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# The Coherence of Social Style and Musical Creation Among the Aymara in Southern Peru

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## INTRODUCTION

When I asked Aymara musicians in highland Peru about specific aspects of their musical culture—"Why do you do it that way?"—they most commonly replied: "It is our custom"; "That is the way it is"; "That is the way we do it"; "That is the way our ancestors did it." The character of these responses to a question that, from their perspective, was inappropriate underlines a radically different way of knowing from my own and a particular mode of linking social practice with their mental dispositions, ethos, and worldview.

This way of knowing and the *iconicity*[1] that creates a sense of coherence between behavior and forms in different fields of activity are rooted in the perception of a given worldview as nonarbitrary and, therefore, as a true apprehension of the "natural" organization of the world. In the absence of efficacious competing worldviews, or questions from foreign scholars, the "natural" rationale for a given set of practices often remains undisputed and thus goes without saying (Bourdieu 1977).

In this paper I examine musical practices, aesthetics, and creation among the Aymara in the district of Conima in Puno, Peru, as one realm where their notions of the "natural" are clearly articulated.[2] A discussion of the

[1]An icon is understood here, following C. S. Peirce, to be a nonarbitrary sign that signifies something through some kind of actual resemblance between the sign and the thing signified.

[2]The field research upon which this paper is based was conducted in Conima between February, 1985 and May, 1986 with the support of a Fulbright grant which I gratefully acknowledge. I would also like to thank Donna Buchanan, Elisabeth Barnett, and my anonymous readers for their helpful contributions to this paper.

instruments and performance techniques; the social and musical organization of ensembles; the compositional process; and the form of the music itself illustrates the homologous relationship between musical culture and behavior, forms, and values in other realms of activity.

The commonly observed redundancy, and thus coherence, between forms and behavior in different fields of practice within all societies is the result of a circular interaction between internalized and externalized structures. From infancy, individuals within a social group internalize ways of being and conceptions of the "natural" order of the world based on the specific responses to common objective conditions. These internalized dispositions (definitions of reality, bases for action) are continually made manifest as concrete images in social behavior and cultural forms. Therefore, social practice and semiotic forms are both products of the internalized dispositions as well as part of the objective conditions that serve as models for reproducing the dispositions within the basic process of socialization (Bourdieu 1977, 1984). This situation creates a certain conformity of vision, and thus a basis for unity, among the members of social groups as well as underlies the consistency of practice between different fields of activity.

The pragmatic and formal levels of Conimeño musical culture are described here in relation to the mental dispositions with which they interact. At the pragmatic level, musical behavior *is* social behavior. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the formal outcome of musical activities articulates the same ways of being and dispositions that are found in other fields of practice, and moreover, that there are relationships of iconicity, or resemblance, between the forms in different domains.

Every musical performance in Conima relies for practical realization on, and is a *redundant* iconic presentation of, the actual social character of the group: structured by, and structuring (by articulation in the social world), their perception of the "natural" way things are. This nearly universal situation explains why music—like many fields of practice—serves as a fundamental identity emblem for social groups as is frequently reported by ethnomusicologists. In Conima, iconicity unites musical form and activity with forms and behaviors in other realms and thereby provides aesthetic potency and meaning through coherence (see Becker and Becker 1981), and also provides the group with a significant means for expressing its essential nature and central concerns in a public arena.

## Social Patterns and Communal Ethos in Conima

Conima is a relatively isolated rural Aymara district on the northern shore of Lake Titicaca and the Bolivian border in the province (like a county)

of Huancane on the Peruvian *altiplano* (12,500 ft.).[3] The district is divided into six indigenous *ayllus* (political-geographical-religious social units, see Bastien 1978) which are often further subdivided. Each *ayllu* or formal subdivision has its own rotating political authorities and offices for the local-indigenous religion. These social units are characterized by basically equal intergroup power relations. Subsistence agriculture and herding are the mainstay for the rural Aymara. The town of Conima, serving as the district capital, is inhabited by mestizos. This paper, however, will be restricted to the Aymara who reside in the rural *ayllus*.

Central to a discussion of Aymara musical culture is the existence of a primary social pattern among them that was first described by Javier Albo (1974) and confirmed for Conima by my own research. The pattern, which generates a whole series of practices, is what Albo calls the "solidarity/factionalism paradox":

> In synthesis, the paradox consists on the one hand of the fact that the Aymara have a value of strong group solidarity which has been demonstrated by their collective resistance to cultural disintegration to a degree superior to other Andean groups, and in some cases it has led to the formation of movements with a strong ethnocentric content. On the other hand, however, at the same time, one of the most typical elements in their cultural systems is an internal factionalism, with manifestations in the spheres of the family, the sociopolitical and religious systems, etc., which would seem to lead to the disintegration [of the group]. (Albo 1974:68)

Among the Aymara in Conima, the solidarity of localized groups is highly emphasized, and the collective is stressed over the individual. Albo notes that the tension created between the individual and the group is alleviated by stressing the individuality and uniqueness of the group itself. Therefore, publicly marking the identity of each community unit is of central concern, and this is accomplished in Conima primarily through musical performance in the larger district-wide fiestas, the main context for social interaction among the different communities.

Albo stresses the importance of reciprocal relationships among individuals in Aymara society as a feature of the solidarity pattern, and he outlines in detail the formal systems of reciprocity (1974:74-78). The most important

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[3]Huancane, together with Chucuito to the south of the lake are the two Aymara-speaking provinces in Puno. The Aymara of Huancane are linked culturally with those in Chucuito and Bolivia, but there are also marked regional differences among the various Aymara areas. Although in highland Peru the Aymara are clearly an ethnic minority in comparison with the Quechua, there are some two million Aymara speakers on the Peruvian/Bolivian *altiplano*, and further south in Bolivia and in Chile (Briggs and Llanque 1982:13).

of these among Conimeños and other Aymara groups (Carter 1967:75) is a system called *ayni* in which the same type and quantity of work or goods received must be returned in kind. Reciprocity—a symmetrical balancing of relations between actors—is a central basis for social interactions between community members and between the community and the natural world (including our conception of supernatural forces; see Alberti and Mayer 1974).

In Conima, emphasis on group solidarity has produced a social style for relations within communities in which constant patterns of conflict avoidance are manifested, and the role of the individual is downplayed. Hence, for example, speaking style is soft and indirect; eye contact between speakers is generally not made; and when talking in groups, the speaker will look at the ground so as to address no one in particular and everyone at the same time. People do not typically confront or criticize others publicly, or even call attention to individuals within group interactions. Conimeños expressly do not like to stand out or be singled out in group situations as is the case for individual musicians within a performing ensemble.

As Albo notes, and as I have also observed in Conima, another outcome of the solidarity pattern is that political and religious offices rotate equally among adult male community members and *equality of opportunity is given precedence over individual competence* for specific tasks and roles (Albo 1974:69). Furthermore, group decisions are reached in a quiet and nonconfrontational manner; there are usually no debates, no hashing out of disagreements, or direct rejections of ideas or the people who presented them. The issue on the floor is treated as neutral material to be shaped by each interested party in turn until consensus is reached. Consistent with the desire to avoid conflict, if consensus can not be obtained, people begin to ignore the issue, turning to other matters, or they simply begin leaving for home (see Albo 1974:69). Particularly relevant here is the fact that consensus decision making parallels processes of communal musical composition in basic ways.

