

Insiders, Outsiders: Knowing Our Limits, Limiting Our Knowing

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The insider/outsider dichotomy continues to garner a great deal of interest in numerous disciplines (cf. Headland, Pike & Harris 1990) almost forty years after Kenneth L. Pike, a linguist, coined the terms "emic" and "etic." At the 1992 meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, for example, a round table discussion was held on this question, and a special session at the 1988 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association drew over six hundred people to a discussion and debate featuring Kenneth Pike, Marvin Harris, Dell Hymes, and four other scholars.

Pike and Harris represent two contrasting approaches to, and uses of, emic and etic. Since both scholars are widely accepted as authorities on emic and etic, it is possible that some of the general lack of uniformity of understanding about these terms in ethnomusicology springs from the very different ways of thinking with regard to their meaning and use employed by Pike and Harris. If a scholar is thoroughly familiar with the work of Pike and not Harris, or vice versa, this would explain some of the historical difficulties with these terms.

For Kenneth Pike, etics are the emics of a scientific subculture, the ultimate in cultural relativism. To this way of thinking, etics is the emics of the observer applied to another system, the original point of entry to the study of a system, which is later abandoned as the emic system is revealed to the scholar. Pike states that "as the outsider can learn to act like an insider, so the insider can learn to analyze like an outsider" (Pike 1990:34). He seems to assume the possibility of scientific objectivity and the development of a common theory, terminology, methodology, and interpretive stance.

For Harris, and for some other anthropologists, science is a special type of emic system that is unique in its attempt to deal with both physical and cultural realities. Assuming that there is an observable independent reality that can be discovered, then the objective of scientific study is to reveal the internal logic of the reality that is human culture. Etics is a goal in the understanding of native systems, an entry point into the study of a cultural system. In contrast to Pike, Harris feels that

to ignore the special interests and motivations of scientific "outsiders" is surely to misrepresent the emics of the scientific tradition. It is for this reason that the "emics" of the observer must be categorically distinct from the emics of the participant and that is precisely why we need the term *etics* as well as *emics* (Harris 1990:49).

In ethnomusicology, our assumptions about emic and etic have not come directly from either Pike or Harris, but rather through interpretations by Dell Hymes (1962, 1974), Roger Abrahams (1977), Richard Bauman (1977), and Alan Dundes (1962), among others. In particular, the development of the ethnography of speaking, the ethnography of communication, and the ethnography of musical performance all owe a debt to Dell Hymes' seminal work, and draw heavily upon his understanding of the terms, which is something of a combination of that of Pike and Harris.

In this issue of "the world of music," we are re-examining and re-evaluating the implications of emic and etic for our field of study. It is entirely proper that we do so, not only in order to arrive at some degree of consensus regarding the use of these terms in our field of study but also to determine some of the effects that our concepts of emic and etic may have had on our work.

As we move toward the beginning of a new century, I find it deeply disturbing that ethnomusicologists are still attracted to oppositions, as represented by the contrast of emic and etic. We know very well, if we but admit it, that music, musicians, and music cultures have few clear oppositions. We may contrast sound and silence, but even here it is not always clear just when a piece of music or a performance actually begins. We may contrast two time periods, or one faction of musicians with another, or one genre with a different one, but even here the boundaries are not always clear. When we do find clear, neat oppositions, as I did in the Eastern Cherokee Stickball Game songs (Herndon 1971), perhaps we should suspect, rather than embrace, them.

In part, our fascination with oppositions may spring from the origins of ethnomusicology in European-American scholarship. Much of our theory

and method has come from anthropology or linguistics, and we still seem to need to prove that our work is scientific, objective, and quantifiable. While we have been concerned with our tendency to borrow new developments from other fields, we have only recently begun to think about the implications underlying the theories we have taken, adapted, and made our own. What assumptions have we also acquired from other fields, without conscious reflection?

With regard to etic and emic, what assumptions have we "bought" along with the terms? In particular, because of our attempts to make them into polar opposite terms, I worry about the extent to which "the interpretation of culture makes use of the European great thinkers for ideas with which to understand *native* systems of meaning" (Nader 1988:155). Whether the scholar defines emics and etics along the same lines of thought as Pike or prefers those of Harris, the resulting interpretations and approaches are still in the hands of the ethnographer, and still emanate from Western European and European-American thought.

