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What is throat singing?



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Abstract

In southern Siberia there is a culture of throat singing, a singing technique where a person can create two different and clearly audible tones at the same time. This throat singing phenomenon has flowed from the Tuvan republic in Russia out into the entire world. Persons of different ethnic origins sing and teach throat singing to persons from all kinds of nations, thus all kinds of persons come in contact with the throat singing phenomenon. Questions that seem to naturally arise from this are: How is throat singing used by these persons, how does it play a part in their lives? This study begins with a historical background to the phenomenon of throat singing, introducing the important terms and concepts, then it goes into the more scientific analysis, showing phenomenologically how a heterogeneous group uses throat singing in its/their ontology, and then concluding it all by putting it all together, creating a model of a being of throat singing. In other words, this is a first step towards a complete understanding of the phenomena of throat singing, and this first step takes the approach from the experience of the individual. With a phenomenological method of analysis, Meaning Constitution Analysis, the different aspects of throat singing is exposed by showing the meanings associated with it. There has not been any similar study as this before, all the previous data using throat singing without definition is arbitrary. With the results of this study, even quantitative surveys can be used to further understand the phenomenon of throat singing.

Keywords: Socialantropologi, Tuva, Sibirien, Strupsång, Fenomenologi, Kognitiv Antropologi, Social Anthropology, Siberia, Throat Singing, Phenomenology, Cognitive Anthropology, Anthropology of Music, Ethnomusicology

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1 Introduction

This study will demonstrate that the being of throat singing is, among other things; being used around Altai Mountains in Siberia, being used to heal the earth, being used to create music, and being used to learn to throat sing together with others. This will be done by looking at how a group of persons create meaning towards throat singing by their individual way of using and thinking about it.

1.1 Short background to throat singing

The Tuva¹ region in southern Siberia have always had natural barriers, like mountains, desert and rivers, that have for a long time made the country more or less inaccessible by outside visitors. During the larger part of the twentieth century Tuva was also willingly a part of the Soviet union, which created political barriers for visitors from the other side of the iron curtain. (Humphrey 1980:1-4) Towards the latter part of the twentieth century Tuva was changed into an autonomous republic in Russia. This came to open to the borders internationally, both for tuvinians and foreign visitors. (Leighton 1992:214-219)

In Tuva there is a strong tradition of throat singing², a phenomenon where the listener can hear two different controlled tones at the same time, coming from one singer. Tuva is a small country in the Altai mountains, where throat singing has thrived, but since throat singing nomads do not stay in one place, geographical and political borders can not show where there are throat singers and where there are not. (Levin 2006:71)

Throat singing was traditionally used in different ways in the everyday life of nomad life around the Altai mountains, from throat singing to lull a baby to sleep to throat singing to call yaks on the mountains. (Pegg 2001:60) Throat singing was usually sung outside because the majority of throat singers were herders, hunters, craftsmen and tradesmen. (Tongerren 2004:56) It was also highly taboo of women to throat sing, "Because throat-singing makes women barren!" (Levin 2006:199)

Throat singing as a phenomenon has gone from being the passtime of local nomads to the characteristics of internationally known tuvinians, from the shamans of the steppe to persons all over the world through the internet. Regional competitions in throat singing have become internationally known. Throat singing as a phenomenon has become known by persons who do not come from Tuva, and is being taught by persons who do not come from Tuva.

¹ Tuva is a republic in Russia, in the South of Siberia, to the borders Northwest of Mongolia. There are 300.000 persons living in Tuva, half of them live in urban areas, and the average age for a person in Tuva is 25 years old. (<http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2007/0301/barom04.php> 2008) There are two major ethnicities in Tuva, 77-80% Tuvans and ~20% Russians. The only other calculable group is barely 1%, the Khalkhas. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuva> 2008)

² As the locus of inquiry in this study is based on the Tuvan style of throat singing, whenever the term "throat singing" is used it refers to tuvan style throat singing. When other styles of throat singing are mentioned, it will say so in the text, like so "Mongolian throat singing" or so "Inuit throat singing".

There are different ways of categorizing different techniques and styles³ of throat singing, some simpler than others. Which techniques exist differs between clans and villages. The most simple categorisation is just three different techniques. These are Kargyraa, Khoomei and Sygyt. Kargyraa is the technique which creates most bass-sound, as it takes the normal singing voice down one octave. Sygyt is the one with highest pitch, creating an almost whistle-like sound. Khoomei is the most basic technique, having a middle-range character compared to the other two techniques. Together, these three are known as Khoomei. Khoomei is not just a sub-category, but also a word that describes all the techniques and styles. (Tongeren 2004:18-19)

A translation of the Tuvan words also gives an insight into what technique they represent: Sygyt means “whistle”, kargyraa means “to roar like a waterfall” or “croak like a black crow”, borbangnadyr means “rolling” and “chylandyk” is an onomatopoeic word describing the sound made by a type of bird called chylandyk. (Pegg 2001:302, Levin 2006:67,228) The Tuvan word for throat singing, “khoomei”, is believed to have its origin in the Mongolian word for throat or pharynx, kögemei. (Pegg 1992:31, Lundberg&Ronström 2002:13)

Sometimes you can think, “ah, what clear tones that singer is producing”, but this is physically not true. A sound produced by a voice contains all the tones in an entire octave, with the fundamental, the lowest tone, being the one with the most volume, usually. Your voice producing

Khoomei				
Chylandyk	Kargyraa	Sygyt	Khoomei	Borbangnadyr

Illustration 1: An example of how a tuvan (EmiC) taxonomy of throat singing can look like, using tuvan words to describe tuvan techniques. Made by the author.

apparatus is everything from your abdominal muscles to your lips, and each part of your body in your voice producing apparatus helps shape the sound you make. In normal speech and singing, one part, like your jaw, is responsible for shaping the volume of one formant. A formant is a resonant peak in your voice. A resonant peak is a slightly higher volume on a few bundled harmonics. And harmonics, in this case, are the tones in your voice that you're not usually aware of, the tones beside your fundamental. A specific set of resonant peaks make up the cognitive characteristics for a vowel, which is why humans can understand each other even though they have different voices. (Tongeren 2004:11-18)

³ A shared definition on the difference between “styles” and “techniques” within throat singing doesn't exist. In cases where there has to be definition on this, this one is used: Techniques are based on larger physical changes while styles are personal preferences. As an example: Singing high-pitched and with a faster rhythm is a style. Applying increased constriction in the throat to make the ventricular folds vibrate is a technique.

In throat singing and overtone singing, you combine formants to increase the volume of certain harmonics, to make the overtones more audible. A metaphor that works here is that high⁴ formants equals audible overtones. (Lundberg&Ronström 2002:15) But throat singing is primarily a subjective experience, for both the listener and the singer. If you can not distinguish two different tones coming from one singer, then it is just ordinary singing. This is so even in Tuva, where they like to focus on the timbre of the voice. (Levin 2006:47-48) Timbre, or colour, being the relation between the harmonics.

In throat singing, but not in overtone singing, you constrict the airflow trough your throat. (Tongerren 2004:23) This is the basis for tuvan style throat singing, khoomei. If you apply tremolo to your tongue root while singing khoomei, you get the technique borbangnadyr instead of khoomei. If you put your tongue tip to the roof of your mouth when singing khoomei, you get the basic technique sygyt. Sygyt is hard to do, it requires alot of throat constriction and air pressure. (Lundberg&Ronström 2002:15)

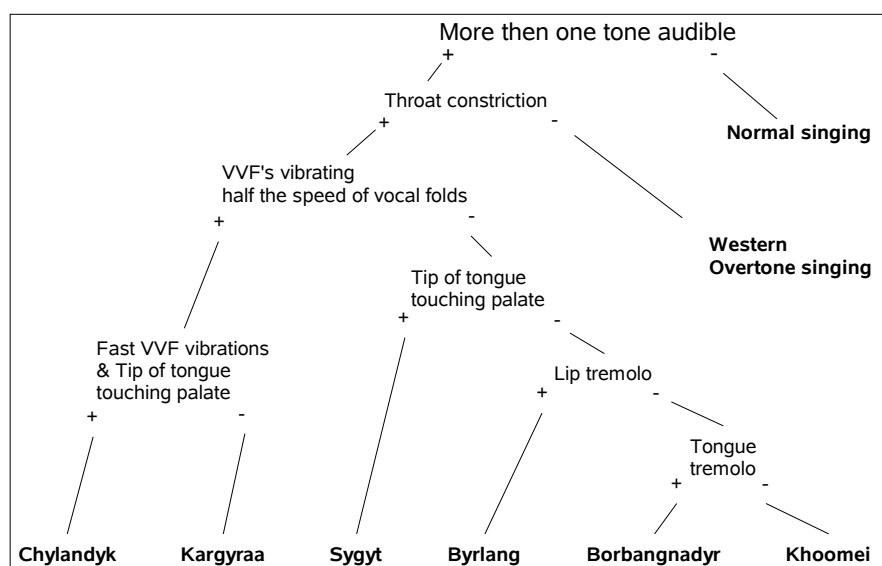


Illustration 2: Tree arrangement of throat singing, made by the author, using early cognitive anthropology as reference. (Tyler 2004:402)

Plus (+) indicates presence of feature, minus (-) indicates absence of feature.

VVF is short for Vocal-Ventricular Folds.

Kargyraa uses a special kind of vibration of the vocal-ventricular folds, they vibrate half the speed of the normal vocal folds, making the voice drop an entire octave. The vocal-ventricular folds (VVF), sometimes also referred to as false vocal folds, are located above the normal vocal folds. In all kinds of tuvan throat singing, the VVFs are involved in one way or another, but in kargyraa they make the voice sound really low. (Sakakibara et al. 2002, Fuks et al. 1998:57-58) This is also how

⁴ “High” here meaning both pitch as well as volume.

the tibetan monks do it, and they've seemingly learned it from the nomads around the Altai mountains, hundreds of years ago. (Fuks et al. 1998:51, Lundberg&Ronström 2002:16)

1.2 Purpose of study

This study is supposed to be the first step towards a complete analysis of throat singing. The starting point of that endeavour is looking at it from the individual's point of view. This is something that has not been the primary research focus in any of the throat singing literature available in english⁵.

How throat singing is done has been explained by Van Tongeren in his book "Overtone Singing" (2004), how nomads are socialized into throat singing is explained in Levin's book "Where Rivers and Mountains Sing" (2006), and how throat singing is performed in traditional cultural context has been explained by Pegg in her book⁶ "Mongolian Music, Dance, & Oral Narrative" (2001).

Those topics might be obvious to look at from an ethnological/anthropological standpoint, but they miss the basic question. What is the being throat singing, what different aspects of throat singing are there from a subjective perspective?

Marita Sturken's and Lisa Cartwright's definition of culture is here used, for which they credit british professor emeritus in Sociology, Stuart Hall: "[...] culture as the shared practices of a group, community, or society, through which meaning is made out of the visual, aural, and textual world of representations." (Sturken&Cartwright 2001:3) This definition was chosen because of it is suitable wording considering this study's field of study. The words "shared practice", "meaning" and "aural" stand out here. Yet, this definition is still general enough that a lot of persons can agree on it.

Doing a comparison between different cultures' meanings towards throat singing is very close to defining the basic idea, or concept, but doing such a study still implies⁷ the very being of throat singing in the first place. The being of throat singing is not the same thing as its existence⁸. Non-mental objects can have a being without existing, like for instance the discourse of feminism or the concept of society. Throat singing does exist as phenomenon; this is not the question here⁹. The question is about the other side of the coin:

What is the being of throat singing?

This can be answered in many different ways. The main idea here is that a certain congregate of meanings is the core of the being. Look at chapter 2.3 for a visual representation of this idea. This idea is here derived from the thoughts of Husserl as interpreted by the method of MCA, Meaning

⁵ The author doesn't know Russian, so sadly there's no material from Russian ethnography in this study.

⁶ Carole Pegg has written more than this one book that touches the topic of throat singing, as have Mark Van Tongeren and Theodore Levin. This specific material is presented because they are the (currently) main works done by these authors that have something to do with throat singing and its contexts.

⁷ Imagine persons doing a quantitative/statistical survey on throat singing without having done this ground work, they would not know what they were studying, since they do not know what throat singing is. Any such work would be void of test validity and reliability.

⁸ For more information on the complexity of the concept of "Existence"; see German phenomenology philosopher Martin Heidegger's work "Existence and Being", which was translated into English in 1949 by Werner Brock.

⁹ Phenomenology was created to bridge the gap between the mental and the physical, a bridge commonly derived from French philosopher René Descartes and his statement "Cogito Ergo Sum". (Moustakas 1994:44)

Constitution Analysis. Look at chapter 3.2 for a more in-depth explanation of this.

Using this way of looking at a being of something, this study will find and connect varying meanings of throat singing to illustrate the being of throat singing. Different persons have different meanings towards throat singing, these are all valid and are all taken into account for the being of throat singing. All meanings cannot be found, but with as varying meanings of throat singing as possible, the being is better recognizable for a broader range of people. This is the purpose of this study, find an accentuated and defining meaning towards throat singing from each person in this study, then use different these meanings together to illustrate the being of throat singing.

