Between Art and Anthropology: The Emergence of ‘Border’ in the Musical Communication
Folk music has recently crossed the border of its original local position where it has been situated and is diffusing into the world as a world soundscape. This article focuses on this characteristic and clarifies a part of its transborder-communication in a sense that it is handed down for generations and at the same time that it spreads all over the world with an example of Pungmul, Korean folk music.

Firstly, I took critically arguments on orality as a research realm of world of music. In folk music, which is handed down for and beyond generations by the oral tradition, orality is regarded not only as a transferability of the information by verbal communication but also as a mode of communication to which succeeds techniques and memories. Moreover, I pointed out that it was necessary to focus on the coordinating aspects of body as a medium and physical movements as conditions that make transmission possible.

Secondly, with such a view this article focuses on the succession process that the transmission aspect of Pungmul music is easy to be shown, analyzing it from a point of each view of the successors, canons of music, instructors. The succession process in general is likely to be thought that it is just a process of imitation and repetition. In fact, however, it can be clearly seen that it is an intensive and indeterminate communication that the successors seek for the canons shown by the instructors or the ‘border’ between good or bad as a judgement, making use of the coordination of body and all the nervous systems as a reference point. In addition to that, it followed that the ‘border’ sought for in the process was something to illuminate the relationships such as mutual norms among musical instruments, sounds, artistic skills, and sounds and persons.

Thus, it can be pointed out that Pungmul music creates a variety of communication and that Pungmul music is relation-nature music to the extent that it emerges only in the communication. In other words, it is considered that the aspects of orality in pluralistic meanings are a system where folk music creates musical communication among people even in the modern situation where such societies are changing rapidly and rapid globalization develops.

The modern phenomenon that folk music is spreading all over the world has a tendency to be analyzed from a framework that national culture becomes trans-national culture, that is to say, from a point of micro-social-structural determinism by existing research. However, this article took the first step to describe transborder-communication of the folk music that how and what that music transcends and how it communicates (paradoxically speaking, what the ‘border’ emerging in it is), by focusing on face-to-face communication and body senses from micro aspects rather than macro ones.
Here is a list: drum, gong, bell, cymbal, tambourine, xylophone, metallophone, rattle, rasp, stamping tube, sticks (struck against each other), sticks on stretched mats, resounding rocks, clashing anklets. … All over the world it is found that percussion, by any means whatever that will produce it, permits or accompanies communication with the other world (Needham 1967: 607).

1. Introduction

This article aims for the description of a process as a part of its original characteristic of folk music as transborder—communication. On one hand it is handed down for generations, on the other hand it also enables itself to spread all over the world. In particular, Pungmul, a Korean folk music is taken as a case, focusing on the way of communication by traditional orality (oral communication) and analyzing its process of inheritance of Pungmul. Through this attempt, this article tries to overcome the problematical of old orality theories, describing as a part of its dynamism of folk music in which folk music cross a variety of borders.

Pungmul is a folk music which is come down since ancient times in the Korean Peninsula. It spread and developed over agricultural village society in Korea. Drums have played a center role in this music and it is said that there was no village without a Pungmul band. Today a part of it is registered as an important intangible cultural heritage of South Korea and it is situated as a ‘traditional’ culture. In addition to that, Pungmul is spreading over abroad such as Japan and the USA while Samul nori which is a new genre of Pungmul, taking in elements of Pungmul, is born. In fact considering the categories of Pungmul, we can enumerate Korean music, folk performing art, public entertainment, ethno music, traditional music, primitive art, and so forth. Such global tendency to diffuse and variety of labeling is the very modern aspects of folk music.

However, we cannot simply assume that this situation should be the situation where ‘folk music is spreading over the world’ because there are swirling issues on subjectivity and power in the situation. That is to say;

- the perspective of discovery of primitiveness and ethnicity itself is the third person’s perspective which is their perspective for the modern western nations to see the other.
- As represented in revival movement of their own culture, it includes a perspective of a sense of belonging to their own ethnicity.
- It includes a perspective that traditional cultures and the local cultures themselves are invented.
- It includes conceptual and aesthetic issues on what should be regarded as music and art.
- Issues such as attempt to think of pre-modern social forms in a way against modernization or issues as modern system such as commoditization and a perspective of transborder culture. They have something in common here. They are enlarged political matter such as Western-centrism, colonialism, ethnocentrism and these significant biases toward a folk music.

At the same time, modern folk music which is spreading over the world is under the influence of globalism or trans-nationalization. Thus, the mainstream has recently become the arguments on micro social system such as about globalizing folk music and trans-nationalizing folk music. However, these arguments may miss significant aspects of Pungmul of which the drums are the center, such as its primitive originality, face to face interactions, a mode of communication based on body senses. Moreover, the expression of transborder is facing a crisis because the word itself originally should be used with the reference to the ‘border’ as the object to be gone across. Therefore we should discuss
the world of transborder with the questions as what does it go across and what sorts of borders do exist there, but it has recently assumed existing frameworks such as nations and borders a priori. This tendency makes us fail to have discussion on attention to border itself and its change.

In this article from this problem consciousness, discussion will be proceeded to with these points of what ‘border’ Pungmul goes across and how to do it in mind from a more micro point of view. An anthropologist, Watanabe sees ‘border’ in wider sense as segmental lines to form social groups and individuals. Taking this ascendingly in line with this article, ‘border’ is socio-cultural border (=rules established by cultures in South Korea and communities) and also personal borders (which is necessary for the succession of the music, ranging to their inner side and to the masters and successors who engage in the music). Thus, the world ‘border’ is a concept to describe more widely and microscopically the aspects to form individuals and groups regarding Pungmul.

Additionally, in the case of the reference to an anthropologist Needham, in earlier part of this article, he focused on the sound of drums of folk music performed all over the world. The variety of sounds he dealt with transcend the existing borders such as the world of human being and spirit, and the sounds are considered to be a necessary tool to communicate with different worlds. Considering this, it leads us to realization of the importance of a discussion about what and how does Pungmul in which the sounds of drums are assembled communicate with (paradoxically, what is the ‘border’ appearing in it). Therefore this article will focus on transborder—communication of folk music.

