Introduction: everything got a song

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> Everything got a song, no matter how little . . . plant, bird, animal, country, people, everything.
> – Eileen McDinny, in John Bradley with Yanyuwa families, *Singing saltwater country*

> The bodied voices of others will always escape full domestication in our writing.
> – Gary Tomlinson, *The singing of the New World*

Singing and its revitalisation in Indigenous Australia: the context

In 1985, Catherine Ellis formulated the succinct observation that song is the 'central repository of Aboriginal knowledge' (Ellis 1985:83) – a point that has since been confirmed by numerous others.[1] In light of this, it might be expected that there would be a body of literature on strategies for the maintenance and transmission of this crucial component of the Australian Indigenous cultural heritage. Yet the writing is sparse, and the present volume is the first to address itself specifically to the issue of Aboriginal song revitalisation. There are no doubt many reasons for this neglect, the most obvious being the comparatively trivial (in the sense of 'non-essential') role played by music in the broader Australian culture. There is little relevant education, even for those working in allied fields, such as Aboriginal studies, musicology, anthropology and linguistics. Only a small number of Australian tertiary institutions teach courses in ethnomusicology, and an even smaller number of these include ancestral Indigenous singing practices[2] in the curriculum.

The concept of music revitalisation is also relatively new. One of its earliest appearances was in Victoria Levine's 'Musical revitalization among the Choctaw' (1993). In Australia, the concept, under various guises, such as 'applied ethnomusicology' (Harrison, Mackinlay and Pettan 2010; Pettan and Titon 2015, Harrison 2016) or 'music sustainability' (Grant 2011; see also Grant 2010,

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[1] For example, Clunies Ross 1987:1; Wild 1987:101-106; Barwick 2000; Stubington 2007:4; Turpin 2011:20-21; Turpin and Laughren 2013:406; Green 2014:60. Earlier writers making a similar point include Strehlow 1971; Payne 1978; Ellis 1984:142.

[2] We focus on *song* revitalisation in the present volume because the ancestral music of Indigenous Australia is predominantly vocal – even if Jones's view (1965:368) that it includes no exclusively instrumental music is overstated. Bradley and Mackinlay's account (2000:30) of Yanyuwa ceremonies where there are no songs but 'all the sound [is] produced by percussion' is just one counter-example. On our use of the term 'ancestral', see below.

2014), began to emerge in the first decade of the new millennium, and achieved a substantial presence with the publication, in 2013, of a special issue of *Musicology Australia*, edited by Dan Bendrups, Katelyn Barney and Catherine Grant, and devoted to 'Sustainability and ethnomusicology in Australasia'. Australia was also the home-base for an international research project called 'Sustainable futures for music cultures: towards an ecology of musical diversity', the results of which were published in 2016 (Schippers and Grant 2016).

Levine derived the term 'revitalization' from Anthony Wallace's 1956 article on 'revitalization movements'. This phrase has often been used in contexts that emphasise its messianic and nativistic overtones (Harkin 2004[3]), which is perhaps one of the reasons that 'revitalisation' has not found widespread favour with musicologists. Internationally, a more popular term is 'music revival', as indicated by the recent publication of an Oxford handbook (Bithell and Hill 2014) that uses this phrase in its title. But this expression, too, is suggestive of revivalist movements, and in any case, as the contents of the volume indicate, is used mainly to refer to the revival of the 'folk music' of majority cultures.[4]

Catherine Grant (in press, p. 4 of pre-publication version) has observed that, in Australia, 'the alternative rhetoric of sustainability has increasingly surfaced in the ethnomusicological space'. She sums up the implications of the current terminological disarray so well that her overview is worth quoting at length.

> The field of scholarly investigation dealing with the current and future health of music traditions and global musical diversity has not yet even definitively settled on a name for itself. This brings considerable attendant challenges for research and activism, including practicalities such as securing funding and resources for applied work, and gaining recognition and momentum both within and outside of academia for related efforts. For this reason, it is arguably hampering academic contributions to international efforts to keep music genres strong. In contrast, linguists can at least be confident of a shared understanding (even if not acceptance) of the meanings of language maintenance and revitalization, and have carefully articulated (and thoroughly critiqued) definitions of terms and concepts such as revival, renewal, reclamation and restoration, even if meanings vary between researchers, countries, and contexts.
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> A sustained interdisciplinary conversation around the meanings and implications of these (and other) terms may significantly advance ethnomusicological consensus and understanding of key issues in music vitality and viability, particularly at this point in its trajectory. If linguists and ethnomusicologists were to develop over time a shared terminology with which to explore the commonalities and differences of their work, this could consolidate, expedite, and enrich ethnomusicological understandings of music sustainability, and make significant headway with applied initiatives in the area. Conversely, within the recent and ongoing ethnomusicological explorations of these issues (such as that mentioned previously around sustainability and stewardship), linguists may encounter new ways of thinking that may expand and deepen language revitalization theory and practice.

The title of Grant's article is 'A case for greater interdisciplinary collaboration in language and music revitalization', and it is due to appear in *The Routledge handbook of language revitalization* (edited by Hinton, Huss and Roche, in press). This is probably a fair indication of the increasing acceptance of the term 'revitalisation' in relation to music.

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[3] For perspectives on the Australian context, see also Beckett (2012).

[4] While studies of Australian Indigenous music are sometimes included in works devoted to Australian folklore (e.g. Neuenfeldt and Kepa 2011; see also Greenway 1961:445-446), 'Australian folk music' is generally taken to refer to 'bush songs', which by and large have their stylistic origins in the British Isles and Ireland. On the slow development of Australian folklore studies as they pertain to Aboriginal oral texts, see Greenway (1961), Tonkinson (1976), Clunies Ross (1986). More recent contributions come from Waterman (1987), Klapproth (2004) and Clarke (2007).

Among linguists, the alternative terms and concepts that Grant mentions (revival, maintenance, renewal, retention, reclamation, restoration, sustainability and so on) are sometimes defined in ways that make them applicable to particular types or stages of language loss (see, for example, Tsunoda 2005:9-15; Amery and Gale 2008, Disbray 2015:5). Nonetheless, the expression 'language revitalisation' is increasingly being adopted as the general term to cover all these types, both internationally (Hinton and Hale 2001:5, Hinton 2011, Coronel-Molina and McCarty 2016, Cowell 2016) and in Australia (Hobson et al. 2010).

Language revitalisation has a fairly long history in Australia (though not necessarily under this name), and has been on the national agenda at least since 1950. Brian Devlin (2017:12) notes that 'although it is customary to say that bilingual education in the Northern Territory (NT), Australia, began in December 1972 as a result of a Federal government initiative, it is apparent that the foundations of this policy change were formally laid in 1950'. He also observes that 'relevant pioneering efforts' had been made by missionaries in earlier years (Devlin 2017:11). In more recent times, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages were included in the National Policy on Languages that was adopted by the federal government in 1987 (Lo Bianco 1990) and were specifically targeted for assistance in the National Indigenous Languages Policy announced in 2009.[5] This has resulted in various kinds of support for Australian languages, including the establishment of Indigenous language centres in many parts of the country, the inclusion of Indigenous languages in state-level education policies, and funding for individual language revitalisation projects.

By comparison, Indigenous music revitalisation is a relatively new concept in Australia. Although its origins go back further, its formalisation as a national objective can be dated to 2002, when the National Recording Project for Indigenous Performance in Australia was conceived, at the inaugural Symposium on Indigenous Music and Dance, at Gunyaŋara in Arnhem Land (Marett and Barwick 2003, Corn 2013:269). The title and stated aims of this project make clear that its primary focus is the recording, documentation and archiving of Indigenous performance traditions. These are, of course, entirely laudable goals, and the Project pursues them for the sake of making the resulting resources available for cultural revitalisation purposes (Corn 2013:279).

Still, performance is only one aspect of music (and, for that matter, dance), and the processes involved in making a permanent record of it are only one aspect of its revitalisation. This means that Indigenous music revitalisation needs to be recognised as a broader field that:

- pays attention also to those aspects of music (and dance) that are not on immediate display, such as composition and transmission
- extends the concept beyond contemporary performance to the research and re-creation of musical traditions of the past
- can be put into effect in those regions of Australia where the performance traditions have suffered heavy attrition (which includes most of the south of the country).

Rethinking 'traditional' versus 'modern'

Our field of interest in the present volume is constituted by the kinds of songs that have been called 'traditional' (Magowan 1994, 2007) or 'ancestral' (Clunies Ross 1999:93[6]), as distinct from those that are variously called 'popular' (Magowan 1994), 'contemporary' (Oien 2000, Dunbar-Hall and Gibson 2004:16), 'new style' (Breen and Brunton 1989:118), 'modern' (Ellis n.d: n.p.), 'recent'

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[5] See House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (2012), ch. 3, 'Indigenous languages policy' (pp. 45-77).

[6] The usage here is probably indebted to Donaldson (1995), who applied it to language.

(Ottosson 2015:118), and so on.[7] This kind of distinction has been criticised as 'futile, and possibly damaging', on the grounds that it implies a dichotomy between 'music deriving from the pre-colonial past and that of the present' (Dunbar-Hall and Gibson 2004:16; see also Marett and Barwick 2003:144). Nonetheless, it is clear that a conceptual division of this kind actually reflects Aboriginal categories in many regions of Australia.[8]

Åsa Ottosson (2015:118) points out that there are parts of the country, such as Central Australia, where Indigenous musicians 'keep more recent and ancestral musical forms and knowledge separate'. For people of the desert regions, she argues, 'these two expressive genres [recent and ancestral forms] have also come to address different dimensions of people's lives, and aim at different realms for their intended social effects' (Ottosson 2015:116). She contrasts this with the Top End of the Northern Territory. There, musicians 'mix ancestral song styles into popular song, may add ancestral songs on separate tracks on their albums, and often integrate detailed ancestral narratives into rock, country, pop and reggae lyrics' (Ottosson 2015:50).

This is another case where Catherine Grant's point about the need for greater clarity and consistency in our terminology is applicable. Let me offer just a few preliminary observations. It should be noted that, even in the Top End, there are 'ancestral songs' that would never be mixed with 'popular' or 'modern' styles. These are the 'sacred' (and often secret) songs that are regarded as having always existed. In principle, at least, and in spite of the phenomenon of 're-dreaming' (McConnel 1935:66, Nancarrow and Cleary, this volume, Chapter 10), these songs do not have a human authorship but are handed down from generation to generation, or from songperson to songperson.

The distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern' is therefore really only relevant to musical innovations, since the 'pre-existent' songs cannot, by definition, be anything other than 'traditional'. But the converse does not apply: not all 'traditional' music is of this sacred 'pre-existent' type. There are other factors which, singly or together, may cause a song to be perceived as 'traditional'. A short list would include:

- being found in a dream
- making use of 'old' musical forms
- having lyrics that index 'traditional' beliefs and practices.

Alice Moyle (1980:717) notes that in the Kimberley there is a sharp conceptual division between songs 'found in dream' and those 'made with the brain' (such as 'cowboy songs'). Whether or not a song has been 'found in dream' is undoubtedly a major factor in Aboriginal musical classification in many parts of Australia. Songs that fall outside this category are often called 'fun' songs (Breen and Brunton 1989:10; Turner 2010:69).

Nonetheless, that songs of oneiric[9] origin ('dream songs') are not *necessarily* regarded as 'traditional' is clear from the following observation by Catherine Ellis (n.d.: n.p.): 'in addition to those traditional performers in desert areas who maintain their old song forms, there are others who dream modern songs that can be considered Dreamtime songs that include reference to modern living'. In other words, the term 'traditional' is being used here to refer to a set of musical and textual characteristics ('old song forms') rather than to compositional technique. Ellis de-emphasises the traditional nature of 'finding song in dream' in order to focus on a different aspect of the distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern' music-making.

Separating out these factors allows us to posit a continuum between 'traditional' and 'modern' Aboriginal musics. At one end of the continuum we locate the pre-existent songs that are not

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[7] For coverage of 'popular' Indigenous music, we refer the reader to the fine studies in this field that have appeared in recent times, such as Breen and Brunton (1989), Dunbar-Hall and Gibson (2004), Magowan and Neuenfeldt (2005) and Ottosson (2015).

[8] This is no doubt also true for many of the world's Indigenous peoples. Chickasaw writer Linda Hogan (2013:19) puts the matter quite bluntly: 'For tribal peoples, our relationships and kinship with the alive world is simply called *tradition*. We are either traditionally minded or we are still in the process of decolonizing ourselves'.

[9] From Greek ὄνειρος (*óneiros*), 'dream'.

susceptible to innovation; at the other end we place songs that are 'made with the brain' and expressed in musical and poetic languages that have no connection with traditional beliefs and practices. But there is also a large intermediate area, where the factors listed above may be combined in different ways, and the musical and textual structures may integrate traditional and modern features in varying proportions.

