method for the structural analysis of chain and round dances based on their step patterns. In order to facilitate the comparative study of chain and round dances, the analyses rest on a series of theoretical patterns, or models, which for reasons of comparison are all notated in 2/4-meter. It is on the basis of these models that a number of main categories and subcategories have been established. Since the method of analysis developed is based on empirical material, a large number of the dances examined are in fact, when stripped from stylistic characteristics, performed, more or less exactly, as indicated in the theoretical models presented below. In the analytical process, all deviances from these models have been registered as *local characteristics*.

In this work, chain and round dances have been defined as *dances performed by more than three people in a linked formation*. It is essential to the definition of the material that all participants perform basically the same step pattern simultaneously. This limitation, however, does not exclude dances with improvisations performed by the leader and/or dances in which individual dancers perform variations of the basic pattern "in line", where traditions for personal displays of this kind exist. The term *chain and round dances* compasses dances performed in line formation as well as in closed – or open – circle formation, provided that the above conditions are fulfilled.

The method and its foundation

The first part of the analytical work was to establish a set of main categories of dance patterns.² This implied a previous determination of significant versus non-significant movements within existing patterns that could be said to make up the basis of the European dance repertoires performed in linked chain, round, and line formations.

Thus, the initial work was to separate what, from an analytical point of view, might be considered the basic components of a dance pattern from those which might be seen as their variations through morphological analysis. It should be noted that, in the present work, the method is solely applied to the analysis of *step patterns*, whereas for example, arm movements and performance style have not been included in the basic analyses.

The starting point was based on disclosing the simple patterns of existing dances and on the study of possible variations of the different kinetic components which comprised these dance patterns. Chain and round dances from different geographical and cultural regions were studied, analysed and compared together with the variations and ornaments of the kind that individual participants add while dancing.

Main category patterns³

Two of the main categories, in this work symbolized by the letters *A* and *B*, established themselves due to the fact that the examples of dances based on these patterns were convincingly numerous, especially pattern *B*. In their simplest forms, they are easily recognizable and their structural make-up is clear, which makes the segmentation of the patterns into significant compositional units rather uncomplicated.

Pattern A is simply based on the motif⁴ that we shall from now on designate by the generic term *travelling steps*, a term which includes walking or running steps.⁵ Note that it takes at least two walking or running steps in succession to create a series of movements identified as such (see Figure 1). Travelling steps can be done in any direction.

Pattern B is based on a combination of two motifs and can be segmented as follows: two travelling steps followed by a hesitation step. *Hesitation step* will from here on be used as the generic term for the motif described below.⁶

The *hesitation step* functions as a pausing step or hesitation, in that it creates a kind of break in the monotony of a progression in a series of *travelling steps*. In this way the hesitation step in certain positions provides a number of caesurae which are of importance in the segmentation of a given dance. In the simplest form of the hesitation step, the compositional elements consist of a *step-hold*, *step-close*, or *step-swing* followed by its symmetrical repetition, the second half of the hesitation step thus counterbalancing the first (see Figure 2).

Figure 3 shows the combination of motifs *a* and *b* in the construction of pattern *B*. The two motifs *a* and *b* can be seen as the basic compositional elements of which the different dance patterns are composed; they represent an artistic transposition of universal movements employed by the human body.

Roughly speaking, it is in the interrelationship between these two motifs that the structural analysis of the various dance patterns is based.⁷ When these components are subjected to compositional principles such as *identical* or *symmetrical repetition* and/or the combination of larger units resulting from these principles, the number of possible combinations, and accordingly the number of patterns, increase.

Additionally, *variation*, *modification*, and *expansion* can take place on all structural layers, thus resulting in a vast number of dances. It is interesting to note, that this variety of dances can be reduced to a limited number of widely distributed basic patterns. It is possible that it is the universal character of these patterns which caused them to have been adopted and passed down by various ethnic groups within Europe as an integral part of their cultural heritage.

Traditional chain and round dances develop from a series of basic patterns ranging from a very simple motif, like the one solely based on the travelling steps, to compound patterns consisting of a combination of several structural units, that is, from simple motifs to complex motifs.

The structural analyses have been carried out on the basis of the interrelationship between the following features: the spatial characteristics (that is, the progression⁸ and reversion⁹ of patterns) and the rhythmical-kinetic characteristics (that is, the succession of supports¹⁰ and their rhythmical distribution) of the dance material examined.

Furthermore, it should be stressed that an important criterion for the analyses of the material has been that the segmentation of dances into patterns and their components should make up units that theoretically could function as independent patterns or as motifs. In other words, the segmentation should not be carried out beyond the point where these units lose their structural significance. An example of this criterion for the breakdown of a compound pattern into the patterns of which it is composed, implies that every single one of these patterns can be found in contexts where it functions as a basic pattern in itself. Patterns based on reversion (that is, lateral symmetry), however, do form an exception to the above rule, in that a reversed pattern will usually appear in combination with its own symmetrical repetition or with another pattern based on the principle of reversion (see Examples 96-99).

The basic patterns are recognizable through their repetition; although there are dances where travelling steps and hesitation steps alternate irregularly within the same pattern, in a great many of the popular dances still in use, the hesitation step is located at the end of the pattern, thus contributing to its demarcation.

When motif *a* of pattern *B* is repeated once, an altogether different pattern appears. This pattern, that can be denoted as *aab* (see Figure 4), represents the third main category of dance patterns in the present analytical work and will from now on be symbolized by the capital letter *C*.

Empirical investigation has shown that the addition of an extra pair of travelling steps (motif *a*) to a given pattern results in the formation of a different pattern, a phenomenon that can be conceived as a structural rule. Following the above-established principles, the hereby created pattern correspondingly represents a different main category.

Thus, adding an extra motif *a* to structure *C* (*aab*) will create a pattern that can be called *D* (*aaab*) (see Figure 5) and which characterizes the fourth main category.

Correspondingly, the following pattern representing the fifth main category is composed of *aaaab* (see Figure 6) and is symbolized by the capital letter *E*.

The sixth main category is identified by the letter *F* and can be denoted as *aaaaab* (see Figure 7). Pattern *F* is exclusively a theoretical construction used in the establishment of the main category. Even though no examples of this pattern have been found in the material upon which the analyses are based, there are examples of dances based on a subcategory pattern derived from pattern *F*, which is the reason for its use here.

In addition, in order to utilize data processing, it was necessary to make the design of the project capacious and to develop it along strictly logical lines even in the time when the material was being collected. It was, in other words, important to reserve space in the data base for analytical results that could not be foreseen at the time encoding was started.¹¹

The seventh main category, identified by capital letter *G*, represents a pattern which is entirely based on motif *b*, that is, on the *hesitation step* (see Figure 8). As shown in Figure 8, a pattern based solely on motif *b* will result in the dancers remaining in place or moving back and forth over an imaginary point due to the counterbalancing effect of the second step (component β_1 of motif *b*). For this reason, pattern *G* often forms the basic pattern for a contrasting section in multi-section dances¹² of which the other section(s) would be of the space-covering type(s): for example, patterns based on the principle of progression or reversion.

In contrast to the above rules, where the addition of a pair of travelling steps (motif *a*) to a given pattern results in the formation of a different pattern, a multiplication of the hesitation step (motif *b*) can be seen as a variation of a given pattern; but it does not, in this position, have sufficient significance to transform the pattern in question.

Except for dances, or sections of dances, that are entirely based on the hesitation step, the multiplication of motif *b* within a given dance pattern is in practice used by the dancers either to insert some extra moments of relaxation and to break the monotony of the movement, or in order to give the first dancer a chance to perform those improvisations that are usually executed in place such as squats, somersaults, leaps, foot and leg slaps, and so on.

In dances with impromptu parts, the improvisation will mostly be performed by the lead dancer, although in some places the last dancer of an open circle, line or chain also has the right to show off his abilities. During the improvisations, the rest of the dancers normally perform the basic pattern, which can be done either covering space or in place. Secondly, the dancers can multiply the hesitation steps of the dance pattern thus remaining in place and avoiding pushing the dancers in front of them and the person improvising. Finally, they may simply stand in place waiting for the improviser to finish his/her part according to local traditions and the character of the improvisations. In cases like the above, the hesitation step and thereby the extension of the pattern is often called out.¹³

Subcategory patterns

The result of establishing the main categories was the creation of a series of matching subcategories. The analytical work preceding the creation of these subcategories was based on empirical material, and was methodologically analogous to that of the formation of the main categories.

In this part of the process, the structural characteristics of the established main categories as well as their rhythmical and kinetic derivations functioned as a frame of reference within which the various structural analyses of a representative excerpt of the collected material were tested and subjected to the current inquiry.

Dances which naturally fell within the existing main categories were classified first. Structural analyses of the remaining dances uncovered groups of patterns resulting from at least one of the different compositional procedures listed below.

- a) Augmentation (AUG.) - augmented patterns
- b) Expansion (EXP.) - expanded patterns
- c) Modification (M) - modified patterns
- d) Reversion (R) - reversed patterns
- e) Retrograde (RETRO.) - retrograded patterns

Augmentation/augmented patterns

The term augmentation is used analogously to its use in musical analysis, where it covers the presentation of a rhythmical composition of a given motif in double note values. The Examples Ib and IIb) show the augmented form of motifs Ia and IIa, respectively.

Expansion/expanded patterns

The compositional principle of the expansion of a given pattern is based on the idea of enlarging the original pattern by substituting two steps for every single step of the pattern. Hence, the expansion causes a double consumption of both time and space compared to the original pattern (as can be seen from Figures 9-12), whereas the principle of augmentation described above only results in a doubling of the use of time, not of space.

Figures 9 and 10 show the expansion of the compositional units, the motifs *a* and *b*, of pattern *B*. Next follow, likewise in notation, basic pattern *B* and its expansion (Figures 11 and 12). Figure 12 is a presentation of the subcategory pattern which is symbolized by the capital letters *B-EXP*.

In Figure 12, note that the travelling steps in measures 3 and 5 resulting from the expansion of motif *b* are mostly carried out facing the same direction as the preceding travelling steps in measure 3 and facing the opposite direction in measure 5.

Although the above principles of augmentation and expansion have led to two different subcategories in the categorization of the analysed dance material, an obvious affinity exists between these two principles. The affinity can be observed especially in dances where the expansion of a basic step pattern functions as a variation of a dance pattern based on the augmentation of this very pattern (see Example III). Note that the pattern in question must be expanded as a whole. If only a part of a pattern is expanded this causes the creation of a new pattern.

Modification/modified patterns

A pattern can be modified in various ways, but generally the expression implies that it is given a new form or altered in some respect.¹⁴

The modification, however, must not change the original character of the pattern from which it derives and should always be checked for its affinity with that pattern. The most common types of modification are based on contraction or extension of the pattern involved. One such example is the Vlach dance *Diamáto* (see Example IV), also known by the name of *Sta Tría*, from northern Greece.

In Example IV, part I of the dance represents a rhythmical modification of pattern *B* which can be seen in its basic form in part II of the same dance. The modification is a contraction of the hesitation step into one half the relative length of time compared to the usual representation of pattern *B*. The relationship between pattern *B* and this particular modification of pattern *B* can be seen by comparing Figures 13-14. Figure 13 shows a schematic presentation of pattern *B* in 3/8 time whereas Figure 14 shows the modification as it is seen in part I of the dance *Diamánto* mentioned above. The modified pattern is symbolized by the capital letters *BM*.

Reversion/reversed patterns

The term reversion is applied to patterns which are based on the idea of reciprocating movement. The term *reversion* corresponds to the term *lateral symmetry* in Labanotation. According to the material examined, the reversion of a given pattern normally takes place at the point where a hesitation step (motif *b*) is carried only half-way through. In this connection, it should be noted that motif *b* per se represents the principle of reversion in miniature in that its two compositional elements β and β_1 are symmetrical reversions of one another as can be seen from Figure 15.

By omitting the built-in counter-balance of the hesitation step, the dancer is left in a position from which he/she is unable to perform an identical repetition of the pattern which he/she has just finished. This position, however, enables him/her to repeat the pattern in reverse, that is starting the pattern off on the other foot and performing it in the opposite direction.

The Serbian dance *Moravac* (Example V) is an example of a dance based on a pattern and its reversion. The pattern is *BR (1,5)* and the number in parenthesis indicates the number of hesitation steps added. (See also *hesitation steps*.)

Instead of adding a reversion of the pattern, the dancer may, at this point where he/she finishes the first pattern, add a different pattern based on the principle of reversion. In dances based on two different patterns of reversion, the tendency seems to be that the first of the two patterns is "longer" than the second one.¹⁵ The term "longer" in this case means that it contains more travelling steps, thus resulting in a gradual progression in space. This phenomenon can be seen in the dance *Jambola* from the *Sredno Gora* Region in Bulgaria (see Example VI).

In dances based on the combination or joining of more than two patterns, reciprocating patterns can be seen in combination with those of the progressing type; an example of this is the dance *Nadigravane* from the *Rhodopi* Region in southern Bulgaria (see Example VII).

Retrograde/retrograded patterns

The term *retrograde* is used analogously to its use in musical analysis where it covers the compositional technique known as *cancrizans*.

Theoretically, all dance patterns from the previously established main categories and subcategories can be subordinated to retrograde motion. The retrograde of a given pattern is produced by performing the pattern in question in retrograde order. This means that the dancer begins by performing the last step or movement component of the original pattern, continuing with the second last and so on, and finishing by performing what was the first step or movement component of the original pattern (see Examples IIX and IX).

Usually, the retrograded pattern is performed retrograde *and* reverse, that is, travelling in the opposite direction and in reverse stepping of the pattern from which it derives. The visual result is that of the dancers moving in a reciprocating motion similar to the one characteristic for dances based on the principle of reversion. More detailed analysis shows, however, that as distinguished from the retrograded patterns, reversed patterns are based on symmetrical repetition in which a given pattern is repeated from its beginning to its end, but *in opposite direction* and with reversed steps.

In order to facilitate the structural analysis of a group of dances which supposedly are based on the principle of retrograde and/or retrograde-reverse, a diagram based on the system of co-

ordinates was employed. In the analyses, the x-axis and the y-axis are applied as axes for two types of mirror reflection, which when a given set of rules is observed, cause the following transformations, respectively:

1. **Mirror reflection in the x-axis**
causes the transformation of a given pattern into its *retrograde*.
2. **Mirror reflection in the y-axis**
causes the transformation of a given pattern into its *reversion*, which corresponds to the term lateral symmetry in Labanotation.

In order to carry out the different mirror reflections the following rules must be observed:

Reflection in the y-axis causes the transformation listed below:

Right foot	→	Left foot
Left foot	→	Right foot
Counterclockwise motion	→	Clockwise motion
Clockwise motion	→	Counterclockwise motion

Reflection in the x-axis causes a retrograde reproduction of the pattern reflected, the result of this being that what was the last step or movement component¹⁶ of the original pattern appears as the first step or movement component of its retrograde reproduction. Correspondingly, the first step of the original pattern will be located as the last one of the retrograde pattern provided that the mirror reflection is carried out in regressive order.

The two different types of mirror reflection may be visualised by imagining the y-axis and the x-axis, respectively, as lines over which a sheet of paper can be folded. The distinction between a retrograde and a reversion of a given pattern can be seen from the notation in Figure 16, in which the previously established subcategory pattern *CR* is placed in the system of co-ordinates. Note that component β , which represents half a hesitation step, is considered a unit and is transformed as such in the mirror reflections.

As it can be seen from Figure 16, the use of the y-axis for the mirror reflection will transfer pattern *CR* from quadrant III into quadrant IV, where it appears as a symmetrical image of pattern *CR*. Whereas, a subsequent mirror reflection in the x-axis will transfer pattern *CR* into quadrant I where it will be not only symmetrical, but symmetrical and retrograde, that is, reverse and retrograde, provided that the previously established rules for the two types of mirror reflection are observed.

Theoretically, pattern *CR* can be placed in any one of the four quadrants and the mirror reflection in the two axes will still cause the same type of transformations as those described above. Hence, a continuous series of four mirror reflections performed in the y-axis and the x-axis alternately results in the pattern being transformed into its original form and starting position in the diagram.

I suggest that the principle of retrograde-reverse may be one possible way of explaining the underlying compositional procedure behind, for example, some of the Pajduska dances and corresponding dance patterns found in Bulgaria, northern Greece and Republic of Macedonia – patterns which otherwise are analysed with difficulty.

Generally, it can be said that the dancers, more or less consciously and continuously, mirror in the body-axis, whether done on a gross scale, as in dances based on the idea of reciprocating movement, or in miniature, as in the counterbalancing of a travelling or a hesitation step. This phenomenon is probably a natural consequence of the symmetrical constitution of the human body.

The y-axis of the diagram corresponds to the body-axis, which probably explains why the examples of dances based on the principle of reversion are by far more numerous and widespread than those based on the principle of retrograde. Hence, it should be noted that I have found only few examples in the material at hand based on the principle of retrograde-reverse.

Subcategory patterns

Further analyses proved that each of the above techniques could be applied to every single one of the main categories, thus resulting in a series of subcategories to match (see the diagram below for an exemplification).

	<i>A</i> ¹⁷	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i> ¹⁸	<i>G</i>
<i>AUG.</i>	<i>A-AUG.</i>						
<i>EXP.</i> <i>B-EXP.</i>						
<i>M</i> <i>GM</i>						
<i>R</i> <i>DR.</i>						
<i>RETRO.</i> <i>C-RETRO.</i>						

Following the principle presented in the diagram above, a series of subcategories for each of the main categories *A - G* can be established theoretically.

<i>A</i>	<i>A-AUG.</i>	<i>A-EXP.</i>	<i>AM</i>	<i>AR</i>	<i>A-RETRO.</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>B-AUG.</i>	<i>B-EXP.</i>	<i>BM</i>	<i>BR</i>	<i>B-RETRO.</i>
<i>C</i>	<i>C-AUG.</i>	<i>C-EXP.</i>	<i>CM</i>	<i>CR</i>	<i>C-RETRO.</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>D-AUG.</i>	<i>D-EXP.</i>	<i>DM</i>	<i>DR</i>	<i>D-RETRO.</i>
<i>E</i>	<i>E-AUG.</i>	<i>E-EXP.</i>	<i>EM</i>	<i>ER</i>	<i>E-RETRO.</i>
<i>F</i>	<i>F-AUG.</i>	<i>F-EXP.</i>	<i>FM</i>	<i>FR</i>	<i>F-RETRO.</i>
<i>G</i>	<i>G-AUG.</i>	<i>G-EXP.</i>	<i>GM</i>	<i>GR</i>	<i>G-RETRO.</i>

It should be stressed that the above list is a theoretical product, and that I have not found examples of every single one of these patterns in the material at hand. For instance, an expansion of pattern *A* is not distinguishable from an identical repetition of the same pattern. Correspondingly, a retrograde of pattern *G* does not look different from an ordinary repetition of pattern *G*. Likewise, a reversion of pattern *G* would come into conflict with the structural idea of the reversed pattern as defined above. The definition given states that reversion mostly appears where a hesitation step is left incomplete, consequently leaving the dancer free to begin either the same or a different reversed pattern, which would normally be carried out in the opposite direction.

Some of the above established subcategories can also be subjected to the same compositional procedures listed as *a - e* under subcategory patterns. Thus, the theoretically possible subcategories (for example, of main category *B*) can be formed by use of the diagram below, thus subsuming those subcategories set up previously by including the series of patterns along the horizontal axis.

	<i>B-AUG.</i>	<i>B-EXP.</i>	<i>BM</i>	<i>BR</i>	<i>B-RETRO.</i>
<i>AUG.</i> <i>BR-EXP.</i>				
<i>EXP.</i>					
<i>M</i> <i>B-EXP.-M</i>				
<i>R</i>					
<i>RETRO.</i>					

In practice, however, only a relatively limited number of the theoretically possible combinations have been found in the traditional dance repertoires examined. For a survey of the distribution and frequency of occurrence of the various patterns, the reader is referred to Chapter III and Catalogues V-VII in Torp 1990.

The formation of the subcategories deriving from main category pattern *A* diverges slightly from the other subcategories discussed here. Some of these derivations of pattern *A* have been

given a self-contained status by elevating them into the system of subcategories, although they theoretically should be registered under main category pattern *A* with special mention of local characteristics.¹⁹

Figure 20 shows the kinetic and dimensional relationship between the main category pattern *A* and the two subcategory patterns *A-SQQ* and *A-QQS*, respectively. It appears likewise from the examples given here that these subcategories are based on the replacement of either one of the two travelling steps which form pattern *A* by two travelling steps. The letter "v" in $a_v1 + a_v2$ indicates that motifs $a_v1 + a_v2$ can be seen as variations of motif *a*.

Additionally, it was necessary on the basis of existing dances to establish the four following subcategories: 1) *A-AUG.-SQQ*, 2) *A-AUG.-QQS*, 3) *A-AUG.-SSQ*, and 4) *A-AUG.-SQS*, all four of which derive from the subcategory pattern *A-AUG.* as can be seen from their designation. Figure shows the kinetic and dimensional relationship between the examples of the patterns belonging to these four subcategories and subcategory pattern *A-AUG.*

Common to the above six subcategories is the symmetrical repetition of motif a_v , the purpose of the symmetrical repetition being to counterbalance the irregular shift of weight that appears when an extra step is added to motif *a*. Thus, the symmetrical repetition of motif a_v resulting in a doubling of the dimensions of pattern *A* and *A-AUG.*, respectively, is the reason why patterns *A-SQQ*, *A-QQS*, *A-AUG.-SQQ*, *A-AUG.-QQS*, *A-AUG.-SSQ*, and *A-AUG.-SQS* are formed into individual subcategories and are therefore not considered to represent local characteristics of patterns *A* and *A-AUG.*

The list below presents the relevant subcategory patterns of main category pattern *A* according to the material examined.

A
A-AUG.
A-SQQ
A-QQS
AM
AR
ARM
A-AUG.-SQQ
A-AUG.-QQS
A-AUG.-SSQ
A-AUG.-SQS

In dances in 3/4-time based on pattern *A*, the principle of variation described above may theoretically result in any of the five derivations seen in Figure 21. However, I have found no examples in which the above derivations function as basic patterns and therefore none of these motif patterns have been given subcategory status.²⁰

An additional possible variation of pattern *A* is a doubling of each travelling step thus performing twice the number of travelling steps within the same space of time. This phenomenon is, where it appears, analysed as a local variation of basic pattern *A*.

Local characteristics

Generally speaking, it is the result of a differentiated elaboration within the tradition of a usually small number of basic patterns which makes up the total sum of dances of a given dance repertoire. In the following we shall briefly look at the structural principles behind the most common rhythmical-kinetic elaborations (from hereon called by the generic term *local characteristics*) in order to demonstrate how they apply to the actual performances of the established dance patterns.

The term *local characteristics* is defined as rhythmical-kinetic variations of an established

pattern/model. It is presupposed that the variation(s) in question form(s) a "permanent" feature of the analysed dance at the time it was recorded. Generally speaking, the various types of local characteristics are based on a limited number of principles of variation, that is if we do not take into account the stylistic differences inevitably appearing in the local performance of a given pattern.

These principles are all based on rhythmical-kinetic deviations of the various composites making up the established theoretical models. It is necessary to stress, however, that the very same principles of variation which are registered as local characteristics when forming a "permanent" feature in the performance of a given pattern, likewise occasionally are applied to a given dance in places where it is common to vary the basic pattern throughout the dance.

It is implied that all variations, whether of the "permanent" or the "optional" type are culturally patterned. This means that they must be compatible with what is kinetically, rhythmically, and conceptually acceptable within the context in which they are performed. In addition, they must be performed according to the local style.

The following list of local characteristics is a survey of the majority of the applied characteristics found within the recorded empirical material. The list can, whenever needed, be supplemented with other relevant characteristics which might be revealed through the analysis of a given material. The list applies to Examples 1-16 in Labanotation.

<i>Example</i>	<i>Travelling step(s)</i>
1: (x) ²¹	performed in place.
2: (1+2) ²²	replaced by a step-hop.
3: (2+4)	replaced by 2 traveling steps each.
4a: (1+2, 3+4)	contracted, that is, replaced by 1 traveling step, respectively.
4b: (2+4)	replaced by 1 hop each.
5: (2)	performed with a delay/suspension.
6: (x)	performed syncopated.

<i>Example</i>	<i>Hesitation step(s)</i>
7: (0,5) ²³	replaced by the rhythmical-kinetic composite <i>sqq</i> (slow-quick-quick).
8: (1,0)	replaced by the rhythmical-kinetic composite <i>qqs</i> (quick-quick-slow).
9: (x)	replaced by the rhythmical-kinetic composite <i>sq</i> (slow-quick-slow).
10a: (x)	replaced by the rhythmical-kinetic composite <i>ssq</i> (slow-slow-quick).
10b: (x)	replaced by the rhythmical-kinetic composite <i>qss</i> (quick-slow-slow).
11a: (0,5)	replaced by the rhythmical-kinetic composite <i>qqq</i> (quick-quick-quick).
11b: (x)	replaced by the rhythmical-kinetic composite <i>qqqq</i> (quick-quick-quick-quick).
12: (x)	performed with a delay/suspension. (In addition: (x) replaced by the rhythmical-kinetic composite <i>sqq</i>).
13: (x)	performed traveling.
14a-b:	performed with multiple hesitation steps: for example, comparison between basic pattern C performed with 1,0 hesitation step (Example 14a) and 2,0 hesitation steps (Example 14b), respectively.
14c-d:	performed with multiple hesitation steps: for example, comparison between basic pattern CR performed with 0,5 hesitation step (Example 14c) and 1,5 hesitation steps (Example 14d), respectively.
15: (1,0)	replaced by 2 travelling steps.
16:	displacement of pattern, for example, the dance begins on hesitation step 1,0 of pattern C.

Examples 1-16 in Labanotation are followed by the presentation of dances selected with a view to demonstrate how various local characteristics in practice apply to the established theoretical models. In the given examples, each dance name is followed by a parenthesis wherein the numbers correspond to the numbers in the above survey of the most commonly employed local characteristics.

Conclusions

Through the development of the above presented empirically derived method, I have found it possible to extract certain, generally employed structural features from a wide and diverse body of European chain and round dances. Using this method additionally proved that a series of main category patterns can be established on the basis of the theoretical models which result from the determination of certain structurally significant components and the applied principles for the junction of these components.

Superimposition of the established theoretical models on the examined material further uncovered a number of compositional procedures applied in the practical execution of these models. The registered procedures are: augmentation, expansion, modification, reversion, and retrograde, several of which may be incorporated simultaneously, and which are all well-established compositional techniques within music and, to some extent, kinetics.

The determination of these procedures and the subsequent investigations of how they apply to empirical material enabled the institution of a number of subcategories deriving from the established main categories. By using the derived method, generally speaking, all the European chain and round dance materials in living tradition available to me during my research could be analysed according to the structural make-up of the underlying step patterns of the individual dances.²⁴ A result of the application of this particular method to a comprehensive European dance material was the organization of the material in a series of catalogues according to various principles of classification. The resulting analyses are presented in Chapter III of Volume 1, examples in Labanotation can be found in Volume 3, and the resulting catalogues in Volume 2 of Torp 1990.

Although some of the recorded dances may possibly be analyzed and classified differently, and in spite of the admittedly incomplete coverage of certain geographic-cultural regions of Europe within the empirical material upon which the derived method rests, the present study clearly indicates that the number of step patterns which form the structural basis of the body of European chain and round dances in general, is indeed very limited. However, it should be noted that the above presented method and the principles on which it is based makes is open to the addition of main- and subcategories as well as compositional procedures different from those established herein, should a need to do so present itself.

ENDNOTES

1. The method and the results of the analyses and classification of a comprehensive material according to this method was published in *Chain and round dance patterns – A method for structural analysis and its application to European material*, 1-3, 1990.
2. The term *pattern* is equivalent to the term *phrase* as used by the IFMC/ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology (1974). (See the article by Anca Giurchescu and Eva Kröschlova in the present work).
3. Note that in the remaining text, all figures and examples are numbered according to the original number of the given figure or example in Torp 1990.
4. The term *motif* is equivalent to the term *motif* as used by Kaepler [1972] and by the IFMC/ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology [1974]. (See the article by Adrienne Kaepler in the present work).
5. I am grateful to my late friend and colleague, the Greek-American folklorist Ted Petrides for having introduced the term *travelling step* and *hesitation step* to me as I find that they cover the two most fundamental components rather accurately.

6. See Endnote 5.
7. See also Martin and Pesovár [1963].
8. That is, dances in which the dancers move mainly in one direction.
9. That is, dances in which the dancers move forth and back in a kind of reciprocating movement
10. The smallest unit of a dance according to the Hungarian dance scholars György Martin and Ernő Pesovár, uses two kinds of support: body weight on one foot or body weight on both feet. When analysed as an organic part of the motif, the changes of the supports in the subsequent phases should be taken into account. (See Martin and Pesovár 1963.)
11. Encoding and data processing of the research material took place from 1981-1985 when changes in the make-up of a program and its parameters was quite complicated once encoding had begun and most computers not yet capable of handling data of this size. (See chapter 4 of Torp 1990 for a description of the development of a research design with a view to computer application).
12. The term *section* is understood here as a limited structural unit which in length coincides with a musical section of corresponding length. The section is demarcated either 1) through its repetition or 2) by the appearance of a closing figure.
13. As pointed out by Anca Giurchescu (private communication), in Romania, compositional units that are occasionally repeated within the basic pattern are called out and numbered according to the amount of repetitions called for.
14. Compare definition of *modify* and *modification* in *Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 1980 edition.
15. The same tendency is seen in dances based on the combination of patterns of the progressive type.
16. The term *component* is equivalent to the term *kineme* as used by Kaepler [1972] and *element* as used by the IFMC/ICTM Study Group [1974].
17. A particular series of subcategories is established for main category *A*.
18. No examples have been found of main category pattern *F*, whereas this particular pattern exists in the subcategory form based on the principle of reversion.
19. See definition of the term *local characteristics*.
20. I am grateful to Anca Giurchescu for drawing attention to the Romanian *Hora*, which in some places is followed by a different section that kinetically is based on triple time, but is performed to music in 2/4-meter.
21. *x* indicates that all [travelling] steps are performed as specified.
22. *1,2,3, and so on*, specifies which step(s) out of a series of travelling steps is performed as indicated.
23. Decimals are used to specify which unit of a given hesitation step is performed as indicated.
24. Dance materials performed in *living tradition* are in this work defined as dances still being performed after World War II or those dances which can still be reproduced or identified by the people concerned, as part of their own dance culture.

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LABANOTATION FIGURES AND EXAMPLES

selected from Lisbet Torp (1991)

Chain and round dance patterns:

a method for structural analysis and its application to European material, volumes 1-3.

FIGURES

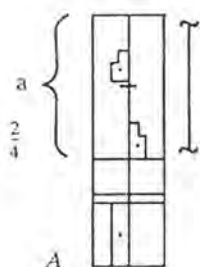
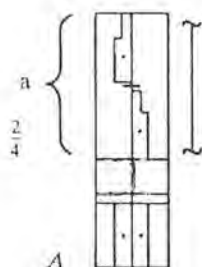


Figure 1

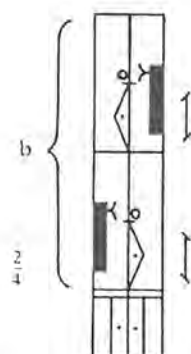
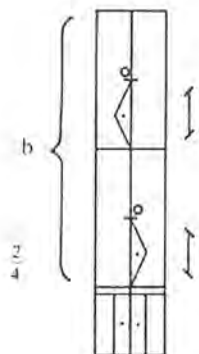


Figure 2

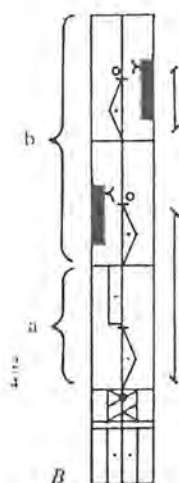
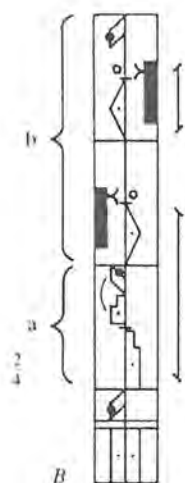


Figure 3

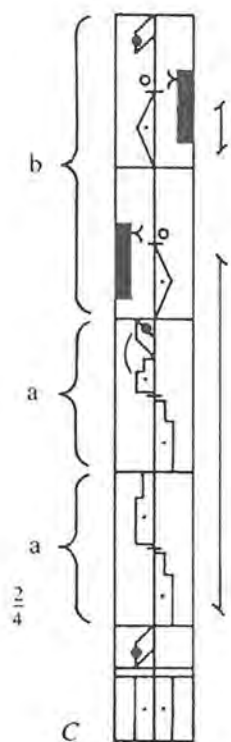


Figure 4

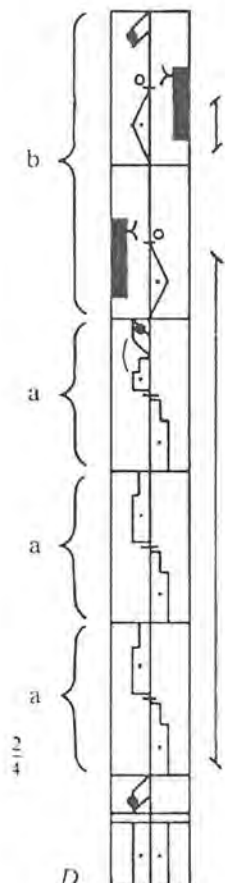


Figure 5

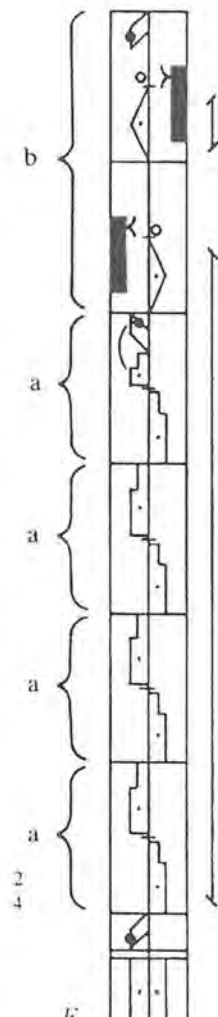


Figure 6

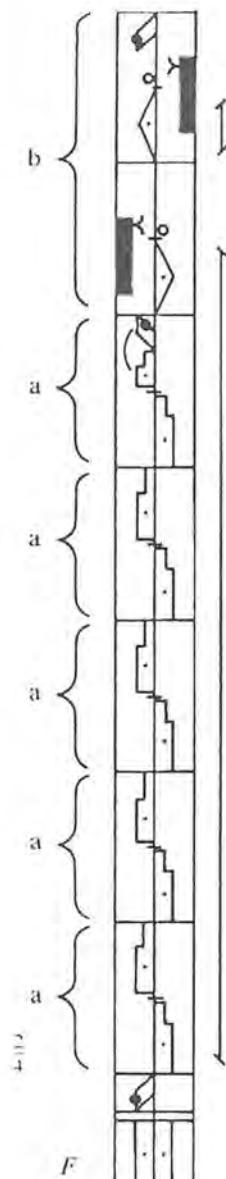


Figure 7

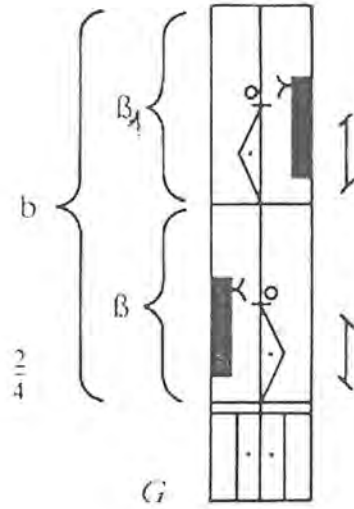


Figure 8

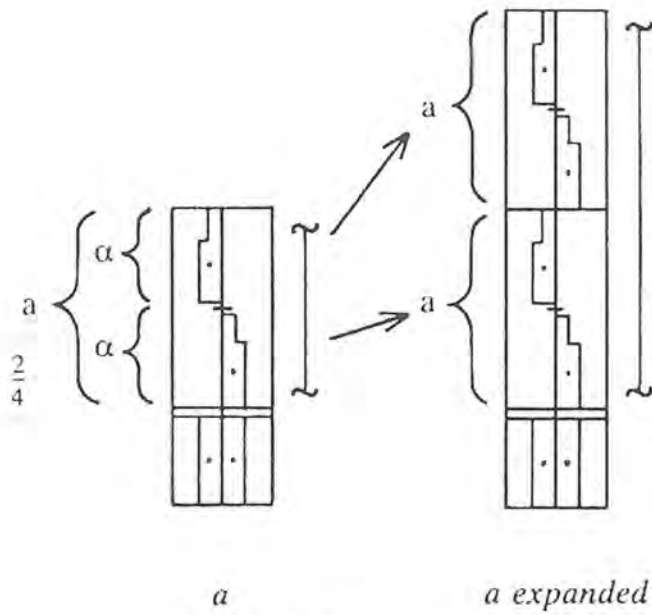


Figure 9

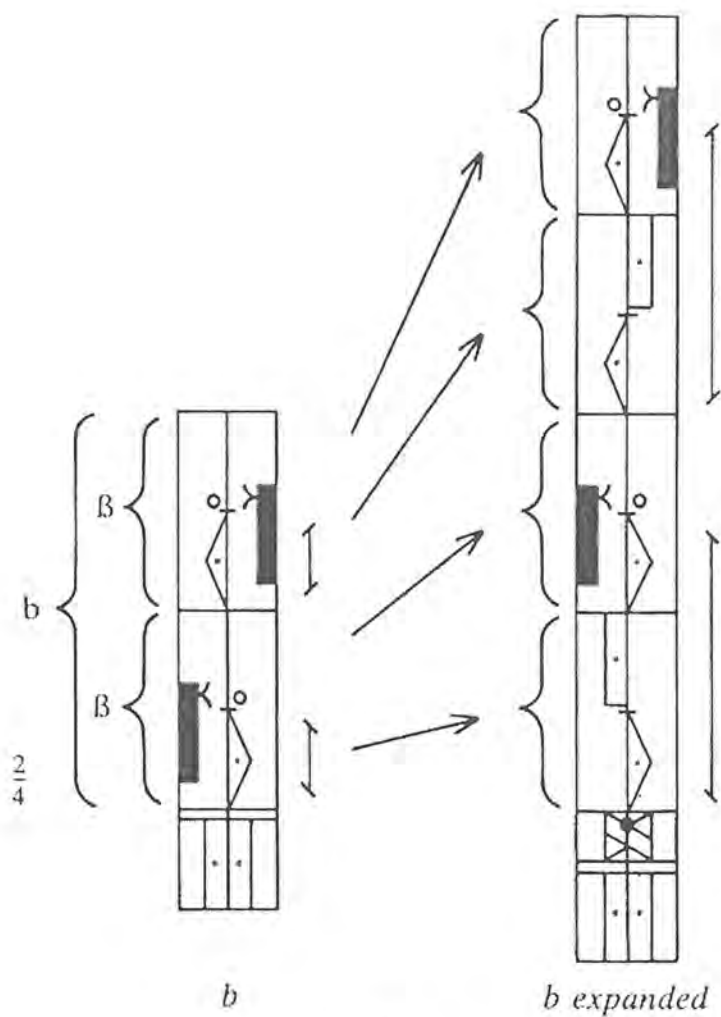


Figure 10

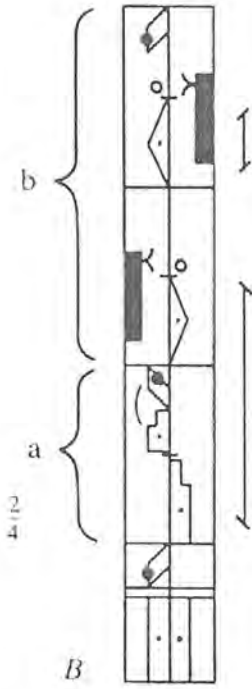


Figure 11

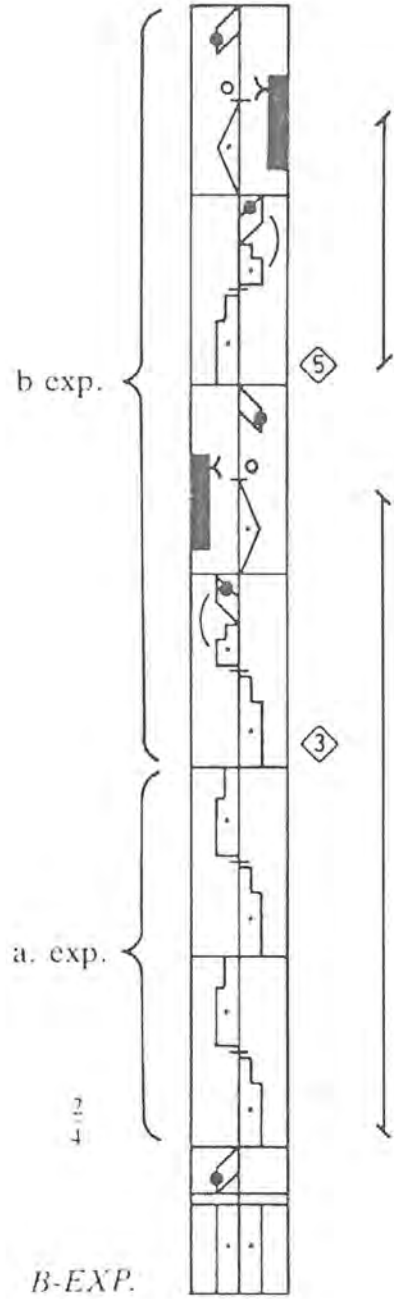


Figure 12

MODEL

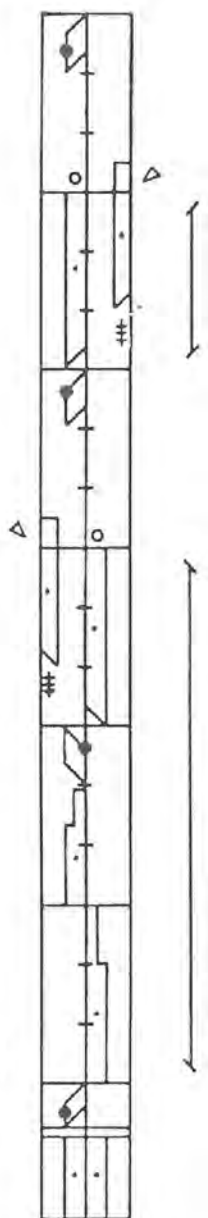


Figure 13

DIAMÁNTO

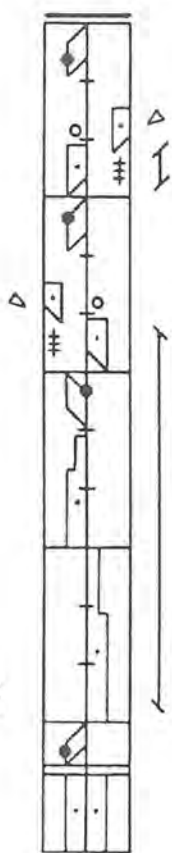


Figure 14

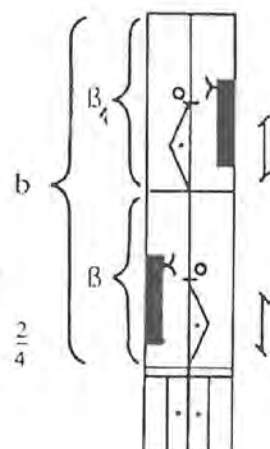


Figure 15

b

$\frac{2}{4}$

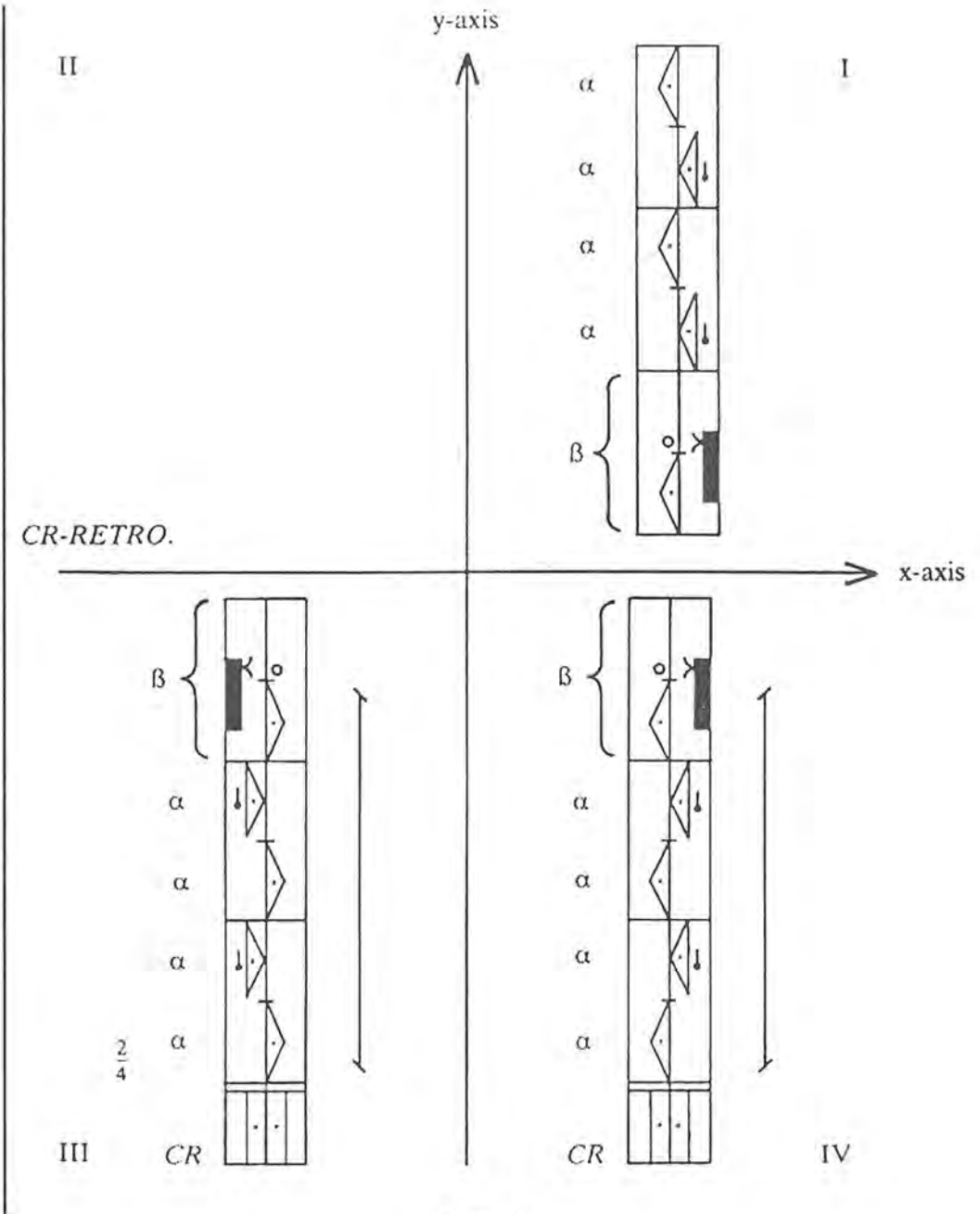
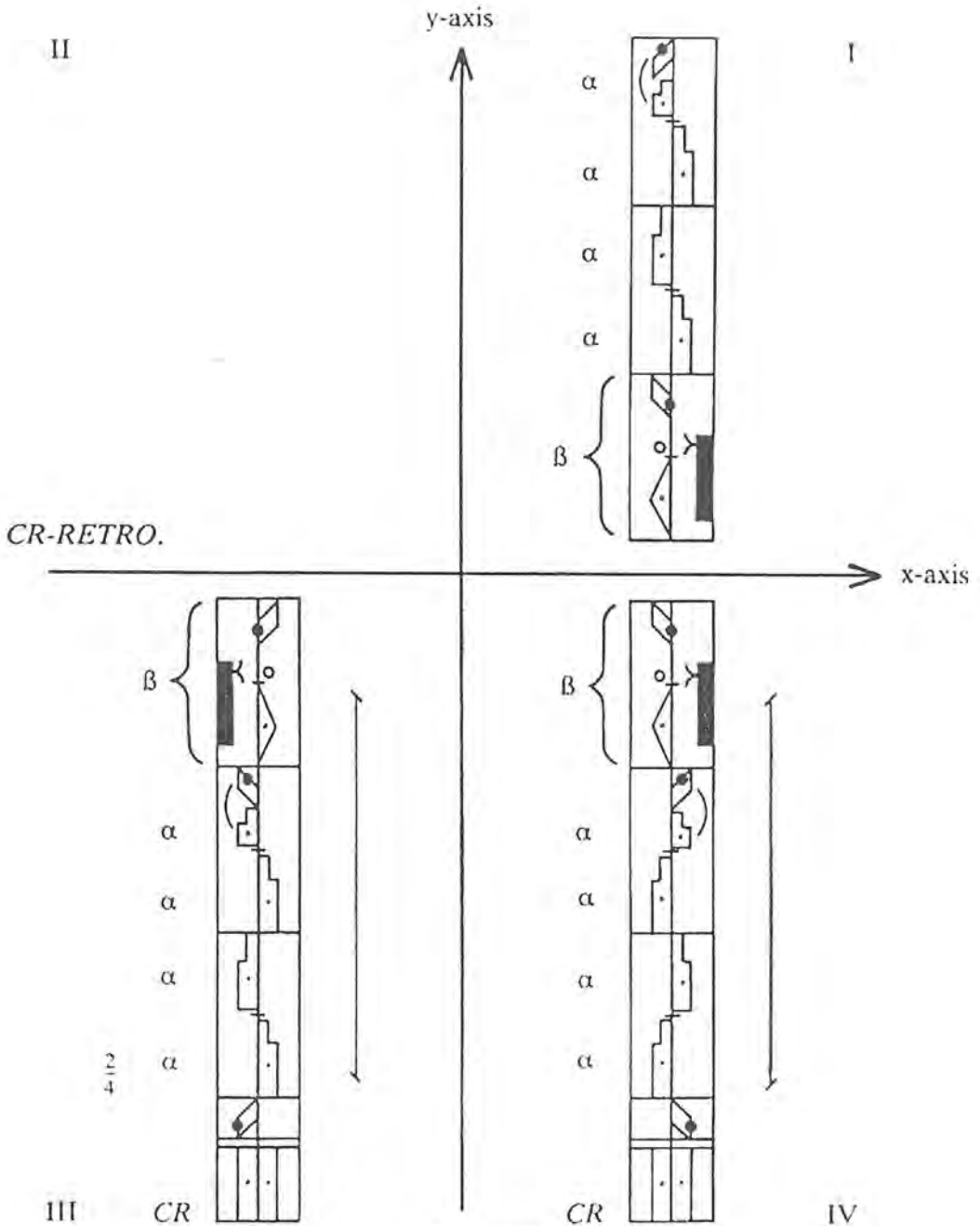


Figure 16a



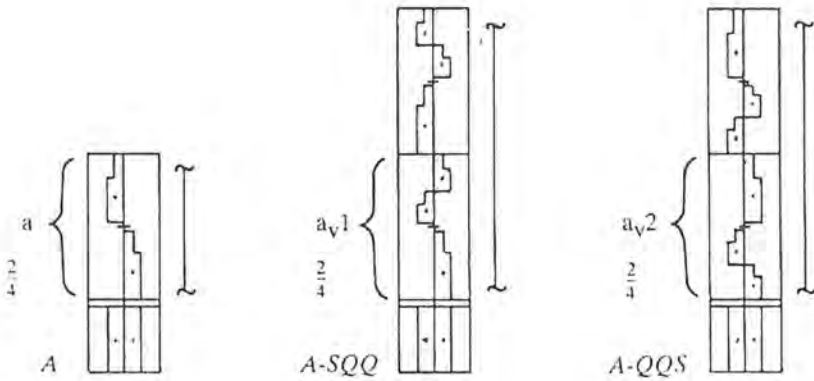


Figure 19

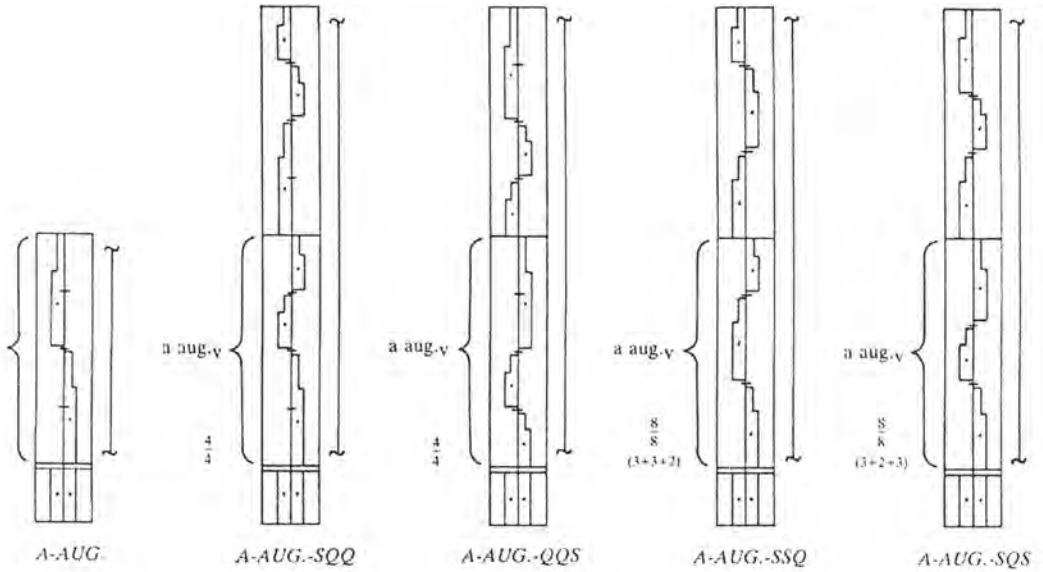


Figure 20

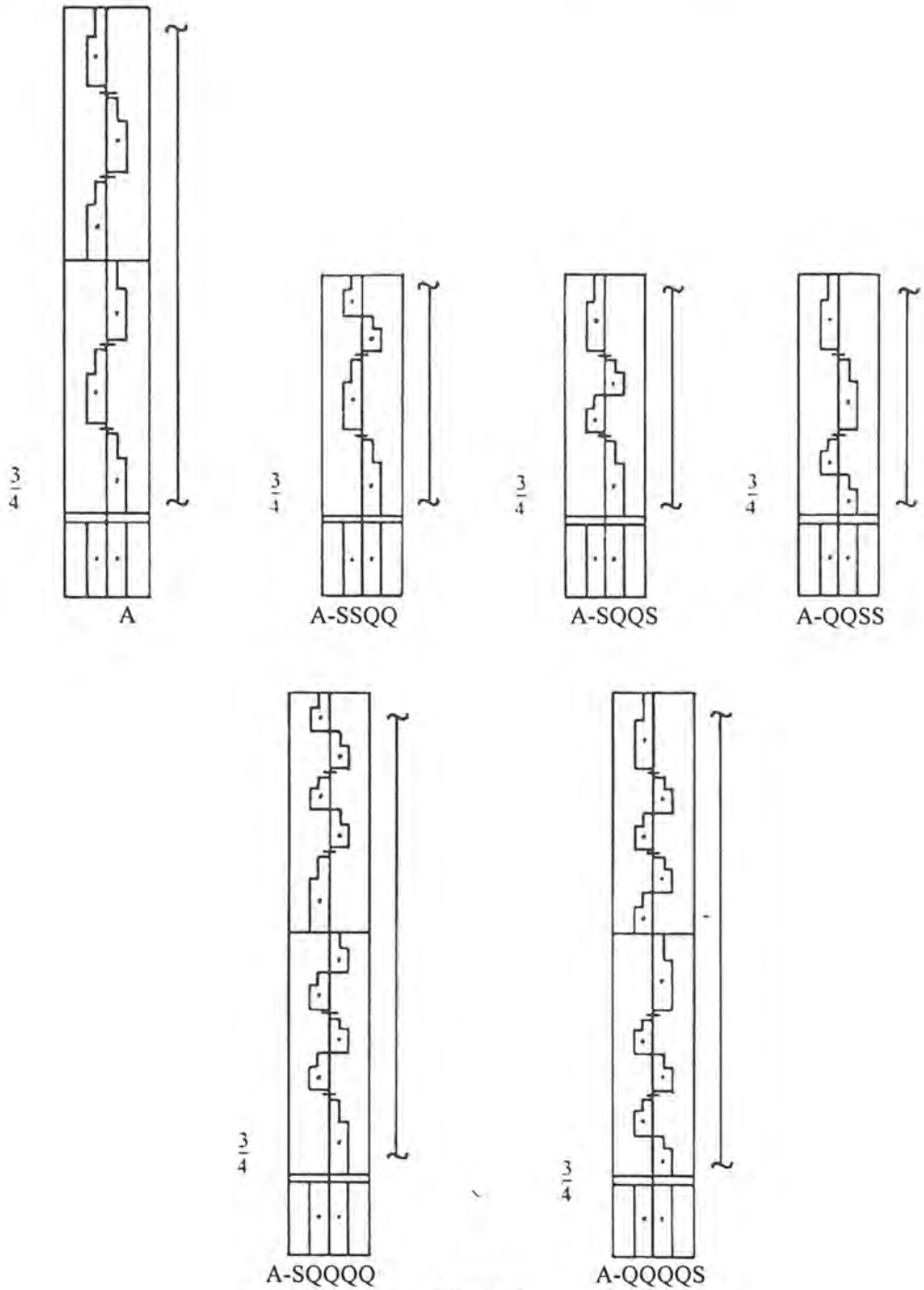


Figure 21

EXAMPLES
I - IX

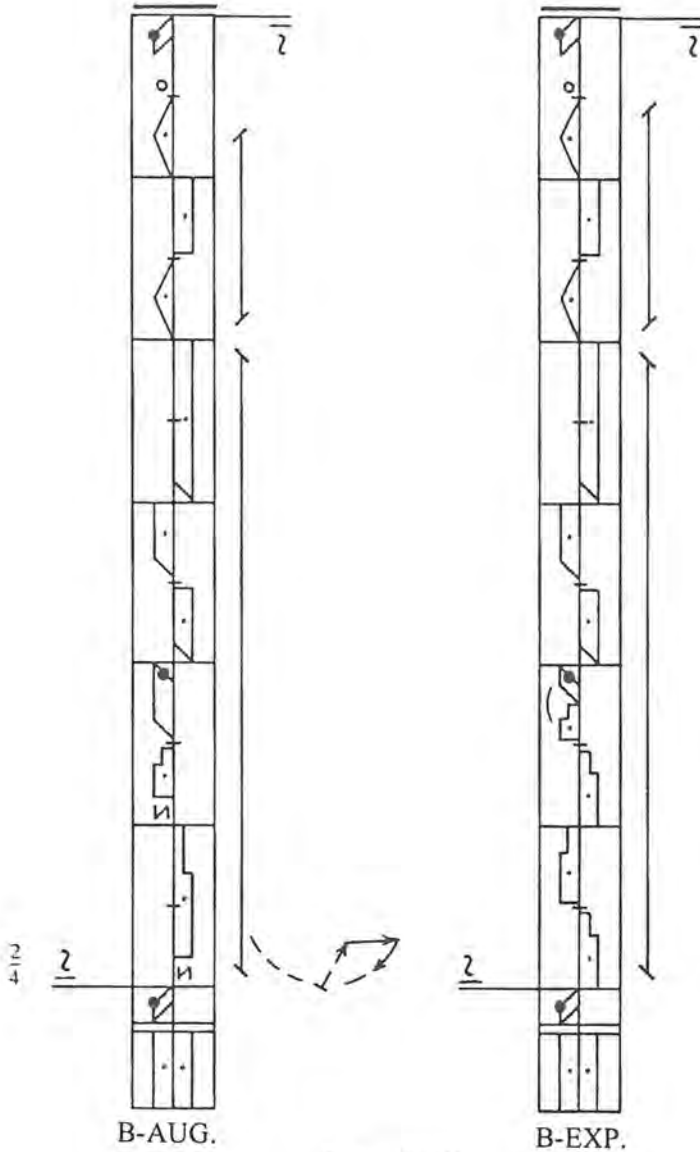
Example I

Example II

NAPOVRASTANICA, Thrace, Bulgaria

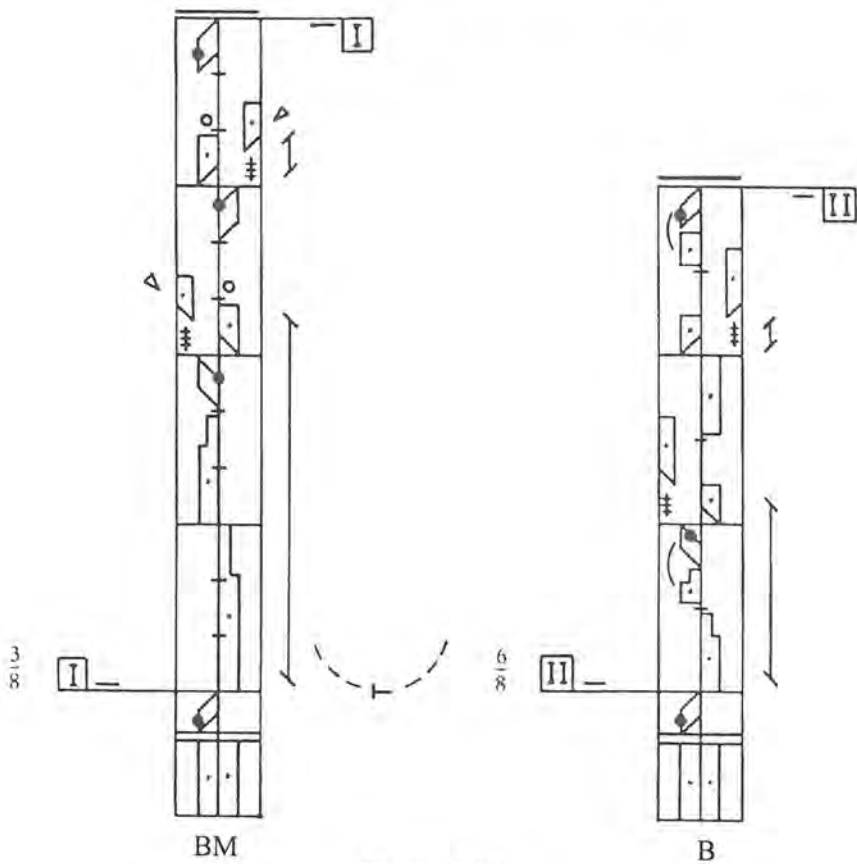
BASIC

VARIATION

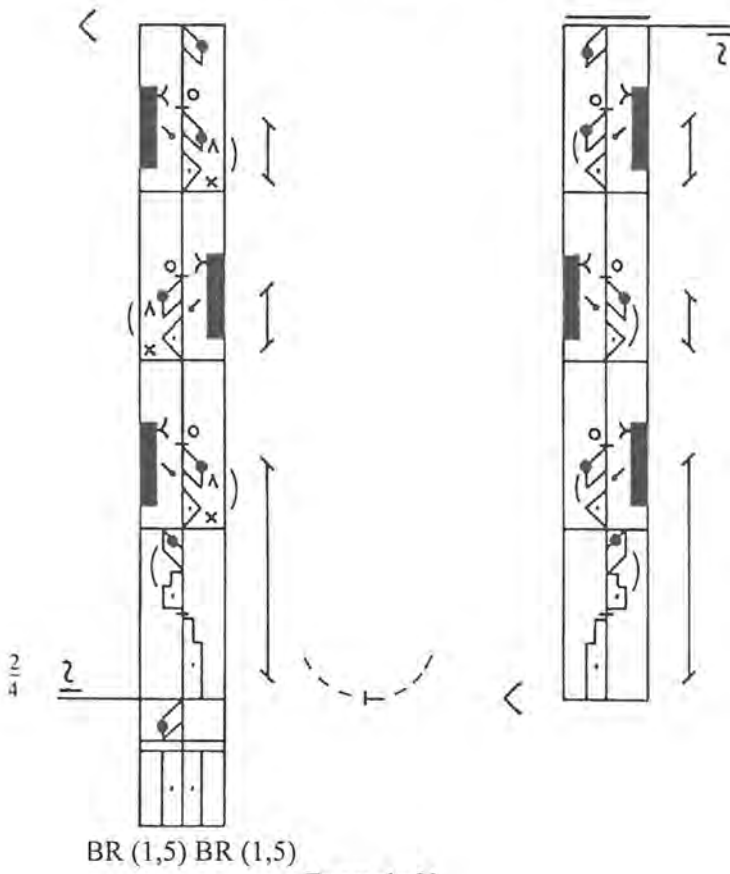


Example III

DIAMANTO, Macedonia, Greece, Vlach

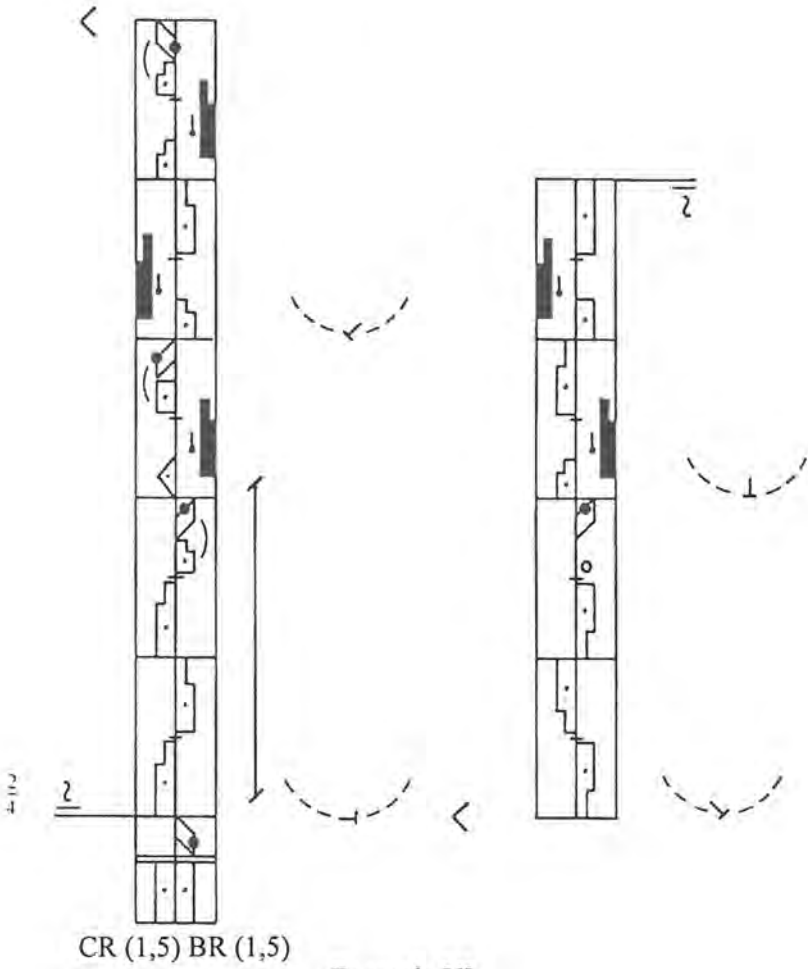


MORAVAC, Serbia



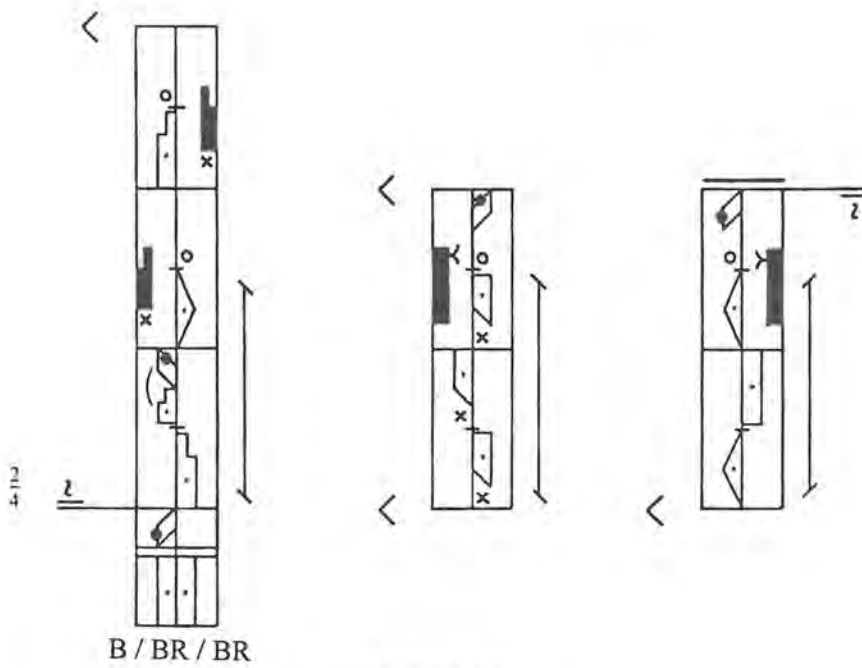
Example V

JAMBOLA, Thrace, Bulgaria



Example VI

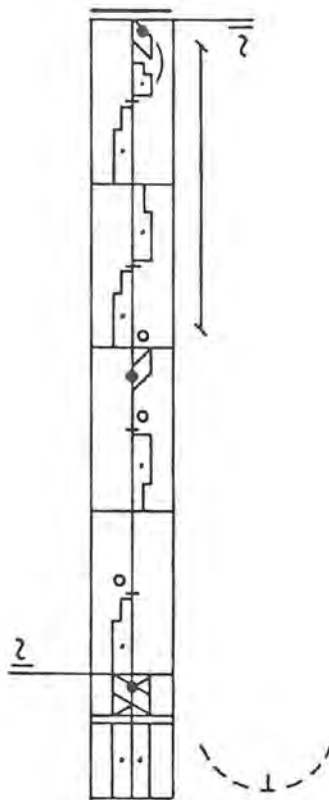
NADIGRAVANE, Rhodopes, Bulgaria



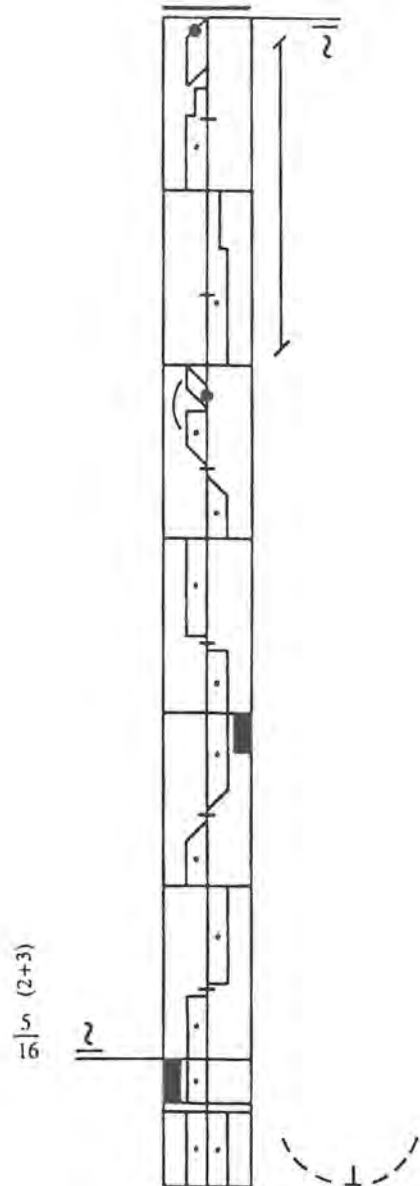
Example VII

MARITICA, Muntenia, Rumania

CÎRJELEASCA, Muntenia, Rumania



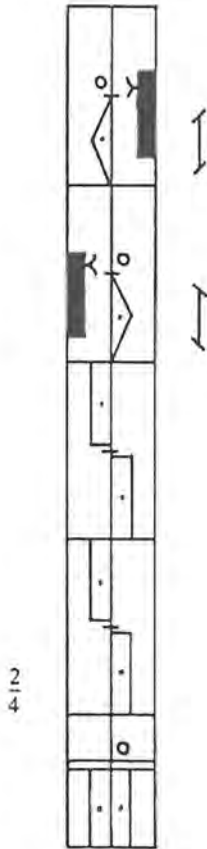
C-RETRO
Example VIII



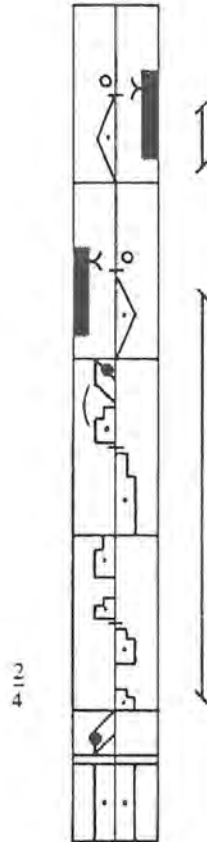
B-AUG.-RETRO
Example IX

 $\frac{5}{16} (2+3)$

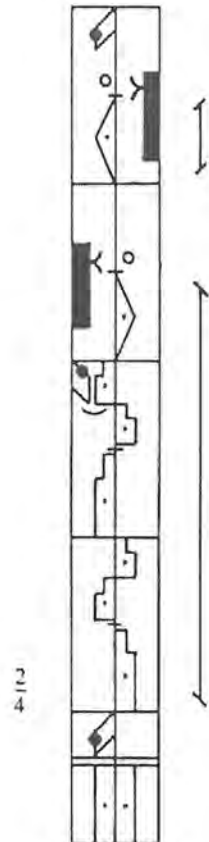
EXAMPLES



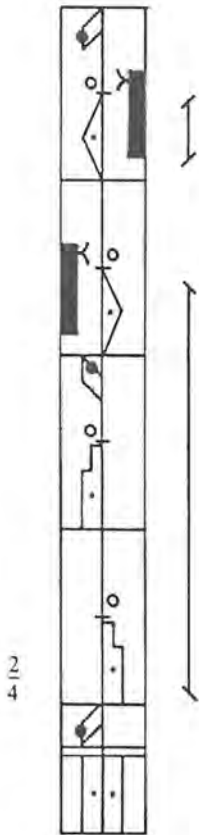
Example 1



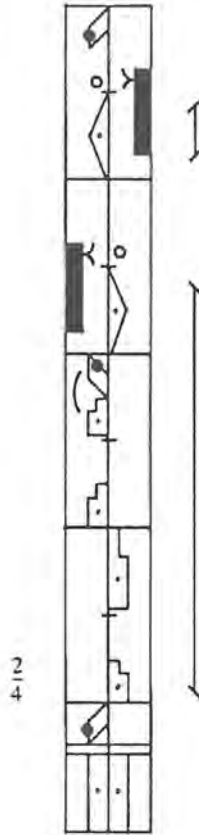
Example 2



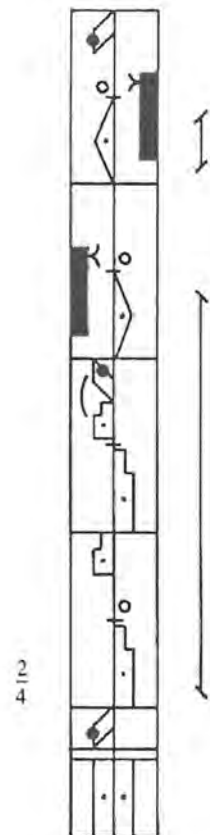
Example 3



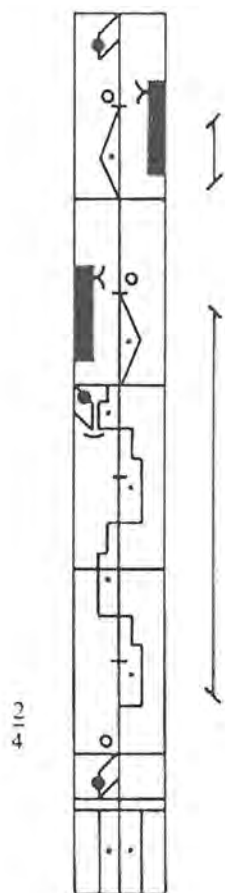
Example 4a



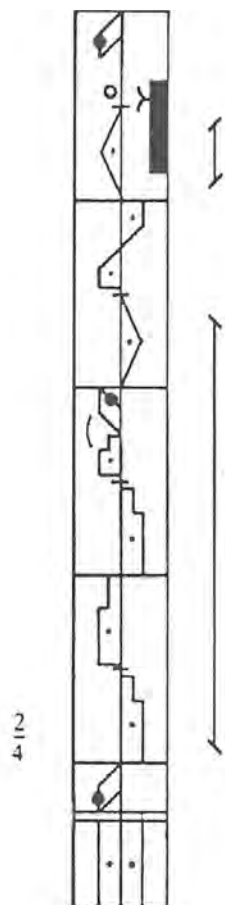
Example 4b



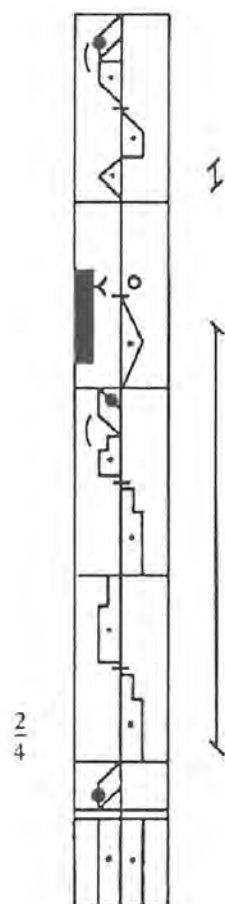
Example 5



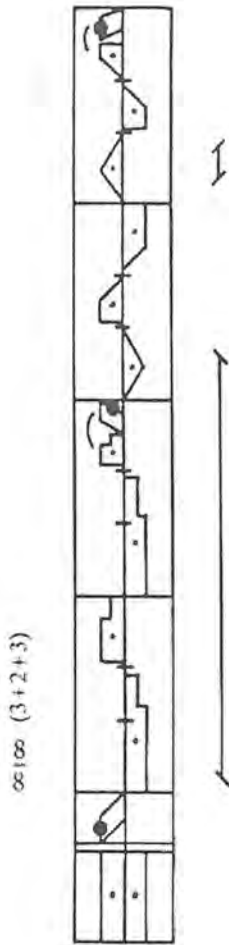
Example 6



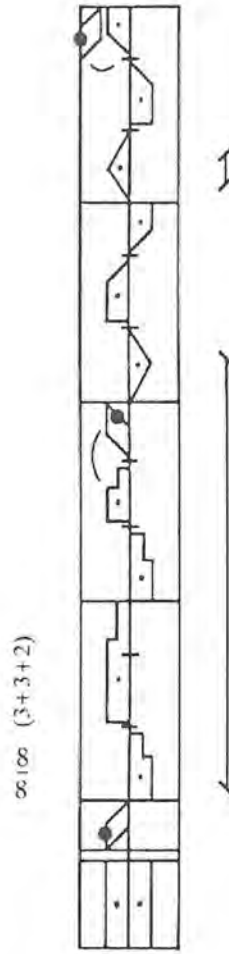
Example 7



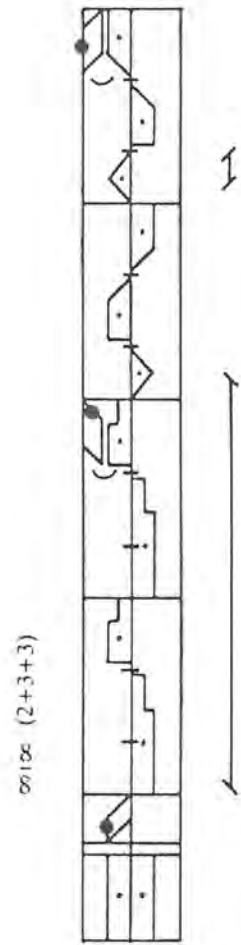
Example 8



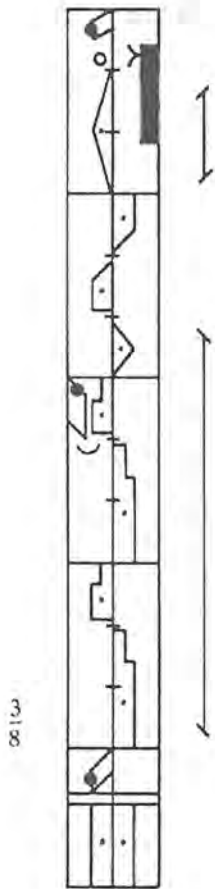
Example 9



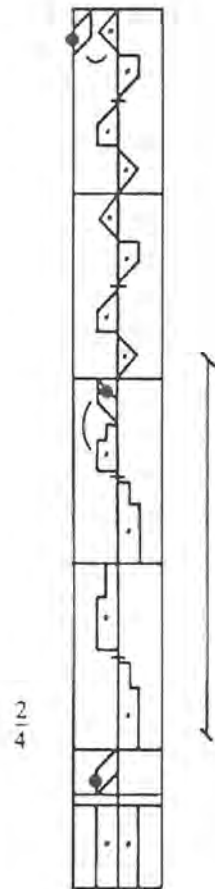
Example 10a



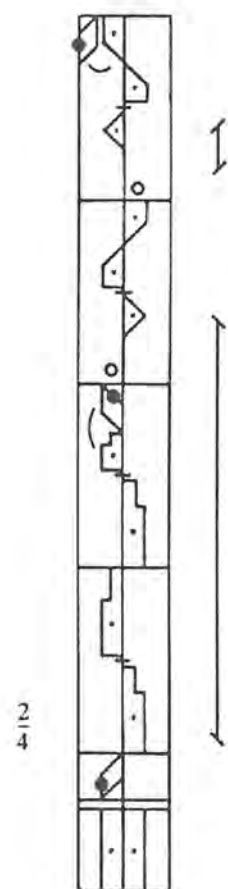
Example 10b



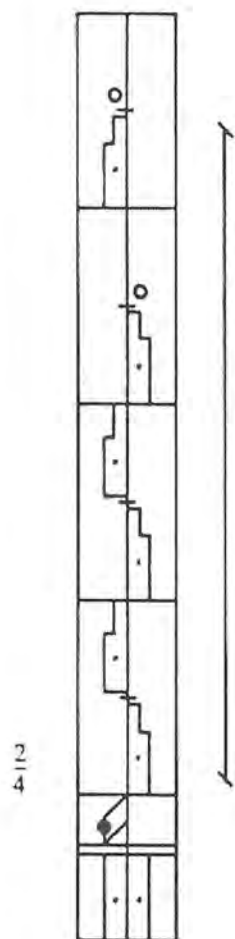
Example 11a



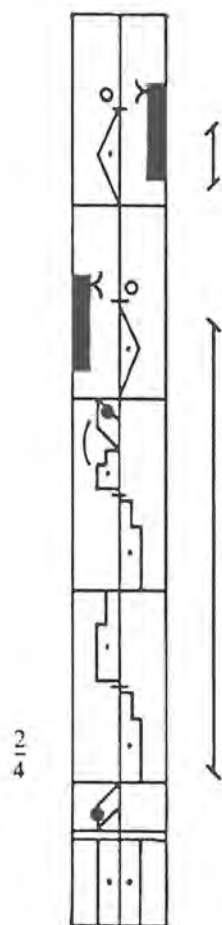
Example 11b



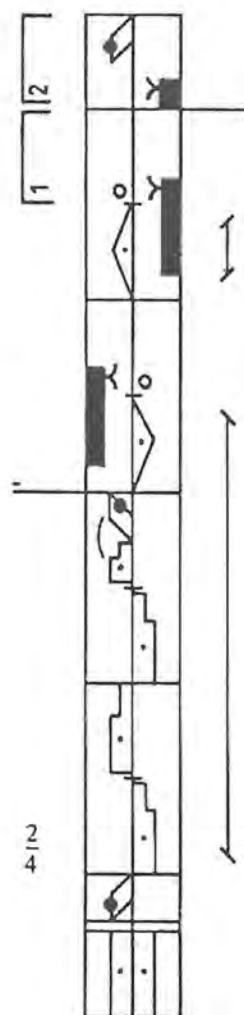
Example 12



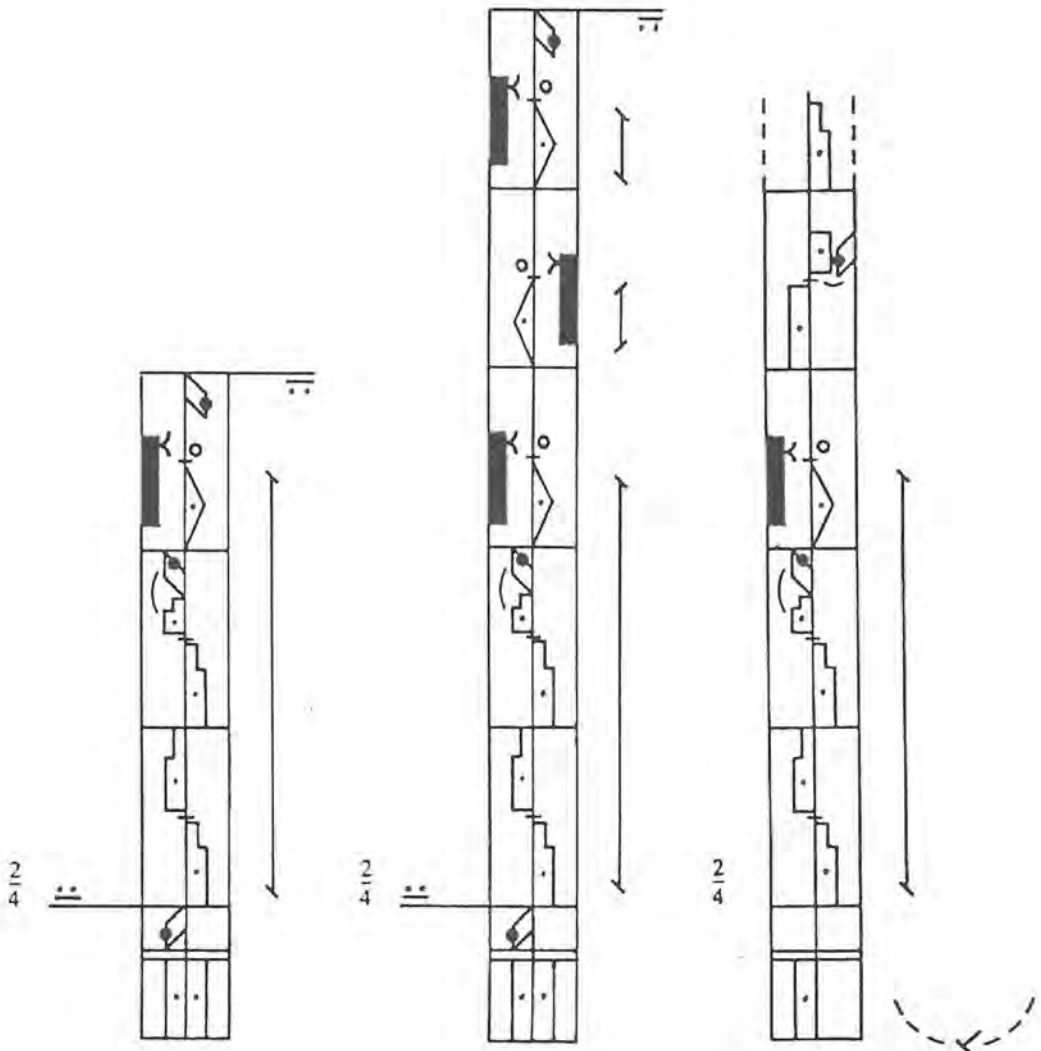
Example 13



Example 14a



Example 14b

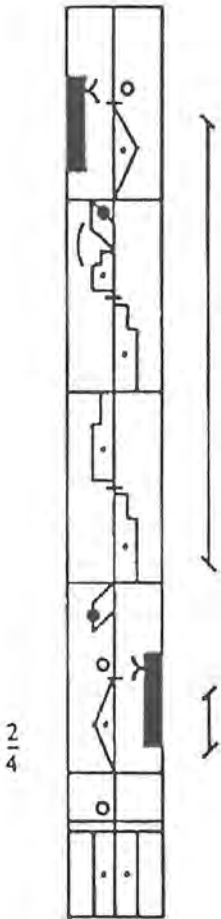


Example 14c

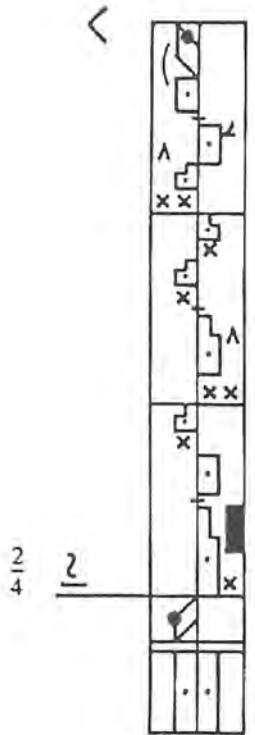
Example 14d

Example 15

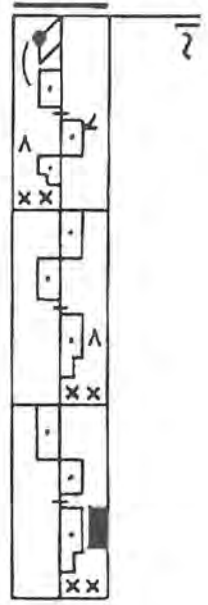
SOUSTA, Karpathos, Dodecanese Island, Greece



