

Extending our senses: Music, nostalgia,
space, artefact and the Mediterranean
imaginary among the Greek- and Turkish-
speaking Cypriot diaspora in Birmingham
(UK)

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Table of Contents

Table of Figures	iv
Table of Interviews	vii
Declaration	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Preliminaries.....	xi
Preface - We Cannot Change Our Past: From the Native to the Diasporic.....	xviii
<i>Saved by a Guitar, and a Fiddler in the Wolf's Mouth.....</i>	<i>xviii</i>
<i>Meanwhile, Somewhere in Birmingham.....</i>	<i>xxi</i>
<i>Outline.....</i>	<i>xxii</i>
<i>Methodology, Participants, and Ethos.....</i>	<i>xxiv</i>
<i>The Cyprus Problem: Zübeyde and Androniki.....</i>	<i>xxxii</i>
<i>Cypriots in Birmingham</i>	<i>xxxviii</i>
<i>The Cyprus Problem: In Diaspora.....</i>	<i>xlili</i>
<i>BbCs: An Apolitical Construction.....</i>	<i>xlvi</i>
<i>BbCs: Intracommunal Attachments and Differentiations.....</i>	<i>li</i>
<i>The Musics of BbCs: "It's All Greek to Me", and "It's All Cypriot to Me" ...</i>	<i>lviii</i>
Part I – Orientations and Nostalgia	1
Chapter 1 - Orientations: The Full Spectrum of Intersections.....	2
<i>Diaspora.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>"We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left".....</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Autobiographical Memory and Narratives of the Self</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>Time, (Mis)-(Dis)-Place-ment and the Formation of the New Space.....</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Liminality and the Ritual Profile</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>Nóst(os)-Algia</i>	<i>38</i>
Chapter 2 - Hüzün, The Cologne Mockingbird, the Myths, and Xenitia: Ibrahim's and Eftihios' Nostalgia.....	50
<i>Communal Connections: Ibrahim and Eftihios.....</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Yüksel Özkasap and Stelios Kazantzidis: The Cologne Mockingbird, the Proxy, the Legend, and a Mythicised Idea</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>...to Birmingham's Hüzün: via Streets of London.....</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>...to Birmingham's Xenitia: Damn You Foreign Lands.....</i>	<i>68</i>
Part II – Extending Our Senses: A Digital Diaspora In Four Artefacts.....	77
Chapter 3 - Watching the Zorba With Greek-Speaking Cypriots In Birmingham: Meanings, Pasts, and Re-Creations.....	78
<i>Introduction: "It is Not the Easiest Thing to Be a Migrant".....</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>YouTube Music Videos and Transmedia as Methodology: "Extending Our Senses".....</i>	<i>80</i>
<i>Extending Our Senses With Four Artefacts.....</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Watching the Flash-Mob With Birmingham-Born Migrants I: History, Origins, Technicalities and Gentrification.....</i>	<i>88</i>
<i>Watching the Flash-Mob With Birmingham-Born Migrants II: The National and International of a Compositional Ethnogenesis and the Two Alexis....</i>	<i>95</i>
<i>Zorba The Greek: Viewing at the Mallas'</i>	<i>103</i>
<i>Watching the Flash-Mob with Student- and British-GsC Migrants: Examining the Translocal and Transnational Through Diaspora.....</i>	<i>106</i>

Chapter 4 - What is This Irishness Within Cypriot Diaspora?	116
<i>"Ladies and Gentlemen, Tonight, Here for One Night Only, Would You Please Welcome Mr. Stavros Flatley!"</i>	117
<i>Utopian Fantasies: A Construction of Celebrities, Bricolages, Liminalities and Irony.</i>	121
Chapter 5 - <i>Mange du kebabs/Eat Kebabs</i>: Oriental Hip-Hop and Selective-Ethnogenesis in the <i>Kebabosphere</i>	151
<i>Fox News vs. Birmingham's Muslims.</i>	155
<i>Mange du kebab: Orientalism, Exoticism and Cosmopolitanism.</i>	159
<i>Selective-Ethnogenesis: Reusing Stereotypes in Striking and Imaginative Ways.</i>	170
Chapter 6 - <i>Kebab Shop: Kebab Leitmotif</i>, Resistance, and the Heterosexual Paradox of the Meat	176
<i>Oriental Trills, Menace and the Kebab Leitmotif.</i>	178
<i>Hip-Hop as Resistance and the Muslim Networks: "Ima do it my way..."</i>	183
<i>Masculinity of the Meat, and the Heterosexual Paradox of the Kebabosphere.</i>	189
<i>Last Thoughts.</i>	196
<i>Four Virtual Stories: Senses Extended.</i>	198
Part III – The Mediterranean Imaginary in Postlude	205
Chapter 7 - The Mediterranean Imaginary: Finding Cyprus Through <i>Tillirka</i> in Birmingham	206
<i>Constructing the Mediterranean Imaginary.</i>	209
<i>Tillirka: From the Native Translocal to the Migrant Transnational.</i>	215
<i>Tillirka: To the Migrant Transnational.</i>	226
<i>Tillirka Is the Mediterranean Imaginary.</i>	235
<i>Postlude.</i>	239
Bibliography	248

Table of Figures

Figure i.i: Definition and abbreviations used to describe a series of Cypriot complex identities.....	xiii
Figure 0.1: Sertun Akdogu after being attacked during the Rainbow Festival in 2010.....	xviii
Figure 0.2: Násos with the CD at the local coffee shop in Ayia Napa.....	xix
Figure 0.3: <i>The Unity Vibes Festival @ The Green Line</i> (5 September 2015) poster.....	xx
Figure 0.4: LP cover of the <i>A Pair of Olive Leaves</i> album.....	xxi
Figure 0.5: Michael (right) and Zeki Ali performing.....	xxi
Figure 0.6: Christos Christou and Salih Komurcugil during the interview.....	xxii
Figure 0.7: The Two Friends: Christos Christou and Salih Komurcugil.....	xxii
Figure 0.8: The Mallas family.....	xxvi
Figure 0.9: Ibrahim and Boren Küçükoğulları at their kebab/fish’n’chip shop.....	xxvii
Figure 0.10: Sevven Küçükoğulları at her parents’ kebab/fish’n’chip shop.....	xxvii
Figure 0.11: Plumer Osman (right) and myself at Çatalköy, Cyprus.....	xxvii
Figure 0.12: Arda performing in Nicosia.....	xxviii
Figure 0.13: Násos with his violin at his studio in Paralimni.....	xxviii
Figure 0.14: Michael (left) and Alex (right) performing.....	xxix
Figure 0.15: Androniki at her house in Larnaca, Cyprus.....	xxxiii
Figure 0.16: Zübeyde at her daughter’s kebab/fish’n’chip shop at Birmingham.....	xxxiii
Figure 0.17: Midlands Greek-Cypriot Association <i>Estia</i> ’s building.....	xxxix
Figure 0.18: A photo collage—the two BbGsC parishes in Birmingham.....	xxxix
Figure 0.19: S.S. <i>Messapia</i> in Marseilles 1969.....	xl
Figure 0.20: Celebrations during a BbTsC wedding from 1991.....	xlii
Figure 0.21: Members of the BbTsC community gathering for a communal wedding.....	xlii
Figure 0.22: 10,000 Greek-Cypriot London-based migrants demonstrating.....	xliv
Figure 0.23: LbTsC protesting footage.....	xliv
Figure 0.24: LbTsC community protesting in Central London.....	xlvi
Figure 0.25: LbTsCs protesting of being an ostracised ghost community.....	xlvi
Figure 0.26: The late Cemal Ahmet in his living room holding his saz.....	li
Figure 0.27: Helen Pavlou at Salih’s fish’n’chip shop at Cannock.....	lii
Figure 0.28: Helen, Zübeyde, and Semra.....	liii
Figure 0.29: Apostle Andrew Cathedral’s <i>Archontariki</i>	lx
Figure 0.30: Apostle Andrew Church Choir’s rehearsal.....	lx
Figure 0.31: The <i>filoptohos</i> committee of Apostle Andrew.....	lx
Figure 0.32: Apostle Andrew School students performing.....	lxii
Figure 0.33: 31 May 2013—Apostle Andrew’s Greek-school celebration program notes.....	lxiii

Figure 0.34: English translation—Lyrics of <i>1st of April</i>	lxiii
Figure 0.35: Video still of Apostle Andrew’s Greek-school celebrations.....	lxiii
Figure 0.36: <i>KralPopTv</i> logo.....	lxiv
Figure 0.37: Yıldız Tilbe performing.....	lxv
Figure 0.38: Barış Manço performing.....	lxv
Figure 0.39: Tarkan performing.....	lxv
Figure 0.40: Emre Aydın performing.....	lxvi
Figure 1.1: Portrait of Johannes Hofer (1669-1752).....	39
Figure 1.2: Title page to Hofer’s dissertation.....	39
Figure 1.3: Music to the <i>Kühe-Reyen</i>	44
Figure 1.4: <i>Ranz des vaches</i> ’ transcription.....	45
Figure 2.1: Eftihios Mallas in his living room.....	52
Figure 2.2: Ibrahim Küçükogulları posing at his fish and chip shop.....	52
Figure 2.3: Burhan Kurtbit (A.K.A. Bernie) driving.....	52
Figure 2.4: A collage picture of Cemal and Özel Ahmet.....	53
Figure 2.5: The couple’s daughters.....	54
Figure 2.6: Traditional Cypriot cinnamon cookies.....	54
Figure 2.7: A picture of Yüksel Özkasap performing.....	55
Figure 2.8: A poster portraying Kazantzidis as a Greek legend.....	58
Figure 2.9: Yüksel Özkasap’s (1969) 45 rpm single, <i>Londra Sokakları</i>	63
Figure 2.10: Musical analysis and translation of lyrics of <i>Londra Sokakları</i>	64
Figure 2.11: LP Cover of Kazantzidis’ (1963) album <i>Kazantzidis</i>	70
Figure 2.12: Musical analysis and translation of lyrics of <i>Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά</i>	71
Figure 3.1: Collage of video stills from <i>Birmingham Zorba’s Flashmob</i>	86
Figure 3.2: YouTube videos of Zorba dance flash-mobs.....	88
Figure 3.3: Michael Pitsillides performing on his violin.....	89
Figure 3.4: Video still from Cacoyiannis’ (1964) film <i>Zorba the Greek</i>	90
Figure 3.5: Author’s Analysis of Theodorakis’ (1964) <i>Zorba’s Dance</i>	91
Figure 3.6: Motif 1 (Bars 1-10) from Theodorakis’ (1963) <i>Strose to Stroma Sou Gia Dyo</i>	93
Figure 3.7: Motif 2 (Bars 1-15) from Theodorakis’ (1964) <i>Zorba’s Dance</i>	93
Figure 3.8: Christopher (right) and myself during a social event.....	96
Figure 3.9: Savvas Lambrou, “the uncle”, performing on his lute.....	102
Figure 3.10: Eftihios, sitting on his usual armchair, and Iliana serving <i>kalo prama</i>	104
Figure 3.11: Chrystala dancing <i>the Zorba</i>	104
Figure 3.12: Eftihios and Iliana dancing <i>sirtaki</i>	105
Figure 3.13: Chara during our interview.....	107

Figure 3.14: A collage of comments following the <i>Birmingham Zorba's Flashmob</i>	110
Figure 3.15: A screenshot of the mimetic flash-mob at Ledras Street.....	111
Figure 4.1: A video still collage of Stavros Flatley first audition at BGT.....	120
Figure 4.2: Tea, cupcakes, and Stavros Flatley at Chrystala's.....	122
Figure 4.3: The two sisters, Nicola (left) and Chrystala having tea.....	122
Figure 4.4: The Disneyfied Hercules.....	129
Figure 4.5: Michael Flatley performing in <i>Lord of The Dance</i> in London in 1998.....	129
Figure 4.6: Video still of Demetri's tattoo.....	130
Figure 4.7: A photo collage showing Demetris mimicking Flatley.....	138
Figure 4.8: A collage of moments from SF's performance at the BGT special.....	143
Figure 4.9: A collage of screen shots from SF's performance for the LGPB.....	143
Figure 4.10: Yiannakis and his sister Iliana dancing/imitating SF's performance.....	146
Figure 5.1: Video still from Fox News broadcast (12 January 2015).....	157
Figure 5.2: Screenshot of #foxnewsfacts tweet on 11 January 2015.....	158
Figure 5.3: Lil Maaz featuring in his video <i>Mange du kebab</i>	159
Figure 5.4: The first shoot of the <i>Mange du kebab</i> video.....	159
Figure 5.5: A timeline collage of the <i>Mange du kebab</i> video.....	160
Figure 5.6: Musical analysis of <i>Mange du kebab</i>	161
Figure 5.7: <i>Mange du kebab</i> lyrics translation.....	162
Figure 5.8: Ibrahim and Seven outside their shop at Woodgate.....	171
Figure 6.1: Video stills and screenshots' collage from the <i>Kebab Shop</i>	178
Figure 6.2: Hasandinho95's dubbed lyrics for 50 Cent's <i>Candy Shop</i>	179
Figure 6.3: Map identifying the Silk Roads.....	184
Figure 7.1: Map of Tilyrká.....	208
Figure 7.2: Arda Gündüz during our interview in Lefkoşa.....	215
Figure 7.3: Kallinikos' (1951) collection of <i>Κυπριακή λαϊκή μούσα</i> cover.....	216
Figure 7.4: Kallinikos (1951:50-51) transcription of <i>Τηλλυρκώτισσα</i>	217
Figure 7.5: Transliteration/translation of the GsC performance of <i>Τηλλυρκώτισσα</i>	218
Figure 7.6: Translation of Özgürsel TsC cover of <i>Dillirga</i>	219
Figure 7.7: Video still of Violaris' version of <i>Τηλλυρκώτισσα</i> on YouTube.....	221
Figure 7.8: The transcription Michael and Alex use to perform <i>Tillirka</i> in Birmingham.....	226
Figure 7.9: A collage of video stills from the YouTube link.....	227
Figure 7.10: Transcription of Özgürsel's (1983) <i>Dillirga</i>	227
Figure 7.11: Michael's transcription clearly re-transcribed.....	227
Figure 7.12: Screenshot of Burhan's post on Facebook.....	235

Table of Interviews

Alex Lambrou (6 April 2013, phone Interview).

Alex Lambrou (15 August 2013, Birmingham City Centre).

Alex Lambrou (9 November 2014, Skype Interview).

Anas Abbasovicz (28 May 20015, İstiklal Avenue, Istanbul, Turkey).

Andrej Kidess (19 November2012, Apostle Andrew Cathedral, Birmingham).

Androniki Myrmidoni (8 May 2013, Larnaca, Cyprus).

Arif Komurcugil (16 June 2015, Birmingham City Centre).

Arda Gündüz (18 April 2015, Nicosia, Cyprus).

Boren Küçükoğulları (20 March 2014, Edgbaston, Birmingham).

Boren Küçükoğulları (8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).

Burhan Kurtbit (20 March 2014, car interview, Birmingham).

Burhan Kurbit (12 February 2016, Skype Interview).

Cemal Ahmet (March 20 2014, Edgbaston, Birmingham).

Ceylan Küçükoğulları (8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).

Ceylan Küçükoğulları (19 June 2015, Woodgate, Birmingham).

Chara Pappoutta (17 April 2015, Larnaca, Cyprus).

Christina Petrouis Haralambous (5 April 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Christopher Mallas (5 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Christopher Mallas (8 October 2014, phone interview).

Christos Christou (21 March Cannock, Birmingham).

Christos Christou (7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Christos Michael (7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Chrystala Michael (26 March 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Chrystala Michael (5 April 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Chrystala Michael (4 October 2014, Birmingham City centre).

Chrystala Michael (7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Dassos Morby (5 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Eftihios Mallas (15 November 2012, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Eftihios Mallas (19 November 2012, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Eftihios Mallas (21 November 2012, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Eftihios Mallas (25 May 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Eftihios Mallas (3 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).
Fiif Christou (7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).
Helen Pavlou (9 October 2014, Cannock, Birmingham).
Ibrahim Küçükoğulları (20 March 2014, phone interview).
Ibrahim Küçükoğulları (8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).
Kyriacos Christou (3 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).
Kyriacos Christou (7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).
Michael Hajimichael (6 May 2016, Facebook interview).
Michael Pitsillides (19 November 2012, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).
Michael Pitsillides (28 March 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).
Michael Pitsillides (2 April 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).
Michael Pitsillides (9 November 2014, Skype Interview).
Násos Georgiou (22 April 2015, Ayia Napa, Cyprus).
Nicola Christou (31 May 2013, Apostle Andrew Cathedral, Birmingham).
Nicola Christou (7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).
Özel Ahmet (20 March 2014, Edgbaston, Birmingham).
Plumer Osman (16 April 2015, Agios Epiktitos [Çatalköy], Cyprus).
Plumer Osman (24 February 2015, Facebook interview).
Salih Komurcugil (21 March Cannock, Birmingham).
Semra Komurcugil (9 October 2014, Cannock, Birmingham).
Sevven Küçükoğulları (20 March 2014, Edgbaston, Birmingham).
Sevven Küçükoğulları (8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).
Sevven Küçükoğulları (17 May 2015, Facebook interview).
Sevven Küçükoğulları (19 June 2015, Woodgate, Birmingham).
Solomis Georgiou (19 November 2012, Apostle Andrew Cathedral, Birmingham).
Tom [Pseudonym] (7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).
Zübeyde A. Mehmet (9 October 2014, Cannock, Birmingham).

All interviews conducted by the Author.

Declaration

I, Michalis Poupazis, declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work, except as acknowledged by appropriate reference in the text. This is the only publication of this work, and it has not been submitted for any other degree at National University of Ireland, Cork or any other institution.

Michalis Poupazis

Date.....

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Preliminaries

Translations, Transliterations, and Italicisations

The process of translating... is challenging in and of itself... words and concepts cannot be directly translated... the meaning of words and concepts can also change... they may have more than one meaning in target language... regional differences [as between Cypriot dialect and Standard Modern Turkish or Greek] mean that the same word can be translated into different words depending on the speaker's geographical origin... metaphors, puns, and jokes tend to lose their meaning when literally translated (Clauss-Ehlers 2010:549).

This thesis takes the challenge of translating Greek, Turkish, Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot dialect terms into English. In certain cases, translations from other languages are also made. All translations of texts and testimonies are mine, unless cited as taken from an English edition.

Greek and Greek-Cypriot dialect words and names are represented in a transliterated form. There is no generally recognised protocol for transliterating Greek text into Latin letters; I have chosen to use already familiar versions for artists or established names and terms (e.g. Stelios Kazantzidis, *bouzouki*), and for less familiar names and terms I have used the romanisation style: *Tillirka* not *Dylirga*, *rebetica* not *rempetika*. Words transliterated are italicised, unless they are names of people or geographical entities. Titles of songs, albums, bands, and literature are also italicised. Turkish (or French) words remain non-italicised, as their alphabets are Latin-derived (so *hüzün*, not *hüzün*). Also non-italicised are Greek names and words when these are written in Greek letters, with the exception of titles: the original of *bouzouki* is written *μπουζούκι*, but the Greek title of Kazantzidis' (1963) song *Damn You, Foreign Lands* is given as *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά*. The same logic applies to musical terms; thus Turkish *makam* but Greek *laika* songs (Λαϊκά τραγούδια, meaning the popular songs of Greece). Italicisation is also used from time to time for emphasis.

Translations and transliterations are thoroughly explained at their first appearances, and frequent reference is made back to these initial definitions; therefore, a glossary has not been felt to be necessary.

Challenges beyond the ones stated by Clauss-Ehlers (2010:549) above come from the utterance of the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot dialects adding new vocabulary. An inevitable outcome of bi-communal living in the island of Cyprus was the bilingualism apparent pre-1974 in mixed areas such as Louroujina (Greek: Λουρουτζίνα; Turkish: Akıncılar), Tilyrká (or, Tillirya; Turkish: Dillirga; Greek: Τηλλυρία, or Τηλλυρκά), the peninsula of Karpaz, or Karpasia (Greek: Καρπασία; Turkish: Karpaz), and Paphos (Turkish: Baf; Greek: Πάφος). In non-mixed villages it was common for Turkish-Cypriots to be able to communicate in the Cypriot dialect of Greek, as in modernity Greek has been the official language in the island (An 1999:32). I have also made the same observation through septuagenarian and octogenarian Turkish-Cypriot participants in my research, who were all familiar with certain Cypriot Greek dialect words. However, Greek has not always been the official language of Cyprus; during the “Ottoman reign Turkish was the official language in everyday life, although Greek was used more widely in commerce and communication” (Gökçeoğlu and Pehlivan 2006:85). There is a plethora of linguistic studies around the Cypriot dialect phenomenon, each with its own viewpoint, and I suggest the reader refer further to these fine volumes (Giangoullis, 1994; İslamoğlu, 1994; Scharlipp, 1998; Hakeri 2003; Öztürk, 2003). Most recent has been the publication of the *Joint Dictionary of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Dialect* (Hadjipieris and Kabata, 2016), a bilingual dictionary of 3,500 commonly used Cypriot words, celebrating the Cypriot dialect as arguably the island’s indigenous language (Mirbagheri, 2010). Yet more interesting, and more challenging, is when bilingualism homogenises into a new form of linguistic communication (Konur 1938:23), a challenge faced by this thesis in general, especially in Chapter 7.

History, religion, and Cyprus’ current political status generate blurred and complex engagements, which reflect on language but also fragment identity definitions and denominations for modern Cypriots. It seems appropriate to clarify here the cultural, ethnic and geopolitical distinctions perceived for and amongst Cypriots in general. In modernity, some adopt a multitude of labels for themselves and others, including Turkish, Turkish-Cypriot or Turkish-speaking Cypriot (there is a similar set of Greek-labelled equivalents), thereby shaping Cypriot identity worldwide à la carte. Figure i.i provides descriptors for these complex identity groupings, which will be used throughout this thesis, and I suggest the use of a bookmark here until the abbreviations become familiar. I have chosen to refer to Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots as Greek- or

Turkish-speaking Cypriots (GsCs, or TsCs), as an exercise of the general ethos bounding this work (which I explain in detail in Chapter 1).

Figure i.i: Definition and abbreviations used to describe a series of Cypriot complex identities.

Abbreviations	Definitions
TsSMs [★]	Turkish-speaking Sunni Muslims
TsCs	Turkish-speaking Cypriots
BbTsCs	Birmingham-based Turkish-speaking Cypriots
BBTsCs	Birmingham-Born ^u Turkish-speaking Cypriots
GsOCCs	Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian Cypriots
GsCs	Greek-speaking Cypriots
BbGsC	Birmingham-based Greek-speaking Cypriots
BBGsCs	Birmingham-Born Greek-speaking Cypriots
BbCs	Birmingham-based Cypriots
BBCs	Birmingham-Born Cypriots
[★] The final <i>s</i> in any of these abbreviations signifies plurality, and when used without (e.g. TsSM) it refers to a singular person or group. Additionally, the same logic might apply when describing London-based (or any other geography based Cypriots (e.g. London-based Cypriot can be found as LbC). ^u Birmingham-Born Cypriots include what are commonly known as the second and upward generations of migrants in a generalised form, as distinct from the first-generation Cypriot-born expatriates. Note the use of the capital B to distinguish this abbreviation from the following one.	

Further Cypriot dialect terms are used to describe other entities. For example, GsCs both in Cyprus and in diaspora use the term *kalamarades* (καλαμαράδες) to identify people from *motherland* Greece. *Kalamaras* originates from the word *kalamari* (καλαμάρι, meaning squid, a former source of writing ink), and originally signified mainland Greeks who were formally educated as opposed to the then *uneducated* Cypriots. This also exemplifies GsC exoticism and philhellenism towards *the motherland*, which will be a running theme in this thesis. Similar terms are used among TsCs, but further Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot dialect denominations will be explained as they arise.

Some Terms and Clarifications

As in any academic work, especially a prolonged one like a doctoral thesis, many technical terms are used here. This section aims to elucidate ones otherwise taken as read throughout the thesis, leaving others to be explained when apropos to a particular section.

With the utterance of music extending in modernity into a complex web of discourses, scholars have tried to coin terms that cover as many of these as possible. Perhaps the most obvious would be Christopher G. Small's (1987) *Musicking* (book title), with which he wanted to highlight that music is a process (verb), not an object (noun). Small aimed to cover all musical activity—composing, learning, producing, listening, and performing—irrespective of its professional or non-professional personnel or environment. His impact was immediate; many academic works found in 'musicking' a term which would save them profound work-space, but also open up much more through binding together complex meanings. However, I have observed through intense academic usage a commodification of Small's term that turns its initially verbal nature into a body of derelict meaning, leaving 'musicking', in my understanding, now linked with confusion rather than clarity.

Within a thesis that itself encompasses musical activities with so many movements, discourses and meanings, a term of a musicking nature seems almost compulsory. Not having the academic inspiration to generate a new one as Small did, and to avoid the fade-out that 'musicking' has had, I will be engaging with the classic (and oft-forgotten) term 'praxis' (from ancient Greek *πρᾶξις*). Its utterance dates back to the ancient Greek Aristotelian philosophies, where it meant *doing*, but through time its meaning has expanded variously in different schools of thought. Here, it is used in a Marxian way to denote the multifunctional extents and dimensions of human actions. By *migrant praxes*, therefore, is meant the dimensions that music inhabits within the community, not only as a listening habit, but actively or passively (multifunctionally) as a social, political, psychological phenomenon—and indeed, a nostalgic one. Praxes include actions, feelings, expressions and memories. Musical praxis revisits Small's musicking in a verbal manner and without losing or confusing its meaning—on the contrary, having the ability to append even more transient notions, like cultural memory.

Cultural memory can evolve into real or invented traditions (Hobsbawm, 1983)—something explored in Chapter 1—and remains a continuous diasporically experienced observation, causing mostly young British-Cypriots to go to great lengths to form identities or practices perceived as authentic reflections of past times and places. This selective invocation and representation of cultural heritage—another way of "heritaging" (Blommaert 2013:4-7)—brings about a new intercommunal ethnologic reality and understanding, causing a series of 'selective ethnogeneses' as a new ethnos

evolves. This term 'selective-ethnogenesis' will be applied in this thesis co-extensively with 'ethnophaulism':

A. A. Roback has proposed the neologism "ethnophaulism" (derived from Greek roots meaning to disparage an ethnic group) to refer to group insults. Since there is apparently no other available word we will use "ethnophaulism" specifically to mean a racial or ethnic group's derogatory nickname for another (Palmore 1962:442).

Emigrants/Immigrants/Migrants: The Older and Younger Generations

Two key, contiguous constituents of this thesis are migration and cultural memory. It made sense to me to start understanding cultural memory in migration in the same way as I have approached the subject of memory in general. I started by informing my research with psychological works, and a collection of essays of prime importance was Ramaswami Mahalingam's (ed; 2006) *Cultural Psychology of Immigrants*. Reading that decided me to use the term 'migrant' as opposed to 'emigrant' or 'immigrant', as a way of tackling the problems I have seen caused through the derivative terms.

I sympathised with this book right from its preface (xi-xiv), where Mahalingham depicts twenty-first-century transnational migrant life realities through the diversity of migrant students in her Michigan classroom. The author's studious turn to migrant psychology within cultural psychology is very pertinent to the broader frame of this thesis, and also compatible with exploring how cultural memory expands to the migrant self as constructive memory (discussed in more detail in Chapter 1). A criticism would be of Mahalingham's choice of using the term 'immigrant' as opposed to 'migrant'; this, I suggest, narrows down the functions and praxes that diasporas globally have, especially in the transnational diversity and transbordering movements of today. In defence of Mahalingham, she chooses 'immigrant' as the essay collection examines immigration to the US. However, I strongly believe that the word migrant would apply better, as all of the essays, even if they have an intra-US geo-cultural focus, still apply very generally, as I aim for this thesis to do.

Another source of discontent with migrant studies is the numbering of generations to group their collective praxes. In our case, first-generation migrants would correspond to Cyprus-born BbCs, second-generation migrants would be their Birmingham-born

children (BBCs), the third generation their grandchildren, etc. The complexities that arise in denominating groupings from that point on are obvious. I am not here rejecting the usage of this generational numbering in approaching migrant meanings by classic studies; I am, on the contrary, suggesting learning from it and updating this dated categorisation for the contemporary migrant, a New Age Traveller suspended in contemporaneity in a contingency of transnational tropes. Classifying group observations by generation-numbering does not reflect the communal truth; a first-generation migrant aged seventeen has rather different socio-politico-cultural praxes to one aged fifty, and fifty-year-old who happened to migrate to Birmingham as an adult has different praxes to one who migrated as a child.

Collectivity in socio-politico-cultural praxes is better assigned to age groups. This BbC reality, along with the complexities of ordinal numbering, convinced me to use two different and less complicated categorisations throughout my thesis: 'older-generation migrants', representing BbCs aged from their late-forties onwards, and 'younger-generation migrants' for BbCs between their teenage years and mid-forties. If for any reason a migrant eludes both these categories, this will be noted when it occurs. Unless stated elsewhere, young/old migrant analysis will be carried both in disjunction and in juxtaposition.

Musical Denominations

If linguistics and fragmented ethnic identifiers have complex interrelationships, the musical denominations used in this thesis are similarly Gordian. The Ottoman denominations that I am engaging with can either be assigned to the traditional Ottoman-Byzantine, the Greek-*demotica* (δημοτικά) adoption of the Ottoman terminology, or the *laika bouzouki*-centred and *rebetica*-derived terminology. Ottoman denominations for tetrachords that use the Western European temperament might raise some eyebrows; nevertheless, they are common practice among *laika* musicians.

Over the years I have accumulated a substantial bibliography on this topic, and have encountered no author who uses a regular moderation bridging these theoretical schools, leaving this chicken and egg debate unresolved. To explain this clearly, a specific example is required, such as my analysis of Mikis Theodorakis' (1964) famous *Zorba's Dance* tune in Chapter 3. In his wheel of the Middle Byzantine modal signatures, where he replaces them with the alternative signatures (*enechemata*) of earlier

Byzantine music theory, the Greek poet and Orthodox Byzantine chanter Chrysanthos of Madytos (c. 1770–1846) links the signature of *plagios devteros* (chant) with the *enechema* of the *mesos tetartos* (chant), naming it *echos legetos* (ἦχος λέγετος). When I analyse the transaction of *Zorba's Dance* from Form A to B, therefore, *houzam makam* might be argued to be incorrect terminology. *Houzam* can be said to be the equivalent of the Byzantine *echos legetos* with a “small tone” (to translate the traditional Byzantine theoretical term) between the first and the second pitches, resembling the Western European Phrygian, and no tritone between the first and the fourth; Murat Aydemir (2010) in his reference book on the Turkish makams verifies that. Similarly, Haralambos Pagiatis (1987) in his book about the Greek *laikoi dromoi* (equivalent to the Ottoman makams), describes a Phrygian-like musical structure in which the augmented fourth is described as an element of the *Pireotikos dromos* in Greek-*laika*, which also has an augmented second between the first and the second pitch. There is a tritone, usually conceived as a diminished fifth, in *sabah* of the *laika*, *demotica*, and Ottoman music systems; and a tritone conceived as an augmented fourth in *nigris* (*hicaz* with added tone), in *segah* between the first and the fifth, and again in *kartcigiar* as a diminished fifth between the first and the fifth pitches (Aydemir, 2010). For Risto Pekka Pennanen (1997:76) “the *dromoi* in question here are *rast*, *houzam* O-3 (Ottoman *makam segâh*) and a modification of the latter, *houzam* M-l.” What Pekka Pennanen does in his article is to customise theory and make his own classifications, somewhere in between the Ottoman makam system and its *laika*, *bouzouki*-centered and *rebetica*-derived terminology.

One might also choose not to refer to complicated Byzantine and Ottoman music forms, when what we essentially have here is a riff-formed dance piece where the different motifs are related, though not in a context of intensifying music energy, and not as parts of an architectural structure of the grand form. This is a broader debate. Similarly, one might then argue that *Zorba's Dance* is—to put it bluntly—a chromatic use of the same motifs. Nevertheless, I engage in my analyses with a mediation of all the above, in a similar (if not identical) way to Pekka Pennanen's, analysing the composition in a way that makes sense of *all* of the aforementioned schools of musicology, rather than with an aphorism of blunt musicological denomination.

Preface

We Cannot Change Our Past: From the Native to the Diasporic

Saved by a Guitar, and a Fiddler in the Wolf's Mouth

“They saw our guitars and went for us. I was protected by my guitar on my back, which was smashed to bits, but as I covered my head, one of them stabbed me in the side” (Sertunc Akdogu’s Interview in PIO, 2015).¹

Five years on, Cypriot-born Turkish-speaking musician Sertunc Akdogu spoke thus about being brutally beaten and stabbed by Greek-speaking Cypriot nationalists² at a



Figure 0.1: Sertunc Akdogu after being attacked during the Rainbow Festival in 2010. Source: KP Daily News

music festival in Larnaca. The Rainbow Festival (November 5, 2010) in Larnaca aimed to send unifying and activist di-ethnic messages; instead, it resulted in Sertunc and his fellow musician Serhan Oncal being trapped in a side-street by ten masked, black-clad men armed with knives and baseball bats while trying to escape a riot which broke out, ironically, during a speech on diversity (PIO, 2015). Sertunc in turn launched a €2m civil lawsuit against the Republic of Cyprus for failing to protect its citizens during the attack.

Violence against musicians in Cyprus is not limited to Greek-speakers attacking Turkish-speakers. Musicians seem to be constantly caught in the Island’s vicious di-ethnic circles, mostly due to their efforts in the front line of activist gestures and performances that infuriate nationalists from both sides. On April 22 2015, I was visiting fellow Cypriot-born Greek-speaking musician Násos Georgiou in Ayia Napa for a catch-up coffee (as Cypriots do). Násos is a very talented professional folk fiddler and a constant research informant since my MA years. Our bond and rapport is strong, enabling him to testify to personal moments with music that otherwise would remain untold.³ At the time I was working on an audio review for the ICTM Yearbook (Poupazis 2015:223) of an album by

¹ <http://www.thecypriotpuzzle.org/tc-seeks-from-the-republic-of-cyprus-2-million-e-damages-for-racist-attack/>

² Then the “Hellenic Resistance Movement”, nowadays the political party ELAM.

³ I will discuss in more depth Násos’ profile latter.

the *Cyprus: Famagusta Municipality Magem Folkdance Group: Traditional Songs and Dances* (2013), a collection of twenty-four traditional Cypriot dance tunes evidencing the special character of the music of Turkish-speaking Cypriots. The actual CD case did not go down well with Násos: the liner notes included a Turkish flag and many references to Turkish musical traditions, as opposed to the Turkish-speaking Cypriot



Figure 0.2: Násos with the CD at the local coffee shop in Ayia Napa. Source: Author

ones which were in reality its context. “Why did they have to place the Turkish flag there, aren’t they Cypriots? I can guarantee to you that all the tunes are very much Cypriot folk songs on this album,” Násos said. His spontaneous frustration then fuelled a confession about an experience he once had which I had never heard myself, though we had known each other for years and shared many tales of our awkward performance experiences.

I had a Turkish-Cypriot acquaintance... one of those Turkish-Cypriots that want to live with us peacefully... he arranged for us to go and perform up north in Agios Sergios.⁴ We went there in great spirits... the venue was a large restaurant.... we saw lots of Turkish and Northern Turkish administration flags, and I thought to myself, ‘Wait a minute, this is organised by Turkish-Cypriots, so what are the *Turkish* flags about?’ ...I had done my research by asking my father who was born in a mixed village... what kind of tunes they used to listen to back in the day, so we could please the crowd. So we started performing... After a couple of songs, a security man, with a Turkish flag on his chest, approached me and said, ‘I know what you are doing here, so stop it, stop performing Greek songs and start immediately playing Turkish ones’. I was flummoxed... I had noticed that while some members of the audience really enjoyed it, the majority were dissatisfied... at one of the tables that there were lots of officials and a kind of a VIP section with lots of elite.... It was then we realised that the guy who arranged the gig for us was trying to sabotage a gala event for Derviş Eroğlu,⁵ and the restaurant was packed with Grey

⁴ Greek: Άγιος Σέργιος—now known as (Turkish): Yeni Boğaziçi.

⁵ At the time, the nationalist Prime Minister of the Northern administration of Cyprus.

Wolves.⁶ I saw a guy taking out a knife! I ran as fast as I could, probably the fastest I have ever run in my life; like an athlete. We got into our car and were chased all the way to the Green Line.⁷ We were so scared! I never told this story to anyone... I don't want people to think badly of Turkish-Cypriots.... So, my friend! I am perhaps one of the few musicians who has performed within the wolf's mouth; the Grey Wolf's mouth! I am sure you can't beat that!

Regardless that Sertun is lucky still to be alive due to the protection of his guitar, while Násos dodged the edge of the knife because of his athletic abilities, both stories epitomise that the bi-communal conflict that is still a lived twenty-first-century reality within the island, even for musicians who intend performing for peace and diversity. Whether their post-violence reaction leads to civil lawsuits for handsome compensation or a reflective approach of not advertising the story in order to avoid further interethnic hatred, the truth remains the same: we cannot change the past but we can work towards changing the future. In Násos' words, "I will keep on trying and I will always perform for Turkish-Cypriots any chance I get. In this way I will remind everyone of our joined and shared musical heritage."



Figure 0.3: *The Unity Vibes Festival @ The Green Line (5 September 2015) poster.*
Source: Michael Hajimichael

It is also noteworthy that several other bi-communal musical events have been very successful far from the brutalities of nationalists, promoting peace in peace. Not quite all of them are folkloric. I am familiar with a few such projects through Michael Hajimichael, an activist musician, poet and fellow academic, who is also the leader and conductor of several of them. An event that reflected the diversity of musical genres beyond folk was *The Unity Vibes Festival @ The Green Line* (5 September 2015), which featured bi-communal Cypriot Reggae DJs, bands and musicians performing for peace and diversity, including Michael himself, at the Home for Cooperation in the

⁶ A Turkish nationalist organization, variously described as ultra-nationalist or neo-fascist (Sullivan 2011:236–237).

⁷ The de facto border between the two parts of Cyprus.

buffer zone opposite Ledra Palace in Nicosia. Figure 0.3 is rather telling. In 2003, Michael also released the LP *A Pair of Olive Leaves* (Figure 0.4) with TsC musician and poet Zeki Ali (Figure 0.5), epitomising creative togetherness while recording in different studios across the Green Line. As Michael said, “at the time this was very tricky... but we did it...” (6 May 2016, Facebook interview).



Figure 0.4: LP cover of the *A Pair of Olive Leaves* album. Source: Michael Hajimichael



Figure 0.5: Michael (right) and Zeki Ali performing. Source: Michael Hajimichael

Meanwhile, Somewhere in Birmingham...

...my phone rang late one afternoon in the spring of 2014 during a research visit. It was Christos Christou, a BbGsC in his mid-forties, and a relative of mine. In contrast to some of the GsCs I have met during my time there, Christos shares warm feelings about his Birmingham TsC compatriots; as he had said to me in a previous conversation, he grew up with them. The majority of BbGsCs ‘laudably’ define their identity as GsOCC migrants in the UK, thereby detaching themselves from TsCs. Christos’ father was originally from Mazotos (Μαζωτός), a village near Larnaca shared harmoniously before the conflicts by TsC and GsC natives, but during the conflicts a red zone of the GsC attacks on TsCs leading up to the war of 1974. Christos spent most of his childhood summers in the village in its peaceful days before his father passed away, and this perhaps might explain his divergent perspective.

This was a call I really looked forward to, as I knew that as well as providing a plurality for my narrative data it might change the course of my research. Christos is a father of two boys married to a BbGsC wife, Nicola Christou, and according to the TsCs he is the

binary equivalent of a rumcu—a TsC who mixes with GsCs—making him, as some GsC nationalists would say, a *filotourkos* (φιλότουρκος, friend-of-Turks). However, up until that afternoon Christos would never confess (at least on record) to his turkophile notions, since for a member of a small migrant community it would perhaps carry a risk of ostracism. On 21 March, he called to invite me for a coffee (as Cypriots do) at the Cannock fish’n’chip shop of his dearest TsC friend, Salih Komurcugil, saying, “I believe you would find our conversations interesting.” And indeed it was one of those groundbreaking ethnographic moments we have all been trained for, when I realised I could now understand, metanarratively, how Cypriots in Birmingham draw on cultural resources to summon up a remembered or imagined home. A utopia, perhaps, that reflects the structure and placement of twenty-first-century Cypriots in the contemporary world; but also a journey through memory sites from tradition and past to modernity and future.



Figure 0.6: Christos Christou and Salih Komurcugil during the interview. Photo: Author



Figure 0.7: The Two Friends: Christos Christou and Salih Komurcugil. Photo: Author

Outline

The focus on two Cypriot diasporas in Birmingham and their study combines perspectives from the arts, humanities and social sciences to better understand how both GsCs and TsCs structure their place in the contemporary world (both in native and diasporic contexts). In prioritising the aims of this project, the most pressing matter would be doing interpretive anthropology, *via* an ethnomusicological work, for the modern Cypriot di-ethnos worldwide. Commonly perceived as antithetical ethnic

entities, TsCs' and GsCs' migrational development pathway has in fact led to the reinforcement in diaspora of a considerable amount of shared heritage and cultural memory. One might now begin to present them as convergent groups within a single ethnos, though others, who espouse national romanticism, might argue otherwise. Within these ethnic and spatial complexities and in ordering the project's aims further, this thesis looks to reveal bi-communal migrant truths as they are extended in the formation of human and musical metanarratives, and found in the collective enaction of selective ties to *home* and the memorialising of family and community and their structure. This is objectified through music-infused memory sites/moments and the individual narrative, as analysed within social flows that occur in relation to memory-evoked performative behaviour across a range of settings, contrasting findings with patterns seen among native Cypriots and in Cypriot communities worldwide.

While music is the cornerstone of the study, I am sensitive to its role as a means of mediating and *tuning* other aspects of diasporic (and secondarily, native) cultural life. Music interplays (and competes) with culinary practices and with religious/political discourses in actualising memories from homeland Cyprus. And, of course, music can equally point to other locales and be future-oriented or be used to integrate the self into ways of life perceived as British or non-localised, so my thesis follows the full spectrum of intersections between music, memory, and the diasporic imagination.

Firstly, in beginning to outline this Preface, I have to clarify that it departs from what a traditional preface is—a short piece stating my subject, scope, and aims. Instead it comprises a longer body of work, which does all of the above but also provides findings, analysis, and ethnographic-infused discourses. Together with Chapter 1 (following), they map out and orient the reader in pathways necessary to be explored before arriving at the analytical parts of this thesis. In the section following, not only do I explain the methodology I have engaged with (throughout all stages in the making of this project), but also my personal attestation behind it. And in doing that, an exegesis of my own placement between research, being partially native, and any perceivable (ethno)romanticisms unfolds; a personal declaration. However, the majority of this Preface examines the history of Cyprus itself in togetherness with music as a cultural resource which mobilises the modernity found within the island to the diasporic paths of first London and then Birmingham. In doing that, the di-ethnic Cypriot community in Birmingham and its broad musical praxes, are thoroughly described.

After orienting the reader (Chapter 1) and describing the ethnos in question (Preface), focus turns to the notion of nostalgic musical ends (Chapter 2), before dispersing into multifarious cyberspatial artefacts (Part II); finally, native and diasporic practices are compared in juxtaposition with Cyprus' Mediterranean appeal (Part III). All these passages come to illustrate an extension of senses filtered through a methodological alignment of multi-spatial distributions: in a continuous dialogue of the ethnographic reality, historical, philosophical, literal, real, imagined and metanarrative, all in understanding and practising contemporary ethnomusicology and its transnationalisations.

Methodology, Participants, and Ethos

Here, a methodological synopsis is given and the thesis' general ethos is explained; theoretical discussion and a literature review on the discourses raised here are in Chapter 1.

My ethnographic experience of Birmingham-, London-, Larnaca-, and Lefkoşa- (Λευκωσία/Nicosia) based Cypriots during 2012-16 has contributed to my view that contemporary ethnomusicology requires particular methodologies to safeguard its rigour. Sites of memory, history, the importance of the individual agency, modern life rituals, and an unboundness of spatial alignments have provided me with insights on the relationship between music and truth, as a contemporary form/suggestion for doing interpretative anthropology. This interpretative relationship has been explored in both native and diasporic environments and experience, which in conclusion is bounded in its (east) Mediterranean appeal as the *Mediterranean Imaginary*.

One cannot claim to be doing interpretive anthropology without re-evaluating and perhaps updating Clifford Geertz's (1973) *then* postmodern re-evaluation of Gilbert Ryle's notion of "thick description." In my turn, I endeavour to follow Geertz's ethos of *what doing ethnography is*, thus *thickening* the already thick descriptions apparent in most ethnographic research today. I will take as read what Geertz did and what he means by "thick description", and simply state that I have aligned myself throughout the design, implementation and analysis phases of this project with postmodern moves in achieving what I have called the *thicker description*.

This postmodern approach becomes most apparent through my exegesis of understanding and approaching musical analysis as a metanarrative; of linking the conscious and unconscious *self* in order to unfold a grand narrative of truths, meanings, and significances. And yet the totality of the collective expression as a grand narrative is merely the sum of a series of selective and individual *little narratives*. These have been perceptible since the enlightenment era, and were examined by Jean-Francois Lyotard's (1979) in his *The Postmodern Condition*. Therefore, I adopt this classical discourse of the *little narrative* (using the term as Lyotard does himself, as "a discourse of legitimation"—Ibid:xxiii) and as this crops up throughout my work in contemporary connotations and exegeses, which manifest as "le petit recit"; Lyotard's meta-narrative viewpoint noted as "a quintessential form of imaginative invention" ("Le 'petit récit' reste la forme par excellence que prend l'invention imaginative").

Twenty-first century discussion of postmodernism is not the easiest of tasks, as there is a notion that its discourses trended and bloomed during the late twentieth. Its perceived decline as an 'ism', and the fact that Lyotard's (2009) postmodern scholarship on music has perhaps not received appropriate attention from contemporary scholars (Leipert, 2012), make it harder still. Though it has its flaws, I am a strong believer in postmodernism as *the new reality*—a work in progress, at least within my own field of ethnomusicology, and a worldview that is cycling back into vogue. New ethnomusicological scholarship tends to address rather intellectual postmodern topics, and one might say that the rising generation of ethnomusicologists uses irony as a defence against commodification, to overcome the field's kitsch preconceptions. This argument echoes the character of Lyotard's *Postmodern Condition* for my work; Lyotard "presents us with significant methodological operations" of narrative analysis, a contemporary tradition currently trending in academia and ricocheting through disciplines debunking their "discourses of legitimation", as Lyotard calls the "totalising philosophical traditions" of the late twentieth-century. Lyotard's response to that is not to look simplistically at postmodernism as a period following the modern era, but as an immortal fact, "a cyclical moment that returns before the emergence of ever new modernisms in the stricter sense" (Jameson in Lyotard, 1979:xvi).

These more labyrinthine discussions on postmodern narrative moves belong to the later, analytical phase of my work, where many components intertwine in order to find meanings. Here, I will take these components one at a time, beginning by looking into how *the little narrative* is carried in the field. In its ethnographic instantiation and

translation, it turns into the individual story, sophistication, and imagination of participants. This is where autobiographical memory and the individual agency find significance in my thesis, as two of the prime constituents discussed further in Chapter 1. Yet, things are not so straightforward here, either, as the twenty-first century human is in turn extended on the webs of many labyrinthine tropes of life, from internal and existential crises to externalised trans-realities and movements in crisis.

These crises suggest either using a focused methodological (ethnographic) approach or concentrating on examining specific cultural resources—or both, as this thesis does. I have decided to focus on the individual during the ethnographic leg, in a manner that would give me a socially, gender, generationally and di-ethnically balanced sample. I have therefore focused on people in their broader family formations, following two families of BbCs, the Mallas (GsCs) and the Küçükoğulları (TsCs). Prior knowledge of the importance of family and family bonds amongst Cypriots blended with an appreciation of the benefits of *the family* in an ethnographic context, as showcased in Ruth Davis' (2010) work and observations on Jacob Bsiri's family elsewhere.

The Küçükoğulları and the Mallas

My affiliation and research with Cypriots in Birmingham started by looking at how notions of musical tradition, identity and nostalgia are expressed amongst the migrant GsC community (Poupazis, 2013), and it was not until late 2013 that I started building rapport with Turkish-speakers through my BbGsC gatekeepers. The smallness of the BbTsC community (around 700-800 people) and the hesitancy of many to participate in my research due to my Greek-speaking background have imposed difficulties. Eftihios Mallas (age: 70), the patriarch of the Mallas family, is my uncle, and has lived in Birmingham since 1949. He is married to Iliana (age: 64), and father to Nicola Christou



Figure 0.8: The Mallas family—left to right: Nicola Christou, Iliana Mallas, Eftihios Mallas, and Chrystala Michael. Photo: Author.

(age: 41), Chrystala Michael (age: 38), and Christopher Mallas (age: 44). The latter lives in London and his participation was not as intense as the rest of the family's. Nicola and Chrystala are married, extending the Mallas' family circle. Nicola is married to Christos Christou

(age: 45, introduced above) and they have two sons, Kyriacos (Kiri) 18 years old, and 13-year-old Eftihios (Fif). Chrystala is married to Christos Michael (age: 41) and they have three children together: Yiannakis (age: 7), Iliana (age: 9), and Lulu (age: 5). In Birmingham, the Mallas are considered one of the most socially recognised GsC families.

The Mallas' intracommunal involvement is vibrant, and each adult individually has been a member of BbGsC committees throughout the years (e.g. Sunday Greek-school, Church committees, etc.). This has encouraged a significant number of other migrants to participate in this study, mostly Greek-speakers but also a few Turkish-speakers. I have already described above how their interethnic relations worked in the case of Salih and

his family, who I met through Christos, and in Chapter 2 I will explain how it was through Eftihios' connections that I ended up meeting the other family central to this study, the Küçükoğulları.

Ibrahim Küçükoğulları (age: 53) is married to Boren (age: 54), with whom he has two children, Ceylan (age: 27) and Sevven (age: 25). I was introduced to Boren's parents Cemal⁸ and Özel Ahmet (age: 81) via Burhan Kurtbit (a.k.a. Bernie), while Ceylan and Sevven were also there. After that I met Ibrahim, the family patriarch, at his fish'n'chip and kebab shop in Woodgate. I have spent endless hours there talking with them about the BbTsC community, and the food and music of Cyprus. Our bond was instantaneous, and their contribution to this study invaluable



Figure 0.9: Ibrahim and Boren Küçükoğulları at their kebab/fish'n'chip shop. Photo: Author.



Figure 0.10: Sevven Küçükoğulları at her parents' kebab/fish'n'chip shop. Photo: Author.



Figure 0.11: Plumer Osman (right) and myself at Çatalköy, Cyprus. Photo: Author.

⁸ Mr Cemal unfortunately passed away during the writing of this thesis, on 8 April 2016, at the age of 88. I would like to thank him and acknowledge his input to my research in his memory.

and critical. The Küçükogullaris' intracommunal connections linked me with another important TsC participant, Boren's uncle Plumer Osman (age: 66). Plumer is now repatriated and lives at Çatalköy (Άγιος Επικτήτος, Agios Epiktitos), with his wife Tina (Boren's relation) since 2003. Plumer spent most of his years in Birmingham, where until 1995 he acted as the communal secretary (he was also the first known TsC migrant to put together an organised communal event in Birmingham Civic Hall, his wedding). Plumer had also a migrational passage to Romania for two years, 1995-1997, before re-(re)-locating to Birmingham until 2003. He is an individual who epitomises the transbordering tropes of today, and why the utterance of 'migrant' in academic writing appeals more than 'immigrant' and 'emigrant'. I also met with Plumer in Çatalköy, and he quickly turned into my gatekeeper in the northern part of Cyprus.



Figure 0.12: Arda performing in Nicosia. Photo: From Arda's personal archive.



Figure 0.13: Násos with his violin at his studio in Paralimni. Photo: Author.

It was through both the Küçükogullaris and Mallas that I encountered the musicians participating in this project. (In the case of Arda Gündüz—a Lefkoşa (Nicosia)-based folk musician—it was Plumer who introduced us.) Arda is the only TsC musician who agreed to take part, and the fact that there are no musicians (even amateurs) in the BbTsC community narrows this side of my sample to Arda himself. For BbGsCs, things are different. Iliana introduced me to a set of young

musicians in Birmingham in their mid-30s: fiddler (φκιολάρης/*fkiolaris*) and vocalist Michael Pitsillides, and lutenist (λαουτάρης/*laoudaris*) Alex Lambrou, who jointly represent Cypriot folk music in Birmingham (a role they inherited from Alex's father, Savvas Lambrou, before he repatriated to Cyprus). This traditional Cypriot folk musical pairing is known as the *zygia* (ζυγιά literally means joined together). A third GsC musician who played an important role is Násos Georgiou, whom I have already introduced

above. In following the Mallas back to Cyprus in 2012 for a family wedding, I met Násos, who was performing during the groom adornment ritual (Poupazis 2013:68-88; 2016). Násos, a Paralimni-based fiddler, has since then been a constant research source.

