Filming Music and Looking at Music Films

HUGO ZEMP

CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE, PARIS

This is a revised version of the introductory and conclusive part of the Charles Seeger Memorial Lecture, presented 7 November 1987 at the Thirty-Second Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, at the Rackham School for Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The main part of the Lecture was the American Première of the film Yootzing and Yodelling, and the World Première of Head Voice, Chest Voice. Parts of the additional text printed in small letters have been read in an earlier version at the 1st International Workshop on Visual Anthropology, organized in Marseille, 1-4 June 1987 by the Institut Méditerranéen de Recherche et de Création, under the auspices of the "Commission on Visual Anthropology" of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

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My aim here is not to discuss the history, trends, problems, and scholarly status of film in ethnomusicology, nor the implications, for our discipline, of theoretical and practical work carried out in visual anthropology. Steven Feld, who kindly introduced me today, did this already 11 years ago, and his article in our journal remains the largest and most important reflection on visual communication in ethnomusicology (Feld 1976).

These last years, my main concern has been making films rather than writing about them. So I consider that the two films which I will present to you this evening should not illustrate a written text read from this rostrum, but be the main point of the lecture. Let me introduce, and afterwards conclude, the film-lecture with a few spoken words about my personal experiences in making and in showing films.

There are many different ways to film music, depending on the type of music and the main focus of the filmmaker. For myself, I follow one rule: to respect the music and the musician. This means to me:

— to film a music piece, and to edit it, in its entirety.
— to keep music performance free from voice-over narration, and to translate song texts with subtitles.
—to film the musician as a human being and not like a thing or an insect, and to show the relationship between filmmaker and musician in the film, rather than hiding it.

—to allow expression of the musician’s point of view, respecting his voice and his language through translations in subtitles.

I am convinced that most ethnomusicologists would easily accept these simple precepts, and you may ask yourself if I am simply not stating the obvious. But as a member of the selection committee for two music film festivals organized by our research group, I have seen dozens of films which do not satisfy these minimal requirements (Zemp 1984).

Most were not made, of course, by or with the collaboration of an ethnomusicologist. The question is: are we as ethnomusicologists going to defend our point of view and distinguish our conception of filming music from that of television producers and independent documentarians, as well as from the conception of human (but not humanistic) ethologists who film human behaviour?1

The first requirement in filming music is synchronous sound. This seems to go without saying, since lightweight 16 mm synchronous equipment has been used in direct cinema for a quarter of a century. But one can still see many films nowadays where the filmmaker or editor, in his desire to vary angles, cuts in inserts of musicians completely out of sync, since they were filmed while they were playing something else.

There are several technical possibilities for filming a music piece synchronously and in its entirety: 1. stationary framing; 2. panning; 3. zooming; 4. long sequence-shooting with moving hand-held camera; 5. several cameras, or multiple shooting with one camera.2

I used all of these possibilities, but of course all are not equally satisfactory in every circumstance from the cinematographic and the ethnomusical point of view (both points of view can and should be convergent).

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1Ethnographic filmmaker Jay Ruby raised the point: The “culturally conditioned interpretive strategies for making sense out of a film—one strategy leading us to make inferences about film as art, as aesthetic object, and as fictionalized fantasy designed to amuse us, and a second causing us to deal with film as a document of reality that should be unbiased, objective and truthful—are at odds with what might be called a fundamental purpose of an anthropological communication, namely, to make scientific/humanistic statements about culture” (Ruby 1982:122).

2Different combinations of shooting are of course possible: for example, in the same shot taken with a camera on a tripod, there can be stationary framing, panning and/or zooming, and in a long sequence-shot the filmmaker does not walk around continuously, but stays temporarily immobile as in stationary framing. In her book on the cinematographic gesture in social science films, Jane Guéronnet (1987) analyzes in detail the relations between the observational position of the filmmaker, his support system, and the observed beings. To take an example from musicians, the filmmaker can have an immobile observational position (the camera fixed on a tripod) on a mobile support system (a truck), while the musicians he is filming have itinerant actions (a parade).
If the musical piece is short and the number of performers very limited, stationary framing may not only be acceptable, but the best solution. Most traditional yootzes\textsuperscript{3} are not longer than one minute. For example, in *Head Voice, Chest Voice*, a medium shot shows Franz-Dominik Betschart yootzing alone on a slope; this is more appropriate here, since the shot is followed by shorter, visually rich and rapid changing images of graphic animations. Zooming in and out, fancy camera work with a moving camera, or using several intercutting cameras would not have made the image more comprehensible—on the contrary.

With lengthy musical pieces and a large number of performers, exclusive use of stationary, wide angle coverage is not only boring for a general audience but also, in many cases, useless as research footage. I have seen films in which the researcher, in his desire to reproduce “objectively” a large number of musicians and dancers, had to shoot from such a great distance that visual analysis of the performance is difficult if not impossible. The illusion of scientific objectivity in using a locked-off camera has been clearly demonstrated by Steven Feld in a paper written together with the ethnographic filmmaker Carrol Williams (Feld and Williams 1975). The authors attribute the filmic paradigm “locked-off camera” specifically to “an essential secret record made through time with a constant frame being held by a hidden, nonhumanly operated camera” (p. 25), which is mainly used in psychological interviews. Much of their criticism is also valid for stationary wide framing with a nonhidden, humanly operated camera, if this shooting strategy is considered a priori for scientific observation and not chosen on the basis of the research problem at hand. As this important article on the epistemology of social science films seems to be unfamiliar to many ethnomusicologists involved in film or videomaking, I quote at some length two passages concerning the topic which interests us here:

The eye has an incredible ability to move in and out of space very rapidly. . . . The camera lens system cannot replicate the search pattern of the eye or reproduce in extenso the exact signal-to-noise ratio the eyes triggered on. And the camera lens cannot search at the rate the eye searches, shifting soft to sharp focus ratios instantly. This is why it is possible to sit in a chair and observe an action from one place, but impossible to shoot a film of the same observation from the same single sitting position. The camera must move flexibly in order to maintain the framing that includes the information that the eye is triggering on. (p. 29)

. . . the unquestioned assumption of the utility of locking-off the wide frame tends to minimize rather than maximize data. This is because of the optical resolution in the frame, the inability of the eye to resolve both the central and peripheral in sharp focus simultaneously, and the fact that we do not have single freeze-frame brains. Blocking out the actual experiential quality of event perception is not a way to maximize the data level of film for research. (p. 30)