Example 16



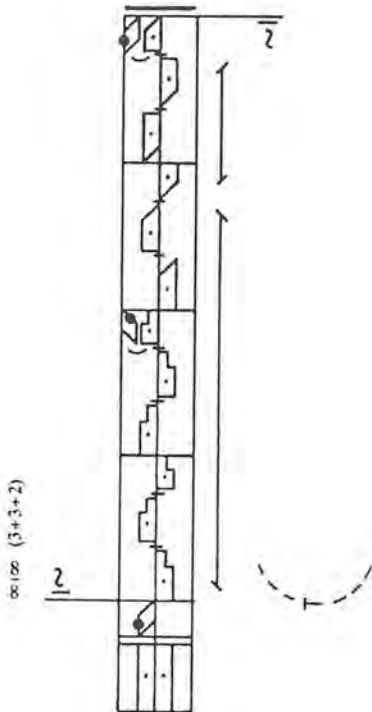
B(1) B(1)



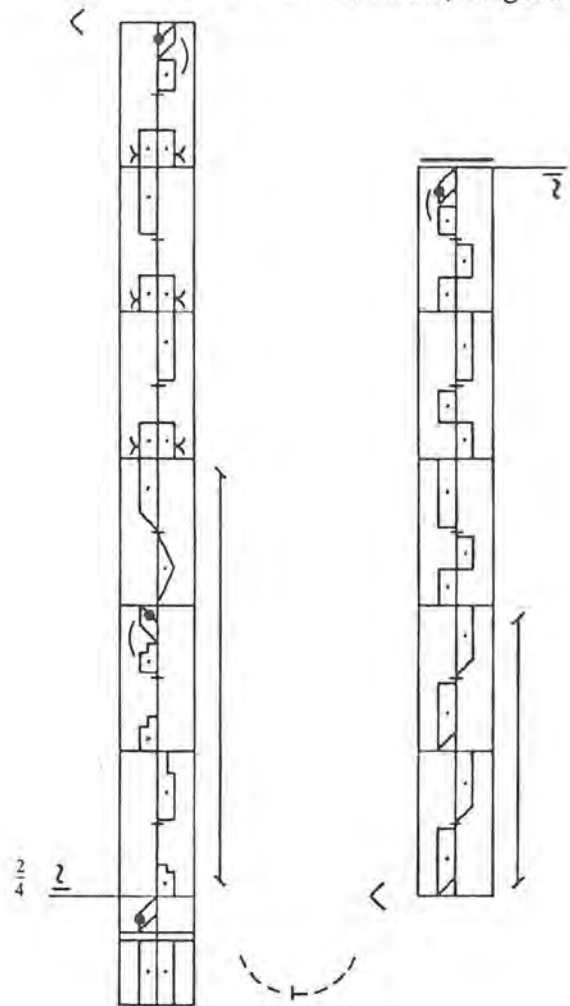
Example 18

TO MANTELLI, Peloponnesus, Greece

STRUPČANSKATA, Thrace, Bulgaria

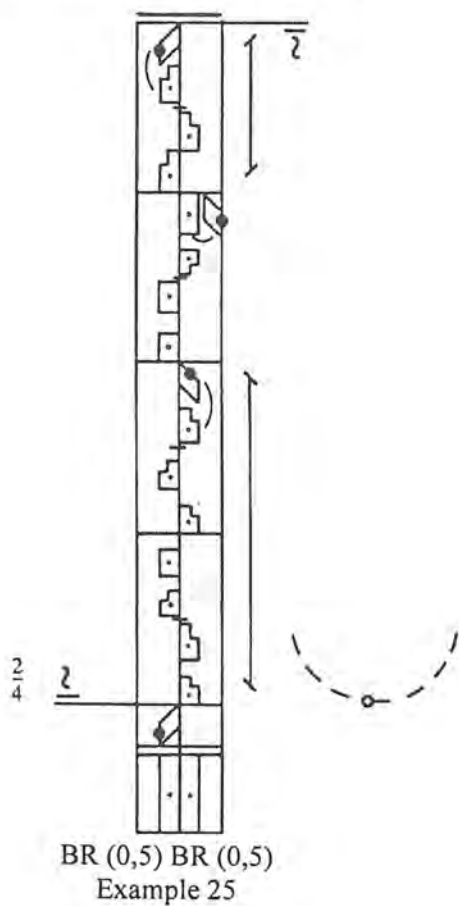


C(1)
Example 20

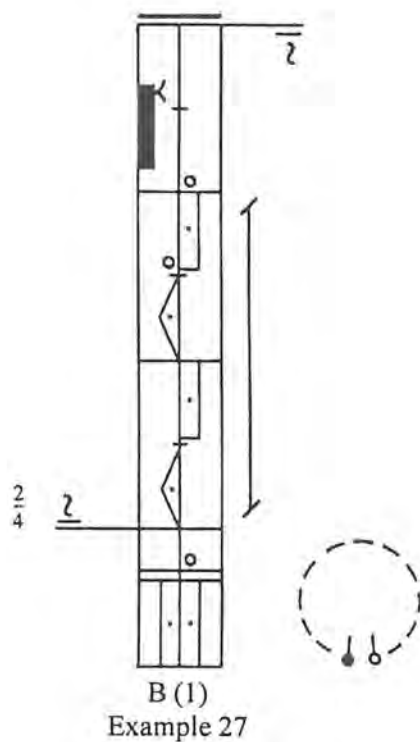


DR (1,5) CR (1,5)
Example 21

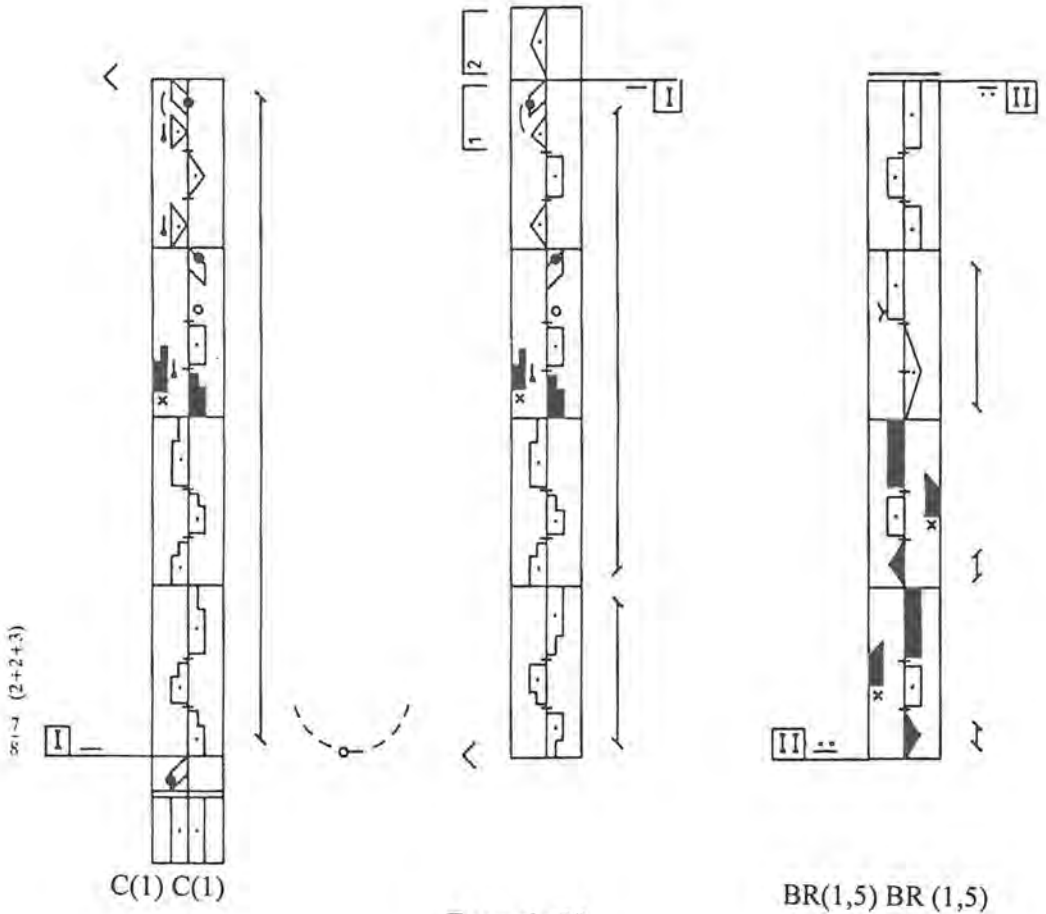
DEVOJAČKO KOLO, Serbia



LARIDÉ, Brittany, France



JOCUL ZESTREI, Moldavia, Rumania

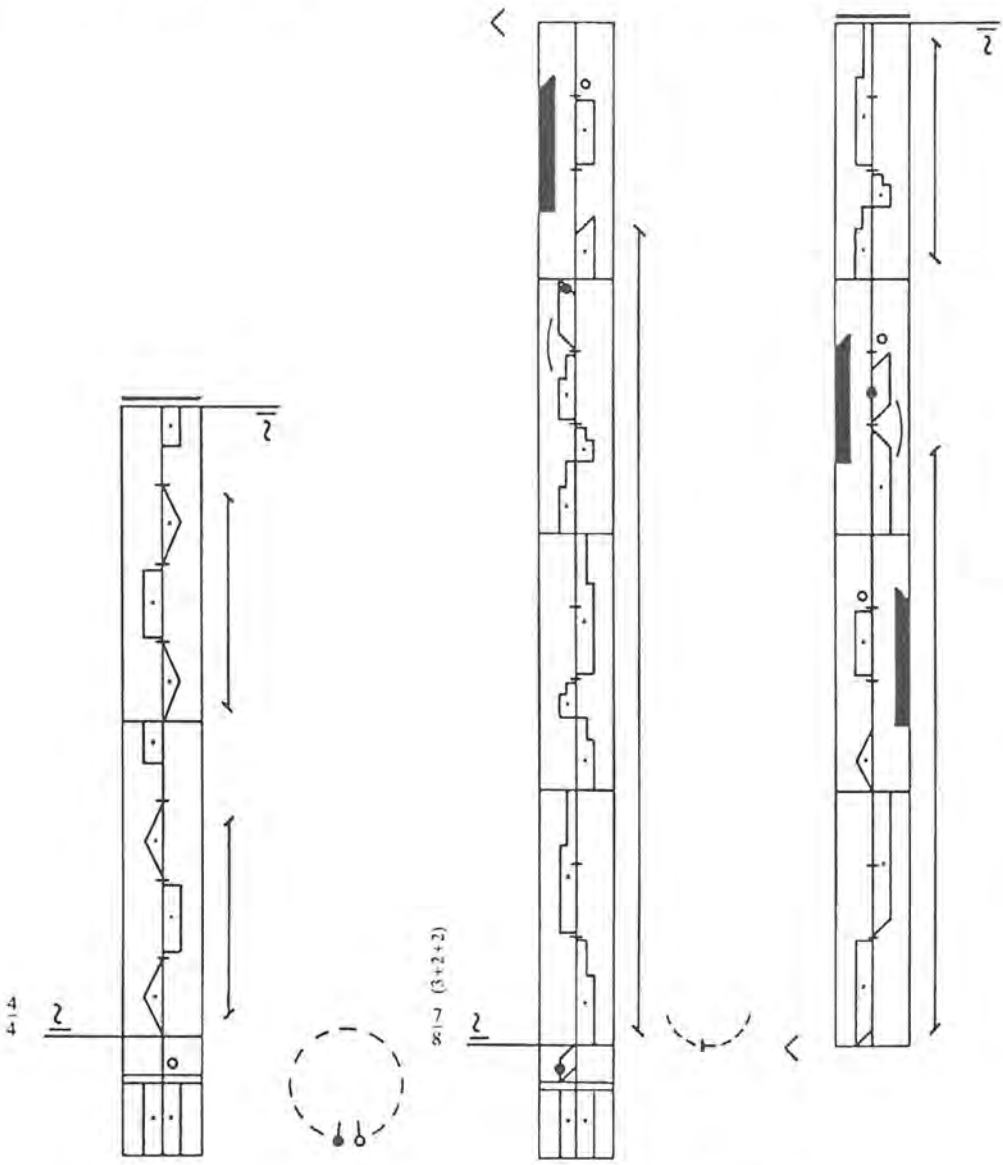


Example 29

$BR(1,5) BR (1,5)$

EN DRO, Brittany, France

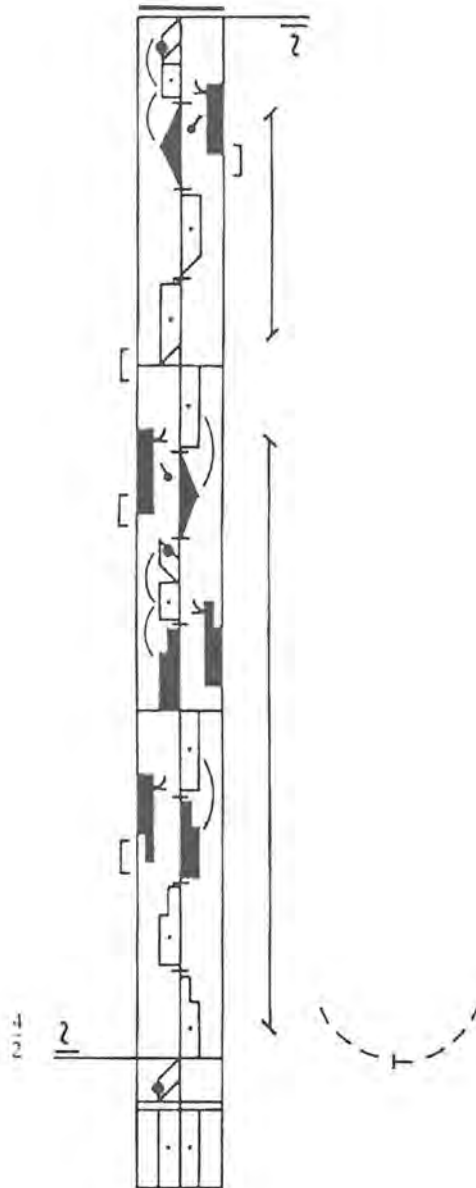
GÁÏDA, Macedonia, Greece



Example 96

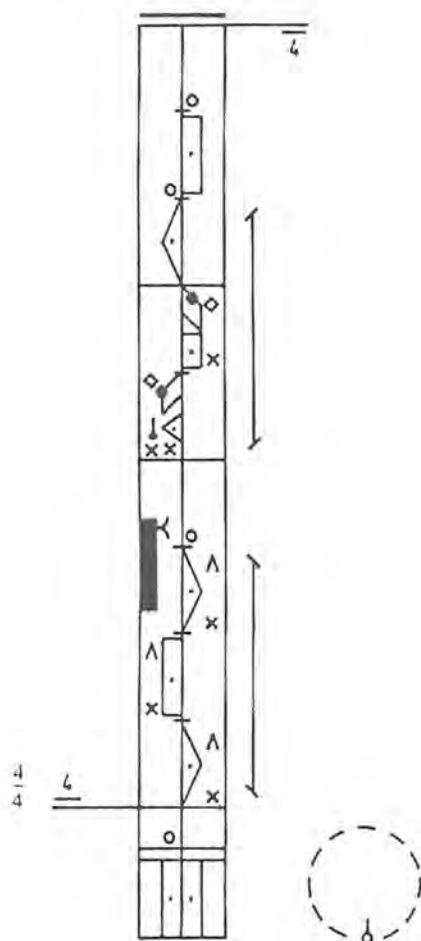
Example 97

SIGANÓS, Macedonia, Greece



Example 98

PIHENŐS, Sárköz, Hungary



Example 99

STRUCTURAL APPROACH IN HUNGARIAN FOLK DANCE RESEARCH

László Felföldi

Introduction

Analysis is an integral part of the whole procedure of dance research, together with collection, documentation, transcription, interpretation, classification, systematization, and dissemination of the sources on "dancing reality." It comprises the examination of sources from one or more points of view by comparison of the entities in order to test their identity and define the degree of their difference or similarity. These operations illuminate the main form-building processes of folk dance traditions: **recurrence, contrast and variation**. Objectivity of the result depends on the reliability of the documents, the analyst's preconceptions and the efficiency of the analytical methods and techniques. Depending on the aims of the concrete research, analysts use different approaches in the analytic process, for example, historical, formal, functional, and so on. Structuralism as one of these approaches came up in the middle of the 20th century, first in linguistics and later in all social sciences. It appeared as a set of theoretical ideas and methodological procedures for looking at human (social) phenomena as "wholes," "structures" and "systems of relations." It focused attention particularly on form and function (mainly structural function). It shed less light on meaning and content of the socio-cultural practices (see Lévi-Strauss 1963, Kurzweil 1980).

In Hungarian folk dance research, structuralism appeared in the late 1950s as a result of the endeavours of various generations of researchers. It was meant to become a special tool for formal, morphological analysis of the predominantly improvised, individual dances of eastern Europe. It was introduced as a reaction against the prevailing ethnographic-functional approach, which was unable to grasp the core element of the phenomenon, that is, dance movement itself. The structural approach was embedded in the existing theoretical-methodological framework of folk dance research being based on comparative historical-geographical methods of contemporary Hungarian folkloristics. Two fields had an impact on ethnochoreology: ethnomusicology and narrative folklore, which carried out the formal analyses of folklore texts. Development of the structural approach in Hungary was assisted by establishing an academic environment in which to apply useful ideas from linguistics, movement theory, and folkloristics (1965).¹ and by the advantageous international co-operation of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) Terminology Study Group. (See Appendix A.) Adoption of structural theory brought about a radical change in research methods, which resulted in a fruitful combination of the previous formalist, morphologist ideas with new ones. This was followed by a shift of accents and a new set of priorities. It demanded from researchers a more complex analytic view and rearrangement of research paradigms. We must not forget about the technical development of movement and sound recording equipment, together with the application of modern notating systems as prerequisites for the analytical approach.²

Achievement of Hungarian researchers in this field have had considerable impact on dance and folklore research, both in Hungary and internationally. Therefore this presentation about the

formation of the main ideas of structural approach in Hungary will give historical context to present-day research.

History

1. Early ideas about the repetitive elements and traditional compositional rules of dances

According to the early (18th-19th centuries) descriptions of Hungarian traditional dances, eyewitnesses were already aware of the repetitive elements (figures) and some kinds of "compositional rules" of these dances [Réthei 1924], but they were convinced in the "indecipherability" of these rules. Daniel Berzsenyi (1776-1836) classical poet, lover of Hungarian dances and writer of the first Hungarian dance aesthetics, writes in 1811:

It is not like a craft with rules,
Dancer himself defines the laws,
And his enthusiasm sets the limits.

*Titkos törvényt mesterség nem szedi rendbe
Csak maga szab törvényt,
s lelkesedése határt [Berzsenyi 1982:134-135]*

Marián Réthei Prikkel (1871-1925) a Benedictine monk, well-known linguist and initiator of ethnochoreology research, identifies *main phases, significant figures, auxiliary figures and ornaments in Hungarian folk dances*, which may remind us for the definition of sentences, words and suffixes in language. In his book *Dances of Hungarians* in 1924 he stresses:

Hungarian dance is poesy, unlike foreign dances regulated from the start till the end. A Hungarian dancer creates majority of the figures himself in accordance to his ideas and ability. But besides variability and freedom you may find unity and harmony in Hungarian dances because steppings, descendings, hoppings, turnings, revolings, and also clapping, beating the arms and legs, finger-crackings, heel-clicks, stampings feet are made in order, in a rhythmic way [Réthei 1924:33].

Réthei based his concept on a corpus of historical sources and some field experiences, but it was not enough for the elaboration of a clear conception of dance form. It was only the filming and notating systems at the beginning of the 20th century, which made it possible for researchers to observe and transcribe the movements of the dancers as composition.

The first researchers who had enough field experiences and filming practice to formulate more precise ideas about the language-like character of folk dance were **Sándor Gönyey** (1886-1963) and **László Lajtha** (1892-1963). They were also imbued with ideas of national culture history, as Réthei was, but associated it with an ethnological view offered by Curt Sachs. Besides we suspect, that Lajtha as an officer of the International Organization of Folk Art (later IFMC) with strong international (mainly French) connections, had some knowledge about the formalist trends in western folklore and art theory. During their activities from 1912 till the 1950s they made about 1000 meters of film from about fifty villages for the Ethnographic Museum, which served for them an institutional base. They published about thirty dances in various publications, a series of drawings and verbal descriptions of motifs with precise indications of rhythmic-metric features of movements. The verbal descriptions are based on the films, but they are not accurate transcription of the recorded movements. They were not yet aware of the existing movement theories and notation systems. The intensive filming activity of Gönyey and the folk-music research of Lajtha probably helped to create a solid theoretical basis for their analytic work in movement.³ As they write in the "Dance" chapter of volume four in *Ethnography of Hungarians*, book series in 1937:

Hungarian folk dances cannot be described in a final form, like folksongs. Only the figures can be defined which, are repeated by individual dancers in different ways and forms. Thus figures serve as supporting pillars of the dance form segregated in this way. Variations of the figures

occur in new form, in new harmony of the body posture, gestures and rhythm. The speciality is that the figures are occurring more times in a previously non-prescribed order. This feature is so widespread in Hungary that we have to consider these dances as most Hungarian ones. This measure of individualism is both a characteristic feature of the Hungarian manner of dancing, and the manifestation of its spontaneous life being realised by improvisation and variation [Lajtha-Gönyey 1937:129].

In another place in the same writing:

Symbolically speaking, dance has also words, expressions, sentences and stylistic techniques like language or music has. The subordinated elements are arranged into higher units as the word from sounds, the sentence from words. The ornaments are decorating the movement elements in the same way as the poetic message is decorated by the epithets and melody by fioritura. Naturally the smaller elements of the dance cannot be ascribed to only one people or nation [Lajtha-Gönyey 1937: 77].

For them in 1937, motif was the only constant, graspable element of dance. They were pessimistic about the existence of a kind of grammar in dance tradition. These can be explained by the contemporary level of film technique, with which it was possible to record only 1-1.5 minutes long parts of the improvised dances and did not enable them to analyse the whole dance processes and realise the compositional rules in its totality.

István Molnár (1908-1980) in his collection *Hungarian dance tradition* published in 1947, made a large step toward dance morphology. He, as a professional dancer and choreographer, having a practical approach to dance, cut the various folk dances into motifs, and arranged them into a motif-catalogue according to their characteristic type of movement (step, jump, beat, clap, and so on). At the same time he gave a full description of the dance process by means of code numbers of the motifs. His source material was filmed and transcribed in verbal form by him between 1941 and 1947 in nearly fifty villages of Hungary and Transylvania.⁴ On the basis of his analytic work he drew the conclusion:

The Hungarian dancer never thinks beforehand of the figure, which he will dance the next moment. It depends entirely on his disposition and momentary physical conditions.... Only free, improvisatory dances can be accepted as Hungarian dances [Molnár 1947:13].

The weak points of his system originated from the variability of the motifs, that is, the same motif occurs with different movement types (jumping, stepping, and so on), which brought about problems in classification for him. In addition, he did not have enough dance documents for the representation of the whole Hungarian dance culture, and the verbal descriptions of the motifs were not easy to understand.

2. Mature structuralism

After World War II, folk-dance research was affiliated with the Institute of Hungarology (1945-1948). Later the Dance Artists' Association and Institute of Folk Art provided an institutional base for dancers and movement theoreticians (Emma Lugossy, Olga Szentpál, Mária Szentpál, and so on), who were hindered by the new political regime in dealing with modern dance. They had a great role in the transmission of new ideas and techniques into the field of folk dance research.⁵

Lugossy Emma (1917-1994), introduced Labanotation into folk dance research in Hungary, and published the first collection of folk dances with kinetography. A large-scale collector and kinetographer, she made an invaluable contribution to the development of morphological methods. Her scope of attention expanded to all genres of Hungarian dance, and in the course of her activity (1948-1956), she published comprehensive kinetograms with verbal transcription on them. (See Gönyey-Lugossy 1947; Lugossy 1952, 1954, 1956.) Thereby she created "literacy" necessary for real scientific research on dance. From this voluminous material she extracted about 1000 motifs as a basic motif repertory of Hungarian dances grouped in the framework of

genres (children games, women's round dances, mixed couple dances, men's dances and march). This monumental analytic work was inspired by Rudolf Laban's movement theory concentrating on the characteristic features of movement (time, space and energy), lending to her work a kind of professionalism. But the lack of ethnographic materials made Lugossy's achievements schematic and unreliable for a broader synthesis. Her ambitious plan to systematise the movement elements and motif repertory of the whole dance culture of Hungarians was not realised. (See Lugossy 1960.) Later generations of researchers blame her for the idealisation of motifs instead of an analysis of the individual concrete variations, for negligence of the actual connection of music and dance, elimination of the compositional rules of dances, and omission of typology. These problems can be explained by the technical deficiencies of dance documentation and her lack of ethnographic background.

At the same time as Lugossy, **Olga and Mária Szentpál** (1895-1958 and 1919-1995) did intensive work in collecting, and publishing folk-dance material from various ethnographic groups and regions (Bukovinian Seklers, Bodrogköz, Sárköz) in the late 1940s and early 1950s. They concentrated on selected dance genres (namely women's sung round dances), and used their analytic method for these homogeneous dance materials with occasional comparisons with other genres. Based on the ideas of various schools of movement theory (Rudolf Laban, Émil Dalcroze, Valéria Dienes) in the second half of the 1950s, they developed an exceptionally elaborated system of formal analysis in order to reveal the aesthetic values of Hungarian folk dances. They combined their deep knowledge of Laban's practice of movement notation, their own theoretical activity in this field and their musicological and art-historical background. They aimed at a universal system suitable for the analysis of not only the Hungarian, but the traditional dances of other peoples as well as historical dance sources [Szentpál, Olga 1958, 1963]. It is a pity that the selected dance material was not reliable enough to test the system in a scientific way. Today students find it too complicated and speculative. The main problem was the lack of ethnographic knowledge. Their transcriptions are accurate, but do not reflect the dancers' intentions. Later generations also miss the importance of dance and music relationships. (See other objections in Martin; Pesovár 1963.)

Folk dance analysts in Hungarian research

Name	Background	Affiliation	Period of activity	Connections	Central problems of analysis	Object of analysis	Technical conditions
Réthei, Pirkkel-Marián (1871-1925)	Benedictine monk, linguist, theologic teacher	schools of Benedictine Order	1903-1925		Determination of dance elements as national features	Historical sources & general descr. of recent dances	Photo
Göncy, Sándor (1886-1963)	ethnographer, biologist	Ethnographic Museum, Budapest	1920-1963		Determination of motives of individual dances as national features	Idealised verbal transcriptions of individual dances on film	Film apparatus with spring, mute
Lajtha, László (1892-1963)	ethno-musicologist composer	Ethnographic Museum, Budapest, Music Academy	1912-1963	Kodály, Zoltán, Bartók, Béla, IFMC	Determination of motives of individual dances as national features	Idealised verbal transcription of individual dances from film	
Molnár, István (1908-1980)	professional dancer, choreographer	Amateur and professional ensembles	1938-1953	Dienes, Valéria, French modern dancers	Classification of motives by movement types & ways of improv. in individual dances	Precise verbal transcription of whole single processes on film	Film apparatus with with spring, mute
Lugossy, Emma (1917-1994)	Germanist, kineographer, dancer (modern and folk)	Institute of Hungarian State Dance Academy	1941-1956	Albrecht Knust, Dienes, Valéria, Kodály, Zoltán	Select dance & motive repertory classified by genres	Idealised verbal & kineogr. transcriptions of dance fragments on film	Film apparatus with with spring, mute

Szentpál, Olga (1895-1968)	musicologist, dance historian, modern dancer, choreographer	State Dance Academy, Music Academy, Academy of Dramatic Art	1947-1968	Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, Ortutay, Gyula	Analytic theory & method applied for select folk dance repertory	Precise verbal & kinetogr. transcr. of dances fragments in situ and on film	Film app. with spring, mute Operator (K. Kovács, László)
Szentpál, Mária (1920-1996)	kinetographer, movement-theoretician	State Folk Ensemble, Hungarian Institute of Culture	1947-1990	ICKI	Analytic theory & method applied for any kind of folk dance structure	Precise kinetogr. & verbal transcr. of dance fragments in situ and from film	
Pesovár, Ernő (1926-)	ethnographer, choreographer, dance folklorist	Ethnographic Museum, Hungarian Institute of Culture, Institute for Musicology of HAS	1950-	Kodály, Zoltán IFMC	Motive as the basic element of structure, rules of improvisation, creativity, typology	Precise kinetogr. Transcr. of lengthy, whole individual dances on film rec.-successively	Sound film with synchron music, electronic
Martin, György (1932-1983)	folk dancer, linguist, ethnographer, music- and dance folklorist	Hungarian Institute of Culture, Institute for Musicology of HAS	1950-1983	Kodály, Zoltán IFMC	Motive as the basic element of structure, rules of improvisation, creativity, typology	Precise kinetogr. Transcr. of lengthy, whole individual dances on film rec.-successively	Sound film with synchron music, electronic

At the beginning of the 1950s a new generation appeared in Hungarian folk-dance research, hallmarked by the names of György Martin (1932-1983) and Ernő Pesovár (1926-). They had ethnographic knowledge, having been "brought up" in the Department of Folklore of Budapest University under Gyula Ortutay, Linda Dégh, and Lajos Vargyas. They were all practical dancers with connections to István Molnár. Their appearance as researchers coincided with the establishment in 1950 of a well-equipped institution for folk-dance research in the Institute of Folk Art and later in 1965 the Folk Music Research Group of HAS. It was at that time, what had previously been "private endeavour" research became a long-term scientific program supported by the state (with all its positive and negative consequences). In the first period of their activity, from 1950 until 1960 young researchers concentrated on extensive fieldwork and improvement of field techniques. By the end of the 1950s, having gathered sufficient field experiences, they were able to establish their own research model and new analytical methods. In this work they amalgamated the traditional and most modern theoretical-methodological concepts offered by contemporary folkloristics, linguistics, ethnomusicology, movement theory, and music and dance history.

In their second period from the 1960s till 1970s, stress was placed on analysis and classification. Achievements of this period are Pesovár's analysis of several shepherd dances from Transdanubia, Martin's diploma work on structural analysis of eight Transylvanian male dances (1958, Martin's diploma study),⁶ his summary on the theory of motif morphology (Martin; Pesovár 1961), and a methodological study of the principles of structural analysis (Martin; Pesovár 1963). In the 1960s Martin (and partly Pesovár) participated in theoretical discussions of the East-European social scientists about model building and typology of social and cultural practices. They tried to create a general analytical model that would be valid for the analysis and classification of the kinetic, musical and literary "text-structures." A conference in 1968 inspired Martin's further work as a structural analyst, and he in turn inspired his analyst colleagues. (See Voigt 1969.) These discussions coincided with the work in the IFMC Dance Terminology Study Group, where Martin and Pesovár had a decisive role in the formation of the concepts. Due to the previous analytical work of all the participants, they had to make serious compromises in order to create a coherent and unified text for the final document, the "Syllabus." This is why the applicability and reliability of the "Syllabus" became limited as a "universal" analytical system.

In the third period of their work from the 1970s, Martin and Pesovár's generation went on with the development of the analytical model, and began a systematic source publication program according to regions, dance types, and dancers. Martin concentrated on questions of

comparative structural typology, "dance knowledge" of the individual dancers and the creative processes of dancing in traditional communities. His monographs about dancing individuals (Zsigmond Karsai and István Mátyás), published after his death, are great achievements in this field of research. (See Karsai–Martin 1989; Martin 2004.) In these two volumes Martin gave examples for a systematic dance index. It is based on the dictionary-like arrangement of motifs, motif types and motif families in the framework of the "life-work" of a dancing individual, because to Martin, motif is the most "durable" constituent elements of the dance. But he did not stop on the level of motif. He also went on with the classification of higher structural elements (see Martin 1980b). With this kind of "dance dictionary" he intended to create a firm basis for a wide-ranging, comparative dance research of the future. Pesovár focused on the examination of single dance processes at their micro-syntactic level and improved the principles and method of the structural formula-like formalised expressive tool for the representation of the linear structure. His publications on the classification of couple dances and the historical stratification of Hungarian dance traditions are evidence of his meticulous analytical work. (See Pesovár 1997, 2003, and Szanyi *dus* [Dus dance from Szany Village] in Appendix A.)

The present generation of Hungarian ethnochoreology researchers is working on a computer-aided system of form analysis, which would be suitable for large-scale comparison and for the construction of dance-catalogues. Their aim is to establish an international network of information databases, for the formal-structural analysis of different dance forms. (See Felföldi 2005b, Fügedi 1998.) Csilla Könczei has suggested a complex approach to dance analysis based on communication theory. She conceptualises the dance as a multi-medial text (*communicatum*), which needs a multi-dimensional analytical method and suggests the intensification of the semantic analysis as component of the analytical process. (See Könczei 1989, 1993.) Kürti, Karácsony, Pálffy, and Fügedi applied Martin's analytical innovations to new materials and demonstrate their applicability to a wider range. (See Kürti 1980, Pálffy 1989, Karácsony 1990, Fügedi 2005.)

Some characteristic features of the Hungarian method

Since many of the concepts of the Hungarian method of analysis have been incorporated into the Syllabus, it is unnecessary to give a detailed description of it.⁷ I concentrate here on characteristic features and topics, namely basic analytical units, variation theory, support principle, individuality principle, improvisation, the importance of music and dance relationship and structural typology.

As can be seen from their methodological sketch (Martin–Pesovár 1961) and other relevant writings of Martin and Pesovár, their analytical method is not a finally defined, closed system in Hungary. It is an open concept, gradually developing, and possible to be improved. It does not cover all the fields of structural linguistics, but is focused on movement analogies of morphology and syntax of a specific movement language (Hungarian folk dance).

The starting point for structural analysis is dance movement as a "kinetic language" represented by "performances" experienced, documented (film) and transcribed (Labanotation) by the researcher. The **basic analytical unit** is the single "dance process" – a closed, structured, coherent sequence of dance movements – isolated from the dancing activity of a local community (Martin–Pesovár 1961; Karsai–Martin 1989; Martin 2004). If we use a linguistic analogy, it is like an individual "utterance" of a speaker in a given language. Dance processes have three characteristic forms: transcriptions, film documents, and field experiences (written in the field diary, recorded by magnetophone or video and kept in memory). All three represent a more or less idealised image of a once performed dance improvisation, and they all reflect the objective and subjective conditions of documentation, analysis and interpretation of the "dancing reality." Dance analysis begins with the transcription, but all the other documents are also used. A single

dance process is most suitable for the many-sided formal analysis and interpretation. It is also associated with other similar dance processes, that are treated as variants.

Analysis of a **single dance process** gives the possibility of examining both the linearity/temporality of the structural elements and verticality – coordinative or subordinative relationship between them from the smallest elements (motif, motif cells, motif elements), to the bigger forms (phrases, sections, stanzas, parts and dances). Comparison of the microstructure to more processes that are integrated into an adequate **comparative framework**, provide a dynamic way of interpreting and the ability to define the compositional rules together with the whole grammar of a dance. Analysis of all the dance processes belonging to one individual, or a family, or a local community, or one dance type, or a region, gives insight into the formal-structural characteristic features and leads to notions of improvisation, variation, creativity, dancing ability, dance knowledge and dance culture.⁸ Since **variation** is the basic form of existence of Hungarian folklore, and single dance processes represent integral parts of the traditional dance culture, they should be interpreted as **variants**,⁹ which are based on the fairly free, improvisatory and individual character of the East-European dance traditions having a rather open and loose structure. These features demanded from the researchers much attention to "variation," which is one of the most important form-building devices (Martin 1964, 2004; Karsai–Martin 1989; Martin–Pesovár 1961, 1963).

Identification and classification of variants on all levels of the dance structure are the fundamental task of form analysis. By qualitative analysis (taking into consideration the plastic, rhythmic, dynamic, kinetic, structural and bodily features of the dance elements) we may differentiate the significant and insignificant variants. Significant variants create a group of variations, which in the majority of cases are the result of conscious intention and definite form-building conception. Each of the significant variants may have several insignificant ones with slight, negligible differences. The quantity of variants (both significant and insignificant ones) may indicate the **variability**, flexibility, and prosperity of a structural element and may decide the character of a dance or a whole dance culture. Elements without variations – the so-called invariants – may be interpreted for example, as new creative "suggestions" for the members of the dancing community. In case of "acceptance," invariants may become significant variants with several insignificant ones, or they may disappear in time.

The idea of "variation" implicates also the notion of "type," which represents the common features of an integrated group of variants. For instance, in his typology of motif variants, Martin basically uses formal-structural and functional criteria. Related motif types create a motif family comprising occasionally as many as several hundred variants with the same **motif core**.¹⁰

Motif families constitute the whole motif repertory of a dancer, a region, a genre (or of any other analytical frameworks).¹¹ Measure of relatedness between motif samples can be defined by the above mentioned kinetic, structural and bodily features. Among them "support" (the weight-holding body part) has a special status in defining relatedness and classes. The three basic kinds of support, defined by Hungarian researchers in East-European dances (repetitive /1/, changing /2/ and double /3/) expressed in a formula, combined with the rhythmic features of the motif and implemented with the signs of some plastic-kinetic components, are effective tools in motif morphology.¹² These ideas of dance analysis may convince students on ethnochoreology that structural analysis of the variants, examination of the variability, motivations and tendencies of variation allow researchers to shed light on creative processes and creativity of the individual dancers and on the character of local dance cultures. Relativity of the results may be reduced to a minimum, if we use an appropriate amount of reliable samples for the analysis and use an adequate analytical framework.

Variation is closely related to **improvisation** and **regulation**. Improvisation represents a kind of kinetic composition where planning, creation and performance happen (almost) in the same moment. It can be interpreted as process and product at the same time. As Martin says:

Improvisation means only apparently – for the first sight and for the superficial observer – instinctive anarchy and accidental eventuality. Improvisation always occurs according to certain individual and common regularities. The inclination and phenomenon of improvisation is always preceded by a long practice, and every instantaneous improvisation is assimilated to the series of more or less different variations of performances affected earlier [Martin 1980a: 394].

An improvised composition comes into being under the tension of different contrasting poles, such as: otherness and sameness, freedom and regulation, openness and perfection, unexpected and expected, contingency and preparedness, and so on. Motivation for the dancer on one hand is to be faithful to the traditional forms preserved in the collective memory – to be the same, expected, perfect. On the other hand, his ambition is to adjust his personal knowledge to the "moment," to increase effectiveness of his performance – to be, unexpected. Important factors of improvisation and regulation are the grammaticality (way and degree of structuredness) of the dance genres and features of their accompanying music. Analysis of these features is very important for an understanding of dance creation in eastern Europe.

Dance and music relationship – belongs to the problems of the coordinative or sub-ordinative relations between the constituent elements of the "dance" as a complex, multimedial phenomena. It seems to be evident, that all the possible components (music, poetry, drama, play) and occasionally material requirements (props, costumes, and so on) may play a decisive role in structuring the composition. In East-European traditional dances, dominance of the components change depending on the genre. In the majority of the participatory dances we may witness the dominance of dance movement and music. (Other components seem to be of less importance.) Dance and music (and text if it exists) proceed in the same kind of metro-rhythmic and tempo framework. Their connection is an interplay between their structural elements in this framework, where both music and dance can prevail and can give impulses to the other. In the case of complex musical accompaniment (melodic and rhythmic together), the rhythmic accompaniment has the decisive role (Martin-Pesovár 1961; Martin 1965b; 1980a:399-404; Felföldi 2001). In Martin's methodology these musical features have serious consequences in the structural analysis and classification of dance. He suggests taking music into consideration in the segmentation, identification and typology of the structural kinetic elements and stratification of historical layers [Martin 1977a: 286-287; 1977b (in German)]. However, Mária Szentpál found that exaggerating the musical principle may mislead the analyst (Szentpál 1981).

Individuality principle constitutes a basic component of structural analysis in Hungary.¹³ It comprises not only the analysis of the improvisations of single dancing individuals as products of their dancing activity, but also the examination of the lifelong process of dance creation, their role in their dancing community, their relation to the collective knowledge shared by the members of the community, their relation to the single improvisations and so on. The individuality approach helps the researcher to find the connection between an individual's creativity and the collective knowledge of the community. In addition, it makes it possible to follow the structural, compositional changes during the life-career of individual dancers (Felföldi 1999, 2001, 2005a). Regular observation and documentation of the improvisations help ethnochoreologists in opening the personal techniques of meaning imputation to the various structural elements at the moment of the "performance" for a given dance event. Martin's article about the structural characteristic features of the Transylvanian male dances in 1977 gives a splendid survey of the effective tools for increasing the effect on the onlookers. He writes:

Male dancers' ambition is to build up their dances in a diverse way by combining always new and interesting forms. So they strive to captivate and keep the attention of the onlookers. They try to avoid monotony caused by repetition. Recurrence is used only as a special form-building method (such as a beginning formula or closing motif). . . . It is the application of some basic compositional rules which prevent the crowded, varied composition from falling apart. Dance phrases/sections of manifold content are kept together by the constant length and similar

structure of the phrases, recurrences of the beginning formula and closing motifs, and the stable rhythmic framework. But composition of the phrases/sections into higher structural units is due to some other, hidden regularity, namely to the rondo-like undulation of the form-building factors [Martin 1977a: 286-287].

The theme of dancing individuality is closely connected to the question of "dance knowledge," which comprises not only the pure "know-how" (grammar and compositional rules, that is, how to compose a dance), but the knowledge of dancing (how to behave as a dancer at a dance event) and the knowledge about dance (ideologies, opinions, memories, evaluations, and so on). (See Felföldi 2001.) Martin's article in 1977 about a dancer's knowledge of dance and music relationships is a good example for the successful combination of structural and cognitive approaches in folk-dance research. (See Martin 1977c; Martin 2004.) Comparison of the personal knowledge of systematically selected dancing individuals may help the researcher in determining the content of the "collective memory" in a local community or a specific region.¹⁴

Structural typology refers to the combination of the formal analysis and classification, which aims to discover the deeper relations among the single variants of the dances, and the disclosure of the regional differences and connections of the various historical genres.¹⁵ The greatest achievements in this field in Hungary are Martin's monograph on Hungarian round dances and their European relations; Pesovár's book about the historical layers of Hungarian traditional dances, mainly couple dances; and their common summary about the round *verbunk* dances examined in a broader geographical framework (Martin 1979a; Pesovár 1997; Lányi, Martin, Pesovár 1983). Martin's articles about the East-European relations of Hungarian dance types and dance cultures are exemplary for use of the results of structural analysis in classification of dances and whole regional dance cultures (Martin 1965a; 1968; 1979b). His aim was to reveal the form repertory and the "grammar" of an integrated group of variants so that we should understand the characteristic features of the local dance cultures. To explore the relationships of structural types in East-European improvisative dances, Martin suggested a **triple analytical framework**: the life work of individual dancers, a regional dance-form repertory, and the framework of the main historical dance types/genres. The careful examination of single motifs (and other structural elements) in all the three frameworks can help us avoid great mistakes in typology, he emphasized (Martin 1964:231; 1980a:395). Construction of **dance indices** (catalogues or dictionaries) of a well-defined corpus of dance variants (and their structural elements) is one of the basic tools for structural typology.¹⁶ The complex of the systematically prepared dance-catalogues can create a firm basis for cross-cultural comparative dance research.

Conclusion

As we have already remarked, the Hungarian analytical method is not a finally defined, closed system. It is an open, variable concept, gradually developing, and possible to be improved. It does not cover all the fields of structuralist idea of linguistics; it is focused mainly on the morphology, phonology and syntax of a well-defined kinetic language. One of its main features is an emphasis on the important characteristics of the object of research; that means East-European individual, improvisative folk dance. This focus orients the researcher in selecting the adequate approaches and in defining proper methodology.

Martin's main achievements in this field are: the development of a widely applicable motif theory, which has a basic role in the whole structural concept, determination of the concepts of improvisation-regulation, creativity, and the introduction of the individuality-principle to dance analysis. (See Martin 1955, 1964; Karsai-Martin 1989 posthumous.) Pesovár's contribution is focused on major structural elements and typology. (See Pesovár 1961, 1963, 1965, 1976, 1997.) The present generation of Hungarian researchers (Felföldi, László; Fügedi, János; Karácsony, Zoltán; Kőnczei, Csilla; Pálffy, Gyula and their students) go in different directions. On the one hand they endeavour to complete the comprehensive source publication plans made by Martin

and Pesovár. On the other hand they try to develop further the Hungarian analytical method in some basic directions. (See Zoltán Karácsony's analysis in Appendix B as an example of newer generation endeavors.) In the field of formal-structural analysis of multidimensional, multi-medial "dance-texts," they aim at the examination of "grammaticality" (measure of freedom and regulatedness) by means of computer-aided comparative research and construction of dance-catalogues. In the field of the contextual, situational analysis they lay more emphasis on "addressivity," "dialogicality" of the different dance genres, which gives them deeper insight into the ways of dance creation in a community.

The main lesson to keep in mind is that formal-structural analysis is not an end in itself. It is a research tool providing a firm basis for ethnochoreologists to go in several different directions: synchronic and diachronic; syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic; textual and contextual.

ENDNOTES

1. 1965 is the year that both György Martin and Ágoston Lányi were received at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
2. The first film documents of individual dances in Hungary were made in the 1920s, regular filming began in the 1930s, and the first examples of Labanotation for folk-dance analysis in scientific publications appeared in 1947. Today the Folk Dance Archive of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has about 20 thousand single dance recordings on 400,000 meters of film, about 2000 items of dance notation and 12,000 dance-music notations.
3. In addition we rely on Elizabeth Rearick's film-documentation of Hungarian dances and games published in New York in 1939.
4. A similar method was followed by Ukrainian researcher W.R. Harashymczuk in his *Tance huculskie* (Lwow, 1939), but Molnár did not rely on him or any other sources.
5. In the former socialist countries in Central and East Europe we find similar tendencies of supporting staged folk dance and dance folkloristics at the expense of modern dance after World War II.
6. 1958 is the year of Martin's diploma research. This study, *Mátyás István Mundruc. Egy kalotaszegi táncos egyéniségvizsgálata* [István Mátyás Mundruc. Research of an individual dancer from Kalotaszeg region] was published posthumously in 2004 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology.
7. See Anca Giurchescu's and Eva Kröschlová's comprehensive paper, chapter 2 in this volume.
8. Remembering Saussure's *parole-langue* and Chomsky's competence-performance conceptions helps us to understand these analytical problems.
9. Variation theory worked out by Martin and Pesovár with roots in the Hungarian and international folklore theory of the 1960s (see Ortutay 1959).
10. In Martin's system the "core" is the most significant and meaningful element, which has the minimum necessary number of phases, and it cannot be divided further into elements without hurting the integrity of the core [Martin 1964:394; 2004:258-259].
11. In Zsigmond Karsai's 62 single dance processes (of about 3000 musical bars) recorded from 1941 till 1981, Martin identified 1571 single motif variants, of which about 300 were significant. Few of them have more than 100 insignificant variants, the majority only 20-25, and some only one. In the significant variants, Martin defined 108 motif types and 18 motif families. Karsai's most favourite motif family is the fifth one, which contains 10 motif types of 285 single motifs [Karsai-Martin 1989].
12. See Martin and Pesovár's article on structural analysis of Hungarian folk dance, 1961.
13. It is a widely used approach in social and cultural sciences to reveal the role of individual members of a local community. It is worth mentioning the results of the Hungarian performer-centred folk-tale research, the so called Budapest school, represented by the names of Gyula Ortutay and Linda Dégh. It had significant impact on the development of the individuality principle in Hungarian folk-dance research (Ortutay 1978; Dégh 1960, 1995).
14. The notion of "dance knowledge" is closer to Chomsky's "competence" conception, than to Saussure's "langue" notion.
15. The best-known examples of this kind of research in narrative folklore are V.I. Propp's morphology of folktales (1968), Lévi-Strauss's structural analysis of myths (1963) and Matti Kuusi's structural typology of proverbs (Lauhakangas 2001).

16. Martin's first attempt to prepare a motif index took place in 1955. It contained the dances collected in Bag village. In 1964 he published the motif catalogue on the whole traditional dance repertoire of the Sárköz-Duna region. His monographs on two dancing individuals from Transylvania contain the catalogue of their men's dance improvisations documented throughout almost the whole of their lives (Martin 1955, 1964, 2004; Karsai–Martin 1989).

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Appendix A

Interview with Ernő Pesovár about the work of the Study Group of the International Folk Music Council on Dance Terminology

Transcription from audio recording by László Felföldi; English translation by Edit Felföldi

László Felföldi (F): When did you get interested in research on this theme?

Ernő Pesovár (P): We were motivated to study the formal aspect of folk dance by the experience gained from our predecessors in Hungary and during data collection. It became obvious that one prerequisite of the categorization of dances is to work out the aspects of formal analysis. We used István Molnár's life work as a basis, who published dance processes taken from film and a collection of motifs drawing attention to certain characteristics of our improvised dances. We were also motivated by the comprehensive work of Sándor Gönyei and László Lajtha, as well as Emma Lugossy's life work. Nevertheless, the most important conclusion was drawn from dances taken simultaneously with music. As a result, we have already drawn attention to the role of cadence in the volume titled *Somogyi táncok* [Dances of Somogy County], and while teaching original dance processes at teacher training courses, we pointed out their structural specificities.

F: What other experience did you use in constructing your conception?

P: We considered to be ideal for us the useful methods developed by Bartók on the basis of the Finnish researcher, Ilmari Krohn's categorization of folk music. We also used the concepts developed by folkloristics especially in the research on folk tales and ballads, such as element, motif, and type as well as the results of the study of musical form and linguistics.

F: When did you develop your methodology?

P: In the second half of the 1950s. Our paper on structural analysis was published in 1960, and another one about the categorization of motifs came out in 1963. This way, we could join the international work on terminology with a fully developed conception.

F: When did you join the international team?

P: In 1962, at the IFMC Congress in Gottwaldov, in which we could participate thanks to Zoltán Kodály. Here, György Martin read a lecture about the types of Hungarian dance and I spoke about the state of Hungarian dance research providing information about our method of analysis and categorization of motifs.

F: So the study group was formed at this congress, wasn't it?

P: Yes, it was. Our analytic and categorizing method aroused great interest. The question of such a study had already been raised in the course of the extensive data collection and research in Central and Eastern European countries, so it had been in the air. The research here developed in such a way that the researchers with ethnographic qualifications (Gönyey, Lajtha, Morvay) were followed by a new generation of experts in dance.

F: Yes, it also might be surprising internationally that in Central and Eastern Europe, a team of experts in dance theory and music coming from modern dance began to deal with the theory of traditional dances.

P: There was really a tendency like this. A good example of it is István Molnár's life career, who changed his past of expressionistic dance to ethnochoreology during World War II. Similarly, Emma Lugossy had an orientation to the art of dance and qualifications in the theory of dance. Directors and students of schools of orchestics who were receptive to folk dance anyway joined the movement and research on folk dance. After 1948, in the so called "socialist period" these schools of art were dissolved, so experts could make use of their knowledge in the field of folk dance, historical dance, and gymnastics. That is how Olga Szentpál became an active ethnochoreologist and developed her own analytic method. Her daughter, Mária Szentpál, also established her method of movement analysis, and played an important role as a theoretician and teacher of Laban Kinetography. A similar process could be observed in the other so-called socialist countries.

F: Did this have any influence on the work of the Terminology Study Group?

P: It had both positive and negative effects, as there were researchers within the committee with similar orientation as well. The positive side of it was the fact that the discussions were theoretically founded and of high quality. The negative side was, that occasionally, the disputes ended up in wanton speculations losing hold on reality (because of the lack of the profound knowledge of the dance material). There were also problems adjusting the conclusions drawn on the basis of more regulated forms (like quadrilles) and free, improvised dances. Certainly, it is reflected in the summarizing work providing the results (Syllabus). The summary, though containing compromises, provides a foundation for further analytic and categorizing work. I find it an exaggeration, though, that the structural formula of a dance process should give a detailed overview from the smallest element to the largest units. In this way, one is unable to see the wood for the trees, and too many cooks spoil the broth. It has been proven in practical work that the approach we developed is more applicable to our own folk dance tradition. This approach considers the study of motifs (development and variation of motifs) and categorization as a separate and equally important field besides structural research. It provides a better starting point for determining types and serves as a better basis for separating historical layers and for comparative research. (See analysis of "Szanyi dus" [Dus dance from Szany Village] below on pages 166-167.) In spite of these problems, cooperation was really useful. It created the foundations of a way of thinking common at the roots, the atmosphere of collegiality, which is essential for cooperation, and established connections.
Budapest, 2001.

Tune a.

$\text{♩} = 120$

Tune b.

$\text{♩} = 120$

Motif repertory

1a

1b₁

1b₂

1b₃

2a

2b

3

4

APPENDIX B

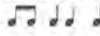
The motifs of the *legényes* of a dancer from Bogártelke

Zoltán Karácsony

The wealth of motifs in *legényes* dances in Kalotaszeg is emphasized in all scientific (Martin 1977a) and popular (Martin 1967:127; 1974:64) works devoted to the subject. When the initial difficulties of motivation (Molnár 1947:343-364; Lugossy 1954:108-114) were overcome (Martin-Pesovár 1961:216) and fundamental structural-morphological examinations had been conducted (Martin 1966; Kürti 1980), the structural-morphological levels and characteristics of the "*legényes*" were identified. Accordingly, the concept of motif designates the smallest organic repeated and recurring formal unit of dancing that constitutes a separate entity in the dancer's mind that can be retrieved immediately and at any moment of time (Martin 1964:21; 1977a:269). The following factors contributed to the evolution of a rich motivic stock.

By its function, the *legényes* is a spectacular, individual solo dance (Martin 1966:212). Used as the opening dance in the dance cycle up to the turn of the century (Martin 1980a:48), the *legényes* shifted to the intervals in dance suites after World War I as pieces ordered separately for demonstration (Dobby 1972:8; Martin 1970:23). This state of affairs facilitated the selection of outstanding dancers who were forced incessantly to enlarge and exercise their motif arsenals (Martin 1980b:416-417). Men of inferior dance skills no longer dared to take the stage (Martin 1970:267).

The other functional-contentual explanation for the motif richness of the dance lies in the "shift of motifs" with age (Martin 1977a:276). Ethnographers have found that the formal idiom, motivic repertory of a dancer changed by age and life period. A dancer always has favorite, preferred motifs that keep changing over his lifetime. That is why the dance improvisations of exceptionally skillful dancers ought to be continuously registered (Martin 1977a:267).

The rest of the explanatory factors underlying the wealth of motifs are to be found in the structural-morphological determinants of the dance type. The cadence type of Kalotaszeg *legényes* dances and the ensuing periodisation largely contributed to its motif richness. The starting motif generated by the cadence type of secondary accent  (Martin 1980b:407, 411) brought about a concentration and formal abundance that is unparalleled in the Hungarian folk dance tradition. The closing motif used to round off a section or *pont* (Martin 1966:212) and the starting formula it determines allows a "breathing space" for the dancer to decide which – so far unused – motif he should continue the given dance (Martin 1980b:415).

The variants of motif families outline certain tendencies of variation. The place and function of a motif within the dance largely determines its rhythmic and plastic characteristics (Martin 1977a:273). The motifs in the closing position of the dance period are rhythmically and plastically closed as against the open-ended motifs inside the dance process, constituting its backbone.

Another typical constructive device is the extension and compounding of motifs (Martin 1977a:270-271). As the *legényes* has intricate motif structure and relatively large motifs (2 bars, 8 quavers), the earlier proposed systematisation by support structure (Martin 1964; Martin-Pesovár 1963:307) gave way to an arrangement by motif core.¹ Motif cores are the most typical movements (Martin 1977a:267) that are essential, plastically salient, accented components of the given motif type. When a one-core, one-measure dance motif is repeated and we get a two-measure motif, we have carried out extension. The resultant motif has two identical cores in a repetitive homogeneous construction (A+A). Another way to bring about more complex motif structures is to compound a simple core with another one (A+B). This procedure is the most typical of the motif variation of the Kalotaszeg *legényes*. The composition of the motifs of

different cores produces further motifs that are in kinship via their shared elements. The synchronous use of extension and compounding will bring about further, structurally more advanced motifs. The compounding either precedes or follows the motif core repetition (A+A+B, A+B+B) (Martin 1977a:271).

In the following, the motif construction of a Kalotaszeg *legényes* is to be presented through a personal variant. The dance samples from the village of Bogártelke (Bagara) in Kolozs county (judetul Cluj) were danced by István "Bajszos" [Moustached] Varga. He was probably born in 1902.² He made his living by farming. He was born and lived in Bogártelke, as no other place name is mentioned in the film diary.

The film was shot in Budapest, so István Varga probably visited György Martin during his visit to Hungary and Martin availed himself of the opportunity to stage a filming.³ From the early 1960s György Martin had been collecting folk dances in the villages along the Nádas stream in Kalotaszeg (Kósa 1979). Earlier, two films had been shot of the dances of János "Poncsa" Fekete and his son of Bogártelke.⁴ The Budapest recording was made in the courtyard of the Arany János primary school in the 12th district (number 1, Meredek street).⁵ The film was shot by György Martin and Jolán Borbély on Sunday, May 16, 1965. An Admira Electric 16 (mute) camera was used and Orwo negative film of 90 meters in length, lasting about eight minutes.⁶ It was inventoried in the Film Archives of the Folk Music Research Group of the Hungarian Academy as "no. MTA ft. 558."⁷ Dances, numbers 1-6 were shot at 24 (meter/secundum), the last dance, number 7, only showing the dancer's legs was shot at 16 m/s. The dancer performed the dances to the musical recording inventoried under AP 7194/a of MTA. The music was recorded by György Martin at Nádasdaróc at a Christmas dance in 1964. The musicians were from Kolozs.⁸ Although Kolozs does not belong to the ethnographic micro-region of Nádasmente, the Kolozs Gypsy bands served a relatively wide region.⁹

István "Moustached" Varga was 63 years old at the time of filming. His performance is not characterized by youthful virtuosity requiring great physical endurance but by an utterly crystallized rendering of all the dance components. This facet ranges him with the best dancers of the Nádas region.¹⁰ It can only be regretted that no other recording of István Varga's dance improvisations were made so that his dance style and laws of dance creation could be studied.

As was mentioned above, István Varga performed seven dances, of which 1-3 and 6-7 are *legényes*. Number 4 is a process of dance motifs danced to the music of the *sebes* csárdás [fast csárdás]. He dances out the stamping, heel clicking, leg-hitting motifs that Kalotaszeg men usually dance when they break the close hold of their partners in the *szapora* [fast-tempo couple dance]. Number 5 is an invariant in both Kalotaszeg and Transylvania in general (Ortutay 1981: 23). István Varga performs a swineherd's dance-like dance¹¹ over two sticks laid down crosswise, to the music of the *szapora*. The uncertainty about the name and function of the dance, and the lack of recent ethnographic data suggest that this dance type is not typical of the region. It merely proves that István Varga was responsive to innovations in dancing.

The film contains five *legényes* dances. Three of them (identified as A, C, D) are complete dance processes since both the beginning and the end can be seen. István Varga performed his dances almost face to face with the camera.¹² He was aware of the filming because at the beginning of A and C and at the end of D he bowed towards the camera indicating that he would begin or end the dance. The Labanotation score at the end of Appendix B is a transcription of Dance A.

Before turning to the motif stock of this *legényes*, let us mention conceptual reflections about the structural-formal units of the dance (Martin 1977:357). György Martin wrote the following in the diary:

Certain motifs and motif sequences are also called 'pont'. Upon my inquiry, he said after performing a whole sequence of motifs that it was a 'pont'. Within a sequence of motifs, certain figures were also called 'pont' or 'figura'. He also uses the label 'pont'

to denote some csárdás figures. (...) As for the 'angry', he claims to have seen a Gypsy do it, he learnt it then and young Poncsa learnt it from him. Closing the knees was a figure his late father used to do. Poncsa learnt it from him. He calls the starting motif the launch.


The following can be concluded: for István Varga, *pont* meant the motif or section of the *legényes* and the motifs of the *friss* csárdás as well. He knew the provenance and name of individual motifs as well as their association with outstanding dancers. Within the dance section, he differentiated the motif type functioning as the beginning.

For the systematisation of István Varga's motifs, I used the system elaborated by György Martin [Karsai-Martin 1989:75-81]. The figures of the Bogártelke *legényes* were fitted into the motif catalogue of István "Mundruc Mátyás."¹³ (See Martin 2004.) I extended the serial numbers of the motif families to three-digit numbers, which allowed for the classification of the motifs that were not included in Mátyás' material. Martin arranged the motifs by the following criteria.

The first serial number designates the group of motif families. Motifs starting with the same root are grouped here together. This means that motifs having similar anterior parts (main parts) belong to the same group. The collective groups of motif families are classified by support structure. Five large categories can be differentiated.

1. The system of motifs begins with roots or motif families consisting of leg gestures. The motif families starting with 0 have repetitive (1-1) support structure.
2. In motif families starting with the digit 1 a typical free leg gesture is followed by a shift of weight. Their support structure is characterised by the combination of repetitive and alternative (1-2) support.
3. Families containing motif roots of alternative (2-2) support structure begin with the digit 2.
4. Families beginning with the digit 3 start with double support (3-3).
5. The last group of motifs (beginning with 4) contain leg or boot-hitting motifs.

The second serial number indicates the structural setup of the motifs. Morphological qualification differentiates the following groups (group number being identical with serial number).

1. The shortest, simplest, often half-measure  motifs are called root motifs consisting of the repetition of a single two-part movement (for example, repeated one-sided springing by alternating legs).
2. The one-measure figures (of two crotchets) are the simple motifs. They consist of two parts. The main beat contains the core motif, which is complemented with one or two linking gestures ensuring the transition.
3. The extended motifs comprise the repetition of one, a single root or the extension of the one-bar motifs to two-bar ones. These motifs compared to the simple motifs changed only in a quantitative way.
4. In compound motifs two roots are connected by means of some conjunctive and supplementary elements. The compositional elements of a compound motif can occur independently or in the majority of cases as members of other motifs.
5. Multiple compound motifs contain 3 or more roots. In Lad's dance of Kalotaszeg this kind of motif occurs rarely.

The third serial number shows the structural function of the motifs. On the basis of this number we may identify the position and role of the motif in the higher structural elements (for example, Phrase). It is important for the classification, because motifs existing, changing, varying in the framework of a "pont" could not be well interpreted without knowing its structural

function. From the point of view of the structural function we may differentiate four kinds of motifs:

1. Beginning motifs. They are indicated by number 1. Owing to the delayed cadence of the "pont" (falling on the side-accent) a special beginning formula appears in the beginning of the phrase in Kalotaszeg Lad's dances, which gives better transition for the dances to the following motif. Generally one dancer has only one or maximum two such formula. István Varga exceptionally uses three beginning motifs in his dance processes.
2. A central part (falling on the third and fourth bars), the first part of the so called "spine motifs" (*gerincmotivum*) are indicated by number 2.
3. The spine motif in the position before the closing motif of the phrase is designated by number 3. The majority of the Lad's dance motifs belong to these two groups.
4. Motif in the position of cadence are indicated by number 4. Special motifs – falling on the seventh and eighth bars – being obligatory for the dancer at the end of the phrase. It can be a variant of the spine motif or totally different ones.

By typology of the units in the motif families defined by the listed categories, we may identify different types. The main criteria of a motif type are the qualitative and quantitative features of the motif roots. But for the precision of the typology we have to take into consideration the rhythmic, structural and support features of the motifs involved in classification. The classification of István Varga's motifs can be seen in Tables "Combination of motif roots" on the next page.

In the film Ft. 558, István Varga danced three complete and two fragmentary *legényes* dances. The five dances amount to a total of 36 *ponts*. Dance A has 12 sections, C and D 7 periods each, and the two fragmentary dances last 4 (B) and 6 (E) *ponts*. In terms of musical measures, they are: Dance A: 89 measures; B: 24 measures; C: 61 measures; D: 61 measures; E: 42 measures, totaling 277 measures. István Varga danced altogether 138 motifs which can be subsumed into 95 types of 27 motif families. Although the dances were recorded at a single occasion and only five dances were performed, an astonishingly high number of figures were found. On a single occasion, the dancers of Kalotaszeg cannot present all their figures and the variations of the figures, so presumably the recorded set is about 75-80% of István Varga total motif repertory.

As regards the share of motif families, simple motifs had the smallest share (6 types), compound motifs (61) having a far greater share than any other group. The repeated (9) and extended (15) motif types are represented in Varga's arsenal of motifs proportionately with their weight.

There are two subtypes of the repeated root motif in the studied stock. In one, the repeated root comes from the function of the motif. The motifs are located within the dance section at points where their structure and length depend on the momentary situation. For example, all three complete dances (A, C, D) begin with the motif family 307, which suggests that the figure has a beginning, introductory function. The other group of root repetition points vigorously towards the group of extended motifs. Since, however, the boundaries of the figure are not yet firmly demarcated, they just fall short of the group of extended motifs. Soon the motifs tending towards some group will achieve a higher level of organization.

Extended motifs divide into three subgroups. The first are radically extended figures. For a definite period of time in keeping with the musical measures, the dancer repeats a root-like motif several times. This construction can be schematised as *a a a a*.

The second subgroup of extended motifs comprise tagged figures. In this case, some member of the motif is repeated for extension. This procedure is schematised as *A(a+a)*. The motif type 306.3.2.1. represents this subgroup.

The third subgroup of extension produces motifs similar to compound motifs in that a motif is repeated in full, schematically: A+A. The best examples are motifs 304.3. and 408.3.

Single motifs are normally produced when a central, essential core is combined with one or two connecting elements that ensure the continuous flow of the dance via identical or symmetrical repetition. Such a type is 003.2.2. in István Varga's arsenal. The contacting leg gesture of a narrow compass is linked to an *infenő* [gesturing leg gliding against the supporting leg] of wide amplitude started from the back. The linking element also allows for the performance of a two-measure compound motif.

Owing to it being the basic position, the double support motifs are less variable, with the exception of their symmetrical repetition in space.

István Varga's motif stock contains a peculiar figure. What is most striking about this motif is that it has two cores despite its length of one measure. It is like a two-measure motif shrunken. The first root is the aerial heel click, the second is the swinging of the leg, compounded by springing sideways. This produces an unusual motif that is to be taken for an invariant.

The dancer mainly produces his motifs by compounding. The compound motifs take up the largest share in his repertory. In all three subtypes of the Central Transylvanian *legényes* (Mezőség, Maros-Küküllő region, Kalotaszeg) this principle of construction is the most prevalent. Simple motifs used independently or in combination will be connected temporarily or for a period of time during a dance improvisation, thus producing a motif of a more advanced structure.

The plastic-dynamic amplitude of the constituent motifs is an important factor in the union of motifs. The dancers aim to present motifs, the dynamic effects of whose roots are different, and thus they do not cancel each other out. The following two tables present the linking of the roots of compound motifs.

Combination of motif roots:

Motif roots	Frequency of the connection	As prefixes with how many posterior elements	As posterior elements with how many prefixes
001	2	2	-
002	7	3	4
003	5	4	1
004	7	3	4
102	3	1	2
103	7	2	5
203	1	1	-
207	3	3	-
208	3	3	-
209	2	-	2
303	8	2	6
304	5	2	3
305	1	1	-
307	1	-	1
402	4	2	2
406	1	1	-
408	3	2	1
409	1	1	-
410	1	1	-

Prefix	Posterior members													
	002	003	004	102	103	209	303	304	307	402	403	404	408	411
001	++		+											
002				++	+++		+							
003	++			++		+	+							
004	+++++				++	+								
102	+													
103			+				+							
203			+											
207	+				+++++		+++				+			
208		+	++++**		***	++								
303				+			+							
304					+									+
305								++						
402							+					+++++		
403							+			+				
404										+				
406										+				
408										+		+		
409							++							
410													+	

* = Posterior member of multiple compound motif.

411 = only occurs as posterior member.

Multiple compound motifs in István Varga's repertory are few. The combination of three or more roots is rare because it would make the motif overcrowded, almost impossible to comprehend.

When speaking of motif construction, the principle of opposition also needs mention. It means that especially for root repetition and extended motifs there is a compositional principle that confirms the dancer's construction in opposites. The performer's goal is a return to the starting position of equilibrium. The motifs can be repeated symmetrically, the forward spring can be recompensed by backward spring, the sideward process by reversed motion. Examples can be found in the dance transcription (Dance A). In measures 3-4 of *pont* VII, the forward progress carried out with the motif type 101 is paired with a special figure, which brings him back to the starting position. The principle of opposition also invalidates the compulsion to adjust to the musical measures, as the second motif is 2 quavers longer, thus it shortens the closing figure. The *pont* structure can also be changed by the construction in opposites. The first spine motif no.102 of *pont* VIII is followed by the *szitáló* motif. The symmetrical repetition of the motif in opposite direction is impossible for support difficulties. The dancer ignores the section boundary and repeats the motif symmetrically in the next section (*pont* IX). The principle of construction in opposites assumes a greater role in the composition of *ponts*. That, however, ought to be the subject matter of another examination.

For a full explanation for this structural analysis, see the original text of Karácsony 1990.

ENDNOTES

1. Classification of the motifs is a rather complicated task, because of the numerous possibilities of motif variation. It is difficult to define the relatedness among the great number of motifs and to put them into a system showing their real affinity (Ortutay 1981: 52-53) and giving the possibility to insert new motifs into the system later on.
2. According to the field diary István Varga was 63 years old at the time of filming in 1965.
3. On May 10, 1965 György Martin made a sound recording with István Varga, who whistled melodies of Lad's dance and Quick csárdás for him. Presumably, it was that time, that they agreed on the date and place of future dance-filming.
4. See films MTA Ft. 513 and 542. István Varga does not dance in these films and his name does not appear in the diary of later filmings.
5. At that time Jolán Borbély, one of the makers of the film, taught Hungarian language and literature in the Arany János primary school.
6. They presumably handled the tape-recorder performing playback music and the camera alternately.
7. Since January 1, 1974 the Film Archives of the Folk Dance Department of the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
8. The band includes Lajos Armán (18 years old) first violin, József Lakatos (35) second violin, and János Sztojka (29) bass. They play a pair of dances including *legényes*, *csárdás* and *scapora* [swift couple dance]. The good quality of the functional recording and its appropriate length made György Martin copy it onto a playback tape and use it frequently for his filmings in Kalotaszeg.
9. For example, Lajos Armán often went to Györgyfalva next to Kolozsvár to play. The *legényes* of that village is closely related to the *sűrű* [dense] *legényes* of western Mezőség Region (Martin 1985). The second violin also stresses the cadence with primary accent typical of the Györgyfalva *legényes* (Karcsony 1985). István Varga was not bothered by this fact.
10. See István "Mundruc" Mátyás of Vista, János "Ponca" Fekete the elder and the younger, and Ferenc "Gyurka" Gergely of Inaktelke.
11. The diary of the filming says István Varga learned the dance from a Hungarian man of Egeres two years his senior in 1918. Before this time, he had not seen this dance. He called it "sebes" [fast] csárdás or "kondás" [swineherder's] csárdás.
12. He probably turned slightly toward the machine producing the playback music located next to the camera.

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The following pages are a transcription of Dance A from the film of István (Moustached) Varga, born 1902 in Bogártelke (Băgăra, județul Cluj, Romania). The film recording was done in Budapest, 16 May 1965. The original recording is located in the Folkdance Archives of the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Science (HAS).

Notation key signature



☐ = release weight but not contact

(☐) = facing of chest

((☐)) = facing of hip

⊖ = pressed

The image displays a musical score for a Hungarian folk dance, consisting of a melody and a complex rhythmic accompaniment. The score is organized into two main systems, each with a diamond-shaped box containing a letter (F and E) and a vertical bar with a diamond-shaped box containing a letter (F and E).

System 1 (Left):

- Melody:** A single staff with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 120$. The melody is marked *simile*. It begins with a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'F' and a vertical bar with a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'F'.
- Accompaniment:** A single staff with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 120$. It features a complex rhythmic pattern with various note values and rests. It begins with a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'F' and a vertical bar with a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'F'.

System 2 (Right):

- Melody:** A single staff with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 120$. It continues the melody from the first system. It begins with a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'E' and a vertical bar with a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'E'.
- Accompaniment:** A single staff with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 120$. It continues the complex rhythmic pattern from the first system. It begins with a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'E' and a vertical bar with a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'E'.

The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, beams, and dynamic markings. The diamond-shaped boxes and vertical bars are likely structural markers or symbols used in the research.

This page contains a musical score for a string quartet, consisting of 16 measures. The score is organized into four systems, each with a diamond-shaped measure number in the bottom right corner: I, II, III, and IV. Each system includes a single melodic line on a staff and a corresponding four-part string quartet arrangement below it. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, stems, and dynamic markings. The string quartet parts are arranged in two pairs of staves, with the first pair on the left and the second pair on the right. The overall layout is clean and professional, typical of a published musical score.

Musical score for item VII, featuring a single staff with a treble clef and a complex rhythmic melody.

Musical score for item VII, showing a multi-staff arrangement with a treble clef and various rhythmic patterns.

Musical score for item VII, featuring a single staff with a treble clef and a complex rhythmic melody.

Musical score for item VIII, showing a multi-staff arrangement with a treble clef and various rhythmic patterns.

Musical score for item VIII, featuring a single staff with a treble clef and a complex rhythmic melody.

Musical score for item IX, showing a multi-staff arrangement with a treble clef and various rhythmic patterns.

Musical score for item IX, featuring a single staff with a treble clef and a complex rhythmic melody.

A single musical staff containing a sequence of notes and rests, likely representing a melodic line.

A complex musical score consisting of multiple staves. It includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. There are also handwritten annotations and symbols, including a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'X'.

A single musical staff containing a sequence of notes and rests, similar to the first staff.

A complex musical score consisting of multiple staves. It includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. There are also handwritten annotations and symbols, including a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'X'.

A single musical staff containing a sequence of notes and rests, similar to the first staff.

A complex musical score consisting of multiple staves. It includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. There are also handwritten annotations and symbols, including a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'X'.

A single musical staff containing a sequence of notes and rests, similar to the first staff.

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A complex musical score consisting of multiple staves. It includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. There are also handwritten annotations and symbols, including a diamond-shaped box containing the letter 'X'.