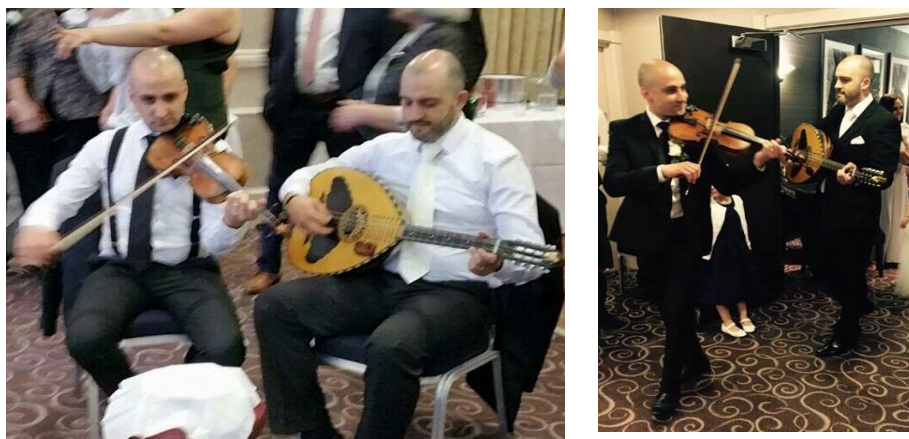


Figure 0.14: Michael (left) and Alex (right) performing as a *zygia* during a communal wedding at Birmingham. Photo: Author.

These participants (and others introduced later) represent a long list of interviews undertaken, a large part of the making of this thesis. These have been collected from frequent visits (usually of 10-day duration) to Birmingham and Cyprus. Narratives deriving from interviews are thoroughly cited and used with interviewees' consent. Recorded participant ages refer to the time of the interview, unless stated otherwise; those given above are as at September 2016. All names attached to the narratives are real unless participants have chosen to remain anonymous, when a pseudonym is assigned and noted. In maintaining a *natural* ethos and rapport with them, several interviews took place either during participant observations (and some developed into group interviews or even impromptu focus groups—see Chapter 2 on watching Michael Cacoyiannis' film *Zorba the Greek* [1964] with the Mallas); others were arranged interviews in semi-structured or unstructured format. Photographs were taken of some participants', with their consent, though as others were a little camera-shy the photographic sample is far from balanced.

As another postmodern move of *doing ethnography* and achieving *thicker description*, I have partly disengaged from classic ethnomusicological layouts where field research is foregrounded before being analysed and then discussed. I add to these classic ethnomusicological pathways by looking at the ethnographic instantiations of the philosophical, empirical, historical, translocal, transnational, and literature components of the artefacts examined, which is why I refer to this thesis as an ethnographically-

infused body of work instead of an ethnography. I believe that this is a necessary step in giving a holistic and *thicker description* for the modern Cypriot (or any other ethnic group for that matter). The multi-sited approach I have chosen grows from this research ethos, but also enables “paraethnography” as another way “to identify forms of knowledge, analogous to ethnography, that can be found within the discourse of our research subjects” (Reichmann 2011:549); these can be tangible, transient or intangible memoirs or even testimonies. The multi-sited approach also threw my research-self into other postmodern realms, such as an “arbitrary location” (*sensu* Candea 2007:167). This breaks the bounded locale of *traditional* anthropological praxes, but is a vantage point for the wider complexity of Cyprus’ di-ethnic musical and general behaviour.

Ethos and reflexivity

Born and raised in Larnaca, Cyprus, and having been an amateur musician there myself, in many ways I embody the journey this thesis takes, experiencing all the aforementioned local realities surrounding music-infused moments and musicians’ struggles since migrating to the UK and then to Ireland (though in terms of activist praxes only; my physical integrity has never been compromised, unlike Násos’ and Sertunc’s). As a Cypriot expatriate I have observed behavioural differences between native Cypriots and Cypriots of the diaspora. Academically, I have attempted to throw light on such unexplored music-linked pathways, partly through my MA research (Poupazis, 2013), and yet I felt I was only halfway there, especially after my colleagues’ experiences and my own back in Cyprus with projects and performances that explored di-ethnic discourses. This thesis emerged in pursuit of a holistic approach towards the Cypriot diaspora in the UK.

Reflexivity around the inevitable facts of life has been (and still is) a normalised praxis for me, being a GsC myself, undertaking research on my extended family, and navigating the complexities that the Cypriot di-ethnos entails. My extended BbGsC family accommodated my research and made their household my research quarters, my “British house” as Auntie Iliana keeps on saying. The Mallas family also provided a generationally heterogeneous sample of migrants raised in Birmingham who experienced migration at different times and from different perspectives. My kinship with the Mallas has unarguably facilitated, influenced and advanced the process, and questions of ethnographic reflexivity have therefore surrounded my immersed interaction and observations with them, as an outsider and researcher who also has an

insider's emotional attachments to the narratives recovered. Defying the demonization of ethnocentrism, romanticism, and relativism as forbidden ethnographic fruits, I embrace these notions and emotions as ethnographic tools, making a narrative rather personal to me—my family's life—also an academic case study.

When these -isms threatened to turn into crises, my professional *self* engaged with ethnographic practices evaluated and validated *via* reflexive self-critique (Clifford-Marcus, 1986), utilising Pillow's (2003:175) four themes of "reflexivity as recognition of self", "reflexivity as recognition of other", "reflexivity as truth", and "reflexivity as transcendence." Prior reflection on participants' likely ethnocentricity conditioned my approach methods, enabling me to recognise and isolate similar tendencies in myself. There were some ethnographic moments in the making of this thesis where I had to separate my research persona from my own family in the field. As a partially native researcher, I took an ambiguous stand as a "chameleon" (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1987:182), a chimaera of native and researcher, while aiming to avoid the false complaisance criticised by Geertz (1974:27) under the term "myth of chameleon" in his critique of Malinowski's (1967) *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*.⁹

Even if the above sounds taxing, my biggest challenge has been dealing with the complexities that the Cypriot di-ethnos entails. Working with an ethnic group that contains so much inter- and intra-ethnic fragmentation while also dealing with neo-national romanticism of *two* kinds (related to the two super-cultures of Turkey and Greece) is not easy, and as the next sections describe, it becomes even more complex when the diasporic layers are added. Most, if not all, ethnographic studies on Cyprus seem to have a political worldview that becomes obvious while reading them; yet none has ever clarified their ethical approach from the outset. With no intention of questioning those studies' reflective and ethical norms, I will declare my own outlook here, as I believe that no-one should underplay such. Where the two super-cultures raise Greekness and Turkishness, I would like to discuss Cypriotness. In attesting this movement I also align this thesis' ethos with the majority of TsC and approximately half of GsC beliefs, who subscribe to Cypriotness and reject any political inputs from elsewhere; in short the ones who believe in *the homeland* (Cyprus) as an independent nation state and not in *motherland* (Turkish/Greece) paraphernalia. In one sense, politics are of little concern in a study that projects cultural artefacts, and yet discussing

⁹ Geertz (1974) critiques Malinowski as being a 'bad' chameleon, who is outwardly pleasant to his research subjects while treating them disrespectfully in his diary.

politics in depth is inevitable when studying Cypriots, as the next sections attest; therefore, how I ethically align this thesis is important as a distinctively indigenous cultural and social praxis on behalf of Cypriots, even if these might be heavily influenced from the *other*.

The Cyprus Problem: Zübeyde and Androniki

Stepping back before migrating our attention to Birmingham, we need to understand and revisit the history of the Island. One country, two sides, two super-powers, three exclaves, four people groups and a lot of confusion: If you do not know a thing about Cyprus, all you need to appreciate is that it is a Mediterranean island with lots of good wine, culinary and nature adventures, but also with lots of landmines which track down its conflicted past and present with barbed wire lines that trace its current division. The more complex the division, the more challenging it is to explain its status. Even if this Preface explores more rigorously the modern history of the island (1960+), which consequently lead to its partition, the problem of the perception of competing ethnicities/identities goes back much further.

A cultural element of ‘Greekness’ has persisted in Cyprus since the 1st millennia bc when cities began to be built, including Phoenician Kition on the site of modern Larnaca. From 1185, Catholic culture under the invading Franks (and, later, the Venetians) failed to prevail over Greek Orthodoxy (which traced its roots to the mid-first century ad foundation of the Cypriot church). A further invasion ushered in Ottoman rule from 1571 to 1878, punctuated in 1765 by a revolt by Greek- and Turkish-speakers, who at that time coexisted and functioned as compatriots. Cyprus came under British political control from 1878, ultimately gaining independence in 1960. Although it is hard to trace and empirically prove the impact of these pre-modernity historical migrations to Cyprus, the *then* ‘new’ (im)migrants, e.g. as cultural administrators/opinion formers, were also the ones who would be likely to make reference to Greek and Turkish tropes rather than those of Cyprus itself. Such migrating *new* tropes might be seen as local rather than national/imperial. For example there are folkloric accounts explaining how the interest in studying the musical tradition of Cyprus stemmed from broader cultural investigations by nineteenth-century schoolteacher-philologists (Christodoulou-Ioannidis, 1987). Most of these where migrants from motherland Greece and might have thought they were protecting Greek purity, say, by insisting on or encouraging certain kinds of cultural practice. Due to the lack of TsC folklore/archives, parallel Ottoman

equivalent examples remain untraceable, however, they are very much evident in the competing ethnicities/identities that shape Cyprus' modern history.

Modern historical fundamentals will be covered in this section using the stories of two elder Cypriots—a BbTsC septuagenarian, Zübeyde Arif Mehmet, and Androniki Myrmidoni, a native GsC octogenarian from Larnaca. For a more rigorous analysis of these, I forward the reader elsewhere (Poupazis 2016:151-164). Here, these events will tune our discussion towards the process of cultural resources (semantic or intangible, permanent or transient) transforming, adapting and acquiring new cultural competencies required by creative interethnic negotiations (and not always pleasant ones). When musical, they turn into a series of complex and confusing echoes in the native and its inner borderlands—the green line dividing South from North in the Island—interwoven with something that feels rather innate.

We got along great before politics got the better of us. My late husband worked with and had lots of Turkish [implying TsC] friends, who all loved him a lot! (Androniki Myrmidoni—8 May 2013, Larnaca, Cyprus [age: 82]).

I remember before the war, we used to have lots of Greek [implying GsC] friends. I still do, and also made new ones since I have moved to Birmingham (Zübeyde Arif Mehmet—9 October 2014, Cannock, Birmingham [age: 70]).



Figure 0.15: Androniki at her house in Larnaca, Cyprus. Photo: Author.



Figure 0.16: Zübeyde at her daughter's kebab/fish'n'chip shop at Birmingham. Photo: Author.

Four decades after the 1974 Turkish *military offensive* (*sensu* Turks) or *invasion* (*sensu* Greeks) in Cyprus, Androniki (Larnaca) and Zübeyde (Birmingham) reminisce like many native and migrant elders about an island where politics did not define life. Life on the Island and in its diaspora has come to oppose such romanticisms, and portrays political discourses as

determinative of everyday life. This politically-infused phenomenon has, since its mid-twentieth-century beginnings, been termed by both the Turkish- and Greek-language Cyprus popular media *the Cyprus problem*. The antecedents and aftermath of 1974 still compromise contemporary choices for natives and migrants, and music, as an extension to cultural discourse, follows this.

Although the trauma of 1974 partitioned the island into northern Turkish- and southern Greek-speaking areas, the Cyprus problem has in reality developed over a longer time. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (2012:4) discuss this development in four stages: “anti-colonial [British] struggle, interethnic and intra-ethnic violence [amongst and between Turkish- and Greek-speaking Cypriots], postcolonial instability, war [1974] and external interventions [East and West]”.

There were fights with the Turks in Nicosia initially, then the politicians were fanaticising the people and at the end we divided into two pieces. In the meantime we had the English in our way! By 1974 the Turks came and took our lands... [sad tone] (Androniki).

Religiosity and nationalistic undertones between GsOCCs and TsSMs created conflict in early twentieth-century Nicosia; by mid-century, incidents of conflict had spread throughout the island, now with nationalist overtones. During the colonial period, from 1878 until 1960, Cyprus’ population was 18% Turkish- and 80% Greek-speaking natives. The Greek-speakers’ preponderance caused them to desire *enosis* (ένωσις, union): to unite the whole Island, TsCs included, with Greece. In reality what this managed to do was to sow the seeds of an antonym—*mirasma*, (μοίρασμα, meaning division)—as now TsCs reacted with a firmer stand for *taksim* (Turkish: taksim, Greek: τὰξιμι), a di-ethnically used word meaning division into two states.¹⁰

Attention to Cypriot cultural resources waned almost completely during that period, as both GsCs and TsCs started creating Turkish- or Greek-Cypriot identities, and in some extreme cases (still visible today) simply Greek or Turkish, leading to involvement with resources coming from *the motherlands* Turkey or Greece rather than their indigenous heritage. Also, focus was now drawn to the political and military arena, leading to the marshalling of the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) in 1955 among

¹⁰ This has a distant etymological relationship, though no contemporary semantic connexion, to the Arabic musical term *taqsim* (also rendered τὰξιμι in Greek; Turkish: taksim) denoting a melodic musical improvisation prior to performance; both derive from the Arabic trilateral root قسّم (*qsm*), meaning ‘to divide’.

those Greeks, countered by the Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT) three years later among *those* Turks. (By *those* here is implied GsCs or TsCs who espouse nationalism and consider themselves purely Turkish or Greek; and by indigenous heritage I mean the shared cultural body of TsCs and GsCs.) What was at that time a matter of dark pragmatism can now in retrospect be seen as the most sterile period ever for indigenous culture in Cyprus.

In 1960, somewhat against the nationalistic tide, Cyprus become an independent republic. Under the presidency of Archbishop Makarios opinions like Androniki's and Zübeyde's found a short-lived shelter; but the interethnic antagonism of *those* Greeks and *those* Turks was still in full pursuit of *enosis* and *taksim*i. These anti-reconciliation tendencies erupted in a series of further violent interethnic incidents, during which the Turkish-speakers received most casualties and suffered the most at the hands of *those* Greeks. Play on the Cold War chessboard brought the United Nations to Cyprus in 1964 as an anti-violent answer to the interethnic conflicts. After a successful three-year campaign, and in contrast to developments in mainland Greece (where a military junta took power), the UN eased tensions and contained *those* Greeks' enotic ambitions.

They came one day banging violently on our door shouting Antonakis' [her husband] name. 'Come out you *tourkospore* ['Turkish-breed' implying friend of the Turks]!' They then took him after kicking him many times. I was so scared, terrified that they will kill him as they had guns with them! They took him into a prison like a criminal, all because he was *aristeros* [left-wing politically orientated]. The horror we went through until they let him go I cannot describe, my son [very sad tone] (Androniki).

By the late sixties and early seventies, people like Androniki and her husband were caught up in intra-ethnic violence from *those* Greeks, who by then comprised a minority extremist nationalist group still committed to *enosis*, calling themselves EOKA B. *Those* Greeks now also started terrorising Greek-speakers loyal to the di-ethnic Republic of Cyprus. In 1974, EOKA B launched a coup d'état against Archbishop Makarios, which resulted in war that eventually divided the Island into the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)—formally established in 1983 and still internationally unrecognised except by Turkey—and the remainder of the Republic of Cyprus in the south.

Cypriot society and its indigenous culture are now to be lost and found within a post-1974 fragmented contemporaneity. Some key occurrences since then are: 2003, the TRNC's lifting of intercommunal mobilisation restrictions; 2004, the Cyprus Republic joins the European Union with the TRNC being excluded; and UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's referendum of the same year on uniting the Island (accepted by the majority of Turkish-speakers and rejected by the majority of Greek-speakers). All these occurred alongside ongoing political negotiations to resolve the problem on the basis of a bi-zonal and bi-communal federal arrangement.

Music and modernity

The long-lived geo-ethnic separation of the island has inevitably generated different socio-cultural representations on each side of the border, most of them involving a censorship that extrapolates from narratives of how to tell the *truth* about the historicity of Cyprus. "Such narratives were for years politically and officially manipulated for the corresponding 'national struggles' in each community" (Psaltis et al. 2014:65). Twenty-first-century scholars (see Yiannis Papadakis [2008], among many others) have warned that history education is politically driven in both north and south Cyprus, manipulatively nurturing philhellenism or turkophily. *Those* Turks and Greeks have now found an opportunity to exploit the vulnerability of other Cypriots and politically weaponise education and the media. It is somewhere among these fragmentations and confusions imposed on Cypriots like Zübeyde and Androniki that their narratives become derelict, leaving the younger generations of Cypriots warming towards their *motherlands'* resources instead of revisiting and reviving their indigenous ones, of *homeland* Cyprus. It is no coincidence that no *new* traditional Cypriot music exists, only recoveries of former traditions; and these again bring censorship into the equation, a phenomenon that will have been thoroughly explored by the end of this thesis.

Indigenous musical culture has also been a toy of manipulation during the years of separation, and this manipulation maps onto a series of socio-cultural binary divisions (rural/urban, working class/elite) as well as the interethnic divide. Avra Pieridou Skoutella's (2007) work with Greek-speaking elementary school children in urban and rural areas of the island reveals how these dichotomies extend into the musical practice and customs of the modern Cypriot adult. Skoutella reveals the development of fragmented national musical identities as the outcome of "ideological messages children

receive from their musical enculturation contexts” (251). In adulthood, these *ideological messages* mature into adherent expressions of musical enculturation contexts and intercommunal narratives, connecting indigenous (or better traditional) Cypriot music to the political left and Turkish or Greek popular music to the right. (Western popular music also attaches to the right).

Cypriots, as part of their modernisation process, are keen to portray to outsiders their ‘Westernized’, ‘highbrow’ side. Urban/rural distinctions have their *motherland* affiliations as a reference point, since the island’s educated elites have always encouraged Greek or Turkish nationalism. Desiring to portray themselves domestically and internationally as an educated, European elite, Cypriot natives also generate a blurred Turkish/Greek/Cypriot identity mix that runs through their cultural, and thus musical, behaviour (Poupazis 2013:32-33). Such discourses have migrated with Cypriot expatriates to all corners of the world, including Britain, Cypriots’ preferred destination; and of course, people take their musics with them into their new locales, whether these are imagined or tangible. Looking for natives who believe in Cyprus being a peaceful republic independent from Greece and Turkey implies looking at Cypriotism; “The stronger Cypriocentric views of this position suggest aspirations for building a superordinate community of Cypriots as a form of civic identity that includes both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and readiness to use this purpose Cypriot symbols rather than ‘motherland’ ones” (Psaltis et al. 2014:67-68). These are the pro-reconciliation people who would like to defragment and clarify what Cyprus is, with its own indigenous culture, ethos and social values, and with its politicians all working towards this. This thesis’ political ethos lies here, in the cluster of Cypriotism and pro-reconciliation; the heritage path that people like Zübeyde and Androniki hoped we as the next generation would take.

Yet, these contemporary pragmatisms, discourses, and realities have not always existed around music in the island, especially for indigenous music making; Androniki and Zübeyde’s yearning for a Cypriotist ethos once echoed through the indigenous musicality in the island. Musical performance in Cyprus before the island’s *mirasma* was an ecumenical resource in di-ethnic experience. However, as post-1974 folkloric studies have always been driven by romantic nationalism, their records are rather confusing and alienating, reverberating with the political agendas described above. Post-1974 GsC folkloric studies might argue either that Cypriot folk music has a clear Cypriot character (Tompolis 1980), or a clearly Greek origin (Yiangoullis, 1999), and some folklorists even

contradict themselves at different stages of their careers (Averof, 1989; 2001 and Giorgoudes, 1999; 2004). This epitomises the blurriness that has circumscribed Cypriot folk music, as since 1974 both TsCs and GsCs have followed the musical tropes and traditions of their respective *motherlands*. When I started my research on Cypriot folk music in 2011, these folklore literatures were the only place to look (besides the field). Since then, though, more academic works have begun to emerge, some of them taking a much more ethical and balanced stand in finding roots and routes, explaining the history, the modern story, and the technicalities of Cypriot folk music (Poupazis 2013:50-52; 2015:161-163; Papadakis and Hatay 2015:24-32).

Technicalities necessary for the analytical phases of this thesis will be covered during their application; Chapter 7, for example, will introduce a series of Cypriot folk music genres and subgenres. However, Cypriot folk music is only one of the constituents that complete the modern Cypriot musical mosaic, which is also replete with Greek and Turkish popular music genres, and like any other modern society, much influenced by global pop genres (e.g. hip-hop). These, too, will be given the necessary attention during the analytical parts. Most, if not all of these modern native musical praxes do migrate with the Cypriot New Age Traveller, as the next section describes.

Cypriots in Birmingham

The diasporas of GsCs and TsCs have moved similarly through time; from an island that has timeless bonds with transbordering Mediterranean tropes, of Muslim and Christian trade routes and New Age Travellers, and of acute migration in modernity. Cypriot diaspora has therefore been normalised from its *pasts*, while in its *presents* it is very much realised through Cyprus' twentieth-century history. Its expatriation movements then were massive compared to the island's capacities, mostly, as a natural post-colonial praxis, to Britain—a form of Cypriot affinity with their colonial *heartland*. Cypriots who eventually settled in Birmingham have also undergone another form of diaspora, as they first settled in London (the only port linked with the island of Cyprus) before re-locating to Birmingham; a diaspora within a diaspora, one could say. Birmingham, one of the UK's most ethnically diverse cities, is home to approximately 12,000 GsCs but only 700-800 TsCs. This numerical asymmetry figures throughout my ethnographic approach and archival recovery of historical facts, but also in migrant realities (something which surfaces during the analytical chapters). The BbGsC community appears to be much

more structured and collectively organised than the TsC one, which is in comparative disarray and is less a felt reality for its members.

BbGsC

The approximately 12,000 BbGsC form two Greek Orthodox parishes: Apostle Andrew, and Apostle Luke and Holy Trinity.¹¹ As noted elsewhere (Poupazis 2013:27-30), the



Figure 0.17: Midlands Greek-Cypriot Association *Estia*'s building. Photo: Author.



Figure 0.18: A photo collage illustrating the two BbGsC parishes' locations in Birmingham (on top)—left to right: Apostle Andrew Cathedral, Spaghetti Junction, Greek-Midlands-Assosiation logo (*Estia*), and Apostle Luke and St. Trinity Church. Photos: Author, except Spaghetti junction: Old UK Photos (2013) [Online], Available: <http://www.oldukphotos.com/WARW1%20CKSHIRE-BIRMINGHAM3.HTM>

parishes' institutional interrelations are ambiguous; cultural events tie them together, mainly weddings, and national/religious celebrations held at the Midlands Greek Cypriot Association's *Estia* (Ἑστία, meaning *the home*) next door to Apostle Luke church. Greek-Cypriot migration to Birmingham began in the early twentieth-century in search of industrial employment. There have been three main waves of GsC migration to the UK: in the early twentieth century colonial era; post-colonial, after the mid-twentieth-century Greek-Cypriot EOKA insurgency against British rule (Oakley, 1987; Mavratsas, 1997; Papadakis, 1998; Bryant, 2001); and after the 1974 Turkish invasion of (or offensive on) the island.

¹¹ Mr. Costas Petrouis, Honorary Consul of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) in Birmingham, gave me this estimate on 14th November 2012. Apostle Andrew parish church's full title is the 'Cathedral of the Dominion of the Mother of God and St. Andrew the Apostle', and Apostle Luke's is the 'Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity and St. Luke'. The church of Apostle Andrew became a Cathedral in consequence of being the first Greek-Orthodox establishment in the Midlands. I use the names 'Apostle Andrew' and 'Apostle Luke' to describe the two parishes in the same way as migrants do.

The S.S. *Messapia* brought thousands of Cypriots to London after independence, and became mythicised in the process.¹² Most settled in the capital, but cheaper housing drew a few to the poorer areas of Birmingham such as Aston and Erdington. After achieving financial stability, they partly acculturated (c.f. Israel's [2002] *Diasporas Within a Diaspora*) and spread out through the suburbs. Research participants testify that younger-generation migrants children swelled the community a little, but that most



Figure 0.19: S.S. *Messapia* in Marseilles 1969. Photo: Marcel Gommers (1969).

growth came through further migration from within their homeland ménages. Birmingham's Greek-Cypriots came from villages near Larnaca, first Mazotos (Μαζωτός), then Aradippou (Αραδίππου), and others later on, especially post-1974. Aradippou migrants at first joined those from Mazotos in Apostle Andrew parish, but later founded Apostle Luke.

According to Eftihios Mallas the very earliest migrants were mainly employed in manufacturing—in Eftihios' father's case (Tofis Mallas), in a nail factory. Cypriot-born GsC migrants, sponsored by their predecessors, tended to establish fast food businesses, typically fish'n'chip shops.¹³ The second generation, building on the financial success of the first, took two paths; some, sponsored by their families, studied at university, while others either entered existing family catering businesses or opened new ones. Eftihios did both—after reading physics at Leeds University, he set up a chicken processing plant. Migrants who succeeded in this way dispersed further into more affluent areas of the city; in the Mallas' case, from Aston to Sutton Coldfield. Some BBGsCs and younger-generation late-twentieth-century migrants' chose traditional industries, such as fast food, while others assimilated to surrounding British working patterns; Eftihios' eldest daughter, Nicola Christou, has remained in the family chicken business with her husband Christos, while his younger daughter, Chrystala Michael, has diversified into banking.

¹² Senu Safran (1991) and Tölölyan (1996), as discussed in Chapter 2.

¹³ In this, Birmingham migrants were following the model already established in London (Orphanides 1986).

S.S. *Messapia* was also the mythical vessel that mobilised TsCs to their colonial *heartland* of Britain, first to London and then, for a few, to Birmingham. (Other popular dispersals in pursuit of better economic and social conditions were to Turkey, Canada, and Australia—Alicik, 1997; Inal et al., 2009; Manisali, 2000). The first organised existence of TsCs in Birmingham recovered from my research dates back to the mid-1980s; Plumer Osman, the then communal secretary, recalls “about seventy, maybe seventy-five families only... around 400 people.” The current estimate for TsC residents in Birmingham shows a “slight increase... there must be around 700 to 800 people now” (16 April, 2015—Agios Epiktitos [Çatalköy], Cyprus). The migration history of TsCs in Britain shares many similarities with GsCs’. While TsCs were in fact the first Turkish-speaking ethnic group to migrate to Britain, in the 1920s (Topal et al., 2012), a numerically consequential influx only began in the early-1950s (even then as the out-turn of intercommunal conflicts), with an increase during the next decade and up until the mid-1970s, when the TsC diaspora, like the GsC one, peaked in the aftermath of intercommunal violence, war, and post-1974 effects (Robins and Aksoy 2001:689).

LbTsCs are now estimated to be approximately 100,000, in a remarkable outnumbering of the ones remaining in their *homeland*—the early twenty-first-century estimate is that only around 80,000 TsCs live in TRNC (Ibid.).¹⁴ In contrast to GsCs, their former Cypriot locality does not determine their current placement in Birmingham. Yet, and “as a consequence, no doubt, of their village origins, they have always been imaginatively situated in the frame of community” (Ibid.:690). Having currently no organisation mechanisms (like GsCs’ parishes and communal groups), or any other form of structure,¹⁵ they seem throughout the years to have dispersed at random throughout Birmingham (I have met five families living in and around Edgbaston, while many other individuals belong both to more sumptuous areas like Sutton Coldfield, and poorer and middle-class parts like Cannock, Woodgate, Erdington, and Aston). The 700-800 BbTsCs seem through time to have “reached the state of being a lost community, with a lost identity” (Mehmet Ali 1990:17), something explored further below.

¹⁴ “It is further estimated that there are close to 80,000 Turkish ‘settlers’ also on the island, making the Turkish-Cypriot population there pretty much a minority in two contexts” (Brey and Heinritz 1993; Kadritzke 1998 cited in Robins and Aksoy 2001:689-670).

¹⁵ Plumer (16 April, 2015—Agios Epiktitos [Çatalköy], Cyprus) explains that after his migration from Birmingham to Romania in 1995, no other TsC showed any interest in filling his role as the communal president, resulting in greater alienation between TsCs in Birmingham.

According to Plumer, the very early BbTsCs migrants were employed in manufacturing industries (Cemal Ahmet, eighty-six years old when we spoke in 2014, worked in a textile factory for many years), but mostly fast food businesses, typically kebab and fish'n'chip shops (something explored thoroughly in Chapters 5 and 6), as it was the case for the latter for GsCs also. This BbTsC reality contrasts with the cosmopolitanism of LbTsCs, whose employment status varies from owning kebab shops, supermarkets, boutiques, coffee shops, and restaurants, to being lawyers, bankers, insurance agents, etc. (Issa, 2004). In many ways this matches the employments realities that all Cypriots experience in London (likewise, to an extent, BbGsCs). Being hard workers, like most Cypriots in diaspora, older-generation migrants' financial success has allowed younger-generation TsCs to receive higher education; Sevven Küçükoğulları gained a degree in Fine Arts at the University of Birmingham, for example. Others, though, like her brother Ceylan, have taken a completely different career direction: he became a barber. In contrast to BbGsCs, who tend to keep businesses in the family, TsC youngsters have no such desire. As Ibrahim (Sevven and Ceylan's father) puts it, "They grew up with money, they do not know how it is to work all day on top of the fryer and grill... they choose more convenient jobs" (8 October, 2014—Woodgate, Birmingham).



Figure 0.20: Celebrations during a BbTsC wedding from 1991. Photo: Boren Küçükoğulları's personal archive.



Figure 0.21: Members of the BbTsC community gathering for a communal wedding. Photo: Boren Küçükoğulları's personal archive.

The Cyprus Problem: In Diaspora

The Birmingham community configures itself mainly in relation to the London migrant community, rather than to any other geo-dispersal, and so to look into the impact that *the Cyprus problem* had on them, the LbC and the BbC communities should be examined in juxtaposition. LbGsCs' socio-politico-cultural discourses are mimetic of native ones and more agile than BbGsCs'; the numerical weakness of the outnumbered BbTsC community empowers a similar mimesis towards LbTsCs, but not to their native parallel. This idea of mimesis is central to my discussion. Its conventional meaning imitation, but I adopt Paul Ricoeur's (1984) understanding of it as a more multidimensional praxis, where *threefold mimesis* becomes an "active sense of organizing the events into a system" (33). The structure is complete only when the reader reads the whole text, i.e. reading and understanding the full spectrum of Cypriot migration to the UK,¹⁶ offering an explanation of the contemporary interplay I observed between London- and Birmingham-based migrants.¹⁷

Although no other scholarship on the LbC community uses the term mimesis, it is always a quiet agent in their narratives. As early as 1967, Vic George and Geoffrey Millerson pointed out that the "two factors that influenced the character of Cypriot associations in London [were] the immigrants' need to spend their leisure time as they used to do in Cyprus... [and] politics" (287). Robin Oakley (1979) stressed how the LbC family model followed the patriarchal native prototype, and in 1992, Floya Anthias explained how the racialised boundaries of LbC community both followed and extended Cyprus' socio-political landscape. More recently, Gilles Bertrand (2004:93) has written of "two Cypriot diasporas", explaining how native socio-political patterns are also mirrored among Turkish- and GsC émigrés. In one of the most recent Cypriot diasporic works, Janine Teerling and Russell King (2012:19) reverse direction to examine the different "diasporic hubs and hinterlands" in and out of Cyprus.

Andreas Papapavlou and Pavlos Pavlou (2002:92) estimated 300,000 LbGsCs, and official sources (Cyprus Statistical Service, 2011 Census) suggest a current UK-wide GsOC population of 400,000-500,000. This once again shows TsCs in a minority. LbGsCs'

¹⁶ Reading is always in the context of the reader's prior understandings, and thus mimesis-3 (Ricoeur's third stage) refers to the world of the reader as well. For a more rigorous explanation of Threefold Mimesis, see Arto Laitinen's (2002) work on the self-interpretations and narrative identity of Paul Ricoeur.

¹⁷ The dearth of previous scholarship on LbC cultural resources makes this thesis the first study in this field not only to counterpose musico-cultural perspectives from GsC and TsC migrant subjects, but also to shift the public eye from London to Birmingham, and to advance treatment of diasporic communities beyond historical and socio-political discourse as inherently plural and interactive.

stronger political involvement reflects both their much larger numbers than the LbTsC community or the 12,000-strong BbGsC community, but also the diplomatic and political activity taking place in London while the community there was forming: “the pre-



Figure 0.22: 10,000 Greek-Cypriot London-based migrants demonstrating against the Turkish invasion of Cyprus on the 21st July 1974. BBC Archives. [Online] Available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/july/21/newsid_2515000/2515761.stm

invasion arrival in Britain of [Turkish Prime Minister] Ecevit... [and] President Makarios for top-level talks, and [Makarios'] personal appeal to thousands of British Cypriots from the pulpit of the Orthodox Church in Camden Town” (Constandinides 1977:269). London expatriates’ political praxes are nurtured by DISY and AKEL, the major native political parties, for their reciprocal effect on politics at home.

When politics and TsC migrants meet in diaspora, in the UK at least, there is a sense of apathy in that rendezvous. The communal un-structuralisms that they experience in Birmingham also reflect in a series of emotional and existential identity expressions and crises, which eventually lead into a political apathy. This is always mimetic of the more populous LbTsC community; which even if it is not as structured as its members would think or suggest, still takes collectively at least a political direction. The earliest comprehensive study on LbTsCS, Sarah Ladbury’s (1977) chapter, explains their first political formations and praxes (not much changed from the ones I have observed myself in London and Birmingham during my time there):

[The *Cemiyet*—the ‘Association’] claims to be the voice of Turkish Cypriots in London, [but] it only represents the Turkish Cypriot population insofar as it receives foreign visitors on their behalf. Its publications (in English and Turkish) also represent the views of those who take the official government line on political issues, including the Cyprus problem itself and the question of settlement. Most Turkish Cypriots in London have heard of this association and may have benefited from its activities... but they most certainly have no more contact with it than this... Most of the British-born are now out of touch with the complexities of the Cyprus situation and the internal wrangling of Turkish and Cypriot politics (311).



Figure 0.23: LbTsC protesting footage.
Photo: Ismail Veili [Online], Available:
<http://cyprusscene.com/2015/03/25/lobbying-for-turkish-cypriots-rights-who-cares/>

It is no coincidence that none of the BbTsCs I have met have ever heard of the *Cemiyet* (except Plumer when we met in Çatalköy, Cyprus). Even if the collective, generalised TsC praxis in London and Birmingham showcases an ethnic group in apathy and political inactivity, that does not necessarily apply for the individual, whose selective praxes around political involvement or not in diaspora come from private choice. Yet the BbTsCs I have met in the duration of my research typify in mimesis to LbTsCs this pattern in-between homeland and diaspora. What is behind British-TsCs' collective apathy in politicising their

diasporic social praxes? And most importantly here, how is this turned into a contemporary lived reality in the diasporic of Birmingham?

Pivotal, I would say, is the numerical smallness of the Birmingham community, but also, as Plumer puts it, the unwillingness of a young TsC migrant to lead the community into more structured pathways (see note 15). Small numbers leave BbTsCs no choice but to look towards the closest organised community to them, the one in London, whose political apathy since the early migrant years is well documented, as already noted. I have also sensed and observed a strong two-legged emotionality around the issue from BbTsCs. On one hand, and in mimesis to the LbTsCs, they "have opted for a pragmatic accommodation to the demands of their new British circumstances... developed a high degree of adaptability... worked extremely hard to become integrated, and in many cases assimilated, into the British culture and way of life. They have generally submitted to the monocultural and monolingual style of hegemonic Britishness" (Robins and Aksoy 2000:691-692). And yet this motif of full acclimatisation into British popular culture is emotionally driven by a sense of belonging, one missing or displaced from their fragmented and ruinous *homeland*. This takes as to the second leg of this emotionally-driven political apathy, and the anxiety that every single TsC I have met and spoken to has of losing their culture, or in many cases "the sense of it already have been lost... This is, of course, a familiar trope in all cultures, but what is perhaps distinctive in the Turkish-Cypriot case is the sense that it may be more than just a collective fantasy. Sometimes this foreboding assumes a melodramatic form, but generally it persists in the

form of background anxiety” (Ibid.:691-692). Mehmet Ali (1990:17) while writing of LbTsCs, captures my observations for BbTScs very well by saying that they have “reached the state of being a lost community, with a lost identity.” LbTsCs have repeatedly made their protest public, of being an ostracised *ghost* community, yet their voices remain unheard, leaving each TsC migrant at the end of the day in silence.



Figure 0.24: LbTsC community protesting in Central London. Photo: BritishTurk [Online], Available: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kibrisyur.jpg>



Figure 0.25: LbTsCs protesting of being an ostracised ghost community. Photo: Kader Sevinch [Online], Available: <https://kadersevinc.blogactiv.eu/2013/04/02/cyprus-crisis-a-valid-test-for-the-eu-nobel-peace-prize/>

Returning to BbGsCs, and in contrast to London migrant realities, my ethnography shows that they feel overshadowed and neglected. BbGsC political praxes also echo the London discourses, but without replicating or imitating native modes; instead, they draw on reconstructions of the past—myths, stories and an imagined reality—rather than on mimesis, as LbGsCs do. BbGsCs have developed throughout their migrational narrative a competitive relationship with the LbGsCs. Birmingham’s RoC Consul testifies that this generates strong local engagement in identifying as the UK’s *second*-biggest GsC migrant group, matching BbGsCs’ observed predilection for cultural rather than political praxes, a theme developed below. Their preoccupation with heritage engenders an inchoate nationalism and a stronger sense of ethnic identity than the LbGsCs’, curiously paralleling George and Millerson’s (1967), Oakley’s (1970), and Constandinides’ (1993) comparisons between LbGsCs and the even less ethnically-aware mainland Cypriots.

BbCs: An Apolitical Construction

Micropolitics refers to small-scale interventions that are used for governing the behaviour of large populations of people... [a] political regulation involved in shaping the preferences, attitudes, and perceptions of individual subjects. Micropolitics contributes to the

formation of desire, belief, inclination, and judgment in political subjects. Its regulations take place at local and individual levels in locations such as prisons, hospitals, and schools... but also in arts.” (Matthew Scherer 2007:563).

In place of the Marxist binary model of struggle between antagonistic classes and the modernity of major macropolitical forces contesting social power and economic control, Michel Foucault (1980) introduces the postmodern concept of micropolitics. He notes: “[w]e had to wait until the nineteenth century before we began to understand the nature of exploitation, and to this day, we have yet to fully comprehend the nature of power” (Foucault 1977:213). Five years previously, Foucault (1972) had prognostically framed the above as a rejection of all meta-theories, thereby harmonising with key postmodernist tendencies. Similar tendencies are observed within the migrant community in question, which I expand upon later. For BbGsCs, ‘doing politics’ traditionally (macropolitics or micropolitics) does not apply as praxis, and in a sense, their *politically-conscious* behaviour may be understood as a postmodern rejection of all meta-theories. In contrast to LbCs’ emphasis on the micropolitics of local liberation struggles, the Birmingham community rejects speaking for others in a unified movement, offering prolific examples of fragmented identity and meaning.

BbGsCs’ apolitics

I have observed a divergence between BbGsCs’ *political consciousness* and their *politically-unconscious* praxis—what they *believe* they are doing, and what they are tacitly *encouraged* to do. *Everything* is Greek to BbGsCs, and I originally supposed that this would be traceable back to the political party of Greekness, DISY, as in London (Constandinides, 1977) or Cyprus. Fieldwork, however, reveals that hellenisation in Birmingham has ‘guilt’ (as one might say), not politics at its heart.

Most BbGsCs are actively practising members of their parish churches, especially the older generation in whom Orthodox heritage concepts and an associated *migrant model* were inculcated at an early age. It is Orthodox pastoral praxes that enculture Greekness among BbGsCs, and the Orthodox schema is strong enough to allow institutionalised micropolitics founded on political naivety to overpower mainland macropolitics. For more on BbGsCs’ socio-religious (micro)politics, see Poupazis (2014; 2015).

Rather than the conscious/unconscious binary, I refer to 'apolitical' and its cognates.¹⁸ Identity, religion and cultural discourses are proposed here as the apolitical praxes of the BbGsC, and the observed naivety is understood as a "depoliticised" manifestation of distinctness and fragmented identity declarations, leading to emotional discourses which construct an imagined communal reality (Sant Cassia, 2000). Nostalgia is central to this imagined communality, and specifically what I have termed 'placebo-nostalgia': "placebo-nostalgia comprises the tactics and calculations imposed by an institution on its subjects to subordinate them unconsciously *via* emotions and memory, and covertly guide them into apolitical praxes. It is another form of micropolitics, with an agenda including memory, emotions and cultural resources" (Poupazis 2014:94). I suggest the reader consult my (2015) chapter "'An Affirmation of Key Postmodernist Tendencies': Musics, Apolitics, and Placebo Nostalgias Within the Greek-Speaking Diaspora of Birmingham (UK)" for further discussion of the micropolitics of memory as placebo-nostalgia.

BbTsC apolitics: In sense of placelessness

BbTsCs' apoliticality, seen so far manifesting as apathy, structures itself as praxes through migrants' emotional tendency to detach themselves from native political parallels. What makes their socio-political alienation from *homeland* more distant is their complex relation with place and space (space and place are treated in Chapter 1). Paradoxically, the place that perplexes their current spatial mis-dis-placement is the one they have alienated themselves from, *homeland* Cyprus. If we ignore the multiculturalism that exists within Cyprus, and which perplexes and translocalises matters even further, and keep to the grand cross-culturalisms between the two super-cultures of Turkey and Greece, this *homeland* space is filled for them with so many binary divisions and fragmentations for them (Turkish-Cypriot, *homeland/motherland*, etc). What of the realities back *home* in the TRNC?

Turkish Cypriots have been encouraged by the various exploiters of ethnicity to attach themselves to an ethno-national identity characterised as 'Turkish'. And since the Turkish invasion in 1974, and the subsequent second invasion of 'mainland' settlers into what is

¹⁸ My focus is on Birmingham and the community there, so any arguments here are drawn from and concern only them; they do not apply to any other Greek-speaking Cypriot diasporic communities, each of which has its own idiosyncratic habitus (sensu 1977, 1979). Bourdieu calculates distinction from the equation [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice. With habitus, Bourdieu underpins "generative structuralism" (1977: 22-30).

now effectively the 'Turkish colony' of North Cyprus, Turkish culture has come to exert an ever more powerful influence there... the influence of Turkey has also become more powerful, as a result of the new dynamism and transnationalisation of Turkish culture, and particularly the commercial expansion of popular culture (television, music, films and so on)... On the one side are those who consider Turkish Cypriots to be direct descendants of the Ottomans, and who regard Northern Cyprus as a part of the Turkish world.... the political Right... on the other, more idealistic, side are those, generally on the political Left, who resist the Turkification of Turkish Cypriotness, and assert an alternative identity of (multicultural) Cypriotness... whatever their political and cultural differences, both sides in the argument are agreed that Turkish culture is an overwhelming force. (Robins and Aksoy 2001:693).

Life back *home* for BbTsCs is a constant battle between Turkishness and Cypriotness. However, that is not the case in their *new* diasporic locales. There they detach themselves from these torturous identity struggles, all filtered through Cyprus' intense political praxes; these are invisible in the apoliticality of Birmingham, giving them the spatial dependence and freedom to move away from depressing fragmentations of the traditional (*authentic*) space. This "authentic sense of place" according to geographer Edward Relph (1976:64), is "a direct and genuine experience of the entire complex of the identity of places—not mediated and distorted through a series of quite arbitrary social... fashions about how that experience should be." However, the "arbitrary social fashions" at the core of Birmingham's cosmopolitanism and transnationalism signify strongly diasporic experiencing. In re-creating this authentic sense of place in diasporic locales, socio-politico-cultural continuation seems unavoidable.

For BbGsCs, we have seen how this *spatial authenticity* is bounded for them as a *sense of belonging* through institutionalised micropolitics, parishes, committees, *Greek-schools*, and a series of other local mechanisms. BbTsCs have none of these; they and their families are the only observed social structures to *belong to*. Paraphrasing Robins and Aksoy's (2001:690) observations for LbTsCs, BbTsCs similarly exist as an invisible community. There are various reasons for this; in the overall context of multicultural Birmingham, TsC migrants have been overshadowed by the larger and more visible Black and Asian communities and eclipsed by the later, more demonstrative migrations

of Turks and Kurds from 'mainland' Turkey. In the context of these latter migrations from Anatolia, Turkish Cypriots have tended to emphasise what they regard as their more 'progressive' qualities (that is, more 'European') and also their integration into the British way of life." A final reason for this "invisibility" is their outnumbering by the BbGsC community, who therefore represent the 'Cypriot migrant' in Birmingham much more strongly, marginalising Turkish-speaking Cypriotness and keeping BbTsCs from sponsoring continuity of *the authentic homeland space* in their diaspora, which in turn brings emotional confusion and alienation.

BbTsCs' apolitical praxes and rejection of *the authentic place* in the diasporic, cosmopolitan, and transnational spaces (and place) of Birmingham has through time evolved into a selective-ethnogenesis on their behalf. This selective-ethnogenesis finds BbTsCs in less *authentic* praxes, situating themselves in a spatial ambiguity that Relph (1976) termed "placelessness": "the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes that results from an insensitivity to the significance of place" (143). When BbTsCs just get on with things, they shape a form of denial,¹⁹ but also naturalise the timeless links of people and place. Katharyne Mitchell (1996:544) metaphorically describes this link in a way tailored to my observations for BbTsCs: "through tree imagery—is important not only in establishing, confirming, and romanticizing those who are 'of the soil', who are part of a traceable, genealogical tradition, who 'belong', but also in identifying and demonizing transients or sojourners arriving from elsewhere—those who are 'without place'. The condition of placelessness." This condition also applies in many ways in both a TsC's native and diasporic, while also epitomising Relph's (1976:143) further definition of placelessness: a constant "undermining of place for both individuals and cultures [of Turkification—see quote by Robin and Aksoy above], and the casual replacement of the diverse and significant places of the world with anonymous spaces and exchangeable environments [in their diaspora]."

In ending this section I would like to stress the inconspicuousness of TsCs in Britain, or in the rest of the world (including Cyprus itself) for that matter; they remain hidden, invisible not only in themselves (and as an outcome of placelessness that has not given them voice in diaspora), but also in academic research and representation. Robin and

¹⁹ "Aydön Mehmet Ali, a community activist in London, expresses it in terms of the 'theme of denial' in Turkish-Cypriot culture, 'denial that you were part of a whole of Cyprus, denial that it caused you pain to leave all those places' [—]Interview, London, 21 June 2000" (Rubin and Aksoy 2001:690-691).

Aksoy (2001:690) who have devoted substantial efforts to make the British-TsC representation visible, write: “an index of [TsCs] low profile is the virtual absence of research.” In explaining here the placelessness and apoliticality of this di-ethnos in diaspora, but also employing a balanced sample of Cypriots throughout this thesis, I also aim to redress this imbalance.

BbCs: Intracommunal Attachments and Differentiations

And while talking about balanced representation, yet within a comparative motif, attachments and differentiations between BbTsCs and BbGsCs are noted within the next paragraphs. On one hand we have the BbGsC community, dichotomised within itself yet bounding in its totality a collective (and impressive, I may say) capacity as a ‘laudable’ and organised diasporic community, while on the other, BbTsCs seem invisible and silent—a collective contest of a BbTsC un-structuralism with the structuralisms of BbGsCs, or, of one’s placelessness with another’s placefulness. The obvious question is, how do the two get along?

Well, their brief diasporic history in the UK (mostly as recorded for London) shows harmonious di-ethnic ties; mostly through the workplace, but also in sponsoring and supporting one another’s businesses (Constantinides 1977:276-277; Ladbury 1977:312-315). However, the contemporary status of these ties in Birmingham is rather more complex than that, as the *little narrative* and the *grand* one tell two different stories. On a grand level, I have not observed any organised interaction between the two, with national romanticisms (mostly in the case of BbGsCs) tending to produce the stigma of being called *filotourkos* or *rumcu*. Christos Christou’s strong bond, noted above, with his

friend Salih Komurcugil exemplifies (for this section’s purposes) the *little narrative*: the individual story, truth, and how one chooses to connect with another. I vividly remember two more occasions in Birmingham when I witnessed or heard of similarly harmonic *little narratives*. The first was during my interview with the late Cemal Ahmet (March 20, 2014), who at the time was suffering with dementia, and



Figure 0.26: The late Cemal Ahmet in his living room holding his saz during our interview at his house in Edgbaston, Birmingham. Photo: Author.

therefore his memory on certain aspects and his verbal articulation were blurry. Yet, he clearly said to me: “At the factory, you know, I work[ed] at, [I have] work[ed] with lots [of] *kipreous* [Cypriots]... me had a friend, [a] Greek *kipreo*... after work we play *tavli* [backgammon] together.” Cemal’s basic Greek and English, together with his health issues, made this testimony even more powerful on so many levels. His difficulty in speaking was, however, overpowered by his desire to let me know that “my son, you know... we [meaning TsCs and GsCs] are brothers.”

The second occasion of meeting in harmony with similar *little narratives* was in fact at the same place, where Christos and I visited Salih at his fish’n’chip shop. It was 9



Figure 0.27: Helen Pavlou at Salih’s fish’n’chip shop at Cannock. Photo: Author.

October 2014 in Cannock, while casually having a cup of tea with Semra and her mother Zübeyde (Salih’s wife and mother-in-law) in the back office of their shop, when their BbGsC landlady walked to collect the rent. Firstly, I was pleasantly surprised to see a GsC walking into a TsC workplace; secondly, content to be able to talk in my native tongue; and thirdly, it did not take me long to sense the pleasant relationship between the landlady, Helen (anglicised version of Ελένη [Eleni]) Pavlou, with Semra, Salih, and Zübeyde (especially in the case of the latter with Helen, which became obvious during a joint interview later on that day; a brief extract is quite revealing):

[Helen]: My son, when we came here [Birmingham] we were very young... we didn't know what hate means... I know Zübeyde since I can remember... we used to be best friend when we were children...

[Zübeyde]: We still are! What do you mean, you don't think I am your friend now Helen? (laughter from all three of us)

[Helen]: Oh, stop it, you! What will the boy think of us now, like two crazy old ladies!

- [Zübeyde]: Aww, you see now why I love her? This old hag...
(both hysterically laughing)
- [Helen]: OK, OK , I love you too—stop embarrassing us, now,
the boy is recording!

And yet despite Helen and Zübeyde’s banter, and what I consider a celebration of human bonding and of positive *little narrative*, I have also come across some not-so-positive *little narratives* during my visits. These have been very spar in their occurrence. For example some *warnings* I had from BbGsCs (holding their anonymity here, for obvious reasons), not to visit the “Turks at their chip shops” insinuating that the TsC owners



Figure 0.28: (left to right) Helen, Zübeyde, and Semra together at Cannock, Birmingham. Photo: Author.

could be hostile towards me. Likewise I also faced the *silence* of many BbTsCs, whose refusal to talk to me due to my GsC background was perhaps the most *laudable* of the not-so-positive *little narratives* I came across with. However, these have been infrequent and at no way they raised the capacity in representing the collective believes of BbCs di-ethnically.

While octogenarians seem to a generate a plethora of positive *little narratives* (not forgetting Christos and Salih, who are much younger), older-generation migrants seem to have developed through time passive bi-communal ties—passive, as they are unspoken, yet remain within their common migrational goals of being *model* migrants according to the norms of their own part of the di-ethnos. They also tell a story of success. Ladbury (1977:305) explains that the “economic aspirations of Cypriots, raised as a result” of their early-60s independence, resulted in migration to Britain where the recently withdrawn British had taken all the well-paid jobs. Faqir M. Bhatti (1981:13) while describing a similar observation for LbTsCs, calls Cypriots’ aspiration for a success story a “physiological self-sufficiency.” In their broader di-ethnic diasporic example, this Cypriot “physiological self-sufficiency” comes with “their chief priority[, which] is success in this country” (8). And yet success comes in many contexts. During my time with older generation BbGsCs, I have heard stories about their zeal to succeed in

business and how hard they worked, and have seen their ostentation in showing me the fruits of their financial success: big houses, luxury cars, etc. On the other hand, I have not met many BbTsCs who have met financial success, though among them I have seen hard working people who filter success with respect to cultural integration and their acceptance from Britons, almost up to the point of desperation.

From the old to the young generation of BbCs

Positive *little narratives* mainly correspond to the eldest members of the Cypriot community in Birmingham (octogenarians mostly), while apoliticality is the *business* of the older migrant generation, like Eftihios and Plumer. The young generation of Cypriot migrants in Birmingham have a different take on things. Politics are not even in the apolitical realm for them; instead, they are in an apathetic totality (not the same apathy I was referring to for the collective BbTsCs apolitical moves) of fully ignoring but also surpassing any form of political praxes, or of the not-so-positive *little narrative* in their own life-story.