1. A Look Inward

Within ethnomusicology, and also in other social and behavioral sciences and the arts and humanities, there is now a growing interest in reflexivity, a move toward abandonment of real and implied "colonialisms," and an admission that scholars are both human (= sometimes subjective) and fallible (= not totally objective). Fields of study are taking another look inward, re-examining their basic premises, goals, and assumptions. There is also an increasing emphasis on issues of equity, and even some admission that the inclusion of gender issues in the theoretical equations adds new depth and meaning to analysis. Consider, for example, the dual implications of Pike's well-known and often cited assumptions:

(1) *The outsider can learn to act like an insider.*

Does this imply, for ethnomusicologists, that one can learn to play the musical instruments, sing the songs, and do the dances like an insider? Does this indicate an assumption that the outsider ethnomusicologist can act precisely like an insider, musically? In situations where this might be possible, what is the theoretical or methodological goal of learning to act like an insider, musically?

(2) *The insider can learn to analyze like an outsider.*

This seems to be axiomatic. However, if the insider can indeed learn to analyze like an outsider, why would this approach be better than having the outsider learn to analyze like an insider?

Since the 1950s more and more people of color have become ethnomusicologists. One result of the shifting demographics of the field has been to pressure old assumptions about "us" vs. "them," insiders vs. outsiders, and the understanding of emic and etic that used to be applied to ethnomusicology. This, in part, leads us back to some basic questions:

1. Who can/should speak for the _____?
2. Is history only a story? If so, does it belong to someone, something, a group?
3. Are we to emphasize similarities, or differences between human groups?
4. Are we to represent, present, translate, and/or interpret? And if we do publish or otherwise present our work, to what extent are we legally, morally, and ethically responsible to our teachers, consultants, or sources? How do these responsibilities conflict with, or contrast with, our duties to our field, or employers, or our granting sources?
5. Are we, as scholars, bridges to greater understanding between societies, or are we only marginal, both to our own society and the one(s) we are studying?
6. Have some of our secret goals been merely acquisitive, or have they had more sinister undertones?
7. To what extent are we still objectifying or marginalizing our consultants? Do we slip, for example, into thinking of them as "informants"? Or insist on doing so?

During the Society for Ethnomusicology's 1992 meeting, Ellen Koskoff posited that the positions of insiders and outsiders are not polar opposites, but exist as points on a continuum. She suggests the examination of four assumptions:

1. Insider/outsider are undifferentiated categories.
2. Insider/outsider are fixed categories.
3. Insider/outsider are exclusive categories.
4. Insider/outsider can be turned inside out (Koskoff 1992:n.p.).

These assumptions appear to be in conflict, if viewed without examples. In fact, they are a type of cognitive dissonance, often existing simultaneously

within a single field experience and its subsequent representations in print and various media. They permeate much of our work in ethnomusicology.

Behind both the questions and assumptions lies an implied attitude of our field of study that may border on the delusional—the notion that we, as ethnographers or documenters or students of (mostly non-Western) music, are powerful. In fact, as anyone who has done field work knows very viscerally, we mostly come into a new field situation both powerless and uninformed. In fact, as anyone who labors in the groves of academe soon knows, ethnomusicology is not usually regarded as the most essential area of a music, anthropology, sociology, or religion school or department. Nor are ethnomusicologists in great demand, or favor, in applied or public programs outside the university world. In addition, we have tended to write and talk more for one another than for "outsiders" to our field, so it is difficult for us to demonstrate our power in the greater world of scholarship.

Whatever power we might have had has been in our access to information about the musics of other people, and the ways in which we choose to present it, or represent it, to others. We even felt possessive about "our" people, defending them from other outsiders who might wish to come into "our" territory. Within the colonial model, this was an accepted, and comfortable way to proceed. The scholar, removed and rational, objectified the other, interpreted "it," selected aspects to emphasize and facets to ignore. This cannot continue to be the case, because the "objectified other" now has access to, and can read, the work of the scholar. Further, the "objectified other" may now also have credentials as a scholarly insider to comment on previous work, to respond to, and re-vision intellectual "properties."

