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W hat kind of a world do ethnomusicologists and the people we study live in? What questions are we asking of that world, of ourselves, and of music makers and music making? It seems to me that for many years ethnomusicologists have been moving toward ever new answers to these questions and that that movement demands yet a third question: What sorts of theoretical frameworks might help us answer the questions we are asking about music in the world as we understand it?

One venerable theoretical framework, dating from Alan Merriam's 1964 *The Anthropology of Music,* seems to construct, in line with the anthropology of the day, a relatively simple world of bounded, isolated, shared cultures and relatively static social structures. The primary questions that arise for ethnomusicology from this worldview concern the relationship of music to other domains of culture and its role (as mirror or agent) in the maintenance or change of social systems. This framework still usefully guides a significant portion of our research, even as we have moved beyond the oversimplified view of the world that it supports. Most ethnomusicologists understand that today's world, the world in which we and our subjects make, understand, and experience music, is either more complex than it used to be, or we are realizing that it was always complex and our ways of thinking about it were too schematic and blinkered.

If we now understand our world as not so simple, but rather as a complex of unbounded, interacting cultures and as consisting crucially of the rapid movement of people, ideas, images, and music over vast distances, then what sorts of questions arise? Ethnomusicology has developed as an omnivorous intellectual arena for asking nearly every conceivable question about music, so a short list of questions will hardly do. But here are a few that respond, in some measure, to our understanding that music making today occurs in a complex, mobile, dynamic world. In what ways does musical

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experience change through time? Why do two people living in the same time and place experience the same music so differently? Why do people of the same ethnic group make such different kinds of music? What happens to musical experience as mediated musical sound shuttles through space? Under what conditions does music change from a pleasant aesthetic experience to a repulsive symbol of a loathsome politics? Why do totalitarian states repress, censor, and even liquidate artists who merely make music and sing songs? When does it become necessary to create a new musical style? Why do Korean-American youth living in Los Angeles love African-American music?

It seems to me that these sorts of questions invite us to move in two directions simultaneously: first, toward more atomized studies of individuals and small groups of individuals linked for perhaps just a moment in time and place by shared beliefs, social status, behaviors, tastes, and experiences of the world (and perhaps not at all by ethnicity); and second, toward understanding these individual beliefs and actions as taking place within a "modern world system" of some sort, a system that at the least challenges, and in some cases seems nearly to obliterate, cultures and societies as "traditionally understood." Although some will be moved to analyze the structure and function (and perhaps culture) of this modern world system, my list of questions points in the direction of individual or small-group musical experience. I seek answers to the general question, how do individuals experience music in modernity, in modern life, in the modern world system.

To help answer this question and the kinds of questions listed earlier, I propose in this paper a "three-dimensional space of musical experience" that should help us write what I call "subject-centered musical ethnography." I suggest that a move away from culture to the subject as the locus of musical practice and experience may provide a fruitful approach to some of the questions about music that our encounter with the modern world leads us to ask.

The Background in Theory and Practice

The broad intellectual context in which many ethnomusicologists now work and which frames this proposal begins with anthropologists' own critique of the culture concept, encapsulated in Lila Abu-Lughod's evocative 1991 article title, "Writing against Culture," and worked out in detail by postcolonial and feminist scholars and critics of ethnographic writing. These critics argue for tension, strain, and contestation among different social and temporal "subject positions" within culture and against the ethnographic construction of an idealized, shared culture among, for example, undifferentiated Balinese or Nuer (see Borofsky et al. 2001 for a recent manifestation of this argument). This translates into a hypothesis that, while aspects

of musical experience may be shared by a sociocultural or ethnic group, important differences will be observed that can be understood through a fine-grained analysis of the shifting temporal, social, and cultural bases of that experience.

A second influential line of thought from anthropology has been the reenvisioning of the world and the call for a reorientation of its study by such scholars as Arjun Appadurai and James Clifford. Appadurai (1996) argues for a newly complex world, one that is "deterritorialized," increasingly made up of wandering migrant laborers, political exiles, war refugees, transnational businessmen, hopeful immigrants, and bourgeois tourists. If "locals" are dislodged by forces beyond their control, those who remain behind are increasingly subjected to products, organizations, and mass-mediated images circulating in an ever-more-globalized economic system. Even though many studies have documented intercultural contact, movement, and subjugations of the local in the more or less distant past (for example, J. L. Abu-Lughod 1989; Braudel 1981–84; Curtin 1984; Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989), Appadurai prefers to argue that earlier forms of translocal processes and capitalist and colonial world systems differ fundamentally from the current situation. In particular, he claims that new technologies of travel and documentation have allowed us to enter a "new condition of neighborliness," where we need theories of "rootlessness, alienation, and psychological distance" driven by "fantasies (or nightmares) of electronic propinquity" (1996:29). Clifford (1997:5), on the other hand, stresses the continuity between past and present conditions of travel and rootlessness and is instead critical of older anthropological paradigms that ignore them, in particular the "classic quest— exoticist, anthropological, orientalist—for pure traditions and discrete cultural differences. Intercultural connection is, and has long been, the norm." If traditional methods were blind to these interconnections, he proposes a new focus on routes rather than roots, on travel rather than dwelling, and on a serious ethnographic encounter with the agents and territories that anthropologists (and ethnomusicologists) encounter on their way to their imaginary, isolated locales: international travel, the city, and the cosmopolitans who visit or reside there, people such as school teachers, missionaries, doctors, government officials, traders, and producers of commercial sound recordings.

While these theoretical repositionings in anthropology have been useful to ethnomusicologists, our understandings have also been reconstituted by our own practice, or more precisely by the practice of those we work with and study, who have caused us to think about the "world of music" in new ways. In particular, the commercial genre known as "world music" has challenged those who study it (for example, Erlmann 1993; Guilbault 1997; Monson 1999). Veit Erlmann has opened up the problem most succinctly for

my purposes by positing a dichotomy between accounting for a world sys-
tem of global/local dialectics and accounting for the experience of that sys-
tem, which he acknowledges are not the same. His theoretical proposals
seemed aimed primarily at understanding and critiquing the system, while my
interest in subject-centered musical ethnography represents a proposal for ap-
proaching the other side of the dichotomy, experience. In doing so I hope to
avoid "the romanticization and mythologization of individual experience and
agency" (1993:7), which in this proposal is neither a stand-in for the local and
therefore tradition as against modernity nor a hopelessly optimistic place for
anti-hegemonic thought and action and a "diversity [that] subverts homoge-
neity" (5). In the end I imagine we would both agree that this dichotomy needs
to be resolved through a synthesis of some kind, and indeed he has moved
toward achieving that synthesis in his more recent work (Erlmann 1999).