In the next chapter, firstly beginning with an examination of discussion of orality that how ‘music (acousmatic)’ which is not explicitly symbolized have been understood and secondly examination of the basis of this article, the conception of ‘border’ will be proceeded. Moreover, after confirming the social and cultural phases of Pungmul, I will attempt to analyze microscopically the process of succession. Additionally the date used in this article is based on the author’s field work.

2. ‘Border’ on musical area: to ‘transborder’ folk music

2.1. Dichotomy between Literacy and Orality

The issues of music need to be considered again here. There are always difficulties on recording, description and on its limitations of approach to the area which cannot be fully understood by existing symbol and culture for the study of music which is characterized by a going-by one-time-only nature phenomena. However, the notion of orality referred here consists of the arguments which have tackled the states of ‘primitive’ communication and memories in the community of human being, while existing cultures and symbols have failed to understand them (Load 1960, Parry 2000, Kawata 1992).

In the arguments of orality, the culture is regarded to be founded on ‘orality’ before ‘writing’ was invented, and the culture is on ‘literacy’ after the invention of ‘writing’ (Carpenter 1974, McLuhan 1986, Ong 1991, Innis 1987). By a historian Ong, orality refers to a character of language as a voice and to a culture mainly formed by such a character of language, on the other hand, literacy does to an ability to use letters and to a culture mainly consists of such an ability (Ong 1982-1991: 6).

On one hand, literacy culture based on the medium of letter made us possible to accumulate and share knowledge widely beyond the generation. However, on the other hand, the orality culture based on the fleeting medium of sound emphasized the emergence and required a strong collectivity which had common communication.

The dichotomy between literacy and orality became an important moment to analyze and understand that the change of media brings a big change to the mode of thinking. But if we examine it more closely, it will be turned out that literacy is nearly mediated through the text of language and that the media of orality is inapparent. Although the domains other than literacy can be sometimes generalized to be preliterate culture, but this case raises a question that how non-verbal communication such as
body language sign is considered. Thus, the framework of other than literacy culture has a problem to fail to grasp the object. Therefore, we need to focus not on the dichotomy as Ong showed but also on a variety of elements which have been paid scant attention and clearly to reconsider it.

2.2. Body, Movement, Memory

Then there is a need to pay attention to a work of Havelock, Preface to Plato. Havelock is a forerunner of a media theory in which the change from voice to letter created Platonism and also one of the scholars who took notice of the relationship between body and act. He focused on the system of the epic told by a great poet, Homer, and explored it into individual matters such as the psychological and material aspects of body.

Importantly Havelock pointed out that discourse is something told. It presupposes that language emits sound, and the mechanism of orality is quested for in terms of how it is actually told. The discourse told is created by physical movements of pharynges and mouth cavity, and the discourse preserved (the discourse succeeded) is also created by being told in the same token. In other words, what preserved discourse means that the discourse is preserved only when it is evoked and recited. Therefore, it is necessary to ensure the ease of evoking, and for the sake of that, the physical movements of pharynges and mouth cavity are organized in a particular way. The nature of this is to make a highly limited pattern of movements and it will be automatic reflex movements. The reflex movements —automatic acts of a certain part of body— will be reinforced by parallel acts of other parts of body. As Havelock pointed out, all nerve systems coordinate with the task of memory (Havelock 1963), he argued that this mechanism formed memory.

Thus Havelock admirably described the way of ‘memory’ in orality as a process of body movements. That can be regarded that the highly limited pattern of movements is internalized by individuals to be automatic reflex movements and that is similar to the process of succession (memorized in body, making sounds) that establishes an act which is able to make sounds.

2.3. Improvisation as a choice

In this section, I would like to refer to an argument by a musicologist Tani. He focused on ‘improvisation’ in Iranian music in order to focus on the matter of music.

Improvisation is not playing composed sounds but also combing sounds on the spot with wits in the process of performance. In this sense it is known as an individual free performance expression. But it is undeniable that it is understood from the western musical point of view, and lacking discussion on what performance it is from the multiple dimensions.

On the contrary to that, Tani, an Iranian musical performer and researcher, has questioned it with an example of Iranian music. Iranian music has been considered to consist of improvisation as because playing music as the way it is has been regarded as negative in Iranian music. From the performer’s point of view, however, the concept of ‘freedom’ is not something contrary to the concept of restriction in the first place (Tani 2007: 15).

Although improvisation does not mean musician can create music from nothing, …….(In Iranian music) there is a musical mode system called Dastgâh in which there are traditional melody types — stock phrases — which are accumulated in the performer’s body like finger habits. Moreover, there are mainly two components on predefined significances on the relationships between melody types regarding how these stock phrases ought to be arranged as a whole (Tani 2007: 71).

The predefined significances referred here can be regarded as norms of artistic skills (“border” of Iranian music and the others). That is to say, from the analysis of Tani, we can see the dynamism of succession as the body memorized stock phrases seeking for the ‘border’ of that music and
improvisation appearing in that process.

2.4. ‘Border’ and ‘transborder’

So far it is already clear that what theoretical matters this article should tackle. The point is that how standpoint to grasp ‘transborder’ music can construct a viewpoint which covers the interactions between acts of an individual and society and to consider how special phenomenon of sound is related to this. The concept of ‘border’ used in this article is the concept that expands its object not only into the physical borders but also into the borders of socio-cultural and individual spheres in order to consider folk music which cross the borders of nations in associations with the expansion of temporal-spatial areas after modern times and that introduces the borders in the same domain. Concretely, the following three dimensions will be focused on.

- National borders by the framework of modern nations (=micro borders made by modern nations such as the cultural heritage system or ethnic education).
- Sociocultural borders in social groups (=rules established by cultures in South Korea and communities).
- Personal border, covering personal inner experience (=the norms which are necessary to succeed to the music and cover inner experience of the masters and successors).

