

Negotiating the ‘native self’ and the ‘professional self’: Ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological challenges in the field

Catherine E. Foley

As a native Irish scholar doing ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological fieldwork in County Kerry, Ireland, since 1980, I encountered a number of challenges. This article is a retrospective on some of these challenges and in particular my negotiation of ‘native self and ‘professional self’ in the field. I draw on many years of collecting, researching, reading, thinking, writing, dancing, playing music and socially interacting with both native ‘insiders’ – the people I met in the research field from the early 1980s, and ‘outsiders’ to the research field – non-native academic scholars and their writings within multidisciplinary fields of study including ethnochoreology, ethnomusicology, anthropology, folklore and cultural studies. All of these have contributed to my ongoing search for understanding within ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological discourse. Fieldwork involves the “balanced reciprocity of relationships and information” (Mayer, 1975, p. 28). The endeavour to balance and negotiate these has been central to my fieldwork in ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology and to my research in understanding people dancing, making music, and singing within specific ethnographic sites in County Kerry, in the south-west of Ireland. In this article, I focus on discussing and analysing issues that emerged during my experience as an employed part-

time collector of Irish traditional music, song and dance for Muckross House, Killybegs, County Kerry, from 1980 to 1985 (see Foley, 2011).¹

The act of collection is a transition from primary to secondary oralities/video-orality. These secondary oralities/video-orality refer to literary (writing and print) and technological (radio, television, film and other electronic devices) developments in transmission. In contrast, primary oralities focus on oral (see Ong, 2002), aural, visual, imitative and kinaesthetic transmission (see Foley, 2012a, 2013). As a collector, my work involved identifying and locating elderly practitioners of Irish traditional music, song and dance in Kerry and then transcribing and documenting their performative materials in the form of notation systems and audio and video recordings. These secondary orality/video-orality 'texts' assisted in documenting and preserving for posterity the repertoires and styles of practice of those individuals who participated in the collection process.

As a collector and agent of Muckross House, authority was a key enabling factor in the collection process primarily because it legitimised my position. Authority is a concept which is fraught with political, socio-cultural and economic undertones. Within the social fields of indigenous performing cultural practices it can imply power (see Foucault, 1977), cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1973), prestige and knowledge. Although authority, ownership or power were never part of anything I sought in the field, they nonetheless emerged. This article examines these concepts as ethical and political issues I encountered when collecting and researching Irish traditional music, song and dance in County Kerry from 1980 to 1985. Although I followed up with further intensive field research and scholarly engagement from 1985 to date (see Foley, 1988, 2012a, 2012b, 2013), this chapter focuses on this earlier fieldwork period.

The article also highlights the twin strands of my own position: one, my deep cultural experience as a native Irish traditional musician, singer and dancer; and two, my formal education in literate modes of music and dance and in ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological discourses. The article thus documents and analyses my experiences in the field as a young 'native' collector and researcher with my own cultural understandings, prejudices and biases. It also illustrates how I tried to balance and negotiate my own sense of identity between

¹ Muckross House is a Victorian Mansion owned by the Irish State and managed by a board of trustees. In 1979, Edmond Myers, Manager of Muckross House, and Ian O'Leary, a trustee of Muckross House and a local journalist, established the project to collect for posterity the traditional music, song and dances of elderly practitioners in County Kerry. I was selected as one of two collectors; the second collector was Geraldine Cotter. The collection project consisted of locating practitioners, making audio and video recordings, transcribing the music and dance material, and providing relevant information on the practitioners.

'native self' and 'professional self' in the field (see Mascarenhas-Keyes, 1987). I do not interpret these positions as being fixed polarities, but rather fluid positions which were negotiated according to different circumstances and challenges I encountered in the field. I was recognised as a native traditional Irish musician, singer and step dancer who was familiar with the codes of behaviour and etiquette associated with informal music and dance sessions or gatherings and the more formal re-presentations of these indigenous performing arts; hence my 'native self' status. I was also recognised as a researcher with my recording apparatus, pen and paper, and with responsibilities to the institution that was paying me to collect the material; hence my 'professional self' status. I was doing music and dance fieldwork in a relatively familiar site, without language barriers (see below). I was positioned as a young, urban, female academic with knowledge and experience in the traditional performing arts practices, traditionally associated with rural Ireland. Different, however, from traditional anthropological fieldwork, I would not be leaving the field site after fieldwork; I would wish to remain part of the traditional Irish music and dance scene. Hence, the necessity for me at the time, as both native practising musician and dancer and as collector and researcher, to negotiate the 'native self' and 'professional self' positions in the field.