"World music" is not the only musical sign of modernity, however, nor
are the challenges it poses to ethnomusicological theory unique to it. Mo-
dernity has also infiltrated, confronted, changed, and invigorated local forms
of music making not yet fully engaged with the global marketplace. Not least
among the problems for musical ethnography has been the challenge of fol-
lowing those we study as they travel around the world. Twenty years ago
while living and working in Toronto, I received a request to borrow some
recording equipment from an American graduate student studying Azorean
song dueling. When I asked why he was not going to the Azores, he replied
that the best singers in the tradition lived in Canada. Thomas Turino (1993)
traveled between the Andean highlands and Lima, Peru, just as those he stud-
ied did. Theodore Levin's (1996) quest to understand Central Asian music
led him to Queens, New York. Jane Sugarman (1997) used her own obser-
vations and Albanian-made videotapes to create a seamless narrative of the
role of wedding music in the creation of Albanian culture in a diaspora that
took her to Western Macedonia, Toronto, and Detroit. Helen Rees (2000)
accompanied local Naxi musicians from China's southwestern border prov-
ince of Yunnan back to her native England to translate for their first interna-
tional tour. She summarizes neatly the temporal, spatial, and conceptual arc
of one musical practice, writing that *Dongjing* music from Lijiang

> . . . has been exalted ritual music, refined secular entertainment, funeral music,
> tool of patriotic and political propaganda, object of musicological interest, em-
> blem of place and ethnicity, and an economic asset in the socialist market
> economy and the tourist trade. Over the last fifty years it has also traveled a tra-
> jectory of geographically widening recognition and significance . . . before 1949
> a music of purely local significance, it gradually gained sporadic recognition at
> provincial and national levels, and since 1988 has achieved national and inter-
> national acclaim through tourist performances, commercial recordings, and
> concert tours to Canton, Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and six Euro-
> pean countries. (2000:193)

Such changes in the uses of music through time and its transportation through space are increasingly reflected in the textures of the musical ethnographies ethnomusicologists are writing.

Equally noteworthy is the jumble of musical and cultural styles we encounter in one place. Bruno Nettl (1983) has long been an advocate of studying all the music of a society, but the conjunction of cultural experiences and musical forms enabling and influencing Kheli Fiedjoe, a fifteen-year-old piano prodigy in Lomé, Togo, challenges us in new ways. The son of two doctors and the student of a teacher educated in philosophy at the Sorbonne, his world consists of "Tupac Shakur meeting Pushkin to a tune by Saint-Saëns, orchestrated by Salif Keita."

> This is the scene: Kheli is in the living room trying to practice. His mom is up on the roof pounding manioc for the fufu [a staple dish] while she recites Buddhist mantras. His dad is sitting in the paillotte [a traditional straw-thatched gazebo] with grandpa, reading The New England Journal of Medicine. His sister is off in France, letting her native Mina [the local language] grow rusty while she pursues a master's degree in business English and Portuguese. His school principal is singing spirituals in a classical soprano, straight out of the Harlem Renaissance. His Lycee Francais buddies are getting ready to go out dancing to soukous and Eurotechno at Privilege, the Lebanese-run disco. The poor boys in his neighborhood are playing barefoot soccer, calling out the names of Nigerian stars who play for top-ranked Dutch clubs. Their sisters are in the market, selling water for four cents a bag from trays on their heads, humming Ivorian makossa, Ghanaian gospel, local traditional Mina tunes, French hip-hop, American R & B. (Steinglass 2001:20)

This mix of cultural and musical styles, in versions now endlessly available around the globe, is made possible by colonialism in the first instance and the ubiquity of electronic media in the second. The simultaneity of every place in one place is another marker, in addition to travel in timespace, of modernity all over the world. Although ethnomusicologists are increasingly narrating such stories, the implications of such narratives for theory and method are just beginning to be elucidated. In what follows, I would like to make some suggestions as a contribution to that discussion.

One of the most ambitious attempts in ethnomusicology to make some general sense of the complexities of music making in the kind of world I have just encapsulated anecdotally is Mark Slobin's *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (1993), a rare and laudable attempt to move beyond the particularism of so many of our musical ethnographies to "frameworks, guidelines, [and] categories" that might aid "a future comparative method" and yet are "open-ended enough to allow for substantial revision and extension" (1993:6). Slobin seems most intent on accounting for the shifting variety of small-group interactions at the local level, while acknowledging that this microlevel, the subcultural as he calls it, is increasingly penetrated by

influences at the intercultural and supercultural macrolevels. Below the sub-
cultural level he is interested in the individual musician or music lover whose
musical experience is formed at the intersection of these three types of
"-cultures" (11). He hopes that readers "will modify, elaborate, or even dis-
card my proposals in a spirit of dialogue" (13).

In that spirit, the proposal I present below responds to four basic issues
that arise for me in Slobin's suggestions. First, though Slobin seems as fasci-
nated by "lived musical experience" as he is by local "musical scenes," the
narrative weight falls on the scenes and "the dynamics of subcultural life"
(38) rather than on individual experience. His characterization, following
Appadurai, of "a planet in flux" (15) seems to capture a fragmentation of
experience that might make a focus on individuals fruitful, and I take as my
starting point Slobin's suggestive epigram, "we are all individual music cul-
tures" (ix). Second, his division of the world into subcultures, intercultures,
and supercultures and his lists of units under these broad categories is help-
ful: at the subcultural level the family, the neighborhood, the organizing
committee, the ethnic group (36) and gender and class; at the intercultural
level the music industry, diaspora, and affinity groups; and at the supercultural
level regions, transregions, nation-states and, after Appadurai, ethnoscapes,
technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes. In my view, these
units (and others that might be suggested) are not simply cultures and cul-
tural but social and geographical (or sociogeographical) locales in which
individuals experience music, along with other things. Third, many of the
conundrums that Slobin uncovers within and between "-cultures" can be
clarified and even resolved by more careful attention to temporality. Tellingly,
only in the "closing thoughts" of the last chapter does he introduce time
systematically, in a three-part classification of the length of "intergroup con-
tact: long-standing, medium-range, and quite recent" (112), and time's ab-
sence is a felt gap throughout the book that I would like to fill in here. Fourth,
Slobin lists the enormous variety of uses and experiences associated with
music. As he puts it, "Music is at once an everyday activity, an industrial
commodity, a flag of resistance, a personal world, and a deeply symbolic,
emotional grounding for people in every class and cranny the superculture
offers" (77). This is an important theme and in what follows I try to push this
line of thinking a bit further.

Subject-Centered Musical Ethnography

My proposal concerning the possibilities for and the structure of subject-
centered musical ethnographies takes seriously Slobin's notion that we are
all individual musical cultures. Although Erlmann (1993:6) worries that such
an approach will result only in "a random collection of ethnoaesthetics," I
think such ethnographies may have some useful theoretical payoffs. One of

the goals of modeling these ethnographies would be to bring some narrative coherence to the complex and seemingly fragmented world that many social theorists, cultural critics, and ethnomusicologists are writing about. That coherence would be situated in subjects' biographies and in the interaction of people occupying slightly different subject positions but interacting in time and place. Structuring musical ethnographies similarly using a model such as I propose below would introduce a modest level of systematicity and reduce the randomness of such an approach. What I emphatically am not suggesting is that subject-centered ethnographies are preferable to those that employ other analytic foci. Rather, it seems to me that it might be one of many ways to bring some order to our research in the crazy quilt of a world described by Appadurai and Clifford and experienced by many of us.

Since my proposal begins with the notion of subject, some discussion of that concept is necessary. Contemporary social theory uses a number of somewhat equivalent terms: person, individual, self, subject, agent, and actor. Different theoretical perspectives inevitably favor one or another of them, and they have different referents and relevance in different cultures (see, for example, Ochs and Capps 1996). It is beyond the scope of this paper to tease out the senses in which these terms are used in different discursive traditions, and in what follows I am going to use them somewhat interchangeably. In general, however, I claim that the subject, self, or individual around whom musical ethnography might be centered is a thoroughly social and self-reflexive being. It is this idea that makes subject-centered (or self-centered!) musical ethnography productive.

