

FROM THE PHILIPPINES TO BORNEO AND BACK (OR, IS IT THE OTHER WAY AROUND AND ALL OVER THE WORLD?!): THE SAMA DILAUT SANGBAY-IGAL (TRIBUTE SONG-DANCE) PERFORMANCE ACROSS REAL AND CYBER SPACES

MCM Santamaria
University of the Philippines, Diliman, Philippines
(matthew.santamaria@up.edu.ph)

Abstract

The advent of the Internet has brought about various opportunities for the transformation of the traditional arts of indigenous communities. This looks at the *sangbay-igal*, a compound performance of the Sama (aka Bajau) *sangbay* tribute song and *igal*, the traditional dance form of the people. The Internet has effectively opened a new space for performance, albeit in a virtual form. Producers of cultural artifacts from the indigenous communities in the margins of national societies are now able to reach out to a much wider if not global audience through the “uploads” of video materials. Apart from transformations in terms of the nature and contents of the artifacts of song and dance themselves, a parallel development in the creation of an “aesthetic community” in the form of a cyber-based social network occurs. Though at present still marginal in its influence across real and virtual spaces, this networks oriented towards indigenous expressions can only strengthen and expand though time.

Keywords: Igal, sangbay, performance, social network, cyberspace

Introduction

Like many other Asian artifacts such as Chinese Painting, Japanese Anime, and Korean soap opera, the *essentially* cross-border phenomenon of the Sama Dilaut *sangbay-igal* performance has breached the borders of its *locale* and has “gone global” via digitalization and its distribution in cyberspace.¹ As it moves from the point(s) of its origin across spaces, time and media, the *sangbay-igal* through a (re)new(ed) form of performance acquires nuances and effects hitherto unobserved. In this paper I examine these nuances and effects through the lenses of performance studies mainly focusing on the variables of performer, audience and performance space. I argue that the digital revolution has given the traditional

sangbay-igal a new lease in life through its transformation through the Internet as a new medium. The internet has allowed it to breach the borders of its locale, cross national frontiers, create new spaces of performances and by so doing also create new audiences with their own notions of engagement, modes and conventions of participation and even contributions to performance itself. The internet has also reduced the so called time-lapse factor in terms of release and receipt of *sangbay-igal* performance models, created new bases for the chronology of thought and aesthetics regarding the genre, and made possible both the simultaneous enjoyment of performance either through process-related co-incidence or through the enabling factor of performance by demand.

In the first part of this paper, I talk about the *sangbay*, its relationship to *igal* and explain why I have characterized it as “essentially a cross border phenomenon.” I also attempt to reconstruct an evolutionary narrative of the *sangbay* and the emergence of a new form of genre which I refer to in this paper, temporarily, as the *sangbay-igal*, by discussing technological developments that have changed its character of performance. In the second part, I briefly discuss how the digital revolution in recording sounds and moving images has led to the commodification of the *sangbay* and at the same time to what I call its de-locale-ization. In the third part of the paper, I discuss how the phenomenon of video-sharing in cyberspace, particularly in the case of YouTube, has led to a greater de-localization of the artifact and the formation of a cyber-community. I support these ideas with data coming from a content analysis of comments concerning a selection of *sangbay-igal* “uploads” to YouTube. The final part of the paper, I share some observations concerning the political geography of cyber-space, implications of technological change that bear upon the Sama community as a whole and YouTube as a new or emerging “space” for the contestation and negotiation of notions of performance in terms of ownership, identity and aesthetics.

Igal and Sangbay: Dances and Songs of the Sama

Igal is the generic name for dance among the Sama or Sinama speaking peoples of maritime Southeast Asia. It can however refer to a traditional style of dancing with its own movement vocabulary and aesthetic convention. These dances are associated with religious rituals like the *pagkanduli* and the *pag-djin* and festivities like *pagkawin* or weddings. *Sangbay*, on the other hand, is a category of Sama vocal music. *Sangbay* songs accompany *igal* dance performances in a wedding evening festivity called *pagsanding*. *Sangbay* are in essence tribute songs. They invariably extol the qualities of a dancer or a group of dancers, note the presence of important personalities in the *pagsanding*- event, or engage the dancers and the members of the audience in a “you dance as I sing out instructions” type of improvised artistic conversation. In the *pagsanding* events that I have attended, one in May of 2005 and another in November 2007, the solo singer(s) stood and sang behind the synthesizer, speakers and other music paraphernalia that were set to the right side of the stage (that is, right side of the performers as they look towards the audience) as the dancers take center stage just in front of the bride and the groom.

As the *sangbay* is not performed in any other occasion, it may be seen as a wedding-specific performance that is either tied to the *pagsanding* evening festivity or to the *lami-lamian* evenings that precede the *sandang*.² The *sangbay* performance, being a highly improvised ode to the dancer and the wedding occasion, is co-terminus to the *igal* performance. However, there can always be an *igal* performance without *sangbay* singing, but there can never be a *sangbay* without an *igal* performance. It is however my opinion that the *sangbay*, cannot be treated as a secondary artistic expression to *igal* dancing. The members of the audience evaluate both the singing of the *sangbay* and the dancing of the *igal* in terms of *bunga*³ improvisation. The former is assessed according to set of criteria which includes creative altering of lyrics, a phenomenon I refer to as “alter-lyricism,” and the latter, again among other criteria, variation in movement. Although the object of the performance is the dancer and the dance, that is, *igal* taking center stage, it is the singer of the *sangbay* who controls the length of the performance. I view them as performance cognates or “co-expressions,” each feeding off the energy of the other. For this reason, I have coined the term, *sangbay-igal* in order to capture the collaborative nature of the performance event.

The *sangbay-igal* is anchored on a template or a model of performance that is frequently repeated during performance events and is very familiar to both the singers and dancers as well as audiences. This anchoring on a template is what Ricardo Trimillos refers to as type 2 or “named piece” type of improvisation (Trimillos, 1987). In this type, improvisation revolves around the melodies of a well known repertoire of songs. Familiarity to this repertoire or canon is the key to the ease in improvising lyrics or dance movement links in any *sangbay-igal* performance. Some of the popular melodies used as templates are rather old dating perhaps to the early quarter of the 20th century. Two examples of these older pieces are “Dalling-Dalling” from a contraction of “darling, darling,” and “Sua-ku, Sua-ku,” referring to “my orange tree.” “Lolai,” and “Manis Malenggang” are relatively newer pieces, and “Tazjah-Tazjah” and “Ocho-Ocho” are appropriated templates from an Indian Bollywood movie song and a Filipino novelty song, respectively.