It is no longer clear that either a conceptualized dichotomy of emic vs. etic or a continuum from total insider to total outsider is entirely useful. Instead, it might be well to consider congeries of possibilities, some of which may include:

- (1) Scholars who are partial insiders, whether by birth, ethnicity, kinship, or early enculturation.
- (2) Scholars who are partial insiders, due to marriage, associations, or membership in a cognate group.
- (3) Scholars who have access to information and/or musical performances because of the host's assumption that they are "invisible," for example, since they are women.
- (4) People who, by their own actions or accomplishments, are then excluded, or included, to a greater degree than before.

- (5) People who are perceived as being included, but who are peripheral or even marginal.
- (6) People who are perceived as being included, who do not perceive themselves to be included.
- (7) People who are partial insiders.

There are, of course, many other possibilities, and ranges of acceptance. Gender, status, intentions, actions, context, timing, manners, and other factors come into play, as does self-perception.

In order to move out of familiar categories of opposites such as insider vs. outsider, or emic vs. etic, we will have to become increasingly aware of the implications, contexts, intentions, and conceptualizations of our field situations and the ways in which we wish to interact with our consultants, our colleagues, and the world at large. In particular, this means that the scholar must be more forthcoming and self-reflexive.

2. A Personal Look Inward

In order to look at the question of insider and outsider more clearly and personally, I want to place myself, first, and then examine an aspect of Cherokee life and thought in the light of that inward placement. It is only through this type of open revelation that we can begin to determine the degree and type of resonance (sympathy, empathy, bias, *Verstehen*) present in the interpreter.

First, in terms of training, I am an ethnomusicologist with interdisciplinary experience, interest, and intentions. I identify myself to myself as an approximately half-breed Eastern Cherokee Indian, although this is not politically correct. I grew up about thirty miles east of the Quallah boundary of the Eastern Band of Cherokee in North Carolina among relatives who had been shamed for being Indian, or speaking Cherokee, and therefore tried to hide this part of their identity in public. The other "half" of the half-breed is German-English-Irish.

My maternal grandmother was a doctor; so was her father before her. As a child, I did not think these facts were odd or unusual, and I simply assumed, if I thought about it at all, that my grandmother had of course gone to medical school.

In many ways, I was more ignorant of much of Cherokee culture and society than a total outsider, because of tacit assumptions, unspoken family taboos, and general cultural climate, when I entered graduate school in

ethnomusicology. At the end of my first year of graduate study in an interdisciplinary program, I went back to Eastern Cherokee territory for a brief field project on music. Seventeen years later, my field work there ended when the last of my eleven main teachers died.

During that time, I came to realize many things about this maternal grandmother who was dead when I was born—she couldn't have gone to a white medical school in the 1890s, for one thing. Only after ten or more years of field research did one of my teachers mention that he knew her, and that is why he was talking to me; then, later, he said he'd proposed marriage to her when they were both quite young, and she refused him.

Was my situation, then, with Pike, an etic entry into a system, which was later abandoned as the emic system was revealed to the half-breed and developing scholar? Or was my birth a flawed etic entry? Or were my early years partly emic?

I never was a total outsider to Eastern Cherokee culture; I never can be a total insider. The same is true of any attempts I make, or am asked to make, about the complexity of cultures in native North America, simply because I am assumed to have some innate knowledge of 200+ Indian cultures because of partial membership in one of them. Can any American Indian or half-breed presume to speak for the entire externally-assigned category? Is any one person capable of speaking for the whole category? Of representing it, particularly as a designated insider?

And what happens when the insider—for example, an American Indian—learns to analyze like an outsider, perhaps by learning Western music theory or simply by attending college? One of my most riveting moments as a professor came some years ago in teaching a seminar to a group of native Americans. During that class, we were all being very open about our feelings and responsibilities, and finally all of us came, at once, to the realization that we could never go back to Indian country and be the same, because our study, our exposure to new ways of thinking, our degrees, had changed all of us forever. Nobody in that group, however, considered himself or herself to be a real outsider, either.