In this view, experience is not an inner phenomenon accessible only via introspection to the one having the experience. Rather, experience begins with interaction with a world and with others. For Maurice Merleau-Ponty, experience begins socially and prelinguistically with a body-subject that is "sentient and sensible, it sees and is seen, hears and is heard, touches and is touched" (Crossley 1994). The self is made through an encounter with symbols in the world into which it is "thrown" (Gadamer 1975), the process reaching its culmination with the learning of language, always already given socially, and the development of self-awareness, self-reflexivity, and awareness of others. As Mikhail Bakhtin put it, "we get our selves from others" (in Clark and Holquist 1984). It is this thoroughly social self, subject, or person that is amenable to the kinds of social analyses favored by ethnomusicologists. Biography or subject-centered ethnography then becomes not a documentation of individuality and creative genius (though it could be that) but an account of the social "authoring" (to use Bakhtin's trope) of the self.

If the self is inherently social, Anthony Giddens (1991:1) extends the argument relevantly for my project by claiming that self-reflexivity and narratives of the self are conditions of "high" or "late" modernity in which traditional "habits and customs" are "undercut." In his view tradition gave to

people their habitus, status, and roles, in the process limiting their ability to structure a self outside these given frameworks. Modernity on the other hand knocks down these traditional underpinnings and requires all of us to construct reflexively our biographies from a wide array of choices not available in traditional societies. Life-style choice becomes not a trivial accoutrement of the bourgeoisie but crucial for everyone living in modernity (5). "What to do? How to act? Who to be? These are focal questions for everyone living in circumstances of late modernity—and ones which, on some level or another, all of us answer, either discursively or through day-to-day social behaviour" (70). The self-reflexive project of self-identity in modernity, understood as a social process, provides the rationale and foundation for subject-centered musical ethnography. Not coincidentally, the acknowledgement of our self-reflexivity as scholars has shifted the focus of some recent musical ethnographies to individuals (or sets of individuals), their self-understandings, and the interpretation of their musical practices by interested others (for example, Bakan 1999; Friedson 1996; Rice 1994; Stock 1996; Titon 1988; see also Stock 2001 for an overview of issues concerning the ethnomusicological study of individuals).[1]

Three Dimensions of Musical Experience

My proposal for subject-centered musical ethnography posits for each subject, person, or individual a three-dimensional space of musical experience. The three dimensions of this imaginary, ideal space are time, location, and metaphor (Figure 1).

Figure 1. A three-dimensional space of musical experience and ethnography.

MUSICAL
METAPHORS

TIME

LOCATION
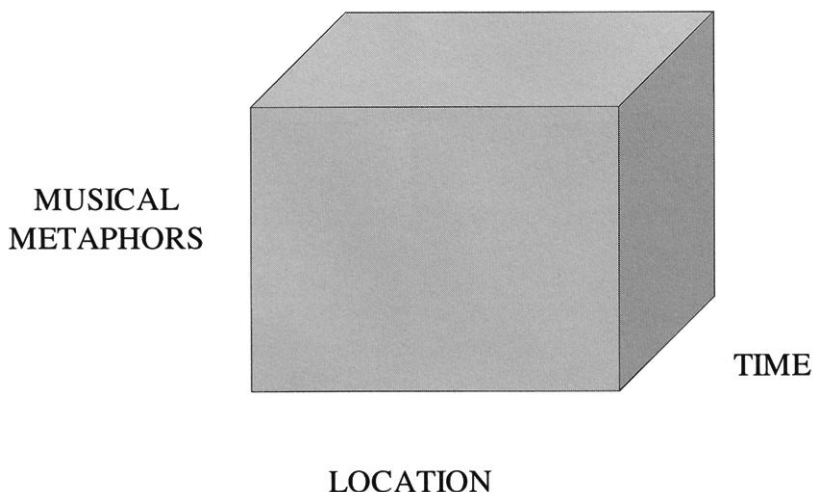
This space is ideal in two senses. First, three or more orthogonal dimensions define and construct "space" in formal, mathematical terms, a concept of space given to us by Newton and Leibniz. Second (and a corollary of the first point), it is an ideational space for thinking about musical experience, not the place in which musical experience happens. Musical experience occurs "really" in a material world of sonic vibrations, interacting bodies, and socially organized physical places and locales, a concept of space given to us by Aristotle as natural and by Kant as constructed (Curry 1996). So in this paper I use "space" in its abstract mathematical sense to define an arena of analysis, not in its common usage as "distance extending in all directions." "Location" is the name of an axis in this abstract "space" of musical experience, and "place" and "locale" refer to real ("natural") and constructed nodes along the location axis.

That time and place are foundational for human existence, and by extension musical experience, was established in the European philosophical tradition during the first half of the twentieth century through the independent work on human existence in Bakhtin's dialogism (Bakhtin et al. [1919] 1990), Martin Heidegger's ontology ([1927] 1962), and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology ([1945] 1989). To account for specifically musical experience we need a third dimension. This dimension, I suggest, consists of metaphors that make claims about the nature of music and that bring music closer to other domains of human experience. These metaphors ideologically ground the behavioral, interpretive, and discursive strategies that put those claims into practice. Using such a three-dimensional model as a heuristic position or lens through which to view musical experience from different subject positions and to follow the life histories of individuals encountering the social in an ever-lengthening and often changing dimension from the local to the global (and back again), we should be able to ask and answer the kinds of questions listed above.

Here is a brief overview of each of these dimensions.

Location

Social theory in the last fifteen years or so has been characterized in part by a renewed interest in ideas of space, place, and location, perhaps because the comfortable spatial constructs of traditional disciplines no longer seem adequate. The anthropologists' society or village and the sociologists' class or nation-state have been exceeded by the movements of those they study. Geographers are reshaping their discipline by no longer taking space as natural, immutable, and fixed but understanding it as a social construction, a projection of the social in space, and as dynamic as time itself (May and Thrift 2001).

Since ethnomusicologists typically have gone to a place to study (though multisited ethnographies such as those cited earlier are increasingly com-

mon), our practice or conceptualization of practice may blind us to the real-
ization that we and our subjects increasingly dwell not in a single place but
in many places along a locational dimension of some sort. Musical experi-
ence may be the product of and contribute to the making of many "places"
in space (Feld and Basso 1996; Stokes 1994). My proposal responds to the
growing understanding that our and our subjects' experiences are no longer
contained within local, isolated cultures or even within nation-states but are
and have been shaped by regional, areal, colonial, and global economics,
politics, social relations, and images. The global and the local have become
a cliché of recent locational analysis in ethnomusicology, but the locational
dimension contains many other positions that powerfully impact musical
experience (for recent examples, see Berrian 2000 and Forman 2002).