The above-mentioned templates of *sangbay-igal* can be found in across the borders of the Philippines and Malaysia. This template-based repertoire seems to be shared most closely by the two communities of Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi, Philippines and Semporna, Sabah, Malaysia. The *sangbay-igal* owes its cross border nature less to the transnational movement of artifact or people themselves, but more to the superimposition of territorial boundaries of two modern nation-states over a more ancient cultural habitat of a Sama Dilaut ethno-linguistic subgroup. Both the Sama of Sitangkai and the Sama of Semporna acknowledge their common bloodlines with the Sama of Semporna recognizing Sitangkai as their place of origin. It may therefore be stated that the cross border or “transnational” character of the *sangbay-igal* pre-dates the transnationalization of artifacts that owes its emergence to the more current forces of globalization. Transnationalization in the context of Sitangkai and Semporna is therefore merely a technical point involving the cross border movement of artifacts from the point of view of the guardians of relatively newly established nation-states. From the point of view of the Sama of Sitangkai and Semporna, the point may very approach the level of the *ludic* as the

“border” is an unseen phenomenon serving to delineate the abstract notion “sovereignty” of this territory from that which is simply “over there.” The *sangbay-igal* of the immediate postwar period up to the late 1990s is therefore transnational by technicality. I will return to this point in a latter section of this paper.

In the last 20 years, the *sangbay-igal* has undergone tremendous change. Up to the year 2000,⁴ an older form characterized by vocal singing and dancing to the playing of a *gabbang*, a wooden xylophone could still be seen. It appears that after the year 2000, this earlier form was slowly marginalized by the practice of singing and dancing to the accompaniment of electronic keyboard playing or a karaoke tape (lately, CD), also known as, “minus-one” in colloquial Filipino. I can only imagine the aesthetic paradigmatic shift that accompanied the adoption of new music technology. Although still percussive, *gabbang* music is quite soothing and subtle in its “tinkling” of wooden sections. Singing would not have required amplification via microphones, amplifiers and speakers, and the over all “quiet” ambiance of the music would have some influence on the dancing itself. I have also heard that in this “*gabbang*-based” performance of the *sangbay-igal* the lines of distinction between singer and dancer may be blurred by a singer who opts to dance with a particular dancer while singing a particular melody. This blurring of lines has apparently become rather most probably owing to the unwieldy condition of singing with a microphone in one hand and at the same time dancing *igal*, a dance expression that gives much importance to hand gestures. Unless lapel microphones are introduced, this singer-to-dancer transformation will probably remain rare.

As there appeared no performance of other music forms in the two *pagsanding* occasions that I have observed in Sintangkai in 2005 and 2007, it also appears to me that the advent of the “elektronika” has also pushed aside other forms of traditional entertainment such as the playing of the *pulau* or bamboo flute, the *kulintang* (graduated knobbed gong) ensemble performance and *igal* dancing to *kulintang* music notably the playing of *titik tagunggu* and *titik tabawan* pieces. However, I should proceed with caution and still note some continuities in the greater context of change. For example, *titik tabawan* has been transposed into electronic keyboard music. Although jarring to the nostalgic nativist ear, the piece undoubtedly continues to exist and is still played during *pagsanding* events. I have in fact witnessed a very unique performance of this piece in Sintangkai in the year 2005. As a synthesizer electronically reproduced the rhythmic patterns of *titik tabawan*, a player pounded on the keys with his two index fingers in obvious mimicry of *kulintang* playing. As for vocal music, *Dalling-Dalling* is still sung albeit accompanied by elektronika, with all its buzzing qualities, to a much faster tempo.

How traditional Sama music and dance aesthetics will eventually mediate the changes in performance values and practices remains to be seen. I look into the situation with the eyes of an outsider. I believe the Sama are not bothered or disturbed by these changes. Other outsiders, Manila-based scholars and performers might be appalled at the mention of changes in styles and preferences, but it is really up to the Sama to preserve their expressions in whatever form they see fit. They also have all the right to determine their comfortable pace of change. Indeed, if Manila can change rapidly, why not them?

I would still however wish to underscore a rather normative point in this whole discourse of cultural change and continuity. I believe that the Sama will be culturally richer if they will be able to preserve traditional forms and canons as they adapt new forms and styles in performance. An expansion of a repertoire, no matter how skewed towards contemporary performance styles, is still a better situation than a contraction caused by no concern for tradition or stagnation caused by the lack of innovation or creative elan. Living traditions must constantly negotiate this tension caused by the pull of tradition requiring the conservation of canon pieces and the opposite pull of innovation requiring the production of change for the sake of generational survival.

The Digital Revolution: Catapulting the *Sangbay-Igal* Tradition From the Margins of Real Space to the Flat Center of Cyberspace

In more recent years, the lowering of costs in video recording appears to be fanning the flames of a cultural revolution of sorts. Digital video cameras which use to sell for anywhere above US\$2,000 are now being sold for US\$1,000 or less. In second-hand shops in Manila, video cameras can go as low as \$300. This lowering of costs has spawned video recording business establishments worldwide. These establishments cater to a heterogeneous clientele and offer a wide range of services from video documentation and editing of student graduations, design of homepages, to the production of advertisements and even MTV-like musical productions. It is in this global context of technological change where I locate newer developments in *sangbay-igal* performance.

In May 2005, I caught a rather strange sight as I was walking down the Chinese pier of the Capital Town of Bongao, Tawi-Tawi Province. It was the evening before my transfer to the Island of Sitangkai and my team composed of the marine anthropologist, Dr. Cynthia N. Zayas, theater expert, Dr. Adelina C. Umali, videographer, Marta Lovina Prieto and informant-research assistant Hamka Malabong had some time for some evening sight seeing and shopping. As I passed by a small hole-in-the wall video shop, I caught a glimpse of two young girls dancing the wriggly Philippine *Ocho-Ocho*, a contemporary dance performed to a Philippine novelty song. What made this video strange was that the girls alternated traditional *igal* and *Ocho-Ocho*. This strange juxtaposition led to inquire about the video and to ask for other videos with *igal* movements. I later found out that the singer in the video was Sitti Aida and the two girls were her twin daughters. I also found out that Sitti Aida and her family originally came from Sitangkai. They moved to Semporna to seek greener pastures where they apparently met success and fame. Examining the VCD cover, I discovered that it was produced by Chew and Lee Ltd. based in Kota Kinabalu. It was a pirated copy and the revelation got me smiling as I mulled about the seeming constancy of “piracy” in the region.

The digital revolution has made the recording of music and moving images not only feasible but also profitable in areas that are known to be the “margins” of national life. Digital recording allows for the “freezing” of *sangbay* into transportable bits via the disc. What used to be a fully ephemeral performance can now have an electronic imprint and people removed from the performance

event and locale may now enjoy the performance as imprinted anytime via VCD play and replay. The communal property which used to be enjoyed by everyone as an ephemeral public good, can now be transformed through a medium that is replicable, distributable and commodify-able. The recorded image that results may be viewed as a different artifact by itself. It is however an imprint of the original *sangbay-igal* performance that has been transformed into a more or less durable form that in turn may be consumed as a private good.