The other side of the coin is factionalism within and between social units which is manifested in explicit competition and sometimes distrust between the members of different social groups. Rather than seeing factionalism as a paradox in relation to solidarity as Albo does, however, I interpret it as growing out of the heightened concern for group solidarity and the resultant social style of conflict avoidance. Mechanisms for the resolution of conflict within communities have not been developed; hence, if there is a serious problem that can not simply be ignored (the typical way of dealing with conflicts), the dissenting parties split off from the group.

Factionalism within, and competition between social units in Conima is indeed pronounced at all institutional levels. For example, the district of

Conima as a whole is conceptualized in two halves with three *ayllus* each. This binary division is indicated by an active separatist movement on the part of three *ayllus* who wish to split off from Conima and form their own district. In addition, the social separation of the two sides is, at present, clearly articulated by their independent celebration of most fiestas, whereas traditionally the entire district celebrated some major fiestas together.

Many individual *ayllus* exhibit internal binary or ternary divisions (see Bastien 1978), and a process of continuing fission. For example, the community with which I worked most closely, Putina, is part of *Ayllu* Sulcata. Sulcata is divided into three formalized subdivisions: Upper, Central, and Lower Sulcata, with the communities of Putina and Huata comprising the latter. As manifested in some fiesta and ritual occasions, Central and Lower Sulcata function as a binary unit with Upper Sulcata operating independently.

Within Lower Sulcata, the communities of Huata and Putina are oppositionally divided yet may function as a cooperative unit depending on the context. For example, Huata and Putina have the same political and religious officials, share the same primary school, and do communal work projects together for the school. But in fiestas, each community has its own performing ensemble, which is specifically in open competition with the other. While Huata and Putina participate together in religious rituals that function to benefit Lower Sulcata as a whole, people in each group often express distrust or dislike for the people of the other community.

Fiesta and ritual occasions involving these two communities often take place in a central (neutral) location on the border between them so that neither will benefit more than the other. This overall ternary structure involving a pattern of binary social opposition with a mediating, centrally-located ritual space between them has a direct parallel in the musical structure of performing ensembles.

## Instrumental Traditions in Conima

Music and dance, along with weaving, are the primary modes of artistic expression in indigenous Andean society. Within the Peruvian highlands, the department of Puno stands out as one of the richest and most active areas musically. In the district of Conima itself, there is, on the average, one fiesta a month, and often many more variable life-cycle fiestas (e.g., weddings and first haircutting ceremonies) are held around such times. Every community in Conima has its own customs regarding the fiestas of the annual cycle in which it actively performs music and dance, and each has its own performing ensemble. For some events, such as *Carnavales* and the New Year (January 1), almost all community groups take part; in others such as *La Cruz* (May 3) and *Candelaria* (February 2), only two or three communities

have a tradition of performing. The specific community fiestas are usually centered in the rural *ayllus*. Performances for the larger fiestas such as *Carnavales* take place both in the individual communities and in the plaza of the district capital, and it is in the latter context that competition among performing ensembles is made explicit.

Five indigenous types of wind ensemble are central to these events: *sikus* (double-row panpipes), five-hole *pinkillus*, six-hole *pinkillus* (cane duct flutes), *tarkas* (wooden duct flutes), and *pitus* or *falawatus* (transverse cane flutes). Although not nearly of the same prominence within the district as these wind traditions, there are several brass bands that occasionally play at weddings or in mestizo-organized fiestas. Atypical for highland Peru, string music is almost completely absent, and in contrast with Quechua musical culture, vocal music is surprisingly unimportant. Previously two distinct single-row panpipe traditions (*kallamachu* and *loco pallapalla*) were performed in Conima as was the *chokela* (cane end-notched flute), but their performance has become rare in the past three decades (Turino 1987). The five indigenous wind traditions mentioned above, then, comprise the core of Conimeño musical culture (see Figures 1-4).

**FIGURE 1. *Sikuris* Ensemble with *Bombos***

**FIGURE 2. Five-Hole *Pinkillu* Ensemble with *Cajas***

**FIGURE 3. *Tarka* Ensemble**

**FIGURE 4. *Pitu* Ensemble**

All of these wind instruments are performed in large ensembles made up of only a single type of melodic instrument (*sikus* with *sikus*, *tarkas* with *tarkas*, etc.). Between four and eight panpipe players accompany the *sikuri* ensembles with *bombos* (large double-headed drums).[4] The *pitu* and *tarka* ensembles are accompanied by Western snare and bass drums, and the *pinkillu* ensembles have a separate *caja* (large indigenous snare drum) section in which the number of players almost equals that of the flute players. The musical ensembles generally range from twelve to, on exceptional occasions, fifty musicians. The performance of a particular instrument type at any given time is strictly dictated by traditional association with given annual and variable fiesta occasions.[5] Each instrumental tradition has between two and seven musical genres that are specific to it, and that are likewise linked to different fiesta contexts (see Figure 5). The performance

[4]On one occasion only, the Easter fiesta, *sikuri* ensembles are accompanied by Western snare and bass drums for a specific musical genre known as *choclo* (see Turino 1987).

[5]With the exception of life-cycle and work related occasions, panpipes are played in the dry season from April through September, the duct flutes from October through March in the rainy season (see Baumann 1982a, 1982b). *Pitus* are played throughout the year. *Sikuri* music is used for weddings in the *ayllus* as well as for first haircutting ceremonies, and *pinkillus* are used for roof-raising fiestas, and these occasions occur throughout the annual cycle.

**FIGURE 5. Genres**

| Instr. Medium | Sound Features or General Ass. | Fiesta Association | Dance Association | Instrument Association | Use Association | Context of Use |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SIKUS | a) lentos | | | | | general |
| | b) ligeros | | | | | general |
| | c) choclos | | | | | Pascuas |
| | | | d) imillani | | | May 3 |
| | | | e) satiri | | | May 15 |
| | | | | | f) marchas | general |
| | | | | | g) dianas | general |
| 5-HOLE PINKILLUS | | a) carnavales* | | a) pinkillada* | | Carnaval |
| | | b) todos los santos | | | | Nov. 1, 2 |
| | | | c) wifala | | | Feb. 1, 2 |
| | | | d) achuqallu | | | varies |
| 6-HOLE PINKILLUS | | a) candelaria | | | | Feb. 1, 2 |
| | | b) año nuevo | | | | Jan. 1 |
| TARKAS | | a) carnavales* | | a) tarkiada* | | Carnaval |
| | b) waynos | | | | | Carnaval |
| PITUS | | | a) achachk'umu | | | May 2, 3 |
| | | | b) pastorsitos | | | Dec. 25 |

* = synonyms

of these musical instruments is entirely a male domain, although women take part in fiestas as dancers and occasionally as singers.

In Conima, musical performance is a group activity that takes place almost exclusively in public-community fiesta contexts. Men rarely perform music alone in private, even for practice purposes. (The primary exception occurs when a musician is composing a new tune.) Indeed, Conimeños viewed my private musical practice and performance as odd behavior which they never really understood. While musical performance is a group, or communal affair in indigenous Andean society generally, Conima represents an extreme case in contrast with other Peruvian regions where indigenous peasants do perform musical instruments casually for their own enjoyment.