At least three ways of viewing space, in the sense of distance or expanse,
have been proposed recently. Appadurai (1996:46), for example, thinks the
shape of space in the modern world is "fundamentally fractal," not Euclid-
ean, and therefore needs to be explained by something close to chaos theory.
Second, geographers speak of space itself as fundamentally multidimensional:
as real and perceived, as phenomenal and behavioral, as ideal and material,
as container or network or grid (Curry 1996:3). Third, Edward Soja
(1989:149) speaks of the "the nodality of social life, the socio-temporal clus-
tering or agglomeration of activities around identifiable geographical centers
or nodes." Here he has in mind a set of nested "locales" that "provide set-
tings of interaction . . . These settings may be a room in a house, a street
corner, the shop floor of a factory, a prison, an asylum, a hospital, a definable
neighbourhood/town/city/region, the territorially demarcated areas occupied
by nation-states, indeed the occupied earth as a whole. Locales are nested at
many different scales and this multilayered hierarchy of locales is recogniz-
able both as social construct and a vital part of being-in-the-world" (148–49).
"Locale" and "place," the latter as explicated by Edward S. Casey (1996), have
similar meanings and import in the location dimension posited here.

The location dimension I am proposing responds best to this last image
of nested settings, places, locales, and nodes of social and musical behavior,
but it keeps in mind the dialectic of real and imagined suggested by the sec-
ond approach. From the point of view of the subject, these locales can be
material and face-to-face or they may constitute "imagined communities" in
extralocal settings from the regional to the national to the diasporic to the
global. Other potentially productive locales, imagined by scholars, might be
used in the model as well: border areas as cultural spaces; Appadurai's
"-scapes"; the center and the periphery; and so forth. The crucial aspect of
this dimension is that we and our subjects live and experience music socially
in multiple locales, and our musical ethnographies must take this into ac-
count. Equally important, this sociogeographical dimension is not a

procrustean bed of naturally given places. It is rather a way to think about
and plot out the multiple social settings in which people produce, experi-
ence, and understand music. This "sense of place" varies from person to
person, time to time, and narrative to narrative. Understanding this dimen-
sion as in flux, nested, dynamic, multiple, and constructed is one way to deal
with real-world complexity without giving in to Appadurai's fractals and
chaos theory.

   In using this framework, the nodes on this dimension will inevitably vary
with each application. For example, for my analytic purposes, I have found
it useful to posit a set of nested nodes that seem to influence musical expe-
rience, on one hand, and to themselves be constructed in part by musical
practice on the other: the individual, subcultural, local, regional, national,
areal, diasporic, global, and virtual (Figure 2). Though these spaces can re-
fer to on-the-ground realities, they may be equally important for musical
experience as constructed mental locales in which musicians and their au-
diences imagine themselves experiencing music.

   Most of these locales or places are self-explanatory, but I will comment
on each of them briefly here. The individual comes into play when selves or
subjects understand themselves as isolated or unique, perhaps in opposition
to culture and society or in an especially creative moment; a variant of this
notion at this level of analysis might be the body considered as a node of
musical experience. The subcultural refers to parts of societies, defined so-
cially by gender, class, race, ethnicity, age, occupation, interests, and so on.

Figure 2. Some nodes in a space of musical experience.
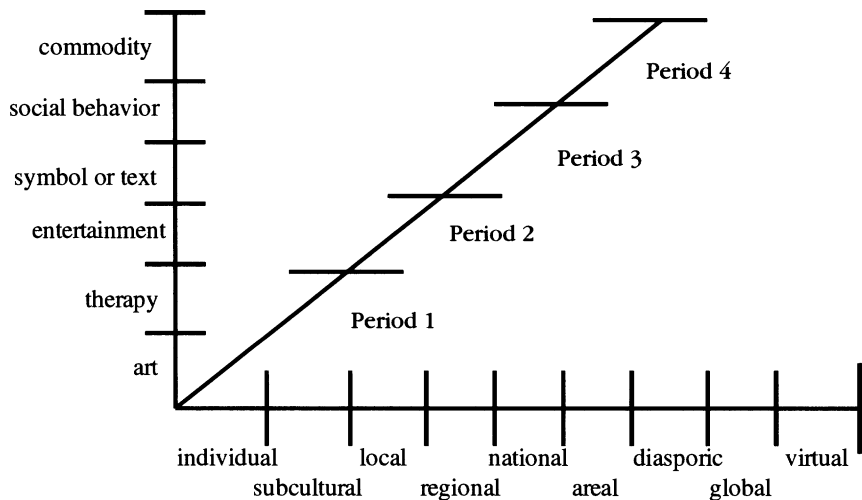
Geographically this position includes the "locales" or "places" where these subcultural behaviors are performed: the home, the workplace, the neighborhood, the schoolyard, the market, the club, and the dancehall. The local is a geographical metaphor for the social and cultural units traditionally studied by ethnomusicologists, particularly in places that enable face-to-face interaction: for example, a people, a culture, a society, a village, or a town. The regional refers to extralocal constellations of villages or groups that are constructed by scholars or reported on by locals, for example, the South, Northumberland, the Prairies. The national refers to the nation-state, its policies and practices, and the discourses that allow its citizens to imagine it. The areal refers to parts of the world that are thought to have a shared historical experience such as Latin America, the former French colonies of Africa, and formerly communist Eastern Europe. The diasporic refers to the sense of connectedness among populations with a common origin but dispersed widely across the globe, the Jewish people providing the archetypal case (Shelemay 1998). The global refers to connections facilitated by commerce, travel, and electronic media among otherwise different people around the world. For example, "Real Punks" produce very similar sounding music whether from the U.S., England, Japan, South America, Bulgaria or Indonesia; publishing their views in a fanzine called *Punk Planet,* they "do not conceive of themselves as having an imagined homeland," but rather as "an inherently global community that supercedes local and national boundaries" (Rodel 2002). The virtual refers to the possibilities for a kind of disembodied existence and experience in places created by the electronic internet, where, for example, musical communities coalesce in their devotion to "folk music" and the exchange of "mods," that is, binary music files created and played back on computer software (Bryant 1995; Lysloff in press). These are merely suggestions, though perhaps this dimension has the advantage of bringing together and establishing possible relationships among a number of different locational foci in current ethnomusicological research.

Time

There are minimally two ways to think about time. One is chronological and historical; the other is experiential and phenomenological.

History as conventionally written presupposes the ability of the writer to step outside time, observe it passing by, and create an orderly narrative of events. Periodization, which can vary from the microscopic to the macroscopic, is one of the conventional strategies of such an approach to time (Figure 2). Descriptions of musical sounds in succession (a chord progression or a formal analysis) represent a kind of periodization within a performance. Klaus Wachsmann (1982) periodized his listening experience into a first hearing of a piece and subsequent hearings. More typically we periodize

musical styles, grouping a continuous succession of pieces or performances into categories spanning decades and centuries. Sometimes these histories of style are linked to changes in the social maintenance and cultural under-pinnings of music. I take this approach when, for example, I divide the history of Bulgarian traditional music into three periods of economic and social maintenance: (1) the precommunist period of family farming to 1944; (2) the communist period from 1944 to 1989; (3) the postcommunist, democratic, market-economy period from 1989 to the present (Rice 1996). Musical experience changes as these economic and political periods change.

Phenomenologically, musical experience in the present is partly conditioned by inveterate previous experience. Someone living in the present will have a very different experience of Bulgarian music if they knew it in the precommunist period than if they first encountered it in the communist or postcommunist periods. Bringing experience into periodized histories suggests that time doesn't simply pass in a straight, measured line, but in fact is a fundamental aspect of our being and experience in the world (Heidegger [1927] 1962). Music may blandly proceed from beginning to end, from hearing to hearing, from piece to piece, and style to style in the chronological perspective. But in the flux of time, rather than outside it, each new hearing, as Wachsmann pointed out of his hearing and rehearing of a Beethoven piece over many years, contains a new experience. His simple example illustrates the crucial role time plays in musical experience. When we think about longer spans of time, periodized by important social and cultural changes that affect nearly everyone in a particular society or even many of us around the world, then the importance of time for musical experience takes on even greater significance.