By describing these dimensions, it leads us to obtain the standpoint to consider the transborder folk music.

3. From the process of succession of *Pungmul* I

This chapter will focus on concrete interactions between the master and his pupil of *Pungmul* in order to consider the practice from more micro dimensions. First of all, there is a need to take a brief look at the minimum contents.

3.1. Korean folk music Pungmul

The stage of *Pungmul* music is in the Korean peninsula, where is located in the east end of Eurasia continent and consists of the prominent peninsula and approximately 3400 islands. Its area is 222,000km² and the shape of the peninsula is approximately 1,000 km long in the south and north.

![Figure 1](image)

*Figure 1* The Korean peninsula and the Republic of Korea.

Although the origin of *Pungmul* is summarized in theories of funeral, Buddhism, labor and military band (Jeong 1986), Buddhism diffused in the Korean peninsula from Silla to Goryeo dynasty and Confucianism took the place of it in Joseon dynasty. Both Buddhism and Confucianism were accepted among people and both of them coupled with each other and developed peculiar religions. These
religions became a basis for the birth of agricultural rituals which developed folk performing arts. For instance, the temperature difference is big in the Korean peninsula and the amount of rainfall is smaller than in Japan. Thus rain arouses great interest and it developed Kut, a ritual pray for rain, and a rice planting ritual. In Pungmul, its residue can be seen nowadays\(^3\) and it is assumed that the religions related closely to the daily life had strong influence over the popular entertainments and folk performing arts.

The successors of Pungmul were shamans (mudang) and musicians in rituals, and farmers in agricultural rituals, and entertainers in places of amusement. Especially the entertainers formed a group of vagrant entertainers called Namsadang in the middle of Joseon dynasty (Sim 1974). It is said that Namsadang played an active role during Joseon dynasty (1392-1910) and that it was the only entertainment for the common people in that period when there were few entertainment (Shimura 1990: 236). It was a great turning point for Pungmul that the pursuit of the quality of artistic skills and performance was begun by the birth of these groups (Park 1989: 21-24).

Namsadang declined after Joseon dynasty dismantled. Additionally, the member of Namsadang scattered in all directions due to the Korean war by the Japanese consolidation of colonies. However, the interest of the common people in performing arts became heightened. Specifically, it was called as ‘Renaissance of traditional performing arts’ in the period after the emancipation and the Korean war. In 1960s, National Center for Korean traditional Performing Arts was founded in order to preserve and success Korean traditional music and Namsadang was reorganized (Shimura 1990: 237). In 1970s and 1980s, Pungmul movement occurred with the great increase of interest on the recording and preservation of the events in the year and manners from the private side such as university students who had anti-establishment attitudes and the labor. The movement accompanied with a certain political message spread centrally over urban areas. Importantly, this movement led to creation of a new musical genre called Samul nori\(^\text{14}\) which will be explained in the latter part.

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\(^3\) Figure 2, 3
A formation called Five squares. This is used for Pungmul with the action of standing and moving. It is said to be a vestige of military band (Sim 1974: 59). On the other hand, it is also said that this formation was originally related with treading down or calling the gods in the five directions to welcome (Nomura 1987: 98).

\(^\text{14}\) Figure 4, 5
A parade of Namsadang, waving big flags and playing musical instruments (Sim 1974: 6).
A new musical genre, Samul nori born in 1978 extracted characteristics of Pungmul around the country and was reconstructed for stages. Not only the troops of Samul nori had overseas performances but also accompanying workshops were held as well as the media sent messages to the public. By that influence, Pungmul was performed overseas and its performance is ascertained in Yanji (China); New York, Los Angeles, California and Hawaii (USA); Kanagawa, Tokyo and Osaka (Japan). Although its activity tends to be centered on Zainichi Koreans (Korean residents in Japan), for example to cite the performance in Kawasaki Korean town as a case of Japan, participants from the local residents and other Pungmul groups gather in a local festival called Japanese festivals held every November, and they have a parade in which approximately 100 peoples participate. Thus, its activity becomes diversified.

3.2. The lesson of Pungmul

Before we discuss the practice of Pungmul, the next part draws on the aspect of a form of the succession of Pungmul; that is to say, a general way as oral tradition (orality) and musical notes (literacy). In many cases, most of the succession of Korean music is done mainly by oral tradition. In the case of Pungmul music, the important linchpin is the rhythm for the ensemble of the drums plays an important role. As a way of the notation and memorization of rhythm, it was popular that oral tradition was used instead of using musical notes in popular music like Pungmul, while a notation to mark down rhythm accurately (mensural notation) was developed in court music. The way to replace the sound with voice is called Kuum. Recently, on the other hand, there are tendencies to use musical notes in popular music as there were increased demands on the recording of the music in popular music and as the succession of the music at educational institution like college of music become popular rapidly. Still there is no certain way of notation, in the case of Janggu, the following way of notation can be often seen as below. In this notation, they prepare cells on paper in advance and count one cell as one unit and write down Kuum such as ta and kkun in the cells (see Figure 5).

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<th>공</th>
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</table>

[Figure 5]
Therefore, the Kuum of the first stage of the musical note can be sung as below\(^{18}\).

\[
\text{kun} | \text{kun} | \text{tta gu} | \text{kun} | \text{kun} | \text{tta gu} | \text{kun} | \text{tta gu} | \text{kun} | \text{tta} \\
\]

In the practical lesson, however, they take a way not to imitate the sounds through the musical notes but to follow the master’s performance. Therefore, the importance of Kuum is stressed\(^{19}\) here and the use of musical note is only used accessorily to help memory and deepen understanding\(^{20}\). Such oral tradition can be said to be supported by a form of face-to-face communication. Therefore, although the form of succession is changing, today the way of succession as oral tradition is thought to be significant.