Look Michalis, no offense, but I don't want to talk about politics... not because I have an agenda that I don't want to share, but because I bloody genuinely do not care! Hehehe... politics are for old people; ask dad or mom about this stuff... my nana would also know probably about this as they [her grandparents] lived in Cyprus while we were a colony... dad was even there during the war [1974]... I guess what is important for me and other Turkish-Cypriots at my age here, is to get on with our lives, do what we love and enjoy doing... the hardest thing we have to face? Well, that is a tricky question... hmmm... Well, to be completely honest, it is hard sometimes being a Muslim around here... (Sevven Küçükoğulları—8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).

I remember going to the Greek-school and them kinda letting us know what is going on with all this stuff [politics and interethnic relations]... can I be completely honest with you? ...I don't really care about all this. I know dad [Eftihios] is very much involved in it all but I don't care... just wanna get on with my life, raise my kids, make sure we are fine... Sometimes I am very wary of telling people that I am Greek... with Turkish-Cypriots? I have no problem what so ever... when I went

to uni I met a [TsC] girl, I liked her but we were never close... hmm, not so sure if dad would like me to bring her home, but I am sure he would be absolutely fine after he met her (Chrystala Mallas Michael—26 March 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

There is one major observed difference between young GsC and TsC migrants, stemming from their religious and motherland-cultural racial signifiers. Since 9/11 and 7/7, as Sunni Muslims, TsCs in their diasporas have faced pervasive islamophobia. Such neophobias entangle them in the truth and falsity of twenty-first century hypothetical assertions as part of the DISYntegration and debris of the collapsing twin towers in New York and the detonating big red bus in Central London. It is these western hypothetical assertions that they struggle to deal with, with transnational identities (of which some are ethnophaulisms) thrown at them—‘Muslim’, ‘immigrant’, ‘Cypriot’, ‘Turkish’, ‘kebab shop owner/kebab-maker’—leading to a communal contingency of meaning, experience and creation. The contingency shaped by this series of modern epithets inevitably reveals how musical resources are held in ways that will make their lives within the Western host(ile) manageable.

Being Christians (Greek-Orthodox), the religious status of GsCs has never been an obstacle to integration in their diasporas—that is, if you ignore the clustering that it causes, alienating them in many cases from the main social stream of their host, as covered in Chapter 1. Their attachment to motherland Greece is, in fact, pivotal for their integration; in Britain as in many western localities the ancient Greece of Plato’s *Republic*, the philosophies of Aristotle and Pythagoras, the scripts of Homer’s *Odyssey* and *Iliad* and the sublime that all these particles entail are more than welcomed as signs of higher virtues. Philhellenism materialised at the turn of the nineteenth century as an intellectual trend among European men of letters, among them Lord Byron, who even aligned with the Greek revolutionaries; by the end of the same century European classicists were maintaining it. In modernity, Greek ideals seemed to provide the inspiration for structuring democratic political and socio-cultural neo-liberalisms in a post-Napoleonic Europe marked by political repression, riposte and reaction; British philhellenism, however, manifested more in the admiration of Ancient Greek culture and arts. Lord Elgin’s carrying off the eponymous marbles from the Athenian Parthenon to the British Museum between 1801 and 1812 is perhaps the strongest and earliest attestation of this. That raised a profound debate (and still does) between Greeks and British, but GsC migrants read this history in their own way, making durable the

potential for exploitation of these realms of the ancient Greeks, and rendering the utterance of modern motherland cultural resources a means of full acceptance and a tool of integration into the West.

Each young generation migrant I have met with has a unique profile with a catalyst being gender and family role. And yet, in whatever migrant generation one might fall, this is a common observation in the structuring of a Cypriot family in diaspora; the only un-deviant di-ethnic attachment, in fact, regardless of domicile, age, beliefs, *motherlands*, religion, (a)politicality, or language. After working for five years with migrants in Birmingham, I can safely say that the communal hierarchical structure is mostly attached to the past of Cyprus, realised in patriarchal domains for both Gs- and TsCs. This is most likely the case for Cypriot migrants in other places (I have experienced similar realities in London, North East Yorkshire, etc., places I have briefly lived myself). I will not expand further on the family and gender roles in the BbC diaspora here, as I do so later in depth during the analytical parts of this thesis.

In the concluding paragraphs of this section I would like to stress the strongest di-ethnic differentiation observed during my research years—as I did above with their attachments—but also clarify the importance of the individual role in the above discussion. The differentiation here is what I will be referring to as an *asymmetry*: revealing a wider inter-ethnic behavioural disparity in how TsCs and GsCs link themselves with the super-cultural of Greekness or Turkishness. On one hand, BbTsCs (as we have seen) are not warming towards their super-culture, going even into the extents of being an invisible community in diaspora in order to avoid any parallelisms with it, and mostly aligning themselves with Cypriotness instead. On the other hand, we have BbGsCs who very much laud theirs, going to great lengths in maintaining social continuity through highly organised and *Greek* religious schooling. This asymmetry speaks volumes about how performances of Greekness grow the interethnic diasporic spatial gap even further, something empirically proved during the analytical parts of this essay. This asymmetrical differentiation has also been a social observation during the early years of Cypriot diaspora in Britain, a time where di-ethnic relationships have been rather cordial, when Ladbury (1977:314) observes “unequal” role-sharing in “the work context.”

And regardless of one's choosing to live in the pragmatism of this di-ethnic BbC attachment and differentiation, at the end it comes down to the role-importance of the individual, their nurture, ethos, and socio-politico-cultural choice:

(Here we must confine ourselves to individuals; for conflict does exist on the group level as presented by political organisations.) Cultural differences which could have been used to activate political divisions have not been appealed to... [in diaspora]. Instead cultural familiarity has allowed and encouraged the continuation of interethnic ties. Thus Turkish-Cypriots maintain that they shop at the nearest Greek-Cypriot corner store because they eat the same food as Greek-Cypriots, though in fact most vegetables could just as easily be bought from a West Indian shop, while the staples could be purchased more cheaply at an English supermarket (Ibid.:315).

In linking the individual with cultural resources in diaspora, Ladbury manages to capture so many of the realms and discourses examined in this thesis. The transnationalised channelling of translocalising resources into a lived and imagined diasporic Cypriot significance; cosmopolitanism; but also a reminder of the complexities that the Cypriot di-ethnos entails and its unique (re)action to political discourse. The latter's praxes, may be measured as a postmodern social outgrowing of nationalisms, ethnocentricisms and past-conflict references and dependence, where people move into contemporary cultural expressions where macro- and micro-politics do not determine life, and where people like Androniki and Zübeyde can once again live side by side. More broadly, as a utopia for some or a communally-imagined reality for others, this Preface is only the beginning of narrating and explaining meta-narratively (*via* musical analysis and praxes) the twenty-first century significance of cultural discourses that gain in momentum and in importance relative to *other* classic social sciences-oriented discourses (such as politics, civil rights, etc.). BbC musical utterances will prove to be a rejection of all meta-theories, and an affirmation of key postmodernist tendencies; of how a fragmented di-ethnos can de-fragment in dispersion, when appraised in its Mediterranean appeal.

The Musics of BbCs: “It’s All Greek to Me”, and “It’s All Cypriot to Me”

In closing the Preface, the musical genres of Cypriot, Greek, Turkish, and certain Western popular musics that BbCs listen to are discussed. This section is merely a basic descriptive itinerary of these genres and their associated migrant groupings (unless stated otherwise), not an analytical exercise in the relations between them (the rest of the thesis does that). It was mostly these observations that confirmed to me the different migrant praxes between the old and young generations, and also how much a Cypriot migrant’s musical experience is affected by their super-culture. The naming of these genres (or sometimes their re-naming) by migrants themselves also shows how, in diaspora, these musics develop meanings and significances that make full sense only to the people experiencing them. Their understanding around Cypriot folk music once again also surfaces the asymmetry observed as a grand di-ethnic narrative.

BbGsCs: “It’s all Greek to me”

BbGsCs show much more collective organisation than BbTsCs, and structure praxes in regards to Cypriot folk, Greek *laika*, and western popular. I have expanded in detail elsewhere on the genres of music observed in BbGsC diaspora and their discourses (Poupazis 2013:37-52; 2015:161-163).

In the sectional title I have used the term ‘Greek music’ as BbGsCs do, covering all Greek or Cypriot traditional folk genres. Even if some of the migrants understand the differences among these, they still use the generalised term, showcasing BbGsCs’ characteristic subsumption of their musical heritage by relabelling or adding *alien* elements familiarised and normalised in diasporic life. Most genres are genuinely Greek contemporary popular music, as recordings of Cypriot folk music are rare and only the communal *zygia*, performing at weddings etc., brings it to their attention. Mainstream western popular music, as in Cyprus, is listened to most, along with Greek contemporary, *laika*, or other *laika*-orientated genres, but some strands popular in Cyprus are evidently unknown in Birmingham (Poupazis 2013:39-41).²⁰

Laika songs are the popular songs of Greece. Old-*Laika* dates from the 1950s-1960s; later productions are reckoned new-*laika*. Anna Vissi’s, Paschalis Terzis’ and similar post-war mainstream song comprise light-*Laika* (ελαφρολαϊκά, *elafrolaika*). The

²⁰ The missing genres referred to here are, new wave, political songs and art-popular music (Εντεχνό); see reference in main body for more details.

master's *rebetica* is another strand,²¹ and rock and hip-hop had made their way into the *laika* spectrum by the late twentieth century. *Laika* is BbGsCs' most-heard non-Western music, though they use the term to cover Greek popular music in general: *rebetica*, countryside folk-*demotica*, and the islands' folk-*nishiotika*. Confounding their own musical heritage, they parcel Cypriot folk music up with *laika*; it really is all Greek to them. This is a notable example of general identity blurring reflected in musical praxes.

For BbGsCs, but also as explained later for BbTsCs, musical habits correlate with age, whence in part the categorisation by older and younger migrant generation discussed in the methodology. As perhaps expected, light-*laika* is most popular amongst younger-generation BbGsCs, while *rebetica*, *demotica*, *nishiotika* and old-*laika* appeal to the older migrant generation. There is some gender segregation in the type of light-*laika* that migrants listen to: younger females tend to listen to pop-dance tunes by artists such as Anna Vissi, Despina Vandi and Sakis Rouvas, while younger males mostly listen to light-*laika* songs with more masculine lyrical contexts, e.g. those by Paschalis Terzis and Giannis Ploutarchos. It is important not to stereotype migrants' musical behaviours. Some youngsters do not listen to any 'Greek' music at all; they have outgrown their own musical tradition and assimilated into western popular music culture. Older males tend to adapt their musical habits to their environment. In their most private daily praxes, for example while driving, they often listen to an idiosyncratic genre called songs of *xenitia* (τραγούδια της ξενιτιάς); this genre turns out to be, in Chapter 2, a key for exploring the emotionality of migrants. When the older males of the community gather, either in the afternoon at the *estia* to play backgammon or at night for dinner at the tavern,²² they tend to listen to old-*laika*, *nishiotika*, *demotica* and *rebetica*.

The next two musics are strong components in realising truths and significances of BbGsC life; however, they are excluded from the analytical parts of this thesis, due to pressure on space. Therefore, they will be examined with some form of ethnographic instantiation here, and in a little more detail than the aforementioned genres which find lots of coverage in the following Chapters.

On 19 November, 2012 in Birmingham, over lunch at the Mallas' house, Iliana asked me whether I would care to come along to the Monday church choir session. Its repertoire

²¹ Greek: αρχοντορεμπέτικα, (*archontorebetica*)—an expansion from *rebetica*, which pre-existed the *laika* genre and was itself an evolution from Greek demotic folk music (for more see Anoyanakis [1961] amongst many others).

²² At night, the *estia* functions as a tavern serving traditional Cypriot food (though there are other Greek or Cypriot taverns serving food in Birmingham). Sometimes these social gatherings between older males take place at their houses.

consists of *psalmodies tis eklshias* (ψαλμωδίες της εκκλησίας, ecclesiastical psalms from the Greek-Orthodox Byzantine tradition), a genre held in some reverence by GsC migrants. We entered Apostle Andrew Cathedral via the *arhontariki* reception hall at the rear (αρχονταρίκι means lordly guest-house), and the practice was already under way. (The *arhontariki* is also used for lunch prepared by the *filoptohos*²³ ladies after the Sunday liturgy.) After Iliana made the necessary introductions to choir members and the conductor, Dr. Andrej Kidess,²⁴ I sat discreetly down to watch, and interviewed Dr. Kidess afterwards.



Figure 0.29: Apostle Andrew Cathedral's *Archontariki*. Photo: Author.



Figure 0.30: Apostle Andrew Church Choir's rehearsal. Right to left: Ilianna Mallas, Solomis Georgiou, and Dr. Andrej Kidess. Photo: Author.



Figure 0.31: The *filoptohos* committee of Apostle Andrew (Iliana can be seen in far right). Photo: Apostle Andrew Annual Magazine (2012:17).

The adult choir members are a gender- and age-balanced group of GsCs (the majority), mainland Greeks, and one Syrian (the conductor), and this religiously unified poly-ethnicity illustrates the Orthodox schema's strength in the UK. Melismatic intermingling of the men's bass, baritone, tenor and countertenor (Dr. Kidess' voice was the dominant tenor) and the women's contralto, mezzo-soprano and soprano made a remarkable musical impression, and the Byzantine chants, Orthodox ornamentation, and pictures of Cyprus enhanced the *arhontariki's* powerful ambience. "Every time I sing and listen to hymns it makes me want to cry. It reminds me of my childhood back at my village in Cyprus and our local church," choir member Solomis Georgiou (19 November, 2012) told me after the rehearsal before giving me a collection of poems written by a poet in

²³ Filoptohos is a female-only members charity organisation linked with the church's committees. It is mostly formed from the wives of the men in the Church committee. Each parish has their own filoptohos committee based at their churches and their charity work goes beyond the community boundaries as they help anyone in need. Iliana is the president of the Apostle Andrew parish's filoptohos.

²⁴ Dr. Kidess is an amateur musician, who works as a doctor at Queen's Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham. He previously lived for thirteen years in Greece while simultaneously studying medicine and Byzantine music.

his village before he migrated, a tangible expression of nostalgia. Familiar sounds clearly frame and constitute migrant nostalgia (as Chapter 2 explains). *Psalmodies tis Eklisias* are a musical praxis which spans the entire BbGsC community, and Apostle Luke also has a similar choir, also with a GsC majority (and minor Greek, Syrian and Serb representation).

A second strong musical mediator of BbGsC truths and significances are songs learnt in Greek-school. These schools convene on Sunday mornings before church, inculcating in younger BbGsCs a need for a continued positionality and nostalgia towards their *homeland* and *motherland*. They follow the homeland curricular model of cultural and musical education situated as centrally between Greek and Cypriot culture as is feasible, producing the same blurring of identity; many BbGsC students are oblivious to what these cultural resources' socio-political connotations might be elsewhere.

The school's four yearly celebrations commemorate 28 October, a Greek national day; Christmas; the Greek 25 March national day and the GsC anniversary of 1 April combined; and the end of the summer term. The naïve pictorial schoolbook abstractions of *homeland* and *motherland* in which these events' repertoires are wrapped pass undimmed from childhood into a nostalgic adulthood, manifests a nostalgia for the familiar (not for the source) and empowering the placebo-nostalgias that guide later apolitical praxes. A field experience at an Apostle Andrew school celebration will illustrate this; similar conclusions apply to Apostle Luke school and, indeed, to the community at large.

May 31, 2013 was no ordinary Sunday for the parents and children of Apostle Andrew school. The event included singing, recitation and dancing, with the programme revealing more Greek (15) than Cypriot (3) songs, dances and poems. The mixture was designed to fit this joint occasion—as the community was observing (almost two months late!) the 25 March and 1 April national days—and the children marched into the church waving Greek and Cypriot flags, dressed in traditional mainland Cypriot and motherland Greek costumes.



Figure 0.32: Apostle Andrew School students performing, inside Church, while their music teacher Maroulla Georgiou (left) conducts—Greek and Cypriot flags waved. Photo from 31 May 2013: Author.

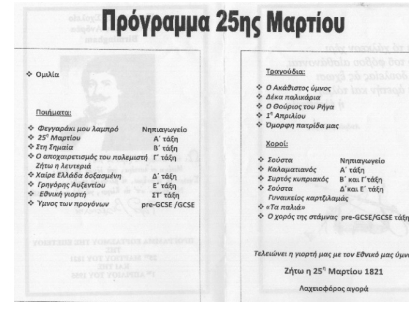
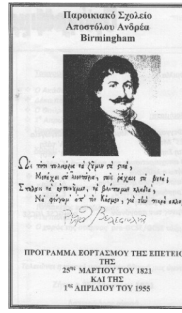


Figure 0.33: 31 May 2013—Apostle Andrew’s Greek-school celebration program notes. Personal archive: Author.

Figure 0.34: English translation—Lyrics of 1st of April

Verse 1:

It was the first of April
The beginning of EOKA
That was heard in Cyprus
Digeni’s voice x 2

Verse 2:

And to the sound of his voice
the brave lads ran
in order to give the battle
at Cyprus’ mountains x 2

Vesre 3:

Markos Dragos and Patatsos
Zakos and Karaolis
They devoted with so
many others, their youth x 2

Verse 4:

But from all the brave lads
mightier and more famous
it was Afxentiou
the EOKA’s second in command x 2

Verse 5:

With the blood of heroes
And with golden fonts
history recorded
Our sweet freedom x 2

Verse 6:

There is no land
that can not be freed
when each brave lad
is willing to be sacrificed x 2

The one Cypriot song performed that day, *1st April*, had Cypriotist-patriotic lyrics promoting Greekness, and replicated the original, revealing how a rather simple melody has no need to be subsumed differently in a diasporic context. Featuring the lyrics, “With the blood of heroes and in letters of gold, History recorded our sweet freedom”, the song’s melody and chord progression are *borrowed* from the American Western ballad *Oh My Darling, Clementine*. It might surprise any Greek-speaking Cypriot that a momentous patriotic musical resource of their childhood is American, and not Greek at all; not to mention the fact that the song celebrates, for these Anglo-Cypriots, the beginning of the EOKA fight against British. *1st April* thus fragments migrant identity further, even as it paradoxically acts as a unifying agent for the diasporic communal life there. Another example of Greek/Cypriot identity blurriness on the day was the fourth grade performance of a Greek (Cretan and Pontian) folk dance, *Susta*, and a Cypriot suite dance, the women’s *Karchilamas*, as two parts of

one dance. This cultural identity blurring is something that has been developed as a unique way of subsuming a bi-cultural heritage, though many migrants still contend that everything is Greek to them!



Figure 0.35: Video still of Apostle Andrew's Greek-school celebrations on 31 May 2013. Video still: Author.

Throughout the celebrations, I sat next to Nicola Christou, both of whose sons were performing. She emotionally testified, “This brings back lots of memories. We did exactly the same routines when we were children as my two sons do today”—an attestation of nostalgia for childhood and an understanding of cultural heritage as all-Greek. As an adult, Nicola looks back on her

childhood (the familiar), and not the actual musical traditions of her *homeland*. What BbGsC migrants actually listen to or consume is largely irrelevant, as they will be nostalgic about it anyway. Crucially, it is exactly this musical nurturing that enables intra-communal institutions to breed nostalgic beings in diaspora, dependant on the placebos they are prescribed.

BbTsCs: “It’s all Cypriot to me”

The small BbTsC population makes it tricky to talk about musics found collectively within the community, and their efforts to remain invisible and their sphinx-like silence make things even harder. The following paragraphs are structured according to my methodological ethos of focusing on individuals, and adding ethnographic instantiations to my narrative. I concentrate on the Küçükoğulları’s extended family, a balanced sample of migrant generations but also a family of vibrant musical praxes. Sevven, the youngest, concurs and explains further this during a Facebook interview (17 May 2015): “Yes its true, we [all the family] love our music, its something we all share... listening to music almost non-stop all day when possible.” As expected, the members’ chosen musics depend heavily on age group, but also on family-role. Another interesting observation is their labelling of the different kinds of Turkish music and Cypriot folk music they listen to, as both Ibrahim and his mother-in-law Özel would refer to these as Cypriot music. In an intriguing contrast to the BbGsC *its all Greek to me* motif, it seems as if BbTsCs have developed their own *its all Cypriot to me* trope, another observed rejection of their *motherland* and acknowledgement of *homeland*. Yet, paradoxically, what they mostly listen to is their super-culture’s musics (Turkish popular—Türk pop).

That is not the only paradox observed here. The eldest member of the family, Özel, with Yüksel Özkasap among her favourite artists, appears to be listening much more to contemporary Turkish musics than her daughter Boren, son-in-law Ibrahim, and some of her grandchildren. That comes down to the fact that she is now retired, almost immobilised by old age and health, and has more time to connect with supercultural media. As Boren explains, “Mum pretty much spends all of her days now sitting on the kitchen sofa watching *Kral Pop TV*... a 24/7 Turkish music channel, you know, like MTV pretty much but with only Turkish music... she became the family expert in music... she informs us what’s new, what’s out, and knows all the gossip behind the singers... hahaha... mom is a modern lady!” (20 March 2014, Edgbaston, Birmingham). Özel’s musical praxes seems to be shared by other eldest members of the BbTsC community, as Semra Komurcugil explains on behalf of her mom Zübeyde: “When she is not here with us at the shop, she is usually all day home watching Turkish music channels on the telly... she likes lots of modern stuff, more than I do for sure!” (9 October 2014, Cannock, Birmingham).



Figure 0.36: *KralPopTv* logo. Photo: Kralmuzik [Online], Available: <http://www.kralmuzik.com.tr/tv/kral-pop-tv>

Türk pop breaks into many subgenres such as *fasıl*, *arabesk*, *aranjman* (‘arrangement’; Turkish-language covers of western popular songs), *Anadolu rock*, and mainstream popular music. (‘Türk pop’ is also used in a more restricted sense for the last of these, which may include assimilated subgenres such as hip-hop.) As Martin Stokes (2010:15) explains:

[Turkish] “popular music” is a more inchoate category, referring in general usage to a great variety of vernacular and mass-mediated genres which range from nightclub popularizations of the art music repertory (*fasıl*), to Arab-oriented hybrids (*arabesk*) and Western-style pop and rock. Most of these use an eclectic array of local, regional, and global instruments (a unison string chorus often being prominent) and engage an equally eclectic array of musical styles.

Like Özel, the older-generation couple of the family, Boren and Ibrahim also listen to Türk pop. In their case we observe the strands of Türk pop and other genres distributed according to gender. Ibrahim listens to arabesk (mostly fantezi arabesk—explained in depth in Chapter 2), with one of his favourite artists being Yıldız Tilbe. Ibrahim would



Figure 0.37: Yıldız Tilbe performing at a nightclub for her fans. Photo: Eren Ayhan [Online], Available: <http://www.iha.com.tr/etiket-yildiz-tilbe/>

also listen to Sibel Can, an artist who mostly sings Turkish folk music (Türk halk müziği). In between these two genres and with his strong engagement with Cypriot folk music, Ibrahim showcases the older-generation BbTsC male. Yet individual choice, taste, and emotionality drive TsC migrants in Birmingham, as Ibrahim seems, in contrast to his peers, to predominantly enjoy

listening to female artists. And through a series of personalised individual reasons, collectively known as *hüzün* (see Chapter 2), Ibrahim shows an almost metaphysical affinity with specific songs. One such by the female artist Yüksel Özkasap is examined in depth, together with Ibrahim's emotional realms, in Chapter 2.



Figure 0.38: Barış Manço performing live before he passed away. Photo: Turgay Suat Tarcan (2001) [Online], Available: <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=5146741>



Figure 0.39: Tarkan performing. Photo: TarkanVisual [Online], Available: http://tarkanvisual.blogspot.ie/1990/12/concerts_113520976103962289.html

Boren's (20 March 2014, Edgbaston, Birmingham) musical choices, on the other hand, appear fixed within the spectrum of Türk pop müziği, if we exclude the fact that she "love[s] listening to mainstream English music... like Ed Sheeran... [and] also listen[s] to Cypriot [folk] music." Boren seems to enjoy listening to Anadolu rock and in particular to Barış Manço, as much as she enjoys the arabesk music of Orhan Gencebay, and "of course " (arguably the most popular Türk pop artist). This mixture of subgenres also seems to appeal to other older-generation BbTsC females, like Semra, who

enjoys listening to *fasıl* songs as well. Yet what remains remarkable from these observations is the fact that Boren's favourite artists seem to be men, the inverse of her husband's choices. Conjecturally, Boren and Ibrahim each seem to epitomise the common saying that opposites attract; yet, the depth of this attraction varies upon the individual emotional world. The case of Ibrahim, and his attraction to female artists instead of male, is discussed extensively in Chapter 2. For Boren I would just use some of her own words to briefly capture these reasons here: "Tarkan... hmmm... so handsome!"

Boren and Ibrahim's Türk pop choices clarify a sharp and ungendered dichotomy between old and younger-generation BbTsCs. Arabesk and Türk halk müziği are subgenres only listened by old generation migrants, as the young generation perceive them as dated, "old music, for old people like mum and dad" (Sevven—17 May 2015, Facebook interview). The young generation, here represented in the bodies of Sevven and Ceylan, listen in balanced moderation to mainstream western and Turkish popular music. Their choices from Türk pop seem to come from contemporary compositions and releases. This BbTsC dichotomy seems to correspond and be a reaction to the history of Türk pop müziği emergence from mid-twentieth-century and late twenty-first-century developments (see Orhan Kahyaoglu [online] and Stokes [2010:14-120] for more). Old-pop is therefore linked, both in diaspora but also in pan-Turkish popular culture, with Türk pop subgenres like arabesk which emerged in the 1960s as a hybrid between Turkish classical, folk, Western pop and rock musics (Stokes 2010:19). Even when Boren listens to Anadolu rock, she still chooses artists like Barış Manço (d.1999), who was musically active mostly during the 1970s. (Anadolu rock burgeoned during the late-1960s–early-1980s; see Hasgül [1996] and Aya [1996]).

Like mother, like daughter; Sevven also enjoys listening to Turkish rock, but not Boren's



Figure 0.40: Emre Aydın performing. Photo: TRTmuzik [Online], Available: <http://trtmuzik.net.tr/Program/Detail/566459>

Anadolu rock choice (a genre that was considered in its time a form of resistance to the Turkish republic's oppression of its people). Sevven's (17 May 2015, Facebook interview) "ever favourite artist" for example, "is Emre Aydın", a Turkish pop/rock singer/songwriter who emerged in 2002 through a television singing competition. Therefore, the difference between the Anadolu rock of the *past* and its contemporary Aydın-ian

utterance is normalised through the commodification of the two in different periods and

different socio-politico-cultural impetus. According to Stokes (2010:19) the 1980 coup in Turkey, drastically changed the Türk pop map; Anadolu rock was now replaced as a music of resistance by “Turkish rap and hip-hop (originally popularized by German-Turkish rappers and DJs in the mid-1990s)... pick[ing] up the threads that were broken by the 1980 coup.”

These diasporically-formed Turkish rap and hip-hop musics are indeed found amongst younger-generation BbTsCs in vibrant utterance. Both Sevven and Ceylan seem to enjoy vernacular (Turkish) hip-hop. “It’s the only music, brov... it speaks to me” (19 June 2015, Woodgate, Birmingham). The impact of this genre on young BbTsC has a central role in this thesis. Vernacular hip-hop-generates migrant truths and significances, and its timeless link to Muslim diaspora will be discussed in later chapters.

Remarkably, these attestations came after asking the Küçükogullaris about their understanding of and praxes around *Cypriot* music. As with BbGsCs, there seems to be a grand generalisation of Türk pop subgenres, Turkish folk and Cypriot folk musics, yet this time as “Cypriot music.” The most transparent narrative on this recovered during my visits to Birmingham came from Ibrahim: “What if it is Greek, Turkish, or Cypriot music? They all sound the same to me, they are all Cypriot!” (8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham). This suggests a continuity underlying the di-ethnic asymmetry of how Cypriot migrants in Birmingham draw on blurred indigenous/supercultural musical resources to summon up a remembered or imagined link with *homeland* and *motherland* respectively. What is diasporically termed *Greek* by BbGsCs, is *Cypriot* for BbTsCs, a pivotal BbC reality central to this thesis in realising the modern realities of the Cypriot di-ethnos.

Part I:

Orientations and Nostalgia

- **Orientations: The Full Spectrum of Intersections**
- **Hüzün, the Cologne Mockingbird, the Myths, and *Xenitia*: Ibrahim's and Eftihios' Nostalgia**

Chapter 1

Orientations: The Full Spectrum of Intersections

Chapter 1, both a literature review and a segment in the thesis framework, tracks concepts and theories, in detail from their indigenous to their impromptu shapes. It comprises a series of sections, each one of which can be considered as an autonomous piece of work, yet with each interplaying with the others. Together they orient the reader to the full spectrum of intersections and the constituents of the thesis framework not covered so far. The essays/sections and their subsections within this chapter themselves build upon the ethos, methods, abstracts, and the Cypriot modern historicity already covered. Chapter 2 (concluding Part I) becomes the first analytical segment of this thesis by aligning and foregrounding the context covered here and before with Cypriot migrant praxes concerning diasporic and native musics.

Some of the literatures covered in the following sections will surface with greater importance (to my work) than others. For example, and as covered in the Preface, Lyotard's (1979) work acts as an oracle wherein several of my prime enquiries about postmodernism find riddling responses; I consider *The Postmodern Condition* an event, not a book. With a small commendation to Lyotard, and as I have already mentioned, I consider what I practise as a way of delivering a *thicker description* to be the "Enlightenment narrative", where the protagonist of knowledge "works toward a good ethico-political end—universal peace" (ibid:xxiv). In reading the Preface and Chapter 1, the reader should be orientated towards the full spectrum of intersections, which will allow them to extend their senses beyond one's bodily environment, transferring concepts and ideas shared during the analytical parts of the thesis that introduce people and places, sites, sights and musics that otherwise would remain unperceivable.

Diaspora

The hellenic origins of the term *diaspora* (διασπορά) derive from the Ptolemaic Alexandrian ruler's translation of the Torah (Tölölyan 1996:11): "καί ἔσῃ ἐν διασπορᾷ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς βασιλείαις τῆς γῆς", "you shall be in a dispersion in all the kingdoms of the earth" (Deuteronomy 28:25, CATSS LXX).¹ In antiquity, the term *diaspora* was used by Greeks to describe Hebrew exile from the Promised Land. What for Thucydides and the

¹ Transliteration: "esê diaspora en pasais basileias tês gês" (Deuteronomy 28:25, CATSS LXX).

Greeks was an organic process of *diaspeirein*, “scattering of seeds”, had changed by 587 BCE into a stringent definition, describing Jewish dispersion (Tölölyan 1996:10).

Khachig Tölölyan (1996), perhaps the most influential scholar in modern diasporic studies, argues in his significant article “Rethinking Diaspora(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment” that diaspora has expanded from its original meaning of dispersion to a larger transnational field of meaning, including memory, nostalgia, identity and heritage. Its modern usage, which began by including the Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersions, has now been subsumed within a “larger semantic domain” (Slobin 2012:97). This evolved meaning has been engaged by several scholarly approaches. William Safran’s (1991) key article examines diaspora as a modern concept for “myths of homeland”; Vijay Mishra’s (1996) usage theorises Indian migration in textual practice; and Robin Cohen (1997) utilises the term in a more global context, from *classical* diasporas such as the Jewish, and diasporic victims, both African and Armenian, to imperial labour and administrative diasporas of Indians and British, trade diasporas of the Chinese and Lebanese, and the Caribbean case of cultural diaspora.

Notwithstanding, diasporic studies have taken a turn into infinite topics. For example, Jana Evans Braziel’s (2008) examination of diaspora relates to economics, gender, race, activism, and post-modern concepts such as global traffic, post-9/11 and sexual orientation (queer diasporas); and Milton Esman (2009) lists *types* of diasporas and relates them to non-traditional case studies, from Zionists in Palestine, Ukrainians in Canada, Russians in Israel, to Palestinians in Kuwait and Mexicans in the US, evaluating the problems of diaspora for international relations, its implications for ethnic conflicts, and its engagement by policy-makers.

Ethnomusicology did not explore diaspora in detail until the mid-1990s (Slobin 1994:243),² though now one can find edited collections on *Musical Performance in the Diaspora* (Ramnarine, 2007). A historical survey of the terminologies used to describe ethnomusicological studies of migrants documents this very well. From the 1960s references to “migrant” (Naidoo, 1960; Greenberg, 1965; Merriam-Garner, 1968), “exile” (Nkosi, 1966), and sporadically to “diasporic” (Katz, 1962) musics gave way to a predominant 1970s usage of “migrant music” (Qureshi, 1972; Singer-Friedman, 1977; Dyck, 1979), while *diaspora* (Sendrey, 1971; Hendricks, 1974) became more frequent,

² Here, I want to clarify that studies which choose not to use the term are not necessarily less valuable than those which do.

though not yet fully established, and was mostly used for music of the Jewish dispersal. In the meantime, other terms describing the extensions of musical traditions now assimilated into other cultures, like “acculturation”, were engaged by George List (1964) in a generalised fashion, and by Robert Kauffman (1972) in discussing its problematic aspects for Shona urban music; but by the 1980s they had evanesced (Slobin 2012:98).

The use of *diaspora* in the 1980s was still sparse, while “migrant music” references endured (Olsen, 1980; Arnold, 1985; Coplan, 1988). However, the late 1980s introduced “refugee music” (Schramm, 1986:92; 1989; Hirshberg, 1989), in the aftermath of politico-legal events such as the United States Refugee Act of 1980. *Diaspora* gained widespread currency in the 1990s, and became firmly embedded in ethnomusicology after the publication of two pivotal articles, James Clifford’s (1994) “Diasporas” and Mark Slobin’s (1994) “Music in diaspora.” During the mid-late 1990s the term’s use expanded greatly (see, among others, Bohlman, 1996; Mukuna, 1997; Hernandez, 1998; Myers, 1999).

Several wider concepts were established in the 1990s and taken into diasporic studies. One such is Slobin’s (1993) “micromusics” in his book *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*, denoting “small units within big music cultures” (Ibid:11);³ another is Kimberly DaCosta Holton’s (1998) “topographies”, in *Like blood in your mouth: Topographies of flamenco voice and pedagogy in Diaspora*, which describe the travelling of flamenco pedagogy, culture and performance from its indigenous topography of Andalusia to its diasporic destination in Chicago, Illinois.⁴ This discussion cannot omit reference to Arjun Appadurai, who in his (1996) *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization* introduces “ethnoscapes”, describing “the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups”,⁵ and “disjuncture”, and states that “the complexity of the current global economy has to do with certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics” (33).

While the notion of diaspora is heavily linked with *the past*, it is also about *the new*, and the same applies to the unfolding of ethnomusicological works around it. In the twenty-

³ The term ‘micromusics’ is used by Slobin (1993) in a broader social sense than that suggested by his ‘brief’ definition given in the main text.

⁴ Holton (1998) uses the example of the Andalusian musician and teacher Tomás de Utrera as an symbolic embodiment of the two topographies she discusses (Andalusia and Chicago); however, she mostly focuses on how pedagogy, culture and performance have been subsumed within the Chicago topography.

⁵ The ‘-scapes’ suffix was employed by Appadurai (1996:33) in his chapter ‘Disjunctures and Difference’, to propose an “elementary framework of exploring disjunctures” by engaging five “dimensions of global flows”: “ethnoscapes”, “mediascapes”, “technoscapes”, and “ideoscapes.”

first-century, ethnomusicological studies of diasporas engaged with anthropological methodologies, enabling a focus on specific ethnographic examples such as the Lao and Afghan diasporic media musics (Chapman, 2004; Baily, 2011), and post-colonial Cape Verdean popular music (Sieber 2005). Koushik Banerjea (2000) focussed on the music industry (music reproduction) and its effect on the musical behaviour of migrants through the example of the album *Soundz of the Asian Underground* (1997). Yet most importantly this new wave of ethnomusicological works, and I include mine here, have managed (or in my case, at least, endeavoured) to embrace *the new* without ignoring *the past*, by locating their research in multi-sitedness and Internet networks. This *new* appreciation of how to approach and evaluate modern diasporas has become “increasingly eclectic, with the term achieving greater applications in ways that risk overlooking memories” according to Tina K. Ramnarine (2007:2). In my framework, however, this aspect is far from ignored, and in the following sections I devote considerable space to memory per se.

Tomas Turino and James Lea’s (2004) collection of essays on identity enquiries⁶ and Carol Silverman’s (2003) gender examinations of professional (musician/dancer) Balkan Muslim Rom women examine larger concepts connected with diasporic music, while particular spatial foci figure in studies such as Martin Stokes’ (2011) paper on Mediterranean migrant musics and Helen Kim’s (2011) work on the exchange of diasporic musics from Bombay to the Bronx. A focus on musical hybridisation in diaspora is to be found in Keir Keightley’s (2011) examination of Brazilian musical traditions in the United States and Canada during the 1960s, and post-modern approaches to the Puerto Rican and South African queer diasporas are followed by Lawrence La Fountain and Martin Stokes (2005) and Gayatri Gopinath (2005). Transnational theories of dispersions figure in Stokes (2004) and Su Zheng (2008).

A recent key ethnomusicological publication *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*, edited by Erik Levi and Florian Sheding (2010), introduces several new terms (“mobilities”, “dislocations”—Bohlman-Stokes 2010:vii-viii), and adopts others (“displacement”—Bohlman 2010:15-30) while restoring and modernising older ones such as “acculturation” (Campbell 2010:89-104) and “exile” (in an Adornian disposition—Paddison 2010:135-154). Philip V. Bohlman (2011) later draws on Levi and Sheding’s work to publish a lexicon of terminologies for migrant music

⁶ The collection covers Asian-Indian diasporic identity debates in United States (Mehra, 2004); post-genocide diasporic Armenian identity reifications (Yazedjian, 2004); and Albanian diasporic transnational identities (Sugarman, 2004).

studies, entitled *Discourses of Mobility*. The terms he uses group conveniently according to their initial letters: e.g. Acculturation and Assimilation *versus* Disjuncture and Displacement (156-157). This review of terminologies offers the new generation of ethnomusicologists a fairly wide palette to choose from, and several of these 1990s and twenty-first-century concepts will be utilised in this thesis.

Ethnomusicological diasporic studies take a variety of forms, from Michael E. Veal's (2001) doctoral thesis (*Echo: Dub Music and the Acoustics of Diaspora*, later published in book form), articles (Kyker's [2013] Zimbabwean Diaspora and its reception of Oliver Mtukudzi's Music), chapters (Daynes' [2005:25-41] chapter on the reggae and Rastafari diaspora in Whiteley et al, (eds.) *Music, Space and Place*) to whole books devoted to the topic (Toynbee-Dueck, 2011), all focusing on a diversity of ethnic groups. One of the most recent publications, which also throws light on another key constituents of this thesis, is *Performing Nostalgia: Migration Culture and Creativity in South Albania* by Eckehard Pistrick (2015), which examines the synthesis of music-infused nostalgia in diaspora, as I do.

Martin Baumann (2000), Rogers Brubaker (2005), Safran (2005) and Régine Azria (2008) suggest that Jewish dispersion is a paradigmatic pre-1960 example of diaspora; Ingrid Monson (2003) sees African emigration as a quintessential late twentieth-century example. The imperial-era and post-colonial Cypriot dispersion to the UK of the 1960s, and the 1974 post-war diaspora, are chronologically intermediate between these two. And yet, its fragmented di-ethnic structuring tunes one directly to the transnationalisms and transbordering tropes that contemporary diasporas are made of. While literature on the Cypriot diaspora has been thoroughly covered in the Preface, one can notice that the TsC community in the UK seem to be neglected by scholars, while the GsC is the subject of many academic case studies (to name but a few, George-Millerson, 1967; Constandinides, 1977; Oakley, 1979; Orphanides, 1986; Anthias, 1992; Robins-Aksoy, 2001; Georgiou, 2001; McEntee, Atalianis-Pouloukas, 2001; Bertrand, 2004; Teerling-King, 2011). However, these (and also the very few studies on TsC diaspora) concern political, historical, sociolinguistic and *less* cultural issues; none is focused on music. And yet what is more worth noticing it is the fact that none of these (at least that I am aware of) focuses on Birmingham and the two communities there; there is a contemporary postgraduate movement of research towards musics of the GsC diaspora, yet none of it in a di-ethnic context. This thesis not only enters this research gap, but it also throws light for the first

time on the TsC migrants and their musical praxes, something also missing from previous scholarship.

I would like to conclude this brief review on diasporic studies by explaining why I am engaging principally with the term *diaspora* (as opposed to migrant group and migrant musics, even if these are interchangeable in the flow of my writing); and synchronously underpin two of the key references in anticipation of how these will be utilised within the analytical chapters. (That is, if we take as granted that I align my ethnographic approach with the contemporary flow of diasporic ethnomusicologies, which analyse the “historical specificity, musical memory and the preservation of tradition to the musical creativities, new performance spaces and new musical sounds of diasporic practices”—Ramnarine 2007:2). The kind of diaspora I have encountered in Birmingham has expanded from its original sense of dispersion to a larger transnational field of meaning and significance, matching Tölölyan’s (1996) blueprint of what modern diasporas are. Migrants in Birmingham seem to also instantiate Tölölyan’s six “constitutive elements” of *diaspora* (12-15) and Safran’s (1991) distinctions between migrant group and *diaspora*. These are explained and analysed in Chapter 2 in conjunction with a series of other constituents (all covered before or within this chapter), while externalising an internalised-nostalgic (memory) narrative from two individuals, always in interdependence with musical praxes (and the performance of two di-ethnic artefacts).

“We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left” (Pierre Nora 1989:7).

It was Pierre Nora’s (1984-92) *les lieux de mémoire* that instigated for me a research drive into the interdependence between music, memory, history and modernity in twenty-first-century Cyprus and its diaspora. This channelled my work in Birmingham and Cyprus between memory, myth, imagination, history and future-orientated locals (complex spatial distributions indeed, yet all necessary in order to achieve *thicker description*). And in between these arbitrary placements of *self*, social and musical phenomena, resources and artefacts reveal the crystallisation of what is perceived as tradition (by Nora) and authentic (by natives and migrants), and the neo-modern local perceptions and transnational expressions of these in migration.

All interchangeable themes and constituents within this work have always been connected since the beginning of my project by one singular notion, *memory*. Memory has always had this function of making “visible new connections where previously only disparate elements could be seen” (Assmann 2002:40). Following Astrid Erll’s

(2005/2011:7) argument that memory needs to be understood initially as a “very broad” concept, I commence this memory-related discussion with such generalities before tuning into more specialised memory pathways such as social, cultural, and autobiographical memories and their narrative outcomes; again, aligning with the methodological ethos described in the Preface.

The emerging field of memory studies ranges from appraisals intertwining contemporary trends and historical knowledge of events, to memory expressions; from what we know, to how we remember it (Hoskins and Sutton 2011:i). All of this transpires between internal and communal negotiations, some of which exoticise the past as a “foreign country”, an imagined Arcadia, where people do things differently (Hartley 1953:1). It is, in other words, an “imagined cosmopolitanism” as understood by Ioannis Tsioulakis (2011:176-179), mediating between the structuralisms of Cornelius Castoriadis’ (2000:21) understanding of human imagination as a “new form [that] utilises elements that already exist”, and a combination of Thomas Turino’s (2003:63) “cosmopolitan subjectivities” as a “crucial site of the local-trans-local dialectics” and Martin Stokes’ (2007:6) “cosmopolitanism” as an ethnomusicological empiricism that “restores human agencies and creativities to the scene of analysis, and allows us to think of music as a process in the making of ‘worlds.’”⁷ Let us not forget that people take (and want to take) their music to these *other* worlds too. Cypriots, and their unique native translocal and transnational diasporic processing of cultural resources (heritaging), are a complex and (by this doctrine) a celebrated example that captures these timeless intangibilities.

The narrative is what connects memory and time *sensu* Paul Ricoeur (1988), locating the process of experiencing in a time span. The individualistic nature of narratives as private choices, in a time span, emerge as vital tools for memory narratives around music (and more broadly, cultural memory covering sensorial resources such as smells and sounds), and therefore contribute to its maintenance. This doctoral work adds the complex field of migrational memory to this equation.

⁷ Remaining within ethnomusicological literature, Jonathan Stock (2002) also gives a shape to “cosmopolitanism.” Instead of structuralisms, Stock chooses to interplay cosmopolitanism with institutionalisation in the same way in his article *Place and Music Institutions and Cosmopolitanism in ‘Shenqu’, Shanghai Traditional Local Opera, 1912-1949*. “Cosmopolitanism... signals the interconnectedness of cultural life in modern [Birmingham] with that elsewhere... [with other UK and not only] towns and cities”. Birmingham-based Cypriots’ ‘interconnect[ions]’ are mostly with London (see Preface) and of course their native land. Stock also uses institutionalisation “to refer to the rise and ordering of places for and manners of cultural performance within the modern city” (544). The rise and ordering in this instance refer to both Western popular music and migrant musical-evoked behaviour.

Social memory,—the kind that one has no choice but to learn in order to act within one's social norms—also has its importance and role in the making of this thesis. Even more important, is the role of cultural memory, which I understand as collectivisms extending to the emergence of self and the individual from autobiographical remembering, and vice versa. In some, mostly non-Western cultures, collective/cultural memory has a strong symbolic or pragmatic explication; however, in Western cultures the emergence of the individual through the sense of *self* is prominent. As a product of such nurture, I have chosen to espouse the Enlightenment narrative, finding reasonable empiricisms for answering the questions I have raised within this thesis in the most attempted-truthful fashion. All these are covered, from the cognitions of applied sciences to the meta-narratives and the metaphysical(s), in a way that makes sense of memory manifestation within the group (Cypriots and BbCs) examined.

Memory

The Greeks thought memory important enough to personify it in the goddess Mnemosyne⁸ and her daughter, the muse Mneme,⁹ and memory has always stimulated more research than any other human intelligence and faculty (Neath 1998:1; Radstone, 2000; Foster 2010:2; Erll 2005/2011:1). The mainstream and current understanding of memory as a dominant psychological process has been the aftermath of intense scientific investigations in previous centuries. However, even in current understanding, memory in everyday life has several anecdotal and ambiguous utterances. Susannah Radstone and Katherine Hodgkin (2009:1) link this contemporary “fascination with memory” to Michel Foucault's (1981:17) “discursive explosion.” Perhaps the early seventeenth-century problematics of memory, as these are raised from Foucault, might be one of the reasons why memory attracts scholarly twenty-first-century investigations, including this thesis. In 1989 (5), Pierre Nora explains the obsession with memory as the result of it being derelict (see title of section). However, memory's stock comprises not only the above, but also academic research occurring in between Foucault, Nora and contemporary studies.

⁸ Mnemosyne (Gr: Μνημοσύνη) in Greek mythology is the daughter of Uranus and Gaia, and one of the six Titanides. She was the mother of the nine Muses by Zeus, including the three original ones; Mneme, Aoide and Melete (Hom. *Hymn. in Merc.* 429; Hes.*Theog.* 54, 915; Diod. v. 67; Orph. *Hymn.* 76; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 21.). Pausanias (i. 2. § 4) mentions a statue of Mnemosyne at Athens; and near the oracle of Trophonius she had a sacred well and a throne (Paus. ix. 39. § 4, &c.). In modern Greek, The Mnemosyne (Gr: Μνημόσυνο; Eng: calling to memory) is a Greek Orthodox religious prayer service, commonly known in English as the “Memorial Service”, in which prayers ask God to show mercy and forgive the sins of the deceased.

⁹ Mneme (Gr: Μνήμη) translates as memory, and was one of the three Muses that were in early times worshipped at Ascra in Boeotia (Paus. ix. 29. § 2.). However, there is also an apparent tradition that Mneme was the *mother* of the Muses, implied by Ovid's (*Met.* v. 268) calling them Mnemonides. (Sources: Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology <www.theoi.com>).

The transnationalising of sites of memory into new platforms such as twenty-first-century multicultural Britain, and events such as 9/11 and 7/7, perplexes the understanding of memory notions as fragmented expressions of nation-based discourses (identity, religion, music, etc), causing a “memory boom” in society and eliciting academic exploration and understanding of it (Huyssen 1995:5-9). Most importantly for academics, these new transnational realities of studying memory, which are strongly reflected in this thesis, make one realise that Nora’s (1984-92) work has become a rite applicable beyond France that can now act as paradigm for global expressions of memory. Inevitably, the transnational extensions of memory are made by us and for us. This study aligns with this panhuman and trans-cultural reality, by adding to the roll of memory sites the Cyprus example, with the twist of conducting work in multiple cities (interchanging the fieldwork between Birmingham, Cyprus, and the *other*).

The impact that memory has as a notion in scholarship nowadays seems to date back to the 1980s, and to result from poststructuralism and postmodernism (Klein 2000; Erll 2005/2011:5). Memory is also a fallible notion that communicates experience as narratives, which perhaps explains the post-1980s expansion of postmodern techniques in the interplay of historiography and narrative. This established scholarship aligns with the methodological ethos and direction of this work, which collects a series of recalled or imagined migrant events that are manifested as communicative stories, affecting not only the narrator but also the socio-cultural reality of those around them. If as a next step it is approached and analysed metanarratively, it also enables inclusion of conscious and unconscious testimony from participants, advancing the collected data to its fullest and most efficient utterance—a *thicker description* in doing interpretative (ethnomusic-)anthrop(-)ology. This is, in brief, the journey that memory as empiricism takes within this thesis (as a silent but informed agent), ending on a meta-narrative note which resonates an endeavoured truth from the participants’ testimonies, the stories remembered, the stories imagined, and the ones forgotten.

Memory has always functioned as an underlying nexus with migration groups and studies (see Glynn and Kleist 2012:3-29). It is an everyday recorded reality how *new* migrants negotiate their place in new worlds (imagined or not) and how a multicultural hosts, such as Britain, are in a continuous dialogue with legislation and public discourses of accommodating, apropos the new global diversity of culture identity and race. Migrants use memory to generate such expressions both separately and individually, whether these expressions are collective, selective or individual memory products. Memory is

vital for migrants' sense of *home*, social structure, heritagage, communal reality and several other themes discussed within this thesis; observations surface during the analytical Chapters later on. I have utilised and foregrounded cultural resources and artefacts as the pivotal elements of (re)enacting migrant memories, basing this methodological movement on the very well established knowledge (since the 1960s) that in their *conforming* and *assimilating* process, even under strenuous conditions, migrant groups or minorities and their succeeding generations retain cultural resources (i.e. music, food, national celebrations) from their native background (Ibid.:4).

My focus on the Cypriot example, a field hitherto poor in data but rich in socio-cultural discourses, urges the importance (as one way of balancing unequal data—especially inter-ethnically as explained above) of the interplay between cultural memory and the individual as observed in a cosmopolitan setting such as Birmingham, and the urban ones of Larnaca and Nicosia. Centralising memory, this doctorate aims to contribute by searching among academic utterances of memory to distinguish heterogeneous applications and modes of collective and individual remembering, as well as drawing attention to different cultural extensions and symbolic forms of memory. This section's objective is to follow the full spectrum of memory studies from the labs of applied science to the expanding fields and sites of memory and finally its diasporic manifestations, with nostalgia being amongst them. All these are carried while simultaneously stressing the importance of the individual and narratives as modes of analysis.

Socio-Cultural Memory

Social and cultural anthropologists both understand that their fields are interchangeable (Bloch 1998:4). Concepts from cultural studies are essential for social scholarship and vice versa; social anthropologists, in order to construct social organisation (as their discipline aims to do—Goffman, 1956; Smith, 2002) need to understand the cultural idiosyncrasies of the group being studied (Winch, 1958). Cultural anthropology can be rationalised as the discovery of the information necessary for a person to function within a habitus in a way that makes communal sense (Bloch 1998:4). I here refer to habitus in its anthropological definition *sensu* Pierre Bourdieu (1977:22-30),¹⁰ underpinning

¹⁰ The habitus as a term was adopted by Bourdieu from Marcel Mauss (1979:95-123). Susan Crane (2002:5) in *The Performance of Self*, describes habitus as shaping the “consciousness from the outside in, pressing people to identify with their learned but profoundly habitual ways of conducting their lives”. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984:101) provides cognitions as to answer distinctions: “[habitus] (capital)] + field = practise”. Bourdieu explains human *praxes* (practise) as an interrelationship of habitus (as customs, habits etc.), capital and field. With habitus Bourdieu (1977:22-30) underpins “generative structuralism”, capital is “whereby

“generative structuralism”; and I will be using the term in this way throughout the thesis. It is therefore in this interchangeable manner that I construct arguments here, while reviewing pertinent literature on memory and its socio-cultural functions.

Social interactions test memory every day. Memory competes in a social habitus in the form of conversation, which requires recovering and subsuming information (the process of memory). Being habitually forgetful, e.g. failing to recall your wife’s birthday, can be ignominious and in some cases elicit the discontentment of others. Humans have always availed themselves, with each other, of extensions of their memory in various ways (i.e. audiovisual reminders or projectors of new information). This common understanding underpins a mainstream axiom that social relations are dependent on memory, a concept that has also been academically developed.