Background to the fieldwork

It was the autumn of 1979 and I had finished teaching for the day. I taught Music and Irish in a secondary school in Baile Mhúirne in the West County Cork *Gaeltacht* (1978-1984).² Although a designated Irish speaking area, English is also widely spoken there. Baile Mhúirne (trans. 'the town of the beloved') is a village with a scattered rural townland population. It is located on the main N22 road linking Cork city and Killarney in County Kerry. It is 12 km from the nearest town Macroom, 25 km from Cork City, and 15 km from the town of Killarney in County Kerry. The village consists of a main street with schools, shops, pubs, Catholic church, hotel, garage and residential areas. It is situated on the river Sul-lane (An tSuláin, the only male river in Ireland) and is known for its location as a *gaeltacht*, its pilgrimage site – St Gobnait's Abbey and Well, and its many pub music sessions. It was also the home place of musician and composer, Seán Ó Riada (see Ó Canainn, 2003), and the birth place of the Irish language poet, Seán Ó Riordáin. I had returned to my residence, situated in the middle of the village, where there was a letter waiting for me.

² A *Gaeltacht* is an area in Ireland where the Irish language is the spoken language of the people.

I had been invited as one of six graduates of music from University College Dublin and University College Cork to come for an interview to the Music Department at University College Cork. The Trustees of Muckross House in Killarney, County Kerry, were looking for two part-time collectors to locate, record and transcribe Irish traditional music, song and dance from elderly performers in the County of Kerry. They believed that the material was not being transmitted to the same extent or manner as before and that what was being transmitted was influenced by modernity, with its advancements in technology, and Revival movements in Irish traditional music and dance (see below).³ They wished the material of elderly performers, predominantly in rural regions of Kerry, to be collected for cultural and heritage purposes; collecting would occur during the summer months. I had studied ethnomusicology and Irish traditional music as part of my undergraduate classical music degree and was aware of the work of Irish collectors such as Bunting, Petrie, Joyce, O'Neill, Ennis and Breathnach (see Valley, 2011). These collectors bridged the traditional music of the eighteenth century with the twentieth century and contributed to an Irish national consciousness. I was aware of the collecting work also of Cecil Sharp and Maud Karpeles in England (Karpeles, 2008; Pakenham, 2011) and Zoltán Kodály (1962) and Béla Bartók (Stevens, 1953) in Hungary who all contributed to the development of a cultural national consciousness in England and Hungary respectively. The letter I had received was an unusual invitation. Collecting to me at that time appeared 'romantic'. It was associated with a nineteenth-century European romanticism and the figures or collectors associated with this movement in Ireland were written about and studied as cultural heroes.⁴ The invitation, therefore, appealed to my 'romantic' side. I also found it to be exciting as I was a native Irish traditional musician, singer and dancer and was passionate about these areas.

My background had prepared me for this interview. My parents were rural people and had migrated to Cork city for economic reasons. My father, Patrick Foley, was a melodeon player, singer, dancer and story teller. My paternal grandmother, Abbey Lane, was a fiddle and concertina player, a singer and also a dancer. I played Irish music on concertina, tin whistle and piano, and was also a singer and step dancer. I was, therefore, familiar with the traditional performing arts and also the rural way of life that had supported and developed these traditional performing arts.

³ Revival movements commenced during the eighteenth century but during the end of the nineteenth century the Gaelic League, a cultural nationalist movement founded in the 1893, played a significant role in reviving, promoting and developing Irish dance (see Brennan, 1999; Foley, 1988, 2001, 2012, 2013; Hall, 2008; Wulff, 2007). Another cultural nationalist movement, Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann, established in 1951, played an important role in promoting and developing Irish traditional music, song and dance (see Henry, 1989; Larson Sky, 1997).

⁴ The great collectors from the eighteenth century to the twentieth century had all been male.

I was selected as one of the two collectors; the other collector was Geraldine Cotter who also was a music graduate of University College Cork.