In *sikuri*, *tarka*, and *pitu* ensembles, the instruments are cut to different lengths to perform in parallel harmony. They are organized in three units of three separate voices or voice groups, each with its own name (from smallest to largest): 1) *suli*; 2) *ankuta* or *malta*; and 3) *sanja* or *tayka*. In *sikuri* groups, ideally, nine voices (which are conceptualized in three voice groups) can be used although during the period of my research, the two largest sizes of panpipes were absent because of a shortage of cane of sufficient length. The lengths and pitches of an ensemble's *siku tropa* (tuned consort) may be changed from one fiesta to the next, and a variance of twenty cents or more on a given pitch between different panpipes is common in the making and blowing of the instruments. In the following chart, the lengths and pitches refer to the longest tube on each instrument, corresponding tubes for each panpipe type maintain the same relationships:

| Panpipe type | Length (cm.) | App. Pitch (Korg) | No. of Pairs |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Suli* | 13.50 | E5 | 1 |
| *Bajosuli* | 15.85 | C#5 | 1 |
| *Contrasuli* | 19.35 | A4 | 1 |
| *Malta* | 27.00 | E4 | 4-6 |
| *Bajomalta* | 31.70 | C#4 | 1 |
| *Contramalta* | 38.70 | A3 | 1-2 |
| *Sanja* | 54.00 | E3 | 1-2 |
| (*Bajosanja*) | 63.40 | C#3 | |
| (*Contrasanja*) | 77.40 | A2 | |

The *tarka* and *pitu* ensembles ideally use three voices each, and there are two arrangements used for the *pitus* depending on the tradition of specific communities (lowest nonoverblown pitches):

| *Tarkas* | *Pitus* | *Pitus* |
|---|---|---|
| *Suli* E4 | C4 | C4 |
| *Ankuta* B3 | F3 | G3 |
| *Tayka* E3 | C3 | C3 |

For the *sikuris*, *pitu*, and *tarka* ensembles, the center voice or voice group is given prominence and/or distinguished. In *sikuri* ensembles this is accomplished through volume. Usually, there will be more *malta* players than any other voice, and the high *sulis* are symmetrically balanced in volume against the softer *sanjas* (hence the doubling of the larger panpipes if personnel is available). In *pitu* ensembles, the central *ankuta* group is distinguished by pitch as well as by volume. For these ensemble types, Conimeño musicians state that the central *malta* (or *ankuta*) is the main melody carrying voice and all other voices are "accompaniment" and heard in relation to it. Ideally in *tarka* ensembles, all voices are to be equal in volume, and the *ankutas* are distinguished by pitch alone. In each case, the two periphery units are related iconically in terms of pitch class, but stand in binary opposition in terms of emic concepts of big and small and sometimes, as borrowed from Western conception, high and low pitch. The important issue, however, is that Conimeño musicians conceptualize the parallel harmonic organization of musical ensembles from the center voice (or voice group) outward to the higher and lower voices.

This manner of binary organization around a marked center unit has many parallels in other spheres of Andean society. The most prominent designs in Andean weaving, for example, involve binary symmetry, very frequently around a marked center line or center unit. Often multiple micropatterns with center line symmetry are incorporated into the larger symmetrical structure (see Bastien 1978:107-09). It has been observed that the process of weaving also involves conceptualizing the design from the center outward to two symmetrical halves thus mirroring the voicing arrangements of the musical ensembles (Franquemont 1987; Franquemont, Isbell, and Franquemont n.d.).

Cases of community organization involving ternary divisions—two periphery units located geographically and/or in terms of altitude around the centrally located major settlement—have been documented from the pre-Columbian period through the present (see Murra 1975:65, 77; Bastien 1978). An interpretation of this mode of community organization comes from Bastien's (1978:46-47) postulation of a basic and ancient Andean "mountain/human body" metaphor, in which the vital organs in the center (of the body = the mountain) generate life and energy outward to the head and feet. As described above, a principle of mediation is evident in the joint

ritual occasions held on centrally located ground by the communities of Huata and Putina. In this case the two communities establish an equality (of benefits received) within the ritual by holding it in a central, neutral location. In a similar manner the *suli* and *sanja* voice groups are ideally balanced in volume around the preeminent *malta* group in *sikuris* ensembles.

These examples simply suggest that a basic pattern—the organization of binary periphery units around, or out from, a marked center—is one typical way in which Andeans conceive of their world just as people in Western society tend to think in linear fashion, often from left to right, or, for example in terms of harmony, from bottom to top.

Upon occasion, a similar pattern of binary organization around a marked center is manifested in six-hole *pinkillu* performance. Most often, however, both types of *pinkillus* are played in what I will call "dense unison." Dense unison refers to the preferred manner of performance in which some players within an ensemble will blow slightly sharp or flat of the mean pitch series thereby producing a rich abundance of overtones and combination tones. Major or minor six- or seven-tone scales are the mainstay for panpipe, *pinkillu*, and *pitu* music. The *tarka* genres alone exhibit a frequent use of various pentatonic scales with a six-tone scale being a frequent alternative.

## Aesthetic Values, Social Values, and Iconicity

As noted above, musical performance in Conima is a large group activity that takes place only in public-community settings. Indeed, the music cannot be properly rendered solo as the *sikuri* tradition clearly shows since to perform the instrument correctly, a pair of musicians is required. Each member of a pair has only a single row of the double-row panpipe (the *ira* or *arca* rows with alternating pitches of the scale)[6] and performs in hocket, or interlocking, fashion with his partner. Within ensembles, musicians who often constitute pairs of long standing are situated next to each other and, listening most closely to one another, play as binary units. This manner of performance is clearly related to patterns of Andean reciprocity and community cooperation (see Grebe 1980).

According to Conimeños' own statements, a major aesthetic criterion for good ensemble performance is the ideal of "playing as one" or "sounding like one instrument." No individual's instrument should ever stand out (or "escape") from the integrated fabric of the ensemble's sound. Related to the stated value of "playing as one" is a demonstrated preference for a

[6]The *ira* (the one that leads) panpipe row has six or seven tubes, and the *arca* (the one that follows) has seven or eight tubes, and the latter includes the lowest and highest pitches on the instrument. The *siku* is tuned in what approximates a diatonic pitch series, each row containing a sequence of thirds.

dense sound quality. This is expressed verbally by Conimeños when they say that there should be "no holes" (gaps, periods of silence) in an ensemble's music. *Dense sound* thus refers to a consistent overlapping and blending of discrete sounds to produce a thick, unified texture (Schafer 1977:159). The dense sound quality favored by Andeans also involves a "fuzzy" aura around musical pitches in contrast to a "clear" or "sharp" sound.

These key aesthetic values direct musical production in fundamental ways. Flutes are blown with a loose embouchure to produce a breathy quality that aids ensemble blending. Panpipes should be played with a relatively gentle attack so that the whole tube of air resonates producing an even sound that aids in group blend and contrasts with the harsh-staccato sound produced when *sikus* are overblown. Each panpipe player briefly fuses his pitch with the beginning of his partner's, thus allowing no "holes" in the melody. Flutes (panpipes excluded) are consistently overblown to create abundant overtones that add to the density of sound as does the practice of tuning and playing in "dense unison." Panpipes are constructed with a second, resonating row of tubes (an octave higher) to add overtones, combination tones, and density. *Tarkas* are specially constructed so that forceful blowing splits the octave, again producing abundant overtones and a fat sound quality.