### 3.3. Not repeating succession?

In order to cite a case of participation observation of the succession process\(^{21}\), I will describe the first lesson of Janggu (an hourglass-shaped drum) by Mr.L in South Korea.

*The kibon karak (basic rhythmic pattern) of Changdan (*long and short*; rhythmic pattern) is taught in the lesson. The master told me to play it and I played it. But he told me it was incorrect. And he played several times. I played to imitate him subsequently. But he nodded no again, and then taught me by Kuum, oral tradition. I imitated him and played again after I was able to sing the rhythm. He nodded no again and again. I was told to practice repeatedly by myself. The basic rhythm (kibon karak) is short and simple and easy to remember, but I was told to practice many times. Although I memorized the rhythm, he said to me ‘No’. In fact, I didn’t know what was wrong about my performance. (The advice he gave me was) ‘Don’t play only with arms’. I tried to ask a question to him, but he just said to me ‘Just play! (그냥 써라!)’\(^{22}\). I was made to play only tasurum changdan (a kind of rhythmic pattern)\(^{23}\) for one hour restlessly. In the end, what I learned from Mr.L was the basics of two changdan (a rhythmic pattern) in the lessons for ten days.*

*(From my field note, South Korea)*

The situation depicted above is commonly seen in the lesson for beginners. The way to succeed performing arts is considered to imitate, repeat and memorize by bod. However, that does not apply only to Korean performing arts but also to performing arts in general. In spite of its importance, although the exemplary performance by the master was imitated, the act of imitation remains incomprehensive situation. Therefore, it is understood that the act of imitation is the act of seeking rather than a way to learn for successors.

In the next part I will describe how the fragmental lessons are accumulated, specifically, two lessons done for four days and individual lessons.

Focusing on the continuous time of the performance, of the lesson of table A, the longest time of the performance is in the begging for 10 minutes (★① in the table A). It is clear that during the 10 minutes the practice is done for a change, not in a repeatable way. Paying attention to the running time of performance, it is very short time such as 56 seconds, 16 seconds, 7 seconds, and 4 seconds. Thus, we can see there is no simple repeated practice in the lesson. But, as it is interrupted little by little by the master’s instructions, repeated action as repetition of correction can be seen.

One could argue that the succession process is an accumulation of fragmental lessons. However, while continuing this work, positive instructions by the master such as ‘getting better’ (★② in table C) can be sometimes given as showed in table C. Such instructions have a big influence over the successor because regardless of whether they are conscious or not, the successor takes in positive instructions by the masters afterward. Accumulation of those works makes the successor learn the canons of Pungmul.

In the light of those, it can be said that the action such as imitation and repetition in the succession
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Behavior of the master</th>
<th>Behavior of the pupil</th>
<th>Content of performance and running time of performance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0'28&quot;</td>
<td>‘Let’s review’. ‘From kkun tta kkun tta kkun tta kkun tta’, one, two, three’.</td>
<td>‘Yes’.</td>
<td>While playing the rhythm, I changed the position of accent with the master’s call out. After I ran through, the master began to play together and played rapidly by degrees. I played in accordance with that. He stopped playing when I got used to the speed. He took a lead in performance by playing ‘strongly’ when it became too fast for me to play and continued to play at all (10 minutes). ★①</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10'01&quot;</td>
<td>Stopped playing</td>
<td>Stop playing.</td>
<td>You have to play with a steady rhythm like this (as the master did)’. ‘Oh…I see’. The master began to play and I imitated him. He stopped playing. I continued alone, playing out of the rhythm (56 seconds).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11'09&quot;</td>
<td>Nodded his head.</td>
<td>Stop playing.</td>
<td>‘Keep a steady rhythm. One, two, three’. Although I played alone, stumbling and stopping out of the rhythm (16 seconds).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11'25&quot;</td>
<td>‘Keep a steady rhythm. One, two, three’.</td>
<td>Imitate the master and play ta tta tta.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11'43&quot;</td>
<td>Stopped playing.</td>
<td>Stop playing.</td>
<td>‘Strong and weak beat and strong and weak beat (It is not good if the position of the accent is changed). That’s wrong. Do it again’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12'04&quot;</td>
<td>Playing tta. ‘Relax yourself.’ ‘Do it again, one, two, three’.</td>
<td>Continued and play tta.</td>
<td>Although I played alone, stopped playing because the master nodded his head (4 seconds).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12'57&quot;</td>
<td>Nodded his head.</td>
<td>Stop playing.</td>
<td>‘Strong and weak beat and strong and weak beat (It is not good if the position of the accent is changed). That’s wrong. Do it again’. ‘Oh…’ (Realizing concerned about only the sound, tta). Playing alone again. I realized it was out of the rhythm but could not adjust it, then stopped playing (34 seconds).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13'01&quot;</td>
<td>Nodded his head.</td>
<td>Stop playing.</td>
<td>The master showed the demonstration (30 seconds).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additionally, the master said ‘What is the most important thing is “Kuum”. If you cannot achieve it, you cannot play the drum’. And I was told to practice Kuum a lot.

**Figure 6-1** Lesson 1 (Extraction of the exordium) …Table A

**Figure 6-2** Individual Practice 1… Table B

**Practicing, looking at a mirror.** As I could not do well, trying in different ways, slowly and rapidly.

**I am not sure if this is right or not.**

**Confirming the instructions of master and performance, listening to the record of the last lesson.**

**Repeating the Kuum many times, remembering I was told that Kuum was important to play.**

**Concentrating on the sounds with eyes close.** Recording my performance and compared it with the master’s one.

**Asking senior pupil for advice, confused with the master’s instruction (Being suggested I should listen to the CD which is said to be excellent performance).**

**Practicing with remembrance of the performance in the CD.** Playing many times in accordance with the CD.
process are not just actions but a process in which the successor seeks ‘borders’ which are shown by the master as the canons.

