Introduction: Multiple Listenings. Anthropology of Sound Worlds

Christine Guillebaud

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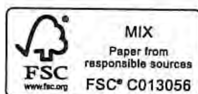

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Introduction: Multiple Listenings

Anthropology of Sound Worlds

Christine Guillebaud

Sound environments—composite worlds that are produced, perceived, and listened to either intentionally or coincidentally—have attracted a boom in interest over recent decades. The disciplines applied to their study have diversified tremendously since the foundational work of Murray Schafer (1977) and Pierre Schaeffer (1966), expanding to include acoustics, psycholinguistics, architecture, urban studies, and the sound arts. This upturn in interest was long thought to be proof of a deep cultural fact, that analysis of hearing lagged behind that of sight, rooted in the centuries-old ranking of the senses in Western thought. This recent research has largely made up for the imbalance. Today study of the sensory environment is predominantly interdisciplinary, to the point that previous academic limits are being redefined in favor of more overarching fields of study, as attest the range of terms used to describe them: history and anthropology of the senses (Howes 1991, 2003, Classen 1993, Corbin 1994, Colon 2013); sensory practices (Ingold 2000); auditory culture (Bull and Back 2003); acoustemology and sound anthropology (Feld 1994, 2000, Ricci 1996, Feld and Brenneis 2004, Féraud 2010, 2013); sounded anthropology (Samuels *et al.* 2010); the history of sound technologies and sound studies (Bijsterveld and Pinch 2012, Sterne 2012). This volume contributes to this rapidly expanding field in which anthropology is fully assuming its place. It aims to ethnographically decipher everyday ways of living and doing, with a particular interest in how ambient sound produces social relations, how sound productions are invested with meaning locally, and how ways of listening are forged and oriented differently depending on the ethnographic context being considered.

The question of sound is more relevant than ever in the Western world, and this is likely even truer in countries of the global south. Worldwide rankings of the most noise-polluted cities include the megalopolises of Mumbai, Cairo, and Tokyo. There as elsewhere, decibel counts are measured scrupulously according to standards set by national and international organizations.[1] Sound pollution has now become one of central governments' major concerns in the management of public space and infrastructure. If this conception of "pollution" is legitimate from the perspectives of public health and the improvement of citizens' quality of daily life, it does raise a

few issues in an anthropological undertaking such as ours. Ambient sound is produced and altered by a wide range of materials and surfaces, weather conditions, and media upon which its propagation depends (such as air and temperature). However, by nature it is also immaterial and part of daily sensory experience. We should account for this inherent complexity by treating it as a composite material, the perception of which necessarily draws from a vast spectrum of ways of paying attention spanning simple inattention to ordinary sounds all the way to specific forms of listening, such as listening to acoustically salient sounds that organize or prompt human activities. Indeed at the local level, a simple physical decibel level count taken near an intersection, hospital, or school says nearly nothing of how residents and passers-by use and listen to the space. It says nothing of how they perceive ambient sounds or how they appraise and appreciate the sensory environment. The notion of "pollution" just as arbitrarily puts thousands of everyday commercial and ritual activities with all but incomparable sound characteristics on the same level. Examples are not hard to find: festive uses of fireworks, various calls to prayer, loudspeaker systems and all manner of sound distortion, local sales methods (itinerant street vendors, bazars, markets, etc.), very dense transportation network signaling, commonplace ways of initiating interaction with others, or even multiple ways of conferring cultural identity on a place and its correlate, for residents to form a community. Sound's place in numerous areas of everyday, ritual, and political life has yet to be discovered, and this book is intended to contribute significantly to study of this unassuming level of public life. There is much left to explore, this time on an empirical base expanded by necessity: the everyday sounds of houses, streets, and neighborhoods, of rituals and celebrations, and of commercial activities and stations all deserve our full attention. The undertaking is all the while guided by the social and cultural contexts that give meaning locally, thus distinguishing it from the collection of acoustic environments for the quantitative analysis of "nuisance" or "pollution." Likewise, it sets itself apart from work intending to preserve or conserve ambient sounds for memorial or heritage purposes.[2] This book is primarily devoted to understanding the *sensory* modalities of the production of sound environments, decrypting the range of local knowledge and the imaginaries they inspire in a given group or society.