Ervin Goffman, arguably the sociologist who had the greatest impact in his field during the twentieth century (Fine and Manning 2003:34), both in his *Encounters* (1961) and *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1969), discusses this further by using the dramaturgical enactments of theatrical performance as an embodied meta-narrative way of analysing human interaction (presenting of self) and understanding social structure.¹¹ This is not far from what the present study is partially doing, but with other cultural artefacts in place of theatrical dramatics,¹² and with their performance understood in a wider platform than the artists who perform, and embodied memory extending to the individual’s meaning rather than the collective. Further, with *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman (1969) manages to reach and affect multiple academic fields within arts, humanities and social sciences, revealing as early as the mid-late twentieth-century the interdisciplinarity of memory study. Applied and social psychologists accept it as such, and have researched it accordingly (Solomon, et al. 1989; Glăveanu, 2011; Golding and MacLeod, 2013; Rider, 2013; Rojas-Fernandez, et al. 2014).

A distinction between social and cultural memory is that the former comes with the obligation of learning it (Ostrom 1998:217). This incumbent social information brings knowledge, and with such power, we develop skills and the frame of mind to impress one

dominant groups secure esteem in public opinion for their activities; capital can be economic, cultural and social symbolisms. Bourdieu’s field are fields of struggle, such as: economic, administrative, artistic, intellectual, religious, e.t.c.. This is a very minimal explanation of Bourdieu’s equation.

¹¹ Goffman (1969) utilises theatrical performance within *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, not in *Encounters*.

¹² In another agreement with Goffman’s (1967) work, this study also understands interaction as a ritual.

another, something commonly known since Michel Foucault (1980).¹³ This knowledge, according to Searleman and Herrmann (1994:222) has both implicit and explicit functions. The implicit derives from the subconscious information we are given by the culture that nurtured us, and explicit by other everyday social information. We use this knowledge opportunistically to impress during social interactions (Tetlock and Manstead, 1985). This chameleonic ability to adjust implicit and explicit knowledge is very relevant to the Cypriot example, as its narrative reveals in the analytical chapters. Memory operates differently according to different societies or cultures, whether you are in a social or private event, and the nature of its purpose, but in no case does individual or collective remembering construct past truth, “but rather an expressive indication of the need and interests of the person or group doing the remembering in the present” (Erll 2005/2011:8). This is how memory functions in the variables of panhuman habitual praxes.

Collective/Cultural Memory

Yet why does psychology considers cultural and collective memory as synonymous? The aforementioned chameleonic knowledge is an inheritance of idiosyncratic cultural implicit-isms and explicit-isms, understood as an informational accumulation which makes local sense, and which is passed on to one culture’s members. This informational accumulation is otherwise known as collective memory; one that mandates the old intra-cultural generation to pass it on to the one that follows. This might take the form of administrative institutions (politics and laws), schemas (religion), folklore (music), and behavioural customs.¹⁴

¹³ The French postmodernist, Michel Foucault, changed the global perception of how power is shaped, understood and practised socially within modernity, as exercised by institutions, organizations and the state, and how these affect everyday life. See also my previous discussions on micropolitics, in the Preface.

¹⁴ Spitting, for example, has culturally varied interpretation. In modern Greek culture spitting three times, usually by elders towards youngsters, is considered a sign of protection from evil, as opposed to the mainstream western perception of it being a grotesque gesture of insult. Roberta Klatzky (1984), calls similar customary behaviours the memory proverbs of a culture, and considers them as humorous collective expressions. Revisiting Foucault’s (1980) theory of knowledge and power allows another way of explaining these folkloric and behavioural customs. For example, it is customary in the tradition of Cypriot musicians to lead the wedding day march (in front of the priest and the couple, or, just in front of the couple in the case of TsCs), as their knowledge of folkloric traditions is higher. An unusual hierarchical structure is noticeable in the marching line-up; Donna A. Buchanan (1995) and Timothy Rise (2001:28) both show how musical hierarchy is a “synecdoche” of its habitus. However, this hierarchical supremacy of musicians, ahead of the priest, the embodiment of pastoral power, is an excursion from the social hierarchical power norms (this is still exceptional, even in Cyprus’ contemporary social norms); usually pastoral power comes first, in the case of GsCs, in these traditional settings. These iconic interactions of social power during a musical performance underpin the importance and the power that music has as a form of art (Ibid.), and how it sources from and is offered back to the community in the process of memory.

The psychological understanding of cultural memory as collective, the task of passing over the accumulated social knowledge from one generation to another observably requires a diversity of memory techniques, different for each culture (Higbee and Kunihiro, 1985), as ethnomusicological studies in oral traditions reflect.¹⁵ The most common of such techniques would be symbolic reminders, “a type of reminder that it is intended as a signal to whoever notices it that something must be put in memory or remain in consciousness” (Searleman and Herrmann 1994:224). Symbolic reminders can be found transiently (for example in food and drink), perpetually (music on vinyl, pictures and icons) or intangibly (sounds and smells).¹⁶ However, they all belong to memory’s neutral-theory categorisation of sensory. Symbolic reminders are a key product in extending our senses within this thesis. The culinary culture and the music that migrants sense and experience have been observed as key for their remembering and imagining process.¹⁷

The concept of sonic triggering in memory studies has been explored deeply by psychologists (Kaiser et al., 2008). Within cultural studies of memory, including musicological accounts, the subject has only been approached cognitively within alien (Baumgartner, 1992) or home environments (McGee-Lennon et al., 2007), and perhaps not as holistically. There are pertinent examples of musicological scholarship in relation to working memory (Berz, 1995), performing ability (Williamson, 1999) and musical structure (Poulin-Charronnat et al., 2005). In 2006, Salome Voegelin refers to ‘Sonic Memory Material as “Pathetic Trigger”’, arguing in her article that old-familiar songs, as sonic symbols, trigger memories to current perception. This competes with the modernists’ idea of visual art, which is considered a remote way of accessing a symbolic resource.

¹⁵ Another memory technique for passing on accumulated social knowledge is oral tradition. Oral tradition has been deeply examined in relation to memory. An example from 1992 is Luisa Passerini’s (Ed.) geographically diverse collection of essays. From the Soviet Gulag, Amsterdam, Spain, France and German Jewish concentration camps, all contributors-historiographers Europe’s past as that competes with contemporary (for that time) understandings of totalitarianism, through the ‘memory technique’ of oral tradition/history. Oral tradition has also its importance in Cypriot folk music, as a technique of passing musical knowledge from one generation to the other. Further ethnomusicological literature such as David Rubin’s (1995) *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-out Rhymes*, which bridges psychological cognitions of oral memory/history/tradition in folkloric performances, is also suggested.

¹⁶ This also agrees with Tölölyan’s (1996:13) third constitutive (out of six) element of diaspora in regards to collective memory. Tölölyan calls this as an embodiment *via* dynamic social, communication and trade (see Chapter 2).

¹⁷ As the word ‘symbolism’ will interplay frequently with my narrative I would like to clarify that every time it is used it has the meaning given above.

Traditionally, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists examine symbolic reminders in ritualised environments.¹⁸ These ritualised symbolic reminders, for example, can find a research body in tangibles such as flags and monuments (for example the many statues of war heroes in both parts of Cyprus, acts of *mnemosyne* in its modern Greek sense), or intangibles such as singing, dancing or religious/spiritual and modern-life rituals. These also extend to social roles of inclusion or exclusion understood differently by each culture; such as the strictness and exclusion that Orthodox Christianity and Sunni Muslim societies practise towards homosexuals or straight heretics.¹⁹

Literature covered so far, looks how cultural and social studies interdepend, and how the terms are synonymous when prefixed to memory. One recurrent feature within most is the monocultural (and thus mono-ethnic) way in which cultural memory was studied. As cultural memory holds a central role within this thesis, I feel that I need to make clear that I understand and apply cultural memory neither as monocultural nor as a monodirectional abstraction. Explained later how, I adopt a more humanities-affiliated understanding, which matches my indigenous and di-ethnic appreciation of it. Even if it remains a silent agent, a basic understanding of how the doctrine of collective/cultural memory was produced, this time within more relevant disciplines thematically apropos to this work, has to be made early on. It is also important at this point to establish some preliminary and essential literature for the reader, as these scholarships will be reflected, passively, through the arguments that come later.

A different cultural memory

Thumbing through an interview transcript from 21 March 2014, I came across a striking testimony. It was the story of Salih Komurcugil from when he was hosting the joint interview with Christos, at Cannock. Salih explained how he moved to Birmingham in 1988 in his early twenties, initially to seek treatment for a football injury he had suffered back in Cyprus. In the meantime, he met his wife Semra, a BBTsC, and since then he has remained by her side in the catering industry. On my asking how his career in the catering industry developed, Salih had no recollection of some of the events. In piecing together the details, he provided a key moment in his life, when he met his good friend

¹⁸ Keith Howard (1989; 1998; 2000; 2006a; 2012) is a well-known scholar of this contemporary anthropological and ethnomusicological practice, with a geo-focus on Korea. Further, there is a plethora of both anthropological and ethnomusicological studies looking symbolism in a ritual habitus. These are extensively discussed apropos within in their corresponding section (within this chapter).

¹⁹ The concept of ritual is discussed further in its own section in this chapter.

Christos. He said that his first job was at Christos father's (Kyriacos') chip-shop, and it was then that Christos joined in the discussion to explain how Salih started his career next to him, in his family business; "since then we are like family."

In the same way, as the "founding father of cultural memory studies" (Erll 2005/2011:7) Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) did in 1925 in his *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* with narrating the story of a wild child (a young girl that could not remember episodic memories of her life), I reproduce Salih's tale as it "allows us to understand in what sense one may say that memory depends on the social environment" (37). In interpreting the story, I focus on the protagonist's lack of memory on his first employment in Birmingham and how both Christos and himself explain that they are like family; what touched me the most was the "family" reference. For Halbwachs (1925:172-73), family is the inevitable social interaction in a person's life, an institution where individuals set themselves into social tasks in relation to others. Further to the previous discussion on my choice of focus on *the family* (see Preface), a family structure further expands to other social institutionalizations which work by the same logic. "Memories are shaped within these frameworks and may seem immune to the passage of time—that is they can be reproduced without change" (Weissberg 1999:15).

Perhaps Salhi's selective amnesia might have had to do with repressed memories (*sensu* Freud), or *sensu* Halbwachs (1925:173) where forgetting does not mean neurological dysfunction but that, according to the circumstances of the specific time, society mirrors "the past to itself in different ways: it modifies its conventions." Amongst many other scholars, Liliane Weissberg (1999:14-15) and Erll (2005/2011:14-15) observe for Halbwachs that even if he was an academic offspring of subjective individuality research on memory,²⁰ during his work *mémoire collective* shows little interest in the individual and self; I concur. Halbwachs argues further (188) about the importance of events, underlining that they can be selectively recalled or forgotten according to their relevance (or narratives' relevance) to the current moment in time. As in the case of the family above, Halbwachs explains that the same process expands and takes place, with the same logic, within the frame of a society, which "in turn modifies recollections according to its present needs" (Weissberg 1999:15). Collective memory has this unique feature of tuning the past and manifesting it according to present-time judgment or choice; according to Halbwachs' theory, it is perhaps the most flexible type of memory.

²⁰ Halbwachs was the former student of philosopher Henri Bergson (1896, 1889) whose work estranged the collective of memory and garrisoned the subjective individuality.

Since its genesis in 1925 (Halbwachs 1925, 1941, 1950), cultural memory has turned into a highly problematic academic topic (Erll 2008:1). At the outset, Marc Bloch (1925) wrote that Halbwachs' educational background had misled him to fallaciously reposition psychological theories of individual memory into his collective memory work. However, in my opinion what maintain Halbwachs as a critical figure in contemporary cultural memory studies are his strong concern for establishing the dissimilarities of memory and history, and his definition of the *traditional*;²¹ Weissberg (1999:15) explains the distinction in her *Introduction*, and Jan and Aleida Assmann in their *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (1997:42-48) expound Halbwachs' definition of tradition.

If Halbwachs' collective theory is employed to my work in Birmingham and Cyprus, it then faces the contemporary criticisms of the field that collective memory unnecessarily duplicates already academically established concepts like "myth" and individual memory (Gedi and Elam 1996:30-31; Erll 2008:1-2). Halbwachs' collectivisms raise another problem within the thesis' modern computation between memory, present recollection, and the metanarrative.

The problems I observe for accommodating Halbwachs work within contemporary memory studies—apart from its discordance with contemporary research on myths and imagination (that hold a major role in my research) and his preferred emphasis on language rather than events (Halbwachs refers to events briefly; events are also a major contributor to this work)—are its generalities and grand narrative, that almost make his work absolute, authoritarian, self-pleasing, narrow and monocultural. However, in his defence, Weissberg (1999:15) notes that Halbwachs' collective memory "certainly illuminates some recent events, such as the ongoing rewriting of Eastern European history."

The first real recognition of Halbwachs' work came as late as the 1970s and peaked during the late twentieth-century (Weissberg 1995:16). The dominant theories since then have been Nora's (1984-92) *lieux de memoire* and Assmann's (1997) *kulturelle Gedächtnis*. Together with the poststructuralism that intermediated (see Foucault's work), these studies reorganise Halbwachs' work theoretically into the modern doctrine

²¹ Aleida and Jan Assmann (1997:42-48), explain that Halbwachs' understanding of tradition to be simply restructured memory, perhaps more systematised than that, and indeed more objective than the general and mainstream understanding of the word; I concur with this understanding of tradition, which I suggest is Halbwachs' biggest legacy in academia.

of cultural memory, “following a shift in stress from the social group to its modes of production” (Weissberg 1999:15). Twenty-first century examinations intertext with the above, and now challenge the synonymy of cultural and collective as prefixes to memory, as this thesis also does.

A key literature in the construction of this thesis is Nora’s (1989) *Between Memory and History: les lieux de mémoire*. What sets Nora’s work apart from Halbwachs’ is that the latter was insistent on the division between memory and history, while Nora celebrated their interchangeability. As Weissberg (1999:16) observes, Nora does not place himself at “the end of history” but at the limitations of memory, conducting his work at a time when there was “so little of it left” (Nora 1989:7). What Nora did with *les lieux de mémoire* was to take a notion (memory) in decline, and by concentrating on history as the past and rejecting its grand narratives, located specific sites where it could be found in plenteousness. These memory sites align with places, spaces, sounds, objects, and images.

Les lieux de mémoire are perhaps the most influential attestation of cultural and collective memory in contemporary literature. Nora’s name and work find reference and analysis in every form of literature concerned with cultural or collective memory, either as dispersed elements or in unity. Perhaps the only name that can match his legacy, if in rather more controversially, is Halbwachs’; all literature cited within this section so far mentions both Nora’s and Halbwachs’ contribution to the science and study of cultural/collective memory. In France, both authors’ homeland, cultural memory was a dominant late twentieth-century abstraction, but since then, the sites of memory (in a studious way) have dispersed geo-culturally and are now also assessed as a panhuman function.

The reasons I consider Nora’s (1989) work more pertinent to the *cultural* and *collective* of memory for this thesis are to do with his methodological approach of including *ars memoriae* (objects, places, events, etc.). Nora enlightened French culture’s then contemporariness through historiography, by focusing his attention on “French architecture, monuments, and public festivals” (Weissberg 1999:18). Similarly, this doctoral work seeks the truth of contemporary Cypriot culture with an ethnomusicological study and the aid of *ars memoriae* as artefacts; by looking at music-enhanced memory sites, in native, diasporic, and *other* contexts. A difference would be that, for Nora, memory lies in the truth of historic understanding, while in my work it lies within cultural understanding, ethnographic realities, and individuals’ truths with history

being part of it; my work is not made by me for Cypriots, but from Cypriot individuals for Cypriots collectively. This thesis is merely an academic agent in this process, assessing situations through cultural resources and artefacts.

Autobiographical Memory and Narratives of the Self

I think [/remember], therefore I am... willing, imagining, remembering... is what I call *mind, spirit, soul, myself*... [italics in original] (Berkeley 1734/1979:43).

The relation of self with autobiographical memory (a.b.m.) is an academic and anecdotal platitude (Fivush and Haden 2000:vii; Wang and Conway 2006:10). In 1829 (/2001:174) James Mills suggests “the phenomenon of self and that of memory... [as] merely two sides of the same fact.” However, that does not define the two as a module— as much psychological research initially thought—since their affiliation is interchangeable, interdependent and closer to synonymy. Late twentieth-century cognitions (mostly psychological) stress the importance of narrative by proposing that the construction of life story sums up into an intermix of self and memory (Neisser, 1988; Nelson, 1993; MacAdams, 1996; Fivush, 2001). Underpinning the importance of these three themes and their symbiotic nature—a.b.m., the self, and narrative—this section discusses them in this order. More heed is paid to the concepts of the construction of the individual and the narrative of the self. A.b.m will be briefly explained, mostly as understood from psychology, which by the beginnings of the twenty-first century, in its own estimation, had brought a common language for researchers of all disciplines for this theory-neutral term of memory (Beike, et al. 2004:3).

Autobiographical memory

The study of memory on information of one’s past emerged during the mid–late twentieth century (Searleman and Herrmann 1994:262). In most exegeses of a.b.m., the term ‘self’ is inevitable. William Brewer (1986) perhaps gave the most transparent of such by framing a.b.m. as “memory for information related to the self.” The self however, is not the only sense that a.b.m. imparts; it “also provides a sense of identity and continuity... (cited in Rubin 1986:7). In scientific thought, a.b.m. stems from long-term memory and its informational structure can be both semantic and conceptual. The body of knowledge that a.b.m. processes includes episodic memories (e.g. how the father sees his daughter’s wedding or how a daughter sees her own wedding). It is this ability of

a.b.m. that first attracted my focus firstly, that it processes episodic memory and provides unique personal memories of an event, differentiating the construction of one life story from someone else's in the same socio-cultural environment. Secondly, I turned my focus to a.b.m. because it covers the senses of self, identity and culture, all key notions in this thesis. Thirdly, the narrative discourses that an autobiographical migrant testimony provides seemed too precious to be wasted on generalisms, and comprised an attractive body for analysis. It is also empirically proven that a.b.m. "grounds the self in remembered reality" (Wang and Conway 2006:9) and perhaps that was the only way to access the truths of mythological migrancies methodologically, and a way of eliminating misleading migrant myths and imaginations.

The impact of the self on personal remembering does not just occur in the mind or in the brain. Instead, it takes place in the context of socio-cultural participation during which individuals actively experience and construct their life stories guided by their culture's presuppositions and perspectives about selfhood (Ibid.:15).

The construction of the self varies upon the prevailing views of each autonomous socio-cultural environment. This is a reciprocal process, leading in the cases where society emphasises individualism (i.e. most western cultures) into "expression[s] of an autonomous sense of self" (Wang and Conway 2006:15). This western construction of self, is antithetical to those usually found in Mediterranean, or other non-Western cultures where individuals are accustomed to (mostly symbolic) social roles, obligations and tasks that comprise the critical attributes of self (Geertz, 1973; Spiro, 1993; Wang and Li, 2003). However, even if this is corroborated from social psychology²² it still raises sceptical questions from anthropologists and ethnomusicologists, such as: is the monocultural approach to self a monodirectional technology of looking into the self, or is individualism what constructs the collective? In this thesis I also ask how this monocultural approach reacts when an ethnos evolves generationally in diaspora. This is where cultural studies raise the idea of the *individual* to try and answer such questions in cultural sociology, anthropology and ethnomusicology.

²² Wang and Conway (2006) in their essay 'Autobiographical memory, self, and culture', claim that culture is a "belief system" (23). They systematise the concept of the monoculture as variant upon the stages of biological maturation. Each stage reflects on a different memory construction things which might relate with another's memory process at the same stage of maturation.

The individual and narrative inception

[Vladimir]: What do they say?
[Estragon]: They talk about their lives.
[Vladimir]: To have lived is not enough for them.
[Estragon]: They have to talk about it...
 (*Waiting for Godot* – Beckett, 1952).

As an oxymoron schema, the concept of the *individual* spawns from Romantic and Enlightenment scepticisms, as a reflection of one's past (thus a.b.m.), and as an imagined concurrence of looking upon oneself. This perhaps has to do with the transparency that Enlightenment advocates had, sourcing from the ethos of their science and its postmodern emplacement. This imagined self-reflection has proliferated within eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, with the famous examples of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1959) self-*Confessions* (in *Oeuvres Complètes I*) promulgating himself as a free-standing individual, rather than an illustrious figure; and the nineteenth-century novels of Honoré de Balzac, Charles Dickens, Fyodor Dostoevsky and Nicolai Tolstoy (Terdiman, 1993:3-32), which bridged autobiographical writings of imagined worlds with the liminal(s) of space and time within history.

These *fictional* narrative devices of memory, and their chronicle (as a science) competing with nature, started to grow the belief within historiography (i.e. Pierre Nora) that they were a way of solving the already problematic utterance of memory in scholarship (caused by psychology), and as a way to record the truth leading to objective conclusion as opposed to the subjections of memory itself. These scholarly developments contour the viewpoints of the *then* growing narrativists and the idea of narrative analysis mostly nurtured amongst historians.

As an epistemology, narrative analysis can be thought of as an inversion of empiricism (Lorenz 2002:309-10). History at that point seemed quite established enough as an academic discipline to safeguard and claim censorship on such epistemologies of memory, which turned out to be one of its most important analytical tools (Weissberg 1999:9-12). One key publication is Hayden White's (1975) *Metahistory*. White, self-understood as paradoxical (1995:65),²³ understands these empirical inversions with a Nietzschean

²³ "One cannot transform a 'real' event, person, process, relationship, or what have you into a 'function' of a discourse without 'fictionalizing' it, by which I mean 'figuring' it. The translation of the stuff of reality into the stuff of discourse is a fictionalizing" (White 1995:65).

viewpoint, as “Fictions of Factual Representation” (1975:127-128). This established the traditional view that narrative portrayal is conceived as the offspring of research. Thus the relationship between researcher and past is similar to that between record player and record (White 1984:27; Lorenz 2002:312,315),²⁴ or as Frank Ankersmith (1990:20-21) describes historians in a more musical metaphor, as needles and pick-ups.

The many competing strands, operating as if hermetically sealed off from one another both in psychological research on memory and the self contradicting factual elements of views within historiography,²⁵ have communicated a meta-form of looking at autobiographical writings in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, which has also expanded to audio recording as a result of contemporary augmented academic ethnography. Metanarrative analysis has taken many forms, such as the 1970s’ poststructuralist shift of Halbwachs from events to language so as to “collect memories” (Weissberg 1999:15), and contemporary postmodern mouldings to varied inventive academic works.

Parenthetically, although my empirical application of the little narrative as metanarrative (a story about the story) is explained in the Preface as “a quintessential form of imaginative invention” (Lyotard 1979:xxiii), a brief revision to benefit the reader (and not an alteration in its meaning) describes les petits récits as competing with each other, breaking from the totalitarianism of the more usual grand narratives and engaging with the little narrative stories as they interact. On a more contemporary note, and celebrating current scholarship that, like my work, incorporates postmodernism and (meta)narrative analysis, I would like to mention Divya P. Tolia-Kelly’s (2004) article *Materializing post-colonial geographies: examining the textural landscapes of migration in the South Asian home*. Although thematically distant from my own research, Tolia-Kelly’s narrative methodology about the cooking pot is not far from my own research recipes. Tolia-Kelly examines South Asian and East African migrant communities throughout the UK, and so her enquiry has a much larger sample (the small population of BbCs has some

“In “Literary Theory and Historical Writing” White, however, explicitly denies that he obliterates the distinction between fact and fiction, although it is not clear on what grounds (35). Now he defends tropological analysis to the point of almost equating it with an epistemological position” (Lorenz 2002:316).

²⁴ In his *The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory*, White (1984:27) explains traditional historiography in relation to narrative as: “the form of the discourse, the narrative, adds nothing to the content of the representation; rather it is a *simulacrum* of the content and processes of real events. And insofar as this representation resembles the events it represents, it is a *mimesis* of the story lived in some region of historical reality, and insofar as it is an accurate *imitation*, it is to be regarded a truthful account thereof” [my italics] (Lorenz 2002:315).

²⁵ I.e. White’s and Ankersmith’s disputing statements that historical narratives have a “metaphorical structure and therefore no truth-value” as these are explained by Chris Lorenz (2002:309) in his *Can Histories be True? Narrativism, Positivism, and the Metaphorical Turn*.

impediments; the more the merrier). However, Tolia-Kelly's development of Lyotard's theorems and her high-postmodernist subjunctive approach to methodology design, match the ethos of my approach.

Ethnomusicology and autobiographical memory have always been in consensus. Musical praxes were never conceptualised simply as transactional, but instead as constituents in the amalgamation of social contacts, manifesting through the adeptness of the individual (and of families) while realising their social roles. At first, I engaged with the concept of the individual as a response of the transnational contingency and cosmopolitanisms I had to face during my research. The *chaos* but also intellectual complexities of dealing with these contemporary realities tuned my ethnographic approach towards the qualitative outcomes one can extract from the individual—the understanding of one's individual evaluation, sense, and place, through a critical consciousness of race and history. Cosmopolitanism has been a strong agent in ethnomusicological research in the last two decades, mostly in the transaction of ideas, ideals, lifestyles (Turino 2000; Feld 2012), or imagined commodifications that originate elsewhere (see above, Tsoulakis, 2011). However, this grand cosmopolitan narrative does not acknowledge the concept's *petits récits* as a functional canon that warrants sensitivities for, and inclusion of human diversity, something observable in musical praxes amongst individuals.

In an exploration on the relationship between individual, society, and musical performance, Jonathan Stock (2001) emphasised the role and importance of the individual as research agent within ethnomusicology. In 2005, Elen Koskoff re-visited the discussion, calling on ethnomusicologists to base their research on “respect for the individual, and respect for the process of life” so as to “put real people and the truth of their musical lives back into the picture” (98); in short, to do interpretative anthropology. Seven years later, Jesse D. Ruskin and Timothy Rice (2012) trailed a shared interest and celebrated Stock's ideas by surveying ethnomusicological works (between 1976 and 2002) which have indeed practised the individual as their agent. Yet, ethnomusicologists tend to centralise musicians as their protagonists. This at least gives musicians the acknowledgment they deserve; yet, to give a holistic and *thicker description* for the modern Cypriot one cannot limit oneself to tuning into practitioner narratives alone. Participants in the making of this thesis have been mostly non-musicians (and by that I mean people in whose everyday lives music plays a central role, who yet have no technical musical knowledge whatsoever). No other study I am aware of covers this; and Part II of this thesis also sheds light on ephemeral migrants (mainland Cypriot students

who study in Birmingham), in a juxtapositional but also comparative relation with permanent migrants. This thesis' making emerged from myself looking into the possibilities of writing an individually-focused, reflexive, ethnographically-infused body of work on both the musician and the non-musician. In the analytical chapters, fragments of individual lives and experiences are foregrounded, bounding places and spaces connected to the personal experiences and memories essential in the formation (or sometimes fragmentation) of identities in Cypriot life. This foregrounding emerges from the intersection of time and place; what is considered in the literature reviewed above *what we call self*, the unmatched quality of an individual.

There are many more vistas of academic discussion on a.b.m., the self and their narratives. However, the thesis' space limitations incapacitate me extending further.²⁶ In brief, this sub-section amasses a diegesis about how an individual creates a life-narrative framed by socio-cultural elements that determine what body of knowledge is apposite and justifiable to remember, and above all the importance of panhuman understanding of what it means to be an individual with an autobiographical past.

Cultural Or Constructive Memory?

Cultural memory is not the Other of history [capitalisation original].
Nor is it the opposite of individual remembering. Rather, it is the
totality of context within which such varied cultural phenomena
originate (Erll 2005/2011:7).

In 2005/2011, Erll posed the question of "how to theorize and work with cultural memory" (10). In reply, contemporary ethnomusicology homogenises disperse elements of the study of memory with music analysis, anthropology, and ethnography. Although is very well argued that collective and cultural memories are the same, however, the synonymy is going further. The emergence of the self and individual as a new critical idiom of memory studies has proved cogent, and could not be disregarded by anyone studying any form of culture; their narratives are not merely stories, they are a mode of

²⁶ Deliberately excluded so far, for example, is how the individual and autobiographical evolve into the collective, as substantial particles in the creation of cultural continuity and sense. This *will* be discussed in the next section, although in a reversed manner (how the culture and collective mirror, shape or 'write' one's autobiography). Another vista omitted for now and later incorporated in the chapter is the interchangeability of cultural memory characteristics in historiography. These go beyond narratives and also are suggested as the progenitor scholarship of cultural memory (see Assmann, Halbwachs, Nora, and Richard Terdiman), especially as adapted by this thesis. This strand will also be practised during the analytical chapters, which showcase how socio-cultural events and tasks are organised in space and time as memory sites, and how narratives give them a human form and an interpretation that makes human sense (c.f. Carr, 1986; Ricoeur, 1991).

analysis, as Allan Megill (1989) explains, though some contemporary ethnomusicology still chooses to represent only the collective overlook or the individual's ephemeral looking, usually studies that choose to remain cognitive (Will, 2000; Clayton, 2007).

Therefore, in seeking *thicker description*, this work seek to underpin advancements, contradistinctions and relatedness between diverse academic strands on memory, homogenising them in a theoretical model of memory and culture with particular foci on the individual, narrative, and eventually metanarrative. This extensive and unified understanding of cultural memory dates back to Halbwachs' work. There is strong academic contention between ways of viewing cultural memory, from a "non-pragmatic, transdisciplinary, centerless enterprise" (Olick and Robins 1998:106) to an "outstanding example of how far apart methods and research interests in the individual disciplines can be despite the close relationship of the objects of study" (Pethes and Ruchatz 2001:5) and as the German school of politik argues, a collective guilt ("Kollektivschuld"; Reichel, 1995). However, "for many sceptics, the term ... in fact refers to the opposite: an unacceptable homogenisation process [of] myths, memorials, debates about the past, autobiographies, and families looking at snapshots and bringing them all together under the umbrella of 'memory'" (Erll 2005/2011:6). Barbie Zelizer (1995:235) goes further to challenge these homogenised extensions in memory study as improper overexpansion that turns memory into a "catch-all category." Whether one chooses to look at collective and cultural memory as one or disparate elements, what really matters is that its utterance should be constructive (I use the term constructive memory here) to reflect on the study of memory as a "discursive construct" (Pethes and Ruchatz, 2001:13).

In the example of twenty-first century Cypriots, the need for homogenising dispersed elements with memory is perhaps higher than in other ethnographies. The idiosyncratic fragmentation of this di-ethnos and its troublesome political, ethnic, and religious interrelationships with past conflicts make it possibly a unique case study. Moreover, this di-ethnos' diaspora in the UK and its modernisation process adds more layers to the complexity of it; cultural memory studies' *techniques* are perhaps the only way to approach this ethnos and indeed reach some truth. And it all comes down to this unique capacity of memory to homogenise disperse elements. To quantify the contemporary construction of memory in Cyprus and its diaspora in Birmingham one cannot examine eldest's autobiographical memories of the 1974's war in Cyprus separately from stories, images or myths that circulate amongst younger generations in contemporary Cyprus and Birmingham; from commemorative ceremonies and the undying dialogues about war and conflict victims and lost homes by refugees; or from academic work in the

historiography of Cyprus' past, present and diaspora to manifest the future-orientated twenty-first-century reality.

The realisation that such things must be seriously considered by a cultural study such as this thesis underpins the need of homogenising them with intradisciplinary ethnomusicological elements, which once seemed far from each other but are now bounded in this work and other pertinent literatures. Further, the relationships between memory and history have always being juxtapositional, even if their nature often causes academic confusion (Erll 2005/2011:7); the above makes one understand that indeed they need to be fused. Here reminding the reader to Goffman's (1969) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, as the first intradisciplinary literature to reach and affect multiple-field academics, mostly within arts, humanities and social sciences, revealing as early as the mid-late twentieth-century the multidisciplinary studios extends of memory. By this I endeavour practising neither collective, nor cultural nor autobiographical memory, in their classical stringent senses; but instead pursue what I term *constructive memory*, using a unique theoretical model adjusted to the idiosyncrasies of the di-ethnos examined; a work built on the legacy that scholars like Goffman left us. The constructive memory I refer to "is not the Other of history... [nor the] opposite of individual... it is the totality of the context within which... varied cultural phenomena originate" (see opening quote).

Between constructive and migrant memory

A person was to be defined not only as an individual, but within the bounds of a national identity as well, one that was constructed by symbolic acts like festivals or commemorations (Weissberg, 1999:13).

So far reviewed is how numerous themes interconnect in the study of cultural memory, ranging from the modern examination of autobiography and narrative self (Fivush and Haden, 2003; Beike, et al. 2004), and the post-structural metanarratives (Lyotard, 1979), to competing pasts and their contemporaneously politics of memory; the latter observed in the Preface as apolitical praxes and placebo nostalgias. Notwithstanding psychologists' prototype work looking at music performance as a memory expression, ethnomusicologists and cultural anthropologists have recently theoretically inclined memory foremost as means of constructing musical sound and performance in a variety of environments and social status in native, migrant, urban, and rural (Skoutella, 2007)

habitus. Nowadays, studying music in cosmopolitan and urban contexts (as this thesis does) is arguably customary for ethnomusicologists, many of whom conduct interdisciplinary works in multi-site and complex cultural settings. These contemporary ethnomusicological and anthropological abstractions of music and memory can only be understood as modernisms or high modernisms (if considered as departure from traditional ethnomusicological fields and into the “new frontier” of urban mostly ethnomusicology—Reyes-Schramm, 1982), of a discipline with a short past and a propitious future. These modernisms have one thing in common; they all examine how autobiographical memory expands to the social and collective (cultural memory) in the form of musical performance in order to find the truth—that is, if we take cognitive ethnomusicologists completely out of the equation. Nevertheless, memory has always been a democratic notion, since Nora’s (1984-92) *lieux de memoire*, a “perpetually actual phenomenon” (8) that everyone can claim ownership of, and an undying dialogue between the individual and the collective.

This thesis aims to reverse this modern ethnomusicological correspondence, exploring how cultural memory expands to the migrant self as constructive memory, as musical praxes; not necessarily in performance, but as a body of resources with their artefacts that impel individuals within the “cosmopolitanism”²⁷ of Birmingham to nostalgic musical ends that restore the true Cypriot culture, which natives and migrants portray (in different ways) to outsiders in relation to the two supercultures as *motherlands* as part of their modernisation process.

The suggested reversed expansion²⁸ of the individual coming in the foreground of diasporic memory expression, it partially revisits the “strikingly” early modern period when memory was the refuge of the individual (Radstone and Hodgkin 2009:2), however, in an unencumbered and dated manner. I reject of totalising memory as merely either an individual or a collective notion, as cognitive ethnomusicologists are passively doing and early modernists did, and I recognise and also learn from opposing contemporary modern scholarship, such as Raphael Samuel’s (1994) work and ethnomusicological

²⁷ Competing also with the city’s musical “institutionalisation” (Stock, 2002:544).

²⁸ The endeavoured reversed memory expansion of looking with metanarrative lenses at the social and collective turning into individualisms of migrancy, to an extent yet in different context, is also found in other cultural studies. In 1994 Raphael Samuel stressed this expansion in his book *Theatres of Memory* by associating memory in “a new, less elitist and more democratic relation to the past” (Radstone and Hodgkin 2009:2). This then *new* expanded relation of memory to the past is the one that covers contemporary ethnomusicological and anthropological scholarly studies in memory, for example Goffman (1961; 1969), as dramaturgical enactments of performance and as an embodied twenty-first-century metanarrative way of doing ethnomusicology.

modernisms, which welcomed the contrasting expansion. It is after all a cognitive axiom that the process of memory is not only an internal task of the brain, but also occurs in the context of socio-cultural participation (Weissberg, 1999:13; Wang and Conway, 2006:15). In brief, concurring with Qi Wang and Martin Conway, what I see as “true” amongst Cypriots is that they “experience and construct their life stories guided by their culture’s presuppositions and perspectives about childhood.” This is an argument that has been well cognitised and dogmatised from social psychology, and it agrees with my findings (Muller, 1994; Wang et al., 1998; Wang, 2001; Bruner, 1990; 2002).

This thesis attempts to bridge the latency from psychology to ethnomusicology. As Terdiman (2009) I am concerned, contemporarily, with the relations between memory and the postmodern and its “association leaps” (167), understood in this case as latencies between the scientific progression of psychology and ethnomusicology. Esther Lesley (2009:172-6) coincidentally profiles ethnomusicological studies as a modernist’s understanding of memory; that “individual subjects [participants] suggested that it would be figured by new technologies of the visible”, thus anachronistic. Expanding the discussion in the Preface about postmodernity and ethnomusicology in the twenty-first century, the current wave of postmodernism is trying to catch up with memory. Terdiman “suggests that while the connections memory makes between one thing and another [i.e. collective and individual] might be based on shared elements [homogenised elements of constructive memory discussed above]... memory’s association also reveals that memory is inextricably bound up with relations of difference [thus the idiosyncratic approach of constructive memory I suggest]” (Ibid.). I revisit the concept of *the individual* (in response to the call from Stock, Rice, and others explained above), in the same way as Terdiman did with Crawford MacPherson’s (1962) theory of *Possessive Individualism*, that captures what a holistic understanding of memory theoretical framing is—“the figuration of a qualitative *difference* between public ‘outside’ and memory’s particularity and specificity—though this difference between ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ may have only later come to be associated with subjectivity, and with that uniqueness of self and of experience associated with possessive individualism” (3). The discussion of inside (as private) and outside (as public) becomes most apparent in Chapters 5 and 6.

Memory and migration

When conjoined, memory and migration form a whole other vista of memory studies, and as this work endeavours to be holistic, the full spectrum of intersections between

memory and migration had to be reviewed. It is for this reason I build this sub-section according to the development blueprint of the chapter so far. However, this time tuning into the cultural dimensions of migrant memories. What is memory migration? Is it just iconic memories transferred to another locale? Is it emotions that make someone seek his place of origin? Is it a way to claim identity and placement, or a sense of belonging? Is it just an imaginary concept developed in the aftermath of exile, dislocation, acculturation or misplacement? I would argue that is all of the above, and even more than that. I started explaining in the Preface why I use the term ‘migrant’, and the problematics of utilising dated and *narrow* terms such as immigrant, emigrant, and migrant generational numbers. For the latter, I would like to add that BbCs might construct themselves as *second, third, etc* generation migrants as a reaction to the micropolitics (i.e. placebo nostalgias) they experience in their diaspora and in the apolitical social-structuralisms they develop as a way of remembering. These placebo memories point towards the motherland Greece or Turkey, while Cyprus turns into a forgotten homeland.

I have drawn on Mahalingham’s (2006) work in explaining all these in the Preface. Another very well expressed concern of Mahalingham’s, not discussed yet, is his cultural interpretation of what a migrant is: “Immigrants [migrants] are both *folk anthropologists* and *informants* at the same time [italics in original]” (2).

It is in fact true, and cross-revealed from my research, that migrants in their new locales are tested to gain a deeper understanding of their native culture or even fully understand the way their culture reflects to British natives or other migrant groups there; this will be manifested clearly in the opening notes of Part II. I would therefore suggest they are folkloric raconteurs rather than anthropologists, as they lack the empirical tools and analytical skills that a scientist might apply to a culture. As individuals and raconteurs, they develop the narratives for their cultural heritage—the backbone of this thesis.

Mahalingham (2-3) further argues that migrants behave exactly like cultural anthropologists in “exotic cultures”, and with this I have to strongly disagree. Perhaps the author’s background in psychology prevented him from a sufficiently intradisciplinary approach to this argument, as he reveals very weak understanding of what cultural anthropologists are. It is a different thing to examine a culture empirically and ascribe an anthropological and social meaning to it, than to learn about a culture, your native one, in order to claim identity and feel that you belong somewhere in a new country. In a way anthropologists as scientists of their kind aim for human and social understanding, while

migrants create in quick time new social realities and cultural ones (heritaging), that need explanation from people who have correct academic training and the reflexivity and knowledge of the differences of an insider and an outsider. In his essay about refugee migrants, Valentine Daniel (2006:55-64), takes this critical attack on cultural anthropologists a step further by arguing that even migrants and anthropologists share the same predicament during the “disruption” (by anthropologists) of their culture, and that migrants do not have the same cultural privileges that a western anthropologist might have in a non-western culture.

However, in a more constructive vein, through this comparison a unique feature of migrants is revealed that anthropologists work hard to gain. Migrants, almost organically, have the ability to see the comparative cultural nature of their previous and new places, while an anthropologist might construct such comparative understanding but it will always be generic; an ethnomusicologist might learn to play a traditional tune on a traditional instrument, but he/she would never be an indigenous performer. And this is where migrant cultural memory is to be found.

However, before moving into the cultural/collective dimension of migrant memory, I have to first tackle one key question; that is the way one might understand memory in migration after working around it, and thus what differentiates this kind of memory from those previously discussed. This is where things get more complicated. The complexity lies into expanding everything we have so far discussed in relation to *time*. Time is here understood in relation to a moving (migrating) memory, as “time is the only movement that memory tolerates” (Crete 2011:3).

Time, (Mis)-(Dis)-Place-ment and the Formation of the New Space

Twentieth-century examinations, including Halbwachs', have mostly conceptualised memory as a static and in situ process of specific and convenient memory sites (the terminology here is owed, of course, to Nora). The newly emerged wave of examinations of memory in relation to migration finds this static framework problematic, though, and has increasingly been raising concerns in the last decade that memory studies are in crisis since the component of *time* is critical in shaping to the needs of every epoch. The three modes of the past, the present and future can only be interchangeable through diasporic examinations dealing heavily with memories, imaginations and their narratives. Further, we should ask ourselves whether memory sites in today's transnational reality

can afford to be convenient (the *anything goes* mentality)? But dealing with contemporary laterally complex memory sites, as Clifford Geertz (1973:30) once said, “is not to turn away from the existential dilemmas of life for some empyrean realm of [definition]; it is to plunge into the midst of them... the essential vocation of interpretive anthropology is not to answer our deepest questions, but to make available to us answers that others, guarding sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus include them in the consultable record of what man [and woman] has said.”

Julia Creet (2011:3-28) in her introduction for *Memory and Migration*, passively acknowledges this crisis, but seems to justify this much-needed turn of memory studies towards the component of *time* as shaping to the needs of every epoch, so different models of studying memory are generated to suit those needs. I mostly agree with this, as during my work I had to adjust my model not only to the contemporary pragmatic ethnographic in multi-sitedness, but also to track the *time* in which each participant is situated or situates themselves. The past, present, and future modes have been interchangeable throughout my data collection, and this will become obvious during my analysis.

To answer how I understand memory in migration after working around it since 2012, I would say this is in flux, and takes different forms. When one is examining memory in a cultural, physical, familial, or any other thinkable form, the understanding of it should be tailored to the context of the migrant group examined. This is here stated without excluding the greater methodological frame of this project, which as I suggest can be applied (with some perhaps idiosyncratic alterations) to other ethnic groups. The process of diaspora either enables or generates a continuing sense of dislocation (imagination, myths, etc.) for the migrant, particularly in a country like the UK and more specifically Birmingham, where their contemporary shape builds upon these migrant memory sites. In the case of this project, I came to the three modes mentioned above as, I believe, they exemplify and subsume the fruitfulness of the migrants I have worked with.

Place, in its contemporary re-evaluation, is regarded an experiential mediation shaped from social relations by which it is defined and understood, while pointing towards a geographical distinction, such as rural/urban, or in the case of the Cypriot diaspora examined here, homeland, motherland, and the new diasporic home of Birmingham (Olwig, 1997). Yet in its diasporic construction, and especially in the case of the modern and diasporic Cypriot, migration theory relies on binaries—tradition/modernity,

Turkish-/Greek-speakers, Cypriotness/Greekness or Cypriotness/Turkishness. Bianet Castellanos (2012:5) disparages these categories as “fraught terms because they reinforce a racialised discourse that presumes that these categories are natural and spatial”, leading to the fallacious presumption that one can become more or less Cypriot based on distance travelled. Yet, using Sevven Küçükoğulları’s words, being Cypriot “is not about where you live, the place I mean [or location]... I feel Cypriot because of the stories my grandfather used to tell me and the fact that my family as a whole talks about Cyprus as being their home.” This tells us that the migrant construction of being Cypriot is grounded in the interrelationships of historical, social and collective experiences (memories, imaginations and the narratives that these generate) of particularised communal and family feeling. In many ways this suggests a re-evaluation of the topic of acculturation, while throwing more light in the parting of what are known as traditional and normalised classifications, as contributions to creating *new* categories that emerge from difference.

These *new* categories are out there in the *now* of globalisation, shaping from movements of the translocal and transnational contemporary normativity, though in reality manifesting themselves from notions of difference as we will see from the trans-narratives of the young female British-Cypriots during the opening notes of Part II. This *new* and unknown of the everyday migrant unconscious calls for a comparative ethnographic exercise that foregrounds the interrelationship between current social frames and how they align with *place*, through theoretical innuendoes of the *now* nuances that construct *new* complex ethnographic sites, resulting in a conscious dissemination of the significant truth. It is taken for granted that cosmopolitan Birmingham, in relation to an identity-fragmented ethnic group there such as Cypriots, comprises an extremely complex transnational ethnographic site; and, making transnationalism the “analytical lynchpin” (*sensu* Alicia Re Cruz, 2013:26) for Birmingham’s “dynamism”, “movement” and “fluidity” of people, capital, information, goods, in order to demonstrate how the phenomenon works”, then *place*, comprises the stock of global ethnography. It is my argument that it is not enough to photograph space in its own and give *thicker description*: a *new* space needs to be located and explored (brought into form and focus gradually throughout the analytical parts of this work), suspending and expanding on the webs of significance and in between social, political, cultural and idiosyncratic dynamics, mobilities, and by the flow of ideas and resources within transnational migration fields, as Arjun Appadurai’s (1996) work shows. All these shape a new complex ethnographic scape in an interplay of what remains in contemporaneity of structuralism (as an analytic

scale), and of course the individual, whose significant truth is to be defined, perhaps, by affirmatives.

When looking to understand these new realities such as affirmatives and the greater impact that globalisation and transnationalisation have, metaphors of mobility and flow turn into rules of ethnographic engagement. Methodology needs to respond to the rapidly changing conditions of our late-modern world and in between the flow of ideas and resources. This transnational (inter)exchange suggests migrational realities in flux, and the personalised lived experience pointing towards several truths of answered meanings, significances and in some cases collective representations. BBC narratives textualise personal and communal dialectics in such flux. These dialectics in flux take us back to the concept of place, this time as a field of ethnographic enquiry, as an immaterial flow of music definitely exists and converges the musical praxes of young British-Cypriots in Birmingham. To refresh our memories, “the ‘field’ of ethnographic inquiry is not simply a geographic place waiting to be entered, but rather a conceptual space whose boundaries are constantly negotiated and constructed by the ethnographer and members” (Fitzgerald, 2006:1-3). As this chapter illustrates, it can also point to other future-orientated virtual locales.

Naturally, mobility is a central action in the mist of flow; its impacts and utterance with diasporic music also take a central role in this thesis that stokes ideas and arguments of transnational (inter)exchange. Although we examine the mobility of individual bodies, collective ties to homelands, or travelled material and immaterial resources, not much is written about the emotionality of such transnational (inter)exchanges and their further misplaced and displaced nuances that perplex sites even deeper. Yet another ethnographic dilemma points towards an ethnographic investigation not *on* the people, but *with* the people, as a way of bypassing paternalistic intimations of participatory observation and remaining suspended on the webs of significance.

Yet, mobility’s trail situates these transnational resource interexchanges in a *new* place, and in distorted forms shaped from all the above nuances of the modern globalised life. Traditionally, in the theoretical literature these are known as displacements and misplacements; Levi and Scheduling’s (2010) edited collection devotes a volume to such mobilities around musics. Misplacement’s modern re-evaluation—and in tautology my understanding and utterance of the term—is that of placing a resource in an incorrect position; and thus for it to be lost momentarily. Psychoanalytically, displacement

describes an unconscious movement of an intense emotion from one body of resource to another. It can also describe removing bodies (both human and of resources) due to or by a third factor or party that replaces them in their original position. Misplacement's conscious utterance and displacement's unconscious mobile nature constitute a key difference. Yet, the two are bounded by absence, with misplacement being momentary loss and displacement of resources losing their indigenous place for an undefined time. These two mobile functions of loss are both bounded and at the same time interplay within mediations of the modern-day globalisation process—thus I will refer to this double movement as *mis-dis-placement*. In their mass formation, cross-global mobilisation and global communications bring people together both spatially and virtually in *new* and imaginative ways that only such modern-life transnational mediations can.

In his discussions about mediation's role in modern society and migration, Appadurai (1996:3) calls both of them “diacritics” of the globalisation flow, a flow that clearly—though complicatedly—manifests in the virtual space, where transnational identity dialectics take place and where the magnitude of Internet-based technologies offers the opportunities for people to transmobilise and reach the sometimes *unknown* far *other*. Meanwhile, the loss that misplacement and displacement generate during such transmobilisations shapes diasporic or even virtual communities that need no geographical space, religion, or even heritage to undergo a selective-ethnogenesis. And as the analytical parts later reveal in totality, there is also something about music's ephemerality that captures these mis-dis-placements especially well (as *new* re-formations, both vis-à-vis music as temporal phenomena and music as semantically unstable). These *new* re-formations, in constant development, have instigated a great body of ethnomusicological research in the past decades, as it is a given that music's praxes, especially when *ex situ*, are shaped by such *new* nuances of modern, transnational, global and diasporic social life. With transnationalism being a direct product of globalisation, and as a result of its flow through virtual platforms such as YouTube, music takes a central role in the distinction of mass mobility and tunes towards a production from the individual who potentially can have a mass impact through misplacing or dislocating music that is linked to modernity or tradition. (The role and capability of YouTube are showcased in Part II.)

The absence and loss that follows mis-dis-placement of musics from their original places and heritages gives to such online mobility phenomena the capacity to generate virtual

transnational communities with no sense of place, and a misconstrued and distorted sense of musical heritage. The utterance that these online music-mobility phenomena have also mostly disperses with and finds space within migrational formations in new hosts. Within the British-Cypriot diaspora in Birmingham such phenomena have many profound ways of impacting identity formations and re-inventions, mostly for the younger migrant generation. As previously described, self-other differentiation, strategic identity appointments and attestations of sameness, in-betweenness and hybridities are all, for young Cypriots, tortuous notions for the already ambiguous alignments of homeland, motherland and the new home of Birmingham. However, all are vital in telling the truth about the lived reality in which (especially) the younger generation of Cypriots are found there. Thus a *new* ethnologic reality is constructed through Internet-based transborder music-mobilities, a selective-ethnogenesis and heritagizing mis-dis-placement in the absence of Cyprus and in the virtual presence of a *newly* emerging transnational community—a diasporic trans-reality highlighting a trans-communal experience bounded by young migrants' strategic means of chameleonic identity assertions, epitomising transnational human re-creations in a *new*, third space.

For if one begins with the premise that spaces have always been hierarchically interconnected, instead of naturally disconnected, then cultural and social change becomes not a matter of cultural contact and articulation but one of rethinking difference through connections (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:8).

Defining the sectional title of the *new* space is in many ways what this chapter does, orienting itself into an axis of several mobile YouTube tracks during Parts II and III that have travelled through cosmopolitan transbordering and subsumption by the Cypriot community in Birmingham. This is carried out as a *new* way of understanding mobility's function of disarraying narratives of stasis, as opposed to the narratives of Cypriot youth in Birmingham that reveals a progressive and mis-dis-placed loss type of movement. Seven's and Chrystala's stories (featured at the start of Part II) tell of this functional progress, also inevitably propounding a new way of knowing and the advent of *new* subjectivities and social formations that result from mis-dis-placement and which locate themselves in the suspensions of the webs of significance. The merger of mis-dis-placement and migration blurs the edges of notions and concepts that are traditionally bounded by categorisations such as the music, the native homeland of Cyprus, the motherlands of Turkey or Greece, and the diasporic of Birmingham (all clearly shown in

the Preface). These traditional concepts and spaces tend to shape from their interchangeable and interplayable hierarchical relationships that are “reterritorialised” and reconceptualised in the flow of time as a result of changing practices (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:8).

In this same sense, diasporic groups’ utterance of cultural resources (the guarding of sheep, *sensu* Geertz) is problematic in that migrants experience, remember and understand culture in different time-spans, mis-dis-locating it randomly and idiosyncratically; one might argue that it is this avant-garde synthesis of misplaced and dislocated cultural resources that underpins transnationalisation.