As mentioned already, our focus in this book is largely on the song types located towards the 'traditional' end of the spectrum, on the grounds that these musical forms face greater threats to their sustainability than the 'modern' ones, and are therefore in greater need of revitalisation. This proposition needs to be seen in the context of what might be termed the 'doomed cosmology' theory.[10] If non-Indigenous thinking about Aboriginal people was dominated, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, by the 'doomed race' theory, in more recent times this has been replaced by the equally colonial notion that, even if Aboriginal people have, against all odds, managed to survive, at least their cosmology is doomed to extinction, as they come to terms with the consequences of colonial history.

In spite of the insidious (because usually implicit) and widespread nature of this ideology in contemporary Australia, Aboriginal land-based cosmologies have survived down to the present day in many places, and in the best-case scenarios, they are supported by an unbroken tradition of singing practices. No doubt these practices have changed over time, and in some cases they may include 'modern' elements. But the interesting and productive question is not so much whether the relevant components of a song are 'traditional' or 'modern', but rather whether any particular song, or song-type, plays a part, or is capable of playing a part, in the sustaining (and revitalisation) of cosmologies that relate Aboriginal people to place.[11]

The use of the term 'ancestral' as an alternative to 'traditional' raises other important questions. If we ask what kinds of music can be considered 'ancestral', we also need to ascertain who or what can be considered an ancestor, and whether the basis of 'ancestrality' changes over time. The relevance to musical evolution becomes clear when we consider that Central Australian musical forms could become more mixed once the contemporary generation of desert musicians – that is, those who play popular music – become ancestors themselves.

Australian Indigenous music and ethnomusicology: historical background

If we understand ethnomusicology as 'musical ethnography' – that is, the study of a particular musical practice (or set of practices) through participant observation (see e.g. R. Moyle 2001) – then it shares with other branches of ethnography a synchronic focus. In essence, the ethnographic approach is centred on the description and analysis of a socio-cultural form at a particular point in time.

In Australia, this factor combines with the shallow time-depth of written records to explain the scarcity of studies in the field of historical ethnomusicology. A recently published textbook (McCollum and Hebert 2014) that aims to provide reliable foundations for this emerging sub-

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[10] I owe this notion, if not the precise formulation, to an unpublished paper by Petronella Vaarzon-Morel (2016b), entitled '"For a cultural future": re-figuring the Coniston Massacre' and presented in the 'Cosmologies unbound' panel at the annual conference of the Australian Anthropological Society, 12-15 December 2016, University of Sydney.

[11] For an excellent overview of the politics of tradition in contemporary Indigenous Australia, see Onnudottir, Possamai and Turner (2013:16-21). There are also helpful insights into this issue as it applies to music in Magowan (1994:135, n.2). See Eyerman and Jamison (1998:26-47) for a broader discussion of the notion of 'tradition' in the social sciences, and its specific applicability to music.

discipline[12] mentions Australia only in passing. Nonetheless, if there has been little opportunity for the development of historical ethnomusicology in this country, there has been some attention paid to ethnomusicological history[13]; that is, the history of our own region's ethnomusicology.

Probably the earliest relevant publication is Trevor Jones's article of 1974, on 'ethnomusicological studies in Australia'. This title places the emphasis on ethnomusicology as a discipline rather than on its subject matter, and reflects the terminological catchall role it has played in the study and revitalisation of Indigenous music in Australia. The article also includes what is perhaps the first attempt at a bibliographic sketch of the literature on Aboriginal music. Subsequent bibliographic and audiographic contributions include Stubington (1985), Koch (1987), Koch (1992) and Barwick and Marett (1996). More recent updates have been incorporated into works that are not specifically bibliographic, such as Stubington (2007:290-304). I note also the relevance of the 'ethnochoreological' literature on Aboriginal dance, as surveyed by Wild (1986), Williams (1991) and Farnell and Wong Santos (2014).

Other publications (such as Ellis 1979b, Moyle 1984, Barwick and Marett 1995, Marett 2005:6-14, Stubington 2007:3-10) have provided overviews of the development of a field of 'professional musicology within Aboriginal Studies' (Clunies Ross 1987:3)[14], and the present volume could be regarded as an update on what Clunies Ross calls 'the state of the art'. The major difference, as already noted, is that the current work is oriented specifically to the revitalisation of singing, rather than, or in addition to, the documentation and analysis of songs and their contexts.

The term 'ethnomusicology' has been comprehensive enough in the past to be applicable to the activities of the various categories of scholars who work with Australian Indigenous musical traditions – typically musicologists, anthropologists, linguists and folklorists.[15] Their fields are highly specialised, which means that work on Indigenous music in Australia has often been a matter of interdisciplinary collaboration, as 'the most productive way of approaching the study of Aboriginal songs in the full range of contexts essential to them' (Clunies Ross 1987:1-2).

If this was true at the time these words were written, how much more do they apply today, when we are witnessing the rapid proliferation of composite fields clustered under such ample banners as 'sound studies' (Sterne 2012, Pinch and Bijsterveld 2012) and 'music in the social and behavioural

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[12] The term 'historical ethnomusicology' was probably first used by Ann Buckley (1998). But this new field could just as well have been called 'ethnohistorical musicology' or 'musical ethnohistory'. Other perspectives on the terminology are provided by Gary Tomlinson, who has made a number of pioneering contributions (including Tomlinson 1993, 2007, 2015) that attempt to 'read' behind and beyond the written records. He has played in important role in the creation of what he calls a 'space for a music that does not survive in its living, sounding tradition, or on record or CD, or written in a performable notation' (2007:4). In a more recent publication (2015:13) he coins a term that he applies to recent developments in archaeology, namely 'cognitive archaeology'. The field he himself is pioneering could perhaps most accurately be called a 'cognitive archaeology of singing'. In this context, it is worth mentioning also the relevance of the emerging field of archaeoacoustics (Scarre and Lawson 2006, Eneix 2014).

[13] The concept 'history of ethnomusicology' is also of relatively recent date. The contributors to Nettl and Bohlman (1991) provide an overview of earlier sources (but make no mention of Australia).

[14] There have been other attempts at naming this field as a subject area of intellectual history, more recent ones including Marett's 'traditions of scholarship in the study of Aboriginal music' (2005:6-9) and Stubington's 'ethnomusicology and Aboriginal music' (2007:4-9). No one has yet suggested 'Australianist ethnomusicology' (which at least has the advantage of succinctness), though the use of 'Australianist' in this sense is common in linguistics, where it applies to research into Australian Indigenous languages (or, more technically, into languages belonging to the Australian phylum). Moreover, there is a widely accepted precedent in the term 'Africanist ethnomusicology' (see e.g. Agawu 2014:xix and *passim*).

[15] I use the term 'folklorists' in a broad sense to include all those who study oral traditions. As Clunies Ross (1986:236) has pointed out, 'there have never been professional folklorists (in the North American sense of the term) at work in Australia', and it is only since the middle of last century that the overlap between musicology, linguistics and literary studies has begun to develop as a discourse in this country (Clunies Ross 1986:237). See Samuels (2015) for a theoretical perspective, and Barwick (2012) for practical applications.

sciences' (Thompson 2014[16]). At the same time, the subject matter of ethnomusicological studies has been ramifying relentlessly through the development of new genres and subgenres. The cross-fertilisation of popular music[17] and 'world music' has resulted in a widespread regional diversification of global forms such as heavy metal, punk, hip hop, techno or 'the rave', and the remix or 'mash-up', all of which have developed their own specialised discourses and publications.

In Australia, the Aboriginal popular music scene, once heavily identified with country music (Walker 2000), now manifests a diversity in which most of the major global genres are represented, to varying degrees. Nonetheless, across this range there has been a developing trend to use words or lyrics from Aboriginal languages.

The music of Black transnationalism began to have an impact in the 1970s and 80s through the medium of reggae (Dunbar-Hall and Gibson 2004:47; Stratton 2015:396), and this influence has continued down to the present, although today it is more likely to take the form of hip hop (Mitchell 2006, White 2009[18]). But other genres with less specific racial associations have also made a significant impression in Aboriginal Australia, particularly heavy metal (Mansfield 2014[19]). Punk, techno and the remix are not quite so well represented, but there are some noteworthy examples of Aboriginal musicians whose work has links to these styles. Sydney band Dispossessed, for example, has strong punk affiliations.[20] As for techno: the late Yolngu composer-performer Gurrumul (Geoffrey Yunupingu) had been working on an electronic music album called 'TRIBE2tribe' before his death, and is quoted as saying that he 'loves the sound of highly produced house, dance and club' music.[21] And the remix has a following in Melbourne, which is home to at least two Aboriginal remix artists, DJs Sadge (Dylan Clarke) and Sovereign Trax (Hannah Donnelly), both of whom are represented on Mixcloud.[22] Mention also needs to be made of the important Indigenous contributions

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[16] Thompson's encyclopaedic work on this theme covers the following topic areas: aesthetics and emotion; business and technology; communities and society; culture and environment; elements of musical examination; evolutionary psychology; media and communication; musicianship and expertise; neuroscience; perception, memory, cognition; politics, economics, law; therapy, health, wellbeing. Many of these topic areas are already developing as hybrid specialisations with their own technical literature. The new field of medical ethnomusicology (Koen, Lloyd, Barz and Brummel-Smith 2008) is a good example, drawing as it does on the more established disciplines of medical anthropology, ethnomusicology and music therapy.

[17] For stylistic reasons, references for the remainder of this paragraph are listed here. Popular music: Bennett (2001), Borthwick and Moy (2004), Bennett and Waksman (2015); world music: Toner and Wild (2004), Taylor (2012); diversification of global musical forms: Hayward (1998), Langlois (2011); heavy metal: Wallach, Berger and Greene (2011); punk: Haenfler (2015), Dunn (2016); hip-hop: Terkourafi (2010); techno or 'the rave': St John (2009); the remix or 'mash-up': Sinnreich (2010), Navas, Gallagher and burrough (2014).

[18] See also http://www.thecitizen.org.au/features/hip-hop-and-rap-giving-voice-young-indigenous-protest https://blogs.adelaide.edu.au/researchtuesdays/2015/06/01/hip-hop-saved-my-life/ https://allaussiehiphop.com/2014/06/10/cairns-murri-crew-built-to-last/ https://allaussiehiphop.com/2012/01/31/jimblah-capitol-city/ [all accessed 7 January 2017].

[19] Mansfield (2014:239) notes that 'the extensive equipment required for producing heavy metal music has prevented any metal bands from forming in Wadeye [the site of his fieldwork]'. Nonetheless, Aboriginal metal bands have emerged in other communities, such as Santa Teresa, in Central Australia. See http://www.alicespringsnews.com.au/2015/10/20/set-to-head-from-isolation-to-world-fame/ See also https://www.vice.com/en_au/article/aboriginal-headbanging; https://www.vice.com/en_au/article/heavy-metal-gangs-of-wadeye-1-of-2; [all accessed 7 January 2017].

[20] See https://noisey.vice.com/en_au/article/dispossessed-are-the-most-uncompromising-unapologetic-and-important-band-in-australia; https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2016/07/05/lyrical-activism-indigenous-metal-band-dispossessed [both accessed 7 January 2017].

[21] http://www.northernstar.com.au/news/gurrumul-to-release-electronic-music-album/2905080/ [accessed 7 January 2017].

[22] See https://www.edm.me/artist/dylan-clarke; https://beta.mixcloud.com/discover/dj-sadge/;

to Australian art music, such as the work of composer-performers Deborah Cheetham, William Barton and the late David Page.

This diversification of Indigenous music in Australia is not, however, the only factor that has obliged ethnomusicologists to extend the scope of their collaborative endeavours. The pioneering revitalisation work of the last couple of decades has often entailed cooperation with experts from a variety of fields other than those typically associated with ethnomusicology. For example, the annual Symposium on Indigenous Music and Dance has, since 2003, brought ethnomusicologists, Indigenous law-holders and cultural practitioners together with a range of other specialists, including archivists, librarians, lawyers and historians (Corn 2013:275) – all of whom have a significant role to play in the revitalisation process.

'Ethnomusicology', then, may no longer be broad enough to cover all the developing specialisations that are relevant to our theme. What is required (to quote Catherine Grant again) is a 'sustained interdisciplinary conversation around the meanings and implications of [the relevant] . . . terms' with a view to 'develop[ing] over time a shared terminology with which to explore the commonalities and differences of [our] work' (Grant in press:4). Let me, then, offer a (very preliminary) sketch of the terminological vectors and their implications.

Over the last half century, the notion of 'music' has been undergoing a significant reappraisal, both internationally and in Australia. Of the various factors that have contributed to this cultural shift, the work of Canadian composer and environmentalist Murray Schafer stands out as especially noteworthy. Schafer invented the term 'soundscape' in the 1960s (see Schafer 1968, 1977) to apply to the relationship between humans and their acoustic environment, and it has since been used in the Australian context in a diverse range of publications, such as Richards (2007) and Bandt (2014).