Note, too, that the general assumption about who is an insider and who is an outsider has tended to be that Europeans and Americans are probably insiders, if they are not members of ethnic, racial, or other minority groups, and that everyone else in the world are outsiders. It is probably uncomfortable to some scholars to think of American Indian college students as a category of insiders (to their own cognitive systems) who are learning to analyze like outsiders (to their way of thinking). Yet is this not really a matter of perspective?

In the same way, exposure to music changes the ethnomusicologist, whatever his or her cultural background might be. Certainly, our fascination with the music of the "other" and the experience of doing field work also changes us, often in ways we cannot articulate. Doing the work of ethnomusicology, we both risk and dare becoming other than we were, perhaps even outsiders to our own culture. How can a look inward, professionally or personally, inform what we have long assumed to be the "real" work of our field? I would like to examine this question by taking some examples from scholarship on the Eastern Cherokee Indians.

3. Situating the Eastern Cherokee

The Cherokee, like the Navajo, are among the most studied populations in North America, if not the world. Unlike the Navajo, however, the Cherokee have long existed in dispersed populations—from California to North Carolina; while the North Carolina and Oklahoma groups have both received extensive scholarly attentions, most published material has dealt with the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. The bulk of archival material, particularly that dealing with healing, concerns the Eastern Cherokee.

Who are—and were—the Eastern Cherokee? According to one legend, they were driven out of the north at some time prior to white contact by an Indian coalition that included their distant kinsmen, the Iroquois; according to another legend, they came to the southern Appalachians by migrating north, possibly from South America.

The first story has linguistic support. Cherokee is an Iroquoian language, although the evidence suggests that its separation from the other Iroquoian languages took place in the distant past. Archaeological evidence also supports the theory of an early exodus, indicating that the Cherokee were already established in the Southeast at least a millennium ago. The first legend is also supported by the mutual distrust, if not hatred, of the Cherokee and other Iroquoians, which has only begun to dissipate in the last few years with the expansion of the United Southeastern Tribes.

At the time of white contact in the mid-16th century, there were perhaps 20,000 - 25,000 Cherokee, claiming a homeland of about 40,000 square miles in what became portions of the Southern United States: the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and the Virginias. The Cherokee "towns" ranged in size from settlements of two or three households to villages with a population in excess of five hundred people. Both the size and

number of towns varied greatly in the period after contact. The smallpox epidemic of 1738, for example, reportedly killed over half of the population; in the 1750s, there were extensive war losses to Indians allied with the French, to the Creeks, and to South Carolina militia. By 1760, the Cherokee population was less than 10,000 (Bartram 1928:301-2).

Each town was an autonomous unit, governed largely by cabal. Legal sanction resided within the seven or more exogamous clans; these clans provided interconnection, hospitality, and sanctuary among villages and among divisions of villages. The Cherokee at Euro-American contact had a Crow-type kinship system, and were matrilineal and matrilineal. They tend to be matrilineal even today, and retain some matrilineal practices.

4. The Nature of Healing and Power

As is true in many North American tribes, song and dance are integral to both healing and power. Almost all music is music of the spirit, in some way. Much of music and dance is involved with healing. What is healing, in Cherokee thought, and what kinds of things, situations, and conditions ought to be healed? The word "*nuwoti*" refers to that which heals disease, expiates guilt or remedies pollution. It is a kind of power that can act upon social units or upon individuals. Pollution, physical disease, and bad feelings of all kinds are conceptually intermingled within this term, which also implies the power to heal all of them. Such a concept of healing power is rather predictable in what has been called a "face-to-face" (Gearing 1962) society ruled by cabal, general agreement, and an avoidance of direct conflict. It should also be remembered that the Cherokee lived in small villages or settlements, loosely allied into larger groupings as necessary, and did not form a tribal state until forced by circumstance to do so in the mid-18th century.

Bad thoughts toward others were, and to some extent still are, treated with the same kinds of medicines and ceremonies used to treat physical ills and calamities. The same ceremonies that were used in the annual cycle to celebrate unity of the people were also called into play to combat epidemics.

