

15 The Ensoundments of the Materially Ethereal in Indigenous Riau (Sumatra)

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Abstract

This chapter is focused on sounds associated with ethereal matter (*semanget*) and its embodied manifestation that vitalizes human, animal, and material physicality. I discuss the therapeutic sounds which are humanly generated to mobilize the materially ethereal to “repair bodies” in the Sakai shamanic healing rituals called *dikei*. The Orang Sakai lived on the edge of the Malay kingdom of Siak. Most Sakais are animist. *Dikei* is an ensounded performative event bringing ethereal beings and humans together for the purpose of healing and the reconstruction of boundaries between the human and ethereal dimensions. I suggest to explore this material in relation to Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of double “turning away of face.”

Keywords: animism, shamanic healing, magic, performance, Orang Batin/
Orang Suku Sakai

As sounds are produced from the clash of two objects against each other (Connor 2004), then movement is fundamental to the production of sounds. When the movement of things has an audible effect the movements are ensounded. Religious sounds are the ensoundments of movements associated with religion. Which sounds are defined as religious depends on how we define religion. I will contend, for the sake of this chapter, that religious phenomena have to involve an ontology that posits willfully ethereal beings, essences, and forces that are immanent but might also be transcendental. These ethereal beings are experienced as having or constituting powers that effect the physical and human world. Religious sounds are the ensoundments of these numinous beings and forces. Further, humanly produced

ensoundments of knowledge conceptually related in some way to an original numinous ensoundment are also religious sounds. A mantra produced at any given moment is powerful because it is the sound of the numinous being which produced it. These sounds physicalize an ethereally interreacting other or construct semiotic frames that are associated with ethereal or numinous realities.

Conceptually, sounds share a lot with religious or numinous phenomena. Sounds are like the wind on which numinous phenomena are imagined to travel and they are also evanescently boundless (Bull 2013). Sounds move into and bounce off of obstacles and seep through walls and other solids, liquids, and gases (Tausig 2019). As sound has a conceptually dual-natured physicality, which on the one hand is ephemeral and intangible and on the other sensually physical, it seems to be a phenomenon existing between a non-physical numinous and physical reality. Hence sounds tend to have a crucial communicative role to play in religious activity and experience. Numinous beings and objects are physicalized through communicative sounds. Their ethereal being and powers are brought forth, revealed, and actualized by communicative ensoundments. Religious sounds can penetrate deep into the visceral level of a person's being and can be intersensorially experienced from emotional depths. Although it is generally the case that humans hear sounds with the ears, Ingold has argued that it would be more accurate to say that people do not hear sounds but "hear in sound" (Ingold 2000). To say that people "hear in sound" allows us to extend the sensorial experience of sound beyond the conventional "five sense" understanding of perceptual experience. If people hear in sound, we can also say that people can "see" and "feel" in sound. Intersensorial experiences (Merriam 1964; Classen 1990; Feld 1996; Porath 2008; Porath 2019) of seeing and feeling in sound are an important contributor to the sense of numinous presences and religious experience (Craffert 2017; Freund 2009). The exceptional perceptual quality of sounds also has the power to move people to carry out acts within ritual frames (and outside of them) that would otherwise be avoided, such as mutilation and self-flagellation (Bautista 2019). The ontology of these ensoundments induces these acts. The religious values legitimate them. The ontologies of numinous beings do not have to be spiritually transcendent. They can be materially non-physical, yet present. Invisible beings, which are translated into English as spirits, are usually of this type. In animist traditions, such beings are immanent; they are not worshipped and neither are they necessarily a focus of devotion. How people conceive of the numinous and ethereal beings determines how they conceive their ensoundments (Porath 2008). Some sounds are heard acousmatically,

providing an anomalous experience that might need to be interpreted in religious and numinous terms (Tuzin 1984). These include, for example, the creaking sound of sudden movement; the strange out-of-place chirping of a bird; and even the atmospheric-breaking “t t t” sound of a gecko indicating inauspiciousness. An ethereal being (person) moves with the winds through the trees. The rustling leaves are the ensoundment of its moving presence. Bird and other animal sounds can be indicative of numinous communication (Remme 2016, 144; Duile 2019). Spirits ensound their presence through animals by momentarily possessing their physical bodies. Similarly, within a spirit-possession ritual framework, a spirit ensounds itself by taking over the human medium's body and uses it to express movements characteristically peculiar to the spirit's being (Ellen 2019). In these instances, numinous ensoundments are acoustic icons of a presence making itself and its wishes known though the vocal cords of the possessed.