Collections of Irish traditional music, song, and dance in Ireland

In Ireland, collections of indigenous music emerged during the eighteenth century within a climate of European romanticism and continue to the present day. These collections of predominantly Western, classically notated, Irish tunes assisted in creating an Irish national consciousness and in defining and promoting an Irish cultural identity and, indeed, a national boundary (e.g. Neal & Neal, 1724;⁵ Bunting, 1796, 1809, 1840;⁶ Petrie, 1855; O'Neill, 1903, 1907;⁷ Breathnach, 1963, 1976, 1985, 1996, 1999;⁸ Foley, 1988, 2012a, 2012b). These collections were published to assist in preserving and disseminating the traditional music of Ireland. No information was provided on social contexts or meanings of these practices as it was assumed that those interested in them would already have a prior understanding. The music transcriptions were presented as autonomous cultural entities or cultural 'texts' (see Foley, 2012a, 2013).

With the emergence of the discipline of Folklore in the nineteenth century, collections of music, song and folklore, et cetera, propagated further the notion of distinct national identities.⁹ In Ireland, in the 1940s, folklore was collected under

⁵ John and William Neal (father and son) lived and worked in Dublin in the early half of the eighteenth century and are believed to be the first publishers of note in Dublin. They were musicians, instrument makers, music sellers and publishers. They were also involved with musical entertainment and built the Music Hall in Fishamble Street which opened in 1741. It is here that Handel's *Messiah* had its first ever public performance in 1742. *A collection of the most celebrated Irish tunes proper for the violin, German flute or hautboy*, was published by them in Dublin in 1724.

⁶ Edward Bunting collected and transcribed the music of the last of the old Gaelic harpers at the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792. His published collections include: *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music, 66 tunes* (1796); *A general collection of the ancient music of Ireland* (1809); and *The ancient music of Ireland, 165 airs*, (1840). His collections were reissued by Waltons in Dublin in 2002 as *The Irish music manuscripts of Edward Bunting (1773-1843)*.

⁷ Born in County Cork, Captain Francis O'Neill was General Superintendent of Police in Chicago at the turn of the 20th century. He was a collector of Irish traditional music tunes which he also published. These include *The dance music of Ireland: 1001 gems* (1907) and *O'Neill's music of Ireland* (1903).

⁸ Breandán Breathnach (1912-1985) is best known for his *Ceol Rince na hÉireann* series of 5 volumes of collected Irish traditional dance music. Breathnach published three volumes in 1963, 1976, and 1985; two additional volumes based on his work were published posthumously with the assistance of Jackie Small in 1996 and 1999.

⁹ See Giurchescu and Torp (1991). By 1930 the Irish Folklore Institute was established with government funding, and in 1935 this Institute became known as the Irish Folklore Commission. This Commission

the following headings: Settlement and Dwelling; Livelihood and Household Support; Communications and Trade; The Community; Human Life; Nature; Folk Medicine; Time; Principles and Rules of Popular Belief and Practice; Mythological Tradition; Historical Tradition; Religious Tradition; Popular 'Oral Literature'; and Sports and Pastimes (Ó Súilleabháin, 1942). Some traditional music and songs were also collected by the Irish Folklore Commission but dance was not. Nonetheless, stories and contextual information relating to dance in some locations were recorded and documented.¹⁰

Group or communal dances were also collected as part of a cultural nationalist programme. In 1902, as part of an Irish cultural revival movement, *A Guide to Irish Dancing* was published in London by J. J. Sheehan,¹¹ a member of the London Branch of the cultural nationalist movement, the Gaelic League (Sheehan, 1902). This was the first collection or guide to *Irish* popular dances to be compiled or to be published. Other collections of group dances in Ireland followed including those of O'Keefe and O'Brien (1902), Burchenal (1924),¹² O'Rafferty (1934, 1950, 1953),¹³ and *An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha*, the Irish step-dance organi-

was responsible for all Folklore collections and their preservation until 1971. It was then replaced by the Department of Irish Folklore and incorporated into University College Dublin (UCD). In 2005, it was renamed the UCD Delargy Centre for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection

¹⁰ See for example Séamus Ennis, the fulltime collector with the Irish Folklore Commission, Volume 1304 (where he wrote about dance in Co. Clare and Co. Limerick); and P.J. Gaynor, another full-time collector with the Irish Folklore Commission, Volume 1209 (where he wrote about dance in Co. Cavan).