While the melodies are basically performed in dense unison or parallel harmony, and there is no place for the soloist *per se*, there are certain ornamental and improvisatory techniques available for individual expression within ensemble performance. These, too, however, are guided by the principles of "playing as one" and the predilection for a dense sound. In one such technique for *siku* performance known as *requinteando*, expert *malta* players who perform the *ira* row improvise harmonic accompaniment to the *arca* part, and vice versa. Skillful improvisation will be woven into the ensemble's sound to "add flavor" but so that it does not stand out. Rather, when successful, such improvisatory techniques merely add another textural layer to the dense overlapping of sound. The hallmark descending ornamental glissandos played at cadences and during long held pitches on the *taykas* in *pitu* performance are also available for individual expression, and function to create overlap. The total absence of highlighted soloists is related to the aesthetic value of "playing as one" as well as to the basic pragmatic fact that Conimeños do not like to stand out as individuals in public social settings. This feature, like the striking aspect that music is only played in large ensembles, is obviously based in the specific communal ethos of Aymara society that defines the individual's "natural" position as subordinate to the collective.

It is clear that the basic aesthetic values of "playing as one" and the favoring of a dense sound quality govern many aspects of instrument construction, performance technique, ensemble organization, and performance

practice. These aesthetic dispositions belong to a homologous set of generalized—internalized—dispositions that generate "natural" pragmatic solutions for ordering musical and social phenomena which are thus iconically related. ("Sounding as one" in the musical realm is like acting together, or being as one, in other fields of practice.) Every musical performance, then, is a concrete and multileveled articulation of these internalized dispositions through which they are reproduced as part of the objective conditions of experience, once again internalized, and thus fortified as a self-portrait of the group.

Another general feature of indigenous Andean musical aesthetics evidenced in Conima is the use of a small scale of contrasts (by Western standards) to make meaningful "phonemic" differences, and conversely, the avoidance of large, or obvious contrasts. Variations, style markers, or musical characteristics that may appear minute to the outside listener are perceived by Conimeños to be major markers distinguishing one ensemble's style from another, one song from another, or one section of a song from another. The fact that indigenous Andean musicians do not mix different types of melodic instruments (and thus timbres) in an ensemble may stem from this principle. Because of the smaller scale of contrasts recognized, for example, the style of one *ayllu* ensemble may be considered extremely different from that of others largely because it consistently plays at a distinct tempo (sometimes only differing by about ten metronome markings).

Related to the preceding idea is the indigenous Andean preference for many repetitions of the same piece and of the same musical motives within a piece as structural principles in composition. Pieces that may take a minute and a half to play will often be repeated twenty times in a single performance. Within a single composition, the same motives are repeated throughout the different sections, and major sections are often distinguished merely by the addition of a single new motive, or a new juxtaposition of previously used motives.[7]

The aesthetic appreciation of small contrasts set against the background of extended repetition has parallels in other aspects of Andean culture. In the culinary style, for example, dishes that are alike in all but one ingredient, spice, or detail of preparation (and to my palate taste the same) are considered completely distinct and are given different names. In food preparation,

[7]In a broader context, Andeans' favoring of a high degree of repetition, a smaller scale of contrasts, and more subtle variations than those emphasized in urban-Western music seem to be common features in other traditional rural societies. Similar aesthetic principles, for example, are common in many African musical cultures. Indeed, the stressing of and the aesthetic craving for dramatic musical contrasts may be most pronounced in urban-Western society where the level of sensual input and the speed of cultural change has followed a pattern of continual acceleration, and where *change* (= progress) itself is highly valued.

as with the sense of time in daily life, and in musical performance, small variations placed against the backdrop of cyclical repetition is a basic way in which Andean peasants experience the world.

### The Social Organization of Community Musical Ensembles

Within each community, certain individuals are recognized as *maestros* for their musical abilities on the given instruments, and the *guias* (lit. guides: ensemble leaders) for each type of instrumental ensemble are likewise known. During actual performance, *sikuri* ensembles have two *guias*—one plays *ira* and the other *arca*—who form a binary unit. One of these, however, serves as the major leader of the ensemble in the roles to be described below. The other types of wind ensembles have a single *guia*. Most of the *maestros* of a community perform all the different instruments called for by the various fiesta occasions. A different person fulfills the *guia* role for the different wind instruments according to individual interest and expertise.

As a given fiesta approaches, the sponsor for that year's fiesta (an obligation that is taken in turn by adult male community members) will visit the home of the *guia* for the particular instrument traditionally required for that event. After much conversation the sponsor comes to the point of his visit and formally requests the *guia*'s help in performing music for the upcoming fiesta. Usually the *guia* delights in the task; nonetheless, the request takes the form of a favor asked since his collaboration is essential for a successful fiesta. Indeed, regardless of his own enthusiasm for performing, if he were not to receive a formal invitation, a musician of his stature would be prevented by pride from playing at all. Out of respect, the fiesta sponsor will then usually ask the *guia* which musicians within the community should receive special invitations to take part, thus insuring an adequate core ensemble. Once the names of the *maestros* are given, the sponsor or the *guia* visits each person with offerings of coca and a formal invitation to perform. The *guia* and *maestros* also receive a special invitation to the pre-fiesta rehearsal at the sponsor's home.

The sponsor has the role of general organizer and host, and the core group of musicians have the status of honored performers and guests. Throughout the fiesta, the musicians are granted a high status by the entire community since it is they who make the fiesta come alive and, in a major sense, make it happen through musical performance. The musical ensemble is the focal center around which the community unites. Therefore, not only the sponsor, but community members and dancers in general continually offer coca and drinks to the musicians to keep them content and playing.

The ensemble is anchored around the figure of the *guia*. In the community ensembles, this is not a formally elected position, rather, the *guia* is a person who is implicitly recognized as the "musical guide" by the other

musicians by several criteria. First, the *guia* must have a command over all the instruments (wind and percussion) used within a given ensemble, and his instrumental ability must be superior. A vast knowledge of the repertory and the ability to remember and cue the pieces is also essential. For the instruments that are constructed in Conima (i.e., the *siku* and the *pitu*) the *guia* is usually the person who makes them, but in any event, he must have knowledge of the proper tuning and voicing of the ensemble.

The *guia* has some control over the personnel and musical sound of the ensemble. He checks the tuning of the instruments and arranges the voicing for new *tropas* (consort of instruments) purchased by the fiesta sponsor, and he recommends the other *maestros* who are invited to perform by the sponsor. For the most part, the *guia* is also responsible for cueing the tunes during fiesta performances and for setting the tempos. Since these individuals are usually the most skilled at composition, they also have a major input in shaping the ensemble repertory.

The *guia* must also have the desire, energy, and patience necessary to organize the numerous individuals for the large ensembles. Since a successful fiesta performance requires the participation of a sufficient number of *maestros*, the *guia* is often called upon to court the favor of these musicians within the community. Although the fiesta sponsor offers formal invitations to the *maestros* and participation is heightened if he is known for his generosity and for "setting a good table," it is often the *guia* who insures their participation through his respected position and the personal relationships that he maintains with the musicians.