Healing of all kinds requires a balanced, considered response to the situation or condition at hand (cf. Herndon 1987), and shares certain structural similarities. The way in which music, movement, or any other element or

tool of healing is to be employed, as well as the number of people required, the number of repetitions, the number and type of instruments, and even the number of pitches, must be appropriate to the demands of the specific occasion. These are power issues, which are of great importance. That which is to be healed is always some kind of stress, dysfunction, disruption, or other disharmony in the sociocultural system; it always relates directly to the basic Cherokee ethos, which does not allow disharmony.

What, then, is the Cherokee concept of power, and how does it relate to healing? Power is the vehicle that disrupts, maintains, and restores harmony, thus serving the Cherokee ethos (cf. Herndon 1990). Power, in Cherokee thought, can be acquired or lost; it is transitory and impersonal, manifesting differentially in persons, groups, places, or things. In social interaction, any outward display of power is proscribed. Although the concept of power underlies much of Cherokee belief and action, it is not directly labeled or referred to, but remains implicit.

The Cherokee word for power, "*ulanigvgv*," indicates an impersonal, non-gendered transitory energy having differential distribution in the universe. According to Fogelson (1977:186) his informant, (one of my teachers) defines *ulanigvgv* as

energy deriving from such phenomena as lightning and running water (both of which are personified in Cherokee world view), and from spiritual beings, including animals, ghosts, personified deities, other human beings, and from certain plants and material objects. In the western dialect ... the term also encompasses electric power, ethnic power ... and is used for most references to power in the Cherokee translation of the Christian Bible (as in St. Luke 21:27: "and then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory").

Power, in Cherokee thought, is a free energy that may be acquired, transmitted, accumulated, or lost. It may not be inherited. It should be noted, also, that, unlike many other North American tribes, the Cherokee never had a guardian spirit complex; there was no mechanism whereby an individual could establish an alliance with a powerful spirit being.

5. The Dualistic Structure of Power

Gearing posits a dualistic structure of power in considering what he calls the "Red vs. the White Condition." He frames his analysis of what he

calls four male "structural poses" (Gearing 1962:15) on the opposition of White (or peace) and Red (or war) conditions. Peace, or the White Condition, was viewed as the natural, preferable, usual, and harmonious situation. Adair (1775:388), writing about the southeastern tribes generally and possibly specifically about the Cherokee, noted that

(they believe) that man was not born in a state of war; and as they reckon they are become impure by shedding human blood, they hasten to observe the fast of three days ... and be sanctified

War, or the Red Condition, is thought of as dark, dirty, and bloody. This is surely an apt description of violent encounters, but may also include other situations requiring an increase in adrenaline.

The White, or peace, Condition is the usual state of being for both individuals and groups. For groups, the iconic focus of the White Condition was, historically, a semisubterranean council house. As Gearing (1962:4) points out:

A white standard was raised, and the whole village population came into the council house ... conflicting interests within a village were quietly stated and restated, usually for days on end. Until a village sentiment crystallized and all open opposition ceased, there could be no decision.

The Red, or war, Condition was not entered except by unanimous decision of the group. Transformation to the Red Condition was undertaken outside the local village or settlement, and was maintained away from it, insofar as possible. On their return from war, warriors were considered to be polluted and remained away from the village until rituals could be performed to transform them back into the normal White Condition.

The dualistic opposition of the Red vs. White Condition was not limited to the political aspects of Cherokee society. For example, the Stickball Game, whose Cherokee name translates as "little war," requires ritual transformation of the players of a village (or nation) from White Condition to Red for the game, and then back again. This transformation is accomplished through the use of fasting, ceremonial trips to running water, dance and song.

On an individual level, a related transformation of consciousness is sometimes required of the Cherokee healer, or "conjurer," in order to allow that person to intervene and restore harmony—the White Condition. This transformation, too, is accomplished through song, fasting, and trips to running water. Song and dance are primary means used for the ritual transformation from White to Red Condition (cf., e.g. Herndon 1971). This is true of any kind of major ritual transformation, as well as most kinds of healing.