Provincializing[3] Our Sonic Perception

Several methods were already at our disposal to meet these objectives. Some disciplines have already formulated and experimented with situated approaches to urban sensory manifestations. Architecture and urban studies (Augoyard and Torgue 1995, Grosjean and Thibaud 2001) and psycholinguistics (Dubois 2009) have established recording protocols and methods for analysis of perception and its associated discourse. Although these are established methods today, they were clearly forged mainly for the analysis

of urban spaces, and moreover in field sites found for the most part in Western Europe and North America.[4] At the same time, the anthropology of sound has usually focused on the sound perceptions of natural spaces like the forest (Feld 1994, 1996, 2000, Gell 1995) or everyday and ritual life in rural settings (Ricci 1996, Panopoulos 2003). It is only quite recently that anthropological studies have turned to the ordinary sounds of the city, including those conducted by contributors to this volume such as Olivier Féraud (2010) on sounded forms of sociability in Naples and Tripta Chandola (2010, 2012) on sound perception in Delhi's Govindpuri slum. Others set out to explore the everyday sounds of institutional sites like hospitals in the United Kingdom (Rice 2013), sound mechanisms in places of worship such as South Indian Hindu temples (Guillebaud 2009, 2015), or the spatiality of calls to prayer from Kenyan mosques (Eisenberg 2013). In work of this kind, immersion in other sound milieus, encountering different ways of interacting in public, and the obvious need to work in the language of local interlocutors result in different strategies and temporalities than those of typical urban ambiance studies.

This division between disciplines and the location of field sites is well known, a result of the "Great Divide" between "us" and "them" that has already been exposed and historically contextualized by several authors (Fabian 1983, Lenclud 1992). The study of sound perception currently tends to foster the circulation of methods among disciplines. Soundwalks (Westerkamp 1974, McCartney and Paquette 2012) and commented walks (Thibaud 2001), which were especially well tested in the fields of art and architecture, have recently been applied in the anthropology of sound. Several authors of this present work also adapt experimental protocols to their research sites and thus further develop analysis of the cultural dimensions of listening (see especially the contributions of Battesti, Guiu, and Uimonen). At the same time, anthropology is used more than it used to be in the theoretical exploration of our perception of the sensory environment. One example that comes to mind is "Ambiances in Action," one of the themes of the Second International Conference of the Ambiances network (Montreal 2012)[5] or the "Translating Ambiances" theme chosen for the first meeting of the eponymous International Research Group (Nantes 2014).[6] At this meeting, the cultural dimension of perception asserted itself forcefully as the group worked on investing lexical fields associated with the notion of "ambiance" in various languages, such as *atmosphère* (French), *ambiente* (Spanish), and *omgivelser* (Danish).[7] In the process, participants discovered that certain terms—*hygge* (Danish), *barzakh* (Arabic), *stimmung* (German)—did not always have a strict equivalent in translation. This linguistic perspective was also at the heart of the symposium "Le son pris aux mots" (Sound in words) (Paris, 2014),[8] which set out to address the variety of verbal and grammatical resources in play in sound perception using various ethnographic examples. The keynote address by Danièle Dubois and Matt Coler was the occasion to highlight the diversity of linguistic constructions: in English, for example, "What I perceive"

asserts a distinction between the "object" of perception and the perceiving "subject," a relationship that proves irrelevant in certain native American languages (see also Coler 2014).

In continuity with these recent anthropological and linguistic reflections, one especially relevant point to our argument must be emphasized: a significant part of the world, in all its cultural and sociolinguistic diversity, remains to be explored. How do residents perceive the sound environments of Delhi or Tokyo? What are the social, religious, and political perceptions of the residents who listen to sound environments? How are they thought to be effective, and what specific knowledge exists about them? To reply to these fundamental questions, this book employs empirical work from a variety of cultural contexts in India, Italy, Egypt, France, Ethiopia, Spain, Scotland, Portugal, and Japan. While not aiming to be exhaustive, this volume offers a situated approach to sensory environments by tracing their forms, acoustic dynamics, and sociocultural contexts of production and perception. It moreover presents a series of recent studies on cities undergoing great structural change, be they national capitals (Lisbon, New Delhi, Cairo, Tokyo), urban and cultural centers (Naples, Barcelona, Trichur), or even smaller cities (Choisy-le-Roi). They are intended to enrich the study of the sensory environment by using higher-contrast empirical foundations than work to date, in what we hope is a less geographically divisive way.

Sound Versus Sonic

Conceptually, we started with the chart of oppositions suggested by the psycholinguist Danièle Dubois and the ethnolinguist Matt Coler. Dubois discusses variations in the conceptualization of the notion of "soundscape," as well as its methodological consequences for investigating the perceptual aspects and meanings of sound environments related to the concept of "ambiance" (Dubois 2012). In collaboration with Matt Coler, she has recently expanded this comparison to the concepts of "*milieu*" and "*umwelt*," producing the following table:

Table 0.1 Variations in the conceptualization of the notion of "soundscape." Compiled from Dubois (2012: 686) and Dubois and Coler (2014).