'Sound world' is a related term, of which I have been unable to pinpoint the origin. But another pioneer in the field of 'sound studies', Stephen Feld (e.g. 2001, 2003), has used the phrase in a way that implies a certain contrast with the notion of 'soundscape'. The emphasis in the use of 'soundscape' is on the sounds of everyday life, including those of the natural environment. The concept of the 'sound world', on the other hand, relates rather to the social and cultural processes involved in the human creation and interpretation of sound. This is a more ethnographic orientation to the sonic environment, and is reflected in publications that appear under the rubric of 'sound and ethnography' (Feld, Fox, Porcello and Samuels 2004, Samuels, Meintjes, Ochoa and Porcello 2010, Centre for Imaginative Ethnography 2016).

One of the effects of this international reassessment has been a proliferation of studies that link music and the environment, with branches such as soundscape ecology (Farina 2013), ecomusicology (Rehding 2011, Seeger 2015) and zoömusicology (Martinelli 2009; Taylor 2013; Taylor n.d.). A helpful overview of the literature is provided by two scholars based in Australia, Hollis Taylor and Andrew Hurley (2015). They mention the Australian manifestations of this movement only in passing, but a broader perspective on issues of local interest can be found in the special issue of *Soundscape: The Journal of Acoustic Ecology* (Knox and Magen 2009) devoted to 'the investigation of changing soundscapes in the Australasian region'.[23] Australians have made a number of significant contributions to this discourse, such as those in the volume *Hearing places*, edited by Ros Bandt, Michelle Duffy and Dolly McKinnon (2007), and it has had a major influence on Australian sound art (Kouvaras 2013:54-56 and chapters 3, 5 and 8). This 'humanistic' aspect of sound studies is complemented by a more technologically-oriented side, as reflected in fields such as sound engineering and acoustics (Greene and Porcello 2005), mobile music technologies (Gopinath and Stanyek 2014), field technology (Lane and Carlyle 2013), and so on.

The long-term implications of this comparatively recent explosion of discourses with potential relevance to Australianist ethnomusicology remain to be seen. Many of the studies include at least passing references to Australian Indigenous music, and in a number of cases this topic is elaborated in contributions to works that take a broader, often international, perspective. There are few clear

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http://mpavilion.org/collaborator/sovereign-trax/; https://beta.mixcloud.com/discover/sovereigntrax/ [accessed 7 January 2017].

[23] This includes a report (Magen 2009) on the activities of the Australian Forum for Acoustic Ecology, which was formed in 1998 (http://www.acousticecology.com.au/ [accessed 30 August 2017]).

trends of immediate relevance to our theme, but one that stands out as promising for the future of both song revitalisation and reconciliation in Australia is what we might call 'collaborative music-making as sound art'. The ethnomusicologist participates as a fellow musician in a community's musical projects (cf. Russell and Ingram 2013), with the aim of jointly creating new musical forms that have a basis in local tradition.[24] An example of the practice can be found in Genevieve Campbell's Chapter 13 in the present volume.

This is a fairly recent development in what has been called 'applied' ethnomusicology. A number of other 'applied' fields have been elaborating their own discourses around Indigenous Australian music (and its revitalisation) for some time, and no doubt their significance for the durability of Aboriginal and Torres Strait musical traditions will continue to grow. These include, for example,[25] music pedagogy, archiving and heritage conservation, information technology and intellectual property law.

The present volume is, then, necessarily part of the same interdisciplinary tradition that Clunies Ross referred to in 1987, but it includes contributions that reflect the current broader scope of our field of endeavour. The new century has seen the rate of change and innovation in this field accelerate, as reflected in the publication of an article by Kirkwood and Miller (2014) on the effects and possible uses of the 'new technologies' in the musical education of Indigenous children. Indigenous authors are increasingly contributing to the discussion, for example in the recent volume called *Collaborative ethnomusicology* (Barney ed. 2014; see also Chadwick and Rrurrambu 2004).

There has been at least one major exception to the broad policy neglect of Indigenous music prior to the establishment of the National Recording Project for Indigenous Performance, and it can be seen in the work of Catherine Ellis and the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM), which Ellis was instrumental in establishing in 1975 at the University of Adelaide. Much of the song revitalisation work that has taken place in Australia has been influenced, directly or indirectly, by the initiatives at CASM (see Ellis 1979a, Ellis 1979b, Breen and Brunton 1989, Tunstill 1995 and Mackinlay and Dunbar-Hall 2003). These influences remain to be traced in detail, since there have been, as yet, no attempts at a history of Indigenous song revitalisation in Australia, and there is no directory of programs and projects, whether they be formal or informal, ongoing or sporadic (for example, occurring in the context of festivals or 'language and culture' camps).

The organisation of the chapters

We have organised the chapters geographically rather than thematically, at least partly because of the crucial link between Indigenous singing practices and *place.* From an Indigenous perspective, the source and origin of many songs is the land itself (see e.g. Turner 2010:194). The particular ordering we have used is intended to keep contiguous regions together and at the same time to make

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[24] This synthesis of ethnomusicology and musical practice could be compared with the overlapping of anthropology and artistic practice (Schneider and Wright 2010, 2013). Jenny Deger (2013) provides an Australian perspective, based on collaboration with Yolngu of Arnhem Land.

[25] Music pedagogy: Ellis (1979a), Ellis (1979b), Kartomi (1988), Dunbar-Hall (1991), Neuenfeldt (1998), Mackinlay and Dunbar-Hall (2003), Swijghuisen Reigersberg (2010), Bartleet (2011), Dunbar-Hall and Mackinlay (2011), Bradley (2012), Kral and Schwab (2012); archiving and heritage conservation: Seeger and Chaudhuri (2004), Falk and Ingram (2011), Corn (2013), Treloyn and Emberly (2013), Gillespie and Lilley (2015); information technology: Ormond-Parker, Corn, Obata and O'Sullivan (2013); intellectual property law: Christensen (1996), Feld (1996a), Johnson (1996), Mills (1996), Battiste and Henderson (2000), Christen (2005), Seeger (2005), Janke and Quiggin (2006), Quiggin and Janke (2007), Toner (2008), Anderson (2009), Janke (2009), Glaskin (2010), Feld (2011), Coombe (2011), Glaskin (2011).

as transparent as possible the way the chapters (and regions they relate to) can be mapped onto the 'musical regions' proposed by Alice Moyle (1966:xv-xvii and map 3; see also Moyle 1967:35-43).

Moyle's work is now almost half a century old, and there have been no equally ambitious attempts in the interim to map Indigenous musical cultures in Australia, although more recent studies have filled in some of the gaps in the data, as Moyle had advocated.[26] This introduction is not the place to undertake a definitive contemporary survey, although the chapters that follow will yield much relevant information, to supplement the almost five decades of research that have taken place since Moyle's early work. The notion of 'musical regions' is not straightforward, so we draw attention also to Barry McDonald's Chapter 7 in the present volume, which interrogates a number of ramifications of the concept.
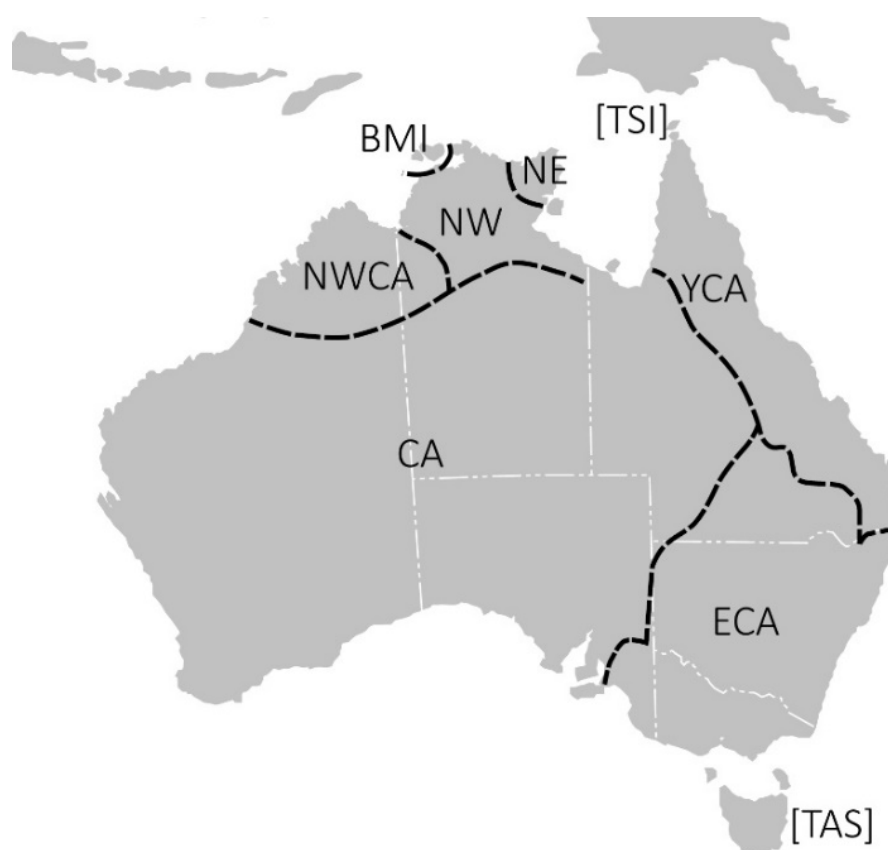
Map 0.1: Hypothetical musical regions of Indigenous Australia. Broken black lines indicate musical regions as proposed by Moyle (1966, map 3); broken white lines indicate state and territory boundaries. (Re-drawn by Brenda Thornley.)

Map 0.1 (above) is based, then, on Moyle's map 3 of 1966. The codes Moyle uses (as adopted in Maps 0.1, 0.2 and 0.3, and in column 2 of Table 0.1, below) are as follows:

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[26] Moyle's work (1966, 1967) was a preliminary study that called for further research to fill in details for those areas of Australia where the music had not been investigated. There are more recent overviews in *The Macquarie atlas of Indigenous Australia* (Arthur and Morphy 2005), which includes a chapter (11) on 'performing arts, sport and games'. This incorporates a section on music and dance (Barwick et al. 2005:126-133) that is illustrated with several useful maps covering stylistic features (such as instrumentation), but the authors have not attempted to define musical regions.

> ECA = East Central Arid
> CA = Central Arid
> NWCA = North-west Central Arid
> NW = North-west
> BMI = Bathurst and Melville Islands
> NE = North-east
> YCA = Cape York Central Arid

Moyle attempted to map her regions onto an earlier map of 'Tribal areas' developed by Arthur Capell (see Moyle 1966:vii), which are omitted here. These were based on Capell's linguistic work (1963), which has since been superseded by better supported classifications of Australian languages. Note that neither Capell nor Moyle included the Torres Strait Islands in their surveys.[27] We have added to the map a coding ('[TSI]') for this region, in square brackets (to indicate that it did not originate with Moyle). Moyle did hypothesise one further region, namely Tasmania, but did not allocate a code to it. (We have coded it as '[TAS]' on our map.)

Eastern Arnhem Land ('NE') is not represented in the present volume. In compensation, some of the chapters included here cover regions for which Moyle was unable to list 'vocal features' (as she did for BMI, NW, NE and CA, 1966:xvi-xvii), presumably for lack of data or analyses or both. Specifically, the chapters we have grouped under the 'South-east' (Moyle's 'ECA') and the 'North-west/Kimberley' ('NWCA') may be relevant to any attempt to fill these gaps. In addition, Chapter 16 (Skinner), while not expressly focused on any particular locality, provides some valuable insights into the music of Tasmania ('TAS'), Cape York ('YCA'), and the Torres Strait Islands ('TSI'). The last of these regions also receives individual attention in our Chapter 15 (Fairweather, Mathias and Whaleboat).

In our second map (below) we have superimposed a sketch of Australian Indigenous language groupings on Moyle's musical regions. These patterns of linguistic classification are based on recent work on the Pama-Nyungan ('PN') languages by Bowern and Atkinson (2012), and on the non-Pama-Nyungan ('NPN') languages by Evans and his collaborators (2003). 'Pama-Nyungan' is geographically the largest language family of the continent, covering the whole of the mainland below a line that runs roughly from the west coast, south of the Kimberley, to the eastern end of the Gulf of Carpentaria. There are two Pama-Nyungan enclaves north of this line. These are constituted by the Yolngu languages of north-eastern Arnhem Land, and Yanyuwa, a language of the south-western Gulf of Carpentaria.[28]

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[27] In this regard, it is worth noting that the Australia's Indigenous peoples identify as two distinct populations, 'Aboriginal' and 'Torres Strait Islander', on the basis of differences in language, land tenure, subsistence techniques and so on. Thus, the term 'Indigenous Australians' is often used as a shorthand way of saying 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians'. Capell and Moyle focused their studies specifically on Aboriginal Australians, rather than Indigenous Australians more broadly understood.