1.3 Layout

Not everyone knows what throat singing is, so of course there is an introduction to this at the beginning of the study. This introduction as chapter 1 is a bit over-detailed, because this study is written in Sweden where throat singing is especially unknown. A smooth transition into a reasoning behind the choice of study is then attempted, followed by a kind of introduction to the object of study.

Chapter 2 is about the theories used to understand this object of study. This begins with a kind of pre-emptive defence against critique of the field of study, in case someone would have some objections against it. Using phenomenology and other philosophical aspects in anthropology is not very common, which is why there's also a section about that here in chapter 2. This section about phenomenology speaks about phenomenology as a theory, as a kind of introduction to the thinking behind it for the uninitiated reader. As a conclusion to chapter 2 there's a more in-depth explanation of the field of study, to rid of any misunderstandings of what this study is about. This explanation is done partly using the idea of reductionism for two things; first it is used as a metaphor for the kind of thinking behind this study, secondly it is also used as a way of showing how the method in this study is both useful and contemporarily anchored.

Chapter 3 is the method and material-section of this study; the material used to come to a result is here presented, as well as how that material was analysed. First is the literature on throat singing shown, together with a presentation of their authors. This is done as a critique of the sources used in this study, but it also shows what new and of relevance this study can bring. What does this literature say about the field of study, does this literature have anything to say about the being of throat singing. After going through that, the method of MCA, Meaning Constitution Analysis, is presented. MCA is not a common method in anthropology, which is why the account for this method takes up more room than what the reader would have liked. This method is psychological and philosophical, besides the obvious phenomenological perspective. The steps done for analysing the informants' texts, a highly time-consuming and meticulous work of typing each sentence fifteen times or more, is accounted for. After that comes a section on the question the informants answered. And lastly in chapter 3 is a short presentation of the informants, which are here at least *tried* to be as anonymous as possible.

In chapter 4 the phenomenological text analysis is presented in the way of horizons. Each informant got at least one horizon, others got two if it was deemed necessary for the process. The horizon for an informant was chosen as a kind of ideal model of their message. After the

presentation of each horizon, an interpretation of it is presented, using a life-world description. This description shows us the relation between the subject and the object, the relation between the informant and the throat singing.

This kind of layout, having first the already existing literature about the field of study, then ones own collected material, is a layout recommended for scientific works that utilize phenomenological research methods. (Moustakas 1994:156-157) The literature is ethnomusicological, but the informants are not ethnomusicologists; the informants are throat singers, and are, as you shall see, a not entirely homogenous group.

Chapter 5 connects the material and the interpretations of it. It is the point of this study. If the other chapters before this one have shown the “how”, this chapter shows the “why”. This is the strength of anthropology as opposed to other disciplines. Where quantitative psychology and sociology only answers the “how”, anthropology always has as a goal to try to answer the “why”. This is because, only by answering this “why” can understanding be reached of other peoples cultures as well as one own¹⁰.

Chapter 6 does a conclusion of this study. First it goes through what the results of this study means. Then it shows what can be further researched in this field as well as what further research can be done using the results in this study. And last but not least, is a summary of the study.¹¹

¹⁰ Compare with the discussion on Emic and Etic, concerning the need and use of empathic science. (Pike 1967)

¹¹ This kind of layout, having “Future research” in the last chapter and “Summary” as a last section, is a recommended layout for works of science that utilizes phenomenological research methods. (Moustakas 1994:162,182)

2 Theory

This chapter describes the main theories used to conduct the study; the delimiting of the field, a presentation of phenomenology, and an attempt to use reductionism to guide the reader to what to expect from the theory behind the study. This part of the reductionism as model is not a minor part, it helps the reader to understand the use of the material and the analysis of the material.

2.1 Defining the field of study

A field is where the researcher can go to collect data and information, this has been discussed a lot within anthropology where ethnography is used as primary method. As ethnography hasn't been used for obtaining material for this study, an in-depth explanation of 'the field'¹² isn't that vital. There is some point to reflect over the potential field used in this study though, considering the use of Internet websites as sources.

By narrowing the field of study to throat singing, this study hasn't just randomly chosen persons on the Internet with some kind of connection to throat singing. Use has been made of throat singing on-line communities¹³ and throat singing sources of information on the Internet where persons from all over the world supply and help build an active database of information concerning throat singing. In other words, the common denominator is the epistemology of throat singing.

As a reader of this study, one might ask then if there aren't several unrelated fields in play here, since the persons on the Internet are from different geographical places and with different cultural backgrounds. One possible answer lies in the delimiting of the problematization¹⁴ of the field of study.

The field of study is not subjects who throat sing, it is how throat singing presents itself towards the world. It is not what the being of throat singers is, it is what the being of throat singing is. In other words, the field of study here is throat singing itself, not throat singers.

2.2 Phenomenological Anthropology

Phenomenology is a tough word to pronounce, and what it is, *can* be even more difficult to explain. In short though, it is an interdisciplinary approach with roots coming from the ideas of such philosophers as the Frenchman Jean Paul Sartre and the Germans Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger.

The main concept used here is based on Husserl's ideas, Husserl who knew Sartre and was Heidegger's mentor. To understand this kind of phenomenology, one should first realise that "subjects" are persons with goals, motivations, emotions, etc. These are called intentions, and are

¹² For a problematization of the concept of 'the field' in ethnography, see Anthropologist George E. Marcus' article "Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography" in Volume 24 of Annual Review of Anthropology. (1995)

¹³ Whether or not on-line communities can be considered communities from an anthropological stand point is an interesting question but not one that this short study allows any further space then this.

¹⁴ Anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson discuss in their article "Discipline and Practice: 'The Field' as Site, Method and Location in Anthropology" (1997) that what the anthropologist is actually doing in the text, is constructing the field.

directed towards “objects”. This process of directing something towards something is called intentionality. (Moustakas 1994:68-83) It is like, if you use a car to drive to work, the goal of getting to work is directed towards the car object. Notice the wording here, you use the car. This is interesting because, phenomenologically speaking, you are thinking with the car when you are driving it. You can not drive to work without a car, and you can not step on the breaks before a red light in the middle of the road if you aren’t in a car. The objects towards which a person directs its intentions are therefore a part of that person’s individual “life-world”. Phenomenology is hence a merger between subjectivism and objectivism. There is a world outside the subjective experience, and there is a subjective experience of it.

Furthermore, objects towards which a person has no intentions do not exist in that person’s life-world¹⁵. For example, a hammer is only a hammer to a person when that person has the intention of that hammer ever being used as hammer. This can only be said here because the reader of this study is assumed to understand how a hammer is used. If the hammer was thrown into a context where that hammer is not used as a hammer, like for instance a UFO filled with aliens without hands to use hammers, then the hammer wouldn’t be a hammer, it would be something else. The hammer as we know it wouldn’t be a hammer in such a hand-less context, yet it would still exist. The “ontological” hammer would cease to be, though the “transcendental” hammer would still exist. The material hammer with all its features exists objectively, but the being of the hammer, the hammer’s “being-in-the-world”, is a subjective experience.¹⁶

As a reader of this study, one might think this kind of phenomenological thinking is interesting navel gazing, but useless for anthropology. That’s not true, if anything could be true. There are branches of anthropology called Existential Anthropology, Philosophical Anthropology, and Phenomenological Anthropology. Phenomenology can, and is, used by anthropologists. Michael Jackson is one of them. He is an anthropologist from Australia. In his book “Existential Anthropology” (2005) he uses phenomenology as a method on different kinds of ethnographical examples, most of them involving the hardships of Australian aboriginals.

Michael Jackson is able to use phenomenology to explain why the aboriginals find it so difficult to be in the “whitefellas space”. The reason behind them being drunk whenever they go out into the town, or in other areas where the whitefella resides, is because they’ve lost their connection to their life-world. Jackson sees this when his aboriginal informants go out into the bush, they are set into their own life-world, they use their entire body to find hidden berries and tell you which root not to eat, when and where to do things. Most of their knowledge, bodily and intellectually, is connected to a certain environment. Being out of touch with your life-world increases anxiety and tension,

¹⁵ Everything has an intention, if it doesn't then it doesn't exist in the life-world. (Personal conversation with Sages, November 14, 2007)

¹⁶ This “being-in-the-world” is how things presents themselves to the world. How they do that is easily understood in a simple rephrasing. For instance, just turn this sentence “A person can use a car to drive to work” in to this sentence “A car can be used to drive to work”. The act (or intentionality) of driving to work, is a part of the (ontological) car itself. In the same way, this study is not about how people use throat singing, as have been said several times before already, but how throat singing itself can be used. And not just used, but thought about, and felt about, and anything else people can think of.

according to Jackson and the phenomenological thinkers he uses for reference.

(Jackson 2005:18-30,26)

2.3 Reductionism as a model of thought

Individual reductionist thought is popular in Anthropology right now, and it is under critique by some of the leading researchers in the field. See for instance, “The Retreat of the Social” by Bruce Kapferer et al. (2005) In it anthropologists like Jonathan Friedman, Bruce Kapferer, and Roger Just criticises the wave of reductionist thought in social science.

This study is clearly reductionistic, it looks only at throat singing from the individuals' point of view. It reduces throat singing to an individual thing, almost forgetting about it is cultural meanings and social role in society. This is not a good thing, of course. It is like the old Buddhist koan where a bunch of blind monks touch an elephant, each of them gives different, but untrue, descriptions of what they think it is, a rope, a tree trunk, a large rock, etc.

This is just an exploratory study of throat singing, so perhaps it isn't so bad to be reductionist at this stage. But there's a point to the reductionism here. Different persons have different interpretations of what something is, they use it for different things and see it differently. There's a surplus of meanings connected to every thing around people. The relation persons have towards things can have an almost infinite amount of different meanings, bound to cultural context. Using MCA, the being of something can be derived from different meanings like that.

Most things are in some kind of cultural context, and throat singing is definitely no exception. In this study, a selection of persons are allowed to show their culturally constructed meaning of throat singing. These variations of throat singing shows what throat singing can be. Alone they are just ethnography, descriptions of throat singing. But through analytic and interpretative processes, a kind of core is here made visible.

Look for a second at these letters: **A** *A* **A** **A**. They are not exactly the same, yet a lot of persons can recognize each and individual letter as the letter “A”. There are some constituents to recognizing a letter like the letter A. If it is too deformed, like on a physician's badly handwritten journal, it is not as easily recognized. If it is used in a word, and that word in a sentence, it is easier recognized.

This study tries to do the same with throat singing. By showing how persons use it differently, how persons interpret it differently, how persons can recognize and sometimes dismiss something as throat singing, a kind of interpersonally recognizable concept of throat singing is derived.

So while this study is reductionistic by only looking from the individual's point of view, it is also very anti-reductionist by compiling this essential core of throat singing. The more diverse selection of persons and the more diverse views of throat singing that are used for this, the more persons can then be said to be able to agree on this description of the being of throat singing.

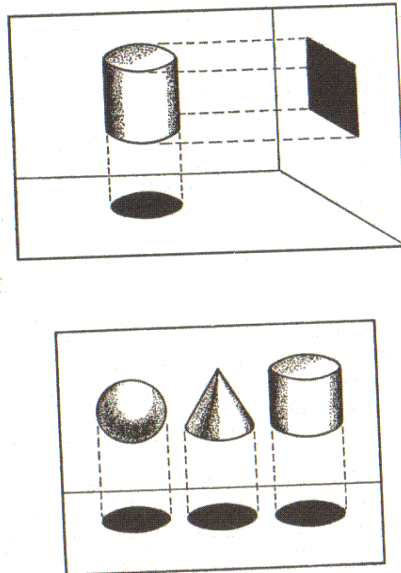


Illustration 3: A model of how reductionism oversimplifies complex objects of study; only casting light from one direction, like on the image with three different objects, creates only one kind of shadow despite the objects being different. Casting light from different directions, as the image above, shows the differences between objects. This is a mental model that can be applied to MCA and phenomenology for increased understanding. This model is from the book “Diagnosens Makt”, on the danger of socio-biological reductionism in psychiatry (Thomas Brante 2006:102)

3 Material and Method

This chapter goes through the material used for this study, as well as the method used to analyse this material. First previous research is presented, both because it is not neglected in the analysis as well as to show that these researchers, that did not reflect upon about the being of throat singing in their research, are not beginners in this field of throat singing. After this the method of MCA is accounted for, this includes the question that the informants' answered as well as a short presentation of these informants.

3.1 Previous research relevant for this study

Here are presented the authors of the primary sources used by this study, together with relevant excerpts from their works. This is done for two reasons, first to discourage criticism about the validity of the sources for this study, and secondly to give more valid empirical data. These authors are all ethnomusicologists with experience in the field of South Siberia and throat singing. At least one of each author's books (that are presented here), except Caroline Humphreys, is accompanied by a CD and/or DVD with examples of throat singing/overtone singing and various instruments. What these researchers say here is supposed to be seen in contrast, or as complement, to the material presented in this study. This is done in order to show what this study has contributed to the scientific community, if anything at all.

Carole Pegg is an Ethnomusicologist at the University of Cambridge, UK, and the author of "Mongolian Music, Dance & Oral Narrative" (2001), which is a thick and descriptive book on the Mongolian musical traditions, using their own terms and myths. It places throat singing¹⁷ in a world with lots of different instruments and oral epics.