**CASE STUDIES
USING STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS**

IN SEARCH OF STRUCTURAL *GEIST*: DANCE AS REGIONAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Theresa Jill Buckland

At the turn of the millennium, structuralist approaches to dance and culture seemed to be classified alongside evolutionism and, to a lesser extent, functionalism, as redundant paradigms for interpreting the world. 'Apologies for structure are now necessary' states Sahlins [1999: 400] in a persuasive counter-attack on 'post' theoretical critiques, such as postmodernism and post-colonialism, of the concept of culture. The quest to identify structure as a relevant aspect of culture was viewed by such 'post-theorists' as a doomed prelude to reification of the phenomenon under investigation. Outside of anthropological and ethnological approaches to dance, in British and North American mainstream dance studies of the 1980s and 1990s, the growing dominance of approaches drawn from critical literary theory and cultural studies privileged meaning as semiotic and situational. Thus, in attempts to relate theory to practice and to engage with adjacent disciplines in the arts and humanities, the processual became privileged over the formal and structural.¹

Problems associated with the textualisation of dance clearly exist, particularly when such practices are not part of the local dance culture: yet it is often only through such techniques that questions relating to structure may be pursued. It remains my conviction that a refusal to engage with structure may preclude inquiry into how the very act of dancing comes into being within cultural situations. Without doubt, notions of structure at the height of structuralism were too static and universalist to assist greatly in explanations of socio-cultural processes. Indeed, as a postmodern, and postcolonial world emerged in view, it became evident that such notions were insufficiently labile to reflect destabilised and slippery actualities. The loss of structure, however, from the theoretical toolbox in studies of dance can handicap research into the wider phenomenon of dance as culturally codified and meaningful human action. This chapter explores the potential and limitations of such a methodological and theoretical approach with respect to a case study of ceremonial dance traditions in Northwest England.

The context of study

In the mid 1970s, my doctoral research [Buckland 1984] begun at the Institute of Dialect of Folk Life Studies, University of Leeds, England, sought, as part of its focus, to address issues regarding the relation of persistently occurring movement structures in relation to culture. The dances of the selected region had, at that time, received little academic investigation and the known material posed interesting questions relating to historical change, contemporary practice and conceptualisation. Northwest England, more specifically, the settlements to the north, east and south of Manchester, was the world's earliest region to undergo rapid extensive industrialisation and urbanisation, from the late eighteenth century onwards. In such a shift from traditional to modern society, received scholarly opinion amongst English folklore enthusiasts held that any vestiges of the former rural culture were quickly exterminated. The fact, however, that a regional type of one of England's national 'folk' dances – the morris – continued to be danced throughout this transformative period to the present day promised opportunities to examine

cultural, historical and ideological processes in the practice of ceremonial dancing in urban society. Such an approach was very much in accord with the discipline of folklore studies which classically focuses upon an item of culture in order to consider its multiple and variant forms over time and space. The diversity of variant dance forms over the region and time period in question certainly called for some method which could go beyond the verbally descriptive, then dominant in English folk dance scholarship, towards an analysis capable of theoretical interpretation.²

During the 1970s, structuralist approaches to expressive culture, particularly in the study of oral poetry and folk tales, were part of postgraduate education in folk life studies at Leeds. Their application to dance was an obviously parallel investigation and I struggled to employ principles from Vladimir Propp [1968] and Claude Levi-Strauss [1963] to the corpus of dances from Northwest England, determined to articulate choreological structure in relation to some larger conceptual entity of culture. Happily, there were already pioneers in the field. Thanks to the eclectic and re-defining nature of folklore scholarship as practised at Leeds, I was encouraged to explore tools and frameworks from cognate disciplines and other traditions of folklore scholarship.³ The result was discovery of the work of Williams [1976a, 1976b], Kaeppler [1967, 1972], Martin and Pesovár [1961, 1963] and the syllabus of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology [1974].⁴

The anthropological approaches of Kaeppler and Williams seemed not to be of immediate relevance to my inquiry. Firstly, unlike Williams, my intention was not to identify structural universals of human movement. Secondly, my choice of the Northwest of England meant that in contrast to the traditionally conceived homogenous culture of classical anthropology, fieldwork took place in pluralist, largely urban communities with many traditions of scholarship and histories intersecting across its present identities. No matter that in current anthropology, belief in bounded, monolithic wholes has collapsed; in the 1970s, looking across from the cognate discipline of folk life studies, anthropology's theoretical cohesion seemed both intact and irrelevant to the issues with which I was preoccupied.⁵ Finally, the importance of historical perspectives to many of the dancers and their communities, an aspect which was similarly valued in folklore and folk life studies, was not, at that time, shared with mainstream British and North American anthropology.⁶ In contemplating an historical anthropology of the region's culturally codified movement systems, I was faced with the monumental task of identifying every movement genre within Northwest England from the late eighteenth century to the present day. This was impossible for one person to undertake, without being reductionist and simplistic in the extreme. To this extent, then, the work of the European folk dance scholars was more appropriate. Their focus upon individual improvisations did not quite match the fixed and semi-improvisational group dances with which I was dealing but Hungarian and English dances shared the basic symbiotic relationship between choreological and musical structure, typical of most European dance culture up to the twentieth century. To this end, I was fortunate, as a postgraduate student, to spend a brief period of study at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to discuss the main principles of analysis in relation to the Hungarian repertoire with Martin and Pesovár in 1979.⁷

To advance my desire to apply a form of structural analysis to the English dances, however, the question of notation had to be settled. My initial training was in Benesh movement notation unlike the authors with whom I wished to engage. My subsequent decision to employ Labanotation for my own structural analysis was founded on three factors:

1. this system was the most widespread amongst anthropological and ethnochoreological studies of dance
2. it provided a vocabulary for the conceptualisation of dance which was appropriate for the European dance forms which were the focus of analysis

3. access to learning the system was quicker and less restrictive than the conditions which the then Institute of Choreology, London that taught the Benesh system exercised.⁸

Determining the parameters of study

For reasons outlined above regarding the complexity of the field site, my focus was upon dances rather than on the more anthropologically conceived system of codified movement structures in Northwest England. Furthermore, my concern to explore historical movement structures and their persistence, evolution or disappearance over time in relation to social, economic and ideological circumstances necessarily meant that access to past conceptualisations of dance at the level of system was difficult if not to say untenable given the nature of the documents available. Such factors, reinforced by my training in folk life studies, literary criticism and Western theatre art dance, ensured that the unit of analysis lay at the level of 'dances'.

The particular dances were ceremonial in nature, group in composition and appeared on a relatively regular basis at the annual public celebrations of individual residential communities – parish, village, hamlet, street- within the region. Known mostly as morris dances and performed from the late eighteenth through to the later nineteenth century primarily by men, the ceremonial dances also included other forms distinguished not by sticks or handkerchiefs, as was the norm in this region's morris dances, but by garlands and coconuts. Records of the latter are rare in comparison with references to morris, although the precise picture is confused by the use of the term 'morris' to include garland and coconut dances in some historical records. Any attempt to classify traditional dances by their name alone is flawed whilst the concept of morris itself is notoriously slippery.⁹

In the 1970s, there were three distinguishable categories of traditional ceremonial dances practised in the region: the competitive morris performed by young girls, the dances of revivalist morris teams, and the single troupe of dancers who performed only garland and coconut dances, known as the Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers. Since I knew from intensive historical research of my own that these dances shared earlier contexts of performance and were then the only ceremonial forms of dance operative in the region, my original intention had been to examine whether or not these repertoires were related at a deeper choreological level. By far the most widespread was the competitive form of morris dancing, which was performed at summer carnivals. With roots in earlier forms of morris dancing in the region, by the 1920s, it had largely replaced the eighteenth and nineteenth century men's tradition of morris dancing. The concept of tradition amongst these dancers was not necessarily valued; unlike the other two groups of dancers who had close connections with the folk paradigm as advanced by the English Folk Dance and Song Society. No serious historical or choreological study of the competitive morris, which had become highly regimented, has been undertaken and consequently no recorded corpus of these dances was available for analysis.¹⁰ The number and choreological history of the competitive morris was too extensive and uncharted for me to include within my doctoral thesis. The next group for consideration, the revivalist morris dancers, emerged as the result of a second wave of folk dance revivalism in the 1960s and 1970s. Inspired indirectly by the work of folk dance collector Cecil Sharp, these dancers sought to revive local dances from the region, largely based on manuscript sources and oral history.¹¹ Access to their sources was particularly difficult in the 1970s, given the almost xenophobic guarding of their material from rival teams. The provenance of their notations was rarely transparent and in some cases was suspect. Consequently, I discarded their dances from my analysis. The final group, the Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers, performed a repertoire which had been relatively stable since at least the early twentieth century and which had clear affinities with morris dancing, even if their dances were known as garland and coconut dances.

Existing forms of classification in English dance scholarship on ceremonial forms were derived from the folk paradigm and were exclusionist and insensitive to historical change. This

was much the result of continued reliance upon Cecil Sharp's genesis model which in the early twentieth century had been employed to erect a canon of authenticity for English 'folk' dances (see Buckland 1982 and Forrest 1999: 9-27). His criteria of gender, place and time of performance and dress failed to take explicit account of choreological detail. This was later added in descriptive form by Joseph Needham who in 1936 employed the historical/ geographical method of analysis in his index of English ceremonial dance forms which was updated in 1960 by Cawte, and others. A more detailed morphological analysis of morris dancing in the Northwest region appeared in the same year by Howison and Bentley who declared their intention to be 'descriptive rather than analytical' [1960: 43] in providing a framework for subsequent detail. They concentrated on dances performed by men prior to the 1930s and worked on notations of folk dance collectors associated with the English Folk Dance and Song Society (formerly English Folk Dance Society) and the Morris Ring, a revivalist organisation for English morris dancers. Their method was to outline a typical Northwest morris dance, which was derived from twenty-one mostly complete notations of the men's dances. They then related local variants to this model, noting anomalies, including the repertoire of the Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers and the separate evolution of the competitive morris.

In light of the problematic scope, reliability and accessibility of the competitive and revivalist ceremonial dance performances noted above, I decided to follow Howison and Bentley's example of concentrating on written dance notations relating to a regional tradition from the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, together with a focus on the repertoire of the Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers.¹² Both repertoires involved the manipulation of implements held in each hand and overall shared three distinctive compositional and spatial characteristics: the dancers were organised in couples and multiples of four during any performance; the driving compositional emphasis was on the movement of these groupings through space rather than on rhythmic or individual spatial positioning of the body, head or limbs; and the dances were executed in both stationary and processional forms. Both, however, raised particular problems in relation to my desire to work with performer conceptualisations in order to analyse the structural relations within the material. First of all was the issue of interpretation of the historical notations. By the late twentieth century, of course, most performers and collectors of the dances were dead, making the checking and interpretation of the records impossible. The majority of the dances had been documented in the verbal and diagrammatic system devised by Sharp and MacIlwaine during the early 1900s and, in the earliest examples, used nomenclature and concepts known from the South Midlands style of Morris dancing, with which the collectors were more familiar, rather than from the Northwest.¹³ Once this had been unpicked, another factor emerged which related to the very notion of 'a dance'. In contrast to the regulated dances of the South Midlands morris, the ceremonial dances of the Northwest were semi-improvisational in performance. The unit of improvisation was the 'figure', which basically refers to the movement of a group of dancers, usually in multiples of two or four, who travel through space to a set number of musical bars, usually eight, sixteen or twenty-four. This unit of performance is identified by the dancers with a distinctive name. A performance of Northwest morris dancing was composed of a number of these figures, called by the leader verbally, through hand signals or a whistle. Fortunately, the existing Manley Morris Dancers of Cheshire, established in the 1930s, had been taught and led by a morris dancer of the pre First World War period, providing evidence of how this system of selection operated in performance (see Haworth, 1972). Thus, the leader would call figures according to such contextual factors as space and time conditions, level of audience interest, location and size, energy levels of the performers and aesthetic preferences. The notations from the earlier period could not, however, provide specific detail of actual performances since they were all oral testimonies of general practice, rather than records of contemporaneous performances.

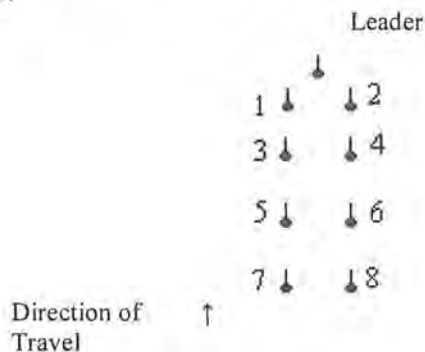
Even when faced with living dancers in performance, however, the task was not so straightforward. My training in Benesh notation had advocated the necessity of performing kinetic material before notating it and, having read Kaeppler, I wished to be a participant rather than merely an observer in documenting the dances of the Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers. But it was not to be. Firstly, the dancers, according to an agreement, which they had drawn up with the English Folk Dance Society, when they were first 'discovered' in the late 1920s were averse to anyone imitating their custom and preferred that their dances were not recorded for general dissemination [Buckland 2001]. Secondly and more importantly, the custom is firmly a masculine enterprise: the idea of a woman performing these dances was totally out of the question. The role of 'honorary male' as a member of the same culture was not open to me. Obviously, I respected these prohibitions. Asking the dancers to verbalise their dancing also proved problematic as, not surprisingly, it was an activity that they rarely needed to undertake. Lengthy interviews with the main teacher, however, provided valuable information with regard to the names of the movements and conceptualisation of the form. From frequent viewing of the repertoire at rehearsals and in numerous performance contexts over several years, together with video footage, and participation in similar English group dances, I was able to record the dances in Labanotation. This enabled me to address the dancers' reluctance to have their repertoire published in a manner in which the dances can be replicated since Labanotation, while accessible to dance scholars, remains beyond the interests of English folk dance revivalists who might wish to imitate their dances.

The Morris dances

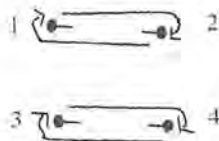
Howison and Bentley [1960: 48-52] provide a summary list of the figures, dividing the dances into two sub-regional types, which they perceive as a Pennine foothills tradition and a Cheshire plain tradition, based on movement composition, costume and context of performance. Their adherence to the folk paradigm is apparent in their choice of terms to describe the differences between the dances of the two geographical areas within the Northwest region: 'it seems more likely that by the time they were collected the versions from the Cheshire plain had already suffered considerable change' [1960: 51] and '(had) weakened earlier in the rural lowland areas' [1960: 51]. In fairness, their pioneering article set out a framework for the interpretation of ceremonial dance in relation to social and economic history at a time when detailed examination of contextual historical sources for dance was not the norm in English scholarship. Furthermore, they were unwilling to offer a conclusive interpretation of the differences between the Cheshire plain and Pennine morris traditions, pointing to the need for further archival research [1960: 53]. From my own examination of their manuscript collections and further historical material, it became clear that the Cheshire style of morris had its immediate origins in the later nineteenth century, inspired by the Pennine tradition but owing much to English country dance figures drawn from institutionalised dance practices in schools, the theatre, and the concept of 'Merrie England' [Buckland 1991]. Since these related to a contemporary national pool of dance resources rather than to an 'indigenous' regional dance culture, I decided to discard them from my sample. Of course, my approach remained very much within the folk and ethnological paradigms of focusing upon the oldest dances in order to determine their identity at a structural level in relation to the region. Not only did the sub-Pennine tradition of morris dancing provide the older strata of morris dances from the region for my pursuit of kinetic structural *geist*, but also geographically they were closer to the Britannia dancers whose earliest references related to the mid-nineteenth century. Thus my sample of ceremonial dances was concentrated, as far as was possible given the fragmentary nature of the source material, upon a historically and geographically coherent unit of analysis. It was through a detailed structural analysis, I believed, that I would be able to locate the *geist*, that is, an essential, cultural identity of this region's people, expressed through deep persistent structures of their movement, peculiar to their traditional

dances in this region and perhaps, in future work, this discoverable formula might indeed be related to structural characteristics of a dance culture which would be similarly expressive of and identifiable as an English *geist*.

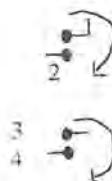
My decision to base the analysis at the level of dances necessitated an initial step of documenting the repertoires in Labanotation. The majority of the dances had been recorded in the name of the hamlet, village or town in which they performed and where most of the dancers had resided, for example, Mossley, Godley Hill, Royton. In some cases, as at Godley Hill, there existed a number of dance notations, collected at different times from different dancers and by different collectors. Discrepancies could be due to a number of factors [see Buckland 1993], but at this distance of time, it was impossible to be certain of the exact rendition of a dance. How the figures from the notations of morris dancing were put together in performance could only be considered at a general level, based on what the older dancers had told the collectors. For the most part, figures were either processional in character or reserved for performance before a relatively static audience. As the dancers moved along the street, they might stop to perform a selection of figures for the audience waiting on either side of the street or, to keep up with other elements in the procession, such as decorated floats, garland carriers and the like, they might dance past the waiting audience. The dancers were ranged in two files for both processional and stationary figures:



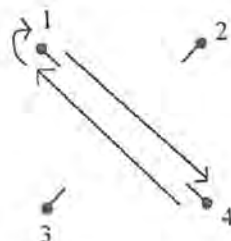
The number of dancers varied, depending on the local tradition or economic factors, from as few as 8 to 32 (or more). They were always organised in pairs of couples or rather units of 4, a feature sometimes reflected in the nomenclature of common figures such as 'Cross Partners', 'Centre Partners' or 'Corners'.



'Cross Partners'



'Centre Partners'



'Corners'

The figures were executed to continuous musical accompaniment, the start and finish of which were dictated by the morris team leader. In analytical terms then, a whole dance or rather

performance (T) could be conceptualised in Parts, using the IFMC syllabus nomenclature – that is, in processional and/or stationary units. Whether the dancers conceived of any one performance in such terms, however, is dubious, particularly given the fact that some figures appeared in both processional and stationary guise. It proved more fruitful then to consider the figure as a Part since it was at this level that the dance was realised.

From the manuscript material, it is clear that all the dances were constructed according to the Linking Principle. The majority fall into the category of Heterogeneous Chain Form in which the parts (figures) have no pre-set order but they do involve a fixed conclusion.

For example: Royton

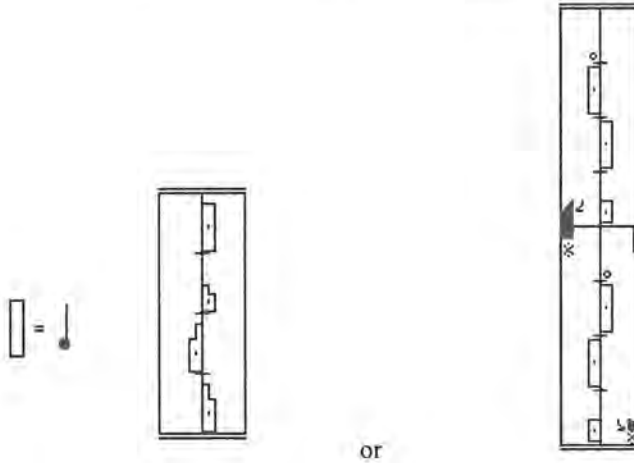
A B C D A E F G A D B Z

Others fall into the category of Rondo Form in which one or two parts, in a particular order, re-appear.

For example: Mossley (Karpeles' notation)

A B A C A D A A F A G A H A I Z

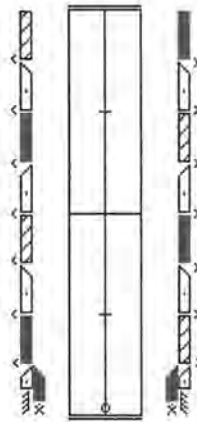
Unlike the classic Rondo Form, these dances always conclude with a new part (Z) rather than a repetition of the initial Part. The opening figure of 'Step Up', prevalent in most of the recorded morris notations, if under different names, could be performed as a travelling and stationary figure. This figure was often used in almost a chorus capacity, no doubt because it involved only one modification to change its character, that is, the dancers merely reversed the leg motif from forwards to backwards to maintain the overall formation on the spot. The figure's simplicity perhaps also gave the leader time to think before responding to a changing performance context or to give the dancers a rest. It also appears preceding another common figure, 'Step and Turn' in which the couples face each other to perform some stepping on the spot, followed by each dancer turning once on their own axis. The concluding figure of the morris dance in this sub-Pennine tradition was known as 'Cross Morris' or 'Caper o'er' for which there was often a distinctive tune in 6/8, rather than the usual 2/4 or 4/4, played at a different tempo to the rest of the dance. The performance of a complete Part (figure) requires the simultaneous participation of two, four or all dancers as a basic unit and most conclude with the dancers' return to their initial position, although their facing position may be dependent on the following Part. The dominant choreographic features are changes in spatial relationships and progression with less emphasis on stepping and arm motifs. Many of the Parts divide immediately into Phrases which are repeated symmetrically. More complex compositional procedures are generally to be found in the concluding Part where it may be said that the material is a limited example of recapitulation. The description of the music/movement relationship is sometimes vague or lacking in the manuscripts but, in general, it appears that dance and musical phrases coincide in the number of bars. Detail on the leg and arm movements is often lacking which, despite the problems of recording, is not unsurprising given the focus on spatial progression. The most frequent leg motifs were walking, a low to the ground skip and two variants of the polka (at least):



or

When not contacting other dancers or implements, the arms were commonly moved in circular pathways in front of the body or flung over the head together to mark the end of a phrase:

For example: Glossop (reconstructed interpretation of Crompton's notation)



Overall, however, given the vagaries and omissions of description, a full structural analysis of these morris dances could not be attempted due to the limitations of the source material. The Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers' repertoire provided more fruitful material to search for structural commonalities across the repertoire, to make comparison on a broad scale with the region's morris dances, to look at how the semi-improvisational structure operated in performance and to see if any changes had appeared through the examination of earlier film material and my longitudinal study of their performances.

The repertoire of the Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers

Although the Garland Dance had been recorded in written form in 1929,¹⁴ the Coconut Dance had never been committed to paper. Only official films of the latter existed for documentary purposes made by the English Folk Dance and Song Society in 1938 and 1951. The later film was shot in such a way as to make direct comparisons with earlier and later notations impossible but from extensive interviewing of former performers, local audience and knowledgeable visitors

to watch the dance each Easter, it was clear that the repertoire had changed little over the twentieth century. The 1929 notations of the Garland Dance, also known to the Britannia team as 'the garlands', comprises five separate dances identified by number, one to five. These dances are in fact the figures of a quadrille and some of the older dancers referred to them as such. During the dance, the performers hold semi-flexible half hoops of cane decorated with red, white and blue paper, at shoulder height, thus framing their faces. A notable characteristic of the Garland Dance is not only the organisation into four couples in a square formation but the dancers' identification of their roles within each couple by gender.

The salient compositional feature of all five dances is the repetition of the first Part by different personnel to constitute the whole dance (T). All the dances commence with a bow (i) and number 5 exceptionally has a coda c. Number 1 is distinctive in that it has a binary structure.

Division of Garland Dances into parts

Number 1:	i + I + II	= T
Number 2:	i + I + II + III + IV	= T
Number 3:	i + I + II + III + IV	= T
Number 4:	i + I + II + III + IV	= T
Number 5:	i + I + II + III + IV c	= T

Each of the above parts can be divided into Sections which are chiefly discernible by their predominant tendency to coincide with the musical phrase of 8 bars. Within the time period, a dancer (or dancers) has to complete some path of movement which involves travelling in space. If the destination is reached before the end of a musical phrase, the dancer may either stop dancing completely and wait until the next Section or else he may 'mark time' by continuing to dance on the spot until the end of the musical phrase. Ends of musical phrases and choreographic Sections are occasionally accentuated by the dancer stamping his feet. In Garland Dances 1 and 5, certain choreographic Sections last for 16 rather than 8 bars: the immediate repetition of the previous 8 bars suggests the unity of the 16 bar choreographic Section rather than its consideration as two separate 8 bar Sections.

In the following schematic presentation of the division of the Parts of the dances into Sections, variation (v) is the result of different personnel performing the Part or the dancers are in a different relationship when performing certain components of the Part.

Number 1

$$i \quad I \quad [\quad <^s_1> \quad <^s_2> \quad <^s_3> \quad <^s_4> \quad] \quad + \quad Iv \quad =T$$

Number 2

$$i \quad I \quad [\quad <^s_1> \quad <^s_2> \quad <^s_3> \quad] \quad + \quad Iv \quad + \quad Iv \quad + \quad Iv \quad =T$$

Number 3

$$i \quad I \quad [\quad <^s_1> \quad <^s_2> \quad <^s_3> \quad <^s_4> \quad] \quad + \quad Iv \quad + \quad Iv \quad + \quad Iv \quad =T$$

Number 4

$$i \quad I \quad [\langle s_1 \rangle \quad \langle s_2 \rangle \quad \langle s_3 \rangle \quad \langle s_4 \rangle] \quad + \quad Iv \quad + \quad Iv \quad + \quad Iv = T$$

Number 5

$$i \quad I \quad [\langle s_1 \rangle \quad \langle s_2 \rangle \quad \langle s_3 \rangle \quad \langle s_4 \rangle] \quad + \quad Iv \quad + \quad Iv \quad + \quad Iv \quad + \quad c \quad = T$$

Apart from number 2, each Part within the Garland Dances consists of four sections.

The accompanying music relates to the Parts as follows:

Number 1 – time signature 2/4 MM ♩ = 120

The accompaniment to this dance consists of three phrases, each of 8 bars' duration, which are organised as follows:

ABAC x 2, then ABA

Number 2 – time signature 2/4 MM ♩ = 126

The accompaniment consists of two phrases, A of 8 bars duration and B of 16 bars duration, which are organised as:

AB x 4, then A to end

Number 3 – time signature 6/8 MM ♩ = 128

Three phrases, each of 8 bars duration, accompany this dance, arranged as:

ABAC x 4, then A to end

Number 4 – time signature 2/4 MM ♩ = 124

Two phrases, one of 8 bars duration, the following of 16, are organised as

AB x 5, then a x 2 to end

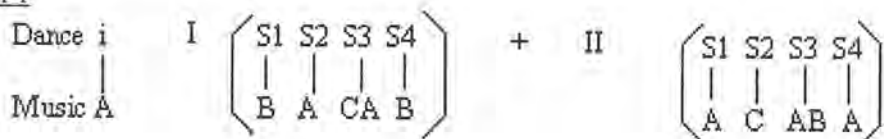
Number 5 – time signature 2/4 MM ♩ = 130

The accompaniment to this dance consists of three phrases, each of 16 bars duration, organised as

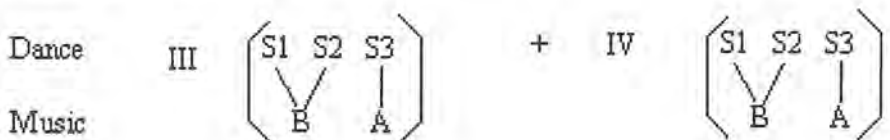
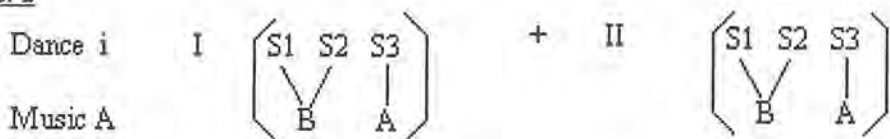
ABAC x 2, then ABA to end

The relationship between the choreography (Parts and Sections) and tunes is organised thus: (brackets used to distinguish Sections have been removed in order to facilitate reading)

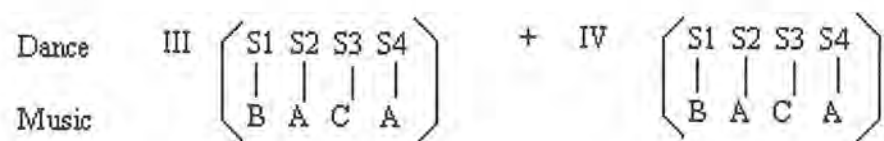
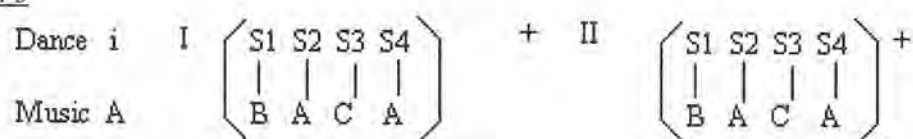
Number 1



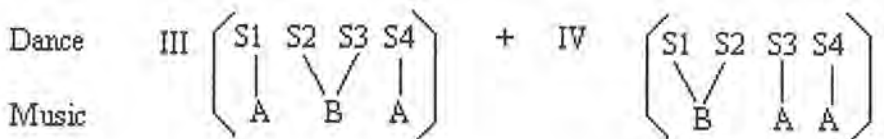
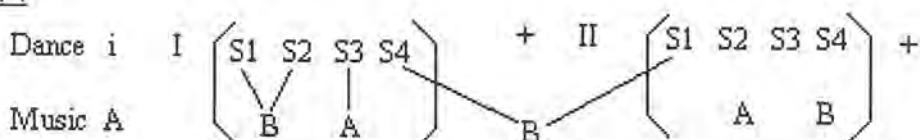
Number 2



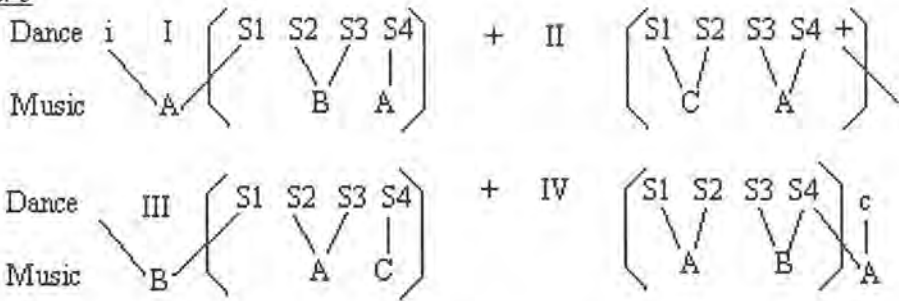
Number 3



Number 4



Number 5



The majority of the Sections within the dance are further divisible into two components of 4 bars duration, which, as the next significant unit in the hierarchy of the dance, correspond to Phrases. At this level of analysis, the inter-relationship between the Phrases of the dance is obscured by the lack of provision within the IFMC syllabus to identify the simultaneous performance of different phrases by a group of dancers. Since this is a key compositional method in the organisation of the Garland Dances, some scheme needed to be devised to demonstrate this. The following charts identify the Phrase by the IFMC syllabus recommendation of uppercase Latin characters but its performance is attributed to a particular dancer by the use of symbols drawn from Labanotation.

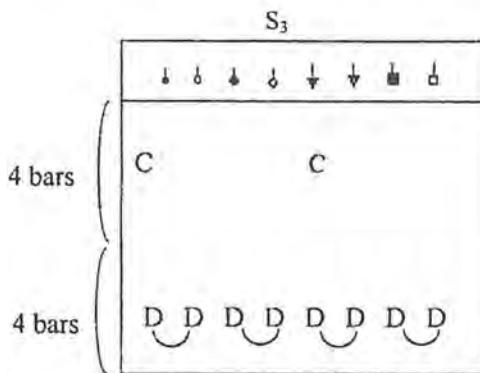
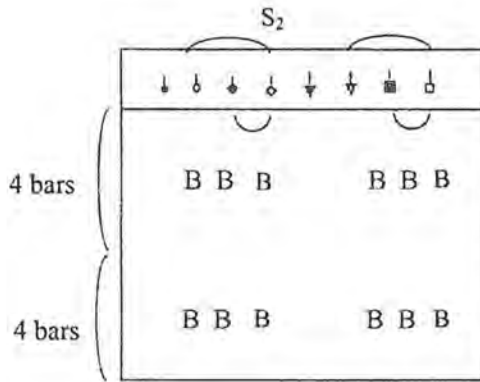
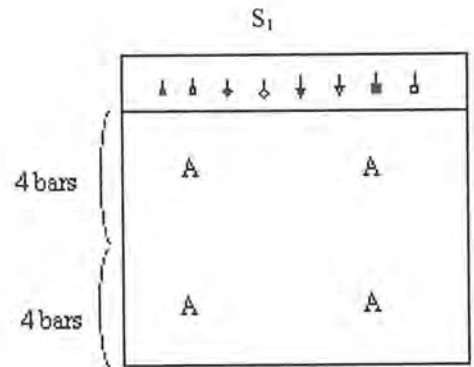
↓ ↓	First gent and First lady
↓ ↓	Second gent and Second lady
↓ ↓	Third gent and Third lady
↓ ↓	Fourth gent and Fourth lady

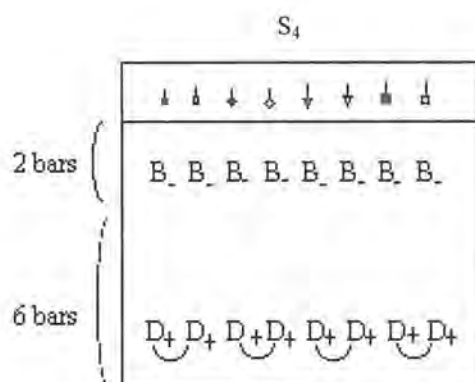
Reading down the chart gives the temporal relationship of the Phrases. A bow running beneath the symbols for personnel denotes that they move as a unit; a bow above these symbols establishes the contact of this unit (a couple) with other couples to form larger groups within the formation. In order to illustrate this, I will take just one Garland Dance and pursue its structure down to the level of the Motif.

Garland Dance number 3 (see Appendix) was appreciated (along with number 5) by the team of the late 1970s and early 1980s as more interesting for an audience to watch than the others. Unusually, it contains a small solo part for the gents involving a distinctive stepping motif and the simultaneous movement of three dancers in a line. The sections are divided into Phrases:

Division of Sections into Phrases: Garland Dance number 3

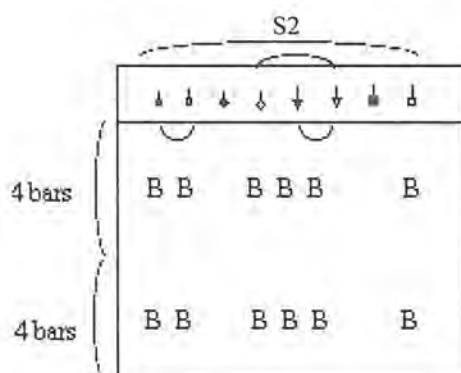
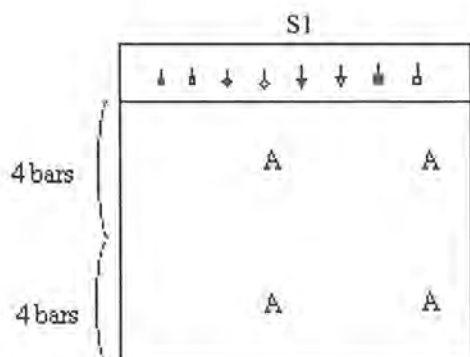
Part I

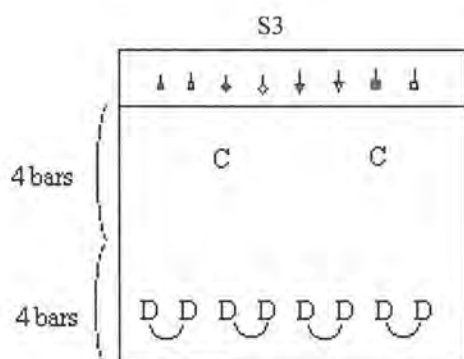




Apart from S₄, each section falls into two Phrases of four bars. Identical repetition constitutes the chief mode of composition, with diminution and augmentation of previously established components in the final section which is divided into two and six bars. This structure is then repeated with the following changes of personnel in Sections one to three.

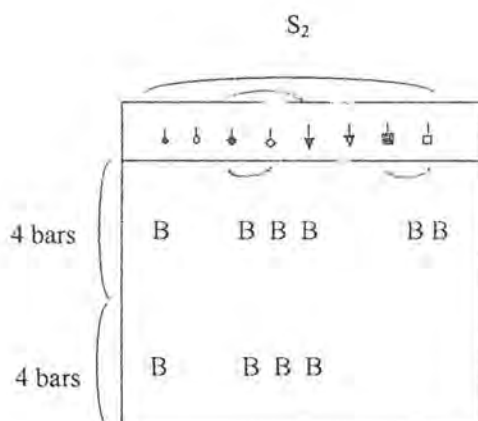
Part II



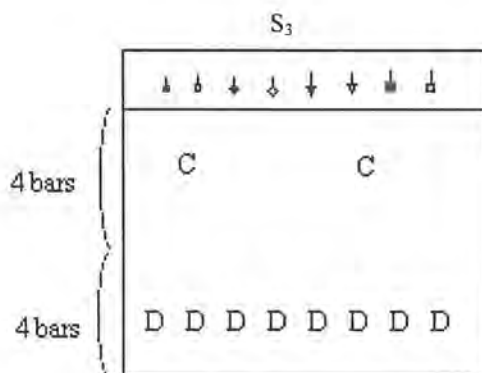


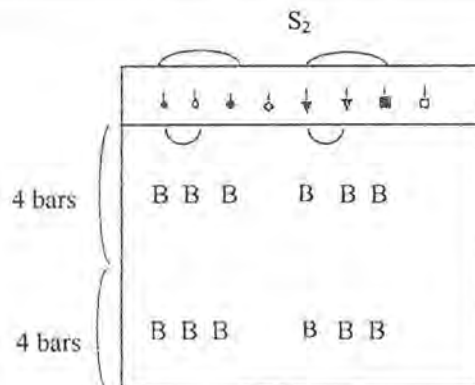
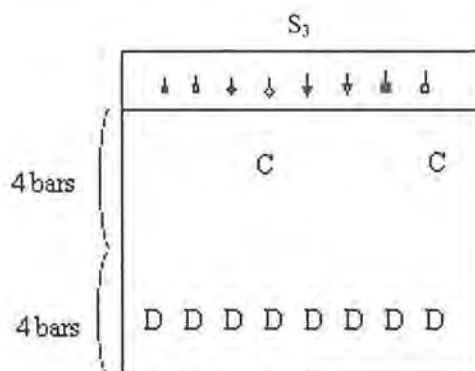
Parts III and IV involve the identical performance of S₁ in Parts I and II respectively but S₂ and S₃ are executed as follows:

Part III



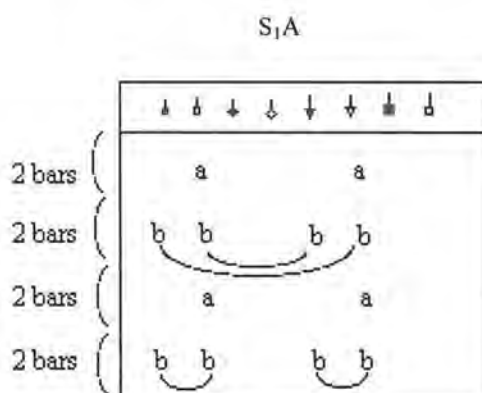
Part III



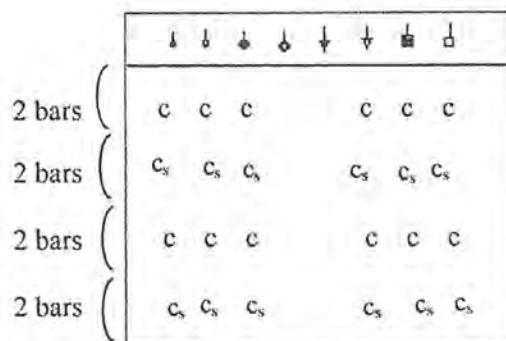
Part IVPart IV

Apart from S_4 in Garland Dance number three, 2 bar components of the dance are usually bound together to form the four bar phrases or eight bar Sections.

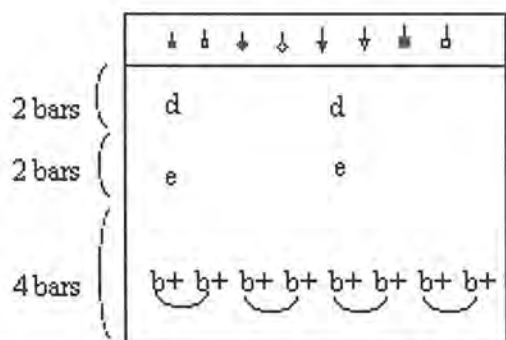
Division of Phrases into Motifs: Garland Dance number 3



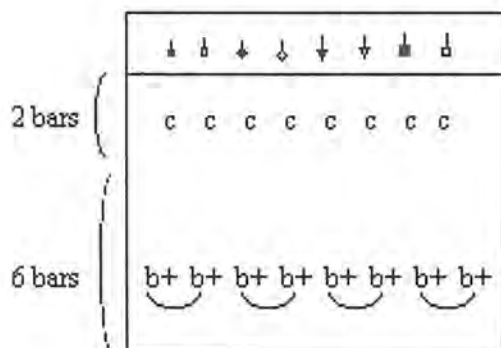
S₂B



S₃EB

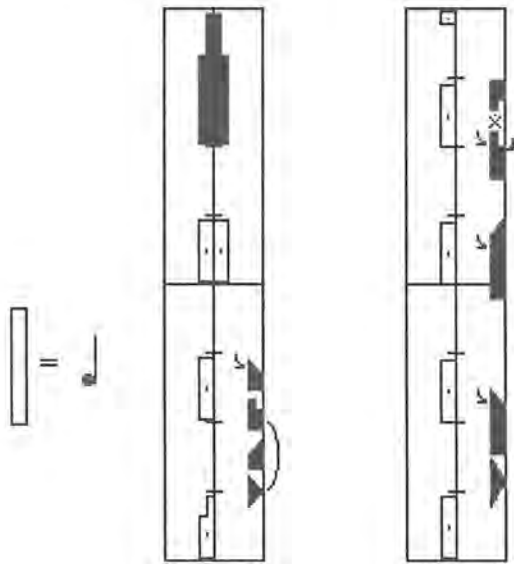


S₄



Each of the phrases in number 3 is composed of two contrasting motifs. The c motif recurs in S_4 but this time it is performed in unison and the b motif of the two dancers revolving as a single unit is augmented by two bars in S_3 and an additional two in S_4 .

Although the IFMC syllabus was applicable, with modifications, to the Garland Dances in order to textualise the overall structure, it lacked a means to identify individual variation at the level of the element. It was this aspect of variation which interested me as a possible factor in shifting performance style over time. From oral sources and the evidence of filmic material, it was evident that the choreography of both coconut and Garland Dances had remained consistent over the twentieth century, but there were minor variations in the performance in how each dancer executed the elements. It proved impossible to track this variation with any certainty historically, even on film, since the documentation had not been made to explore such minor variation. Examining contemporary performances firsthand over a number of years, however, I was able to note such detail. Kaeppler's methodology facilitates identification of permissible variation within a dance tradition at the level of the kineme [1967: 38-40] although, as noted above, the anthropological approach of participant-observation as a dancer was denied to me. The kineme as a basic unit of analysis is comparable to that termed 'element' in the IFMC syllabus and I adopted Kaeppler's concept and term of *allokine* to identify this permissible variation. Through extensive viewing and filming of my own, I was able to record the elements and *allokines* of the dances as performed during the time period. Some of the elements and cells occurred in both Garland and Coconut Dances and indeed in some contexts operated at the level of motif. Walking and skipping were the main means of locomotion in executing the Sections of the Garland Dances with only two distinctive stepping patterns apparent – one in Garland Dance number 3 and the other in number 5.



Aside from physiological factors, the elements varied principally on account of contextual conditions such as uneven or slippery surfaces, space available, musical accompaniment or change of partner. Otherwise a variation might occur as a result of the context of the movement, that is, in preparation for elevation or by the rhythmic nature of the accompaniment.

Obviously, the respective implements of garlands and coconuts create specific restrictions on the use of the arms and hands. Throughout the Garland Dance, the hands clasp the ends of the garlands whilst in the Coconut Dance, the coconuts - circular pieces of maple wood - remain attached to the body, one in each palm, one above each knee and a slightly larger one on the left side of the waist. The Coconut Dance has a wider range of arm movements than the Garland Dance since slapping the nuts together is a distinctive feature of the choreography.

In common with the morris traditions of the Southwest Pennines, the coco-nut dances performed by the Britannia team are essentially composed of a series of figures and comprise both stationary and processional forms. In contrast to other ceremonial dances recorded from the region, the extension of contextual adaptability is achieved by a number of pre-structured forms executed in differing formations. Thus there is a whole Coconut Dance or Nut Dance as it is more familiarly known, a shorter Nut Dance, and the processional or 'Road Dance' as it is called by the dancers and the Figures with the Nuts. Apart from the Figures with the Nuts which is performed in a quadrille formation, the other forms of the Nut Dance are organised in a single file.

As the Nut Dance performed by all eight dancers is regarded as the major dance of the repertoire and consists of the greatest number of figures, all of which appear exactly or in modified guise elsewhere, my analysis here will concentrate upon this choreographic structure. The Nut Dance divides into twenty Parts organised thus:

I A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T

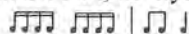
Each Part (figure) is identifiable by a particular name and excepting 'single man out' and 'circle up' which last for 16 and 24 bars respectively, each Part takes 8 bars to perform. In a similar manner to the morris and Garland Dances previously discussed, the Nut Dance displays close kinetic and musical congruence at the level of the Part and musical phrase. Thus the two-phrase tunes which traditionally accompany the dance, 'Tip Toe Polka' (more usually) and 'Shooting Star' are organised as follows:


Music A B AB AB AB AB AB AB AB AB AB ABABA

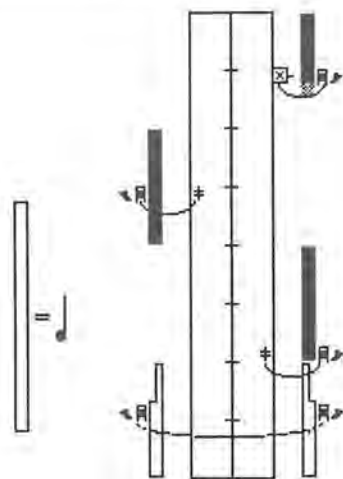
Dance I A BCDEFA GH I J K LM NO QRST

No category within the IFMC descriptions of form accommodates the structure of the Nut Dance. Of fixed constraint, the dance appears to be designed according to the linking principle and bears most similarity to the Heterogeneous Chain form in that its major components are different and are arranged one after the other. It does, however, display 'consistent organization' which, therefore, excludes the dance from this category. The sole repetition of the initial Part does not of course qualify the dance for inclusion as a Rondo form.

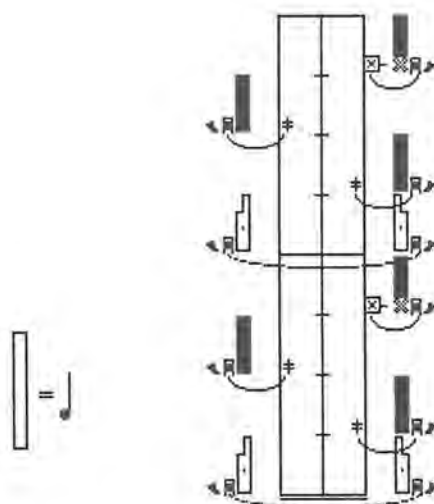
The audible rhythmic patterns of the dance created by each dancer primarily striking the pieces of wood attached to his own body are a distinctive choreographic feature not to be found in other ceremonial dances of the region. Of the twenty Parts, twelve are concluded by a recurrent concluding motif of two bars, known as double end-off, and which is isolated for practice by new dancers. Occasionally appearing within a Part, its rhythmic pattern is



There is a one-bar variant of this motif  known as single end off which concludes three other Parts. In the double end-off, this movement in the single



is repeated thus:



In the team's aesthetics, rhythm is an essential attribute for prospective dancers. Furthermore, it is regarded as being so integral to the Coconut Dance that on one occasion I witnessed when a dancer unexpectedly failed to arrive, the performance nevertheless went ahead with one of the dancers performing his missing colleague's sounded movements to maintain the audible rhythmic impact of the dance.

The IFMC syllabus made little provision to present schematically the temporal relationship between the dancers when executing movements at the level of motifs. To demonstrate the amendments which I found necessary to illustrate this, I will focus upon one eight bar Part, 'Single Cobbler' and employ the grid form used above in analysing the Garland Dances. Each dancer is again identified as a lady or gent within the team. Within the grid, working down the page, each box represents one bar in duration and a dotted horizontal line signals, where

necessary, half a bar. Prolonged physical contact between performers in this dance is rare, although in various Parts, the dancers will operate in units of two or four, rather than in eight. Where this is the case, a thicker vertical line indicates the time period in which a particular unit of two or four is operating. A release sign, adopted from Labanotation, denotes a return to the unit of eight. 'Single Cobbler' appears within the Figures with the Nuts, as an option within the road dance and in the Nut Dance where it is performed by all eight dancers arranged in a line. A half bar motif, e, is executed in the form of a canon by each unit of four within the line of eight before all conclude with the two bar double-end off, b (see Appendix for notation).

Part IV: Nut Dance

	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
1 bar	e	e			e	e	
1 bar			e				e
1 bar			e	e			e
1 bar	e	e			e		
1 bar	e				e		
1 bar		e				e	
1 bar				e			e
2 bars	b	b	b	b	b	b	b

The characteristic two or one bar conclusion to the phrase bears little similarity to the morris or Garland Dances. Its closest English parallel lies in the structure of step dancing from the Lancashire region in which the dancers, often wearing clogs, beat out a similar rhythmic pattern of



to a hornpipe. Apart from such rhythmic and structural parallels, which perhaps lend support to a nineteenth-century origin with shared performance contexts on the stage, it is impossible to draw conclusions from such an analysis in the absence of accurately dated and fully recorded notations.

Conclusion

Undertaking a structural analysis undoubtedly facilitated deeper understanding of the selected dances at a morphological level through the preparatory act of translation into Labanotation. Issues of interpretation and reconstruction were particularly brought to the fore by the peculiar circumstances of dealing with unsystematised historical notations and contemporary dances from which I was excluded as a participant and, effectively, as interrogator. Through the analysis, I came to appreciate the structural relations within and between the dances examined both in terms of their correspondences and differences. It also highlighted, particularly in the case of the existing repertoire, relationships between music and movement, confirming the close relationship between tune and dance structure, typical of pre-twentieth century European dance forms. Both the morris dances and coconut dances in their processional form operated in a semi-improvisational fashion with Parts selected by a leader in performance and the organisation of the dance into two, four and occasionally eight performers was also held in common. The environmental

factor of processing along semi-urban streets certainly distinguished these dance forms from other ceremonial dances, as, for example, those also known as morris dances that were performed in the South Midlands of England. In the case of the Northwest morris dances, there were undoubtedly structural correspondences with the English longways country dances of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and indeed in the manner of the figures being called by a leader.¹⁵ The longways English country dance had enjoyed renewed life as a social form throughout English society in the early nineteenth century, which is the period when records of morris dancing in the Northwest begin to proliferate.¹⁶ Precise correspondences are difficult to track, however, firstly as a result of the lack of specific historical data and secondly owing to the current state of published dance scholarship in England in relation to social dances. A similar situation exists with regard to the Garland Dances of the Britannia team in that, although they are clearly choreographed as quadrille forms, their relation to the multitude of other quadrilles in historical records across Europe necessitates a separate research exercise into the history and dissemination of this form.

Answers to the question of how these dances at a structural level related to other aspects of regional life at a broader cultural level eluded me. Even relating them choreologically to other dance forms present in the region proved problematic. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were numerous dance and movement forms in existence in the region, shifting in their practice across different performance contexts and social groups. Morris, garland and coconut dances shared regional and historical space with maypole, clog, waltz, polka, country dances, quadrilles, sequence dances, Highland flings, Irish dances, and, by the second decade of the 1900s, social dances from North and South America.¹⁷ The diachronic and agenetic features of dance practice could not be accommodated in my quest to uncover a regionally homogenous identity in the dance practices. My historical research had conclusively demonstrated that dances were the property of people rather than some amorphous entity of region. Missing from the structural analysis were the agents of creativity and dissemination, underlining the social fact that people maintain and transform cultures. And yet in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, despite all the changes of modernity, there were dance practices which were only to be found within this region and, if taken outside of it, did not always meet the cultural expectations and aspirations for them to flourish. Drawing upon structural analyses conducted upon European peasant dances as in the IFMC syllabus and on Tongan movement systems suggested a relatively stable and homogenous corpus of dance material which proved impossible to match in searching for regional *geist* at the level of dance structure in nineteenth and twentieth century Northwest England. If indeed such a phenomenon exists, then its identity as essence in this context must be replaced by that of kinetic spirit, moving and being moved by the people dancing within a particular temporal and spatial frame.

ENDNOTES

1. For an overview of dance scholarship since the 1980s, see Morris [1996: 1-12; Desmond [1997: 1-25] and Reed [1998].
2. For a typical example see Flett and Flett [1979].
3. I wish to acknowledge my debt to A.E. Green, formerly of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies, who supervised my doctoral work.
4. I also considered Woodard [1976] and Singer [1974].
5. For an overview of anthropological theory see Barnard [2000] and Layton [1997]. For a brief consideration of the relation of dance studies in North America in the 1970s to mainstream anthropology see Kaeppler [1978], Youngerman [1976] and Buckland [1999].
6. Nor was it a principal concern of North American folkloristics in the 1970s and the curriculum at Leeds included contemporary literature in this field – but see Joyner [1975] for advocacy of the study of performance diachronically.

7. I wish to record my thanks to the British Council for making this possible.
8. At the beginning of my research, I had sought to extend my knowledge beyond the Intermediate Diploma stage but met with financial and time difficulties, which proved insurmountable to accommodate within the framework of a doctoral thesis.
9. See Buckland [2000] on the use of the term 'morris' within the region. For parallel example of ambiguous nomenclature in traditional dance, see Karpeles [1958].
10. I began work on these dance troupes, concentrating on The Kordettes of Wythenshawe near Manchester who, after twenty-five years, were to disband in the early 1980s. Apart from video of their dance and rehearsal for this competitive season, now held in the Department of Folklore, Memorial University, St Johns, Newfoundland, there has been no documentary film taken of the phenomenon. After a paper on Women and Morris presented at the University of Sheffield conference, *Women in tradition*, 1980, the focus of my doctoral thesis necessarily precluded further immediate work. Apart from this and the brief mention made by Howison and Bentley [1960], there are no other scholarly studies of competitive morris in Northwest England.
11. Practitioners have written the majority of literature on this aspect of twentieth-century morris dancing. See, for example, papers from the *Contemporary Morris and Sword Dancing* conference, University of Sheffield, 1988 in *Lore and language*, 6, 2, July 1987 [sic] and *Morris: the legacy of the past* [1996]. Distinctiveness within the folk revival and authenticity at the level of locality were guiding principles amongst many revivals during this period. The rhetoric, however, sometimes masked the reality – see Boswell [1996]. A further problem I encountered in attempting to study the repertoire of these revivalist dancers lay in my gender. My period of research coincided with the rise of Women's Morris within the revival movement. Consequently, men's morris groups in particular were extremely wary of sharing notes on their repertoire for fear that I was a spy or would at least publish their notations for others to perform. A number of these dances were excellent examples of Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of the 'invention of tradition' [1983] which at that time was not the focus of my study.
12. I wish to record my grateful thanks to D.R Howison for generous sharing of his unique manuscript collection on Northwest dancing and valued discussion.
13. See Sharp and MacIlwaine [1907] and Townsend [1988]. An obvious example is Graham [1911].
14. Karpeles (manuscript), May 1929, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, London.
15. Playford's *English dancing master: or plaine and easie rules for the dancing of country dances* of 1651 continued through eighteen editions to 1728. For discussion on how they were danced see Daye [2002] and Payne [2003].
16. The most prolific writer on country dances of this period was Thomas Wilson [1820].
17. As yet, there is no detailed and extensive study of dancing in nineteenth-century Northwest England (nor indeed for any other region or the country as a whole) which embraces social and theatrical contexts, but see Flett and Flett [1979] and Richardson [1960].



Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers performing the double end-off in the Nut Dance, 1980.

(Photo by T. J. Buckland)

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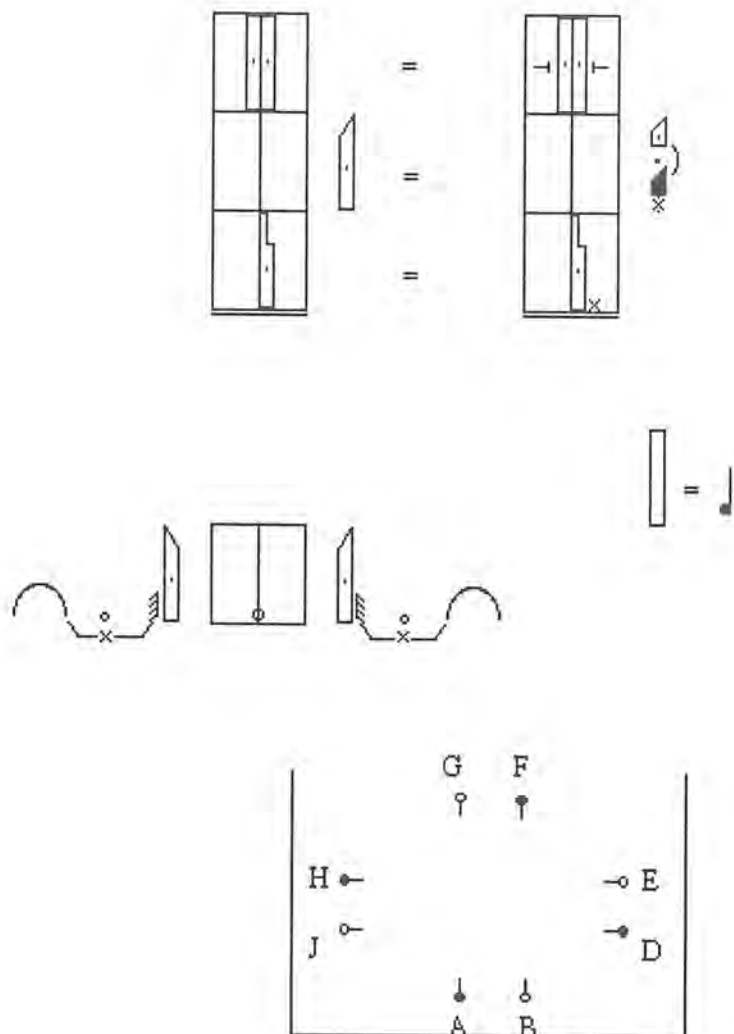


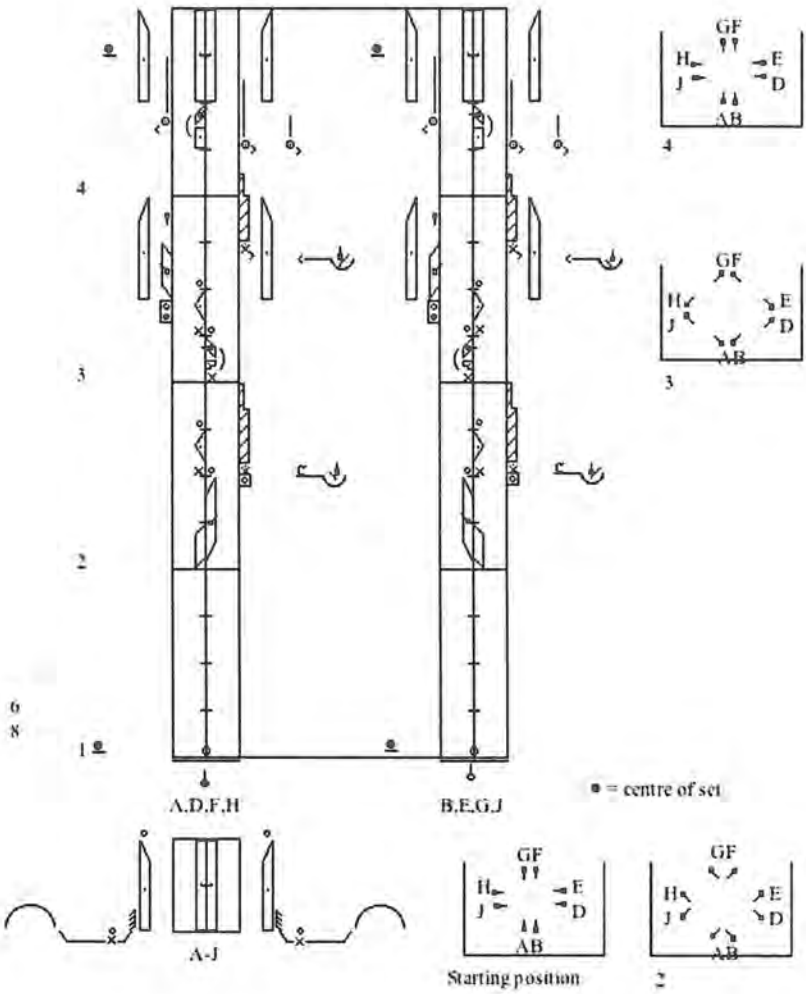
Middleton Morris Dancers, 1886. Although turned towards the camera, the dancers are positioned in the two file formation typical of morris dances in the sub-Pennine region from before World War One.
(Photo courtesy of Local Studies, Rochdale Boroughwide Cultural Trust, Lancashire.)

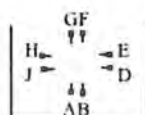
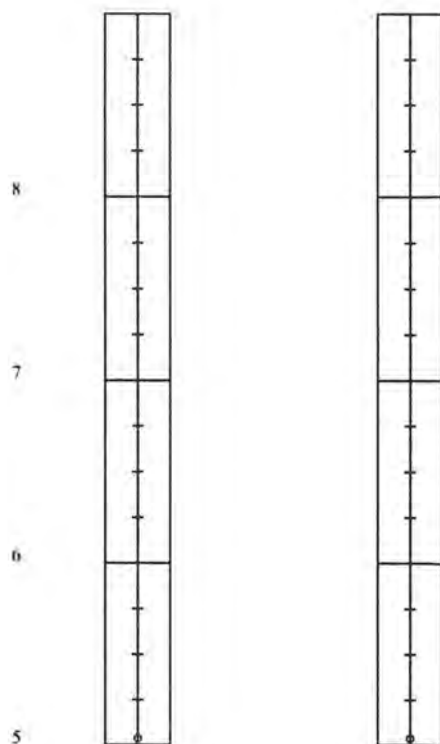
APPENDIX 1

Garland Dance Number 3

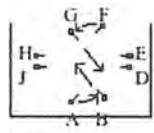
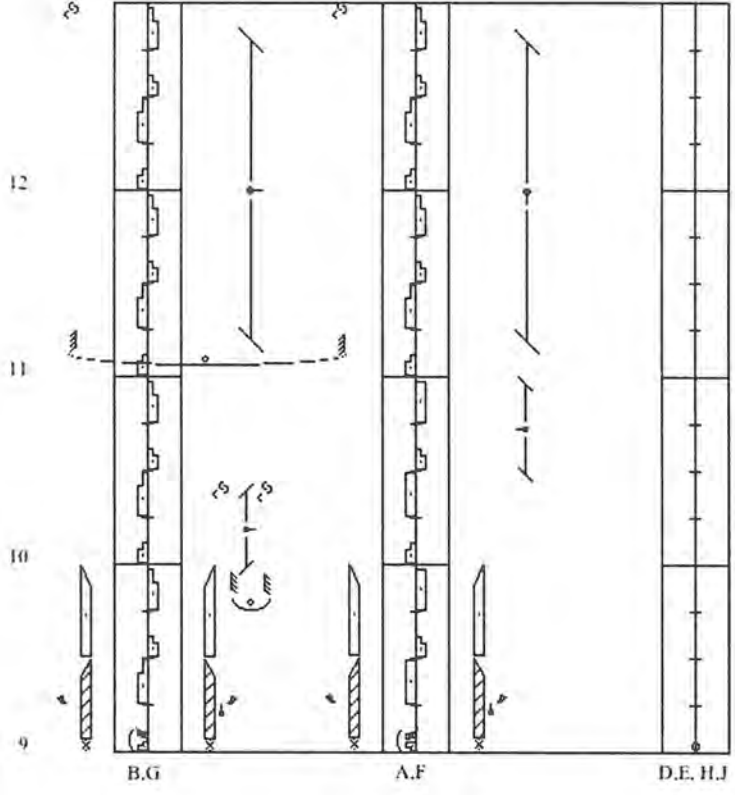
Glossary



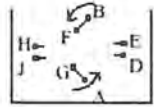




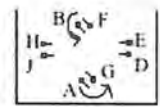
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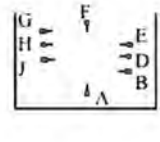
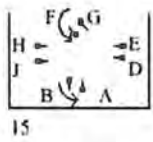
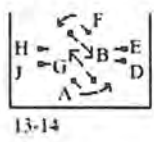
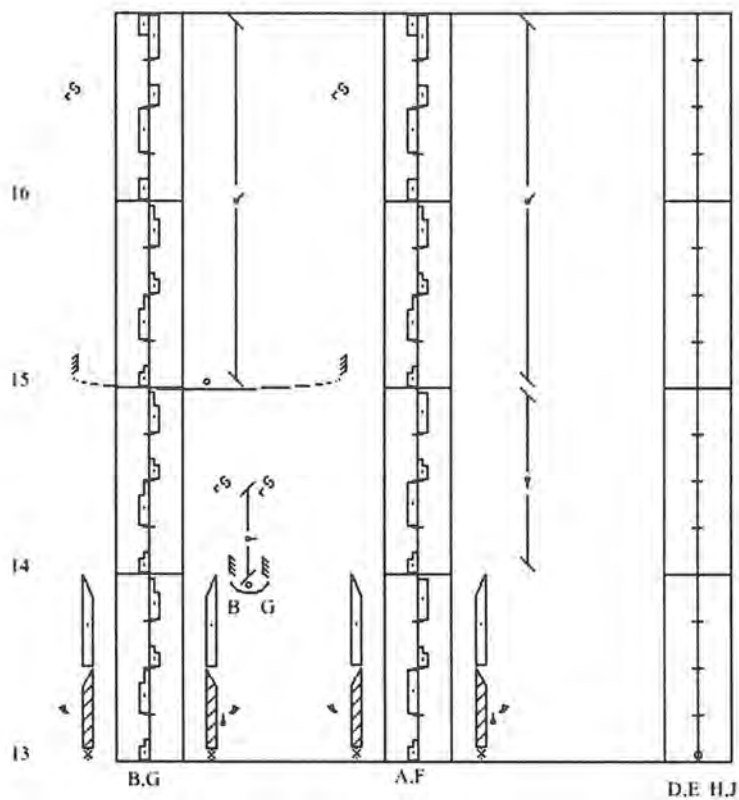
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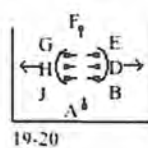
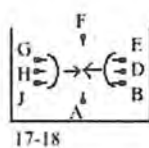
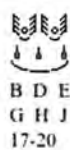
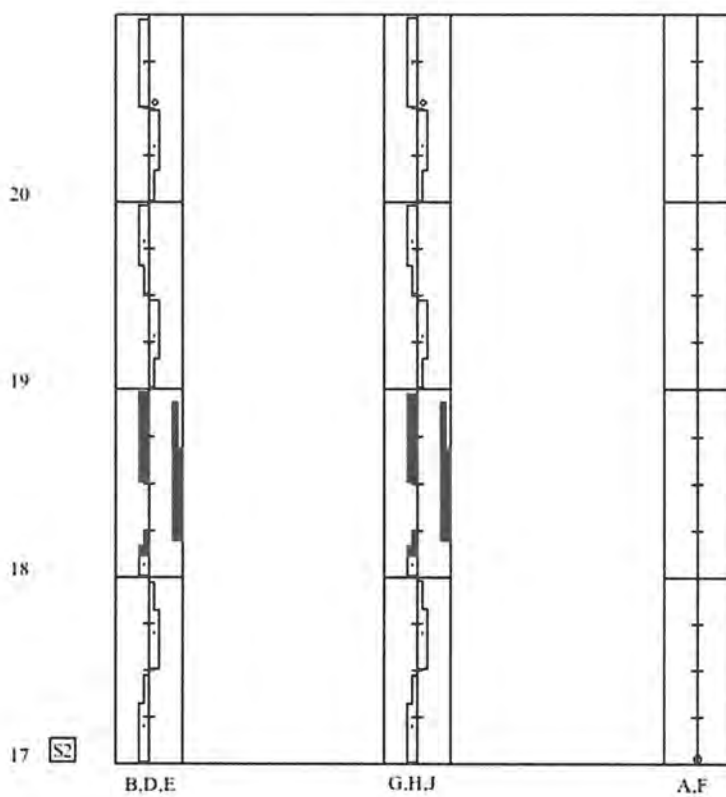


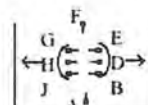
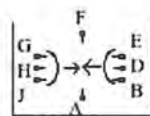
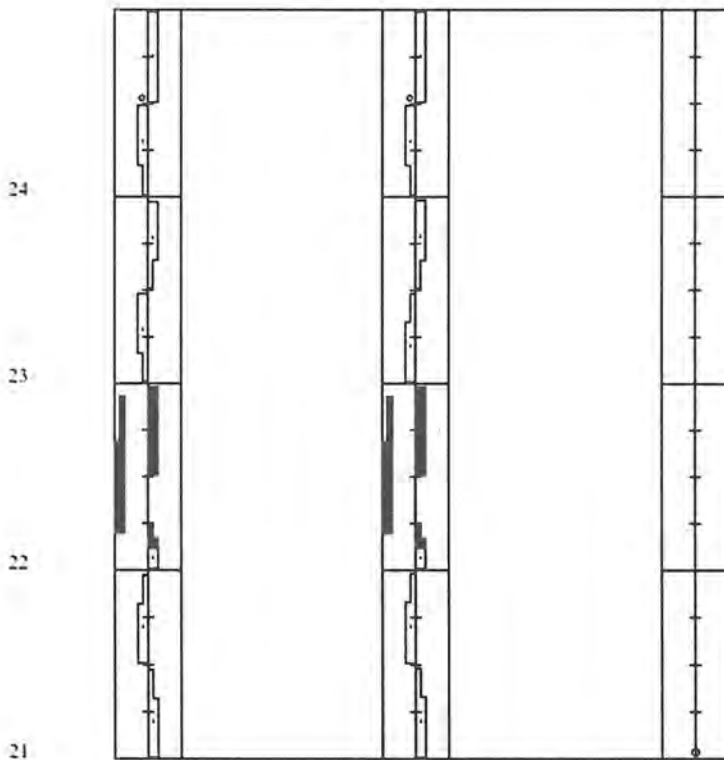
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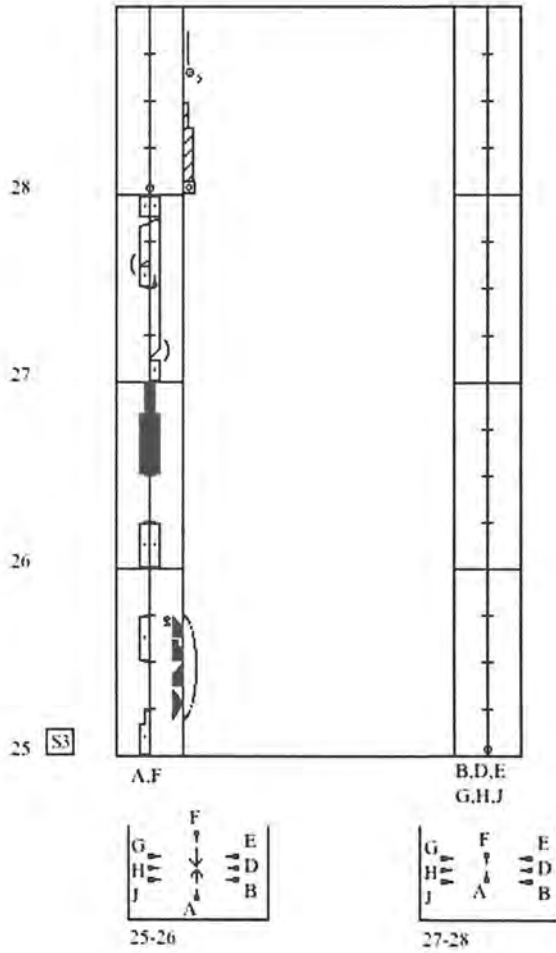


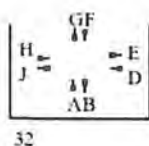
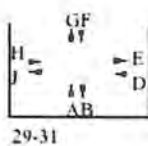
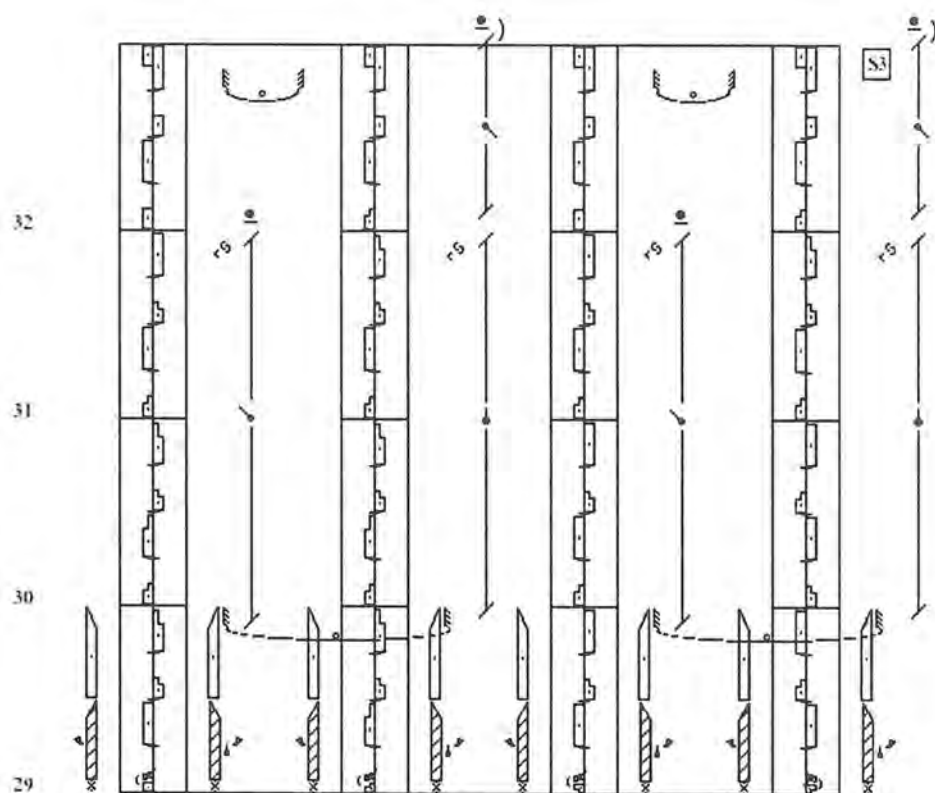
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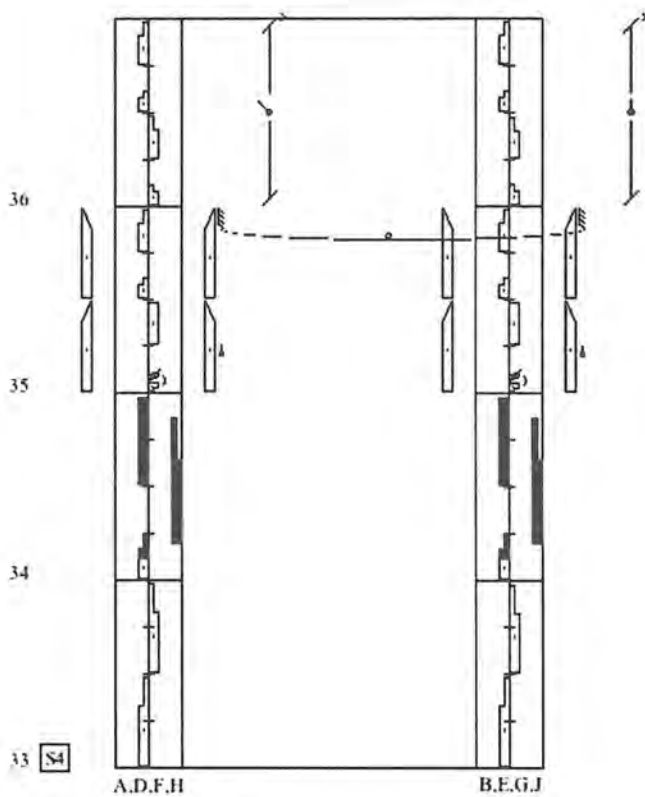








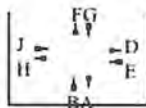
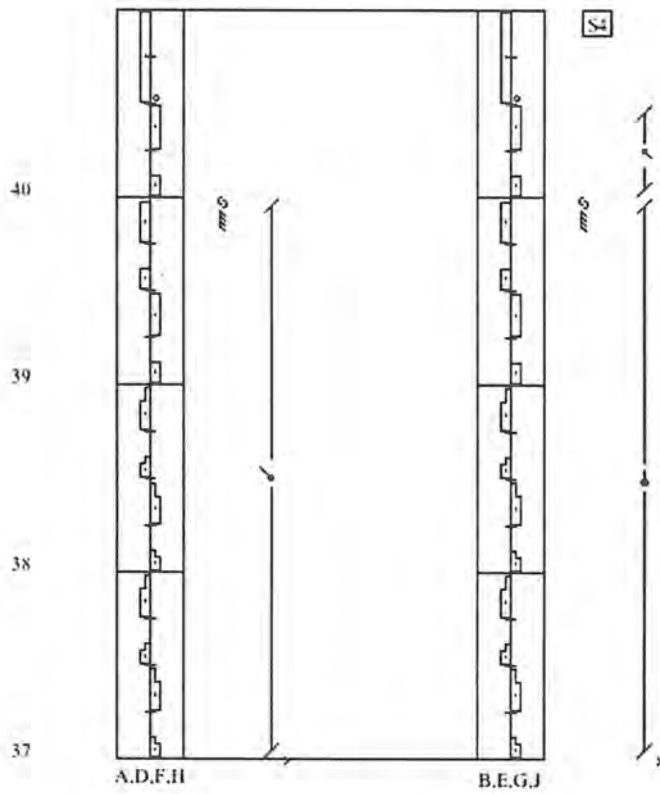




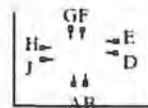
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35-36



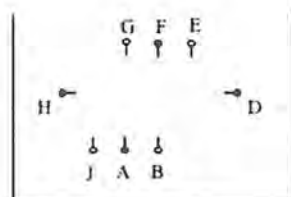
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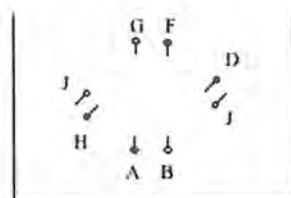
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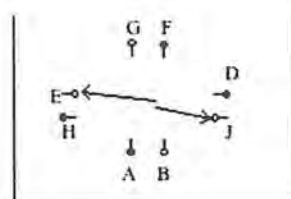
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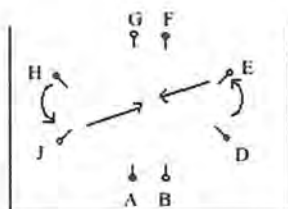
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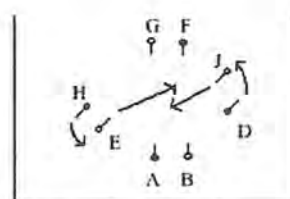
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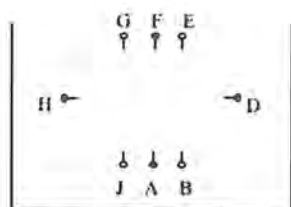
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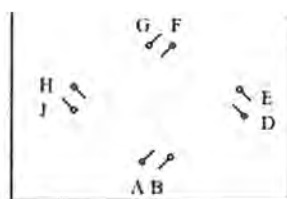
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45-46



57-60



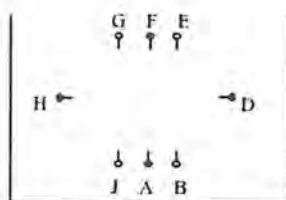
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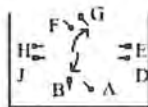
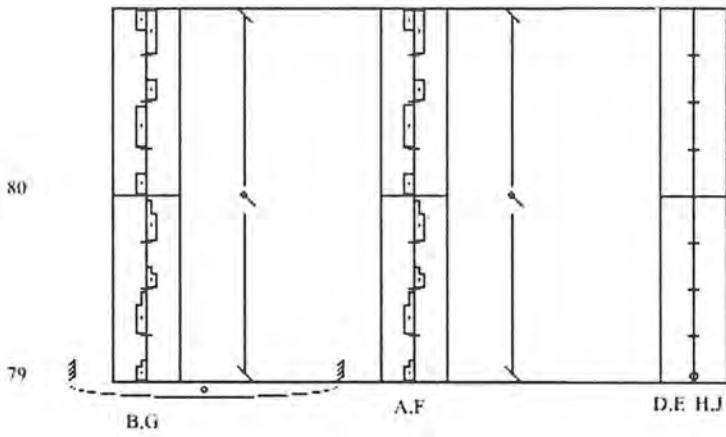
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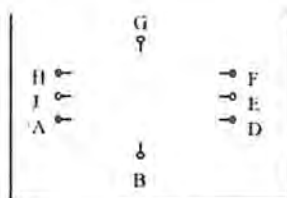
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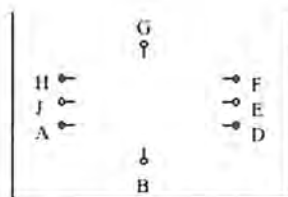
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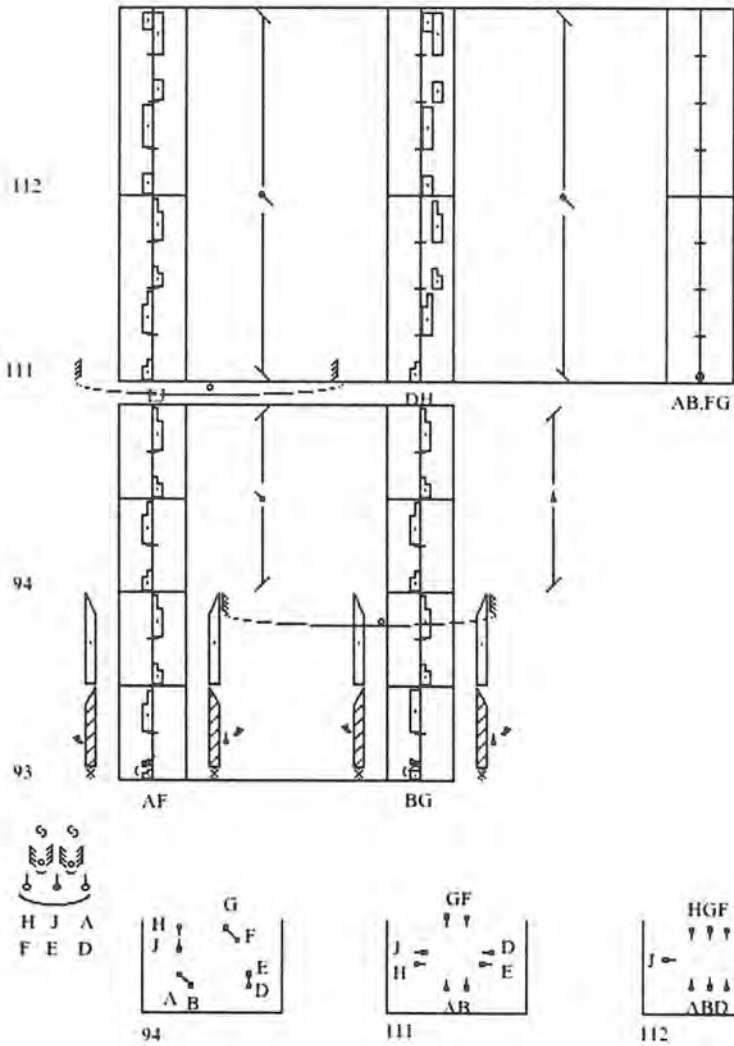
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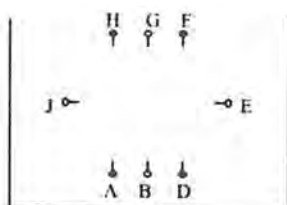


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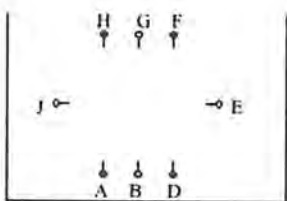


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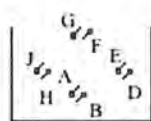
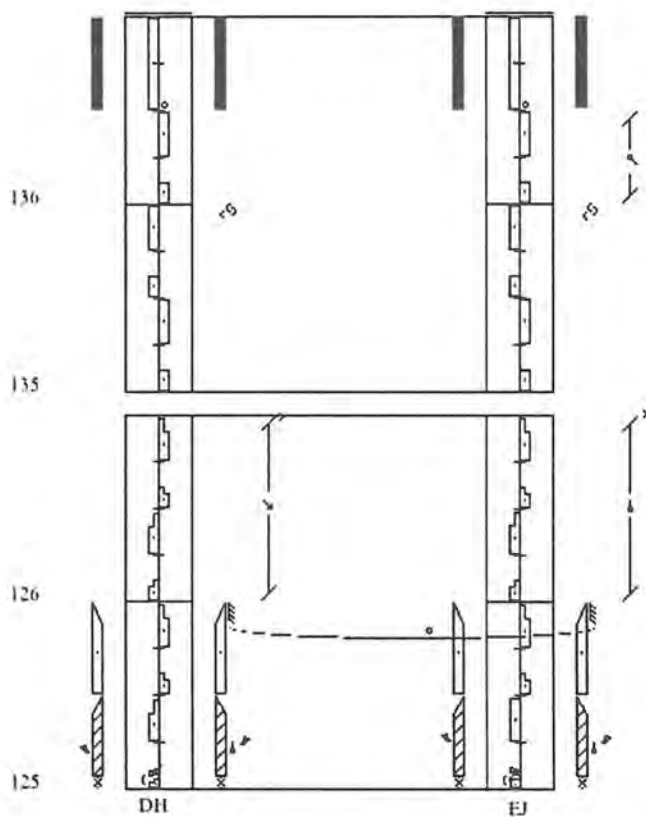


121-124



113-120





125-126

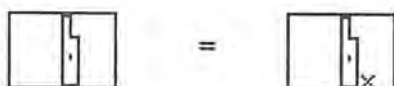


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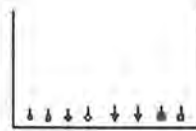
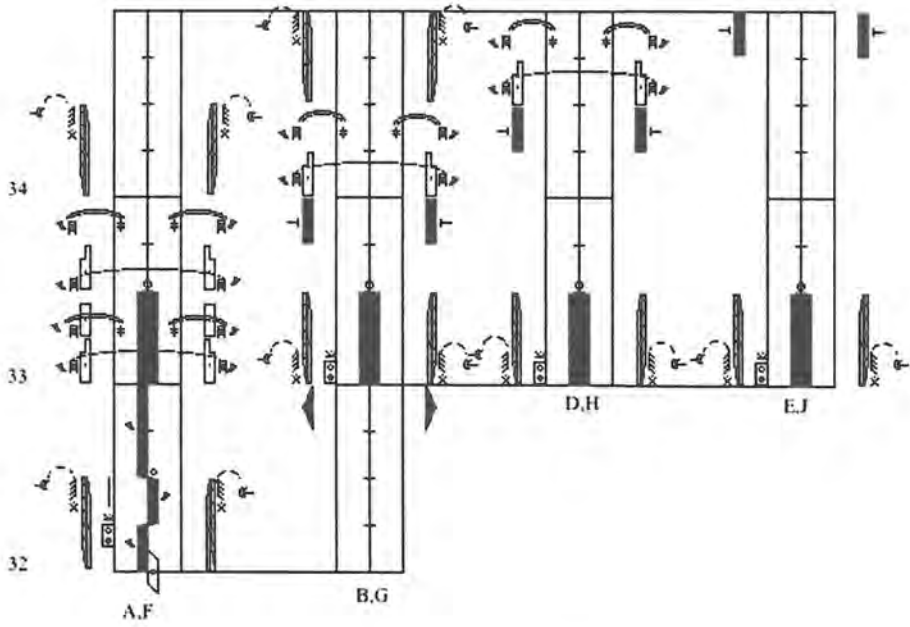
Appendix 2

Nut Dance Simple Cobbler

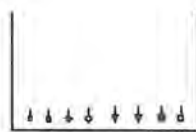
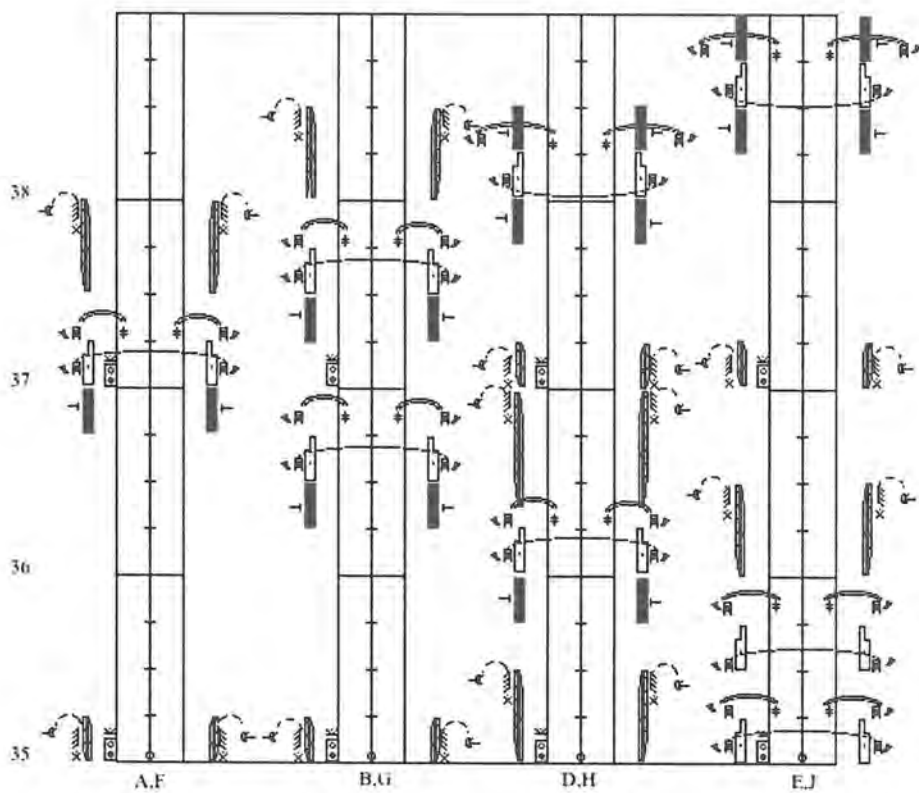
Glossary



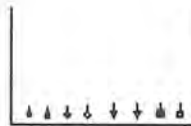
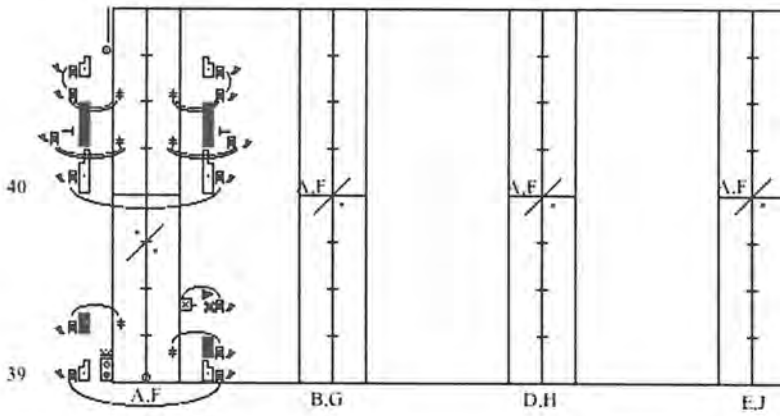
↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
A B D E F G H J



32-34



35-38



39-40

AN ANALYSIS OF KOLOMYIKA STRUCTURES

Andriy Nahachewsky

The problem

Growing up as a participant and observer in the Ukrainian community of western Canada, I had experienced diverse dance forms and contexts. The more I thought about them, the more it became clear that this cultural community's lore was complex and its dance activities varied in very fundamental ways. However, I also became increasingly sensitive to the problem that all these activities were labeled as "Ukrainian dancing" and therefore placed in a single category in most people's minds. In dictionaries, in discussions with casual observers and even for "experts" and participants in the community themselves, there was a lack of clarity and articulation about the various activities within this realm.