[28] Yanyuwa has been (re-)classified as PN (Blake 1988:76, Evans 2003:12), and is included in Bowern and Atkinson's re-analysis of Pama-Nyungan groupings (2012 supplementary materials:10) as a member of Western PN (to which the Yolngu languages also belong).
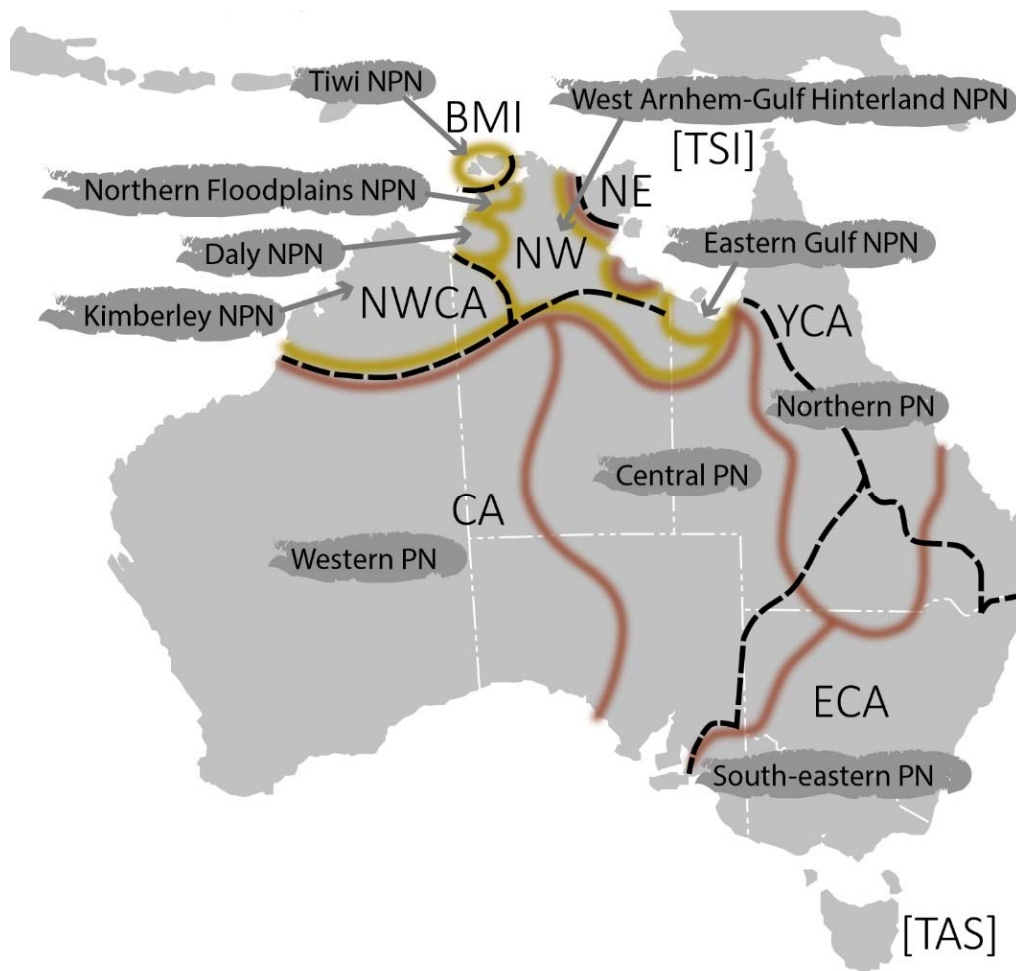
Map 0.2: Musical regions and language regions of Indigenous Australia. Red lines indicate internal divisions of the Pama-Nyungan language family, yellow lines regional groupings of non-Pama-Nyungan. Where red and yellow lines run parallel, there is a boundary between PN and NPN. These divisions are superimposed on Moyle's proposed boundaries of musical regions (see Map 0.1, above), indicated by broken black lines. (Cartography by Brenda Thornley.)

Our division of the PN languages into four groups reflects the results of the phylogenetic analysis of Pama-Nyungan carried out by Bowern and Atkinson (2012:837-838), and we have adopted their nomenclature for these internal groupings: 'Western', 'Central', 'Northern' and 'South-eastern'. The non-Pama-Nyungan languages present a much more complex picture, with a large number of language families related in ways that researchers such as Evans (2003:4) acknowledge will take some time yet to understand fully. The mosaic-like nature of the phylogenetic relationships between the 20 or so NPN language families does not lend itself to simplification on a small map, so we have not attempted to represent these relationships here. Rather, we have grouped the NPN languages into six regions that are principally geographical. We use the regional designations 'Kimberley', 'Daly', 'Northern Floodplains', 'Tiwi', 'West Arnhem-Gulf Hinterland' and 'Eastern Gulf'. Readers who need specific phylogenetic detail are referred to Evans (2003), in particular to map 1 in that volume (2003:2).

In Table 0.1 (below), we present an overview of how the chapters in the present volume accord with the musical and linguistic groupings in Maps 0.1 and 0.2. Note that Chapters 16 and 17 are not included in this table, because their geographical focus is not limited to any particular region but takes in the whole of Australia.

Table 0.1: Overview of chapters and their geographical sequence, correlated with musical and linguistic regions

Region	Moyle	Broad linguistic classification	Language groups~families	Language/locality	Chapter
THE SOUTH-WEST & PILBARA	**CA**	Western PN	Nyungic	*Nyungar*/ south-west of WA	1 Bracknell
			Ngayarta	*Ngarluma* & others/ western Pilbara WA	2 Treloyn & Dowding
WESTERN GULF	**NW**	Western PN	Yanyuwa	*Yanyuwa*/ Borroloola NT	3 Sharpe
CENTRAL ARID REGION	**CA**	Central PN	Arandic	*Arrernte*/ Alice Springs NT	4 Turpin
			Karnic	*Wangkangurru* & others/ Lake Eyre Basin SA & elsewhere	5 Hercus & Koch
CENTRAL QUEENSLAND	**CA**	Northern PN	Maric	*Gunggari*/ Woorabinda, central QLD	6 Laughren, Turpin & Turner
THE SOUTH-EAST	**ECA**	South-eastern PN	Various south-eastern groups	Various languages/ NSW, VIC, southern QLD	7 McDonald
			Yuin-Kuric	*Thangatti*/ Armidale NSW	8 Kelly & Harkins
			Yuin-Kuric	*HRLM*/ Hunter Valley NSW	9 Wafer
EASTERN GULF	**NW**	NPN (Eastern Gulf region)	Tangkic Family	*Lardil*/ Mornington Island QLD	10 Nancarrow & Cleary
WESTERN ARNHEM LAND & GULF HINTERLAND	**NW**	NPN (West Arnhem-Gulf Hinterland region)	Iwaidjan Family	*Mawng*/ Warruwi, Goulburn Island NT	11 Brown, O'Keeffe, Manmurulu, Manmurulu & Singer
			Marrku (family level isolate)	*Marrku*/ Croker Island NT	12 Brown & Evans
BATHURST & MELVILLE ISLANDS	**BMI**	NPN (Tiwi region)	Tiwi (family level isolate)	*Tiwi*/ Bathurst and Melville Islands, NT	13 Campbell
THE NORTH-WEST/ KIMBERLEY	**NWCA**	NPN (Kimberley region)	Worrorran Family	*Ngarinyin* & others/ Mowanjum & western Kimberley WA	14 Emberly, Treloyn & Charles
TORRES STRAIT	**[TSI]**	Papuan	Eastern Trans-Fly Family	*Meriam Mir*/ Murray Island QLD & other locations in QLD & NSW	15 Fairweather, Matthias & Whaleboat

In this table the chapters are listed in numerical sequence (far right column), and aligned with the relevant geographical region (column 1), the Moyle 'musical region' code (column 2), a broad linguistic classification, as illustrated on Map 0.2 (column 3), the specific language group or family[29] (column 4) and the language name (italicised) and locality (after slash) (column 5).

In the allocation of regional names to our chapter groupings, we have subdivided two of Moyle's regions. Her 'CA' we have separated into the 'South-west and Pilbara', the 'Central Arid Region' and 'Central Queensland', while 'NW' has become 'Western Arnhem Land-Gulf Hinterland', 'Western Gulf' and 'Eastern Gulf'. These subdivisions were necessary to take into account certain

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[29] We have generally classified the PN languages by the group names given in Bowern and Atkinson (2012:837-838), and the NPN languages by the family names given in Evans (2003:2, map 1). For the classification of Meriam Mir, we have relied on Hunter, Bowern and Round (2011:109 and *passim*), who spell the language name as 'Meryam Mir'.

disjunctive relationships between musical regions (as hypothesised by Moyle) and language groupings, which we will come to shortly.
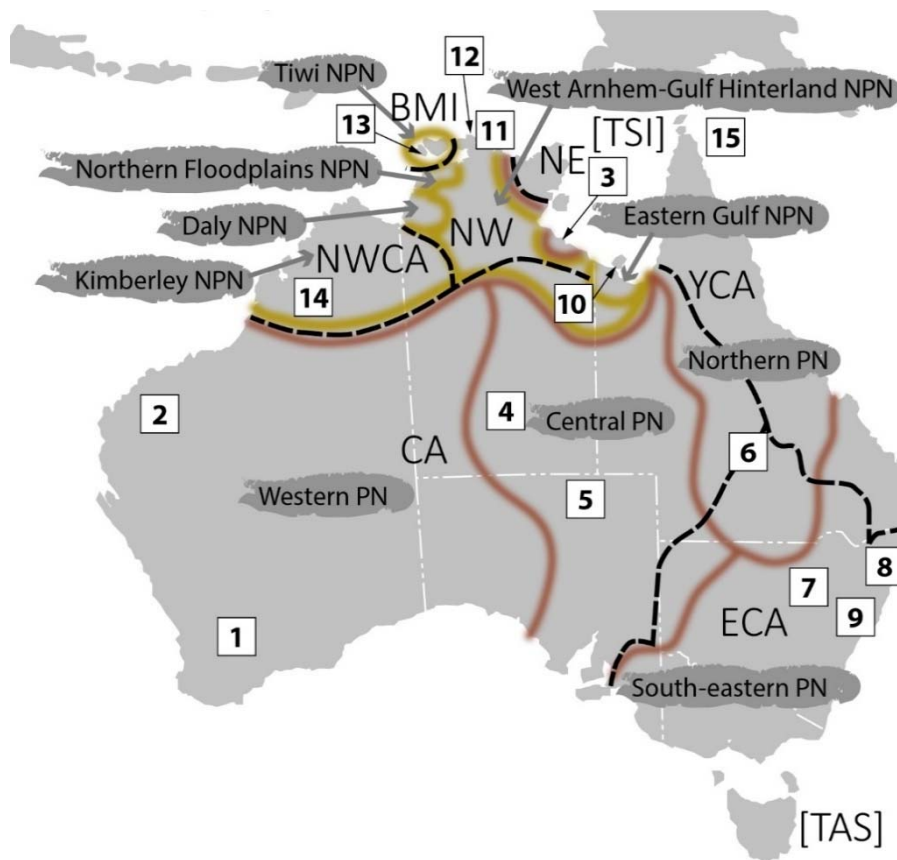
Map 0.3: Study sites represented in the present work. The numbers in boxes refer to the chapters in this book and have been overlaid on musical regions (broken black lines, see Map 0.1) and language groupings (red and yellow lines, see Map 0.2.) (Cartography by Brenda Thornley.)

The relevant correspondences are summarised in Map 0.3, above, which shows the approximate locations of the various accounts of Indigenous Australian singing practices to be found in the chapters of this volume.

This arrangement of the chapters allows certain relationships to be established at a glance. It is noteworthy that the geographical division between PN and NPN[30] corresponds reasonably well to Moyle's distinction between musical regions of the CA (Central Arid) type and the NW (North-west) type. (There is an apparent overlap in the case of NWCA, where NPN languages are spoken but there is an implied blending of NW and CA musical features.) This provides, perhaps, some justification for Jones's (1980:161) division of Aboriginal Australia into two musical blocs, roughly north and south of the Tropic of Capricorn (corresponding approximately to a division between Moyle's NE, NW, NWCA, BMI and (most of) YCA, constituting the north, and the rest of Australia – basically CA and ECA – making up the south).