In other spirit-focused ritual contexts, such as shamanic healing rituals, shamans see these people with their inner eye in a shifted state of awareness and travel with them. These people's ethereal presence is actualized by the construction of poetic verbal portraits of them. These poetic portraits are not the voices of the spirit ensounding itself through a physical being (the medium) but are the ensoundments of knowledge of how to actualize their silent presence. They are representations of the ethereals and their movements in an unseen dimension. The ensounded portraits are artfully constructed through songs or prayer. These word-sound extemporizations align the listener's imagination with the presence of the numinous actualized in the performance of the ritual.

In the rest of this essay I will focus on some of the ensoundments of Sakai shamanic healing rituals called *dikei*. The Orang Sakai (formally called Orang Batin) lived on the edge of the Malay kingdom of Siak. Since the 1960s many have converted to Islam, while a minority converted to Christianity. Most Sakais are animist. Central to their ontology of ethereal beings is a ritual during which shamans conduct healing sessions for those afflicted with illness. The aim of the ritual is to call on these people called ‘*antu de'o*’ to provide medicine and aid in healing. These ‘*antu de'o*’ help to maintain boundaries which were violated by a lesser ethereal person's mischief or by human misconduct which violated a prohibition that broke the boundaries between the ethereal beings' and the human physical realm.

During *dikei* the shaman sings and dances to the beat of a drum. The drumming is said to be the path by which the *kemantat* (shaman) travels to the spirit dimension. The songs call on the ethereal people to provide medicine and aid in healing. *Dikei* is an ensounded performative event

bringing ethereal beings and humans together for the purpose of healing and the reconstruction of boundaries between the human and ethereal dimensions.

The two dimensions of this world

In recent years there has been a novel working out of the classic concept of animism. In what is now called by some the New Animism, spirits and souls form part of a complex ontology which is characterized by subject-to-subject relational awareness (Bird-David 1999; Viveiros de Castro 1998; Ingold 2000; Tsintjilonis 2004; Descola 2013; Århem and Sprenger 2016). The environment is, within this ontology, regarded as teeming with life—full animated subjects, human and non-human, which can engage each other's subjectivities or interiorities (Descola 2006; 2013). In this ontology, illnesses can be caused by interiorities merging.

Within Sakai animist ontology there are two dimensions or realities immanent in this world. These are the human physical dimension (*alap manusio*) which encompasses the realm of animals, and *alap lain* (the other dimension) or *alap 'antu* (spirit ethereal dimension). Sakais attribute personhood to the inhabitants of the invisible dimension who, although intangible, are also owners of consumer goods, which exist in their realm as ethereal objects. Their ethereal dimension is also silent. Theirs is a dimension of refined substances in contrast to the human dimension which is substantially coarse. However, even in the human physical dimension, all things have an element of ethereal interiority to a greater or lesser degree called *semanget*.¹ In humans *semanget* is not only the vital principle in the coarse body but the conditioner of a person's conscious awareness. As part of the human body it is tied down to its coarseness but is of the same ethereal substance that makes up spirits. It is easily manipulated or dislodged by ethereal people who engage humans through it. Embodied *semanget* is also conceived of as having a desire to be free from the body. Humans dream and what they see in their dreams are the experiences of their *semanget* gaining a measure of freedom and traveling (*semanget jalan*). Because *semanget* is partly prone to wander it is vulnerable and can be approached by an ethereal being. Outside of ritual such interactions are dangerous and are the cause of illness, madness, and even death. Hence, ethereal people

1 For detailed discussions see Skeat (1900), Cuisinier (1956), Endicott (1970), Leertrouwer (1977), Benjamin (1979), Gulam-Sarwar (1991), and Porath (2015).

are not people one wants to meet. In fact, unless one is a shaman, one tries to keep away from them. But *semanget* can innocently find it difficult to keep away as substance-type is attracted to substance-type.

Sounds that manipulate embodied *semanget*

Embodied *semanget* exists between the human and spirit dimension. It balances between the two. But parts of it long for the spirit dimension and can be attracted to it. *Semanget* is discussed with the metaphor of a timid bird that has taken flight. Just like a bird takes flight at any sudden movement, *semanget* can take flight from the body, leaving it weak or altering its mode of ordinary awareness. People can fall into trance and delirious states and lose awareness of their physical surroundings.