### 3.4. Imitation by pupils

The inner actions of seeking are, however, the processes which are hard to surface. Therefore, this section will focus on the aspects of a body-based spoken language, gesture and motion, being based on the discussion in the chapter 2 for the descriptive purposes. These will be described in order of ① transmission from sound to sound, ② transmission via spoken languages, ③ transmission via gestures, ④ transmission via motions, ⑤ the others. By describing along these order and points, I will examine what they grope after in the inner aspects of individuals in the succession.

#### ① Transmission from sound to sound
- Groping for the rhythms, the either high or low tone of a sound, accents, and quality of sound. They re-create or memorize the sounds the master showed on site. If the sounds are recorded on the media they practice on the sounds based on it many times (it is as if being transmitted from sense to sense directly).

#### ② Transmission via spoken languages (including ‘craft language’)
- Chanting rhythms by voiced Kuum.
- Grouping after sounds, using the craft language and metaphorical expressions such as tender/hard, soft/heavily, forceful, rustling of the master’s directions by spoken language. Memorizing the sounds and nuances that were not re-created and captured in manner of ① by replacing them with language.
- An expression of ‘tasteless (맛이 없다)’ is used to mean ‘not a good performance’ and ‘bland’. This shows the difference from the radical performance which should be imitated. In relation to the contents, they seek for the meaning of unverbalized and more abstract expressions.

#### ③ Gesture
- They imitate the body positions of the master in the performance, making use of mirrors. More specifically, they memorize how to hold musical instruments, chae, and height of raised arms, the position where the master hit the skin of drum, position where arms are held, angle of the wrists, and the distance of musical instruments from the body as a rough indication. This process makes their senses enable to work to memorize the master’s body movements.
- They imitate body movements whether their movements are the same as the master’s. They modify their movements in conformity with the image of their master’s body movements in their memory. They practice repeatedly in order for their hashed-memorized body position to coordinate...
well. Through this repetition, it makes them enable to work new senses by which they can see a set of movements of the performance as ‘dots’ and ‘lines’ and it leads them to grope for ideal body movements.

④ Motion

・ The pupils practice clapping repeatedly to memorize the rhythms.
・ Imitating the breathing to memorize a place where their breaths begin, for instance how they breathe in (from their nose, stomach, chest) when they play the musical instruments, the timing, length, depth and the degree of breathing as a rough indication. By observing the imperceptible movements of body, it enables them to capture the breathing visually to memorize it. It will become a rough indication that if the breathing is incorrect, the quality of the sounds is different.

⑤ The others

・ Memorizing the sense of touching with hands, through the touch of a hand which holds a stick, and retroaction of the musical instrument only as a guide.
・ When they play music, the backdrop at which the master played may come to mind as they listen to the story of master’s own experience, for instance the backdrop of farming village, of the audience dancing to the music and so forth.
・ Expressing and grasping music with emotions such as sounding sadly, pleasantly can be a rough indication of imitation.

For the successors, if they cannot imitate the music by means of the transmission from sound to sound like ①, they use alternatively the means of from ② to ⑤. On one hand, the process in which they memorize their master’s performance and which they try to grope after how to approach to him is, on other words, the process in which seeking the interaction with him in a sense that they would like to approach him. On the other hand, in this process it is clear that they are able to have new senses of a language and body. Therefore, at the same time the process for the successors is the process where their new senses become different from what the senses were.

3.5. ‘Imitating’ body

The process I have described above is not always recognized by the successors. Especially, the elements in the domain of ④ and ⑤ are unverbalized and thus they are hard to surface. Therefore, the successors try to imitate the condition of senses and body by finding the norm hidden outside, trying to be sensitive to the mater’s mood, memorizing the apparently ‘good’ sense by the reaction of audience to their performance. Moreover, the successors’ seeking has significantly related with their inner experience such as their own senses and consciousness. If we consider the fact that the body exercise which is done repeatedly in the process, it turns out that the body exercise does not need our consciousness and the process where the body which is reflected by sound is created. How will these inner experience be related with the succession (=memorizing, learning)? In order to specify the relation, it is worth referring to a work by Havelock (1963), in which he described the memory (succession) process as a physical exercise process.

Firstly, the successors begin to seek for sounds and keep doing so. This makes automatic actions occur at a certain part of body. These actions will be reinforced by parallel actions of other parts of body and all the neuron systems correlate with the task of ‘imitation’. Secondly, in order to acquire the body sense to re-create the sounds of norm as a movement pattern, they practice repeatedly. This will be automatic reflective movements responding to the sounds in the end. Additionally, further reflective movements occur repeatedly and highly restricted movement patterns are acquired. These processes to ensure the easiness of recall physical movements are organized in a certain unique way. Therefore,
all the sounds are created by the human physical movements. Thus, utterance and repetition of the sounds makes the succession (memorizing, preserving) possible (see Figure 7).

![Figure 7](The process of movement for the succession described by the reverse of Havelock’s argument)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utterance and repetition of the sounds makes the succession (memorizing, preserving) possible</td>
<td>Action of utterance makes the succession possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All the sounds are created by the human physical movements</td>
<td>Movements of body and sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical movements are organized in a certain unique way to ensure the easiness of recall</td>
<td>Organization of body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By repeating reflective movements to re-create it based on the ‘completed chart’ and highly restricted movement patterns are acquired.</td>
<td>Formation of highly restricted movement patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In order to acquire the body sense to re-create the sounds of norm as a movement pattern, this will be automatic reflective movements responding to the sounds in the end.</td>
<td>Repetition and reflective movements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping groove for music causes a certain part of body to automatically move. That is reinforced by parallel actions in other parts of body and the whole nerve systems are coordinated with the task of ‘imitation’.</td>
<td>Grope coordinated with the whole nerve systems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, we have to embrace attention to that where the above body movements run. It is clear that these processes are led by the master because the succession process is a process in which the successors seek for the canons that the master shows. However, the question arisen from this point is that what the canons are. Although they have absolute binding force, they are never explicit. Therefore, there is a great need to analyze specifically on what criteria the sounds in Pungmul are based and how its music is created.