Carole Pegg (BA MA (Cantab) PhD) has lectured at the University of Cambridge on Inner Asian music and dance (including Mongolian, Khakas, Altaian and Tyvan music), traditional musics of the UK, the anthropology of music and performance, ethnomusicology and social anthropology for the last 15 years. She has given lectures, held seminars, run workshops and worked with experimental actors in the U.K., USA, Hong Kong, Mongolia and China. She has served as Chairperson of the British Forum for Ethnomusicology, the Ethnomusicology Editor for The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, was founding Co-editor and Reviews Editor of The British Journal of Ethnomusicology and is currently on the Editorial Board of the journal in its new format, Ethnomusicology Forum (Routledge). She is currently a the position of Affiliated Scholar in the Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge.
(<http://www.innerasianmusic.com/carolepegg.htm>)

The first thing to mention here is that Pegg has done research in Mongolia, on Mongolian music and performance. And since this study focuses on Tuvan throat singing, this might be a problem. But in south Siberia and Mongolia, there are nomadic throat singers. And nomads do not really care about political nation-state borders; they see the landscape as the place where their herds can roam, borders for them look more like mountains and rivers. This, and the fact that this part of the world

¹⁷ Pegg uses "overtone singing" as a title for sections relating to throat singing, or Höömii as the Mongolians call it. (Pegg 2001:13)

has a very long history of local/tribal warfare¹⁸, makes it sensible to use Pegg's expertise in this study. In other words, there are many ethnic¹⁹ similarities between the peoples living in Northwest Mongolia and West Tuva, at least when talking about the ethno-musicological aspects. Many times there's just a small spelling difference in the name of an instrument or technique²⁰. This doesn't mean that this work, a study focusing on Tuvan throat singing, dares to say that Mongolian and Tuvan traditions are so alike that it doesn't really matter where the throat singing is done, in Tuva or Mongolia. There are differences of course, but the point is that Pegg is a valid source here. Especially since she herself brings up Tuvan instruments and throat singing in several of her works, in order to better encompass the variety this region offers in ethno-musicological contexts.

So, what does she say about the being of throat singing? No, that she doesn't. What she does however, is claiming to know how it is used traditionally, in the daily lives of olden times so to say. In the latter part of "Mongolian Music, Dance and Oral Narrative" she also describes how the Mongolian singers see it today. This is the closest thing to a being of throat singing that she writes anything about, the closest thing to any kind of direct experience of throat singing, the closest thing to hearing it or singing it.

In "Old Mongolia"²¹ throat singing was only done by men. Pegg says this could be due to folk-religious beliefs, but that Mongolians today think that it is due to physical strain put on the body by throat singing. Some Mongolians go so far as to even define throat singing as a kind of singing when blood rushes to the face, making veins on the throat more than clearly visible. The throat singing authority Pegg refers to, injured his larynx while learning, sometimes lost consciousness when performing, and needed surgery for breaking blood vessels near his eyes. (Pegg 2001:63) This machismo attitude is something rather Mongolian, or at least not especially Tuvan in character. Mongolian throat singers think that throat singing requires physical strength. A good Mongolian/Tuvan wrestler, which usually reaches his²² physical peak at around 25 years old, is considered to be the best physical raw material for throat singing. There's a relationship between wrestling and throat singing, if you're a good wrestler, you have the strength required to be a good singer. (Pegg 2001:64) This is assuming you already know *how* to throat sing, of course. You can not be expected to know how to sing just because you wrestle, but if you *do* know how to throat sing, you can be looking at a nice throat singing future ahead, following the Mongolian way of looking at it .

¹⁸ Ghengis Khan and the Scyths, just to mention two actors that have made an impact on how the area looks today.

¹⁹ The major ethnic group in Tuva is called Urianghai. There are different kinds of Urianghai, though none with such large enough difference to make it necessary to mention here. The important thing here is that there are Urianghai in both Tuva and Mongolia. (Pegg 2001:10,14) Of course, not all Urianghai are throat singers. Actually, in Mongolia, it is mostly persons from the Khalkhas ethnicity that sings throat singing. (Pegg 2001:60)

²⁰ The throat singing style Kargyraa is called Harhiraa in West Mongolia, and the horse head fiddle Igil is called Ikil in West Mongolia. (Pegg 2001:13,302)

²¹ A term Pegg uses to refer to the time before Tuva was a part of China and Soviet.

²² The male-female relationship is seen here as well, Mongolian and Tuvan wrestling is only for men. The history says that their wrestling attire have bare chests in order to more easily expose any female trying to wrestle. (http://www.enebuilder.net/tusker/e_article000941376.cfm?x=b11,0,w)

Today, Pegg claims, throat singing for Mongolians and other throat singers in the region has transformed. She calls it a “sonic icon of the ‘other’”, referring to how throat singing as heard in the west has connotations associated with it that hasn’t been a part of the Mongolian view on throat singing. Pegg’s claim of a throat singing transformation is that this “other” is who the Mongolian throat singers associate themselves with, in order to accommodate foreigners/westerners. The “other” doesn’t use throat singing to lull babies to sleep or herd yaks or hunt reindeer, as was the traditional way of using throat singing. Instead, the “other” uses throat singing to speak with spirits, the “other” uses throat singing in Buddhist masked dance performances, the “other” uses throat singing in shamanic performances. This is the foreigner’s view on throat singing according to Mongolians. And this even though Pegg has never heard or seen any proof of shamans using throat singing, Mongolians deny a connection between throat singing and the spirits, and Buddhists deny connection between masked dance performances and throat singing. Yet this is the picture that Mongolian throat singers adapt to, because it is how they think that westerners/foreigners view throat singing. (Pegg 2001:294-297)

Theodore Levin is a professor of ethnomusicology at Dartmouth College, US. Having travelled throughout the entire Central Asia for decades, he has done the best ethnography on Tuvan throat singing available, presented in THE book on Tuvan throat singing “Where Rivers and Mountains Sing: Sound, Music and Nomadism in Tuva and Beyond” (2006).

Theodore Levin is a specialist on music, expressive culture, and traditional spirituality in Central Asia and Siberia. His two books, "The Hundred Thousand Fools of God: Musical Travels in Central Asia (and Queens, New York)" and "Where Rivers and Mountains Sing: Sound, Music, and Nomadism in Tuva and Beyond" are both published by Indiana University Press. As an advocate for music and musicians from other cultures, he has produced recordings, curated concerts and festivals, and contributed to international arts initiatives. During an extended leave from Dartmouth, he served as the first executive director of the Silk Road Project, founded by cellist Yo-Yo Ma, and currently serves as Senior Project Consultant to the Aga Khan Music Initiative in Central Asia, and as a member of the Arts and Culture Network sub-board of the Soros Foundations' Open Society Institute. He is currently working on a book on culture and development in Asia, and completing a 10-volume CD-DVD series, "Music of Central Asia," released by Smithsonian Folkways Recordings. At Dartmouth he teaches courses on ethnomusicology and world music, sacred music in East and West, and, in 2008, will begin teaching a new interdisciplinary College Course on the Silk Road.
(<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~music/faculty/levin.html>)

Theodore Levin confirms what Carole Pegg says, both about the traditional relationship between throat singing and masculinity (Levin 2006:199) as well as the transformation of the view on throat singing (Levin 2006:205-209,218-225).

Besides that though, Levin talks a great deal about Mimesis and its relation to throat singing. Mimesis is like mimicking, except it is more refined and creative in its execution. Beginning with a reference to Charles Darwin’s encounter with the Fuego natives, Theodore Levin describes how it is a part of human thinking and socialization processes to learn by imitation. (Levin 2006:73) He then applies that to the animist culture of the Tuvans; showing how Tuvans can imitate a huge variety of animals and different parts of nature, with much more precision and accuracy than he could’ve imagined. A particular kind kargyraa, the deep voice style of throat singing, is the mimesis of the

voice of a mountain. This voice comes from the sound the river makes. The river makes a particular kind of sound when the water falls from high places, it is lively and full. In contrast to this mountain kargyraa style of throat singing, the steppe kargyraa is supposed to be a mimesis of the steppe river, being more soft and slow, not thundering and large as the mountain kargyraa. (Levin 2006:90)

Besides, or perhaps because of, categorising a throat singing style from its aural relation to nature²³, the Tuvans can *recreate* the geography, a particular place, using throat singing. For the nomads in Tuva, these sounds aren't just sounds, they are mental images, aural images, of the landscape. For them throat singing is not super-natural or magical, it is down-to-earth concrete. They can hear the difference between different mountains, different rivers. Places they've been to, places they've lived in/at. (Levin 2006:91-93) This is possible because different characteristics of the throat singing are made to represent different characteristics of the landscape. When looking at the horizon of the landscape: Lower overtone equals higher mountain, higher overtone equals lower mountain. Also, the mountain can also be supposed to look like something, like a person. The highest peak in the middle of the melody, represented by the lowest overtone, is usually the top head of this person. The first highest overtone in the melody can represent the nose or back of this person. This is a kind of spatial reading that goes from left to right in the melodic structure, the first part of the melody is the left part of the visualisation of the mountain while the last part of the melody is the right part of the mountain. (Levin 2006:30,92)

Another relation to place and nature that Theodore Levin found in Tuva was an appreciation for natural reverb, or echo. Places with strong echo, like caves or steep mountains, are given strong spiritual meaning. In Tuvan animist belief, spirits are supposed to like these kinds of places. But what Levin found was not just that spirits like echo, throat singers do as well. When you think about it, how else would they know there was echo there in the first place. (Levin 2006:37-40) And, singing in spiritual places, like those with great natural reverb, gives rise to several considerations. You should leave an offering to the spirit of a particular area, as a sign of appreciation. Reluctance towards this can make the spirits angry and destructive, or unwilling to help when you need it. Your car can run down into a swamp in the middle of nowhere for instance. To prevent bad things like that from happening, you need to give the local spirit an offering, and the best offering is singing. But you can not just sing anything, your mindset when you sing has to be correct. If your mind is calm when you sing then your singing calms the spirit. (Levin 2006:28)

Mark van Tongeren from the Netherlands is an ethnomusicologist renowned for his book "Overtone Singing" (2004). In his book he explains the physical phenomena of throat singing quite well, with pictures and thorough explanations of what goes on inside the body during each kind of

²³ Onomatopoeical sounds are sounds that are supposed to remind of the sounds in nature, like the "Baa-baa" sound sheep makes. Animals make different sounds in different cultures; English speaking kids say the pigs say "Oink" while Russian speaking kids say the pig say "kriyak". One point Levin makes towards this is that the children of Tuvan herders do not use onomatopoeism at all, they use mimesis instead, mimicking the correct sound of the animals. (Levin 2006:85)

overtone singing and throat singing. He also explains how the human body produces sound and voice at all, using a language that is not that of an amateur.

Mark van Tongeren is a sound explorer and ethnomusicologist who has worked independently for theatre, radio, clubs, universities and conservatories as a performer, music teacher, dj and researcher.

He feels equally at home 'in the field' to study and practice indigenous vocal techniques, as in cutting-edge experimentation in sound and vision, using his voice and a wide array of instruments small and large.

He divides his time equally between the performing arts and music research. He specializes in the performing arts of Turco-Mongol peoples and extended uses of the voice. He is well-known as an author, singer, teacher and speaker in the ancient Turco-Mongolian art of throat singing (or *khöömei*) and its contemporary, western variant called overtone singing.

He founded his own enterprise Fusica in 1998. In 1999 he co-founded the North Asia Institute Tengri, which is dedicated to the study, dissemination and exchange of the cultural traditions of this little-known part of Asia.

Mark gives workshops, concerts and private lessons in overtone- and throatsinging and other extended vocal techniques upon request. (Quoted from <http://www.fusica.nl/mark.htm> with permission from van Tongeren)

Van Tongeren also writes about women and a changing tradition concerning throat singing.

(Tongeren 2004:110,112) Something a little more tangible relating to a being of throat singing is how he writes about the physical production of the sound and the experience pertaining to it. Van Tongeren begins his book "Overtone Singing" (2004) with a short description on how he came in contact with a Tuvan shepherd singing throat singing. A man, alone in the steppe, sitting on the shoulders of his horse, sings what Van Tongeren describes like this "There is a timeless, eternal quality in the sounds. They could be echoes of bygone ages, but equally well provide the sonic background in a documentary on the latest accomplishments in space travel."

(Tongeren 2004:XXV) It is a vivid description, that shows how an encounter with Tuvan throat singing can be experienced. Words like echoes, ages and documentary illuminates a relationship between the present, the past and the future.

When Van Tongeren comes closer to this shepherd, he stops singing. They ask him to sing again, but the sound is different, strained and nervous. It turns out the shepherd can sing at his best when he is in the nature, on his horse with his herd on the steppe. Singing in a forced way, in front an audience, is not how he is used to singing.

Mark van Tongeren gives his explanation to why westerners are so confounded when confronted by the sounds of throat singing. First explaining that all, healthy, humans can throat sing, but that it takes experience, practice and socialization to be able to perceive the delicacies of the sounds in throat singing. It has been found a connection between what one is able to sing and what one is able to hear. During one's physical development one's body changes. If one sings and listens to these harmonics for a longer period of time, one's ear and voice apparatus adapts to this kind of aural environment. (Tongeren 2004:40-48)

In the West, we have developed a tradition of cleaning out harmonics from music. An ideal sound in an orchestra is called a clear or pure tone. And it is said that the singing is out-of-tune when someone doesn't sing these pure tones. Tuvans on the other hand, they listen to the timbre of the sound, they sing with focus on the timbre of the sound. Timbre is the combined characteristics of the harmonics of the tones in a melody. (Tongeren 2004:38-40)

This doesn't mean that Tongeren implies that Tuvans sing out-of-tune. It means that when coming from different aural worlds like these, certain terms can not be directly transferred to describe the experiences. Tuvan throat singing is not about aiming to sing with clear tones.