The space of musical experience needs to take both views of time into account. The chronological, historical view is most easily represented graphically, as I do in Figure 2. But the way the experience of music changes as the subject moves through time and the way music gives us its own experience of time (measuring it, foreshortening it, stretching it out) need to be a part of the narratives created when using this space of musical experience.

Metaphor

The third dimension consists of beliefs about the fundamental nature of music expressed in metaphors in the form "A is B," that is, "music is x." These beliefs then become the basis for discourses about music, musical behaviors (including all aspects of creativity, reception, performance, and institutionalization), and strategies for deploying these beliefs and behaviors in self-interested ways.

The metaphors I have in mind are not literary tropes, rhetorical devices, or examples of fancy, decorative language. Rather, my view of metaphor is

informed by a turn in twentieth-century analytic and continental philosophy away from a rhetorical view of metaphor toward the claim that it is a key element in human thought and therefore has important epistemological and ontological implications (Johnson 1981). I.A. Richards, a student of rhetoric, initiated this turn in 1936 when he claimed that "metaphor is the omnipresent principle of language . . . Thought is metaphoric, and proceeds by comparison, and the metaphors of language derive from them" (Richards [1936] 1981:50–51). Max Black ([1954–55] 1981), an analytic philosopher, extended Richards's ideas by arguing that metaphors are statements, not words, that extend the meanings of both the "primary subject" (A) and the "subsidiary subject" (B). These subjects are neither labels nor things but "systems of things" with "commonplace" attributes. Since metaphors suppress some details about their subjects while emphasizing others, they "organize our view" of the subjects, create new understandings of both subjects of the metaphor, and contribute importantly to epistemological issues in analytic philosophy. Paul Ricoeur, a philosopher in the continental tradition, elucidated the psychological processes at work when metaphor creates new understandings. He explains that "meaningful metaphoric utterances" occur when "things or ideas that were remote appear now as close . . . what Aristotle called . . . the transfer of meaning is nothing else than this move or shift in the logical distance, from the far to the near" (Ricoeur [1978] 1981:233). This shift provides the basis for the innovative nature of metaphor and its ability to help us imagine new relationships and construct new symbolic worlds. George Lakoff, a linguist, and Mark Johnson, a philosopher, were less interested in metaphors as the locus of conceptual innovation than in the way they guide the thoughts and actions of individuals operating in society and serve understanding and experience. When we take them as true, then they powerfully inform our view of the world and our actions in it (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a:156-84). "No account of meaning and truth can be adequate unless it recognizes the way in which conventional metaphors structure our conceptual system" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980b:486). As Johnson (1981:43) puts it, returning to Richards's initial insight, "metaphoric process is an omnipresent principle of cognition . . . All experience has an 'as' structure."

For the purposes of this proposal, I am interested in implied or explicit "metaphoric utterances" in the form A is B (music is x) that bring seemingly distant domains closer together and that organize, and in some cases shift, our view and experience of both subjects of the metaphor. If all thought is metaphoric, then this definition of metaphor requires us to revisit the distinction between literal and metaphoric meaning, because in this philosophical tradition both are capable of making true statements. In this view, what appear to be "literal expressions" are something more like "old," "conven-

tional," "dead," taken-for-granted metaphors that powerfully inform our view of the world, but where the sense (or memory) of a shift in cognition or experience has been lost. Often their metaphoric sense has to be recovered through analysis and deconstruction: think, for example, of "music literature" or "feminine endings." What appear to be "metaphoric expressions" per se have a quality of newness and require a shift in cognition and experience: think, for example, of "songs as waterfalls" or "music is the work of the devil." In this view of metaphor, much depends on context and subject position. That is, one subject's fresh and challenging metaphor may appear as literally true to another. Both evaluations capture the two sides of the coin of metaphor: its capacity to frame our understanding when taken as true, near, and obvious and its capacity to alter and reconfigure our understanding when taken as surprising, far, and insightful.

Such metaphors, whether obvious or surprising, are probably as endless as the cultures we study, and each tells us something important about the nature of music in that society (compare Merriam 1964:63–84 on "concepts" of music). Some surely challenge ethnomusicologists' "commonplace" ideas about the nature of music. For example, among the Navajo, music is medicine, a form of therapy; it is performed to heal the sick. It doesn't represent something; it does something (Witherspoon 1977). This metaphor makes a Navajo truth claim, organizes their musical and ritual behavior, and is obvious and close to their experience. For some ethnomusicologists, this metaphor requires an act of imagination and analysis to bring the previously distant "systems" of music and clinical healing closer together and to understand its truth, a cognitive shift comparable to what Navajos must have gone through when David McAllester (1954) asked them questions about music as an aesthetic object. These sorts of differences in perspective on the truth of various musical metaphors not only provide a challenge to and locus for ethnomusicological research, but when present in specific instances of social and cultural interaction generate conflict over the nature of music and musical experience.

Not only do the people we study make metaphors to account for their experience of music. Musicologists also base their studies of music on metaphors that make fundamental claims about music's nature and significance. Among the common ones in current use, and therefore applied cross-culturally in our studies, are music as art, as cognition, as entertainment, as therapy, as social behavior, as commodity, as referential symbol, and as text for interpretation (Figure 2). Though in many cases these metaphors are left unspoken, I believe that our analyses in every case are predicated on the truth of one or some of these metaphors.[2] Furthermore, in advancing our arguments, we often imply that those we study behave as if these metaphors were true for them as well. I will discuss just four of the common metaphors listed above to illustrate what I have in mind on this dimension.

The music-as-art metaphor suggests that the nature of music is first and foremost about the processes of performing and composing music, the musical products resulting from those processes, and the reception of those processes and products in perception, cognition, and interpretation. Here I purposefully conflate many separate domains of musicological study, including psychoacoustics, music theory, style history, and aesthetics as well as the conventional distinction between art and craft. This metaphor leads us to consider the techniques, forms, and structures of music and how those structures may be evaluated in terms of craft, balance, virtuosity, and beauty (see Bakan 1999; Berliner 1994; Brinner 1995; and Tenzer 2000 for recent examples that emphasize these themes, among others). Music seems so powerful as an art, its techniques of production so formidable, and the pleasures of its reception so enrapturing that such considerations can easily eclipse other views of the nature of music and even lead to denials that this is a metaphor at all. Ethnomusicologists have been at pains to move beyond the shadow of the music-as-art metaphor to the theoretical light of other metaphors, but we need to recognize that it or something like it informs the experience of music not simply for those raised in the traditions of European aesthetics but in nearly every musical tradition we study.

A second metaphor, developed by ethnomusicologists in part as a response to the music-as-art metaphor, claims that music is social behavior, a claim that seemed far from the understanding of musicologically trained ethnomusicologists in the 1960s. Ethnomusicologists demonstrated that, because music is made and understood by people in society, every performance of music is also a performance of existing or emergent social structures and social relations (see Neuman 1980; Seeger 1987; and Waterman 1990 for examples of this approach). Musical performances may enact past or present social structures, they may model alternatives to existing structures, or they may help to imagine future structures.