4. From the succession process of Pungmul II

4.1. The structure of Pungmul

Being based on the above awareness of the issues, this chapter will examine closely the process in which they acquire the canons and order of Pungmul music which is one of the biggest goals in the succession process. In order to do so, it is worth referring to the forming conditions of Pungmul Pungmul is the ensemble of the percussions which is mainly composed of four drums (Samul). The musical instruments which play a major role are Janggu (an hourglass-shaped drum), Buk (a barrel drum similar to the bass drum), and Kkwaenggwaeri (a small gong). Jing (a larger gong, held with left hand and played by the stick held with right hand).

The structure of rhythm of Pungmul is the composition where basic rhythmic pattern (Changdan) is played repeatedly. In the composition, they play with change such as variation, acceleration. For instance, structure such as slowly, moderate, speeding increasingly to the end’ is not only the case of Pungmul, but also of other folk music in South Korea. They have names of rhythm (Changdan) for each tempo; that is to say, Jinyangjo for slow tempo, Chungmori, rapid tempo of ending Chungmori for differentiation. They have senses to grasp the rhythms according to the differences of tempo.
Regarding the rhythm of Korean traditional and folk music, music consisting of three divided rhythms with explicit accents, or Changdan based on the pulse of triple time. Its characteristics are dynamics of moving body up and down and jumping like dancing.

4.2. Sounds chosen: the pitches

In this section, I will examine concretely what sounds are chosen in the succession process. It is useful to examine the sounds by a physical measurement, however, as seen so far in the process described, the sounds of Pungmul does not accept absolute criteria like western music did. Therefore, an analysis based on the ethnographical fieldwork is emphasized in this article.

In the first place focusing on the sounds pitch, I will consider its relationship among the musical instruments (see Figure 4-3). There are metallic instruments (③, ④) and wooden instruments (①, ②) in the orchestrations of four percussions (Samul). Of the wooden instruments, Buk ① is set to lower pitch against Janggu ② (i). Of the metallic instruments, Jing ④ is set to lower pitch against Kwaenggwari ③ (iv). Kwaenggwari ③ may be played by Sangsoe (lead player) and Pusoe (deputy lead player). Pusoe is lower than Sangsoe in pitch sounds (v). Janggu ② is a both-sided drum and has different sounds on the sides of it, however, Kkus-pyon (the Kkun side which makes kun sounds of two-sided drum Janggu) is higher pitch sound than Yor-pyon (the Yor side which makes 'tta' sounds of two-sided drum Janggu) (iii).

4.3. The criteria of relationships

This criterion appears in the process like tuning before the performance. However, the criteria for choosing sounds are not limited to this relationship. Further examination needs for consideration of not only each sound of Pungmul but also with the whole musical system in mind.

The biggest clue is the accumulation of instructions on sounds in the succession process. With some cases of interactions in the succession process, I will arrange and describe four relationships; relationship with musical instruments, among sounds, artistic skills, person and sounds.

<Relationship with musical instruments>

Indications of ① and ② evoke that Pungmul is the ensemble of four musical instruments. Even if you practice alone, playing one instruments, an expression like ‘beginning to be able to see or hear the structure’ is considered to be good. It turns out that the masters distinguish sounds which can see (good)/ cannot see these relationships (good) as the indication of ①; ‘You cannot play any instruments of the four without understanding all the four instruments’, is the common indication among Mr. L, Mr. M, and Mr. N.
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relationship among sounds

1. ‘you cannot play any instruments of the four without understanding all the four instruments’.
   Mr. L, personal class

2. ‘the first pulse is where all sounds unite’. I thought the rhythm was out of music and listened to the sound, paying attention to the timing. The rhythm was correct but something seems to be wrong (because his face looks unsatisfied). Perhaps it is not a problem of timing and superficial matter.
   Mr. M, N band class

3. Mr. M pointed out that kkow (drum skin of lower pitch side of Janggu) is deeper sound many times, but Mr. O could not do well. Then the master told a senior pupil to play Buk. He showed a demonstration and said ‘listen to Buk well’. Then he explained by mixture of Kuum of Buk and Janggu, saying ‘buk kkun kkun kkun’ instead of saying ‘kkun kkun kkun kkun’.
   Mr. M and his pupil Mr. O, personal class

4. The pupil said (though I play Janggu) ‘I can hear a sound of Jing at the first pulse. I’d like to play sounds to the semblance of Jin’. The master replied ‘That’s good’.
   Mr. M, personal class

5. ‘if you play slowly there. It makes Sangmo part play difficult!’
   Mr. L and his pupils Mr. L and Mr. P, at practice room

6. Mr. M started to stand up and walk, saying ‘Here is something like this’. It is the way to walk with knee bend and up-and-down movement. ‘You cannot walk without this up movement! It should be that kind of tta!’
   Mr. M, personal class

7. When everybody practiced by themselves, I fell asleep for being tired. Then the master came and got angry about it, saying ‘Do not play alone. Practicing all together is most important!’
   Mr. L, at practice room

8. In the scene that students play one piece of music through. The members other than Kkwaenggwari part winked to the Kkwaenggwari part, but the student did not realize it as struggling to play his part. As soon as finished playing, they complained about him, ‘You were slow’, ‘Why didn’t you speed tempo!’, ‘That’s difficult!’
   Mr. M, at practice room

relationship with artistic skills

Indications ⑤ and ⑥ evoke that the music of Pungmul is originally a performing art with artistic skills. They imply that mechanism on constructing of the sounds by the relationship with various artistic skills and that it is necessary to learn such senses. For example, it is sometimes recommended experiencing not only musical instruments but also artistic skills like a song and dance. In fact, this is regarded not only as a meaning that various experiences help us understand our own artistic skills but also to understand the system constructed in the relationship with artistic skills such as a song and dance.

relationship among persons and sounds

When everybody practiced by themselves, I fell asleep for being tired. Then the master came and got angry about it, saying ‘Do not play alone. Practicing all together is most important!’