Because of *semanget*'s timidity and skittishness, sounds can make it fly, leaving the person unconscious for a while.² The startle sound is an ensoundment producing an unexpected external stimulus intruding on the body's habituated conscious mode. The startle sound is hard, coarse, and violating like a rude and dangerous adversary or intruder (*misuh*). The way Sakais respond to the startle sound suggests it is an ensoundment of a sudden situational antagonism which threatens embodied *semanget* (*semanget tekojit*). It is feared that by being shocked it can take flight (*semanget to'bak*), leaving the person's body unconscious. Older Sakais jump back in fright and exclaim "I fear that my *semanget* will take flight" (*takui semanget to'bak*). Young able-bodied men who have knowledge of martial arts (*ponca silat*, Mal. *Panca Silat*) respond to the startle sound through a martial art movement. On being startled, such men immediately raise an arm and a leg in a martial art style of defense and let out a sudden shout. However, healers also use startle sounds as a sound therapy to re-embody *semanget*. When a person is in a trance-like or delirious empty state, healers might yell at them or hold the person's head and command their entranced *semanget* to return (*semenget balik*). Sometimes when a shaman ends a ritual but is still in a dazed state of consciousness, the drummer walks to him and circles the drum over his head, and then bangs it first next to one ear and then next to the other. The shaman jumps back and reassures everyone that he (his *semanget*) has "already returned" (*olah balik*).

In all these instances parts of *semanget* have departed from the body but are still close to it. The symptoms are a dazed consciousness or an empty

2 See also Roseman (1993) for the Temiars of Malaysia.

entrancement. The danger is that in this situation *semanget* hovers on the threshold of the ethereal dimension and the physical one and is vulnerable to an ethereal person engaging it and leading it. Sounds are therefore a tool to frighten timid *semanget* back into the body and the individual back to consciousness and awareness.

Manipulating the ethereal realm with power-imbued word-sounds

Ethereal force can cause an effect in the physical dimension through its own ethereal unseen realities. This power is activated through the recitations of certain words called *monto* (Mal. Mantra/spells). Tambiah (1968) referred to this as the “magical power of words.” Some authors have argued that word-sounds do not have power in themselves but only if they are imbricated with an extra-physicality drawn from numinous realities and for which they serve as a conduit of symbolic action (Mauss 1972; Ellen 1993, 9–10, Schefold 2001; Buijs 2016, Porath 2007). The magical power of words lies in that they are verbal sounds imbricated with an original source of power drawn from the ethereal dimension and these can move and activate “essences.” Among Sakais, this power is called *ilmu batin* (inner knowledge)³ which is efficacious knowledge that emanates from the liver-heart. *Ilmu* (magical knowledge) is a form of medicine which works through *semanget*. It is a power obtained through a period of apprenticeship to another medicine (wo)man. During this time the novice learns by heart the *monto* which the human teacher gives to him or her. As this memorized recitation is occurring the ethereal teacher appears to the disciple in dreams in the form of an old man, a young woman (*gadih*), and other archetypal images and gives him/her gifts such as a special objects or food. The *ilmu* inheres in the images of gifts given. The word-sounds of *monto* allow the practitioner to call up the power for its intended effect in the non-physical dimension. Not only does *ilmu* affect one’s own embodied *semanget* as well as that of others, but it is also used to ward off the willfulness of ethereal beings or to persuade them into action. It also can give the reciter the power to manage ethereal forces in the unseen dimension which emanate from powerful locations in the environment. The word-sounds are supposed to recall and ensound the power of *ilmu batin* from the spell-caster’s inner being. *Monto* word-sounds

3 Batin (the term, not the content) is the same word used to refer to esoteric and gnostic Islam (from the Arabic *bāṭin*); *dikei* is a word adopted from the Sufi ceremony of *zikir* or *dhikr*. These adoptions might have occurred during the 20th century.

are recited during *dikei* to maintain boundaries between *semanget* and ethereal people and essences.

Dikei ensoundments of healing

Functionally, religious sounds construct the ritual framework for the ensoundment of a cosmological system through music, chanting and prayer (Mabbett 1993; Harris and Norton 2002, 2). The acoustic scaffoldings of ritual also aid in dissolving people into a larger social body generating intimate relationships and upholding a phatic communion between humans and between humans and the numinous (Duile 2019; Ellen 2019). Rituals bring people together through structured actions and usually actualize the presences of ethereal beings through an interplay of sounds and silences, inducing inter-sensorial changes and altered state of awareness in participants (Remme 2018).