6. A Triadic Structure of Power

While Fred Gearing's analysis of Cherokee notions of power is male-centered and dualistic, Raymond Fogelson argues for a triadic structure of power. He feels that "the Red and White dualism ... is a ... cultural fiction masking a more fundamental triadic structure composed of young men, old men, and women" (Fogelson 1977:193). Gearing did not consider women at all, confining himself to priests and warriors. Fogelson views women as a point of articulation, mediating the tension between the Red and White organizations, arguing that the two systems of organization "can usefully be considered as male age grades" (Fogelson 1977:191). Other problems aside, it is difficult to support any conceptualization of power that views the Red and White conditions as organizations, rather than transitory (Red) departures from normal (White) condition.

Fogelson notes the small size of most Cherokee villages historically, the practice of clan exogamy, and the tendency toward matrilineal residence. A young man, he feels, would probably have to marry outside his village or settlement in order to marry properly under rules of clan exogamy. Given the tendency toward matrilineality, a young married man would probably live with his in-laws, and be subjected to a series of formalized relationships with them.

Because of what he calls "the abiding antithesis between male and female" (*ibid.*), Fogelson insists that "women must be regarded as a unitary group" (*ibid.*), because of matrilineality and perceived social restrictions. Women, the third aspect of his triadic model of power, were summarily regarded as a unitary group, undifferentiated from cradle to grave. As he remarks (1977:192):

Women's political roles can best be conceptualized as mediating between the Red and White organizations. If one were forced to generate appropriate symbolism from a sociological palette to designate the collective structural position of women, they would be colored pink [sic].

Musically, can Fogelson's views be supported? The answer is not unproblematic.

For a Stickball Game, it is clear that the men of a team are being transformed from White to Red Condition. That transformation is aided by the all-night dance before the game. The men dance separately from the women, in a circle, using four well-known songs in call and response form. Attention of the healer, as well as everyone else present, is upon the ball players.

Women are also present at the all-night dance. Seven large women, ideally one from each clan, dance in a line facing the place the opponents will come from, with the healer singing salacious songs for them. Here, attention is directed toward weakening the opponent, through the weight and power of the women.

If the women's role is indeed one of mediation, it is difficult to view it as either "pink" or of mediation between the Red and White "organizations" (young men vs. old men). In the Stickball Game dances, the women's efforts are directed toward weakening the men on the opposing team, who are presumably also trying to transform themselves into Red Condition for the forthcoming game. Games were not normally held in which a team of young men opposed a team of old men; players at games I have attended ranged in age between teenagers and men approaching sixty.

7. The Quadrilateral Structure of Power

In contrast to both Gearing's dualistic and Fogelson's triadic conceptualizations of Cherokee power, I feel that a good case can be made for a quadrilateral structuring of power. This is particularly true in view of the fact that Cherokee tend to structure almost every aspect of life, where possible, into groupings of four or seven.

Accepting the idea of Red vs. White Condition might well also indicate Blue and Black Conditions, given the pervasive existence of these four colors and their associated cardinal directions in all Cherokee healing rituals. In the normal White, peaceful Condition, one must prevent an incursion of evil and/or death, symbolized by black. In the Red, or war Condition, which is "hot," one must prevent any entry of "cold," or blue. Maintaining White Condition in a state of balance requires vigilance against movement toward black, not Red. Maintaining Red Condition in a state of stasis requires vigilance against movement toward blue, not White. For men and groups, transformation from White to Red Condition, or vice versa, cannot be accomplished without the necessary rituals.

More pragmatically, I would suggest that given a matrilineal, matrilineal system, females must be included in any conceptualization of power. Given the Cherokee ethos of harmony and balance, the inclusion of both males and females in the power equation would seem even more imperative.

Male age statuses are infant, child, young man, and beloved man. Female age statuses are infant, child, woman, and post-menopausal woman. Transition from the status of child to young man or woman was not marked,

historically, by puberty rites, but was probably linked to specific acts initiated by individuals, such as marriage and the establishment of a family unit. Most young men passed gradually into the status of beloved man, acquiring that status of prestige, influence, and respect sometime after the age of fifty when they ceased to join war parties. For young women, the change from the status of woman to post-menopausal woman was more definite, since women were (and are) regarded as sociologically post-menopausal after the age of thirty-five.