Some of the *maestros* exhibited a prideful, independent side of their characters in regard to fiesta performance. For example, some of the older musicians in Putina—who were aware that their services were valued—often required a great deal of coaxing before they agreed to perform. A few, because of age, may truly have been tired of fiesta performance, but I would guess that most probably wanted to play and were merely asserting themselves within the situation. I continually witnessed cases where the *guia* would have to make repeated trips to the houses of such individuals before their participation was assured.

This type of behavior on the part of some musicians is worth underlining. Although I have stressed the value of community solidarity within Conimeño society and the need for consensus and collaboration, I do not wish to present an idyllic or unidimensional view. Group organization and the reaching of consensus often demand a great deal of effort and patience and all too frequently plans and projects are scrapped for lack of cooperation.

The role of *guia*, then, requires tact and patience. The person must deserve respect because of his ability, but he himself can not publicly stress or emphasize his abilities. He must know how to guide but be able to do

so in a gentle, noncritical, and nonconfrontational manner so that his leadership is not overly apparent; he must never flaunt or even explicitly exercise his authority. The moral authority granted the *guia* is dependent upon an implicit consensus among the musicians rather than on any basis of actual independent power. If the *guia* oversteps the bounds of proper behavior too often, he will gradually begin to be ignored, thereby forfeiting the role.

The core group of musicians recognized as *maestros* within a community must have many of the same qualities as the *guia*. They must perform well on the instruments, have some compositional ability, and know the repertory. Lastly, they must be dedicated to the ensemble and to the music, and this requires that they show up regularly for fiesta performances. This core group of musicians attends the opening rehearsal where new songs for the fiesta will be created and where new instruments, supplied by the fiesta sponsor, will be handed out. It is this group that comprises the foundation of the community ensemble.

Because of the ideal of communal performance in Conima, however, any male community member is welcome to play at the rehearsal and with the group during the fiesta.[8] In addition to joining the ensemble for the pleasure of performing, many men, who are not necessarily adept or dedicated musically, may participate as musicians during fiestas to enjoy the benefits of the free alcohol, food, and coca served to the ensemble throughout the event. Although different musical abilities are recognized privately, there is no overt differentiation of status between the *maestros* and other men once they have joined the ensemble. This flexible, *ad hoc* nature of the ensembles during fiesta performance has a major impact on shaping the musical sound.

First, since few, if any *ad hoc* (i.e., non-*maestro*) members attend the rehearsals, they are not immediately familiar with the new pieces traditionally composed during these sessions. This puts constraints on composition itself as will be made clear below. Secondly, the *ad hoc* members do not receive new instruments provided by the fiesta sponsor. Rather, they come with instruments already in their possession that may not be in tune, or may not be the voice needed for balancing the group's sound. Therefore, the inclusion of *ad hoc* members, who can equal or outnumber the *maestros* in certain fiestas such as *Carnavales*, obviously affects the *guia*'s control over the tuning and the voicing of the different harmonic parts in the ensemble.

[8]Although any community member is welcome at the rehearsals, few individuals attend who are not invited as *maestros*. The reason for this is not totally clear since many *ad hoc* members do perform during the fiestas. I can only guess that the rehearsals are partially regarded as work, because pieces must be composed, and hence rehearsals do not attract people who are not particularly dedicated to the music.

Finally, there is no quality control over the level of musical knowledge or performance ability within the group since any male community member is welcome to play. Because of the indirect, nonconfrontational mode of social interaction within groups in Conimeño society, the *guia* and other musicians do not directly correct or criticize individual players or even draw attention to them. During the period of my research, even when particularly inept *ad hoc* members were playing in a manner contrary to the aesthetic ideals (e.g., frequently overblowing the *siku*), or when individuals performed instruments whose tuning actually clashed with the sound of the ensemble, I never witnessed any public recognition of the problem, or an attempt to alter it. In one such case, two *pitu* musicians arrived to play with their *ankuta* flutes tuned a fourth above the *taykas* while the ensemble was using three *ankutas* tuned a fifth above. The resulting parallel second line dramatically ran counter to the way *pitu* ensembles should sound (as a number of musicians commented privately at a later time). Nonetheless, while everyone knew that there was a severe tuning problem, no one said anything or even appeared to take notice, and these individuals performed with the group throughout the fiesta.

As noted earlier, Conimeños manifest a pattern of conflict avoidance in regard to problems within the community when possible. So too, they simply ignore bad playing or tuning problems within the ensemble. To do otherwise would lead to hard feelings among community members. The frequent result, however, is an audible difference between situations in which primarily *maestros* are performing (such as in rehearsals), and those in which many *ad hoc* community members are playing.

In the preceding description of Conima's instrumental traditions and aesthetic system, I continually prefaced statements with the word "ideally." The reason for doing so is that, while Conimeños verbalize very specific aesthetic conceptions regarding the way music should sound in a prescriptive sense,[9] these principles are often not realized in actual fiesta performance because of the *ad hoc*, communal nature of the ensembles.

Within limits, it seems to matter less if ensembles "sound like one instrument" or perform in tune with the proper voicing than it does that

[9]Discussions about musical performance can be of a prescriptive, descriptive, or evaluative nature. In Conima, prescriptive aesthetic values are generally shared and are stated publicly since they are made in the abstract or prior to an actual performance, and their statement offers no threat or criticism to any individuals actually playing. Evaluative statements, after an actual performance, are made publicly within a group about other ensembles. Evaluative judgements, other than general, positive ones, are not made publicly within a group about its own performance, however, since this might imply criticism of specific players, and this is to be avoided according to the social code in Conima. Prescriptive aesthetic statements, i.e., how something *should* sound, then, are part of the shared, and thus unifying, aspects of a group's musical culture, whereas evaluative judgements can be potentially disruptive.

they perform long and loud with great spirit, providing a sonic event that inspires people to dance and enjoy themselves. All this is not to say that the aesthetic ideals and the musical sound itself are not important to Conimeños. In fact, some musicians may complain after a bad performance and even affix blame, but only in private among family members or trusted friends. A range of responses and attitudes is present, but pragmatic social values guiding the normal or "natural" way people ought to behave have a fundamental impact on ensemble organization and, finally, on the sound that is produced.

### Competition and Ensemble Style

During larger fiestas in which a number of groups perform in the town plaza of Conima, the community ensembles compete with each other for greater numbers of dancers and spectators, and for the prestige of being recognized as the best ensemble in the fiesta. Each ensemble, accompanied by members of their community, forms a separate circle in the plaza to perform music and dance, and there is little social interaction among the different community units. After these fiestas a great deal of discussion within the district is dedicated to determining which ensemble was the best. The informal nature of this competition, which does not involve formal judging, trophies, and the like, allows a number of communities to believe, or at least publicly to maintain, that their ensembles actually "won." Hence, community pride may be bolstered among various groups simultaneously. Meanwhile, a general consensus will be found among town and *ayllu* dwellers, who were not represented by ensembles, regarding the best performance, and everyone becomes aware of this decision.