¹¹ *A guide to Irish dancing* was printed in Dublin but published in London by the Liverpool-Irish journalist and political activist John Denvir (1834-1916). Denvir produced an Irish nationalist series of historical, political and cultural publications around the turn of the 20th century. *A guide to Irish dancing* was possibly published to meet the dance needs of the growing number of branches of the Gaelic League (a cultural nationalist movement founded in 1893) in Ireland, Britain and America. Although the Irish language revival was central to the Gaelic League, social dancing was important to the activities of its branches. J.J. Sheehan (Seághan Ó Sióthcháin), the author of the Guide, taught dancing at the London branch of the Gaelic League and was a member of its committee in 1902. *A guide to Irish dancing*, which was published around October of that year, was somewhat eclipsed by another book of Irish dances, *A handbook of Irish dancing*, which was published in Dublin in December. It was compiled by two other members of the same London branch of the Gaelic League, James George O'Keefe and Art Patrick O'Brien, and in various reprints it was the more popular of the two books throughout the 20th century. *A guide to Irish dancing* by J.J. Sheehan was reprinted by Peggy and Maureen McTeggart, Cork, in the 1980s

¹² Elizabeth Burchenal was American and published numerous collections of dance including *Rimce na hÉireann, national dance of Ireland* (1924); *Folk-dances of Denmark* (c.1915); and *Folk-dances of Finland* (c. 1915).

¹³ Peadar O'Rafferty, TCRG, was a qualified Irish dance teacher. He was instructor to The Lambeg Irish Folk Dance Society, and the Malone Training School, Belfast. His brother, Gerald, co-authored *Dances of Ireland* (1953).

sation established in 1930 under the auspices of the Gaelic League (1939, 1943, and 1969).¹⁴ These publications were by no means comprehensive collections of dance in Ireland. They were selected group dances collected from individuals and groups who knew them and their documentation (written verbal descriptions) was useful as an *aide memoir* for publication and dissemination purposes. Similarly to the music collections of Irish traditional music, little or no information on social context, social and cultural ideas, or meaning of these practices within their cultural contexts were supplied. Unlike the music collections, however, these group dances were documented in an instructional manner as no standardised form of documenting dance was known to the collectors at that time.

Cultural survivals

[...] any collection implies a temporal vision generating rarity and worth, a metahistory. This history defines which groups or things will be redeemed from a disintegrating human past and which will be defined as the dynamic, or tragic, agents of a common destiny. (Clifford, 1988, p. 12-13)

As collectors for Muckross House our work was to collect from elderly solo performers; we were not required to collect materials from younger musicians, singers or dancers. These performers were cultural survivors of an older, rural way of life; their music, song and dance products were cultural survivals and were considered by the Trustees of Muckross House to be rare and of cultural worth. Similarly to my father and grandmother, these rural musicians and singers would have learned by a primary orality and would not, for the most part, have been formally trained. They would have learned through experience over many years by informally 'picking up' tunes and songs from neighbours, friends and relations in their local community. This 'picking up' process would have been through a combination of some or all of aural, oral, visual, imitative and kinaesthetic means. They would have honed their skills by actively listening, observing, practising and participating at local social gatherings of the agricultural community including house dances, Sunday crossroad dances, platform dances, weddings, and so on.¹⁵ They would have been informally assessed by the local community to which they

¹⁴ These were three booklets each consisting of ten figure dances. In 1981 An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha published the three booklets together as *Ár Rinnidhe Foirne: Thirty Popular Figure Dances*.

¹⁵ See Foley (1988; 2012b; 2013)

belonged. This would have made itself manifest through approving eye contact, nods of the head, a few encouraging comments etc. The majority of them would not have been musically literate in the Western classical music sense and dances were not written down. The playing, singing and dancing styles of these musicians, singers and dancers were considered to be the 'traditional ways' by the Trustees of Muckross House and by the holders of these practices; their repertoires were considered old and of cultural and nostalgic value. This oral, aural, imitative and kinaesthetic method of transmission was the method I had been informally introduced to at home as a child and it was how I had also experienced it being transmitted within the wider context of my extended family. This was to me 'the way' in which the traditional performing arts were transmitted and this understanding I carried with me into the field.

As music graduates we were expected to professionally record and to transcribe the music and songs of the musicians and singers in Western music notation as had been the practice with traditional Irish music collectors since the eighteenth century. I utilised a mnemonic system and later Labanotation for documenting the solo step dances of the dancers; they were also video recorded (see Foley, 1988, 2012a). These would form cultural documents for transmission using a secondary orality. The metadata provided would assist in constructing a metahistory.