\textsuperscript{3}To make native distinctions clear in the rapidly passing subtitles translating the conversations in the films, I anglicized the Swiss German dialect word *Jüuz* (pronounced “yootz”), designating the local repertoire and style of yodelling, which the natives contrast to *Jodel*, related to the national repertoire and singing style of the folkloristic Swiss Yodler Union. In doing so I am following the French-speaking Swiss who galicize the German Dialect noun and verb, although these forms are not in a French dictionary.
PANNING

During a close or medium shot, slow panning from a fixed point of view enables one to discover one after the other the performers who play or sing together. In the first shot of *Yootzing and Yodelling*, the camera pans from a young girl starting to yootz, to her brother and sisters, discovering that they were singing up on a tree (Fig. 1-2). Panning also allows one to explore the relationships of the musicians with their environment at the very moment of the performance and examine the reaction of the public. In *Glattalp*, a slow panning shot (combined with slight vertical and horizontal movements of the camera) during performance of an accordion piece explores the interior of the Alpine pasture hut—the musician sitting slightly apart, a woman cleaning the coffee thrown out, and the herdsmen gathered around the table. Of course, if the aim had been to study the fingerings of accordion playing, the camera should have been kept on the instrument. In contrast with a later sequence of the film where collective yodelling around this same table was an important part of the event, this shot shows that the music was secondary: the herdsmen went on with their conversations without paying attention to the accordion player. In one single shot, much musical and extramusical information is given, including the division of labor between the sexes (the men have driven the cattle up to the mountain pasture and are now relaxing, while a woman serves food and coffee and keeps the place clean).

ZOOMING

Constant zooming in and out from a camera fixed on tripod is not only aesthetically open to criticism but also complicates any analysis of the image.

My first film, shot in 1969 without even minimal technical or methodological knowledge of documentary filmmaking (*Danses polynésiennes traditionnelles d'On-tong Java*), has all the characteristic faults of a beginner's amateur film, and notably the abuse of zooming.4 As a reaction to it I systematically excluded zooming in my two later films from the Solomon Islands (*'Are'are Music* and *Shaping Bamboo*). In my films on Swiss yodelling, I sometimes used zooming, and looking at the results now, I think that in many cases it was unnecessary; but in a few circumstances it seemed to me the best choice. In *Yootzing and Yodelling*, where the image of three yootzers singing in front of an Alpine hut was cut to a closeup of a television screen, I wanted to include in the same shot the screen and the performers watching how they themselves sang a year before. In a fiction film made in the studio, travelling backward would have been possible, but in this small room the men were sitting on a wall bench, and I had to shoot from the outside through the open window (Fig. 4-5). Since I did not want to interrupt their watching and their reaction with a lengthy change of camera position because they were the starting point of the conversation, I made this shot at the end of the other takes and afterwards cut it into the image presenting the men from the front (Fig. 3-6). In another case in the same film, at the yearly concert of the yodel choir, I was allowed to film provided I did not disturb the concert, did not go on stage, and did not move during songs.

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4This film is an Archive document which is not distributed, but which can be consulted for research purposes at the CNRS Audiovisuel, 27 rue Paul Bert, 94200 Ivry, France.
Each yodel was sung only once, and I had only one camera. Constant full framing of the entire choir would have made it impossible to distinguish the soloists. Conversely, a stationary medium shot of the soloists would have made it impossible to see the choir and their position in it. A panning medium shot might have been possible, but it would not have included the whole choir in one frame as I wanted it to do, so I decided to put the camera on a tripod and to zoom from telelens position back to wide angle, showing the whole choir and the decoration of the stage, and then forwards again to the lead singers. In the final editing, this shot, which by itself is cinematographically not very satisfactory, fits in well with the preceding and following sequences showing the same yodel soloists in conversation.

The use of zooming has often been criticized both by film critics and by direct cinema filmmakers. In an article significantly entitled “From the travelling of cinema to the zoom of television,” Martine Joly denounces the aesthetics if not the ideology of zooming: “...the generally autonomous and anonymous character of zooming exacerbates the work of the image as ‘false movement’: false contact, neither vision nor point of view...” (1987:79).

For Jean Rouch: “The zoom lens is more like a voyeur who watches and notes details from atop a distant perch,” while “to walk about with the camera, taking it to wherever it is the most effective, and improvising a ballet in which the camera itself becomes just as much alive as the people it is filming... would be the first synthesis between the theories of Vertov about the ‘cine-eye’ and those of Flaherty about the ‘participant camera’ ” (1975a:93). This later technique which, if used systematically, becomes a film style, is called sequence-shot.

**SEQUENCE-SHOT**

The sequence-shot is distinguishable not only from TV and news reports, since the “voyeur-zoom-lens” is replaced by “walking-around-with-the-camera,” but also from the conventional film language of fiction films in that it retains a whole sequence in real time, with the original temporal and spatial relationship, instead of cutting it into many short takes shot from different camera positions and with different focal lengths. David MacDougall, with Jean Rouch a pioneer and master of this film style, describes its virtues in the following terms:

Sequence-shots restore to the audiences something of the continuity of perception of an individual observer. They are also probably the key feature of a camera style which seeks to sever itself from the imagery of fiction and tie itself to the specific historical act of filming... It attempts to narrow the distance between the person who makes a film and the person who views it. There is no longer a compulsion to occupy an advantageous camera position at any cost; a ‘bad’ shot which nevertheless contains useful information, and which would once have been removed as ‘unprofessional’, is now preserved. (1982:10)

In filming lengthy musical performances, even more than for many other events, a long, quiet sequence-shot is in many cases the most satisfactory shooting strategy. It enables one to follow the musicians as they move during a performance and to