Soundscape (//landscape)	*Ambiance /milieu/ umwelt*
Visual analogy	Multimodal
Map (2-D)	3-D
Frontal perception	Immersion
Sound (acoustic)	*Sonic* (sensorial property)
Objectivist (physical-sciences centered)	"Subjective" (psychology and social sciences)
Analytical	Holistic

This volume is definitely situated on the right half of this table, among studies focused on the perceptional qualities of sound milieus. The underlying distinction between object and subject is a theoretical precondition for many of the contributions to this book, which indeed deal more with "ambiances" and "milieus" than with "soundscapes." More specifically, the work presented in the book is strongly ethnographic,[9] but not in the sense of being limited to a discipline, since it brings anthropologists and ethnomusicologists together with a geographer and an artist. It is more a matter of proposing a research policy that entails observing everyday practices from as closely as possible. It concentrates on ordinary scenes of life and interactions observed at the scale of particular places (a street, neighborhood, station . . .). It also proposes paying closer attention to phenomena and concerns a wide range of sound events, including voices, footsteps, firecrackers, bell chimes, and birdsong, sometimes compounding each other and sometimes layered onto other sounds. Several contributions capture such events in real situations of immersion (see Féraud, Guillebaud, Manea, Battesti, Uimonen, Guiu, Sánchez, Rioux) and offer new analytical categories as a result. For example, Olivier Féraud proposes the neologism "soundcial" (socio-sonic) for approaching everyday postures that simultaneously invest acoustic and social space, like everyday life in the streets of Neapolitan working-class neighborhoods or celebratory sonic activities, such as the popular practices of fireworks and firecrackers (Chapter 1). Vincent Rioux sheds light on the characteristics of individual sound perception with the notions of "sonosphere" or "aural sphere" and its fundamentally shifting nature, opening and re-shaping itself, "encompassing whatever sources attract its attention (. . .) including both active listening and passive hearing" (Chapter 11). Last, we must acknowledge that although we initially became aware of the classic opposition between objectivity and subjectivity in terms of disciplines, this, too, will be challenged repeatedly throughout these chapters. Surpassing the confrontation between the production and reception of sound milieus, ecological and pragmatic approaches additionally invite us to consider the world of sound as existing "in between" object and subject, something that might challenge their opposition. One example that comes to mind is the self-generated character of the sound milieu and the collective dimension of perception that emerges from the multiplicity of ticket-sellers' calls in a bus station in India (Chapter 4).

This volume also proposes testing existing methods in new field sites, especially methods for analyzing discursive appreciations of sound milieus. Indeed, it is easy to get inhabitants and users of a space to speak while perceiving by using soundwalks in-situ, and/or after the fact by using reactivation protocols or questionnaire-interviews that include listening to selected sound recordings, among other techniques. These methods are used extensively by the authors in the volume. Vincent Battesti recounts two complementary experiments he conducted with residents of Cairo in order to be able to analyze verbalizations as close as possible to those of their personal and

daily experience. The first consists of an "aural postcard," using reactivated listening of recordings of ambiances in order to pick up Cairo residents' common terminology for describing and qualifying the general ambiance (for example, "atmosphere," *gaw*) in various sites and/or of typical sound events. The second experiment, called "mics in the ears," modifies the soundwalk method by equipping informants with binaural microphones and earphones prompting more contextualized verbalizations; at the same time, he noted how informants behave in the street, move their heads, and more generally interact with their socio-ecological environment (Chapter 7). In another chapter, Heikki Uimonen uses Sound Preference Tests and Recorded Listening Walks to learn about the modalities of verbal appreciation of the inhabitants of Dollar, a Scottish village. They build on earlier studies, one by the World Soundscape Project (Simon Fraser University) dating back to 1975, and two important Finnish studies in which the author had participated a quarter century later (*Acoustic Environments in Change*, 2000 and *Soundscapes and Cultural Sustainability*, 2009). Uimonen's approach here addresses the micro-community of Dollar's local Strathdevon Primary School and puts the results of previous studies into perspective with his recent observations in the field. He implemented the same protocols, combining statistical and qualitative methods, along with participative ethnography by the students. The author thus compares liked and disliked sound categories across three generations. Analysis of materials at the scale of the Strathdevon Primary School reveals processes of enculturation "in making sounds and evaluating sounds" by members of the same acoustic community and changes in associated cultural values (Chapter 6).