Negotiating one's role in the field: Authority, ownership, and shared cultural heritage

[...] for the 'native anthropologist', research occurs within the non-exotic' socio-cultural context of primary socialisation and requires [...] a professionally induced schizophrenia between 'native self' and 'professional self'. (Mascarenhas-Keyes, 1987, p. 180)

Being a native of Ireland, I was doing fieldwork in my own culture, my 'context of primary socialisation'. I had been to County Kerry numerous times prior to collecting on either social visits or university trips to the *gaeltacht* to improve my fluency in the Irish language. I was, therefore, relatively familiar with the region; it was not, however, my 'home' region. Collecting for Muckross House placed me in a professional role. I had a job to do for Muckross House and for which I was paid. I had, therefore, a responsibility to Muckross House and as a native traditional musician and dancer I also had a responsibility to the people from whom I was collecting. The situation thus – the negotiation between 'native self' and 'professional self', created challenges for me in the field.

When collecting in County Kerry I was called “the music collector” in South Kerry (1980-1982) and “the dance collector” in North Kerry (1983-1985) since in each region I specialised in collecting specific indigenous performing arts. I shared linguistic codes and social interaction with the people in these areas which allowed for certain assumptions to remain unstated. I shared traditional music, song, and dance practices with many people and a knowledge and appreciation of rural cultural values which were deep rooted within the local music and dance practices. I was a practising musician and dancer and this gave me intimate access to the field. I shared particular playing and singing repertoires with the people I was researching in the field and a common knowledge of both older ‘traditional’ styles and, because of my age and training, more modern ‘revival’ types of playing, singing and dancing. The older styles were associated with those soundscapes and dance styles particularly produced at nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century rural house dances – private intimate places of sociability and entertainment with melodeon players and fiddlers playing particular traditional repertoires of tunes for set dancers or solo step dancers. The modern ‘revival’ style of playing traditional music was associated with cultural revival organisations such as *Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann* and with music making events in public places such as pub sessions, cultural centres or concert halls. The revival period from the 1960s onwards produced numerous professional audio recordings of bands or groups of Irish traditional musicians and singers such as *Ceoltoiri Chualainn* (later The Chieftains), Planxty, The Bothy Band, et al. These groups performed on a commercial and professional basis and dancing was generally not a part of the performance. Within this commercial and professional context, it was the music as a cultural commodity that mattered. This dichotomy of ‘private traditional style’ and ‘public commercial style’, is an extreme at either end of a continuum, but it is, nonetheless, useful for analytical purposes. It is analogous with Timothy Dewaal Malefyt’s (1998) argument about “inside” and “outside” categories in relation to the performance of Flamenco in contrastive gender-appropriated spaces: ‘inside’ is indicative of small, private intimate communities where flamenco artists perform; ‘outside’ is indicative of public commercial tourist spaces. Malefyt sees these spaces as gendered: the “inside” private space being a feminine space and the “outside” public commercial space being a masculine domain. This kind of dualism also existed during my early fieldwork days in the form of ‘traditional’ versus ‘revival’ or ‘popular’ (see also Buckland, 2006)¹⁶ and was challenging to my work as a collector.

¹⁶ See T.J. Buckland (2006).

The challenges I encountered related to issues of authority, ownership and shared cultural heritage. The following two stories from my field experience may assist in illustrating some of these challenges:

A national television programme (*Nationwide RTE*, September 1980) covered a short piece on me collecting from a traditional singer in south Kerry. After the programme had aired I received a telephone call to my home from a singer in a professional Irish traditional music group who wished to buy the song from me for commercial recording purposes. I responded by saying that I could not sell the song as it was not mine to give, or to sell, but that I would be happy to give the name and address of the televised singer so that they could get it directly from them. I believed at the time, and still do, that this was the right thing to do and also that it would be good for the self-esteem of the televised singer. The singer in the music group stated that he did not have the time to visit the singer since he was a busy man.