Part of the problem was that the different kinds of dancing were all related, and their differences were often "hidden" in unexpected dimensions of the events. Furthermore, the biases of most commentators often lead them to emphasize the unity and consistency of "Ukrainian dancing" rather than elaborate on its diversity. This led to an impoverishment of understanding, as I saw it.

The goal of my doctoral research project was to explore the diversity that I saw in the dance activity and to develop a perspective, which could demonstrate the variety in a cohesive conceptual framework [Nahachewsky 1991]. I could generally describe the diverse meanings and the contexts for the various activities, but wanted to be able to show unequivocally that the forms of the dances differed as well, how much they differed, and where these differences appeared.

The strategy

Since the whole of Ukrainian dance was too large of a field to document carefully, I selected one particular subset of this realm, namely, one single name-category. The "*kolomyika*" is a popular dance in Canada, which exists in numerous historical and contemporary contexts.

Focusing specifically on this "one" dance, I developed the hypothesis that the *kolomyika* has existed in at least five discrete "traditions" in Ukrainian Canadian culture. I named them the "Early Social Kolomyika," the "National Kolomyika," the "Children's Kolomyika," the "Spectacular Kolomyika," and the "Recent Social Kolomyika." The Early Social Kolomyika was one of the fundamental dances in the repertoire of the peasants in western Ukrainian territories at the end of the nineteenth century, and was performed in many variations [Kolberg (1889) 1963: vii-viii, 2-6; Shukhevych 1902:78-80; Harasymchuk 1939:51-62; Harasymchuk 1956:171-176, 210-223; Saban 1987:357-362; and others]. It remained popular among many of the 160,000 Ukrainians who migrated to the Canadian prairies starting in 1891 [Nahachewsky 1985:82-90; cf. Martynowych 1991]. The National Kolomyika tradition began in Europe in 1921 and spread to Canada in 1926 when ballet master Vasyl' Avramenko began establishing his dance schools all across this country [Avramenko 1928; Pritz 1984:87-88, 91-98]. He and his followers taught these dances primarily for stage performance as vehicles for inculcating respect and support for the idea of Ukrainian national independence. Children's Kolomyika and Spectacular Kolomyika traditions have become popular in western Canada since World War Two, and particularly since

the 1960s. These forms are performed on stage by members of junior and senior performing groups respectively. Literally hundreds of new dances are choreographed each year by teachers in almost three hundred Ukrainian dance groups and schools across the country. *Kolomyiky* are commonly listed in their concert programs. A tradition of Recent Social *Kolomyika* also developed in the 1960s. It is performed once per night at dance parties and weddings as a specifically Ukrainian dance. Active participants (mostly members of stage dance groups) take turns performing elaborate and virtuosic "solo" steps in the centre of a large circle, while others stand around them and clap.

The strategy for analysis was to focus on a specific corpus of three representative performances from each *kolomyika* tradition. Each specific performance was to be documented as fully as possible, based on video or film recordings. Each documented dance was to be described according to consistent parameters, which would hopefully elucidate the differences in form between each tradition.¹ I had four conceptual foundations for this aspect of the project.

Firstly, I recognized the value of Kinetography Laban (Labanotation) as a means to present the movement material as a series of symbols on paper. Since it allows recording of simultaneous and sequential movement, and can include the smallest details and nuances, kinetography can be comparable to a phonetic transcription of speech or a musical score. The movement material in this study was notated as a basis for analysis. Selected kinetograms were included in the appendices.

Secondly, the Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology of the International Folk Music Council worked on the problem of structural analysis and proposed a standard terminology for structural studies. Among the several documents they produced is an article referred to as "The syllabus" [IFMC Study Group 1975]. According to this system, the movement content of a dance performance can be progressively divided into parts, sections, phrases, motifs, motif cells, and kinetic elements. The flow of movement is broken into these various units at points of contrast – change in factors such as the number of participants, type of movement, direction, formation, rhythm and dynamics. These segments are combined in various ways to form the whole dance.

Thirdly, I felt that the article "Determination of motive types in dance folklore" by György Martin and Ernő Pesovár was particularly relevant to my study [1963]. These scholars were participants in the work of the IFMC Study Group and had elaborated on the study of dance motifs, which were recognized as the fundamental building blocks of dance structures. They identified motifs in certain Hungarian dances by looking at selected elements in the movements: the duration of the motifs; the number and rhythm of the supports; the support structure; the support core; and the quality of the composition. These concepts are described below as adapted for my project. These selected criteria were used to organize motifs into a definite sequence: a motif catalogue.

The fourth conceptual precedent for my project was Adrienne Kaeppler's work with the morphology and structure of Tongan dance [Kaeppler 1972]. From this work I came to consider "emic" and "etic" aspects of the dance structures more carefully. Emic perceptions of the dances were clearly very important to my traditions, as different sub-sets of the community thought about their particular tradition of *kolomyika* in different ways. In the early social tradition, for example, most moves were not named and tended to blend into each other. In stage traditions, by contrast, the motifs were much more conscious and discrete. Even when structural components of the dances were conscious in the minds of the participants, they were conceived differently from community to community and from time to time. The lack of consistency between perspectives on the dance form among the various kinds of *kolomyika* dancers was part of my problem. None of the emic perspectives by themselves was appropriate for effectively comparing the traditions.

The designation of specific definitions for the structural units in my analysis was guided by two principles. On the one hand, the divisions needed to reflect those perceived by the dancing communities themselves as much as possible. In this way, the emically significant features of the dances would be highlighted and the analysis could hopefully reflect the elements through which the dancers communicated. Modifying this first principle, however, was the rule that the definitions must all be based on observable spatial and temporal criteria. Furthermore, once established, these criteria needed to be applied identically in all instances across all the different traditions. In other words, the "etic" categories were given primacy over the "emic" elements in this study to facilitate a "more objective" empirical comparison of these specific performances. I felt that adherence to these two principles would help neutralize my personal biases and allow the project to be verified or expanded by later researchers.

Motifs

Numerous publications have dealt with Ukrainian dance lexicon and attempted to provide more or less exhaustive lists of dance motifs, though most are based on relatively incidental movement features such as clicking heels or jumping [Verkhovynets' (1920) 1968:19-93; Avramenko 1947:19-26; Vasylenko 1971; Zerebecky 1977]. As Martin and Pesovár noted, such classification systems are too inconsistent for rigorous and detailed structural analysis [1963:297].

Motifs were defined in the IFMC Syllabus as the smallest structural units of the dance that existed in the consciousness of the dancer [1975:129]. In this study, basic concepts developed by Martin and Pesovár were adapted to the *kolomyika* material. Criteria were determined and applied as consistently as possible to all of the movements in the corpus. Because I was an insider to this culture, and particularly to several of the *kolomyika* traditions, I could attempt to reflect the communities' understanding of the dance structures in the definitions for the project. However, since the same movement sequence may be more conscious in the mind of a dancer in one tradition, but less explicitly recognized in another tradition, the definition of a motif was made more technical and mechanical for the purpose of this project. The defined criteria needed to be more precise and specific rather than less precise, so as not to be blind to physical differences among the five hypothesized traditions.

This strategy highlighted a contrast between the terms "motif" and "step" in this study. "Motif" (an etic category) was used in its technical sense, designating a movement pattern as defined in this study. "Step" (an emic category) was a movement pattern as perceived by the dance community itself. Often, steps and motifs were similar, so that many motifs could be given names based on community usage.² On the other hand, the exact definition of a step is rarely established by dancers. In this study, "motifs" were generally defined more narrowly, so that one "step" was often represented by a number of "motifs." The step *tynok*, for example, was commonly performed as motif "id." Versions of the step were still called *tynok* even if they were performed traveling forward (motif "ih" in the study), with an initial step to the side, (motif "ij") or high on the balls of the feet (motif "is"). The name (and the connection in the minds of the dancers) was retained when the arms performed a two-measure alternation ("oe") and when other optional elements were involved ("im," "io," "iu," "me," and so on).

After careful examination of the dances and experimentation with various options, the following definitions for the structural terms were established for this project. The terms and their definitions were intended to be compatible with the IFMC Syllabus.

Martin and Pesovár defined predominant, subordinate, and sporadic motifs. They simplified the task in their own paper by focusing on the predominant motifs and leaving the sporadic forms aside [1963:296]. A similar simplification was proposed for the *kolomyika* study. Motif repetition occurs very frequently in all the traditions of *kolomyika* in western Canada (and in the Hungarian and IFMC materials as well). Only irregular or transitional motifs occur individually.

These latter groups were de-emphasized, and only those motifs that repeat were analyzed. This strategy eliminated only some 3% of the movements in the flow of the dance. The repetition needed to be consecutive, and could be either identical or symmetrical.

Since the human body in motion can create a wide range of patterns with practically infinite variation and nuance, one of the difficult problems in identifying motifs was to establish consistent criteria to designate the point at which two movements are different enough to be treated as separate. The decisions needed to be based on comparison and contrast of observable spatial and temporal features of the motifs themselves. After experimentation with many different aspects of the movements, nine features were selected as motif-defining. These selections were based upon native concepts from the Ukrainian dance community, Martin and Pesovár's motif study, and Laban's spatial analysis. In the IFMC Syllabus, motifs were designated by lower case letters, and variants by a subsequent number. Since this project involved nearly four hundred motifs, it was necessary to use two letters. Thus, for example, the first motif was labeled "aa." Variants of motifs were defined by arm movements and positions, and occasionally by other special features: "aa1," "aa2," and so on.

Motif sequencing for the dictionary

Each of the nine motif-defining factors was "calibrated" to establish increments of significant differences in defining motifs. This type of motif definition provided a means of systematic organization of the data – the creation of a motif "dictionary" [Martin and Pesovár 1963:295]. To make the dictionary, each factor and each increment was assigned a specific order, somewhat like the letters of the alphabet. The dictionary allows a researcher to check the movement features of any named motif, to locate the name or occurrence of any given movement pattern, or to compare additional material at will.

Bodypart contacting the floor. The vast majority of *kolomyika* motifs are performed with only "the bottoms of the feet" contacting the floor. Separate categories, however, were reserved for motifs that involve other parts of the body, progressing from low to high, and including "the ankles," "lower legs," "forearms," "hands," and "head" respectively. Contact with the floor included touching as well as actually supporting body weight.

Duration. Given that two motifs have the same body part in contact with the floor, the duration of the movement was used as the second criterion to contrast them. This factor was similar to the first criterion proposed by Martin and Pesovár [1963:306]. The time from the beginning of one repetition to the beginning of the next established the duration of a motif. A "repetition" needed to include repetition of all defining factors in the motif. Motifs lasting one sixteenth of a note were listed first, followed by those danced during an eighth note, quarter note, and so on up to four whole notes (eight measures) in length. The few motifs performed "through the music" were treated as if they were performed to the beat.

Rhythm of foot contacts. The third feature used to identify motifs was the rhythm of floor contacts with the feet. Some motifs involve a single foot contact, while others involve a series of contacts. The duration of the entire motif was divided into shorter segments depending on when contact is made with each foot. Motifs were organized by the duration of each successive rhythmic segment, ascending in sixteenth note increments. This criterion was similar to the one used by Pesovár and Martin [1963:298]. An important difference, however, was that the earlier system dealt specifically with weight transferences, while the present project counts both weight transferences as well as "touching" the floor with little weight.

Index of foot contacts. An "index of foot contacts" was calculated for each motif by looking at the footwork during its performance. This concept was also taken from Martin and Pesovár's work, and applied with certain modifications [1963:299-300].³ If the dancer hopped on one foot, that "support change" was assigned an index number "*1." If the dancer changed to one foot

from the other, the support change was assigned a value of "2." If the dancer transferred to one foot from two feet, the movement was designated with an index of "3." A change to two feet from one foot was recorded as an index of "4," and a jump onto two feet from two was assigned a "*5." An asterisk "*" was placed before any number to indicate that both feet leave the floor during the change. A motif involving two changes of foot contacts was described by a two-digit index. Thus, depending on how many times the dancer contacted the floor and which feet he or she used, each motif was assigned a multi-digit number which served as its index of foot contacts.

A waltz step, for example, would be assigned an index of "222." A triple jump in athletics would be designated "*1*2*4." In the dictionary, the motifs within any one rhythmic category were arranged numerically: *1, 2, *2, 3, *3, 4, *4, *5.

An index of "2" was assigned for ordinary weight transferences to one foot from the other. In these cases, the weight is gradually released from one foot while it gradually shifts to the other. In other cases, such as a *coupé* (a movement in ballet when one foot "cuts" into the place of the other to take the dancer's weight) the shift was marked "*2" since the movement involves a jump, however minute. In yet other motifs, including stamps, weight is transferred onto the one foot much faster than it is released from the other. Here an index of "43" was deemed more appropriate. (See motif "rd1" below)

Height of centre of gravity. The three categories of "low," "medium," and "high" correspond with Laban's designation of basic levels for the centre of gravity. Given that all previous factors are equal, motifs performed in squatting positions (with more than the first degree of contraction of the knees) were listed first in the dictionary. Motifs performed while standing at normal height were listed next, while movements which involve dancing up on the balls of the feet were placed last.

Spinning. Motifs were further differentiated based on the factor of rotation. They were sorted into three categories in this regard; "no spin," "individual spin," and "group spin" respectively.

Twisting. A motif with a twist involves rotation of one end of the torso in a given direction and back. Motifs "without a twist" were listed before motifs "with a twist."

Direction of leg gestures. Martin and Pesovár noted "passivity or activity of the free leg" as a factor determining the subtypes of motifs [1963:306]. The direction and number of gestures was treated as a motif-determining feature in this study as well. When the free leg takes an active part in the dance motif, it can move in a number of directions. Using Laban's spatial analysis (but without the contrast between right and left),⁴ six basic directions were identified. These were "in place," "front," "front-side," "side," "side-back" and "back." Gestures "in place" involved bending the leg underneath oneself, turning in and out, and other movements directly below the body. Given that all previous factors were equal, motifs with no gestures were listed first in the dictionary, followed by those with a gesture in various directions following the sequence listed above. Second gestures became significant in ordering the motifs if the first ones were the same.

Direction of foot contacts. The direction of foot contacts generally relates to locomotion of the dancer. As with leg gestures, the motifs were ordered by the direction of their first, then second, then third contact sequentially. Motifs with contacts "in place," "forward," "forward-side," "side," "side-back," and "back" were listed in this order. The number of foot contacts equaled the number of rhythmic elements for each motif.

Each repeated movement sequence, then, that could be contrasted by any of the above features was assigned a unique motif symbol consisting of two lower case letters in alphabetical order.

Arm movements and positions. The common designation of each motif as a "step" reflects the dancing communities' concept that footwork is essential to the definition of different movements, whereas the arms might be used to embellish and vary them. In accordance with this general perception, arm movements and positions were used to designate variants of motifs. The *kolomyika* material analyzed in this project was characterized by a wide variety of arm movements and positions. Motif variants were designated by a unique number following their letter symbols.

Since the arms are often placed in a specific position and remain there while the motif is repeated, it was not difficult to identify the variants of most motifs. Forty-three positions for the arms were identified as significant, including those which involve holding onto fellow dancers in various ways. These positions were assigned a sequence following as closely as possible the order for spatial directions outlined above. All arm positions at a low level (below the shoulders) were listed first, beginning with those "in place" (straight down) then progressing "forward," "forward-side," to the "side," "side-back," and to the "back." Arm positions at a medium level (at approximately shoulder height) appeared next, in this same sequence. Finally, arm positions in a high level (above the shoulders) were listed, again in a similar order. The specific sequence of significant arm positions, their verbal descriptions, kinetograms, and abbreviations for the appendices were given in the list of abbreviations in Appendix 1.2 of the dissertation.

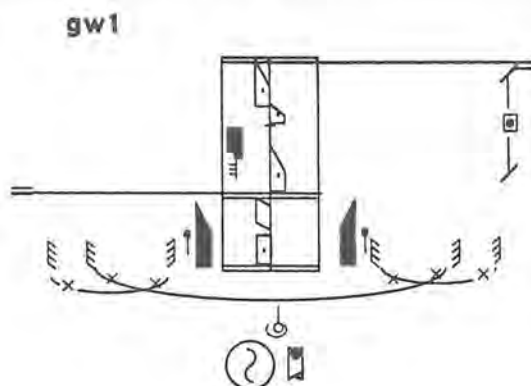
Motifs which are performed with asymmetrical arm positions and motifs performed with arm movements rather than static positions were listed with the position that is highest and farthest back. The lower, more forward arm position or movement became relevant secondarily. Laterally symmetrical arm positions (those with left and right reversed) were treated as identical.

Other significant features. As noted above, an additional factor occasionally came into play when two movement patterns were identical in all the respects described above, yet could not be treated as equivalent because of dancer perceptions. Their differences involve carrying a partner, turning at different rates, or complex arm movements. In these rare cases, the movements were each designated as subvariants of the motif, and designated as "fd3a" and "fd3b," for example.

Non-significant features. Though the motifs in this study were defined by a complex series of contrasts, it is important to note that many other movement factors were not selected as relevant. Thus, head movements, leaning with the torso, directions of paths, height of leg gestures, size of steps, dynamics, and many other aspects of the dance remained insignificant as far as the motif determination is concerned. Likewise, differences in direction, level and rhythm smaller than the calibrated units were not dealt with in the present analysis.

The eleven consecutive features by which movements were compared and contrasted resulted in the identification of 391 motifs and some 650 variants in this body of data. Each was presented in a predictable order in the motif dictionary [Nahachewsky 1991:321-606]. Numerous observations were made regarding the particular role of certain specific motifs in the dances.

Here are examples of motif variants from the corpus:



gw1

vysoka, kolomyikovyi skok, pidskok.

Features: rhythm - ♪♪♪ ; index 2*12; height medium; no spin; no twist; gesture directions - back; support directions - front-side, front-side, front-side; arm positions - low level basket hold.

Incidence: Early Social: dance B, musical phrases 5-6 (17.1girl) (6.1g), B7-8 (14.1g) (11.1g) (13.1g), B12-14 (18.1g), B14-15 (5.1g), B20-21 (13.1g), B21-22 (10.1g) B23-24 (8.1g) (7.1g)

National: none

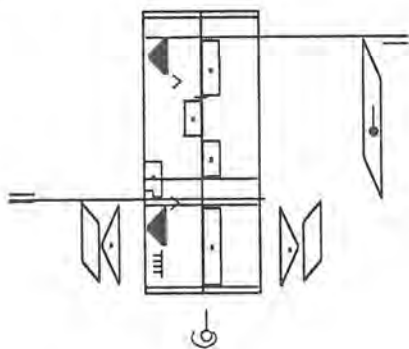
Children's: none

Spectacular: none

Recent Social: none


Related motifs: gv, ha, hb

hp2



hp2

obertas

Features rhythm - ; index *122; height medium; individual spin; no twist; gesture directions – back, side; support directions – place, place, place; arm positions – medium level, side.

Incidence: Early Social: none

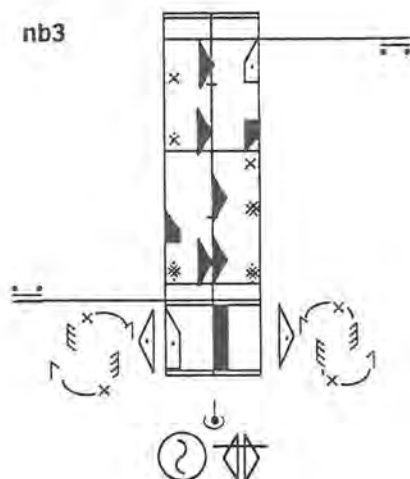
National: none

Children's: none

Spectacular: none

Recent Social: N16-17 (12.2 girls), N49-51 (17.1g), N140-142 (14.5g), P117-118 (12.3g)

Related motifs: none



nb3

prysiadka pereskok

Features: rhythm - JJJJ ; index $*4*3*2*1$; height - low, medium; no spin; no twist; gesture directions - front-side, side-back, front-side; support directions - side, side, side, side; arm positions - medium level, side, holding shoulders of neighbor.

Incidence: Early Social: none

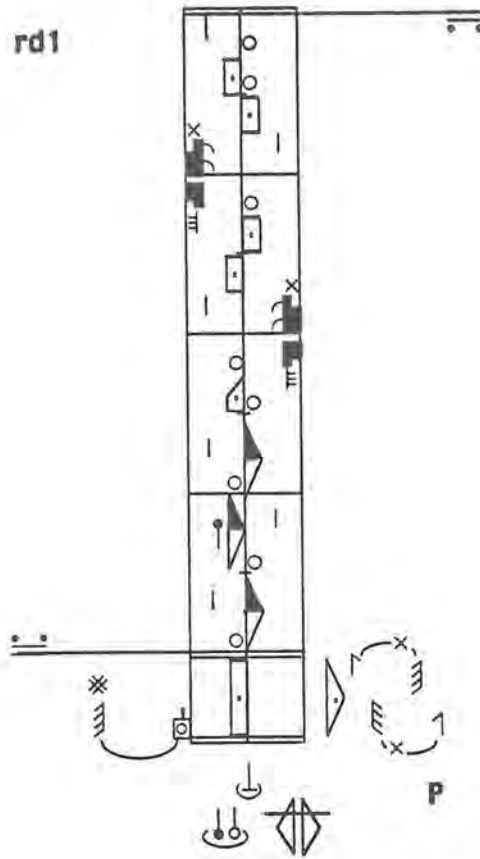
National: none

Children's: H19 (8.all boys)

Spectacular: none


Recent Social: N217-220 (32.12boys), P4-6 (20.10b), P123-127 (33.5b), Q110 (6.8b)

Related motifs: mv, na, nd



rd1

"step, behind, step, touch, *chovhanets'*, *chovhanets'*"

Features: rhythm - ; index 4343434343*1243*143; height medium; no spin; no twist; gesture directions - back, front, place, back, front, place; support directions - side, side, side, front-side, place, front, place, place, front, place, place; arm positions - medium level, side, holding shoulders, and medium level, hands on *kiptar* (vest).

Incidence: Early Social: none

National: none

Children's: none

Spectacular: M23 (8.most dancers)

Recent Social: none

Related motifs: fo, ht, pb, rc

Macrostructures

The standardized description of the macrostructural units was based primarily on the IFMC Syllabus, which referred to motifs, phrases, sections, parts, and dances. In each case, I defined each level more specifically and concretely than IFMC. This allowed a more mechanical and consistent application of the definitions and more directly comparable descriptions of the forms performed in each tradition.

Phrases. A phrase was defined as a series of one or more motif sequences which involve continuity in arm linkage, locomotion, formation and rotation. The borders of phrases, then, are made apparent by changes in the connections between dancers, differences in traveling, altering the formation, or by the beginning or end of a spin.

Changes in locomotion were defined as contrasts between stationary and moving motif sequences, as well as contrasts in the direction traveled during a given motif sequence. Gradual changes in direction or speed were not recognized as ending a given phrase. In some instances, only one of these factors changes to denote the break between two phrases. In other cases, two, three, or all four factors are involved at the same time. Dance phrases are sometimes related to musical phrases, though not always.

Sections. A section of a *kolomyika* is composed of a number of phrases performed in a given formation and as long as the character of the music remains constant. Each section, then, consists of one or more phrases in which the dancers travel into a new arrangement, followed by one or more phrases performed there.

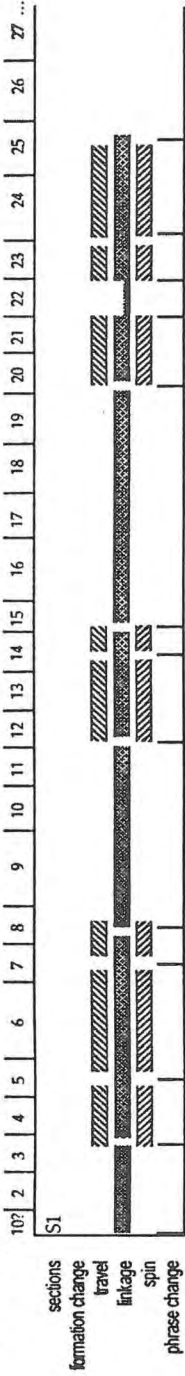
A formation is a basic arrangement of the participants of the dance in the dance space (a circle, a line, rows and columns, and so on). It is possible for the dancers to spin, shift, change places, change directions, and move in other ways without changing their formation fundamentally. Numerous variants to the basic circle formation then, (large circle, small circle, holding hands, standing in couples, and so on), do not constitute independent formations. A circle with dancers performing in its centre, however, constitutes a special formation and merits its own section. Sections are denoted in the charts by upper case "S" followed by a respective number in subscript.

Parts. A part of a dance consists of one or more sections which demonstrate consistency in the character of the music. Gradual changes in the tempo of music do not define limits of a part.

Dances. In this study, a dance consists of one or more parts, and is bounded by the beginning and end of the musical accompaniment. The dance is perceived as a self-sufficient whole and has a name – "*kolomyika*" in our cases.

Dance Cycles. A dance cycle is a series of dances which are perceived and performed in a regular relationship in a given cultural community (compare Giurchescu 1987). Dance cycles, although not included in the original IFMC Syllabus (but are included in this volume), form a natural continuation of the structural units and are of some relevance to the study of *kolomyiky*.

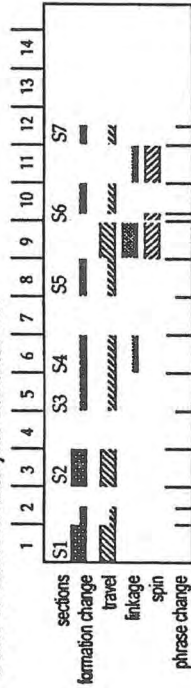
Dance B. Early Social Kolomyjka. Pnjarov 1987



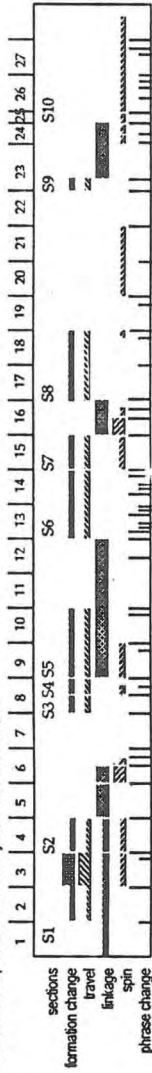
Dance D. National Kolomyjka. Mundare 1942



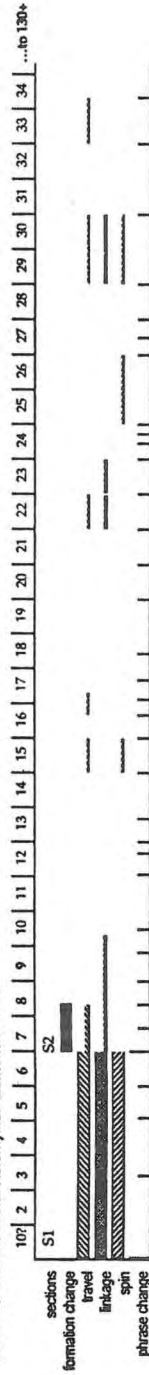
Dance G. Children's Kolomyjka. Edmonton 1987



Dance M. Spectacular Kolomyika. Saskatoon 1975



Dance Q. Recent Social Kolomyika. Edmonton 1988



The charts show macrostructures of a sample dance from each of the different *kolomyika* traditions. Since the Early Social and the Recent Social *kolomyika* are quite lengthy, only the first part of these dances is shown here. Sections are indicated by numbers. Sequences of motifs are evident from the horizontal bars indicating formation change, travel, arm linkage, and spin. Thinner bars indicate that some of the dancers are involved, but not others. Phrase changes are indicated by short vertical lines at the bottom of each chart.

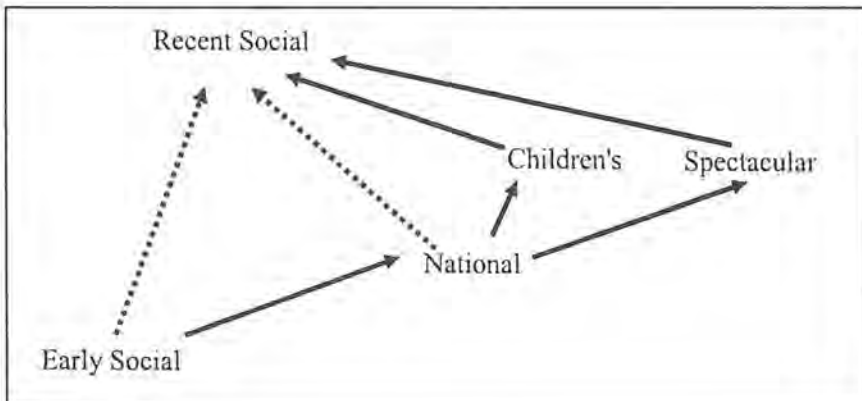
A constellation of *Kolomyika* traditions

In general, the structural analysis supported the hypothesis established for the project. Each of the five *kolomyika* traditions is quite different in form. Each dance shared more motifs with the other dances in the same tradition (average 27.6%) than with dances in the other four traditions (average 11.8%). Many motifs were found to be performed in only one *kolomyika* tradition, and not in the other four. The macrostructure charts also show strong similarities within each tradition but consistent contrasts across traditions. Each tradition of *kolomyika* is quite specific. Indeed, it is striking that these clearly different kinds of dancing are all called by the same name – *kolomyika*.

Some traditions contrasted sharply in terms of both their motif lexicon and their macrostructure (Spectacular and National do not have much in common, nor do Spectacular and Children's). Other pairs of traditions shared relatively more motifs, but differed greatly in macrostructure (Recent Social and Children's, Recent Social and National). Yet other pairs of traditions appeared to be more closely related through both lexicon and macrostructural features (Children's and National).

Since the data sample included only two or three dances for each tradition, the majority of the observations for the dissertation project remained qualitative. The technical aspects of the analysis served primarily to neutralize the emic assumption that "all *kolomyika* are the same dance," somewhat as an x-ray allows a specialist to see what is not visible to people with their naked eyes. The technical analysis also helped gauge the degree of difference among the *kolomyika* traditions.

The five *kolomyika* traditions can be imagined as a constellation, each point situated in certain relationships with the others, as represented in the figure below. Important patterns relating to genealogical relations, theatricality and individualism are suggested by the research.



Genealogical Relationships. Four "generations" of *kolomyika* traditions can be discerned in the constellation, based on the time of emergence of each tradition and its relationships with the tradition(s) that existed before. The diagram above involves an implicit time line moving from bottom to top. Some of the features of each *kolomyika* tradition were inherited from their "parent" tradition. Thus, for example, the National Kolomyika tends to involve a repeated pattern of group circling phrases that is characteristic for the Early Social Kolomyika. Children's Kolomyiky inherited many motifs from the National Kolomyika tradition. Recent Social Kolomyiky likewise involve the use of many motifs from Children's and Spectacular Kolomyiky. Each new tradition also contrasts from its parent tradition in some clear and important ways.

Theatricality. The diagram of *kolomyika* traditions can be seen as representing a continuum from less theatricality to greater theatricality as one scans from left to right across the page. Particularly in terms of their macrostructure, the participatory traditions are quite distinct from the presentational (stage) traditions [compare Nahachewsky 1995]. Participants in the Spectacular Kolomyika tradition are most concerned with artistry and communication to an external audience, and demonstrate the general Canadian aesthetic values esteeming virtuosity, novelty and high energy. This emphasis leads to increasingly complex macrostructures. The motifs also tend to be longer, more complicated and more diverse. Repetition of any kind is eschewed. The National and Children's Kolomyiky share this tendency, but to a lesser degree. Among the participatory traditions, the Recent Social Kolomyika shows more tendencies to theatricality than the earlier tradition.

Individualism. The various *kolomyika* traditions reflect a concern for group unity in some cases, and individualism in others. The constellation figure reflects a continuum from greater unity to greater individualism as one follows from bottom to top. The structures of Early Social Kolomyiky reveal a strong emphasis on group dynamics, as the phrases and formations require overall conformity from all participants. National Kolomyiky, as well as the Children's and Spectacular Kolomyiky require a degree of group unity as well, expressed in the disciplined execution of the motifs in unison, and the creation of straight lines, round circles, and other formations. Indeed, these traditions involve an increasing commitment to attend rehearsals to unify the dancing of each participant. However, the Children's and Spectacular Kolomyika traditions belie a tendency to greater individualism by the increasing incidence of polykinetic passages – phrases or sections where one subgroup of the dancers perform one series of motifs while other dancers perform contrasting ones. These are evident in the macrostructural charts as half-height phrase lines and horizontal bars.

In the participatory Recent Social tradition, individualism is expressed most clearly by each performer as he or she decides which motifs to perform and when. In the staged traditions, the individualism of the dancers is submerged to allow for personal expression by the group's choreographer. This is especially clear in the Spectacular Kolomyika tradition.⁵ Choreographers' individualism for each tradition also increases with time on the diagram.

The constellation figure, reflecting the patterns of genealogy, theatricality and individualism, indicates meaningful relationships between the five *kolomyika* traditions. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that the Children's and National Kolomyiky, the two traditions that are located in the centre of the constellation, share the highest frequency of motifs across traditions,⁶ and display the most hybrid macrostructures in relation to the others.

I argue that the tool for structural analysis developed for this project is useful for comparing related dance traditions as they are manifested in documented performances. The analysis can reveal elements that are shared among many variants of the dance, as well as those that are characteristic of only some sub-groups within the researched material. The tool for analysis can also be useful for testing or challenging emic perceptions about similarity and difference. Interview methods would not have been as effective in revealing the diversity of the "*kolomyika*"

phenomenon and its internal relationships because of the participants' tendency to see it all more or less as one.

This tool for analysis could be applied to the forms of additional dance traditions to identify similarities and differences. The dictionary of motifs and macrostructural units can be adapted and expanded to include other *kolomyika* performances, other Ukrainian dances and to the repertoires of other cultural groups.



"Kolomyika from the ballet *The Calling*, 1984" Ukrainian Shumka Dancers, Edmonton, Canada (Major 1991: 24; photograph by Ed Ellis).

The structure of a spectacular kolomyika is characterized by the absence of improvisation, many short non-repeating phrases with complex motifs, and dense choreographic texture.



"Kolomyika." Beginning of the dance with the women, from Chortovets', near Obertyn, western Ukraine.

Reproduced from Oskar Kolber, *Pokucie 3* (Krakow: Uniwersytet Jagiellonski, 1888), page xii.

The structure of an early social kolomyika is characterized by frequent improvisations in selection of motifs and sections of the dance. Many phrases are extended and repeated, often using short and simple motifs.

ENDNOTES

1. I encountered some difficulty in securing three complete documentations for the historical genres (Early Social Kolomyiky and National Kolomyiky were not being performed any more in Canada by the time of my research). I had to settle for incomplete or substitute materials in a few cases.
2. Names were associated with the motifs where possible in Appendix 1.1 of the dissertation [Nahachewsky 1991:330-352].
3. The indexing system used here differed in several ways from that of Martin and Pesovár. Firstly the numbering of changes "3" and "4" is reversed to emphasize the landing in each case. This strategy, connected with the requirement of repetition, simplifies the problem they have with the initial number for each motif. Rather than reducing the system to only three index numbers, I retained separate numbers for all five possibilities of foot contacts. Together with the use of the asterisk, this system differentiates motifs into more, rather than fewer groups.
4. "Right" and "left" were not significant here because motifs in this study could be repeated symmetrically.
5. This is reflected in the structural analysis data, since very different motifs were used by choreographers in each of the three spectacular *kolomyiky*. The internal consistency of the Spectacular Kolomyika was lowest in terms of shared motifs (only 5.1%), but very strong in terms of macrostructural features (mid-length, fixed, complex dances with a chain composition, many phrases, many sections, an increased incidence of multiple parts, a strong tendency to polykiny, and so on).
6. The cumulated average of shared motifs across to other traditions for the Children's and National *kolomyiky* were 21.7% and 17.3%, while the cumulated averages for the Early Social, Recent Social and Spectacular traditions were 9.3%, 7.3% and 5.4% respectively.

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STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS FOR GREEK FOLK DANCES: A METHODOLOGY

Maria Koutsouba

Introduction

Perhaps in the age of post-structuralism and post-modernism, the use of methods emerging from structuralism may seem outmoded and invalid, as the latter has been accused of 'universalising implications', that is, of "mak[ing] general claims about the universal, causal character of structures" [Strinati 1985:88]. In the present study, however, structuralism is not conceptualised in this way. It is rather used in its broader sense, as "a way of looking for reality not in individual things but in the relationships among them" [Scholes 1974:4]. In this way, elements from structuralism are used as "an approach [which] encourages the social anthropologist to perceive that cultural phenomena which he[she] had previously thought of as quite separate are really variations of a common theme" [Leach 1973:49].

The structural approach, along with others, was chosen for the elaboration of data gathered during my fieldwork on the Greek Ionian island of Lefkada for the needs of my Ph.D. thesis [Koutsouba 1997]. The island presented the particularity of using two different sets of rural dances (dance repertoires) in two different settings: the presentational [Nahachewsky 1995:1] (official) one,¹ constituting of "indigenous" dances which were demonstrated as representative of the "Lefkadian" dance tradition; and the participatory (unofficial), made up of "foreign" dances which, as favourites, were continually performed whenever the islanders were among themselves. This created a paradoxical situation whereby presentational and participatory dance performances seemed to bear little relation to one another. In addition, the folk-classification of the dances as "indigenous" or "foreign" and the differing statuses afforded the genres, raised a number of questions regarding the way Lefkadians use their dance phenomenon as a quest for defining themselves and the way they manipulate their dance profile to create a specific cultural identity.

The process for answering this sort of question was not independent of my background. I was Greek, I was a dance "expert" looking upon dances of my "home" [Koutsouba 1999] and had an anthropological interest in dance [Koutsouba 1991] in the sense Andrée Grau suggests [1979:3].² Thus, the aim was to define cultural identity through the analysis of its dance discourse. As a result, an interdisciplinary strategy was followed leading to a synthesis of social and dance analyses that brought together contextual information and kinetic analysis of the dances. It was at this very last part that structural analysis proved to be of great importance as a tool, contributing to the understanding and interpretation of dancing cultural phenomena. In particular, structural analysis, along with stylistic analysis, was used in order to define the form of the dances examined, as structure and style parameters were considered to be of equal importance for the definition of the dance form [Koutsouba 1998], which then were compared with the use of a typological system. In this way, cultural identity was defined analytically from a dance point of view, along with others.

This essay focuses on the structural analysis and its abstraction which made scientific comparison possible. It is divided into two main sections. First it introduces the method for analysing the structural aspect of the dance form. This emerged from a combination of selected elements of preexisting techniques to suit the requirements of the study: the IFMC's 1974 syllabus with changes and/or expansions made in 1994 by Tyrovola after its application to Greek folk dance, Giurchescu [1986], Adshead [1988], Sanchez-Colberg [1992] taxonomies of the dance components in combination with Labanotation and so on. Then the system of typology proposed by Tyrovola [1994, 2001] is presented with a few modifications for better application to the material examined. In this section the notation system used is also included. The second section includes the example of structural analysis of one dance which is indicative of the way the proposed methodology can be applied. Although what follows might be complicated for those who are not familiar with dance analysis, some researchers have realised the important role of this kind of analysis in anthropology (see for instance Street 1977, Ronstöm 1999, and others). It must be noted that in the following presentation only expansions and/or changes of the IFMC 1974 Syllabus are included as it is analytically presented in another chapter of this book.

Structure-form method of analysis

Structural analysis is widely used in dance studies as "part of the complex study of dance providing a method for the analysis of dance at its surface (formal) level of significance" [Giurchescu 1986:33]. In the course of dance study, various structural-morphological models have been proposed. Among these, a number of elements have been selected for the needs of the present study. In particular, elements regarding dance and music terminology, the relationship between dance and music, and the use of tables have been chosen from the structure-form method of analysis proposed in 1974 by the International Folk Music Council Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology (henceforth referred to as the IFMC Study Group). Without denying its value, it must be stressed that with the shift of theoretical thinking, this project has been criticised especially for its claim to universality as 'it is relatively limited and dependent on the characteristic traits of the dance culture in which it was rooted' [Giurchescu; Torp 1991:4]. However, as the method is based largely on the relationship between movement and music, it conforms with the particular traits of the Greek dancing culture (threefold indivisible unity of dance, music and poetry), and with the traits of the dances under examination; thus it is legitimately applied in this particular case.

In addition, the IFMC Study Group has listed the factors that play an important role in the sectioning of dance. These factors concern a number of dance components. Changes and/or expansions of this method which have been applied to Greek dances by Vassiliki Tyrovola [1994, 2001] are also adopted. These concern the music terminology and the relationship between dance and music. Another aspect of the present analysis concerns the classification of the components of dance. In this case the taxonomies presented by Anca Giurchescu [1986], Adshead, and others [1988], and Ana Sanchez-Colberg [1992] are taken into account. The two last studies also introduced a method of discerning the dance form which was found to be quite useful. An analytical presentation of the method used in this study follows. The method emerges mainly from the definition of the term "form".

The term has been used in a number of different senses in dance studies (see Preston-Dunlop 1995:351, 587). In this study, it is treated according to the IFMC Study Group

...as an aspect of structural analysis (which is only part of the complex analysis of dance). The term *form* is used here solely in the sense of composition. When we speak of the form of a dance, we mean the integral arrangement of the form elements, which brings the material, namely the movement of the human body in relationship to music into expression [IFMC Study Group 1974:121-122; italics in original].

According to this definition three points need further explanation, namely the form elements, the structural levels (units) and the relationship between dance and music. Prior to that, the form models are presented. These emerge from the IFMC Study Group's principles of composition [1974:123-127], that is, the **linking principle** and the **grouping principle**. With regard to the former the types of the form can be **chain form (CF)** either homogeneous (**HmCF**), heterogeneous (**HtCF**) or variation (**VtF**), and **rondo form (RF)**. With regards to the latter, the types can be a **two (AB)**, **three (ABC)** or **multi-segment form**. In the last case, it must be added that the segments of the dance form, which are arranged according to the grouping principle may have an homogeneous, heterogeneous, variation or rondo relationship [Tyrovola 1994:36]. Furthermore, the arrangement of segments according to the grouping principle does not exclude the possibility of characterising the individual segments according to the linking principle in homogeneous chain, heterogeneous chain, variation or rondo forms. The graphic symbols for form models can be summarised:

CF	= chain form
HmCF	= homogeneous chain form
HtCF	= heterogeneous chain form
VtF	= variation form
RF	= rondo form
AB	= two-segment form
ABC	= three-segment form
ABHm	= two-segment homogeneous form
ABHt	= two-segment heterogeneous form
ABVt	= two-segment variation form

1. Form elements

The form elements of a dance refer to the properties of the dance and their spatio-temporal relationships. A number of classifications of these elements has been proposed by various dance scholars. Thus, Adshead, and others, refers to the observable elements or components of a dance form and distinguishes movements which have spatial and dynamic elements, dancers, visual setting, aural elements and their complexes. The same dance scholars also suggest that the relations according to components, at a point of time, through time, between the movement and the linear development, and the major/minor subsidiary relations are the tools for discerning the form of dance [Adshead, and others 1988:21-59]. Alternatively, Anca Giurchescu refers to choreographic features (physical elements) that build a system which is divided into classes of parameters that concern the arrangement in space, the kinetics, the rhythm and the multiplicity [Giurchescu 1986:35-38].

Ana Sanchez-Colberg in her discussion of the intrinsic aspects of the dance medium which are distinguished in four main strands, namely body, movement, space and sound, presents an exhaustive list of each of them [Sanchez-Colberg 1992:33-63]. Finally the IFMC Study Group refers to the number of participants, the group formation, the type of connection, the type of movement, the direction of movement, the floor pattern, the tempo, the metre, the rhythm, the dynamics and the structure of musical accompaniment, defining them as the factors that play an important role in the sectioning of the folk dance and pointing out that "in a concrete case one factor is often sufficient to influence the structure" [IFMC Study Group 1974:122].

What must be pointed out about the aforementioned taxonomies is that, despite the different use of names and ways of classification, the form elements that are presented include information about the dance per se and concern similar parameters. On this basis, a list of the various form elements follows along with the graphic symbols used in the present analysis:

i) Symbols for the movements of the legs:

a) Symbols for the legs:

- δ (the first letter of the Greek word *δεξι* which means right) = right foot, either support, that is the movement that carries weight or gesture, that is the movement in space that does not convey weight [Hutchinson 1977:22].
- α (the first letter of the Greek word *αριστερό* which means left) = left foot, support or gesture

b) Symbols for leg supports:

- $\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha$ =the left/right foot/support carries weight; the numbers in this case indicate the various directions in space according to the Labanotation system:

$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha$	$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha_1$ = in place	□
	$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha_2$ = forward	┌
	$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha_3$ = backward	└
	$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha_4$ = right	▷
	$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha_5$ = left	◁
	$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha_6$ = diagonal forward right	┐
	$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha_7$ = diagonal forward left	┑
	$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha_8$ = diagonal backward right	┘
	$\alpha\delta/\delta\alpha_9$ = diagonal backward left	┙

c) Symbols for leg gestures:

- α/δ_x = the left/right leg is weight-free; the numbers in this case indicate the various destinations in space according to the Labanotation system:

α/δ :	α/δ_1 = lift of the left/right leg in front of the central line of the body with bending knee
	α/δ_2 = lift of the left/right leg with extended or bending knee ³
	α/δ_3 = projection on the toes of the left/right foot
	α/δ_4 = position of the left/right foot, where the toes of one foot are to the ₃ side of the toes, the middle, or the heel of the other foot without having weight
	α/δ_5 = the heel of the left/right foot kick the ground before the lift
	α/δ_6 = crossing of the left/right foot above the other without carrying weight

d) Other symbols for the movements of the legs:

- () = in the tables, indicates that the movement has pulse/bounce; the timing of the pulse, which is clearly shown in the notated score, is written separately below the symbol. In the types of the dances it shows that two movements take place either simultaneous or in succession. Timing in the types of the dances is indicated over the symbol.
- <> = indicates a) the support during a leg gesture and b) that this support is the same as the previous one, i.e. the foot does not make any other movement.
- \square = it joins two supports and indicates the maintenance of support in the same position.
- $x?/x?$ = two separated movements taking place in succession
- $xo?+x?$ = a change of support and a gesture taking place simultaneously
- $\cap \cap \cap$ = jump, $\sim \sim \sim$ = pulse/bounce, $---$ = run

ii) Handhold:

T = the arms around the shoulders, **W** = from the hands with bending elbows, **X** = with arms crossing each other, **M** = from the hands without bending elbows, **Σ** = arm in arm, **Y** = arms raised, **U** = unattached.

These graphic symbols when accompanied by the symbol (**D**) indicate the dance composition, that is, **WD** refers to the whole dance; when they appear on their own they indicate kinetic motifs.

iii) Dancers:

- a) Sex: **M** = men, **W** = women
- b) Formation: **MW** = men and women mixed in whatever way
- M ∩ W** = man, woman etc.
- W ∩ M** = woman, man etc.
- M ∪ W** = couple

iv) Direction in space:

a) Direction of the movements:

- ↑ = forward ↓ = backward ‡ = in place
- = to the right ← = to the left
- ↗ = diagonal forward right ↖ = diagonal forward left
- ↘ = diagonal backward right ↙ = diagonal backward left

b) Direction of the dance:

⊖ = open circle that moves to the right

⊕ = open circle that moves to the left

‡ = in place

2. Structural levels (units) of dance

These are divided into small and larger structural units (IFMC Study Group 1974:127-132) or into microscopic and macroscopic levels [Nahachewsky 1995:5] respectively (see Table 1). The former include the (kinetic) element, the cell and the kinetic motif and the latter the dance phrase, the section, the part and the dance composition as these have been defined by the IFMC Study Group. The symbols for the structural units of dance are:

TD, WD, XD, MD, ΣD, YD, UD = | | = dance (D) in relation to the various handholds

P=| | = part of the dance

S=| | = section of the dance

F=| | = phrase of the dance

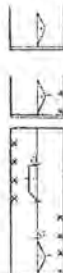
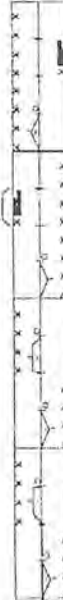
KM={ } = kinetic motif

c=() = cell

e=(kinetic) element

Among all these structural units, one has to be chosen as the central object of analytical work. Which one is going to be chosen, however, depends on the aims of the analysis and may vary from study to study. The kinetic motif which is "the starting point for the sectioning of the dance down to the smallest observable movements of the human body as well as for the specification of the higher structural layers up to the dance as a whole" [IFMC Study Group 1974:129] is very important when the study focuses on the discovery of the dance vocabulary of a community. It is the dance phrase, however, that "has a thoroughly independent quality, represents an absolute creative factor within the dance, is an expression of artistic creativity and is fixed in the awareness of the dancers" [Zografou 1989:53, Tyróvola 1994:41]. For these reasons, particularly the one associated with the dancers' awareness, the central object of analysis in the present study is the dance phrase as it is about people constructing their identities. For example, when asked to demonstrate one dance or another, people usually respond by demonstrating this kind of structural unit.

Table 1: Structural units (levels) of dance

Structural Units (Levels) of Dance	Examples (footwork only)		
	Labanotation	Typology	(Description)
Small Structural Units or Microscopic Level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (kinetic) element (e) Cell (c) Kinetic Motif (KM) 		$e = \delta o'{}_4$ $c = \delta o'{}_4(\delta o_3)$ $KM = (\delta o'{}_4 + \alpha o_5)$	step to the right side with the right foot step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce step diagonally backward right with the right foot with pulse/bounce step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce
Large Structural Units or Macroscopic Level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (Dance) Phrase (P) Section (S) Part (P) Dance Composition (D) 		$P = KM1\{\delta o'{}_4 + \alpha o_5\} +$ $KM2\{\delta o'{}_4 + \alpha o_6\} +$ $KM3\{\delta o'{}_4 + <\delta o_4> \alpha o_5\} +$ $KM4\{\alpha o'{}_5 + <\alpha o_5> \delta_2\} $	gesture with the left leg step to the left side with the left foot with pulse/bounce gesture with the left leg step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce step diagonally forward right with the right foot with pulse/bounce step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce step diagonally backward right with the right foot with pulse/bounce step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce It is supposed that this dance composition has one part that coincides with the section constituting of one dance phrase.

3. Dance and music

In the structure-form analysis of the particular dances, the relationship between dance and music is of great importance, for two reasons. First, because Greek folk dances constitute a threefold indivisible unity of dance, music and poetry, a fact which has been highlighted by many scholars (see for instance Loutzaki 1985 and 1989, Zografou 1989, Tyrovola 1994). Secondly, whilst some dances can be accompanied by a number of songs, many dances from the examined material (45.5%) have their specific song, which inevitably restricts the dance performance to certain limits. The relationship between dance and music is analysed at two levels [Tyrovola 1994:42]. The first refers to the parameters of music that affect the dance performance, particularly the rhythmic pattern (rhythm) and the rhythmic organisation (metre, tempo, time value and dynamics). The second refers to the multiple relationships between the structure of music and the structure of dance, which result from the different possible combinations of dimension, succession, and congruence [IFMC Study Group 1974:132-133; see also Loutzaki 1989:166-167].

a1) Rhythmic Pattern [IFMC Study Group 1974:132-133, Tyrovola 1994:42-46]

- Rhythm: the rhythmic structure can be either isorhythmic (**Ir**), that is the absolute repetition of the same rhythmic pattern during the progress of a music piece (maintenance of the inner balance of rhythmic structure), or anisorhythmic (**Ar**), when the repetition is not an absolute one.

a2) Rhythmic Organisation [IFMC Study Group 1974:132-133, Tyrovola 1994:42-46]

- Metre: is one of the four important and indispensable co-ordinates for the recognition of the temporal relationships of the music-dance rhythm. It can be either heterometric (**Htm**) or isometric (**Ism**); the former refers to the change of the metre within a music piece which indicates change of the dance phrase and thus of the dance form; the latter refers to the maintenance of the metre within a music piece. There is also the phenomenon of polymetre (**Pm**), in which different metric orders progress independently in dance and music.
- Tempo: in the structural observation of dance, this is understood as the speed of the basic rhythmic unit of the music in relation to the movement. Change of tempo (suddenly or gradually) leads to strong dynamic increases/decreases and is important for the artistic expression of a dance. Tempo is defined either in relation to the metronome's readings or with established terms of musicology such as *allegro*, *adante* and so on.
- Time value: the use of particular **time values**, their frequency of appearance and the way they are interrelated is an additional element for the characterisation of the dance form. In Greek dances, although the number of time values in use is not very large, within each a number of possibilities exists. This is related to the inner division of the musical metre, where different combinations of time values play an important role in the performance of movement and thus, determine the form. In the case where every cell of a kinetic motif has the same time value then there is the phenomenon of isochronism (**Ic**). In any other case there is anisochronism or non-isochronism (**Ac**).
- Dynamics: the dynamic possibilities in music and dance are related in a way that can be described as stages, accents and developments. The dynamics of the music can be a parameter for defining the dynamics of movement.

In summary, the graphic symbols for the musical structure and form of dance are the following:

i) Rhythm and rhythmic organisation:

- **Ir** = isorhythmic structure = the absolute repetition of the same rhythmic form during the process of the melody
- **Ar** = no total isorhythmic structure
- **Ism** = isometric metre = maintenance of the metric union during the entire music piece
- **Htm** = heterometric metre = change of the metric union during the performance of the music piece which leads to the differentiation of the dance phrase and thus of the dance form.
- **Pm** = polymetry = the repetitions of the metric sequences do not coincide with the process of the structure of dance.

ii) Speed of music performance (tempo):

L (Largo)	= 40-60	↓ per min	La (Larghetto)	= 60-66	↓ per min
Ad (Adagio)	= 66-76	" "	An (Andante)	= 76-108	" "
Mo (Moderato)	= 108-120	" "	Al (Allegro)	= 120-168	" "
Pr (Presto)	= 168-208	" "			

iii) Accent: ' = strong beat of the rhythmic motif

iv) Time value of the movement in a music metre:

- **Ic** = isochronic = when the cells of a kinetic motif have the same time value
- **Ac** = anisochronic = when the cells of a kinetic motif do not have the same time value

b) Structural relationships between music and dance [IFMC Study Group 1974:132-133; Tyrovolas 1994:42-46].

The symbols for the dimensional relationship dance and music are:

≡ = unison of dance and music ≠ = non-unison (motifs only)

≠ = non-unison (phrases or sections) ≠ = non-unison (whole form)

while those for the relationship in the succession of structural units are:

|| = fixed succession in dance and music }| = free succession in music-fixed in dance

|} = fixed succession in music-free in dance }} = free succession in both music and dance

Finally, the symbols for the relationship of congruence are

≡ congruent = concurrent relationship between music and dance

≠ discongruent = non-concurrent relationship between music and dance

Notation system

Although a number of notation systems have been used worldwide [Hutchinson-Guest 1984], the wide use of Labanotation or Kinetography-Laban in dance analysis led to its selection for the present study. It must be emphasised that the notations presented are descriptive, in the sense that they "document the actual movements in space and time, observable on the film or video" [Nahachewsky 1995:5], and observable in a dance performance too. Of course, the notations refer to particular dance performances.

Typological system of analysis

Typology is necessary for comparative work as it is "only the graphic display – the abstraction – [that] gives us the possibility of scientific comparison" [IFMC Study Group 1974:118]. In this case, the model presented by Vassiliki Tyrovola is adopted along with the use of specific typological tables. In particular, the abstract terms 'kinetic type' and 'morphic type' are used. Considering "type [as] the combination of separate kinetic motifs (syntagms) in order to form larger units, namely dance phrase" [Tyrovola 1994:54], Tyrovola used it as a methodological tool for dance typology. In particular, 'type' appears either as **kinetic type**, that is 'the type of structure', or as a **morphic type**, that is "the characteristic features and properties of form" [Tyrovola 1994:21]. The former "defines exactly the support and refers to the duration of the supports of the legs that take place in every kinetic motif and also to the repetitions of the same support or the changes of the supports during one dance phrase; in that way the kinetic type, even in an abstractive way, indicates with exactness the development of the movements in space and time". The latter "represents the dance in a codified form in relationship to the elements of the form; furthermore, it represents the in-between relationship of the elements in space-time sequence" [Tyrovola 1994:56].

Presentation of the kinetic types used in the present analysis

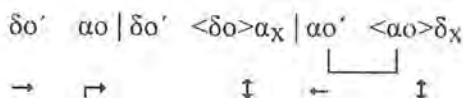
Preliminary research of the rural dance repertoire of Lefkada along with my previous empirical experience indicated that certain kinetotypes play an important role in the construction of these dances. The kinetotypes (kinetic types) most common in Greek dances, are those of *sta tria*, *syrtos (kalamatianos)*, *sta dyo* and *tsamikos*. Scientific study has been carried out only for the first type by Vassiliki Tyrovola in 1994 (see also Tyrovola 2001). However, scattered references to the rest allow and justify their use in the limits of the present study, though the scientific research of the rest is of primary importance for the development of dance studies in Greece. What follows is the presentation of those used in the present analysis, namely those of *sta tria*, *syrtos (kalamatianos)* and *sta dyo*.

Thus, the kinetic type of the form of the *sta tria* dance [Tyrovola 1994:99-105; 161-162] consists of a dance phrase which has three rhythmic and kinetic metres. The rhythmic motifs are of isometric and isorhythmic structure. The kinetic motifs consist of two isochronic movements. The type presents an antithetical and asymmetrical use of space with two shifts to the right and one to the left. The form of the *sta tria* dance has a linear open circular process to the right. Supports have a particular succession and kinetic relationship based on the strong parts of the three rhythmic motifs. The latter, after the change of symbols into the system of the present study, is represented as:

$$\delta\sigma' \quad \alpha\sigma \mid \delta\sigma' \quad \alpha_X \mid \alpha\sigma' \quad \delta_X$$

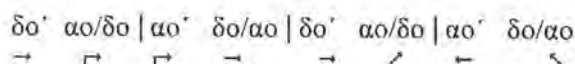
$$\rightarrow \quad \rightarrow \rightarrow \quad \leftarrow$$

Thus, the kinetic type of the form of the *sta tria* dance is:

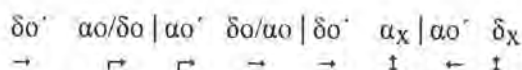


The structure of music accompaniment (rhythmic organisation of the dance music and congruence of music/dance units), the dancers' sex, number, handhold and formation, the dance formation (one or two circles etc.) and the kinetic elements of the second part of the second and the third kinetic motifs may vary.

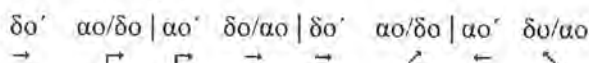
Although a complete study has not been carried out with regard to the kinetic type of the form of *syrtos (kalamatianos)*, a number of existing references form a database for its description [Loutzaki 1989:271-272; Torp 1990:91; Tyrovola 1994:189-190]. Its kinetic type consists of a dance phrase that has four rhythmic and kinetic metres. The former presents isometric and isorhythmic structure. The latter consists of movements that have the metric relationship 1:0,5:0,5 in which supports are in particular succession and kinetic relationship based on the strong part of the first, second and third music metre.



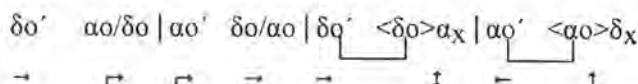
or



Its kinetic type [Tyrovola 1994:190] is:



or



The form has a linear, open circular process to the right. The use of space is usually anti-theoretical and asymmetrical, with three shifts to the right and one to the left, but others can also be performed. The rhythm presents an interesting point in relation to the name of the type. The rhythm can be of two, four or seven counts.¹⁰ A seven-beat rhythm (3:2:2) produces the form known as *syrtos kalamatianos*. The two (1:0,5:0,5) or four-beat rhythm (2:1:1) produces the form that has the structure of *syrtos kalamatianos*, yet the definition *kalamatianos* is not used to *syrtos*. However, *syrtos* can refer to other dance forms, too, that do not have the metric relationship and the structure of *syrtos kalamatianos*, such as *syrtos sta dyo* or *syrtos nisiotikos*. For the sake of clarification, in this study *syrtos kalamatianos* refers to the seven count rhythm and *syrtos (kalamatianos)* to the two or four count rhythm that have the same metric relationship and structure with *syrtos kalamatianos*. The structure of music accompaniment (rhythmic organisa-

tion of the dance music and congruence of music/dance units), the dancers' sex, number, handhold and formation, the dance formation (one or two circles etc.), and the kinetic elements of the second part of the third and second part of the fourth kinetic motifs may vary.

Complete study of the kinetic type of the form of *sta dyo* has not been carried out, either. Once more, only scattered references [Demas 1979:79-81; Roumbis 1990:168-169; Tyrovolas 1994:166] provide information about its presentation. This kinetic type consists of a dance phrase that has two rhythmic and kinetic metres. The rhythmic motifs can have a two or four beat rhythm and are isometric and isorhythmic. The form has an open circular linear process to the right. The kinetic motifs consist of movements which have the metric relationship 1:0.5:0.5. The form consists of a particular succession of supports which present a certain kinetic relationship based on the strong part of the first and of the second music metre that is represented as follows:

$$\begin{array}{cccc|cccc} \delta\sigma' & \alpha\sigma/\delta\sigma & & \alpha\sigma' & \delta\sigma/\alpha\sigma & & & \\ \rightarrow & \rightarrow & & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & & & \end{array}$$

Its kinetic type is:

$$\begin{array}{cccc|cccc} \delta\sigma' & \alpha\sigma/\delta\sigma & & \alpha\sigma' & \delta\sigma/\alpha\sigma & & & \\ \rightarrow & \rightarrow & & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & & & \end{array}$$

It can be seen that *sta dyo* is a sub-type of *syrtos kalamatianos*. Its variables are the structure of music accompaniment (rhythmic structure of dance music, congruence of music/dance units), the dancers' sex, number, handhold and formation, the dance shape (one or two circles, and so on), and the kinetic elements of the second part of the first and second part of the second kinetic motifs.

Degrees of relationship

This refers to the degree of relationship of forms that belong to a particular kinetic / morphic type and of forms that belong to a particular "pattern" (see Table 2). The former, according to the typological differentiations of their kinetic/morphic types are classified as identical, heteromorphic, varied, remodelled and related forms [Tyrovolas 1994:54-56; 145-147]. The latter refer to the form of the same 'pattern', that is "plan or model on the basis of which sequences of similar objects can be constructed" [Sifakis 1988:147]. According to the writer, "patterns are like a started embroidery... a half-built house, which, in each case has been completed differently by others" [Sifakis 1988:179].

Table 2: Degrees of relationship

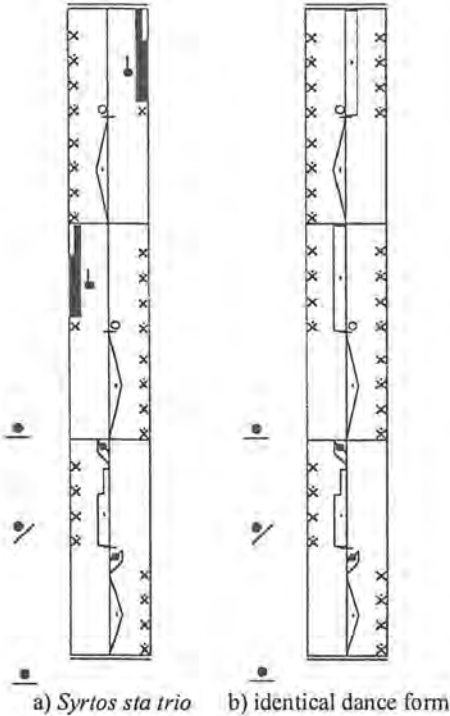
Variations of Pattern	<pre> graph TD A[Pattern of a Dance] --> B[Type 1] A --> C[Type 2] A --> D[Type 3] A --> E[Etc.] </pre>
Variations of Type	<pre> graph TD A[Type] --> B[equivalent] A --> C[heteromorphic] A --> D[remodelled] A --> E[related] B --- F[Forms of Dance] E --- F C --- G[varied] D --- G </pre>

[Koutsouba 1997:107]

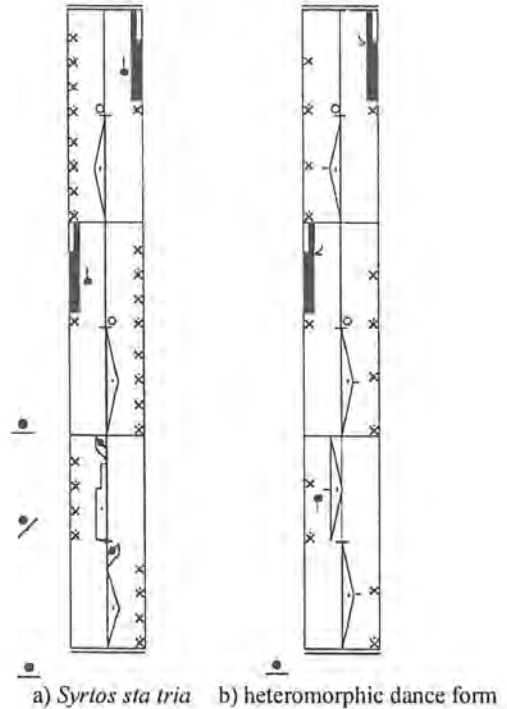
Among the aforementioned degrees of relationship, the identical and heteromorphic degrees of a particular kinetic/morphic type are used in the present analysis (for the rest see Koutsouba 1997:106-109). In order to clarify these, they are analytically presented, while an example of each one follows to demonstrate the degree of relationship in more concrete way (Example 1 and 2). Thus, the **identical** (equivalence) forms of a type have common syntactic (the horizontal study) and syntagmatic (the vertical study) structure, and common kinetic and morphic types without any changes in the basic components of the form.

The **heteromorphic** (heteromorphy) forms indicate the transformation of a dance that is related with the changes of the context (social and historical). Heteromorphic forms are the ones that have common syntagmatic structures and may form either a common kinetic yet different morphic type changing only some of the components of the form, or a different kinetic type (regarding only the kinetic elements of the ending kinetic motifs) with or without important changes of other components of the form such as kind of handhold, sex, and dance formation.

Example 1:
Identical Dance Forms of a Type
(footwork only)



Example 2:
Heteromorphic Dance Forms of a Type
(footwork only)



Analysis of *milia* dance

Milia is the most popular and representative dance of the island of Lefkada, one of those whose "indigenous" status is almost unchallenged. *Milia* (meaning apple tree) takes its name from the lyrics of the accompanying song. In the performance of the dance by the dance group Apollon Karyas, *milia* is performed by both men and women in succession, that is, men and women alternating within the dance, with the lead dancer being always a woman. All of them are dressed in traditional costume; the bride's costume being the most common. The dancers perform in an open circle which shifts predominantly to the right with simple movements, mainly steps having a constant pulse (the steps are in what is technically termed middle level). The body has an upright straight position. The handhold can be of two kinds; either with the arms around the shoulders or in a particular chain where the women have their hands on their waists and the men hold them from the upper arms. Singing, by dancers and/or musicians, is optional.

Milia's song: Only the "joyful" verses of the dance are presented here as these were sung by Eleni Stavraika during fieldwork. These may slightly change from place to place. The song goes on becoming more and more melancholic. These verses, however, are not used in the dance contexts. For other versions see Asprogeraka 1970-71, Kontomichis 1985:136, and others.

The image displays four staves of musical notation in treble clef. The first staff is in 3/4 time, marked with 'A1' and a tempo marking of 108. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar rhythmic patterns. The third staff is in 7/8 time, marked with 'B1' and a tempo marking of 132. It features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes. The fourth staff shows a final measure with a double bar line and a fermata.

***Milia's* music notation**
[Kotsinis in Tyrovola 1994, TD 71]

The image displays a musical score for guitar, consisting of a standard staff on the left and a vertical fretboard diagram on the right. The fretboard diagram is oriented vertically, with the neck at the top and the body at the bottom. It is divided into sections corresponding to fret numbers 4 through 16. Each section contains a vertical line representing the fret, with horizontal lines representing the strings. Symbols such as 'x', 'o', and dots indicate fingerings or string muting. A double bar line with a triangle symbol is located at the top of the fretboard diagram, indicating a section boundary. To the right of the fretboard diagram is a sequence of fretting diagrams, each showing a specific fretting pattern for a given fret number. These diagrams are arranged vertically and are enclosed in a large, hand-drawn curved bracket on the right side of the page. The fretting diagrams are as follows:

- Fret 4 (1): $\begin{matrix} - \\ | \\ \text{K} \\ | \\ + \end{matrix}$
- Fret 5 (4): $\begin{matrix} \text{K} \\ | \\ \text{K} \\ | \\ + \end{matrix}$
- Fret 6 (7): $\begin{matrix} - \\ | \\ \text{K} \\ | \\ + \end{matrix}$
- Fret 8: $\begin{matrix} + \\ | \\ \text{K} \\ | \\ + \end{matrix}$
- Fret 7 (9): $\begin{matrix} - \\ | \\ \text{K} \\ | \\ + \end{matrix}$
- Fret 10: $\begin{matrix} + \\ | \\ \text{K} \\ | \\ + \end{matrix}$
- Fret 8 (11): $\begin{matrix} - \\ | \\ \text{K} \\ | \\ + \end{matrix}$
- Fret 12: $\begin{matrix} + \\ | \\ \text{K} \\ | \\ + \end{matrix}$

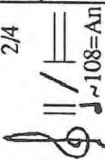
The image displays two examples of structural analysis for Greek folk dances, showing musical notation and corresponding structural diagrams.