This thesis looks into such transnational sites in its hunt for significances—as opposed to the empyrean realm of definition—on the suspended web of meaning on the Internet. The Internet allows migrants to express their mis-dis-located musical performances, and also to browse and find further material to mis-dis-locate. YouTube, Spotify and many other web music-access platforms have, one might say, given new meaning to and through such trans-movements of musics but also to the enculturation and acculturation of diasporic ethnic groups in relation to their musical heritage; they are in many ways the online interface of transnationalising music, narratives and memories that once were *in situ* and which now have a rapidly interchangeable and mobile complexion. Modern Arabic modes and Ancient Greek modes in the past used to encompass themselves geographically, while in modern understanding they do so “with place names” (Bohlman and Stokes 2010:vii). Yet, in the post-modernity of the online transnational interexchange of modes, these national-state-denominations are derelict *in situ*, while the exploration and use of platforms like YouTube is accessible to migrants with just a simple connection fee. Being a migrant, and learning one’s culture from the Internet, is perhaps the epitome of transnationalisation. The Internet may as well be described as the other valleys that Geertz refers to, which create a platform for other imagined forms of acculturated life like no other virtual or physical valley does.

Liminality and the Ritual Profile

Another analytical agent in the flow of this thesis—most apparent in Chapter 4, but also running throughout the whole—is my appreciation of modern (migrant) life as modern ritual. As an empirical/analytical motif a ritual profile is drawn in this section, as this will

be applied in giving meanings and scaffolding migrant truths through musical praxes observed during the analytical sections in the framework of this work.

When referring to *ritual*, Arnold van Gennep's (1909) foundational work *Les rites de passage* (*The Rites of Passage*) takes a pivotal role within this work, not only because of its devising of *liminaire* (liminality), an ingredient of the moments I discuss, but also due to its tripartite rite of passage schema. Both concepts possess an ambiguous quality matching the study's direction while turning empirically into these two valuable tools for explaining contemporary interpretive anthropological observation; they seem to "tell the story" as it is. Liminality, for van Gennep, was merely a stage in the flow of his work. However, for Victor Turner six decades later, it became a whole body of work (1967:93-111; 1969:94-130; 1977:36-52).²⁹ Turner finds liminality in an ambiguous sum of time and space around ritual (modern or sacred) and those "undergoing it—call[ing] them 'liminaries'—[a] betwixt-and-between established states" (1997:37). The "states" to which Turner refers are linked to liminality's derivation from the Latin for threshold, used to describe the time and space when one is on the doorstep but not quite in or out yet.

Returning to van Gennep's concept of *rites de passage*, it illustrates three constituents (rites) by which an individual departs from one social habitus and enters another. This *tripartite schema* consists of the three stages of separation, transition and integration—preliminary, *liminaire* (liminality, a stage frequently mention in this thesis), and postliminaire (post-liminality)—corresponding in sequence to before, during and after. This schema has been the favourite contemporary empirical toy of ritual-related studies, mostly for its flexibility, and the schema's suppleness deciphers a narrative which is central to this paper, unfolding an individual's placement within a ritual's luminosity.

After van Gennep's innovating landmark in ritual studies, several other prominent researchers evolved his fundamental work and introduced a whole new series of multi-layered rite descriptions, such as 'rite of distinction' (Bourdieu, 1977) and 'rite of initiation' (Belmont, 1982), which also symbolise transition of all participants from one social stratum to the next. Pierre Bourdieu (1977) devoted a large part of his work to examining the rites of such distinctions as social status, and other social binaries such as

²⁹ Turner first talks about liminality in 1967 in *The Forest of Symbols* (93-111), secondly in a chapter he published in *Secular Ritual* (1977:36-52), and thirdly in *The Ritual Process* (1969:94-130).

power and genre. In *la distinction* (1979:101), he takes a step further in providing cognitions to answer distinctions; he denotes the interrelationship of habitus (customs, habits, etc.) with capital and field thus: “[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice”, and uses habitus to underpin “generative structuralism” (1977:22-30). This is a very minimal explanation of Bourdieu’s ideas. I engage with rites of initiation to describe Nicole Belmont’s (1982) extensive work on rituals, and to describe societies like Cyprus where musically-infused moments also function as initiations and additionally reproduce hierarchical interrelations between age groups.

Almost a century after van Gennep’s (1909) work, Catherine Bell (1992) challenged the body of ritual studies in a celebrated publication, expanding on an ethnographic geo-cultural platitude from the Akitu festival to the African Mukanda, and to the enthronement rite and coronation of Queen Elizabeth II from the Swazi Newala. She (118) provides these examples to showcase *Ritual Traditions and Systems*, and with the incorporation of van Gennep’s (1909/1960) tripartite schema for *rites de passage* amongst others (like Bourdieu and Belmont), emerges with a methodological proposition for analysing and understanding modern ritual. It was Bell’s publication that illustrated that every ritual is idiosyncratic (generating local understanding and matching local ethos), thus needing a distinct incorporation of ritual analytic modules from the above-mentioned works.

I here term my own distinct incorporation of ritual-analytic modules the *ritual profile*, creating a methodological pick ‘n’ mix. This thesis’ ritual profile analytically foregrounds only one of van Gennep’s stages, the rite of separation, and chooses to replace the other two with Bourdieu’s rite of distinction and Belmont’s rite of initiation. These three rite-analysis modes seem adequate to capture Cypriot narrative and self-construction in diaspora. I will also be using *ritual* to describe the totality of an event/moment/artefact and *rite(s)* to identify the distinct legs and micro-rituals constituting that same totality.

Nóst(os)-Algia

As one of the key constituents of this thesis, and as an expansion of memory and emotional expression in synchronicity, *nostalgia* comes to bind a series of migrant discourses while giving meaning and definition for the Cypriot (native and diasporic) lived reality and truth. It is a theme, as much as an analytical tool, which runs throughout this thesis. *Nostalgia* as a word, term and notion, derives from two ancient Greek nouns,

nostos (Greek: νόστος – English: homecoming) and *algia* (Greek: ἄλγία – English: pain). *Nostos* is linked, nostalgically, to the Homeric theme of the longing of Odysseus to return home during the Trojan War. *Algia* was a common suffix word used to indicate a painful situation; the word-stem *alg-*, as *álgos*, was firstly used by Hesiod, including in this word Sorrow and Grief, the daughters of the Greek goddess of strife, Eris.

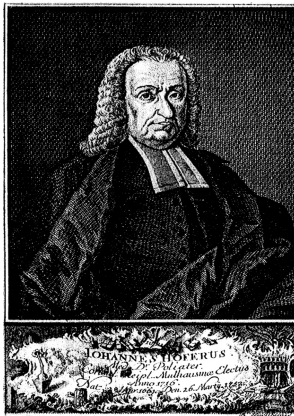


Figure 1.1: Portrait of Johannes Hofer (1669-1752). Photo: Anspach (1934:377).

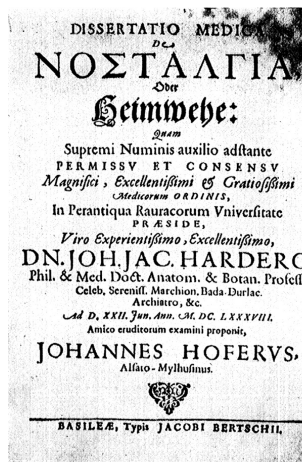


Figure 1.2: Title page to Hofer's dissertation Photo: Anspach (1934:377).

However, as a compound, *nostalgia* is *not-so-Greek*, or as Svetlana Boym (2001:3) in her of great import book on *The Future of Nostalgia* refers to as “nostalgically Greek.” Instead, the term is ascribed to a young Alsatian medicine student, Johannes Hofer (1669-1752), who coins the term in his 1688 thesis as an attempt to describe a new disease, a pathological longing for home (Zwinger, 1710; Anspach, 1934; Boym, 2001; Ritivoi, 2002). Although Hofer used “two other lexical combinations” apart from *nostalgia* to describe homesickness—‘nosomania’ and ‘philopatridomania’ (Ritivoi 2002:14)—it was ‘nostalgia’ that was popularised and universalised. Surprisingly, and contrary to modern common beliefs, *nostalgia* had a medical rather than an artistic sense throughout the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries. In order to distinguish pathology from emotionality, I will use ‘philopatridomania’ when an observed form of nostalgia has physical connotations (see Ibrahim’s example in Chapter 2).

In the nineteenth-century, the usage of *nostalgia* decamped from the doctrine of medicine into a modern context of arts and humanities. This includes music, but nostalgia’s pre-twentieth-century crystallisation was mostly linked with

literature (Santesso 2006:14; Ludovisi, 2009). By the end of the twentieth century, and after decades surfeited with artistic banality, nostalgia was conceived as a “kitsch” notion (Maier, 1996, cited in Boym, 2001:xiv), thus weakening the notion towards its conscious social effects, and enabling marketers to use nostalgia for unconscious social and consumption effects.

Departing from its nineteenth-century banality and then-modernity, mid to late twentieth-century and contemporary scholarship on nostalgia took a different perspective; it now has a postmodern outlook. In 1998, Linda Hutcheon suggested that the notion of nostalgia can accommodate postmodern empiricisms, with the new generation of scholars using irony as a “defence against commodification” to overcome surfeit banality and its kitsch presupposition (15). It was a decade before Hutcheon’s observations that Georg Stauth and Bryan S. Turner (1988) examined nostalgia in their postmodern socio-political critique of mass culture, seeing it at work, for example, in making modern Marxists elitists in practice. Within twenty-first-century postmodern scholarly approaches there is even a return to the literal etymological root of *nostalgia*, as if to undertake post-Hoferian medical examinations. Helmut Illbruck, for example, (2012), in *Nostalgia: Origins and Ends of an Unenlightened Disease*, re-thinks the notion pathologically, and reviews Hofer’s (1688) medical hypothesis anthropologically, using terms such as “acculturation, community, loss of critical perspective, intellectual reserve..., moral courage” and a “narcissistic masochism that resists all efforts at amelioration” (Said, 1935/2003, as cited in Shaplin, 2013).

This *new* and current postmodern nostalgia also started appearing in non-nostalgia-focused studies as a discourse. A literature I consider significant that falls within this category is Arjun Appadurai’s (1996) *Modernity at Large*. Firstly, it epitomises this *new* postmodern approach on nostalgia as a modern pragmatic, agreeing with my views and arguments on the flows of (post)modernism: thus, orienting oneself to the full spectrum of intersections and constituents covered within this work. Secondly, Appadurai uses the notion as an empirical tool in tackling problems such as Filipinos’ homesickness for a “world they never lost” (29-30); not far from the way I am engaging with nostalgia and Cypriot migrants. Thirdly, he establishes terminology: nostalgia as a “fashioned”, commodifying “instrument of [the] merchandiser’s toolbox”, an “ersatz nostalgia” (82)—discussed further below—and thus a “capitalist nostalgia” (75-85) that appropriates the past merely to sell fashion, Ersatz nostalgia is a key to my arguments here.

The destiny of nostalgia in diaspora

The “larger semantic domain” (Slobin 2012:97) of diaspora, and the distance and sometimes loss from ones’ *homeland*, surfaces nostalgic manifestations of various forms and shapes in diasporic praxes. In regards to the BbCs and their examined musical

nostalgic journey towards their own *Ithaca*,³⁰ their metaphorical homeland, this thesis make use of nostalgia's Homeric meaning. A "foiled journey home", the nostalgia of Odysseus' "sobs and groans and anguish..."³¹ (Fagles 1996:157), of migrants' conveyance "from spatial to the temporal" *algos*-less (painless) homesickness, and a "memorandum home" entwined from familiar smells, habitual symbols and intimate sounds (Malpas 2011:88-89). And with this I am referring to another twenty-first-century literature that I consider key; Malpas' *Philosophy's Nostalgia* (2011) and his argument of "spatial to the temporal" (88-89) *algos*-less (painless) homesickness of migrants, matching Appadurai's (1996:82) "ersatz nostalgia", "nostalgia without a memory."

Diasporic nostalgia is a deeply examined scholarly subject (Hall, 1990; Gopinath, 1997; Monson, 2003; Sakamoto-Zhou, 2005; Agnew, 2005; Mannur, 2007; Shiau, 2009; Andrews-Swann, 2011; Verma, 2013; Ling, 2014). Nostalgia and diaspora are destined to coincide, as ethnographic dispersions generate a longing for homeland (Ritivoi, 2002), irrespective to whether homeland is imagined or not (Poupazis, 2013). The depth, complexity and richness of discourses found within this nexus is where this doctoral work finds shelter.

In the outskirts of the thesis, and elsewhere (Poupazis, 2014) I have underlined as micropolitics of memory, another form of nostalgia: a placebo formation in diaspora. These micropolitics, for BbGsCs, are mostly linked to institutionalised formations, such as churches, in the creation of imagined communality. Hylland Eriksen (1995:157-175) explains how the church institutionalises and drives its members' praxes to prevent the potential social degeneration that being in a foreign country might prompt. This relationship also derives, according to BbGsC testimony, from memories leading to an emotional longing (nostalgia) for social continuity with the homeland. In Birmingham, the churches are institutionalised assembly points, *ekklesiai* in the classical sense, or in Andreea Deciu Ritivoi's (2002) terms, "the familiar." According to Ritivoi, the familiar generates nostalgia, and Svetlana Boym (2001) underlines nostalgia's function of generating a need for social continuity. Sarah Daynes' (2005) observations on the Rastafarian diaspora show the considerable efforts that migrants invest in maintaining symbols such as food and music to preserve social continuity; and this is how BbGsC act

³⁰ In this case the study uses *Ithaca* rather as Cavafy did in his poem (Constantine P. Cavafy, 1911, *Ithaca*); that it is the journey that matters and not the final destination. See also Maria Karra's (2006) article *Greek Cultural Keywords: Language Reflecting Culture Through Vocabulary*, which explores the definition and meaning of *Ithaca* further.

³¹ Homer *Odyssey*, Book 5:169&174.

around their two *ekklisiai*. She further argues that social continuity is sustained through social groups' historical narratives and division of memory into *before* and *after*. In contrast, Atsuka Matsuoka and John Sorenson (2001) argue that migrants care for out-dated traditions in their diaspora, with their *after* consisting of "ghosts and shadows" of the *before*.

BbGsC subsidise their two already-rich churches with personal, financial and other resources, to resist social dissolution (as they understand it) and to satisfy their memory-emotional-nostalgic expressions of social continuity with Cyprus. I have observed churches in Birmingham tacitly using fears of social dissolution to do a kind of micropolitics that contrives migrants' apolitics; this is placebo-nostalgia in action.

Boym's work (2001:xvii) reveals a darker side to late twentieth/early twenty-first century nostalgia, warning of its hazardous misemployment in exploiting political feasibilities through memory. Taking into account these contemporary discussions on nostalgia but also the ones expanded above, from my perspective, as I have stated elsewhere (2014:94):

placebo-nostalgia comprises the tactics and calculations imposed by an institution on its subjects to subordinate them unconsciously *via* emotions and memory, and covertly guide them into apolitical praxes. It is another form of micropolitics, with an agenda including memory, emotions and cultural resources.

Even if it manifests as an ersatz and painless nostalgia, a genuine longing for home still remains within BbGsC, who usually draw on cultural resources such as food and music to summon up remembered or imagined homes. These opposing genuine and ersatz dialogues, along with di-ethnic nostalgic musical ends, will be covered. When discussing how all these manifest through migrant musical *praxes*, BbCs are not far off from the discourses noted in academia for other diasporic groups. They also, similarly to the London example (using London as it is the closest abstraction to Birmingham—see Preface), have a longing to return to Cyprus, whether they are colonial-era or post-colonial migrants, 1974's post-war refugees (Zetter 1994), passive exiles (applying principally to the placelessness sensed by TsCs in the UK), or working migrants (Zaiceva and Zimmermann, 2008) seekers of a better non-native lifestyle (Constandinides 1977:270). Music-related nostalgia will be appraised in its modern form (Appadurai,

1996; Malpas, 2011) and hypothesised in a postmodern evaluation, as a nostalgia that has lost the painful implications of its *álgia* element, as traditions re-root and acculturate (Zerubavel [1995], Israel [2002] and Campbell [2010] discusses this process through the Jewish example).

In short, and in complete agreement with Paul Sant Cassia (2000:299) I examine music, diaspora, and nostalgia's many interrelationships as a synthesis "stressed and imagined through listening in new ways... [an interweave] seen as a new way of imagining communities, harnessed in and by the post-nation-state, an attempt at a connivance of a recovery of a lost childhood, a return to the m(other)land. Nostalgia, [is no alien to memory either, as it is] often [its] erosion... into (and as) history, helps create frameworks of interpretation (and narration) for sites of memory." It is exactly what Svetlana Boym (2001) discusses as the "grey areas" between "restorative" and "reflective nostalgia", with restorative nostalgia underpinning a construction of the *nóstos* (home) with transhistorical means of loss, while reflective nostalgia burgeons with *álgos* (the longing itself), "wistfully, ironically, [and] desperately" delaying or dismissing the home-return (xviii).³² Boym further explains that the "grey areas" in between this dual-nostalgia stems from the fact that the two are not necessarily binary. They are "grey areas on the outskirts of imaginary homelands" (13).

Music(ology) and nostalgia

Music of any form, at any stage from composition to performance, has never been separate from emotionality. A brief historical résumé of musical nostalgia showcases the harmonious mingling of the two. This is a nostalgic transhumance; from an illness (seventeenth-century) and Swiss folk Baroque (c.1600-c.1750) melodies; to Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) in Classical era (c.1750-c.1830); Robert Schumann's (1810-1856) nostalgic letter to his mother back home (Early Romantic c.1830-c.1860); and eventually to its twentieth century and contemporary popular music formation. For this musical movement of nostalgia through time, Mickey Vallee's (2010) thesis (as the first to underpin their historical interrelationship), counsels to some extent the following few

³² Apart from these two forms of nostalgia (restorative and reflective), Boym also put forward some others not covered so far. These are: prospective nostalgia, for a time yet to come; anticipatory nostalgia, yearning for "the present that flees with speed of a click" (10), or as Jonathan Shannon (2015:13) explains "a sort of future past"; and retrospective nostalgia, which describes the common modern perception of nostalgic praxis. Even if these forms of nostalgia become obvious through the narratives and rhetorics of the analytical chapters and are not pinpointed in my writing, that does not mean they are mutually exclusive to the ones that do.

paragraphs. That is before a review of how musical nostalgia has been approached from ethnomusicology itself.

Since antiquity, when Homer imagined and wrote about the sirens' song alluring sailors with a nostalgic illusion of their home, music and nostalgia progressed in concert, from Homer to Hofer. Within Theodore Zwinger's (1710) rendition (pothopatridalgia) of Hofer's nostalgia, nostalgia in relation to music is examined as a disease. Zwinger's pragmatic approach to music and nostalgia was from that point on treated in the literature as an established fact.



Figure 1.3: Music to the *Kühe-Reyen*. Photo: Zwinger (1710).

In his rendition, Zwinger included an analysis of a Swiss folkloric melody,³³ “a sweet melody of Switzerland” (Illbruck 2012:79). This inaugurated, according to Zwinger, “a culprit facilitator for the disease”, a melody that causes pothopatridalgia to its audience³⁴ (Vallee 2010:74). Zwinger transcribed and named the notes as a “pathological air”, known as ‘Kühe-Reyen’” (Anspach 1934:376).

...generally beloved among the Swiss, that it was forbidden to be played in their troops under pain of death, because it made them burst into tears, desert, or die, whoever heard it; too great a desire did it excite in them of returning to their country (Rousseau, 1779:266-267).

The “pathological air” notes are part of a mountain Swiss folk song, also known as *Ranz des vaches* (Vallee 2010:74) or *Kuhreihen*; a genre/style of music very popular amongst soldiers, according to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1779:267); and a genre of music that according to Zwinger generated nostalgia. Rousseau, in his effort to clarify the nostalgic elements a song might contain, refers to the “air” (pathological) as the emotional conveyance of the listener’s ménage memories. Music, according to Rousseau, ceases to act as music and transforms as a “sign mémoratif” (Ibid.).

³³ Some literature references are unclear whether it was Zwinger or Hofer who referenced the musical example. However, using Anspach’s (1934) testimony within her prologue of Hofer’s dissertation translation, it is clear that it was Zwinger who appended the Swiss melody.

³⁴ The audience that both Zwinger and Hofer referred to were Swiss soldiers fighting in Belgium and France.

Ranz des vaches as a paragon of Baroque nostalgia (c.1600-c.1750), then, and in similar vein to Hofer's "state of the servant", Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) was the ambassador of musical nostalgia (Vallee, 2010:74) in the Classical era (c.1750-c.1830). As the court



Figure 1.4: *Ranz des vaches'* transcription In: Rousseau (1768:1190) *Dictionary of Music*.

composer of the Hungarian Prince Nicholas Esterhazy (1714–1790), Haydn, was prevailed upon by the nostalgic notions of his student musicians to compose a symphony capturing their longing to go home.

Rather than idealizing its lost object, the Farewell facilitates a symbolic return towards it; it illustrates an arising consciousness concerning nostalgia and its negotiability through creative forms such as musical composition (Ibid.:79).

This is how the *Farewell Symphony* (1772) in F# minor (no. 45) was composed. Being the only eighteenth-century symphony written in F# minor, according to James Webster's (2004), the final movement takes a not-so-predictable tonal cadence to its relative A Major, while the *Farewell* theme "which unfolds as a minuet in a binary sonata form", migrates back within its recapitulation to its tonic home of F# minor (Vallee, 2010:78-79). These tonal modulations are the analogies Haydn uses to underline his students' longing for home.

Besides the *Farewell Symphony*, Haydn left as a legacy to other composers the realisation that tonality is a technical language with which to articulate their own nostalgia. And indeed, early Romantics explored the tonic language in ways never before attempted; nineteenth-century and Romanticism glorified musical nostalgia.

...the Romantic aesthetic was marked by a contemplative and poetic distance facilitated by the very embrace of loss. For instance, take Robert Schumann's letter to his mother as he left home for his studies in Leipzig at 18 years old (Ibid.:84).

With operas being the musical commodity of the nineteenth-century, nostalgia found personification in the characters populating them. This Romantic melancholic approach

to musical nostalgia altered the aesthetic process from the Classical era. Robert Schumann was the personification of this new shape of Romantic nostalgic aesthetics, partly due to its written nostalgic references (see his letter to his mother), but mostly due to them holding a major place in his creative process. Vallee (2010) argues that this can be found in Schumann's early *Papillons (Op.2)*, while Jonathan Biss (2012) argues that Schumann's affiliation with musical nostalgia was more than that; he considers him "the creator of a musical nostalgia culture." In the process of explaining this, Vallee also visits a very much familiar form of nostalgia (from Boym), yet tailoring it around his appreciation:

restorative nostalgia: the active reconstitution of an object purporting the ideal image of the nation. But a reflective nostalgia was expressed through the melancholy of Romanticism, and in social philosophic terms, this translated into the rise of the subject at the expense of humanism (83).

Romanticism also managed to take nostalgia into its modern form, used as a noun to describe the "spatial" or the "temporal" (Malpas 2011:88-89), and separated "restorative" from "reflective" nostalgia and then enunciated them (Boym, 2001).

For the late nineteenth-century, John Shepherd (1982) and Susan Key (1995)—cited in Vallee (2010:85-87)—focus their attention on one example, the songwriter Stephen Foster (1826–1864), as the first to assimilate nostalgia as the focus of his compulsions (sentimental ballads).

...[he] brings the past into the present and achieves a nostalgic, rather than dramatic, goal. One might look at this structure as an 'interrupted narrative' where progress is inevitably interrupted by backward glances (Key 1995:160).

For the early twentieth century, it only makes sense to look for nostalgia in popular music composition amongst the Tin Pan Alley songs and songwriters. For the rest of the century the options are limitless in music of all kinds, from the leftovers of Romanticism in the first half of the century, to the banal nostalgia of the 60s, 70s, and (especially) 80s. However, here it needs to be clarified that composing a musical description of nostalgia, as Vallee did, is one thing; music that generates nostalgia is another. The nostalgic

derivatives (heritaging) of a musical heritage are also one more. Thus, and in distancing this project from Vallee's, I will be exploring a multitude of sites and spaces, which especially in diaspora form an ideal environment in which to chase nostalgia. In doing so, I will be mostly utilising nostalgia in its Homeric meaning of an ambivalent journey to the unknown, the nostalgia of Odysseus' *Ithaca* (Cavafy, 1911) and a "foiled journey home", the nostalgia of Odysseus' "sobs and groans and anguish..." (Fagles 1996:157—Homer Odyssey Book 5:169, 174). I also recurrently employ Malpas' (2011:88-89) argument that, in time, nostalgia refocuses from the spatial to a temporal, *álgos*-less homesickness, and a "memorandum home" built from intimate smells, symbols and sounds. Appadurai's (1996:82) "ersatz nostalgia" is also periodic as it manages to define "nostalgia without a memory", something commonly observed in BbC praxes. That said, nostalgia will also be explored in the musical (compositional) elements of musics recovered during my research with Cypriots, realising Haydn's legacy that tonality and music in theory is a technical language with which Cypriots articulate their nostalgic moves.

When I first started looking into the theoretical pathways of nostalgia, during my MA research (2012-2013), ethnomusicological works on it were uncommon. That does not mean that no research whatsoever synthesising music and nostalgia has been undertaken; some has already been reviewed in the preceding paragraphs. Yet this publicational dearth seems to be over, as I have observed a new wave of scholarly ethnomusicological approaches to this synthesis. In the making of this thesis a noticeable amount of publications came out exploring nostalgia in postmodern and clearly ethnomusicological disseminations, unlike the late twentieth century examples, which did not have a clear ethnomusicological *identity* or frame of mind, one might say: psychoanalytic explorations of musical nostalgia (Stuart et al, 1990; Batcho, 1995), the consumer behaviours around advertising music (Havlena and Holak, 1991), to Hollywood cinemas (Flinn, 1992) and rock-n-roll (Shumway, 1999).

In arguably one of the first genuinely ethnomusicological works on nostalgia, Hamid Naficy (1991) focused on the poetics and practice of nostalgia in the Iranian exilic popular culture in diaspora in Los Angeles. Five years later, a more frequent ethnomusicological research wave is observed. In 1996, Yoshikata Terada objectifies nostalgia as a discourse that explores the impact and effects in the declining *periya melam* music in South India, while in the same year Stokes (1996) wrote (from a historical viewpoint) about nostalgia in contemporary Turkish musicology. Doctoral research was also being pursued, such as Mercedes M. DuJunco's (1994) examinations of

nostalgia and the post-Mao 'revival' of the xian shi yue string ensemble music of Chaozhou in South China. It wasn't until the twenty-first century that ethnomusicological research on nostalgia peaked. Of these, I especially cite Sant Cassia's (2000) work on the music traditions in Malta and other Mediterranean cultures. In 2006, through postmodern lenses, Sean Williams exploited the ersatz nostalgic attachments to the *other* when writing about the Saint Patrick's Day parade in Kyoto, Japan, while two years later, Jaakko Suominen's (2008) work explained the postmodern shift in the ethnomusicological direction towards nostalgia when overviewing nostalgia as a gaming commodity in music videos, extending the spatial locales where one can meet nostalgia into infinite distributions. These are but a few of the publications that capture the ethnomusicological shifts around nostalgia; the examples used here are not necessarily in greater appreciation than all the others.

Two of the latest publications that have emerged through synthetic ethnomusicological study of nostalgia are Eckehard Pistrick's (2015) *Performing Nostalgia: Migration Culture and Creativity in South Albania* and Jonathan Holt Shannon's (2015) *Performing al-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia across the Mediterranean*. These two are given emphasis here due to their pertinent theoretical convergence with this thesis; both expand into similar (but also *foreign* to each other) pathways, yet as two *ways* bounded in this study. Firstly, Shannon's choice to examine al-Andalus' performing nostalgia in its Mediterranean appeal parallels looking into Cypriot nostalgic performances in their Mediterranean appeal. Shannon's work, and also this project, prove that contemporary ethnomusicology opts into examining areas and locales peripheral to its foci. However, this thesis extends beyond peripheries, dispersing its research in the UK, and Birmingham. That said, the mutual topic of migration connects my work with Pistrick's. Yet Pistrick's approach remains in situ, focusing on the South Albania memory/nostalgic site. What connects my work with Pistrick's substantially, is the utterance nostalgia's denominations as these are used communally: terms migrants use in naming (listened-to) songs that evoke nostalgia in ways that make full sense only amongst them. What, for Pistrick, is "mall", for this thesis are in a di-ethnic context *hüzün* and *xenitia*.

...mall, is evoked through a particular notion of and in relation with the past, therefore a particular form of *how* to remember... In Albania the nostalgic notion of mall relates to social and spatial absences in the present—the past is consequently seen as a retreat for a lost social harmony.... mall maintains a contradictory relation with creativity....

can impede creativity through passivity and a fixation on the past. But... can also serve as a source of inspiration in terms of reflecting the past in the light of the present or in giving meaning to the present by anchoring it in the past (62).

These terms/denominations, both in Pistrick and my work, underpin a music-infused nostalgia—all discussed and explained in detail in Chapter 2—as a bittersweet migrant experience. They are “sweet because the original object or event gave pleasure... [They are] ...bitter only because [they] ...cannot be made to come back but also because, even in [their] ...original setting, [they] ...contained conflict and disappointment” (Castelnuovo-Tedesco 1980:122).

In concluding my discussions on nostalgia, this last section of Chapter 1 takes the reader in a transition to the first analytical chapter (2) of this project. There we meet nostalgia in bittersweet emotional experiences, songs found within the communal *new* spaces, a pleasurable and mis-dis-placed commodification of a diasporic imagined Mediterranean musical domain. Here I saw a glimpse of reconciliation, even in a diasporic context, erasing distance between BbTsCs and BbGsCs in a *new* communal space in Birmingham and making room for di-ethnic assemblages both sensorial and physical.

Chapter 2

Hüzün, the Cologne Mockingbird, the Myths, and *Xenitia*: Ibrahim's and Eftihios' Nostalgia

In Chapter 1, the individual was underlined as pivotal for this ethnographically-informed thesis in excavating metanarratives of migrant meanings. The patriarchal family structure shared by this di-ethnic diaspora was also attested as empowering some more complex gender-related praxes (though mostly masculine ones) around musical resources. Splitting the migrant focus into the older and younger generations of Cypriots was also rationalised, while descriptions such as immigrant/emigrant/migrant or second-/third-generation were rejected. The background to this was historical and literary reviews of diaspora and nostalgia, from Homer to Hofer and beyond. This chapter aligns all the above with musical Cypriot migrant praxes, foregrounding emotionality and also an element of gender-play with feminine undertones alongside the diasporic imperative of masculinity *via* performance avenues.

This chapter sows the seeds of the mis-dis-placement of two specific musical resources and their narratives, ethnographically recovered from older-generation Cypriots during my visits to Birmingham: Stelios Kazantzidis' (1963) *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά* (*Damn You, Foreign Lands*), and Yüksel Özkasap's (1969) *Londra Sokaklar* (*In The Streets of London*). It reveals how musics such as these support communicative avenues rather than mutual separation of interethnic communication, turning migrants' attention to common nostalgic musical ends to do with *homeland* Cyprus, even if these are channelled through binary opposing *motherlands* and performer genders. The complexities of *hüzün* and *xenitia* (briefly introduced in Chapter 1 as bittersweet notions and experiences) are explored, and how, as nostalgic manifestations of this diaspora's musical praxes, their migrant utterance through the two songs builds juxtapositional bridges between music and emotionality. These symbols and projections are examined in the modern social realm of Cyprus, before moving to Birmingham, where focusing on Kazantzidis' and Özkasap's songs and two migrant Cypriot individuals, Eftihios Mallas (Greek-speaking) and Ibrahim Küçükogulları (Turkish-speaking), unfolds an ethnographic portfolio of narratives, observations, and a musical collage of nostalgic lingering.

The songs, their artists, and their narratives are analysed as exemplifying nostalgia-related portability and musical and social multilateralism and hybridisation, revealing a

common and interethnic musical language within the migrant community. The following sections further explore how musical resources like these, when mis-dis-placed as migrant narratives and nostalgic memories, tell of the extraordinary capacities of time, distance and humanity for turning loss and conflict into convergent Mediterranean cultural memory expressions, binding Turkish and Greek musical resources together into an un-affixed emotional Cypriot expression. In conclusion, the two songs not only exemplify how an expatriate community draws on musical resources to summon up a remembered or imagined home, but also illustrate peaceful communication between GsC and TsC counterparts. A positive metanarrative is channelled through music performance, telling how a di-ethnos made problematic by its fragmented national identity can evolve from Cyprus in its diaspora and move on from native and dated standpoints to updated, migrant projections of common music-infused ties to homeland.

Communal Connections: Ibrahim and Eftihios

I am Eftihios Mallas, sixty-six years of age, and I was born in Cyprus at a small village outside Larnaca named Mazotos. Moved to Birmingham in 1949, November. My father came in 1946. He came to Birmingham and worked here for three years in order to save enough money to bring over myself my brother and my mother to England (Eftihios Mallas—November 15 2012, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

As you already know my name is Ibrahim Küçükkoğulları. I was born in 1963 at Lefkosa [Nicosia] in an area called Küçük Kaymaklı [a suburb to the east of the city] and I am one of seven [brothers] and I also have a step-sister. You see, my dad married three times at least, however, some people told me he had six Mrs' in total, but don't hold me to that!... I moved to London in 1986 to work, as my brother was already there, so I had somewhere to stay and a brother to support me [emotionally, not financially]. A year later I have met Boren, got married [to her], and moved to Birmingham, where I am here since then! (Ibrahim Küçükkoğulları—October 8 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).

Although many of the older-generation narratives recovered during fieldwork would nicely support my arguments, I choose to focus on Eftihios and Ibrahim (see Figures 2.1

and 2.2), finding in their accounts a balanced interethnic story-telling covering gender, fragmented national identities, common music-infused ties to homeland, and the extraordinary capacities of music to trigger remembering or nostalgically imagining *the home*. It was also through Eftihios' social connections and willingness to help my research that the songs in question—and in a way, Ibrahim too—were introduced to me.



Figure 2.1: Eftihios Mallas in his living room at Sutton Coldfield while discussing about *xenitia*. Source: Author.



Figure 2.2: Ibrahim Küçükogulları posing at his fish and chip shop at Woodgate while discussing Yüksel Özkasap's (1969) *Londra Sokaklar*. Source: Author.

Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham; March 20, 2014. My phone rang that afternoon while I was



Figure 2.3: Burhan Kurtbit (A.K.A. Bernie) driving me to Edgbaston, March 20, 2014. Source: Author.

organising interview consent forms for the day. The caller was Bernie (Figure 2.3), a TSC migrant and a good customer of Eftihios (he wholesales chicken from Eftihios factory to local fast-food restaurants), telling me that he was on his way to pick me up in his car. This was going to be my first research interaction with TSCs in Birmingham, and it was Eftihios who initiated it. After driving south for twenty minutes towards Edgbaston to meet a TSC family there, I came to realise that Bernie was not my new friend's real name. It is a nickname, given to him by other BbCs (GScs and TSCs alike),

as his real name, Burhan Kurtbit, is too hard for them to pronounce; the name's re-
othering is humorous, and reflects no unwillingness amongst GsCs to let a Turkish name
pass their lips; "even us [TsCs] find it hard to pronounce, so we call him Bernie," Sevven
Küçükoğulları explained later that day. We talked and laughed about this with Burhan for
the next ten minutes before arriving at our destination, a TsC household expecting me to
talk about my research and conduct interviews. This was the home of Cemal and Özel
Ahmet, a TsC couple then aged eighty-six and seventy-nine, who had lived there since
1960 (see Figure 2.4). The couple's daughters, Serap and Boren, and two of their



Figure 2.4: A collage picture of Cemal—right, with his saz in his living room—and Özel—left, in her kitchen—Ahmet in their household in Edgbaston. Source: Author.

grandchildren, Sevven and Ceylan, were also there (see Figure 2.5). After interviewing them each individually we moved into a group discussion, overpowered by the smell of cinnamon filling the living-room and kitchen from the traditional Cypriot cinnamon cookies known from their shape as braids, and made by Özel specially for the occasion (see Figure 2.6). Burhan also joined in our interviews and discussions, and everyone was referring me to Boren's husband, Ibrahim. On their advice, a meeting at Ibrahim's fish and chip shop at Woodgate was booked for my next trip to Birmingham.

On a day when "work at the shop [was] slow, so we [could] actually talk" (Ibrahim 2014, March 20—phone interview), I was warmly greeted there by Boren, Ibrahim and their daughter Sevven) with not-so-Cypriot traditional delicacies—customary instead for the diaspora—kebabs and fish and chips. It was a Wednesday, 8 October 2014. It did not take me long, during our two-hour interview in the back office, to understand that Ibrahim is an open book and a warm person to talk to. Telling me about his personal life with a great deal of nostalgia, he spoke of growing up with his mom in Nicosia Kaymaklı with lots of GsC friends, before moving to the UK at 1986. Expatriating as an adult, his home memories were fresh and still gave him a feeling of warmth. I realised that his family were correct; Ibrahim, is a hard-working open-hearted migrant, who loves music and has lots to say...



Figure 2.5: The couple's daughters, Serap (right), Boren (left), and their granddaughter Sevvien (centre) in the Ahmet's kitchen. Source: Author.



Figure 2.6: Traditional Cypriot cinnamon cookies known from their shape as braids, straight out of Özel's oven. Source: Author.

Yüksel Özkasap and Stelios Kazantzidis: The Cologne Mockingbird, the Proxy, the Legend, and a Mythicised Idea

Her voice and the way she [Özkasap] looks, remind me of my late mother. It is very hard for me to talk about this... I still have the pain in me... this song [sheds a tear and stops conversing]... (Ibrahim—8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).

Here, my research came as close as ever to the proto-etymology of nostalgia, that is Hofer's philopatridomania. Ibrahim left the room and started wandering in the streets around his shop, emotionally overwhelmed from our discussion and physically (pathologically) incapable of conversing further. Sevvien tried to explain her father's reaction:

My dad, since I remember he has this strange connection with this song and the singer Yüksel [see Figure 2.7] ... fortunately she is too old for him to have an affair with, my mom always used to say... When he listens to her voice, oh, Michalis I cannot describe to you how much he changes, he cries every single time... (8 October 2014—Woodgate, Birmingham).

Through a long and successful career as a singer/performer (dating from 1966), Yüksel Özkasap (b. 1952) is perhaps the “Turkish artist who connects us [TsCs], like no other, with feelings of sadness and homesickness,” in Ibrahim’s words. The Malatya-born³⁵ artist made this connection with her migrant audience both with her life-story and



Figure 2.7: A picture of Yüksel Özkasap performing on November 4, 2010. Source: Bay Bülent. [Online] Available: <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=104433>

repertoire. After studying music in Turkey (in Malatya and then Istanbul), she herself migrated to Germany in 1966. Her expatriation marked a turning point in her a life and career, as settling to Cologne she met Yilmaz Asöcal, a record label owner based in Germany, with whom she released her first single album *Gülom/Dere Kenarından Geçtim* (*Gülom* [Turkish name]/*I Passed Near the River*). This met with great success among the Turkish-speaking diaspora in Germany and elsewhere, and since then, Özkasap has built a considerable career from singing about nostalgia and other emotionally-infused migrant themes.³⁶ During the 1960s she was known as the *Cologne Mockingbird*, yearning with her voice for motherland Turkey.

However, according to A. Metin Karkin and Derya Karaburun’s (2012:111) writing on the music and cultural identity of the Malatya region, Özkasap’s musical contribution is not limited to diaspora, and they consider her important for the formation of Malatya songs about working class and other labour issues. “Nostalgia for these musicians [like Özkasap], I argue, mediates public engagement with Turkey’s long liberal ‘moment.’ Far from sanitizing the past... this nostalgia continues to pose complex and lively questions

³⁵ Capital of Malatya Province in Turkey’s Eastern Anatolia region.

³⁶ With singles named (translated) *Homesickness Strange Way of the Road/My Neck Was Twisted Like Violets* (1968) and *Homesickness Land/What Faces Are With You* (1981); and album titles like *Expatriates* (1978), *Homesickness Letter* (1981) and *Dönmez Had Homesickness Addressed Departures* (2006) one can see that most (if not all) of her career was built on the migrant/nostalgia theme.

about public life at a popular level” (Stokes 2010:3)—and all this within a career that has been adorned by commercial and socio-cultural success.³⁷

Özkasap’s music and her working-class, other, migrant life-story developed a narrative that every hard-working Turkish-speaking migrant could relate to, especially Turkish-speaking migrant males, as the ethnic patriarchal structuring means that usually the man works, while women assist, or run the household. Özkasap and her music appeal emotionally to people like Ibrahim, a hard-working Turkish-speaking man, who clearly has a longing for his past *home*, but also can see his late mother through her. Özkasap embodies this homesickness, which becomes a pathological longing (as Hofer would diagnose) towards the loss of *the home*, and of motherly love.

Ibrahim recounts his life-story with sadness; his father abandoned his mother and him in poverty a few years before dying, and Ibrahim never established any real bond with him. All he had was his mother, and his warm and passionate connection with her was more than obvious every time she came up during our discussions. His life-story depicts a protagonist absorbed by his own pain, *burnt* (yanık) and suffering at the hands of fate (felek, to use the Turkish expression). Özkasap’s physical similarity to his mother makes her the ideal embodiment of his yearning and longing for a (not-so-lived) childhood and its hardships, but also a reflection and a memory trigger for “the woman... [he] loved the most ever in [his] life” (Ibrahim, 8 October 2014—Woodgate, Birmingham). For Ibrahim, Özkasap is a mythicised idea; the Cologne Mockingbird and *Londra Sokakları* have acted as an emotional proxy for him through the years, as his pathological difficulty in talking about his mom and his *home*-longing needs one. Özkasap, in this instance, becomes the face of one migrant man’s emotional abyss. A metanarrative approach safely represents Ibrahim’s extended voice during its applicability with *hüzün* through Özkasap’s song.

Kazantzidis: The Idol and the Legend

Kazantzidis is the idol and guide to many of us [BbGsCs] since we were young; ...a reminder we are migrants, in case we forgot about it... I tell my son that this man is like your father, he had no money living in foreign lands... I know he is dead but still reminds me of our hard

³⁷ Some landmark moments exemplifying Özkasap’s commercial and socio-cultural success are her 1973 *Special Arts Medal* awarded to her during by the *Cologne Music Festival Committee*, her 1978 *Gold Long Play "Plate" Award* at the *Cannes Music Festival*, and her induction within the *Hall of Fame* and *Award* for the *German Olympic Preparation Program* as recent as 2008.

times, similarly to what he went through. To put it down very simply, he is a legend for us! (Eftihios—19 November 2012, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

I remember when I was young, people went to extremes for him; my father-in-law told me that they [GsCs] were doing what Kazantzidis was telling them through his songs. He was and still is a legend for any migrant, even for me; I grew up with his songs you know, even if I am Turkish-Cypriot... I can understand some of the Greek words also... I was and still do listen to Turkish stuff also, but Cypriot mostly.” (Ibrahim—8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).

Widely considered the most prolific Greek singer of all time, Stelios Kazantzidis (1931-2001) recorded more than 1,500 songs. He, too, was recognised as the voice of the working class, singing of their problems and complaints, and he articulated the pain of Greeks after World War II. He was born in *Nea Ionia*, Athens, into a poor refugee family of Asia Minor roots. His father, a builder, was killed for his leftwing ideology during the Greek civil war in 1946, forcing Kazantzidis aged fifteen into employment to support his family as a baggage carrier, seller of roasted chestnuts, builder, and labourer. Music had surrounded him since birth, and he started to play the guitar in his teenage years, when a factory owner offered him one as a present.

Kazantzidis’ story moved both high and low social strata in Greece. With his clear Athenian Greek, he could easily relate to any Greek-speaking male of his generation, and even to some females; and as a poor worker, himself briefly a migrant to Germany, he appealed to expatriates. His songs’ capacity to travel with the Greek diaspora also exposed other groups to his music, Cypriots and Turkish migrants included. Birmingham interethnic male migrant testimony agrees, and makes Kazantzidis the raconteur of their own or their fathers’ life-narratives.

Kazantzidis became a living legend during his singing years, and is considered a major part of Greek popular music development (Figure 2.8). Migrants in general admire Kazantzidis as a baritone masculine voice singing of the longing for home; a musical embodiment and vocal personification of all migrant males. Older Greek-speaking female community members also listen to his songs, though they are primarily considered in the community as a male musical experience and expression. Communal *feminine undertones*



Figure 2.8: A poster portraying Kazantzidis as a Greek legend. Source: Stelios Kazantzidis Albums and Covers. [Online] Available: <http://stelioskazantzidhs.blogspot.co.uk/>

attached to artists like Kazantzidis will surface consistently in the analysis of *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά* (1963). These, as explained later, offer reflections on how the masculine and feminine in migration are experienced while listening mostly to male-orientated songs, and how these songs are structured within and structure a form of homogenised migrant society.

A Mythicised Idea

The following paragraphs are perhaps historically far apart in content, but each is contingent on musical and social mythical

agents, such as Kazantzidis and Özkasap, that connect the migrant Cypriot (and in many ways the Mediterranean) imagination and past while shaping diaspora. Myth has always being the Mediterranean's cultural business, as ethnomusicologists (among others) have attested (Cooper and Dawe 2005; Bohlman EOL3; Magrini 2003). For older-generation Cypriots in Birmingham, these meet in androgynous musical bodies. The mythicised idea of Kazantzidis and Özkasap should be aligned on the three axes of diaspora, music, and masculinity (or better gender), and that is how I interpret my observations here. Looking deeper into the reasons why both artists managed to relate to, elate with, and be sorrowful alongside migrant males, we can see many points of contact with William Safran's (1991) and Khachig Tölölyan's (1996) works, which show both to be prolific instantiations of the generation of mythicised ideas from memory in diaspora.

3. Diasporan communities actively maintain a collective memory that is a foundational element of their distinct identity. In some cases, the collective memory is embodied... 5. Diasporan communities care about maintaining communication with each other.... 6. Diasporan communities maintain contact with the homeland when it persists in identifiable form. Lacking that, they exhibit a communal will to loyalty, keeping faith with a mythicised idea of the homeland (Tölölyan 1996:13-14).

Four of Safran's (1991:83-84) points are consistent with Tölölyan's arguments: myths and collective memory of homeland are both visible from my ethnographic experience in Birmingham; the recognition on behalf of migrants of longing a return to their "ancestral homeland" (true home) is a constant testimony on the lips of Birmingham-based Cypriots; working towards "the maintenance or restoration" of that homeland is a communal reality in Birmingham; and rapport "personally or vicariously" with the homeland defines their identity through a series of observed communication links with relatives in *homeland* Cyprus (from letters to Skype; and in some other cases, like Ibrahim with his mother, *via* memory).

The nostalgic notions of Cypriots in Birmingham are accommodated by communal memories, ideas and imagination, together with Özkasap and Kazantzidis' biographical narratives and bodies of work; these embody Tölölyan's third, fifth and sixth "constitutive element[s]" (1996:13-14) and Safran's (1991) myths and collective memory of homeland. For Greek-speakers, the third element sees migrants (and not only male ones) actively maintaining the collective idea of Kazantzidis as a migrant paradigm, underlining his Greekness as a foundational element of their distinct identity or even as its entire prototype, even though *Greek* is (arguably) only an affix to their actual ethnic origin as Greek-Cypriots. Something similar applies to Özkasap, again not only impacting on males, at least in Birmingham; I will never forget the moment when Ibrahim's mother-in-law Özel (20 March 2014) started singing to me Özkasap's song's first line when I met her: "ne anam babam var ne de bir bacım (I have no father, mother, nor sister)". And even if the *hüzün* that Özkasap's songs instantiate for TsCs is the equivalent or a cross-dissemination of what GsCs equally experience as *xenitia*, Kazantzidis constitutes an establishment and maintenance of their communication between them: cross-cultural communication, as one might say if one saw them as different ethnic groups.

As memory is never *in situ* ("always moving", according to Nora, 1989:7) another consideration is distance and how its experience in the diaspora contributes to the homeland's mythical status. Distance in this case is not only geographical, but generational, as many migrants tend to overly mythicise Kazantzidis (as Ibrahim recalls and Eftihios attests) and Özkasap (as Ibrahim attests), having only heard stories about them from their elders and being emotionally subordinated or drawn into their songs' message and to the image they projected as artists. This is how, from a young age, migrants are in contingency with this sense of distance from homeland (always in

relation to musical praxes), which is understood as loss and thus nostalgia. It is exactly what Svetlana Boym (2002:13) discusses as the “grey areas” between “restorative” and “reflective nostalgia”, found “on the outskirts of imaginary homelands.” In this way, and within these “grey areas”, migrants like Eftihios and Ibrahim construct the artists’ mythicised idea.

The fundamental literature aligning myth with music dates back to the structuralisms of Claude Lévi-Strauss. In *The Raw and the Cooked* (1969), Lévi-Strauss systematises music as one of humanity’s many pairing impulses. Music and the role of performer convey to the migrant community a sense of spirituality; as musicians and role models, Kazantzidis and Özkasap reminded me of Jim Morrison, as although their musical work and audience are far apart geographically, generationally, socio-culturally, and aesthetically, their almost hieratic ability to create a spiritual sense around their physical or auditory presence is much the same. Seeing his art and performance with his band *The Doors* as a “purification ritual”, Morrison had the ability to take his followers from America’s Vietnam-era social disorders to “some cleaner, freer realm”, like a shaman of old (Hopkin & Sugerman 1980:143). Özkasap and Kazantzidis, like Morrison, were “seeking both to write and to live mythically, in defiance of convention” (Coupe 1997:49). This new conception of power that the two possess, even posthumously in the case of Kazantzidis, has the ability to disintegrate the migrant reality and take the Cypriot male through a purification rite, from what he ‘really’ is into the cleaner and freer realm of the migrant and man he ‘ought’ to be. Özkasap, Kazantzidis, and their music have the capacity “to connect myth and history, to connect a world ancient in the Mediterranean imagination to their present. In this sense, myth is always already modern in Mediterranean music history” (Bohlman EOL3:4), and no less so in the Cypriot diasporic paradigm.

This takes us to the third axis of this section, the myth of gender, and masculinity in particular. Explaining, in a glimpse, the gender identity structure within the migrant community, we see that for both TsCs and GsCs in diaspora the pragmatism is the same. Masculinity is celebrated, not as a gender-identity form but as the structured and ethical notion of normality. This gender-frame is empowered by the migrants’ Greek-Orthodox and Sunni Muslim pastoral and patriarchal heritages (particularly in the GsC case in relation to its churches; see Preface). It also enables the utterances and contentment “of physical hardihood in pursuit of the higher virtues of patience, obedience, forbearance, modesty, and respect for others” (Valente 2011:1) to rise and surpass everyday life, mapping manliness together with qualities traditionally considered as female. The

female, as Özkasap is, can also manifest as a way of channelling such qualities as another paradigm of being a model migrant, as Ibrahim admits that “my mother was always a father and a mother to me... she was my role model and she still is” (8 October 2014). This suggests a gender-play side to the diasporic imperative of masculinity. Kazantzidis and Özkasap embody the above through their performance and shamanic virtues’ abilities to open a dialogue of Mediterranean/Cypriot manhood during one of the most decisive periods of Greek/Turkish nationalist movement and dispersion; all this has been achieved with a reinventive zest, sovereignty, and dedication unmatched in everyday modern diasporic life, that at the same time matches a mythicised idea.

These three theoretical and mythical axes tell us that “modern diasporas from the Mediterranean and the continents it connects are not isolated historical phenomena but rather historically reflect mythological origins” (Bohlman EOL3:4). Cyprus has one of the most strongly mythical musical representations of the modern Mediterranean and its diasporas. Following the narrative trail of either *xenitia* or *hüzün*, their songs and diasporic vistas, which made Özkasap and Kazantzidis the myth that they are, these axes will be once again visible during analysis.

...to Birmingham’s Hüzün: via Streets of London

To feel this *hüzün* is to see the scenes, evoke the memories, in which the city itself becomes the very illustration, the very essence of *hüzün*... of everything being broken, worn out, past its prime... I speak of them all (Pamuk 2003:90—translated by Alfred A. Knopf 2004).

Turkish author Orhan Pamuk (2003) in his autobiographical novel *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir* (*Istanbul: Memories and the City*) pens a breathtaking portrait of cosmopolitan Istanbul, its paths lamenting a dead civilization and its avenues mediating life’s serpentine affinities. He observes that *hüzün* is central to its people’s character, “a way of looking at life that... is ultimately as life affirming as it is negative” (Ibid:91). Elsewhere, Pamuk (2002) describes *hüzün* as “the emotion that a child might feel while looking through a steamy window” (translation Knopf 2014:9). Yet what the Nobel Prize-winning novelist has achieved with his congested narration of the term *hüzün* is to deepen a rather forgotten Arabic word.

The Turkish lexical entry for *hüzün* describes a word with Arabic origins, connoting emotionalities of longing linked with *nostos* and sentiments of loss, hardship and absence. Pamuk's work has managed to insert an infinite relationship between these notions and the arts (being a man of letters and arts himself). Consequently, *hüzün* is now considered as an internal mental state stemming from the memories of once-upon-a-time, and externalised (selectively and collectively) as a sought-after state and notion of complex meaning. In addition, and by having profane and religious links to the Quran, *hüzün* extends into "a broad semantic field reaching from lost love (as the main cause for *hüzün*) over a 'miserable' state of mind, to the experience of loss in profane or sacred terms to death itself" (Pistrick 2015:62). Its Islamic social, cultural, and spiritual importance with its definite ambiguity very much describes the term itself.