Many of the professional performers were urban dwellers and were attempting to earn a living from performing. Accessing new or different repertoire was, therefore, challenging for them. The incident above, however, together with the next incident, brought up for me the whole issue of authority, ownership and shared heritage. They also placed me in an embarrassing position where I attempted to negotiate between my 'native self' and my 'professional self':

One evening on returning from a day of collecting and recording I went into a pub in the local town where a traditional music session was usually held. The musicians were playing and after a while there was a break and I started chatting with some of them. They were interested in what I was doing and about the material I was collecting. They asked if they could copy some of the tapes. This request placed me in a dilemma. Generally, in my position as a traditional musician – my 'native self', I would have had no problem with this but since I was collecting and working for Muckross House at the time – my 'professional self', I felt that the material belonged to Muckross House. The musicians said that the material belonged to everybody, that it belonged to the people. I named some of the people I had collected from and said that I was sure that the people themselves would be very happy to play for them too and also to be recorded. Again, however, they said that they didn't have the time to visit them. I said the material would be available in Muck-

ross House and they said that they would not again have the time to go to Muckcross House. (July, 1981)

Authority, ownership and shared cultural heritage

Should I have given the traditional musicians the recordings to copy? Who was I to withhold this material from them? The material as shared cultural heritage did 'belong' to the whole community but in my role as part-time employed collector for Muckcross House I had a responsibility to Muckcross House and believed that the tapes of the recorded material belonged to Muckcross House. I felt uncomfortable about my decision but I also felt that if the musicians were truly interested in this material that they would travel the few miles to the source – the elderly singers and musicians who received very few visitors at the time who wished to learn directly from them. My role in the field was, therefore, at times an ambiguous one. I was an 'insider' as a native traditional musician and dancer, but I was also an 'outsider' as I was formally employed as a part-time collector and had responsibilities and commitments to Muckcross House. This dilemma resonates with Mascarenhas-Keyes' "professionally induced schizophrenia" between 'native self' and 'professional self'" (Mascarenhas-Keyes, 1987, p. 180).

The changing nature of transmission

The incidents above also raised the issue of the changing nature of transmission within the traditional music scene at that time. In the past most traditional musicians and singers had learned aurally, orally, visually and kinaesthetically and predominantly informally from family, friends, neighbours, or travelling musicians, etc. They had learned by a primary orality or video-orality. However, from the 1970s, different methods of learning traditional music became popular. These included formal classes in learning Irish traditional music where teachers, generally traditional musicians themselves, used either a primary orality or a combination of both a primary orality and a second orality (including Western staff notation, letters of staff notation – A, B, C ..., or the *sol-fa* system). Published collections of Irish traditional music were also sourced (e.g. O'Neill, 1907; Breathnach, 1963, 1976, 1985) and tunes from these collections together with tunes from the 'living' tradition were taught in these classes.

Social networks of *musiking* were also available in the form of pub sessions where Irish traditional music was informally transmitted, reproduced, maintained, and transformed within the tradition. Commercially available recordings

together with amateur recordings produced informally at sessions and classes also assisted in the transmission process and in documenting, recording and disseminating different traditional music pieces and styles. The media – radio and television, also had an influence on the transmission of Irish traditional music and song, and to a lesser extent on Irish dance. During the 1980s, many aspiring traditional musicians were influenced by particular recorded musicians and groups and the repertoires that had become popularised by these practitioners, for example *The Chieftains* and *Planxty*. Some of these repertoires made their way into sessions and certain tunes and sequences of tunes became standard “session tunes”. Therefore, whether one played at a session in Cork, Dublin, Derry, or New York, these institutionalised “session tunes” were repeatedly played which facilitated the construction of an inclusive Irish traditional music community. To quote Helen O’Shea:

One of the attractions Irish music holds for musicians from other cultural backgrounds is the session, a form of musical sociality that is difficult to find in other cultures. The session offers a welcome [...] to the amateur and the learned, as well as to the perpetually mediocre player. (O’Shea, 2008, p. 97)

The musicians I encountered at the pub session were interested in, and curious about, the material I had collected but I would contend that at that time many were more interested in belonging to the session community and being able to play the ‘session tunes’ than visiting and learning from older members of the local community who were not considered then to be musically fashionable. My fieldwork experience illustrated the interest and enjoyment that practising traditional musicians had in maintaining and extending their repertoires, styles of playing and knowledge of current traditional music playing at the time, but it also highlighted issues relating to transmission, authority, ownership and shared cultural heritage. The experience also illustrated my attempts at negotiating my sense of ‘native self’ and ‘professional self’.