Through the studied cases, this volume suggests working in a broader palette of languages, which also gives access to other local conceptions. This volume does not, however, overlook other modalities of perception and hearing that are rarely approached through discourse "on" sound. The significant non-language component of perception (Pink 2010) calls for equal interest in local ways of bearing oneself and moving around, and more broadly in how individuals act and act together in situation. The ecosystem of phenomena and the physicality of sound experience are also addressed in the ethnographies. Sound events are sources of corporal, spatial, and territorial inscription, relying heavily on the places where they emerge. Claire Guiu studies this territorial dimension in her chapter on "the sonorities of urban transformation" in Barcelona (on the Ciudad Sonora Project). Her team set out to characterize sounds in coastal zones that have recently experienced urban development and district renewal, from the Moll de la Fusta to the Forum of Cultures. She analyzes their sonic organization and dynamics, which is largely subject to laws and regulation. She identifies the simultaneous presence of discontinuous events and notable soundmarks that have come to the area since the 1990s, like the sound of helicopters, airplanes, conversations, footsteps, shouts, and whispers. She demonstrates that the ambient sonority and associated discourse contribute to a "process

of the appropriation, qualification, spatial organization and transformation of place" (Chapter 9). Another member of the Ciudad Sonora Project, Iñigo Sánchez, pursued this same hypothesis in a new field site, the working-class Mouraria neighborhood of Lisbon, and presents his analysis in a separate chapter. Although the neighborhood is located near the city center and its touristic attractions, the neighborhood has historically been considered a "territory on the margins of the city." The author closely followed a massive urban renewal program, the QREN-Mouraria Action Plan (2011–2012), and set out to give an account of its impact on the everyday sensory environment. Based on three examples from the urban environment (the *Largo da Severa*, the *Praça do Martim Moniz* and the *Largo do Intendente*), he demonstrates how musical styles (especially Portugal's nationally recognized Fado music) and new sounds are given new life in public spaces as numerous other soundmarks have changed or disappeared. The author also notes that "reshaping the milieu of sound can be a powerful tool in transforming the urban dynamics of a given place" while demonstrating precisely how this requalification of space can also lead to intense conflict. The controversies pitting bars and local authorities (the city) against each other in the neighborhood especially contest the qualification and lived experience of these "noisy" sounds, issues that manifest divergent cultural interests today (Chapter 8).

What Is Listening?

As we have said, this volume pays considerable attention to the perception-related aspects of sound milieus. But what is listening, and how can one understand the listening attitudes of the other? The auditory experience is a complex phenomenon because it involves a variety of ways that the subject may pay attention, depending on sound sources' acoustic characteristics, their spatial organization, and the cultural dispositions of the perceiving subject that is giving them meaning. In common parlance, the difference between the terms "hear" and "listen" already mark two distinct ways of comprehending hearing, one passive and the other active, that situate the work of the ear in a process of selectivity and intentionality. These ways of "hearing" and "listening" are not mutually exclusive and are usually combined in a given situation—for example, in relation to the criteria for the acoustic salience of certain aspects of sound (intensity, frequency, duration, timbre), our daily habits, or even new experiences that develop our ear for new sonorities. They also heavily rely on the perceiving subject's subjective dispositions (age, gender, skills) and the actions mobilizing him or her in a given situation.

From a theoretical perspective, several authors have described and modeled how we listen in great detail. This starts with Pierre Schaeffer, who identified "four ways of listening," the pioneering model employed here. Schaeffer indeed proposed breaking listening down into four terms, first

presented on pages 113–114 of his *Traités des Objets Musicaux* (1966) based on four verbs in common use in French: *écouter* (to listen), *ouïr* (to be aware of), *entendre* (to hear), *comprendre* (to understand).[10]

Table 0.2 Four ways of listening (Schaeffer 1966: 113).

4 *Comprendre* (to understand)	1 *Ecouter* (to listen)
3 *Entendre* (to hear)	2 *Ouïr* (to be aware of)

Starting with common sense, Schaeffer divides these four terms into two general ways of listening. The first, *écouter* and *comprendre* (across the top of the table), conform to a degree of "objectivity" in audition.[11] The term *écouter* refers to comprehending sound as a result, as being caused by something or the presence of someone. Sound is an "event" in this case, and the person who hears it perceives it as an "indication," meaning that it gives information about its source. The other term, *comprendre*, involves wondering about a sound's "meaning" by introducing the subject into a certain domain of "non-sounded" values. This semantic kind of listening is characterized by speech, everyday language. According to Schaeffer, it also concerns all kinds of "meaningful" listening, such as music, which he also took as an example. The second way of listening, comprised of *ouïr* and *entendre* and found across the bottom of the table, imply a "subjective" character. *Ouïr* presupposes that the hearer perceives a sound of an as-yet-undefined character and that this perception is "raw," whereas *entendre* takes this as a step toward determining the nature of the sound itself; the listener has thus "chosen" some of its components. Schaeffer also introduced a vertical division between types of hearing according to their "concrete" or "abstract" relationships to sound. Schaeffer presented the complete and more complex table on page 116 of *Traités des Objets Musicaux*.