Left Diagram (Measures 7-64):

- Musical Notation:** A single staff of music in 4/4 time, starting at measure 7 and ending at measure 64. The notation includes various rhythmic values and rests.
- Structural Diagram:** A vertical bar divided into measures 7 through 64. Measures 7-17 are grouped as section (1). Measures 18-32 are grouped as section (2). Measures 33-48 are grouped as section (A), and measures 49-64 are grouped as section (B). A large bracket on the right side of the diagram spans from measure 17 to 64.
- Measure Markers:** 7, 8, 17 (1), 18 (2), 19 (3), 18 (4), 19 (5), 19 (6), 19 (7), 20 (8), 20 (9), 20 (10), 20 (11), 20 (12), 33, 48 (48), 49, 64 (64).
- Legend:**
 - $\square = \bullet \sim 132$
 - $A = \bullet$
 - $\times \times \times \times \times$

Right Diagram (Measures 17-20):

- Musical Notation:** A single staff of music in 4/4 time, starting at measure 17 and ending at measure 20. The notation includes various rhythmic values and rests.
- Structural Diagram:** A vertical bar divided into measures 17 through 20. Measures 17-18 are grouped as section (A), and measures 19-20 are grouped as section (B). A large bracket on the right side of the diagram spans from measure 17 to 20.
- Measure Markers:** 17 (1), 18 (2), 19 (3), 19 (4), 19 (5), 19 (6), 19 (7), 19 (8), 19 (9), 19 (10), 19 (11), 19 (12), 20 (13), 20 (14), 20 (15), 20 (16), 20 (17), 20 (18), 20 (19), 20 (20).
- Legend:**
 - $\square = \bullet$
 - $B = \bullet$

TD1		Milia Dance				ABHt/Htm/Al
P	A/HmCF					
F	FA.2					
KM	T1		T2		T3	
c	$\delta\overset{\rightarrow}{0}_4$	$\alpha\overset{\rightarrow}{0}_4$	$\delta\overset{\rightarrow}{0}_4$	$\alpha\overset{\downarrow}{3}$	$\alpha\overset{\leftarrow}{0}_5$	$\delta\overset{\downarrow}{3}$
e	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{0}_4(\delta\alpha_4)$	$\alpha\alpha_4(\alpha\alpha_4)$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{0}_4(\delta\alpha_4)$	$<\delta\alpha_4>\alpha_3(<\delta\alpha_4>\alpha_3)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{0}_5(\alpha\alpha_5)$	$<\alpha\alpha_5>\delta_3(<\alpha\alpha_5>\delta_3)$
$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
	$\equiv \equiv \equiv / Ir/Ic$					
$\sim 108 = An$	$\equiv \equiv \equiv / Ir/Ic$					

T4		T5		T6		T7		T8	
$\delta\overset{\rightarrow}{0}_4$	$\alpha\alpha_4/\delta\alpha_6$	$\alpha\overset{\uparrow}{0}_6$	$\delta\overset{\downarrow}{3}$	$\delta\overset{\downarrow}{3}$	$\alpha\alpha_4$	$\delta\overset{\rightarrow}{0}_4$	$\alpha\overset{\downarrow}{3}$	$\alpha\overset{\leftarrow}{0}_5$	$\delta\overset{\downarrow}{3}$
$\delta\overset{\cdot}{0}_4(\delta\alpha_4)$	$\alpha\alpha_4(\alpha\alpha_4)/\delta\alpha_6(\delta\alpha_6)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{0}_6(\alpha\alpha_6)$	$<\alpha\alpha_6>\delta_3(<\alpha\alpha_6>\delta_3)$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{0}_3(\delta\alpha_3)$	$\alpha\alpha_4(\alpha\alpha_4)$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{0}_4(\delta\alpha_4)$	$<\delta\alpha_4>\alpha_3(<\delta\alpha_4>\alpha_3)$	$\alpha\alpha_5(\alpha\alpha_5)$	$<\alpha\alpha_5>\delta_3(<\alpha\alpha_5>\delta_3)$
$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
$\equiv \equiv \equiv / Ir/Ic$		$\equiv \equiv \equiv / Ir/Ic$		$\equiv \equiv \equiv / Ir/Ic$		$\equiv \equiv \equiv / Ir/Ic$		$\equiv \equiv \equiv / Ir/Ic$	

		B/HmCF											
		FB.4											
P		T1			T2			T3			T4		
F													
KM													
c		$\delta_0' 4$	$\alpha_0 8$	$\delta_0 2$	$\alpha_0' 5$	$\delta_0 3$	$\alpha_0 3$	$\delta_0' 4$	$\alpha_0 1$	$\alpha_0' 5$	$\delta_0 1$		
e		$\delta_0' 4(\delta_0 4)$	$\alpha_0 8(\alpha_0 8)$	$\delta_0 2(\delta_0 2)$	$\alpha_0' 5(\alpha_0 5)$	$\delta_0 3(\delta_0 3)$	$\alpha_0 3(\alpha_0 3)$	$\delta_0' 4(\delta_0 4)$	$\alpha_0 1(<\delta_0 4>\alpha_0 1)$	$\alpha_0' 5(\alpha_0 5)$	$\delta_0 1(<\alpha_0 5>\delta_0 1)$		
7/8		3/8	2/8	2/8	3/8	2/8	2/8	3/8	2/8+2/8=4/8	3/8	2/8+2/8=4/8		
	$\equiv \equiv \equiv$	$\equiv \equiv \equiv$ / Ir/ Ac			$\equiv \equiv \equiv$ / Ir/ Ac			$\equiv \equiv \equiv$ / Ir/ Ac			$\equiv \equiv \equiv$ / Ir/ Ac		

$$\begin{aligned}
 \mathbf{TDI} &= [\mathbf{PA}/\mathbf{An}+\mathbf{PB}/\mathbf{Mo}] \cdot \mathbf{x} = [2 \cdot (\mathbf{S})\mathbf{FA}/\mathbf{An}+4 \cdot (\mathbf{S})\mathbf{FB}/\mathbf{Mo}] \cdot \mathbf{x} \\
 \mathbf{TDI} &= \begin{matrix} \text{2/4 4-108+7/8 } \mathbf{J} \cdot \mathbf{132} \\ \text{W.M.} \end{matrix} \left[\mathbf{FA} \tilde{\mathbf{T}} \mathbf{1} \left\{ \delta_0' 4^{1/4} + \alpha_0 4^{1/4} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 2 \left\{ \delta_0' 4^{1/4} + \alpha_0 4^{1/4} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 3 \left\{ \alpha_0' 5^{1/4} + \alpha_0 5^{1/4} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 4 \left\{ \delta_0' 4^{1/4} + \alpha_0 4^{1/4} \right\} + \right. \\
 &\quad \left. \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 5 \left\{ \alpha_0' 5^{1/4} + \alpha_0 5^{1/4} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 6 \left\{ \delta_0' 4^{1/4} + \alpha_0 4^{1/4} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 7 \left\{ \delta_0' 4^{1/4} + \alpha_0 4^{1/4} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 8 \left\{ \alpha_0' 5^{1/4} + \alpha_0 5^{1/4} \right\} + \right. \\
 &\quad \left. \mathbf{FB} \tilde{\mathbf{T}} \mathbf{1} \left\{ \delta_0' 4^{3/8} + \alpha_0 8^{2/8} + \delta_0 2^{2/8} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 2 \left\{ \alpha_0' 5^{3/8} + \alpha_0 5^{2/8} + \alpha_0 3^{2/8} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 3 \left\{ \delta_0' 4^{3/8} + \alpha_0' 4^{1/8} + \alpha_0' 5^{3/8} + \delta_0' 4^{1/8} \right\} + \right. \\
 &\quad \left. \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 4 \left\{ \alpha_0' 5^{3/8} + \alpha_0' 5^{1/8} + \alpha_0 5^{3/8} + \alpha_0 5^{1/8} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 5 \left\{ \delta_0' 4^{3/8} + \alpha_0' 4^{1/8} + \alpha_0' 5^{3/8} + \delta_0' 4^{1/8} \right\} + \right. \\
 &\quad \left. \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 6 \left\{ \alpha_0' 5^{3/8} + \alpha_0' 5^{1/8} + \alpha_0 5^{3/8} + \alpha_0 5^{1/8} \right\} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 7 \left\{ \delta_0' 4^{3/8} + \alpha_0' 4^{1/8} + \alpha_0' 5^{3/8} + \delta_0' 4^{1/8} \right\} + \right. \\
 &\quad \left. \tilde{\mathbf{T}} 8 \left\{ \alpha_0' 5^{3/8} + \alpha_0' 5^{1/8} + \alpha_0 5^{3/8} + \alpha_0 5^{1/8} \right\} \right]
 \end{aligned}$$

According to the grouping principle, the dance constitutes a two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating form, that is, the dance has two parts of different morphic type and two music metres which are alternated. According to the linking principle, each of the two parts constitutes a homogeneous chain form that is the same dance phrase repeated throughout each part. The first part has a binary rhythm ($\downarrow\uparrow\uparrow\downarrow\downarrow\uparrow\uparrow$) and 2/4 music metre;¹¹ it consists of eight rhythmic motifs that are repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. In terms of movements, this part consists of two repetitions of a one section-phrase, that is, the phrase coincides with the section in this case, which has eight kinetic motifs in total. The latter can be regarded as the synthesis of three types. In particular, the first and last three kinetic motifs form an heteromorphy of the type of *sta tria* dance as seen before, as during the performance of the second kinetic element of these kinetic motifs the left foot crosses behind the right foot and there is also a different use of space. The other two kinetic motifs coming in between form an heteromorphy of the type of *sta dyo* dance as there is a change of the two kinetic elements of the second cell and different use of space.

The second part has a seven count rhythm ($\downarrow\uparrow\uparrow\downarrow\downarrow\uparrow\uparrow$) and 7/8 music metre. It consists of eight rhythmic motifs which are also repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. The second part consists of four repetitions of a one section-phrase which has four kinetic motifs which form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos kalamatianos* dance as seen before, as there is a different use of space. Both parts have dimensional congruence, that is the kinetic and rhythmic motifs, and the dance and music/melodic phrases coincide, and there is a fixed order of succession in dance and music. The overall structure of this dance performance is represented by the morphic type:

$$\mathbf{TD1}=[\text{PA}/\text{An}+\text{PB}/\text{Mo}].x=[2.(S)\text{FA}/\text{An}+4.(S)\text{FB}/\text{Mo}].x$$

$$2/4 \downarrow \sim 108 + 7/8 \downarrow \sim 132$$

$$W \sim M. \curvearrowright$$

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{TD1} = & [\text{FA} | \tilde{\text{T}}1 \{ \delta o'_{4^{1/4}} + \alpha o_{4^{1/4}} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}2 \{ \delta o'_{4^{1/4}} + \langle \delta o_{4^{1/4}} \rangle \alpha_{3^{1/4}} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}3 \{ \alpha o'_{5^{1/4}} + \langle \alpha o_{5^{1/4}} \rangle \delta_{3^{1/4}} \} | + \\ & \tilde{\text{T}}4 \{ \delta o'_{4^{1/4}} + (\alpha o_{4^{1/4}} / \delta o_{6^{1/4}})^{1/4} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}5 \{ \alpha o'_{6^{1/4}} + \langle \alpha o_{6^{1/4}} \rangle \delta_{3^{1/4}} \} | + \tilde{\text{T}}6 \{ \delta o'_{3^{1/4}} + \alpha o_{4^{1/4}} \} + \\ & \tilde{\text{T}}7 \{ \delta o'_{4^{1/4}} + \langle \delta o_{4^{1/4}} \rangle \alpha_{3^{1/4}} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}8 \{ \alpha o'_{5^{1/4}} + \langle \alpha o_{5^{1/4}} \rangle \delta_{3^{1/4}} \} | + \\ & \text{FB} | \tilde{\text{T}}1 \{ \delta o'_{4^{3/8}} + \alpha o_{8^{2/8}} + \delta o_{2^{2/8}} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}2 \{ \alpha o'_{5^{3/8}} + \delta o_{3^{2/8}} + \alpha o_{3^{2/8}} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}3 \{ \delta o'_{4^{3/8}} + \end{aligned}$$

At the end of the dance-song *milia*, the melody of the song *perdika* (literally, partridge) is usually added, performed similarly to the second dance phrase of *milia* [Drakatou 1993; Kopsidas 1993; Stavraka 1994; Verykios 1994].

Conclusion

The application of the above methodology to all the dances under examination made possible their comparison. The types of the dances were put one below the other in a table in terms of parts, kinetic motifs, and so on [Koutsouba 1997:180]. In this way, similarities and differences concerning the nature of the dances examined were revealed, which, in turn, made it possible to explain the different use of the dances from a dance point of view.

As a result, the above methodology proved to be of great importance in my case offering tangible proofs for the different use of the dance repertoires on the island of Lefkada and the way the islanders manipulate them for the construction of a particular cultural (dance) identity. It must be stressed that the methodology was not an end in itself. It was a useful tool, along with many others, in answering questions about the people themselves. This process made me realise that instead of rejecting the use of methods emerging from structuralism in total, it is worthwhile to keep certain elements which may prove invaluable in certain cases and specific contexts.

ENDNOTES

1. These two conceptual categories have been proposed by Andriy Nahachewsky to distinguish dances. According to the writer "in participatory dances, the focus tends to be on the dancers themselves....Presentational dances are often performed on formal stages and in other locations where the physical and cultural distance between performers and audience is greater" [Nahachewsky 1994:1]. Other conceptual categories have also been proposed from various dance scholars. Thus, Irene Loutzaki [1989:328] distinguishes "formal" from "informal" dances, while Magda Zografou suggests [1989:104] the "connotative" and "emotional" function of dance respectively. However, with regard to the former, I believe that all the dances are formal in some way or another, while regarding the latter, both aspects may be involved in a dance performance.
2. "There have been three main theoretical approaches in dance studies. Firstly, dance can be approached as patterns of movement, that is, as essentially a technical product. Secondly, dance can be seen as a social phenomenon, made by people for other people, arising out of people's thoughts and couched in the framework of human society. Studies following this line often do not say anything about how the dance looks...The third approach... is the anthropological approach which seeks to combine the other two approaches" [Grau 1979:3]. See also Koutsouba 2002.
3. The exact part of the leg, the level of the height of the leg, the degree of bending of the knee, and the exact position of the toes are not taken into account as they can be seen in the Labanotation score.
4. The use of term kinetic is not used by the IFMC Study Group but has been added by Vassiliki Tyrovola [1994:40]. I adopt this amendment particularly in the case of the kinetic motif so as not to confuse it with other kinds of motif, such as the rhythmic motif.
5. Characteristics related to the music have been added by Vassiliki Tyrovola [1994:40] to correspond to the Greek dance situation. Thus, the kinetic motif corresponds to a rhythmic motif, that is to a music metre, and there is usually a direct relationship between the inner subdivision of the rhythmic motif and the kinetic elements or cells; the alteration of the inner rhythmic structure and of tempo leads to the alteration of the character of the kinetic motif. The importance of this aspect for Greek dance has also been emphasised by Irene Loutzaki [1989:166-170].
6. Lefteris Drandakis [1987:54] and Magda Zografou [1989:53; 2003:183] use respectively the terms kinetic motif and dance motif instead. The former cannot be used as the term has already been used for a smaller structural unit. The latter may need further consideration on the basis that the term phrase used by the IFMC Study Group has music connotations as well, and the use of the same word both for dance and music implies a correspondence between the two which may not exist.
7. The IFMC Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology proposes the term "dance" instead in order to define this larger structural unit. However, this is very confusing for the Greek context as the word "dance" has a double meaning: a) in its "specific" [Loutzaki 1989:208] or "narrow" [Zografou 1992:20] sense it refers to a particular dance, that is, *milia*, *lemonia* and so on, dance; b) in its "general" [Loutzaki 1989:208] or "wider" [Zografou 1992:20] sense it can refer to a whole dance event such as the Christmas Eve Dance (are you going to the dance tonight?), the dance lessons of a dance club (do we have dance this afternoon?), or the group of the dancers (the first and last of the dance must make sure that the formation of the whole group is maintained). For the use of the term in Greece see also Cowan [1990:18]. The term 'dance composition' has been proposed by Tyrovola [1994:41] along with that of "choreography of dance" adopted by Magda Zografou [1989:54] as well.

8. Other classifications have been used such as that of Martin and Pesovar [1961:5-7] and Adrienne Kaeppler [1972:174-176, 202]. Among the Greek scholars the former classification, with slight changes, has been used by Magda Zografou [1989] and the latter by Irene Loutzaki [1989].
9. In her text Vassiliki Tyrovolia uses the term 'support index' from Martin and Pesovar [1994:23]. In this study, the term 'support index' has been substituted with the Labanotation term 'support' as both have the same meaning and thus their interchange does not cause problems.
10. Many dance scholars have discussed this issue. For instance, Holden and Vouras note that "originally there were two rhythms for the *syrtos* dance, the 3-2-2 of 7/8 music metre and the 4-2-2 of 8/8 or 2/4 music metre. A medley of 7/8 tunes, one of which contained the words *san pas stin Kalamata* [When you will go to Kalamata], became popular throughout Greece and thereafter all *syrtos* dances in 7/8 became known to musicians as "...like the Kalamata rhythm", hence *kalamatianos* dance" [Holden; Vouras 1976:41]. Loutzaki writes that "*syrtos* occurs in duple and in seven-four time" [Loutzaki 1989:271]. Finally, Drandakis includes a detailed reference to the concept of *syrtos* and argues that "dances which are characterised as *syrtos* are very different both compared one to each other as well as in comparison to the *syrtos Kalamatianos*... of course, in terms of types of dances, they are indeed all *syrtos* dances. But in order to understand exactly to which dance we are referring we must add some defining element..." [Drandakis 1993:64]. See also Mazaraki 1984:83.
11. Spyros Peristeris has notated the music of the first segment of *milia* in a four count rhythm and 4/4 music metre [1967:361]. However, Yiorgos Karatzas [1928:16], Yiorgos Kotsinis (in Tyrovolia 1994, Appendix, number: 71), and Marcos Dragoumis [1995] suggest that the first segment has a binary rhythm (2/4 music metre). The fact that the majority of the music scholars agree on the binary rhythm leads me to adopt their option.
12. The eight kinetic motifs of this part can also be combined in a different way. The first three as an heteromorphy of the type of *sta tria* dance and the other five as a variation of the type of *syrtos (kalamatianos)* dance. Whatever the point of view is, it does not affect our discussion.

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THE CREATIVE PROCESS WITHIN IRISH TRADITIONAL STEP DANCE

Catherine E. Foley

'Custom' cannot afford to be invariant, because even in 'traditional' societies life is not so [Hobsbawm:1983:2]

Cultures communicate at various levels of intelligibility. However, since fieldwork is generally carried out independently by the anthropologist, the ethnographic account following this experience is coloured by the ethnographers own biography, preferred methodologies, and theoretical bias. In effect, the ethnographer may focus on a specific level of intelligibility and often to the exclusion of all others. Linguistic applications within anthropology have been accused of such exclusivity. (See Parkin 1982)

Owing to the general shift in social anthropology from function to meaning during the 1960s and 1970s, the linguistic paradigm as a means of eliciting a 'grammar' and 'deeper structures' was emulated. (See Marcus 1986; Parkin 1982.) Anthropologists and dance scholars on both sides of the Atlantic were influenced by the field of linguistics. In America, dance scholars such as Kaepler, with her ethnoscientific approach, applied an emic linguistic paradigm to her work on Tongan dance [1972], while Williams influenced by Saussure and Chomsky, the concepts of *la langue* and *la parole*, and paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, established the semasiological perspective which was "linguistically tied, mathematically structured and empirically based" [Williams 1979: 39]. In Europe, structural linguistics and western musicological analytical methods influenced both the work of Martin and Pesovár [1963] with their analysis of Hungarian folk dance, and the Choreology Group of the International Folk Music Council [1974], with their syllabus for the "Foundations for the analysis of the structure and form of folk dance".

Concerning linguistic applications, Parkin states that there is a "...problem of whether the aim of discovering either a universal or cultural language of body movements privileges the linguistic analogy and separates the social and linguistic more than the informants themselves might regard as their own experience" [Parkin 1982: xxiii]. Indeed, the linguistic analogy is but one method in understanding a particular culture's movement system, but it is all the same an important one.

Dance communicates through culturally selected movements therefore, a knowledge of these movements, both surface and 'deeper structures' is central to any discussion on the system itself. Much too often in the past, this kind of detailed knowledge has been sacrificed for a more contextual impressionistic view of the dance. However, concerning a 'performed work of verbal art', Foley states that it is "the context, the understanding, the set of assumptions and reactions that fills out the processual nature of the event, providing a wholeness that, strictly speaking, cannot be located in or projected from the decontextualised text alone" [Foley 1995:208]. Here an analogy may be made with dance and although contextual and historical information is required in order to locate and understand the dance as 'product, behaviour, and concept', an examination of the dance itself is also pertinent in order to highlight, not alone its grammar and syntax, but in inter-relating dance to other communicative forms, our understanding of cultural concepts which underlie specific cultures.

Since it is the intention in this paper to examine and structurally analyse one particular movement system as a cognitive process, contextual information is, for the most part, marginalised. The paper applies a system of analysis to a movement system in Ireland, namely, Irish traditional step dance. The system of analysis is that of the IFMC Study group [1974], but slightly modified and extended regarding classifications. Also influential was the ethnoscientific approach of Kaeppler [1972] and the Saussurian linguistic concepts of *syntagmatic* and *paradigmatic* relations [Green; Lebihan 1996].

Ethnographic information

In general, anthropologists select their own location of fieldwork. However, the location under study here was not selected by me, it was selected for me. In 1979 I was asked to work for Muckcross House Folk Museum, Killarney, Co. Kerry, as a collector of traditional Irish music, song, and dance in the region of County Kerry. My own background as an Irish traditional musician and step dancer, together with my undergraduate degree in music, informed and enabled me in carrying out this work. Also, my family background in Irish traditional music and dance together with my teaching experience in music, dance and *Gaeilge* (Irish language) in a *Gaeltacht* region (an area where Irish is the primary spoken language of the people) contributed to this competency. For four consecutive summers I collected and transcribed music and songs in the southern region of the county. In 1983, I was approached by Ned Myers, Director of Muckcross House, to see if I would change my location to the northern region of the county and specifically to collect, document, and preserve a declining step dance tradition in that region.

This particular step dance tradition was known to a number of elderly performers, both male and female, but due to a decline in its transmission process, this movement system was believed to be in a position of decline. Younger step dancers in the region performed step dance but within different contexts and for different reasons: many of these younger dancers were involved in the institutionalised classes of *An Coimisiún*, the national and international organisation for competitive Irish step dance. Since I had competed as a step dancer with both *An Coimisiún* and *An Comhdháil* (another Irish step dance organisation), and was a qualified teacher of step dance with *An Comhdháil* at the time, I was knowledgeable of the performance practice, transmission process, aesthetic values, and life style of the younger dancers' competitive movement system. I had in a phrase, 'lived this tradition'.

However, having come from a traditional Irish music and dance background, my father and grandmother were traditional Irish musicians and dancers, I also sympathised with the older step dancers. These elderly step dancers I called the Molyneaux step dancers since the majority of these dancers had been taught directly by the reputedly last travelling dancing master in North Kerry, Jerry Molyneaux, and had experienced a common system of teaching and practice: a system quite different to that which was experienced by the younger *Coimisiún* step dancers. (See Foley 1988.) And, when first I saw these elderly dancers perform I knew that not only was the general quality of their movement different, but so was their manner of performance, movement preferences, aesthetic values, and 'lived dance experience'.

Methodology

At the commencement of fieldwork in 1983 there was only one occasion at which all the Molyneaux dancers formally performed, this was '*The Jerry Molyneaux Night*', held in the *Teach Siamsa*, Finuge. The *Teach Siamsa* was a house that had been specifically built in the townland of Finuge, North Kerry, for the purpose of training children in the local traditional arts for *Siamsa Tire*, the National Folk Theatre of Ireland; concerts were also held there. '*The Jerry Molyneaux Night*' I observed with great interest and I also participated at the event. By participation I mean I was asked to perform solo during the event. This performance was evaluated and

validated by the community present and qualified me for my work as collector of this group's dances.

My methodology included, participant observation, documentation, video-recording, field notebook, and life history recordings. Learning the dances meant visiting each of the dancers in turn in their homes until I had learned and documented their entire step dance repertoire. At the end of each summer's fieldwork, a group of these dancers were video recorded in the *Teach Siamsa*. However, from learning and documenting the dance, first in my own manuscript, later I applied Labanotation, I perceived that within their tradition there did not exist a definitive version of a step dance, but many variants, both personal and interpersonal. This happened as I would ask a dancer to repeat a motif or a phrase when writing, and often what was repeated was different from what I had minutes earlier been taught. This was contrary to what I had previously thought. That is, that a traditional step dance is one which is fixed and which should not be altered in honour of the dancing master who created it. This opinion had not been exclusively mine, but was widespread within the Irish step dance organisations and among other step dancers.

Cultural nationalism

The selection, popularisation, and institutionalisation of particular dances by *An Coimisiún* was as a result of the cultural nationalism movement in Ireland during the turn and the early decades of the twentieth century.¹ Irish step dance performance, aesthetics, gender, and the actual dances themselves gradually underwent a complete transformational process (see Foley 1988): a process which was contributed to by a shift in centre for Irish step dance performance. From the 1920s onwards this shift was gradually taking place as the cities and towns of Ireland became home to Irish step dance as opposed to its prior association with, and location in, Irish rural townlands.

Ideological and institutional structures maintained the hierarchical structures and teachings within Irish step dance. Central control of the organisation, based in Dublin, extended from dancer, teacher, adjudicator, music accompaniment, timing of musical accompaniment, to actual dances. Regarding the latter, within the organisation's traditional solo set dance competition, only a selected version of selected dances could be performed in competition until relatively recently. These included solo dances such as, the Blackbird, St., Patrick's Day, Job of Journey Work, and Garden of Daisies, and so on. From one dancer in North Kerry, I documented three versions of the Blackbird, the performance of each depending on the competence of the dancer. However, these Blackbirds were disallowed in competition. Only the one selected by those in authority was allowed; now different versions of these set dances are permitted. Further, particular *ceili* dances, group dances such as eight-hand reels, four-hand-reels, and so on, were also selected and published² for both competition and teaching purposes. Indeed, "...the history which became part of the fund of knowledge or the ideology of nation, state or movement [was] not what [had] actually been preserved in popular memory, but what [had] been selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized by those whose function it [was] to do so" [Hobsbawm: 1983:13]. This selection contributed to a gradual demise in rural local performance practices (see Foley 1988).

Indeed, the institutionalisation and standardisation of particular dances allowed for the premise that the so-called 'traditional' dances were a constant and never underwent change. This 'false' premise continues:

Those few performers who label themselves as "traditional" or "old style" function primarily as museum pieces who preserve in tact some of the dances and dance styles of previous decades....Because Irish dancing possesses no notation systems, old-style dancing exists today primarily as a limited archives of historical choreography. For the most part, dances that exist

outside the Commission's sphere of influence are held to be quaint and not vital. This is because *sean nos* dances are fixed compositions while the *rinne gaelacha* of the *scoil rinne* is a creative, choreographed form...The fixed compositions of *sean nos* dancing, because they function as documents, are not part of the living oral tradition of Ireland [Meyer 1995:39].

My experience in fieldwork and my interaction with these traditional step dancers claimed the contrary. The Molyneaux step dancers created, innovated, and improvised within a culturally defined grammar and syntax, had particular performance practices, and had favourite step dances, movements, step dancers, and contexts. Moreover they had preferences for music accompaniment and instruments. They had a particular concept of what Irish step dance was to them, and what it was not. This concept went hand in hand with when and where they would, and would not perform, and how movements should be executed and by whom. They negotiated their dance behaviour according to the socio-cultural context of the performance and the expectations of the community present. In effect, they had an aesthetic system of movement with which to evaluate not only Irish step dance, but other movement systems with which they came in contact. Further, other comments concerning 'traditional' step dancers within the contemporary step dance world were disavourable towards these older dancers.

"All these old fellows are doing is jumping up and down. Anybody could do that!"

The point of fact was that the older 'traditional' step dancers aesthetic system was *not* the same as the *Coimisiún's* aesthetic system. Therefore, since the socio-cultural reality of the traditional dancer's experience was little understood, my approach was one which attempted to represent the dances of these people and their practice. Thus, an emic (see Pike 1954; and Kaeppler 1972) structural analytical application was imperative to uncover what exactly was going on in their movement system. What constituted their movement system? How did they improvise?

Before focusing on structurally analysing these dances, a few comments on the aesthetic which governed the performance of these dances is necessary. The movements, performed under the body's centre of weight, were earthy in style. The dancers said that there was at least one movement sounding percussively to one note in the accompanying music. All the solo dances in the region were percussive. There were no light-shoe dances, only hard-shoe dances. The sound, audibly percussive against the floor, interacting with the music was fundamental to their concept of Irish step dance. The movements had to be both visually and audibly pleasing. Spatially, the dancers performed within a confined area; on the spot and the immediate area surrounding their personal space. Small linear travel movements to the side, forwards and backwards, resulted from particular movements in the step dance. The head, torso, and arms were excluded from significant participation: it was the feet which had most significance in Irish step dance, hence its name. Although performed by both men and women, the Molyneaux step dance tradition was perceived to be predominantly a male performance practice.

A system for the structural analysis of traditional Irish step dance in North Kerry

As a structured movement system, dance "...is both a product of human action and interaction as well as a process through which action and interaction take place." [Kaeppler: 1986: 25-26]. In this article, the movement system being analysed is Irish traditional step dance as practiced in North Kerry by a number of elderly step-dancers. This analysis is based on fieldwork carried out by me between 1983-1986. By virtue of the relative isolation of the area up to the 1950s, together with the peculiar individual style of Molyneaux, both as teacher and performer, the manner in which particular step-dance types were practiced, together with the structural relationship of movements within the step-dances, was unavoidably regional. And, although some movements pertaining to the different step-dance types may be common to other regions in Ireland, this study does not suppose to represent these other regions nor is it intended to make a comparative study here. However, the structural analytical system applied here is equally

applicable to other step dance performance traditions, inside and outside Ireland, particularly where improvisation is a feature, and would allow for comparative studies in the area in the future. This analysis supplies an understanding of the compositional elements and motifs which constitute the hierarchical structures or levels within a regional performance practice of Irish traditional step-dance.³ It is hoped that this analysis will contribute to "...methods for analysing dance structure and ways in which information about dance movement and structure can be communicated among scholars" [Kaepler 1986: 29].

Labanotation, together with verbal descriptions, is the system adopted here in documenting and analysing traditional Irish step-dance. Although other movement notation systems exist, such as, Benesh and Eshkol-Wachmann, Laban's system is a more useful documentation tool. First, Labanotation is the system more universally used by dance ethnologists, especially in the area of analysis. Both Adrienne Kaepler and the East European choreologists have used Labanotation and it adapts successfully to the documentation of Irish step-dance. Secondly, it enables comparative studies in dance ethnologies to be extended on a common notational basis.

As mentioned above, the analytical approach adopted by me is, for the most part, modeled on terminology agreed on by the IFMC Study Group, established by the International Folkmusic Council (IFMC) in 1962, in the "Foundations for the analysis of the structure and form of folk dance: a syllabus" [1974:115-135]. The methodology employed combines East European concepts, particularly, that of Anca Giurchescu. [1984], and the ethnoscientific approach of Adrienne Kaepler [1972]. Saussurian linguistic concepts of *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic* are applied also.

At the outset the primary objective of the IFMC Study Group was to "form a basis for a modern science of dance." This was undertaken in stages. The first of these was to establish "...an accepted standard language which would be unified and general over all national usages" [IFMC Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology 1974:115]. The second stage was that of analytical methodology which would allow for the definition and comparison of the different structural units of folk dances. However, since much of the structural analytical material available in Europe was East European based, and since the IFMC Study Group consisted of mostly East European experts, I hoped to throw some light on a dance form from the Western fringe of Europe in order to contribute to this body of knowledge. However, this does *not* signify that I perceive Irish step dance to be a *folk* dance. On the contrary, it is perceived to be an indigenous art form requiring skill and training. In this study I apply the terminology and the defined concepts associated with such terminology to this particular movement system for analytical purposes.

Irish traditional step-dance is perceived to be a technical movement system, generally performed solo before a group or audience, and, from both learning and performing, the step-dance performer is consciously aware of the structural layers which constitute the different step-dance types. What movements or patterns are combined in the creation of a dance step is determined by the ability and technical competence of the teacher and performer, together with aspects of accompanying music and movement patterns in vogue at that point in time. Thus, the composition, that is, the relation and contrast of the different layers in the hierarchical structuring of the dance step, is significant in showing a step-dancer at his/her best. Thus, over years of practice, through observation, tuition, variation, and improvisation, these layers are changed and developed in accordance with the technical development and personal experience of the step-dancer.

In comprehending the content of the traditional step-dances in the style of Molyneaux, it was important to have a theoretical and, preferably, a practical knowledge of the significant movement patterns in this dance tradition. Thus, to this end an inventory of the basic movements of each step-dance type were compiled. (See Foley 1988.⁴) These inventories were based on both my fieldwork notebook, in which the step-dances were documented when learning from

each step-dancer, together with video recordings of the step-dancers made during the period of fieldwork 1983-1986. Other recordings of other step-dancers also made during this period, together with my own field observations and participation informed me of those movements which were popular with these step dancers. The recurrence of these patterns constituted this regional step-dance style. In breaking the step-dance up into smaller movements for analytical purposes each motif, as it was taught by my informants, was taken as a whole unit and then divided into its smaller parts.

The parts of the body employed in Irish step-dance are minimal. The head remains erect in place for the whole performance. The ability to maintain the head in this position is significant to these step-dancers. The torso is held in an upright position. A stooped back or drooped shoulders is considered bad in a step-dancer. Also, of importance are the placements of the hands. These are held loosely by the sides. Therefore, it may be observed that all movements occur from the thighs down. It is the ability to concentrate on the technical footwork and to restrain the rest of the body from participating in the movements which separates the good step-dancers from the bad. Consequently, the structural analysis of these step-dances is predominantly based on foot movements as this is the part of the body which has most significance for Irish step-dancers.

From analysis, eight structural levels are found in Irish traditional step-dance. The smallest structural unit in a dance composition, and in this case, in an Irish traditional step-dance, is the element which is irreducible to any lower or more simple order of movement. This level is comparable with Kaeppler's *kineme*. These include, a step, a leap, a hop, a jump, a kick, a tip, a cut, a toe, a heel, a stamp, and so on, together with positions of the feet, head, torso, and hands. An inventory of 73 elements was compiled and these movements were common to all the step-dances in the region (see Foley 1988 for inventories).

As the position or placement of the head, torso, and arms, remain constant for all step-dance performances these positions are elements. Thus, these parts of the body have significance only at the lowest structural level, that is the elemental level. They do not use other movements beyond these basic positions to form larger structural units. Thus, although documented in the inventory of elements, they are not placed in a further category as are the positions of the feet.

The inventory of elements in Irish traditional step-dance in North Kerry is divided into seven categories, which are identified as, a, b, c, d, e, f, and g. Elements in the 'a' category are positions of the feet. Elements in the 'b' category are stepping movements, and movements which change levels without stepping, such as, toe-drops and heel-drops. The 'c' category consists of leaping movements, while the 'd' category concentrates on hopping movements. Category 'e' is for jumping movements, category 'f' for kicking and striking movements, and finally, category 'g' is for gestural movements, including tips (brushes) and touches.

Lowercase Latin letters - a, b,... identify these elements in both the inventory and the step-dance analysis. It is important to point out that each element written may be performed also to the other side. Thus in analysing selected step-dances, when an element is performed on the opposite foot to that which is written in the inventory a line is placed under the letter, for example a, b, etc. These elements unite to form larger structural units called "cells".

Cells, the second level in the hierarchical structure, can be divided into at least two or at the most three elements. This level of structural analysis is comparable with Kaeppler's *morphokine*. For the most part, cells have no independent function and are identified in both the inventory and the step-dance analysis by lowercase Latin letters surrounded by brackets - (a), (b),... In the inventory and the structural analysis they include batters, and combinations of stepping movements, tipping movements, hops, stamps, rocks, heel kicking, and so on. Certain cells are common to more than one step-dance type but differing in duration, rhythm, meter, or stress. Other cells are specific to particular step-dances. Hence, an inventory of cells of each significant step-dance type was compiled. The inventories included 102 Hornpipe cells, 99 Jig cells, and 75

Treble Reel cells. It must be mentioned that these inventories do not include all possible cells in Irish traditional step-dance in North Kerry. They are examples of the cells danced by the step-dancers under study.

In this study, cells in each step-dance type are in categories of 'a', 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', 'f', and 'g'. This categorisation of cell movements is similar for all the step-dances - Hornpipe, Treble Reel, and Jig. The 'a' category is for cells commencing with a tip or brush movement. The 'b' category is for cells commencing with either a leap movement, or a step onto the opposite foot. In Irish step-dance the word 'down' is often used for these movements. The 'c' category is for cells commencing with a hop and the 'd' category is for cells starting with a jump. Landing on two feet is what is important in this category, one may leave the floor from one or from two feet. The 'e' category is for cells commencing with a kicking movement. The 'f' category is for cells commencing with a stamp support, a ball of foot support, or a heel support. The 'g' category is for cells commencing with a touch, including terminating toe, heel, and stamp touches. Similar to the inventory of elements, each cell may be performed to the opposite side. Hence, in the analysis of the step-dances to follow, a line is placed under the letter when the movement is a lateral symmetrical repeat of the cell in the inventory, for example (b8), (c1). Also, when a cell (or any other level within the hierarchical structure) is augmented slightly, the symbol > is added to the cell - (c1>). When a cell (or any other level within the hierarchical structure) is diminished, the symbol < is added - (c1<). Cells from each step-dance type are, in turn, combined to form motifs, the next level in the hierarchical structure of units.

According to the Report of the IFMC, "...the motif represents an absolute creative factor; it is an expression of artistic creativity and is fixed in the awareness of the dancer" [IFMC Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology 1974:129]. The fact that these motifs are fixed in the performer's awareness implies that they are significant movement patterns for the dancer and, thus, have a special meaning for him/her. A motif can consist of one or more cells. In Irish traditional step-dance, particular motifs suggest particular step-dance types and include, full batters, drums, rolls, toe-fences, rocks, sevens, threes, and so on. (See Foley 1988.)

An inventory of recurring and popular motifs was compiled in each dance *genre* as examples of this level of analysis. Thus, 20 Hornpipe motifs, 18 Jig motifs, and 17 Treble Reel motifs were included. However, past some twenty motifs it became difficult to distinguish between variations of existing motifs or new motifs. In varying or improvising a step, some of these step-dancers combined cells and elements from their repertoire and put them together to their own liking to fit the music. Others used already established motifs in which particular successions of cells were found to recur. However, regarding the former, it was found that the amount of possible combinations of cells and elements in forming motifs were infinite. Thus, making it impossible to document a complete inventory of motifs. However, characteristic popular motifs of each dance *genre* were documented in the list of motifs.

In the analysis, motifs as they appear in the step, are numbered accordingly - M1, M2, M3..., and so on. Should a motif in a step-dance be repeated in the same step but to the opposite side, this is identified by the motif number being underlined. As above, the symbols > and < signify an augmenting or diminishing of the motif in question.

Motifs are linked to form minor phrases, the fourth structural level in Irish traditional step-dance. These are a linking of motifs, which are either identical, varied, or different. Minor phrases are identified by P1, P2, P3, and so on, in the analysis section. Generally, these are two-bars long, and divides the step-dance (bars 1-8, excluding the repeat) into quarters.

Minor phrases are linked to form major phrases, the fifth structural level, and are identified in the analysis by PH1 and PH2. These are generally, four bars long and divide the step into two halves. However, as will be observed in the analysis, the phrasing in the music is not always synchronic with the step-dance. Furthermore, the phrasing of a step-dance as performed by one

step-dancer may be different to that performed by another, should the latter decide to vary the step. Hence, the dance phrases may divide the step-dance into unequal proportions.

The sixth structural level in Irish traditional step-dance is the *step*. With the exception of the 'set dances', the step in its totality is constructed within eight bars of the accompanying music, and is a complete choreographic unit. This applies to all step-dance types, with the exception of Slip-Jig step-dances in the style of Molyneaux which are four-bar compositions. The step is divided into phrases and motifs which include an introductory motif, the core of the step, and a closing motif. Each step-dance *genre* have particular closing motifs but at times according to the step-dancer in question these may be varied, extemporised, or a new motif inserted. However, the variations are taken from accepted movement patterns characteristic of the step-dance type in question. This is their shared dance code.

Each step when completed is symmetrically repeated to the other side. This is referred to as the *repeat*, or the 'left leg section'. This is the seventh structural level. In North Kerry these step-dances fall within the categories of either Hornpipes - 12/8⁵, Treble Reels - 4/4, or Jigs - 6/8. (Treble Slip-Jigs are excluded in this study as this step-dance type was performed by one step-dancer and, consequently, was not a significant step-dance to the region.) These step-dance categories form the eighth structural analytical level in this analysis. Step-dance types differ in meter and rhythmic stress according to the accompanying music. Each dance type is distinguished by its content, that is, the motifs or movement patterns specific to that step-dance *genre*. A dance may consist of one or more step-dances performed in succession, each step being repeated to the opposite side before going on to the next step dance. Frequently, a step-dance performance is commenced with a step-dance called 'the Lead', after which steps of the step-dancers choice are performed. There is no limit to the number of step-dances that may be danced during a solo performance. Fatigue, performer's mood, old age, or a small repertoire, may prevent step-dancers from performing more than 'the Lead' and one step during a performance. However, two to three step-dances are the norm. Sometimes, a step-dancer may also complete a performance with a repeat of 'the Lead'.

In a group performance as performed by the Molyneaux step-dancers, that is, where a number of step-dancers decide to perform together, a particular pattern of performance is adhered to. All hold hands in a line facing the audience and perform together 'the Lead' of the step-dance in question. This is followed by each step-dancer in succession performing solo one step which is repeated on 'the left leg' of his/her choice. One step is all that is performed by each in a group performance. When the last step-dancer has performed, they all hold hands again and repeat 'the Lead' together.

To illustrate the system for the structural analysis of Irish traditional step-dance as discussed above the following traditional Hornpipe 'Lead' has been selected. Although other 'Leads' were also performed, collected, documented, and recorded, this particular Lead was popular with several step-dancers. Further, this analytical system was used in forming inventories of the different dance types, and in illustrating the concept of personal and interpersonal variations as found in this region. Again the Hornpipe 'Lead' has been selected to demonstrate this characteristic. Michael Walsh's version has been selected as a yardstick for comparison purposes. [Transcription 1.]

In discussing the different movements in the analysis of these step-dances terminology used by the holders of this tradition will be used - emic analysis. However, as these holders did not have words for many movements I also used other terminology learned from my Irish step-dance teacher, Peggy MacTaggart, Cork. Being an oral tradition, traditional Irish step-dance in North Kerry, was predominantly taught by sight and sound, possibly accompanied by some liltting. Traditional step-dance in the region was never written down but Molyneaux used particular terms when teaching particular movements. These terms will be referred to in the analysis of these step-dances.

Structural analysis of the Hornpipe Lead

In structurally analysing the Hornpipe Lead, an insight was given into (1), how Irish traditional step-dances of the region were constructed, and (2) the relationships between the different levels within the hierarchical structure of Irish traditional step-dance.

Explanation of Transcription 1: The Hornpipe Lead

The Hornpipe Lead is composed within eight bars. This is divided into two four bar phrases - PH. 1 and PH. 2, which is in turn divided into minor phrases of two bars - P1, P2, P3, and P4. Each of these minor phrases is made up of motifs, whose content is derived from different combinations of elements and cells. These motifs vary in duration according to the individual selection of cells and elements. In the Hornpipe, the phrasing does not begin on the first beat of a bar. It begins before it. Depending on the movements, or step-dancer, the rhythm of the movements before the first beat may be



or



The compositional structure of the Hornpipe Lead (Transcription 1) may be written as follows:

Hornpipe Lead =

	PH 1	+	PH. 2
	P1 + P2		P3 + P4
	P1		
	M1		M2
	(a) <u>(a)</u> (a7) (b13)		(a) <u>(a)</u> (a9) (a) <u>(a5)</u>
	gc <u>gc</u> <u>gg2</u> <u>c4b2</u>		gc <u>gc</u> <u>gg1d6</u> gc <u>g3c6</u>
	P2		
	<u>M1<</u>		<u>M2<</u>
	(a) <u>(a7)</u> <u>(b13)</u>		<u>(a<)</u> (a) <u>(a9)</u> (a) (a5)
	gc <u>gg2</u> <u>c4b2</u>		c gc <u>gg1d6</u> <u>gc</u> <u>g3c5</u>
	P3		
	M3		M4
	(b>) <u>(b>)</u>		(a) <u>(a)</u> (a7) (c7>)
	<u>gcgg2</u> <u>cgg2c</u>		gc <u>gc</u> <u>gg2</u> <u>db8d6</u>
	P4		
	M3		M5
	(b>) <u>(b>)</u>		<u>(b>)</u> (b3) (c)
	<u>gcgg2</u> <u>cgg2c</u>		<u>gcgg2</u> <u>cgg2</u> <u>db2</u>

From the above formula it may be seen that the phrase P1 contains two motifs, M1 and M2. These motifs are among those which recur in many Hornpipe step-dances. In this step-dance M1 acts as an introductory motif, while M2 functions as a core motif. The closing of M2 brings the two-bar phrase to a cadential point in the step-dance. The next two bar phrase, P2, contains two motifs, M1< and M2<. These motifs are similar to the two motifs in P1 but are symmetrically repeated to the opposite side and are also diminished. M2< brings the four-bar phrase, PH 1 to a close.

P3 contains motifs M3 and M4. M3, a popular motif in the area, opens both P3 and PH 2, the second four-bar phrase in the Hornpipe Lead. M4 closes P3. P4 is made up of M3, and M5. M5 is 'the full batter motif', but with a batter in place of a tip at the closing of bar 7. The full batter motif, that is, M5, functions as the closing motif in the Lead. This motif recurs most frequently as a closing motif in traditional Hornpipes but also recurs as an introductory and core motif.

Motif 1, or M1, has four cells -: (a), (a), (a7), and (b13).

Cell (a) -: Combination of two elements -; g and c. The element g is a tip forward gesture on the right foot, similar to a brush. The c element is a small leap on to the right foot. Verbally speaking, this cell is a named 'tip down'.

Cell (a) -: This is a repeat to the other side of elements g and c.

Cell (a7) -: Combination of elements g and g2. That is a tip forward followed by a tipping gesture back to place. This is also a 'tip down' movement.

Cell (b13) -: Combination of elements c4 and b2. The element c4 is a leap on to the right foot placed in front of the left foot. The element b2 is a stepping movement with the left foot behind the right foot. This cell is referred to as a 'one two' movement.

Verbally motif 1 states -:

(R) Tip down, (L) tip down, (R) tip down, (R) one (in front of L.), (L) two (behind R.)⁶

Motif 2, or M2, has five cells -: (a), (a), (a9), (a), and (a5).

Cell (a) - Combination of elements g and c, as above.

Cell (a) - As above but to the opposite side.

Cell (a9) - Combination of elements g, g1, and d6. That is, a tip forward with the right foot, g, and a tip with the right foot crossing the left lower leg, g1. This combination is called a batter or shuffle. This is followed by a hop on the left foot. The cell a9 is referred to as a 'batter cut'.

Cell (a) -: As above.

Cell (a5) -: Combination of elements g3 and c6. The element g3 is a tipping movement (or brush) with the left foot to the right side behind the right foot. The element c6 is a leap on to the left foot while the right foot simultaneously crosses in front of the left leg. That is, the right leg performs a cut, simultaneously with the hop. This is referred to as a 'tip down' movement.

Verbally, motif 2 states -:

Tip down, (L) tip down, (R) batter, (L) hop ,(R) tip down, (L) tip down. (cut simultaneously with R)

Motif 1<, or M1<, has three cells -: (a), (a7), and (b13).

Cell (a) -: As above.

Cell (a7) -: As above.

Cell (b13) -: As above.

Verbally, motif 1< states -:

(R) Tip down, (L) tip down, (R) one (in front of L.),(L) two (behind R.)

Motif 2<, or M2<, has five cells -: (a<), (a), (a9), (a), (a5).

Cell (a<) -: This has one element - c. Verbally, this is a leap on to the left foot.

Cell (a) -: As above.

Cell (a9) -: As above.

Cell (a) -: As above.

Cell (a5) -: As above.

Verbally, motif 2 states -:

(L) Down, (R) tip down, (L) batter, (R) hop, (L) tip down, (R) tip down.

Motif 3, or M3, contains two cells -: (b>) and (b>).

Cell (b>) -: Combination of elements g, c, g, and g2. That is a 'tip down' movement as in cell (a) performed with the left foot, followed by batter or shuffle with the right foot, as in cell (a9).

Cell (b>) -: Combination of elements c, g, g2, and c. That is, a leap on to the right foot, followed by a batter on the left foot, followed by a leap on to the left foot.

Verbally, motif 3 states -:

(L) Tip down, (R) batter, (R) down (L) batter down.

Motif 4, or M4, has four cells -: (a), (a), (a7), (c7>).

Cell (a) -: As above.

Cell (a) -: As above.

Cell (a7) -: As above.

Cell (c7>) -: Combination of elements d, b8, and d6. That is, a hop on the left foot, followed by a stamp (support) with the right foot, followed by a hop on the right foot with the left foot performing a cut simultaneously.

Verbally, motif 4 states -:

(R) Tip down, (L) tip down, (R) tip down (L) hop (R) stamp (R) hop (cut simultaneously with L.).

Motif 3, or M3, has two cells -: (b>), and (b>). This is an identical repeat of M3 in P3.

Verbally, it states -:

(L) Tip down, (R) batter, down (L) batter, down.

Motif 5, or M5, has three cells -: (b>), (b3), and (c).

Cell (b>) -: Combination of elements g, c, g, and g2. As above.

Cell (b3) -: Combination of elements c, g, and g2. That is a leap on to the left foot followed by a 'tip down' with the right foot.

Cell (c) -: Combination of elements d and b2. That is a hop on the left foot followed by the right foot closing behind the left foot. This is a 'hop back' movement.

Verbally motif 5 states -:

(L) Tip down, (R) batter down (L) tip down (R) hop (L) back. (Full Batter motif)

The structural analysis of the above step-dance is based on a video recording of one occasion. Other occasions or contexts may have produced different selections of movements and step dances. Using this 'Lead' other renderings of this same 'Lead' will be structurally examined below to illustrate personal and interpersonal variations, a performance characteristic employed in Irish traditional step-dance in the region of North Kerry. As above, this analysis is based on one video recording.

Personal and interpersonal variations

This analysis is based on a group performance of the traditional Hornpipe 'Lead' as analysed above. The group consists of three elderly male step dancers, namely, Michael Walsh, Jack Dineen, and Willie Goggin.

Step-Dance -: Hornpipe.

(a) Lead. (16 bars)

(b) Hornpipe step performed by each in turn. (48 bars in total and not structurally analyzed here)

(c) Lead repeated (16 bars)

Having agreed on a suitable tune, the step dancers discuss how they should perform the Lead prior to its performance. Generally, this step-dance (the Lead) commences and completes performances. It was agreed that they would move to the right on the right leg, that is, the 'step' section, and to the left on the left leg, that is, the 'repeat' section. The group performance is commenced with the customary eight bar musical introduction, after which, the step-dancers hold hands in a linear fashion, facing the audience, and commence to dance.

The Hornpipe Lead, 16 bars in total, 8 bars for the right leg section, and 8 bars for the left leg section, commences the group performance. The step-dancers hold hands in a line while performing the Lead. Basically, the three step-dancers perform the same Lead but each rendering differs from the others in particular places of the step-dance. In analysing the compositional structure of each performance by these three step-dancers, personal and interpersonal variations of the Lead will be illustrated. For analysis purposes Michael Walsh's rendering of the 'right leg' of the Lead has been selected as a yardstick, against which other performances of the Lead will be compared. This has been analysed in the above (see Transcription 1).

Ideally speaking the left leg section (bars 9 - 16) repeats exactly (lateral symmetry) what movements are performed on the right leg section (bars 1 - 8) of the step-dance. However, although dancing the Lead on the right leg as documented in the previous section, on the repeat Walsh dances a different motif in bar 15. This is the introductory motif to the Lead - M1 - which is again repeated in bar 3. M1< is inserted in place of M3 in bar 15. Compare bar 15 of Transcription 2 with bar 7 of Transcription 1 for this personal variation of the repeat of the Lead. Instead of cells, (b>), and (b>), Walsh dances (a), (a7), and (b13) in bar 15. That is, instead of dancing 'L. tip down, R. batter, down, L. batter, down,' he dances, 'R. tip down, L. tip down, L. one (in front), R. two (behind)', thus changing the motif.

With the exception of the two final cells of bar 3, in which Jack Dineen performs cells (a) and (a5), as opposed to Walsh's (a<), and (a), the first five bars of Dineen's Lead contain the same movements to that performed by Walsh. However, from the middle of bar 6 - 8 Dineen improvises. Compare bars 6 - 8 of Dineen's version, Transcription 3, with bars 6 - 8 of Walsh's version, Transcription 1.

From the transcriptions, one may see that Dineen uses a different combination of cells, creating different motifs, to that performed by Walsh. In place of cells (a), (a7), (c7>); (b>), (b>); (b>), (b3), and (c); as danced by Walsh, Dineen, performs cells (a), (a7), (c7), (f7<); (f7), (f7); (b3), and (c). Verbally, Walsh dances, 'L. tip down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. stamp, R. hop (L. cut simultaneously); L. tip down, R. batter, R. down, L. batter down; R. tip down, L. batter, L. down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. back.' Verbally, Jack Dineen dances, 'L. tip down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. stamp, L. throw; L. stamp, R. throw, R. stamp, L. throw; L. down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. back. From the above it can be seen that Jack Dineen concentrates on a stamping movement followed by a slow unfolding of the leg out to forward low. This movement he continues to use for the whole of bar 7. He finishes similarly to Walsh.

On the repeat of the Lead, from bars 14 - 16, Dineen further varies the Lead from that which he has performed on the right leg - bars 6 - 8. This personal variation may be examined by comparing bars 6 - 8 of Transcription 3 with bars 14 - 16 of Transcription 4. This is very similar to that which Michael Walsh performed on the repeat section of the Lead - bars 14 - 16. (See Transcription 2.) However, Dineen alters the middle of bar 14 with cell (c>), in place of Walsh's

(c7>). Furthermore, he alters the end of bar 15 with cell (f9>), as opposed to Walsh's cells (a) and (a). However, both use the M1 motif, in bar 15 and both complete it similarly with cells (a7) and (c). Verbally, therefore, from bars 14 - 16, Dineen dances, 'R. tip down, L. tip down, R. hop, L. back, R. tip (cut), L. hop; R. tip down, L. tip down, L. one (in front), R. two (behind); L. stamp, R. kick down, L. tip down, R. hop, L. back.'

From observation one sees how Willie Goggin, emphasizes low frontal movements. This is evident from the outset of the Lead. Although, performing the same basic motifs as Walsh and Dineen, Goggin varies them by omitting the tips at the beginning of cells (a) and (a) of the first two motifs and performs low frontal gestures in their place. See Transcription 5 for the compositional structure of Goggin's rendering of bars 1 - 2 of the Lead. Compare this with bars 1 - 2 of Walsh's version - Transcription 1.

From the transcriptions one may see the cells selected by Goggin as opposed to those performed by Walsh. Each selection is representative of those movements preferred by each performer. Thus, the content of bars 1 - 2, as performed by Goggin is - cells, (c13), (b3), (b13); (c13<), (b1>), (a), and (a5). Verbally speaking, Goggin performs, 'L. Hop (gesture forward low with right leg simultaneously), R. down (gesture forward low with left leg simultaneously), L. down, R. tip down, R. one (in front), L. two (behind); R. down (gesture forward low with left leg simultaneously), L. down, R. batter, L. hop, R. tip down, L. tip (behind) down. Walsh, performs cells (a), (a), (a7), (b13); (a), (a), (a9), (a), and (a5). Verbally speaking, Walsh performs - 'R. tip down, L. tip down, R. tip down, R. one (in front), L. two (behind); R. tip down, L. tip down, R. batter, L. hop, R. tip down, L. tip (behind) down'. Bars 5 - 8 are further varied as Goggin fits in as many beats as is possible in bar 5. Thus, for the end of bar 5 in place of a single 'tip', as performed by Walsh, Goggin doubles up on the beat and dances a 'batter'. Furthermore, different cells are selected by both in bar 6. Walsh dances cells (a), (a7), and (c7>), Goggin dances cells (b3), (c), and (a2). Verbally, in place of Walsh's, 'L. tip down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. stamp, R. hop (cut with left foot simultaneously), Goggin dances, 'L. down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. back, L. tip, R. hop'. Bars 7 and 8 of both renderings also differ. Walsh dances M3 followed by M5, the 'full batter motif', that is, cells (b>), (b>); (b>), (b3), and (c). Goggin dances M1<, followed by a variation of Walsh's 'full batter motif'. Coincidentally, this is also termed M5, as it is the fifth motif to be danced by Goggin in his rendering. In other terms, Goggin dances cells (a1), (a7), (b13); (f14<), (b3), and (c). Verbally, Walsh dances, 'L. tip down, R. batter, R. down, L. batter, L. down; R. tip down, L. batter down, R. tip down, L. hop R. back.' Goggin dances, 'L. tip down, R. tip down, R. one (in front), L. two (behind); R. stamp, L. down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. back'. For an illustration of an interpersonal variation of bars 5 - 8 compare Walsh's version, Transcription 1 with Goggin's version, Transcription 5.

Furthermore, in completing the Lead, bar 16 is personally varied by Goggin from that which he performed in completing the 'right leg section'. In bar 16, Goggin dances cells (c13<) and (c), in place of (b3) and (c). Neither of these endings are performed by Walsh. This personal variation may be examined by comparing bar 8 - Transcription 5, and bar 16 - Transcription 6.

The Lead completed, each step-dancer in turn dances one step-dance of his choice. Each performs a different step which lasts for the duration of sixteen bars. To complete the performance, all again hold hands and dance the Lead. The Lead as performed the second time round, is personally varied by each performer from that performed the first time round. Compare, bars 15 - 16 as performed by Walsh, the first time round in the group performance - Transcription 2, and bars 15 - 16, as performed by him the second time round - Transcription 7.

From the transcriptions one may observe how the beginning of bars 15 in both performances consist of the same movements, that is, cells (a), (a7), and (b13), or M1<. However, the remainder of bars 15 and 16 differ. The second performance consists of cells, (f9), and (b27) in place of the 'full batter motif', cells (a), (a), (a7), and (c) as danced for the first performance. Verbally, the second time round, Walsh dances 'R. tip down, L. tip down, L. one, R. two; L.

stamp, R. kick down, L. down, R. stamp,' in place of 'R. tip down, L. tip down, L. one, R. two; L. tip down, R. tip down, L. tip down, R. hop, L. back'.

Dineen performs the same movements from bars 1 - 6 for both performances. However, the second performance varies from the first, from bars 7 - 8. The slow unfolding movement, that is, cell (f7), is omitted at the beginning of bar 7, and is replaced by a stepping movement, cell (b26). The end of bar 7 returns to a slow unfolding of the right leg to forward low, and in place of dancing 'L. down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. back' - cells (b3) and (c) - for bar 8 as in the first performance, he dances, 'R. tip, L. hop, R. back' - cell (c>). Bars 14 - 16 he further varies during this second performance. The unfolding gestural movement very much evident for the other performances is omitted here. Dineen, performs stepping and tipping movements consisting of cells (a), (a7), (c), and (b25); (a), (a7), and (b13). To complete his performance he uses the 'double drum motif', preceded by a 'stamp' (element c7). This particular motif consists of cells (f15), (g), and (g). This completion is not performed by the other two step-dancers. This personal variation is illustrated in Transcription 8.

Goggin's performance of the 'right leg' section of the Lead, consists of basically the same movements for both performances. However, the 'repeat' of the Lead the second time round, varies from that of the 'right leg' section, from the end of bar 14 - 16. Thus, in place of dancing to the opposite side, cells, (b3), (c), (a2); (a1), (a7), (b13); (c13<), (b3), and (c), as performed from bars 6 - 8, Goggin varies bars 14 - 16 with cells (b3), (c), (a3); (a), (a5), (a); (b5), and (f16). Verbally, instead of repeating to the opposite side, 'L. down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. back, L. tip, R. hop; L. tip down, R. tip down, R. one (in front), L. two (behind); R. down (simultaneous gesture to forward low with the left leg), L. down, R. tip down, L. hop, R. back,' as performed from bars 6 - 8, Goggin dances, 'R. down, L. tip down, R. hop, L. back, R. tip (cut), L. hop; R. tip down, L. tip (behind), down (R. cut simultaneously), R. tip down; L. throw, L. one (in front), R. two (behind), L. stamp, R. stamp.' This combination of cells from bars 14 - 16, are again different to those chosen by both Walsh and Dineen. However, bar 8 of Goggin's Lead the second time round is similar to bar 8 of Dineen's Lead the first time around. Both step-dancers dance cells (b3) and (c). Transcription 9 illustrates Goggin's personal variation of the second performance of the Lead.

Conclusion:

Irish traditional step dance as taught to me in North Kerry between 1983 - 1986 exemplified structurally creative strategies both within its performance and transmission. Molyneux varied dances to suit the competency of each step-dance pupil; subsequently, each step-dancer during his/her lifetime varied the basic step as taught by Molyneux. Also, contextual constraints or freedoms encouraged further negotiation of dance behavior which had implications for both the structural content of the dances and the social agent.

From structurally analysing the Hornpipe 'Lead' (and other dances, see Foley 1988), it was found that interpersonal variations of steps within this tradition were confined, for the most part, to the second four-bars of the step, or from the fourth bar onwards. When step-dancers personally varied a step, either on the 'left leg' section, or a second performance, the variation again, generally, occurred in the last four bars of the step, or 'repeat'. Variations in the first four bars were, for the most part, at the lowest level of the hierarchical structure, that is the elemental level.⁷ Further, a second performance of a step-dance by the same step-dancer did not always imply that the same movements would be used. Together with pre-arranged variations, some step-dancers created while performing. It is worth noting, therefore, that although there may be a basic outline to a step-dance, there was no one authentic version of that step dance. Therefore, in examining personal and interpersonal variations of these step dances, a creative process involved in the art of improvising or varying a step, was illustrated.⁸

Comparable to the oral-formulaic theory of Lord (1960), the Irish traditional step dancer availed of formulas, stock movements within the accepted tradition to add interest, to compose, to transmit, to improvise, or to vary a step dance. The dancer made use of oral-formulas (inventories) as part of the morphological structures of compositions and improvisations as did the traditional Irish musician, and traditional singer of ballads and epic poems in both Ireland and Europe.

According to Saussurian linguistics, language is produced along two axes, the syntagmatic (horizontal) and the paradigmatic (vertical) [Green; Lebihan 1996: 4]. Analogous with this model, the Irish traditional step dancer (together with the ballad singer and traditional Irish musician) avails of both of these axes in performance, composition, transmission, and improvisation. The inventories of elements, cells, and motifs, of the different step dance *genres* present hierarchical structuring of movements, codes, and oral formulas, within this tradition. Further, the inventories illustrate a movement system at the beck-and-call of the dancer who, in keeping with the accepted local dance code, selects his/her movements from these oral inventories according to rhythmic, aesthetic, improvisational, or contextual demands. Because of the infinite number of combinations of elements, cells, and motifs, the number of actual step dances are also infinite. The composition of a step dance involves a creative process within a known dance code: a code which is analogous to a shared language code. Therefore, the bones of a particular step, the referent in this analysis (see Hornpipe Lead), illustrated an example of syntagmatic and paradigmatic choices from the social code of the tradition. Personal and interpersonal variations of step dances illustrated choices from the paradigmatic axis - the vertical axis: choices which informed us of individual interpretations of particular dance steps, individual ways of dancing, and individual ways of meaning.

Structural analysis was one way of responding to the ethnographic problem encountered by me in North Kerry. In requesting that I preserve a declining step dance tradition, a knowledge of *how* these step dancers constructed and deconstructed their dances was imperative. These step dances communicated to and had meaning for those who performed them and those who over the years had actively observed them. They were governed by rules and a syntax which were culturally determined and culturally meaningful but which encouraged a creative process within the individual.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this analysis has illustrated that Irish traditional step dance in North Kerry was not a museum piece, or document, to be kept exactly in a frozen state. It was a living movement system which was adapted, negotiated, and changed to suit both the social agent and the socio-cultural context of its performance. Indeed, to make an analogy with Foley's concept of 'word-power': Dance-power "...derives from the enabling event of performance and the enabling referent of tradition" [Foley, J.M. 1995:208].

ENDNOTES

1. The nationalist movement in Ireland was a de-anglicisation process in response to some 700 years of colonial rule.
2. These thirty figure dances were published in 1939, 1943, and 1969; ten dances were selected for each publication, and are presently available in one handbook, *Ar Rinnidhe Fóirne: Thirty Popular Figure Dances*. This is the key textbook for all Irish step dance teachers.
3. The structural analytical system presented here was first applied by the author in her Ph.D thesis, at the Laban Centre for Movement and Dance, London, 1988.
4. The method of compiling inventories was based on Adrienne Kaeppler's work (1972).
5. Conventionally, the Hornpipe is written in 4/4 time in most Irish traditional music collections (see Breathnach, Roche, and so on). However, when documenting the dances in North Kerry I believed that 12/8 time was more suitable.
6. The letter R = Right foot; L = Left foot.
7. This is comparable with variation and improvisation within the Irish music tradition. The tune is morphologically similar to that of Irish step dance. That is, the 8 bar structure is characteristic of both. And, in the performance of

Irish traditional music, the tune is first stated simply, to locate the particular tune in the minds of the listeners or/and musicians, and is later varied or extemporised.

8. It is important to note that these variations of steps relate to these specific step-dancers and this one occasion, and that, other step-dancers, other contexts, or other occasions, may have induced different variations and versions of this Irish step dance.

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GLOSSARY



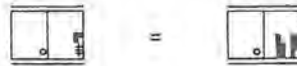
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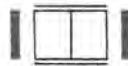
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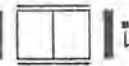
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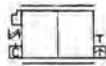
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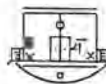
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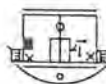
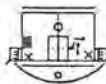
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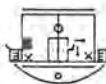
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TRANSCRIPTION 1: Hornpipe Lead (a) – Michael Walsh

The transcription consists of three systems of notation, each with a staff and a corresponding rhythmic notation below it. The notation includes notes, rests, and various symbols like 'X' and 'o'.

System 1: The rhythmic notation below the staff includes a double bar line with a triangle above it, and a measure containing a triangle. The staff notation includes notes with stems and beams, and various symbols like 'X' and 'o'.

System 2: The rhythmic notation below the staff includes a double bar line with a triangle above it, and a measure containing a triangle. The staff notation includes notes with stems and beams, and various symbols like 'X' and 'o'.

System 3: The rhythmic notation below the staff includes a double bar line with a triangle above it, and a measure containing a triangle. The staff notation includes notes with stems and beams, and various symbols like 'X' and 'o'.

Legend:

- ELEMENT o n
- CELL o n
- MOTIF o n
- MINOR P o n
- MAJOR PHRASE o n

Annotations:

- 12
- 1
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- 100

TRANSCRIPTION 2. Hornpipe Lead (a) – Michael Walsh

14

15

16

(a)M4
(a7)
(c72)

(a)M4 P8
(a7)
(b13)

(a)
(c)
(a7)
(c)

TRANSCRIPTION 4. Hornpipe Lead (a) – Jack Dineen

16

15

14

b2

c7 (F9) M8

b2

c4 (b13)

p2

q (a7)

c

a (a) M K P B

p1

b2

a (c2)

p2

o (a7)

c

a (a) M7

TRANSCRIPTION 5. Hornpipe Lead (a) – Willie Goggin

The transcription consists of three systems of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes notes, rests, and various ornaments (X) and accents (^). The systems are numbered 1 through 7.

System 1: Starts with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The first measure is marked with a triangle and the number 7. The second measure is marked with a triangle and the number 10. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

System 2: Contains measures 1 through 3. Measure 1 is marked with a triangle and the number 1. Measure 2 is marked with a triangle and the number 2. Measure 3 is marked with a triangle and the number 3.

System 3: Contains measures 4 through 7. Measure 4 is marked with a triangle and the number 4. Measure 5 is marked with a triangle and the number 5. Measure 6 is marked with a triangle and the number 6. Measure 7 is marked with a triangle and the number 7.

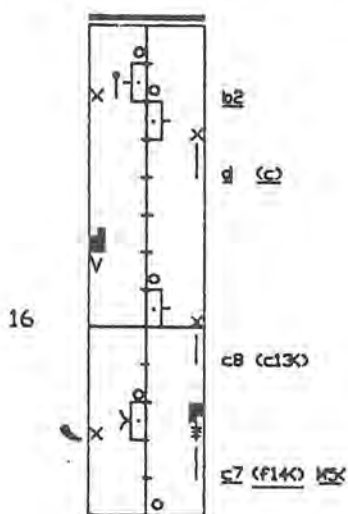
Annotations and Labels:

- Measure 1: dl (c13) MIP1 PH1
- Measure 2: cb
- Measure 3: (10)
- Measure 4: s (b3)
- Measure 5: c4 (b13)
- Measure 6: cb (c13) M2
- Measure 7: s (b1)
- Measure 8: s (b)
- Measure 9: (a5)
- Measure 10: (a1) MK P2
- Measure 11: f4 (b13)
- Measure 12: (b) MK
- Measure 13: g2 (b12)
- Measure 14: f2 (a1) MK P4
- Measure 15: (a2)
- Measure 16: c
- Measure 17: g2 (b3) M
- Measure 18: (b)
- Measure 19: (b)
- Measure 20: (b)
- Measure 21: (b)
- Measure 22: (b) MK P3 PH2
- Measure 23: (a5)
- Measure 24: (a)
- Measure 25: (a)
- Measure 26: (a)
- Measure 27: (a)
- Measure 28: (a)
- Measure 29: (a)
- Measure 30: (a)
- Measure 31: (a)
- Measure 32: (a)
- Measure 33: (a)
- Measure 34: (a)
- Measure 35: (a)
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- Measure 92: (a)
- Measure 93: (a)
- Measure 94: (a)
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- Measure 97: (a)
- Measure 98: (a)
- Measure 99: (a)
- Measure 100: (a)

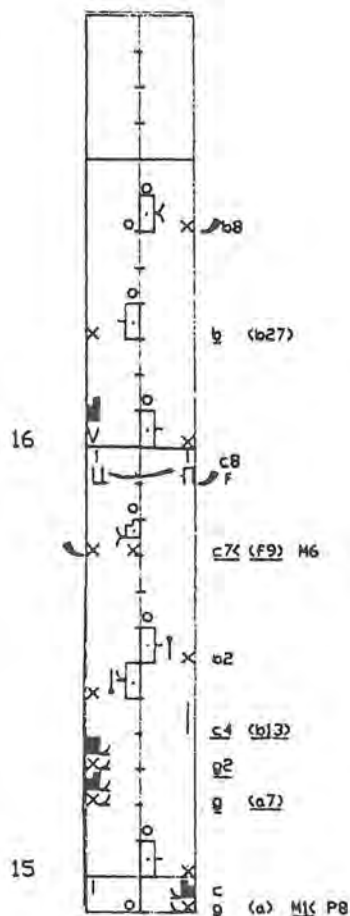
TRANSCRIPTION 6.

TRANSCRIPTION 7.

Hornpipe Lead (a) – Willie Goggin



Hornpipe Lead (c) – Michael Walsh



TRANSCRIPTION 8. Hornpipe Lead (c) – Jack Dineen

The transcription consists of two vertical staves, each divided into measures. The left staff contains measures 6, 7, and 8. The right staff contains measures 14, 15, and 16. The notation includes notes with stems, rests, and various annotations. A double bar line with a slash is present at the end of measure 8.

Measure 6 (Left Staff):
 Annotations: p , q (e) M4

Measure 7 (Left Staff):
 Annotations: p_{10} (f7), b_1 (b26) M5 P4

Measure 8 (Left Staff):
 Annotations: d (c7), p_2 , q (a7), b_8 , b_2 , d , p_2 (c) M6C

Measure 14 (Right Staff):
 Annotations: c , q (e) M7, p_2 , q (a7), d (c), b_2 , b_1 (b25), b_2

Measure 15 (Right Staff):
 Annotations: c , q (e) M8 P8, b_2 , b_1 (b25), p_2 , q (a7), c_4 (b13)

Measure 16 (Right Staff):
 Annotations: c , q (e) M8, c_7 (f13) M8, p_3 , p_2 , q (a7), p_2 , q (a7), b_1 , p_4 (g), b_1 , p_4 (g), b_1 , p_4 (g), b_8

TRANSCRIPTON 9. Hornpipe Lead (c) – Willie Goggin

8

b2
a (c)
g2
a

7

f (b3)
c8 (c13) M5
g2
c4 (b13)
a (a7)

6

g2 (a12) M1K P4
a2 (a2)
b2
d (c)
g2
a

5 (b3) M4

16

b8
c7
g10 (F16)
b2
c4
g10 (b5) M8
c4 (a)
g6
g3 (a5)

15

c (a) M7 P8
d6
g1 (a3)
b2
d (c)
g2
a

14

c (b3) M6

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION. Hornpipe: The Home Ruler

 $\text{♩} = 132$

Musical transcription of the hornpipe "The Home Ruler" in G major and 12/8 time. The piece consists of 13 measures. The notation is as follows:

- Measure 1: Quarter note G4, quarter note A4, eighth note B4, eighth note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4.
- Measure 2: Quarter note D4, quarter note E4, eighth note F4, eighth note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, eighth note C4, eighth note B4, quarter note A4.
- Measure 3: Quarter note G4, quarter note A4, eighth note B4, eighth note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4.
- Measure 4: Quarter note D4, quarter note E4, eighth note F4, eighth note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, eighth note C4, eighth note B4, quarter note A4.
- Measure 5: Quarter note G4, quarter note A4, eighth note B4, eighth note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4.
- Measure 6: Quarter note D4, quarter note E4, eighth note F4, eighth note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, eighth note C4, eighth note B4, quarter note A4.
- Measure 7: Quarter note G4, quarter note A4, eighth note B4, eighth note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4.
- Measure 8: Quarter note D4, quarter note E4, eighth note F4, eighth note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, eighth note C4, eighth note B4, quarter note A4.
- Measure 9: Quarter note G4, quarter note A4, eighth note B4, eighth note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4.
- Measure 10: Quarter note D4, quarter note E4, eighth note F4, eighth note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, eighth note C4, eighth note B4, quarter note A4.
- Measure 11: Quarter note G4, quarter note A4, eighth note B4, eighth note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4.
- Measure 12: Quarter note D4, quarter note E4, eighth note F4, eighth note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, eighth note C4, eighth note B4, quarter note A4.
- Measure 13: Quarter note G4, quarter note A4, eighth note B4, eighth note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4.

UNDERSTANDING STYLE IN *MONASTIRI* DANCE, GREECE

Irene Loutzaki

Part one: Introduction

Discussion of issues relating to the study of *style* in dance has been a crucial component of the choreological literature and an attractive subject for dance historians, even though it has varied both in its focus and quality in the course of dance research. This emphasis on style is the result of the derivation of very basic aspects of cultural and temporal frameworks from aspects of stylistic variation. Many of the definitions related to art, for example, emphasize differences in dance styles, such as the attempt by Taglioni to define individual style within the overall style of the Romantic Movement in Europe, or that by Ruth St. Denis, Doris Humphrey and Martha Graham to define style within contemporary dance in America. In this case, what has been called 'style' might be called 'dance rules' predominant in both periods. However, these are not rules in the sense of physical science, but conventions, for example, an impression of weightlessness, symmetry, synchronization, dance oppositions – balance and unbalance, contraction and release – which choreographers have agreed upon, guided by the socio-political, historical, or environmental aspects of style prevalent in the particular periods.

Style is pervasive in human society no matter how we may define it. In dance, style is perhaps the most difficult qualitative feature to pursue and capture as it may refer to a group of people, a community. It may describe individual expression, his/her gender, his/her age or social status; style can also be new, old, mixed, revived. It is related to ritual, art, politics, economy and history in both their temporal and spatial dimensions. Queries on style and its uses referring to *why* style varies, or which elements contribute to its formation are often addressed implicitly as many adequate definitions exist. As a consequence, clear and concise theories of style are still infrequent and vague.

In this article I focus on the community of Monastiri, in central Greece,¹ to study the concept of style, which as an analytical category can interpret facets of the Monastiriote dance culture. In Monastiri, I could observe dance in diverse occasions at different moments in time, such as indoor and outdoor, private and public, individual and collective, formal or self-constructed. These events contributed to the creation of a series of cultural forms that served as guides facilitating the enhancement of the relationships between the functions they performed. By reading, interpreting, even decoding these unique events, practical meaning can be grasped from their unique use, at the unique moment, in the unique context of its occurrence.

Watching the dancing, I was actually watching a performance, but further, I discovered that 'watching' itself is a performance.² The word 'performance' is understood in Frith's terms, which uses the word as "an experience (or set of experiences) of sociability" [Frith 1996: 204]. Thus, my emphasis lies on the multifarious dance actions, as these are usually understood through our knowledge. However, by watching dance, the intention is not what I, as researcher perceive and understand (analytic evaluation-movement differences, which are 'etic') but what the insiders, the actors of a tradition understand as a system of knowledge (folk evaluation, which is 'emic') of how the various unrelated kinetic units – simple or complex – combine into meaningful motifs,

which combine into dances according to a specific group of people at a specific time [Kaepler 1998: 47]. Therefore, the questions 'is performance X of a dance a good performance, and if so, how good or authentic?' even more, 'for whom is this performance appropriate?' can generally receive no single answer, but a series of answers. As a consequence, all the ideas of what dance is, are not fully expressed in a single performance, but rather in the sum of all possible performances. A limited sum however, are strongly bound by the community material or strongly related to it (that is, the recognized local structured forms) and by the dance intentions, which that material embodies. The analysis of the data, therefore, is based on the Monastiriote actions and what they feel when they dance. I argue that during dancing, in every dance event, Monastiriotes express their intentions by reproducing important social identities and relationships.³ This hypothesis is vividly supported by Nikos Papanikolaou's⁴ words. Nikos said:

You can dance as you like, however, there are several instances in which you must be very accurate and specific of what you have to do ... Look, when I was young, at every public occasion, everybody was waiting for me to introduce new elements into dance. I was very good in this.... At my wedding party, when I introduced my wife in the dance arena, I had to follow her.... My wife had the first role and I had to help her, to support her. No figures, no foolishness.

Nikos showed an aspect of performance dealing with the social meaning of both events – recreational and ritual – and his intention as performer to adjust his dancing according to occasion, respectively. Thus, style as marker of social values, has become a central and determinative analytical category for my study and interpretation of the Monastiriote dance culture, which as a key, led me to investigate those kinetic features which may highlight how social relationships and value systems are produced, reproduced and interpreted by its participants in particular performative events. In bringing the issue of *style* to the centre of my inquiries, I made use of a specific set of stages and analytical procedures. Essentially, I used structural analysis to understand visually the concept of style in this northern Thracian dance tradition.⁵

Part two: Dance structural analysis

In the literature, structural analysis is a process of dance broken down into smaller units related antithetically to each other – that is, are they the same or different – in order to locate basic movement units defined within a local structured movement system, and to reject those which are not appropriate. For the in-depth analysis of the movement system of the northern Thracians, I used the ethno-scientific method, borrowed from structural linguistics and based on 'emic' analysis. Using the three levels of analysis – *kineme*, *morphokine*, *motif*⁶ – has proved a useful theoretical and methodological perspective, which allows a more complex approach than might otherwise have been possible. I could assume that a network of contrasts that, in a process of application, seems to hold for just one dance tradition can be applied to any movement system. Through these contrasts emerge *kinemes* – the smallest kinetic units of organization – and *morphokines* – the complexes that are meaningful as movement – which are determined more by the way they are linked in the system than by the way they are presented kinetically. Thus, it becomes clear that in the case of dance at Monastiri, the kinemes, the morphokines, and the motifs, are part of a system of organized relationships.

In using structural analysis, Kaepler placed emphasis on the structural properties of dance as a system, by attempting to identify minimal component elements – the movement *emes* that she termed *kinemes*. These were isolated by applying a process of *contrastive analysis*, that is, by determining whether kinetically different movements were considered the "same or different" [Kaepler 1972: 174] for the holders of the tradition in question. She used concepts such as form, content, differences and oppositions, locating them in the synchronic level of study, without aiming at the further application and extension of the method to other dance features, such as *style*, for example, on which I focus my own interest. Kaepler did not wish to confine her study

exclusively to dance only, but widened the range of her inquiries to include all kinds of movement units – social, artistic, ritual, functional – which she examined as part of a wider structured movement system, the components of which were arbitrary and only have value through relationships of parity and opposition which link them together. These ties were determined by the totality of elements in the system and not by terms external to it.

In my case, the use of structural analysis is extended to understand how social relationships and value systems are produced, reproduced and interpreted by participants in particular performative events.⁷ I use three levels of analysis. At the first level we trace the kinemes – analogous to the phonemes in language – the minimal units of movement that make up the kinetic system of each community. The substance of each kineme, its variations, that is whether it is principal or occasional, the same or changed, even the range of its alternates, are located and defined through the process of contrastive analysis. Selected from a series of movements executed by the human body and adapted to serve local needs, these kinemes have been fixed, in quality and kind, by the continuous and skillful use of the dancers, simultaneously defining the content of the particular movement system. The kinetic value of each kineme used in the structured movement system of Monastiri is acquired by the frequency of use and the role it acquires with its execution. Nevertheless, in some units the kinemes appear in the form of alternates, or variants. These are of allokinemic character, that is, they are in a "complementary" relationship, in which, where one occurs the other does not (something that happens in language too). *Allokinemes* (analogous with allophones in language) are movement alternates that are not seen as sufficiently different to be considered separate kinemes. In gender and age distinction, allokinemic variants are identified with the male or female alternates, with young or old alternates, or may designate personal traits or characteristics of the community as a whole. So, although Monastiriotes believe that they are doing the same thing, they equally well believe that they are executing something different, an idea which led me to create a new inventory based on the standard kinemes but fortified with their allokinemic peculiarities. (Compare the two inventories in this paper: 1. Gender and age allokinemes.)

The *morphokines*, the second level of analysis, are the syntheses of kinemes that are recognized as a "smallest unit that has meaning in the structure of the movement system" [Kaeppler 1972: 185]. The morphokines do not necessarily have narrative meaning, but in the said system some may have meaning as distinct elements of technique or aesthetics.

The third level is the motif, an idea borrowed from folklore and the visual arts that brings to the surface the profound ideas contained in a techneme (kinetic creation) and which is used to denote sections in which a folklore element can be analyzed [Kaeppler 1972: 215]. Here the motif is used as a form (content entity) constructed from kinemes and morphokines. In adopting the theoretical model – kineme, allokineme, morphokine, and motif – and applying it to the study of dance style, I have attempted to split the content entity of dance into structure and style. By transcending the choreographic composition of each dance (that is the surface) and decoding the messages they convey, the starting point for the process of its elements was significantly widened. Consequently, as was to be expected, the study of this phenomenon was not confined to the movement peculiarities but focused also on the way in which these are interconnected and the relationships between them and the people who produce them in specific social situations.