But our arrangement also brings out some of the disjunctions that occur when overlaying language classifications and maps of other Indigenous cultural features. Language groups are not necessarily

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[30] Both PN and NPN languages belong to the Australian Phylum.This does not apply to the East Torres Strait language of Chapter 15, which is generally considered to be a Papuan language of the Trans-Fly family (Evans 2005:255-256, Hunter, Bowern and Round 2011:109). We have not included chapters 16 and 17 in the table, since these are general chapters that deal with Indigenous singing from the whole continent.

co-extensive with the groupings attributed to other social practices, such as music. This has been shown in detail in the work of AustKin on the relationship between languages and social category names ('skin names') in Aboriginal Australia.[31] The distribution of Aboriginal sign languages (Kendon 1988) is another case in point.[32]

To give some examples from Table 0.1 above: the arrangement of the table makes clear the anomalous position of Yanyuwa. This is a PN language, but located in Moyle's NW region.[33] (The great majority of the other PN languages are associated with the 'CA' regions – CA, ECA and YCA.[34]) We note also the ambiguous position of the Maric languages of south-central Queensland. Moyle did not investigate music from this region, but on her map it is divided up between CA, ECA and YCA. The chapter by Laughren, Turpin and Turner in the present volume (Chapter 6) suggests that the songs from this region that are the subject of their study have a number of features in common with the music of the CA region, but other features are distinctive. Further research may reveal what they share (or not) with ECA and YCA. Moyle's YCA is itself divergent, at least in terms of Jones's broad dichotomy of musical styles. In spite of this region's location largely north of the Tropic (which runs through Rockhampton), the languages of Cape York belong to the Pama-Nyungan family, and Moyle evidently regarded the region's musical features as having more in common with 'Central Arid' than with any of her northern groupings (e.g. Moyle 1966:xvii).

Stubbs (1974:109), in his map of prehistoric art styles in Australia, divides the continent into six regions that are to a large extent co-extensive with Moyle's. The differences are mainly matters of internal differentiation[35]. It is too early to know whether this overlap of hypothesised musical and artistic regions is actually indicative of something like 'culture areas', or whether the divisions on which these regions are based are just (as Barry McDonald puts it in his contribution to the present volume) a matter of convenience. Quite a lot more research will be needed before it is possible to investigate the relative distribution of musical (or art) styles in any phylogenetic depth – and this applies not just to Australia, but is almost universally true. As Le Bomin, Lecointre and Heyer (2016:1) put the matter, in their ground-breaking application of phylogenetic methods to the question of music transmission[36]:

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[31] For example, the distribution of subsections is restricted to an area of northern and central Australia that includes many (but not all) non-Pama-Nyungan languages and a (comparatively) small block of Pama-Nyungan languages. See http://www.austkin.net/ [accessed 31 March 2015] and McConvell, Kelly and Lacrampe (in press: ch. 2). For background on Austkin, see McConvell & Dousset (2012).

[32] Kendon (1988:399) has shown, for example, that Warlpiri and Anmatyerre speakers share a much higher proportion of hand-signs than spoken vocabulary, so he classifies their sign languages as members of the same grouping, which he calls 'North Central Desert'. The spoken languages belong to quite distinct language groupings (Ngarga~Yapa and Arandic, respectively).

[33] Moyle has created a separate region, 'NE', for the other PN enclave, the Yolngu languages, but it is not represented in the contributions to the present volume.

[34] Myfany Turpin (pers. com.) has suggested that in fact Yanyuwa music probably does share features of the CA region, such as the use of short texts set to a longer repeating melodic contour.

[35] First, Stubbs divides Moyle's Central Arid region (CA) into three parts (his region 1 incorporating the south-western section of South Australia and the south-east of Western Australia, his region 2 Central Australia, and his region 6 the south-west and Pilbara regions of Western Australia); second, his region 3 combines four of Moyle's regions (North-east, North-west, North-west Central Arid and Bathurst and Melville Islands) into one.

[36] They show that, 'contrary to what is currently believed, vertical transmission plays a key role in shaping musical diversity' (Le Bomin, Lecointre and Heyer 2016:1). This is undoubtedly relevant to the Australian context, where linguistic borrowing (horizontal transmission) has also been shown to occur at a much lower rate than once supposed: 'loan levels . . . as a whole have been overstated' (Bowern and Atkinson 2012:822). It is worth noting also that, in Australia, vertical transmission is generally lineal – that is, traceable through either a matriline (female descent) or a patriline (male descent). For other interesting applications of phylogenetics to music, see Liebman, Ornoy and Chor (2012) and Grauer (2011). For an

> Numerous studies using computational methods derived from evolutionary biology have been successfully applied to varied subset of linguistic data. One of the major drawbacks regarding musical studies is the lack of suitable coded musical data that can be analysed using such evolutionary tools.

Implicit in this brief statement are a number of challenges for the current generation of ethnomusicologists, including those working in Australia.

Alice Moyle focused on formal features[37] in her proposal for Australian 'musical regions', but other factors are also relevant, in particular the emic classification of 'genres of singing'. The attention given to this issue is fairly limited, and this has led Michael Walsh (2007:133) to pose the question 'What is the ideal classification/categorisation of [Aboriginal] song?' The topic is too substantial to address in any detail here, but deserves some preliminary remarks.

Song types vary from group to group, and their categorisation is likely to depend less on strictly musical factors than on the social context in which a song is conceived and performed. Moreover, the particularity of local conventions for differentiating between song types is often a factor in the maintenance of a group's distinctive local identity. Nonetheless, the Bardi genres identified by Glaskin (2010:254-256) suggest a classificatory schema that is probably applicable across much of Aboriginal Australia. There are three main criteria of differentiation: first, whether a particular song type is 'oneiric' (that is, it originates in a dream) or 'made in the head'; second, whether the song type is 'pre-existent' or 'newly emerged'; third, whether it is considered 'public' or 'restricted'.

Among Bardi, the application of these principles would result in the following classification of genres:

Table 0.2: Proposed schema for Aboriginal song classification (examples from Bardi)

	Oneiric		Made in the head
	Restricted	Public	
Pre-existent	*ululung*	*anggwuy*	
Newly emerged		*ilma*	*ludiny*

Ululung songs are those associated with 'a gender-restricted, male only initiatory stage'; *anggwuy* songs are part of 'an "open" or public stage of initiation'; *ilma* are 'public corroborees received in dreams' by living individuals, often from identifiable deceased persons; and *ludiny* are 'secular songs sung without accompanying dance or material representations' (Glaskin 2010:254-255). Note that all of these are 'traditional' genres, distinguished by Bardi from 'contemporary song genres [which] include Christian songs sung in Bardi, and rock and roll or country music' (Glaskin 2010:254).

There are two empty cells in the table. The one that is greyed out is logically impossible, since pre-existent songs, by definition, cannot be 'made in the head'. The other empty cell (restricted songs of the newly emerged type), however, is at least theoretically possible, and some of the Bardi genres mentioned by Glaskin but not described in detail, such as *wujuj* ('love songs') or *gurungara* ('songs used in sorcery'), might conceivably belong there.

Glaskin's particular interest is in the ambiguities of 'ownership' in the case of *ilma*:

> The different contexts in which these rituals are performed is also marked by a distinction in how 'ownership' of songs in the dreamt genres is considered: with songs associated with initiation rituals (even those that are dreamt and subsequently incorporated into the repertoire) being the collective responsibility of senior Law men

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overview of other approaches to 'computational analysis of a large corpus of music-related textual, sound, or image files', see McCollum and Hebert (2014:57-66).

[37] Specifically: melody type (tonal and rhythmic characteristics); instrumental accompaniment; and relationship between song text and melody. A broader set of formal features has been analysed in detail by Jones (1965:351-374), who also makes some preliminary observations about regional differences.

(those who have achieved the highest ritual status), and *ilma* being the responsibility of the person who dreams them. When that person passes away, the question of the *ilma*'s ownership can, though, become complex . . . (Glaskin 2010:255; see also Glaskin 2011).

There are other kinds of ambiguity too. For example, the possibility of 're-dreaming' the pre-existent songs blurs, to some extent, their separateness from 'newly emerged' songs. Equivocal cases of this kind make it clear that my taxonomy is an ideal abstraction, not necessarily a guide to the way genres would be distinguished in any particular language. Moreover, this schema applies to just one possible set of factors relevant to the emic classification of singing practices – namely, those that pertain to a song's perceived origin and to (one aspect of) the social context of its performance.

Localised Aboriginal song genres have been described in a number of ethnomusicological publications, but there have been few attempts to consider them comparatively. Stephen Wild (1984) has made an important start in this direction, but as he notes, 'elaboration of [a] model to account for differences among musics of various Aboriginal cultures would require detailed comparison of those musics and cultures (1984:200).' Wild limited himself to a regional sketch that compared two Central Australian musical cultures (Warlpiri and Pintupi) with one from eastern Arnhem Land (Yolngu), and his model merits developing further.

The extant literature suggests that the other factors most commonly relevant to the naming of any particular musical practice include its function, the social groupings relevant to its production, and the formal aspects of its performance. For example, songs can classified according to the different functions of, say, putting children to sleep, or guaranteeing the success of a hunt, or guiding the spirit of a deceased person to its destination. Alternatively, they are often distinguished according to the nature of the relationship between classes of social actors – for example, men and women, opposite moieties, different clans or age grades or stages of initiation. In other cases it will be the formal elements of a performance that provide the basis for categorising song types – whether the performance includes dancing and/or the creation of visual symbols; what kind of instrumental accompaniment is used; and what musical, linguistic or choreological techniques are employed.

There is considerable potential for overlap between these classificatory principles, which is compounded by two additional factors: a particular song or song type may be used in different contexts, and a particular musical structure may be used with different song-texts. Further, any of these types, whether classified according to functional, social or formal characteristics, is liable to be designated in terms that are metaphorical or mythological. What this means is that an understanding of an Indigenous culture's song types requires some very fine distinctions to be made.[38]

The matter of Indigenous musical aesthetics pertains more to a song's reception than to its classification; but here, again, fine discriminations are necessary. There is an incipient literature on the topic,[39] and a good overview in Stubington (2007:115-120). It is worth noting, however, that this literature focuses largely on performance aesthetics rather than on Indigenous discourse around the 'texts' – that is, the words or musical structures in themselves, independent of their performance.

Many types of Aboriginal song are 'interauthorial'.[40] For example, a song received in a dream, wholly or partly, is rehearsed as soon as possible with the dreamer's immediate associates, who act as a kind of editorial committee, collaborating with dreamer to make the song performable. The

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[38] Anderson (1995:13-17) provides a good example.

[39] See, for example, R. Moyle (1979:71), Clunies Ross (1986:258-260, 1989), Grau (2000, 2004), Neuenfeldt and Costigan (2004), Barwick (2005), Corn and Gumbula (2007), Turpin (2007), Walsh (2007:133). The topic of aesthetics is more frequently discussed in relation to Aboriginal visual and plastic arts; see, for example, Morphy (1989) and, for a comparative perspective, the contributors to Coote and Shelton (1992) and Pinney and Thomas (2001).

[40] I have borrowed this concept from Michael Frishkopf, who defines the interauthor as 'a social network of textual producers' (2003:85).

language of this 'pre-performance discourse' no doubt includes criteria for the evaluation of the linguistic and musical texts, but these criteria have rarely been explicitly addressed in the literature.

The matter is complicated by the fact that a song's cultural appropriateness is likely to be judged largely in terms of social relationships or mythical narratives rather than the text's structural features. Nonetheless, it is probably safe to assume that what Stubington (2007:120) says of Aboriginal performance aesthetics is also true of the aesthetics of composition: 'the material for discrimination is there and Aboriginal musicians do discriminate.'

Thematic synopsis of the chapters

The chapters in this volume take a variety of perspectives on song revitalisation, and the strategies they describe or propose involve a wide range of contexts. Nonetheless, in this diversity there are some common themes. For the purposes of this brief summary, I treat each chapter as having particular relevance to one of the four essential processes into which Indigenous musical culture can be analytically divided, namely: composition, adaptation, performance and transmission. Needless to say, these are so closely interwoven that most of our authors touch on at least several of them. Still, the particular emphases that emerge from the individual chapters suggest the kind of topical arrangement that follows.

I begin with the relatively disregarded topic of **COMPOSITION**. John Sloboda (1985:103), referring to the field of music psychology, has observed that 'composition is the least studied and least well understood of all musical processes, and . . . there is no substantial literature to review' (see also Impett 2009). This is no doubt also true in the field of ethnomusicology. In his introduction to a special issue of *The World of Music* devoted to the music of Indigenous North America, Richard Keeling (1992:3) observes that Native American composition processes 'are so different in concept and method that they challenge our assumptions about the nature of music itself'. He proceeds to sketch out these processes, and sums them up as 'three separate but related ideas concerning the relationship between the singer and the song' (Keeling 1992:9):

(1) Spontaneous origin. The idea that a song comes to a person all at once, in a relatively complete form, through a dream or vision;
(2) Separate existence. The belief that a song has a separate existence or has always existed, possibly deriving from a sacred period before humans existed; and
(3) Representation or mimesis. The concept that the song can serve as a medium which captures the spiritual essence of a vision or important personal experience.

While it seems likely that Aboriginal people have analogous notions about the nature of music and its creation, the matter has rarely been explicitly addressed.