A third metaphor powerfully attractive to ethnomusicologists as an alternative to the music-as-art metaphor claims that music is a symbolic system or text capable of reference not only to already existing music but also to a world beyond music. The terms symbol and text are deployed in different discursive traditions, the former in semiotics and the latter in literary criticism and hermeneutics. Here I conflate these two metaphors because they both make the claim that music can have referential meanings to things, ideas, worlds, and experiences outside music itself (see Becker and Becker 1981 and Feld 1988 for examples of this approach).

A fourth metaphor, music as commodity, has challenged ethnomusicologists in recent years, if only because we, like many of our subjects, find the previous metaphors more palatable and less, well, cheap. In many sociogeographical locales, musicians can, literally and really, exchange their

performances and their recorded products for money or other marketable commodities. This reality takes on a metaphorical quality when new possibilities for such exchanges challenge older, taken-for-granted ideas about music as art, as social practice, or as therapy and thus create a kind of cognitive dissonance in musicians. If we and our subjects prefer other metaphors, we and they have encountered this one as we all engage the commercial world of the music industry and as we increasingly make that world the focus of our research.

Though some debate centers around the relative merits of each of these claims and other ones as well, I suggest that ethnomusicologists take seriously every musical metaphor, whether of their own making or of their research subjects, for what they are: fundamental claims to truth, guides to practical action and discourse, ways of reconfiguring our understanding of the world, and sources for comprehending music's profound importance to human life. Though true from some subject's point of view, each may require others to reshuffle their conceptions of the nature of music. One can imagine a single subject employing many metaphors in different nodes of place and time to make sense of musical experience and many subjects contesting the nature of music at the intersection of their individual spaces of musical experience.

Musical metaphors also guide discursive and practical action in individual lives, in society, and through time. They guide individuals' use of music rather than specify its social functions (Merriam 1964:209–27). Sometimes I suppose the metaphors happily commingle; at other times they may become alternative, competing strategies. When we are faced with multiple metaphors about the fundamental nature of music, a number of important questions arise (Rice 2001). How do our subjects deploy these metaphors? How are they discursively constructed? Or are they left implicit? Are they kept in balance or are some brought into the foreground while others are pushed into the background? Or does one eclipse the others, making them disappear? When subjects' metaphors conflict or are contested, how are they used strategically to the subjects' benefit? How and why do societies and social institutions control musical metaphors and thus set the agenda for the significance and signification of music?

Three Stories

To illustrate this abstract model, here are three necessarily schematic and simplified stories from my work on Bulgarian traditional music. For my Bulgarian examples I need seven locations, four metaphors, and a three-part periodization (Figures 3 and 4).[3] Others using this model would construct its specific nodes to suit their own narrative and analytical goals.

Figure 3. Individual, local, national, and global experience.
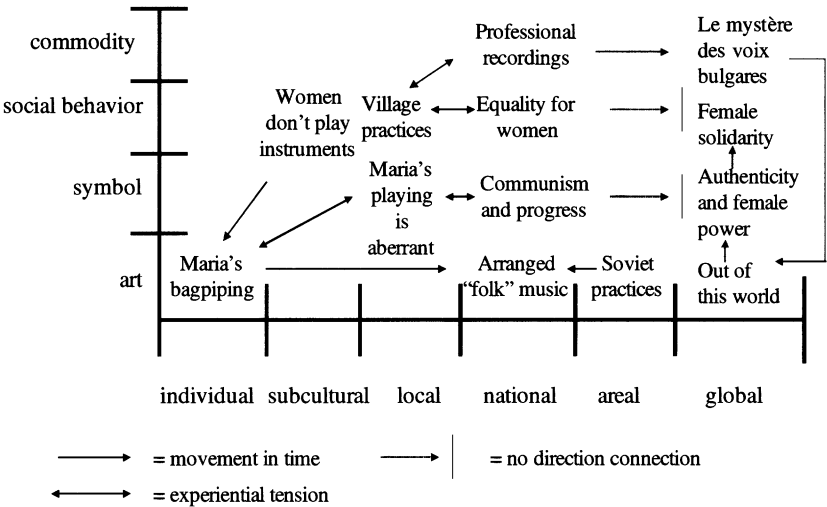
A Female Bagpiper

The performance of Bulgarian music—indeed the performance of all music—is the performance of some aspects of social structure and social relationships. Bulgarian music was and still is used, among other things, to bring kinship structures to experiential life and to enact traditional gender

Figure 4. Bulgarian musical experience in the year 2000.
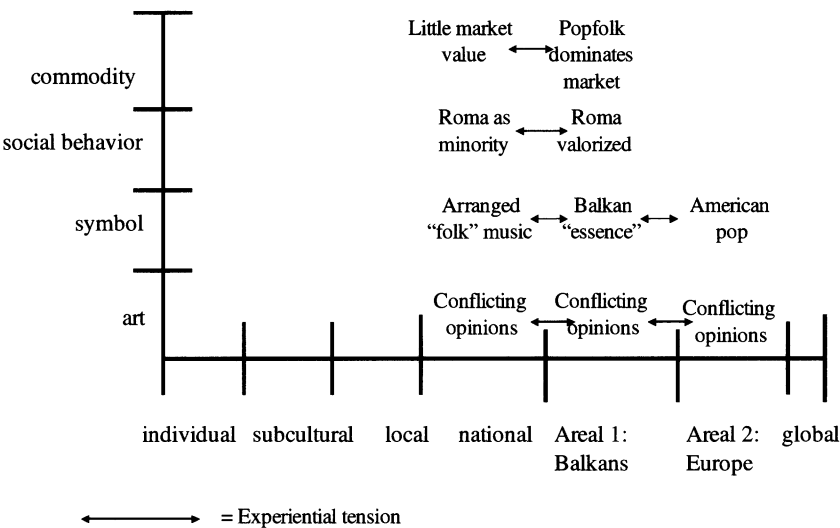
roles. For the first story the crucial aspect of gendered musical behavior is that men traditionally played musical instruments and women did not.

When Maria Stoyanova decided to play her father's bagpipe, this shocked her family and everyone in her village (Rice 1994:268-71). Though she was born in the 1950s and raised during the communist period, her parents still used precommunist ideas about gender to justify taking the instrument away from her, one illustration of how time is a nested dimension of experience, that is, phenomenological as well as chronological. In the process, they treated her playing as a text ripe for interpretation and misinterpretation. Not only was the bagpipe indexical of male behaviors, its very construction, with three phallic tubes sticking out of it, was iconically male as well. So her playing of it could be read as representing some sort of public sexual display inappropriate for women. For Maria, her playing has nothing to do with sexuality, as interpreted at the local level using values in place before World War II. It has rather to do with art, supported by the communists' commodification of "folk music." This was the sound she loved and she, as an individual, was determined to play this instrument for its artistic value even if it meant flying in the face of older subcultural and local values. This conflict over the significance of music took place in a space whose temporal dimension allowed the co-occurrence of precommunist and communist attitudes toward female music making.

The conflict, or experiential tension, between Maria's individual ideas about bagpipe music as art and local ideas about bagpipe music as acceptable only for men was resolved with the passage of time from prewar traditionality to postwar communist modernity. Between 1944 and 1989 the national government appropriated local music traditions and made them into symbols of national identity and the hoped-for progress of humankind under socialism, an art of "arranged folk music" influenced by Soviet predecessors, and a commodity based on new forms of music professionalism (Buchanan 1991, 1995; Levy 1985; Rice 1994:169-233; Silverman 1982, 1983).