The technological developments that occurred in the transmission of Irish traditional music and song – a secondary orality (Ong, 2002), also occurred in the transmission of Irish traditional dance. In 1983, I was asked by the Trustees of Muckross House to collect step dances from the last of the dance students of the itinerant dancing master, Jeremiah Molyneux (1882-1965). These were elderly dancers in North Kerry and there were some 13 of them in the area. During the summer months from 1983 to 1985 I learned physically the step-dance repertoires from all these dancers on an individual basis in their homes. I learned by utilising a primary orality, aural, visual imitation and kinaesthetic empathy. As a collec-

tor I also wrote down the dances in a mnemonic system (see the Catherine Foley Collection at Muckross House) and at the end of each season the dancers I had learned from each summer were video recorded.

These documents and video recordings were cultural and pedagogical resources for younger dancers or anybody interested in viewing them and would be accessed at Muckross House along with the traditional music and song recordings and their transcriptions; the video recordings would also be copied and accessed by members of *Siamsa Tíre*, the National Folk Theatre of Ireland, in Tralee, County Kerry. However, young dancers in the area at that time were more interested in competing in staged competitive events organised by the cultural revival organisation, *An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha*, than learning from elderly dancers in their area. Those few young dancers learning the older dancers' repertoires at the time (1980s) were associated with the National Folk Theatre of Ireland, *Siamsa Tíre*. These dancers learned from video recordings of the elderly dancers for theatrical and stylistic purposes and did not learn directly from the older dancers themselves; they thus utilised a secondary orality. These young dancers were part of a transformed tradition within the context of theatre and were required to learn and embody the dances for theatrical purposes; the video recordings facilitated this.

Since the development of secondary oralities and video-oralities in Ireland, musicians, singers and dancers have availed, where possible, of these resources which assist in providing a strong sense of a history of cultural practices; extending repertoires and styles of playing, singing or dancing across geographical boundaries; supporting and informing understandings of 'living' practices; and providing important resources for pedagogical and cross-cultural comparison. Primary oralities and video-oralities, however, continue to be the dominant modes of transmission in the indigenous performing arts in Ireland. They are considered to be intimate and direct modes of transmission and to be 'the traditional way'.

Conclusion

Fieldwork produces different kinds of challenges for the researcher. This article examined one of the challenges that I faced in the field: my negotiation of 'native self' and 'professional self' when doing ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological fieldwork in Co. Kerry, Ireland. As a 'native' traditional musician and dancer and as an employed collector and researcher, my twin-stranded position in the field produced some ethical and political challenges for me including issues relating to authority, ownership and shared cultural heritage. Who has the right or

authority to speak for an indigenous practice? Who has the authority to select who speaks for this practice? How do they acquire this authority? Who owns collected indigenous cultural materials: the musician, singer, dancer, collector, recording engineer, or the institution that pays for the collecting work to be done? Is it the primary source – the musician, singer and dancer or the secondary source – the individual or institution who houses the written and recorded materials who owns this material? What is the relationship between a secondary orality and a primary orality? Does a secondary orality enhance or dilute a primary orality? These are complex questions which cannot be answered here in this article. They do, however, need to be asked as technological developments of the twenty-first century now provide opportunities for indigenous performing arts the world over to be accessed internationally and instantly.

References

- An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha (1981). *Ár Rinnicidhe Fóirne: Thirty Popular Figure Dances; Book One (1939), Book Two (1943), and Book Three (1969)*. Dublin: An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge.
- Brennan, H. (1999). *The story of Irish dance*. Dingle: Brandon Press.
- Breathnach, B. (1963). *Ceol rince na hÉireann. Cuid 1*. Dublin: Oifig an tSoláthair.
- Breathnach, B. (1976). *Ceol rince na hÉireann: Cuid 2*. Dublin: Oifig an tSoláthair.
- Breathnach, B. (1985). *Ceol rince na hÉireann: Cuid 3*. Dublin: An Gúm.
- Breathnach, B. & Small, J. (1996). *Ceol rince na hÉireann: Cuid 4*. Dublin: An Gúm.
- Breathnach, B. & Small, J. (1999). *Ceol rince na hÉireann: Cuid 5*. Dublin: An Gúm.
- Buckland, T. J. (2006). Being traditional: authentic selves and others in researching late-twentieth century northwest English Morris dancing. In T. J. Buckland (Ed.), *Dancing from past to present: nation, culture, identities* (p. 199-227). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bunting, E. (2002). *The Irish music manuscripts of Edward Bunting (1773-1843)*. Dublin: Waltons.
- Burchenal, E. (1924). *Rinnce na hÉireann, national dance of Ireland*. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company.
- Foley, C. E. (1988, 2012b). *Irish traditional step dancing in North Kerry: A contextual and structural analysis* (Book and DVD). Listowel: North Kerry Literary Trust.
- Foley, C. E. (2001). Perceptions of Irish step dance: national, global and local. *Dance Research Journal*, 33(1), 34-45.
- Foley, C. E. (2012a). The notion and process of collecting, recording and representing Irish traditional music, song and dance: the Muckross House Collection. In T. Smith (Ed.), *Ancestral imprints: histories of Irish traditional music and dance* (p. 107-117). Cork: Cork University Press.
- Foley, C. E. (2013). *Step dancing in Ireland: culture and history*. Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*. London: Allen Lane.