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5“... le caractère généralement autonome et anonyme de l'emploi du zoom exacerbe le travail de l'image comme 'faux mouvement': faux contact, ni regard, ni point de vue,...”
explore the actions and interactions of the performers (musicians, dancers) and the audience.\textsuperscript{6} I used sequence-shots in all these situations:

\begin{itemize}
  \item In a three-minute shot the camera follows a herdsman who calls the cows with a yodelled herding call and who brings them one after the other into the stable (\textit{Yootzing and Yodelling}). An insert of a facial closeup of the herdsman interrupts the sequence-shot after the first ten seconds (Fig. 7-10).
  \item During an Alphorn tune played at a wrestling festival in the same film, the camera focuses first on the musicians, pans to the flag drawer and wrestlers, and afterwards approaches the musicians (Fig. 12-14). To make a smooth transition with the preceding shot of wrestlers, the sound of the Alphorn players checking their first chord can already be heard on this image (Fig. 11), and the sequence-shot starts with the first notes of the tune.
  \item In \textit{The Wedding of Susanna and Josef}, one 3 minute sequence-shot starts with the wedding party applauding a family of yootzers, goes to the master of ceremonies who thanks them, approaches the performers as they start their next yootz, and follows them afterwards when they go to congratulate the newlyweds who give the children a money reward.
  \item The next shot in the same film accompanies the bell-ringers for four minutes in real time from their entry until their departure, including the congratulations and the offering of a gift to the newlyweds.
  \item Two examples of intercut sequence-shots showing musicians and dancers are discussed \textit{infra} in the paragraph on editing.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{SEVERAL CAMERAS: MULTIPLE SHOOTING WITH ONE CAMERA}

The systematic use of two or more cameras implies costs in salary and filmstock far beyond most ethnographic film budgets; it also goes against principles of direct cinema. Colin Young reports that:

\textsuperscript{6}The sequence-shot which I am most happy about is the last shot in the film \textit{Are'are Music}. It follows a panning shot from a fixed point of view showing the arrival of a performing group coming up a hill, three dancers in front. The second shot starts with a closeup of the two singers; then the camera goes backwards to discover the different ways of beating the bamboo tubes on the hands and on the ground, the remuneration of the musicians by the feastgiver, and the departure of the performers. Between these two shots, the group performed other musical pieces which I filmed also, but they did not add anything new, and I excluded them in editing. With the first and the last shot all significant musical, spatial, and social behavior could be recorded. I had an Eclair ACL camera with only 60 m wheels, which meant 5 minutes' autonomy. In the first shot I was lucky, since from the beginning when the group appeared until it arrived at the top of the hill and stopped, one wheel was long enough. To make the last shot even luckier (the feastgiver had informed me that he would reward the musicians), I agreed with the two singers that I would give the signal for them to stop the song. In this music where a strophic form is repeated over and over with an improvised text, the song can be ended at any time by the singers themselves or through an interruption by the feastgiver. So I was shooting, looking with my left eye at my wrist watch, and gave the signal after two minutes with my left arm, to be sure to have enough filmstock left to document the payment of the musicians. All the movements of the camera (panning, walking backwards and forwards) were justified to get the best position making it possible to see what was happening. At the very end of the sequence-shot, luck abandoned me, and the film ran out just a few seconds before the performers threw the bamboo and the leaf decorations into the sea.
In the early stages of cinéma vérité, the Maysles were so certain of the new morality that they argued against shooting with more than one camera—the essential subjectivity of the person seeing the events being filmed was necessary for the unity of the film. (1975:72)

Many ethnographic filmmakers today would probably still agree for reasons of style, but what about the needs of ethnographic observation? Already Marcel Griaule (1957:47-50), in his *Méthode d’ethnographie*, advocated team work with several ethnographers observing from different points of view the same sequences of a ritual performed simultaneously. I had this problem in a simpler form than would occur in complex African rituals during a wedding ceremony in a Catholic church (*The Wedding of Susanna and Josef*). A filmmaker interested mainly in the details of the interactions among priest, bride, and bridegroom, might have been satisfied with a wide establishing shot and a full frame with telelens from below to the yodel choir standing on the organ loft, but church performances of written *Jodellieder* under the direction of a conductor or of local yootzes arranged for choir without conductor with the singers dressed in folkloristic costumes as on a theater stage or during an open-air concert, and with their hands in their pockets—this was a recent phenomenon of ritualization of folklore, worthy to be shown in a film, and this is what I wanted to show. At the same time I wanted to be close to the priest to be able to film the ceremony, and I had only one camera. Since the yodel choir had a rehearsal a half an hour before the beginning of the wedding ceremony, I adopted the solution of filming the rehearsal up at the organ loft and afterwards the actual ceremony down on the floor. For research purposes, both sequences can be kept intact, and the rushes can be analysed, if necessary, on video copies. In an edited film intended for a larger audience, it would have been too long to include everything. With the editor I cut it together as if it had been recorded, simultaneously with two cameras and two tape recorders, keeping in this way the difference in reverberation. This cutting of the sound was possible because the soloists and choir were trained to keep a stable intonation, and because yodel choirs always perform a piece with the same absolute pitch, which is given here on the organ.

This editing artifice can of course be criticized and purists of observational cinema may reject it, but I think that shooting strategies should be adapted to the local situation and to the main focus of the film. The editing device can be revealed during discussion after a film projection, or in a printed study guide.7

Multiple filming of the same musical piece and editing it together can be useful also if a sequence-shot with a moving camera is technically possible, but when the performers themselves are staying or sitting at the same place, it would be tiresome to watch if each musical piece were filmed with the same kind of walking-around camera. My experience in the films on 'Are'are music has taught me that in instrumental music with no improvisation, where the musicians repeat the same gestures,

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7In their study guide, Andrew Tracey and Gei Zantzinger (1976) reveal how they shot the two whole performances of Chopi xylophone music (each around 50 minutes long) with two cameras during several days. While the musicians performed the entire mgodo on each day, the filmmakers began filming the next day shortly before the point at which they had stopped the day before. The takes were then edited together as if they had been shot in continuity, to reflect the organizational structure of the mgodo.
the intercutting is relatively easy.\textsuperscript{8} In vocal music where body positions, absolute pitch, and tempo vary from one performance to the next, it is in many cases not possible to edit together the different takes of the same musical piece. The three performers who sing in front of an Alpine hut at the beginning of the film \textit{Yootzing and Yodelling} were changing pitch and tempo, so that I could only postsynchronize two short fragments of a full frame and a medium shot to the sound of two close shots. For the same film, I twice shot a yootz performed at the evening of the cattle market: since the two sisters were performing frequently together in public, they were able to sing the same piece in the same tempo after a two hour interval, and it was possible to take the (better) sound of the wider frame and to postsynchronize two fragments of the close shot (Fig. 17-18).