Dikei is a shamanic healing ritual which lasts for approximately two hours. In its short healing version it is performed after sunset for a principal patient, usually someone from the immediate settlement. When a *dikei* is performed in its “complete form,” it is a celebratory event and can cover two nights. In its completed form it is called *kelonkap*. The ritual event is held in either the patient’s house or the shaman’s house. The word *dikei* refers to the ritual event as well as the act of trancing, dancing and healing. It is an ensounded event and ritual technique bringing the two dimensions to face each other. Specific ethereal people (who could take any form) are invited to come down and help the shaman in healing with the aim to keep the dimensions apart.

A *dikei* healing ritual starts with a steady singular drumbeat of ting ting and gradually transforms into ken-ting ken-ting (the Sakai onomatopoeic expression for the rhythmic sound of the drum). The drummer plays the drum throughout the ritual, changing the rhythms of ken-ting ken-ting according to the song and the flow of events. The H-shaped rectangular house where the ritual takes place, and which symbolically becomes a physical manifestation of the cosmos, is filled with the ongoing sounds of the drum. It modulates people’s body rhythms in relationship to the event in the house. The ken-ting ken-ting rhythm of the drum vibrates through the entire house and seeps through the slats of the bark walls. All the other sounds such as the shaman singing and the sounds of his body moving, the rattler, his feet scraping the floor, and even the sounds of puffed rice hitting the floor after he throws them in a direction to honor the ethereal person, harmonize with the loud drumming forming an ongoing acoustic totality that enframes and embraces everybody present.



Figure 15.1 A *kemantat* (the late Bah Amir Tigo) in full dress with rattle made of pieces of scrap metal, Penaso (Riau) 1997. (Photo by Nathan Porath)



Audio sample 15.1

Amidst loud drumming a *kemantat* at Libo Jaya, in 1996, shakes his rattle as he calls on the ethereal Ajo Mudo Bumain Sedan/Young Raja-driving-a-Sedan, to give medicine.

Source: recording by the author.

The *kemantat* calls on the spirits through a stock of songs. Some shamans sing out loudly while others start by singing the first verse loudly but then their voice descends into a mumble. Those who do sing loudly utilize stock verse which poetically portrays the ethereal person and its movements in a locale and attach parts of well-known quatrains to them.



Audio sample 15.2

The late *kemantat* Bah Sehari opening his *dikei* by calling on the ethereal *de'o* Anak Ajo/Child of the Raja to aid in healing. Pinggir, Riau, 1996.

Source: recording by the author.



Figure 15.2 Drummer and drum, in Pinggir (Riau), 1997. (Photo by Nathan Porath)

These *de'o* spirits take the form of a bird or another animal, of objects such as a boat, or they might take a human form. The songs are extemporized word-sounds, which also utilize various onomatopoeia and other phonic devices. The extemporized word-sounds provide a moving picture of an ethereal and soundless reality. Their extemporization ensounds the presence of these beings in an ethereal environment on the other side of the dimensional divide which the shaman has a glimpse of.

The shaman then asks the ethereal people appearing before his inner eye for medicine. They provide this medicine by spitting in the healer's direction. Some *kemantat*, although not all, perform the reception of the medicinal saliva by leaping forward and landing on the spot where the medicine is assumed to have touched the floor. The thump of the shaman's falling step is accompanied with a loud dramatic yell: "Aaaaarh!" After ensounding the reception of the medicinal spit the shaman mimes its transfer to the patient's *semanget* through various silent hand gestures.

One main healing technique is the search for the patient's *semanget* (*munca'i semanget*). The shaman performs searching for the *semanget* bird as the patient sits at the center of the room and is usually covered by a cloth. Unable to see what is happening the patient acousmatically hears the performance conducted around him or her. In the background there is rapid drumming as the *kemantat* monotonously dances in a circle of eight

behind the patient. A woman in the audience will shout out to the *kemantat* to bring the *semanget* back to the patient.



Audio sample 15.3

The voice of Mak Chiri, is heard piercing through ordering *kemantat* Bah Sehari to bring the *semanget* back to the patient, Pinggir, 1997. Source: recording by the author.

At a moment when the drumming is fast the shaman suddenly leaps forward, gives a shout, “Aaarh!” and lands beside the patient and the altar. The scenario gives the impression that the *kemantat* has *lept* out of a path, which the drumbeat represents. The shaman mimes capturing the *semanget* bird. At this point there is a lot of commotion and assistants help him to wrap the bird in his cloth. The healer then starts dancing in a figure of eight again in the opposite direction holding the “bird” close to his chest carefully to prevent it from escaping again. After a while he motions to stop the drumming. Then there is a momentary quiet. The momentary cessation of the drumming produces a silence that can be heard. Voices sound very low and out of place in the atmosphere. The shaman instructs the assistants to take the cloth off the patient for the next procedure and then sits in front of the patient holding the “bird” wrapped in the bundle in his arm. The drumming resumes with a slower rhythm.