It is *hüzün*'s sought-after state that links and externalises itself to migrant narratives. It is not *hüzün* itself that sends a migrant like Ibrahim to pathological nostalgic extents, but the loss contained in the memories that it carries. "The notion of loss, which is inherent in this world, can contain other experiences of loss beside death" (Ibid); and loss of any kind can connect people especially far from *home* into a migrant and communal solidarity bounded both from distance, suffering, and emotionality.

As a profoundly artistic emotion (since Pamuk's treatment), *hüzün* and its inevitable affiliation with music have been thoroughly covered by scholars of Turkish origin, while there are brief, incidental references to it by non-Turkish ethnomusicologists like Martin Stokes (2010) and Eckehard Pistrick (2015), the latter also linking the two in a migrant context. In fact, Can T. Yalçinkaya (2008:4) refers to *hüzün* in Turkish and arabesk music as "a kind of celebration... accompanied by the Eastern tunes". Denise Gill-Gürtan (2011) channels *hüzün* through the creativity of Turkish classical musicians as an existential pool for their socio-cultural placement and music making. These are only a few examples of the exhaustive scholarship on Turkish musical traditions and *hüzün* and I direct the reader to these fine volumes for more detailed analysis; yet this thesis is the first to examine it in relation to TsC migrants' musical praxes.

Transferring what I had learnt about *hüzün* from Pamuk and others into the field involved trying to provoke *hüzün* for TsCs in Birmingham. I called Ibrahim on Saturday 21 February 2015, already having my suspicions of what I would hear when I asked him what *hüzün* means for him, and if there is a song that makes him feel this way. Like his mother-in-law, Özel, he started singing Özkasap's song, though unlike her, he spent a

couple of minutes singing it through to the end. Similarly, when I asked Plumer *via* a Facebook conversation (24 February 2015), he once directed me to the very same song, confirming the individual and collective older-generation androgynous TsC migrant attestation of *In The Streets of London* as a cultural resource that joins them together in musical hüzn.

Under normal circumstances, hüzn is musically genre-neutral—it might arise from Turkish folk music (Türk halk müziği), arabesk, aranjman, fasıl, Anadolu rock, to Turkish

art music (Türk sanat müziği or sanat musikisi), or any other musical memory triggering form and shape. However, the musical resource most associated with it for TsC migrants in Birmingham, Özkasap's 45 rpm single, is a Turkish popular (Türk pop) song which falls into the hybrid Arab-influenced popular genre of arabesk, a "hybrid of *gazino* art music, folk music, rock, and pop" (Stokes 2010:25).³⁸ Further musical analysis of the song's structural style places it in the sub-genre of fantezi (fantasy) arabesk.

A translation of the lyrics and a

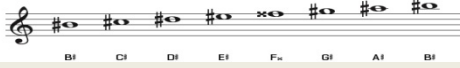


Figure 2.9: Yüksel Özkasap's (1969) 45 rpm single, *Londra Sokakları*. Source: 45cat. [Online] Available: https://www.45cat.com/45_image_link.php?imagelink=1331D8D9C470EB1A542

musical analysis of Yüksel Özkasap's (1969) *Londra Sokakları* (see Figure 2.9) can be found in Figure 2.10:

³⁸ In his *The Republic of Love*, Martin Stokes (2010:19) acknowledges Orhan Gencebay as the one who popularized the arabesk genre in Turkey during the early 1960s: "In the 1960s, "Arab," Turkish popular classical, Turkish folk, and Western pop and rock were mixing in a hybrid popular music style later dubbed *arabesk*".

Figure 2.10: Musical analysis and translation of lyrics of Yüksel Özkasap's (1969) *Londra Sokakları*.

Events	Intro	Verse I	Refrain	Verse II
Time Progression	-0.40	0.41-2.00	2.01-2.40	2.41-4.00
Form Progression	A ¹	B	A	B
Lyrics Progression & Translation		ne anam babam var ne de bir bacım X2 (I have no father, mother, nor sister) kapanmaz yaram var dinmiyor sancım.. X2 (my wound wouldn't be closed, my pain wouldn't disappear) gurbette başladı benim bu sancım X2 (in this strange land this pain started) londra sokaklarında ağlar gezerim, ağlar gezerim (In the streets of London I wander as I weep) feryat ederim... X3 (I shout/cry out)		gözlerim görmüyor bürünmüş kana X2 (My eyes can't see, they're shrouded in blood) halim gülmedi felekten yana X2 (I'm not getting better because of this fate) yuvam yıktın felek ne yaptım sana X2 (You've destroyed my nest, oh fate, what have I done to you?) londra sokaklarında ağlar gezerim, ağlar gezerim (In the streets of London I wander as I weep) feryat ederim..." X3 (I shout/cry out)
Key Progression	B#Phrygian (Kurdili) 			
Time Signature	4/4 - Slow Fellahi / Walking Maqsoum (مقسوم) 			
Melodic/Mode Progression	The whole song is divided into four Forms that melodically have many instrumental (non-vocal) ascending arpeggios and movements. Though on B#Phrygian (Kurdili), due to the ascending melodic runs the song aesthetically resembles its relative B#Uşşâk makam; however, the F natural and the lack of quarter-tones structurally place the song on a Phrygian mode instead. Musically Form A¹ & A reveal these runs clearly due to their exclusively instrumental nature. They comprise a series of ascending and then descending runs which are also repeated in Form B, though in the verses they are overpowered by the prominent vocal melodic lines. These motifs/runs begin with a descent from B#minor to F Major in the first nine seconds of each Form. For the next thirty seconds of the Forms a series of ascending runs begins: 1) From F to the tonic (rast) B# 2) From D#Major (chord) to A# (note) 3) From C#minor (chord) to G# (note); eventually resting on the rast B#—only to start another motif, a bridge/interlude which also occurs in the final phrases of the other Forms. This bridge/interlude holds for the last ten second of Forms A¹ & A and occurs between the corresponding repetitions in Form B (yet there not as distinctly). It ascends from B#-C#-D#-E#-F and then descends, only to repeat this ascent/descent an octave higher. for the above applies only to the instrumental structure of the song, not the vocal/melodic line. The main line, the vocal line, is characteristically arabesk with leaps and a general descending melodic contour, much repeated and with each one a tone lower. In Form B, where the vocals are, the orchestral arpeggios and ascending lines still occur, but function as accompanying embellishments to the main melodic theme introduced at the beginning of the song by the orchestra and then taken over (and completed) by Özkasap's voice. The vocal form is rather simple, AA'BBb if the repeat of the last measure is counted. Typical in Türk pop arabesk, Özkasap's voice is alto, but does not exploit its full range so as to maintain the performative low mood. Classic vibrato on the ending phrases drags the vowels into a lamentation, as is very common in arabesk pop, further establishing the low performance mood.			
Instrumentation Style & Aesthetics	Form A¹ & A reveal what is consider as a traditional 1960s arabesk instrumentation, genrifying the composition as fantezi arabesk: a string orchestra (performed on synthesizers) with rich variations behind the melodic line. The string solos are also commonplace in arabesk songs, as is the staccato technique used. Piano (legato) accompanies the strings. The walking Maqsoum beat keeps steady and in slow tempo, allowing the vocal melodic line and the strings to layer melismas. The production aesthetics are also common 1960s arabesk, with deep (water well-like) reverb mostly on the vocals. As part of the synthesized orchestration, there is an organ slow movement at the background filling any gaps between the strings' and vocal's foreground activity.			

The fantezi arabesk of *Londra Sokakları* artfully homogenises vocal prowess with musically expressed hüzn. It contains all those “elements... of the old *arabesk*: its pessimism, sentimentality, and *acı* (pain: a vocal index of poverty, oppression, and the hopeless problems of the Turkish...)” (Stokes 2010:93), together with migrant themes such as loss of home, fatalism, and mortality connected with hüzn.

The words and their melodic delivery comprise a body of strong female-orientated hüzn manifestations. Özkasap’s tendency toward self-conscious lyrics tunes the listener into pathways of female migrant spaces filled with longing and distress. *Londra Sokakları* depicts an orphan migrant and woman protagonist (with “no father, mother, nor sister”), being *yanık* (burnt) while wandering in the streets of London, lamenting for her internal mental state stemming from past memories (“in this strange land this pain started”) and externalised as a sought-after state (“I shout/cry out”) and a notion of complex meaning (hüzn). It is not far from the orphan migrant male spaces I have observed through *burnt* Ibrahim; even sharing the fact that it was first the streets of London that he had to wander, before these turned into the streets of Birmingham. In addition to the dense migrant fatalism (“...because of fate... oh fate, what have I done to you?”), the hüzn words’ theme of the song completes itself through the gendered pain, suffering, anxiety, and desires of a female migrant individual. These lamentations, lyrically, take double meaning when Özkasap sings “You’ve destroyed my nest, oh fate, what have I done to you?” The *destroyed nest* can be the loss of *home*; or the physical destruction of a woman’s womb, which might be read as referring to a woman who just miscarried or been violated. In any case this lyrical female-orientation strikes an intimate note in the female but also male ear. This perhaps explains Ibrahim’s motherly affinity with Özkasap, beyond their physical resemblance, into a double meaning of his own *nest* as an expression of self-belonging, as nowhere else is someone safer than their mother’s womb; his memorandum home.

In a performance of *ağıt* (lament), Özkasap’s delivery is correspondingly hüzn in a fantezi fashion—“in other words, freedom from... formal constraints” (Stokes 2010:80). Evoking the sense of a *yanık* female migrant, her vocal aesthetic comes out as emotionally choked, the 4/4 Walking Maqsum rhythm the perfect marching tempo to perform her alto vocal leaps while wandering the streets of London, descending the melodic contour in classic vibratos. Ameliorating hüzn are the repetitions in Özkasap’s melodic form (AA’BBb) that peak during the last line of each Verse/Form B (repeated thrice—BBb). Descending a tone lower in every repetition, in conjunction with the Walking Maqsum,

effects the descent of the mood-ladder of the emotional and internal abyss. Hüzün here places itself deep into the internal body of migrants like Ibrahim, forming a metaphysical expression (“My eyes can’t see, they’re shrouded in blood”) of a song that turns the Homeric meaning of an ambivalent journey to the unknown, experienced through Odysseus’ nostalgia and Özkasap’s melismatic “sobs and groans and anguish...” (Homer Odyssey-Book 5:169, 174), into a physical form of nostalgia that forced Ibrahim out of the room to wander the streets of Birmingham—nostalgia’s proto-academic-definition as physical illness, the Hoferic philopatridomania.

So far this only explains the hüzün meanings of Form B of *Londra Sokakları*, as Form A¹ and A have neither words nor vocal donations. Hüzün signifiers are to be found in the two juxtaposition legs of Form B and/or with Form A, a common characteristic of the song’s fantezi arabesk subgenre, which typically “involves the listener in restless changes of musical... style” (Stokes 2010:55). The first juxtaposition leg regards the formal structure, fantezi arabesk with its “restless changes” from Form A to Form B, from the a shift of the instrumental to the vocal, from spaces filled by staccato violins, legato keyboard arpeggios (mostly ascending) and ending phrases with trills (trills are discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6) to the freedom and lyrical complexity of Özkasap’s performance. Though the song remains tonal, B $\sharp$ Phrygian (Kurdili), Form A with the mostly ascending runs and its interlude (see Figure 2.0.1 for more detail) add to the fantezi contrast by momentarily alluding to Uşşâk makam’s pathways—moderate structural changes are heard as a musical expression of emotional ambivalence, evoking further hüzün meanings. Ultimately, and regardless of this emotional ambivalence, the whole composition’s meanings of hüzün are constituted by the Phrygian modal system.

The ancient Greek perception of the Phrygian mode’s utterance, drawn from Plato’s *Republic* and Aristotle, was that it inspired ardour (Politics, book VIII). What we call a Phrygian mode today is merely nominally and nostalgically ancient Greek, as its contemporary utterance follows the Gregorian canon (which uses the ancient Greek name but not its scale). Nonetheless, a certain continuity of perception has attached to the name; although the medieval music theorist Guido D’Arezzo (ca. 995-1050) described it as a “mystic mode”, in the second half of the fifteenth-century the German musical author Adam of Fulda (ca. 1445-1505) called it “vehement”, and classicists like the Peruvian cleric, preacher, author and philosopher Juan de Espinoza Medrano (ca. 1632-1688) saw it as a mode “inciting anger”. Contemporary studies further show that “the Phrygian mode is associated with negative valence, in particular, there seems to be an

association of Phrygian modes with sadness” (Tizon et al. 2014:1). Technically, its closeness to a natural minor scale (the only difference being the minor 2nd) harnesses the mode’s ability to accommodate *darker* sounds, as part of learned human expectations of how one should feel *via* a musical system.³⁹ The Phrygian mode (with its accreted human interpretation and expectations) seems ideal for the “intrinsic melancholy” (Yalçinkaya 2008:6) of arabesk music and a song like *Londra Sokakları*, *hüzün* oozing from its words, performance, *fantezi* structural ambivalence, and genrification. And a *yanık* migrant like Ibrahim (in *hüzün* expectation) shapes Özkasap’s song into an emotional and musical *hüzün* totality.

The second juxtaposition leg regards the dialogue between vocalisation and instrumentation. The *fantezi* arabesk-style and intense orchestral strings runs are interrupted abruptly by the vocal *fantezi* freedom and alto sobriety of the vocalisation. And even if the two are connected by an interlude (which in a way sets the expectation for change) there is a sense of apprehensiveness in the relationship between the two when they meet in Form B. The opening vocal melodic line instantaneously orients the (migrant) listener from the vehement and inciting anger of Form A to a more *hüzün* expressive space. Özkasap’s performance hits all the right notes for the orphan, migrant and philopatridomantic Ibrahim, with “a pained and emotional voice expressing solitary torment. Here and elsewhere, [throughout Form B] the voice “interrupts” and occasionally even silences other musical elements” as Stokes (2010:85) observes for another, similar performance (see also my analysis in Figure 2.0.1). This is an epitome of Özkasap’s vocal prowess. The closing melodic line in Verse I expands the *hüzün* senses for Ibrahim with the thrice-repetition of “I shout/cry out”, while the relative closing line of the song ends abruptly in Verse II. Where one would expect a closing interlude, or as commonly in arabesk a closing *taksim*, this is unexpectedly omitted, with the song ending suddenly after Özkasap’s last triple lamentation: “I shout/cry out... I shout/cry out... I shout/cry out...”, each a tone deeper into Ibrahim’s emotional abyss and a vocal *âğıt* languish of immeasurable pain, exasperation, and *yanık* personification, enunciated in the unbounded *hüzün* world of Ibrahim.

³⁹ To clarify: humans (professionals musicians, amateurs, or musically untrained listeners alike) tend to attach emotions and moods to musical systems (modes, scales, etc.). However, I maintain that these responses are learned, rather than any emotional affects being inherent in the mode itself. Arguing how *dark* the mode is builds up intensity of expectation as to what mood we listen to the music with; this equally applies to other things. This infinite general sense, in the end, is not a matter of set emotional perceptions, such as Phrygian is *dark*, Lydian is *bright*, others are in-between; other emotional connotations may come from a series of entailments, such as musical elements, our expectations and prejudices. All modal systems come with a wide potential spectrum of emotional connotation, made determinate by those entailed series. A piece in Phrygian mode could be not-so-dark and not-so-intense, as well as connoting positive feelings, neither of which has necessarily anything to do with its Phrygian nature *per se*.

...to Birmingham's Xenitia: Damn You Foreign Lands

If there is a term for Greek-speakers matching the complexities of *hüzün*, it is *xenitia*. This synonymic idiom, to *hüzün*, also has tangled meanings:

‘ξενιτιά’ [*xenitia*]... derived from... (*xenos*)... refers to a foreign place...
denot[ing]... a psychological state; it... conveys feelings of sadness...
used... to denote the places where Greek[s] expatriate[d]... (Karra 2006:online).

For the Greek-speakers’ powers of reasoning and comprehension, *xenitia* is the idiom closely associated to nostalgia. However, it extends in the Greek mind beyond merely being a notion. *Xenitia* also links with motions of mobilisation (expatriating) and experiencing being far from *home/motherland*. In contrast to *hüzün*, *xenitia* links one’s mind directly to diasporic praxes. “Thus, according to the simplistic Greek view the earth is divided into the fatherland ‘patroa gee’ and the rest of the world which is the strange land ‘xenee’ hence Xenitia” (Dunkas 2007:339).

Its lexical derivation “from... *xenos*” (Kara, 2006), has a paradoxical nature in itself. *Xenos* and its derivatives carry several Greek meanings: in personification, as a stranger of unknown intention (hostile or congenial minded); and as a practice, *xenia*, hospitality towards a stranger and his treatment as a guest—φιλοξενία, using the Greek term. The latter, mythological linked with Zeus Xenios (Hospites, or Philoxenon), a role that Zeus has as the champion and benefactor of hospitality (*xenia*) and visitants, requiting the infelicities and wrongs done to his guests. This, inevitably in modernity (especially in our days) touches the refugees; even as ephemeral mortals, we should emulate the divinity of Zeus Xenios.

The modern adaptation of *xenos* in the Anglo-American lexicon turns it into a prefix for English words (and indeed the not-so-English ones, as in xenophobia). Its adaptation among the Greek diaspora (as is the case for BbGsCs) “is still perceived as a curse which magically leads to illness. Hence the common expression...“He was consumed by the black Xenitia,” since Xenitia is invariably seen as black, the colour of sorrow and of mourning” (N. Dunkas 2007:339). “My mother always used to say to me; son, the worst

curse on us is *xenitia*... that keeps us away from our beautiful Cyprus” (Eftihios, 25 May 2013—Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

It only took a few minutes of my first research visit to Birmingham to *touch* this migrant *curse*. On a mid-November afternoon in 2012, I got out of the New Street Train Station; it was raining heavily (not untypically for the Midlands Plateau) while I waited for Eftihios to pick me up. Seated and dry after several minutes on the way to Sutton Coldfield in Eftihios’ car, my first interaction with a migrant musical behaviour occurred as he sang along to Greek 1960s and 1970s “songs of *xenitia* [τραγούδια της ξενιτιάς]”; in his own words, “the songs that kept us going.”

After more than four years of research trips, songs of *xenitia* appear to be predominantly a listening behaviour of older males within the community, their mostly male-oriented words serving as a musical representation of masculine nostalgia. Their communal importance is highlighted as selectively constructed and re-entitled by Greek-speakers in ways that draw out their particular relevance to migrant nostalgia, which also (as later stages of my research prove) touches and attaches Turkish-speakers to them. Songs of *xenitia* offer five intra-communal (GsC) observations. First and second, migrants use music to build and revisit both collective and individual memories. Third, they pay particular attention to the experience of communal masculinity in music. Fourth, they hybridise Arab and Greek musics, and lastly all the above communal choices are viewed as making full sense locally and creating the reality within which they live, contrasting with the realities of their *motherlands* and *homeland*.

When it comes to genrifying songs of *xenitia*, in contrast to songs signifying *hüzün*, things are straightforward. Technically, they are part of the old-*laika* genre (παλιά λαϊκά τραγούδια), the popular songs of a past Greece. Old-*laika* derive from Turkish and Indian melodic patterns; they were written for the 1960s mass migration of Greek workers, and mass-disseminated by the rising music industry in Greece. Part of the “most deeply rooted and persistent musical pleasures in the region” (Stokes 2005:viii), they mirror some of the most important Mediterranean hybridities, and tell of the vast expanses of the Mediterranean and its music through time, place and mobility. In 1997 (68-70), Fouli T. Papagergiou details old-*laika* musical trends, genres, and strands, and

explains further the Turkish and Indian influences on these songs (the Indian influences being the films of Narghis popular in 1960s Greece).⁴⁰

Like Eftihios, other older-generation male GsC migrants listen to songs of *xenitia* during their more private daily moments, for example while driving, and also in any other form of privacy possible, so they can sing along and feel their own *xenitia*. And after the years I spent with them, I then met Ibrahim for whom Kazantzidis' song has similar function through memories and displacements, and finally proved to be a di-ethnic sonic connector. My meeting with Ibrahim shifted me to see *xenitia* songs as an opportunity to amass fragments of di-ethnic and highly mobile lives, which tell how they act as mythical agents that locate our Mediterranean imagination and travels; but also how pleasurable and ecumenical are, rather than confusing and alienating.

Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά

Diving into the metanarrative depths of BbCs' *xenitia*, and how through a musical resource suggestive of di-ethnic connections and Mediterranean mythical agents, a detailed look at the music and words of Kazantzidis' (1963) *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά* (*Damn You, Foreign Lands*) follows. The song was



Figure 2.11: LP Cover of Kazantzidis' (1963) album *Kazantzidis - His Master Voice*. Source: Stelios Kazantzidis Albums and Covers. [Online] Available: <https://www.blogger.com/blogin.g?blogspotURL=http%3A%2F%2Fstelioskazantzidhs.blogspot.ie%2Fsearch%2Flabel%2F1952%2520-%2520%2520Apo%2520Tis%252078%2520Strofe%25201952-1955&bpli=1&pli=1>

The song was first released in the album *Kazantzidis - His Master Voice* (see Figure 2.0.2). The analysis agrees both with primary sources' estimate of the song and other theoretical evaluations covered so far. The male-oriented words lament a musical representation of masculine nostalgia. Such songs have social and emotional meaning for Greek and Greek-speaking Cypriot migrants (and apparently for Turkish-speaking migrants too, in Birmingham), as a simple Internet search of the song's title links it to several Greek and GsC migrant community websites or blogs (Batsikanis 2011:online).

⁴⁰ *Laika* songs, as a genre, are also briefly discussed in Chapter 1. As space does not permit exploration of the topic in all its merits, I forward the reader to other literature discussing *laika* songs and their discourses: for their historical and philosophical aspects, Tragaki (2005); politics, Holst-Warhaft, (2002); *laika*'s utterances in Greek poetry and literature, Papanikolaou (2007).

Figure 2.12: Musical analysis and translation of lyrics of Kazantzidis' (1963) *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά*.

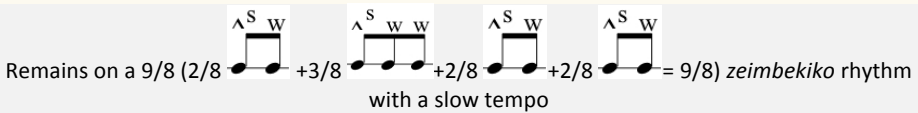
Events	Intro	Verse I	Refrain	Bridge	Verse II	Refrain
Time Progression	– 0.18	0.19 – 0.54	0.55 – 1.30	1.31 – 1.48	1.49 – 2.24	2.25 – 3.00
Form Progression	C	A	B	C	A	B
Lyrics Progression & Translation	–	Damn you, foreign lands Be cursed For taking our lads And pitying no mothers	It's horrible for a man to be an emigrant, far from his loved ones among the foreigners, a stranger	–	Mothers cry alone because their children are far away, they beg Mother Mary for them to come home again	It's horrible for a man to be an emigrant, far from his loved ones among the foreigners, a stranger
Key Progression	The song remains Tonic on a <i>Rast</i> (F) <i>Maqam</i>					
Time Signature	 Remains on a 9/8 (2/8) zeimbekiko rhythm with a slow tempo					
Melodic / Mode Progression	Theme melody	<i>Rast</i> descending	<i>Rast</i> ascending	Theme melody	<i>Rast</i> descending	<i>Rast</i> ascending
Instrumentation & Aesthetics	<i>Bouzouki</i> & <i>fisarmonica</i> solo	First stanza ends with theme melody on <i>bouzouki</i> , while second stanza with a <i>fisarmonica</i> (technique A). Minor mood.	Female <i>diphonia</i> (second voice) Technique A, however in a Major mood.	Theme melody in a dialogue between <i>bouzouki</i> and <i>fisarmonica</i>	Same as, Verse I: Technique A, with a minor mood.	Female <i>diphonia</i> (second voice) Technique A, however in a Major mood.

Figure 2.12 above contains a translation of the song's lyrics from Greek to English. The modern diasporic perception of *xenitia*, as a curse, transpires both from the title, the opening line, and the main concept damning the *xenitia* ("Damn you, foreign lands be cursed"). The lyrics' male-centric nature is clear, addressing only "lads" ("how horrible for a man to be an emigrant") and sons' relationships with their crying mothers. Migrant females with sons are the only women who could relate directly to these words. However, periphrastically, the obedience of a son to his mother, the forbearance of his words (half of the lyrics talk about *the mother*), and the patience and modesty illustrated in waiting for the two to reunite one day show the capacity of the song to transcend the diasporic imperative of the masculine realm and incorporate the female attainments of these higher virtues. As Eftihios emotionally attested during our discussions, he "always

respected... [his] father[’s] opinion, however when... [his] mother would tell... [him] off... [he] was very scared... the respect I have for her is immeasurable... what a powerful woman she was!”

Whenever my father used to sing to us about *xenitia* my mother also used to say this is only temporary, and, one day we will return back to Mazotos... from what you can see my mother’s wish was only a myth... perhaps a form of re-assurance for my parents” (25 May 2013—Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

The narrative further adds to the mythicised idea by telling “myths of origin and return” (Bohlman EOL3:1) and a man’s almost spiritual experience through hardship and journey. This applies both for the shaman-protagonist (Kazantzidis) and his listeners (like Eftihios). “My father used to talk a great deal about *xenitia*... telling Michael [his brother] and myself so many stories... yes I can safely say *xenitia* in our childhood was like a fairytale, a mythological sang-tale better” (Eftihios, 25 May 2013—Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham). Through his story, Kazantzidis makes the mythical connection to homeland while explaining the extended dispersal of modern Mediterranean diaspora, and tells the desire of every Mediterranean male migrant to repatriate to an intimate memorandum home, embodied by a female (mother in this case), and yet in masculine performance. This might be also linked with the memorandum home of one’s mother’s womb, also suggested in the case of Ibrahim, sourcing from the family structuring of Cypriots (and most Mediterraneans); even in a patriarchy, the role of the mother is one of higher virtues that command a great deal of male respect and acknowledgment.

As mentioned above, some of the most important Mediterranean hybridities are also reflected within *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά*. In Ibrahim’s words when listening to Kazantzidis’ song: “What if it is Greek, Turkish, or Cypriot music? They all sound the same to me” (8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham). Musical analysis reveals the Turkish melodic patterns intertwining with Greek elements, and the era’s generic production qualities and instrumental modernisation, such as recording the *bouzouki* with an echo. Kazantzidis’ bass baritone performance is another clearly masculine overtone, and its sound production replicates *álgos* as he laments for *nóstos*. Most old-*laika* songs of that time were modal; this one is based on a makam, the rast makam, in which the rast (tonic) F is followed by the 5th C dominant (neva) and closes its octave ascending with the 7th

(leading-tone or irak) E $\flat$. The distinguishing feature is that when descending, the irak is naturalised (E $\natural$), causing an acem (E).

Habib H. Touma (1996:43) explains how “the maqam rast, for instance, evokes a feeling of pride, power, soundness of mind, and masculinity”. Kazantzidis’ performance follows the melismatic flow of the rast makam (F–G–A (Half-Flat)–B flat–C–D–E (Half-Flat)–F). The refrain reveals the mood noted by Touma by ascending the rast makam, therefore including the accidental and adding a Major mood. However, verses sung descending the rast with the natural acem (E) melodically paint the sadness of the words: “Damn you, foreign lands - May you be cursed - Mothers cry alone”. Using the same technique as the *fisarmonica*, of holding the 3rd (A $\flat$) and 6th (D) on cadences, Kazantzidis creates the same melancholic and nostalgic sobbing, word-painting *xenitia*. The female *diphonia* (second voice) harmonising on the A $\flat$ further adds to the dramatic and nostalgic mood of the performance, in conformity with the song’s lyrical androgyny.

The 9/8 (2/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 2/8 = 9/8) *zeimbekiko* rhythm is held by the percussion, while further instrumentation expresses the form and nostalgic mood of the song. The three or more *bouzoukia* remind migrant listeners of their motherland Greece, and the *fisarmonica* (accordion) enhances the melancholic mood; its bellows hold the 3rd (A $\flat$) and 6th (D) on the cadences, perhaps symbolising nostalgia with a crying sound echoing the Homeric nostalgia of Odysseus’ “sobs and groans and anguish”. Listening to that, migrants’ shift “from spatial to the temporal” painless homesickness is attested by a frequent listener, Eftihios, who never really lived in his home-village of Mazotos; it is a “memorandum home” (Malpas 2011:88-89) constructed from intimate *bouzouki* sounds and an ersatz nostalgia ignited by the *bouzoukia*’s Greekness and the *fisarmonica*’s sobbing. Ibrahim’s observed nostalgia, in reference to *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά*, also coheres with Malpas’ description of spatial nostalgia changing to a painless temporal form; Ibrahim, who has never been Greek, has only shared with his Greek-speaking compatriots a memorandum home, one impressionistically drawn from his childhood Cyprus years bounded within cultural resources and non-Cypriot (Greek in this case) performers like Kazantzidis and his song. This Mediterranean hybrid way of remembering has evolved into an ersatz nostalgia in adulthood. Ibrahim grows nostalgic about his music-infused childhood (the familiar), and not the music’s origins, in contrast to the depth of his *hüzün* attachments with *Londra Sokakları* and Özkasap’s performance.

Ibrahim and Eftihios' sharing of emotional affiliations for a shared musical resource (*Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά*) tells a reconciliation story in its own terms. It also tells how a pleasurable musical experience mobilises into imagined Mediterranean musical space in *xenitia*, offering a chance to piece together fragments of a conflicting past into unifying musics of the present (Stokes 2005:vii-viii). Kazantzidis, shaman-like, takes both Ibrahim and Eftihios from their antecedents' unpleasantly conflicting pasts into an undefined diasporic/communal space, a third space⁴¹ where migrants undergo purification into "some clearer, freer realm" (Hopkin and Sugerman 1980:143), further proving that Kazantzidis manages to live his mythicised idea even after death, and "in defiance of convention" (Coupe 1997:49) takes with him male migrants who go "to extremes for him" (Ibrahim—8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).

* * *

I was deeply moved by Ibrahim's emotional depth around his *hüzün* meanings and lived realities with *Londra Sokakları*, and also by Eftihios' stories about his parents and his inherent curse of *xenitia*. In the latter case, and as an ethnoromantic attestation from myself as a GsC expatriate, I have experienced *xenitia*; and if we consider that Eftihios' family is also my extended family, emotional warmth has woven my own shapes of nostalgia. Yet, as a 'curse', *xenitia* is only recognised by migrants and not by myself. As for Ibrahim, our friendship enabled me to *burn* with him and go deep into his *hüzün*-internalised abyss, taken there by the vocal prowess of Özkasap as a proxy for his philopatridomania.

In whichever form or shape it was, both songs have attractively exemplified how an expatriate community, even a challenging case like di-ethnic Cyprus, draws on musical resources to summon up a remembered or imagined home, or whatever resembles that (e.g. motherly love). A duality of such cultural resources has shown a gender-play side and feminine undertones to the diasporic imperative of masculinity *via* performance avenues. Özkasap's Anadolu kadını (Anatolian woman) body, and the Greek masculine imperative one of Kazantzidis, together with their performances, have shown how these extend into both male and female migrant truths and meaning in Birmingham's Cypriot diaspora. Özkasap and Kazantzidis homogenise further a (child) body, born during my Birmingham observations; an Anatolian progeny stemming from the Mediterranean's

⁴¹ Extensive discussions on the concept of the third space are to be found in Chapter 7.

“anadolu”, a Turkish communication for “full of mothers” (Najmabadi, 2005). As Stokes (2010:134) explains, “‘Anatolia’ discursively enables the idea of the mosaic, a mosaic of identifiable and nameable ‘cultures’ and ‘historical accumulations’ that could be represented as separate, but ‘emotionally interwoven.’” Further, metanarratively and with the Greek etymology of Anatolia signifying the land of sunrise, it is this homogenised Anatolian androgynous progeny with its anadolu, born during my research, that shines some light into the complex patriarchal and emotional migrant (and other) spaces I have explored.

Defying time and distance, but underlying human emotionality, both cultural resources manage to bind Turkish and Greek musical components (makams, Phrygian, fantezi arabesk, old-*laika*) into the inevitable of the Mediterranean contingent of musical and social mythical agents. The transbordering Mediterranean umbrella (the Anatolian mosaic, identified by Stokes) that best covers the Cyprus diaspora is discussed in depth as the Mediterranean imaginary during the concluding chapter (Chapter 7), and these concluding notes are the starting point for the further analytical excavations that take place there and in the Postlude.

Yet some musical components found in these two songs comprise the foundational basis of Mediterranean harmonics and cannot be ignored; such as the Phrygian chord progression (Manuel 1986:92) in *Londra Sokakları*. And while taking as given the most important Mediterranean hybridities reflected within *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά* (Arabic melodic patterns intertwining with Greek elements), the Mediterranean repository found in Özkasap and Kazantzidis’ vocal prowess is historically connecting a world ancient in the Mediterranean imagination to Ibrahim and Eftihios’ present. However, this historical connection appears in the diasporic modern as asymmetric; given that Ibrahim is familiar with both songs examined, while Eftihios’ experience and performance remains monocultural. This asymmetry observed here, also reveals a wider inter-ethnic behavioural disparity in how TsCs and GsCs link themselves with the super-cultural of Greekness and Turkishness. This asymmetrical behaviour is further explored in the outskirts and concluding parts of this thesis. Yet, and undeniably, the performed “emotional treasury”, located in the two songs analysed here, might equally point towards “Turkey”, “Anatolia”, or, the “Aegean” through the complications found in Özkasap’s fantezi delivery of fatalism and Kazantzidis masculine baritone. Nevertheless they are both endowed with “a powerful Mediterranean sensibility” (Ibid:134)—the Turkish term that describes this best being *duyarlılığı*.

Constructing a paradigm for the modern Mediterranean Cypriot diaspora, its mis-displacements in many cases defined by conflict, racial binaries and ethnic blurredness, is conventionally held to be anything but plain sailing. In defiance of that, the songs explored in this chapter connect histories rather than isolate them, while reflecting history *via* mythological origins, following the narrative trail of either *xenitia* or *hüzün*. In other words, both *hüzün* and *xenitia* meet at a common component they share, that of loss, and with that, turn conflict into convergent cultural memory expressions binding Turkish and Greek musical resources together into a peaceful, un-affixed emotional di-ethnic communication, an epigrammatic Cypriot expression of Mediterranean harmony in diaspora.

Londra Sokakları and *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά* are, in a way, the transient relationship between music, place, and the migrant imagination in the Birmingham Cypriot community. But they are also di-ethnic cultural resources offering positively induced and reinduced bittersweet emotional experiences, songs found within the community's third space, a pleasurable and misplaced commodification of a diasporic imagined Mediterranean musical domain. Through them I saw a glimpse of reconciliation, even in a diasporic context: as erasing the invisible line located in the diasporic communal third space in Birmingham and making room for di-ethnic assemblages, both sensorial and physical.

Part II:

Extending Our Senses: *A Digital Diaspora in Four Artefacts*

- **Watching the *Zorba* with Greek-Speaking Cypriots in Birmingham: Meanings, Pasts, and Re-Creations**
- **What is this Irishness within Cypriot Diaspora?**
- ***Mange du kebabs/Eat Kebabs: Oriental Hip-Hop and Selective-Ethnogenesis in the Kebabosphere***
- ***Kebab Shop: Kebab Leitmotif, Resistance, and the Heterosexual Paradox of the Meat***

Chapter 3

Watching the *Zorba* With Greek-Speaking Cypriots in Birmingham: Meanings, Pasts, and Re-Creations

Introduction: "It is Not the Easiest Thing to Be a Migrant"

Sometimes I am very wary of telling people that I am Greek... everyone starts asking me questions and tell me about how they spent their holidays in Greece or how they would like to do so one day... food, *bouzouki*, philosophers and words like "*opa*" usually pop out in their discussions! I try avoiding it when possible... [however], being Greek has its perks! (Chrystala Mallas Michael—26 March 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham)

Well, it is not the easiest thing to be a migrant, even worse to be the only Muslim amongst your friends... you know how people here can be with Muslims sometimes... it is confusing to explain to them what I really am... sometimes I will just say I am from Cyprus some others that I am from Turkey... sometimes that I am British as they could not tell otherwise... I am who I am! I am Sevven! (Sevven Küçükoğulları—8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham)

It is generally true outside the Cypriot context, and confirmed in my research with the Cypriot diaspora, that migrants in their new locales are challenged, by cultural mis-displacements, distance from native culture, or by their families and intracommunal social circles, to gain a deeper understanding of their native culture. Commonly they also *fully* understand the way their culture is seen by British natives or other migrant groups; they have to answer questions almost on a daily basis:

"How can I say 'hello' in Greek?"

"*Herete* or *geia*." (Gr.: *χαίρετε* or *γεια*)

"...and in Turkish?"

"*Merhaba* or *selam*."

"What is the name of that Cypriot singer always on TV?"

"Oh yeah... that's Peter Andre, right?"

"What is the best Turkish/Greek restaurant in Birmingham?"

"Oh, well, Cypriot cuisine is quite distinct..."

These socio-cultural communications suggest they are folkloric raconteurs of a heritage that they themselves have been nurtured in, in diaspora (either through family or intracommunal micropolitics—see Preface), while developing a narrative for their cultural heritage that has a reflective function—for most—of explaining it while allowing them to understand it better themselves. They invent, re-invent, imagine or re-imagine their cultural identity in diaspora, narrativising their heritage, and this mythic or imagined narrative entangles their understood and then projected heritage in many ways.

As explained in Preface, works on belonging suggest that migrants have the need to belong somewhere/somehow, and fulfil it by idealising the good parts of their culture as belonging to a richer civilisation than the host one. As we can see from both Chrystala's and Sevven's narratives, which reflect the general translocal testimony of young Cypriot migrants, this new appreciation of their own culture is stronger among younger British-Cypriots.

Self-other differentiation, strategic identity appointments and attestations of sameness are tortuous notions for young British-Cypriots in the already ambiguous alignments of homeland, motherland and Birmingham. Anna De Fina and Sabina Perrino (2013:512), in examining transnational sociolinguistic identities, observed the same migrant behaviour for "transnational communities and individuals... particularly exposed to the contradictions of in-betweenness and hybridity." In-betweenness can be explicit, and in Sevven's case even illustrates a young transnational female attesting sameness with a self-selected inventory of strategic identities—Muslim, Turkish, Cypriot, British, *other*. Yet, Sevven herself would confess that with family or other TsCs, she adopts an intra-communal "good Cypriot girl" identity. Beyond its transnational function, this self-other differentiation also generates communal significance and local understanding (analysed in more depth later in Part II) and Sevven normatively embodies hybridities and diversities around strategically selected personas that might also point towards homogeneity and continuity in diasporas. Chrystala's new appreciation of her own cultural narrative shows the individual and diasporic communities engaging with new practices, proclaiming a clear *Greek* identity (since "being Greek has its perks!") while at the same time sustaining and entertaining the ideas of in-betweenness and hybridity. Although in her own terms she displays a clearer sense of self-other differentiation,

strategic identity self-appointments nevertheless take the form of “avoiding it when possible”, to evade collective differentiation and achieve sameness.

YouTube Music Videos and Transmedia as Methodology: “Extending Our Senses”

Being a migrant and learning one’s culture from the Internet is perhaps the epitome of transnationalisation. Bridging this contemporaneity to the discussion on new space formation from Chapter 1, the Internet may as well be described as Geertz’s other valleys, which create a platform for other imagined forms of acculturated life like no other virtual or physical valley does. Geertz’s metaphors can also be read in a way that levels the scales between these derelict orientations of geography that disappear in the virtual world, and the *new* emergence of musical transbordering tropes. For Part II, I put into practise my proposed (see Preface and Chapter 1) new scale of engagement. This has as a starting point cultural resources found on cyberspace, that build a case on philosophical and literature scales of the past, present and future simultaneously. Real or not, scales of past-, present- and future-orientation cannot be ignored; as later revealed, they have a real effect amongst young British-Cypriots. Pointing towards an interpretative communal truth, the part of the valley I choose as a starting point/mode of analysis is YouTube, for its vibrant engagement with music—not only as a sonic product but also as a platform that offers visual aesthetics, semiotics and *new* meanings for contextual analysis. Yet one might ask, why YouTube, and not any other cyber-social medium—Facebook, for instance?

Whereas Birmingham British-Cypriots use Facebook much like anyone else, they appear to use YouTube primarily for cultural and ethnic construction and selective-ethnogenesis. While Facebook provides a more vibrant social communication platform (as a social network should), this nonetheless limits the practices that one can have as a prosumer,⁴² which YouTube invigorates. Another decisive divergence is that Facebook users appear in my research to be distributed across the age groups—from young teens to migrants in their late-sixties—whereas YouTube is a medium used primarily by young migrants in their late teens to early forties, the generation on which this chapter focuses. Keeping that age distribution in mind, I remember what my late grandfather used to say: “To find out the truth about young people you have to be in their own room (space), where they have their privacy.” Affirming their chameleonic adaptation of one constructing self, this generation of BbCs frequently either thread or upload music-infused videos on YouTube.

⁴² A portmanteau derived from producer+consumer; I would add to this original meaning that of a user who may be amateur or professional.

YouTube's interwoven complexity of strengths and limitations has a simultaneous and intersecting utterance with the capacities of transmedia, mirroring the discussion in Chapter 1 by bridging individuals and flows of ideas through transbordering to *otherness* and to the unknown, while blurring and obliterating geographical physicalities. YouTube's profound facilitation of transbordering flows both creates and stems from cosmopolitanism, and its ability to host its prosumers' cosmopolitan projects and practices "has the capacity to give voice to, and sustain communication between, multiple cosmopolitanisms, engendered from a variety of political, cultural and social standpoints" (Mihelj, vanZoonen and Vis 2011:619). Beyond instigating a series of new abilities and imaginations for its prosumers, YouTube also and by choice turns into a virtual voyeuristic sensory, "which allows us to extend our senses beyond the range of our body's geographic environment, introducing us to people and places, sights and sounds that we would not otherwise have the opportunity to perceive" (Grusin 2009:61). It allows a not-always-embodied broadcast self to function as a chameleon, with its likes/dislikes and desires/fears projecting or viewed through musical imageries.

With all that in mind, in the early stages of my research YouTube seemed the perfect platform for young British-Cypriot migrants to *diaspeirein* the praxes I was after—their self-other differentiations, strategic identity appointments and attestations of sameness—by allowing such notions to bloom in its transnationality and cosmopolitanism. All this leads my thesis to a communal contingency of new meaning, experience and creation.

Extending Our Senses With Four Artefacts

In *extending our senses*, this chapter unfolds a series of ethnographic experiences I had with young British-Cypriots in Birmingham, and adds philosophical and literature components to form an ethnography-infused analysis of four artefacts. These have the form of four YouTube videos, and so Part II is organised into four chapters and locates itself within these meditational components; an analysis of four transmedias and their ethnographic instantiations. Consequently, the analysis is not limited to what BbCs made out of these artefacts, but begins with the four YouTube tracks themselves in order to track down the mediated objects to their (in some cases) earlier, or, (in other cases) raw/interpretative versions.

Within these meditational components, the following four chapters (or stories/tales) examine how a mostly-new diasporic musical behaviour only makes complete and full sense locally, with its meaning hidden within its complexities. I have selected four tales of young British-Cypriot folkloric raconteurs and distribute them into four chapters that illustrate their translocal and cyber reality most clearly. The significance of the BbC diaspora's links to other geo-dispersals is also developed here, epitomising the transnational character of this research. The Birmingham community orients itself in terms of online musical expressions by reference to more populous diasporas, in particular the LbC migrant community (which in its turn points towards the Irish diaspora); and later on, it also crosses UK borders in bridging with France, while also giving meaning to other Western (mostly US) digital media flows. Yet, this cosmological self-structuring transbordering does not only point to pre-existing real or virtual geographies; young British-Cypriot migrants also ingeniously mis-dis-place Hollywood-created cosmopolitanisms of past imagined identity constructions into a newly re-imagined translocal understanding of life.

Expanding and adapting the theoretical vocabulary given in Preface and Chapter 1—selective-ethnogenesis, ethnophaulisms, the flow of inter-transnational exchange of ideas, mis-dis-placements of loss, chameleonic identity transformations, etc.—my analytical take on these young migrant expressions bridges theory with real migrant life, extending our senses beyond that to an exchange of bodies of the communities' online musical expressions and culinary resources, and showing how humour and irony can be a serious social trade for youngsters in this di-ethnic diaspora. This chapter also implicitly tells of the absence of Cyprus itself, and the *success story* and anxiety as a racial signifier that reflects the modern Cypriot life in the *new* European identity and the diasporic translocal.

The first two stories (Chapters 3 and 4) are Greek-infused, and are each a kind of utopian fantasy Summer myth (in the Shakespearean sense). Under the name *Zorba*, our first tale takes us to the famous Bullring Shopping Centre in 2012 and a dance flash-mob arranged by the Hellenic and Cypriot Societies of Birmingham, as experienced by two types of migrants, ephemeral and perennial; in the second, *Stavros Flatley's Riverdance*, a father-son duo reprises the famous neo-Celtic performances of *Riverdance* and *Lord of the Dance* for a *Britain's Got Talent* audition in 2009. With their main trade being neo-national romanticism and humour, both went viral on YouTube, mostly amongst the UK GsC diaspora due to the ethnic and migrant tautology (including the Birmingham

community). Humour is also the main ingredient connecting the third and fourth stories (Chapters 5 and 6). Yet these are Turkish- and meat-infused. Two Spring myths, leading from bad situations of differential injustice to happy endings, tuning humour's functionality towards irony as a way of empowerment and protest. Turkish-born rapper Lil Maaz (real name Yilmaz Karaman) and his 2007 music video *Mange du kebab* (*Eat Kebabs*) take us in a virtual way to his migrant home in France; later we come virtually back to Birmingham by looking at the effect of this song among the TsCs there. The last myth is a parody of 50Cent's *Candy Shop* named *Kebab Shop*, dubbed with lyrics from the LbC YouTube prosumer hasandinho95 and his anonymous female crew. All four stories gesture towards the ways that dance/bodies and folk or national popular music structure the GsC artefacts and food/service, and hip-hop structures the TsC artefacts—from dancing bodies to meat eating, in short. There are telling reasons for these choices, most notably the menace of hip-hop and the harmlessness of folk and national popular music.

Though initially appearing as Shakespearian comedic Spring myths, or as Summer myths, all four chapters bind together communal realities, truths and significance into a milieu storybook that contains all the elements which come up during a young British-Cypriot's world-creation phase. My endeavour in Part II is to lay out local, national, translocal and transnational tunings of Cypriot migration, and by doing so show a space, not defined by shallow realms, but instead hollowed out by transnational regulatory regimes of differential and racial injustices. This is the intersectional of Greek, Turkish, Cypriot, and Birmingham, and their other in-between rites of passage pointing to other geographical locales as means of hybridities. Here, space is cosmopolitan, and can also be real, virtual or imagined, and diasporic or not, all connecting to a migrational trans-spatial new profanity of senses. Not only do young British-Cypriots find empowering meanings and definitions by objectifying folk and popular music tropes, culinary and commercial artefacts, and notions like humour, satire and irony to extend their senses within their self-authored milieu story of the modern world; they also extend our academic *milieu* and senses.

* * *

Early in my research I came across a very interesting YouTube video posted on many of my young British-GsC friends' Facebook profile pages, entitled *Birmingham Zorba's*

Flashmob (Noel Mack 2012)⁴³ and showing a *sirtaki* dance flash-mob arranged by the local Hellenic and Cypriot Societies. Their members are mostly university students from mainland Cyprus and Greece studying in the Birmingham area (parallel societies appear almost everywhere that has Greek and GsC students), and so the migrant testimony in this chapter stems from post-event discussions I had with them. The analysis concerns two types: the ephemeral migrant praxes of GsC students; and BBGsCs' own praxes. This YouTube clip becomes a starting point for excavating Nikos Kazantzakis' (1952) novel *Zorba the Greek*, and Mikis Theodorakis' (1964) *Zorba's Dance* as an already-hybrid musical resource that is used as a staging ground for further postmodern moves. The *Birmingham Zorba's Flashmob*, a simulacrum staged in diaspora, is also revealed as a staging ground—like Cyprus, a proxy suspended in migrant realities.

Yet my first observations around the flash-mob and the Zorbas phenomenon in general were not of a musical nature, but instead linguistic. The idea of Zorba is very much imbedded in the lives of GsC migrants giving it a diverse linguistic applicability and flux in their everyday lives. Therefore, 'Zorba' and 'Zorbas' appear with multiple nuances in this chapter, as migrants utilise these themselves, and so something of a terminological spoiler is in order, especially as the presence or absence of the -s has very different significances to Greek/GsC and English ears. From an English sound-perspective, the distinction appears to be singular/plural, and this does sometimes seem to be how the words are used by some interlocutors when referring to people dancing in this particular way. Unaccented 'Zorbas' in upright type will be used throughout to mean this, and 'Zorba' will similarly be used occasionally in an adjectival way to refer to the overall phenomenon (and also in video transcriptions when the significance is moot). The 'Zorba's' in the title *Birmingham Zorba's Flashmob* is hypothesised to be a misspelt instance of 'Zorbas' used as an English plural.

To a Greek-speaker, though, the presence of the -s denotes the nominative (subject) case of this word, and its absence the genitive (possessive) and other grammatical cases—all of them singular. Where a GsC is speaking about the character Αλέξης Ζορμπάς, usually rendered in English as 'Alexis Zorba', the accented upright-type form 'Zorbás' will be used here. Finally, italicised '*Zorba*' will be used, variously, to refer to the dance form, or as a shorthand title for the dance music, the film from which it is taken, or the book on which the film was based.

⁴³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1U2bdXZzeI0>

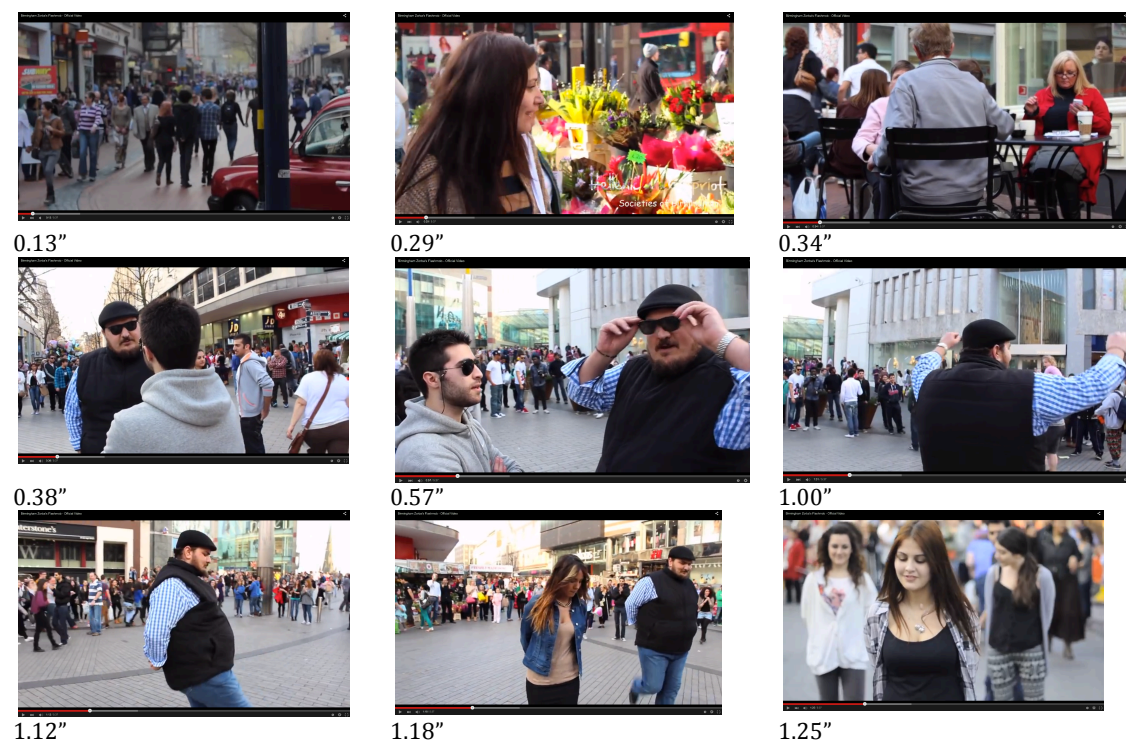
It's Birmingham city centre on Saturday 24th March 2012, and the video shows what seems to be an ordinary early afternoon scene in the Bullring pedestrian precinct. The camera pans left and right capturing unsuspecting shoppers browsing at a flower stall, and others enjoying a coffee at tables on the pavement. And then the camera focuses on two gentlemen apparently in their early thirties talking to each other, and seconds later zooms in on one of them. Heavily bearded and wearing a checked light-blue/white shirt under a dark blue sleeveless jacket, on first impression he looks suspicious, as he is also wearing sunglasses, despite the overcast weather. What initially seems a slightly unnatural dialogue between these two is confirmed as such when the hirsute one starts shouting, "Op, op, Zorba?" Taking his sunglasses off and raising his hands in the air, he turns towards the crowd. Then a distant shout echoes "Oopa," and the sound of bass and *bouzouki* comes in. The bearded protagonist starts clapping his hands in the air, rhythmically and at slow tempo. Then after crossing his hands behind his back, he starts slowly dancing what seems to be a *hasapiko* (χασάπικο), applauded by several people around him and stared at in sceptical bafflement by others. Soon a young woman who seems to be in her early to mid twenties joins the man to his right, dancing in synchrony, while background voices shout "Oop!" and "Bravo!" And then the camera pans right, capturing four more youngsters (three female and one male) creating a new dance cluster that also joins in synchrony. Yet more join in, and the camera shows a panoramic view of several young people dancing *hasapiko* in the middle of a ring of onlookers, who either look confused or are taking pictures (or both). Then the dancers increase in number and when the camera pans again and zooms back in, for a second or two they stop moving and rest their hands on each others' shoulders, stamping their right feet and shouting loudly in unison, "Opa!" Then their previous dance routine resumes for a further minute or so.