Paradoxically, my main use of two cameras was not for filming musical performances but for talking! In the second year of shooting, I planned to film three conversations reflecting a wide spectrum of opinions: one conversation of three traditional singers commenting on the video image of their last year’s performance, one conversation of three members of yodel choirs, and one of parents transmitting traditional knowledge to their children. I did not know in advance what exactly would be said (although I knew from previous field research the general opinion of the performers), nor who would say what at which moment. Though, on the one hand, I was anxious not to miss one single word that might be important for the comprehension of the musical thinking about traditional and folkloristic yodelling, on the other hand I wanted to be free to cut out nonessential parts of the conversation so that the edited film would not be unbearably long. I disliked the usual editing trick of cutaway shots of the room-environment or of a participant listening with an interesting facial expression, shot at another moment, and edited together as if he were actually listening to what was said.\textsuperscript{9} I also wanted to distinguish these conversations from TV interviews in which fragments of the same shot are cut into pieces and joined with dissolves or separated with short black images.

After discussing the idea with the performers, I hired a second camera, but I had no second cameraman; a technician from the CNRS in France was not available (and would also not have understood the Swiss German dialect), and engaging a Swiss cameraman was not possible for budgetary reasons. I put the first camera on a tripod and used a full frame showing whole bodies and then let the entire reel of 11 minutes run to the end, while making closeups and medium shots with the second camera.

Recently, David MacDougall, a pioneer in filming conversations in an ethnographic context, wrote about intercutting shots from different positions:

For many sequences we ended up discarding all of the footage from either one position or the other, although both contained valuable material... By intercutting shots from

\textsuperscript{8}While editing several pieces of complex polyphonic music played with small stamping tubes by three performers, I could keep the sound recording of one take and post-sync the images of another shot with it. It is true that the pieces are short (around 40 seconds), but the constancy of tempo is nevertheless remarkable. In percussion music like this, a desynchronization of only one image (1/25 of a second) could be seen very clearly.

\textsuperscript{9}In the final editing I had to use one cutaway shot for technical reasons (a facial closeup of Peter Betschart, my soundman, listening to and approving what Anton Büeler is saying).
two or more camera positions we found we were taking away that immediacy by invoking
a style of fictional film-making incompatible with the idea of real people sitting in a
compound filming other real people. (1982:8)

Without knowing about this article at the time of editing, my editor and I had
the same experience that intercutting of two camera angles in conversations "wasn't
working," but we found that different framing from the same point of view did work
(Fig. 15-16). While the angle-reverse-angle shots of conventional film language ir-
remediably remind one of fiction films that "posit an invisible observer with special
powers" (MacDougall 1982:8), the changing of focal length in the same position
comes close to the activity of the human eye which, according to the observer's
changing interest, narrows or widens the field of perception. Altogether I filmed 80
minutes of conversations with both cameras. The result is not flawless: for instance,
in the wide angle coverage, the talkers move sometimes too close to the border of
the frame or even out of frame, and this would have been corrected by a cameraman
if there had been one behind this camera. But in the final editing of about 15% of
the footage, I could retain the most revealing parts of the conversations, bringing
in closeups or medium shots to underline important sentences or gestures, and
cutting back to wide angle when I wanted to show significant interaction.10

While having a second camera at my disposal for a few days, I wanted to take
advantage of this opportunity and also filmed some musical performances which
took place during the same period, thinking that at the editing stage I could alternate
different frames without zooming. In fact, in editing the four musical performances
which I filmed with two cameras, I cut only once from a full body frame of all
performers to a facial closeup (the small women's choir in Yootzing and Yodelling).
While in the sequence of the small Alphorn playing and the yodelling imitating it,
I intercut between these performances to facilitate the comparison and not between
shots of different focal length of the same performer (Head Voice, Chest Voice). In
the fourth performance which I filmed with two cameras, I finally stuck to the
full-face closeup during the whole piece because of the superimposition of syn-
chronized cipher notation, and I cut to the full frame only at the end, letting the
audience discover that during the whole yootz a goat was standing beside the singer
(Head Voice, Chest Voice). Seeing this scene now, which is quite humorous and to
which the audience reacts with laughter, I always remember that when I set up the
two cameras, Franz-Dominik Betschart was sitting in front of his house door with
two goats, one on each side. The second goat left unfortunately before I started
shooting, I still do not know if she didn't like the yootz or the filming! (Fig. 25-26).

Most films on traditional and popular music are nowadays made for
TV, at least in France where there is no large distribution network of 16
mm films in universities as in the USA. Many TV directors and producers
seem to think, rightly or wrongly, that the average TV consumer falls asleep
or zaps to another channel—and so misses the commercials—if his attention
is not shaken up by constant visual changes. Video clips of rock music and

10A first version had many more conversations, but even the ethnomusicologists to whom I
showed the work print found it much too long, and the important points were drowned in
the flow of discourse.
commercials influence more and more contemporary film aesthetics. Look how rock concerts are filmed, and if you compare television broadcasting of symphony concerts of today with those made 10 or 15 years ago, then the evolution from long takes to constant and rapid intercutting of several cameras becomes evident. For social science films, Feld and Williams (1975) criticize conventional film language which “breaks down and then reconstructs the natural flow of the action using various focal lengths, angles, points of view, and spatial orientations,” and in which selectivity “is derived only minimally from the structure of the event itself” (1975:26, 31). They advocate a researchable film language, adapted to the research problem that the researcher has in mind:

We emphasize that we are not talking about a film shooting style that exists independently of the events to be filmed. It is relatively easy to copy a shooting style without knowing the motivation for the choices made. Yet this does not make the product researchable. The camera and camera-man can be moving extensively or little at all. The takes may be short or long shot sequences. In some cases, the frame may remain constant for a long time; in others, it may shift frequently. The filmer must know how to see the event in order to show, with film, how the event can be seen. The exact nature of the shooting strategy is in large part a function of the context—both social and scientific—and the content flow of the event. (1975:32)

My firm belief is that with this advice in mind, it should be possible to make films interesting to ethnomusicologists as well as to a larger audience, since the ethnomusicologist’s responsibility is not only to carry out research in his ivory tower, but also to contribute to a wider understanding of man the music maker.