There are several criteria for judging the groups. A major criterion is the length of time spent performing in the plaza and thereby providing entertainment for the fiesta. It is a matter of honor to be the last group to leave the plaza in the evening. In addition to providing entertainment, this endurance is a show of stamina, since playing these wind instruments for long periods of time, with the large quantities of alcohol consumed, is no slight task. The volume of the groups is also an important means of attracting the attention of the crowd and thus for winning the day. The volume depends both on the number of players and on their vigor.

The ensembles are also evaluated according to the aesthetic parameters for each of the instrumental traditions mentioned above. In the case of *sikuri* ensembles, for example, groups will be favored that have fuller harmonic voicing and a better tuned and balanced sound than that of others. This situation, however, does not alter the priority given to equal access to community participation within the ensembles; rather, the groups simply must perform as close to the aesthetic ideals as possible given this constraint.

The hindrance in fully reaching the aesthetic ideals sometimes created by the *ad hoc* nature of the groups, however, is balanced by greater community participation, since large, louder ensembles draw more crowd attention and participation.

The originality and distinctiveness of performance style and, even more important, of repertory, are particularly important criteria for judging the ensembles. Groups that enter the plaza without a newly composed emblem piece for each fiesta, or who are perceived as copying the style or repertory of another ensemble are criticized and even ridiculed as being unoriginal and unskillful. As Albo has noted for the Aymara, tensions between the individual and the group are reduced by stressing the individuality of the group itself. The primary public means for doing this in Conima is through musical performance in the larger fiestas, and ensembles have the role of public representative and champion for their respective community units. Musical originality and competence, then, become demonstrations of social competence and the uniqueness of community identity. For this reason, ensemble style markers are jealously guarded, and imitation is disparaged. This is a significant example of how competition between social units of basically equal power provides the impetus for constant musical dynamism and creativity as well as for the maintenance of discrete style boundaries and the preclusion of borrowing—at least at the ideal level.

As noted earlier, musical markers distinguishing ensemble performance styles are subtle and include such features as slightly different tempos. Different types and degrees of ornamentation also mark ensemble style as does the use of one type of *pitu* harmony or the other, or different instrument sizes (and pitch levels). When possible, *sikuri* groups, for example, change the size and pitch of their instruments (usually within a semitone) from one fiesta to the next, and careful deliberations take place to decide which size should be used for the best advantage. Even changes of voicing are perceived as a potential way to add variety to a group's performance. These aspects, and other types of innovations marking the creativity and unique identity of the group are favored since they are considered to provide a competitive edge.

### Composition, Rehearsals, and Learning Music

Group originality is stressed most, however, in regard to repertory. Before local fiestas, each ensemble comes together to compose new pieces for the event during the pre-fiesta rehearsal. Within the strict boundaries of the genres that are called for by a given fiesta occasion, each group attempts to come up with two or three new pieces that will catch and hold the attention of the public and thus aid them in the musical competition. Furthermore, since creativity itself is valued in Conimeño musical culture,

composition is a major way for groups to enhance their own prestige publicly.

Usually one of the newly composed tunes emerges as the favorite of the group, and it becomes the emblem piece of the ensemble for that year's fiesta. The emblem piece is played when the group first enters the plaza and circles it before settling into their performance locale. That song is played more frequently than any other throughout the fiesta so that by the second day, the tune has become the associated identity marker for the group. When the piece is heard approaching from a distance, the people waiting in the plaza know who is coming. In addition to this, the emblem piece becomes an index for the fiesta of the particular year in which it was composed. Years later when the piece is played, people will more often refer to it by its year of composition than by name.

By composing new pieces every year, each ensemble builds up its own repertoire, demonstrates its creative ability, and marks its unique identity. There are many old, standard pieces for the different instruments in the Conima repertory that no one can prove belong specifically to a given community (although often people will claim them). These are available for performance by anyone and no criticism will result. If an ensemble plays a more recently composed piece that is generally identified with another ensemble, however, the group opens itself up to ridicule. The most frequent criticism in such cases is that the *maestros* of the group lack ability and hence must fall back on imitation.

New compositions are created in the formal rehearsals preceding a given fiesta. As the *maestros* wait for everyone to arrive at the rehearsal in the late afternoon one or two days before the fiesta, they socialize and enjoy the coca and alcohol offered by the fiesta sponsor who acts as host. A religious ritual known as *t'inka* is performed with coca and alcohol for the important forces (or deities) of the local Aymara religion. The musicians then begin to warm up simply by playing through pieces of their repertory from past years, and a festive supper follows. After the rehearsal supper, the *guia* again takes up his instrument suggesting that it is time for the central activity of the rehearsal: the creation of this year's new pieces, and he asks for ideas from the musicians present.

During the composition sessions, the musicians sit roughly in a circle. When the *guia* indicates that it is time to begin composing, the musicians who are able, begin to offer musical ideas: usually one or two complete phrases which can serve as the A section for a piece (the vast majority of Conimeño music is in AA BB CC form). Sitting quietly in place, when a musician has an idea, he will try it out, softly repeating it to himself on his instrument. At times five or more people may be playing their own phrases or motives simultaneously. There may also be periods of silence to which

the *guia* and other musicians respond with verbal encouragement to those present.

This initial brainstorming phase is often rather lengthy. Material being offered that is not found interesting will simply be ignored as others continue working out their own musical ideas. After a period of time if a musician gets no reaction to the phrase or motive he is playing, he will drop it and try something else, or simply revert to silence. When a certain person's idea is found appealing, however, others will gradually take notice, stop what they are doing, and join in softly on their instruments with the originator until everyone has taken it up. Once the initial section has been played repeatedly, and learned by all, the musicians again begin brainstorming the subsequent B and C sections that are required for a complete piece. This occurs in the same manner as that described above with the major exception that motives from the initial A section are used as a fundamental starting point for—and in prescribed ways in—the subsequent sections.

When all three sections are completed by this process, the group will play through the entire composition. Then, entering a new phase, the musicians will begin to alter or correct the parts in the same manner in which they composed them and gradually took them up. The correction phase continues until no one can offer further acceptable changes and the piece is considered "perfect." Sometimes after the ensemble members run out of ideas for improvement and the piece is as yet deemed unacceptable, the entire composition will be abandoned, and the musicians begin the composition process again from scratch. In other, happier cases, the original material produced may not need much correction, and a consensus is rapidly reached regarding its acceptability. Note, however, that at each phase an implicit, often nonverbal, consensus is demanded. So, too, in keeping with the typical manner of Aymara social interaction in Conima, a person's ideas are not verbally or directly rejected, rather they are passively ignored. Finally, it should be stressed that once offered, musical material is considered to belong to the group rather than to the individual who offered it, and anyone is welcome to suggest changes without fear of offending the originator.

In this type of communal composition process, the entire ensemble is considered to be the composer, and individuals' input into the creation is not publicly recognized. In actuality, however, certain musicians take more initiative, and others largely follow their lead. So, too, in the matter of consensus—which is signalled by each taking up the musical idea or alteration in turn—the *maestros* join in playing, once a substantial group has done so, and this is often initiated by the most respected musician-composers of the group. I never witnessed a case where a few individuals opposed the majority.

In another common type of compositional process, entire pieces are created by individuals before coming to the rehearsal. In this case, during the initial musical brainstorming sessions the composer will begin to play his completed piece softly to himself. If it is interesting to the other musicians they will take it up and begin playing it with him, if not, it will be ignored. Once the melody is taken up, it is subjected to the same group alteration/correction process for a final acceptance or rejection. Note that in this phase, the composition is considered communal material available for shaping. Anyone may offer alterations of any scope, and the composer has no special rights over decisions affecting the piece.