Schaeffer makes several subsequent refinements to enhance and improve reading of this diagram. Of particular relevance here is his distinction between the two "listening pairs." The first sets "natural" listening apart from "cultural" listening. In sector 1, natural listening is presented as universal. Concerning humans as well as animals, it makes sound a way to inform oneself about an event. It becomes cultural (sector 4) when it is the object of explicit conventions. The second pair opposes "mundane" listening and "specialized" or "practitioner" listening and highlights the differences between the perceiving subjects' skills and the quality of their attention.

Table 0.3 Four ways of listening (Schaeffer 1966: 116).

4 *COMPRENDRE* / Understand - for me: signs - before me: values (language-meaning) Emergence of content from sound, and *reference* to and *confrontation with* non-sound notions.	1 *ECOUTER* / Listen - for me: indications - before me: exterior events (agent-instrument) *Emission* of sound	1 and 4: Objective
3 *ENTENDRE* / Hear - for me: qualified perceptions - before me: qualified sound-object *Selection* of some particular aspects of sound	2 *OUÏR* / Be aware of - for me: raw perceptions, rough sketch of the object - before me: raw sound object *Reception* of sound	2 and 3: Subjective
3 and 4: Abstract	1 and 2: Concrete	

The first, mundane, is more intuitive and "open" (p. 122) and leaves the subject available to what his ears perceive. The second, more specialized and "closed," involves training and skills permitting the ear to choose and intentionally hear what it "wants to hear and elucidate" (p. 121).

One of the strengths of this model is that, instead of considering listening in relation to the kinds of sounds around us, it puts listening in a range of concrete and objective relationships to sound materials, although in practice these forms of listening usually combine and fluctuate. It makes it possible to escape the logic of genre categorization that begins with qualifying what we hear rather than wondering about how we hear it.

We note in particular that sector 4 is often explained using the examples of languages, Morse code, bells, or warning horns (p. 121) as so many "signs" to be decrypted and understood. In a surprising way Schaeffer also includes music (admittedly making its relationship to meaning more complex) as a form that "deliberately diverts (without ceasing to hear it) from the event and circumstances that it reveals relative to its emission, to cling to the message, signification, *values* borne by the sound" (p. 121). However, although the confrontation of listening with non-sound notions may be broadly and overtly established in the diagram (sector 4), the illustrative examples are ultimately more reductively presented, often concerning a linguistic relationship of the signified/signifier type. This inclination to make our relationship to the non-sounded strictly semantic (more a tendency than an assertion in Schaeffer) is problematic. It might best be understood by situating him in his disciplinary background (an engineer by training rather than a social scientist) and in light of his body of work focusing on the notion of "sound objects," which he encourages us to appreciate for their intrinsic qualities, and specifically without regard for their signification or cultural context.