Composition in Indigenous Australia can be considered from two distinct but complementary perspectives. One approach analyses the externally observable techniques of musical, verbal and movement art on the basis of live performances or recordings or written texts. The other approach concerns itself with the cultural modelling of the processes involved in the conceiving and actualising of a song. These 'subjective' operations take place largely outside the purview of researchers and are often difficult for a song's originators to explain – particularly to an outsider. They may also have very little to do with the usual Western concept of 'composition'. Anthony Seeger (2005:81-82) writes, of the origin of a particular song among the Suya of Mato Grosso, Brazil: 'There is no one in this process of song creation that resembles the European notion of a composer . . . If the song can be traced to anything, it is to the savannah deer spirit'. The situation in Indigenous Australia is similar,

and this has led some writers to avoid the terms 'composition' and 'composer'. Marett (2000), for example, uses 'song-creation' rather than 'composition', and Nancarrow and Cleary (this volume, Chapter 10) use 'dreamer' and 'receiver' (of song) in preference to 'composer'.

There have been a number of fine analyses of the observable technical skills involved in an Indigenous 'composer's' work, but the processes involved in 'receiving' a song are generally mentioned only in passing, if at all, and, with a few notable exceptions (such as Dussart 2000:145-176; Marett 2000; Stubington 2007:98-120)[41], have not often been the subject of focused research. This points to a broader lack of attention to the nature of the soundscapes that Indigenous Australians inhabit; that is, to the role of sound, and, more specifically, vocalisation, in their understanding of the world.

The work of Gary Tomlinson[42] provides some excellent illustrations, from different cultures and historical periods, of the difficulties encountered by 'modern Westerners' in appreciating that their own sound world is specific and unique, just one of many, and that the role of language and song in other cultures needs to be understood in terms of the broader role of sound itself. A thorough application of such an approach to the aural distinctiveness of Indigenous Australian cultures is clearly beyond the scope of these preliminary remarks. Nonetheless, for present purposes, the Aboriginal sound world could perhaps most succinctly be characterised as an 'audible map', in which every sound, of whatever origin, is a kind of vocal inscription waiting to be interpreted.[43] Of particular importance are the sounds received in dreams and visions – that is, sounds that are not audible to an observer. These are the sounds that become songs once the dreamer brings them into waking reality and performs them.

This perspective is taken up in **Wafer**'s contribution (Chapter 9), which elaborates a rationale for revitalising Aboriginal singing practices by means of the traditional but endangered technique of composition through dreams. The author argues that, in spite of the widespread ideology of passivity in the composition process, which emphasises the role of spirits as the originators of song, there is good evidence that at least some Aboriginal cultures have techniques for what could be called 'song incubation'. These processes enable the songperson to be actively involved in the 'reception' of a song. The chapter is broadly concerned with the question of how local sound worlds can be 're-animated' through reconnecting songs with place, and it illustrates these points through the analysis of a particular song-text from the Hunter Valley that appears to be of oneiric origin.

But this account of traditional composition methods presents just one side of the two-way process of song revitalisation. On the other side are the techniques based on music literacy, as used in Australia's mainstream education system. The notion of 'two-way schooling' was formulated by Stephen Harris in 1990 and has since provided the basis for ongoing discussions around bicultural education, in which Indigenous participants have come to play a leading role. Outcomes of this discourse include the Ganma Curriculum, as developed by Yolngu of Eastern Arnhem Land, and the Milpirri Festival, which had its origins among Warlpiri of Central Australia. Wanta Steve Jampijinpa Patrick (2015:123) sketches out the

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[41] See also Walsh (2007:333 and 140 n.2) for a listing of others who have written on the topic of Aboriginal song acquisition.

[42] In particular Tomlinson (2007) – but see also the works of 1993 and 2015.

[43] To give an example: Gumbaynggirr Elder Tony Perkins was told 'never to throw a pipi shell, as the high-pitched whistle that resulted could generate harmful consequences' (quoted in McDonald, this volume. See also Somerville and Perkins 2010:28). This kind of taboo on random auditory inscription is paralleled by similar constraints on marking the visible landscape. Galarrwuy Yunupingu was told by his father 'that if I made a mark, or dig, with no reason at all, I've been hurting the bones of the traditional people of that land. We must only dig and make marks on the ground when we perform or gather food' (quoted in Vaarzon-Morel 2016a:208).

connections in a recent article, where he says, 'Our inspiration for *Milpirri* comes from the way that *ga<u>n</u>ma* – a place where two rivers meet – is used by the Yolŋu of eastern Arnhem Land as a model for their intercultural and educational interactions with other peoples and cultures.'

The 'two-way' concept (though not necessarily under that name) has been applied to music pedagogy since the founding of CASM[44] in 1972 (Ellis 1979a). No doubt it continues to be implemented there and in some Indigenous schools, and possibly in other places, such as Boonderu Music Academy (in Roebourne, WA) and Winanjjikari Music Centre (in Tennant Creek). But the published accounts of such projects are scarce. There is no lack of data about rates of alphabetic literacy across the length and breadth of Indigenous Australia,[45] but the topic of music literacy in the education of Aboriginal students is rarely mentioned, and then only in passing (e.g. Tait et al. 2010:146, 149, 153). I have been unable to find any detailed studies or statistics, which suggests there are a number of research gaps in this area that are waiting to be filled.

Nonetheless, there are indications that rates of Indigenous music literacy are likely to increase. I base this assertion on several factors. One is that Aboriginal singers and instrumentalists from remote communities have become regular participants in dialogues with musicians whose work is informed by the literacy-based musical conventions that originated in Europe. Genevieve Campbell's Chapter 13 in the present volume illustrates a case where this is happening on a local level. No doubt there are other such interactions happening around the country, though most of them remain undocumented. An example on a national scale is provided by the 'Encounters' symposium hosted by Queensland Conservatorium in 2005, which brought together Indigenous and non-Indigenous composers and performers from around Australia for 'a week-long exploration of 200 years of interaction in Australian music between Indigenous and European cultures' (Catt and Lancaster 2005:8; see also Wolfe, Plush and Schippers, 2005).

Another factor is that music-based education methods are increasingly being recognised for their ability to improve outcomes in language learning and literacy for Aboriginal children (e.g. Cotton 2011). And, finally, the overall importance of music in Indigenous societies seems likely to ensure that community members will make use of all available resources, including music literacy, to sustain their musical cultures.

So, although the present volume is focused on traditional singing practices, this emphasis does not preclude a 'two-way' approach that recognises the actual or potential usefulness of non-traditional means (such as music literacy and digital technology) in the revitalisation of these practices. If we look ahead to a time when two-way music education has become more widely established, it will be important for aspiring professional musicians, budding music teachers and potential composers in Indigenous communities to be able to develop their skills in description and analysis through the study of their own music. It is in the light of these considerations that I include here, under the rubric of 'composition', two chapters that use the methods of music literacy to analyse the technical skills involved in the creation of particular songs and song types.

The chapter by **Brown and Evans** (Chapter 12) deals with a songset from western Arnhem Land that uses a number of different languages, including untranslatable spirit dialects. In the case of some of the songs, their contemporary performance constitutes the only current active usage of the relevant languages. The authors concern themselves not just with the kind of analysis necessary to interpret the meaning of the songs and establish the nature of the linguistic material. They also outline the factors that create the 'aural identity' of the songset. Their account focuses on 'rhythmic mode'; that is, the way the tempo and rhythmic pattern of the clapstick beat is coordinated with the vocal and didjeridu rhythms. They recognise that dreamed songs are susceptible to innovation, and their account provides

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[44] The Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (University of Adelaide) – see above.

[45] See, for example,
https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/education/aboriginal-literacy-rates#axzz4i8zCGyJq
[accessed 30 August 2017].

important insights into both the formal aspects of the novel elements and the rationale that underlies them.

The chapter by **Laughren, Turpin and Turner** (Chapter 6) adopts a similar approach to a group of traditional songs that were performed by William Rookwood in 1965 and recorded by Elwyn Flint. The songs come from a region (central Queensland) for which the musical information is otherwise very limited. The authors' analysis of the formal features of these songs enables a comparison with the characteristic attributes of Central Australian music, which has a much larger corpus and has been more extensively studied. On this basis, the authors are able to provide insights into what the two regions share musically and how they differ. This kind of approach, with its detailed examination of the structure of text, rhythm and melody, and the relationships between them, is important not only for the revitalisation of songs that are no longer performed, but also for understanding regional features.

McDonald's Chapter 7 is broadly devoted to surveying the literature on Aboriginal music in south-eastern Australia, but I discuss it at this point, within the broad topic area of 'composition', because it includes a section on 'song creation' that gives a rare comparative perspective on the processes involved. McDonald cites a distinction between receiving (and inducing) songs through dreams[46] and composing them in the 'ordinary way', although even the 'ordinary' practices possibly involve certain habitual, semi-ritualised, techniques for inducing a song (such as lying on one's back on the land, to 'make contact with the power' of the country). McDonald also touches on such aspects of the matter as 'group composition', as well as the intersection of these traditional methods of receiving song with the metaphysics of Christianity. The chapter, being a survey, has a much broader focus than just song creation, and covers also such matters as musical instruments, dance forms, song types, and musical education, as deduced from the surviving records of Indigenous music in the south-east. It also provides a useful discussion of the practical and theoretical problems involved in dividing Australia's Indigenous musical cultures into regions.

There is an aspect of composition that I have separated out for special attention as a topic area, and I treat it under the rubric of **ADAPTATION**.[47] This concept bears on variations in the cultural appropriateness of innovations in the development of new repertoire. How do Indigenous people negotiate the gap between the social expectations that would have surrounded song creation in the past and those that are operative in the in the early 21st century? As mentioned, our focus on 'traditional' song styles in the present volume means that we have not attempted to include 'modern' Indigenous music *per se*. Nonetheless, several of our contributors deal with the ways Indigenous Australians are using traditional song material in the creation of novel cultural forms, and how these hybrid genres can contribute to song revitalisation by adapting ancestral practices. This approach necessarily entails taking into account not just the 'source' songs themselves, whether they survive in active memory or in some archival form, but also their role in the sound world that produced them. This is what Gary Tomlinson (2015:63-99, 269-278 and *passim*) calls 'the taskscape'; that is, the 'work' the songs were intended to accomplish in their original cultural context.

Campbell's Chapter 13 provides a good example of the openness to experimentation and synthesis that characterises the Top End of the Northern Territory (as noted by Ottosson 2015:50). On Bathurst and Melville Islands, a large collection of ancestral song items dating back to 1912 has been used as the basis for a revitalisation project that brings together Tiwi and non-Tiwi musicians to create 'duets' with the recorded voices of deceased Tiwi songpersons. This enables the musicians to explore notions of improvisation and

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[46] Receiving songs in dreams is also mentioned in the chapters by Sharpe (3), Wafer (9), Nancarrow and Cleary (10) and Brown and Evans (12).

[47] See Sanders (2006:17-25) for a helpful overview of the theoretical literature, and Glaskin (2010, 2011) for an Australian case study.

performance intuition that fit well with traditional Tiwi uses of singing. As the author notes, 'extemporisation within cultural, linguistic and musical frameworks is fundamental to Tiwi song practice, with perhaps its most defining feature being the composition of text specific to a song's performance and audience context'. In the case of this project, the genre (a jazz-based hybrid) and the context (the recording studio) are new, but both maintain significant continuity with traditional practices.

The interaction of ancestral and more recent musical forms is again the focus in Chapter 8. This contribution by **Kelly and Harkins** provides an exemplary account of musical adaptation on the east coast. The authors focus on a song recorded at Bellbrook (northern New South Wales) in the 1960s, which has hitherto resisted interpretation, and they succeed in showing that the text is a complex interplay of words and phrases from an ancestral language (Thangatti~Dhanggati), New South Wales Pidgin and Aboriginal English. Their exegesis is made possible by Kelly's local cultural background knowledge, which enables the 'work' of the song to be established and something of its sound world to be reconstructed. The song is in fact a 'multilingual welcome addressed by a senior man to members of a younger, multicultural generation who are soon to be put through the first stages of formal traditional education'. The analysis shows the creative response of a traditionally educated Elder[48] to a new context, where he needed to invite young men whose main language was English into a traditionally constituted educational space.

The chapter on Murray Island songs, by **Fairweather**, **Matthias** and **Whaleboat** (Chapter 15), provides an account of the music of a region (the Torres Strait Islands) not included in Moyle's 1966 mapping of Indigenous musical cultures, and it is the only such contribution to the present volume. It is distinctive for a number of other reasons as well. First, it deals with a song corpus that is 'ancestral' in a different way from most of the other repertoires dealt with in this book. The songs are Christian hymns in Meriam Mir (the endangered language of the Island) and Torres Strait Creole. They were brought to the islands by missionaries in the 1870s, but they are 'ancestral' in that generations of ancestors of contemporary Islanders have sung them, and adapted them to their own needs in the process. Second, it exemplifies a case where non-ancestral religious texts have been incorporated into the ancestral repertoire. The songs, in fact, constitute a new cultural form that has become ancestral.