If the original composition is finally accepted in a highly altered form, the group is considered to be the composer. If the composition remains largely intact, the group will proclaim the individual as composer. In either event, when in public, the composer usually states that it is the creation of the group, although in private he may claim the composition as his own.

Overall, it should be clear that the compositional process in Conima is consistent with generalized modes of social behavior. First, the group is stressed over any given individuals. It closely resembles Aymara processes of decision making in that it depends ultimately on consensus during each phase. So, too, it is nondirect, and nonconfrontational in nature. Also, it is largely nonverbal, and this is an extension of the pattern of conflict avoidance.

## Musical Sources for Composition

The sources for ideas on which new compositions can be based are many. The most valued are those that are original to someone in the group ("he takes them out of his head"). Not everyone can compose original material, and those who have this ability are highly respected. Several individuals mentioned that ideas for new compositions come to them while they are sleeping, as well as in dreams. Other people make up tunes through experimentation on their instruments at home. As primary sources for new creations, however, phrases and motives from preexisting compositions, or practically entire pieces are used.

Preexisting material from any genre or instrumental tradition can serve as the basis for new compositions. People use material that they have heard on radio or cassettes in addition to pieces performed by other local ensembles. Often material will be shared among the different instrumental traditions within the same community. This type of musical borrowing from outside the community is not considered imitation, and Conimeños see no contradiction between this practice and the value placed on group originality. It must be stressed that Conimeños consider a piece to be new and original

even if it is the result of only slight alterations of a preexisting composition. This may be due to the smaller scale of contrasts used to make meaningful differences within the musical culture. Although the direct source for the borrowed material is acknowledged, other relationships, akin to the concept of "tune families," are not drawn between larger groups of compositions that are related through this type of borrowing.

### Musical Form, Repetition, and Formulae

In terms of acceptable musical material and its organization within the compositional process, there are basically two social parameters which are determined, on the one hand, by the nonspecialist and the communal, *ad hoc* nature of *ayllu* ensembles, and on the other, by the competitive nature of the musical culture.

Each instrumental tradition in Conima has two or more distinct genres that are specific to it and that are associated with specific contexts or uses. For the most part, the different musical genres are narrowly defined structures distinguished by one or more features such as certain scale formations, melodic shapes and phrase lengths, and types of rhythmic movement and tempos. With the exception of several pieces encountered, all Conimeño genres use a standard AA BB CC form. As noted in the discussion regarding Conimeño aesthetics, there is a high degree of motivic repetition among the three sections.

The motives leading up to and at section cadences are repeated in all three sections almost systematically in all genres. The B and C sections are usually heavily based on A-section motives and may be distinguished only by the addition of one or two short new motives, or a new juxtaposition of A-section motives. For example (ch. = a motive referred to as *chuta chuta*, see Example 2):

*Sikuri* Pieces:

A = a, b, c, b′, a′, d, ch.
B = a′, b′, a′, d, ch.
C = a, b′, a′, d, ch.

A = a, b, c, ch.
B = d, c′, ch.
C = e, c′, ch.

Five-hole *Pinkillu* Pieces:

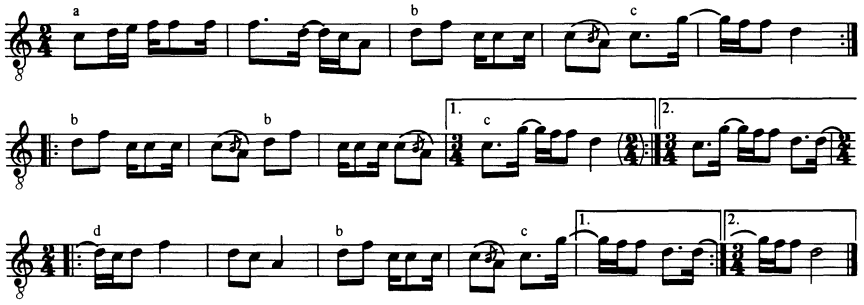
A = a, b, c, d
B = c, e, c, d
C = f, b′, c, d

A = a, b, c
B = d, b, c
C = e, c

In addition to being characterized by motivic repetition, most genres are distinguished by specific formulae which are usually found leading up to and at cadence points as well as leading into the C section.

The strictly defined structures and formulae for a given genre are the "building blocks" (Nettl 1974) within the group compositional process. In the *tarka* piece shown in Example 1, for example, motives *c* and *d* are stock formulae for the *tarkiada* genre. Note, then that between the repetition of motives *b* and *c* throughout the three sections, and the use of stock formulae (motives *c* and *d*), a minimum of new material is required for the creation of a piece.

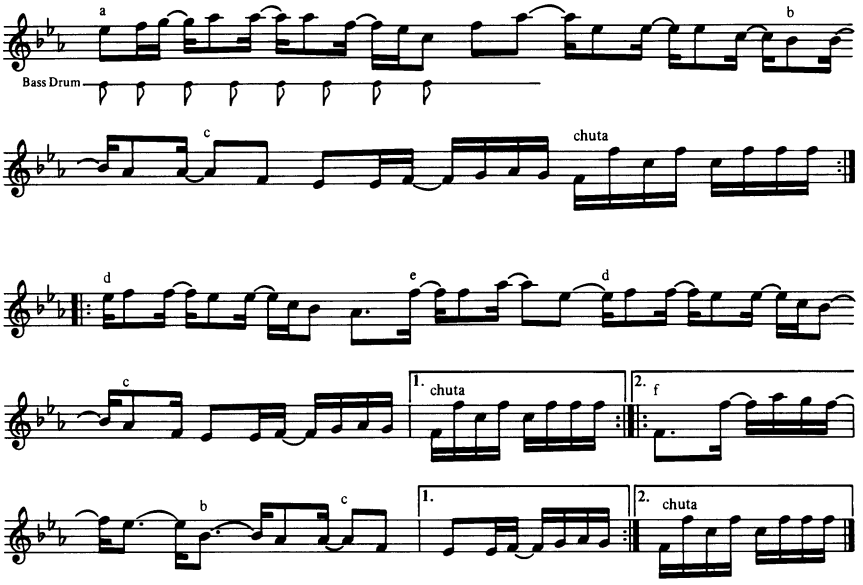
**Example 1**
***Tarka* Piece**




The *sikuri* piece shown in Example 2 is a composition that was based on the *tarka* piece in Example 1 (borrowed from within the same community). In the *sikuri* version, motive *a* is the extent of the borrowed material. Motive *c* and the *chuta chuta* figure are stock formulae for this *sikuri* (*ligero*) genre. Because of the set melodic shape and longer phrase length of *ligero* pieces, which demand that the melody descend to the lower final before the *chuta chuta* formula, motive *b* is little more than a transitional descending motive that is formulaic in function and melodic direction if not in the exact rhythmic motives and pitches used. Hence, the entire A section consists of strictly borrowed and formulaic material.