In the 1960s, when Maria auditioned on the bagpipe to study at the newly formed national high school for folk music, the jury of sophisticated urbanites was as shocked as the people in her village had been. One of those present told me they read the bagpipe's blowpipe as a phallus in her mouth, understood bagpipe playing as a male tradition, and wondered whether they should admit her to a school founded to support and preserve a tradition she seemed to be flouting. In the end, a Marxist ideology of equality for women won out, and she was admitted. She eventually became the principal bagpipe teacher at the national conservatory devoted to folk music and a sought-after soloist with many wedding bands. At the national level during the communist period, her playing functioned metaphorically as both a symbol of women's equality of opportunity in a socialist state and a social enactment of women taking a leading role in the previously male domain of instrumen-

tal music. New values at the national level trumped older values at the local level, empowering Maria in ways denied to her by tradition (see Rice, in press, for a fuller account of Maria's musical practice).

In Figure 3, the story begins with the "traditional" social behavior of women at the subcultural level and moves to Maria's appropriation of a male traditional behavior for her individual satisfaction, a move read at the local level as aberrant, which creates what I call "experiential tension." Maria's art, along with local practices and values, then take on completely new significance when they move, in the communist period, to the national level, a move which generates experiential tension between these new practices and older local ideas about the nature of music.

Powerful Voices

A second story begins during the communist period when this new "national music" was firmly in place and had for the most part eclipsed local, precommunist values and practices. Significantly for this story, these national transformations of local music traditions were commodified during this period. For the first time, musicians, singers, and dancers could make a living wage (feed a household, as they said) from their performances on stage, for the radio, and in commercial recordings. These recordings then slipped through a "space hatch" from a Bulgarian space of musical experience into foreign conceptual spaces structured in the same three-dimensional way but with different nodes of time, location, and metaphor. In other words, the subjects of this story are not Bulgarians but their others, a subject position that might be called "foreign fans of Bulgarian music." In these foreign spaces, now conventionally but perhaps incorrectly called the "global," Bulgarian nationalized folklore commodified on recordings was interpreted first of all as art. For many listeners, including myself when I first heard it, Bulgarian women's choirs made wonderful sounding music with no cultural referents except to the largely empty label "Bulgarian" (Figure 3).

Although this movement of Bulgarian recorded commodities began in the 1960s and even earlier, it reached its apotheosis in the United States during the late 1980s with a set of recordings released on Nonesuch with the title *Le mystère des voix bulgares.* Since in the West we often follow aesthetic experiences with questions about symbolic significance (What does it mean? What did the composer intend?), these recordings were also read symbolically in ways that were unconnected to the meanings associated with its production (see Buchanan 1996, 1997, 1998 for critical treatments of these recordings and their reinterpretation outside Bulgaria). In countless newspaper articles and in notes accompanying the recordings and the concerts, this state-sponsored arranged choral singing was read as exotic, even unearthly, music. The political context of its production did not travel with the

recordings and its relative newness as arranged music was intentionally ob-
fuscated by producers and presenters in western Europe and the United States
to encourage its misreading as ancient, authentic, traditional, and "cosmic."
Another interpretation without justification in local practice read the unde-
niably powerful female voices as the performance and symbolic representa-
tion of powerful females, although, as Donna Buchanan (1996:195) points
out, the professionalization of local musical practice at the national level gave
the singers in these choirs a new social status and a quasi-independence
denied them in local, patriarchal society. The early recordings and the re-
sponses to them circulated in a Slobinesque "microscene" of Balkan music
enthusiasts who danced to, sang, and played this music (see Lausevic 1998
for a discussion of this scene). For decades since the release of the first com-
mercial recordings of Bulgarian music in the 1960s, Bulgarian women's sing-
ing has continued to inspire imitators in the U.S., Japan, and northern Europe.
Bulgarian choral music presents young women in these places with a useful
symbol of gendered behavior, one that sounds powerful and strong. By sing-
ing it in choirs they create a social situation in which to express and perform
strength, female solidarity, and independence from men.

　　In one of the more amusing of the interpretations, or misinterpretations,
of this arranged, state-sponsored choral singing, the syndicated television
serial, "Xena, Warrior Princess," used, in early episodes at least, this style as
a leitmotiv to accompany Xena into battle against her exotic and otherworldly
foes. In 1995 I received a call from Joe LoDuca, the composer of the music
for the series, asking for my help in finding singers for the recording sessions
in Los Angeles. When I asked him why Bulgarian music, he told me that the
producers had heard the *mystère* recordings and thought that this powerful
female sound would be ideal for their powerful heroine. In other words, they
mapped a powerful female sound onto the sound of a powerful female (see
also Buchanan 1998).

　　One way to interpret this story in terms of the space of musical experi-
ence is to argue that the recordings moved outside a Bulgarian national lo-
cale (significantly not a local place) into a global locale. In both places the
recordings are commodities with artistic, symbolic, and social significance.
In the Bulgarian space they model new forms of social behavior in which
women have relatively more equality of opportunity than they had at the local
level, and they have a symbolic meaning associated with the propaganda goals
of the party controlling the nation-state. Figure 3 illustrates the fact that only
the recorded commodity passed into the global node of musical experience.
The Bulgarian symbolic meanings and social significance were filtered out,
it was appropriated as art, and all manner of new meanings and behaviors
were attached to it. Although ethnomusicologists have tended to be critical
of this process, lamenting the loss or distortion of the original meaning and

critiquing the rather odd orientalist and new-age takes on "world music," we also must acknowledge and study the social utility, cultural production, and individual musical experience that occurs at the "global" level, or more precisely in the new local and subcultural locations, made possible by travel and shuttling media, as for example Mirjana Lausevic (1998) does in her study of the Balkan music scene in the United States.

Postcommunist *Popfolk*

The third story brings us into the postcommunist period and is based on a brief period of fieldwork in the summer of 2000 (Rice 2002). Music in Bulgaria in the postcommunist period has become at least partly about location (Buchanan 1998, 1999; Peters n.p.). Many Bulgarians I talked to that summer tended to interpret the music in Bulgaria and their musical preferences as answering the question, where are Bulgaria and Bulgarians located in today's world? The subjects of this story are, again, not individuals but groups of people who occupy three different subcultural positions and who therefore answer these questions differently. In Figure 4 the three subject positions might be labeled nationalists, Balkanists, and Europeanists. They are represented in locational terms as the national, areal 1: Balkans, and areal 2: Europe; the tensions between them in all four metaphoric domains are indicated by double-headed arrows.

During the communist period Bulgarian village music, in arranged forms, became—and still is—a symbol of Bulgarian national identity (Buchanan 1991). It put into practice an ideological bracketing of ethnic minorities within the country and an emphasis on difference from the neighbors on its borders. In 2000, Bulgarian nationalized folk music (*narodna muzika*) had virtually vanished from the airwaves and recorded media in the new, capitalist, commodity market for music. What was popular, what sold, was a new form of music called by various names, but most commonly in the year 2000 *popfolk* and *chalga*, a word whose connotations and implications might be captured in the expression "Bulgarianized 'Gypsy' music." It consists of Bulgarian-language cover versions and newly authored texts set to Rom (Gypsy), Turkish, Serbian, Greek, and Romanian folk and popular melodies. It is a kind of pan-Balkan, Rom-influenced popular music, commonly interpreted, both by its proponents and opponents, as a symbol of Bulgaria's areal location in the Balkans.[4] Proponents celebrate that fact, arguing that Bulgarians should not deny that part of their history and "nature."