Their kinetic positioning is hands on neighbours' shoulders, their bodies slightly bent to the front. More people from the crowd join in, and the number of dancers seems to be substantially larger now as the tempo of the *bouzouki* accelerates, while its melodic phrase is somehow different and the dancing pace picks up. During the next minute, more join in, the *bouzouki* tempo and dance speed up once again, and more shouts of "Opa!" and "Pame!" ("Lets go!") can be heard in the background. The camera occasionally pans towards spectators looking on—some still in discomposure or uncertainty about what they are witnessing, and yet others thoroughly enjoying the event. The camera then moves to a panoramic view showing dancers separating themselves into five groups, each

forming a circle while dancing in a clockwise rotation of what now seems to be a *sirtaki* (συρτάκι).

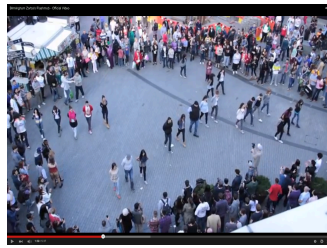
This continues for a little under three minutes, the shouts and dancing increasing in pace as the *bouzouki* rhythm and repetitive melody get faster and faster; by now any Greek person (and probably everyone else) will have recognised that this is a flash-mob of the famous *sirtaki* dance, otherwise known as *Zorba*. During these three minutes, the camera occasionally still pans left and right, zooming towards the crowd and picking up some of its members laughing (for reasons unknown—perhaps condescension towards the dancing Zorbas, or because of the excitement and joy transmitting from the spectacle—or, again, both), while also showing most of the audience holding their smart-phones up high to record the event. And then after four minutes of flash-mob *Zorba* frenzy, the music and the dancing stops on a high, while the camera keeps filming for a few more seconds capturing the murmuring from shoppers and commuters talking to each other about what they have just witnessed. And then a black screen comes up in silence, with four slides displaying in succession (in Greek), “Στάθου στα πόδια σου Έλληνα... ΑΤΡΩΤΟΣ... ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΟΣ... ΖΟΡΜΠΙΑΣ”: in English translated as, “Stand on your feet, Greek... UNBEATABLE... PROUD... ZORBÁS”.

Figure 3.1: Collage of video stills from Noel Mack’s (2012) *Birmingham Zorba’s Flashmob*





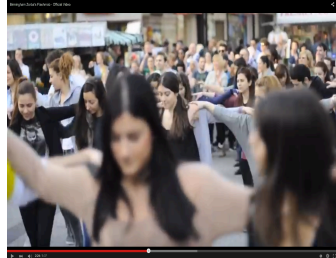
1.33"



1.39"



1.49"



2.24"



2.39"



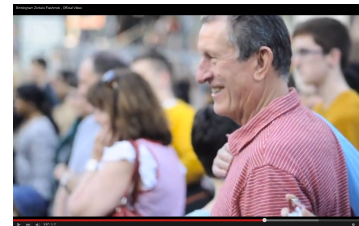
2.47"



3.16"



3.25"



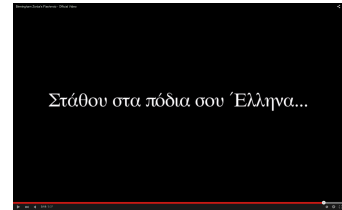
3.57"



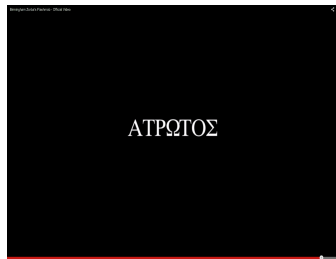
4.21"



4.55"



5.19"



5.22"



5.26"



5.29"

As of 6 November 2015, on YouTube there are several *Zorba* dance flash-mobs in the UK and beyond (Figure 3.1)—even one (that we will revisit later) in the heart of Cyprus' capital city—which tells us that this phenomenon is not simply a nuance of young GsCs in Birmingham, but a pan-diasporic *Greek* experience: These mimetic or co-occurring flash mobs, as global but also *Greek* events, have much to say both jointly and individually; let us, however, first overview the *historical* of the mis-dis-placed *Zorba/sirtaki* musical resource in its former motherland locale, and its origins, technicalities, performance and

past significance, before moving to its national, international, and finally diasporic translocal and transnational meanings and future significance.

Figure 3.2: YouTube videos of Zorba dance flash-mobs.

Manchester, UK (Market Street)	15 th March 2012	(H alli apopsi, 2015) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iJM5qjbiOdc
Birmingham, UK (Bullring)	24 th March 2012	(Noel Mack 2012) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1U2bdXZzel0
Spijkensisse, Netherlands	21 st May 2012	(Jan de Leeuw, 2012) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sfQ3PAzSIPk
Annapolis, USA	27 th May 2012	(nbvideo1, 2012) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xEYwwQ0Fr6g
Nicosia, Cyprus (Ledras Street)	9 th June 2012	(thatsthespirit83, 2012) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bj3YC7j-fZI
Vienna, Austria	15 th June 2012	(Hellinas Mac, 2012) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ITRGyZFKeE
Huddersfield, UK	12 th April 2014	(t.k.images, 2014) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6296CBFK9I
Bristol, UK	16 th March 2014	(CinderellaVasia, 2014) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISijcwPqzA8

Watching the Flash-Mob With Birmingham-Born Migrants I: History, Origins, Technicalities and Gentrification

It would be no exaggeration to say that the *Birmingham Zorba's Flashmob* video has been default viewing during every interview I have had with GsCs in Birmingham in the past four years. I cannot estimate how many times I have witnessed the Greek and GsC students dancing on my laptop screen, and how many more times I have heard Theodorakis' composition through its speakers. As none of the GsC migrants I have met attended the flash-mob (and I have met most in Birmingham), my questions concerned its post-effect impacts, their knowledge and further ideas that they wanted to share with me about the video and song. Therefore, the initial sections of this chapter introduce Birmingham-born migrants' praxes in viewing the Zorbas. Their societal disconnect with the Hellenic and Cypriot Societies of Birmingham students (the ephemeral migrant praxes) are also examined; and at later stages of this chapter in more depth.



Figure 3.3: Michael Pitsillides performing on his violin at Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham. Photo: Author.

When viewing and discussing the video with Michael Pitsillides, the community's fiddler, he showed great recognition and "respect" to the "makers" of the flash-mob. His testimony also contained wide historical and musicological understanding of this track—an irregular testimony in comparison to my other samples (especially from young GsCs, as most of the older migrants experienced the history of the composition as it was happening, giving them an almost organic background knowledge), perhaps because he is a musician himself and has often performed the song:

This is fantastic innit? ...Good lads for organising such an amazing dance in our City. Watched it many times, and, every time it makes me feel so proud! You know they are mostly students who dance here... the day and time it was happening, Alex [Lambrou, the community's lute player, and, Michael's best friend] called if I wanted to go there with him, but unfortunately I was at the shop [the fish-n-chip shop he owns] and it was only brief, it happened so suddenly, I would not have never made it on time anyway and neither Alex did [genuine expression of sadness]... you know the story about *Zorbas' Dance* yes? ...well is from the film, and the song is by Theodorakis, what a legend! ...I played [performed] the song many time with the band... mostly at weddings and at parties at the *Estia*...

Was it Theodorakis, or Zorbás he was calling a legend?

Both! In their own ways, the real life legend being Theodorakis for putting together this new-for-the-time music, the *sirtaki* you know, and Zorbás as a character who inspires Greeks around the world! ...Anthony Quinn was amazing in this film... He reminds me a lot of my uncle [Savvas Lambrou, not genealogically his uncle but his musical mentor]... both old school Greek men, talented, well-travelled and carefree at the same time [an emotional/nostalgic look here] ...I don't

remember his name but the guy who directed the film was also a Cypriot! Did you know that? ...I remember my uncle telling me stories about how this song divided opinions in Greece at the time, and that there were a lots of politics involved... this dance or song whatever you want to call it has lots of history and work behind it, it is not as simple as people here [non-‘Greek’ Birmingham] put it, or anywhere else in the world, as plain Zorbás. This is only how foreigners [non-‘Greeks’] see it, Zorbas and Zorbás, blah blah. But no, my friend, it is more than that! (Michael Pitsillides—2 April 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

What are widely known as the *Zorba* and *sirtaki* dance outside Greece—to “foreigners”, as Michael puts it—are merely the denouement of a series of cultural and socio-political episodes within Greece before their widely-known international grand narrative. The tautology for some and identification for others of *Zorba* and *sirtaki* (as in Michael’s case, which is also the most popular understanding) derives from the *sirtaki*’s creation as a dance music genre by Theodorakis’ famous instrumental piece and George Provias’ choreography for Michael Cacoyiannis’ film *Zorba the Greek* (1964). (Somewhat ironically for our purposes, Cacoyiannis was a Greek-speaking Cypriot, as Michael very correctly states.) This “new for the time music” is old enough for GsC youngsters like Michael to



Figure 3.4: Video still from Cacoyiannis’ film *Zorba the Greek* (1964) showing the famous last scene of the film.

consider the composer a “real life legend... for putting together this”. The film is based on Kazantzakis’ novel, featuring the multifarious personality of Alexis Zorbás,⁴⁴ the rationalist author’s alter ego. A bohemian performance by half-Irish half-Mexican Anthony Quinn nostalgically reminds Michael (in ersatz fashion) of “old-school Greek men” like his uncle Savvas, someone

he clearly admires and looks up to. From a migrant musician’s perspective we can see a full recognition of the song being a new-at-the-time creation, yet the testimonies most commonly recovered from people without musical education are rather more minimal.

⁴⁴ The book is set in Crete, but Zorba is not identified as Cretan but as Macedonian-Greek. Kazantzakis depicts him as a manifestation of Nietzsche’s *Erlebnis*.

This minimality fully captures the way young migrants mis-dis-locate cultural resources, sometimes as an imagined tradition within their diasporic synthesis.

Dancing the *Zorba* is like dancing the *sirtaki*, it's a traditional Greek song we used to dance since we were kids, at school [Sunday Greek School at Apostle Andrew], at weddings and whenever all the Greeks [British-GsCs] meet... I especially like it when it changes rhythm... is like two songs in one (Chrystala Mallas Michael—5 April 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Zorba's Dance is analysed below. Michael Pitsillides' narrative contains partial facts, such as “new-for-the-time music, the *sirtaki* you know”, and this partial but not whole understanding is common for mis-dis-placed resources and other narratives in diaspora. Chrystala's misconceptions of the song, something not local but traditional to her, also reveal an untrained musical ear's sophistications and further *heritaging* mis-dis-placements around it, and are empirically typical of young Birmingham GsCs.

Figure 3.5: Author's Analysis of Theodorakis' (1964) *Zorba's Dance*.

Sectional Summaries and Listening Guide to Theodorakis' (1964) <i>Zorba's Dance</i> —As Heard Within the YouTube Video <i>Birmingham Zorba's Flashmob</i> (Noel Mack 2012)			
YouTube Video Time Progression	01:01 – 02:10	2:11 – 03:52	03:53 – 04:58
Parts	1		2
Form	A – A – A	B	C
Dance Genre	Slow- <i>hasapiko</i>	Fast- <i>hasapiko</i> (<i>hasapo-serviko</i>)	<i>Syrtos</i>
Melodic Progression	Motif 1 (Bars 1–10) from Theodorakis' (1963) <i>Strose to Stroma Sou Gia Dyo</i>	Motif 2 I–I ₇ –IV–I–II–I–V ₇ –I (IV of G rast is naturalised and its V is replaced with a V ₇)	Koutsourelis' (1950) composition <i>Syrtos Armenochorianos</i>
Key/Mode Progression	G rast (makam /dromos)	Modulation to G houzam (by adding a # to C and together with A and G creating the tritone of houzam); re-modulation to G rast Makam	G rast Makam
Time Signature	4/4 = ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	2/4 = ♩ ♩	
Bar Progression	1–10 from Figure 3.3	1–15 from Figure 3.4	16–113

Theodorakis' famous instrumental lies within the hybridities of the traditional Cretan *syrtos*⁴⁵ dance and two *rebetica* sub-genres, slow- and fast-*hasapiko*, commonly known as the *hasapo-serviko* (χασαποσέρβικο).^{46,47} The *Zorba's Dance* theme, in Vavritas Nikolaos' (2004:141) words, "does not constitute a traditional Greek dance", proving many British-GsCs' ideas about it misconceived. In reality, its two distinct (1) slow and the (2) fast parts and its three form/events (A–B–C) are Theodorakis' (1963) previously composed song *Strose to Stroma Sou Gia Dyo* (Part 1, Form A—Figure 3.5) as the slow-*hasapiko*, a newly-composed fast-*hasapiko* motif (Part 1, Form B), and George Koutsourelis' (1950) composition *Syrtos Armenochorianos* (Part 2, Form C); it may as well be described as Chrystala experiences it, as "two songs in one". Yet, Theodorakis still manages to display some overall *new* creative and compositional merits here—beyond motif 2/Form B—as the transaction from Form A to B is achieved through a modulation from the tonic G rast makam to a G houzam by augmenting with a sharp the first two notes of the motif 2 (Form B)—C and A to C# and A#—thus creating in concert with the dominant G a tritone suggesting a houzam inclusion.⁴⁸ However, these musical technicalities have no conscious meaning for migrants. They rather affect migrant experiences subconsciously, with exciting musical playfulness of the "two songs in one" kind, and of intimate makam sounds that mislead them to acknowledge it as a "traditional Greek song" that they "used to dance since [they] ...were kids", a clear attestation of nostalgic attachments to the resource by young GsC migrants locked and enciphered in the techniques that Theodorakis "legendarily" incorporated, and something we will discuss a great deal.

Therefore, the next time you enjoy your *moussaka* (μουςακάς) at a Greek restaurant while *Zorba* is playing in the background or performed live by a *bouzouki* player, don't be a "foreigner"; you now know that it is in reality a medley-hybrid of these three dances: "*sirtaki* is a tourist version of the traditional *hasapiko* dance" (Pennanen 1997:80) or an "invented" Greek dance tradition in a "synthesis of the occidental and oriental habits and

⁴⁵ *Syrtos* is literally the *drag* dance, in the sense of *pull along*.

⁴⁶ *Hasapiko* literally means butcher's dance, and *hasapo-serviko* the Serbian butcher's dance.

⁴⁷ One might argue that all these dance genres belong to the broader category/form of the *syrtos* dance, which is common all over Greece and beyond (*kolo*, *horo*, *maleviziotis*, *kotsari* [Pontic Greek] etc.). Yet, here we enter the egg-chicken discussion of genrification, which really comes down to its performative simplicity (double and a similar broader step pattern). Yet, as my analysis shows, the melodic genealogy is well explained as a combination of the Cretan *syrtos* and the *rebetica* genres of fast-*hasapiko* and *hasapo-serviko*.

⁴⁸ Reflecting discussion of the Ottoman denominations in the outskirts of this thesis, these are either assigned to the Ottoman-Byzantine of the traditional movement, the Greek-*Demotika* adoption of the Ottoman terminology, or the *laika bouzouki*-centered and *rebetica*-derived terminology. The Ottoman denominations here for tetrachords that use the Western European temperament might raise some eyebrows; nevertheless, this is common practice among *laika* musicians. The brief analysis given above and the further detail in the outskirts of this thesis are based on the original 1964 recording of *Zorba's Dance* used for the Birmingham flash-mob, and Figure 3.2 can be used to follow either the performance timeline of the YouTube flash-mob video or the album recording.

customs that”, at the time of its creation during the mid-late twentieth-century, “comprised Greek reality” (Zografou and Pateraki 2007:119). It is also a sonic nostalgic attestation for the GsC sitting next to you, and this migrant reality of experiencing and structuring the song it is worthy of cultural and social acknowledgment, even from “foreigners” like you and me.

Michael’s confident testimony as a GsC migrant claiming/feeling to be an insider, who knows more than the “other” “foreigners”, is narrativising mis-dis-placement normativities but also proving that even for him, “it is more than that!” Something similar applies to the literature analysing the song. Though several musicological works (e.g. Pennanen 1997; Zografou and Pateraki 2007) recognise the hybridity of *Zorba’s Dance*, none has actually pinpointed the musical elements that merge the three components. Therefore, I have transcribed both Theodorakis’ (1963) *Strose to Stroma Sou Gia Dyo* (Figure 3.6) and recovered the original score of the *Theme of Zorba the Greek* (Theodorakis, 1964—Figure 3.7) in order to make this analysis (Figure 3.5).

Mikis Theodorakis' (1963) *Strose to Stroma Sou Gia Dyo*

Transcription by Michalis Poupazis

Transcription by Michalis Poupazis

Figure 3.6: Motif 1 (Bars 1-10) from Theodorakis’ (1963) *Strose to Stroma Sou Gia Dyo*. Transcription: Author.

MIKIS THEODORAKIS

Slowly G

mp *accel. poco a poco*

1. 2. A little faster Am *mf*

G Am

Figure 3.7: Motif 2 (Bars 1-15) from Theodorakis’ (1964) *Zorba’s Dance*. Transcription. Source: @ 1964, 1965 Twentieth Century Music Corporation.

You know that the music in the video [flash-mob] is the same as the album version yes? ...there is however something different about it, but I cannot put my finger on it but [pause] ...I don't know maybe it is just me (Michael Pitsillides—2 April 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Michael and I discussed the accuracy of the flash-mob as a simulacrum of the film. As I reassured Michael, it is not just he who felt that way; and this set me thinking more deeply about how an ethnographic moment like the flash-mob can be explained without observing the event in person. Thanks to YouTube, I had a video that recorded and transmediated the few, but important, performative differences (theatrics/dance/sonic). In a way it unbounded the established leitmotifs (see Chapter 6 for definition) that Quinn and *Zorba's Dance* bounded so well in everyone's mind, as became apparent from the very first moments of the video, with the cloudy-day theatricals of the suspicious-looking man with the sunglasses taking them off and lifting them up adding dramatic effect. His light-blue/white shirt bore the flag colours of Greece; however, the new elements are not only embodied and tangible, they are also sonic. Calling out "Op, op, Zorba?", distant voices echoing "Oopa", background shouts of "Oop!" and "Bravo!", and the final murmuring of the shoppers and commuters; all add sonic layers to the soundtrack that otherwise would not be there. Both the new theatricals and sounds enhance the original track (as also represented in Figure 3.5), offering us a sense of liveness.

This liveness also plays an integral role in analysing the song in relation to the students' performance. Their stamping their right feet while shouting "Opa!" in unison is the sonic liminality that bridges Form A with the rest of the song, and the slow part with the fast. When the *bouzouki* tempo and dancing get faster, shouts of "Opa!" and "Pame!" get more frequent and faster; a *diphonia* of two worlds (the film and the flash-mob) performing the *Zorba* together. It is the liveness that reminds us that the Bullring *Zorba* happened in another spatial and chronological reality than the film *Zorba*; maybe, after all, it is not sonically the same *Zorba* as the one in the film. Its setting suggests that the difference comes from the Bullring *Zorba*'s student-migrant embodiments claiming their space, as flash-mobs do, rather than an actor (Quinn) who embodies a different and rather manufactured citizenship status.

Watching the Flash-Mob With Birmingham-Born Migrants II: The National and International of a Compositional Ethnogenesis and the Two Alexis

When Michael (the fiddler) “remember[s his]... uncle telling [him]... stories about how this song divided opinions in Greece at the time [of its release], and that there were lots of politics involved”, that encouraged me to discuss the matter with other young migrant musicians; maybe they would know a thing or two more than Michael. Most (if not all) young British-GsCs I have talked with know rather few musical and historical facts about the track, except that it is the “Zorbás dance” and “it’s from the film *Zorba*”. I therefore decided to keep asking a simple question—what genre of music or dance you think that is?—in all my interviews. The answers varied:

Zorba of course! (Kyriacos Christou—3 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

I am not so sure but I think the dance is called *sirtaki*... or, *syrτος*... or, something like that (Nicola Christou—7 October 2014, Four Oaks, Birmingham).

I have read somewhere, probably online, that it is really a *hasapiko* dance. I am not sure if that is right (Christina Petrouis Haralambous—5 April 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Now that you are mentioning it, I have never even considered that... all I know is that it is the *Zorba* dance (Dassos Morby—5 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

From the way we dance the song [meaning the kinetic movements of resting arms on each others’ shoulders] I would imagine is a *hasapiko*... but my mom and dad tell me is *sirtaki*... I don’t know, it is confusing! You tell me! (Christopher Mallas—5 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

The migrant confusion about exactly what genre the song is, or what to call it, echoes some of the debates that surrounded Theodorakis’ composition in Greece itself. Theodorakis’ *inspiration* of borrowing Koutsourelis’ composition has caused some

disaccord, with some naming the latter the “real *Zorba*” (!) (Συλλέκτης Αναλέκτων, 2013) and making this *borrowing* worthy of deeper analysis. Even the nature of the genre is questioned by many mainlander sceptics, and made blurred for GsC migrants, as we have seen. All this derives from the basis of Part 1 of the *sirtaki* in the *hasapiko*, creating the impression that *Zorba* and *sirtaki* are just two new names for that dance (Lisbet 1992, 207–210), while in diaspora it can be “imagine[d as] ...a *hasapiko*... but [then Christopher’s] ...mom and dad tell [him that] ...is *sirtaki*”.

Yet Christopher’s “academic nature”, as he calls it—he is an established lawyer—made him research the matter further. Three days after our initial interview (8 October 2014) he rang me: “Look, I’ve been thinking a lot about the chat we had about *Zorba*! I need to



Figure 3.8: Christopher (right) and myself during a social event. Photo: Author.

know more, can you tell me what genre it *is*?” I explained that the genrification of *sirtaki* needs to be examined in relation to the discourse surrounding its promotion and the historical moment of its first reception, in close connection with the genealogy that I have already mentioned. We both left the discussion there, promising each other that the next time we met we would talk more about the discourse around the (in Christopher’s words) “*Zorba* phenomenon”. Meanwhile, I carried on discussing it with other participants; some older-generation GsCs who knew more history than youngsters, though my focus was on mostly what young GsCs in Birmingham had to say.

Almost organically, the next person who came into my mind was Alex the lute player, who with Michael comprises the communal *zygia*. As Savvas’ son, Alex grew up with considerable understanding of Cypriot and Greek folk and *laika* musics. If I thought Michael’s testimony was irregular, I was in for a treat when discussing the historical and musical discourse of the song with Alex. We discussed the hybrid synthesis and the electric (*bouzouki*) performance of the *Zorba/sirtaki* and their importance; and also the series of binary West/East national identity denunciations that followed the song’s publication in Greece. The camera shy Alex even referred to an interview with the song’s “creator”, in which “Theodorakis explains how his composition managed to bring back

identity debates” to Greece’s mainstream dialectics. I have later myself recovered that interview (Theodorakis 1981:209), confirming Alex’s synopsis of it as correct and accurate. These binary contradistinctions, which both Alex and I recognise, came from *Zorba* and *sirtaki*’s invention over a period of musical conflict that circumvolved the larger genre of *rebetica*; or as Alex calls it, “the music of the convicts”. The director of the film, Cacoyiannis (2001), word-photographs this process saying that Theodorakis managed to change the direction of *rebetica*, the music once linked to low-class strata and crime in Greece, through its “entering the lounges” of high society.⁴⁹ *Rebetica*’s socio-political discourses at that time deserve a bigger space than is available here; two suggested readings examining it in detail are Pennanen (1997) and Zografou and Pateraki (2007:120-122).

I met Alex again four months after our initial interview (6 April 2013) on 15 August 2013. This time we decided to have a more casual meeting with a coffee (as Cypriots do) in Birmingham city centre, near the Bullring and not far from where the flash-mob took place. I had by then researched the track even further, mostly through the Greek and English literature, and had spent endless further hours examining the hybrid composition of the song, in terms of both form and theory. My research paid off when I found an article in Greek by Dimitris Lekkas (2003) discussing *Zorba’s Dance* and the transformation of Greek folk culture. He comments:

The musical composition of Zorba’s dance is a meeting place between official and unofficial ideologies on tradition within an Occidental⁵⁰ context. It is this orientation, rooted in nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments, that has channelled Greek music into its new tracks. This Occidental turn, or Westernisation, involves the inflow of many new elements and the simultaneous abandonment of many old ones; as such, it incurs breaches and decay (p.56; translation mine).

⁴⁹ Theodorakis was not the only Greek composer to do this: Manos Hadjidakis did so as well, with a musical language that emerges as more “western” and lounge-friendly, but which can also be much more refined in its means than Theodorakis’. Theodorakis had extra success because of the poetry he used, but the discussion would not be complete at this point without reference to Hadjidakis.

⁵⁰ Here I will slightly disagree with the author’s terminology, as I would call it self-orientalism or response to self-orientalism and not occidentalism, especially on the musical level as there is already an obvious and admitted use of Western elements in *rebetica*.

Beyond this article's enthusiasm, my meeting with Alex intensified the notion of the oriental/national gaze that one might fix on this song when he initiated a discussion about Kazantzakis' book:

I have also read the book you know, *The life and deeds of Alexis Zorbás* [he said that in Greek: *Βίος και πολιτεία του Αλέξη Ζορμπά*]. I was always drawn to Kazantzakis' story as the main hero's first name is the same as mine... and then I have learned about the music of the song... my father taught me lots... I understand that Theodorakis and the director of the film, were trying to achieve something out of it, make a film and new music that will be popular with foreigners [Westerners, in this case, as opposed to the non-Greeks that Michael had been referring to] as the influences of the East are there, and have always been in our [Greek] *laika* music (Alex Lambrou—15 August 2013, Birmingham City Centre).

The popularisation of the Zorbás character's innate notions of emotionality, intuition, etc. through the Western rationality/Oriental emotionality dichotomy is part of the orientalist gaze. Looking at Lekkas' statement, I would not call this reversal 'occidentalism', as the latter term implies a conflict with representations of the West (albeit in the context of a "western-derived" West versus East discourse). Thinking about the unity of Zorbás' body and dance (as opposed to the foodservice and hip-hop point we will encounter later), instincts, emotion and spirit versus the self-restriction of the overrationalised author (Kazantzakis) is a characteristically Romantic European construction (hence the relative shallowness of *Zorba* compared to other books by Kazantzakis). As Alex also understands, both Cacoyiannis and Theodorakis had a clear goal and direction with their creation at that moment in time. The *Zorba* film and soundtrack had to mediate within Greece and to wider Europe and America an accessible and easily transmittable, but nonetheless oriental Greek Zorba identity and persona, an exotic construction of ersatz Greekness accessible to people who may not even realise there is a character called Zorbás. Alex continued:

I know that many think of Zorbás [as portrayed in the film] as the perfect but manufactured Greek male example, but in reality things are quite different. I have found major differences from the Alexis I have read in the book to the Alexis I have watched in the film... in the film it

felt that he was not so Greek as he was in the book, which I have to say I have read after watching the film of course... the music also is not 100% Greek... there many foreign [again referring to western] touches into it...

This distortion of Kazantzakis' figure is undoubtedly reflected in the change of the book's title in translation. The book nowhere mentions Greekness, even if Alex read otherwise; Theodorakis and Cacoyiannis introduce the motif, incorporating some Western elements and compromising other genuinely Greek ones. These are most likely the hybrid elements that make "the Alexis... in the book [different] to the Alexis... in the film". One can claim that this is achieved musically firstly with the makam choice of the rast, almost identical to a Major scale though with much more capacity for irregularities. Such irregularity can be found in its descending form, and when the *Zorba's Dance* tune modulates momentarily to the tritone (G-A#-C#) of a houzam. Yet, Theodorakis introduces two additional irregularities that might be regarded as very unusual within a rast: in the Form B chord progression (motif 2—I-I₇-IV-I-II-I-V₇-I) he replaces the rast's V with a V₇ (using it instead of the natural D), and he also naturalises both the note C and the IV (C) chords instead of using C#. These unusual departures arguably suggest the western-familiar of G Major, instead of its rast equivalent; and *Zorba's Dance* clearly loses its Cretan elements within the *bouzouki* timbre and sound with all its associations, forgetting Koutsourelis' original composition with a Cretan lute.

How many times I played [performed] the song I do not remember. And, every time I see Greeks taking that iconic posture of the *Zorba*, and dance their hearts out! ...yes, that is a stereotype way of linking everyone that is Greek with the music of *Zorba* and that dancing posture, but foreigners do that a lot... I guess it was necessary though in order for the film and the song to meet success all around the world (Alex Lambrou—15 August 2013, Birmingham City Centre).

Another important factor that solidified this mediation of Greek orientalism to the West was George Provias' choreography, "that iconic [dancing] posture of the *Zorba*", of the slow/fast *hasapiko* and the invention of a new way to dance *syrtos*, with all the symbolic gesturality and kinetic meanings that *Zorba's Dance* accessibly projected and mediated through Quinn's performance. All three parties—director, composer, choreographer—agreed in advance that the dance later edited into the last scene of the film should begin

with a slow rhythm and accelerate into a final very fast exultancy; hence Theodorakis' compositional marriage of the slow-to-fast *hasapiko*, even if the latter was really Koutsourelis' *syrtos* music. Cacoyiannis maintained that *hasapiko* and its performance were more transparent and transmittable to a non-Greek actor and audience ("foreigners", *sensu* Alex and Michael). Moreover, *hasapiko* and *hasapo-serviko* are technically less challenging to dance than other Greek genres, and are "permeated by a symbolic context of familiarity, joyfulness, solidarity... [and] companionship, combining the local with the ecumenical, the Western (occidental) with the exotic Eastern (oriental), thus affording an imagined connective link between inside and outside, between the self and the other" (Zografou and Pateraki 2007:125).

The construction of a dance-sonic image (*sirtaki*) mediated and negotiated the initial mind versus whole premise of the book into a nationalist orientalist representation of Greekness as innately emotional and embodied. This perhaps explains why Alex misread which *other* Alexis was carrying Greekness with him, as he "read [the book] after watching the film of course," and had already structured emotional bridges with the cinematic dance-sonic image. As with the soundtrack, which comprises two parts, the choreography also synchronises with this form. Provias achieved this division by inserting a pause between parts 1 and 2, while maintaining "movement prototypes of motives, recognizable as motives of the slow *hasapiko* and the fast *hasapiko*" (Zografou and Pateraki 2007:125), keeping the *hasapiko* visual that Cacoyiannis insisted on. Cacoyiannis' persistence might also have grown from the impression that the *hasapiko* dance was the one "associated most vividly with Greece... to learn to do it puts the icing on the cake of a stay in Greece" (Petrides 1980:13). All three components—film (story), music and choreography—have become tools which manifest the whole film's endeavours; a film that needed to meet commercial success and "promote this ambivalent Greek identity by making it known" (Ibid:119) as the *new* way of being Greek, within Greece but also in the West.⁵¹ Returning to the idea of selective ethnogenesis, here we observe a neo-Hellenic selective invocation of what appears among GsCs in Birmingham to be their cultural heritage and their selective representation of it. What started as a national and translocal compositional ethnogenesis (of neo-Hellenism), brought about a new intracommunal and transnational ethnologic reality and

⁵¹ The film's success—it received three 'Oscars', and was nominated for four more—made the mediating sounds and visuals of the Zorba an international success story. Broadway musicals followed (in 1968 and 1983); the music was used during the climax shootout scenes in the 1998 Guy Richie film *Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels*, and even performed by the organ player at the Yankee stadium in New York to excite the crowd and encourage a rally (New York Yankees Fan Club, 2015).

understanding of the resource in the GsC diaspora, as “a traditional Greek song [that they] used to dance since [they] were kids” (Chrystala Mallas Michael—5 April 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

It was the third coffee of the day with Alex by now. What had started as a casual afternoon meeting outside the coffee shop in the sun, migrated inside after an hour or so as it was getting dark and cold. I wanted to find out more about what a migrant Alexis thought about and how he experienced the fictional Alexis, the embodiment of this neo-*Hellenic* compositional ethnogenesis, and compare this to Kazantzakis’ vivid proto-profile of the character:

I have often wanted to write about the adventures of Alexis Zorba, an old worker I loved very much.

Travels and dreams have been my greatest benefactors in life; few men, living or dead, have helped me in my struggle. However, if I wanted to single out the men who left the deepest imprints on my soul, I would perhaps single out three or four: Homer, Bergson, Nietzsche, and Zorba.

The first of these has been the supreme luminous eye which, like the sun, sheds its redeeming light on all things. Bergson freed me from all the insoluble philosophical anxieties that tyrannized over my youth. Nietzsche filled me with new anxieties that taught me to transform misery, bitterness, and uncertainty into pride; and Zorba taught me to love life and not fear death.

If I were to choose from the whole world a guide, a guru, as the Indians say, or an “old man,” as the monks on Mount Athos call him, I would surely choose Zorba (Kazantzakis, 1952, 8—introduction to the preface of *The life and deeds of Alexis Zorbas*. Translation by Apostolos Athanassakis, 1972).

Yes I do admire the character of Zorbás... he has always been there for me as an example to follow in some aspects of my life... he is representing a man who is like a mentor, a wise man who knows a lot because of the things he have seen through his travels... a true Greek man of wisdom if that makes any sense... (Alex Lambrou).

Alexis Zorbás' original creator, Kazantzakis (1952:8) talks about a well-travelled cosmopolitan man, an embodiment of nonconformism, wholly liberated from a self defined by "morality, religion, homeland". This is exactly the stereotypic new Greek persona of bohemian praxes that Torp Lisbet (1992) identifies as being manufactured with such trades as cosmopolitanism and a free spirit, "a symbolic reference point, [that] seal[ed] the physiognomy" of modern Greeks inside and, most powerfully, outside Greece (Zografou and Pateraki 2007:122). It is this new physiognomy of the modern Greek that Greeks themselves have idolised into a human creation of higher virtues, one whose name lies in a hall of fame next to "Homer, Bergson and Nietzsche", a new "guru" or "old man" for the new Greek man. Travels and dreams, Kazantzidis' benefactors, have also

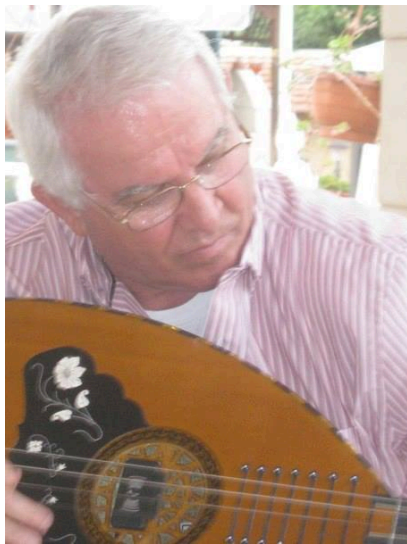


Figure 3.9: Savvas Lambrou, "the uncle", performing on his lute at Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham. Photo: Author.

been the most prominent beacons of mobility for Greek (and by extension GsC) diasporas. Listening to Alex's words alongside Kazantzakis' description of Zorbás, I could not but link the two to my previous discussion with Michael, who reflects on "Zorbás as a character who inspires Greeks around the world!" Yet, true to Kazantzakis' but also to Alex's description, this new physiognomy of the fictional Zorbás "reminds [him] a lot of [his] uncle", conforming with the idea of embodying the "mentor", "guru" and "old man" concept; his uncle Savvas clearly holds that role in his life. For Alex, Zorbás is the "old man" Alexis, for the new and migrant man Alexis.

We must remember that the intellectual and historical depth of these young migrant musicians' testimonies make them outliers from the flash-mob/song data. Also, as explained above, none of the actual participants' testimonies were able to be recovered in Birmingham, and so their involvement is examined only through contextual analysis of the video, leaving some questions unanswered: do other GsC migrants know this Zorbás that Michael and Alex describe? Is this Zorbás the deep cosmopolitan guru for migrants, or the superficial stereotype of a Greek man/dance (as it is for "foreigners")? And is there an age difference in his reception?

These were questions that only migrants themselves could answer, and for an age- and gender-balanced sample I had to be inventive at that point, knowing from experience

how hard it is to form focus groups with GsCs in Birmingham, as they are mostly uncomfortable with expressing feelings and ideas in front of one another. And then my methodological approach proved successful, as my engagement with the individual and the Mallas family offered me the possibilities of recovering these answers in a balanced sample, but also in an environment where participants would feel safe to express feelings and ideas. The inventive part was that I decided to organise a family movie night at the Mallas' house...

Zorba The Greek: Viewing at the Mallas'

Friday 3 October 2014, 8p.m.; I remember that rainy evening as the night I arranged to sit in the Mallas' living room and watch *Zorba The Greek*. Iliana was still in the kitchen making *kalo prama* (a traditional Cypriot semolina cake with lemon syrup; actual translation is 'a good thing') and preparing the traditional Cypriot cinnamon cookies known as braids, *koullourakia tilihta* as she calls them, the exact same treat offered to me by Özel at her household in Edgbaston on March 20, 2014 (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.6). Next to me her grandson Kyriacos politely called out that she might make some popcorn for us. Eftihios, sitting on his usual end of the sofa (his "armchair" as he calls it) with a glass of wine, seemed very content, smiling for the fact that he was going to re-watch "one of [his] ...favourite films of all times" and also because his close family was there with him, together with his "long-lost nephew" as he playfully calls me. He was also excited by the fact that we were going to talk about the film further, as he was very well informed and aware that I was doing this mostly as part of my research (even if the hospitality and the sense of "family" made it feel otherwise). Nicola was running late as she had to make sure her husband, Christos, had his dinner before she joined us, while Chrystala was already there, having arrived earlier that afternoon to catch up with me while Iliana baby-sat her three children Yiannakis, Iliana and Loulou. During our afternoon meeting, Chrystala had said, "It might be a bit awkward to talk in front of my parents... just in case you ask me questions that I really don't want them to hear my answers to." Therefore her narrative contribution here dates to the following day, when we arranged to meet for an afternoon coffee in the city centre. With Christopher over in London, and with Nicola and her younger son Eftihios (Fif) arriving fashionably late—the oldest son Kyriacos was already there as he had come earlier to have an interview with me—there were seven of us, plus Chrystala's three little ones, spread all over the sofas and ready in front of the television.

Snacks on the table, Eftihios announced, “OK, boys and girls, film is on”, before pushing the play button of the DVD player. And then the opening titles rolled, accompanied by the Forms B and C of the song, and I experienced and observed during the next two hours and twenty minutes a series of emotions and expression from the Mallas family. I saw Eftihios being emotional (I am sure I saw a few tears, especially at the closing scene), laughing, but also playfully shouting “*opa*” to his grandchildren. I saw Nicola and Chrystala rolling their eyes at their father’s reactions, but also laughing at many “cheesy” and “stereotypical” aspects of the film. Kyriacos and Fif were mostly on their smart-phones and apathetic during the viewing, while the little ones focused on the cookies and their soft toys. At one point I saw Kyriacos watching the flash-mob on his phone, most likely driven to do so by our prior discussion about the matter. By the time the film finished Nicola and her two boys had to go (luckily I had spoken with Kyriacos and her separately beforehand) and Iliana went upstairs to put the three little ones to bed. Just Eftihios, Chrystala and myself were left; and then discussions began.



Figure 3.10: Eftihios, sitting on his usual armchair, and Iliana serving *kalo prama* before the movies start. Photo: Author.

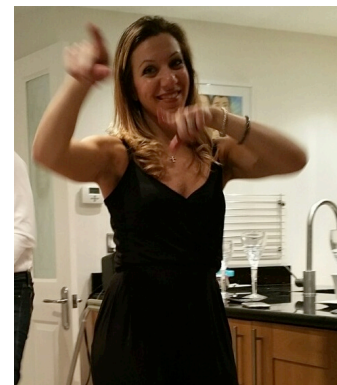


Figure 3.11: Chrystala dancing the *Zorba* after the film finished in her parent’s kitchen. Photo: Author.

Every time I watch it [the film *Zorba the Greek*], it always manages to move me... how many tears I have shed, and how much courage and values I have learned from that movie I cannot describe.... I have been trying to teach my grandchildren how to dance the *Zorba*; a very special moment in my life... both Iliana [his wife] and myself re-watch the film often, we love it as it reminds us of different times, of the past, when we were young and when everything was more pure, when Greeks were Greeks! ... Yes! of course I still dance the *Zorba* every chance I get at [the communal] parties and weddings. (Eftihios Mallas—3 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Who doesn't know about Zorbás really? My dad talks about him every chance he gets! ...I have heard so much about it that I am almost 'sick' of it... but that's how all the old Greek men are, I suppose. He even tried to teach Yiannakis [her six year old son] how to dance like a Zorba. Well I do recognise he is [Alexis Zorbás] a very important personality for Greeks, especially for us who do not live in Cyprus and tend to connect ourselves this way to Greece... funny is when I meet with my non-Greek friends and they all want me to dance the *Zorba*, they all look at me like I am a weirdo! But I guess these are all part of being Greek nowadays... (Chrystala Mallas Michael—4 October 2014, Birmingham City centre).

The Mallas' testimonies recall Ted Petrides' (1980:13) statement that the *hasapiko* is the dance "associated most vividly with Greece". With what I have observed and the stories I have heard, this is a clear mis-dis-application when it comes to British-GsCs in Birmingham; Demeter Tsounis (1995:98) makes a similar observation for the Greek diaspora in Adelaide. The same mis-dis-application also covers Vavritas Nikolaos' (2004:141) statement that the *Zorba* dance "does not constitute a traditional Greek dance." In Birmingham, as Eftihios and Chrystala⁵² testify, it is the *sirtaki* dance and in its particular performance to the *Zorba's Dance* tune that directly relate Greek ethnicity to and from the migrants, and this is how it is celebrated both by GsCs and non-Greek people there. It is also a resource that carries a clear traditional Greek heritage for them.

During most GsC communal gatherings and parties—this factual migrant experience is



Figure 3.12: Eftihios and Iliana dancing *sirtaki*, the *Zorba*, during a communal gathering. Photo: Iliana Mallas' personal archive.

something I have also watched in numerous DVDs of communal events as part of previous research (Poupazis, 2013)—it usually appears as a climatic celebratory dance, and often playfully, as the tempo of Part 2 might end up accelerating into un-danceable speeds, leaving the participants laughing with this joyful way of being Greek. Remember that Chrystala previously

⁵² See also her interview extracts in previous subsections.

stated, “I especially like it when it changes rhythm... it’s like two songs in one”? As in the film, so in Birmingham, the *Zorba* dance performance represents a true and migrant-perceived authentic Greek music and dance genre, while at the same time manifesting a culminating and playful statement of Greek diasporic solidarity.

However, its meanings and expressions vary depending on which migrant generation performs it, and in which habitus; on who receives its dissemination, and the significance being attempted to be achieved. As previously noted, mobility is naturally a central action in the midst of flow, and *Zorba* (as a cultural resource) is no exception. This idiosyncratic character of the resource in its dispersal to Birmingham tells us a lot about its flow and mis-dis-placement story: a resource that remains true to mis-dis-placement’s predefined meaning of loss, with Cyprus not even being a mediating corpus of this completely Greek experience for migrants. In many ways, the way the tune is deciphered in Birmingham has caused GsC migrants there to learn an “invented” Greek tradition and evaluate it through westernised lenses as “traditional” Greek, making their understanding of *Zorba* no different to the one that non-Greeks have, although they can relate more closely with it and turn it into a barometer of their Greek ethnic identity. For Eftihios this manifests in the past, “when everything was more pure, when Greeks where Greeks”, while for Chrystala “these are all part of being Greek nowadays”.

And this is what links the above with the Bullring *Zorba* flash-mob, an experience of it all through the young British-GsCs, with its dissemination recipients being the local, translocal and international audiences (transnationality denoting a process rather than a recipient in this case), and the attempted significance being the enhancement of Greek solidarity during the hard times that the Greeks are undergoing in modernity (economic crisis, austerity measures, unemployment, social injustice, etc.) If that endeavour was not clear enough during the performance, the closing YouTube captions—“Stand on your feet, Greek... UNBEATABLE... PROUD... ZORBÁS” made it more than clear (see Figure 3.2).

Watching the Flash-Mob With Student- and British-GsC Migrants: Examining the Translocal and Transnational Through Diaspora

What does this expression and experience of Greek solidarity reveal about modern GsCs (both native and migrants), who as we have seen in Chapter 1 construct and feel themselves to be Greek, while sharing fragmented and parallel heritagizing processes and narratives from Cyprus and the West? What is the *little narrative* of the unconscious

modern GsC experience that gives us the metanarratives' meanings of truth, the ones extended on the web of significance of the diasporic now? There is no easy way to answer that, or do interpretive anthropology here; however, answers will be constructed on the present work's ethnographic-informed scale, of the meditational components discussed during the introduction of Part II, as a thicker methodological description of the thesis' grand narrative.

I will firstly analyse the student-migrants' own meanings and significances before turning to British-GsCs, who in many ways embody a *true* and permanent migrant-self. A reminder, that young BBGsC migrants neither organised nor danced in this flash-mob, but only experienced it through YouTube; it was purely the work of younger generation of *temporary* student migrants from homeland Cyprus and motherland Greece, who had had



Figure 3.13: Chara during our interview at a coffee shop in Larnaca, Cyprus. Photo: Author.

a different Greek experience to British-GsC youngsters. I traced back to Larnaca, Cyprus, recent Aston University graduate Chara Pappoutta (not an actual participant, yet engaged in the organisation of the flash-mob); I talked with her three years after the flash-mob happened, so her memory on many points was not as clear as I had hoped; her testimony was nonetheless interesting:

Hehehe... what have you reminded me now with this you have no idea!
 ...Definitely I remember this... unfortunately I have graduated by the time it took place and I left Birmingham to come back home about three or four months before it took place. It happened when the problems [financial crisis] started in Greece, so the Student Societies came up with this to lift up the spirits of everyone [Greeks, or GsCs as it appears in this case]... the things I liked the most about this flash-mob it was the fact that there were both men and women dancing, and not only men as usual... I also liked the fact that students, I knew two Cypriot girls who participated, found the courage to stand in the middle of Bullring in front of all these people and make a statement...

What kind of statement?

Of being Greek! ...yes I was a member of the Society when I was a student, I even remember that we started organising the flash-mob but I was in my final year and could not really focus on that, I had to study hard! ...what happens in the Society, at least the one in Birmingham, the *kalamarades* [mainland Greeks—see Chapter 1 for definition] are in charge and the Cypriots follow... I got involved 'cos I missed being home... when you are thousand miles away from home, being part of the society makes you keep it real! ...when you move into a big city like Birmingham being part of a Student Society it also makes you feel safe... there are so many nationalities and sometimes is intimidating to socialise with people who do not understand where you are coming from (Chara Pappoutta—17 April 2015, Larnaca, Cyprus).

Unfortunately Chara had not kept in touch with the flash-mob participants she knew, and I could never track them down during my research trips to Cyprus. However, even if students from Cyprus, like Chara, have a small migrant passage (usually 3–4 years) in the UK, and having been one myself and lived among them for more than five years, I can safely say that I have observed a great deal of anxiety about their chameleonic identity transformation and their in-betweenness and hybridity within British popular culture. Self-other differentiation, strategic identity appointments and attestations of sameness are an everyday business for student GsCs as much as for British-GsC migrants. Nonetheless, student migrants reflect mainland Cyprus realities in many more ways than do British-GsCs; and they, in their turn, have the student migrants as a paradigm of how to be a true young Cypriot or a true young Greek, structured on the motif of “the *kalamarades* are in charge and the Cypriots follow”.

For student migrants, the flash-mob has been a clear manifestation of an androgynous performance of Greekness and solidarity—“Societies came up with this to lift up the spirits of everyone”—and an irregularity according to Chara, since most similar representations are merely men’s business. This manifestation lies within the grand national romantic narrative running through most Greek-speaking Cypriots’ milieu story, written by Kazantzakis and further mis-dis-placed for them by Cacoyiannis, Provias and Theodorakis. It is a narrative that, for native Cypriots, has its roots deeply embedded in history and in the promotion of Greekness by the island’s elitists and right-wing political parties, while such notions of national romanticism and Greekness are passed to

migrants by other micro-political mechanisms and placebo nostalgias, as we have also seen in Preface. In the same way that British-GsC migrants have student migrants as a paradigmatic reference, student migrants idealise mainland Greeks as a paradigm of how to be a true Greek, thus creating a selective-ethnogenesis of being Greek in their temporary migration. This is another way of mandating authenticity, “keeping it real”, as you are never more *yourself* than “when you are a thousand miles from home”.

Involvement with Hellenic and Cypriot Student Societies in diaspora is an opportunity for GsC students to learn through Greek lenses how to be Greek, and in a way to rely on the individual understanding of what that is through the chance placement of mainland Greeks at the same university. Through this selective-ethnogenesis process, they also tend to grow a socio-cultural performance which mimics mainland Greek youngsters—as Chara explains, “Cypriots follow”—and thus align themselves with the nuances of Greek diaspora in the UK, as opposed to the GsC diaspora. *Zorba* as a compositional ethnogenesis is a prime example of this; I would find it almost impossible for such a flash-mob to be organised by Cypriots who speak Greek only, and without the influence of the motherland group. However, by participating in the flash-mob and other experientially purely Greek performances, they put to sleep one side of their fragmented identity anxiety, the one about being Greek, with an authenticity easily won far from the Mediterranean. And while composition and selective ethnogeneses collide, GsC students are exposed to the other identity anxieties that circumvolve their young spirits: hybridisation to British popular culture, and of course the unavoidable one that remains in mis-dis-placement, of being Cypriots.

Even if it is a characteristic of flash-mobs to sustain the anonymity of their participants (even among themselves, students would not necessarily know one another, as we can see from Chara’s testimony), GsC student migrants were left exposed as “Greeks” in the middle of the Bullring Shopping Centre. Yet they “found the courage to stand in... front of all these people and make a statement”, in a place to be regarded as an experiential mediation shaped, defined and understood from social relations, while pointing towards a geographical distinction in the middle of Birmingham’s spatial cosmopolitanism and transnational negotiations. Student migrants had to react as Greeks now, with all the resulting “perks”, expressing their need of national identity by simultaneously exploiting the philhellenism of Britons linked to Greece’s ancient culture and the European orientalism that modern Greece projects, while selectively excluding their Cypriot heritage.

These notions are also displayed within Chrystala's narrative (see the Introduction to Part II) and also now clearly explain what she meant by saying "being Greek has its perks!" (They might also be read as a way of passively protesting against, say, the removal and relocation of the Elgin marbles, or other cultural discords between Greece and West.) Yet, unavoidably, this Greek selective-ethnogenesis and public exposure made student GsC migrants face a series of ethnophaulisms on that day—not necessarily ill-mannered ones, but nonetheless ethnic stereotypes such as all Greeks (ignoring

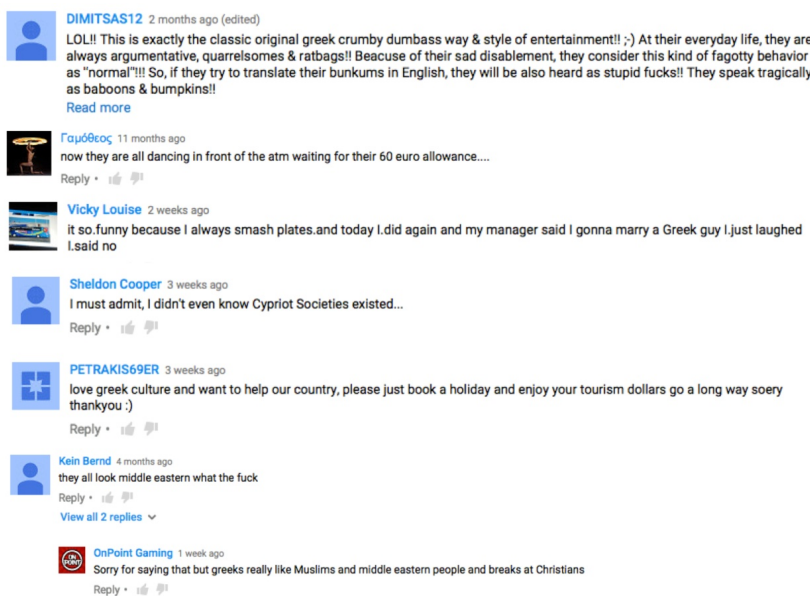


Figure 3.14: A collage of comments following the *Birmingham Zorba's Flashmob* - Official Video on YouTube. Source: Noel Mac (2012). [Online] Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1U2bdXZzel0>

completely their Cypriot affix) are people who shout "opa", eat *moussaka*, smash plates, and dance like Zorbás. A quick look at the comments that follow the flash mob video on YouTube is quite telling in respect of ethnophaulisms, both self-generated and external.