3.2 Phenomenological method of analysis - MCA

The method used here is qualitative. It tries to go deep, find out how persons experience the world. Sadly though, there hasn't been the opportunity to do fieldwork, which is the method to prefer from an anthropological perspective. So instead of ethnographic fieldwork, the method of choice is phenomenological. Phenomenology isn't the only option besides ethnography, but it is the best option since the object of study here is the being of throat singing, and it is good science to let the object of study determine the method (Sages&Dahl 1999:134-136). "[...] if the research question concerns the meaning of a phenomenon, then the method that would best answer the question is phenomenology." (Morse 1994:223)

Using a broad open-ended question persons have been able to write down their thoughts concerning throat singing and throat singers. 20 persons have been given the question, 10 have answered, 8 were used for this study. (Two of informants answered too late to be included in the study) The persons given the question are either throat singers themselves or they know someone who can throat sing. The ethnicity and nationality of the respondents varies, as does gender.

In a phenomenological method, 6 respondents is considered sufficient material for a study. This is mostly because a phenomenological method means as much work using fewer respondents compared to other methods that uses more respondents. (Morse 1994:223)

A high amount of respondents is irrelevant as this is not a quantitative method. The goal of the study is not to try to find out how many persons do this or how many persons think that, this study is supposed to show why persons do this or why persons think that.

The material has been analysed using Minerva, a computer software facilitating the use of MCA, Meaning Constitution Analysis. MCA is a psychological phenomenological method of text analysis, developed for work-life research by Roger M. Sages, Psychology professor (lector) at the Department of Psychology at Lund University, Sweden.

A phenomenological analysis begins and ends with the process of reducing precomprehension. This reduction is called epoché, or transcendental phenomenological reduction. (Sages&Lundsten 2004:198, Moustakas 1994:33-36) Epoché is a process of the mind, separating the transcendental object from the ontological object. (Lecture in French Idea History by Fernando Flores at Lund University, Sweden, October 22, 2007) Epoché shows that an object is not only its existence but also its meaning and meaning constitution. (Sages&Lundsten 2004:198)

MCA begins with a self-report, which the informants have been able to write themselves. They should be able to write about the topic of the study without feeling restrained in their wording, so the question is carefully considered many times before finally being sent to the informants. (Sages&Dahl 1999:141-142) This enables for finding any kind of being of throat singing, as it can

be anything that the informants inform of. This is an inductive strategy, letting the data come before the theory.

MCA is based on two phases, first the analytic phase, then the interpretative phase. The analytic phase is comprised out of three major steps:

The first step of MCA is a deconstruction of the text into meaning units, usually from/to wherever there's a change in meaning/modality. This is done in order to try to reduce precomprehension, it is the first application of epoché; with a more partitioned self-report there's less room for uncontrolled interpretations, smaller meaning units increases the scientific reliability since it is easier for other scientists to compare results, and within each meaning unit the partial intentions can be better structured in order to reveal the constituting meaning. (Sages&Dahl 1999:142-143)

The second step of MCA and the second application of epoché involves applying different modalities to the meaning units. A modality can be for instance, Affect, which then have different categories, like Positive-prospective and Neutral. A meaning unit that has a Neutral Affect modality means that it is something that doesn't have any emotion or feeling in its statement, while a Positive-prospective Affect modality means it is something that has a positive emotion or feeling directed towards something in the future. Like "I like driving" meaning units gives an Affect modality with a Positive-prospective category. Modalities are the intentionalities a person has towards an object. They show how a person experiences its life-world. (Sages&Dahl 1999:145) For example, the meaning unit "I like driving" shows that the person has a positive affect directed towards the object, be it driving itself or a car or something else.

The third step of the analytic phase of MCA is to scrutinize the meaning units for partial intentions. The partial intentions each have an entity as well as a predicate, belonging to the meaning unit analyzed. Defining these parts of a text and bringing them together leads to the constituted meaning. (Sages&Lundsten 2004:197-200) The entities are objects which are involved in all activities that involves the directing of intentionalities, something that "exists" for the informant. (Sages&Dahl 1999:146) For instance, in the meaning unit "I like driving", I is an entity that can be said to exist, so the predicate to the entity "I" is "Who exist". That means that the meaning unit "I like driving" shows that the person who wrote the self-report has a precomprehension that involves the preconceived notion that I exist.

At this point of the analysis, all partial intentions are considered of equal value, no precomprehension is allowed from the researcher at any stage, and the more partial intentions that can be drawn from a meaning unit the clearer the meaning's constituents gets. (Sages&Dahl 1999:142)

The second phase of MCA, the interpretative phase, has two parts. The first part is to use the structures of entities and predicates to create horizons. A horizon in phenomenology is what is drawn from the subjective experiences, it is a blend between the possible experiences that has created these modalities and the possible experience this past will make the person have in the future. The horizons in MCA are created through a synstudy of the analytic results. (Sages&Dahl

1999:149) For example, making a horizon made from “Driving” as entity and “Which I like” and “Which I do to get do work” as predicates; *When* does this person like driving (Before work), *where* does this person like driving (On the road to work), *why* does this person like driving (Has the whole work-day to look forward to), *how* does this person like driving (Drives slow), and what will this person do in the future (Keep getting late for work)²⁴.

Creating a horizon this way is dependant on Imaginative Variation. Imaginative variation is a phenomenological term used to describe the process by which the researcher puts itself in the imagined position of its research subjects. (Moustakas 97-100) Imaginative variation can be easier to understand when the term Qualia is introduced. Qualia is the concept that describes the variations by which something exist, like for instance when something has redness, what does this mean actually. Redness is such a qualitative term it is impossible to give a quantitative measurement of it. Redness has many variations. Redness can be anything, and even when narrowing it down to only colors, it is possible that it can be any color. But with some Imaginative Variation, the researcher can imagine what redness is. Imagine a rainbow, it is impossible to find a clear cut line where red begins and ends, but it is possible to say what is most red and what is not red. Redness is maroon, redness is not blue, etc. As when using the “I like driving” as an example, when can the person like driving, when does the person not like driving, etc.

A big part of an horizon are these possibilities. Possibilities are covered in the partial intentions. “I like driving” gives the predicate “One can like driving” as a general possibility and the predicate “I can like driving” as a specific possibility for a horizon.

The second part of the second phase of MCA, the last step of the method, is converting the horizon into a life-world description. A horizon is a readable description of how the person experiences his life-world, and how that person will continue to experience its life-world unless it is drastically changed. A horizon connects the meaning with the past and the future by looking at it through both experiences that have shaped the constituted meaning as well as possible experiences that might occur in the future. (Sages&Lundsten 2004:213) Usual life-world descriptions in MCA are focused on the person, as MCA was created to understand why workers do as they do. The life-world descriptions done here though, will focus more on the life-world itself then on the person. This is so, because the focus is on the throat singing and how it participates in creating life-worlds.

It is important to remember that the last phase of MCA is the interpretation phase. That means that it is a subjective, more or less arbitrary, interpretation created by the researcher based on what the object of study is. It is not sensible to do in-depth analysis on all the material when only some of the material is related to the object of study.

²⁴ These examples are the speculations and inventions of the author

Unit	Pure Meaning	Partial Intention	Entity	Predicate
10	about people from Russia and Mongolia.	mongolia exist	mongolia	which exist
		russia and mongolia can have something being from them	from	which is what russia and mongolia has them something being
		something can be from russia and mongolia	from	which is what russia and mongolia something can be
		one can be from russia and mongolia	from	which is what russia and mongolia one can be
		people exist	people	which exist
		people can be from russia and mongolia	people	which can be from russia and mongolia
		without throat singing i would have never known about people from russia and mongolia	throat singing	which without i would have never known about people from russia and mongolia
		traditions exist	traditions	which exist
		traditions can be had by someone	traditions	which can be had by someone
		one can have traditions	traditions	which one can have
11	These people have not forgot about their traditions	they exist	they	which exist
		they can have traditions	traditions	which they can have
		traditions can be someones	traditions	which can be someones
		traditions can be theirs	traditions	which can be theirs
		forgetting could have been done	forgetting	which could have been done
		traditions could have been forgot	traditions	which could have been forgot
		traditions could have been forgot about	traditions	which could have been forgot about
		someones traditions could have been forgot	traditions	which someones could have been forgot
		someones traditions could have been forgot about	traditions	which someones could have been forgot about
		one could have forgot	forgot	which one could have
		one could have forgot about something	forgot	which one could have done about something
		one could have forgot about traditions	traditions	which one could have forgot about
		one could have forgot about someones traditions	traditions	which someones one could have forgot about
		one could have forgot about their traditions	traditions	which theirs one could have forgot about
		their traditions could have been forgot about	traditions	which theirs could have been forgot about
		people exist	people	which exist
		people can be of a specific kind	people	which can be of a specific kind
		one can specify certain people	people	which certain one can specify
		these people could have done something	people	which something these could have done
		these people could have forgot	people	which forgot these could have done
these people could have forgot about something	people	which forgot about something these could have done		
these people could have forgot about traditions	traditions	which these people could have forgot about		
these people could have forgot about someones traditions	traditions	which someones these people could have forgot about		
these people could have forgot about their traditions	traditions	which theirs these people people could have forgot about		
these people have not forgot about their traditions	traditions	which theirs these people have not forgot about		

Illustration 4.: An example of the working process in Minerva, writing out partial intentions, entities, and predicates.

Unit	Meaning Unit	Modality
10	Then, what makes throatsinging much more interesting are overtones.	a. doxa-affirmation b. signitive c. present d. positive-prospective e. none f. not stated g. unspecified
11	Overtone are produced by using a mouth, tongue, nose	a. doxa-affirmation b. perceptive c. present d. neutral e. none f. not stated g. unspecified
12	in many different ways to get different styles.	a. doxa-affirmation b. signitive c. present d. neutral e. none f. not stated g. unspecified
13	One easy examp.	a. doxa-affirmation b. perceptive c. present d. neutral e. none f. not stated g. unspecified
14	singing a different vowels.	a. doxa-affirmation b. signitive c. present d. neutral e. engagement f. not stated g. unspecified
15	Every vowel has a different overtone note.	a. doxa-affirmation b. perceptive c. present d. neutral e. none f. not stated g. unspecified
16	To get clear, powerful and beautiful overtones, you need a good basics.	a. doxa-affirmation b. signitive c. future d. positive-prospective e. aspiration f. your g. one-all
17	Good kheemai	

Modalities

Current

a	Belief	doxa-affirmation
b	Function	signitive
c	Time	future
d	Affects	positive-prospective
e	Will	aspiration
f	Property	your
g	Subject	one-all

OK Cancel

Illustration 5.: Applying modalities to meaning units

3.3 What was it that the informants answered to

The informants were given one question: "**Imagine this:**

You are the representative of a group of throatsingers. This group is made up of all kinds of throatsingers that you can think of. You are throatsinging when a person comes up to you and wants to know about the group you are representing. This person does not know anything about throatsinging at all. What do you say to this person?"

This question was derived from a number of different considerations. An answer to this question entails details of both throat singers and throat singing. A question that one could answer only about throat singing could be a pure description of the natural phenomenon of throat singing. A question that one could answer only about throat singers could be an answer only about the cultural and political specifics. As a question that is open to both, it doesn't hinder anyone from answering about only the natural phenomenon or only about the cultural and political specifics, or even a little bit about both.

Being able to answer however one might like is also a point of formulating the question like this. Within phenomenology, a person should be able to express itself freely using its own terms and conditions. That is because, as to such a large extent as possible, it is good science to avoid forcing the scientist's own subjectivity on to the informants. This is how scientific objectivity is formulated using phenomenological terms, a way of not ignoring nor controlling subjectivity, but being aware of it as much as possible. (Sages&Dahl 1999:138)

3.4 Who are the informants

The group of persons used for this study are 8 in total, out of which 2 are women. They come from different parts of the world. 2 from Sweden, 1 from Germany, 1 from Scotland, 1 from Tuva, 1 from Holland and 2 from Finland. Their ages vary between 16 to 45, most of them being in their late twenties and early thirties.

The informants are not mentioned by their real names, as a measure of anonymity. Full anonymity hasn't been possible though; as their nationality and experience with throat singing is here presented, associations and musical groups are mentioned by their real names. This is because the context is a vital part of experience.

Two of the informants are active participants in SONG, Skånes Övertonsångförening (Scania's overtone singing association, situated in southern Sweden). In SONG they usually sing western overtone singing, but SONG has also had experience with throat singing; they've had Tuvan group Tyva Kyzy and Mongolian Hosoo with his Ensemble Transmongolia have their own workshops, at which south Siberian throat singing has been presented and taught to members of SONG and other interested people.