I must however stress that the imprinted or “frozen” DVD form of *sangbay-igal* is a derivative of the performance artifact. As a framed product of a director’s gaze and a cinematographer attention, it misses out on many other sights, sounds, scents and vibrations of actual performance. For instance, the rarefied ambiance attributable to an unpredictable audience that sits, stands, talks, moves and even sometime participates in the actual performance cannot be fully captured by recording technology. Another thing that is not captured by the DVD format would be the natural petering in and out of the performance evening that is replete with its share of “highs” and “lows” in terms of performer’s energy levels as well as audience’s emotional engagement. Also, as a result of deliberate production which entails pre-selection of repertoire as well as, performers and location, the DVD form edits out repetition of songs by different singers who wish to present their own *sangbay* versions or dancers who wish to sing to same *sangbay* melodies in the same evening. In the 2005 wedding event that I attended, the song *Lolai* was presented, albeit with different lyrics giving to tribute to different dancers, at least five times. It would be quite rare indeed for commercial production to allow repetition of this scale in a single DVD or VCD product.

Table 1 summarizes the contrasting elements between the original *sangbay-igal* performance and the “digital” *sangbay-igal*. The original *sangbay-igal* is a performance that is fully embedded in the context of a wedding festivity. It privileges the present occasion as well as the “dancer of the moment.” This tied aspect of song, dance and occasion that dictates that it be a live and a highly improvised performance. Furthermore, it also necessitates a joint evaluation of the “good matching” of the song and the dance. The performance therefore considers the pairing and not the individual art of singing or dancing alone. Although the singer or dancer may rely on a set of “stock” devices of pre-rehearsed phrases or movement sequences, respectively, the resulting *sangbay-igal* is actually being composed at the moment and therefore unique to that specific pairing.

Table 1: Contrasting of Original and Digital *Sangbay-Igal*

Performance Element	Original <i>Sangbay-Igal</i>	DVD/VCD <i>Sangbay-Igal</i>
Song	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvised • Live • Tribute Present Dancer and Occasion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorized • May be Pre-recorded • Tribute to Non-present Dancer and Past Occasion
Singer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Always present • Controls Length of Performance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not always present • Subjected to Prescribed length of adopted piece

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usually also the composer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usually also the composer
Dance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvised • Undetermined length 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choreographed • Pre-determined length
Dancer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subject of the Song 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ornamental Non-subject of the Song
Performance Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Pagsanding</i> or <i>Lami-Lamian</i> Wedding-related festivities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music Video Production
Venue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actual <i>Pagsanding</i> or <i>Lami-Lamian</i> Site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location Shoot

On the other hand, the digital *sangbay-igal* performance's context is that of a music video production for profit. It is therefore disembedded from a specific occasion, performance or pairing. As such, songs are no long improvised but memorized. In some instances, the presence of the singer is no longer needed as the pre-recorded voice singing a *sangbay* may be used instead. In fact, the *pagsanding* is no longer needed as the producers graft songs unrelated to place and unrelated to the dancers. The result, although in many way still quite pleasing to many viewers, is a *Frankenstein* artifact that is made from disembedded or disembodied parts. I must note that the use of the *Frankenstein* label here has less to do with aesthetics than that with the nature of the artifact's production. Technically, the product is still a *sangbay-igal* albeit with dissonant or mismatched parts. An amusing example can be found in Sitti Aida's adaptation of Bayani Agbayani's Filipino novelty song *Ocho-Ocho*. An excerpt follows:

This song I will sing continuously
as a girl with height quite tall will dance
Her face looks Chinese and her admirers are quite a lot
Tayo'y mag ocho-ocho, ocho-ocho, ocho-ocho, ocho-ocho now
Mag ocho-ocho, ocho-ocho mag ocho-ocho... keep on

The one named Elbina, the child of Umaila
Truly a woman of skill, and your dance is much anticipated
Tayo'y mag ocho-ocho, ocho-ocho, ocho-ocho, ocho-ocho now
Mag ocho-ocho, ocho-ocho mag ocho-ocho... keep on
(*Ocho-Ocho*, Sitti Aida, translated from Sama)

Sitti Aida's *sangbay* version of the "melodic model" *Ocho-Ocho* obviously salutes the beauty and dancing skill of a woman "named Elbina, the child of Umaila," one whose "face looks Chinese" and a lot of admirers. Alas, in Sitti Aida's music video, she is nowhere to be found. Pinch-hitting as *igal* dancers for the Chinese-looking beauty are Sitti Aida's adorable twin daughters who perform a livid version of the rather sexy *Ocho-Ocho* movement with parallel-to-the-ground lower back wave, gyrations and all! Moreover, the real *pagsanding* backdrop is normally held on an open-air *pantan* platform build on stilts above the shallows disappears. In its place, a paved area of what appears to be a place adjacent to the

port and market of Semporna becomes the performance venue. In this single example, I have shown how the digital revolution in video recording has turned the documentation and cultural preservation potential of technology upside-down. Aside from its potential in upholding a canon of works, the digital revolution has also shown its potential in distortion by its ability to warp fixed time-space-artifact relations and recreating them in performance structures that ignore convention. Commodification, for now, has resulted in what I call a *Frankenstein sangbay-igal*. I expect that in time the artistic direction in the video production of *sangbay-igal* will evolve and reach greater heights. Then perhaps, song, dance and place will someday meet again in perfect consonance.

Breaching Frontiers of Real Space to Cyberspace: The *Sangbay-Igal* in the Net and the Foundations of a Virtual Community

From the discussion in the preceding sections, we can establish with supplementary information, some routes of movement of the *sangbay-igal*. In recent years, more Sama Dilaut like singers Sitti Aida and Den Bisa have moved from Sitangkai or some other part of Tawi-Tawi, Philippines to Semporna, Sabah. Doubtless along with their other talents, they carried with them their repertoire of *sangbay* and *igal*. From Semporna, these repertoires of *sangbay-igal* have been transformed into digital versions in the Sabah State capital of Kota Kinabalu. The mass production of, what I earlier referred to as *Frankenstein* artifact versions of the *sangbay-igal* in VCD or DVD format, later on, enabled not only its return, at least in the form of digitalized sounds and images of the music and dance, to the artists original place of residence but also its distribution to the rest of the world. Although the brisk sale of VCDs and DVDs already contribute to the rapid and wide (re)distribution of *sangbay-igal* sounds and images, another medium allows for its even wider and faster distribution. I am specifically referring to the medium of video-sharing in the Internet, a phenomenon that allows for a different kind of diaspora of artifact, a diaspora that is very real in spite of its virtual state.