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Figure 9 Indication35 on sound and practice (Extract from field note)

Comments and interactions on the succession process

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<Relationship among sounds>

In indication ③, it is assumed that lower pitch sound of Janggu and of Buk is situated to be in the close position, judged from the situation where kkun, Kuum of Janggu is reworded to Buk, Kuum of Buk immediately. Moreover, there is a scene that the indication given as ‘You cannot play Janggu in that way’ if the student plays without accent in a part where should have an accent of Buk. Regarding the indication ④, the sound of Jing is the sound to be played in the first pulse. The first pulse is originally the sound all the musical instruments play together, thus, the volume of the sound is physically large. If they become conscious of it, a feeling of tension is given to the first pulse where Jing is played in the case of playing other musical instruments. Seeing from this, it is clear that the sounds of Buk, Janggu, and Jing have mutually influence over each other.

<Relationship with artistic skills>

Indications ⑤ and ⑥ evoke that the music of Pungmul is originally a performing art with artistic skills. They imply that mechanism on constructing of the sounds by the relationship with various artistic skills and that it is necessary to learn such senses. For example, it is sometimes recommended experiencing not only musical instruments but also artistic skills like a song and dance. In fact, this is regarded not only as a meaning that various experiences help us understand our own artistic skills but also to understand the system constructed in the relationship with artistic skills such as a song and dance.
<Relationship with persons and sounds>

In indications ⑦, ⑧ we can see the power relationship among sounds influenced the inner aspect of a person and human relationship. In indication ⑧, it is possible to speed the tempo a little bit if they think the tempo is slow. However, when I asked them to do so, they replied ‘We cannot do so’.

In a system Pungmul, Kkwaenggwari part is the leader and the statement showed a sense that it is a taboo to play faster than the leader. On the other hand, it has been reported that the Pungmul took place in villages that holds the floor (the chief of the village etc.) in the community plays a role of the leader of Kkwaenggwari (Sangsoe). From this point it can be regarded that the relationship with sounds has influence over human relationship.

So far it appears that Pungmul music consists of a variety of relationships. This regularity is considered to be in the primordial position which makes Pungmul music possible. More importantly, persons related with action of Pungmul are forced to be involved in the border such as regularity and norms through orality and physical communication.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Dynamics border

This article focuses on the succession process of a ‘transborder’ folk music as a modern aspect of a folk music Pungmul by the notion of ‘borer’ of music in order to clarify its mode of transmission and process. What emerged in this work is the appearance of a variety of ‘borders’ and the dynamics process.

More specifically, considering the dynamic condition of succession of Pungmul, dealing with interactions between the instructors (masters) and successors (pupils) from more micro aspects. The succession process for the successors is an accumulation of tasks in which taking in the musical norms (=borders) showed by the instructors by physical repetitive movements such as imitation and repetition and a process where they internalize (=transborder) new senses necessary for the succession. On the other hand, for the instructors, it is the process that they test out a different mode of succession (=transborder), seeking for the canons (=borders) they have succeeded between their instructors and successors.

The sounds chosen in the process consists of many relationships. The four percussions are based on the pitch of the sounds of each percussion as a standard on relationship, for example Buk is set to be lower than Janggu, and Jing is set to lower than Kkwaenggwari. Moreover, accumulating the description of the norms for ‘good and bad’ in the process of succession, it turns out that there appears the standard of various relationship like the relationship with musical instruments, sounds, artistic skills, and sounds and persons, and in the process Pungmul music made possible.

However, these canons are not always fixed as they are influenced by the seeking of instructors, successors. Therefore, the succession is the process that existing borders appear and the same time a process where a variable and dynamic new succession process is made to transcend them. In other words, that is a process that makes dynamic borders. Furthermore, it is regarded that makes Pungmul music has been succeeded until now by the accumulation of the segments of process of succession described in this article.

5.2. Future tasks: appearing of ‘border’ and indetermination

Thus, the canons of Pungmul music appeared in the succession process. Focusing on the aspects of personal musical expressions and consciousness and actions, however, there is a scene where their succession process acts on the music system itself. Such a scene of indetermination will be described
A Korean instructor, Mr. M has many successors. Sustained observation on his lesson of beginners, it is seen that the contents of his teaching are about historical and musical general information of Pungmul, basic practical method on how to play the musical instruments, method of breathing, importance of Kuum, and there are to some extent common mode of instructions. As the lesson repeated, however, various advices are given. The following example is taken from his lesson with Ms. J (in her 30s, female, dancer).

Don’t turn your arm around (when you play the sound of kkun). Not this way. This way (after imitating J’s playing, demonstrated the performance).

(Extract from the lesson of Mr. M to Ms. J, in South Korea)

The succession methodology of Mr. M is consolidated to the sentence as ‘Practice in any way.’ In the end, however, in this case it is observed that not only he demonstrates the performance and tells his pupil good or not but also that there is a change that he introduces the performance of the pupil into his instruction in the succession process in accordance with the response of pupil.

Mr. M is the instructor for Ms. J but he is a pupil in front of his instructor (called as an adept Q in Pungmul). On one hand, he performs Samul nori with Mr. Q; on the other hand, he is so highly motivated about a creative activity that performs with free jazz in the group he organized. Mr. M told me about Mr. Q as described below.

I have never been taught by the master Q in this way (face-to-face lesson). We just drank, listening to the master. And we played together. The performance was amazing. The master, Q is the most cool even though only with Kuum. I want to teach with my best as I was not taught by my master….the master Q likes only classical performance, but I do not. We cannot make an appeal our traditional music to the world only with something old. How wonderful our traditional music is! My dream is to make Samul nori globalized.

(Extract from interview with Mr. M in South Korea)

What we can see from this case, Mr. M started to seek the music more and as a result of that, there are differences among his method of succession and his instructor, Mr. Q’s succession method and musical expressions. In addition to that, he performs and teaches with recognition of it to some extent.