This type of "semantic" relationship is also found in Michel Chion's presentation of his three listening modes. Heir to Schaeffer, Chion took up some of the older categories and adapted them into three terms: causal listening, semantic listening, and reduced listening. Causal listening corresponds perfectly to sector 1 of Schaeffer's diagram, and "consists of listening to a sound in order to gather information about its cause (or source)" (Chion 2012: 48). Semantic listening more specifically concerns the interpretation of a message, as with spoken language but also other codes such as Morse code (Chion 2012: 50). Last, reduced listening, which was also borrowed from Schaeffer, is a "listening mode that focuses on the traits of the sound itself, independent of its cause and of its meaning" (Chion 2012: 50). In Chion's sharpened redefinition, semantic listening implicitly picks up the features of Schaeffer's sector 4, identified by the verb "*comprendre*/understand" or by the expression "cultural listening." As we mentioned earlier, Schaeffer made ready reference to languages and codified languages but also to music and more broadly any form of listening that confronts acoustic and non-sounded dimensions, including values. In an anthropological approach such as ours, this also seems problematic, reducing the cultural to languages (or even music) and correspondingly, limiting description of this kind of listening to the purely "semantic." For music, credit is due to ethnomusicology for having particularly well explored this listening relationship favoring pragmatic and performative descriptors. Ritual music, whether it is shamanic, related to possession, or for communion with the divine, especially presupposes forms of listening that are far more complex than a signifier/signified relationship. Music's relationship to the non-sounded has been approached as a "continuum" with the natural environment (Legrain 2014), as a manifestation in an underworld situation in Andean cosmologies (Martinez 1996), or as a process of bringing non-human agents into presence. It can concern divinities simultaneously called, manifest, and represented through sound (Guillebaud 2008, Prévot 2014), "sonic beings" independently animated by and in the sound (Brabec de Mori and Stoichita 2012, Brabec de Mori and Seeger 2013), or forms of "personification" (or "musical living") that find themselves at the heart of musical emotion (Bonini Baraldi 2015). This relationship to things other than sound, which we will deliberately leave as open as possible, is still wide open for exploration where ambient sound is concerned. The non-sounded is commonly hastily pigeonholed as merely indicational or causal listening. In this book we take up Schaeffer's invitation to enrich the "cultural" dimension of the model by approaching mundane listening through specific ethnographic case studies. The first step is considering examples of sound events that concern neither language nor music. Our approach *confronts* listening to ambient sound with non-sounded notions, without presuming they are of a strictly semantic order.

The first part of the book explores these concepts in detail. The study of pyrotechnical practices in Naples contributed by Olivier Féraud notably demonstrates how the intensity (loudness) of these actions locally denotes

a strong social demonstrativeness and social expressivity. He shows that intensity is generally negatively perceived by the Neopolitan middle class, which associates non-festive firecracker noise with delinquency, incivility, and social instability, while those who like firecrackers associate them with the cultural values of courage, virility, and risk-taking (Chapter 1). Anne Damon-Guillot also highlights a division of a cultural order in her study of the texts of Jesuits and Franciscans who went to Ethiopia in the early modern era to convert people to Catholicism. She demonstrates how the Europeans' sonic sensitivity was embedded in a proselytizing project characterized by a fundamental dichotomy. The missionaries used powerful sounds (such as bells, the preaching voice, and fireworks) to convert people, whereas the daily and ordinary sounds of Ethiopia—like groans or weeping—were described with an eschatological vocabulary (Chapter 2). A similar *othering* process is analyzed by Tripta Chandola in her study of the "obscene voices" of the women of Govindpuri, a slum settlement in Delhi. She emphasizes the particular sonic (and emotional) manifestation of the slum's highly gendered, violent, and volatile materiality that is found in these performances (Chapter 3). These three case studies specify the capacity of ordinary sound milieus to constitute, reinforce, and/or contest social orders. Through them we can see how actors connect to and disconnect from each other, perform acts of belonging or exclusion, or communicate and cut themselves off from each other.

This volume's more focused approach to phenomena will also make particular underdeveloped (or ignored) dimensions emerge from Schaeffer's model. We are thinking in particular of the temporal dimension of sound and the context in which we perceive and listen, especially in relation to the actions we are engaged in at the time (walking, working, praying, taking the train, and so on). These dimensions were put into precise relation by the sociologist Henri Torgue (1999) in his template for reading our systems for listening. He first distinguished between three kinds of listening: mundane listening, musical listening, and musician listening. In this model, the first (mundane listening) possesses exactly the same characteristics as those previously described by Schaeffer (Sector 1) and Chion (in "causal listening"). Torgue defines it with a much more explicit temporal dimension and sets it radically apart from "musical listening":

> Everyday listening corresponds in a way to a state of waiting interrupted occasionally by the emergence of conscious perceptions. It is a state in which modulations of attention adapt to a number of diverse situations. In daily life this kind of listening may range from the limits of drowsiness to the sharpest attentiveness, as when one is quite watchful of everything that happens (or could happen): the sentinel, the waiting soldier, etc. (. . .) Listening does not belong to the musical order: sounds play the role of indicators, attesting to actions that go beyond them, are only the indicator of an experience. In this kind of listening, if sound provokes

a response from the person who hears it (psychometric or affective), it is not just because of its sounded nature, but by its signification in the chain of meaning, not as the very subject of reception.