Two of the informants are from Finland. One of them is a member of Cedip Tur, a Finnish group in which the members dress like Tuvans, play Tuvan instruments and sing Tuvan throat singing. The other Finnish informant is a soloist, using a similar Tuvan theme with traditional Tuvan attire and throat singing, only also fused with electronica.

One informant is from Great Britain, Scotland. He has made Jazz music with persons from Russia, Scotland, Brazil. In the group K-Space he made fusion Jazz electronica with south Siberian throat singing together with two other members.

Two other informants, one from Holland and another from Germany, was together with two of the informants from SONG, a part of a larger group that went to north-west Mongolia summer 2007. It was a throat singing camp set up by Germany-based Mongolian singer Hosoo, where persons are invited to learn throat singing from Hosoo's clan/family that lives in Chandman-Hovd in north-west Mongolia.

The last informant was from Nikolay Oorzhak's School. Nikolay Oorzhak is a Tuvan authorised shaman who has developed his own trade-marked throat singing techniques used for healing. These techniques are taught at his school and at workshops all over the world, personally by Oorzhak himself.

All of the informants' experience of throat singing is thus first-hand. They've heard it live from Asian throat singers, and at least tried to learn to throat sing themselves. Half of them are professional musicians, professional meaning they earn their living off of it. Three of the informants are women. All of the informants are between 16-45 years old. All in all, it seems like a good selection of informants for this study.

Even though this selection of informants might be valid positivistically, it is important to again mention that the object of this study isn't to show something about a certain kind of culture, it is about the being of throat singing. It is not good science to try and talk about something that hasn't been defined, which would be the case of talking about throat singing as culturally specific without having properly defined what throat singing is in the first place. After that, one can say that this study uses these informants' view on throat singing, which means that if one feels the absolute need to say something about people, it is only these people that one can say anything about.

And since this study is not about a certain kind of people, a fully representing selection of informants isn't actually necessary. Instead, the best thing for this study would be if the informants had as varying experiences of throat singing as possible, in order for MCA to get as many constituents of the being of throat singing as possible. It is not possible to know this on beforehand, but a heterogeneous selection of informants should help a little, since, as said in the first chapter of this study, cultural meanings differ between cultures.

4 Analysis and interpretation

This long and in-depth chapter goes through the process of analysis used in this study. This is, perhaps unfortunately, not something that could have been put in an appendix at the end of the study. In here lies the point of the study. Disregard this chapter and the result will not seem to be more than a short list, a thin description. This is so because each analysis of every informant's account reveals one of that informant's meanings towards throat singing. This chapter and the following chapter are to be read together. With this in mind, the reader can see the final result as the ways in which throat singing presents itself to the world²⁵.

4.1 Example (Informant no.1)

In order to make the reader fully understand the process by which the end material was derived, an example using the informant from the Finnish band Cedip Tur will be shown from beginning to end. This example will be more thorough than the presentation of the rest of the informants, to save space and time of not having to go through the same thing with all of them. This specific informant was chosen as example because he has had the most experience with throat singing, compared to the other informants.

The main entity for all the horizons in this study is “Throat singing”, but used are also other entities that are connected to predicates where throat singing is mentioned. Misspellings of throat singing counts, as does variations and wordings that can be used as synonyms. “Throat-singing”, “This type of singing” or “khoomei” for instance.

The complete response from Informant no.1, call it self-report or interview, can be seen as Appendix A at the end of this study. One quote from it to show the general positive tone, “Yes, throat singing sounds weird and primitive.” (Appendix A)

Looking at this response using MCA-Minerva, it can be seen that this informant uses the entities “khoomei”, “overtone control”, “overtones”, “singing styles”, “singing techniques”, “sygyt”, “kargyraa”, “throat technique”, “throatsinging”, “human voice”, and “harsh voice” in direct relation to throat singing. These are all together considered in the analytic process to see how the informant thinks, in this case, how someone knowledgeable about throat singing thinks about throat singing.

Harsh voice is connected to the predicates “which exist”, “which can be used”, and “which singing styles can use besides overtones”. **Human voice** is connected to the predicates “which can be used” and “which can be used in a special way”. **Kargyraa** – the predicates “which exist” and “which besides sygyt is one of two basic styles”. **Khoomei** - “which exist”, “which can have a big role”, “which has a big role”, “which can be a special way of using the human voice”, “which is a special way of using the human voice”, “which can be used”, “which can be used only around Altai-mountains”, “which is used only around Altai-mountains and western Mongolia”, “which can remind of”, “which singing styles that uses harsh voice or overtones can remind of”, “which singing styles that uses harsh voice or overtones reminds of”, “which can have several styles”, “which there

²⁵ See chapter 2.2 for more information on how things, like throat singing, “present themselves to the world”.

can be several styles of”, “ which there are several styles of”, “which there can be local styles of”, “which there can be general styles of”, “which can be a style”, “which can be one style”, “which is also one (basic) style”, “which can be a generic term”, “which can be a generic term of (throat singing) phenomenon”, “which is a generic term of (throat singing) phenomenon”, “which overtonemusic can be”, “which one can get interested in”, and “which I can get interested in”.

Overtone Control - “which exist”, “which as throat technique can be used”, “which, as throat technique, used in central asia, can be found in any other place on earth”. **Overtones** - “which exist”, “which can be used”, “which singing styles can use besides harsh voice”, “which can be controlled”, “which can be filtered”, “which can be frequencies”, “which can be frequencies of sound or voice”, “which are frequencies of sound or voice”, “which can be dependant on something”, “which can be dependant on source and space”, “which are dependant on source and space”, “which can be the colours of voice”, “which are the colours of voice”, “which can form”, “which can form harmonic scale”. **Singing styles** - “which exist”, “which can be in some parts of the world”, “which in some parts of the world there can be”, “which can use”, “which that use harsh voice or overtones can remind of khoomei”. **Singing techniques** - “which exist”, “which can be very similar as in Tuva”, “which very similar as in Tuva can be used”, “which Tenore Quartets in Sardegna can be using”. **Sygyt** - “which exist”, “which besides kargyraa is one of two basic styles”, **Throat technique** - “which exist”, “which as overtone control can be used”, “which, as overtone control, used in central Asia, can be found in any other place on earth”. **Throatsinging** - “which exist”, “which can have a big role”, “which has a big role”, “which can be owned”, “which Inuits can have their own”, “which Inuits have their own”, “which can be more like something”, “which can be more like breathing games”, “which is more like breathing games”, “which friends can be”, “which Finnish friends can be”, “which society can be”, “which lands can be of”, “which can sound”, “which can sound weird”, “which can sound primitive”, “which can sound weird and primitive”, “which sound weird and primitive”.

There are many variations of similar things, for example, the entities khoomei and overtones both have the predicate “which can be used”. This makes it possible to better specify and choose horizons, being able to choose between so many variations. In this case, the entity khoomei, the Tuvan word for throatsinging, is the closest to the object of study, and it has the largest variations of predicates, a certain predicate connected to khoomei will be chosen for the horizon.

All predicates aren't listed for the horizons here because there are just too many of them and most of them are just variations of the same thing. The predicates that are chosen are so because they show an aspect, an intentionality, more clearly and directly than the other predicates connected to the same entity. For instance, compare the two predicates “which one can get interested in” and “which I can get interested in” connected to the entity khoomei. “Which I can get interested in” says more about the subject, how the person can get interested in khoomei. But “which one can get interested in” says more about the object, it says something about the generalisation of getting-interested connected to the object khoomei.

Listing the entities with their predicates together with the dominating modalities shows the core of

the noematic²⁶ experience. These are the dominating modalities in all meaning units associated with the entity khoomei:

Belief	—	Doxa-affirmation
Function	—	Signitive
Time	—	Present
Affects	—	Neutral
Will	—	None
Property	—	Not stated
Subject	—	Unspecified

It is possible to make a horizon on each and every predicate, but forced to save space, no more than two horizons per informant will be used. Also, and this is important, any quotes in the horizons come directly from the un-analysed text as it was written by the informant connected with each horizon, this to better explain the context in which the predicate comes from. This first horizon has a little more quotes to show how this is accomplished.

Following is the horizon created from the entity khoomei connected to the predicate “which is a special way of using the human voice”:

²⁶ Intentionality, the act of directing intentions towards objects, has two parts; That which is directed towards objects, feelings or goals for instance, is referred to as noesis. That which is being directed towards, is referred to as noema. (Moustakas 1994:69)

<i>Khoomei</i>	1. When? 2. Where? 3. Why? 4. How?	What lies behind?	What experiences lie behind?	What could it be?	What experiences does it demand?	What can be expected?
<i>which is a special way of using the human voice</i>	1. In the present time	That the human voice can be used	The informant has played Tuvan folkmusic professionally in a Finnish band.	That khoomei can be used anywhere, not just around Altai-Mountains.	To have participated or witnessed a khoomei-learning event.	The informant feels special to sing Khoomei outside of Central Asia.
	2. “[...] is used only around Altai-mountains in Western Tuva and Western Mongolia.”	That khoomei is used only in Central Asia, around Altai-mountains.	The informant has listened to at least one throat singer speak about throat singing.	That there are throat singers around Altai-Mountains. That singing khoomei is not special around Altai-mountains.	To have listened to a throat singer speak about throat singing. To have heard that khoomei is used in Central Asia, around Altai-mountains.	The informant wants to keep feeling special. It is probable that the informant will continue to sing khoomei for as long as it is outside of Central Asia.
	3. “But such throat technique and overtone control they use in Central Asia you can not find in any other place on earth.”	Khoomei is special, for some reason.		That singing khoomei is special outside Altai-Mountains.		
	4. “You can filter the multiples of basic drone.”					

After making horizons based on the self-report of a subject, the last step of MCA is writing a life-world description based on the text, the horizons, the modalities, and the predicates. Here is the life-world description based on this first informant:

The informant knows that khoomei has a big role in Tuva, Central Asia. The informant can be said to *know* this because the meaning unit where the person says this has the modality-categories doxa-affirmation and perceptive connected to it. It is also probable that the reason the informant knows this is because it has been told this by a russian throat singer, it can therefore be assumed that this informant thinks that russian throat-singers are authorities on russian throat-singing. Furthermore, this informant believes that khoomei is used only around Altai-mountains in Western Tuva and Western Mongolia. The informant can be said to *believe* this, because the meaning unit has the modality-category signitive instead of perceptive. The claim that it is *only* there in Western Tuva and Western Mongolia that they use khoomei can be taken with a grain of salt since the word *around* is very signitive, the informant uses this word to indicate that it can not be said exactly where in Central Asia persons use khoomei. The informant also believes that the echoes of khoomei can be heard further then that, in Buryatia and Kazakhstan for instance. These echoes are also signitive, it is not certain that there is khoomei in Kazakhstan. The informant has told that khoomei is throat-singing used only in Central Asia. Echoes aren't the same thing as khoomei. Echoes of khoomei are echoes of khoomei. Therefore echoes of khoomei can be said to be closer to throat-singing. This is further indicated by that the informant knows there are other kinds of throat singing in other parts of the world; Inuits have their own kind of throat singing, but it isn't the same thing as khoomei, it is more like breathing games compared to khoomei. To round this up. This informant is in a Finnish band, in Finland, and plays Tuvan folkmusic with khoomei. Finland is not in Central Asia, therefore it can be assumed that the informant considers khoomei to be special in Finland. It is special to play Tuvan folkmusic in a finnish band because khoomei is used in Tuva not in Finland. The informant says khoomei is special. This informant doesn't want to be seen as someone who does just any kind of pop-music, this informant wants to make sure persons knows that it is special to use khoomei outside of Central Asia. Whether this will influence the informants behaviour in the future is hard to say, because there's no *will* modality connected to any of this. It should have some kind of impact though, since if khoomei becomes popular (read not-special) then the informant won't be able to say that khoomei is special.

4.2 The rest of the informants

4.2.1 Informant no.2

This informant is German, and was in the throat singing camp with Hosoo in North-West Mongolia summer 2007. This informant has heard, seen, and learned throat singing and overtone singing.

This informant never used the word *khoomai* nor the term throat singing in her/his self-report, so there can not be a horizon based on those as entities. The horizon here is instead based on the entity *We*, and the predicate chosen is “who can learn from him the same way he would from us”. *We* as entity was not only chosen because it shows something about throat singing, but also because it was the entity with most predicates. “Him”, in this context, is the person that the informant talks about throat singing with. The dominating modalities connected to this are: Belief = Doxa-affirmation, Function = Signitive, Time = Present, Affects = Neutral, Will = None, Property = Not Stated, Subject = *We*. The horizon is as follows:

<i>We</i>	1. When? 2. Where? 3. Why? 4. How?	What lies behind?	What experiences lie behind?	What could it be?	What experiences does it demand?	What can be expected?
<i>Who can learn from him the same way he would from us</i>	1. In the present time	That we learn from each other when we sing together	The informant has learned to sing by singing together with others	That one can learn to sing without singing with other people. That one can not learn to sing without singing with other people.	To have been taught to sing by someone who sings together with you	This informant feels that singing with others is something that he/she learns from.
	2. Where we would sing together	That we learn singing in the same way	The informant has been taught this way of singing in the same way	That we learn singing in the same way. That we do not learn singing in the same way.	To have learned singing by singing together with others	This informant feels that other persons would learn from each other by singing together.
	3. Doesn't say					This informant will keep trying to sing together with anyone that he/she wants to teach singing to.
	4. By singing with us					This informant will keep singing with persons that he/she wants to learn from.