Skinner's Chapter 16 pertains to adaptation in two senses. It is based principally on the surviving corpus of colonial era transcriptions[49] of Indigenous songs, which are themselves adaptations of Indigenous music made by non-Indigenous people. Skinner considers their potential as a resource for song revitalisation, which implies a further step in the process of adaptation. There are fewer than 150 surviving notations of Aboriginal music from this period, and they have been widely impugned as unreliable, and also as tainted by the colonial attitudes of the time. But Skinner believes that this unique evidence simply cannot be ignored, and proceeds to demonstrate an approach that enables usable musical data to be extracted from it. His case is partly based on a comparison of the various early written sources for the Tasmanian song 'Popela' with the wax cylinder recordings made of the same song in 1899 and 1903. He is able to show that there are hitherto unsuspected consistencies across the various versions, and that these enable a 'restoration' with enough reliability to serve the purposes of song revitalisation. This approach, based on taking into consideration a range of evidence from different fields, is widely applicable to the sources from the colonial era, even in those cases (the great majority) where there are no sound recordings.

The 19th century musical data are organised schematically in the bibliographic chapter that **Skinner** has contributed, in collaboration with **Wafer** (Chapter 17). This chapter includes entries for all known notations of Indigenous music (113 in all) that originated in the 19th century. As well, it incorporates analysis and commentaries that provide basic

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[48] In conformity with the Lowitja Institute's style guide (2015:6), I capitalise the noun 'Elder', when it is used as a noun to refer to a senior Aboriginal person.

[49] Skinner also takes into account the (far fewer) wax cylinder recordings from the same period.

contextual information about the transcriptions, to assist in establishing their historical, geographical and linguistic background.

My discussion of the topic area of **PERFORMANCE** opens with the contribution by **Turpin**, whose Chapter 4 illustrates many of the creative processes Indigenous people engage in for the sake of producing a contemporary song–dance series with ancestral roots. The Arrernte women's camp described in the article, which took place in 2015, was a deliberate effort to maintain and revitalise performance traditions, with the assistance of legacy recordings. The camp provided the opportunity for making new recordings, but also led to the discovery of additional song material recorded in an earlier period. The many facets of the event that are dealt with in Turpin's account include such crucial elements as: issues of ownership of recorded material; production and management of documentation; and the procedures involved in the organisation of 'culture camps'. This chapter provides insights into an innovative contemporary approach to creating opportunities for performance revitalisation.[50]

Chapter 10, by **Nancarrow** and **Cleary**, deals with a related approach, namely, the cultural festival. The chapter shows how festivals are integrated at Mornington Island with a number of allied activities, including culture camps, school classes and recruitment for the local performance troupe, which has toured nationally and internationally over many years. The discussion of 'authenticity' is of particular interest. This issue became a matter of deliberation for the performance troupe as a result of taking traditional songs and dances on tour and performing them publicly.

This bears on what Tomlinson (2007:51) refers to as the '*supraperformative* level, where we can glimpse not so much the specific manner in which a song was presented as what work its performance was expected to achieve'. What is crucial here is the nature of the criteria applied to the song's realisation, which underlie not just the means it uses to convey the 'aesthetic' tone appropriate to its social context, but also the desired social goals.

Apart from arguing for a broadening of the notion of 'authenticity', the authors also cover the issues of ownership of song material and the management of related documentation. But they make the important point that these organisational aspects of song revitalisation should not obscure the crucial element: 'an individual's commitment to a face-to-face teaching relationship with an elder songman'.

Sharpe's contribution on the Ngadiji ceremony, in Chapter 3, describes a context, in and around Borroloola (NT), where the opportunities for performance revitalisation occur mainly in the course of public events, such as the procession during NAIDOC week[51], and at festivals organised in other places. Sharpe notes that, even as 'more contemporary styles are competing for audience, performers and mental space', Ngadiji continues to be performed. She provides historical background on the ceremony, which could bear on its ongoing popularity. It has the formal characteristics of a women's ceremony from Central Australia, but its mythological theme justifies the participation of men and boys. Sharpe also analyses the melodic contours, the song language and the movement types and provides a substantial videoed example.

The contribution by **Hercus** and **Koch** (Chapter 5) considers performances that are at present lying dormant in recordings and have not yet been the subject of revitalisation activities. More specifically, it deals with songs recorded from solo singers, those who were

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[50] It is worth noting as well that the camp made possible the kind of large community discussions that provide the catalyst for innovation. Myfany Turpin (pers. com.) considers it likely that the idea of deliberately creating new songs (as illustrated by M. K. Turner's song on the cover of this volume) was a result of these discussions.

[51] NAIDOC Week is a national celebration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history, culture and achievements, held annually in the first full week of July. See http://www.naidoc.org.au/ [accessed 30 August 2017].

the last, or among the last, to remember songs from various parts of central and south-eastern Australia, including a long series of history songs from the Lake Eyre district. The article focuses on a comparison with material recorded in its original collective context, which may, in some cases, still reflect current performance practices. This discussion raises a number of practical and theoretical issues relating to archived performances of this type. There is no doubt also a call to revitalisation here, in that 'the Lone Singers on many occasions said that they were sorry for the verses because in the future there would be no one left to sing them and to remember them'.

The call to revitalisation has been answered in different ways in different parts of Australia, and the chapters I group next, under the topic of **TRANMISSION**, illustrate the variety of approaches. I begin my review of this topic with a chapter by an Indigenous scholar from the south-west of Western Australia who is working to revitalise his own people's song traditions, **Bracknell**'s Chapter 1. The author makes the point that, because learning a song is easier than attaining fluency in a language, it is a very direct means of bringing an endangered language back into use, and this has benefits in terms both of pedagogy and of Indigenous empowerment. He uses as the illustrative example his own work with the Nyungar language revitalisation project, and focuses on several key issues, including differences between spoken language and song language, and also the matter of 'authenticity' that we have seen addressed in other chapters. He also formulates a perspective on his own work that is relevant to all of us working towards song revitalisation. It is so succinct that it is worth reproducing here. He observes that his 'interpretation of meaning in Nyungar song texts can by no means be considered authoritative, but may be better conceptualised as entering into dialogue with the archive, the endangered language and the song tradition'.

Chapter 11, by **Brown**, **O'Keeffe**, **Manmurulu**, **Manmurulu** and **Singer**, concerns itself with western Arnhem Land, specifically with the community of Warruwi, 'where multiple small languages are still being spoken and song and dance traditions performed and passed on to children'. One of this chapter's major insights is that language revitalisation necessarily entails consideration of the relevant community's values with regard to language. Through a collaborative project that involved Indigenous musicians and educators as well as musicologists and linguists, the authors have been able to show that it is the creation and maintenance of linguistic and musical diversity that is valued by the community, rather than just the transmission of individual languages or song traditions. The paper also focuses on the extension of common meanings in the idiomatic (and often metaphorical) terminology of song and dance practices.

The chapter by **Treloyn** and **Dowding** (Chapter 2) takes an ethnographic approach to a contemporary song revitalisation project that uses high-tech methods to get archival material back into circulation. It details the social processes and digital technologies involved in the transmission of a genre of public solo songs that is called *Thabi* in several languages of the Pilbara (WA). These songs thrived in the period from the 1930s to the 1960s but are now endangered. Over recent years younger members of the community, including Dowding, have been active in revitalising the Thabi tradition, partly through preserving Elders' knowledge and instigating performances, and partly through repatriating legacy recordings and making them serviceable for song revitalisation purposes. In this case, the availability of the new technologies has coincided with the emergence of a generation, in Roebourne and associated communities of the north-west, who realised the urgency of maintaining and continuing performance practices that were at serious risk of being lost. They have seized the opportunities afforded by connectivity via the internet and mobile phones to bring the songs back into active use. This account is likely to become increasingly relevant to other Indigenous communities as digital technologies become more widespread.

The contribution by **Emberley**, **Treloyn** and **Charles** (Chapter 14) focuses on the active role of children and young people in motivating generational transmission of the *Junba* dance repertoire and of the songs that are essential to it. In their preparations for the annual cultural festival at Mowanjum, in the Kimberley (WA), the rising generation has taken a

keen interest in researching and practising Junba dances that have fallen from the contemporary canon. They make use of archival photographs as well as video and audio recordings to prompt their Elders to recall and perform the songs that accompany the dances. The discussion situates the revitalisation of Junba in the context of pedagogical concerns about 'disconnections in the educational worlds of children' – in this case, a disjuncture between home communities (and Country) and the classroom. This is a problem that confronts many Indigenous communities throughout Australia, and the chapter provides a helpful overview of the theoretical and practical considerations involved in attempts to solve it.

Conclusion: of sonic spiritscapes and the Gatling gun

'Country' has always been the focus of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander political activism, and in the last half century this has resulted in the legal recognition of Indigenous prior occupation of Australia and the return of large areas of land through federal and state legislative processes (Tanner 2008). Connection to place has also been at the heart of a parallel cultural resurgence, as reflected in the proliferation of Indigenous cultural centres, language centres, music centres, keeping places, museums and festivals, and the programs and projects they support (Simpson 2007:163-169).

At the same time, Indigenous people from around the world have been organising themselves as a coherent international force, and their calls for greater control of their own affairs, extending to claims for political sovereignty, are substantially based on their historical and existential relationship to particular areas of land (Dirlik 2011). Music has played a role in Indigenous strategies for bringing about these changes, at both an international level (Walker 2009) and here in Australia (Dunbar-Hall and Gibson 2008).

These developments have taken place concurrently with what has been called 'the spatial turn'[52] in the world of scholarship, which entails a new 'academic valuing of the local and the oral' (Griffiths 1996:219). Around Australia, scholars, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, have been able to offer support for the reclamation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander links to Country[53], through place-based research in such fields as anthropology, history, genealogy, toponymy, language, music and so on. In the case of musicology, the spatial turn reflects also the emergence of what has been called 'ecomusicology'; that is, 'the study of music, culture, sound and nature in a period of environmental crisis' (Titon 2009:135; see also Pedelty 2011).[54]

The various disciplinary approaches to the relationship between music and place can be roughly divided into those that focus on the impact of sound on the human inhabitants of a place and those that treat sound as actually *constitutive* of place. Approaches of the first type often have a psychological or political orientation: the former in the case of studies that treat music as 'commemoration or evocation of place' (Taylor and Hurley 2015:2), or as a factor in local and individual identity (Stokes 1994); the latter when music (or sound more broadly) is treated as 'a medium for the negotiation of power' (Nooshin 2009:3); that is, as a force capable of being mobilised for an assault on place (Goodman 2010) or in defence of it (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, Pedelty 2016).

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[52] Defined by Warf and Arias (2008:1) as the 'reinsertion of space into the social sciences and humanities'.

[53] When the noun 'country' is used in its distinctively Aboriginal sense, I capitalise it, in conformity with a convention that is becoming increasingly common among Aboriginal people themselves. For an example of this usage, and the reasons behind it, see http://www.visitmungo.com.au/aboriginal-country [accessed 9 May 2017].

[54] Recent developments in human geography (e.g. Hudson 2006) have also played a part in musicology's 'spatial turn'. Jo Guldi has explored the implications of the spatial turn in a number of other disciplines, including anthropology (Guldi n.d.).

The other approach, which treats sound as constitutive of place, can be traced back to Murray Schafer's development of the concept of the 'soundscape' in the 1960s and 70s. Soundscapes are components of the physical structure of places, akin to the geological and biological constituents but less visible. Schafer developed the general hypothesis that 'people in some way echo their soundscape in language and music' (Feld 2003:225) – a notion that has been explored and refined in subsequent ethnographic studies, in particular by Steven Feld:

> Soundscapes, no less than landscapes, are not just physical exteriors, spatially surrounding or apart from human activity. Soundscapes are perceived and interpreted by human actors who attend to them as a way of making their place in and through the world. Soundscapes are invested with significance by those whose bodies and lives resonate with them in social time and space. Like landscapes, they are as much psychical as physical phenomena, as much cultural constructs as material ones . . . (Feld 2003:226).

Feld has illustrated the point in a number of accounts (e.g. 1982, 1996b, 2003) based on his fieldwork with a Bosavi group in Papua New Guinea. For these people, music is constitutive of place in an epistemological sense: it is what makes place humanly knowable. It is in reference to this understanding of the relationship between people and places that Feld (1996b, 2003) invented the term 'acoustemology' (knowledge of the world through sonic means). From an acoustemological perspective, the relationship between humans and sound in Indigenous Australia probably has much in common with what Feld has observed in the case of the Bosavi.[55]

But there is one major difference. For many, perhaps most Aboriginal groups for which we have information, song is not just sound: it is also a kind of living substance that manifests the spiritual essence of a place and of the humans (and other beings) associated with that place. It joins people and place not just through an abstract commonality, such as expressed by the term 'identity', but also through a material 'consubstantiality'.[56] This is the implication of the quote from Eileen McDinny that I have used as an epigraph: 'Everything got a song, no matter how little . . . plant, bird, animal, country, people, everything' (in Bradley with Yanyuwa families 2010:1). Wanta Steve Jampijinpa Patrick (2015:120) has made a similar point: 'Country is expressing itself all the time'.