Also completely opposed in style, some so-called “research films” or “documentation films” on music—shot according to programmatic rules written to collect standardized documents supposed to be useful for comparative research in an encyclopedic perspective—share a distant attitude with many television documentaries on music. In the first case this correspondence may come from the absurd dogma that scientific observation excludes human relationships. In the second case the distance is created by the invasion of numerous technical staff who, during a short time visit,

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11 In TV broadcasting of symphony concerts, there is rather a tendency to overdo the intercutting of different camera takes according to music structure, while closeups of a few seconds emphasize each entry of clarinets, French horns or timpani, etc.

12 But in fact, in some scientific films, despite the claimed “objective” eye of the camera, the predominantly high angle shots looking down to the “stone-age people” reveals the unconscious (?) superiority feelings of the filmmaker. Regarding the controversy concerning many “documentations” made by the Institute for Scientific Film in Göttingen, Germany, see Kapfer and Thoms (1984).
impose their working manner upon the people. Anyone who has seen a professional film crew in action—including a director, an assistant director, a cameraman, an assistant cameraman, a sound engineer, an electrician for the light—will agree with Jean Rouch who said:

... a team of several persons forms a world apart, a group which forms within itself the limits of its own commensality: one speaks its language, one eats together, one is a foreign body in a society which seeks to reject you. (1975b:119)

This is just the opposite of ethnographic and ethnomusicological fieldwork, and it seems particularly regrettable when scientific institutions, imitating working manners of TV crews, submit the "observed" people to the command of film or video technicians. Along with many other anthropologist-filmmakers, I think that for the best possible integration with local people, the ideal film crew in most situations should be composed of one cameraman and one soundman, the researcher being one of them. The ethnomusicologist can direct the film while making the sound recording, leaving the photography to a professional cameraman, but I believe that it is worthwhile for the ethnomusicologist to be behind the camera himself.

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13... une équipe de plusieurs personnes forme un monde à part, un groupe qui referme sur lui-même les frontières de sa propre commensalité: on parle sa langue, on mange ensemble, on est un satellite dans une société qui ne demande qu'à vous rejeter.

14A few days before making the final corrections of this manuscript, I unexpectedly got some dramatic evidence of how the working methods of a large crew can shape the resulting film documents. At the ICTM Colloquium "Methods and Techniques of Film and Videorecording in Ethnomusicalological Research," organized in Czechoslovakia with the collaboration of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the Ethnomusicalological laboratory of the Institute of Arts in Bratislava presented several films and video productions. In a very interesting dance film juxtaposing old 16 mm black and white footage of 1951 with recent video recordings, there was an edited sequence of an extremely well-reconstructed wedding party videotaped in 1987. Only the absence of any naturally occurring incident betrayed the fictionlike mise-en-scène. When I asked why they did not film a real wedding, the filmmaker answered that in fact, during the reconstruction, the musicians left to play at a real wedding, but that this was not scheduled for the video crew! He added that in any case, the presence of the video crew would have resulted in staged unnatural behavior, and in order to get unaffected behavior, the wedding party had to be reconstructed! This surely extravagant answer for followers of observational cinema would not astonish many fiction filmmakers who assert that fiction can give a deeper view of reality than a documentary. But then, why call these products "scientific documentation" or "research films," and why not make real fictions films? In another film where the reconstruction seemed less successful and much more theater-like, Christmas customs where shot in Spring. When I asked for the reasons for not filming during the actual event, the answer was that technicians like to be with their families at that time of the year, and that people in their homes do not wish to be disturbed by filming! I do not advocate the "fly on the wall" strategy of some cinéma-verité filmmakers who try to be forgotten by the filmed people, but I think that the participant camera of what is sometimes called "reflexive observational cinéma" could be acceptable both for the filmed people and the scientific filmmaker.
He knows best what exactly to select and how to frame in a musical performance. After some training, of course! Herb DiGoia, director of the documentary section of the National Film and Television School in England, compared the camera to a musical instrument which the performer must play regularly. The problem is that budgets and multiple professional obligations do not allow most ethnomusicologists to play the musical instrument “camera” as regularly they wish!

Concerning the sound engineer, I also agree with Jean Rouch (1975a:91) who recommends that he “must fully understand the language of the people and thus should belong to the ethnic group being filmed.” In my film series on Central Swiss yodelling, the soundman is not only a native technician able to understand what is said during and between shooting (I too understood), but he also is a native researcher having studied traditional yodelling of his valley for his teacher’s diploma (Betschart 1981). Furthermore he is a musician, playing the local repertoire of diatonic accordion music, and he also conducts a yodel choir. Besides being soundman, researcher, and performer, he contributed to the filmmaking in giving as a native the inside point of view during our daily discussions about what, who, when, and how to shoot. My position was half outside and half inside: outside, since I was not born and did not grow up in the Muotatal and since I have lived for the last twenty years in France; inside, since my native tongue is a Swiss German dialect (although not the same as in the Muotatal, but mutually comprehensible) and since I grew up in Switzerland and feel at home there.

**EDITING**

Editing with a professional film editor is a fascinating (and lengthy) task. The film will be born out of this dialogue, in which fighting and tension are not always absent. It may happen that an editor, even one who is used to documentary films, is too much influenced by conventional film language, and finding a sequence-shot “too long” or “unprofessional” because of technical imperfections, he/she wants to cut it together into shorter takes. In a early version of *Yooting and Yodelling*, my editor cut the formerly mentioned sequence-shot of the herding call into pieces, eliminating the passage where a cow followed the calling herdsman into the shadow

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15 In this paper I am not discussing the work of giving a film its overall structure but rather some problems concerning shooting and editing a musical piece. It is evident that films on rituals and single-day events like weddings or going up to the Alpine pasture are relatively easy to edit, since the overall form is given by the chronological order of the event. That is the reason why the films *The Wedding of Susanna and Josef* and *Glattalp* although being number 3 and 4 in the series, were completed first. Films containing abstract ideas like the confrontation of a local music tradition with official national folklore and the differences in music features are much more complicated to edit, and in fact *Yooting and Yodelling* and *Head Voice, Chest Voice* went through several preliminary stages before the final structure was found.
and a later fragment where I walk forwards to follow the herdsman (it is true, this last part is shaky). After I presented the work in progress to a select preview audience of colleagues and students, the question of whether the cows really come when the herdsman calls them was raised, because the cows and the herdsman were nowhere in the same frame. So we left the whole sequence-shot in its entirety (with a short facial closeup insert) despite the dark part in the shadow and the shaky part (Fig. 7-10). In The Wedding of Susanna and Josef the editor also found the four minute sequence-shot of the bellringers too long, with moments where "nothing was happening," and she cut out fragments. But the result was unappealing, and we restored the whole shot reproducing in real time the noisy action alternating with "dead moments."