Life-world description based on this horizon:

The informant who wrote the self-report begins with saying that the person who is interested in throat singing would learn this way of singing with help from the informant. The informant would sing together with the person, and this singing with another creates a two-way learning process. Not only should the person learn something, but the informant would learn something as well. It is not entirely clear how or why this is so, which the modality-category *signitive* shows. It is signitive, because the term “same way” demands further questions, like 'what way' is this “same way”. The informant does explain in what way this “same way” would be, in a meaning unit before the one that the predicate “who would learn from him the same way he would learn from us” was taken from. This “same way” refers to the statement “I would try to teach him the way my father taught me” that the informant also says. The predicate “who would learn from the same way he would learn from us” thus shows two things. First, the informant implies that other people, like a person who could come to the informant and ask what throat singing is, would be able to learn the same way that the informant was taught. This is not that strange, considering that the informant has had an experience like that, but it becomes interesting when taken together with the second thing that this predicate show; The predicate also shows that learning to sing this way is something that can be done together, the informant would learn a person this way of singing by singing together with the person. The informant doesn't say it has to be this way, only that he/she was taught this way and that other persons can learn this way as well. This shows that the informant feels that the learning process is endless as long as singing can be done together with someone else. For as long as the informant wants to learn to sing better or learn to sing other styles, the informant will try to sing together with other people.

4.2.2 Informant no.3

This informant comes from Sweden and is a member of SONG (Scania's Overtone Singing Association). She/he can overtone sing and has heard many persons throat sing. Dominating modalities are: Belief = Doxa-affirmation, Function = Imaginative, Time = Pres -> Future, Affects = Neutral, Will = None, Property = Not Stated, Subject = We. While the self-report and the MCA-analysis was kept in the original language, Swedish, the horizon with predicates and self-report has been translated from Swedish to English in its presentation here:

<i>Throat singing</i>	<i>1. When? 2. Where? 3. Why? 4. How?</i>	<i>What lies behind?</i>	<i>What experiences lie behind?</i>	<i>What could it be?</i>	<i>What experiences does it demand?</i>	<i>What can be expected?</i>
<i>Which is about that we allow to blossom one at a time the separate overtones that are always in the colour of the sound/voice</i>	<p>1. In the present time</p> <p>2. In the world of overtone singers and throat singers</p> <p>3. Doesn't say</p> <p>4. By "narrowing the passageway in the throat and sing with more power"</p>	<p>That overtones are always there</p> <p>That overtones can be separate.</p> <p>That we can separate overtones.</p>	<p>The informant has sung overtone singing "here in the West" together with other people. The informant has used "the term throat singing to indicate" when a discussion is about narrowing the passageway in the throat and sing with more power</p>	<p>That narrowing the passageway in the throat and sing with more power is a way for overtones to blossom.</p> <p>That blossoming of overtones is something that needs persons to be done. That throat singing is blossoming of overtones.</p> <p>That one person could narrow the passageway in the throat and sing with more power.</p>	<p>To have used the term throat singing when talking about overtones blossoming. To have participated when overtones have blossomed.</p>	<p>The informant feels that throat singing can only be done by him/her when he/she allow it to happen. The informant has no problem with singing on his/her own. The informant uses the term throat singing when the blossoming of overtones is done together in a group. This person will keep using the term throat singing to indicate when he/she narrows the passageway and sings with more power in a group.</p>

Life-world description based on this horizon:

This informant uses two interesting modality categories. First there's *imaginative*. This is because the metaphor about the overtones blossoming, like flowers, demands the imagine of overtones blossoming. It is not something that actually happens in real life, because overtones do not blossom like flowers. Overtones do not need water, soil and sun to grow and blossom. It is a metaphor. Overtones need other things; like persons that allow them to appear. The second interesting modality category that the informant uses is *pres -> future*. This is because that which is happening in this meaning unit “that which we here allow to blossom one at a time”, is something that happens in the present and the future at the same time. The allowing is done in the present, and the blossoming of overtones one at a time is done in the future. It is a process, now “we” allow the overtones to blossom, then the overtones blossom, one at a time. The predicate that says all this is in reference to throat singing, it is throat singing which is about that “we” allow overtones to blossom. The informant uses the term throat singing to refer to the kind of singing when someone is narrowing the passageway in the throat and sings with more power. This someone that does that, is a part of “we” that allows overtones to blossom, which throat singing is about. So even though throat singing is something that the individual does, narrows it is passageway in the throat and such, it is still something that the informant thinks a person does in a group. If it is not done in a group, it is not throat singing. The group that this self-report refers to are those “we in the West” who can overtone sing. The group that these throat singers are a part of, is the group that overtone singers in the West are a part of. Overtone singers do not have to narrow their throats and sing with power, but throat singers allow overtones to blossom.

4.2.3 Informant no.4

This informant is from Tuva, and has heard throat singing being used by a Tuvan shaman for healing purposes. He/she didn't write a large self-report, which made it easier to analyse. The dominating modalities for this horizon and life-world description are: Belief = Doxa-affirmation, Function = Perceptive, Time = Present, Affects = Positive-prospective, Will = Engagement, Property = Not Stated, Subject = One-all. The horizon made looks as follows:

<i>Those</i>	<i>1. When? 2. Where? 3. Why? 4. How?</i>	<i>What lies behind?</i>	<i>What experiences lie behind?</i>	<i>What could it be?</i>	<i>What experiences does it demand?</i>	<i>What can be expected?</i>
<i>Who heal the earth with sound</i>	1. In the present time	That “we” use/create sound.	The informant has created sound.	That throat singing is a kind of sound that heals.	Having used sound for different purposes.	The informant feels the Earth should be healed.
	2. Somewhere on Earth	That sound can be used to heal.	The informant has healed with sound.	That healing is good.	Having experienced the Earth being healed by throat singing.	The informant feels he/she have the ability to heal the Earth.
	3. Doesn't say	That the Earth can be healed.				
	4. “With sound”			That the earth needs to be healed. That there's more then one person who thinks they're healing the Earth with sound.	Having interacted with other persons who also heal the Earth with sound.	The informant knows other persons who feel the same. This informant will keep singing as long as the Earth needs healing.

The life-world description looks like this:

This informant likes healing the Earth with sound, as the will modality shows by the category *Positive-prospective*. It is prospective because the healing is done towards the future, the Earth is supposed to become healed. It is positive because of the use of the word “heal”. There's nothing that says that healing have to be positive, but that's usually the case. A positive category of the will modality shows a high probability of the person continuing or increasing whatever it is the person is doing. This person is engaged into healing the Earth with sound, it is something that this person does. This person even has a goal, the Earth needs healing and this person knows how. The person feels responsibility for the Earth, the Earth can be healed by throat singing and the person enjoys throat singing to heal the Earth. There's slim risk this person will stop throat singing as long as the Earth needs healing. This person knows others who can also heal the Earth with sound. These others are throat singers, which is why that can use throat singing to heal the Earth, but it is not certain they use throat singing to heal the earth, only that they use sound to heal the Earth. It is certain

though, that this informant uses throat singing to heal the Earth. This means that it is possible that not all sounds can heal the Earth. It also means that it is possible that persons that can throat sing use other sounds than throat singing to heal the Earth. This self-report doesn't say if throat singing is the only sound that can heal the Earth, and there's no real probability of it being so. What can be said is that this person is not alone in healing the Earth with sound, and that this person knows that throat singing is one kind of sound that heals the Earth. So there's a group of people, to which this person belongs, that uses throat singing as possibly one of many kinds of sounds that heals the Earth. Therefore it can be said that there are at least some throat singers that uses throat singing to heal the Earth, and that all throat singers are at least capable of healing the Earth.

4.2.4 Informant no.5

This informant is also a Swede from SONG, but was also a part of the group that went to Hosoo's home in North-West Mongolia to learn about throat singing there. The Swedish has been translated to English, any spelling and/or grammar mistakes were as so in Swedish as well. The dominating modalities connected to the predicate chosen are: Belief = Doxa-affirmation, Function = Signitive, Time = Present, Affects = Neutral, Will = None, Property = Not Stated, Subject = Unspecified. The horizon created is as follows:

<i>Overtones</i>	<i>1. When? 2. Where? 3. Why? 4. How?</i>	<i>What lies behind?</i>	<i>What experiences lie behind?</i>	<i>What could it be?</i>	<i>What experiences does it demand?</i>	<i>What can be expected?</i>
<i>Which as main building blocks we try to build musical form out of</i>	1. In the present time	That overtones can be used as building blocks.	The informant has sung overtone singing.	That musical form can be built from other things then overtones.	Having tried to build musical form before.	Overtones are the means to a musical form as end.
	2. Doesn't say	That musical form can be built from overtones.	The informant has learned throat singing.	That "we" might never build musical form.	Been involved with overtones through throat singing.	This informant has no reason to keep using overtones to build musical form.
	3. Doesn't say	That "we" try to build musical form.	The informant has composed music.	That overtones can be used for other things then just building musical form.	Interacted with other persons who also tries to build musical form using overtones.	This informant might quit throat singing if he/she ever starts to think that overtones are not the best building blocks for musical form or if he/she ever thinks that musical form is perfected.
	4. Doesn't say			That there's more then one person who tries to use overtones for building musical form.		

Life-world description based on this informant's self-report:

This person doesn't use any real interesting modalities. It is *signitive* because the self-report is not explicit in what "musical form" is. It can be anything. The person doesn't say whether this musical form is something specific or general, whether it is singular or plural, whether it is someone's or no one's or everyone's. The only thing the informant tells us about this musical form, is that it has form, and is musical. This is interesting because the informant also says that "we", throat singers, tries to build musical form. It might be they never will be able to finish it/one. That possibility contains two possibilities. First, it might be the overtones aren't suitable for musical endeavours. Second, it might

be the overtones aren't suitable for creating form. Well, there's a third possibility of course, perhaps the throat singers aren't suitable for building musical form. Neither of these possibilities are probable, just not impossible. Another thing worth of note is that the informant doesn't say why throat singers try to build musical form. A why doesn't have to be explicit, a goal can be derived anyway. In this case it is not that easy. The informant thinks that, when a person comes to him when he and others are throat singing and asks what they are doing, he/she doesn't say why. For the informant, it is neither the throat singing nor the overtones that are of matter. The important thing is musical form. Musical form in itself is the answer to the why. Musical form is the goal, the reason for the throat singing. If this informant were to find out that overtones weren't the way to musical form, there's no reason for him/her to continue throat singing. For this informant, there's no social aspect to keep with the throat-singing group, there's no aspect of identity creation connected to throat singing, there's no interest in the throat singing itself. There's only musical form, whatever that might be. This doesn't mean that the informant would automatically quit throat singing if he/she would think that musical form can not be reached with overtones, but throat singing as it is at present for this informant would change into something else. It wouldn't be overtones-as-building-blocks-for-musical-form any more. What would happen if he/she would build musical form is also hard to tell. There are different possibilities depending on what musical form is. If musical form is something that he/she manages to build every now and then, then the informant would quite possibly continue throat singing to build another one or the same one again. Just like a lottery player²⁷ that keeps on losing money because he/she has won once. If musical form is something that he/she has never managed to build, like an intangible dream in a far away land, then there's a stronger possibility that the informant would leave throat singing alone once it is completed. There's no reason to tamper with the perfected. This is all dependant on the notion that overtones are building blocks for musical form, not for anything else. It is possible though, that they could be building blocks for something else.

²⁷ This is an example usually used in the behavioristic theories in psychology. Connected to associationist perspective, it says that humans associate feelings and emotions [responses] with experience [stimuli], causing patterns of behavior. (Payne & Wenger 1998:14) Even though this study and MCA draws a lot from associationism, it is more in the lines of structuralist or gestalt psychology than behaviorist psychology, being more about the mental processes than any biological.

4.2.5 Informant no.6

This next informant is from Finland, and is a throat singer by profession. He/She made two self-reports. First one where he/she said that he/she did not identify as a member of any kind of group of throat singers, and then another self-report where he/she talked about throat singing. These two self-reports gets one horizon and life-world description each. Also remember that the question was formulated in a way that a person asks the informant when the informant is throat singing with a group of throat singers. Here are the dominating modalities for the first one: Belief = Possibility, Function = Signitive, Time = Present, Affects = Neutral, Will = None, Property = Not stated, Subject = I. And here's the horizon:

<i>These people</i>	<i>1. When? 2. Where? 3. Why? 4. How?</i>	<i>What lies behind?</i>	<i>What experiences lie behind?</i>	<i>What could it be?</i>	<i>What experiences does it demand?</i>	<i>What can be expected?</i>
<i>Who I do not even know</i>	1. In the present time	That there is a group of throat singers.	The informant has been to Siberia and heard native throat singers.	That the informant feels that he/she should know the throat singers he/she is singing with in order to be able to answer questions about throat singing.	Gotten to know different kinds of throat singers. Having sung with a throat singer.	The informant feels that it is important to get to know persons around him/her.
	2. Doesn't say	That "I" do not know this group of throat singers..	The informant has created Jazz music with throat singers.		Had the wrong impression about a throat singer.	The informant feels that it 's bad to get the wrong impression of a person.
	3. Doesn't say					
	4. Doesn't say			That the informant doesn't know anything else then just how to sing.		The informant wouldn't say anything, bad or good, about persons he/she doesn't know.