The dancer at Monastiri is a 'performer' who, according to his ability and experience, creatively uses kinemes and morphokines, shaping them into 'flexible' motifs, which he invests with individuality and expressivity.⁸ Here, I concentrate only on the concept of style that may differ according to content and performance. The level of content is what we dance, while the level of performance is how we dance it. The first is the 'meaning', while the second is actualization of meaning through 'style'. Content is the messages we transfer, while performance is the choreological ordering. And here, we should mention rhythm as an organizing force that "formalizes the nonformal" [Kaeppler 1985: 9] by intensity, time intervals, and duration – factors, which though actually affecting the morphemic form, do not have an independent existence. What is

certain is that if we are to understand the various ways of performing, that is the *style* and its distribution within the community, we must understand it in terms of the society through which it operates. Style is closely related to the social contexts that give the cultural materials or components in question their social values.

Monastiriote dance: a case study

At Monastiri, most of the villagers know how to dance. Some – the recognized dance experts, men and women, driven by their status (married, gender, age, or dance excellence) – are able to evaluate dance either by praising individuals who dance correctly, keep rules, follow principles, show dignity, modesty or dynamism, or by decrying those who are incorrect or inconsistent. Just as in language, its users organize isolated words into speech by following rules of grammar and syntax,⁹ so, by analogy, the dancers at Monastiri organize given movements into structured dance discourse (or text), denoting also the "general power of the conventions for all the members of a social group and their diachronicity" [Sifakis 1988: 21]. However, the performance – the way/ways in which a community expresses itself kinetically – only makes sense in terms of Monastiri performing conventions determined by the dance system in question. Consequently, basic to the dance are the various choices made during performance from a set of given kinemes, that is, what does the dancer show at the specific moment, or event, and how will he/she manage to transmit this to the recipient of the dance, the audience. In Frith's terms:

...a performance...describes performers – dancers – who...take themselves and their bodies as the objects or sites of narrative and feeling...[that is]...what was happening...is determined by the nature, shape, technique, body, and will of the performers themselves...which means among other things, a new emphasis on the process of putting together and taking apart a *persona* [Frith 1996: 205].

This notion introduces the problem of self-hood and the individual as the medium of the dance. I refer again on Frith's words:

...the term performance defines a social – or communicative – process. It requires an audience and is dependent on interpretation; it is about meanings. To put this another way, performance...is a form of rhetoric, a rhetoric of gestures [and movements] in which, by and large, *bodily movements and signs dominate other forms of communicative signs*. [The emphasis is mine.] ...And such a use of the body [central in a dance act] depends on the audience's ability to understand it both as an object... (a social object) and as a subject, that is...a shaped object, an object with meaning. Rhetorically, then, performance...is a way not of acting but of posing: it takes for granted an audience's ability to refer these bodily movements to others". And from this: the performer depends on an audience which can interpret the work through its own experience of performance, its own understanding of seduction and pose, gesture and body language; an audience which understands, the constant dialogue of inner and outer projected by the body in movement [Frith 1996: 205-206].

By studying parts of the data collected during the period from 1983 to 1986, in the northern Thracian communities, once again I realized how much I was bound then, with the various stylistic variations that objectified social meanings of dance. Today, however, driven by the various contemporary theories which pose new questions and problematics, an in-depth reading of the old material reveals, or even better, gives special meaning, not only to the stylistic variations data itself, but to several conversations that occurred between me and those informants fully aware of these living, embodied, gestural aspect of people's social practices. Only now can I look back at spontaneous, responsive, moment-to-moment interaction without having anything specific in mind. This approach can give sense to how 'poetic events' can open new roads of investigation in aspects of our lives totally unfamiliar to us as dancers.

It is, therefore, at this point that Herzfeld's idea of "social poetics" and "technique of self-presentation" [Herzfeld. 1998: 477], become relevant to my work, as it sharpened my awareness,

which often failed to give essence to the momentary particularities of a dance performance. When I was writing my thesis, my intention was to understand the northern Thracian dance system. I used structural analysis to discover those kinetic units that were socially significant to the system. My interviews also incorporated the otherness of body language and meaning because it was always at the boundaries of what I was struck by or of what they were struck by (which was also noted by Cowan, 1992). Following these schools of thought, the concept of style can also be seen "as a technique of self-presentation" for the Monastiriotes¹⁰ a 'method' based on the practice of social poetics.

Dance is a series of visible cultural forms that can be described both in terms of dance analysis – products that link dance with the choreography – and of cultural realities – processes that link the concept of the dance structure with the concept of the system – which lead to the study of dance conventions, pertinent to the construction and reproduction of categories such as gender and age in a given community. This "insider/outsider" attitude derives from linguistics – phonemic analysis and phonetic description [Del Hymes 1974: 11; Yamada 1980: 185-194, Pike 1990: 28-47; Harris 1990: 48-61; Herndon 1993: 63-80, and others]. Leaving aside the product of choreography, which denotes surface structures, I confront the Monastiriote dance as cultural forms – flexible and evolving phenomena, a series of creative processes contributing to the formation of various cultural artifacts, which manipulate human bodies in time and space, and which, simultaneously reproduce and reconstruct a performance having a *form* (structure plus style) and *content* [Kaeppler 2001].

In Monastiri, dance through its multifarious forms, expresses ideas and relationships by highlighting different meanings it acquires through praxis, within spatial-temporal limits and performance situations. These forms are part of a particular community and have social limitations dictated by the community. In this social environment, dance makes apparent the community structures, it is defined by these, and through them passes on an ideological discourse that constitutes a system of communication embedded in the local, social and cultural system as it conveys coded messages about the system. Of special importance are the *conditions* of each performance, a process which requires audience involvement. Monastiriotes' bodies transmit messages through movements organized in meaningful units – the *motifs*¹¹ – which reproduce or reconstruct social values and meanings, through expressive means, in this case through *stylistic means*.¹²

Every performance is a transformation. Style, as a mean of communication is a language, embedded in the local social and cultural systems, and helps to convey coded messages about the system. Stylistic variations may be used to distinguish:

- 1) Locality (inter-community distinction versus intra-community distinction)
- 2) Social context: age, gender, and aspects of selfhood, character traits. This process is aided by the fact that people from different villages dance together in the same circle (in their capacity of affine or blood relative to the participants)
- 3) The occasion which acts as a temporal social frame: how a circle is formed; who dances and in what order; who can't dance
- 4) Structural properties (internal differences). Here I refer to the indigenous system of classification in order to distinguish one dance from another.
- 5) Dance competence (comparison between dancers), related with the social context and selfhood characteristics.

Northern Thracian communities recognize the Monastiriotes as the best dancers of their tradition and are well known for their dance competence, even among folk dance groups. Monastiri, as a community is also famous in that it is considered the epicentre of all the refugees from Bulgaria communities. The reason was that, during the dictatorship (1967-1973), singing and dancing was, for them, a dynamic means of resistance against police – the demands of which

were very clear and accurate: "dancing is prohibited in public".¹³ Thus, after the fall of the dictatorship and the rehabilitation of democracy in 1974, Monastiri dynamically revitalized the celebration of the New Year feast according to old practices. As a consequence, the custom, and even more the dance circle itself, adopted a symbolic meaning *resonating* their identity. Since 1974, on this feast, many northern Thracian families from other refugee northern Thracian communities, and other Thracians and lovers of dances of the Monastiri, visit the community to participate in the endless dance chain held in the village square.¹⁴

Monastiri is considered the center of attraction for foreign dancers. Thus, it was easy for me as a spectator to participate in diverse occasions in which I could analyze different stylistic variations in their dances. Monastiriotes do not organize dances in which they dance together with individuals originating from other communities within the northern Thracian complex.¹⁵ Individuals from different parts of northern Thrace make choices relating to the individual way of performing dances common to the communities, by projecting the kinetic idiom of each community,¹⁶ by provoking distinctions – my own way of doing things – and occasionally with some sense of superiority of one local idiom over the others.¹⁷ Proximity in the dance line can reveal personal, gender or age identities, as well as situational and local identities that transcend skill and technique acquired by study and practice. I locate myself in Geertz words that "views anthropology as an interpretive science in search of meaning" [Geertz 1973: 5]. Thus, while cultures are systems of symbolic meaning, the meaning cannot be separated from the process of social interaction. A good example is the Monastiriote dance culture.

The term *style* does not exist in the Monastiriotes' dance vocabulary; however, Monastiriotes refer to the content of this term when gossiping or talking about dance and vividly describe it by metaphorically using words from their local linguistic idiom. So, apart from the aesthetic/artistic value which they attribute to it, what they actually think about style, is that it contributes to an understanding of *what* is danced and how, precisely because, for them, dance is simply another element of learned behaviour. A local dance, even a dance event, can provide both the *core* from which dance movements are produced and the *frame* within which those movements and their processes are understood.

For example, when I asked Katerina – a seventeen-year-old girl – why at her cousin's engagement party, she neither used certain dance types nor showed her ability – as she usually did in other occasions –; she answered that the party was to support her cousin, and not for her own satisfaction. And she added that in such 'serious' occasions such as an engagement, or a wedding party, in which older persons participate, she and the other girls should behave properly even in dancing. This shows that she is aware that the occasion frames the context of a dance. And cocking her eyebrow meaningfully, she added, "Yesterday, did you notice a handsome man among the guests? I'm very interested in him ... how could I show my other self? This is possible to be done later, not during the first meeting..." [Loutzaki 1983].

These last words corroborate my view that a dance has more than one form, that is, it can enhance modesty or exhibitionism based on social occasion and individual goals. From this example, it is apparent that girls were expected to control their dancing with reference to a common purpose (formal, informal). The difference between the variants lies in how this form is performed, that is the style, which gives meaning to the dance structure and contributes to the content of a dance.

These structural properties are equally apparent internally when older members of the community perform the *choros* dance, even though their age inhibits them from executing all the various paces and figures. This form is recognized as the dance *ap ta znaria*. The same applies when young members of the community attempt to dance the *tsestos*, a motif by means of which they can display their skill, and when, at weddings, the bride's kin performs the *bread dance*. It holds too when the *douzikos* is used as the sign for dancing to begin in public. These terms: *ap ta znaria*, *choros*, *bread dance*, *douzikos*, are part of an indigenous system of classification in

order to distinguish one dance from another. With any of the above 'labels', movement units are identified with motion terms such as degrees of displacement, velocity and acceleration taken from everyday vocabulary.¹⁸ Before being able to appreciate the degree in which the above dances were referred to me as the same or different, in discussing with Christos, a local *meraklis* [good dancer], I started to see many meaningful ideas hidden behind, or covered by the steps themselves. Christos had said by emphasizing some words: "all these dances... – how can I explain... – constitute a *sohi* [kindred]; they are *all* the same, but at the same time *all* are different". And as I insisted on asking him for more details, for him to become more narrative of what he meant by the word *kindred*, he said:

Look, something like the children – brothers and sisters – in a family: Costas is tall, Yannis is short, Triada has blue eyes, Katerina is dynamic. All are members of the same family. It's the same idea with these dances. You can consider these dances as children of a dance family" [Loutzaki: 1986].

In interpreting Christos's comments on how the Monastiriotes perceive and use the dance nomenclature, I arrived at the conclusion that the names are on the one hand names (or labels) – Costas, Yannis, Triada, Katerina – on the basis of which they may define 'autonomous' types, while on the other they are also adjectival definitions, as in the above excerpt according to the kinship terms – the tall, the short, the blue-eyed and the active child –, characterizing choreologically the circumstantial use of space. Linguistically/choreologically this is illustrated as follows: the term *ap ta znaria* represents a specific kinetic scheme which is executed with a handhold from the waistbands. The term *tsestos*, denotes the type of the waistband dance in which small and quick steps are determinant and the use of which enhances the proficient and worthy dancers. The term *bread dance* denotes the kinetic sequence with the help of which the bride's relatives protect the ritual bread. The word, *douzikos*, denotes the straight, dragging mode of performing, or again is identified with either the whole dance, or with the introductory section of the dance. Even though we encounter different names related with one kinetic unit, choreologically they are dance variants that can all be subsumed under one heading: *Dance ap ta znaria* [with hand hold from the waistband].¹⁹ Here we confront the problem of an indigenous classification system, which recognizes differences that can be manifested analytically in terms of kinetography. As for the names, these function as external labels, and can be interchanged according to context, quality, and momentary need" [Torp 1990: I, 85]. Here, we have a local system that refers to a dance genre, *ap ta znaria*, a category denoting a stylistic element that comes to represent a group of 'dances'. Therefore, at the performative level, many variants can be observed, in which some kinemes appear as significant or can even be absent entirely. The range of kinemes – important or not –, which endow the movement with character, is based on the choices of movements and the way of organizing them into meaningful units.

Part three: The structured movement system of Monastiri

Within the working framework of the structured movement system of Monastiri, in this part I present the kinemic and morphokinemic level of analysis of the Monastiriote dance tradition. The data functions as a reference point for stylistic particularities which constitute age and gender markers. Style is used to read how gender ideology is constructed, maintained or challenged through individual performers. Though event markers and locality markers are also important and significant, they are not discussed in this paper (on this subject see Loutzaki 1989).

KINEMES: significant components

In analyzing the Monastiriote dance culture, its significant elements are classified systematically and arranged according to the body parts and techniques that go into producing them. Four body parts are significant for this type of analysis: supports and gestures derived from the involvement of the head, trunk, legs and arms, which will be used in analyzing the formal structure of the dance culture at the kinemic level.

Head kinemes (H.)

In Monastiri, the head does not produce significant movements on its own. It is held upright in line with the spine with the face looking forward. The head, as extension of the spine, follows the body in inclinations of the upper part of the trunk. However, we can distinguish head movements that are morphokinemic (see further *Head morphokinemes*)

Trunk kinemes (T.)

The main sections of the trunk are: the chest, the waist and the pelvis. The trunk is not involved in a significant way and it is usually treated as one unit. However, there are some twists at the waist, connected with movements of the upper or lower limbs. The dance usually starts with the right foot and moves anticlockwise. In slow dances the rotation of the shoulder section, the *épaulement* (a term borrowed from ballet) usually occurs with every step. In quick dances these rotations are not so frequent, because the dancers face toward the focal point. Changes of direction are the result of holding the arms either in a fully bent position, or fixing the hands in the waistbands of the dancers standing on each side. Trunks are held upright and the weight of the body is moved directly forward. A more technical explanation indicates, "in addition to the upright carriage of the trunk in ordinary standing and walking, the centre of gravity is lifted approximately to a level of one step-length above the floor" [Knust 1979: 204]. This homogeneity imparts a very smooth quality to a line of dancers.

Leg kinemes (L.)

The legs produce the most significant movements in Monastiri. Preparatory and main gestures, gestures of parts of the limbs and the establishment of their different relationships to the ground, the situation of various limb parts in relation to one another, retention and rotation, traveling and twirling, various degrees of flexion and stress step are some of the various movements performed by the legs. Slow paces are larger in size than the quick ones, which are narrow and usually executed on the spot or in forward-backward direction. Feet are placed almost flat on the ground. In jumping and hopping paces, women tend to slide along the ground while men capitalize and enlarge their paces. Movements are initiated from the knee and in some cases this leads to a tremendous drive through to the heel, which lends great strength to the movement.

- L Starting position: both feet in place.
- L' Step in place.
- L1 Forward step.
- L1' Forward step: forward to place.
- L1'' Forward step: forward to second position.
- L2 Backward step.
- L2' Backward step: backward to 'second position'.
- L3 Sideward step: open sideways.
- L3' Sideward step: cross over.
- L3'' Sideward step: sideward to 'second position'.
- L3''' Sideward step: to place.
- L4 Running steps (a series of very small leaps).
- L5 Picking up of the foot (knee bent).
- L6 Twisting parts of the leg (forward & backward).
- L7 Bend of the knee, or of both knees (important movement).

- L8 Bend of the knee in various degrees of narrowness for leg gestures.
- L9 Hop.
- L10 Jump (small jump).
- L10' Jump just skimming the floor.
- L11 Touch of the floor (in place, forward, backward, diagonal).
- L12 Brush the foot.
- L13 Kneel.
- L14 Beat the foot (with accent).

In Monastiri, fourteen significant leg movements have been identified, though probably more exist in this living and evolving dance system. The whole limb usually produces significant movements; legs are flexed at the knee; flexion is treated as a preparatory movement or as a hop-like pace. The main direction is: front, back, side or diagonal movements. Hops, with or without progression, are only inches off the ground, and are never performed without a preparatory bend of the knee. Time and duration are external factors and are associated with music. Intensity can be considered a technical term concerning the measurement: a) of strength; and b) of space and will be noted here as:

- S1 Strength measurement signs.
- S2 Space measurement signs.

Arm kinemes (A.)

Arms hang loosely at the side in a low position, grasping the hand of the persons standing on each side, and move only in response to other body movements. They are slightly bent and the right hand grasps the waistband of the person to the right while the left hand grasps the waistband of the person to the left. The right arm of each dancer is placed behind the left arm of his neighbor on the right, while his left arm is placed in front of the right arm of the neighbor on the left. With arms in this position the performers have little opportunity to manipulate their trunks.

Arm Positions (A)

- A Side: side low to middle.
- A' Side low.
- A1 Forward middle.
- A1' Forward high.
- A1'' Forward low.
- A2 Diagonal forward middle.
- A2' Diagonal forward high.
- A3 Backward low.
- A4 Diagonal back.
- A5 Bend the elbow.
- A6 Rotation of the arm: inward / outward.

Arm clasping, touching, grasping and holding (C)

- C1 Clasping hands.
- C1' Clasping middle fingers
- C2 Holding the waistband.
- C3 Touch: (clapping).
- C4 Holding objects.

Sixteen significant arm movements have been identified in Monastiri. Arms move either as a whole limb or as divided in two parts at the elbow. In certain dances, these limited arm movements, however, are considered as the "leading motion", and it is said that, "if you don't know

how to use your arms, you cannot lead your legs". Therefore, arm movements become significant only in those cases where the dance itself permits their contribution.

General rules for leg and arm movements

At the kinemic level Monastiriotes recognize thirty significant kinemes, a relatively small number of building blocks to construct their dance language. By combining these kinemes with appropriate stress and intonation they create several genres. When a single kineme, or combinations of kinemes become a meaningful movement, a morphokine is created and movement recognition begins. Three rules that a dancer in Monastiri must know are as follows:

1. Starting position with feet parallel and slightly opened to the side.
2. Normal step is performed on the whole foot with flexible knees, is a normal walking double-tracked, the [r] is placed on the right track and the [l] on the left track.
3. Forward arm position: arms are separated from one another by the width of the body.

MORPHOKINES: meaningful movements

In Monastiri, there are certain significant morphokines that give sense to kinemes by transforming them into recognizable units. Morphokines are created of single kinemes with compound ones. For example, one step becomes two quicker steps, or a normal step becomes four very small, brisk stamping steps. At this level of analysis, movements of the trunk and head may become meaningful, being related to the flow of movement. Among the various morphokines, the most important is the *syngathisma*, applied to leg and arm movements alike. It is the only morphokine known by specific name and it is used equally during the performance of the homonymous dance as dominant morphokine, as well as in other genres but as decoration. Morphokines can be grouped into four categories:

- M.I. morphokines of the legs.
- M.II. morphokines of the arms.
- M.III. morphokines of the trunk.
- M.IV. morphokines of the head

Leg morphokines (M.I.)

- M.I.00 1) *Syngathisma*²⁰: (triple sequence): {(2+2)+3}: right foot steps in place; left foot steps in place; right foot steps in place; each step carries the body weight {[r]L'+[l]L'}+[r]L.
2) Same movements to the opposite side.

Arm morphokines (M.II)

Arm morphokines are always performed in conjunction with trunk and leg morphokines. Three points are important here: the arms should be relaxed, all directional positions (see M.IIb.), are in principle related to the performer's front, and arm rotations occurring at the shoulder or elbow joint (in backwards and forwards movements) have nothing to do with the inward, outward, or unrotated state of the arm. It is not therefore, considered as a meaningful arm kineme. Arm morphokines can be divided into three categories:

- M.IIa. as arm holds
- M.IIb. in circular line while the moving body holds arms swinging forward and backward
- M.IIc. in solo and couple dances

Arm Hold (M.IIa.)

- M.IIa.1 Side low: hands grasp the hands of the individuals standing on each side
<A'+(C1a+C1b)>.
- M.IIa.1A Side low: middle fingers grasp the middle fingers of the individuals standing on each side
<A'+(C1'a+C1'b)>.

- M.II.2 Bent side low to middle: hands grasp the waistbands of the individuals standing on each side. The angle at the elbow is 120 degrees $\langle(A+A5b)+(C2a+C2b)\rangle$.
- M.IIa.3 Bent diagonally forward: upper arms diagonal low; wrists upward: hands grasp hands of the individuals on each side $\langle(A2+A5e)+(C1a+C1b)\rangle$.

Arm Movements (M.IIb.)

- M.IIb.1 Arms are in A' swing forward and backward; while hands clasp the hands of the individuals on each side.
- Both arms swing to A1" M.IIa.1: $\langle A1''+(C1'a+C1'b)\rangle$;
 - Both arms swing to A3; at the same time M.IIa.1': $\langle A3+(C1'a+C1'b)\rangle$.
- M.IIb.1A Same as $\langle A1''+(C1a+C1b)\rangle$.
- M.IIb.2 Arms move 'low backward' and 'high forward'; while hands clasp the hands of the individuals standing on each side.
- Arms from M.IIa.3: $\langle(A1+A5e)+(C1'a+C1'b)\rangle$ stretch to A', passing through the "forward" middle position.
 - Both arms from M.IIa.1: $\langle(A'(C1'a+C1+b))\rangle$ move up to (A1+A5e) position, passing through the "forward" middle position.

Arm (M.IIc.)

- M.IIc.00 Three movements (analogous to *syngathisma* M.I.00). Arms in (A6 (inward)+ A5b), palms face low (elbows slightly up). This is performed with every arm position: in one place, moving forward or backward, to the right and the left, or turning. It is also used when dancers wave the arms while holding a cloth, a kerchief, a stick, a banner, and so on.

Analysis of the dance *ap ta znaria*

Ap ta znaria (literally *zonaradikos*) is a generic term covering a series of structured units having in common the "hold from the waistband". In Monastiri, it appears in three structured variants: a) *sto ena* (one-pace structure); b) *sta dhyo* (in twos, a six-pace structure), and c) *diplo* (double, a twelve-pace construction with forward and backward locomotion).

Nomenclature

Within the community, if someone – local and/or foreign – wants to ignore the variety of linguistic definitions, the 'local taxonomic designations', with which the Monastirioties recognize these different structured movement units, and instead of these uses the literate term *zonaradikos*,²¹ preferred among the intellectuals, it is impossible to comprehend the manifold significance of this dance genre or the role played by these names in determining a specific ad hoc content entity that signifies a graduation of processes and activities.

The most popular label is the term *o choros* (dance), a polysemic term meaning: the dance, a dance, the dancing, the dance *ap ta znaria*, even the dance occasion. Other dance names used for the same structured movements are: *zonariatikos*, *ap' ta znaria*, *znariatikos* or *zaghorkos* (from the mountains). Others are: *douzikos* or *isos* (straight), *pidichtos* (jumping), *tsestos* (small and quick steps), *alatzadikos* (mixed, meaning both gender), *kouseftos* (running), *men's dance*, *wedding dance*, *bride's dance*, *Easter dance*, or even according to structure: *sto ena*, *sta dhyo*, all of which denote different aspects of the same set of movements – for example, sex or marital status of participants, occasion of performance, space/time elements and structural properties. In addition to the above terms, geographical ones are used to differentiate local performance styles. Thus, in order to differentiate the Monastiriote mode from that of Micro Monastiri, it is necessary to add besides the choreological term, a geographical location. In this case, the term is related specifically to the location, meaning a local idiom.

KINEMES: significant components of the dance *ap ta znaria**Leg kinemes (L.)*

- La Starting position: a) both feet in place.
- L'a1 Forward step: a1) 5th position with one foot in front.
- L1'a1 Forward step: a1) 3rd position with one foot in front.
- L2a, L2b Backward step: a) straight backward; b) diagonal right.
- L2'a1 Backward step: to place: a2) 4th position with one foot in front.
- L4 Running steps (a series of very small leaps): forward.
- L5a Picking up of the foot (knee bent): a) in place.
- L8b Bend of the knee, or of both knees in various degrees for leg gestures: b) the knee is 120 degrees. L8b functions as preparatory movements for several movements.

Arm positions (A.)

- A Side: (side low to middle).
- A' Side low.
- A1" Forward low.
- A3 Backward low.
- A5 Bend the elbow: a) 150 degrees e) 30 degrees.

Arm clasping, touching, grasping and holding (C.)

- C1' Clasp: the left middle finger of one dancer and the right middle finger of the other are clasped together.
- C2 Hold: hands hold the waistbands of the dancers standing on each side.

MORPHOKINES: meaningful movements of the dance *ap ta znaria*

Morphokines are important units for understanding motif organization of this genre. Due to the rather fixed nature of this particular genre, the number of morphokines is not unlimited. There are definite sequences available to the dancers. Morphokines may be single kinemes or a combination of kinemes and can be grouped into two categories: those comprising the primary motif and those comprising the special morphokines, included in the motif alternates. Foot and lower leg morphokines, M.I., are used in this genre. Four important morphokines of this group are enumerated for the primary form of the motif, and ten special morphokines for the motif alternates.

*Leg morphokines (M.I.)*MOTIF 1 = *douzikos*

- M.I.1 1. [r] foot steps forward L1b.
2. [l] foot moves forward to place L1'a2.
- M.I.2 1. [r] step L1b.
2. [l] raised forward low L5a+L8b.
- M.I.1a.2 is a variant of M.I.1.2 differing in that it is performed with [l] foot L'a1; and [r] foot steps diagonally backward right L2";
- M.I.3 1. Bend both knees (with accent);
2. [l] step backward: [r+l]L8b; [l]L2a.
- M.I.4 1. [r] step backward L2b;
2. [l] raised in place L5a+L8b;
3. Movements repeat to the back with [l] foot.

MOTIF 2 = *koutsaki*

- M.I.5 1. Six running steps: forward; L4=[r]+[l]x6.
- M.I.6 1. [r] steps backward L2b;
2. [l] step backward to place L2'a2.
- M.I.4 1. [r] step backward L2b;

2. [I] foot raised forward L5a+L8b;
3. Same movements backward with [I] foot.

Arm kinemes (M.II): Arm hold (M.IIa.) and Arm movements (M.IIb.)

Arm morphokines are always performed in connection with the morphokines of the trunk and legs.

- M.IIa.1A Side low: Middle fingers grasp the middle fingers of the individuals standing on each side: $\langle A'+(C1'a+C1'b) \rangle$.
- M.IIa.2 Bent side low to middle. Both hands grasp the waistband of the individuals standing on each side. The elbow is bent 120 degrees: $\langle (A+A5b)+(C2a+C2b) \rangle$.
- M.IIa.3 Bent diagonal forward. Both hands grasp the hands of the individuals standing on each side: $\langle (A2+A5e)+(C1a+C1b) \rangle$.
-

- M.IIb.1 Arms are in A' and move 'forward' and 'backward'; hands clasp the hands of the individuals standing on each side.
1. Arms move to A1"; while in M.IIa.1: $\langle A1''+(C1'a+C1'b) \rangle$;
 2. Arms move to A3; while in M.IIa.1': $\langle A3+(C1'a+C1'b) \rangle$.
- M.IIb.2 Arms move 'low' and 'high' (upper arm diagonally low; wrist up); while hands clasp the hands of the individuals standing on each side.
1. Arms from M.IIa.3: $\langle (A1+A5e)+(C1'a+C1'b) \rangle$ stretch to A', passing through the "forward" middle position.
 2. Arms move from $\langle A'(C1'a+C1'b) \rangle$ to A1+A5e passing through the "forward" middle position.

Trunk kinemes (M.III)

Trunk morphokines are created through the involvement of either arm or leg morphokines. They are closely related to the flow of movement and add style to the dance. In such cases they become meaningful components when used by good dancers. Four significant trunk morphokines can be distinguished:

- M.III.1 épaulement;
- M.III.2 bending of the upper part of the body;
- M.III.3 rotation of the lower part of the body (pelvis);
- M.III.4 1) turn: a) a quarter; b) half-turn.

Head kinemes (M.IV)

Head morphokines (M.IV.2 and 3) add style to the dance, and are performed occasionally by good dancers during motif alternates.

- M.IV.1 Forward in line with the spine;
- M.IV.2 Tilt of the rotated head, from diagonal-right to forward-middle high position;
- M.IV.3 from diagonal-left to forward-middle low position.

The structure of the dance *ap ta znaria* consists of eight motifs: a) the *douziko*, b) the *koutsaki*, c) the *kathisma*, d) the *kousto*, e) the *tsestos*, f) *sto ena*, g) *sta dyo*, h) *sta exi*. The sequence in which the above motifs are executed is arbitrary, since some of these are primary and others function as connectives between two others, while others are decorative. So the shaping of the overall dance structure, that is, the sequence with which the motifs will be executed depends on the knowledge and choice of the appropriate motifs for the situation. The passage from one motif to the next is a point of attention during the performance. There are no indicators to announce the shift from one motif to another. This lies in the relationship developed between the musician and the dancer at the time of the dance praxis. The overall form of the dance *ap ta znaria*, as a totality of structural elements, is constantly recreated, based on the

third level of dance organization – motifs / alternates – and elements external to the movement itself.

Part four: Style, allokinemic variation

Significant stylistic components of the dance genre *ap ta znaria*.

The study of movement deals with the spatial order of the paths that the limbs make in the kinesphere, as well as with the connection between movement and the mover's pose. Variation depends on when or how they are used by men or by women, by old or young, or in different contexts. Before considering the stylistic analysis based on allokinemic variation, as some explanatory comments are required.²² In Monastiri dance, men display their abilities by executing these structured units with accelerating dynamism, whereas women aim at modesty and smoothness. Although both sexes dance simultaneously, only men are expected to use their expertise, by using various figures. In contrast, women keep a restrained mode of moving. My intention here is not to repeat the same kinemes, morphokines and motifs inventories described in the previous section, but to present as complete a picture as possible of those elements which show gender and age stylistic differences.²³

1. Gender

1.1. *Allokinemes of male style*

Choreologically, men are usually presented in two groups; those who perform the basic dance, and those who have mastered the dance and perform the motif alternates. In contrast with women, who do not deviate from the basic motif, a man is expected to show off his ability and technique. He is expected to use the full range of kinemes and morphokines known to him and recognized by this tradition. Newly created morphokines are rarely accepted immediately. If a morphokine, or series of morphokines, is eventually incorporated within a dance genre, this is achieved by an individual after a long trial period.

Head kinemes (H.)

H	Head remains exactly vertical, with a tilt of the head forward diagonal right.
H1a	Tilt of the rotated head: a) the head is tilted backward-high; the face is forward-high. Only the neck is involved.
H3	Rolling the head with a slight circling of the upper spine.
H4	The direction of the plane of the face. In standing, the basic position is with the head upright and the face forward. However, some directions of the face involve a tilt of the head (forward-high, forward-low).
H6	Bend of the head: forward high (face: forward low).

The head is usually incorporated in all movements of the trunk, the chest, and the shoulders. When the upper part of the body is inclined, the head is carried along slightly, but its movement is barely noticeable. What is important here is that there are morphokines functioning unconsciously within the standard motif used by an average dancer; whereas special morphokines, functioning within the motif alternates, are used by expert dancers. What becomes significant here are two morphokines of the head. These are two kind of tilts of the rotated head showing: a) pride, when the head faces in the direction of progression; and b) concentration, when it faces towards the chest of the dancer. These movements are not consciously or constantly performed and became clearer to me when, during private dance lessons, none of my teachers paid attention to them. Irrespective of whether this is relevant or not, certain dancers include these tiny movements and use them alternatively in certain cases. Thus, these become significant only to leaders of the dance, who are freer in their movements than the other dancers.

Trunk kinemes (T.)

- T1 Rotation of the lower part of the body.
 T2 Rotation of the upper part of the body (especially shoulder section): degree of twist: how far the respective body part is twisted away from its normal untwisted state; degree of turn: how far the section is turned away from its previous front; return to the untwisted normal position; (see Knust 1979: II, 432a, b).
 T3a, T3b, T3c Rotation of the body as a whole: a) a quarter.
 T4 Supplementing a trunk tilt by bending the spine (=movement of the 'upper part of the body') (see Knust 1979: examples II, 419g', g").
 T5 Shifting the pelvis in a circle.
 T6 Minute inclinations of a body section, in which its direction is not noticeably changed. (See Knust 1979: example II, 424).
 T7 Inclination of the upper part of the body.

Leg kinemes (L.)

- L Starting position: The slightly opened 1st position, with parallel feet. Feet are placed in two tracks, they are vertically below the hips.
 L', L'a, L'a2, L'b, L'c Step in place.
 L1a, L1a1, L1b, L1c, L1'a, L1'a1, L1'b1, L2a, L2b, L2c, L2"a1,
 L3a, L3a1, L3b, L3"a, L3"a2

Style of walking (dancing): the whole foot is placed flat on the floor; walking, in which the weight passes successively from the heel to the ball of the foot. Normal step is double-tracked, the right foot being placed each time on the right track (below the right side of the body), and the left foot on the left track (below the left side). Forward step: normal step, a progression of the body as a whole, the centre of gravity is brought vertically above another point of support. It is a 1/2 step length. Forward step: a) normal step with one foot; b) lift of the foot by a bend of the knee, high flexion with emphasis with the other foot. Hop with one foot on the spot, simultaneously inner flexion with the other.

L5a, L5b, L5c, L5d, L5e, L5f

L6a, L6b

L7 L8a, L8b, L8c, L8d

L9a, L9b3, L9c

Hop: a) hopping in place; b) lift of the foot by a bend of the knee. A hop is a jump returning to the same foot, hopping on the spot or, hopping with progression (two possibilities). Originally, the gesture of the hopping leg results from the context, however, in male style the gesture of the jumping leg is noticeable, and there is a short retention for the supporting leg that it does not leave the floor until the gesture for this leg is completed.

L10a, L10b

Jumps (small jumps): a) from both feet to both feet; b) from one foot to the other.

L10'a, L10b

L11a, L11b, L11c

L13a, L13b

L14a Kick the foot (the heel): a) in place.

S1a, S1b, S1c, S1d

S2a, S2b

Small steps on the spot: tap with the right toe at the toe of the left foot, and then with the right heel. The stamp is stressed with bending of the knees, while the body is in an upright position.

Arm kinemes (A.)

All arm movements are performed with stress, in conjunction with trunk kinemes. Though all grasping is characterized by staying in place, shoulders are essentially involved. This is more striking when the arms move freely forward and backward, with the inward rotation of arms (special emphasis on both elbows).

Leg morphokimes (M.I.)

MOTIF 1, MOTIF 2 (no significant alteration).

MOTIF 3

- M.I.01c 1) triple step, performed forward, starting with the [r]+[l]+[r]L1b;
2) Movements repeat with [l];
3) [r] forward; hop on the spot with both feet: [r]L1b + [r]L9c;
- M.I.3 1) [r+l] bend of both knees;
2) [l] step backward [r+l]L8b+[l]L2b;
- M.I.4 1) [r] step backward L2b;
2) [l] raised in place L5a+L8b;
3) Movements repeat backward with [l] foot.

MOTIF 4 = *katsimo* (=kneeling).

- M.I.7 1) [r] is raised and crosses over the left, [r](L5(f+b)+L8d) then L1c;
2) [l] sideways left (partially taking of the weight): L3b;
3) M.I.7. Movements repeat.
- M.I.8 1) [l] quick lift off the floor to the side, and step forward in front of the other foot (extended 4th position): [l](L5f+L8d)+(S1b,c)+[l]L1'a2;
2) [l] jump and [r] step forward to 'second position also with a jump;
[l]L8(b+a)+[r]L1'a1.
- M.I.3a is a variant of M.I.3 differing in that:
1) Quick bend of both knee [r+l]L7.
2) [l] quick lift off the floor and step backward (wide 4th): [l](L5d+L8c+L6a), then [l](L2a+L11c); while [r]L+L8d;
- M.I.9 1) [r] step forward L1a;
2) [l] quick lift off the floor forward middle; [r] quick lift off the floor forward middle [l](L5d+L8c)+[r]L9a+ (L5d+L8c).
- M.I.10 1) Kneeling on left knee, while the right is on the floor; [r] kicks the floor twice with intonation: [r+l]L13a+L13b; while [r]L14 (twice).

MOTIF 5 = *tsestos* the section with the variations: *Alternate 1*

- M.I.01b 1) triple step, performed forward, starting with the [r] L1a1 with heel+L11b;
2) Movements repeat with [l];
- M.I.11 1) [r] steps to second position: (outward twist of the heels: right heel moves to the right, left heel moves to the left, emphasis on the bend of both knees: [r]+[l] L1'a+L6b+L7;
2) Both heels move inward, heels kick each other, knees are stretched: [r]+[l] L6b+L14.
- M.I.6 1) [r] steps straight backward L2a;
2) [l] steps backward L2'a2.
- M.I.4 1) [r] steps backward L2b;
2) [l] is raised above the ground L5a+L8b;
3) Movements repeat backward with [l].

MOTIF 5 = *tsestos* the section with the variations: *Alternate 2*

- M.I.12 1) twist of the [r] heel outward while [r] raised in place, knee is straight: [r]L5a+L6b.
2) [r] kick of the heel in place L14.
3) Movements repeat.
- M.I.13 1) [r] step forward with emphasis L1a;
2) [l] raised in L5c+L8c.

- 3) [l] from L5c, is raised in L5d+L8b, and by passing via nearly L8d, step in place L¹.
 M.I.6 (see variation 1).
 M.I.4 (see variation 1).

MOTIF 5 = *tsestos* the section with the variations: *Alternate 3*

- M.I.12 1,2 (see alternation 2);
 M.I.12a is a variant of M.I.12 differing in that it is performed with the opposite foot.
 M.I.13 }
 M.I.6 } (see variation 1).
 M.I.4 }

MOTIF 5 = *tsestos* the section with the variations: *Alternate 4*

- M.I.01a is a variant of M.I.01 differing in that it is performed in place, using the heel L'b+L11b;
 M.I.7a is a variant of M.I.7 differing in that it is performed in place.
 M.I.14 intensive foot work at a spot: continuous alternate shift of the weight from [r] to [l] foot, through a quick low hop:
 1) Touch the floor in place: [r]L11a+L6b (heel out), and then with [r]L11d+L6b (heel in);
 2) Hop in place;
 3) Movements repeat with the opposite foot.

1.2. *Allokines of female style*

Female choices represent the basic structure on which each dance type is built. A woman is expected to dance with lightness, without exaggerated movements and, most importantly, not to separate her legs. Her regular, small steps are executed heavily, without ideal feminine characteristics of grace, refinement, and expressiveness. Leg movements are synchronized with the legs slightly bent at the knee; arms are bent with elbows pointing towards the ground (side low) and hands and forearms pointing forward. During dancing, the body may remain stationary or move forward. Male style is generally differentiated from female style by the number of morphokines men master. Although men are permitted to dance in the female style, women are prohibited from using the male. Women are always more conservative in their dancing than men. The range of differences in the basic female style can be detected by examining individual kinemes and morphokines.

Head kinemes (H.)

- H', H4" In the female style, the head is totally upright in line with the spine. Knust's basic principle is relevant here, that is, that the head is related to the front of the trunk. Any horizontal or vertical tilts or rolling around of the head may be considered as natural responses and are not noted as this would give them unwarranted importance.

Trunk kinemes (T.)

- T, T2 (small movements), T3a, T6, T7
 The solid trunk provides a powerful support for up-and-down movements, where speed, strength, and weight are primary considerations. Being more conservative than men, women execute minimal trunk movements and the trunk itself is treated as one unit. Épaulement consisting of a small rotation of the shoulder section is the only deviation, resulting from the fixed position of the arms. Quarter-turn and half-turn around one's own axis are "resulting movements" rather than purpose fully performed ones. What is significant in the female style is the body attitude during slow dances: where the trunk is upright, the knees are slightly bent and the weight is placed on the balls of the feet (heels usually carry most of the weight). This position is cancelled when quick movements are performed. A deviation from the upright position is performed in motif 4 (see further, female style) in M.I.16, where the trunk is noticeably bent forward. This is not an intentional movement but is rather a result of the grasping of waistbands.

Leg kinemes (L.)

L, L'a, L'b, L'c

Initial position is the unrotated state of the legs; the toes point exactly forward. However, there is some freedom for both legs to be slightly opened, unstylized, with the feet approximately parallel (slightly turned out or in).

La1, L1a, L1b, L1a1, L1'a2.

L3a, L3a1, L3b, L3'a,

L4

L5a, L5b

L7

L8a, L8b, L8c

For women a normal step is about 1 step-length, unless otherwise required (there is an exception where women can perform longer steps of 1 1/2 normal step). Walking steps are performed by using the whole foot flat on the ground, and although this is a basic rule referring to progression of the body as a whole, it is worth noting that the centre of gravity is brought vertically above the point of support, while the transference of weight from one foot to the other is achieved. However, in some slow dances, elasticity (bending and stretching the knees of the supporting leg) should not be included as in ordinary steps, thus the body progresses on the same level with a natural resilience in the steps.

L12a

L13 KNEELING IS NOT AN ACCEPTABLE MOVEMENT FOR WOMEN. In jumplike stepping the "natural resiliency in taking off and landing should be preserved" [Knust 1979: example II, 207].

Arm kinemes (A.)

All arm kinemes are performed in conjunction with leg and trunk kinemes. Arms move loosely forward and backward, without deviating from the general rules. In A1, A1', A1'', A2a,b, A2'a,b, A4 and A4 (in conjunction with A5a-e, and A6) kinemes, women perform very restricted movements, using the arm as two units. There is tension in both hands (solid wrist). In contrast to men, where the upper part of the arm leads the movement, in female style the lower part of the arm becomes the leading part. In some versions, mimetic gestures representing the kneading and stretching of dough are considered as a good indicator for identifying expert female dancers.

Leg morphokines (M.I.)

MOTIF 1, MOTIF 3, (no significant alteration) Women do not perform morphokines as these are described in MOTIF 5 and its variations. Though women dance in the same line as men they perform only MOTIFS 1, 2a, 3, 4a, alternatively.

MOTIF 2a is a variant of MOTIF 2 (*koutsaki*=the bridge motif alternate).

M.I.5a is a variant of M.I.5 differing in that it is performed with an extra emphasis on the right foot (right step is larger than the left).

M.I.6 (see MOTIF 2).

M.I.4 (see MOTIF 2).

MOTIF 4a is a variant MOTIF 4 differing in that women do not raise their foot high and never kneel. In general, this motif is performed with very small steps and gestures.

M.I.7b is a variant of M.I.7 differing in that:

1) [r] is raised and crosses over the left [r](L5b+L8a) then L'b;

2) [r] step sideways left (small step) L3b;

M.I.8a is a variant of M.I.8 differing in that it is performed as follows:

1) [l] quick lift off the floor forward low and step in front of the [r]: [l]L5b+L8a +L'b;

2) [r] step forward to second position;

- M.I.9a is a variant of M.I.9 differing in that instead of the quick lift of the left foot, a touch with toe is performed.
 1) [r] step forward L1a;
 2) [l] quick lift off the floor in place; [r] quick lift off the floor in place (change of feet in the air) [l](L.5a+L.8b)+[r](L.5a+L.8a).
- M.I.15 1) Bend of both knees in 4th position (right foot in front) L8c.

2. Age

2.1. *Allokines of age style*

In Monastiri, biological age or generation differentiation was not an important stylistic element before 1940. Social age, however, in terms of marital status, was a more important category. This process can also be objectified in other cultural community domains, such as costume. For instance, a girl wore the local costume, only when she was ten or eleven years old and she could participate in the Easter custom of Roubana, which actually denoted the initiation of the girl in her pre-marital period. In this custom, the girl could sing specific songs for the occasion songs, and dance specific kinetic units related with the occasion [Loutzaki 1989]. This explains the absence or small importance of stylistic differentiations between generations, which were probably expressed in terms of similar categories cross-cutting age, for example, single, engaged, married, married with child, widowed, and so on. However, age category may represent power relations in terms of difference between generations, or even biological age. For example, the female dominant age group (35 to 55), prefer to dance as a peer group which is held in highest esteem by everyone in the village. Differences emerge however, when the style of the young is compared with that of the elderly, not on the basis of age distinction but on the basis of movement development. For this purpose, old age style has recently become significant vis-à-vis those elements that have survived the relatively recent and ongoing modernisation. For a number of reasons, considerable stylistic differences are observed in this older age category (biological age and physical shape is a factor constraining stylistic differentiations).

Head kinemes (H.)

The basic position of the head when standing is in line with the spine; it is high with the face forward. In inclinations of the upper part of the body, the head slightly carried along, but its movement is hardly noticeable.

- H Head remains exactly vertical, with a tilt of the face toward diagonal right.
 H' Head remains erect, retention in space is required (not involvement in body movements) (sometimes youngsters totally ignore head movements, more from ignorance rather than with purpose).
- H1, H2, H3, H4 These kinemes have become significant structural components in nearly all movements of the trunk, the chest, and the shoulders. Whenever they are performed, they are used with an extra intonation.
- H4 The direction of the plane of the face. In standing, the basic position is with the head upright and the face forward [Knust 1979: example II, 339a). However, some directions of the face involve a tilt of the head (forward-high, forward-low).
- H5a, H5a1, H5a2 Continuous tilts of the face horizontally (shake-like movements): a) quarter: a1) toward the right; a2) toward the left.
- H6a Bend of the head: a) forward high (face: forward low).

Trunk kinemes (T.)

Old generation

- T The body is upright, mainly treated as one unit.
 T1 Rotation of the lower part of the body.

- T2 Rotation of the upper part of the body: degree of the twist: how far the section is turned away from its untwisted normal position, in which all sections have the same front; degree of the turn: how far the section is turned away from its previous front; return to the untwisted normal position; trunk circling (see Knust 1979: example II, 432a).
- T3 Rotation of the body as a whole: degree of the twist; degree of the turn; return to the untwisted normal position.
- T5 Shifting the pelvis in a circle. No noticeable inclination of the pelvis occurs, the result is comparatively small (see Knust 1979: example II, 423f).
- T6 Minute inclinations of a body section, in which its direction is not noticeably changed. (Knust 1979, example 424).

Young generation

- T' The body is upright and treated as two units.
- T1' Rotation of the lower part of the body, pelvis is intentionally involved.
- T3 Rotation of the body as a whole: degree of the twist; degree of the turn; return to the untwisted normal position.
- T6 Minute inclinations of a body section, with obvious direction change.

As young boys and girls do not dance only the local dances, but modern and heavy *rebetika*, it is easier for them not to follow strict principles. One of the first broken rules is that none pays attention to body position; all bend their bodies forward high, and the centre of gravity, instead of being exactly over both feet (the heel and the ball of the foot), is over the toes. The shift of the centre of gravity permits the dancers to perform the kinemes with the toes (the ball of the foot is included) and the heel slightly raised. This body attitude changes the overall image of the dance by influencing the weight and the execution of movements, and by extension the dancing which has now become lighter, since the ground is no longer the final position of the movement but is used as the point of departure (movement toward the ground versus away from it). The trunk is usually treated as two units; there are clear-cut twists at the waist "undulating movements spreading from the centre of the trunk into other segments of the body, connected with movements of either upper or lower limbs" as Lomax characterizes this type of body attitude [Lomax 1969: 237].

Leg kinemes (L.)

Old generation

La, La1
 L', L'a, L'a1, L'a2, L'c
 L1a, L1a1, L1b, L1c
 L1'a, L1'a1, L1'a2
 L2a, L2b, L2c
 L2"a1
 L3a, L3a1, L3b

 L3"a1, L3"a2
 L4
 L5a,b,c,d,e,f
 L6a, L6b
 L7
 L8a, L8b, L8c, L8d
 L9a, L9b3, L9c
 L10a, L10b
 L10'a
 L11a, L11b, L11c
 L13a, L13b
 L14a

Young generation

La, La1, La2
 L', L'a1, L'a2, L'b, L'c
 L1b, L1c
 L1'a1, L1'a2
 L2b, L2c
 L2"a1
 L3a1, L3b
 L3'a, L3'b
 L3"a1, L3"a2
 L4c
 L5a,b,c,d,e,f
 L6a, L6b
 L7
 L8a, L8b, L8c, L8d, L8e
 L9a, L9b1, L9b2
 L10a, L10b
 L10'a
 L11a, L11b, L11c, L11d
 L13a, L13b
 L14a

S1b, S1d, S1e
S2a

S1a, S1b, S1c, S1d
S2b

Boys and girls continually add new elements. Strength measurement signs are included to denote the tense or dynamic quality of the movement of the respective body parts. In addition, leg movements of the style of the young are performed in a wider space than those of the older generation, which tries for greater control of movement. The constant, close relation between the ball of the foot and the ground seems to be disappearing. This procedure has also influenced the structure of the jumps. It has been pointed out that jumps in Monastiri are hoplike steps (see male style L9). Jumps leaving the floor gain considerable height as well as length, resulting in extended locomotion. In addition, stepping has been replaced by running, that is, a series of very small leaps. The restriction concerning parallel feet during the performance of the kinemes is less stylized among both young men and women. It is common for a young person to dance with the feet slightly turned out. All leg kinemes are performed on a larger scale tending to reach higher, longer, lighter limits. From the point of technique, no one dance genre can be stylistically distinguished from another. Complex skills are required during the performance of the intricate morphokines, which each male (and some females who try to imitate men) must master.

Arm kinemes (A.)

The arms, raised in the forward-high position, move freely, using a larger kinetosphere. Shoulders are lifted and lowered more often, independent of the rest of the arm, creating wavelike movements, starting from the upper part of the arm and finishing at the hand. Thus, the leading part of the movement is no longer the hand, but the shoulder. Arm morphokines are performed with extreme tension. Moreover, new elements are added to the original ones, especially when the arms move freely. These are: successive morphokines creating horizontal circling; arms move independently and not parallel, as is basically required; the arm is no longer solid at the wrist, allowing the hand to perform small movements around it.

Summary of elements that identify style

The overall inventory (kinemes) of the dance genre *ap ta znaria*:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| L | Starting position: both feet in place, parallel, and slightly opened |
| L' | Feet step beside one another: in place; a1) 5th position; a2) a slightly open 'reversed' 3rd position; b) step in front of the other foot; c) step behind. |
| L.1 | Forward step: a) straight forward: a1) 3rd position forward; a2) 3rd position backward; b) diagonal right; c) diagonal left. |
| L.1' | Forward step: forward to 'place': a1) 3rd position with the right foot in front; a2) 3rd position with right foot behind. |
| L.1'' | Forward step: forward to 'second position': a1) 4th position with the right foot in front; a2) 4th position with the right foot behind. |
| L.2 | Backward step: a) straight backward; b) diagonal right; c) diagonal left. |
| L.2' | Backward step: a) straight backward; b) diagonal right; c) diagonal left. |
| L.3 | Sideward step: open sideways: a) to the right; b) to the left. |
| L.3' | Sideward step: a) sideward to place; a1) 3rd position with the right foot in front; a2) 3rd position with the right foot behind. |
| L.3'' | Sideward step: cross over: a) the crossing step passes in front of the other foot; b) the crossing step passes behind the other foot. |
| L.3''' | Sideward step: sideward to 'second position': a1) 4th position with the right foot in front; a2) 4th position with the left foot in front. |
| L.4 | Running steps (a series of very small leaps). a) forward; b) sideward; c) diagonally. |
| L.5 | Raising of the foot: a) in place; b) forward low to low position; c) forward to forward low; d) forward middle (battement); e) backward; f) sideward. |
| L.6 | Twisting parts of the body (forward & backward) (inward, outward): a) whole limb; b) part of it. |

- L7 Bend of the knee (significant movement).
 L8 Bend of the knee, or of both knees in various degrees of narrowness for leg gestures (low, high, opened, closed flexion): a) the angle at the knee is 150 degrees; b) the angle at the knee is 120 degrees; c) the thigh and the lower leg are at right angles; d) the angle at the knee is 30 degrees; e) the leg is completely bent.
 L9 Hop: a) on the spot; b) with progression: b1) forward; b2) backward; b3) sideward; b4) diagonally.
 L10 Jump (small jump): a) from both feet to both feet; b) from one foot to the other.
 L10' Jump just skimming the floor: a) sideward (the level of the centre of gravity above the floor is not changed).
 L11 Touch the floor (in place, forward, backward & diagonal): a) with toe; b) with heel; c) with the ball of the foot (with accent, without accent).
 L12 Brush the foot (heel, ball, whole foot): a) in place; b) forward; c) backward.
 L13 Kneeling position: a) kneeling on one knee; b) the other foot on the floor.
 L14 Kick the foot (heel, whole foot): a) in place; b) forward.

Arm positions (A.)

- A Side: (side low to middle).
 A' Side low.
 A1 Forward middle.
 A1' Forward high.
 A1'' Forward low.
 A2 Diagonal forward middle: a) to the right; b) to the left.
 A2' Diagonal forward high: a) to the right; b) to the left.
 A3 Backward low.
 A4 Diagonal backward.
 A5 Bend the elbow: a) the angle at the elbow is 150°; b) the angle at the elbow is 120°; c) the upper and lower arms are nearly at right angles to each other; d) the angle at the elbow is 60°; e) the angle at the elbow is 30°; f) the arm is completely bent.
 A6 Rotation of the arm: inward & outward.

Arm clasping, touching, grasping and holding (C.)

- C1 Clasp: a) the left hand of one dancer and the right hand of the other are clasped together.
 C1' Clasp: a) the left middle finger of one dancer and the right middle finger of the other are clasped together;
 C2 Hold: a) Both hands hold the waistband of the individuals standing on each side.
 C3 Touch: a) Hands touch each other with sound (clapping); b) the hand strikes with accent the heel of the foot.
 C4 Hold: a) with one hand; b) with both arms: a stick; a piece of wood; a kerchief.

Part five: Conclusion

In Monastiri, stylistic differences occur at the kinemic and allokinemic levels, as these are distributed within the various morphokines. It is primarily the kinemic elements that differentiate the style and their groupings into sub-categories. By observing various dancers in action, both in live performances and on film, as well as through personal involvement in questioning and dancing (especially through work with children), I have reached certain conclusions concerning the distribution of kinemes which are either simple or quite intricate in conception. Most of the motifs are performed in circular lines. The body is tilted slightly forward and then straightened. The dancers face forward; they dance "parallel with the ground or towards it", keeping the centre of gravity at a constant distance from it. In some dances, instead of moving the whole trunk, only the upper or lower part is accentuated, especially in male style. For instance, in specific movements in the male style, the arms (M.IIa.2) take part of the body weight, the stomach muscles are important during the execution of the intricate footwork (motif 5, var.1,2,3,4). There are also movements such as those where the hips are moved in a subtle

way, (known in kinetography as "inclusion of the hip"), exaggerated footwork is used, or exaggerated leg gestures and stamping come into play.

In addition, there are some colourful actions that characterize particular dance performances which may be performed at specific points. These include shaking, stamping, stooping or lifting kinemes that are added to a motif. The postures assumed in the dances are directly related to the way the body is manipulated. Certain movements are more easily performed from a position in which the torso is slightly bent backward, with the knees slightly flexed and the arms held loose. This is particularly relevant for the female style, while the male style calls for an erect posture, demanding a higher degree of body discipline.

By comparing the various dance types, I found that there is little correlation between stylistic differences and the structure of each dance motif. Apart from the cases where differences in kinemes and morphokines are readily apparent, differences are observed in the ways people use the cube of the dynamosphere in relation to the cube of the kinetosphere (that is, how much space they use, and the way in which they use it). It is possible for each of the dancers moving together in the same dance line, to use his/her own style without disturbing that of his/her neighbours originating from other homogeneous villages. On the basis of the preceding list of stylistic differences, four groups or subgroups may be distinguished in each village, but without a clear-cut separation between the various categories:

1. the old (persons over sixty years old who refuse to adjust to modern ways of moving).
2. the dominant age group (men and women between thirty five to fifty years old).
3. the young boys and girls. That is, schoolchildren and up to twenty years old.
4. children (up to eight years old, an age group treated as autonomous category, which do not create any stylistic social differentiation).

In each group, gender or age, there are a number of different variations that may be regarded as sub-categories. It is instructive to see how these differences are distributed throughout the sub-categories within the community. The path that movement takes consists of various positions in space with several characteristic peaks between the appearance and the final disappearance, an idea expressed by Rudolf Laban [1966: 27-36], who tried to explain dynamic actions in terms of the influences of time and force, as well as of space.

In general, villagers show awareness of some, but not all, of the stylistic differences listed above. Certain forms are classified as belonging to the old generation, when the old generation shows a special preference. It is clear that old people are more conservative in their movements than younger persons, and do not permit themselves to deviate from what they have learned from their forebears, often saying, "this is the way we shall continue to teach our children", a statement which denotes the indigenous idea of what style is, based on the creative processes and performance, and not the static, timeless and ideal typified product.

The middle-aged group, especially women, but men as well, between thirty-five to fifty-five years old, being the most powerful group in the village, their style is the norm formulated by experience and accepted as such by the community. This can be seen as the model (as a point of reference), from which men develop their own style and which children try to imitate until they establish their own gender style. Data show that many inconsistencies can be seen in this category, as Monastiriotes enjoy a kind of freedom. One example of this is the use of the raised-foot kineme, performed with high or little flexion at the knee; the foot may be rotated to the left or to the right or remain unrotated. Other kinemes in forward low position, may also be diagonal forward, and so on.

There are some interview data to suggest that in the past the elders strictly imposed separation of the sexes in dance. For example, when women now over fifty were young, they used to dance with girls of their peer group. "That person belongs to my age group", meaning that they can act as peer group, in dancing, or in other activities, such as *mentza* (work for girls), or the *roubana*

(an Easter custom), and so on. In the past, attempts by small children to join with their friends in a dance line were strongly discouraged. This may be incidental today, but I witnessed it during my stay in the village. A woman who stood beside me, admonished a girl who wanted to dance with me by telling her: "Go with your friends, at the end of the line". As for men, the older the man, the more he wants to dance with men of his peer group.

There are several important evaluative concepts in northern Thracian dance that metaphorically characterize mastery in dancing. Along with style, we should consider all elements of the performance: the number of people directly involved in the dancing, the dancers' relationship with their audience during the performance, the dancers' physical behaviour, their technical attributes, and so on. A very important term in dancing is *chrysocheria* [*chryso*=gold, *cheri*=hand]. In its original use it characterizes skill in embroidery, for which northern Thracian women are renowned. When related to the dancer, this notion refers to individual competence in embellishing the dance with fine 'stitches'. Dance movements must keep the body in the upright position, relaxed and "willing" to obey the music. The body carries the dancer's own weight, without trying to transfer part of it to those on either side (which prevents the dancers from executing the dance correctly). "*Den echeis mourafeti* [worth, value, ability], *min katapianesai*" [If you've no ability, don't join in], say the people from northern Thrace. The *meraklis* [proficient and accomplished dancer] must be *spathatos* [slender, literally "spearlike"], and his pace must be very light, with the whole sole touching the ground; he must pace as if caressing the ground. The *choreftarades* are the dance enthusiasts, male and female, and whenever they want to dance, they take their place among the people who know how to dance well. One does not want to drag oneself (*svarnisetai*) into a crowd of people who dance in a disorderly, untidy way. One tries to join in the dancing line (*richnetai sto choro*), as skillfully as one can and to dance *serbesika*, with pride. There is a very rich vocabulary of terms used to express ways of performing, according to how the bodies move and which movements can be expressed in so many ways that there is really no one pattern for them. For example, *chrysocheria*, or lightness, has no shape. It has perceivable characteristics, but no established pattern. These are all qualitative components of style that every good dancer must be familiar with and ready to use in a performance. However, there are also external factors that, even though closely related to the dance movements, influence the basic nature of traditional northern Thracian dance. And by adopting Panofsky's words I may say that style can be defined "as people's practical experience, which had to be controlled by knowledge of the manner in which, under varying social and historical conditions, movements and performances are expressed by dance forms" [Panofsky 1970].

Dance style, as a characteristic imposed upon structure, brings hidden meaning to light: facts bearing on dance itself in the first instance, and hence on the individual, his behaviour and the community in which he lives and acts. Using structural analysis in the search of what style is, helps by revealing surface manifestations of the underlying principles structuring particular societies. Monastiriotes refer explicitly to style as ways of performing which unite and differentiate themselves – within the community and cross-culturally. As Monastiriotes say: *kathe topos kai zakoni*; *kathe muchalas kai taxi* [every village has its customs; every neighbourhood its own order (that is, its particular way of doing things)]. What this old proverb reveals is a fundamental recognition of a multiplicity of styles; for those originating from northern Thrace. The concept of 'style' and its use is more than a component of cognitive and symbolic organization, it is a way of life which characterizes a concrete geographical region for a specific period of time.

ENDNOTES

1. Although this article relies on ongoing research sponsored by the Research Program Thrace, funded by the Friends of Music Society, the bulk of the material used is based on my research (1983-1986) for my Ph.D. thesis, titled: *Dance as cultural message: a study of dance style among the refugee communities Micro Monastiri, Neo Monastiri and Aeginion*, submitted to the Queen's University of Belfast, in December 1989. Fieldwork funded by the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation (PFF), Nafplion, began in 1983 and continued at intervals until 1987.
2. According to Kavouras [1997: 57], performance, as an analytical category, is not actually a typical execution of a dance, or even better an aesthetic expression of given movement units, but a construction of a reality, which includes the actors (dancers and audience) and the relation of the construction itself.
3. For a similar perspective, see Cowan [1992: 26], who argues that "in dancing and in the discourse which surrounds it, Sohojians express important social identities and relationships, they also explore many of the ambiguities and tensions in them, though not always through words.
4. Nikos Papanikolaou was born in Monastiri (northern Thrace), in 1900. In 1924, following the bulk of those who abandoned their homeland, moved to Greece, and settled with his family in the small town of Pella, in Macedonia, where he died in 1986. He and his wife, as well as members of his family, were my principal informants because he and his wife left from Monastiri when both were in their twenties and could remember important details, and their children had inherited the love and appreciation of Thracian tradition. This family was known as a dance kindred and its members were the most important informants during my fieldwork.
5. In the region of northern Thrace, there was a cluster of ten villages known as the villages of the 'Karyoti', located in the Tontzo basin. When the borders between Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece were defined in 1913, the autonomous province of northern Thrace (1875-1881) was annexed to Bulgaria, occupying its southern part, known today as the Bulgarian Thracian region. With the Treaty of Neuilly in 1922, 'on the reciprocal exchange of populations between Greece and Bulgaria', the Greeks living there abandoned their homes and came to settle in Greece, scattered in small or large, homogeneous or complex village communities, one of which was the inhabitants of Meghalo Monastiri (about 400 Greek families), who on reaching Greece split up and settled in three receiving villages: Neo Monastiri, Meghalo Monastiri (central Greece), and Trikala (Macedonia). In this paper I shall deal only with the community in Neo Monastiri, called here Monastiri.
6. Structural analysis introduced in the study of dance by Kaeppler (first set forth in 1967 and partially published in 1972) was applied to Tongan dance (Polynesia). It is grounded in the *creative process* through which the dancer is aware of a series of rules on the basis of which they form dances. (See Kaeppler, this volume.) For Kaeppler, a Tongan "dancer [is] essentially a storyteller, and the conveying of the poetic text depended primarily on movements of the hands and arms. "...Polynesian performers enhanced a story by rendering poetry melodically, rhythmically, and visually, alluding to selected words of the text with movements of the hands and arms" [Kaeppler 1985: 8].
7. The application of emic categories to dance at Monastiri is the second application — the first carried out by Hall (see this volume) — to use and extend Kaeppler's structural analysis of dance. Hall's use concerns improvisation and refers to the tradition of Irish dancing.
8. The creative users, that is, the connoisseurs, the innovators of the dance, who skilfully select the appropriate kinetic elements and then shape them by using a series of institutional webs, are easily distinguished, and select those kinetic elements appropriate to the occasion (see in this article the example with Katerina who ought to show modesty in one case, or exhibitionist traits in the other).
9. On this issue see Del Hymes 1974.
10. Such an account can also be conceived as what Bourdieu in his book *Outline of a theory of practice* [1977], has called a "theory of [social] practice, ... an examination ... of the relationship between cultural form, performance, and the creative deformation of structures and normative patterns."
11. In 1992, at the second colloquium of the Sub-study Group on Dance Analysis of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology (ICTM) held at Istanbul, 'dance motif' was accepted as the most meaningful structured entity of dance organization.
12. See more on this subject in Del Hymes 1974: 45-65.
13. This prohibition was applied only to those refugee communities originating from 'Bulgaria', where its members used to practise "odd customs" bound to the cultivation of the earth, the beginning of the new agricultural year, or where individuals were strongly interested in common affairs. In other neighboring communities, the performance of custom, dancing, singing, and other folk practices, revealing ideas such as: purity, 'authenticity', and Greekness, not only were allowed, but encouraged, as they were part of the juntas cultural indoctrination project.
14. On New Year day, Monastirioties celebrate the beginning of the new agricultural year by using symbolic objects, movements, lyrics and tunes.

15. The Monastiriotes, together with the population of the Karyoti communities – who are now dispersed in more than thirty villages in northern and central Greece – make up the 'race' of northern Thracians (refugees from Bulgaria). These populations, much stricter in the past but with greater latitude today, are closely related to each other through a series of networks: marital exchange, participation, and work partnership.
16. I, too, was subjected to local stylistic commentary when, at Mikro Monastiri, in 1983, I got up to take part in a dance I had learned three years earlier at Monastiri. Believing that I knew the dance – same name and choreographic composition – I joined in the dance circle among local women. At the end of the event two women came up to me and asked me: "Are you a bride in Monastiri?" They asked me whether I was a bride because they could not recognize me as a local, and secondly, because they recognized the manner I moved my body and moved my hands as the way Monastiriotes danced. Both women were aware of the distinctions and brought them up in their commentary. For example, the two women who recognized in me the style with which they were familiar because they originated from Monastiri and had come as brides to Mikro Monastiri twenty years earlier (personal field notes).
17. Monastiriotes characterize the Mikro Monastiriote style as smooth-straight, because people from that village dance without any impressive movements. In contrast, Mikro Monastiriotes admire the Monastiriote style for its 'cohesion', emphasizing that the Monastiriote dance is dynamically performed. Despite the stylistic differences among the villages, northern Thracians believe that their 'race' (population group) produces *chorefiarades* [those who like dancing], since many of them know how to dance and the majority of them dance with acknowledged expertise.
18. Such as: walking-pace – slow pace, large pace; forward / backward – using sliding pace, using turns; lift the leg – higher, lower, bend – at knees, at the ankles; jump – jump-like step, short jump; run – with small paces, with large paces; slow / quick, upright position, bend position, the use of space – large, short-, and so on.
19. The "holding from the waistband" was usual when men and women wore local costume, of which the sash wound round the person's waist was an accessory. So in the dance, each dancer, with arms outstretched to each side, used the middle finger to hold onto the sash of his fellow dancers. This hold contributed to keeping the torso in the upright position, to freeing the lower limbs so that the leg movements could be executed, and moreover to keep the collective image in the circle, which reflects the harmonious relationship of those participating in it. Today the absence of this costume accessory has introduced the "holding from the hands". In this case the old name retreats, as obsolete, and is replaced by the new one, which denotes the "authenticity" of the moment. A further example, in which the name is determinative of position, does not represent a specific dance nomenclature, or a dance type.
20. *Syngathisma* has a twofold use: a) as dominant morphokine upon which the *syngathistos* motif is organized, and b) as decoration in various dance genres of the repertoire, such as *ap ta znaria* (6/8), *kokonitikos* (2/4), *milissos* and *bogdanos* (7/16), meaning that each time this morphokemic unit adopts a different form, depending on the rhythm of the dance (the relationship of the three movements changes and adapts to the new rhythmical scheme). The expression *to pao syngathista* denotes mode, meaning that the *syngathisma* motif is used as an embellishment of the dance. The incorporation of this motif scheme in dances other than *syngathistos* functions as a diacritical motif of the good dancers, as an embellishment at both the personal and the community level.
21. In literature, as well as in choreology, *zonaradikos* represents a specific type of dance, structured in 6/8 metre, with dancers holding from the waistband. It is a term introduced by musicians and adopted by intellectuals – see encyclopedia entries – and where the hand hold becomes the title of the dance and replaces the whole gamut of local names that give formal and conceptual substance to the dance (on this subject see also Rhombou-Levidi 1999).
22. In Monastiri there are many social categories which may be expressed by differences in style, such as social status, class, prestige, modesty, pride, hegemony. The dancer can be effectively an *objectifying* process, objectifying the actor himself/herself, whose very being (shape, look, actions) are constrained by the occasion's 'formal' requirements [Frith 1996: 204-205]. And as such we can also compare other activities in Monastiri, that is, the Sunday walking along the main ethnic road, at a wedding party (see more in Skouteri-Didaskalou 1980), in the coffee shops [Cowan 1990], in which gender ideology is expressed as restrictions of movement in space.
23. This taxonomy can also include more classification headings, such as ritual, social (dance occasion), or dance roles (first dancer, average dancer, best man, camel, and so on). Here however, I shall use as an example gender and age distinctions.

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IMPROVISATION AND FIXED COMPOSITION IN CLOGGING

Frank Hall

This paper developed out of a discussion of improvisation in a seminar on creativity at Indiana University.¹ Two articles written on the subject were the main focus of attention: (I) Nettel [1974] and (II) Puri and Hart [1982]. One question was especially interesting: Is the process of improvisation different from the process of composition? Both articles cited above indicate that the processes are similar.

My own view is that the very compression of time in the process of improvisational composition had to make it qualitatively different from the process of conventionally understood composition for a fixed piece. This is a subtle distinction. However, it inspired me to examine more closely the nature of improvisation in clogging, a form of dancing familiar to me.² The main question that will be addressed in this paper – through the morphological analysis of two dances – is this: How is an improvised piece similar to, and how different from, a fixed piece in the idiom of clogging?

I agree with Puri and Hart that "...far from representing a dichotomy, improvising and composing are closely related" [1982:71], and with Nettel, who says that "the juxtaposing of composition and improvisation as fundamentally different is false, and that the two are instead part of the same idea..." [1974:6]. These views are to be distinguished from the notion that in improvisation, "...the aim of the dancer is to form movement extemporaneously.... A dance improvisation is either being created, in the very process of being born, or it is not at all" [Sheets-Johnstone 1981:399].

Just as one could legitimately doubt the report of a birth which did not follow a gestation period, so one doubts the above statement which has an improvised dance dangling, as it were, in time without prior development in form, in a style, and thus according to some rules. Puri and Hart make the case that in dance "idioms are marked by a certain exclusivity. That is to say that they make use of some movements but not others." [1982:75]. With this vocabulary of movement go certain rules of structure or grammaticality.

If Puri and Hart are right, then clogging has its own vocabulary of movement and the study of its structure should reveal its rules, or grammar. When the idiom has been subjected to this kind of morphological analysis, the questions regarding improvisation and fixed composition in clogging can be addressed with an understanding of the rules (and consequently, the freedoms) within the idiom.

Methods and materials

In this analysis of the structure of clogging, the methods developed by Kaeppler [1967] are utilized. Her method is based on a linguistic analogy in which "kinemes" are basic movement units comparable to phonemes in a spoken language. "Morphokines" are combinations of kinemes, which constitute recognized movements by natives, indigenous practitioners of the style of dancing. Morphokines are roughly analogous to morphemes in linguistics.³

The next level of organization of the dance is the "motif" level in Kaepler's system. These are recurring combinations of morphokines. The use of motif to describe larger elements corresponds to its use in folklore. Here use is made of the motif level and one more level: that of the "phrase." The phrase corresponds to the eight-bar musical phrases in the accompaniments to each of the dances analyzed.

The kinemes and morphokines of clogging which have been identified will be rendered in Labanotation. Kaepler explains the use of Labanotation for the purpose:

As a system for recording movement, Labanotation can be used in a way comparable to phonetic notation of speech sounds. Just as the linguist working with a living language subjects a phonetic grid to phonemic analysis to obtain an inventory of the basic phonemes in a language, a dance ethnologist can subject an 'etic' movement grid recorded in Labanotation to 'emic'* analysis in order to ascertain which movements have emic relevance and thereby obtain an inventory of basic dance movements comparable to the phonemes of a language.

* The terms 'etic' and 'emic' are derived from 'phonetic' and 'phonemic'. 'Etic' refers to actual differences, for example, in sound or movement, that are culture free, while 'emic' refers to differences that are recognized by a particular culture [Kaepler 1967:footnote 6].⁴

The attempt will be made to include as many kinds of clogging as possible in this discussion, which is somewhat of a problem as there is a great variety of styles extant in the United States. Some of the names for these styles are: buckdancing, jigging, flatfooting, freestyle clogging, and precision clogging. All of these are permutations of the same dance idiom, which for convenience's sake are herein called clogging.⁵

Description

Clogging is a dance of rhythm-making with the feet. Hard-soled shoes (with or without taps) make rhythmic accents by direct contact with the floor through gesture and weight change. Like the tap dancer, the clogger produces sound and in so doing directly participates in music-making through the dancing.

The history of clogging is obscure. Although many authors of instruction books [Bonner 1983; Duke 1984; Popwell 1977] have put forth theories, specific and general, about the origins and development of clogging, very little scholarly work has been done in the field. Notable exceptions are Nathan [1962] and Stearns [1968] who trace the development of tap dancing from its 'folk' roots in clogging and buckdancing on the nineteenth century minstrel stage.

Recent history of the dancing in one significant pocket of the Great Smokey Mountains is extensively treated in a thesis by Matthews [1983]. Haywood County, North Carolina, was the scene of what may have been the origin, or one of the origins, of 'team' clogging for competitions and tourist entertainment. A very strong identification still exists between clogging and the mountains. When asked from where their dancing comes, a clogger is apt to respond, "from the mountains."

Regardless of the specific history of clogging, a significant aspect of the idiom is that nearly all cloggers have a sense that there is a history, heritage, or tradition of the dancing [Matthews 1983:31]. This sense of tradition is often linked with a concept of identity. The elements of the identity may vary from group to group, place to place, individual to individual. The identity may be with a 'traditional' versus 'contemporary' entertainment culture. It may function as a rural versus urban geographic identity, or as in the case of Matthews's "sixth layer of meaning" in mountain dance, "an individual's choice of one Haywood County dance style over another marks his or her sub-community identity or rendition of community truth" [1983:144].

Clogging is performed in a variety of settings, and where one finds it may often be linked to the style of clogging one has found. Generally, clogging is performed at community square

dances, music festivals, fairs, parties, competitions, clogging classes, and on music hall stages, on television, and in talent shows.

Forms of clogging

Clogging is not a homogenous dance form. Variations exist from group to group and place to place.⁶ The variety of names associated with the idiom is indicative of the number of styles. In this paper similarity of styles will be more in focus than differences. However, a brief discussion of the differences is justified as it affects, in some instances, the very form of the dancing and will provide context for the two dances discussed herein.

There are three main forms which are fairly recognizable as distinct from each other. Using Matthews's taxonomy, the first may be called buckdancing. Some of the noticeable features of the style are that: (1) no taps are worn on the shoes; (2) the dancing is performed solo, or in the course of a square dance. However, buckdancing is not done in square dance formation for public performance purposes. Buckdancers 'clog' through a participation-oriented square dance just because they enjoy it. When a performance is called for from a buckdancer, it is done solo. Matthews makes a case for more distinguishing characteristics by movement and posture criteria, which may hold true for Haywood County, but are not necessarily applicable to a wider area.

Freestyle cloggers represent another form (and possibly a next stage in historical development) in the idiom. This style includes groups who: (1) utilize square dance figures for performance choreography; but (2) do not coordinate their footwork according to any predetermined pattern. This style features a group performance orientation, and groups usually have some concept of costuming as a feature of group identity and a part of their performing aesthetic. Freestyle cloggers usually wear taps to enhance the sound of their stepping.

The third and now perhaps most pervasive form of clogging seen around the country, especially in performance, is precision clogging. Like freestyle clogging, precision clogging is a group activity specifically oriented to performances and contests. Taps, often of the jingle variety (with moving metal parts that produce extra sound), are nearly always a part of the costuming, which is uniform for the group. Precision clogging (1) utilizes coordinated footwork and (2) choreography that may be based on, but not limited to, square dance figures. Cloggers in this style also consider a wider variety of music appropriate for the dancing. They often use contemporary popular tunes in addition to the 'traditional' fiddle tunes and bluegrass music used more exclusively by dancers in the other two styles.

These categories of form are distinct only to some extent in the world of clog dancing. Certainly the names and attributed features would be grist for the argument mill in clog dancing circles. These categories have been named and assigned their features for ease in presenting data on stylistic variation in the idiom. The two dances analyzed here come from the first and third categories.

Styles and their features may be more accurately described as a convergence of interlocking continua. Matthews uses thirty-five "Relevant data categories" in comparing dance styles in Haywood County, North Carolina. The purpose here is not description nor analysis of styles, but a morphological comparison of an improvised and fixed piece.

Morphological analysis

We will now focus on two dances: a solo performance in buckdance form,⁷ and a duet in precision clogging form.⁸ The method used is slightly different from Kaeppler's due to my having an intimate familiarity with the dance genre. Therefore, analysis is from the point of view of an indigenous performer. The kinemes of clogging were postulated and then checked against videotaped performances to be analyzed. The morphokines were derived from the buckdancer's own description of his steps, and from my own familiarity with the steps used by the two precision cloggers. Higher levels of organization of the dances were derived from the phrase structure

of the musical accompaniment and repetitions of the morphokines evident in the videotaped performances.

Kinemes

The body can be easily divided for morphological analysis (of this form, at any rate) into head, torso, hips, arms, and legs. The head does not produce significant movement in clogging. Generally the head is held in a 'normal' position facing the line of direction and neither tilted nor rotated. Neither is the torso involved in significant movement in the dancing. To continue the linguistic analogy, it might be said that in some 'dialects', or regional styles of clogging, one or another posture may be specifically described. Matthews [1983] describes the hyper-extended back of the Haywood County buckdancer. Thus, posture may be a distinguishing feature of style, but movement of the torso within one dialect is not emic. Statements that are true of a dialect in this sense would also be true of an 'ideolect', or an individual's style.

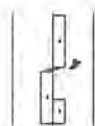
Hips move in clogging only to the extent that they follow or accommodate leg gestures. There is no emic movement of the hips in the idiom. Normally the arms hang loosely at the sides, moving only in response to other body movement. Recently, however, a major exception to this rule has developed in precision clogging where limited choreographed arm movement or positioning takes place. This is a good example of 'breaking the rules' or violating the aesthetic of clogging in some people's opinions.

There is no developed repertoire of arm movements in clog dance forms, thus such movements and positioning as occasionally appear will be treated as innovations, a breaking of the rules. It will not be included at the kineme and morphokine level, but will be discussed at the level of 'phrase' and 'whole dance'.

The legs produce significant movement in clogging. Fifteen kinemes pertaining to the dancer's legs have been identified which are described here in conventional language and then rendered in Labanotation. A number of 'allokines' associated with some of the kinemes have also been identified. These are etic variations of emic movements which are undifferentiated by dancers or which are not seen as different enough to constitute a separate movement unit.

Kinemes for the legs will be designated with the upper-case letter, 'L', plus a number. In the case of allokines, a lower-case letter will be added to identify the variation.

L1 is a step in place. A step consists mainly in the lowering of a foot to the floor to accept body weight. A step may include the raising of the foot off the floor, or it may follow a kineme where the foot is already off the floor. A step is always made with enough vigor to produce a sound when the foot strikes the floor. Allokinemes of L1 are steps made in different directions. L1a is a step forward; L1b, a step backward; L1c, a step to the right; L1d, a step to the left; L1e, forward diagonal right; L1f, forward diagonal left; L1g, backward diagonal right; L1h, backward diagonal left. All L1 kinemes can be executed with either foot. L1i is a step at a slightly lower level, flexed knee.

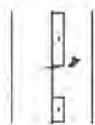


L1, step



Allokinemes

L2 is a hop. A hop is a small jump made on one foot, rather than from one foot to another. The weight-bearing leg springs the body weight up so that the weight-bearing foot leaves the floor and then returns to make a sound as it lands again. The allokinemes for L2 are the same as for L1, they are directional variations a-h. These lowercase letter designations for allokinemes shall remain directional in meaning. Other allokinemes will be designated by letter 'i'.



L2, hop

L3 is a brush, or low swing of the free leg such that the ball of the free foot makes contact with the floor to produce an accent. The foot swings through or beyond this point of contact with the floor. The movement is made with enough force that the sound produced is a percussive tap. Allokinemes for L3 include a-h.



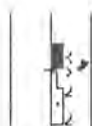
L3, brush

L4 is a scuff. This is a similar gesture to L3 with a swing of the free leg such that the heel of the free foot makes contact with the floor and produces an accent. However, with L4 only allokines a, c, d, e, f, apply. This is a matter more of physical possibility or comfort than anything else.



L4, scuff

L5 is called a slide or chug, and produces two sounds. The weight-bearing leg springs the body weight up and forward just enough to allow the weight-bearing foot to move forward. The ball of the foot does not lose contact with the floor during the movement, and the heel strikes the floor at the end of the movement to produce an accent as the weight returns in full on the whole foot. Because the ball of the foot maintains contact with the floor as the movement proceeds, a slight brushing sound – like the English 'sh' sound (phonetic 'ʃ') – is produced prior to the accent made by the heel returning to the floor. Allokines for L5 include a, e, f, and L5i, which is executed on both feet simultaneously.



L5, slide

L6 is called a 'drag'. This movement starts with the knee of the weight-bearing leg flexed. The weight-bearing leg springs the body weight up just enough to allow the weight-bearing foot to move backward. The ball of the foot never loses contact with the floor. The movement finishes with the knee of the weight-bearing leg extended, and no strong accent. The sound produced by this movement is again like the oral 'sh' sound in English. Allokines include b, c, d, g, h. And 'i' is the movement done on both feet, or legs, simultaneously.