The importance of blood in Cherokee thought and tradition should not be neglected. In the literature about the Cherokee, much has been made about the taboos connected with menstruation. Cherokee thought, in contrast, views menstruation as a form of power. However one may choose to analyze the presence of menstrual blood in Cherokee thinking, it is a biological fact. For women, it is a marker of both the change from child to woman but also of the transition from woman to post-menopausal woman.

For men, the distinction between Red and White Condition is determined by social circumstances, and is effected through ritual transformation. This distinction was partially marked, historically, by the distinction between young man and beloved man, in that beloved men were not usually required to assume the Red Condition any more.

For women, the distinction was somewhat based on biology and partially on socially determined age status, and was not effected through ritual transformation. Women, like young men, were moving back and forth between Red and White Conditions; post-menopausal women, like beloved men, tended to remain in White Condition. While age status, and the distinction between woman and post-menopausal woman was important, within the status of "woman" occurred a monthly cyclical change of condition from what might be called "white" to "red" with the onset of her menstrual period.

Thus, there is a quadrilateral system, in which red and white may be said to stand for both age and sex, for both men and women. In the case of the younger men and women, transformations back and forth between the two conditions are much more frequent.

8. The Cherokee Concept of Balanced Response in Healing

The act of healing is a transformative ritual, requiring balanced response to the situation at hand, in order to restore harmony (cf. Herndon 1987). Therefore, in addition to the use of herbal decoctions and other

physical agents, ceremonies—or what Mooney (1891) called "sacred formulae"—are used. Depending upon what is required by a given situation, these ceremonies may be thought, muttered, spoken, or sung, a continuum in which the sung form carries the greatest amount of power (cf. Herndon 1971:349-50). Note that this, too, is a quadrilateral system.

These ceremonies, which were orally transmitted for many generations, began to be written down immediately following the invention of the Cherokee syllabary by Sequoyah in the early 1820s. They are in ritual Cherokee, with more emphasis being given to form than to content; efficacy depends more on wording and form than on the meaning of the words used.

These ceremonies are intended to bring power of the necessary kind and amount to transform a disharmonious situation or condition into a harmonious one. Disease is regarded as an intrusive element that causes disharmony, something that has to be moved. Thus, the healing process involves the movement of power, initiated through the agency of the healer. The intended effect of this movement of power is always to restore harmony.

It is through the proper, selective use of sound that power is evoked, transformations are accomplished, and healing is effected. This does not mean, however, that one can simply say that music is, or has, power. In the first place, something as strong as music is not always required. Second, music neither is nor has power in and of itself; it evokes power and healing when used in the proper circumstances and contexts.

9. Conclusion

I speak as myself; neither insider nor outsider, neither fully emic nor fully etic. As I began my Eastern Cherokee field work, I was at home in the area, knew of my mixed-blood status with Cherokee coming from both sides of my family, had a smattering of Cherokee words and phrases, and had some degree of enculturation into Cherokee life from childhood. I was not a total insider, either genetically or culturally. Although I had access, and that access was deepened by others' past experience with my relatives, I never became, nor could I ever become, a total insider.

As a college-trained scholar, steeped in the ways of interpretation of behavior created by Europeans and Euro-Americans—I certainly could not hope to acquire enough knowledge or Cherokee ways of thinking to be able to overcome my formal education, nor did I really want to do so. In Herndon 1980:186-7, I quoted from my field notes on this problem:

... if you ask the wrong questions, you get the wrong answers. Well, have you ever thought that this may be a good thing?

But is there no way to get across that gap? Besides, how can it be good?

Well, it isn't too good if an outsider knows too much about what goes on between a man and his wife, is it? That can only lead to trouble. The same thing is true for outsiders who look at Indian music. Relax. Let them play around with their old ideas. Whatever they do is fine, just so long as they don't ever get too close to what really matters.

He folded his arms and closed his eyes. He was quiet for a long time.