Life-world description:

This informant uses this self-report to answer about the throat-singers, not throat-singing itself. For this informant, it is the persons that are important. He/She doesn't know these people, so he/she can not say anything about them. He/She feels that he/she can not say anything about him-/herself either, because that would be the same as saying something about the other persons he/she is singing with. For the informant, it is so bad to say anything about someone he/she doesn't know, that he/she can not even talk about him-/herself. The modalities reflect this as well, in that they are very open, general. It is *possible* the informant knows these people, but *if* he/she doesn't then he/she can not say anything. Even the possibility that the informant doesn't know the persons he/she is singing with, is enough to stop him/her from saying anything at all, even just about him-/herself.

The informant creates this possibility by using the term “these people”. The modality category *signitive* shows that there's something that demands further questions. The informant doesn't say who “these people” are, they could be persons he/she knows, but they could also be persons he/she doesn't know. Who are they? It can not be said from this self-report alone. The only thing we know about them, besides that they are throat singers, is that the informant thinks there's too big of a risk that he doesn't know them personally. It is important for the informant to know them personally. The informant wants to get to know throat singers he/she sings with. This shows something of a goal for this informant, he/she wouldn't want to sing with throat singers he/she doesn't know. He/She would probably try to get to know any throat singer he/she would sing with, most definitely if it is someone he/she wants to be able to talk about with other people.

The modalities connected to the second horizon derived from this persons second self-report: Belief = Doxa-negation, Function = Perceptive, Time = Present, Affects = Neutral, Will = None, Property = Not stated, Subject = Unspecified.

<i>Throat singing</i>	1. When? 2. Where? 3. Why? 4. How?	<i>What lies behind?</i>	<i>What experiences lie behind?</i>	<i>What could it be?</i>	<i>What experiences does it demand?</i>	<i>What can be expected?</i>
<i>Which is not producing overtones with normal singing</i>	1. In the present time 2. Doesn't say 3. “Without this producing sound in throat, but doing the overtones, you can call it western overtone singing.” 4. Doesn't say	That overtones can be produced with normal singing. That overtones can be produced with throat singing.	The informant has heard someone and/or created overtones by using normal singing and throat singing. The informant has used the term “western overtone singing” when referring to when the production of overtones is not in the throat.	That the informant knows overtones can be produced in different places in the body. That the informant produces overtones in the throat.	Having experienced the difference between overtone singing and throat singing, either by hearing or by singing.	The informant feels that it is important to define throat singing as separate from overtone singing The informant will keep separating throat singing and overtone singing in terms and experience.

Life-world description:

This is pretty straight-forward. The informant informs two things. First that throat singing and overtone singing is not the same. They produce the overtones in different ways, in different places in the body. It is impossible to tell if this feels different and/or if it sounds different. But it is either or both. The second thing the informant says is that western overtone singing is a way of producing overtones with normal singing. This doesn't mean that western overtone singing is normal singing,

it means that this informant thinks that when one produces overtones without using throat singing, one should call it western overtone singing. Note also that he/she says “western” overtone singing. This means there are other kinds of overtone singing that are not western and/or from the west. It is a style of overtone singing found in the west. The belief modality has the category doxa-negation. This means that this is a negative definition. Throat singing is that which is not producing overtones with normal singing. If there are different ways of producing overtones with normal singing, none of them are throat singing. In reverse, when the production of overtones is in the throat, it is not western overtone singing, it is throat singing.

4.2.6 Informant no.7

This informant originally comes from Scotland, and has had personal contact with throat singers and musicians from allover the world. He/she has also been to Tuva, together with the band he/she is a part of. This informant has listened to, and learned, throat singing, with persons who come from Tuva and Southern Siberia.

This informant said explicitly in his self-report that he/she did not identify him-/herself as a throat singer. This informant does not feel a part of a community of throat singers. This was important for the choice of predicate to analyse in the horizon.

The predicate chosen was “who are making music”, the entity for this is “we”, and the modalities connected to this are: Belief = Doxa-affirmation, Function = Perceptive, Time = Present, Affects = Neutral, Will = Engagement, Property = Not stated, Subject = We.

This predicate was chosen from two main reasons. First, it is interesting that both this informant and informant no.6 start off by saying that they do not want to be affiliated with some kind of community of throat singers. This doesn’t exclude nor include the possibility of such a community, only that there are throat singers that do not think they are part of a community with other throat singers. The second main reason this predicate was chosen is because there is still a “we” to talk about. And, the horizon as it has been created here:

<i>We</i>	1. When? 2. Where? 3. Why? 4. How?	<i>What lies behind?</i>	<i>What experiences lie behind?</i>	<i>What could it be?</i>	<i>What experiences does it demand?</i>	<i>What can be expected?</i>
<i>Who are making music</i>	1. In the present time 2. Doesn't say 3. "[...] what you do musically is what is important and of value." 4. "Vocal music"	That there can be a community of throat singers. That throat singers can be a part of other communities/groups. That a lot of musicians do not think throat singing is of value in itself, only what they do musically. "I know a lot of musicians who think this way."	The informant has met very different kinds of throat singers. The informant has created music with throat singers.	That there is a community of throat singers. That throat singers that are musicians doesn't have to be a part of that community. That the informant doesn't want to be affiliated with some throat singers.	Having created music. Having met more than one throat singer. Having created music in different ways, with different instruments.	The informant doesn't want anyone to think he/she is a part of a larger community of throat singers. The informant wants to be considered a musician before being considered a throat singer. This informant will continue to say that he/she is a musician, not a throat singer.

Life world description:

This is not that easy to interpret. There are two groups for this informant. First there are the throat singers, of which there can be a community or not. Secondly there are the musicians, the ones who make music first and foremost. This means that throat singers are not really singers per se, they are more like instruments, a means to an end. There is a group of musicians, of which there are some throat singers. This informant knows a lot of these throat singing musicians, and thinks that he/she can say that they are not a part of any kind of throat singing community. According to the informant, they want to be considered musicians, just like the informant. He/she doesn't say what "musically" is, only that it is something to do with making music and that throat singers do not automatically do it just because they are throat singers. This means that, either there are throat singers who do not throat sing, or there are throat singers who do not make music. So throat singing is not music making, just because it is throat singing. Whether this applies to all singing, all kinds of instruments, the informant doesn't say. It is interesting that the informant talks about music making like this, when the question was about throat singing and not music making. Because, this has enabled the establishing of throat singing as something that doesn't have to be music making, and also that musicians who throat sing can consider music making to be their priority before the throat

singing.

4.2.7 Informant no.8

This informant is a 20 year old man from Holland, who has been to the Altai region of Mongolia to study throat singing in its cultural environment.

The predicate chosen from this informant is “which will bring you to so much unique stories, persons and places”, the entity for this is “throat singing”. The modalities connected to this are: Belief = Doxa-affirmation, Function = Signitive, Time = Present -> Future, Affects = Neutral, Will = None, Property = Not stated, Subject = Unspecified.

This predicate was chosen because, not only is throat singing the field of study here, it was also the entity with the most predicates connected to it, in this informant’s self-report. And, the horizon as it has been created here:

<i>Throat singing</i>	<i>1. When? 2. Where? 3. Why? 4. How?</i>	<i>What lies behind?</i>	<i>What experiences lie behind?</i>	<i>What could it be?</i>	<i>What experiences does it demand?</i>	<i>What can be expected?</i>
<i>Which will bring you to so much unique stories, persons and places</i>	<p>1. In the present time and the future</p> <p>2. Doesn't say</p> <p>3. Unknown</p> <p>4. “[...] this type of singing helped me [...] explore unknown parts of the world.” and “Without throat singing I would have never known about persons from Russia and Mongolia.”</p>	<p>That there are unique stories, persons and places.</p> <p>That one can be brought to unique stories, persons and places.</p> <p>That throat singing can bring one to unique stories, persons and places.</p>	<p>The informant has been to Russia/Mongolia.</p> <p>The informant has gotten to know about persons from Russia and Mongolia.</p> <p>The informant has learned about their culture / their stories.</p> <p>“Throat singing will be part of your life because it will bring you to so much unique stories, persons and places.”</p>	<p>That throat singing doesn't bring any one anywhere.</p> <p>That throat singers or persons affiliated with throat singing can bring persons to unique stories, persons and places.</p>	<p>Having sung throat singing.</p> <p>Having heard stories from Russian / Mongolian people.</p>	<p>The informant thinks throat singing inevitably brings to these things.</p> <p>The informant thinks this makes throat singing a part of one’s life.</p> <p>The informant is thus convinced throat singing will become a part of any one’s life if they throat sing.</p>

Life world description:

The first thing to note here are the modality categories. With this predicate the most important one is the “Present -> Future” modality category. This is what makes this informant be so certain about that throat singing becomes a part of people’s lives. “it *will* bring you to much unique stories, persons and places.” the informant says. There’s no doubt, as the “Doxa-affirmation” modality category also confirms. “Throat singing will be part of your life”. This can sound positive, if you’re a fan of throat singing. But there’s also the “signitive” modality category, which kind of mess things up. A statement is signitive when it requires further questions. If something requires further questions, well, it isn’t that free of doubt any longer. What requires further questions here are the “unique stories, persons and places”. What stories, who tells these stories, where are they told. And what makes them so unique any way. One answer can be found in the context. Here, this person clearly says what experiences he/she has had to come to this conclusion. He/She has met, or in some other way gotten to know about, the persons that lives there in Russia and Mongolia. This experience originate in the informant's feeling of having been brought to these stories, persons and places. It wasn’t the informant her-/himself that went to these places; it was the throat singing that brought him/her there. The informant ascribes all this to throat singing. Here, throat singing is not just a life-less object like a rock, throat singing can do things, it can bring persons to places and persons and stories. For this informant, throat singing is not (just) something that can be used by people; it is something that uses people. The activity of bringing persons to places, whether real or not, is ascribed to throat singing itself. It might be implicit that anyone should understand that this is not physically possible, but what is important here is that it is not uninteresting for us to understand that this kind of view of throat singing is still very much a truth for persons like this informant. He/She had throat singing become a part of her/his life by these experiences, having throat singing bring her/him to these unique stories, persons and places. Throat singing can thus be a part of people’s lives, if not in a real sense then at least in an ontological sense.

5 Result

This section of a study, in any study, is supposed to give the the final answer to the purpose of the study. Which in this case was the being of throat singing. But as one might have already noticed, this has already been accounted for in the life-world descriptions. This is not easy to put together as a reader, having the horizons in between each life-world description. So instead of repeating each and every life-world description here, the major points from the individual life-world descriptions are here joined under this one heading, together with a few comments towards the literature presented in chapter 3. This is done both to make it easier to read and to conclude the findings.

One thing that was hard to come to grips with in this study was the paradox that some informants claims there are throat singers while other informants says there is no such thing. This is interesting not only for a sake of its own, but also for understanding the being of throat singing.

So, first of all, are there throat singers to talk of? The literature doesn't even touch this. It is just there, implicitly. When it has something to say about throat singers then it is just to talk about a subdivision of an implicit group of throat singers. In Carole Peggs book there's talk about ethnicity and in Theodore Levins book there's talk about the role of women, both in relation to throat singing. Women throat singers, Mongolian throat singers, Tuvan women throat singers, etc. But nothing about the base group, the throat singers themselves. They do not say there isn't such a group, but they implicitly agree to the existence of it by using it as a category. This wasn't originally a part of the object of study, but one should always be open to new things, not exclude anything on beforehand. Here's what was found in the interviews:

For informant number 2 the learning stage in throat singing is a shared practice. This informant is part of a culture where learning to sing is done together, whether it is the informant who is learning or it is someone who the informant is teaching doesn't matter. And the learning process can be indefinite, which means that throat singing can be thought of as a shared practice period. Informant number 3 supports the notion of a group of throat singers, when he/she is talking about a "we" that are the overtone singers in the West. These overtone singers in the West include throat singers, which means that by following the logic that all A's are B's, but not all B's are A's, if overtone singers are B's and throat singers are A's; it must be true that all throat singers are overtone singers, but not all overtone singers are throat singers. This would at least be so for "we" in the West, as seen by informant number 3.

Not everyone can see some kind of group of throat singers. Informant number 6 explicitly said there is no such group by creating two answers to the question, first one where he/she doesn't agree to being affiliated with a group of persons he/she doesn't know, and then one where the question of throat singing is handled. Informant 6 makes it clear that this is important. For him/her there is nothing to tie a group together if they do not know each other. Informant number 7 supports this anti-throatsingers attitude, but still uses the word "we", as does informant 6. It is there implicitly, some kind of way of speaking about not just "throat singing" but also "throat singers".

This wasn't a part of the object of study at first. It was handled in the same way as the literature handled it. Just assuming that if someone throatsings, then that person is a throatsinger. This is not an unproblematizing issue as it can seem to be. Informant 3 divides overtone singers into throat singers and not throat singers, informant 6 can throat sing but doesn't consider itself a throat singer, and informant 2 sees only throat singers as something in the learning process. Still, there are throat singers, in some way or another. And this is helpful, considering it would be really hard to talk about persons who throat sing without being able to categorise them as throat singers.