YouTube is a website that facilitates video-sharing. It allows registered users to upload, view and share video clips, and to comment on uploaded video clips. Created in the year 2005, its existence is relatively new. Approximately, 100 million videos are watched and up to 65,000 videos were being added everyday according to company statistics in 2006.⁵ The commentary bulletin boards attached to each uploaded video compose virtual histories of discussions or comment on the uploaded video. Inarguably, they consist of rudimentary computer supported social networks (CSSN) emerging from the uploading and downloading of a particular video. The virtual community exists for many reasons. First, a community of shared interest, at least on a particular type of video, is enabled by its search engine. A user types in any topic, from Chinese painting to Classical Opera to *Igal* dance, and the engine presents a menu of video uploads belonging to that category. Second, registered users are given an identity through tag names of their choosing. This name appears along with the title of the video that they upload. Third, registered users may write in a comment or query on a particular video. This comment or query may then be “caught” by other users who may react

to it with their own comments or answers to queries on the commentary bulletin board that may be seen by all users. This initial two-way discourse may expand to three or more as other users join in the discussion.

In 6 April 2008, when I first typed in “igal” in YouTube’s search engine, the video featuring singer Den Bisa and four pairs of *igal* dancers only appeared in the third “page,” or as the 23rd entry of the menu of video bearing the word “igal.” The first entry was a “how to” video aptly titled “Hijab-How to wear Igal Hijab with Hijab cap” uploaded by Videomecrazy. It appears that igal hijab is a type of veil garment for Moslem women. Many other entries such as on the viola player Igal Braslavsky as well as DJ Igal, apparently a famous European club DJ follow the Hijab” entry.

The Den Bisa video titled “Igal Addat Bangsa Ta” was uploaded by a YouTube registered user with a tag name of zalieLD.⁶ The video does not feature a *sangbay*. Instead it shows Den Bisa singing an ode to the *igal* dance tradition and Sama Dilaut culture and customs in general. Den Bisa however dances the *igal* as he sings. He is “backed up” by four pairs of male-female dances who move in a synchronized manner indicating that the dance belongs to the *igal modern* category of choreography. The video was taken in Semporna as announced by a sign in the background” Welcome! Pulau Penyu Semporna. The video is obviously a professionally produced one that is designed for commercial consumption. The absence of the *sangbay-igal* notwithstanding, the Den Bisa entry led me to other *sangbay-igal*, *igal* and Sama Dilaut *ongka-ongka* or song entries.

YouTube automatically “relate” uploaded videos. In the upper right side corner of the screen another menu of related videos pop up that the user may choose to click on. This “second generation,” that is second because their appearance proceed from the Den Bisa video, is likewise arranged according to the number of visits or views. The videos, arranged according to popularity are as follows: “Den Bisa Tribute 4 Semporna,” “Pakiring,” “Idol Ko, Sinolayan,” “Bajau Daling-Daling,” “Maikel Tribute 4 Semporna,” “Bajau,” “Bajau Lolai Laif,” “Biraddali,” “Bajau Igal Tabawan,” “Pakiring/Dayan-Dayang,” “Koleksi Lagu-Lagu Sabah-Arjuna,” “Koleksi Lagu-Lagu Samah-Turi Sungsang,” “Tarian Limbai,” and (a rather strange and unexplainable inclusion of a documentary) “Ambitan-Reef Fishing Technique by Borneo Fishing Tribe.” What follows is a simple content analysis of commentaries from the above-mentioned video uploads.

Table 2 summarizes my categorization of comments. Some comments are clustered in two or three categories as they cover multiple topics. Of the 171 comments examined, the top three categories are about the song or the singer (58), about ethnicity or identity (35), and about the dance or the dancer(s) (18). The language-use frequency distribution reveals as much as the content does. 51 comments were in English, 18 in Tausug, 16 in Sama and 16 in Bahasa Malayu. This sampling appears to support the idea that English is the language of the Internet and by extension the language of much of the forces of globalization.

The appearance of Tausug is not at all surprising. Tausug is the dominant ethno-linguistic group in the Sulu and Tawi-Tawi Archipelagos, the habitat of the Sama Dilaut. The Tausug appear to view *igal* as either synonymous to their *pangalay* dance tradition. Several Tausug comments were made in admiration of the dancers and the manner of their dancing, *mangalay* (Tausug: to

dance). Both the Tausug and Sama Dilaut however admit that there are “differences” in their styles of dancing. The Sama Dilaut definitely disagrees with the notion that both dance traditions can be treated as one and the same. This ambiguous situation indicates a tug-o-war of sorts over the cultural ownership of the dance, a topic which deserves a separate article if not a book on its own.

Interestingly, none were in Filipino or Tagalog indicating perhaps the marginal nature of *igal* in the national and cultural discourses of the Philippines. Perhaps, Tagalog aficionados of the genre have yet to discover this particular YouTube link. It could also be possible that Tagalog or Manila-based members of this emerging CSSN simply use English as their medium of Internet communication. The true may be difficult to see at any point in time as there is a so-called “limited social presence” in CSSNs (Wellman et al., 1996). Ethnicity can only be partly revealed by language use (yes, educated Sama Dilaut speak Tausug, Cebuano, Filipino and English) as well as self-proclamation (and yes, the Internet is full of invented identities and “scoundrels” such as men pretending to be women and the like).

Table 2: Categories of Comments on the Igal-Related Video and Frequency

Category of Comment	Frequency
Song or Singer	58
Ethnicity	35
Dance or Dancer(s)	18
Video in General	14
Religion	11
Place or Scenery	7
Culture	7
Costume	1
Language	1
Others	21

N=171, multiple categories in one response assessed

Many of the commentaries on the song or singer either gives praise to the performer or thanks the person who uploaded the video for giving them the opportunity to view them in Youtube. Some are more informative and therefore underscore the “sharing” component in the website as well as the emergent CSSN. I take the following comments of Sibunnyeme from his own upload of “Idol ko, Sinolayan.” Sibunnyeme seems to have a pedagogical approach to his upload as his own commentary reeks with lecture-like quality. And this I find to be rather opportune as an outsider researcher with rudimentary knowledge of the Sama language. Sibunnyeme takes pains in explaining the title of the song by a famous female Sama singer, Hainun.

Sibunnyeme (1 month ago)

Idol ko, sinolayan literally means (in bajau)
“My idol (e.g. sweetheart) is being tested’>

Ill post the lyrics soon. Enjoy.
(Comment from "Idol ko, sinolayan" upload)

In the following commentary of Sibunnyeme, he appears to take the tone of an ethno-musicologist and proceeds to explain the category to which the song "Idol ko, Sinolayan" belongs. He calls it the "tenes-tenes." Although it apparently also improvises on the lyrics of a song, it appears to be a different category from the *sangbay*. This I take as a cue to do further examination in consultation with my informants.