It would have been totally acceptable for the composer to construct the B section with material almost entirely generated from A as was done in the original *tarka* piece and as is often the case. Here, however, two new

**Example 2**
***Sikuris Ligero***




motives, *d* and *e* are provided in B for an unusual twist. The *f* motive leading into section C is a formula of the *ligero* genre which precedes the repetition of motive *c* and the *chuta chuta* figure. Once again, a minimum of new material is needed for the creation of what is considered an entirely new composition. Because of this repetitive-formulaic nature of music in Conima, it is possible to create three new pieces collectively within five to six hours at rehearsals. These characteristics are also made necessary by the way music is learned.

In Conima, few people rehearse or practice music by themselves. Rather, new pieces and, indeed, instrumental ability are learned by watching and doing during actual fiesta performances. The formulae and the motives repeated at the cadences of each section within a piece serve as handles by which newcomers to a tune can take hold of it. In learning a tune during performance, people pick up the cadence motives and formulae first and join in on these since they are already known or are repeated constantly. With each repetition of the tune, they begin to learn and add the new material presented by the piece until they can play the entire melody.

This method of learning music, and the fact that the *ad hoc* ensemble members do not rehearse new compositions before performances puts constraints on composition itself. If composers stray too far from the tight

repetitive genre structures and formulae, *ad hoc* members will not be able to pick up the tune fast enough during performances. For *Carnavales* 1986, for example, a particularly hard (i.e., "different") composition was created by the *ayllu* ensemble with which I performed. The *guia* chose this tune for the first entrance into the plaza on the fiesta's opening day. (This initial entrance is a particularly important moment for making an impression on the public, and thus, for gaining prestige.) For the entrance, *ad hoc* players who had not attended the rehearsal the night before were about equal in number to the *maestros*. As we warmed up with the piece before entering the plaza, it became painfully apparent that the *ad hoc* players could not master it quickly enough for the entrance. We then successfully changed to another newly composed piece that more closely fit the *tarkiada* structure. The former piece was not attempted again during the fiesta and was thus effectively excluded from the repertory of the ensemble.

The fact that the *guia* initially chose this particularly distinctive piece for the first entrance of the group, however, brings us to the other parameter of composition. That is, in order to compete effectively with other groups, an ensemble must have distinctive and ear catching music. Within the tight formulaic structures, new turns of creativity and originality must shine through. For example, Conimeños considered the *sikuri* piece discussed above to be particularly fresh and creative because of the addition of a substantial amount of new material in the B section. Indeed, the composer of this piece, Feliberto Calderon V., is highly esteemed in *Ayllu* Sulcata for his ability to spin out new melodic material, as well as for the quality of the material itself. Of course, the specific musical ideas or turns of phrase that generate enthusiasm and aesthetic enjoyment—the heart of musical creation—are difficult to summarize or describe in general terms.

Because of the communal, *ad hoc* ensemble structure, as well as the competitive nature of Conimeño musical culture, pieces must be crafted which successfully blend and balance stock material with new ideas that provide power and excitement. While musical creation universally involves the fusion of traditional resources with new innovative ideas, and the latter constantly expand the parameters of those resources, the emphasis on stock forms and formulae in Conima is largely the result of the social modus operandi underlying the organization of musical ensembles and processes such as composition and learning music.

## Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of the present paper, grounded in an ethnographic approach, has been to show how the pragmatics of social style and Aymara worldview inform musical organization, creation, performance, and finally musical sound. The same basic concerns for equal opportunity that direct

ensemble organization and the outcome of performance also govern the ways motives are repeated and formulae are used within the act of composition. The interaction between "social style" and musical style at the sonic level has thus been established at all points of the musical process that begins with the creation of a piece and ends with its execution in actual performance.

At the pragmatic level, the Aymara in Conima avoid being singled out in public social interactions whether it be a decision making assembly or a musical performance. Equal access to social roles among males[10] is granted priority over individual competence for holding political and religious offices as well as for taking part in musical performance. The homologous relationship between decision making processes and communal-musical composition has also been stressed. The all too common ethnomusicological questions regarding *if* and *how* musical culture relates to social context seem clearly answerable in the simple observation that musical behavior *is* social behavior (see Seeger 1980:39).

Another aspect discussed has been how factionalism and competition between community identity units are an impetus for constant musical creation and dynamism, as well as for the jealous guarding of musical repertory and style markers that distinguish the ensembles. The nonspecialist nature and communal ideal of Conimeño performance fosters the use of motivic repetition and formulae in composition while the competitive nature of the musical culture instigates originality and new turns of creativity. The goal of "playing as one" determines that panpipes should not be overblown. At the same time, the volume required in competitive situations defines the other parameter of performance technique: the *siku* should be blown as loud as possible without overblowing.

At the level of stated aesthetic values, "playing as one" and maintaining a dense, well-integrated sound are clear manifestations of the value stressing group integration and solidarity. These aesthetic dispositions direct many

[10]The issue of sex roles and access to musical resources in Conima is a complex one that I am unable to deal with adequately. In social occasions the male and female spheres remain separate (e.g., men and women sit apart in social gatherings) with the exception of dancing. Many other economic and social roles are defined according to sex. For example, the main political and religious offices in the *ayllus* are held by men, and only men play musical instruments. Men usually take the lead in most public occasions, such as speaking at decision making assemblies, while the womens' views are taken into account and are articulated often through their men. Women, on the other hand, seem to run the households. Although an inequality seems to be indicated, men in Conima suggest that the relationship between the sexes is of a "separate but equal" character, and that women do not want to play musical instruments: it would not be "normal." Unfortunately, I did not get the womens' perspective on this, but I would guess that most would say very much the same thing because of the importance of social custom and consensus in Conima.

aspects of instrument construction, performance practice, and technique so that, ideally, the sonic result of musical performance becomes an iconic reproduction of the unified nature of the community. In actual performances, however, the aesthetic ideals are sometimes not realized because of the priorities placed on nonconfrontational, egalitarian modes of social interaction that are rooted in the redundant concern for solidarity. The same message emerges from the musical results of the aesthetic ideals just as it is evident in the very constraints of pragmatic social behavior and thereby negates any contradiction between them.

Both the aesthetic dispositions and pragmatic priorities that define Conimeño musical culture are part of a generalized set of internalized dispositions that, when externalized in behavior and form, create a coherence across different fields of practice and within the realm of musical activity itself. The externalization of these dispositions in practice is part of the ongoing process of reproducing sociocultural conditions that are again internalized and, in turn, form a coherent vision of the "natural" order of the world. Music, then, is not just socially structured; the social order is, in part, musically structured since musical activity comprises one important public domain in which a worldview is made patent in a multileveled and powerful form (Feld 1984:385).

When Conimeños reply to questions about why they do things a certain way by replying simply, "That is the way we do it," or "That is the way it is," they are articulating the coherence of their internalized dispositions that define their sense of reality and that integrate their view of themselves and their society. They need no theoretical elaborations because their view of things is not perceived as arbitrary and, thus, the "natural" order goes without saying (see Bourdieu 1977:168). The reproduction and the sharing of a worldview bind the individual to the community and create a sense of social identity. That music so frequently emerges as a central identity emblem for social units is due both to such grounding and the resultant iconicity between musical sound and the basic character and central views of the group. In such cases musical performance is not merely a statement about identity and worldview, rather it is the very essence of such statements made potent through concise and redundant semiotic means and highlighted social activity.

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