Even Jesus didn't tell his mama where he was at all the time, you know. And he sure didn't tell those disciples everything, either. Who are we to do any different than that?

Perhaps history is only a story, whose telling may change as times, voices, and contexts alter. Music ethnographies, as types of history, are also stories. Perhaps what scholars say to each other is a type of story that should be limited in scope and depth by principles of human dignity and the right to privacy. We know that our teachers and consultants probably speak with us selectively, even though they may have known us for many years and even adopted us into their families.

As to the question of who can, or who should, speak for a musical style, music culture, performer, or occasion, that, too, is negotiable territory. If possible, multiple voices, from many points of view, over a considerable period of time would weave a clearer picture of the music of a people. Such voices would include all ranges of practitioners, participants, non-participants, total strangers, and deep initiates. Lacking this, we do the best we can, and should remember that no voice, by itself, is sovereign, absolute, and definitive.

In terms of the foregoing exploration of Cherokee healing and notions of power, it might be said that Fred Gearing is correct in delineating the opposition of White and Red Conditions; given that he was writing in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it is not surprising that he did not even think about including women. Raymond Fogelson is also correct in including women in his conceptualization of a triadic notion of power; given that he was writing in the 1960s and 1970s, it might be expected that he would include women, but reluctantly. I am also correct in positing a quadrilateral structure of power; given my own gender, my interest in music and gender as a topic of study, and the tenor of the times, this, too, is not surprising. Combining the three views, however, brings us closer to an apprehension of Cherokee healing and notions of power. Even in combination, however, there is no definitive truth; we can only aspire to see a bit more clearly.

An increasing emphasis on gender and issues of equity now means that the dominant culture may finally be ready to hear, and to know, that traditional Cherokee healers came from both sexes. The importance of harmony, balanced response, and gender equity in Cherokee thought and actions may now be better understood by those who lack the matrilineal, matrilineal emphasis in their own backgrounds.

I noted earlier that I was neither insider nor outsider, neither fully emic nor etic in either sense of those terms. Having written of my own part Cherokee background and self-interest in matters of power, gender, healing, and music, as well as my personal preference for four-part structures and models, I proceeded to reiterate a call for a four-part interpretation of Cherokee structures of power.

Is this, then, a mere tautology? Or, by knowing something of my limits, and intuiting thereby some of the limiting of my knowing and that of others, can the reader of this article garner further understanding of Cherokee power then and now?

In sum, the new developments within the social and behavioral sciences and the humanities may mean that we are now ready to explore the relative merits of the post-dichotomous point of view. Instead of continuing to deal with the comfortable oppositions of structuralism, or posing things in terms of "X vs. Y," or even suggesting continua, perhaps scholars are now ready to encounter multi-dimensional congeries, or even multi-dimensional dynamic models.

Reflexivity, as it becomes better understood and better employed, can also be quite useful. When we know that our knowing is limited, and can suspect how it is limited, we then know our limits, and can suspect the true extent of our limitations. In the end, to paraphrase Koskoff, we may turn ourselves and our field of study inside out. One place to start is by rethinking our usage of emic and etic, insider and outsider. If this leads to discomfort and momentary complexity, so be it. Complexity is always preferable to complacency.

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Ethnomusicological Research, Another "Performance" in the International Year of Indigenous Peoples?

Gerald Florian Messner

"Performance is a mode of behaviour, an approach to experience"
(Victor Turner 1982: n.p.)

1. Preamble

It is appropriate in the year of the indigenous peoples to review some aspects of that "performance" which is ethnomusicological research. We should recall that we, as the bearers of Euro-American culture¹, had an irretrievable and almost wholly negative impact on other cultural systems. This is certainly true of the cultures of many indigenous peoples, and now that we have started, as it were, to study the debris of what remains, we nevertheless still try to reconstruct their systems according to our own criteria and our own, largely verbal, methods—methods rooted in the very concepts, beliefs and convictions that led to their destruction. We still operate on premises derived from an exclusively Western point of view which in its essentials has not really changed considerably since the institutionalization of ethnomusicology as an academic study. Why is it that we do this? Do we