In the last sequence of the film The Wedding of Susanna and Josef, I used both sequence-shots and post-synchronization with an image insert. After having followed yodlers and bell-ringers to a different inn where they performed for their own pleasure and not for an audience, I went back to the wedding party to film the accordion music and dancing. I had two ends of two reels left, each of about 3 minutes. So I filmed two dances, the first with few camera movements to be sure of the take; in the second I danced with the camera, but the newlyweds did not! Fortunately, the rhythm and tempo of both dances were exactly the same. So I could insert into the final take images from the first shot showing the newlyweds dancing.

Another accordion piece in Yootzing and Yodelling is more heavily edited. I started with a closeup of one musician, panned to the second performer and to his instrument, and then a couple danced unexpectedly into the frame. I was close to them, shooting with a standard focus high-sensitivity lens, and could not move backwards because of all the people at the inn. After some time the dancers went out of frame and I could focus again on the accordion players, but in the middle of the musical piece it was not possible to keep the image. Looking through my other shots, I found one filmed with a wide angle lens, showing both the musicians and the dancers (the same couple). The tempo was the same, and the step dancing during this other tune occurred at the same part of the overall form, so I could postsynchronize the image as an insert to the ongoing sound. As images to intercut the two shots were missing, the editor and I put in two cutaway shots: one showing the waitress bringing drinks and the other showing two men talking together, the camera panning to a picture hanging on the wall which Swiss natives identify immediately as William Tell's chapel built at the Rüti, the historical place of the foundation of the Swiss Confederation. This cutaway can be justified insofar as it suggests a relationship between the regional style of diatonic accordion music and Swiss national identity (Fig. 19-22).

But cutaway shots, necessary in this case for technical reasons of editing, prevent the musical performance from being seen. Many filmmakers, either annoyed by watching musicians or afraid of annoying the spectator, overdo it with cutaway shots more or less related to the music, often less than more. Justified exceptions are films in which the main focus is not on musical performance but on the song text as a means to illustrate social organization and everyday life.

**Commentary, Verbal Explanations**

In nearly all debates on ethnographic films the everlasting problem of commentary crops up. For many anthropologists a film has to have a continuous narration.
But one should remember that, "It is almost impossible to have a narration which does not detract and distract from the visuals," as Karl Heider says (1976:70), and that "the voice of some Olympian narrator telling us what we should think about what we saw was not only presumptuous but lowered an intellectual and cultural curtain between the audience and the people on the screen" (MacDougall quoted in Bickley 1981:5). Unsophisticated in visual matters and trained mainly in literary terms, many social scientists confuse the possibilities of a film with those of a book which would much better express what they want to say. Ironically, their preoccupation with scientific explanations is similar to the concern of many television directors for continuous narration.17

In my earlier film 'Are are Music'—the experience of which was decisive in planning the new Swiss series—I filmed, in accordance with my interest in native music conceptualizations, a performer and music theorist explaining the main characteristics such as intervals, playing technique, polyphonic organization, and so forth for each musical type. With the methodological approach of cognitive anthropology, I had elicited these concepts through controlled questions and through analyses of speech in natural context. Anxious to keep enough film stock for filming music and not only talk, I asked 'Irisipau, the musician I chose to film, to be as short as possible. Now, each time I project this film to an audience, I feel a little bit uncomfortable about this artificial lecture-style presentation.

In Yootzing and Yodelling I searched for other ways to express the native view. The most frequent solution adopted in social documentaries is interviewing, more and more common also in ethnographic films which are heavily influenced by the aesthetics of television news reports. Long before the present impact of television, however, interviewing was rejected as too formal by pioneers of direct cinema. As Colin Young, director of the National Film and Television School in England, says:

...the underlying criticism was that it structured the information too much within the limits of the interviewer's knowledge, and signalled too clearly what types of information he or she thought desirable or valuable....Although informal conversation was untidy and unsystematic, by being open-ended it could also contain surprises—new information. (1982:5)18

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16In his book where he proposes criteria for the "ethnographicness" of films, Karl Heider devotes several pages to the issues of narration (1976:70-74).

17The director of the documentary department of a television station looked at my film Shaping Bamboo, which has 7 minutes of commentary out of a total length of 35 minutes. During the first five minutes the film allows the spectator to watch and to move slowly into the main subject: panpipe manufacturing. The TV director asked me after a few minutes why I was not able to finish the film, as there was no narration. When I explained to him that the commentary only appears in a few situations where the spectator might not pay attention to something if he/she is not prepared for it, he said that the TV audience would press the button to stop the program if several minutes went by without narration. This affirmation has yet to be proven, but he might be right, since spectators are so much addicted to getting explanations from journalists of every single image on TV news reports and magazines that they may feel helpless if they have to watch by themselves.

18Analyzing the film series entitled Turkana Conversations, made by David and Judith MacDougall, former students at his UCLA ethnographic film program, Colin Young distinguishes three kinds of conversations: 1. Those among the Turkana which are for their own benefit—they would be having the conversation anyway, whether being filmed or not... 2. Those among
In a film about everyday life, you can film any conversation or occurring talk as people go about their business, provided that a trusting relationship with them makes that possible. In a music performance there are rarely conversations among the musicians, unless in situations such as rehearsals. Therefore, after discussing it with the performers, I arranged the setting of the conversations. The aim was not to catch what people would say if the camera were not there, but on the contrary to stimulate the conversations through the process of filming (Fig. 6), and the presence of the camera is acknowledged from time to time by the filmed persons who address it directly, and through it the audience. In one of the conversations we went further, since my collaborator left his tape recorder and participated fully, not as filmmaker from the outside, but as a figure involved in the local yodel scene (Fig. 16).

To avoid boring the spectator with repeated scenes in which the same talkers sit at the same table, I used inserts showing the person whose voice is heard doing other activities in a different environment. While many documentaries abuse this technique of putting in images without any obvious connection to the spoken words, I stuck to a direct relationship during three short sequences where the herdsman Alois Schmidig conducts the cows from the wagon to the stable, where he milks with the machine in the stable, and where he rides in the funicular up to the Alpine wrestling festival.