Sibunnyeme (1 month ago)

For those who wants to know what kind of Music this is. It is a badjao type of music Called "tenes-tenes". The "tenes-tenes" is a Ballad whose tune changes with the lyrics. It may be sung for any occasion and by Anyone. The melody of a known tenes may Be used for a different set of lyrics. Most Tenes have a subject of courtship and love. Hainun (the singer) happens to be a Popular "tenes-tenes" singer down south (Sulu/Tawi tawi)...
(Comment from "Idol ko, sinolayan" upload)

In his last comment on the series, a series that is notably uninterrupted by other comments, Sibunnyeme starts treating the community of commentators like a support group by thanking the members and asking them to view "his" other uploaded video (not that he actually owns it, but rather "his" because of the fact that he uploaded it). He still could not help ending his commentary with another "lecture" by reclaiming for the Badjau the ownership of the song "Dayang-Dayang." The sum of comments like this one forms a real discourse of identity embedded in a virtual community in YouTube as a "place" or as a "social space" where the nexus of ideas in concert or in conflict with each other.

Sibunnyeme (1 month ago)

Thanks for all your comments. I really Appreciate 'em. By the way, please check My other vid "toro ro toro". Its also by the One and only, Hainun. She also sang the Original "Dayang Dayang". (Sorry Ilocano Folks, but Dayang Dayang" is NOT an Ilocano song. Its Badjau, FYI.)...enjoy...
(Comment from "Idol ko, sinolayan upload)

What was rather surprising to me was the frequency of commentaries relating to ethnicity. Some commentaries link song, identity and pride in ones culture such as the one below. Note how Damcee99 spells out Bajau Samal, all in

upper case and how YouTube's normative parameter of zero to five stars is adapted as a convention:

Damcee 99 (4 months)

i like this song, it has a beautiful melody, i am really proud that finally BAJAU SAMAL has come up with such a song it is really a 5 star quality. hope you guys will never stop here. keep up
(Comment from "Maikel tribute 4 semporna" upload)

It is rather fascinating how usual questions about location shooting can turn into discussions related to issues of ethnicity and seemingly self-reflexive essays on the separation of peoples due to incursions of colonial states parallel to my earlier discussion concerning the overlaying of the modern nation-state over the "natural" cultural habitat of the Sama Dilaut. I reproduce the following non-synchronic (not following ordinary linear time) conversation of randyjam 1980, Anak1 and lasainuputra at length to illustrate the weaving in and out of the theme of ethnic identity (all comments are from the "Bajau: Igal addat bangsa ta" upload):

Randyjam1980 (7 months ago)

is this video taken from malaysia or mindanao?

Anak1 (7 months ago)

@randyjam: This was obviously taken in Malaysia as opposed to Mindanao. You know why? Much better video budget! ^_^ hehehe. But still there's no denying that they are still Bajau.

Randyjam1980 (7 months ago)

anak1..... thank you for reply and hope you will upload more video. i'm from philippines and belong to samal tribes that's why the language are so familiar to me.

Anak1 (7 months ago)

Salam randyjam! thanks for your reply to my reply ^_^ I'm not Samal or Bajau but my Ma is from the Philippines. My Sabahan friend told me that there are many Tausug, Samal and Bajau in Sabah that crossed the border and are doing very well in Malaysia. I dont think there are any Bajau or Sinama vids from the Phils on youtube, only a few songs in Bahasa Sug and Yakan. The majority of Sulu music vids on youtube are from Semporna :-)

lasainuputra (7 months ago)
malaysia (sabah) race bajau)

zalieLD (7months ago)
yes. i'm gladly introduce the modern igal-igal of malaysian.

lasainuputra (7 months ago)
soory for you fact.. bajau is one race in
malaysia (sabah) so i think you wrong
about information so you can't email me for
you any information in race bajau ok..

Anak1 (7 months ago)
@lasaiuniputra: The Bajau also live in the
Philippines, in fact there are more Bajau
in the Philippines than in Malaysia. The only
reason that Malaysia is Malaysia and
Philippines is Philippines is due to foreign
colonialism of both Britain and Spain.
Before that, they were part of the same
Sultnates (Melaka, Brunei and Sulu), so its
silly to segregate people who belong to the same race.

randyjam1980 is a Samal from Sulu,
Philippines and understands the language
of this song perfectly!

lasainuputra (7 months ago)
bisa Zalie.. ka ru maka palik

lasainuputra (7 months ago)
randyjam1980... malaysia
(sabah)(semporna)(bajau songs)

zalieLD (6 months ago)
Hello everyone!
Actually, this is the mtv video for the lepa-
lepa festival this year.. All the location are
at the Floating, Semporna, Sabah,
Malaysia.. It is for the introduction for the
bajau race in sabah.. So, no doubt it is
Bajau! Yeeehaa...!

It is obvious from the above discussions that there is a premium attached to notions of culture and belonging to a certain ethno-linguistic group by YouTube users. There seems to be a very open approach in identifying oneself as belonging to a certain ethno-linguistic group or coming from a certain place. This

identification brings with it some degree of social status and legitimization in sharing certain facts or commenting on issues related to culture. How this evolves in terms of distinction and reputation will of course be subject to how the path or pathways these YouTube discussions will take. Also, I would like to note that in this case, the academically problematic label of “race” is very much present. I say problematic because of the political imagery that it brings with it, that is., at least from members of groups that have suffered discrimination. “Race” however can be conflated with “ethno-linguistic group” or “cultural community.” Alas the label is still used in official documents in Malaysia and other parts of Southeast Asia.

Due to the asynchronous nature of the discussions as well as perhaps some unevenness in English language abilities, misunderstanding and misinterpretation of commentaries nearly soured the “conversation” between Anak1 and lasainuputra. lasainuputra appears to have lost his patience as he write “...so you can't email me for you any information in race bajau ok...” Anak1 appears to snap back at lasainuputra with his response, “...so it si silly to segregate people who belong to the same race.” I say “appears to” because that is all that can be concluded without the other signs of affectation such as volume, pitch and tempo of the utterance, facial expression and the like. Furthermore, words and phrases such as “silly” or “you can't” can easily be misinterpreted when taken out of the person's real context. All these markers are absent in the text-biased communication frame of this digital bulletin board. Luckily, the seemingly strained exchange ended and zalieLD's greeting and introduction of “his” uploaded video seemed to have distracted everyone's attention. zalieLD's commentary however still echoed the previous discussion with a triumphant ending that referred once again to Sama Dilaut ethnicity. At this point, I think it is worthwhile to note the ambiguity of the term “Bajau.” The term “Bajau,” “Badjao” or “Badjaw” is a Malay/Indonesian term used to include all Sama or Sinama-speaking peoples. This would include the Bajau Daerat (land dwelling Sama) of Western Sabah, the Samal (a Tausug term) or land dwelling Sama Dileya of Tawi-Tawi and all other groups living in the coastal regions of middle maritime Southeast Asia all the way down to Flores Island. In the Philippines, the term “Bajau,” “Badjao” or “Badjaw” refers only to the Sama Dilaut (who prefer to be called Sama or Sama Dilaut). The Sama also refer to themselves depending on island or community of origin such as “Sama Siasi” (Sama from the Island of Siasi) and Sama Sitangkai (Sama from the Island of Sitangkai). The complication in labels discussed above is reflected in the following conversation between arci4125 and bunga19 (all comments from bajau igal tabawan upload):

arci4125 (1 month ago)

hi! just curious? where did Bajau really came from? Theres a lot of Bajau in Tawi-Tawi and there's a place there called Tabawan.. Aren't they the same with what they call Bajau Palao? From Palao?