(Torgue 1999: 27)

After this presentation, he defines "musical listening" in which "sound has a direct action on the person hearing it. Emotional, psychometric, or semantic action" (Torgue 1999: 27). This reference to agency, which had not appeared in earlier models, is important in that it emphasizes that any kind of sound can be the object of a "musical" listening since it is the sound's *capacity for action* that is in play more than its intrinsic nature. Last, "musician listening" is symmetrically defined by actor-hearers' capacity for action, themselves acting *on* sound instead of sound acting independently on them. This kind of listening is rather close to Schaeffer's "specialized listening" when he spoke of the specific skills of an acoustician, musician, or even Native American of the Plains to listen to the galloping sound of a horse (Schaeffer 1966: 122). It thus resembles what Schaeffer put under the verb *entendre*/hear in his diagram (sector 3), moreover designated by Chion as a modality of "reduced listening." What ultimately distinguishes these three authors from each other is therefore the dominant criteria they selected. As we have seen, time and action are fundamental for Torgue, who added only an outline for a new descriptor, "register." It corresponds to the "intentionality of sound," but it appears the author left it rather rough in this diagram, open to future development. To round out his diagram, Torgue last describes the "states" associated with the three types of listening (which appear in separate columns) according to the retained descriptors or criteria.

From this presentation, we see that the main theoretical models fully agree on mundane or causal listening, and on identifying specialized, reduced, or musician listening. However, the authors struggle to find terminological consensus on relationships to meaning, as their variety of labels demonstrate (semantic listening, non-sounding, cultural listening, musical listening). As we pointed out earlier, it does seem difficult to treat language and music at the same level, and recently some anthropologists have asserted

Table 0.4 Three kinds of listening (Torgue 1999: 28).

CRITERIA		*STATES*	
Attitude	Diffuse	Metabolic	Analytical (concentrated)
Time	Present/Indefinite	Anamnesis (Retrospection or "retro-audition")	Repetitive (Projection)
Action	Residual sound	Of sound	On sound
Register	Emotion	Identity	Information/ Transcendence

that they should be considered under different analytical paradigms. According to Michael Houseman, relationships to non-sound elements cannot be reduced to a signifier/signified relationship, precisely because music is by nature "plurivocal"; among other things, it depends on "a multiplicity of plans of intelligibility" that language does not have (Houseman 2013: 238). Although the first two models remain vague on the kinds of non-sound confrontations hearers experience, Torgue's model opens up the pragmatic aspects of listening, its temporal passage, and its established relationships of agency (the action *of* sound versus action *on* sound) as very fruitful avenues for study. The relationship to meaning remains somewhat vague in the latter model too, since, as we have seen, it appears in the definition of mundane listening when the emotional and psychometric effects of everyday sounds are concerned.

The distinction between mundane and musical listening is not entirely obvious either, especially if one considers the criteria of action. Some chapters of this volume demonstrate how everyday sound has the capacity to become operative itself (a modality that is not music's exclusive prerogative), and without the perceiving subjects modifying their "diffuse attitude" or relationship to the "present time" that define mundane listening. Pierre Manea's chapter is enlightening in this regard. He offers a historical and phenomenological study of sound signals in use in the overcrowded trains of Tokyo, from the electric bells used in the early twentieth century to contemporary departure melodies. The temporal organization of this progression of tones (approach bell, arrival bell, and departure bell) also corresponds to the differing levels of indexicality conferred on them by the status of "sound-effect signals" that can effectively manage traveler behavior and daily crowds (Chapter 5). Purely acoustic crowd management is also addressed by Christine Guillebaud in her study of an Indian bus station. She shows how ticket vendors' cries function according to a principle of "multiple attraction" that creates effects of presence and relationship as well as collective self-management, which is ultimately rooted in sound events' capacity to generate simultaneous actions (affordance) that assure the daily continuous flow of travelers (Chapter 4).

Last, specialized, reduced, and musician listening have not received much attention from anthropology to date. Two chapters of this volume help to fill this gap. They focus on artistic practices and performance by showing the work of specialists in sound poetry and sound arts. If this kind of specialized listening confirms that perception is connected to a concomitant action on sound (especially in sound synthesis and the use of recording equipment), it also engages other forms of listening at the moment of on-site performance. Once again, the relationship to *meaning* is a dimension cultivated by these artists who try to shake up or transform our relationship to everyday sounds. Jean-Charles Depaule's chapter devoted to scenes of sound poetry mostly of the latter half of the twentieth century shows how some inherited categories came to be upended by the acoustic work of creators such as Bernard