More interestingly, Mr. M is a successor of Samul nori, a genre created recently. Looking at his performance, it is formally based on Samul nori, but his expression is different from other teams of Samul nori. He seems to aim for his original style. Nevertheless, he often said to his pupils ‘Originally there should have been this deep sound.’ and stared to seek ‘traditional sounds’. Although it is Mr. M, a successor of Samul nori that should be far from tradition, he seeks tradition in his inner consciousness.

Such a grope makes the canons of music indeterminate by bringing music in the other end as tradition and modernity closer. Thus, it is clear that in the succession of a folk music, the existence of artistic skill and canons of the instructors, which are thought to be absolute, is an indeterminate process that the instructors, the successors and canons influence each other.

A folk music Pungmul, spreading all over the world is characterized as such a process and it makes ‘border’ and ‘transborder’ happen. These transmission aspects relating to the segments of the world are the power of ‘transborder-communication’ of folk music which can transcend existing borders. This article is just an attempt to understand the dynamism.
The musical notes showed above are symbolized by the master, Mr. M. If the beginning of rhythmic pattern as described on the musical note, it will be like this. Although it is easy to record and to understand visually, it is difficult to re-create the sounds only with this musical note. The reason why this article takes the example by the author to examine the influence that succession of Pungmul has over the individual inner aspect. There are no other ways to examine an area such as the inner aspect of individuals, which has never been apparent. However, this approach lacks objectivity as a problem. In order to compensate it, other cases will be centrally examined after the next page.

Notes

1. Pungmul can be recognized in Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea) but in this article the spread of it in South Korea will be mainly argued.

2. The places where the performance of Pungmul is ascertained other than in South Korea, are, for instance, Yanji (China); New York, Los Angeles, California and Hawaii (USA); Kanagawa, Tokyo and Osaka (Japan).

3. The author has raised issues on social labelling regarding a modern practice of music in another article (See Tanaka 2013).

4. The word of ‘primitive art’ is essentially contradiction, considering it in terms of idea of modern art which was established in the west.

5. I mean ‘border’ here by ‘individual social life is led in this social groups with the borders and not only behavioral patterns are restricted by the borders but also people’s subjective experience consist of the border itself’ (Watanabe 1987: 200).

6. As mentioned above, there are varieties of names for the music, but in this article: Pungmul will be used as it has been widely used by the practitioners. The reason why is to find positively original diversity of it. The signified of the world refers to the event in which playing Pungmul rhythms, using four percussion instruments called Samul used in Pungmul. Furthermore, this article intends not to define closely the world of Pungmul or to evaluate its social and aesthetic of folk performing art and music.

7. The author has carried out constant field work in South Korea, Japan and the United States of America since 2004 regarding practice of Pungmul.

In other words, they are ‘oral culture’ and ‘writing culture’. In the western culture, especially the invention of type is considered to have significantly contributed to the development of literacy culture. But they insist that modern culture has been influenced by the appearance of electronic media on the revival of the influence of orality. Ong called it ‘secondary orality’.

8. A media theorist Sterne, J criticizes that the orality’s point of view on media and history was based on Christianity and doubted whether orality cultures in fact existed (Sterne 2003).

9. It is a way of thinking that body as a basis doesn’t have universal aspects such as physiology and instinct but is also constructed by society. That is a matter of body politics. For instance, the discussion of ‘docile body’ by Foucault, M. (1975) and ‘interpellation’ by Althusser, L. (1995) clarified the modes of body which was disciplined and trained by the rulers’ ideological practice. On the contrary to this, there are arguments in which they grasp the social restraints over individuals as a part of dynamic process between society and individuals, not by looking at it in one way. A good example of that is ‘structuring’ by a sociologist Giddens, A. (1984). In the structuration, it focuses on activeness of mutuality that how the individuals who are forced to be restricted by society shape their own body. These arguments will have significant meanings to this research to grasp the dynamism of folk music. I would like to examine it closely at the next opportunity.

10. For instance, pause appearing in talking can be regarded as a part of sound area in a sense that it presupposes the existence of sound. These arguments will have significant meanings to this research to grasp the dynamism of folk music. I would like to examine it closely at the next opportunity.

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12. The concept of stockphrase as Tani mentioned is also implied in the improvisation of Jazz music (Sadnow 1978).

13. Uchida who researched folk songs of rice farming in Namdo in 1970s described a consistent process such as songs of weeding, rice planting, the first weeding, the second weeding, the third weeding, and homeward songs of weeding in which callers and the persons who plant sing one after the other, sometimes using musical instruments such as jang (a larger gong) Khwaenggwari (a small gong) (Uchida 1991: 30).

14. But under Saeamul Movement took place from 1970s, performing arts such as village festival and the rituals of Korean shamanism which are connected with folk beliefs were regarded as harmful superstitions to the modernization and rationalization of life and eventually it lead to fight against superstition. Because of this, Kut and the music in Korean shamanism declined with criticism (Isshii 1997).

15. The name of Samul nori was taken from the name of tram in which Pungmul was taken into play organized by Kim Duk Soo and became a name of musical genre. The meaning of Samul nori in Kanji character 四物遊戯 is musical play with use of four musical instruments.

16. Due to the lack of existing literatures and materials, the overseas condition of distribution of Pungmul is based on interviews of people who had experienced stay overseas as well as the media such as the Internet. The adaption condition in Japan is based on interviews with related persons and the information on the websites of related associations. The information on each websites is listed in the references.


18. To show an example of Kaeum, in the succession of Janggu, the following Kaeum are used; kỔ and kw on the side of lower pitch sound, tu and ki on the side of higher pitch, and don when plying the both sides. Lessons are preceded through these Kaeum.

19. In popular music, people so called ‘adepts’ are said to scarcely learn with musical notes. They tried to write down to a musical note in some. These arguments will have significant meanings to this research to grasp the dynamism of folk music. I would like to examine it closely at the next opportunity.
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References