bunga19 (4 weeks ago)

Hi..hmmm its quite too long to explain out the whole lot. In general the Bajau Tabawan of Tawi2 is the origin of those Bajau Tabawan resides elsewhere. Specifically the Bajau are divided according to which island they reside in Tawi2 for example Bajau Tabawan, Ubian etc. Bear in mind these Bajau can also be found in Sabah, Malaysia where their origin believed was from Tawi2. Whereas the Bajau 'Palaau' is another ethnic of the same Bajau group however being categorised as the lowest cast

bunga19 (4 weeks ago)

I suggest you to google word Bajau, Bajao, Badjao. Vast informations available on the net. Good luck

The strength of discourse that links cultural artifact and identity may be seen in almost all comment zones, that is, the uploaded video's "post a comment" site. The starting points of expanded conversations are quite difficult to identify, if not for language shifts within a comment zone. The following discussion appears to have been "ignited" by Hellkid2008, a Youtube user whose comments comes out only once:

hellkid2008 (1 month ago)

Dress nice, but I dun c any handsome & Beauty at all?
(Comments hereafter from "Bajau: Igal Addat Bangsa Ta")

zalieLD (1 month ago)

It's not about beauty at all bro.. It's about culture. About our race. About our pride. I'm as a Bajau is very proud because i'm feel the happiness. Maybe u cannot undestand about its language. But to us, it is something very meaning.. U can feel the beauty if u really know what is this video all about..

zalieLD's reaction upholding Bajau pride appears to have been triggered by the "no beauty" comment of hellkid2008 who fortunately did not bother to follow up with another comment. In the commentary that immediately follows that of zalieLD's, Hypersquid123 (and what a creative tag name indeed this user has) inquires about costume:

Hypersquid (1 month ago)

how to distinguish between bajau
and suluk? the costumes look really similar

The use of the name "suluk" immediately informs me that Hypersquid123 must be from Sabah or from Malaysia as the name used in the Philippines is "Tausug." As of research time, this inquiry seems to have been ignored by users one and all. Instead of an immediate answer from any knowledgeable user, an intriguing question about the Bajau and the Philippine State is posed:

Tique07 (4 weeks ago)

Why are Bajaus not proud of their native land the Philippines? They seem to be more proud to be in Malaysia, which is not their native land.

Although very intriguing in terms of basis for assessment, the question is not unproblematic in its reference to "native land the Philippines" as the Bajau indeed are native to the Malaysia and Indonesia as well. This dissonance in imagination can only be caused by the loose fit among the variables of peoples, places, states and borders, a problem of political geography not seeing its expression in cyberspace. The following commentary by eisprinz answers Tique07's query and implicitly corrects the problem by referring to "Filipino Badjaos:"

eisprinz (3 weeks ago)

It's less a problem of Filipino Badjaos being less proud than the Philippine government and mainstream media discriminating against them or misrepresenting them and causing an ethnic inferiority complex.

As eisprinz implicates the Philippine government and mainstream media, zalieLD puts forward in addendum that clarifies the term "native" and at the same time alludes to the peace and order problem in the Southern Philippines. Unfortunately his answer errs in citing the Portuguese instead of the Spanish or, to be historically correct, the Americans:

zalieLD (3 weeks ago)

Because bajau are natively exists in Borneo island not in Philippine. The ancestor of bajau actually have in Philippine and also sabah in borneo island in the Sultan Sulu era. But after the Portuguese take over Philippine they move to sabah mostly and still loyal with the kesultanan sulu in sabah.

In addition, Malaysia are more peaceful than Philippine.
That's why they proud of being in Malaysian.

In the upload page of "bajau daling-daling," the first comment to appear connects to Philippine dance research. The name of the first Philippine National Artist in Dance is mentioned. The comment is posted by a YouTube user with name tag of Saiaopinoi:

Saiaopinoi (5 months ago)

The same Daling-daling dance was found in Sulu by Francisca Reyes-Aquino that was later published in her Philippine Folk Dances volume 4. (Comments hereafter from "bajau daling-daling"

The uploader bunga19 follows up Saianopinoi's comment with a request:

bunga19 (5 months ago)

hmmm..sounds great. Well...have you got a copy of the video? I would love to see if you have it. cheers

This exchange, had it been extended, and perhaps it will be in due time, provides exciting possibilities since Saiaopinoi is a proven aficionado of Philippine dance with numerous uploads and bunga19 also a proven aficionado of Sama songs and dances with equally numerous uploads under his belt. Alas, it ends with the following answer of Saiaopinoi to which bunga19 has yet to respond:

Saiaopinoi (5 months ago)

It is regretable that I dont have a video of that Daling-daling version. The only Badjao I have are the Pangalay and a fan dance called Sua Ku Sua.

Fortunately, another YouTube user with a tagname of Tulangkaruk, a Malaysian as implied in his comments, and most probably from Sabah, comes in and continues the discussion once again referring to the modern nation-states of Malaysia and the Philippines, colonization and the separation of Bajau communities.

Tulangkaruk (2 weeks ago)

this bajau tribe was actually a tribe from the philiphines...if i'm not mistaken...sabah was part of philiphines before we have our nationhood.....thats y malaysia got bajau also....but many of the malaysian bajau got family there at philiphines... :)

Saiaopinoi (1 week ago)

True. Those years of colonization to both our countries separated them unreasonably. A little sad. Any, that's one great Badjao or Bajau patrimony our countries both share. :) We need to focus on our similarities that our differences.

