

repeated songs which are identified with Zinacantan.\*

\*If anything, one might suggest that FD music fulfills a creative function as much as anything in the culture. Young men can use their ability or skill to play various tunes: as many as they can learn.

We have suggested in the account above of FD music in context that FD musicians are ~~more in the roll of~~ <sup>essentially</sup> helpers. This again contrasts markedly with VHG. /Hvabahometik/ are among the most important people at ceremonies; often the violin player is the most /mol/ or elder man present. Not taking active part in ceremonies at all, FD players rarely even take part in prayers or ritual bowing.

~~One~~ One last set of concepts may be recorded here, centering around the ranking, evaluating and tuning of instruments and musicians. We have mentioned that a good flute is one which can be heard from afar. ~~It is this reason~~ <sup>This fact</sup> that disallows a violin, for example, from playing flute songs. ~~For~~ While it is quite clear that a violin, with equal melodic range, can play any flute tune, /mu xu7. mu xal lek son. ama mas xvinah. mas zoz./ (it can't <sup>play flute songs</sup>). It doesn't enunciate the songs. The flute is better heard, stronger) ~~than~~ The ~~xxxx~~ /son/ in question here seems to be not so much a 'tune' as a certain class of noise which the violin, in its weakness, cannot produce.

On a scale of 'bankilal'-ness the instruments are ranked flute, large drum, small drum, from most bankilal to most iz'inal. The /ama/ is most bankilal because it ~~ix~~ /xal mas lek li sone/(speaks the song best). The two drums are equally good in this respect; /ha7 yec xal li sone sci7uk k'ox trampol/(the song is spoken ~~xxxx~~ just all-right with the small drum). The large drum is more bankilal

because it is bigger.\* The drum, however, is subordinate

\*It seems a bit strange that if I ask which instrument is more /mol/ (elder) I get the response that the large drum is --- more than flute. Perhaps this notion stems from the old, old /t'ent'en/ drum. Furthermore, on a /mol/ scale the flute and violin are ranked as equal. The belief seems to be that these instruments are of equal age, and were equally well known to the ancients --- a rather disappointing belief. Prof. Vogt mentions (personal communication) the existence of a myth on "The Birth of the Flute."

See myth on Birth of Flute

to the flute in the sense that it /nakto stak' k'uxi elan stih ama/(just is able (to follow) how the flute is played.) This instrumental ranking, however it is understood, seems ~~to be~~ rather informal. In terms of playing, the drummers clearly follow the flutist; but in marching, rank order seems rather amorphous and the musicians seem to march abreast or in a ~~circle~~ rather than in strictly rank ~~order~~ <sup>order</sup>.

Final note: though higher or lower pitched flutes can be classed as /zinil/ or /yocol/ (tighter or looser) the regular expression for flutes is the same as for voices: /bik'it nuk'/ (small throat) and /muk' nuk'/ or /lom nuk'/ (large throat, or low, depressed, sunken throat) for low. The informant's comment: haven't you noticed how some people talk low and others high? IT's the same with flutes.\*

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\* Additional appendix of flute song transcriptions to be added to final paper. At this writing I have no tapes to write with,

Notes (in appendix form??) about what Z musicians know about Chamula music, instruments, and tuning (and possibly vice versa at some later stage) would be especially interesting. Have some data already in one direction.

John B. Haviland  
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