There are three aspects to this understanding of the world that are worth emphasising: first, Country is animate and intelligent; second, humans are, collectively, part of it, and, individually, extensions of it; and, third, sound (particularly the sound of the human voice) plays a central role in relationships with it. Aboriginal people communicate with Country as with a living being (Harrison and Rose 2010:257), and this happens both silently, in thought and dream, and audibly, in speech and song. John Bradley's commentary (2001:297) on Yanyuwa land management provides an excellent illustration of the role of the audible factors in these people's relationship to Country:

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[55] The explicit encoding of place in musical (as distinct from verbal) language in Aboriginal Australia has been suggested by Catherine Ellis (1985:103-104) and is implied also by Helen Payne's notion of 'aural identification markings' (1978:9; see also Payne 1993:11). The general principle has been summed up by Ellis and Barwick (1987:42) thus: 'we regard it as entirely possible that the formal structures of central Australian musical syntax may function with specific semantic intent.' This probably applies to other Indigenous musical cultures as well, though more research will be required to provide a firm foundation for this somewhat tentative (but highly plausible) hypothesis.

[56] By contrast, most other contemporary soundworlds are characterised by 'schizophonia' and 'separability'. Murray Schafer, who invented the term 'schizophonia' in the 1960s, defined it as 'the split between an original sound and its electroacoustic reproduction' (Schafer 1977:273). In the interim it has undergone a number of conceptual refinements; see, for example, Feld (2011:41). The 'separability principle' is a concept we owe to Lydia Goehr (1992:157). It is the outcome of the historical trajectory that enabled music to be assimilated to the West's museum-based notions of an 'art form', 'estranging the work of art from its original external function so that its artness would now be found within itself' (Goehr 1992:173).

According to the Western viewpoint, management is a one-way process where people do things to country, to look after it and make it productive. But for indigenous people such as the Yanyuwa negotiation is a two-way interaction between people and country. Yanyuwa often simply refer to concepts associated with negotiation as either *Yanyuwangala* or the Yanyuwa way of being; or doing things of *narnu-yuwa*, or Law. It is rare that the processes of negotiation are explicitly stated as such. Rather, the Yanyuwa would describe all the things I am incorporating into the word 'negotiation' by some of the following expressions: *wukanyinjawu ki-awarawu* 'speaking to country', *manhantharra awara* 'holding or embracing the land', *anykarrinjarra ki-awarawu* 'listening to country', *marakamantharra awara* 'making country safe', *yabirrinjarra awara* 'making the country good', and *wandayarra a-yabala ki-awarawu* 'singing the sacred songs belonging to the country'. It should also be noted here that *awara*, which I am translating here as 'country', can mean sea as well as land.

One of the reasons commonly given by Indigenous people for undertaking language revitalisation projects is that 'language is important to talk to country and ancestors' (Walsh 2014:331[57]). If this is true of spoken language, then it is fair to assume that it would apply to song, and to song revitalisation projects, as well.[58] It implies also that these projects are being undertaken not just for the sake of the music itself, but rather as a means of renewing and re-activating relationships with Country. In effect, song revitalisation is a reclamation of sonic spiritscapes.

Denis Byrne, from whom I borrow the term 'spiritscape', has adopted it (Byrne 2010:55[59]) as a means of resisting reductionist approaches to the conservation of 'sacred natural sites',[60] which tend 'to be directed at conserving biodiversity for the sake of biodiversity rather than for its local religious value' (Byrne 2013:158). But the term's strategic utility is not limited to issues of conservation. It also provides linguistic support for resisting the rationalist-instrumentalist language of post-colonialism more broadly. Byrne has drawn out the political implications in his remarks on the rationale behind the 'anti-superstition' campaigns in Asia:

> It is not difficult to see how the landscapes of popular religion in Asia, populated as they are by numerous sites of the divine, each one of which might be considered to be a node of supernatural power, inevitably imposes limitations on the modern state's ambition to dominate space (Byrne 2013:162; see also Byrne 2012).

[57] The other reasons in Walsh's short list are (paraphrasing slightly): reconciliation, right to redress, language as vehicle for culture, language as embodiment of knowledge systems that have been built up over thousands of years (Walsh 2014:331).

[58] As yet there have been no national surveys set up to assess the vitality of local Indigenous musical traditions and community attitudes to their revitalisation – comparable, for example to the two National Indigenous Language Surveys (McConvell, Marmion and McNicol 2005, Marmion, Obata and Troy 2014).

[59] I have not been able to trace the origin of this term. It had been used as early as 2002 by ethnobiologist Cynthia Fowler in relation to 'thirdspace' on the island of Sumba, and shortly afterwards by the archaeologist Ian McNiven in relation to Australian Indigenous seascapes (2003; see also McNiven 2008). Since then it has been pressed into service by other archaeologists working in Australia (e.g. David 2006:137) and elsewhere (e.g. Fitzhugh 2014), as well as by conservationists (e.g. Studley and Jikmed 2016) and Indigenous activists, such as Navajo punk rock singer Jeneda Benally (2012:413). Greer, McIntyre-Tamwoy and Henry (2011:4) eschew 'spiritscape' in favour of 'cosmo-political landscape'.

[60] In 2003, UNESCO held an international workshop on 'the importance of sacred natural sites for biodiversity conservation', which has been followed by a number of publications on 'integrating cultural and spiritual values in conservation management' (Verschuuren 2007; see also Mallarach and Papayanis 2007, Verschuuren, Wild, McNeely and Oviedo 2010, Brockwell, O'Connor and Byrne 2013). Some of the publications in this field (such as Verschuuren, Marika and Wise 2009) include studies of land management in Australia.

Byrne (2010:55) defines 'spiritscape', as 'a spiritual topography . . . which coexists with the physical topography of [the] local landscape'. In Australia, as we have seen, the Indigenous spiritscape's 'material' manifestation is not limited to the visible landscape and but incorporates as well a significant sonic dimension.

A strategy that has been widely adopted in Australia for the reclamation of various aspects of Indigenous culture is 'counter-mapping'.[61] There is an outstanding example in the project undertaken by the Yanyuwa community in the south-west of the Gulf of Carpentaria, with the assistance of John Bradley, 'to map the sacred knowledge . . . into atlas form so that future generations of Yanyuwa people may learn, in part at least, some of the knowledge their old people and ancestors used to manage life and affairs on the savannah lands, islands and sea they call home' (Bradley 2002:8; see also Bradley with Yanyuwa Families 2010). The resulting atlas (Yanyuwa Families, Bradley and Cameron 2003) is probably the most comprehensive counter-map yet to have been produced in Australia. It details the routes of the Yanyuwa songlines and incorporates illustrations of the stories and texts of the songs – but without music.[62] Nonetheless, the widespread adoption of digital technology in Indigenous communities means that future projects of this kind will not be limited to the visual dimension, but will be able to incorporate sound files as well.[63]

Such a development, desirable though it may at first seem for the purposes of song revitalisation, would not be without its own problems, some of which have been touched on by Denis Byrne (2008b:257) in his article on counter-mapping in New South Wales:

> Marginalised peoples are enjoying greater success in getting themselves and their interests onto maps but at the cost of an increasing volume of Indigenous knowledge becoming public domain. Another side effect is that maps are becoming increasingly embedded as privileged forms of spatial knowledge . . . as distinct, for example, from story-telling. A mud-map or sand-map is erased by nature soon after being inscribed; it 'belongs' to the map-maker in the sense that its materiality often lasts only for the duration of a performance. It belongs, in a sense, to the story which in turn belongs to the teller. A digital or printed map on the other hand can be reproduced at will and consumed without reference to the original knowledge-holder.

This cautionary note seems particularly relevant at the present point in time (early 2017), when the proportion of the world's population with internet connectivity is poised to pass 50%.[64] This means

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[61] The term 'counter-mapping' was coined by Nancy Peluso (1995) and has been succinctly defined by Denis Byrne (2008a:609) as the 'tactical deployment of cultural mapping'. For an overview of subsequent developments in the theory and practice of counter-mapping, see Byrne (2008b) and Wood (2010:111-155). Compare also Turnbull (2000), in particular the section on Aboriginal mapping practices (pp. 33-39).

[62] The project of which the atlas is a part includes other components as well, such as a sound archive and a website (Bradley with Yanyuwa families 2010:xiv). The website is incorporated in Monash University's 'Countrylines' archive, at http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/countrylines-archive/ [accessed 30 August 2017]. It includes a number of animations of Yanyuwa dreaming stories, which are narrated in Yanyuwa and incorporate some songs.

[63] In this context it is worth mentioning also the 'Songlines on screen' project (2016). This consists of 10 short films that provide a glimpse of the stories and performance practices associated with the songlines of ten different remote Aboriginal communities. The project was the result of a collaboration between Screen Australia and NITV (see http://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/songlines-on-screen/article/2016/05/25/learn-indigenous-australian-creation-stories-songlines-screen-multimedia-features [accessed 23 February 2017]).

[64] Figures as at May 2017, from http://www.internetworldstats.com/emarketing.htm; see also http://www.itu.int/net/pressoffice/press_releases/2015/17.aspx#.WHV_SFw07IV [both accessed 20 May 2017].

that 3.6 billion people now have access to any data that are publicly available online.[65] Peter Toner (2008: n.p.) has published a helpful article on some of the implications that the digital revolution has for Indigenous intellectual property, and notes the irony of the situation:

> . . . while advocates for the protection of indigenous cultural property may turn to Western intellectual property law for its protection, the classification of indigenous creations as a form of 'property' may itself undermine the cultural foundations on which those creations are predicated.[66]

These are just a few of the double binds inherent in the project of revitalising Indigenous singing practices in the second decade of the 21st century, and we can expect that there will be more as the consequences of current scientific experiments with sound as a form of weaponry begin to unfold. Our present period is witnessing the development of sophisticated sonic technologies in the service of warfare, 'military urbanism' and cybernetic capitalism. We are now all subject to what Steve Goodman (2010:131) has called 'audio virology', usually without even being aware of it.

> As predatory brand environments converge with generative music and consumer profiling, artificial sonic life-forms are released from the sterile viro-sonic labs of digital sound design into the ecology of fear (Goodman 2010:131).

It is hard to know whether Goodman's analysis is exaggeratedly paranoid or not paranoid enough! I include it here as a way of attempting to anticipate some of the pitfalls of the future sonic terrain in which Indigenous song revitalisation projects will be carried out.

Fortunately, Goodman's dystopian vision can be countered, or at least balanced, with more encouraging possibilities. I take heart, for example, from James Maffie's (2009) article on the future prospects of Indigenous knowledges,[67] which proposes a 'global polycentric epistemology'. This consists of:

> a variety of dialogues between mutual epistemological 'others'. Participants ask, 'how may this or that knowledge practice be brought into the service of human well-being?' It admits all varieties of knowledge practices ranging from rational argument and experimentation to dance, song, and ritual performance (Maffie 2009:53).

Maffie's paper was written as refutation of Charles Taylor's argument that 'the superiority of Western technology demonstrates the epistemological superiority of Western science over Indigenous knowledges'. Taylor had used a ditty that alludes to 19th century British imperial forces in Africa as a means of making his point: 'In the end, We have the Gatling gun, and they have not'.

Given the state of international politics at the present time,[68] Maffie's proposal for a global polycentric epistemology could perhaps seem unrealistically utopian. But we need hopeful visions of this kind, as alternatives to the epistemology of the Gatling gun. I suggest that the reclamation of Indigenous sonic spiritscapes could be one such alternative that has the potential to be realisable and

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[65] Another way of putting this would be to say that half the world's population now lives in Cyburbia. I borrow this term from Michael Sorkin (1992:xii), although it has since been used by others. For insights into the human consequences of globalised cybercapitalism, see Berardi (2015).

[66] This point has been elaborated ethnographically by Glaskin (2010, 2011).

[67] Maffie is a pioneer in the field of comparative world philosophy (see Maffie n.d., 1995, 2001, 2014). The article quoted above appears in a special issue of the journal *Futures* devoted to 'futures for indigenous knowledges'. See also the introduction to the special issue by David Turnbull (Turnbull 2009); Turnbull devotes specific attention to Aboriginal knowledge traditions in Turnbull (2000:33-38).

[68] This conclusion was written in January of 2017, and Mr D. Trump had just been inaugurated as president of the United States.

effective in the local circumstances here in Australia. The present volume might be viewed, then, as a small step in supporting and furthering this reclamation.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations used in the text

AIATSIS = Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
HRLM = Hunter River-Lake Macquarie language
NPN = non-Pama-Nyungan
NSW = New South Wales
NT = Northern Territory
PN = Pama-Nyungan
QLD = Queensland
SA = South Australia
TAS = Tasmania
TSI = Torres Strait Islands
VIC = Victoria
WA = Western Australia

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