In the meanwhile, a woman in the audience (a mother or classificatory mother) puts her hand to her mouth and makes bird-like squeaking sounds. The sound is to maternally comfort the *semanget* bird as it is being restored to the patient’s body. The shaman puts his hand in the cloth-bundle and makes a kissing sound as he mimes pulling something out from it. He then targets the patient’s forehead. He makes the kissing sound again as he mimes pulling some more *semanget* from the bundle and targets the chest, and then again focusing on the thumbs, followed by the abdomen and the toes. When finished the shaman might raise the bundle to his right and then left ear and shake it to hear if there is any content. Satisfied the shaman gets up and circles the bundle over the patient’s head ending by raising and lowering it just above the fontanelle. Through sound, dance, and gesture the *kemantat* brings back the wandering air-borne *semanget* from the ethereal dimension and restores it to the patient.



Figure 15.3 Having just captured the *semanget* bird assistants help the shaman Bah Sehari to bundle it. Pinggir (Riau), 1996. (Photo by Nathan Porath)

Such healing is usually not present in a *kelonkap* event. A *kelonkap* is a celebratory event in which spectacular gifts made out of palm leaf are transferred to the *kemantat*'s tutelary ethereal guide as payment for healing aid. In some events a small gong might even be played accompanying the drumming to announce the event.



Audio sample 15.4

A gong accompanying the drumming is being hit on the first night of a *kelonkap* event in Pinggir, 1997.
Source: recording by the author.

A *kelonkap* usually covers two nights. During the first evening the ethereal beings are notified that a *kelonkap* event will be held and the *kemantat*'s tutelary is asked what gifts it would like to receive. The event (at least the early part of it before people start getting tired), is filled with sounds of joy and laughter. At certain moments during the earlier part of the event younger people and children cry out in joy, “ay ya ya ya ya eh hh.”



Audio sample 15.5

The jubilatory sounds of a *kelonkap* *Penaso*, 1997.

Source: recording by the author.

One means in which a *kelonkap* extends into the early hours of the morning, if not till sunrise is through the performance of comedy. Shamans and assistants engage in comedic scenarios. By having one foot in the human dimension and the other in the ethereal one, shamans act out comedic scenarios that entail banter and lewd teasing as well as the occasional trans-gendered scenario.



Audio Sample 15.6

Male *kemantat*, Bah Teba, performing the flirtatious female ethereal Nuk Dudy, swaying his hips from side to side in exaggeration and being teased by the women in the audience who suggest to him how he should walk and sometimes try to pinch his bottom to which he responds in exaggerated shock.

Source: recording by the author.

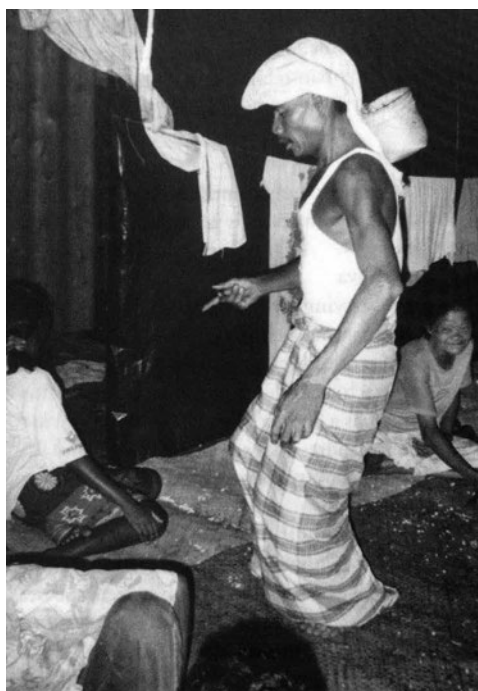


Figure 15.4 Comedic, transgendered scenario. (Pinggir) Riau, 1996. The late Pak Tabe performing the flirtatious Nuk Dudy. The headdress is how women wear their cloth when working in the fields with an “ago” (large basket) on their back. The little basket in the scenario is a tobacco pouch which this shaman always used for comedic effect to signify the basket. (Photo by Nathan Porath)



Figure 15.5 Women preparing to shake the leaves with the group of men holding the wooden poles behind them. The woman holding the leaf on the far, inner right subsequently “entered” a trance state and then danced *dikei*. The expression on her face reveals her disposition to *dikei*. Pinggir (Riau), 1997. (Photo by Nathan Porath)

Sometime during the evening of the first session seven women take hold of palm leaf fronds and sit in a circle in the center of the room. They hold the palm fronds upright and begin to shake them hard, so they rustle as loud as possible—“shhhshhhshh.” Seven men take two pieces of soft wood each, one long and the other short. They follow the shaman and jog clockwise around the women. The shaman twirls, and then turns and jogs counter-clockwise while the train of men follow him.