Saiaopinoi's response to Tulangkaruk is important not only because of his agreement to the idea of colonization separating people "unreasonably," but more so in his (or her) statement of the "Badjao or Bajau patrimony" being shared by both countries. What we have, effectively, is an individual's recognition of the "transnational nature" of Bajau cultural property. Saiaopinoi follows up with an exhortation about the importance of seeing similarities more than important seeing differences. Right afterwards, Tulangkaruk agrees in return by expressing a love for Philippine language and by commenting on the sameness of some words in his "tribe's language" to that of Tagalog...truly a wonderful example of people-to-people or grassroots cultural diplomacy under the noses of the modern nation-states of the Philippines and Malaysia... all the "frame" of shared interest in songs and dances. Communication in this case is direct via the international language of English and no longer filtered by the agencies of the governments of the Philippine and Malaysian states. The users, as members of an emerging social network that may even be characterized as an aesthetic community, can seek to understand each other via a free exchange of information impeded only by the lack of knowledge of the language of engagement or psychologically closed mind frames.

Tulangkaruk (1week ago)

i love the language too...when i watch ppines drama, i found certain words in tagalog that have same meaning in my tribe language...

Similar to the unfolding of chance meetings in other social spaces such as cafes, bookstores, bars or sports clubs, shared interests in one thing lead to the discovery of other commonalities that may serve to strengthen initially weak ties among users of YouTube. In the following excerpted conversation among omarkairan, NoorMoors and abdlRAZAQ, a group of YouTube users discover their common Tausug roots, exchange greetings and information across distant spaces spanning Kelantan, Malaysia and Dubai, UAE as they wax nostalgic about Semporna, Sabah, Malaysia:

omarkairan (9 months ago)

ooohh really...sy pun org suluk,nak test???? unu in hinang mu yan duun ha UEA??? tausug ba tuwe kau yan inda'.... hehehehe

(Comments hereafter from "Maikel tribute 4 semporna" upload)

Oh really... I am also Suluk (Tausug).
What are you doing in UEA? Are you really a Tausug?
Hehehehe

NoorMoors (9 months ago)

oooic...grabe!What a small
world...MashyaAllah!!
Rupanya Tausug bakau tuwi
yan?ya,yari me ha dubai...and i am
working here..Accountant!
thanks ha pag apload mu ha...malugay
nakau dun?ur working din diyan?
hhhhmm...test pakau ha!!well,hope
well be friends...
ok salam to all...salam...
nursz;0_dubai_uae

Oh! Great!
What a small world...Praise God!
So you are Tausug?
I am here in Dubai... I am
Working here..Accountant!
Thanks for your upload...how long
Have you been there? Are you working there?
Hmmm... we will see! Well, hope
We'll be friends
Ok salam to all...salam
Nursz;0_dubai_uae

omarkairan (9 months ago)

hehehhehe...amuna sa inda',net na in
naka asibi sin dunya...uyna grabe kau
inda' accountant dun,definitely get big
income..hehehehe,yari aku ha kelantan
nanghindu ha UiTM as a Statistics
Lecturer..bagura aku di ha kelantan,b4
this working at KL..

hehehhehe...yes indeed the net has
made this a small world, hey it is great that you
are an accountant there, definitely get big
income...heheheheh, I work in Kelantan
based at the UiTM as a Statistics
Lecturer...I am new here in Kelantan, b4
This working at KL

abDIRAZAQ (9 months ago)

Assalamualaykum Brother... Good work you got there!

I am from Dubai and I do really like the way you have made the video. Its so unique that I super love it.

Keep up the good work and keep sharin to us :p ^___*

> By the way I am a good friend of "NoorMoors".

Omarkairan's reflexive comment on how the Internet and indeed the users of the Internet have "made the world small" is written in the context of community, an emergent one framed in shared interest and apparently strengthened by revelations of shared origins. It seems that images and sounds, songs and dances, via YouTube have created a new network and have reconnected a diaspora of people away from home.

Mulling The Beginnings of a Social Network in Song and Dance

Although the data that I have just presented strongly indicate the beginnings of a social network of shared interests, the question of whether this emergent community is an aesthetic community or not still needs to be raised. Although admiration and thanks have been exchanged quite frequently, critical assessments of performances so far have been rather minimal in the frequency of comments. Still, they do exist and may yet expand in terms of frequency and deepen in terms of distinction in taste. So far, the most critical assessments of dance have been made by syahjacque in an upload of "Tarian Limbai" from the Sama Kota Belud. Here syahjacque acknowledges a thank you note from YouTube user, cgujim, and then starts a normative declaration of thoughts on performance:

syahjacque (1 month ago)

welcome..its our duty to keep our
cultures alive ..n to preserved it kta
kna make sure every steps yg kta
amik is right..n to uplift the standard
of the performing art,dancers kna
taw jgak stage manners so org x
perlekeh dancers n the art itself..
mgkin skang org x paham tp
klu kta x start bla lg?..suma ni
vital to ensure our cultures n performing
arts d sabah setaraf dgn negeri or
even negara luar..good luck..keep
on loving our cultures..god bless

19productionhouse (1 month ago)

YES....thats 100% correct. maju budaya....

syahjacque (1 month ago)

it's a very good effort to show tarian
 d sabah tu...tp napa penari2 tiada
 henjutan tu..bukan ka tarian ni
 keunikan terletak pd henjutan kaki
 penari..n the dancers x hafal the
 dance sgt..siap boleh jeling2 masa
 nari..sori la klu komen aku ni
 mengguris..tp lbih baik aku ckp
 drpd org salah mengertikan tarian
 kita..satu lg the dancers x dilatih
 etika pentas ka..blum lg trun dr
 pentas da bjln..lgu msih on tp da jln
 mcm nak g psar..apapun good
 try..but next time bla nak perform
 pastikan betul2 ready..

syahjacque's passion about how a performance ought to be is quite evident. Paraphrasing and translating parts of syahjacque's first comment, it states that "to preserve culture, we must make sure that every step the we take is right," that "standards of the performing arts must be uplifted," that "dancers must know stage manners," and that it is vital to ensure that "our cultures in performing arts in Sabah is at par with that of the whole nation or even with that outside the country." The second commentary, although quite difficult to understand with the mixed language and contractions, appears to sharply criticize the performers seen in the uploaded video. Again paraphrasing and translating syahjacque's comment, the middle part apologizes for critical comments but that it is far better for the dancers to know their error, that for as long as they are on stage they should walk and move properly, and that the dancers looked as if they were "walking towards the market" although they have not fully exited, and, that although it was a good try, next time they perform, they should already know this better.

In time, I expect the commentaries of YouTube users linked by their interest in *igal*, *sangbay-igal*, and *ongkah-ongkah* songs to develop further in gaining more members, in evolving higher levels of aesthetic distinction, and in connecting to other arts and performance expressions of the so-called Sulu zone. In the meantime, this community of about 11 months of age would be most interesting to observe in terms of the push and pull of discussion themes and the weaving in and out of different types of users.

Endnotes

¹ This paper is part of a project made possible by a Toyota Foundation Grant through the Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program (SEASREP)

² My informant-research assistant says that many of the Sama Sitangkai look at the *lami-lamian* as leisurely performance “dry runs” leading to the main *sandang* event.