- Giurchescu, A. & Torp, L. (1991). Theory and methods in dance research: a European approach to the holistic study of dance'. *Yearbook for Traditional Music, Vol. XXIII* (p. 1-10).
- Hall, F. (2008). *Competitive Irish dancing: art, sport, duty*. Wisconsin: Macater Press.
- Henry, E. O. (1989). Institutions for the promotion of indigenous music: the case for Ireland's *comhaltas ceoltóirí Éireann*. *Ethnomusicology*, 33(1), 67-95.
- Jackson, A. (2002). *Anthropology at home*. London and New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Karpeles, M. (2008). *Cecil Sharp: his life and work*. London: Faber Finds Series.
- Kodály, Z. (1962). *Zoltán Kodály: eighty years old*. University of Minnesota: Office of Music Competitions.
- Koutsouba, M. (1999). "Outsider" in an "inside" world or dance ethnography at home. In T. J. Buckland (Ed.), *Dance in the field: theory, methods and issues in dance ethnography* (p. 186-195). Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd.
- Larson Sky, C. (1997). A lot of notes but little music: competition and the changing character of performance. *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua*, 1(1), 156-167.
- Malefyt, T. D. (1998). "Inside" and "outside" Spanish flamenco: gender constructions in Andalusian concepts of flamenco tradition'. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 71(2), 63-73.
- Mayer, A. C. (1975). Becoming a participant observer. In A. Beteille & T. N. Madan (Eds.), *Encounter and experience: personal accounts of fieldwork* (p. 27-41). Delhi: Vikas.
- Mascarenhas-Keyes, S. (1987). The native anthropologist: constraints and strategies in research. In A. Jackson (Ed.), *Anthropology at home. ASA Monographs 25* (p. 180-195). London and New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Myers, H. (1997). *Introduction to ethnomusicology*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Neal, J. & Neal, W. (1724). *A collection of the most celebrated Irish tunes proper for the violin, German flute or hautboy*. Dublin: Neal and Neal.
- Ong, W. J. (2002). *Orality and literacy: the technologizing of the word*. London: Routledge.
- Ó Canainn, T. (2003). *Seán Ó Riada: his life and work*. Cork: The Collins Press.
- O'Keefe, J.G. & O'Brien, A. (1902). *A handbook of Irish dances*. Dublin: O'Donoghue & Co.
- O'Neill, F. (1903). *O'Neill's music of Ireland*. Chicago: Lyon & Healy.
- O'Neill, F. (1907). *The dance music of Ireland: 1001 gems*. Chicago: Lyon & Healy.
- O'Rafferty, P. (1934). *The Irish Folk Dance Book: Book One*. London: Paterson's Publications Ltd.
- O'Rafferty, P. (1950). *The Irish Folk Dance Book: Book Two*. London: Paterson's Publications Ltd.
- O'Rafferty, P & O'Rafferty, G. (1953). *Dances of Ireland*. London: Max Parrish & Company.
- O'Shea, H. (2008). "Good man, Mary!" Women musicians and the fraternity of Irish traditional music'. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 17(1), 55-70.
- Pakenham, S. (2011). *Singing and dancing wherever she goes: A life of Maud Karpeles*. London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.
- Petrie, G. (1855). *The Petrie collection of the ancient music of Ireland*. Dublin: M.H. Gill.
- Sheehan, J. J. (1902). *A guide to Irish dancing*. London: John Denvir.
- Stevens, H. (1953). *The life and music of Béla Bartók*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vallely, F. (2011). *Companion to Irish traditional music*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Wulff, H. (2007). *Dancing at the cross-roads: memory and mobility in Ireland*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.