Heidsieck, Ernst Jandl, Henri Chopin, and Brion Gysin. Most of them permanently freed poetry from the yoke of the written text by experimenting with the voice's many performative dimensions and/or incorporating recording techniques of the time into their creations. To the multiplication of the possibilities of work on sound material itself (phasing, cut-and-paste, echo effects, reverberation, distortion) also correspond an increasingly asserted blurring of the boundaries between articulated language and non-linguistic modes of expression (shouted, hummed, aspirated, etc.) or even between sound and noise. The article also pays particular attention to the consideration that musicians and sound artists (Luigi Nono, Luciano Berio, John Cage, etc.) gave to everyday sound milieus, with an eye to creating original works in which mundane, musical, and reduced listening could constantly flow into each other. But in the end, what sound practices are we talking about? "Sound poetry, poetry of sounds, of noises?" wonders Jean-Charles Depaule himself (Chapter 10). In the final chapter, Vincent Rioux describes the artistic experiment he conducted in 2009 on the occasion of the destruction of a fifty-year-old footbridge for pedestrian traffic between downtown and a shopping center in the city of Choisy-le-Roi, France. An on-site artistic project was created to mark the end of "an organic part of the city," including post-contact improvised dance (by the Comipok' collective) and computer-based live sound compositions by the author. An outdoor and multichannel sound installation was developed, inspired by theoretical reflections on individual and collective listening in urban settings. Sound material was collected through informal interviews of inhabitants, who were asked to talk about their use of the footbridge, their memories of it, and its future disappearance. Unlike a purely discursive analysis, their speech was then reworked in real time (timbre, prosody), live-coded as the author reassembled elements, and broadcast in the performance space. The voices became sound materials upon which the artist acted by remixing them with other prerecorded materials while broadcasting the result through speakers discreetly spaced along the bridge. Through the infinite combination of possible effects and the artist's improvisational work, the system helped dancers, pedestrians, and the sound milieu interact with each other by providing "a flexible set of textures to play with in order to create an ever-changing ambiance." Through this sound space, both composed and shared, the author demonstrates the composition of "an ambiance just slightly out of kilter with everyday life that would relate to a mode of modified presence" (Chapter 11).

At the end of this brief presentation of some of the main theoretical models for listening, one fundamental question remains. It concerns the ratio between the previously chosen descriptors for distinguishing between these models. As we have seen, these descriptors present fundamental oppositions between indicator and sign, the natural and cultural, and sound objects and agents. Are the criteria governing these oppositions equally important to the identification of the kinds of listening described here? Is it possible to know the precise moment when one form of listening shifts to another? How to account for mixed or "liminal" forms?[12] Although this book does not hold the definitive answers, it does provide a wide range of ethnographic and artistic case studies that will make it possible to explore and compare our multiple ways of perceiving the sound environment.

Notes

1 In particular, the "WHO Guidelines on Community Noise" edited by B. Berglund and T. Lindvall (1995), an updated version of the document published by the World Health Organization in 1980. Accessed December 2, 2015, at www.who.int/docstore/peh/noise/guidelines2.html.

2 Of particular interest are the British Library's *Save our Sounds* archive program, or the report of the *European Acoustic Heritage* program (Kytö *et al.* 2012).

3 Term coined by Dipesh Chakrabarty in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (2007).

4 There has been more recent work to emerge on urban ambiances in Brasil (Thibaud and Duarte 2013) and Egypt (Said 2013).

5 See the conference proceedings, edited by Thibaud and Siret (2012): http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/AMBIANCES2012

6 The "Translating Ambiances" Groupe de recherche international (International Research Group) is certified by the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). See: www.ambiances.net/seminars/gdri-translating-ambiances.html

7 See also the comparable study on the term "soundscape" by Danièle Dubois and the European research group COST TD0804: http://soundscape-cost.org

8 Organized with the support of the University Paris Lumières (PLUM). See the MILSON collective website: http://milson.fr/je/upl-november-2014/programme-2014–2

9 Readers are invited to consult the audio and/or video recordings that each author provides as ethnographic illustration or for analytical support. These examples are indicated in the body of the texts with references in the format of "Document 1" and can be consulted by author name at the following address: http://milson.fr/routledge_media

10 The inherent complexity of this model is notably due to the fact that it uses commonly used verbs but goes on to attribute them with specific meanings that may sometimes lead to confusion when applied outside of Schaeffer's theory. It remains relevant nonetheless.

11 Later in the work, Schaeffer requalified the term "objective"—focused on the object of perception, not the activity of the perceiving subject—more ambiguously as "intersubjective" or "collective" (p. 119).

12 See the 23rd ICTM colloquium titled "Between Speech and Song: Liminal Utterances" hosted by the Research Centre for Ethnomusicology (Paris-Ouest Nanterre University, 2015): www.ictmusic.org/23rd-ictm-colloquium

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Part I

Listening into Others