The drumbeat is fast. The shaking leaves swish loudly and footsteps reverberate through the floor. As this is going on, one or two of the women, who are shamanically predisposed, start shaking the leaves frantically. They fall out of synchrony with the others. In the male outer ring one or two men, similarly predisposed, suddenly leap away from the train of men and run away. At this point there is a commotion. The women who are not affected yank the leaves from their entranced companions, who continue shaking with empty hands. As their female companions release the entranced women from their monotonous gestures, the entranced women begin to ecstatically bob up and down to the rhythm of the drum. Their eyes are glassed over and their arms waving above their heads. The men chase and catch the entranced men to prevent them from running out of the house. The entranced are pulled down to the floor with a thump and are held as their



Figure 15.6 Mak Limi, a Kemantat Betino (Woman Shaman) in a shifted mode of awareness wields the staff. In the background is the *kelonkap* gift to the ethereal being of a boat made of palm leaf. Pinggir (Riau), 1997. (Photo taken by Nathan Porath)

bodies writhe under them. If the individuals concerned have previously said that they want to *dikei*, the assistants immediately pull a sarong over the entranced individuals' heads and down to their waists, at which point their movements become graceful and fall in line with the controlled movements of *dikei*. If not, they throw drops of cold water on their faces and shout loudly at them—"Aaaarh!"—to gradually bring them back to consciousness. The whole scenario—the loud drumming, the circle of women rustling the leaves as though they were being blown by some force, the men circling the women like birds around a bush or tree, the sudden entrancement of two or more people and the commotion that ensues; all of this provides an ensounded image of a numinous force descending and shooting through the center of the house. The *kementat*, meanwhile, simply hovers on the side in his shifted state of awareness, seemingly oblivious to all the commotion. Later the ethereal person notifies the shaman what gifts it would like to receive in a dream. The gift is made the following day and is offered to the shaman's tutelary for helping in healing amidst loud drumming, continuous dancing performed by many attending shamans, and playful celebratory

scenarios. In one important *kelonkap* scenario, the ethereal essence of the house's frame, symbolic of the community's boundaries, is strengthened. Amidst the heavy drumming the *kemantat* wields a staff and slams it into the four crossbeams of the house. The *kemantat* then mimes hammering nails into the beams. In this manner the shaman recreates and redefines the ethereal boundaries of the house and the people of the settlement in relation to the ethereal forces endangering it. A *kelonkap* event, which invites many people, both human and non-human, to attend, ultimately ensounds the successful separation of the two dimensions.

Conclusion

In their schematic exposition of Hebraic biblical sacrifice, Deleuze and Guattari introduce the concept of "the double turning away of face" (1987). This concept is worth exploring in relation to sounds and ensoundments. What they mean is a situation when two parties come towards each other (in confronting lines) and then engage in activities with the purpose of making a U-turn, a "double turning away of face." The notion is useful for understanding human-spirit relations in many animistic societies. In this context, I suggest that the ensoundments of magical rites and shamanic healing rituals such as *dikei*, conducted to separate non-physical beings from the human realm, are sonorous frames of "double turning away of face."

The "double turning away of face" is a turning away from a relation between interiorities which, on the physical level or the plane of multiple exteriorities, would entail illness, madness, and/or death. The sounds of shamanic rituals (even as they call upon certain spirits to help) are also fundamentally aimed at a "double turning away of face" so that the boundaries between the human and spirit realms can be restored. Although animistic ontologies are relational, those who live within them maintain their practical daily existence by keeping their faces "half turned" away from the spirits, through prohibitions, spells, and offerings, in the hope that the spirits will do likewise. Sounds are paramount in making the U-turn and healing rituals are fundamentally ensoundments of disentangling entangled realms.

The performances in Sakai healing are not just performances. They are ontological actualizations of processes occurring in the world. These processes are ensounded for the purpose of bringing the two dimensions together in order to engender "double U-turns" and ultimately keep the ethereal and the human dimensions apart.

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