Once that is taken care of, the existence of throat singers, there is still the main issue of the throat singing itself. The being of throat singing is here characterised by different meanings together. What can be used here then, as aspects, or characteristics, of throat singing? Going through the informants' life-world descriptions one at a time gives us their individual meanings to throat singing, putting these together should give us the being as a whole. Starting with Informant 1's life-world description, there's a reference to the region around the central Asian Altai mountains. This is an interpretation of course, as are all the life-world descriptions. But there is only one source of information for each horizon, and that is the informant's own account. In informant 1's life-world description, khoomei (the tuvan word for throat singing) is "special" because of the traditional geo-cultural context in which this informant believes khoomei has its cultural origins. He/She ascribes meaning towards the concept of khoomei using the landscape itself. For this informant, there's a sense, an intentionality, in the khoomei concept, that refers to the physical and cultural region of the central Asian Altai Mountains.

Informant 2 touches a different aspect. That of the learning process. For this informant, throat singing is a process of a continual learning. You learn new things by singing with other people, and they learn new things by singing with you. The learning process is thus also a group process. You learn throat singing by singing with other people. Learning how to throat sing is the cultural part of throat singing, other persons show you how it is done, and they show you what not to do. Informant 2 therefore refers, indirectly, to the socialisation of throat singing²⁸.

Informant 3 speaks of the community aspect of throat singing. That there's a group of persons that creates a metaphorical process in which overtones are allowed to bloom. The throat singing is a process, when they sing, the overtones bloom one at a time. And they are allowed to do so, they are active in themselves. The overtones bloom. There's the intentionality of blooming in the concept of overtones, and overtones are directly related to the throat singing.

Informant 4's life-world description is the one that is most clear in this issue. Throat singing has a purpose, it is used, it is used to heal, it is used to heal the Earth. Why the Earth needs healing or if throat singing is the only way to heal the Earth, the informant doesn't tell. But throat singing can heal, and the Earth can be healed, thus the ones that can throat sing can also heal the Earth. This is a

²⁸ Had this study had more time and space, this aspect, the aspect of throat singing as shared praxis, would have been a major point in the object of study. Not only "what is" but also "what does this 'what is' matter". This is something there is big hopes, from this end, that there will be a follow-up study on. This is so because that this was one of the hind motives for doing this study.

very specific purpose, and the more specific something is, the less persons can agree with it. This is the curse of subjective analyses, but also its salvation. Specifics like these allow for conceptualisation. What is throat singing, well, for some persons it is something that has the power to heal. There is a directive force in the concept of throat singing, one of healing. That which can be healed is at least the Earth itself, but the relevant point here is the healing part. It is the healing that is the process. It is the healing that is done when someone throat sings.

Informant 5 raises an important issue the other informants did not say anything about, the musical form. Now, there's no point in speculating, but it seems plausible that the other informants thought that the aspect of musical form is too obvious when speaking of a kind of singing (like throat singing), that it could be implied in all the life-world descriptions. This is dangerous though, since it can give some precomprehension that seriously disturbs the analytic process. The only thing that can be said with certainty; is that informant 5 thinks that musical form is of importance when speaking of throat singing, throat singing can be used to create musical form. Again, as with other informants' accounts, here is also the issue of process and community.

Informant 6 touches the social aspect of throat singing. Informant 6 thinks that one needs to have a relation towards a throat singer in order to be able to talk about that person as a throat singer. There's a sense of authenticity, if you do not know any throat singers then you do not have the right to talk about throat singers. And this even if you can throat sing yourself. You can only talk about a community of throat singers if you know several throat singers yourself. Throat singers then, exist only in the relationship between people, in which at least one has to be able to throat sing.

Informant 6 touches another aspect besides the social, that of the differentiation between overtone singing and throat singing. There is a difference between the two. Throat singing produces overtones in the throat, overtone singing produces overtones in a different way. And normal singing does not produce overtones at all. Now, it is known that physically (see the Introduction chapter), overtones are already existent in any vocal sounds. They can therefore not be produced nor created, since they are already there, as informant 3's metaphor of letting overtones to bloom so eloquently describes. What informant 6 then speaks about, is another metaphor. "Producing overtones" is a metaphor in the sense that it is a symbol, referring to the actual process of throat singing AND overtone singing. Informant 6 thus speaks of both the physical experience of throat singing as well as the process (of change through time) itself.

Informant 7 also touches the aspect of music, as informant 5. But here it is in a broader sense. Musicians use throat singing to create music. Musicians are the ones that create music, and throat singing can be used. Some musicians are throat singers, but not all. Throat singers, for this informant, is thus a subcategory to musicians. So this informant relates throat singing to three different aspects: the process of creating music, the existence of a category of throat singers, and the purpose of using throat singing (to create music).

Informant 8 lastly, speaks of both the social and the cultural aspects of throat singing. Throat singing brings persons together, the informant got to know persons from other cultures. Throat

singing is in that sense connected to the persons of certain places, the culture in that geography. It is central Asia again, Tuva and Mongolia. But not as much the geography as the persons in those geographical places. The informant got to know persons from central Asia, because of throat singing. There is then, for this informant, an intentionality of cultural flow in the concept of throat singing. The culture of the persons in central Asia is connected to the throat singing, so that when persons outside of central Asia gets to know throat singing they also get to know the culture of the persons in central Asia. This is also a process, which can be more or less imaginary. The informant thinks he/she has gotten a peak into entire cultures, when in fact it is only a few social relations.

This ordered list, going through each of the informants' life-world descriptions, presents the aspects out of which throat singing is comprised. Each and every of these aspects can be considered a meaning, in that an informant uses this aspect in constructing meaning for throat singing. These aspects together on the other hand, is the being of throat singing, that which this study has been all about finding. They show throat singing from different angles, from different subjective experiences. Remember the reductionist model used as a metaphor in chapter 2.3; to be able to give an as accurate picture of throat singing as possible, it needs to be seen from more than one dimension. Each informant here has given at least one dimension. Together, they form the contextual essence, the being, of throat singing.

This ordered list of the informants aspects of throat singing is in itself already an extreme reduction of what they have in fact said, because it is just a model. Models are used to generalise and/or conceptualise. Models simplify complexities, to increase understanding and broaden the uses of the result. This previous list is not that easy to read, so to further clarify the results of this study, the being of throat singing, here is an unordered list of aspects/characteristics of throat singing:

- Geography - Khoomei is used around Altai Mountains,
Khoomei is special outside of the Altai region.
- Culture - Throat singing is learned by singing with others,
persons learn that throat singing is taught by singing with others,
- Process/Time - When throat singing, overtones are allowed to bloom one at a time.
Throat singing is used to create musical form,
Throat singing produces overtones in the throat,
Throat singing is not overtone singing, which does not produce
overtones in the throat,
Throat singing is used by musicians (to create music).
- Purpose - Throat singing is used to heal (the Earth),
Throat singing is used to create musical form,
Throat singing is used by musicians (to create music).
- Music - Throat singing is used to create musical form,
Throat singing is used by musicians (to create music).
- Throat singers - A throat singer is someone that is, by anyone, known to throat sing,
Throat singing is used by musicians (to create music).
- Community - Throat singing is learned by singing with others,
Throat singers allow overtones to bloom one at a time,
Throat singers use sound to heal (the Earth),
Throat singers create musical form with overtones as building blocks.

6 Conclusion

The results in this study do not contradict any previous research. One can, if one would want to, just read the Introduction chapter and the last two chapters. That would give an amateur in the world of throat singing the main point of what throat singing is. But this would also escape the meaning constitution that the informants have in relation with throat singing, which is from where the being of throat singing is actually derived. Thus, this study have to be seen as a whole, the whole process is its own conclusion and result.

When you look at the list of aspects at the end of Chapter 5, you should think that it is obvious that not all and everyone can agree to every aspect of throat singing. Some aspects even contradict each other. This is the nature of all things. There is a surplus of meanings towards all things. Anything can be almost anything. A bucket can be used to fetch water and it can be used as a hat, throat singing can be a communal praxis and it can be a tool in music making by musicians.

Throat singing is sometimes not that far away from normal singing. Some persons use it in music making. In other ways it stretches the imagination to limit of what singing can do, for some persons throat singing can be used to heal the Earth.

This study did not expect to find such paradoxes and emotional response in such a simple question. The study started with “what is throat singing” and in the end it was forced to try and understand how some persons could have thoughts that contradicted such basic implicit (although precomprehensive) notions as “singing needing a singer”. It goes to show, that you never know what you will get when you do research like this. persons are paradoxical creatures, which do unexpected things.

The end result, the list of aspects of the being of throat singing, is the actual human definition of the concept of throat singing. It is not just a definition though, it is a being. It has in it all these emotions and goals, directed towards it by the persons who use it. Almost like a life of its own, one can say that “throat singing brings persons together” and “throat singing creates overtones in the throat”. That is the truth, the subjective experience of the objective phenomenon of throat singing.

This definition, the being of throat singing, can be used in various types of research: When doing statistics on throat singing, or when doing focus group interviews, any type of research really. There is just a few things one need to know before attempting to do so. First, there is a possibility that there is someone out there that has a definition of throat singing that does not involve any of these aspects here. The chance should be slim, since the informants used here had very different notions of what throat singing is. But that is the thing with the surplus of meanings; you can never catch them all. Another thing that one should understand before using this result as definition for throat singing, it is created in a context. Today, in this time, and here, in this world, this is what throat singing is. But tomorrow, in a different world, throat singing might not be like this at all. A hint at such a change can be seen in Carole Pegg’s claim that throat singing, even in its “native region” of Tuva/Mongolia, has transformed. This is neither unexpected nor surprising. Everything changes,

especially how things are construed meanings and essence.

This contemporary being of throat singing is useful for us here today, but to further the understanding of the concept, it could be very useful to compare with a historical being of throat singing. Now that it can be said from this study how throat singing is today, one can continue to try and say what throat singing was yesterday. Has it changed and why has it changed. Questions like those might give an indication of where throat singing is headed, how will its being be tomorrow, will it be different from the one today. Had this study had a hundred more pages, then the historical part would have had more space, as would the implications of throat singing as shared praxis.

Still, there is hope that this study gives other researchers in the field something to think about. That throat singing is not something one can just assume to be in a certain way. It is not some kind of natural category with implicit meanings (if there is such a thing at all).

A point here is to see this as a stepping-stone, a first step into a micro perspective of throat singing, then perhaps a meso and macro perspective. It can be seen as slightly strange that such a study as this has not been performed before. How can persons speak of something, in the scientific community or the media or even popular tongue, without even having a combined clear-cut definition of what it is. No answer here, except that they do not have to anymore.

This study has illustrated the being of throat singing. This being comprises of a varying range of meanings, from throat singing being able to create music with overtones as building blocks, to it being able to use sound to heal. This way of looking at throat singing increases understanding of the phenomenon in a way that has not been done before, it is a thick description of throat singing.

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Appendix A

We are Finnish band called Cedip Tur and we are playing Tuvan folkmusic where throatsinging or khoomei has a big role. Khoomei is a special way to use human voice and is used only around Altai-mountains in Western Tuva and Western Mongolia although you can hear the echoes of khoomei also little further in Hakassia, Buryatia, Tadjekistan, Kazakhstan etc. Inuits have their own throatsinging, but it is more like breathing games. In some parts of world there are singing styles that use harsh voice or overtones that reminds khoomei. You can find such places in Southern Africa, Japan, Papua New Guinee and specially Sardegna where so called tenore quartets are using singing techniques very similar as in Tuva. But such throat technique and overtone controll they use in Central Asia you can't find in any other place on earth.

There is several styles of khoomei - some local, some general - but three basic styles are most important: khoomei - which is also one style along with being generic term of phenomenon - sygyt and kargyra. All techniques require control of throat and overtones. In sygyt and kargyra one squeeze trachea below and filters overtones controlling the space in mouth and throat. In kargyra you make the false vocal chords to vibrate, which makes voice sound very deep, because they vibrate half the speed of normal vocal chords.

What is overtone? Overtones are frequencies of sound or voice which are dependant on source and space. They are the colour of voice. With the control of space in your mouth you can filter the multiples (I am not sure about the term...) of basic drone. Ex basic drone 100 Hz, first overtone 200 Hz, second 300 Hz and so on. These overtones forms a harmonic scale which is used in overtonemusic like khoomei.

I got interrested in khoomei in 1995 at Haapavesi Folk festival at workshop of Boris Salchak. After that me and my Finnish throatsinging friends have found a throatsinging society and some bands. I have visited Tuva twice.

Most important Tuvan khoomei bands among others are Huun-Huur-Tu, Chirgilchin, Tuva Kyzy, Alash, Tuva Ensemble and Yat-Kha. Known Mongolian bands are Egschiglen, Altai Khairkhan, Börte, Tenger Ayalguu and Transmongolia.

This year we celebrate 10th anniversary of Finnish Throatsinging Society. In November there is a photograph exhibition "Pictures from Throatsinging Lands" and a Day of Voice 10th November. Transmongolia is performing at the concert.

Well this was quick and non scientific, but I thought, it is better do it right away. Hope this is something you are looking for.

Of course there is shorter ways to answer like: "We are Cedip Tur and we play and sing Tuvan music in Finnish way. Yes, throatsinging sounds weird and primitive."