³ *Bunga* literally means “flower.” The term can however take on meanings like “art,” “variation,” (with *ginis* as an alternate term) and “ornamentation,” or “flourishes.”

⁴ This date was suggested by Hamaka Malabong who last saw a performance of *sangbay-igal* to the *gabbang* in the Kamahardikaan Festival of Bongao, Tawi-Tawi in the year 2000.

⁵ “YouTube serves up to 100 million videos a day online (http://www.usatoday.com/tech/news/2006-07-16-youtube-views_x.htm)” USA TODAY, Gannet Company, Inc, 2006-07-16. in YouTube from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/YouTube>) retrieved on 11 May 2008.

⁶ The uploaded video was titled: “Bajau: Igal Addat Bangsa Ta.”

⁷ For an examination of terms please see Clifford Sather (1997)

References

Books

- Alejandro, Reynaldo G. (1978). *Philippine Dance: Mainstream and Crosscurrents*. Manila: Vera-Reyes, Inc.
- Aquino, Francisca Reyes (1946). *Philippine Folk Songs and Dances*. Manila: Bureau of Public Schools.
- Bottignolo, Bruno (1995). *Celebrations With the Sun: An Overview of Religious Phenomenon among the Badjaos*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Fernando-Amilbansa, Ligaya (1983). *Pangalay: Traditional Dances and Related Folk Artistic Expressions*. Makati: Filipinas Foundation, Inc.
- Goqingco, Leonor Orosa (1980). *The Dances of the Emerald Isles*. Quezon City: Ben-Lor Publishers.
- Nimmo, H. Arlo (2001). *Magosaha: An Ethnology of the Tawi-Tawi Sama Dilaut*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Nor, Mohd Anis Md and Revathi Murugappan, eds. (2005). *Global and Local Dance in Performance*. Kuala Lumpur: The Cultural Center University of Malaya.
- Pugh-Kitingan (2004). *Selected Papers on Music in Sabah*. Kota Kinabalu: Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Sather, Clifford (1997). *The Bajau Laut: Adaptation, History, and Fate in a Maritime Fishing Society of Southeastern Sabah*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Villaruz, Basilio Esteban and Ramon A. Obusan (1992). *Sayaw: Essay on Philippine Ethnic Dance*. Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines.

Journal Articles:

- Adams, Paul. (1998). Network Topologies and Virtual Place. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 88, No. 1, pp. 88-106.
- Bauman, Richard. (2002). Disciplinarity, Reflexivity, and Power in Verbal Art as Performance: A Response. *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 115, No. 445, pp. 92-98.
- Bauman, Richard. (1986). Performance and Honor in 13th-Century Iceland. *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 99, No. 392, pp. 131-150.
- Bauman, Richard. (1971). Differential Identity and the Social Base of Folklore. *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 84, No. 331, pp. 31-41.
- Bauman, Richard. (1975). Verbal Art as Performance. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 77, No. 2, pp. 290-311.
- Beeman, William O. (1993). The Anthropology of Theater and Spectacle. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 22, pp. 369-393.
- Dyens, Ollivier. (1994). The Emotion of Cyberspace: Art and Cyber-Ecology. *Leonardo* (MIT Press), Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 327-333.
- Foster, Thomas. (2002). Cyber-Aztecs and Cholo-Punks: Guillermo Gomez-Pena's Five-Worlds Theory. *PMLA* (Modern Language Association), Vol. 117, No. 1, pp. 43-67.
- Hirsh, Paul M. (2000). Cultural Industries Revisited. *Organization Science*, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 356-361.
- Jones, Stephen. (2000). Towards a Philosophy of Virtual Reality: Issues Implicit in "Consciousness Reframed". *Leonardo*, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 125-132
- Kaplan, Caren. (2002). Transporting the Subject: Technologies of Mobility and Location in an Era of Globalization. *PMLA*, Vol. 117, No. 1, pp. 32-42.
- Kobrin, Stephen J. (2001). Territoriality and the Governance of Cyberspace. *Journal of International Business Studies*, Vol.32, No.4, pp. 687-704.
- Moore, Robin. (1992). The Decline of Improvisation in Western Art Music: An Interpretation of Change. *International review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 61-84.
- Solomon, Thomas. (1994). Coplas de Todos Santos in Cochabamba: Language, Music, and Performance in Bolivian Quechua Song Dueling. *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 107, No. 425, pp. 378-414.
- Susilo, Hardja. (1987). Improvisation in Wayang Wong Panggung: Creativity within Cultural Constraints. *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, Vol. 19, pp. 1-11.
- Trimillos, Ricardo D. (1987). Time-Distance and Melodic Models in Improvisation among the Tausug of the Southern Philippines. *Yearbook of Traditional Music*, Vol. 19, pp. 23-35.
- Valentine, Gill and Sarah L. Holloway. (2002). Cyberkids? Exploring Children's Identities and Social Networks in On-Line and Off-Line Worlds. *Annals of the association of American Geographers*, Vol. 92, no. 2, pp. 302-319.

Wellman, Barry and others. (1996). Computer Networks as Social Networks: Collaborative Work, Telework, and Virtual Community. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 22, pp. 213-238.

Other Sources:

Thomas, Deepak and Vinneth Buch. *YouTube Case Study: Widget Marketing Comes of Age*. (<http://www.startup-review.com/blog/youtube-case-study-widget-marketing-comes-of-age>) Retrieved on 4/9/2008.

Van Buskirk, Eliot. *Study: YouTube Uploaders Don't Understand Fair Use. Reclaim the Media*.

(http://www.reclaimthemedial.org/communications_rights/study_youtube_uploaders_dont_understand_fair_use) Retrieved on 4/9/2008.

Digital Ethnography @ Kansas State University,

(<http://mediatedcultures.net/ksudigg/?p=163>) Retrieved on 4/9/2008.

"YouTube," (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/YouTube>) Retrieved on 5/11/2008.

"Bajau: Addat Bangsa Ta" by Den Bisa, *YouTube*, uploaded by zalieLD on July 26, 2007. (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvEtUL_BS4w)

Retrieved on 10/8/2008.

"bajau daling daling." *Youtube*, uploaded by bunga 19 on September 21, 2007.

(http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MConNIW_XgM)

Retrieved on 10/8/2008.

"idol ko, sinolayan," *YouTube*, uploaded by skibunnyme on June 28, 2007.

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dOHXEPD7aq4>)

Retrieved on 10/8/2008.

"Maikel Tribute 4 Semporna." *Youtube*, uploaded by omarkairan on June 21, 2007.

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SkgmwKXSM3U>)

Retrieved on 10/8/2008.

"Tarian Limbai." *Youtube*, uploaded by 19productionhouse on January 28, 2008.

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T59IdWqZ2Q0>)

Retrieved on 10/8/2008.