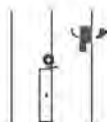
L6, drag

L7 is a tap made with the ball of the foot of the free, non-weight-bearing, leg. This tap is made without a swing of the lower leg, or a brushing motion. It can be done directionally anywhere from the body, so its allokines are a-h.



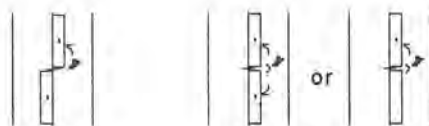
L7, tap

L8 is a tap made with the toe of the foot of the free leg. It is possible to do this to the side or behind body center, so its allokines are b, c, d, g, h.



L8b, toe behind

L9 is a step onto the heel of the foot such that the ball does not make contact with the floor. Directional allokines include a, b, c, d, e, f. L9i is a heel drop, where the weight is borne on the ball of the foot and the heel of that weight-bearing foot is lowered to the floor with enough force to produce a sound.



L9, heel step

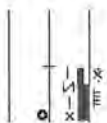
L9i, heel drop

L10 is a placing of the heel of the free leg such that it produces an accent. Its allokines are a, c, d, e, f.



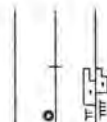
L10, heel place

L11 is a gesture with the free leg, mostly the lower leg. It is a swing from the knee that may be described as a kick. The ankle is flexed, the toe never pointed. Its directional allokines include a, c, d, e, f, g, h.



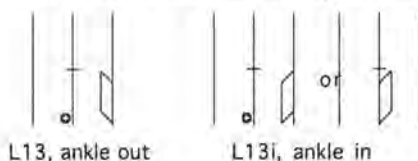
L11, kick out

L12 is also a gesture with the free leg, generally when the weight-bearing leg is slightly flexed. It often follows L11. The upper portion of the free leg is brought up into a position parallel to the floor, knee in front of the hips and flexed to 90 degrees. Again the ankle of the free leg is also flexed. Allokines are a, c, d, e, f.

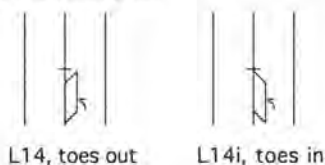


L12, knee up

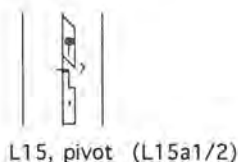
L13 is an ankle gesture which can be made with a free or weight-bearing leg. With the ball of the foot remaining stationary, generally in contact with the floor, the lower leg is rotated so that the ankle turns out, away from body center (the opposite of a 'turn out' in ballet). L13i is an allokine in which the rotation is reversed so the ankle swings in toward the body center.



L14 is a kineme related to L13. In L14 the heel of the weight-bearing foot is in contact with the floor and the lower leg is rotated so that the toe swings out, away from body center or, as in L14i, the rotation is reversed so that the toe swings in.



L15 is a pivot or turning step. After a step the dancer pivots on the ball of the weight-bearing foot. The amount of the spin may be specified by a fraction following the kineme or incorporating morphokine and referring to the amount of a pivot (360 degrees = one whole turn) to be completed.



Summary of kinemes

Fifteen kinemes significant to clogging have been identified. There are surely more existing in this living and ever-changing dance tradition, but these account for all the movements in the two dances analyzed. Some informed observations are now possible.

Significant movements in clogging are produced by the legs, more specifically, the lower legs. Ten of the fifteen kinemes produce sound loud enough to be considered rhythmic accents. In contrast to the activity of the legs, the upper body (head, arms, torso and hips) remains comparatively still.

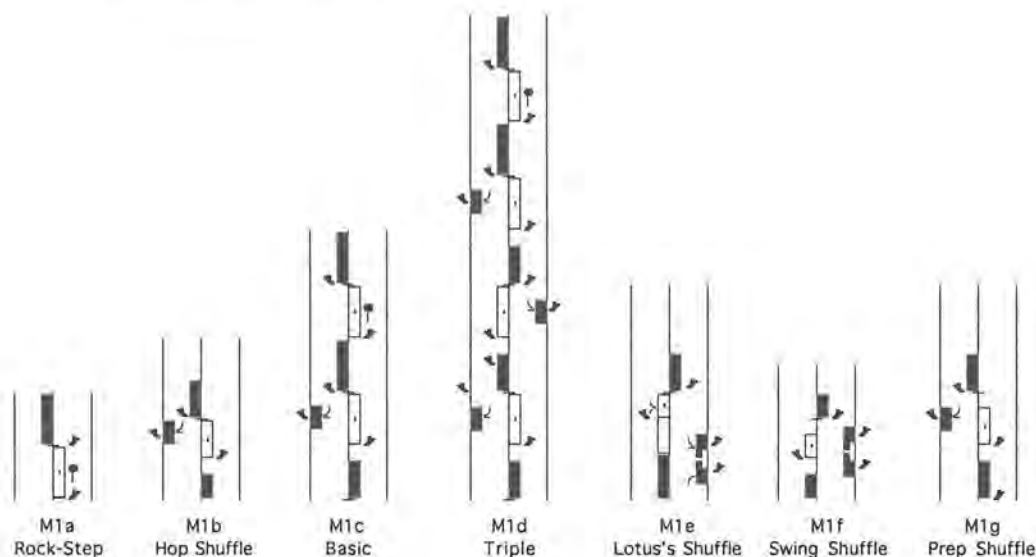
Morphokines

The next level of structure in the dancing is the combination of kinemes into morphokines, or what cloggers often refer to as steps or 'licks'. Generally speaking, these are the smallest units of division in the view of dancers themselves.

Morphokines which share certain features are organized into six groups, and numbered one through six. The 'M' refers to 'morphokine', the numerical designation refers to the characteristic group, and the lowercase letter designates the specific combination of kinemes within that group.

M1 morphokines are those which may be called 'basic steps'. These are combinations of kinemes which are repeated many times throughout a performance, and constitute a 'holding pattern', as it were, for the dancer. These can be preparation steps or steps which frame a variation.

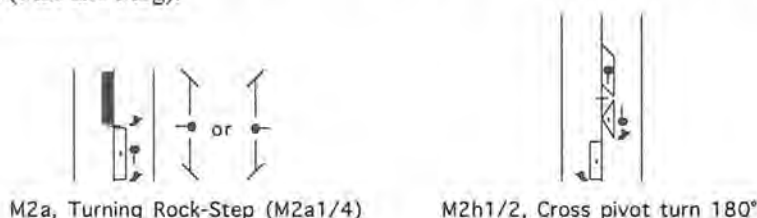
- M1a - rock-step, kineme L1 repeated, often L1b, L1ai
- M1b - hop shuffle, kinemes L2, L7, and L1i
- M1c - basic step, combination of M1a and M1b
- M1d - triple, combination of three M1b and one M1a
- M1e - Lotus's shuffle, L1i, L4, L7, and L9i
- M1f - swing shuffle, L4, L2, L7, and L1
- M1g - L1, L2, L7, and L1i



M1 Morphokines

M2 morphokines are turning steps. The turning steps are generally pivots in place. The first five (a-e) correspond to the basic steps (M1 morphokines) of the same letter designation.⁹ They are simply performed while turning. (See M2a below.) M2h is a special turning step based on the pivot kineme L15. It is a combination of L1, L1d or L1e, and L15. The amount of turn can be indicated with the morphokine designation. M2a^{1/4}, for example, indicates a 180-degree turn while executing a rock-step.

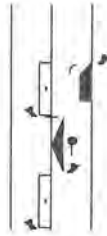
Only one of the turning basic steps is notated in addition to M2h, the principle being the same for the rest. In the two dances under consideration only basic steps M1a through M1e were performed while turning, making them M2a through M2e. However, I have skipped to letter designation 'h' for the pivot turn to avoid confusion because M1f and M1g could also be performed as turning steps (M2f and M2g).



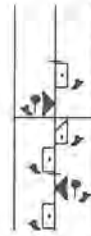
M3 morphokines are side steps, that is, steps which move laterally.

M3a - L1, L1d, L1, L10

M3b - L1, L1di, L1, L1e, L1ci, L1.



M3a



M3b

M4 morphokines are those which feature the kineme L5. I call them slide steps.

M4a - L5, L11, L12

M4b - L1b, L5, L1b, L5, L11, L12

M4c - L1b, L11, L5, L12

M4d - L3, L5

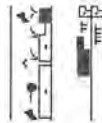
M4e - L7, L6, L5, L12



M4a



M4b



M4c



M4d



M4e

M5 morphokines are brushes and kicks.

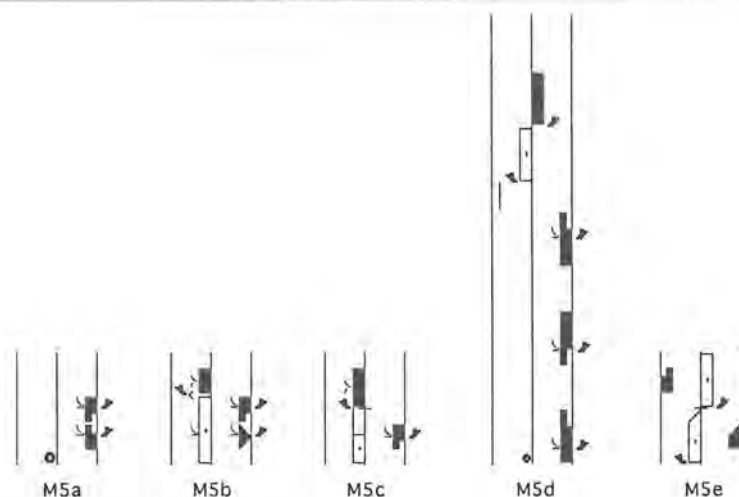
M5a - double toe, L3a, L3b. (Can utilize other L3 allokinemes.)

M5b - M5a, L9i

M5c - L8, L9i

M5d - L3, L3, L3, L2, L12, L1

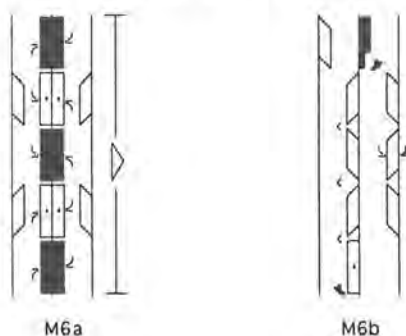
M5e - L1, L11, L1, L11



M6 morphokines feature ankle swings.

M6a - L13, L14, L13a, L14a

M6b - Charleston, L1, L13, L13a, L7, L13, L13a, L1b, L13



Summary of morphokines

The ways in which kinemes are combined into morphokines reveal certain characteristics of the idiom. Perhaps the most noticeable feature is the activity shown in the support column on the Labanotation staff. Most of the morphokines feature at least one change of weight per beat. Gestures of the legs happen in relation to a step or hop. This constant moving of the support from one leg to another or up and down on one leg gives the dancing the characteristic of energy, excitement, or even 'jumpiness'.

Another noticeable characteristic is the constant change of level in the support column. The slight flexion and extension of the knee gives the dancing a nearly constant up and down motion.

A third characteristic is the wealth of accents. This is one of its fundamental features which makes it a member of the family of step-dances, members of which range from English clogging and Irish step-dancing to jazz tap.

A fourth observation is that 23 of the 28 identified morphokines end with a step or other support accent. This makes each morphokine a complete package in itself with a minor cadence. It

promotes a certain orderliness in the dancing that complements the characteristic of energy or jumpiness.

A fifth and related observation is that it seems any kineme can follow any other kineme. There are, of course, some sequences that would be physically impossible. But aside from these, there does not seem to be a set of rules for which movements must appear in which sequence. This is an accommodating feature for creativity and innovation in the idiom.

The ways or methods of combining kinemes may, in fact, be rules of structure if to combine kinemes in ignorance or violation of these methods produces morphokines which a native dancer would not identify as clogging. In summary, these rules are:

1. Kinemes must be combined in such a way as to produce a constant changing of weight or movement of the weight-bearing foot.
2. Morphokines must produce an up and down motion.
3. Morphokines must include audible rhythmic accents

The fourth and fifth observations made above do not translate into rules of structure at this level. The first three, however, do function consistently in the structure to give the movements 'clog-meaning'.

Violations of the first rule produce morphokines in which gesture predominates the movement. It is also necessary to violate rule #2 as a side effect of violating rule #1, because there are no kinemes which provide for level change without weight change or support movement. Thus violations of rule #1 will produce smoother, more even steps than are found in clogging. The effect would be more like certain varieties of tap dancing, which can be a very smooth dance.

Violations of the second rule produce smoother results as well. While weight may change in this instance, it does so without the flexion and extension of the knees. Thus, the weight is held more evenly in a horizontal plane. Again, the effect would be more like tap.

Violations of rule three produce quiet steps. These are perhaps the easiest to recognize as non-cloglike.

A survey of the morphokines identified and notated will reveal at least one violation of each rule. (M5d violates rules #1 and #2; M6a violates rule #3.) These are, of course, the exceptions that prove the rule, and will be discussed later in terms of their function in the composition.

Improvisation

Before reviewing the next level of structure of the two dances, we will consider a basic question: What is improvisation? This is a very complex question when considered in a cross-cultural context. Western music and dance have generally separated improvisation from composition and, as Nettl has written, "singled out improvisation as a minor art, the sphere of comparatively few musicians competent to engage in it" [Nettl 1974:19]. In non-Western music and dance there exist genres in which this distinction becomes less and less possible.¹⁰ However, in treating improvisation and 'fixed' dancing as two ends of the compositional continuum rather than a dichotomy, the possibility of a cross-cultural definition is enhanced.

Two criteria may be considered in determining to which end of the continuum a performance tends: first, the extent to which a performer is creatively involved, and second, the intent of the performer.

In the first instance, the buckdancer, Lotus Dickey, is interviewed immediately following his performance. When asked if he plans out what he is going to do in a dance, he replies, "Well, I guess you work out the sounds in your mind, but I never did set down and do it. I'm just sort of a natural timer. I have a little flare for time" [Roska 1983]. It is obvious from his statement that there is a compositional process involved, but the tone of his answer indicates that he has not fixed the dance in terms of a sequence of steps. Dickey was asked to do "some flatfooting," so

his intention may have been to render a flatfoot dance, but every indication is that a specific sequence of steps was not required nor intended.

Because Dickey's dance is a solo dance there are no external restraints upon the structure of his performance other than the music. He was free to organize his movements as he wished. So his performance would tend toward the improvisation end of the compositional continuum.

In contrast, the duet consists of a prescribed set of steps and sequence. The amount of creative input allowed the performers is limited to interpretation of the steps, facial expression and incidental body movement (a turn of the head, the bounce of an arm, for example) not integral to the choreography. The nature of the duet, both performers executing the same steps at the same time, requires fixed composition. It can be assumed that their intention was to perform this fixed composition as accurately as possible for the talent show.

Now the question, 'How is an improvised piece similar, and how different, from a fixed piece in clogging?' can be considered in comparison and contrast of the two dances on the higher level of structure, the whole dance. Two structural elements mentioned earlier, motif and phrase, are used as intermediary levels within the level of the whole dance. The following Tables 1 and 2 represent the sequence of morphokines in each dance, organized by musical phrases.

TABLE 1 -- SOLO

Phrase	Bars	Tune part	Morphokine Sequence
1	16	A	M1e, M1a, 4(M1e), M1a, M1e, M1a, 5(M1e), M1a, L1
2	16	B	M1f, M1a, M1f, M1a, 3(M1f), M1a, 2(M1f), M1a, 3(M1f), M1a
3	16	B	2(M1e), M1a, M1e, M1a, 4(M1e), M1a, 4(M1e), M1a, L1
4	16	A	M1e, M1a, 4(M1e), M1a, M1e, M1a, 5(M1e), M1a, M1e
5	16	A	M1a, 5(M1e), M1a, M1e, M1a, 5(M1e), M1a, L1
6	16	B	L1, M1f, M1a, M1f, M1a, 2(M1f), M1a, 3(M1f), M1a, 2(M1f), M1a
7	16	B	M1e, M1a, 2(M1e), M1a, 3(M1e), M1a, 5(M1e), M1a, L1
8	16	A	3(M1e), M1a, 2(M1e), M1a, M1e, M1a, M1e, M1a, 3(M1e), M1a
9	16	A	2(M1e), M1a, 3(M1e), M1a, M1e, M1a, 5(M1e), M1a, L1
10	16	B	M1f, M1a, M1f, M1a, 3(M1f), M1a, 6(M1f), M1a, L1
11	16	B	M1f, M1a, M1e, M1a, 2(M1e), M1a, 3(M1e), M1a, 3(M1e), M1a
12	16	A	M1e, M1a, M1e, M1a, 2(M1e), M1a, L1, 6(M1e), M1a, L1

TABLE 2 -- DUET

Phrase	Bars	Tunepart	Morphokine Sequence
1	16	A	4(M6aR), 4(M6aL), 4(M6aR), 4(M6aL)* (*R, L = right, left)
2	16	A	8(M3a), M2f, M1d, 4(M1c)
3	16	A	4(2(M1c), 2(M1b), M5e, M1a)
4	16	A	4(M1g, M4c, M1a), 4(M1c), M6b, M1a
5	16	A	4(M1g, M4c, M1a), 4(M1c), M6b, M1a [repeat of above]
6	16	B	4(M1c), 2(3(M1b), 2(M2b ^{1/2}), M1a, 3(M1c))
7	16	B	2(3(M1b), 2(M2b ^{1/2}), M1a, 3(M1c)), 4M1c
8	16	A	2(M5a, 2(M2a ^{1/2}), M4c, 2(M1c)), 2(2(M1b), M4b, 2(M1c))
9	16	A	4(2(M1c), 2(M1b), M5e, M2a)
10	16	B	M2c ^{1/4} , 3(M1c), 2(M1b, 2(M5b), M5c, M4d, 3(M4e)), 2(M2c ^{1/4}), 2(M1)
11	16	B	2(M1b, 2(M5b), M5c, M4d, 3(M4e)), M2c ^{1/4} , 7(M1c)
12	16	A	Dancer A: M5d, 2(M1c), 2(M1c), 2(M1b, M2h ^{1/2} , M1a) Dancer B: 2(M1c), M5d, 2(M1c), 2(M1b, M2h ^{1/2} , M1a)
13	16	A	2(M1c), M5d, 2(M1c), 2(M1b, M2h ^{1/2} , M1a) [repeat of 'B' above]
14	16	B	4(2(M1c), M2c ^{1/2} , M1c)
15	8	B	6(M1c), M3b, M4a
16	16	A	4(M1c), 2(3(M1b), 2(M2b ^{1/2}), M1a, 3(M1c)) [repeat of phrase 6]
17	16	A	[Repeat ^{1/2} of phrase 7, and exit]

It is immediately striking that Dickey makes use of only three morphokines, and one kineme by itself, which, with a pause, can be considered a fourth morphokine.¹¹ All of these are M1 or basic steps of the 'holding pattern' variety. The variation that he accomplishes in the performance is in the placement of the M1a cadences against the otherwise steady stream of his shuffles (M1e) and swing shuffles (M1f). If the groupings of M1e's and M1f's with their concluding M1a's are considered as motifs and quantified according to the number of M1e or M1f morphokines preceding the M1a, a phrase by phrase motif structure looks like Table 3.

TABLE 3 -- DICKEY'S SOLO -- Motif Structure

Phrase	Motif Sequence							M1e/variations
1	1	4	1	5	L1			
2	1	1	3	2	3	L1		M1f's
3	2	1	4	4	L1			
4	1	4	1	5	$\frac{1}{2}$			
5	$\frac{1}{2}$	5	1	5	L1			
6	L1	1	1	2	3	2	L1	M1f's
7	1	2	3	5	L1			
8	3	2	1	1	3	L1		
9	2	3	1	5	L1			
10	1	1	3	6	L1			M1f's
11	1	1	2	3	3	L1		1(M1f), Rest M1e's
12	1	1	2	L1	6	L1		

It is easy to see from Table 3 that, although Dickey makes use of a very limited repertoire of morphokines, he never repeats himself in the treatment of a musical phrase. Each phrase has a unique structure, defined by the placement of the M1a, rock-steps. He also produces variety by switching several times to the M1f basic step. Otherwise the performance is almost entirely based around M1e morphokines.

It is also easy to see that all but one phrase end with punctuation, the L1 kineme/morphokine. The exception to this, at the end of phrase 4, may be viewed as analogous to enjambment in prosody, where a sentence is continued -- without a pause -- beyond the end of a line, couplet or stanza. The start of phrase 5 continues the thought, so to speak. In clog dance forms this is the kind of violation of an aesthetic one might make as a variation or as a mistake in the process of thinking on one's feet. Ending the phrase with punctuation is a feature of both dances, which makes the phrase an integral unit. This becomes another rule of grammar in the idiom. Lotus Dickey's exception in phrases 4 to 5 is matched by an exception in the duet in phrases 10 to 11.

There is freedom of choice for the dancer in the combination of kinemes into morphokines as long as the rules of weight change, level change, and audible accents are maintained. There is similar freedom of choice in the structural ordering of morphokines peculiar to these dance forms. It is interesting to consider, then, that with the freedom of vocabulary available to Dickey in the taped performance, he chose to use only four steps. This focuses attention to the structure of the phrases, especially the placement of accents. This creates a more rhythmic and musical than visual emphasis. It could not be argued that these four steps are the totality of his repertoire, because he demonstrated at least one other later in the same videotape. It could be argued that the steps used in this performance were the most familiar to him, and that he used them out of habit. In any case, the result is that his composition appears to be a masterful manipulation of the rhythmic-structural potential of the idiom, rather than a presentation of a great quantity of steps.

In contrast to Lotus Dickey's limited vocabulary of steps in this performance, the girls performing the duet make use of some 25 morphokines in their composition. Five of the morphokines used in the duet are M1 or basic steps, and these are used for some 60% of the dance. The rest of the dance features turns, slides, brushes, sidesteps and kicks -- all visual aspects -- against the background of basic steps. These variations in movement are the focal

point of the performance. The basic steps frame these variations, providing links and 'holding patterns' between them.

The structure of the phrases varies also in the duet, as it must to feature a variety of steps. Yet there are repeats of entire phrases (5, 13, 16, 17). There is also symmetry or balance within phrases (1, 3, 9, 14), or between phrases (6 & 7, 12 & 13, 16 & 17). This balance and symmetry is a pleasing (perhaps, calming) complementary feature to the variety in steps.

Some of the morphokines in the duet break the rules of grammar in the idiom as outlined. M5d breaks rules 1 and 2. M6a breaks rule 3, and the whole of phrases 14 and 15 violate the aesthetic of the idiom by conscious movement of the arms. It is clear that in the duet the compositional intent is innovation as well as variation in the movement vocabulary.

Is this possible in an improvised composition? Certainly, variation in vocabulary is possible, as is demonstrated by Dickey's use of the M1f as well as M1e in various phrases. But could he have made up new movements, innovative steps while dancing? Perhaps this is where a limitation in compositional options presents itself for the improviser. In composing a fixed piece the time and rehearsal possibilities enhance the exploration of movement possibilities and innovation of this sort.

Looking only at the exceptions to the rules, it is clear that innovations in movement vocabulary are present in the fixed composition and absent in the improvised composition. It is impossible to tell from the performance which morphokines in the duet were previously known to the dancers and which learned for this piece. But a fixed composition provides the vehicle for developing new movement, while improvisation relies to a greater extent – though not necessarily entirely – on an already familiar repertoire of movement.

Conclusions

Comparison of the two dances clearly shows the role of grammar in the idiom. In many ways the two dances are quite different. Despite the differences in external appearance (music, costume, gender and age, even movement variety), there is morphological evidence that they are doing the same kind of dancing. It is their adherence to the structural grammar of clogging that brings these two performances together. The grammar can be summed up in these four rules:

Clogging movement

1. requires constant changing of weight or movement of the weight-bearing foot;
2. requires a constant up and down movement, or flexion and extension of the weight-bearing leg;
3. requires audible rhythmic accents;
4. must be ordered and punctuated with the cadence according to the phrased musical accompaniment.

The main morphological differences in the two performances indicate the ways in which the dancers achieved variation in their compositions. The improvised variations were mainly sequential ones, that is, the orderings of a set few morphokines within and among phrases. The fixed composition achieved variety through step vocabulary and innovative movement for the idiom.

We must also conclude that the improviser tended to compose mainly through the ordering of an already developed repertoire of movement, and that the tendency in the composition of the fixed piece was to innovate in combinations of a wider variety of movement, perhaps even through controlled violation of the rules of the idiom.

ENDNOTES

1. This article was originally written in 1984 for a seminar and was published in 1985 in *Journal for the anthropological study of human movement*. Only minor changes have been made to the article for purposes of clarity and to correct some errors in the original text and Labanotation. This article was written prior to my enrollment and training for a graduate degree in anthropology at Indiana University. Special thanks is due to Drid Williams for her helpful comments, and indeed for her Oxford-style tutorial which not only helped me strengthen the article, but convinced me to continue my studies of dance via anthropology. I would also like to thank Brenda Farnell, whom fortune put in that same seminar, and whose counsel and encouragement led me to the choice to write about something I knew, clogging.
Because more than 20 years has intervened between the original writing and this second publication, there are dated aspects to the argument, mostly in reference to other scholarship at the time. There are also subtle distinctions I would now make with respect to various concepts, methods, and implications. I have decided to live with these limitations rather than engage in a major review and rewrite. I feel the article still stands well enough on its merits in argument and method.
2. Anyone familiar with the idiom of clogging will, I believe, grant the existence of improvisation as well as fixed composition in the idiom.
3. I am aware that there is controversy in the field of linguistics as to the precise meaning of the term 'morpheme'. Following Kaepler, I use the term to indicate a structural combination of elements roughly on the level of 'word' or 'meaningful syllable'.
4. Kaepler refers the reader for a further discussion of this differentiation to Sturtevant 1964, pages 101-103.
5. Excluded from this discussion and analysis are tap dancing and forms of step-dancing from other countries, such as English Clog, French-Canadian and Irish step-dancing.
6. There are, of course, variations in style from individual to individual. This kind of variation in style is ignored in this discussion, as are regional variations in style.
7. This performance was given by Lotus Dickey, a 74-year old musician, dancer, and songwriter from Orange County, Indiana. The performance was recorded on videotape [Roska 1983]. He dances to the accompaniment of a solo fiddle. The videotape includes an interview with Mr. Dickey.
8. This performance was given by two teenage girls (names unknown) for their junior high school talent show. The performance was recorded on videotape [Gemmecke 1984]. They dance to a recording of a popular song, "She works hard for the money" by recording artist, Donna Summer.
9. Lowercase letter designations of morphokines do not correspond in any way to lowercase letter designations of kinemes, that is, they are not directional. Lowercase letter designations simply distinguish morphokines of similar type or category.
10. The reader is referred to the entire Nettl article [1974] for a treatment of this complex topic.
11. This morphokine plus pause is roughly similar to the "supplementing kinetic element" in the structural analytic system of Martin and Pesovar [1961].

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THE MULTIPLE FACES OF MEANING IN THE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF MODERN TURKISH FOLK DANCE TRADITION

Arzu Öztürkmen

Complexities of modernity have puzzled many folklorists or anthropologists who focused on the urban, the "non-native," "the inauthentic." Claude Lévi-Strauss argued in the late sixties that it was not possible to do an ethnography of modernity: modern society was just too complex; history had intervened and smashed its structure. No matter how hard one searched, one would never find a coherent system of relations in modern society. Quoting Lévi-Strauss in the introduction of his landmark book *The Tourist*, Dean MacCannel gives us a thorough survey of how he ended up with a structural analysis of tourism. Analyzing his field notes, MacCannel discovered that the existing theory, which best fit his facts originated in structural anthropology. His data showed that tourist attractions were an unplanned typology of structure that provided direct access to the modern consciousness or "world view":

Modernity first appears to everyone as it did to Lévi-Strauss, as disorganized fragments, alienating, wasteful, violent, superficial, unplanned, unstable and inauthentic. On second examination, however, this appearance seems almost a mask, for beneath the disorderly exterior, modern society hides a firm resolve to establish itself on a worldwide base... For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life-styles [MacCannel 1976: 2-3].

Hoping that his book would serve as an introduction to the structural analysis of modern society, MacCannel stressed that he "did not *try* to do a structural analysis of the tourist and modern society" but that "it forced itself" upon him [MacCannel 1976:2].

The staged folk dance practice conforms to MacCannel's statement about moderns and modernity.¹ It carries the mystique of the old times and clothes, while embodying various forms of modernity in its speed and stylization of movements, in the change of its costumes, musical instruments, lights and makeup. As a participant of modern Turkish folk dance tradition, I was myself puzzled by the complexity of the system after fifteen-years of practice. Beginning by the late seventies, the folk dance practice in Turkey had evolved into a market with its own social and economic structure. My own journey with modern Turkish folk dance tradition had a very similar pattern with MacCannel's experience: my data imposed structural analysis upon me! Following research on the history of the folk dance movement in Turkey, I found that the facts which laid before me revealed a complexity of terms and concepts which needed to be redefined, deconstructed, and comparatively tested. The multiplicity of meanings assigned to dances and to the overall folk dance activities was confusing and puzzling, especially for the performer. This is how I joined the Structural Analysis Sub-Study Group of ICTM. The comparative and theoretical discussions over the years clarified much of my confusions. I found Adrienne Kaeppler's approach to the analysis of movement systems a key to explaining the structure of the modern Turkish folk dance experience. This paper is the outcome of these fruitful discussions. In search of the meaning of the modern folk dance movement in Turkey, I will start by giving a historical review and then discuss the outcomes of my ethnography of the modern folk dance institutions in the light of Kaeppler's theoretical approach to the analysis of movement systems.

Historical review²

The revival of folk dances began in Turkey in the early 1930s as part of the new nation-building cultural policy. Along with a number of other folk genres such as folk music, folk poetry or folk drama, the initial attempts to teach and to perform traditional dances were initiated by the so-called "People's Houses." People's Houses were the semi-official cultural research and performance centers (very much like the Czech *sokols*) established by the Republican People's Party (RPP) in each town, and later in villages. It was under the People's Houses that local folk dances were collected and were formalized to be presented in the annual national celebrations held in Ankara. In these days, the well-known local dancers would be encouraged by the People's Houses community to gather dances of different villages from a particular town. Originally, such dances were performed for different dance events, including weddings, religious and national holidays, local seasonal festivities or farewell parties for the military service. However, not all dances of a village or town would be selected for the final version to be presented in Ankara. Some would be eliminated, simply because they did not fit into a group performance, others because they were more spectacular in terms of their narrativeness.³

With the RPP's decline in the late 1940s, the activities of the People's Houses ceased in 1950. But by then the Houses' mission was accomplished in the sense that staged folk dancing had already been established in national celebrations and public performances. Beginning in the fifties, private institutions, mostly banks, took over the organization of folk dance festivals and continued the tradition established by the People's Houses. During the period between 1930 and 1960, folk dances were thus "visually" exchanged on a national platform, while local dancers, to a great extent, still lived in their own village or town. It was only after the 1960s that folk dancing began to be taught to non-native performers. University students who came to big cities for their education saw in folk dancing an opportunity for socialization and making a living. There, folk dances began to be exchanged as "movement systems." A repertoire including a variety of dances became an important asset for those university students who wanted to teach at elementary and high school level. During the 1970s, folk dancing grew into a market with opportunities for dance teachers, musicians, costume-makers, managers of schools and the newly founded *dernek*s, private folk dance clubs, which organized annual shows and trips abroad.

Units of structure in the Turkish folk dance tradition: types and genres

Since its early days, the staging of the folk dances brought a drastic change in the way the folk dances were performed. The stage and urban context imposed their own rules and requirements in many ways. First, the audience profile changed. The new folk dance audience did not share the cultural competence of the natives. Dancers and the audience shared the performance mostly "on the basis of differential identity" and assigned different meanings to these performances (see Bauman 1972). Second, from the beginning, most dances were shortened, speeded up, and more importantly, began to be performed by mixed groups. Many folk dance authorities (that is, teachers, competitions' jury members, critics, and so on) questioned how the "authentic" form could survive within the "modern" context. They were most anxious to keep the steps in their original forms. However, the new folk dance market asked for novelties, and floor patterning soon became inevitable. The most important change the floor-patterns brought to folk dancing was the increased uniformity between different folk dances. While in their original forms, the generic distinction between different folk dances were greatly noticeable in terms of movement quality, musical style and costumes. In time, they were reduced to the application of some geometric forms on stage, such as stars, circles, triangles, diagonal or curvilinear forms. As the possibility to create new patterns on the floor was quite limited, most of the geometric shapes remained the same. Floor patterning also affected the musical accompaniments and costumes. The search for a "modern" form of representation induced a polyphonic musical presentation: some instruments which were not originally used began to accompany the new versions

of folk dances to add a "new flavor" to please the audience. The accordion, which was a local instrument of the Artvin dances, for instance, began to accompany the horn in Adiyaman dances or the clarinet in Kırklareli dances. The costumes began to look alike, as most folk dance institutions, even the local Anatolian ones ordered their dance costumes from the tailors in big cities, who generally used the same kind of textile and colors for different dance regions. It is this folk dance tradition, which developed in big cities in Turkey between 1960s-1990s, that I will analyze, based on the ethnographies of a series of folk dance institutions. My observations of the folk dance institutions consists of my own experience as a folk dancer in high schools such as Notre Dame de Sion and Beşiktaş Anadolu Lisesi between 1977-1983 and in Boğaziçi University Folklore Club between 1983-1988, and during field research I conducted at Folklor Kurumu in Istanbul in 1992 and 1995.

The emerging folk dance repertoire was consolidated during the 1970s. It was taught to performers in schools (ranging from the elementary to the college level), or in private folk dance clubs called the *derneks*. The repertoire of a school or club generally included a series of dances named after a town in Turkey such as Artvin dances, Van dances, Bolu dances (Artvin *oyunları*, Van *oyunları*, Bolu *oyunları*). Folk dances were also classified by dance scholars (that is, Metin And, Sadi Yaver Ataman, Şerif Baykurt or Cemil Demirsipahi, and so on) based on "genre," which included the *bar*, *halay*, *karşılama*, *horon* and the *zeybek*. In terms of naming, each folk dance carried both the name of the towns where it was collected and that of its genre, its *tür*. Through the history of the Turkish folk dance movement, some dances were eliminated while others survived as the preferred ones. The "typical repertoire" which had eventually been formed aimed at representing the "diversity" of Turkish national culture, giving place to towns or genres, which would celebrate this diversity in style, costume and musical accompaniment. It included one of each genre and of each region⁴ represented by a town. For instance, a "typical repertoire" of a school or club would include one or more of these following dances and genres:

<u>Name of the town</u>	<u>Name of the genre as classified by dance scholars</u>
Artvin	Bar
Diyarbakır	Halay
Kırklareli	Karşılama
Trabzon	Horon
Aydın	Zeybek

Naturally, this repertoire had its exceptions, such as the *horon* and the *zeybek* were not as widespread as the others because they were harder to teach, or new additions could be seen, as was the case with Bolu dances (*karşılama* genre), which were very popular in the 1980s.

In schools or clubs, each town's dances would be taught as a suite of individual dances, called *oyuns*. For example, Artvin dances would include *oyuns* such as *Döne döne*, *Atabarı*, or *Coşkun Çoruh*. These dances named after a town or a genre were taught by the folk dance teachers to performers through a visuo-kinetic transmission of movements.⁵ Performers, however, perceived these namings just as "types" of a larger genre of dancing referred as "folk dancing," *halk oyunları oynamak* or *folklor oynamak* in Turkish. They would distinguish this genre of dancing from others such as ballet (*bale*), disco dancing (*disko dansı*) or oriental dancing (*göbek atmak/oynamak*). Within this genre of folk dancing, performers also distinguish different "types" like "Artvin *oyunları*," "Diyarbakır *oyunları*" or Aydın *oyunları*. These types sometimes represented a certain hierarchy in the repertoire of a given school or club, depending on the difficulty of their movements, their narrative characteristics, the showiness of their costumes, or the musical accompaniment.

The performer's experience: the meaning of folk dancing and movements

The activity of folk dancing as it was practiced in schools and in *derneks* through the 1980s and the 1990s required their dancers to rehearse a variety of folk dances in a row once or twice a week. The schedule was set in such a way that a particular town's dance was rehearsed for about an hour to be followed by a different town, and thus in most cases, by a different dance genre. The learning process generally operated at three levels. First, the teachers showed the dancers the basic steps and hand gestures; second, the floor patterns were taught for the final stage performance; and finally, before the performance, the "feelings" of the movements were dictated to the performers by the teacher of each town's dance. Exposed to different dance genres from around Turkey, performers learned a great variety of movement patterns. Most of these movements had undoubtedly changed since the 1930s, but they still offered a large diversity in terms of movement quality. "Artvin" male dances, for instance, required the skills to adapt to a progressively faster rhythm, without destroying the linear or circular order of the whole group. The movements were intricate, speedy and sharp, and the dancers were expected to keep their hands attached to each other while changing floor-patterns throughout the dance. "Aydın" dances, however, were mostly performed by individual dancers moving independently from one another. Here, performers held their arms outstretched with elbows at shoulder level, and snapped their fingers. Aydın dances were based on wide, slow, and almost heroic steps, and differed greatly from Artvin dances. However, performers, who joined a folk dance activity in schools or in *derneks*, learned these movements in an eclectic manner. In most cases, performers were not familiar with the cultures in which these dances had emerged. In contrast to the student dancers of the 1960s, they were born and raised in big cities as children of the second generation of emigrants from rural areas (one may add that their teachers were not always a native of these dances either). Besides adapting themselves to a diversity of movements, performers also memorized the related floor-patterns. The overall group performance became the priority, and failing to move at the "right" time to the "right" place within the predetermined floor pattern was unpardonable. Consequently, the dancers would shift their attention from the basic movements of the dances to their placement within the floor patterning.

Most of the performers memorized the basic movements and the floor patterns without developing a genuine interest in the meaning of these movements. It was the social context, which defined, and then dominated, their relation to the folk dancing activity. They were more interested in the year-end performance where they displayed their abilities to friends and family. The dancers' social identity in their folk dance institution vis-à-vis their teachers and friends gave important clues in terms of the meaning they assigned to this activity. Being the head of a dance group was a prestigious task, for example, because it manifested the teacher's confidence to a particular dancer's competence to give the commands during the performance by shouting a loud word like "hayda" or "hoppa". The social context also determined the meaning performers assigned to the movements they learned. In the 1980s Diyarbakır dances were very popular. And it was very common to see the *Çepik oyunu*, a fight-dance, performed in a joyful manner, simply because dancers framed their performance as a social dance. A rehearsal held in 1992 at the Folklor Kurumu in Istanbul illustrated another example of that kind. There, three dancers were waiting for the rehearsal to start and exercised among themselves. They practiced the *Yüksek Minare oyunu* of the Kırım dances.⁶ The emphasis was on a hand motif where both hands joined toward the sky as if pointing to the height of a tall minaret of a mosque. A male performer who noticed the movement approached another group of friends in the hall transforming the arm motif into a magician's gesture of "abracadabra" and making his friends laugh.

The use of structural analysis in explaining the formation of a new movement system: the dominant *morphokines*

Exposed to a number of different dances and movements at a time, performers who were part of the urban folk dance movement, eventually developed a mixed conception of a movement vocabulary. Following Adrienne Kaeppler's terminology, they learned a wide range of *kinemes*, *morphokines* or *motifs*, but they perceived the entire dance package as a single cultural form, *folklor oynamak* (folk dancing). Kaeppler defined *kinemes* as the minimal units of movement having no meaning in themselves. She called a *morphokine* the smallest unit which had meaning in the structure of the movement system and which could not be divided without changing or destroying its meaning. Organized morphokines formed *motifs*, and the simultaneously and chronologically ordered motifs form the *dance* itself [Kaeppler 1967, 1992]. In the urban folk dance experience, dancers learned these kinemes, morphokines and motifs altogether, with not much attention whether they belonged to a particular town. Their knowledge of what the movements originally meant was very limited. The concept of a 'meaningful movement' had different significance for an urban folk dancer and a native. For instance, the *Tirge* motif of Adıyaman dances, as "four counts stop, followed by four steps forward, while shaking the shoulders" would be recognized as a meaningful unit to a native dancer. Folk dance teachers would call this motif the *Tirge figür* (figure). However, the folk dance performers would perceive this motif differently. The teachers, especially if natives, taught the *Tirge* motif at one go, without separating it into subunits. For them, the movement was already unbreakable, or could only be divided into two parts as the steps and the shaking of the shoulders. While the *Tirge* motif was already a fundamental unit for a native, the performers "destructured" it to come up with other morphokines or motifs. For those who have difficulty in remembering the fourth count of the movement, the first three counts could form a very meaningful unit, which they would call the *giriş* (the entry of the movement). This would be a new morphokine, since they would focus their concentration up to the point where they have a certain difficulty and then memorized primarily the first three counts. The following part of the movement including the fourth count would therefore be another meaningful unit. For others, the advance toward the front after the first four steps in place would be recognized as one particular morphokine, while the first four stop counts would be considered as another. Or, the shaking of the shoulders would often be forgotten, although it was a separate upper-body morphokine, and a deterministic part of the overall a *Tirge* motif. In that respect, what a native Adıyaman dancer considered a morphokine, differed from what an outsider dancer perceived and recognized as a meaningful unit within the same movement. Folk dance performers developed their own morphokinematic understanding of the movements based on their own visuo-kinetic learning experience. In many cases, movements were broken into "teachable units," if the teacher is not a native, or when a performer tries to catch-up a difficult movement with the help of a friend. In a morphokine formed by eight counts of complicated steps, performers recognized more than one morphokine. They would divide the teacher's morphokinematic units at their own convenience, to make the movements easily graspable for themselves, or in some cases would like to alter the movements or add new ones. In a rehearsal of the Siirt dances in 1984, for instance, performers of the Boğaziçi University Folklore Club asked their teacher whether they could shake the shoulders at one section of the dance, simply because "they were feeling like it" ("*içimizden öyle geliyor*").

Exposed to dances from more than one locality, the 'kinetic vocabulary' of urban folk dancers covered a large geographical area. In addition, the emphasis on the floor patterns diverted their attention away from the intricate distinctions between the numerous morphokines and motifs. In their own perception, they retrieved from their memory several common movements, several different morphokines, which came from different motifs. They eventually ended up classifying those similar morphokines, which both eased their memorizing process, and marked cues for

specific parts of the dances they learned. They were in fact the *dominant morphokines* which appeared in more than one dance. Being more significant than many other morphokines from the same movement pool, they provided cues for the dancers to memorize a particular dance motif in a variety of dances. These morphokines were not unique to a single locality, but were used in dances from different towns. For instance, the *ayak çekme* (pulling the leg) was a morphokine used both in *Kampana oyunu* from the Kırklareli dances and in *Atabarı oyunu* of the Artvin dances. Similarly, one could depict the *çökme* (kneeling down) in the *Beşayak oyunu* of Adıyaman dances and in the *Teke zorlatması oyunu* of the Afyon-Dinar dances; the *çapraz* (crossing the legs) in the *Fatoş oyunu* of Edirne dances and the *Kobak oyunu* of Artvin dances; or *omuz titretme* (shaking the shoulders) in the *Tırge oyunu* of Adıyaman dances as well as in the *Çepik oyunu* of Diyarbakır dances. These morphokines were marked by the performers as the peak moment of a movement which eased to memorize it or to recognize a particular motif in the dance. In other words, a new structured movement system had gradually been formed where new morphokinematic semantics were generated and where local dances' particularities had become increasingly indistinct. Originally, the kneeling down in an Artvin dance motif would be different from those in "Aydın" or in "Adıyaman" dances. But the mere kinetic similarity that they were both "kneeling downs" made the dancers categorize them under the same group of a significant pattern among a variety of other "folk dance" movements. In other words, dancers would remember the "kneeling down" as a familiar movement met in various dances, and store that significant movement unit, the *dominant morphokine*, in their folk dance movement vocabulary.

The narrative meaning of the folk dances

The dominant morphokines were doubtlessly meaningful units for the performers. But the audience asked more for the narrative meaning. In her structural analysis on Tongan dance, Adrienne Kaepler explored "meaning" at two different levels. The first level corresponded to the relationship set between the performers and the movement system itself, dancers "recognizing" a certain movement as "meaningful": here, the term meaning implied the "dancers' recognition." *Folklor oynamak* referred to this first level, as dancers recognized the dominant morphokines as the basic units of their structured movement system. The other level of meaning was established in terms of the Jakobsonian model of communication, where, the dancers and the audience who were familiar to the deep structure of their culture deciphered a certain meaning from the dances: in this sense the term meaning referred to a "referential meaning." This was a more complicated level as it involved a meaning shared between the audience and the performers through a movement system, which had historically evolved through the years. The performance of the Adıyaman dances illustrated the case much better. The dance dramatizes the harvesttime with men working in the field with sickles and women bringing them water, and later praying. The effectiveness of the narrative format was acknowledged by Kaepler as well in conveying their cultural information through dance to non-native audiences (see Kaepler 1985). Erwing Goffman called that kind of narrative representation a "redoing":

the performances of a task-like activity out of its usual functional context (the native setting in the case of stage folk dancing), in order to allow someone who is not the performer to obtain a close picture of the doing of the activity... Although, the demonstrating of something can be radically different from the doing of that something, there is still some carry-over – especially if real equipment (as native costumes, real sickles and water) is used [Goffman 1974].

As far as the stage performers of Adıyaman dances were concerned, the "conative function" was dominant to communicate through this dance activity, rather than an intent to convey a particular message through the movements. In scheduling the year-end show program at Boğaziçi University Folklore Club through the 1980s, Adıyaman Dances were always placed as the "final" dance, with the expectation that they would leave the best impression on the audience

by their narrative format. At the moment where the male dancers poured real water over their head and drank it, the audience – almost with no exception – would be impressed by the "realness" of the scene and applauded. The wetting of the stage with the real water suspended the "make-believeness" of the frame for one instant, and the audience was put in an "out-of-frame" state. Therefore, in the communication interacting between the audience and the performers, the dance movements as codes of communication were meaningful to the audience by their narrativeness and the willingness of watching a close relative or friend. The audience did not intend to decipher the movements of the dance, which referred to the native context in which they were generated. As for the performers, they preferred the narrative sections of the dance to non-narrative ones. The original referential meanings of the dance movements remained unintelligible to the performers. Having no familiarity with any of the local cultures, dancers developed a certain preference with the movements which had a "narrative" meaning, that is, with the movements which communicate through a certain "dramatic realism" or a "mimetic character" (Kaeppler 1989). In Adıyaman dances, for instance, dancers were able to settle the referentiality between their dance movements, that is, the rhythmical raising of the arms toward the sky, and the traditional praying manners in real life. Their own visual experience or cultural memory created a certain rapprochement between what they performed and the original meaning of the dance movement based on its narrative expression.

Turkish folk dance tradition evolved since the 1930s into a structured movement system of its own, which differs from individual local dance traditions. Although local dances contributed to the formation of a consolidated repertoire of Turkish folk dances, the differences among them were reduced in time, leaving their place to another structured movement system, which was called *folklor oynamak* in general and was distinguished from other genres of dancing. Performers who were introduced to this new movement system distinguished *dominant morphokines* from a variety of folk dances as meaningful units of movements. They perceived their practice of folk dancing as a social dance where individual movements no longer meanings from their original context.

ENDNOTES

1. I chose to use the term folk dance deliberately, as opposed to native, indigenous, local or traditional dance, mainly because it is the term we use in Turkish (*halk oyunu*), but also because the term "folk dance" is itself historically loaded with the paradox and dynamics, which stimulated this research.
2. Among many dances in Artvin, for instance, Polka, Kurt Bari, Berta or Kapanı were those which did not survive through the years, while a conventional "Artvin dance" in a folk dance club would include Daldalan, Kobak, Deli Horon, Sarı Çiçek, Orta Batum or Cilveloy.
3. For a more detailed survey of the history of the Turkish folk dance movement, see Arzu Öztürkmen, *Folklore and nationalism in Turkey*, 1993.
4. Geography books classify regions in Turkey as the Marmara (including eastern Thrace), Aegean, Mediterranean, Black Sea, eastern Anatolian and southeastern Anatolian regions.
5. The expression "visuo-kinetic" transmission of movement was coined in our discussions under the ICTM Sub-study Group on Structural Analysis to stress the importance of the visual impression in the process of learning to dance and of the directly experienced feeling of other dancers' movement and the direct absorption and imitation of movement.
6. Kırım (Crimea) is now outside of Turkish national borders, but the Kırım dances are practiced by the Crimeans who settled in Turkey at the turn of the century.

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STRUCTURAL CONSTRUCTS IN INDIGENOUS DANCES IN MALAYSIA

Mohd Anis Md Nor

During the last two decades of the twentieth century, ethnochoreology and dance ethnology had their primary disciplinary homes in ethnology and anthropology but have now expanded into the disciplines of sociology, folklore studies, cultural studies, performance studies, and history. This has brought new fields of enquiry into dance studies and has encouraged ethnochoreologists to expand their scholarship beyond the discourses of history, ethnography, notation and aesthetics. I have begun to look into issues of dancing bodies while examining methodologies for contextualizing cultural and first person experiences of dancing. Analyzing and interpreting cultural representations by and for the dancing body has brought me to evaluate theories about the dancing body as cultural constructs and experience focusing on the dances of Malay societies. Twenty years of research and documentation on Malay dances (Malaysia, Indonesia, South Thailand and Philippines) to elucidate meaning, intention, analysis and cultural evaluation of culturally structured movement systems among the Malays has brought me to rethink my use of dominant theoretical positions and re-situate the theoretical framework that has shaped my research and writings. For this paper, I apply emic analysis as set forth by Adrienne Kaeppler (in 1972 and this volume) to two structured movement systems in the Malay Archipelago.

Dance as play-performance

Emic definitions as found in the Malay consciousness form the basis for an understanding of "dance" as culturally constructed structured movement systems. The term most commonly used to describe dance in the Malay language is *tari*. Although *tari* is the Malay equivalent to the word "dance" in the English language, which refers to structured movement systems in ethnochoreology, the word *tari* itself is not an old term. The word *tari* or *tarian* came into the ever-expanding vocabulary of modern Malay to denote dance or dancing during the twentieth century. The word *tari* originated from the need to characterize various forms of arranged or choreographed movement motifs that may represent dance as showcase entities. In the days before the advent of modern terminology, there was no word for "dance" and numerous terms were used, for example, *tandak*, *igal*, *sayau*, *totor*, *gencok*, *joget*, *main* and so on. The terms are local and reflect specific forms or styles of structured movement systems peculiar to a region, dialect group or community. They may not necessarily mean dancing in the performative sense or a genre of performance in the context of *art form* where individual and social activities interact. Instead a structured movement system in a Malay community may be a social-game, play or frolic that is executed in a specific form and style. As in the word *main* or play, dance as a specific structured movement system is a performance that can be participated by all and likened to a game. Yet the game/play-performance interfaces game, art and aesthetics within the format of a specific form and done according to a particular style. Thus the realm of Malay dancing involves the sharing of space that is brought to life by the interaction of community members who are both performers and spectators [Mohd Anis Md Nor 2001a:238].

The game/play-performance as a specific concept that conceptualizes the meaning of a structured movement system in Malay folk or social dance tradition overstretches the boundaries

of dance as understood in common parlance. Dancing or the reconstructing of any structured movement system deals with the issues of structure that are shaped within the scope of ethno-scientific terminology. As suggested by Kaeppler [2001: 49-54], structure, form, and style are slippery terms. The form and style of a specific structured movement system may not be indigenous and autochthonous but, as a cultural phenomenon, must be understood through the dialectical discourses of language, behaviour, perception and familiarity. It is within these contexts that the concept of dance as a structured movement system in Malay societies is to be understood for the purpose of sourcing and identifying the artistic idioms that have shaped and challenged dance repertoires. Constructing a dance or *tari* can be shaped by the need to showcase a specific structured movement system or as a discourse of non-formal play or *main*. When movement styles and forms become structured and the movement system becomes a culture construct, a dance or *tari* emerges. The evolution of *tari* from the act of playing or *main* through the processes of casual imitation to formal structuring of a specific movement system should be understood before examining current theoretical debates about the body, spectatorship, or aesthetic appreciation.

Given that dance or culturally structured movement systems use the body as a primary means for expression, one should consider how movement systems are structured. To this end, I have tried to look into the structure of various movement systems used by specific cultures as a way to understand the abstract concept of *dance*. My aim is to discover how dancing bodies use grammatical knowledge in performance and how performance can be understood as movements in specific contexts. Kenneth Pike's etic/emic distinction has been used by Kaeppler to elaborate ethno-scientific structuralism as a means of discovering indigenous theories about movement systems. Such analysis necessitates deconstructing the movements into culturally recognised pieces and learning the rules for constructing compositions according to the system. Unless structure is defined through 'emic' concepts, the form and style of a particular structured movement system may not capture indigenous concepts and allow an emic understanding.

In this paper indigenous constructs of Malay dance are presented in the analysis of two dances, *zapin* and *ngajat indu*'. These two dances are diachronically different but are synchronically important dances in Malaysia.¹ *Zapin* is one of the oldest coastal Malay dances that evolved through the processes of syncretization of Arabic-Malay dance and musical tradition. Originating as an alien performance tradition in the form of the *zaffin* dance of the Hadrahmaut Arabs, the Malay *zapin* (which is now known by various other names such as *jipin*, *jepin*, *japin*, *zafin* and *dana* in Malaysia, Indonesia, Southern Thailand, Brunei and Singapore) has taken root amongst the Malay-Islamic communities in the Malay Peninsula and has become one of the most widespread Malay-Islamic dance traditions in insular Southeast Asia [Mohd Anis Md Nor 1995: 335-336]. Like many other Malay dance traditions, *zapin* owes its existence to the processes of intercultural and cross-cultural borrowings through the ages. The Malay Peninsula has been the crossroads for many civilizations ever since maritime trade between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea began many centuries ago. *Ngajat indu*' on the other hand is a tradition of female dances of the Iban community, the largest indigenous group living in the east Malaysian state of Sarawak. They belong to the greater *Dayak* peoples, who are found across two thirds of Borneo Island, which is known as Kalimantan across the Indonesian border. *Ngajat indu*' is accompanied by an ensemble of musicians who play the *engkeromong* pot-gongs, *gong tawak*, *canang/bendi*, *ketebong* (cylinder drum) and *dumbak* (barrel drum). The *enkeromong* ensemble plays several melodies through the interlocking beats of the gong and drums. Both the musical instruments and the dance are less exposed to outside influences and have retained much of their original form and style within the fiercely protective Iban communities of long houses in the interior watersheds and rivers of Sarawak.

The peninsular Malays adapted new ideas and foreign dance forms into their own cultural milieu thus creating new dance and musical forms, which though highly syncretized became

indigenized. Borrowing and adapting to Arabic music and musical instruments such as the 'ud (locally known as *gambus*), *tambur* (similar to the *darabukkah* single-headed drum with a metal vase), the *dok* (drum), and *marwas* (similar to the *bandir* or *bindir* single-headed frame drum), the Malays created a new dance tradition through the fusion of Malay movements and Arabic music. *Zapin* has not only become a dance form of the peninsular Malays (originating in the southern peninsular state of Johor), but has spread far and wide throughout the Malay Archipelago via trade and political hegemony. Today, *zapin* has become a highly respected dance tradition among the Malays, who consider it to be Arab-derived and Islamic, while upholding Malay decency and propriety [Mohd Anis Md Nor 1993].

There are two different styles of *zapin* in Malaysia today, an older variant of *zapin Arab* (Arab *zapin*) and the generic Malay *zapin* known as *zapin Melayu*, which are performed by different descent groups. *Zapin Arab* is a dance tradition exclusive to Arab descent groups while *zapin Melayu* is performed by Malays and other descent groups in Malaysia. These variants have their own distinctive qualities and prerequisites. *Zapin*, was traditionally an all male movement tradition but this rule is no longer strictly followed and mixed gender groups now perform together. Nevertheless, the rule of no physical contact between genders is still fervently upheld. The demand of physical virtuosity is more evident, however, in the *zapin Melayu* when it is performed by an all male group [Mohd Anis Md Nor 2001b:67-68].

The structure of *Zapin*

The style of performing *zapin Melayu* subscribes to some conventions where the upper torso is kept almost rigidly upright with one arm behind the back or in front of the navel of the male dancer, allowing the other arm free to move. Female *zapin* dancers retain a similar style of dancing by holding the left arm in the folds of the loose outer *sarung* known as the *dagang luar*, allowing the free right arm to sway sideways, forward and backward. The basic dance phrase or *gerak asas* of *zapin Melayu* is marked by the absence of any movements at the first high timbre beat of the *marwas* drums. Movements or *gerak* may only begin on the second drum beat, which is of low timbre as it initiates the *kinemic* pulse. The movement begins with the left foot stepping right-forward-diagonal-middle, followed by the right foot stepping left-forward-diagonal-middle on the high timbre third drum beat and ends with the left foot repeating its earlier movement. This 4-beat pattern frames the *gerak asas* (basic dance unit). Steps and turns are the *morphokinemic* units of the *zapin Melayu* dance. Several units of steps are called *langkah* (literally means steps of the foot). Each *langkah* forms a dance *motif*, which may sometimes be referred to as *bunga tari* (flower of dance) that extends the basic dance unit with an additional 4-beat phrase of sequenced movements of the right and left foot initiating a clockwise turn on the right foot as the dancer turns to face his initial dance path. However, the dance *motif* begins by inverting the pulses from low and high timbres to the strong stresses on the even-numbered beats, as the dancer completes the 8-beat phrase.

The repetitive rhythmic 4-beat pattern of three or more *marwas* drums punctuated by a *dok* drum over a 16-beat colotomic² unit that frames the *ragam tari* (patterns of dance) forms a *choreme* in Kaeppler's terminology. The alternative low and high timbre stresses of the *marwas* and the *dok* establishes a pattern of weak-strong stresses with the strong stresses on the even-numbered beats. *Ragam tari* in *zapin Melayu* is almost exclusively restricted to the variations in leg movements, while the arms retain the prescribed motion of placing one arm in an immobile position and allowing the other arm to sway. *Ragam tari* movements in *zapin* are stylized gestures that imitate movements of men or nature. The number of *ragam tari* in Johor are identified under the variations of *sembah* (homage), *anak* (child, baby or petit), *lompat* (skip or jump), *pusau* (twirl), *pecah* (breaks or fragmentations), *sisip* (to slide into), *wainab* (dance coda), and many more [Mohd Anis Md Nor 1993:61-81; 2003:3-10].

Thus, the *zapin Melayu* rhythmic 4-beats weak-strong stress patterns punctuated at mid-point and at the end of the 4-beat unit by the low resonant timbre of the *dok* drum mimics the colotomic unit of a gong ensemble. This temporal unit, repeated throughout a *zapin* performance, provides the cyclic repetition for a 4-beat *gerak asas* (basic dance unit *morphokine*), an 8-beat *langkah* (*motif*) and a 16-beat *ragam tari* (*choreme*). Similar to the hierarchical, binary and cyclical pattern of the drumbeats that serve as a colotomic unit in *zapin* music, the *zapin* dance unit is also chronologically patterned to build the *gerak* (as kinemes) into steps and turns (morphokines), which forms a *langkah* or *bunga tari* (*motif*). A constellation of *langkah* (*motifs*) forms the *ragam tari*, a *choremic* unit at the end of 4-cycles of 4-beat rhythmic drum phrases.

Within these chronological grammatical choreographic units, the *zapin Melayu* dancers interact with drummers and other *zapin* musicians with mnemonic vocalizations when improvisations of specific *langkah* or *ragam tari* are being executed. Most of the improvisations deal with syncopated dance movements within a colotomic unit of *zapin* music, or when vocal signs are deliberately made to encourage others to join in the dance or as signals to the musicians to end their performance. Mnemonic vocalizations punctuate *ragam tari* during improvised syncopated steps, which are performed within specific *choremes*. Call and response between musicians and dancers may take place when they reciprocate mnemonic vocalizations.

The structure of *ngajat*

My second case study is a Dayak dance called *ngajat* (dance), from the Iban of Sarawak. The task is to analyze the structure of the *ngajat* as concept utilized by Iban dancers for the purpose of deconstructing and reconstructing indigenous movement motifs and imagery, which are construed as dance. The analysis begins with identifying the minimal units of movement recognized as contrastive basic units of the dance by dance-masters and dancers. Similar to the previous analysis of the Malay *zapin* dance, these minimal contrastive units of movement could be a start of an arm's sway, a body tilt or movement of the upper torso. The kinemic units are called *liuk*. These alone are meaningless unless combined to become *gerak*, which may be translated as movements initiated. They are combined into *langkah* or steps, that is, they are combined to initiate basic units of movement to become *morphokines*. A combination of the morphokines (steps and turns) becomes *ragam* or *dance motif*. A constellation of motifs becomes *tari* or a choreme, a meaningful set of movements that is understood as dance. The combined *choremes* constitute a structured movement system that may take different forms in different styles.

An example of a deconstructed indigenous dance is the *ngajat indu'* (female *ngajat*) of the Iban community in Sarawak. The basic contrastive units or *kinemes* of the *Ngajat Indu'* are in the body sway, shoulder tilts, pelvic movements, and transfer of body weight. These *kinemic* units are combined to become *gerak* or *langkah*, *morphokines* that imitate the movements of birds, the *kenyalang* or hornbills. The basic units of movements emerge in *ragam* when *dance motifs* are strung together from the *morphokinemic* units of *langkah* or *gerak*. In this study, it has been observed that the *dance motifs* in the *ngajat indu'* are metaphorically identified with specific stylized movements, which are described as follows,

- *Bunga Ajat* (petals of dance)
- *Ngayuk air* (scooping or bailing water from the surface of a stream or river)
- *Pusing ke baroh* (turning the body while doing a low pivot turn on one leg and tilting the pelvis on the gestured leg)
- *Pusing tinggi* (middle level body turns with technique as in *pusing ke baroh*)
- *Titi papan* (stepping sideways as in walking on a piece of wooden plank)
- *Titi tong* (stepping sideways and forward like a prodding bird)
- *Titi batang* (stepping forward in the manner of stepping on top of a fallen tree trunk)

These *motifs* are combined with the melodic lines of the *engkeromong* to form a *ragam* or *choreme*. Thus, *pusing ke baroh* and *ngayuk air* may be combined to become a *choremic* unit. A *ngajat indu'* dance may eventually consist of a series of *choremes*, arranged and choreographed for a specific song by a longhouse community [Mohd Anis Md Nor 2002].

Conclusion

Zapin and *ngajat indu'* were gender specific dances. The former were formerly reserved for men; the latter is still restricted to women. I am most interested to understand how the emic constructs of a culturally structured movement system are used to transmit knowledge of dance as indigenous pedagogy. Both the *zapin* and the *ngajat indu'* are passed from one generation to the next in the oral tradition, hence, necessitating the need to deconstruct dance to the smallest meaningful units of movement to achieve an in-depth understanding of the aesthetics of dance in the Malay and the Iban-Dayak cultures respectively. The dancing Malay or Iban bodies are cultural constructs of emic experiences, laden with cultural knowledge and local aesthetics. Malay or Iban structured movement systems are systems of knowledge, which are products of social actions and interactions. Without the knowledge of the structural construct of the dances and the dancing bodies, local knowledge embodied in local aesthetics becomes meaningless. The dancing body may be examined through an emic analysis of the structural constructs of a movement system.

Since the terms for dance are local and reflect specific forms or styles of structured movement systems peculiar to a region (West Malaysia and East Malaysia), dialect group (Malay and Dayak), or community (Malay and Dayak), understanding how meaning is derived becomes significantly important in order to understand the hermeneutics of a culturally structured movement system. As a participant observer, practitioner and teacher of Malay dance, my understanding of the semiotics and semantics of Malay structured movement systems centers on the possibility of reconstructing dances from the smallest meaningful units into a chain of unbroken *ragam tari* or *choremes*. Through this knowledge, the hermeneutics of the *tari*, *tandak*, *totor*, *sayau*, *gencok*, and so on, as dance or structured movement system vis-à-vis *main* or play, becomes clearer, bringing to life the meaning of dance in a shared space where the participants are both performers and spectators.

ENDNOTES

1. *Zapin* and *ngajat indu'* are two contrastive genres. The former is a well-known dance tradition that came from the syncretic processes of merging two different traditions, Arab and Malay, in Southeast Asia, while the latter is associated with the esoteric knowledge of indigenous traditions that has had little contact from outside influences except cross-affinities with the Malay and Dayak traditions.
2. Colotomic units are temporal musical sounds, which are hierarchical, binary, cyclic and usually non-syncopated. Each Colotomic sound indicated by the drum and/or gong beat not only divide the musical repertoire into repetitive and cyclical units, but also acts as pulses to the dancer as he or she tries to string steps and turns into dance motifs. See Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2004.

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BALASARASWATI'S TĪSRAM ALĀRIPPU: A CHOREOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Judy Van Zile

Bharata Natyam is the major concert dance genre of South India.¹ It is traditionally a solo dance form performed by women. During a concert, dance pieces are performed from both the *nr̥tta* and *nr̥tya* classifications established in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a treatise on the performing arts attributed to approximately the second century A.D. *Nr̥tta* refers to movement whose primary function is to display the movement potential of the body in a pleasing way but that has no specific meaning. There may be an over-all mood pervading such dances, but no specific textual content is conveyed. *Nr̥tta* is often referred to as "pure dance" or "abstract dance." *Nr̥tya*, on the other hand, refers to movement that is intended to express a specific story or textual line, and is often identified as "expressive dance" or "narrative dance."²

The program format usually followed today is attributed to the Tanjore Quartet of the early 19th century. The order of pieces presented is: *alārīppu*, *jatisvaram*, *śabdham*, *padavarnam*, *padam*, *jāvālī*, *tilānā*, *śloka*.³ In a dance concert, some of the individual pieces performed are abstract, some are narrative, and some contain alternating sections of these two types of dance. The designation for the opening piece of a performance is "*alārīppu*," usually translated as "the opening of a flower." This dance is comprised entirely of abstract dance. It is intended to serve as an invocation and establish a basic mood for the performance to follow. While each piece in a concert has its own characteristics and theme, the pervading mood of the entire performance is that of worshipfulness, which should be clearly established in the *alārīppu*.

Alārīppu is usually performed to one of five rhythmic cycles (*tālas*) – *tīśram*, *mathyam* (or *catuśram*), *khandam*, *mīśram*, or *sakīrnam* [John Higgins, personal communication, 23 December 1976]. Each performer or teacher may have in her repertoire several *alārīppus*, each choreographed prior to performance. (Improvising an *alārīppu* during performance is not part of the Bharata Natyam tradition as practiced today.) Each *alārīppu* of a particular performer or teacher is usually similar, with adjustments made to accommodate the accompanying *tāla*. Thus, there are many dances that may be classified as *alārīppu*. Within the *alārīppu* classification there are many dances that may, more specifically, be sub-classified as *tīśram alārīppu*, *mathyam alārīppu*, and so on.

Literary sources and informants tend to define *alārīppu* by the three criteria cited above: first dance performed in a program, comprised of abstract dance, and invocational in nature. *Alārīppu*, however, is more than these three things.

The first number *alārīppu* is a dance of invocation with little musical content, but one which seeks to execute a number of concentrated and yet elemental rhythmic patterns. The basic and most significant movements are introduced, almost like the introduction of the chief notes in ascending and descending order in a melody. Beginning with perfect repose, an attitude of perfect equilibrium . . . the movements of the neck, the shoulder, the arms are introduced. This is followed by the *ardhamandali* (the demi-plie in the first position of ballet) . . . and finally the full *mandali* (the full plie in first position of the ballet) is introduced. Thus all the major limbs (*anga*) and minor limbs

(*upanga*) are executed in their simplest formations. The dancer is able to check on all her limbs, and attains positions of perfect balance and the piece is one which warms up the dancer for the entire performance [Vatsyayan 1968:384].

Alārīppu, therefore, initiates the audience into the nature of Bharata Natyam as a whole and prepares the dancer physically for the more complicated sequences to follow. All these functions are carried out in the choreographic structure of the dance.

Choreographic structure refers to the form of a dance based on the selection and ordering of movement and stillness. Implicit in this definition is a selection rationale and the existence of a choreographer (or choreographers) who does the selecting. Depending on the dance genre, the choreographic process (and hence the resulting choreographic structure) may function at the conscious or sub-conscious level, and may be determined prior to the actual performance or during the performance (in the form of improvisation).

This study analyzes one *alārīppu* to determine its choreographic structure – the major movement characteristics displayed and the principles on which these characteristics are ordered. This structure is then related to the function of *alārīppu* within the total performance and to Bharata Natyam technique as a whole.

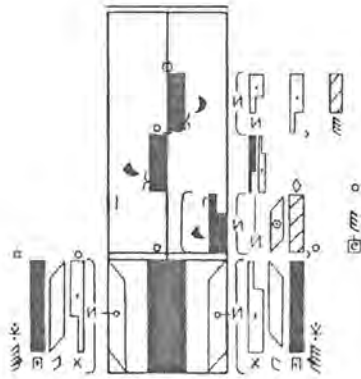
The *alārīppu* analyzed is the *Tīśram Alārīppu*⁴ of Balasaraswati. This *alārīppu* was originally learned by the writer in 1966, practiced during further studies with Balasaraswati in 1968-1969, and subsequently transcribed into Labanotation to aid choreographic analysis. The analysis is divided into four categories: use of body parts, space, energy, and time. Discussion of these elements is preceded by comments on abstract technique in general, based on traditional Indian codification, and on over-all organization of *Tīśram Alārīppu*.

Abstract dance technique

The major unit of movement of abstract portions of Bharata Natyam is the *atavu*. This is a short movement phrase (or identifiable unit of movement) which, when linked with other phrases, forms a dance. There are approximately twelve different sequences traditionally identified as *atavu* groups (see below), the precise number dependent on the historical treatise (for example, *Nāṭyaśāstra*), teacher, or performer consulted.⁵ *Atavus* are comprised primarily of three components: 1) movements of the arms and legs; 2) *mudrās* (fixed positions of the fingers or hand gestures that move from one position to another); and 3) limited movement of the torso and head. Depending on the treatise, teacher, or performer consulted, there are approximately twenty-four *mudrās*.⁶ While the same *mudrās* may be used in both abstract and narrative dance, usually fewer *mudrās* are found in abstract dance. *Mudras* have specific connotations in narrative dance, but are ornamental when used in abstract dance.

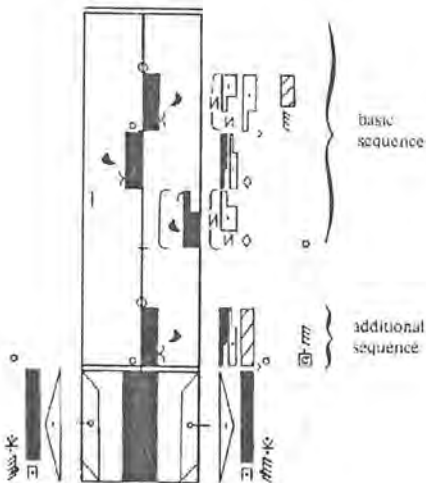
Each *atavu* has a number of prescribed variants, the *atavu* and its variants together sometimes being referred to as an *atavu* group. Although performance details of each *atavu* and its variants may differ between teachers or performers, within each teacher's style they are set. New *atavus* or variants are not created. Rather, the traditional units of movement are combined in different ways to create dance pieces.

Variants of an *atavu* are achieved by rhythmic alteration, modifications in the movement itself, and the addition of small units of movement that do not form *atavus* themselves. These particular unclassified units of movement become a part of the *atavu* variants. One basic *atavu* is shown in Example 1. (See glossary of *Tīśram Alārīppu* score for notation clarifications.)

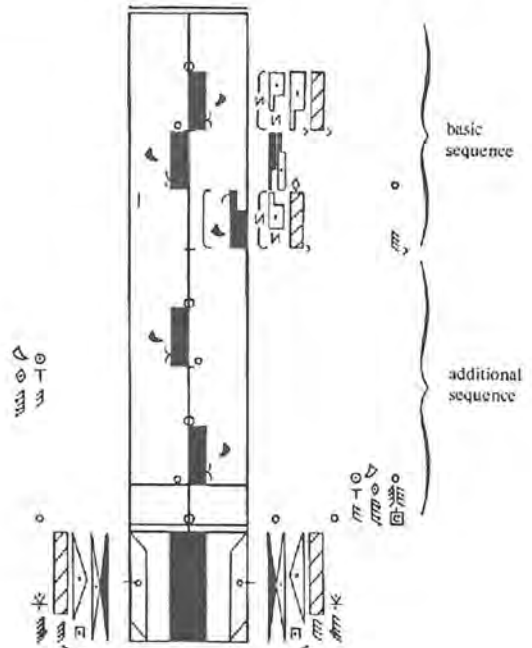


Example 1.

Two variants of this *atavu* with small units of movement added prior to the basic sequence are shown in Examples 2a and 2b.

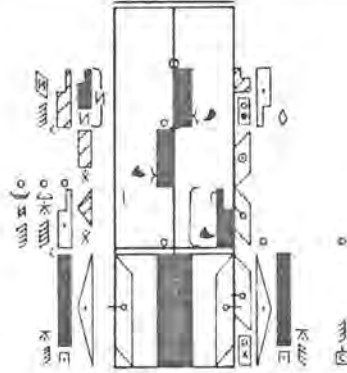


Example 2a.



Example 2b.

Example 3 shows a further variant based on modification of the arm movement.



Example 3

In addition to *atavus* and *atavu* variants, abstract dance also occasionally includes unclassified movement phrases that do not constitute *atavus* or *atavu* variants. This non-*atavu* material may be varied in the course of a dance in some of the same ways as *atavus* (for example, the small head and lower arm movements that begin the *Tiśram Alārippu* analyzed here).

Over-all organization of *Tiśram Alārippu*

Chart 1 summarizes the movement content of *Tiśram Alārippu*. The movement is divided into sections based on the introduction of *atavu* groups not previously used in the dance or variants of those already presented, and, in the case of non-*atavu* material, on the basis of movement material that is repeated before further material is introduced. Each section is sequentially labeled with a letter. Variations of sections are indicated by the addition of superscripts to the letter. Three sections are labeled with the prefix "dm," borrowed from Kaeppler's use of the term "dividing motif," which is particularly appropriate here [Kaeppler 1972:202]. In this analysis, it indicates a very brief pattern that functions as a transition between sections but that is not an *atavu*. When followed by no qualifier, numbers in parentheses below letters indicate the total number of complete rhythmic cycles (*avartas*, or *tāla*) required to perform the section: for sections shorter than one rhythmic cycle the number is followed by the word "beats" (that is, *mātrās*).

Chart 1. Movement Content

Section (<i>Avartas</i>)	Number of Movement Phrases and Repetitions	<i>Atavu</i> /Non- <i>Atavu</i> Content
A (4)	One movement phrase repeated identically for a total of 4 times.	Not an <i>atavu</i> . Movement sometimes added to an <i>atavu</i> as a form of ornamentation.
dm1 (2)	One movement phrase without repeats.	Not an <i>atavu</i> .
B (6)	One movement phrase without repeats.	Not an <i>atavu</i> . Movement sometimes part of an <i>atavu</i> .
B* (8)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 4 times.	Variation of B altered rhythmically.
C (8)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	Not an <i>atavu</i> .
C* (4)	Two movement phrases, each repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	Not an <i>atavu</i> .
dm1* (2)	One movement phrase without repeats.	Not an <i>atavu</i> .
B-C* (26)	Repetition of B-C* in slightly different position.	
D (8)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	Not an <i>atavu</i> . Movement similar to part of an <i>atavu</i> .
D* (4)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	Variation of D altered rhythmically.
D** (4)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	Variation of D* with small movement change.
E (4 beats)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	<i>Atavu</i> .
E* (4 beats)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	Variation of E with small change in arm movement.
F (4 beats)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	Although theoretically from the same <i>atavu</i> group as E, movement is considerably different and length of basic phrase is shorter.
F* (2 beats)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	Variation of F with small change in arm movement.
G (4)	One movement phrase repeated identically for a total of 2 times.	Not an <i>atavu</i> .
H (4)	One movement phrase repeated identically for a total of 2 times.	<i>Atavu</i> , with same arm movement as G.
H* (2)	One movement phrase repeated oppositionally for a total of 2 times.	Variation from same <i>atavu</i> group as H, with small changes in arm and foot movement.
H** (2)	Three movement phrases without repeats.	Another variation from same <i>atavu</i> group as H, with further changes in arm and foot movements.
dm2 (1)	No movement.	
I (7)	One movement phrase repeated identically for a total of 7 times.	Not an <i>atavu</i> .
A (2)	One movement phrase repeated identically for a total of 2 times.	Return to non- <i>atavu</i> material used at beginning of dance.

Total number of *avartas*: 102, plus 1 extra beat

In *Tiśram Alāriṭṭu* only three of the nine *atavu* groups learned by the writer are represented, each with several variants. Much of the movement is non-*atavu* material, some treated as the basis for subsequent variation. The choreographic structure, therefore, introduces the audience to the principle of theme and variation. The inclusion of *atavus* provides some material which will appear again in other dances during the concert. Limiting the number of *atavus* presented, however, leaves a sizeable amount of movement material to be introduced and elaborated upon in subsequent portions of the performance.

Use of body parts

Chart 2 summarizes the major movement characteristics of the sections identified in Chart 1 (see the Labanotation score for details). Movements employed in *Tiśram Alāriṭṭu* progress gradually from small individual movements of isolated body parts (hand, lower arm, head) to larger movements of larger body segments (whole arm and leg), and simultaneous movement of several different body parts. Not only does this gradually introduce the audience to different kinds of movements to be used, it also provides the physical "warm-up" for the dancer identified by Vatsyayan.

Chart 2. Major Movement Characteristics

	BODY	SPACE	ENERGY	TIME
A	Small head movements.	No locomotion. Strong vertical tension in stance with slight counter-tension in lateral head movement.	2 small bursts followed by pause.	Movement on 1 st 2 beats, pause on 3 rd .
dm1		Small locomotion forward.		
B	Alternation of small head and lower arm movements.	No locomotion. Emphasis on horizontal.	Small burst followed by long pause.	Accented movement on 1 st beat of <i>avarta</i> with small preparatory movement just preceding it.
B'	Same as B.		2 small bursts followed by pause.	Movement on 1 st 2 beats, pause on 3 rd .
C	Small lower arm movements concurrent with larger movement of whole arm, followed by separate lower and whole arm movements.	Small locomotion to forward diagonals. Arms trace circular paths in horizontal plane.	Counter-tension between small bursts in lower arm and sustained energy in whole arm, followed by pure sustained movement.	Accents on beat 1 and on "&" following beat 2. Complex syncopation with accompaniment.
C'	Movement of lower arm only.	Arms trace arcs in horizontal plane. Emphasis on closing in to body and opening out.	Sustained.	One movement phrase per <i>avarta</i> .
dm1'	Same as dm1.			
B-C'	Same as B-C', but level lowered to deep squat.		Same as B-C'.	
D	Alternation between straight and bent knees. Lower arm only and whole arm movements.	Limited progression through space in lateral plane. Slight change in body facings.	Sustained movements followed by pause. Energy pulse felt in stamping.	Primary movement on 1 st beat of <i>avarta</i> only.

(D continued)	Introduction of new <i>mudrā</i> , stamps, jumps, and small pivots.			
D'	Same as D.			Movement on 1 st 2 beats, pause on 3 rd beat.
D''	Same as D, but larger pivots.	Dancer briefly turns back to audience.	Same as D.	
E	Alternation between stamps and jumps. Alternation between lower arm and whole arm movements.	Emphasis on lateral plane.	Small regular bursts.	2 movements per beat. Movement phrase overlaps <i>avartas</i> . Strong syncopation between movement and accompaniment.
E'	Same as E.	Emphasis on forward diagonal planes.	Same as E.	
F	Same as E.	Emphasis on lateral plane.	Same as E.	Movement phrase shorter than E.
F'	Same as E.	Emphasis on forward diagonal planes.	Same as E.	
G	Introduction of new <i>mudrā</i> .	Emphasis on sagittal plane.		Stamps on 1 st 2 beats, pause on 3.
H	Similar to G, but faster and with addition of weight-bearing leg gesture.	Same as G.		
H'	Modification of H by addition of small jumps. Rapid changes between 3 <i>mudrās</i> . Alternation between lower arm and whole arm movements.	Lower level. Emphasis on rapid changes in arms between lateral and forward diagonal planes.	Rapid series of small bursts followed by pause.	Rapid movement followed by brief pause.
H''	Arms alternate between small lower arm movements and larger movements of whole arm. Footwork alternates between stamps and weight-bearing leg gestures. Introduction of new <i>mudrā</i> .	Alternation between lateral and sagittal axes. Strong feeling of two-dimensionality with transitions occurring centrally rather than through large excursions in space.	Rapid series of small bursts.	Length of movement phrase increases via arithmetic progression, overlapping beats as well as <i>avartas</i> .
dm2	No movement.			
I	Rapid stamps. Alternation between 2 <i>mudrās</i> .	Sagittal progression through space while arms make large excursions in lateral plane.	Rapid bursts in feet against sustained arm movements.	2 stamps per beat. Primary accent on count 2, secondary accent on beat 1.
A	Return to opening movement, but with fewer repetitions.			

The ballet or modern dance performer often spends as much as one hour physically preparing before a performance begins. The performer is then expected to begin the performance at the peak of her ability. Such preparation is not part of the activity preceding a Bharata Natyam performance. The warm-up is built into the structure of the *alārippu* and serves as one of its functions. The audience participates *with* the performer in the process of preparing for the main portion of the performance, a practice also found in traditional Indian singing.⁷

The torso and head play relatively unimportant roles in *Tiśram Alārippu*. The torso is used largely to enhance other more important movements by being included in some arm movements (for example, C and H"). The torso does not initiate movement. Apart from the brief opening sections in which the head is used in isolation, it serves primarily to focus attention on the hands by generally looking toward the active hand (for example, section B).