Besides the conversations, there are a few captions with cultural contextualization impossible to give through the images alone, or known only to the natives who do not feel compelled to speak about it during informal conversations. For example, it is necessary to inform the spectators that the image of the three yootzers seen on a television screen is not from a TV broadcast (TV never broadcasts traditional yootzing), but from a video tape recorder. It would have been possible to shoot the manipulation of the video cassette, but that alone would not have proven that it was a video copy of an original film and not a copy from a TV broadcast, and it would have interrupted the surprising intercuts of the three shots showing first the men singing outside, then their image on the TV screen, and finally their discussion of the previous year’s performance. Since I did not want a voice-over commentary for the singing, the only solution was a short caption (Fig. 4). For someone unfamiliar with the history of the Swiss Yodel Union, it is not possible to know why at the Alpine festival there is wrestling, Swiss flag drawing, Alphorn playing, and yodelling by a club whose members wear folkloric costumes. This caption is not a personal interpretation by the filmmaker (as once a Swiss anthropologist claimed), but a short statement which provides brief information on the historical connection among these activities and on the aims proclaimed in the statutes of the Swiss Jodler Union (Fig. 12).

In Head Voice, Chest Voice, which has a spoken commentary concerning the musical features visualized in the animation (Fig. 23-24), the explanations are put on frozen images or on parts of the animations without music, in accordance with my wish to leave music free from voice-over narration.

the Turkana which are for the film-makers’ benefit, talking among themselves about topics raised by the film-makers or which they have determined the film-makers should know about.
3. Those which are between the Turkana and the film-makers (or the interpreter), sometimes by a direct question from the film-makers” (1982:6).
The idea of this series of four films developed while presenting to various audiences my earlier film ‘Are’are Music, which gives an inventory of the 20 traditional musical types of a Solomon Islands society. Despite its length of 2½ hours, there are many aspects of music-making which had to be left out. So instead of making another long film about a great number of musical genres, I wanted to experiment with making several films on only one musical genre, and to approach it in each film from a different, complementary perspective.

The first film, Yootzing and Yodelling, deals with the situation of the musical tradition confronted with the official folklore. To allow the audience to look and listen on its own terms, I refrain from a narrated commentary which, in documentary and scientific films, more often than not reflects the knowledge of its author rather than the knowledge of the filmed persons. My aim in this film is—besides dealing with performances in a social context—to allow expression of the native view, or more precisely, the native views.

The second film, Head Voice, Chest Voice, in contrast, presents musical analyses explained through spoken commentary. Performances shot on location alternate with animations based on transcriptions by ear, on Stroboconn measurements of pitch, and on Sonagrams. I conceived the animations in such a way that even school-children with minimal musical knowledge should be able to follow and understand the musical analyses. This is a didactic film exploring the possibilities of animations (see Zemp 1988). I thought it would be appropriate to show this film also at this lecture which honors the name of Charles Seeger, a pioneer in visual representation of music.

Films 3 and 4 deal with yodelling of two single-day events: a wedding, and going up to the Alpine pasture. These films are free of any spoken explanations; only a few captions give minimal background information. The spectator can make his own interpretation in the light of the native points of views expressed in the first film and in the light of the musical analyses in the second one. In The Wedding of Susanna and Josef, one can see four kinds of yodelling, from the most recent to the most traditional. The last film, Glattalp, is entirely dedicated to the traditional way of yodelling in relation to Alpine pastoral life.

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(At this point the two films, Yootzing and Yodelling and Head Voice, Chest Voice, were projected. It is hoped that video cassettes will soon be available. The following stills extracted from these films, while only vaguely recalling some scenes in chronological order, at least illustrate some technical points discussed in the text added to this lecture in small print.)

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Figures 1-2. Panning of a close shot allows one to discover the various performers. Photograms Cinémathèque Française; *Yootzing and Yodeling.*
Figures 3-6. From a forward zooming on three yootzers in front of an Alpine hut (Fig. 3), cutting to a closeup of a TV screen (Fig. 4), then zooming back (Fig. 5), and cutting to the same men discussing inside the hut their previous year's performance (Fig. 6). Photograms Cinémathèque Française; Yootzing and Yodelling.
- I thought it would be worse!
- Yes and no!
Figures 7-10. A sequence-shot showing the herdsman calling the cows, with an insert of a full-face closeup (Fig. 8). Photograms Cinémathèque Française; *Yootzing and Yodelling*.
Figures 11-14. After a medium shot of wrestlers with a sound lead-in (Fig. 11), a sequence-shot showing alphorn players, flag drawers, and wrestlers. Photograms Cinémathèque Française; Yootzing and Yodelling.
Figures 15-16. Closeup and wide angle frames—shot simultaneously with two cameras from the same camera angle—made it possible to edit significant parts of the conversations. Photographs Cinémathèque Française; Yootzing and Yodelling.
Figures 17-18. After filming the same yootz twice, first with a close shot of the two sisters, then with a wider frame including other customers of the inn, the image of the first take was inserted into the (better) sound of the second take. Photograms Cinémathèque Française; *Yootzing and Yodelling.*
Figures 19-22. While filming a performance of an accordion piece whose sound was kept intact and which was shot with panning closeup framing (Fig. 19-20), it was necessary for technical reasons to insert two cutaway shots (Fig. 21) before cutting to a wide-angle insert (Fig. 22). Photograms Cinémathèque Française; *Yootzing and Yodelling.*
Figures 25-26. Facial closeup and full body frame shot with two cameras simultaneously. To make for better legibility of the cipher notation superimposed on the stationary closeup, a fragment of the second take was cut-in only at the end of the yootz, thus making it possible to discover the environment of the performer. Photograms Cinémathèque Française; *Head Voice, Chest Voice.*
Many ethnographic filmmakers have had the experience of being asked, after a projection, for whom the film was made. Some filmmakers argue that from the very beginning of the project, the final destination must be clearly defined and delineated. I think that for many films on music, different kinds of audiences can find different things in them. I am not concerned here with research footage made by an ethnomusicologist who publishes the results of his analysis in written form as a book or an article. Nowadays, research footage can be cheaply collected with lightweight consumer video equipment, and the use of expensive 16 mm film is not justified anymore. Many ethnographic filmmakers have said it before: just as field notes are not a book, research footage is not a film. To make a book from field notes, or a film from footage, is a lengthy task, and implies reflection on communication.