Opposition to this style comes from two sides. Bulgarian nationalists are deeply offended that this style has eclipsed music that has identifiable, ethnically Bulgarian features and, even worse, that it glorifies a scorned ethnic minority, the *Tsigani* (to use a somewhat derogatory Bulgarian term), who originated the style and provide many of the most popular singers and in-

strumentalists in this new genre. In addition to being hated by narrow-minded nationalists, popfolk is also criticized by intellectuals, bureaucrats, and well-educated youth invested in moving Bulgaria away from its Ottoman and Soviet past, both of which isolated Bulgaria from cultural and economic centers in Western Europe. They hope to insert themselves and Bulgaria into the so-called "European family," lobby for membership in the European Union and NATO, consume Western European and American images and products, and favor classical music and Europeanized and Americanized forms of popular music.

While the symbolism of the music is clear to all, arguments for and against it tend to be couched in aesthetic and commodity terms, and the performances themselves, recorded in music videos, sometimes model intimate relationships between Roma and Bulgarians, idealized forms of social relationships rare in everyday life. Opponents call it "cheap" music, made solely for its commercial potential without redeeming artistic value. On the other hand, ethnic Bulgarians who participate in its making defend its artistry, pointing to some respected poets who have contributed song lyrics and to the university music educations of some of the musicians. Bulgaria today, in transition from socialism to capitalism, from totalitarianism to democracy, and from a regional "comecon" to access to global markets, is a fascinating place where different subject positions are colliding over the meaning and value of music.

The Space of Musical Experience and Ethnography

The three-dimensional space of musical experience I have proposed here represents an attempt to model the encounter of ethnomusicologists and their subjects with modernity. Thus it is the space of both musical experience and ethnography. In other words, both we and our subjects operate in similar spaces of the same structure. In this limited sense, the space I have proposed here is also postmodern insofar as it tries to capture recent late modern, postmodern, and postcolonial critiques of our modernist understandings of the relationship between scholars and their subjects.[5] Modernity understands itself in contrast to tradition. Under modernity ethnomusicologists view themselves as cosmopolitan, moving about and operating freely in a global space largely inaccessible (at least in concept and method) to the inhabitants of those traditional, local cultures we often study (for a recent counterexample, see Turino 2000). In modernity, we could travel to their locales but they could not necessarily travel to ours. Their experiences were local, while ours were global. The space of musical experience and ethnography I am proposing here is shared, in structure at least, by us all; it is the conceptual space in which musical ethnography and music experience

co-occur for both scholars, musicians, and audiences and in that limited sense is postmodern. It is the space in which scholars, musicians, and audiences know the passage of time, savor music's differing essences, meanings, and metaphoric connections to other domains of culture, and feel the gradations of power as we move (if at times only conceptually) from locale to locale. It is a space in which those otherized by modernist ideologies now write their own ethnographies or participate dialogically in their writing. It is the space where the authority of omniscient authors and ethnographers is challenged by the realization that they are positioned within the same kinds of spaces as their subjects, not in a fundamentally different sort of space.

I further contend that an abstract space like this is fundamental to our studies of technology and media, on the one hand, and power and contestation, on the other. Travel technology, for instance, enables us and our subjects to move through this space, and electronic media function as "space shuttles" that bring near to experience the temporally and spatially distant; give us "schizophonic" ways of experiencing music; and help us construct and revise our "senses of place" and space (see, for example, Manuel 1993 and Taylor 1997). Contestation occurs because individuals are situated differently in the space of musical experience. Power is negotiated and acted out along its dimensions in terms, for example, of who controls the (metaphoric) discourse; who has been there the longest; and who occupies the superior position (locale).

Finally, I suggest that this model of the space of musical experience and ethnography might provide us with an analytical tool to aid our understandings of individual encounters with modernity as well as provide a framework for comparison between and among our idiographic studies.

In the present time, in the global space of commodified forms, where new meanings eclipse older ones, the experience of music may feel modern to some and postmodern to others. Musical ethnographies that trace the movements of subjects in location, metaphorical understanding, and time and the differing experiences such movements entail take on a fundamentally dynamic character responsive to the new or newly understood complexities of today's modern world.

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Notes

1. Michel Foucault can be understood as mounting an attack on phenomenological projects such as the one proposed here. Foucault was clearly more interested in how practice defined practitioners than in the practitioners themselves. However, the subject remains for him a bracketed yet necessary being. If discourses are "sites of struggle" and each side gives different meanings to the same discourse, then this claim presupposes intersubjectivity and subjects who use the same discursive means variously to control, to oppose control, and to fight for their rights (Crossley 1994:120). Foucauldian studies of the genealogy of discourses and discursive categories may not need the subject and intersubjectivity, but if we want to understand how these discourses are deployed and resisted in the present, as I do, then we need a notion of the self similar to the one outlined here. "Situated subjectivity and intersubjectivity provide a necessary, unexplicated background for Foucault's foreground or figural concerns. And like the background of any image, they too can become figural without changing the picture" (Crossley 1994:159–60).

2. Daniel Neuman (1980:27–28) makes a similar point about the role of metaphor in research: "The nature of the relationship between music and culture (or music and society or social system) has been expressed in a number of ways, but is based always, I believe, on one of three primary metaphors of relationships, which need to be made explicit." The first is music "as a component of sociocultural system"; the second is music "as model, microcosm, or reflection of a social system"; and the third is music "as commentary," as a "reflection on or about cultural systems."

3. My ability to represent three dimensions failed me in Figures 3 and 4, so I have used the "arrow of time" to indicate that dimension. These arrows refer simply to the passage of time and do not precisely reference the three periods that underlie these Bulgarian stories.

4. That Bulgarians are using new genres of popular music to construct ideas about the Balkans has already been pointed out by Bulgarian and American scholars. In the mid-1990s a popular genre, referred to as "*Pirin folk*" after the region of southwest Bulgaria also known as Macedonia, was "about musically constructing Macedonia" (Buchanan 1999:172; also Peters n.p.). The musical construction of the Balkans was also the topic of a panel of papers by Donna Buchanan (1998), Jane Sugarman, and Martin Stokes at the 1998 SEM annual meeting. Buchanan (1999:176) cites a Bulgarian musicologist, Rozmari Statelova, who claims that Pirin folk represents "the Balkans in Bulgaria." This story brings these earlier reports up to the year 2000 and places them in the context of my proposed space of musical experience.

5. Though postmodernism as a position beyond the modern/traditional dichotomy seems useful, I am not advocating postmodernism as a philosophical position. In fact, I am opposed

to the pessimism of postmodernism, that is, its apparent ability to deconstruct the modernist project, but not to offer positive alternatives. To propose a space of musical experience as a heuristic device for future study, as I do here, flies in the face of the spirit of much postmodernist discourse. Similarly, while the idea of different subject positions inscribed in this model shares with postmodernism a rejection of the modernist idea of absolute truth, it is not antifoundational in the same sense. It holds out the possibility of comparison, judgment, and interpretation; of the authoring of the self through music as a series of moral choices in social relationships with others; and it is founded on philosophical claims about the social nature of human being in the world.

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