Only five hand positions are used (see glossary of score). This is appropriate in that no textual content is conveyed so there is no need for elaborate hand gestures. Instead, a limited number of selected positions enhance the rest of the movement rather than detract from it. Full exploration of hand gestures is left to the sections of the concert using narrative dance.

Arm gestures make use of the full arm as well as its segments and are quite varied in nature. Legs, on the other hand, are more limited in use. When not supporting the body they are never extended above hip level and are often limited to gesturing (a movement or position not supporting the body weight) while contacting the floor. When lifted, the foot is relaxed and the ankle is either relaxed or consciously flexed. The foot and ankle are never extended into the pointed toe position found in ballet. When the knees are bent, the legs are always outwardly rotated as much as possible to form a 180 degree angle between them; when straight, there is no rotation.

The major stance employs a very narrow base, with the feet together. A leg may briefly extend forward, diagonally, or sideward, but it will quickly return to the closed support. This is in opposition to the arms that make both large and small movements away from the body and are only briefly drawn in close to the torso to execute the rapid transitions between movements. This sometimes establishes a counter-tension between the narrowing tendency in the legs and the widening tendency in the arms.

One activity of the legs is to mark the rhythmic patterns of the movement, almost as a musical instrument. The dancer wears ankle bells that sound with each movement, but whose audible intensity can be varied by controlling the movement. Syncopation is achieved by altering the intensity with which the dancer stamps her feet, resulting in the bells resounding at varying volumes (see sections H" and I). The legs are used more to explore auditory and temporal elements than intricacies of movement potential.

On the whole, there is emphasis on small peripheral body movements, with larger movements used for occasional variety. The arms and legs tend to move around a held (stationary) torso, creating a dance that is primarily gestural in nature.⁸

Use of space

Tiśram Alārippu makes minimal use of locomotor patterns (movements that travel through space). The total amount of locomotion in the first 60 rhythmic cycles is limited to two steps forward and one step to each of the forward diagonals. The next 16 cycles contain a total of eight locomotor steps (four progressing to each side of the stage) which balance each other so the dancer returns to the center-stage position. A series of stamping patterns is performed in one place in the next 17 cycles, and the dance concludes with a series of stamps traveling slightly upstage during 7 rhythmic cycles. The dance could easily be performed in a 9-foot square space.⁹

The dancer also seems content to stay comfortably within her kinesphere.¹⁰ There is no attempt to create an illusion of going beyond it, as in ballet. She makes use of near-, medium-,

and far-reach space, but concentrates largely on far-reach space, with near-reach space used mainly for rapid transitions (for example, section H").

The dancer's relationship to the audience is also quite restricted. For only two brief moments (in D") does the dancer pivot far enough to turn her back to the audience. However, because her face focuses on her hands, her head is turned towards the audience. The rest of the dance is performed facing the audience.¹¹ This frontal orientation is reinforced by the limited use of the kinesphere behind the dancer's body.

All surfaces of the kinesphere in front of the dancer's body are used – right and left sides, up and down, and forward right and left diagonals. The dancer makes only brief contact with edges of the kinesphere behind her (in section H"), and these are all performed with the arms.

Spatially, *Tiśram Alāriṭṭu* emphasizes linear and planar elements, almost totally excluding three-dimensionality.¹² The starting position strongly emphasizes the dancer's vertical axis. There is a hint of counter-tension with the forward deviation of the center of gravity and in the beginning sideward movements of the head. But the powerful vertical line predominates. Further, the small size of the head movements and the boundary established by the arms framing the head with hands touching overhead minimizes the lateral counter-tension.

A dividing motif (dm1) provides a transition into a position and movement sequence that emphasize the horizontal axis, but hint at the horizontal plane by virtue of the arms being slightly forward of the torso (section B). The next two sections (C and C') literally define the horizontal plane in front of the dancer's body and provide a strong circular feeling. A slight counter-tension is established in this section with the small punctuating movements of the lower arm occurring simultaneously with the larger arm circle. This section also introduces a new level (knees partially bent) for the body as a whole.

The repetition of earlier sequences that follows (sections B through C') introduces a very low level, with the dancer's deep knee bend. This is maintained throughout the repetition and introduces a third level to be subsequently used. It should be noted that *Tiśram Alāriṭṭu* begins in the most anatomically natural position, with knees straight (A through B'), and then progresses through a moderate bent-knee position (C through C') to a deep squat (repetition of B through C'). This is important for the dancer physically because it gradually prepares the leg muscles for the demands that will be made on them later (the dancer's warm-up referred to earlier).

It should also be noted that the straight knees, moderate bend, and deep knee bend are the only three levels used in *Tiśram Alāriṭṭu*. The dancer occasionally supports herself on the balls of her feet (as in D and E through F'), but at these times is still in a bent-knee position. During these times, as well as in several other instances (D, E through G', and F'), elevation is used, but only in the sense that both feet are off the floor – there is no attempt to lift the body high into the air. On the contrary, every attempt is made to maintain the level of the center of gravity and simply lift the feet off the ground. Both supporting on the balls of the feet and elevating are used as a means of varying movement *without* varying level.

Two sections (D through D") very clearly establish the lateral plane. Although the dancer turns slightly and steps to her forward diagonal, the sideward tension pulling her flatly parallel to the audience predominates. This flat sideward tension (in terms of stage directions) is also felt in the arm gestures which accompany the two half-turns, minimizing any three-dimensionality that turns might otherwise suggest.

The next sections (E through F') alternate between movements strictly in the lateral plane and arm movements that extend flatly to the two forward diagonal planes.¹³ This is followed by sections (G and H) that return to the vertical axis established at the beginning with a slight sense of the sagittal with the arms and leg gestures just forward of the torso.

This is followed by sections (H' through I) that alternate between horizontal, sagittal, and diagonal tensions but stay clearly in only one plane at a time. Transitions between planes are

executed centrally, by drawing the arm or arms in close to the torso. The latter part of the sections (I) establishes a counter-tension with the arms operating purely in the lateral plane and the body progressing backward through the sagittal plane. The two planes are clearly felt as separate entities however. There is no suggestion of transverse movement or arcs cutting through different planes.

The dancer then comes to rest in the vertical position in which she started. Beginning with a clearly one-dimensional (axial) feeling, the dancer works her way through a series of axial and planar movements that emphasize two- rather than three-dimensionality, and returns in cyclic fashion to her one-dimensional axis.

There is a strong sense of bilateral symmetry in positions throughout *Tiśram Alārippu*. This is clearly established in the dancer's opening pose. There is a tendency to return to a symmetrical position at the beginning and end of sections, and occasionally within a section. The symmetrical position may be held only very briefly, but it is returned to repeatedly.

Bilateral symmetry is found in very few movements (as opposed to positions). However, there is a predominance of symmetry in movement repetition, repeating with the left side of the body a pattern originally performed with the right side. (Movements of sections B' through F', and H' all display such symmetry.)

Two sections use movement symmetry in other ways significant to analysis. One section (B) is comprised as follows:

- 2 rhythmic cycles – small movement of right lower arm;
- 2 rhythmic cycles – head isolations;
- 2 rhythmic cycles – repetition of small lower arm movements with left arm.

This phrase may be considered both symmetrical and a-symmetrical. If the head isolations (third and fourth rhythmic cycles) are thought of as a dividing motif, then the fact that they are surrounded by an identical movement sequence performed on the right side and then the left makes the complete phrase symmetrical. If, on the other hand, the right arm movement is clustered with the head isolations, these head isolations are absent after the left arm movement, making the complete sequence a-symmetrical.

Another type of symmetry emerges if the head isolations (third and fourth rhythmic cycles) are separated. The sequence could then be clustered as small movements of the right lower arm and a head isolation to the right, followed by a head isolation to the left and repetition of the small lower arm movements with the left arm. The order in which the sequences occur with the repetition on the left side of the body is inverted. But there is a strong feeling of symmetry, perhaps identifiable as inverted symmetry.

This unusual phrasing (in section B) may occur because two rhythmic cycles are required for the dividing motif (between sections A and B) – a motif necessary to change from the position established in one section (A) to that required in the next (B).

Another type of symmetry occurs in a later sequence (sections D' through D"). Each of the two sections in this sequence is a clear example of a bilaterally symmetrical repeat. Together these two sections create what might be called directional symmetry, created, as in a type of symmetry described earlier, by inversion. Looking at these two sections as a unit, we see a very two-dimensional progression toward stage-right followed by one toward stage-left. The progression is then inverted as the dancer moves toward stage-left and then stage-right, creating an over-all feeling of symmetry. Thus, two "levels" of symmetry are established – the intra-sectional symmetry, via a bilaterally symmetrical repeat, and the inter-sectional symmetry, created by an inverted directional repeat.

The audience may not be consciously aware of these subtle variations in symmetry during a performance. But in a dance where bilaterally symmetrical repeats predominate, other forms of

symmetry provide another kind of variation on a theme that prevents the symmetry from becoming too predictable.

Use of energy¹⁴

The predominant energy characteristic of *Tiśram Alārīppu* is the small burst. Sharp, staccato movements predominate. Counter-tension is sometimes established, however, by playing two contrasting energy patterns against each other. For example, in one section (C) the lower arm executes a series of small bursts at the same time the whole arm traverses an arc through space in a sustained manner (the arc stays within the horizontal plane rather than cutting across planes). Another form of counter-tension may be seen in later sections (D through D" and I) when the arms make sustained arcs through space at the same time the feet take small quick steps.

The over-all driving percussive energy flow and counter-tension created by simultaneously occurring contrastive energy patterns are sometimes heightened by moments of stillness. During such moments, however, the dancer does not relax – rather than dropping the energy level, it is momentarily suspended. The audience feels its presence and is immediately caught up when motion resumes. One particularly dynamic moment occurs near the end of the dance (section dm2) where a long series of small bursts is stopped abruptly, and then resumes immediately after a brief pause as if continuing from the energy level attained before the pause. This is an example of the use of stillness, rather than motion, to create variety and excitement.

Use of time

It is significant to note that the name of a particular *alārīppu* is indicated by the rhythmical cycle or metrical setting (*tāla*) of its musical accompaniment. One of the major emphases in *Tiśram Alārīppu* is the use of intricate rhythmic patterns.

Tiśram is a rhythmic cycle of three beats. However, to facilitate the phrasing of movement patterns, each cycle is subdivided into six beats in this analysis. (For a complete rhythmic analysis see Higgins 1982). Movement patterns may be grouped in several different rhythmic phrasings: units of 6, two units of 3, and one unit of 2 plus one unit of 4. These phrasings are emphasized by continually shifting accents – accents achieved through energy pulses (for example, B through B'), changes in movement direction (D through D'), alternation of movement and stillness (G), changing the loudness of stamps (I), and varying the length of movement phrases (E through F').

Another form of rhythmic variety is achieved by repeating a movement pattern in a different timing. The easiest way to do this would be to simply perform the movement twice as fast, so that a movement taking six beats would be repeated in three beats. While this is one type of variation used in *Tiśram Alārīppu*, another is to change the phrasing within the movement. For example, one section (B) contains a pattern requiring six cycles (*avartas*) to perform, during which the major action occurs on the first beat of each cycle (a small preparatory action occurs on the fifth beat of the first, fourth, and fifth cycles). Variety is achieved in the next section (B") by having each repetition of the movement phrase take only two cycles, with the major action occurring on beats one and three, with a one-beat pause in the middle and a three-beat pause at the end, rather than simply double-timing the phrase and moving on beats one and four. This uneven division (that is, rhythmic a-symmetry), creates a considerably stronger dynamic than simply doubling the movement tempo.

A strong rhythmic tension occurs at several points (E through F', H, and H") when movement and musical phrase begin together, drift apart (become "out of phase"), and then suddenly finish together. The strongest effect seems to be achieved in a section (H") where the initial movement phrase is 1-1/2 beats long (based on the 3-beat metrical cycle rather than the sub-division into 6 beats used for movement phrasing). It is then varied and becomes two beats, and is varied again to three beats. The last phrase ends with a stamp on the first beat of a cycle, and is followed by

stillness for the remainder of the cycle. There then follows a very fast sequence leading to the end of the dance (which occurs on the first beat of a cycle, as is typical in Indian music and dance). The brief stillness prior to the conclusion appears to be a rest from the seeming non-relationship between dancer and music preceding it, but the rapid pace is quickly resumed before the audience is allowed to relax.

Speed is an important factor in *Tiśram Alāriṭṭu*. It can be seen easily from the notation that the movement density¹⁵ gradually increases during the dance. Beginning with very minimal movement during the course of each rhythmic cycle, there is a gradual build-up to a fairly high density (in sections E through F'), a slight lowering in density (section G), a greater increase (H through H''), an abrupt stop (dm3), an increase again (I), and an abrupt decrease in the return to the opening section. This over-all gradual increase in movement density leads the audience on to a dynamic climax, the impact of which is increased by interspersing short sections that either decrease in intensity or completely stop. These breaks create a feeling of suspension by deviating from the anticipated progression.

Summary and conclusions

In summary, *Tiśram Alāriṭṭu* displays the following movement characteristics (for convenience in relating the characteristics to subsequent comments, they have been re-ordered from the sequence in which they were initially presented):

1. extensive use of symmetry (of several different types);
2. minimal use of head and torso;
3. extensive use of arm gestures;
4. minimal spatial use of legs;
5. relaxed or flexed foot and ankle;
6. parallel legs accompanying straight knees, outwardly rotated legs accompanying bent knees;
7. narrow base;
8. frontal orientation;
9. two-dimensionality;
10. downward emphasis;
11. small, bursting quality;
12. use of selected number of hand gestures for ornamentation;
13. intricate rhythmic variety;
14. extensive use of legs to produce sound;
15. emphasis on small peripheral movements;
16. minimal locomotion;
17. comfortable containment within the kinesphere.

Analysis of a large sampling of the Bharata Natyam repertoire is required before firm conclusions can be reached regarding how typical these characteristics are of Bharata Natyam in general and of *alāriṭṭu* specifically. Based on the observation of many performances in India and elsewhere, the following hypotheses are proposed.

Items one through eight are representative of the entire Bharata Natyam technique. Items nine through fourteen are most typical of the technique of abstract dance. Elaboration in the extensive use of hand gestures forms the basis of narrative dance technique. While rhythmic variety and stamping may be found in narrative dance, they are not emphasized to the extent they are in abstract dance.

Items fifteen through seventeen are varied during subsequent dances in the performance. Although the emphasis is still on containment and smallness (as contrasted, for example, with the

large outward orientation of Western ballet), dances that follow gradually increase the amount of space used and the size of movements.

Organizationally, *Tiśram Alāriṣṣu* progresses in the following way:

1. small lower arm and head isolations in a straight-knee position;
2. similar movements in a bent-knee position;
3. repetition of the initial sequence in a deep knee bend;
4. a locomotor pattern alternating straight and bent knees;
5. rhythmically varied repetition of the locomotor pattern;
6. a fast, rhythmically complex sequence emphasizing stamping and arm movement;
7. a locomotor pattern progressing upstage;
8. a return to the opening position and movement.

It is hypothesized that this basic progression constitutes the outline of movement usually found in *alāriṣṣu*. While there may be variations in metrical setting, number of repetitions, length of phrases, and specific movement patterns, *alāriṣṣu* is comprised of this basic over-all progression.

At a more general level, *Tiśram Alāriṣṣu* displays three organizational characteristics:

1. incorporation of theme and variation;
2. progression from small to large in use of body parts;
3. gradual increase in movement density.

These characteristics seem typical not only of *alāriṣṣu*, but of the over-all structure of the total performance. Sections of narrative dance rely largely on varied re-interpretation of a textual line – another form of theme and variation. Increases in movement size and movement density are found not only within each dance piece, but also throughout the performance.

The choreographic structure of *Tiśram Alāriṣṣu* has been analyzed in detail and summarized. Major movement characteristics have been identified as well as the principles on which these characteristics are ordered in the dance. If substantiated by analyses of other Bharata Natyam dance pieces, it will become clear that *alāriṣṣu* is not only the first dance in a Bharata Natyam performance, comprised of abstract dance, and invocational in nature, but it also prepares the dancer physically for the remainder of the performance, initiates the audience to the over-all nature of Bharata Natyam technique, and is comprised of a prescribed pattern of movement sequences.¹⁶

While the analysis has identified characteristic features of the Bharata Natyam *alāriṣṣu*, it has also focused attention on a number of movement concepts that may be meaningful to other analytical studies.¹⁷ These are:

1. the diagonal plane;
2. the lateral plane;
3. movement density;
4. a number of ways in which symmetry may be achieved, including:
 - a. bilaterally symmetrical positions;
 - b. bilaterally symmetrical movements;
 - 1) bilaterally symmetrical repetitions;
 - 2) bilaterally symmetrical repetitions separated by a dividing motif;
 - 3) sub-division of a dividing motif to create a bilaterally symmetrical repetition presented in inverted order;
 - 4) locomotor symmetry created by directional inversion;
 - 5) symmetry and a-symmetry created by rhythmic phrasing.

Through diverse applications of these concepts it will be possible to determine if they have universal relevance to future movement studies.

ENDNOTES

1. This essay was originally published in Wade 1982, and subsequently republished in the spring/summer 1987 (volume 18, number 2) issue of *Astian Music*. Since that time considerable research has been done on the history of Bharata Natyam. See, for example, the winter 2004 edition (volume 36, number 2) of *Dance research journal*, and relevant bibliographies contained therein. The original essay has been slightly modified and updated for inclusion here.
2. For a detailed discussion of these terms and basic Indian dance theory see Chapter 2 of Vatsyayan (1974).
3. For detailed descriptions of each of these items see Vatsyayan (1974), and Higgins (1973 and 1982).
4. *Tiśram Alārīppu* is used here to identify the specific *tiśram alārīppu* learned by the writer from Balasaraswati; *tiśram alārīppu* is used to refer to any *alārīppu* with a metrical setting of three counts, and *alārīppu* is used to refer to the entire genre of dance pieces having the characteristics described in this essay.
5. Nine *atavu* groups are identified in Vatsyayan (1974:17), fifteen are identified in Vatsyayan (1963:17), and ten in Bhavnani (1965:32). Nine *atavu* groups were learned by the writer from Balasaraswati.
6. Charts comparing the numbers of *mudrās* identified in various traditional sources may be found in Vatsyayan (1968:80-94).
7. It has been suggested that "the function and procedure of *alārīppu* are similar to *alapana* in [Indian] music" [Lewis Rowell, personal communication, 21 August 1978].
8. Warren Lamb originated the terms "postural" and "gestural" to refer, respectively, to movement that includes the whole body and movement that includes only a portion of the body. For further discussion of these concepts see Dell (1970:79-80).
9. This may have been retained from days when the dance was performed inside a temple before an image of a deity. Further research on development of Bharata Natyam technique is needed to establish this relationship.
10. The kinesphere is an imaginary space bubble surrounding the dancer. It is formed by the edges of a sphere whose surfaces the dancer could touch by extending his/her limbs in all directions without transporting his/her body through space. The edges of this sphere are considered far-reach space, the space very close to the body is near-reach space, and the space between is medium-reach space. For a detailed discussion of the kinesphere and reach space see Dell (1970:46-47; 69).
11. This may also have been retained from earlier times when a dancer intent on acknowledging a deity would probably not wish to turn her back on its image.
12. Some of the terminology used here for spatial analysis is based on concepts related to Effort/Shape analysis. Definitions appropriate to this essay are: "When an individual is upright, the longitudinal axis of his body, the body midline, coincides with the plumb-line of the pull of gravity through his body toward the center of the earth. This line we call the vertical dimension, or axis, which is composed of the two directions, up, away from the pull of gravity, and down, toward the pull of gravity. Two other axes intersect the vertical axis at right angles, so that all three axes are equidistant – the horizontal axis going from side to side, and the sagittal axis going forward and backward" [Dell 1970:69], ". . . when we speak of planes or cycles, we speak of only three; the vertical (door plane, cartwheel cycle) which combines the dimensions up-down and side-side and has as its axis the forward-backward dimension; the horizontal cycle (table plane, turning cycle) which combines the dimensions side-side and forward-backward and has as its axis the upward-downward or vertical dimension; the sagittal cycle (wheel plane, somersault cycle) which combines the dimensions forward-backward and up-down and has as its axis the sideward-sideward (right-left) or horizontal dimension" [Dell, 1970:73]. "Lateral plane" has been substituted in this essay for "vertical plane." While both terms imply the up-down, side-side tensions which define the plane, "vertical plane" places greater emphasis on the up-down aspect. In contrast, "lateral plane" (based on anatomical terminology) emphasizes the side-side aspect. Because the side-side component is more important than the up-down in Bharata Natyam, the term "lateral plane" is more appropriate.
13. Some movement analysis systems do not recognize diagonal planes. These terms were chosen here to identify two flat surfaces used in Bharata Natyam that are not included in the three planes identified in Effort/Shape analysis. One plane combines the dimensions up-down and forward right diagonal-back left diagonal. The other combines the dimensions up-down and forward left diagonal-back right diagonal. Reference to the two forward diagonal planes indicates the front half of each of these planes.
14. "Energy" is used here to refer to the action potential of individual muscles of the body; the contraction potential of individual muscle fibers. It refers to the actual exertion by the dancer (which is usually sensed by the audience), and is not synonymous with the term "effort" as used in theories based on Rudolf Laban's work. For further discussion of this concept see Van Zile (1977:85-96).
15. The concept of movement density (based on a well-accepted practice in music analysis) is proposed by the writer as important to choreographic analysis. While further research is needed to define the concept in the most

meaningful way, the following working definition is used here: the number of body segments moving simultaneously and the number of separate movements occurring within a given time span. (If the whole arm moves together, from shoulder to finger-tips, it is considered one movement; if the upper arm moves into a new direction at the same time the lower arm and hand move into different directions and a new finger position is assumed, four movements are occurring simultaneously.) While it would be possible to actually count the precise number of movements occurring on each musical beat, this is considered a futile activity. Scanning the notation score for a suggestion of the number of symbols occurring during a specified duration yields a general indication of quantity, which is more relevant than specific numbers for the type of analysis used here.

16. The analysis has been largely concerned with structural elements. Balasaraswati, renowned Bharata Natyam performer and authority, has set forth her ideas regarding the spiritual and aesthetic impact of a performance and the significance of the structure of the performance to these elements. She states that a Bharata Natyam performance is a means for "revealing the spiritual through the corporeal" and that modifying the traditional format would "destroy the integrity of aesthetic enjoyment." For a full explanation of these ideas see Balasaraswati (1978:106-116).
17. For a series of articles reporting relevant movement analysis studies (relating primarily to Western dance traditions) see the section, "Laban analysis as a research tool," in Woodruff (1978). See also proceedings of the International Council for Kinetography Laban, and Bartenieff, and others (1984).

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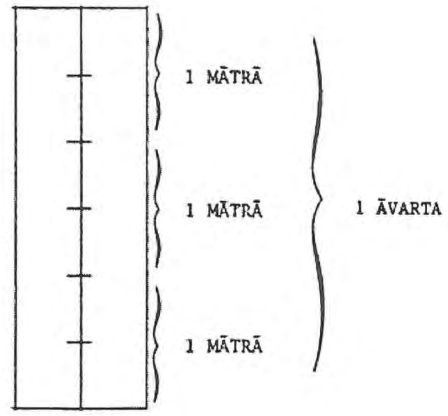
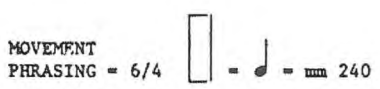
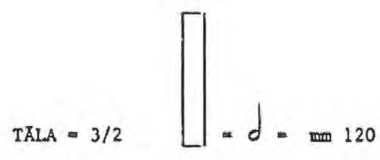
Labanotation Glossary

Staff layout

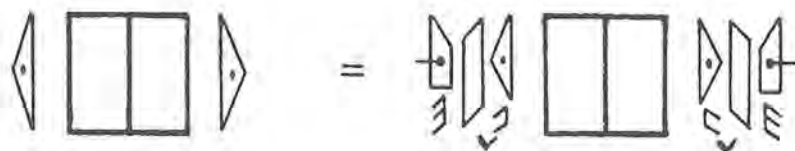
WESTERN RHYTHMIC NOTATION OF ŚOLKATTUS
 ŚOLKATTUS (MUSICIAN'S MNEMONICS)
 ATAVU SYLLABLES (DANCER'S MNEMONICS)
 ĀVARTA NUMBER

GESTURES OF LEFT ARM
TORSO
GESTURES OF LEFT LEG
SPECIAL MODIFIERS OF LEFT SUPPORTS OR LEG GESTURES
SUPPORTS ON LEFT LEG
SUPPORTS ON RIGHT LEG
SPECIAL MODIFIERS OF RIGHT SUPPORTS OR LEG GESTURES
GESTURES OF RIGHT LEG
TORSO
GESTURES OF RIGHT ARM
SECTION LABEL

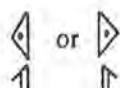
Timing



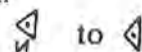
Abbreviations and special usages




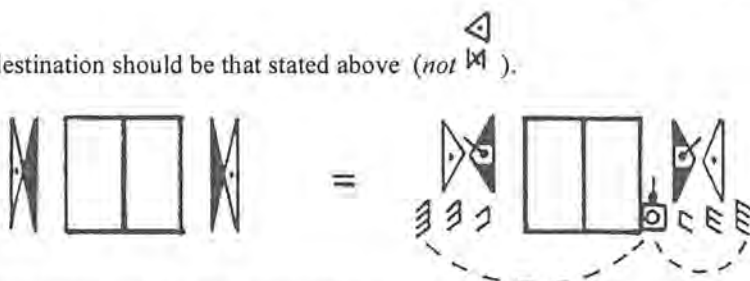
Care should be taken to read




in the score as notated above, particularly when this occurs after another side position for the arm. For example, in measure 64, the left arm makes a transition from

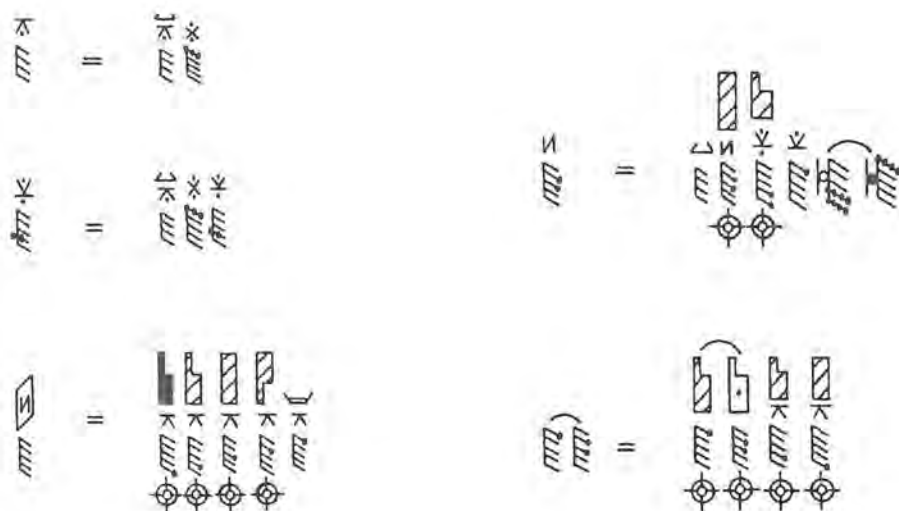


The second destination should be that stated above (not ).



 = normal carriage of the arm or leg (that is, neither bent nor stretched (for example, leg gesture in measure 5).)

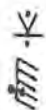
Because focus of the face on the hands is important in Bharata Natyam, body holds have been added to facings (where appropriate) to remind the reader to maintain the gaze stated (for example, measures 6 and 10).



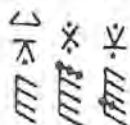
The same hand/finger positions may be used for the left hand, and are abbreviated in a like manner.

Bharata Natyam might be described as a "handsey" dance genre because of its constant use of specific hand and finger positions (see Nrta Technique section and Note 6). There is no "normal" way to hold the hand; it always assumes one of the specific configurations identified as a *mudra*. Once a *mudra* has been established the dancer retains this position until taking a new one. Because of this the following two rules (which contradict the normal assumptions of Labanotation) have been followed in this score:

1. Because the abbreviated symbols (on the left above) imply an entire hand/finger position, when used they are assumed to cancel all prior hand/finger positions. For example,



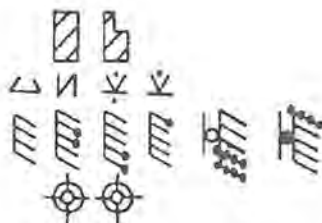
has been in effect in measure 80. The entire position represented by this symbol



is cancelled in measure 81 by



representing



(This also holds true when



is used – as in measure 94 – because this represents an entire hand/finger configuration rather than a rotation, per se.)

2. Once a *mudra* (hand/finger position) has been established, the dancer retains this position until a new *mudra* is stated (i.e., there is an understood and unstated body hold on all parts of the hand until a new *mudra* is written). A new indication for the whole arm or any of its segments does *not* cancel a previously stated hand/finger position. While the body hold (o) has been used following the first statement of a *mudra*, many *mudras* hold for a long period of time, and the reader should not be tempted to assume what would be considered a “normal” hand position in many Western dance traditions.

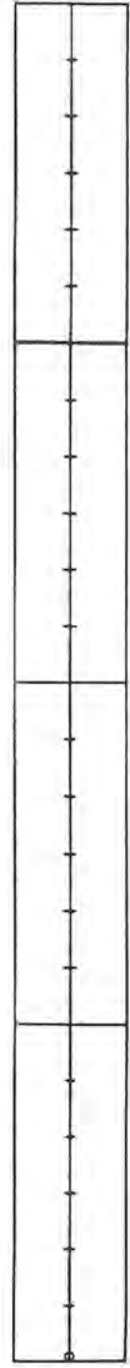
When lifted, the foot and ankle are relaxed, unless a specific indication for them is stated (when this occurs, the ankle is usually folded over its front surface so that the back of the heel may contact the floor). The foot and ankle are never extended into the pointed toe position found in ballet.

The notation contained in this work has been approved and meets the qualifications for a Labanotation score as set forth by the Dance Notation Bureau. It follows practices established by the International Council for Kinetography Laban in effect as of 1982.

Handwritten musical notation for **A**, consisting of four measures:

- Measure 1: J. TĀ TĒ ;
- Measure 2: J. DIT TĀ ;
- Measure 3: J. TĒ TĒ ;
- Measure 4: J. TĒ TĒ ;

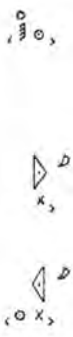
Measure counts: 3, 4, 15 (3/3), 16 (4/4)



Handwritten musical notation for **B**, consisting of four measures:

- Measure 1: J. TĀ TĒ ;
- Measure 2: J. DIT TĀ ;
- Measure 3: J. TĒ TĒ ;
- Measure 4: J. TĒ TĒ ;

Measure counts: 3, 4, 15 (3/3), 16 (4/4)

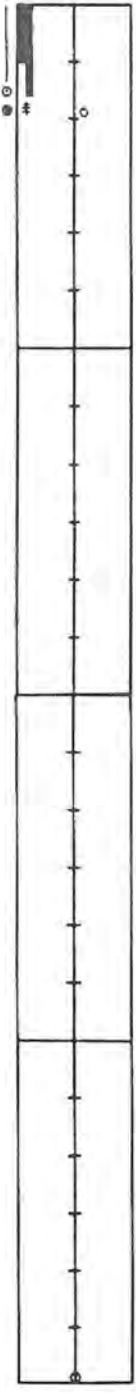


17 ($\frac{1}{3}$)


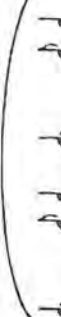
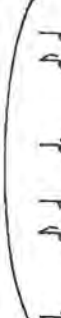
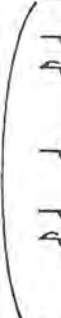
18 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

19 ($\frac{1}{3}$)

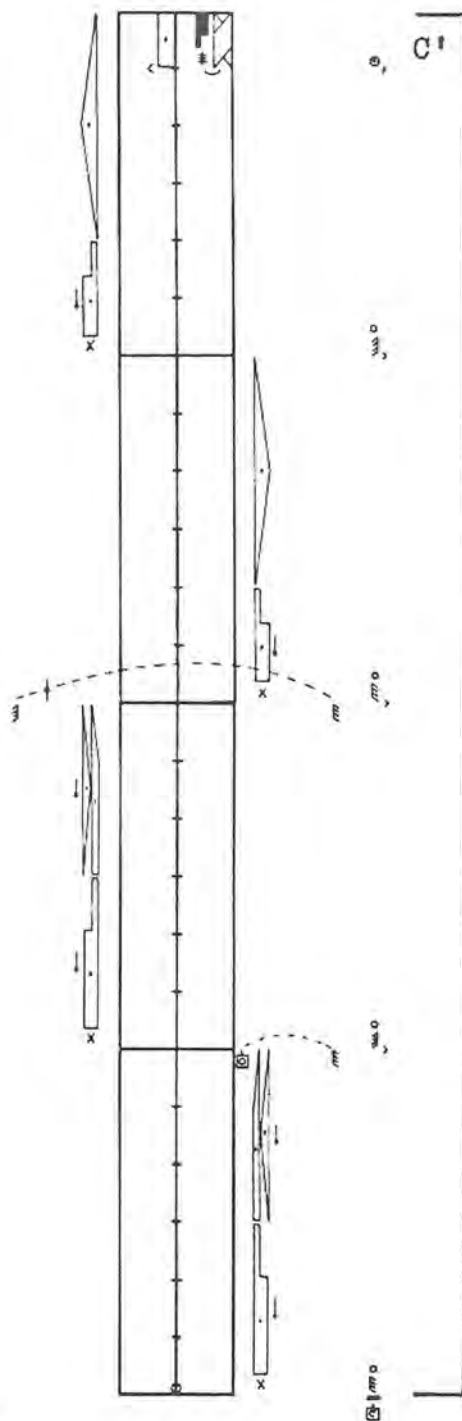
20



B⁺

 <p>TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ TE TE TE TE TE TE</p>	 <p>TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ TE TE TE TE TE TE</p>	 <p>TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ TE TE TE TE TE TE</p>	 <p>TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ TE TE TE TE TE TE</p>
29	30	31	32

□



f
mf
mf
mf
C

TĀ , YĪ , TĒ 33
 DIT , TAT ,
 TĀ , YĪ , TĒ 34
 TĒ , YĪ , TĒ 35 (7-12)
 TĒ , YĪ , TĒ 36
 KI TĀ TA KA , TAT ,
 KI TĀ TA KA , TAT ,

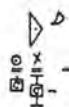
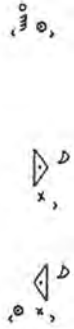
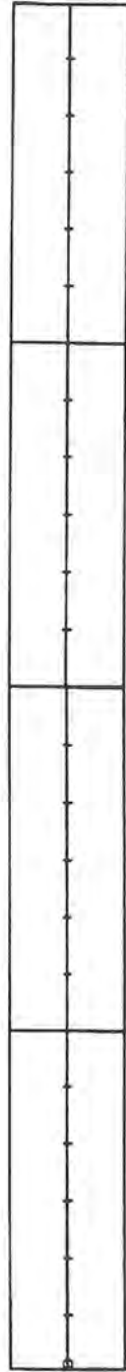
DMI
 B

TĀ DIT TĀ ;
 TĒ TĒ TĒ ;
 41 (13-20)

TĒ TĒ TĒ ;
 TĒ TĒ TĒ ;
 42

TĀ DIT TĀ ;
 TĒ TĒ TĒ ;
 43

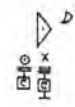
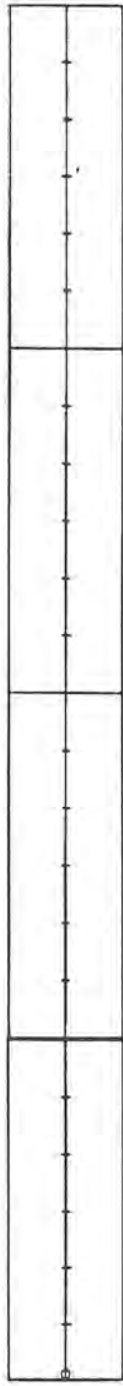
TĒ TĒ TĒ ;
 TĒ TĒ TĒ ;
 44




B'

<p>d. TĀ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. DIT TĀ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">45</p>	<p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">46</p>
<p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. DIT TĒ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">47</p>	<p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p>d. TĒ TĒ ;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">48</p>

□



B'

49 (21-28) 

TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ
TĒ , TĒ ,

TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ
TĒ , TĒ , TĒ ,


TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ
TĒ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ

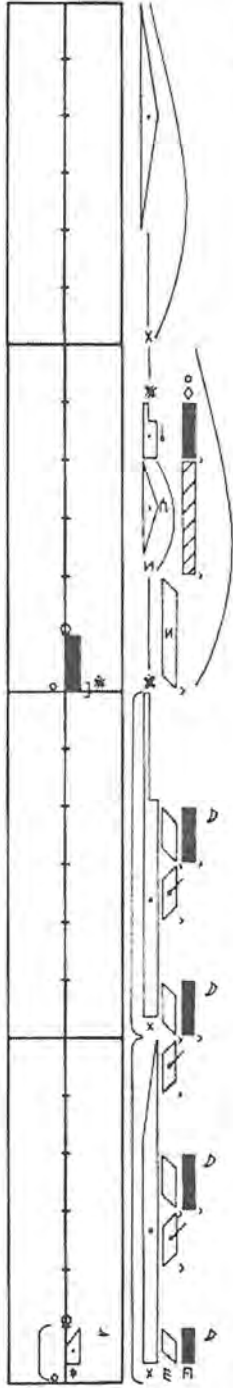
TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ
TĒ , TĒ TĒ TĒ TĒ TĒ TĒ


50


51

52









53

TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ , TĒ , TĒ

54

TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ , TĒ , TĒ

55

TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ , TĒ , TĒ

56

TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ , TĒ , TĒ

□

□

C

The image contains a musical score and a technical drawing of a string instrument bridge, likely a violin or viola.

Musical Score:

- Staff 1:** TA (quarter), TE (quarter), TA (quarter), TE (quarter), TA (quarter), TE (quarter), TA (quarter), TE (quarter). Measure number: 65 (61-64).
- Staff 2:** TA (quarter), TA (quarter), TA (quarter), TA (quarter), TA (quarter), TA (quarter), TA (quarter), TA (quarter). Measure number: 66.
- Staff 3:** DI T (quarter), TAT (quarter), TAT (quarter), TAT (quarter), TAT (quarter), TAT (quarter), TAT (quarter), TAT (quarter). Measure number: 67.
- Staff 4:** KI TA TA KA (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter). Measure number: 68.
- Staff 5:** KI TA TA KA (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter), TE (quarter). Measure number: 69.

Technical Drawing:

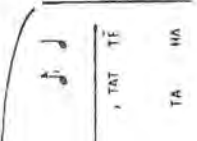

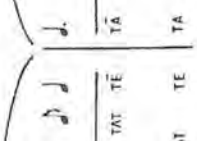
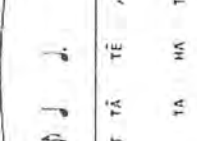


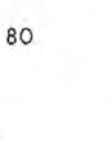

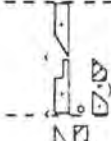

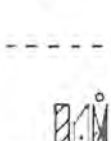

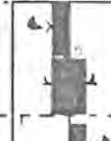
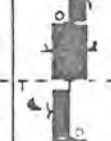
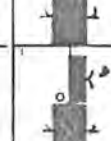
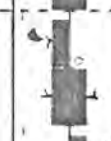
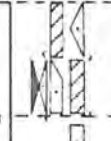
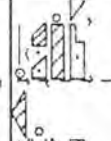

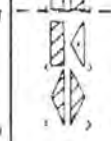
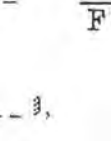
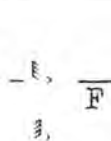

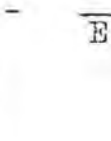

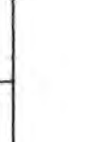






- Top View:** Shows the bridge with four strings. Labels include 'D' at the top right, 'E' at the top left, and 'C' at the bottom left. A small square symbol is located below the bridge.
- Side View:** Shows the bridge's profile with labels 'A' and 'B' on the left side, and 'C' and 'D' on the right side. A small square symbol is located below the bridge.
- Bottom View:** Shows the bridge's base with labels 'A' and 'B' on the left side, and 'C' and 'D' on the right side. A small square symbol is located below the bridge.
- Detail Views:** Several small diagrams show details of the bridge's construction, including the feet, the top plate, and the bottom plate.

<p> TĀ , DIT TĀ ; </p>	<p> TĒ , TAT TĒ ; </p>	<p> TĀ , DIT TĀ ; </p>	<p> TĒ , TAT TĒ ; </p>
69	70	71 (69-70)	72
☐	☐	☐	☐

<p>73</p> <p>丁. 丁 丁 TĀ DIT TĀ TĒ TĒ ;</p>	<p>丁. 丁 丁 TĀ TAT TĒ TĒ TĒ ;</p>	<p>丁. 丁 丁 TĒ TĒ ;</p>	<p>丁. 丁 丁 TĒ TĒ ;</p>	<p>丁. 丁 丁 TĒ TĒ ;</p>	<p>丁. 丁 丁 TĒ TĒ ;</p>	<p>丁. 丁 丁 TĒ TĒ ;</p>	<p>丁. 丁 丁 TĒ TĒ ;</p>	<p>丁. 丁 丁 TĒ TĒ ;</p>	<p>丁. 丁 丁 TĒ TĒ ;</p>
<p>74</p>	<p>76</p>	<p>75 (73-74)</p>	<p>75 (73-74)</p>	<p>75 (73-74)</p>	<p>75 (73-74)</p>	<p>75 (73-74)</p>	<p>75 (73-74)</p>	<p>75 (73-74)</p>	<p>75 (73-74)</p>
<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>
<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>	<p>甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲 甲</p>

D''

(5)

77	78	79	80
 <p>TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ TAT TE TA HA DIT TE</p>	 <p>TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ TA HA TAT TE TA HA</p>	 <p>TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ DIT TE TA NA TAT TE</p>	 <p>TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ TA HA DIT TE TA NA</p>
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
E	E	E ²	F ²

TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ ; TĒ TĒ ;
 TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ ; TĒ TĒ ;
 TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ ; TĒ TĒ ;
 TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ ; TĒ TĒ ;

mf
 pp
 mf
 pp

84
 83 (81-82)
 82
 81

G

The image displays a musical score for Balasaraswati's *Tisram Alārippu*. It is organized into four systems, numbered 85 through 88. Each system contains a vocal line with lyrics and a corresponding rhythmic notation system.

Vocal Lines (85-88):

- System 85:** Lyrics: YĀ , DIT IĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ / DITDIT TE DITDIT TE
- System 86:** Lyrics: TĀ , DIT YĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ / DITDIT TE DITDIT TE
- System 87:** Lyrics: TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ / DITDIT TE DITDIT TE
- System 88:** Lyrics: TĀ , DIT TĀ TĒ , TAT TĒ / DITDIT TE DITDIT TE

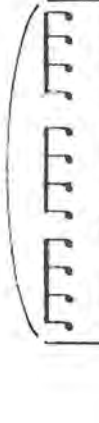


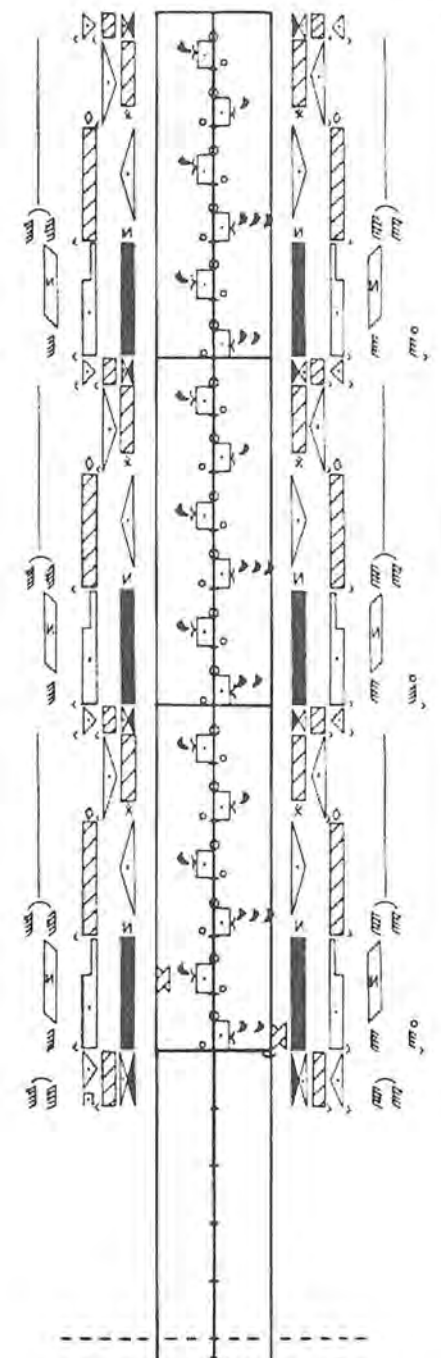
Rhythmic Notation:

The rhythmic notation is presented in a vertical column with a central staff. It includes various symbols such as rectangles, circles, and lines, some of which are shaded or have specific markings. A central vertical line with a circle at the top and bottom serves as a reference. The notation is organized into measures, with some measures containing multiple symbols. A large bracket on the right side of the notation system is labeled 'H'.

Legend:

At the bottom of the page, there is a legend for the rhythmic symbols:

- o (circle)
- (square)
- ▨ (hatched square)
- ▩ (solid black square)
- ▧ (hatched square)
- ▦ (hatched square)
- ▥ (hatched square)
- ▤ (hatched square)
- ▣ (hatched square)
- ▢ (hatched square)
- (hatched square)
- (hatched square)
- ▟ (hatched square)
- ▞ (hatched square)
- ▝ (hatched square)
- ▜ (hatched square)
- ▛ (hatched square)
- ▚ (hatched square)
- ▙ (hatched square)
- ▘ (hatched square)
- ▗ (hatched square)
- ▖ (hatched square)
- ▕ (hatched square)
- ▔ (hatched square)
- ▓ (solid black square)
- ▒ (hatched square)
- ░ (hatched square)
- ▐ (hatched square)
- ▏ (hatched square)
- ▍ (hatched square)
- ▌ (hatched square)
- ▋ (hatched square)
- ▊ (hatched square)
- ▉ (hatched square)
- █ (hatched square)
- ▇ (hatched square)
- ▆ (hatched square)
- ▅ (hatched square)
- ▄ (hatched square)
- ▃ (hatched square)
- ▂ (hatched square)
- ▁ (hatched square)
- ▀ (solid black square)

<p>55</p> <p>TĀ</p> <p>TĀ</p>	<p>-</p> <p>/</p> <p>:</p>	 <p>DI KU TA KA DI KU TA KA DI KU TA KA</p> <p>TE TE TE TE TE TE TE TE TE TE</p> <p>94</p>	 <p>DI KU TA KA DI KU TA KA DI KU TA KA</p> <p>TE TE TE TE TE TE TE TE TE TE</p> <p>95</p>	 <p>DI KU TA KA DI KU TA KA DI KU TA KA</p> <p>TE TE TE TE TE TE TE TE TE TE</p> <p>96 (94)</p>	<p>☐</p>	<p>KEIWA</p>		<p>GH-4</p>	<p>DM2</p>	<p>I</p>
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"Sailing on the dance floor in Sweden" (Photos by Bengt Nilsson, 1983)

"SAILING ON THE DANCE FLOOR" A MODEST ATTEMPT AT UNDERSTANDING A WAY OF DANCING**

Mats Nilsson

One of the most important concepts, which are discussed in my dissertation and in this article, is that of tradition. I use it, briefly, as the transference of cultural knowledge over a period of time. One aspect is that this transference always brings about change, that is, all "living" cultural manifestations, as for example dance, are a continual mixture of old and new, of the invariable and the changeable. It is also about what Peter Burke calls the "Little Tradition," that is, the informal, popular dancing and not the "Great Tradition" which is that conveyed by dance teachers, dance schools and other institutions.

The style of dancing called "sailing" was documented in 1983 in a cooperative effort by Henry Sjöberg from The Archive for Folk Dance in Stockholm and me. "Sailing" was documented in Göteborg, Sweden's second largest city (population about 500,000).

The analysis was done from my background as a researcher in Scandinavian folk dance and Swedish ethnology/folklore. I make distinctions between the dance, the movements, the dancing, and the performance/context. However, as dance is always danced in a context, no dance occasion exists without there having been dancing. Everyone is a product of, and influenced by, the culture and tradition in which one lives.

Every individual's consciousness holds images of the past from his society's history and from his own life experience, as well as images of how he wants to shape the future. These images mirror the environment during his life and also represent new creative combinations that become meaningful both for the individual and his society [Hansen 1973: 43].

Continuity and change concerning cultural expressions can be seen as a process of *simultaneous* reconstruction *and* creation of a dance. The reconstruction means taking the forms that are already known, those "images of the past" as Börje Hansen calls it in the reference above, and gives them a physical representation. Creation is the improvisation and immediate shaping that the act of performance provides – that is, the creative combination of known dance movements. At every dance occasion, in every group of dancing people, dances "are made" over and over again.¹

The way of dancing called sailing is a dance form that some youths in Göteborg created during the 1930s. It can be seen as a bricolage of different style elements or, using a newer term, as a form of creolization.² Both of these concepts imply that the individuals or groups adopt elements from different contexts and assemble them in their own way, in a new context. Basically, one creates completely new cultural expressions out of bits and pieces of others. These new expressions can then be important for the style and identity of the individual or the group. Sailing was such an expression, a part of the group identity, for some of the working class youths in Göteborg in the 1930s.

The mode of dancing called sailing is an example of how cultural creation works. I shall discuss sailing as a dance form and examine if the source of inspiration for this way of dancing can be traced; I also examine the "sailors'" opinions about their way of dancing and themselves.

As a complement to the sailors' own views, other perspectives, namely those of the spectators, are given. The spectators illustrate the outsiders' ideals and are represented by the songwriter and singer – Lasse Dahlqvist and by the author and journalist Sven Schånberg and Gunnar Möllerstedt. Even though it is difficult to express movements/dance in words, quotations will shed some light upon sailing on the dance floor. Most interesting is the way of dancing which we can call "the out-of-time variant," where the dancers do not follow the "proper" or characteristic tempo, but do relate to the beat.

How does one sail?

A well-known personality in Göteborg, songwriter and troubadour Lasse Dahlqvist, gave the following description of a dance evening at the dance-pavilion Polketten at the amusement park Liseberg:

... a special sort of waltz is what you "sail" to. The male partner holds his arms high and around his lady's shoulder blades. She rests her head against his left shoulder. Both close their eyes and "sail" around and around, continually in the same direction. No side-leaps, no oddities, one can hardly see their legs moving across the dance floor. Everyone dances around in the same direction. It seems like everyone is walking in their sleep, as though they were hypnotized; and when the dance is over it appears to be like a real awakening. First then do they smile, talk to each other and head for the exits [Dahlqvist 1980: 68].

Lasse Dahlqvist was a spectator who was inspired to write his song "Come little darling, let's sail. . ." (Kom lilla vän ska vi segla. . .) [Music tape EMI 150-1] after having watched the dancers at Polketten, one of the dance pavilions at Liseberg. Judging from how he writes in his own song, it does not seem that he himself danced in the sailing manner. He does not appear to belong to the group of dancers who sailed:

...It is a fascinating sight to see, and an uninitiated spectator is surprised that everyone does not wind up being dizzy after so much dancing around in one direction [Dahlqvist 1980:68].

He fails also to describe the "out-of-time" variant (see below), which I noted above as something special. Is it as though there was nothing strange for him, in other words, a completely normal approach to dancing which is every dancer's right. Or is it insensitivity to the dance's musical dimension, which is due to the describer being a spectator, not a dancer; and hence, that he cannot experience all of the aspects of the dance in the same way that a dancer can?

Another spectator, Sven Schånberg, also fails to mention the out-of-time variant. His description in *Kals Odbok* refers to external attributes even more than Lasse Dahlqvist's does, for example, how the dancers hold each other:

... besides, sailing has a special meaning in Götet (Göteborg-translator's note), namely, that of dancing old time dancing in a special way. The male partner asks for a dance, clasps his hands behind his partner's head, sticks out his behind, during which she puts her arms tenderly around his neck; whereupon the couple with forehead to forehead begin dancing around and around and around [Schånberg 1968: 81].

Like Dahlqvist, Schånberg notes the continual turning, whirling, as something important in sailing. Apart from that, it is not especially easy to piece together the details. If the woman leans her head on the man's shoulder (Dahlqvist) at the same time that they are dancing forehead to forehead (Schånberg), one winds up in a strange posture, which does not coincide with the rest of the descriptions.³ But this does not really matter. What both spectators have done is to try to describe in words a way of dancing as something they themselves are not participating in. They "just" want to try to describe the unfamiliar and convey a feeling of something unusual and exotic.

Technically, it is difficult to sail, especially to slow waltz music. Low tempo, crossed feet and a continual movement where the abdomen turns first and the feet then follow – if one tries, it is easy to see the difficulties in getting it to work. Sailors themselves are, as aforementioned,

conscious of what they are doing and how it should be done; and they definitely distinguish between sailing and the common waltz:

- IP: It's that he holds me like this and I hold him under his arm.
MN: He holds you by the shoulders or right behind them, just over the shoulder blades.
IP: And then there's the crossing. . .
MN: . . . with the feet – the actual spinning. . .
IP: . . . and then there's the fact that one should glide the whole time – like this – not jumping. One shouldn't jump, then it's not called sailing.
MN: And you never changed direction?
IP: No, no! No, that was a cardinal sin!
MN: Because in usual waltzing one dances in the other direction . . .
IP: . . . yes, one changed directions there, all right.
MN: But not when you sail?
IP: No

(A woman born in 1913. IP is the informant; MN is Mats Nilsson.)

Most information seems to indicate that this way of dancing was practiced at several places, that is to say, it followed the dancers when they changed dance halls. The way of holding each other and the footwork is what one notices. The couple dances close together. The body is fixed and it is only the feet that move in a way that allows the couple to float around the dance floor. On video documentation of sailing, one can clearly see the common feature, which can be called "floating around" or "feet must not leave the floor." The external style characteristics of the posture, part of which Owe Ronström calls the movement image [Ronström 1992: 32], are what catch the eye of the uninitiated spectator when watching and describing someone who sails – and gladly comments in a bantering way as though it were something comical. Schånberg's and Dahlqvist's descriptions of sailing above (and Möllerstedts below) do not really agree with the dancers' own descriptions. The dancers are most often, if not always, aware of what characterizes sailing:

- MN: What do you think is most typical for sailing?
IPm: It's so peaceful and enjoyable.
IPw: Yes, one thinks it's wonderful.
IPm: Not strenuous.
MN: You said before that it went slower than the music. . .
IPm: Yes, 1/3 time slower. Old, calm waltzes are when one sails, but you can even do it to a common waltz. There are, of course, beats in the music that one follows.
MN: That part about crossing with the foot, is it something that is typical?
IPm: Yes, a lot of people look at their feet. . .
IPw: One should do when one sails. . .

(Man born in 1913, Woman born in 1915)

The relationship to the music, to the time, the beat and the meter is different than what we are used to in, for example, old time dancing. When one sails to a waltz, one dances to the music's pulse, but the time and the measures are ignored. This is even usual, for example, in the *foxtrot*, where one dance step extends over several bars. How many pulse beats there are to a step varies, however, between the different male partners; it is they who determine the tempo of the dance. The dancers know what they are doing. They know that they are sailing, as it were, slower than the music's tempo.

It is dancing slowly, slower than the music, that is the special thing about sailing to waltz music – not how the dancers hold one another. The spectators have not observed this; at least

they have not noted it in writing. My opinion, which my informants also agree with, is that sailing is not a dance but a way of dancing. This can be seen chiefly in that one sails to whatever kind of music one wants to; not only to a waltz but even to, for example, schottish and polka music.

In other words, it was possible to sail to other types of music than waltz. What Lasse Dahlqvist implies above, when he says that "a special sort of waltz is what one sails to," is that one always sailed to waltz, and that it was its own kind of waltz. Thus, he believes, that sailing is a form of waltz; while the dancers saw and used the term sailing for a way of dancing that could be used not only to waltz, but to all kinds of music.

Even if the dancers could sail to different kinds of music, which they do on the videos; sailing to the waltz is most common. It is also most often to waltz music that the dance is slower than the music. One informant comments on the question about why they dance slower to waltz in the following way:

IP: It's because, you see, one dances to whatever kind of music one wants to, and then one always sails in the same tempo; it doesn't matter what damn music they play! (Man born in 1914.)

A modest attempt at mapping sailing's background

The bravura-piece in sailing – this continual rotating in the "wrong" direction, slower than the music – what is it, then? How has it come about? When I have shown the video with sailors to my colleagues at conferences and asked if they know of anything like it, the answer is no; except the part about dancing in what we experience as free time, back beat or half time. Moving independently to the music is, according to several of my colleagues, nothing unusual.⁴ When one looks for this free relationship to music in dance textbooks, one finds examples of similar dance styles. In *Lärobok i dans* [Textbook for dance], written in 1924, there is an implication of this variation:

If the music is slow, one usually dances in time to the music. Before, when that which was called "old waltz" was danced; one always danced in time to the music, which could be rather trying for many of the dancers. Whereas nowadays, it is just as common that one dances without regard to the tempo or out of time completely. This is a big relief for everyone who has a bad ear for music. One can dance much more slowly than the music that is being played. If an old waltz is played, one can, for example, dance two waltz steps to three bars of music; but one never dances faster than what is played, because it just doesn't work that way [Meier 1924: 25].

The textbook mentions taking two waltz steps to three bars of music. In an American dance textbook printed at the end of the 1800s, there is another hint to "out-of-time" dancing in the form of a waltz variant; where the steps do not follow a pattern relating to the bar divisions. Here we find the opposite to the former example, as the dancer takes three steps to two bars. The waltz variant "The Society" is described in the following way:

Three Waltz steps applied to two measures of music. In making the application, which, by the way, is quite a difficult task, one should make the movements very short, and count 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9: making the first five movements in the first measure, and four movements in the second measure. One can better realize the time by accenting the first and the sixth counts. Many fail in attempting this application, doing simply a rapid Waltz regardless of time. It is only the most expert who can make a success of the Society [Gilbert 1890: 101].⁵

One variation of modern waltz from the beginning of the twentieth century is called Anglo-Saxon Waltz. It is similar in certain ways to sailing, for example, the turn to the left. In a Swedish description from the beginning of the 1900s, attention is called to this variant of waltz that. . .

... it can only be accomplished during a complete turn in the right direction, because doing it during the turn to the left would be nothing other than the Bohemian Waltz with its pas de

Basque, which during andante tempo is done in six different ways, whereas the way of performing the sixth is considered to be the "most fine" and most idiotic of them all [Lindell 1907: 48].

Generally speaking, it is more difficult to dance slowly than to dance quickly, something that all dancers perceive. Increasing the tempo is a way of making dancing easier. The dancer gets problems of balance when it goes too slow. The slower, the harder – and the more skill that is required of the dancers. Sailing slowly to waltz music may have been one way of showing off, a way of showing that one belonged to a group of good dancers. Those who could not dance correctly, or who had balance and guidance problems, and therefore often collided with others, were pushed into the middle of the ring. The outer circle was reserved for the sailors.

To say that the sailors danced out-of-time is not a completely adequate description. The dancers, primarily the boys, had their own relationship to the music. In this they were consistent. The girls adapted to the boys, they had no dance tempo of their own; on the contrary, their male partners decided. The girls, therefore, became agile in all tempi. In this "out-of-time" variant, there is, as aforementioned, a personal improvisational feature within the framework of sailing; because the males can choose different relationships to the music, even if they seem to return to the same relationship every time they sail to a waltz. The boys had their own individual tempo and the girls adapted themselves to the partner they danced with.

Typical for sailing, then, was that one danced a waltz "reversed," something that most of the dancers did just do by crossing their feet, as well as the free relationship they had to the music. In contrast, to dance outside of the normal time is, as has already been established, nothing new. It was not original in terms of folk dancing in general either. Time is not an important norm here, rather the beat is.⁵ But this is unconscious and unspoken for the dancers. Curt Sachs writes as an example:

One might suppose the unity of dance and music to be something inherited from prehistoric times. Yet here again we must accept such a generalization with extreme caution. ... Man has tendencies to rhythm, no doubt, in his blood: but he is the first animal to dominate rhythm. How far he proceeds with the domination over rhythm may depend upon his talent and disposition.... The East African Wassegeju dance more slowly as the tempo of the accompaniment increases.... Only when we have at our disposal more testimony from investigators trained both in music and in psychology will we be in a position to draw definite conclusions as to the relationship of dance and music. Meanwhile it appears almost as though an actual unity is not a natural heritage [Sachs 1965: 176].

The relationship between dance and music is a culturally created connection. What this looks like in different cultures is as yet unexplored.⁷ That it is expressed in different ways is apparent, as the quotation above shows. At the same time it is obvious that a western, middle class influenced norm is the starting-point for Curt Sachs when he comments the East African dancers' way of dancing more slowly as the tempo of the music increases. It is not self-evident that in a culture there is a fixed given relationship – it can vary as in the example of sailing. Ernst Klein, who in the 1920s filmed and sketched folk dancing in Sweden, tells us that

... with the discovery of *Leksandslåten* in the 1920s in Dalarna, I was greatly taken aback; because the steps and the music were regularly out of time with each other. A very close counterpart to this strange feature has been described by the Gotlander folk music collector A. Fredin as told by his paternal grandmother, who lived and danced way back in the 1790s. Even here the height of finesse seemed to have been regularly dancing out of time. It is one of the original ways of creating variety and finesse that the Swedish *polska* offers and it is indeed sufficiently refined. Later, jazz has difficulties of a similar sort [Klein 1978: 46].

Klein notices then, that a feature in earlier Swedish dance has been noted in jazz dances when they are danced in Sweden.⁸ That free relationship to the flowing meter of the music (the pulse) which distinguishes sailing to waltz music must be seen as an expression for a common

phenomena in folk dancing – willingly compared with a disco dance floor: When does one put down or raise one's feet? There is plenty of room for variation within this frame.

When one sails to a waltz, it seems to be a mixture of older dance forms – those so-called *gammaldanserna* ("old time dances," that is, folk dances not including the *polska*), foremost a waltz – but newer jazz forms like foxtrot and tango. Even if similar ways of dancing are described in dance textbooks, sailing is located only in Göteborg and not in any other place in Sweden, Scandinavia, or the world. Does that mean that it only is/has been here, or has nobody cared about noting it anywhere else? Is it one of the countless ways of dancing that continually crops up only to then disappear?

While going through dance textbooks and dance descriptions, I found, as already mentioned, no descriptions that completely correspond with descriptions of sailing.⁹ One can recognize certain parts, as when reversed waltzing or when dancing "out-of-time" is mentioned. The styles of "modern dances" and modern waltzes agree with how my informants danced in 1983. When I watch the dancers and then try myself, I feel that there must be some connection with waltz concerning the steps. They are backward waltz steps (counter clockwise-counter clockwise) but without the "old waltz" feeling – actually more like the stealthy feeling conveyed by foxtrot or "modern dance."

If one writes books about Göteborg-isms and about music and dance there, it is difficult to neglect sailing. In his book about jazz in Göteborg, Gunnar Möllerstedt writes:

Sailing—that was the dialect word in Göteborg for dancing waltz. And in a very special way. There should be a turning at exactly the right beat in the swing and he ought to hold his right arm on her back so that she could hang her handbag on his upward pointing thumb. The couple should sail out on the floor in complete unity like a sailboat from Bohuslän close-hauled by the wind. In this way one separated the people from Göteborg from the tourists at Liseberg. The tourists bobbed up and down on the tops of the waltz's waves, instead of waiting elegantly for the swing of the rhythm [Möllerstedt 1982: 49].

Möllerstedt's poetical description is supported by the earlier quotations of Schänberg and Dalhqvist. Sailing is presented as something different and special, even though it perhaps was neither typical for Göteborg nor original in its component parts.

The style, the tight floating dancing, is the same as in the foxtrot and partly in the tango, that is, as in American jazz dance. It originated in a meeting between European and African dance and music traditions. The steps are like those of the waltz but have the character of the "modern dance" way of floating instead of swaying up and down – a kind of foxtrot-waltz. The dancers "create" a new dance using the impressions and ideas that "exist" parallel to their age and time. The style, and some of the steps, come from the new, modern American dance, while the continual rotating, the whirling, comes from older European dance-forms like waltz, polka and *polska* [Bakka 1988: 281,288]. But one rotates in this case in the reverse direction, which is not the most common way in the older forms, where one most often danced to the right or changed the direction of the rotation.

Dancing in the reverse direction is, on the other hand, nothing new in Sweden;¹⁰ it occurs in many older dance forms. It is, however, seldom as important as in sailing, where one never dances in the right direction. Closest to the reverse rotation, in that case, are the older so-called "bakmes" variants. *Bakmes* has a somewhat different technique for rotating than waltz (side by side instead of facing each other), but is usually danced reversed.¹¹

The dance hall, or rather the dance halls, at the "community park" Krokäng become especially interesting when it comes to sailing and other dance phenomena at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s:

IP: /-/ Then we had that big park, Krokäng, if you've heard about it. ... There were two dance pavilions, modern and old style dancing so you know that those who

wanted to dance foxtrot after a schottische, for example, did that at the modern pavilion. To the same music, we danced schottische or foxtrot. (Woman born in 1915, worker.)

Thus, at Krokäng there were two dance pavilions, where one danced to one and the same orchestra that sat on a stage in between. Dancing foxtrot and schottische alternately to the same music was nothing strange for the dancers – that is, the border between "old dance" and "modern dance" was not absolute and sharply defined on the dance floor.¹² This informant separates sailing, which was a bit special, from dancing jazz, a common expression for dancing ordinary dance.¹³

These suggestions that at the two dance floors one danced different dances to the same music – whatever was played – illuminates in a flash sailing, primarily the "out-of-time variant," as well as the dance-music relationship. There is no given connection between music and dance. The connection is created by the dancers/musicians during the actual dancing. The informant recalls also that one simultaneously danced foxtrot on one dance floor and schottische on the other to the same music. That reminds us that our genre designations, and the borders between them, are neither simple nor unequivocal.

The mazurka

A special dance where sailing can also be seen is what the informants call "the mazurka." The music to this dance is what most people recognize as *hambo* music. The dance consists of three figures or themes and for most people it looks like a variation on the waltz.¹⁴ It has, like the *hambo* and most of the "old-time dances," a fixed structure [Bakka 1988: 282]. After a certain number of measures, in this case eight, the dance is repeated from the beginning in the same pattern. The first figure is a side-movement toward the middle of the ring and back, the second a turn under the arm for the ladies. This is done in two measures each, that is, four measures in total. After that, one sails four measures (in time), and then begins again from the beginning. The style is the same as when one sails to a waltz – close together and gliding across the floor.

Even in the mazurka one can trace elements that are found in other dances – but in its entirety it cannot be documented anywhere else. The closest is a mazurka from Skepplanda (a small village about 50 kilometers north of Göteborg), where the figures are the same as in the variation from Göteborg, but the waltz at the end is danced in the right direction in Skepplanda. The music in Skepplanda is also more characteristic for mazurka and the style is more the "old time dances," that is, greater distance between the partners, bouncier, and so on.¹⁵ The figures are found, as well, as part of a mazurka variant from Flatön (another small village about 60 kilometers north of Göteborg).¹⁶ The side movements and turns under the arm can be found, for example, in the Boston Waltz, as it is described in text and pictures on the back cover of a music book.¹⁷ Additionally, these figures are usual and common in older northern European folk dances – in what is commonly called "Allemande forms" among dance researchers.¹⁸

Thus, the mazurka is similar to a figure from the Boston Waltz, which has been extracted and become an independent dance form. The music one dances to is what most often is called *hambo*, not waltz or mazurka. All of these dance forms are danced, admittedly, to three quarters time music, but are differentiated by accentuation.

Those who dance the mazurka do not dance *hambo*. Both dances are not included in a dancer's repertoire. The nearness to sailing is, as established, in the mazurka's turning figure, which is seen by some of the dancers themselves as just like sailing: "We turn the ladies like this and then we sail." On the other hand, one dances the mazurka in time to the music and follows the music structure, that is, after eight measures one has gone through all the dance figures and starts the dance over again. This is not like sailing to a waltz where one has a free relationship to the music.

The mazurka is accepted and known among dance teachers, which is not true of sailing. This can be explained by the mazurka having more formal characteristics like a strict structuring of the dance figures and a firmer tie to the musical phrases. In eight measures one has gone through the whole dance and starts all over again. In a dance textbook from 1907, one can read, with reference to the Anglo-Saxon Waltz described above, the following about mixed forms between different dances:

To the allegedly originally one-figured dance had been added a couple of schottische figures and in this way changed it into a three-figured. In this form, the waltz is danced in Sweden under the name of Boston [Lindell 1907: 49].

What seems to have happened in Göteborg is that someone or some people started to use dance motifs from the Boston Waltz (which in its turn had taken parts from schottische) to hambo music, at the same time that one changed the style. Whether anyone of my informants belonged to this innovations group is difficult to say, but they do not see it that way themselves. They simply imitated other youths' way of dancing. One can consider it as mixing influences from different directions according to personal ideas. These creations are then taken up by several persons and become an acknowledged way of dancing within the group. It has features from both the Little as well as the Great Tradition and is danced and taught both on the dance floor and in the dance schools.

Why are they called "mazurka" and "sailing"?

The informants give no explanations as to the names: sailing and mazurka. They are self-evident to them. Everyone involved understands what the names, and the way they are said, imply. Names of dances give no definite clues to the origin and background of the way of dancing. For example, in an etymological study of the dance named *hambo*, Mats Wahlberg establishes that it is more probable that it alludes to the German city of Hamburg, than to Hanebo parish in Hälsingland, which is a common interpretation. More than likely there is a connection with other names of dances like *Hamburska*, *Hambosk*, *Hamburger*, along with several other similar forms [Wahlberg 1991]. One explanation is that Hamburg during the nineteenth century represented something modern and new and that the name forms allude to the new dances of the 1850s as opposed to that period's older dances.¹⁹

William Reynolds shows in another example that the name "Russian" given to certain Danish dances does not have anything at all to do with Russia, but more likely is connected to the German word "*rutschen*," to glide. According to Reynolds, it is necessary to see the combination of name forms, and music and dance movements if one wants to map the origins and spreading of dances. If only one of these aspects is considered, it is easy to go astray [Reynolds 1992].

In *Kals Odbod*, there is a dance described at Dufvas backe (Dufvas backe ceased to be a public open-air dance floor in 1923 when Liseberg opened):

"*Flådishambo*"— used to be danced at Dufvas backe in Slottskogen. The word is a combination of *flådis*, which means seaman, and *hambo* [Schånberg 1968: 32].

As a dance, *Flådishambo* can be considered to be the same as the mazurka. Several researchers believe that historically there is a connection between mazurka and *hambo*. *Hambo* is then seen as a modern, Swedish variation of the nineteenth century vogue form of mazurka [Bakka 1988: 61]. Perhaps *Flådishambo* was danced to mazurka music (that is, a quick hambo)? On the other hand, as a member of the folk dance movement, I have encountered the name "Seaman's Hambo" — which is mazurka danced to mazurka music. What now should be apparent is that dance origins and backgrounds and the names that are coupled to the dance descriptions are not easy topics to sort out. Schånberg conveys more thoughts concerned with the coupling between dance names and dances, when in his *Kals Odbok* writes:

Sailing – when someone in Göteborg says "he has sailed," he does not necessarily mean that he has been to sea. What he generally wants to emphasize is that he has been where the action is "hot and heavy" [Schånberg 1968: 81].

This way of looking at sailing is a contrast to the way of dancing it. Sailing is a calm, reserved way of dancing and nothing can be described as "hot and heavy." Possibly one can say that it is a description of what happened to those who could not sail properly and were pushed to the side of the dance floor. But in my material there are few hints of a more concrete, physical power struggle. Even if antagonism was present there, it was seldom expressed in violence.

Conclusion – a bricolage

How should one summarize sailing in Göteborg during the 1930s from the examples I saw of it in 1983? We can establish that sailing is not a dance, but a way of dancing. One dances counter-clockwise – counter-clockwise, that is, the reverse of waltz. There is a tight grip, the boy and the girl are close to each other, the turning done in a flowing motion and their feet are close to the dance floor the whole time – no hops or high steps. The dance music can be any kind of music, even if waltz (preferably "old" but even modern waltz will do) is most common, together with *hambo* when it comes to the mazaruka.

The mazaruka is probably a newer dance variant than sailing and it has survived longer. Informants, from a whole dance generation (about 13-15 years) after the sailors, danced the mazaruka. It has not been exposed to social degradation from, for example, dance teachers either, which seems to be the case for sailing. Sailing was not taught by the dance teachers and was not included in the dance schools' repertoire, as the mazaruka was.²⁰ One explanation for the mazaruka being incorporated in the dance schools' repertoire can be that it is a more structured dance with more figures – it follows the time and the music, which sailing does not do. In sailing there is a larger conventional freedom to suit oneself to the music – here there is just one figure. Formal learning puts a premium on form structures at the same time as rhythm and music are subordinated [Velure 1977]. Thus, the mazaruka suits the world of the dance schools and the organizations better.

Sailing and mazaruka can, as has already been pointed out, be viewed as bricolage or as creolization, a mixture of different styles and forms from different times, cultures and traditions.²¹ Or as Raymond Williams, literature-historian and one of the prominent figures behind the origin of Cultural Studies, expresses it:

From the total possible area of the past and the present in a particular culture, certain meanings and practitioners are chosen and stressed while other meanings and practitioners are ignored or excluded [Williams 1980: 97].

Components that build up sailing and mazaruka come from different dance forms with different historical and cultural backgrounds. The basic figure, rotation, is a waltz with its background in the European continent during the early 1800s. The foxtrot, with its roots in the meeting between Africa and Europe in the early twentieth century American foxtrot, has probably given sailing its gliding character. The Latin American tango has made its mark on the mazaruka through its sideways figure, where the boy can recline the girl over his left leg. Having a free relationship to the music, as those in Göteborg do to the waltz, belongs to a general pattern in the Little Tradition of dancing.

Concerning both sailing in general and the mazaruka in particular, bits and pieces can be found that are also present in other dances and contexts. However, they constitute wholes that represent something completely new. Sailing as a way of dancing, especially the slow waltz variant, as well as the mazaruka, represent locally developed forms. In the meeting between older European and new American dance traditions, a local urban dance/folk dance in town, as it were, is created. Sailing was developed, created and danced by working class youths in Göteborg between circa 1920 and 1940. It is a collectively anchored expression that at the same time

contains openings for individual variation and skill. In the dance situation, the dance is re-created by the dancer, who sails in his own particular way. Or as Richard Bauman expresses it when talking about oral narrative:

As with event structures, so too with texts and social relations. The models provided by generic conventions and prior renditions of "traditional" items stand available to participants as a set of conventional expectations and associations, but these may themselves be used as resources for creative manipulation, shaping the emergent text to the unique circumstances at hand. The normative social structure and interaction order may provide similarly constituted expectations, but performance, like any form of communication, carries the potential to rearrange the structure of social relations with the performance event and perhaps beyond it. The structure of social roles, relations, and interactions; the oral literary text and its meaning; and the structure of the event itself are all emergent in performance. The collective, the communal, the conventional are not forsaken here: rather, the individual and the creative are brought up to parity with tradition in a dialectic played out within the context of situated action, a kind of praxis [Bauman 1989: 4].

One can also determine that sailing and the act of sailing are examples of Peter Burke's two paradoxes: 1) all dances are the same dance, because figures within kindred genres are repetitive and relatively similar and therefore easily recognizable; 2) no dance is like another, because they are re-formed and formed in the very act performing them; therefore one experiences differences [Burke 1983:144]. Paradox 1 corresponds to the rotating and Paradox 2 the right to choose the tempo in sailing. In the mazurka, Paradox 1 corresponds to the sideways figure, the arm turn and the rotation; while Paradox 2 gives the dancers the possibility to turn under the arm any number of times or do the sideways figure more or less distinctly. What the dancers do is to take elements from different genres – Paradox 1, mix them with their own ideas and reassemble them to something completely new in the dancing – Paradox 2.

Tradition, diffusion and creativity

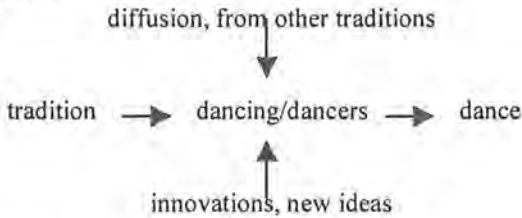
Sailing is created at the intersection, the transition and the meeting between what most often is called folk culture (waltz and *gammaldans* music) and popular culture (foxtrot and popular/modern dance music). This is true whether one places them in order on a timeline or sees them as two different, but in time somewhat parallel, traditions. What sailors do is they mix elements from one genre that they have got via the Little Tradition with elements from another genre, that reach them through diffusion from another, Little or Great, tradition. The act of sailing originated in local dancing, but the figures that are included in this way of dancing may have come from anywhere conceivable.

There are thus three parts to this new re-creation: the tradition with older dance forms, genres; the diffusion, expressions and ideas from other genres and traditions; and the dancers' own improvisations and individual ideas that are taken up by the collective body of dancers. To choose and combine components of tradition and diffusion are of themselves also creative processes of the individuals and/or the groups.

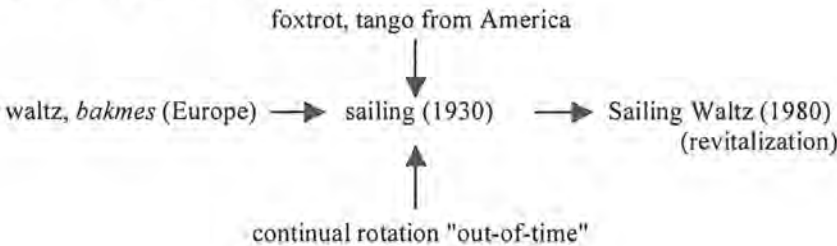
To sail was a *creation that was re-created* on the dance floors especially during the 1930s. However, the way of dancing did not become a long-lived part of the Little Tradition as a dance in its own right – sailing was not transferred to a new generation of dancers but died out with the generation of dancers from the 1930s. Sailing became, using Jakobson's and Bogatyrëv's terms, not a part of *la langue* but only a part of *la parole*.²² In its standardized form after about 1970, named Sailing Waltz, sailing exists in some form, but then as a part of the school- and organization-type of tradition, that is, as a part of the Great Tradition of genre-defined dances. But in reality, Sailing Waltz and the mazurka are in the guise of Göteborg's Mazurka, new creations in the courses given during the late 1970s, where ideas from the dancing of the 1930s were taken up and revitalized as folkloric elements.²³ Dance ideas from sailing and mazurka are re-created and danced nowadays in the Great Tradition's milieu: courses, dance schools and organizations.

Three parts that the individual uses for creating cultural expressions.

On a general level:



With sailing as an example:



ENDNOTES

** This text is an excerpt from one of the chapters in my dissertation, *Dance – continuity in change. An ethnological study of dances and dancing in Göteborg 1930-1990* [*Dans – kontinuitet i förändring. En etnologisk studie av danser och dansande i Göteborg 1930-1990*], published 1998. The original text is in Swedish, here partly shortened and altered. Also, some quotations from the interviews have been left out. Bill McChesney did the translation for this publication.

1. For a similar discussion concerning oral storytelling, see Jakobson and Bogatyř 1974: 65; Bauman 1989: 4,16; Burke 1983: 145.
2. Concerning bricolage, see Hebdige 1983:102, which is based on, and is an interpretation of, Lévi-Strauss. For creolization see, for example, the discussion in Hannerz 1992:264.
3. Compare also with the quotation from Möllerstedt below.
4. At ICTM's (International Council for Traditional Music) Study Group on Ethnochoreology's meeting in Poland in August 1994, we discussed just this. Several videos were shown as examples of how one dances "outside of" the time, beside the music. See also Nilsson 1995.
5. Extra bold type in the original.
6. See Nilsson 1990: 23 and Christensen 1992:145 for a discussion on dancing to the time and/or to the beat.
7. See for example: Ling 1989:246.
8. Compare with Klein 1978:95.
9. Gilbert 1890; Carl Gehrman's musikförlag 1906; Lindell 1907; Meier 1924; Ring 1947; *Svenska Folkdanser del II* 1971; Rosenqvist 1973.
10. But not, for example in Denmark. See Christensen 1992:117.
11. For a description see: *Svenska Folkdanser* 1964:48.
12. Compare Edström 1989: 248 on "bonnfox" and the photo in Lindqvist 1987: 156 with two dance floors and one orchestra.
13. Compare Edström 1996:414.
14. Compare Norlind 1941:113.

15. Orally reported by musician Nisse in Skogstorp.
16. *Svenska folkdanser del II* 1971:23. See also Mazurka från Ullervad (Rullingen) in *Västgötadanser* 1978 (unnumbered pages) and Vals in *Västgötadanser del 4* 1991:59.
17. Carl Gehrman's musikförlag 1906; *Charme Valse Boston* 1906, pour Piano Par Th. Pinet, n.d.
18. The name Allemande (from the French name for Germany) implies that there is a connection to Germany.
19. See even Klein 1978 and Norlind 1941:114.
20. Conversation with Mrs. Björkman, owner of, and teacher at, Björkman's dance institute.
21. See Hebdige 1983: 102 and Hannerz 1992:264.
22. Compare Jakobson & Bogatyrev 1974:66.
23. Compare Velure 1972 and 1977 concerning dance and Centergran 1996 concerning folk costumes.

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