For a film on music made by an ethnomusicologist, there might be at least five kinds of audiences potentially interested:

In the country where the film was made:
1. The musicians who are filmed as well as other musicians, schools, museums, cultural associations, etc.
For those outside the country where the film was made, I would list from the most specialized to the most general:
2. Ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, students in performing arts;
3. Musicians, young amateur researchers gathering in workshops, cultural associations interested in traditional music;
4. School teachers and school children (primary, secondary, college) for lively world music education;
5. General public, museums, videothèques in public libraries, cinemathèques, and possibly TV.

The films of the series "jüüzli" of the Muotatal have been presented in the three language versions (German, French, and English) to different audiences.

1. In the Muotathal village (Muotathal village is in the Muotatal region) and the neighboring town of Schwyz

We organized a private showing for the performers and their families, and afterwards a public performance open to everybody and announced in the local newspapers. The Education Department of the canton Schwyz, which contributed financially to the film series and accepted to publish a study guide which I proposed to write, will have free disposal of video cassettes for use in schools.
In the Muotatal, there is strong antagonism between followers of traditional yootzing and lovers of folkloristic yodelling; Peter Betschart, who said during the conversation with the soloists of the yodel choir (Yootzing and Yodelling) that one should appreciate both styles, is surely an exception. It is still too early to know if the film series will have any lasting impact, for example on cultural revitalization, or just by creating more respect for the tradition. But several yodel choir members reacted positively to it, though they find it difficult for the time being to appreciate elements of traditional yootzing which they have been taught were off-key and uncultivated. The well-known yodel composer Jost Marty (whose Yodel Mass is in the third film), said publicly after the Première that this series was very valuable, especially insofar as the traditional elements will be irremediably replaced by cultivated yodelling.

I have presented Yootzing and Yodelling and the last of the series about going up to the Alpine pasture in three schools of different levels in Muotathal and in the regional capital Schwyz. After showing them to primary school classes of the village of Muotathal, a teacher asked which of the children were yootzing at home. Only two children out of about a hundred said they did; one of them performed in the films. Most of the children enjoyed the films, and when the teacher asked if they would like to hear more about their music tradition at school, an overwhelming majority said yes.

This picture is in strong contrast with the performance for teenagers in secondary school classes in the town of Schwyz, the capital of the canton of the same name. Schwyz is only 15 km away from Muotathal village, but the inhabitants of the valley are considered there as backwoods hicks. When the teacher asked who liked the films and the music, only one child out of a hundred held up his hand, and when he saw all the eyes of his classmates directed toward him, he dropped his hand in shame. There was complete hostility towards the films: in their written compositions (poor children, at my request they even had to describe their impressions!) several children wrote that the only thing they liked was that they did not have the usual schoolwork during the two hours that the films lasted! For one girl, this music was good for peasants in their pastures, but not for young people in town. Others repeated what their music teacher said, that is, that the traditional yootzers were singing off-key. (The film Head Voice, Chest Voice which treats characteristic stylistic features was not finished then.) Only when I said that traditional performers use a neutral intonation of the third degree, similar to what is called in jazz the “blue note,” they were a little bit more interested. One child wrote that the films might be more successful with audiences in foreign countries, just as they would prefer to see things foreign to them. There is no doubt that a film about a rock star or a blues
singer would arouse greater interest. Perhaps in classes with teenagers, it
would be worthwhile to start with films on rock, going on to pop music of
Africa and Asia, then to traditional music from far away until finally reaching
regional and local music traditions. I do not know if anyone has already
tried this; I would be interested to know about it. At the teacher's college,
there was great interest among the future school teachers, and they asked
for more films about music traditions in general and about music traditions
of their region in particular as they only learn to play piano and Western
classical music. Their demand for films with musical analyses confirmed my
project to make Head Voice, Chest Voice.

2. Ethnomusicologists

At this SEM conference I am presenting for the first time finished films
of the series to a large audience of ethnomusicologists. Before, I had pre-
sented mostly unfinished work prints to my colleagues in Paris. The future
will tell how these films will be used by ethnomusicologists.

3. Folk musicians

I projected the film Yootzing and Yodelling to young folk musicians in
France, who had assembled in Brittany for a workshop organized by the
Ministry of Culture and by a Regional Association for Cultural Preservation.
These musicians were all engaged in collecting music from older people
to preserve it in archives and to make it live through their own re-creations.
The film aroused considerable response and a lively discussion about similar
problems of tradition, folklorization, revitalization, and so forth. The fact
that the film was not made in their own area helped them to gain perspective
on their own problems and to overcome sensitivities among different groups.

4. World music education in schools

I have no experience yet, but I hope to present the films soon in several
primary and secondary school classes in France.

5. General public

The films have been shown in Ethnographic Film Festivals where some
spectators were anthropologists, but many were not. Future performances
for a general audience will take place at the Musée de l'Homme. Television
involves a special problem, as most producers and directors impose specific
TV aesthetics, and if a film does not obey these precepts (and most films
made by ethnomusicologists do not), it is not accepted. But there is a
potential general audience for our films which is interested in world music
and which frequently goes to concerts of traditional musicians on tour,
regrettting the artificial setting of a concert hall, and appreciating the natural
context of musicians in a film. The question is how to reach this audience.
I am aware that these are very general indications, but detailed analyses of feedback would require much more time, both to make and to expound in a paper. The reactions will have to be studied over several years, especially after the series has become available on video cassettes with a study guide, and after it has been used in local schools and elsewhere. Only then can a critical examination of the impact of a film—a study rarely made for ethno-graphic and ethnomusicological films—become really significant, and only then can we draw lessons from it for future film work.

In a letter to the President of SEM, I proposed the creation of a Special Audiovisual Series to be published and distributed by SEM. Video cassettes and discs, systematically accompanied by printed study guides, are a most powerful means to break the narrow circle of professional ethnomusicologists and to make our work known to the public at large. It may well be possible that the future of our profession, and of our SEM, depends heavily on our willingness and ability to distribute our knowledge better. Wider public recognition of our work through audiovisual media can only benefit the “advancement of research and study in the field of ethnomusicology,” as the object of SEM is defined in the constitution.

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*Head Voice, Chest Voice*. CNRS Audiovisuel and Ateliers d’ethnomusicologie, Geneva. 1987. 16 mm, color, 23 min. (French version: *Voix de tête, voix de poitrine*; German version: *Kopfstimme, Bruststimme*.)
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