In saying, "when you move into a big city... [where] there are so many nationalities... [it is] sometimes... intimidating", Chara shows how student GsC migrants feel inferior in a Western environment, such as Birmingham's cosmopolitanism, and therefore selectively idealise the Greek affix to their national profile to project and place themselves as oriental particles of the transnational habitus they are now part of, especially when this new spatial reality translates for them as "being part of a Student Society [which]... makes you feel safe". This also stems from any imagined cosmopolitanism they might have developed, perhaps from Hollywood movies they watched back in Cyprus, or exploiting the ones that Britons have watched and can in some ways connect to them, such as *Zorba the Greek*. Overall, these also tell about many mis-dis-placed understandings of how student migrants strategically and chameleonically metamorphose between an identity

that will simultaneously allow them to claim a self-other differentiation (as Greeks within cosmopolitan environments and as Cypriots when in only-Greek environments) and an attestation of sameness, as members of the new Europe and as British-westerners.

Keeping in mind that almost all student migrants repatriate after their studies, the mimetic flash-mob at Ledras Street in Nicosia can only be considered as an extension of student praxes. The popularity that the flash-mob had amongst them also was further explored micro-politically by big corporations, as we can see from prosumer thatsthespirit83's description of the video he uploaded:

I was walking down in Ledras in Nicosia today and I was happy to see a really nice flash mob with Greek Zorbas! Had no idea why was this happening but after reading a postcard that a lady gave me it was a promotion by McDonald's for their new Greek products... Which I must confess I got tempted and ate a Greek mac! Amazing! (thatsthespirit83, 2012).

The “Greek mac” alongside the *Zorba* dance (the compositional ethnogenesis of neo-*Hellenism*) comprises a “contradictory experience of the universal marketplace alongside



Figure 3.15: A screenshot of the mimetic flash-mob at Ledras Street in Nicosia, Cyprus. Video: thatsthespirit83.

proliferating neotraditional codes and new ethnic schisms... the key signature of the postmodern era” (Erlmann 1996:469). It also reveals a GsC expression in the juxtaposition of homogenisation and differentiation, as a feature of “musical globalisation” (see Timothy Taylor’s *Global Pop* [1997]) and its “society of the media” that are propounded by

transnationalisation; something known in literature as the “Benetton effect” (Jameson, 1983; Erlmann, 1996). Sharon Zukin (1995) argues that this postmodern juxtaposition experience and Benetton effect is a “cultural business” that generates a spatial duality: a visible one “of cultural consumption and a social and... ethnic division of labor”; and a symbolic one, that functions as “both a currency of commercial exchange and a language of social identity” (2, 10, 24). She calls this effect “a new confluence between the sources

of contemporary public culture: ...commercial culture and ethnic identity” (45-6). Yet this confluence remains unallocated in terms of spatial order. The *Zorba* flash-mob in Ledras orients Zukin’s two spaces into the pathways of musical aesthetics under late capitalism in roads which parallel its historical and cultural significance, which lead one through imagined and acculturated migrant and then repatriated worlds.

The Ledras flash-mob, as it stands, is a prolific resource and example of “modernity at large”, negotiating the pros, cons, illusions, realities and pragmatics of a postmodern contemporaneity and futurity. Musically, the film–diaspora–repatriation sequence is performatively connected by the liveness of the latter two; those foot-stampings or the “Opas!”, the shouts and screams which, as we have seen, bridged and bounded a spatial duality of film and Bullring into a *diphonia* of different spatial and time alignments. In turn, the Ledras *Zorba* with its own unique liveness unbound this duality and aligned the flash-mob performance into an unidentified space of future times. All these alignments, as also covered in Chapter 1, point towards a third spatial configuration, one that can very well explain and describe a mash-up of the function of *Zorba*, Greek Macs, migrant and not-so-migrant life and ephemerality.

In short, the third space in which the *Zorba* flash-mob lies is another epitome of transnational interexchange of flows in mis-dis-placement. As previously stated, being a migrant, and learning “one’s culture” from the Internet *via* YouTube, is perhaps the epitome of transnationalisation. For young British-GsC migrants as non-active and participant bodies, the Bullring *Zorba* flash-mob has that exact utterance, and might as well be described as the *other valleys* that Geertz refers to, creating a platform for other imagined forms of acculturated life like no other valley does, through a *new* virtual reality that tells the *new* transbordering musical tropes. This offer from student migrant prosumers to *extend their senses* derives from their experience with the flash-mob as merely a virtual voyeuristic sensory, “introducing... [them] to people and places, sights and sounds that [they] would not otherwise have the opportunity to perceive” (Grusin 2009:61). Let’s explore further the other valleys where young British-GsC migrants are to be found, and how their *new* virtual reality tells the *new* transbordering musical tropes:

This is so cool! I have heard about it yes; wish I could be there the day it happened. It’s proper Greek isn’t it? It’s *Zorba*! ...makes you think of Cyprus and all the things that make you Greek... so proud of these

people... awesome! (Kyriacos Christou—3 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham)

Hehehe, this is so funny, yes I have seen it when it first came out through Facebook. Almost everyone from the community had it posted on their profiles. I am not sure if I would do such a thing myself, but it is funny... felt sorry for the poor people that had to witness that, they must have had a proper scare with all these crazy Greeks dancing in front of their eyes! (Nicola Christou—7 October 2014, Four Oaks, Birmingham).

No, I have never seen any of this before. You see this is the kind of things I cannot relate and do not understand about them. They are Cypriots but they say they are Greeks, and not only that, they go in the middle of the city making that exact statement! These for me are not Cypriots and they don't like us... the music is from a Greek film right? And it is a traditional Greek dance, yes? (Sevven Küçükoğulları—8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).

As a transmedia resource for British-GsC youth, the *Zorba* flash mob shapes into an occurrence that holds and embodies many contradistinctions. Some might think it is “cool” and makes them “proud of these people”, yet others are “not sure” if they would do such a thing themselves, and sympathise with passers-by who had to put up with these “crazy Greek” Zorbas. For British-TsCs in Birmingham, it is a flash-mob to which they “cannot relate and do not understand”; this speaks volumes about how performances of Greekness grow the interethnic diasporic spatial gap even further, something we have also seen in a GsC manifestation of the ‘its all Greek to me’ in Preface. For the older British-GsC generation the *Zorba* flash-mob possesses a kind of nostalgia, a genuine one that “reminds us of different times, of the past, when we were young and when everything was more pure, when Greeks where Greeks!” (Eftihios). For young British-GsCs nostalgia manifests in an ersatz fashion, usually linking into older communal bodies of “old school Greek men” like Michael and his uncle Savvas. It also nostalgically reminds them of a time when physical communal gatherings formed joyful childhood memories—“a traditional Greek song we used to dance since we were kids, at school, at weddings and whenever all the Greeks meet” (Chrystala)—in a time before technological progress and reliance on transmedia platforms were evident realities.

Yet, nostalgia can also be an experiential and expressive reaction to this flash-mob from young British-GsCs. The significant difference, however, is in the form of the nostalgia; youngsters experience an ersatz one. Nurtured within the myriad trans-realities of our times, this flash-mob somehow has also the capacity to “make... [them] think of Cyprus and all the things that make you Greek...”, even if youngsters like Kyriacos have never lived in Cyprus or visited Greece! It also gives them a feeling of pride, and a virtual experience of chameleonic identity transformations of the self-other differentiation as Greek, strategic identity appointments (of the in-betweenness that being British-Cypriot entails), and attestations of sameness as British. Their virtual attachment through the flash-mob to motherland Greece, however (in a vicious circle of “the *kalamarades* are in charge and the Cypriots follow” motif, recreated for them by student migrants), plays a pivotal role for their selective-ethnogenesis. As Greeks now, they make believe and imagine themselves as oriental particles (as an expression of self-differentiation), an expression that, according to their beliefs, attaches them to realms of higher, ancient Greek virtues projected within their western homes. As chameleons they take the physiognomy of the modern Greeks as transnational Zorbas; especially when there is a chance synonymy, as in Alex’s case, this sends them to quite idolatrous extents, whether “the character of Zorbás... [is]... an example to follow” in the case of Alex, or, for Michael “a character who inspires Greeks around the world! ...a legend”. Meanwhile, for the rest who do not share similar tautological and idolatrous readings of the resource, their new selective-ethnogenesis carries the values of Plato’s *Republic*, the philosophies of Aristotle and Pythagoras, the scripts of Homer’s *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, and the sublime that all these particles entail in togetherness with Kazantzakis’ story of Alexis Zorbás. It makes one think of how the Hollywood success that the film had still very much affects, not only the virtual but also the real contemporary Greek-influenced social story. It also tells of how the attempt by Theodorakis, Cacoyiannis and Provias to mediate an accessible and easily transmittable, but at the same time oriental Greek Zorba identity and persona inside and outside Greece, is very much an achieved reality and a successful compositional ethnogenesis that has evolved over the fifty years since the film’s creation.

All these experiential interplays of significance the flash-mob offers Birmingham’s young British-GsCs show that “it is not an easy thing to be a migrant”. They undergo tortuous internal motions deriving from these ambiguous alignments of homeland, motherland, and the new home of Birmingham, leaving them in a blurred and indefinable identity space, with ersatz emotionalities hosted by cosmopolitan and transnational spatial realities, experiencing the transmedia of the flash-mob as a not-always-embodied

broadcast self in functioning as a chameleon, its likes/dislikes and desires/fears projecting or viewed through musical imageries. The unboundness observed in this instance for young British-GsCs bridges individuals and flows of ideas between British-GsCs and student migrants, and then transborders these to the *otherness* and the unknown, while blurring and obliterating geographical physicalities. These notions, movements and mis-dis-placements also mirror the musical qualities of the tune that some of them dance, and so many others experience through this flash-mob; of Western musical elements incorporated in the process and some others (Greek) compromised. The makam choice of the rast echoes a Major scale, while meditated within a translocal flow of irregularities (both musical and social) found in the *Zorba's Dance* descending form and momentary modulation to a houzam. And yet ironically for a composition that selectively-ethnogenerates, or even promotes an androgynous sense of Greek solidarity in diaspora, it chooses to omit Koutsourelis' Cretan lute, thus transbordering between what is conceived as authentically traditional, popular Turkish-Cretan elements, and the electric neo-Greek aesthetics of the *bouzouki*.

Both for British-GsC and student-migrant youngsters, the dance-sonic image (*sirtaki*) mediates and negotiates the initial mind-versus-whole premise of Kazantzakis' book into a nationalist-orientalist representation of Greekness as an innately emotional, not-always-embodied broadcast self and an embodied otherness—part of the orientalist (not, as discussed above, occidentalist) gaze that the young migrants share, which at the same time leaves them exposed during the flash-mob. Young GsC migrants fashion the Romantic antithetic confection of Zorbás' instinctiveness and Kazantzakis' rationality into an oxymoronic dialogue of self-differentiation and sameness. Such complex constructions, achieved by young student and British-GsCs through self-contradicting dialectics beyond the tortuous translocal passages of homeland/motherland, are further evidence that “it is not the easiest thing to be a migrant”.

Young British-GsCs and student migrants, as ciphers of the present technologically-reliant era, epitomise how transnational human re-creations remain opposed to the futuristic post-human direction, as far as they remain transnational Zorbas and sponsor a self-common-sense understanding within their new third, unbounded or undefined, spatial arrangements. They still maintain their profane bodily essences of dancing nostalgia, pride, nationalism, indifference; of family-bond, seen by how important it is for a grandfather to teach the *Zorba* dance to the grandson; or even of apathy (see Kyriacos and Fif's reactions during the film viewing, and Chrystala's testimonies), by remaining suspended on the webs of significance.

Chapter 4

What is This Irishness Within Cypriot Diaspora?

In 2012, Hazel V. Carby challenged her readers by asking, ‘What is this “black” in Irish popular culture?’, unfolding a case study of “racial signifiers” found within *Riverdance* and *Lord of the Dance* performances through two key enquiries: “what constitutes ‘blackness’?” and how do “these supposedly monocultural forms [now become] through the processes and passages of globalisation” transnational interexchange and mobilisation? Carby structures her article title and research around Stuart Hall’s speech in New York in 1991, when he asked, “What is this “black” in black popular culture?” and undelines his speech as an “interrogation of racial signifiers” (325).

In this chapter, I set out to ground this “interrogation of racial signifiers” in relation to a YouTube video performance by GsC migrants. Carby’s and Hall’s insights on “blackness” are re-oriented into a means of interpreting both the British-GsC diasporic extensions and communal interrogation. The transmedia in question is *Stavros Flatley’s Riverdance*, a humorous rendition by a London-born and based GsC father-and-son duo of the famous Michael Flatley *Lord of The Dance* finale, performed during the first audition stage of the *Britain’s Got Talent (BGT)* television show in 2009. Analysis following is for the act’s first audition video alone, though other performances are briefly examined. The duo’s performances exude irony, sarcasm and satire of self and other, all consciously implemented as experiential nuances narrating socio-cultural migrant expressions and meanings.

I will use Herman Northrop Frye’s (1957) summer myths of utopian fantasies (rather than the Shakespearian summer myths of Chapter 3), deriving from his grand division of thematic, tragic, and comic story into five modes—mythic, romantic, ironic, high- and low-mimetic—each associated with a particular literary interval and epos. In many ways *Stavros Flatley’s Riverdance* matches Frye’s definitions of comedy, and not only because of its naturally comic ostentation. Frye’s comedic concept relates directly to social integrations; in mythic form, it deals with acceptance, while in romantic comic mode it deals with the protagonist’s integration through an idealised and simplified nature. Like Aristophanes’ plays or Shakespeare’s *Prospero*, Stavros Flatley’s (SF’s) performance is partly high-mimetic comedy (a satiric twist on Flatley’s *Lord of The Dance*) in which the strong central protagonist constructs his own society, as “one distinct consequence of

modernity... [in a]... ‘phantasmagoric’ separation of space from place” (Stokes 1997:3). Mostly as low-mimetic comedy, however, the video brings before our eyes a rite of passage, the heroes’ transition from their previous social stratum into a new and higher one, and a celebratory ending; in other words, the duo’s success story, embodying both the grand western celebrity narrative, and the modern Cypriot new-European one that drives their contemporary mainland and diasporic praxes. This success story, as we will see, was lucratively constructed upon the utilisation and utterance of irony. Yet, ironic comedy may also, according to Frye, bitingly satirise a society replete with condescension from elitisms, and even bring a protagonist’s social rejection (thus failing the typical comic re-homogenisation). Yet, more important is Frye’s (1957:243) prognostication that “the world of social action and event... has a particularly strong association with the ear... [and] the world of individual thought and idea has a correspondingly close connection with the eye...”, epitomising in many ways the foreseeable functionality of the transmedia examined here.

With these dispositions in mind, I shall now extend Hall’s and Carby’s enquiry by asking, *What is this Irishness within Cypriot diaspora?* The *Cypriot* here implies GsCs, as it is predominantly GsCs (not TsCs) who relate to SF, and mostly the young generation of British-GsCs as the performers themselves fall into this category. I firstly describe the video; then locate chameleonic self- and identity-transformations into a western celebrity status for the act as oversized bodies; thirdly explore an interchange of Irish and Cypriot bodies as a bricolage during the performance; then, examine how these occur within the liminalities of the separation of space and place. Fifthly, I explore how these lead to our protagonists’ rite of passage and their national and intracommunal success story; and finally, how all these are bounded within the ironic mode, causing that success to fail the typical comic re-homogenisation.

“Ladies and Gentlemen, Tonight, Here for One Night Only, Would You Please Welcome Mr. Stavros Flatley!”

Broadcast on 11 April 2009 on ITV1 during the third series of the talent show *Britain’s Got Talent* (BGT), Demetris Demetriou and his son Lakis audition in London as the comedy/dance act ‘Stavros Flatley’. As British-GsCs who live in London the Demetriou family are well aware of BGT’s popularity, and the chance that, if you win, you might

perform for the Her Majesty the Queen during the annual *Royal Variety Performance*.⁵³ Embraced by the British public, who vote for them, SF progress all the way to the final, yet do not win and do not perform for the Queen that year. Yet, the opportunity for SF to perform will arise in 2012 during the *100th Royal Variety Performance*, an attestation of the popularity that SF will meet during the next three years. The televised airing time and the special father-son bond will give the act celebrity status in the UK, and turn them into GsC community heroes there.

Later, SF will tour nationally, write *How To Be (A Little Bit) Greek* (2009), and lead a St Patrick's Day Parade in China. Although LbGsCs, their story, fame and success will touch the wider GsC diaspora (including Birmingham, where they will perform during the 2010 Lesbian and Gay Pride Ball). All starting from that first audition:

[Demetris Demetriou—a.k.a. Stavros Flatley]: Hello...

[Morgan—*BGT* judge]: Who are you two?

[Stavros]: My name is Demetris⁵⁴ and this is Lakis² my son (*pointing in his son's direction*)....I'm forty, hehe (*leaning the microphone towards his son's mouth*)...

[Lakis]: I'm twelve. (*Strong laughter in the background from the crowd.*)

[Morgan]: OK... (*Pointing and looking towards Lakis*) Does it worry you you might end up looking like your dad? (*Insinuating that his dad is overweight; the crowd sympathises with "awww", but also laughs condescendingly towards Demetris. Morgan continues somewhat apologetically:*) No, you're [all] right...

[Lakis]: I'm not obliged to answer that. (*Crowd breaks into hysterical laughter.*)

[Morgan]: Hahahahaha! Can you actually position yourselves now, in your heads, at the Royal Variety Show—the Queen's sitting in her box, and you think you've got an act good enough for that, do you?

[Stavros]: Well, if Prince Phillip's there, we're half way there, 'cos he's

⁵³ The Royal Variety Performance (a gala evening), is an annual event in the UK consisting of a variety of entertainment acts, usually held in late November or early December and broadcast at Christmas, and attended in person by senior members of the British Royal Family (usually including the reigning monarch).

⁵⁴ Both names are pronounced without the final 's', and the 'k' in 'Lakis' as an unemphatic hard 'g'.

Greek as well, so...

[Morgan]: Yeah, exactly!

[Ant and Dec—presenters, in the wings]: Hahaha! 'Phil the Greek'?

Hehe...

[Morgan]: OK. Good luck.

[Stavros]: See you in a sec. (*Walks backstage with Lakis.*)

A warm round of applause is heard from the audience, and the visual shows a backstage floor-manager's finger pressing play. After introducing themselves as Greek, one might expect a Greek song like *Zorba's Dance* to emerge, yet in a surprising twist a Celtic flute starts. A narrator's voice (clearly Demetris') says, "Ladies and gentlemen, many years ago in Cyprus lived a man who loved to dance! He would dance for the villagers and the villagers loved to watch him dance..." Meanwhile the camera shows the faces of the three judges—Morgan, Amanda Holden and Simon Cowell—looking annoyed and condescending, projecting the feeling that 'this is silly'. The narrator continues, saying, "Well, ladies and gentlemen, tonight, here for one night only, would you please welcome... Mr... Stavros... Flatley-y-y!" And as the audience and judges wait for the 'Cypriot dancers' to come out, drums are heard, resembling the introduction to Michael Flatley's (1996) famous *Lord of The Dance* tap-dancing routine.

Demetris storms on stage, wearing only a pair of tight leggings and a blond wig, running and leaping frenziedly in the air. This is enough of a scene for the crowd and judges to start laughing hysterically; it is now clear that the SF dance act is a humorous take-off. After running a few energetic circuits, Demetris stops mid-stage; on his stout belly is a tattoo with the name of Cyprus and the map-and-olive-branches motif from the national flag, and it becomes clear to any Greeks or Cypriots watching that the "Greek" with which they introduced themselves referred to being GsCs. As Demetris dances a few steps, imitating Flatley's choreography (or at least trying to), he kneels down, pointing upwards; then Lakis unexpectedly also storms on-stage, kicking and jumping in the air. By now the audience and judges are beyond hysteria. Dressed like his father in nothing but a blond wig and black leggings, Lakis humorously dances towards the judges moving his hips to emphasise his own stout upper body. As Demetris stays kneeling, Lakis also mimics Flatley's choreography, this time more humorously and with some father-son interplay. Then they change positions, with Lakis kneeling and Demetris clap dancing to Ronan Hardiman's tune *Lord of The Dance*. This exchange of turns continues for a further forty seconds before they both take centre stage, clap dancing together for a few more

seconds before synchronously ending their performance by ripping off their golden-blond wigs and throwing them at the audience.

Figure 4.1: A video still collage of Stavros Flatley first audition at BGT. Video: BritainsSoTalented.
[Online], Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7gHvATmUsSg>



SF's first audition did not take long to go viral on social media, and through *BGT*'s official YouTube page (2012—as at 16 November 2015, 2,487,315 views) and individual prosumers' uploads such as *BritainsSoTalented* (2009—at 16 November 2015, 25,599,427 views!) Many of my British-GsC friends still (in 2016) occasionally post that video on their Facebook pages, proud of the SF success story. I was aware of the SF success and had watched that video for pleasure in 2009, but it entered the research sphere when Chrystala re-posted it on her Facebook page in February 2014; five years on, this transmedia seemed to retain significance for young GsCs in diaspora. For the next eight months, I explored popular journalism on SF (on- and off-line), and followed SF on Twitter and Facebook. On 4 October, I had a preliminary discussion with Chrystala in Birmingham, in which she ended by saying: "You should come over my duplex [as she calls her house] for an afternoon-tea next week at some point. I am having Nicola's boys [Kyriacos and Fif] over on Tuesday, a good chance for you to also ask them any questions you have... they love *BGT*".

Utopian Fantasies: A Construction of Celebrities, Bricolages, Liminalities and Irony

The significances in SF's video are now revealed, organised around and according to Frye's modes. All five modes are interconnected with the BbGsC diaspora, even if the young protagonists are themselves LbGsCs. All modes eventually reveal both a utopian fantasy and a diasporic reality for the young British-GsCs migrants, which have very real socio-cultural effects and significances, and once again manage to extend our senses beyond the obvious. The story begins on Tuesday, 7 October 2014, at Chrystala's duplex...

Mode I: The Mythic Celebrity Integration

Frye's mythic mode appertains to acceptance into the society of the gods after enduring a series of labours. The transformation of the mortal Heracles into a demigod, a paragon of masculinity who overcomes mythical creatures with his extraordinary physical strength—the Nemean Lion, Lernaean Hydra, Stymphalian Birds, Cretan Bull, Cerberus—embodies this idea.

Do Heracles' and SF's stories overlap? The society of the gods and the twelve labours may be replaced in modernity by celebrity, the auditions and media exposure. Yet, Heracles had his mythical and extraordinary physical strength in order to complete his twelve labours; what did SF have in their arsenal to face the modern *mythical creatures* of judges,

auditions, finals, and popular journalism? How did they use them to gain acceptance into the society of celebrities, as a humble, hard-working, migrant, ordinary-person duo struggling against social elites?

I was not expecting to get all the answers over tea and cupcakes at Chrystala's duplex.



Figure 4.2: Tea, cupcakes, and Stavros Flatley at Chrystala's with (left to right): Fif, Nicola, Chrystala, and Kiri. Photo: Author.

However, I had in front of me a laptop playing the SF video (later migrating the viewing on Chrystala's Smart TV) and, when Nicola joined us, four young GsC migrants ready to discuss it, and beyond their migrant input, all four also happen to "love *BGT*". Being part of the show's participatory culture, voting and watching, Nicola shares:

I love it! A bit sad actually that it's over for this year... loved Collabro [*BGT* 2014 winners]... what I love the most is when you expect someone to suck but it turns to be amazing, like [Susan] Boyle... ordinary people who are so talented and amazing... it's this kind of surprise moments in the show that excite me!

What do you mean by ordinary?

Like their life, they are like us and like every other hard-working people... they have an ordinary story and life. It's amazing how these people become celebrities in a day!



Figure 4.3: The two sisters, Nicola (left) and Chrystala having tea. Photo: Author.

When asking Nicola for her opinion about what causes this transformation from ordinary people to celebrities, Chrystala jumped back in the discussion (acting as Nicola scornfully/humorously called it, with "little sister's attention syndrome"):

Obviously *BGT* is more than just a show, it has lots of effect on society also... many things are pre-scripted from the producers... they are smart and they know how to make people like or hate participants... they use the sad stories of people to make viewers sympathise and vote for them... People who audition are also well aware of that and they use their sad stories to gain votes... they both manipulate us up to a point...

Why do you like the show, then?

As Nic[ola] said I love people who audition and they are authentic, real people who are very talented even if you think initially that they are only novelty acts.

Audiences (migrant or not), as part of the participatory culture, acknowledge the social function of *BGT*, and even if they are aware of the format requirements, they still look for what they perceive as authentic moments in their engagement with the show. Participants themselves, “ordinary people who are so talented”, tautologically part of the participatory culture (“like us and like every other hard-working people”), equally acknowledge the functions of *BGT*, but also the public demand for authentic moments, and strategically “use their sad stories to gain votes” (life narratives, physical looks, etc.) to realise their transformation from regular people to “become celebrities in a day!”. However, contestants’ desire for transformation could not be realised without the help of the production elements, who “are smart and... know how to make people like or hate participants”. It is indeed producers who provide short life-story clips before every performance/audition and amplify (or hyperbolise) funny or serious aspects of participant narratives. The utterance of monologues as dramaturgic parentheses, underpins authenticity within an “ambiguous interplay of pre-scripted and non-scripted, individual and collective, performed and non-performed and fake and real” (Aslama and Mervi 2006:181). Their role is not limited to formatting; “to a degree [they] manipulate... audience participation... to make appealing television, and part of this process involves constructing narratives of ordinariness” (Enli 2009:483). Seemingly, “both [producers and participants] manipulate us [audience/viewers] up to a point” (Chrystala) by utilising narratives of ordinariness.

BGT, with its mainstream popular appeal, has that ability to construct such narratives of ordinariness; the show is in fact based on the subsequent motif of transformation. Tearful monologues, confessions, nervousness and raw emotions, all couched in references to the participants' "ordinary story and life", are explicitly exposed to connect with the audience either through tautology or sympathy. A "genuine" performance by a non-professional increases the public intrigue of a new and unknown talent being revealed with an *element of surprise*, a factor that seems to drive participatory culture. *BGT*'s "smart" producers are in many ways the creators of the participants' metamorphosis from ordinary to celebrity status "in a day!" (Nicola); writers of a fairytale, storytelling the myth of ordinary people in transition. Popular culture follows the broadcasters' first-stage disseminations, creating a vicious circle of "alliance with audiences as advocates for everyday people, against the abuse of power found among the elites. A bottom-up perspective is often a key motive in tabloid narratives, and popular journalism is typically in favour of the people and in opposition to the elites" (Enli 2009:484). *SF*, also, is part of this vicious circle:

I'm not sure what the fans will make of it when they discover that we've arrived by camper van, but I think they'll probably like it. It proves we haven't got too grand for our boots yet, doesn't it? We're not Mariah Carey, are we? When we do a gig now, we do ask for some food to be laid on, but we're happy with a sandwich. Sometimes I think we should start requesting a bowl of Smarties, all in the same colour. I've heard that's what proper celebs do. But I'm not sure I could do that with a straight face.... Look at us tonight. We're going back to our camper van; little TV, microwave stove, just perfect. I'm getting to camp out with my son too; how many fathers can say that? Tomorrow we'll do it all again. I can't believe we are this lucky... I think the reason people liked us was that they saw something good and decent in how we regard family. My kids [Lakis has a sister, Elli, then eleven years old] are at the centre of my life, and that shines through. To spend time with them—on stage or off—is the be all and end all. That's what this is about. It's not about being the next U2, or making millions. It's about having fun, as a family, and building something we can look back on and say "wasn't that brilliant". I do everything with my family because I didn't have a father to do this stuff with... I don't remember much about my dad, apart from everyone telling me he was gone, he wasn't there any more. It's made

me more conscious of spending time with both my kids and I treasure every minute I have with them. (Demetris Demetriou Interview—Johnston 2009)

Metamorphosis into celebrities begins when Demetris strategically portrays his son and himself as ordinary: arriving at *BGT* in a camper van, not behaving like divas, asking for food but happy with a humble sandwich; sustaining the myth of ordinariness enables the public to recognise them later as extraordinary. Demetris does not stop there: he utilises his sad life story as an orphan boy who lost his own father, Michalis, when he was just five years old, to reinforce the power of his on-stage relationship with his own son. He integrates and commodifies all parts of their life narrative, “inject[ing]... their image with real-life authenticity in a way that shows that they, too, were ordinary people who desired to acquire the privilege and recognition that comes with stardom” (Littler 2008:13).

Who, I ask, would not be touched by such narratives? The British public indeed let the act into their hearts, and so did the two Mallas sisters:

My opinion why SF was so successful, is the fact that they had the whole package... I mean they were funny, talented and had the story (Chrystala).

Well except the fact that they are Greek, I really enjoyed their act and supported them that year... as I said before they surprised everyone but also they showed they were ordinary people... acts like SF, give you the belief that one day you can also do it! (Nicola).

Heidi Penzhorn and Magriert Pitout (2008:65) observe these strategies of “reality television participants who plan their celebrity career even before the show is aired.” *BGT*’s celebrity “in a day!” function nurtures such hypothetical assertions among the public, “giv[ing] you the belief that” by participating “one day you can also do it!” But that also entails a great and dangerous truth, as many are so focused on the final steps of the metamorphosis that they forget an important ingredient, talent. Sue Holmes (2004:111) enlarged on this by saying that such ordinary people are not famous for a talent they hold, but rather for being well-known, “famous for being famous” in Malcolm Muggeridge’s (1967:7) phrase. This was not the case for SF though, as their stout package

had lots of talent, or better said, lots of humour, managing to entertain but also make the public laugh. “I mean they were funny, talented and had the story” (Chrystala).

I'm not a naive fame-seeker who thinks we are on the road to some great showbiz glory... I mean, look at me, I'm a fat Greek bloke who has one act. But that's the point. Maybe we are one-trick ponies, and if so we've probably only got a year or so, tops, before people tire of us. We have to work it now, while we can (Demetris Interview—Johnston 2009).

During that first audition and with such raw narrative material, it was SF's turn to overcome their contemporary labours, fighting the power bloc's creatures of prejudice, social and racial injustice and winning against all odds, using their life story and talent to become part of the modern society of gods, the celebrisphere.

In a culture fixated on the *whole* celebrity sign—the celebrity face, the voice [or humour], the body, and the story—[humorous] dexterity has become a kind of kryptonite, rescuing socially inadequate bodies, elevating their owners to a place of public adoration, and valorising their commodities. Our interpretations of their romantic longing to transcend their bodies' functions to give their voices a heard resonance that is perhaps unavailable to perfect, self-completed specimens. That heard resonance functions, in turn, to cement their myths (Duffett 2011:184-5).

Their success as celebrity commodities also arrived through a further key performance element, their oversized bodies; something noted by Nicola's boys:

The fact that they were fat, might sound silly, but it helped them to succeed a great deal (Kyriacos).

So funny, when you first see these two fatsos on the telly you cannot imagine they will be up to any good business. But then they did what they did and everyone went bananas! (Fif).

Kyriacos' and Fif's take on SF's success pushed me to examine the inter-connectness of SF's bodies and embodiment of projected image and semiotics in performance. Their oversized bodily image characteristic was a serious trade for the act, which could either be used as an integration tool in the celebrity sphere (which worked for the Christou brothers and millions of *BGT* viewers/voters) or if misused, turn into anathematisation from the modern society of gods. Oversizeness could either create a public impression of grotesquery and social inadequacy in contrast to the perfect physiques of known celebrities,⁵⁵ or, turn them into a symbolic embodiment of everyday warriors who share an attempt to overcome a past or present experience of lamentation:

I thought that performing so freely and not so bothered about being fat was refreshing... a very brave move on their behalf... made me think I should perhaps stop worrying about my extra weight and wear that bloody bikini at the beach in Cyprus this summer! (Nicola).

The duo's display of excessive bodies had yet to be matched with the talent and the life-story to achieve metamorphosis. This firstly needed public acceptance. Being plus-sized in the modern west of excess consumption is very common; they had most people who have ever struggled with weight issues on their side, as far as they had the talent and the story to back this up, in cases even inspiring them to "wear that bloody bikini". Without their support, the heroes would never be empowered enough to slay the Nemean Lions of public humiliation.

SF owned bodies that made them ordinary, but a talent (humour/sarcasm) that made them extraordinary to watch. Their irregularly-expressed flexible gesticulations generated a disjuncture that disseminated a series of signifiers. If newly emerged celebrities are understood as commodities, already-established *BGT* performers are paradigmatic, and their performances are signifiers with their own individual bodily characteristics. Such an example is Susan Boyle (another 2009 participant). Boyle turned into a cultural icon after her first audition, as an ordinary, oversize body holding an extraordinary voice;⁵⁶ any resemblance to these signifiers on the part of the audience

⁵⁵ "Western society has undergone an emergent, politicized obesity 'epidemic.' Because perfection is by definition a socially negotiated *ideal*, human bodies are necessarily imperfect to various degrees. As we age and our weight fluctuates, our bodies become vehicles for a performative process of embodied change. In their role as public individuals, celebrities carry the weight of contradiction that separates ideals of physical perfection from the realities of embodiment" (Duffett 2011:170).

⁵⁶ Mark Duffett (2011), examines in-depth the case of Susan Boyle and the utterance of oversized bodies in relative construction to celebrities.

could compromise their subjectivity, creating a bias towards acceptance. “What I love the most is when you expect someone to suck but it turns to be amazing, like Boyle” (Nicola).

SF walked, “so freely and not so bothered about being fat”, into a mediating realm during that first audition; a stage that Boyle had strongly marked with oxymoronic disjunctures; a space ready to love anyone regardless of how they look. And yet, besides that strong connection with Boyle’s articulations, SF did very well for themselves, squeezing out of their oversizeness everything that could be commodifiable, transforming their bodily social perception from inadequate to competent. They not only overcame, but were empowered by the public’s assumptions about their stoutness, having the last laugh (one thinks here of those who laughed during their brief pre-performance interview by Morgan). Through a bodily disjuncture, the ordinary turns into an extraordinary element of surprise: a genuine performance, of the kind that audiences seek, which comes once again to compromise their judgment into biased acceptance.

Audience assumptions about the duo’s bodily performance made SF’s “mythic longing” for recognition and integration into the celebrity sphere durable. Using their bodies as an ironic imagery of self- and other-sarcasms gave voice to that mythic narrative of ordinariness, “a heard resonance” unknown to “perfect” and “self-completed specimens... function[ing], in turn, to cement their myths” (Duffett 2011:184-5). In combination with their authentic, talented, humorous performance, their stout bodies danced flexibly into a motif of their “extraordinary ordinariness” as a new talent, making the impossible possible while attaining to national, international and intracommunal fame. SF’s performance is a shocking disjuncture, an attestation of the common public bodily expectations of celebrity status that a fat embodiment cannot be extraordinarily talented.

Omg! That tattoo and those wigs! Soooo funny... the tattoo is such a Greek thing to have... in case someone did not realise, after seeing it they know he is Greek for sure! (Kyriacos).

Are those wigs supposed to be making them Greek gods? ...Oh now I get, it’s the Irish thing yes? The Flatley concept! (Nicola).



Figure 4.4: The Disneyfied Hercules. Source: TheDisneyWiki. [Online], Available: [http://disney.wikia.com/wiki/Hercules_\(character\)](http://disney.wikia.com/wiki/Hercules_(character))



Figure 4.5: Michael Flatley performing in *Lord of The Dance* in London in 1998. Source: Daily Mail. [Online], Available: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-1344010/Michael-Flatley-looking-rounder-Barbados.html>

In 1997 Walt Disney Pictures released the animated musical fantasy film *Hercules*, a kitsch adaptation of the Greek demigod's mythology. *Hercules* appealed to children and adults, making the animated film a global commercial success.⁵⁷ The Disney producers disseminate this new transnational Heracles (see footnote below) dressed in ancient mock-Hellenic garments, with blue eyes, an enviable physical build, and flowing red-blond locks with a headband. SF also chose to wear flowing blond wigs and headbands; what is their significance? Is the metanarrative of Heracles perhaps a running theme during that first audition, extending beyond the labours metaphor? What does that tell us about the "perks of being Greek" in diaspora, or the exploitation by migrants of the philhellenism that Britons have towards the ancient Greek sublime and modern Greek orientalism? Are these isolated observations, or is this a natural recurrence of occidentalism and orientalism in the midst of mis-dis-placement flows; with SF, our heroes, acquiring through westernised, Disneyfied narrative lenses a new appreciation of their cultural heritage, on which they nevertheless feel genealogically entitled, as GsCs, to act as folkloric raconteurs and so commoditise it?

It might be argued that the wigs signify Irishness instead, in ironic homage to Flatley's appearance (see Figure 4.5); but I would contend that it is both

⁵⁷ Nominated for several Academy Awards and winner of three Annie Awards, the film had a worldwide gross of \$252,712,101 by 1998 (Box Office Mojo, 2015). Despite using the Romanised version of the hero's name, producers had taken a rather oxymoronic series of research trips to put the film together, visiting Greece and Turkey to research the Greek mythology of Heracles (*The Sunday Times*, 1997). Though Disney asked to premier the film in the open air at the famous Pnyx hill in Athens (an ancient assembly point for Greeks, who held their popular gatherings at the west of the Acropolis), the Greek government declined as the Greek media and public were strongly opposed to the film as "another case of foreigners distorting our history and culture just to suit their commercial interests" (Byrne and Smith, 1997). That distortion, whether or not it had any sinister capitalist undertones, also epitomises the mis-dis-placement of a mythical figure and story while generating the construction of a new, transnational Heracles/Hercules.

Flatley and Hercules together and each separately, as is the way of migrants in achieving a milieu story of success in diaspora; a selective-ethnogenesis that utilises ethnophaulisms (Greek fat blokes who are yet Cypriot-inked) to achieve its purpose—nuances of a kind commonly observed in twenty-first century translocal and transnational pragmatisms, and observations that unavoidably push our boundaries into an unboundness of sense exploration, whether these are bodily (and thus visual) or transient (culinary, or musical).

Demetris' tattoo is more than just a tangible racial signifier of being Cypriot. Placed on his stout belly, the tattoo iconises the name of Cyprus and the national flag and also reinforces the use of body in the act, underlining its oversizeness and ordinariness. Name and motif are inked attestations of self-differentiation but also a permanent tangible



Figure 4.6: Video still of Demetri's tattoo. Video: *BritainsSoTalented* (2009).

nostalgic attachment to homeland Cyprus, even though the duo introduced themselves by the motherland affix 'Greek'. One only inks what one really feels one might say, or at least that is the common perception of getting something as permanent as a tattoo; so why might Demetris (and Lakis) feel Cypriot, but introduce themselves as Greek? Was that to achieve that orientalising exploitation of the audience and gain biased

acceptance (that comes with votes), or is it just because that is how they have been nurtured and structure themselves, through such fragmented national identifications (see Preface)? I would say both were tools and behaviours of the truth and significance of these two young British-GsCs. Curiously, although the tattoo signifies Cypriotism, its script is palaeo-Greek-inspired angular Latin (i.e. English) script capitals, but (acknowledging Greek word-endings) reading 'CYPROS' not 'CYPRUS'; and the shape of the 'O' resembles a Cyrillic 'д' (*de*) more than anything Hellenic or English—further attestation of linguistic and scripted mis-dis-placement, occidentalism and orientalism, on behalf of the inked body vehicle.

The series of rhetorical questions above leads on to my observations. These show two young British-GsCs utilising Herculean strength, acknowledging the transnational and translocal flows (in Frye's mythic comedy mode) and with these nuances making the impossible, possible. Their talent did not reflect their bodily status; their wigs and tattoo

did not recall acceptance on behalf of Britons. And yet, the narrative of ordinariness that they contain proved strong enough to achieve sameness, leading to two mis-dis-placed bodies that eventually do the extraordinary and extend our senses: after all, they self-disseminate not only as fat blokes, but as *Greek* fat blokes. The duo displayed a nice acknowledgment that bodies are not only social signifiers mirroring societal injustice and relations, but can also be cultural narrative symbols, in this case of their cultural text as young migrant British-GsCs.

With these, extraordinary mythic longings become real, in disjuncture and oxymoronic praxes through raw bodies, raw material and a story about *authentic*, ordinary people who struggle against the elite establishment, all in the people-against-the-power-bloc corporeality of the (trans)national (inter)exchange flow. SF manage to embody Frye's mythic comedy as a mode that appertains to acceptance within the society of gods, after enduring a series of labours; they are now in celebrity space.⁵⁸

Mode II: Body Exchanges in a Bricolage

Dimitrios and Lagi share a special bond, and tonight share a piece of Greek culture—an Irish Jig dance! (Britain's Got Talent, 2012).

Lords of the dance, Stavros Flatley, won the hearts of the nation... with their wibbly wobbly double act, ...a Greek version of River Dance [mis-dis-placing here *Riverdance* with *Lord of The Dance*] (VirginMedia 2011).

They shot to fame in Britain's Got Talent two years ago with their Greek-inspired pastiche of Michael Flatley's Dance... Their three-minute routine of Irish dancing, Greek music, nylon blond wigs and naked torsos—based on a turn Demi used to perform in the family's Greek restaurant before it closed because of appallingly bad food ('The chef didn't even know how to make pitta bread, and plate smashing was banned by health & safety because someone cut their head')—became the surprise hit of the series... (Fryer, 2011).

⁵⁸ The concept of spaces of celebrity will be examined in more depth within our discussion of Frye's third mode, discussing the separation of space from place.

He introduced Greek dancing and karaoke, with punters dressing up as Madonna or Michael Jackson, and Demi singing 'really badly' as Stavros, a Greek god who loved himself. It's rather odd, to be honest... they describe their act as 'like Riverdance [again mis-dis-placing *Riverdance* with *Lord of The Dance*], but a little bit Greek' ... One day he watched Michael Flatley on TV and thought how funny it would be to incorporate a touch of the Irish into his act. He took his wife Karen's leotard, attached some red pom-poms to his dancing shoes, removed his shirt—and history was born (Johnston, 2009).

Frye's second, romantic comedy mode talks about an idyllic setting where the hero achieves integration through a simplified customised-idealised nature. It also tells of gods retreating to the sky, leaving the responsibility of remembering and sustaining tradition to the chronicles of the nomadic society. The idyllic setting for SF cannot be other than the performative space of *BGT*, which also ideally transmediated their experience on national television, and by extension, the Internet (YouTube). These disseminations have, as already analysed in depth, inducted the duo into the society of the gods, who now retreat into transcendence; it is now for the critical eye and academic analysis (the chroniclers of the nomadic society) to unfold an interrogation of racial signifiers in order to locate the 'tradition'. What needs further analysis here is the idealised nature that Demetris and Lakis customised for themselves.

When popular media talk about SF in a series of mashed-up transnational signifiers—see quotes above—one can understand that these comprise a unique bricolage, reflecting both the idealised nature that SF invented (either circumstantially or strategically) for their act, and also a pan-diasporic and transnational phenomenon. We can observe a historical function where British-GsCs and Irish histories are co-opted and rewritten for the (re)creation of identity and culture. Racialising a group or culture is a method by which a different group or culture can then define itself in relation to the racialised *otherness*. And yet, trans-racialising a performance—once again fictionalised in Flatley's creations and Greekness—reduces social and cultural relations to a dichotomy and a powerful tool in creating cultural boundaries, which also erases any problematic historical miscegenation and thus leads into global solidarity within unboundness and *togetherness*. Such articulations are generated by people deriving from cultures greatly affected by diaspora: among them, Jews, Irish, African, Greek, and Cypriots.

It was about our third cup of tea at Chrystala's duplex, when the doorbell rang; it was Tom (a camera shy British native married to a British-GsC, here pseudonymised) a member of the extended Mallas' family. Talking about transnational elements in SF's performance, Tom's inclusion in our discussions initially seemed oxymoronic, but proved to be very welcome for bringing a British person's perspective to the following paragraphs, where I will follow in Hall and Carby's footsteps in interrogating racial signifiers in the SF performance. I am going to proceed with a series of "juxtapositions" of synthetic moments found within the Irish/GsC cultural exchange, as revealed through fusion or complex engagement with Irish cultural forms in the global performance arena of *BGT* and the GsC diasporic popular culture—an examination, in other words, of what is this Irishness within the GsC diasporic popular culture.

While Tom was making a cup of tea with Nicola in the kitchen, the conversation was back on with Kyriacos and Chrystala:

He is so smart, well both are [Demetris and Lakis], by using the Riverdance for their act! [Mis-dis-placing here *Riverdance* with *Lord of The Dance*.] Who doesn't love and doesn't know the Irish dancing... they manage to relate to the audience perfectly... I am not sure who wrote the music or who danced this first, but I know that is a very famous Irish dance. I have seen it on TV, people tap-dancing like crazy to that tune, yes (Kyriacos).

So funny! Of course I remember this! Watched it so many times on YouTube, and, still find it hilarious! So funny using even the name of Flatley for their group... such a Greek thing to do! (Chrystala).

SF's newly invented and idealised nature comprises a bricolage of traditions, which yet remain within the juxtapositions of Irishness and Greekness, their Cypriotism significantly underplayed as a result of mis-dis-placement and nurture. Yet all three cultural corpora here also reflect the global mis-dis-placement of musics, cultures and traditions lost or (re)generated within the flow of transnational interexchange, as a new "history [is] born". This process unfolds within the idea of "roots and routes" when applied to Irishness for the SF performance. SF's performance can also be claimed to displace post-colonially the colonial English oppression; yet it really occurs within the displacement of the Irishness found in the first Point Theatre performance of *Lord of The*

Dance in 1996, symbolising the Irish new-European success story, identical in many different currencies to the financial success anxiety found among modern Cypriots (see Preface).

Riverdance... [and *Lord of The Dance* are] the cultural vision of the economic narrative of the Irish as the success story of the new Europe... the[ir] fiction... assertively presents a newly imagined Irish nationalism as evidence of its integration into the European Union and the new world order... (Carby 2001:329).

The Irish tradition within Flatley's creations is a compositional-ethnogenesis like *Zorba*: "While claiming to evoke tradition, Irish dance and instrumentation are refigured in *Riverdance* [and *Lord of The Dance*], shaped by the theatricalisation and rhythms of the rock concert" (Parry and Parks 1997:70). Such nuances tell us a lot about the unaggressive utterance of these newly formed Greek and Irish romantic nationalisms. With Irish diaspora turning into a modern success story of migration (mostly to America) and the Irish-American man comprising the dominant new-world-order culture as the common story of one successful ethnic group among many, we are accustomed to Irish-Americans being used as ciphers through which the negotiating culture (British-GsCs in our case) can access Delphic wisdom. Such wisdom borrowings are empowered when the cultural aesthetic politics of *Riverdance* and *Lord of The Dance* re-imagine and (re)present Irishness for global consumption. SF's choosing to dance along to the new romantic-nationalist cultural vision of *Lord of The Dance*, and even name its act after it, is visionary; "such a Greek thing to do!", "so smart". To create his own success story, SF displace his own romantic nationalism onto the Irish story of success and pain revealed by the first performance of *Lord of The Dance* in Dublin.

The juxtaposition of performances of ethnicity implies that a variety of folk cultures can combine into an ensemble of inter-related parts, each folk form speaking to the experience of other groups while maintaining a form of cultural expression, and by implication a history that is unique to each (Carby 2001:330).

My opinion about this silly fusion [referring to the SF first audition] is that it represents almost every Greek [implying British-GsCs] I have met so far in Birmingham and London... Their zeal for success and their

martyr-like behaviours in order to succeed with that... since I met Maria [pseudonym for a Birmingham born British-GsC], and as years go by, the more I realise they live in their own microcosm... yes, I would call that a subculture! (Tom).⁵⁹

Yet Hardiman's music, as SF perform it, reveals an "ironic commentary" (Frith 2003:187) that still tells the juxtapositional "borrowing" narrative noted above, though there is some disjuncture between the aims of the original and SF *Lord of The Dance* performances. When seriousness becomes irony, signifiers are compromised, and even if the "signs of the dominant culture [Irish] are 'there' and just recognizable as such, [they constitute] a quite different, subversive whole" (Stokes 1997:19)—a bricolaged subculture of oversized GsC bodies. Ingredients of juncture within this SF bricolage were the Irishness of the music, the extraordinary talent, the leggings similar to Flatley's and his crew's (see Figures 4.5 and 4.8), Demetris' and Lakis' effort to mimic Flatley's dance moves, and the new-Europe success story realised by both modern Irish and Cypriots. Disjunctive ingredients are the ordinary stout olive-skinned GsC bodies versus the extraordinary "lithe young white bodies of ...Flatley and Jean Butler" (Carby 2001:330), and the obviously different interrelation of parts (British-GsCs/Irish as opposed to Irish/African Americans).

SF's audition, "like Riverdance, but a little bit Greek", is sustained by the creation, in a performative/identity space, of a subculture transmediating all the juxtapositions and disjunctures mentioned above—an epitome of transmediality since its fecundation in the transnational flow of Demetris watching Flatley one day and getting the inspiration that it would be funny to incorporate this kind of Irishness in his act, as the mis-dis-placing migrant and mass media confusion of *Riverdance* with *Lord of The Dance* clearly shows. The heroes achieve integration through a simplified wibbly-wobbly-customised bricolage of idealised nature, and a new purified history is born. And yet when they retreat, as it were, to the sky as newly emerged celebrities, other bricolages surface—dressing up as Madonna or Michael Jackson to perform *Zorba's Dance* and Blues Brothers songs (Johnston 2009)—each having their own exchange of bodies in cultural (and other) juxtapositions and performative/aesthetic disjunctures, yet all still telling the subculturally-constructed new-Europe success story which embodies paradigmatically the little narrative of a selective-ethnogenesis on behalf of the young British-GsCs who

⁵⁹ 'Tom' is a young British professional, who currently lives in London with his Birmingham-born British-GsC spouse. He holds a PhD, and thus could readily engage during our interviews with terms such as "subculture".

overcome ethnophaulisms (the “Greek fat blokes” with the failing restaurant—Fryer, 2011) and the grand narrative of modern Cypriots’ zeal for financial and reputational success (TsCs included—see Preface).

Mode III: Place, Space, Hierarchical Relations, and Masculinity

The aforementioned definition of place (Chapter 1), in its diasporic formative space, is “thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from [it]” (Giddens 1990:18). In Preface we noted that the British-GsC diasporic space relies on binaries, mis-dis-placed disarraying narratives of stasis: tradition/modernity, Cypriotism/Greekness or Cypriotism/Turkishness, Turkish-speaking/Greek-speaking, and in SF’s case, the novel Irishness/Greekness. And even if there are myriad ways for a body to mis-dis-place itself, music plays an indispensable part. Music has the capacity to “evoke... and organise... collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity” (Stokes 1997:3). Mis-dis-placement, music and migration, as observed in SF, blur the edges of notions customarily bounded by traditional concepts, while spaces tend to find their shape from interchangeable and interplayable hierarchical relationships that are reterritorialised and reconceptualised in the flow of time, as practices change.

I mean... look at this! Is it Irish? Is it Greek? Or is it bloody Cypriot? I am not sure even if these two flatlos [referring to SF] have an idea! They just use bits and bobs of different cultures to create this... It’s a constant observation I have about Greeks [GsC migrants] since I became part of this family, using the Greek card, a pseudo-exoticism, to achieve something, even in silly television shows like *BGT*! ...It was really hard for me at the beginning, a British man coming into the Greek reality... Everything is based on showing of masculinity and having power. Who has the more money, the bigger house... it’s a constant competition (Tom).

A musical event’s interchangeable and interplayable hierarchical relationships allow hierarchies (of place) to be negotiated and transformed within the *new* unbounded space. SF’s first audition musically performed the knowledge of other places (Ireland, Greece, even “bloody” Cyprus) “borne out by subsequent experience” (Stokes 1997:4-5). This mobility of other spaces is realised by many as the oriental other, which “informs us in

the context of our own musical language of an imagined world of violence and repressed sexuality... [and generates further,] the Western us of the Orient” as a pleasurable fantasy in a continuous relation to gender discourse. The image of Greekness and the soundscape of Irishness juxtaposed through oversize, sometimes hairy, olive-skinned British-GsC Flatleys “denote to North Western Europeans a [masculine], decaying and sensuous Mediterranean which we can simultaneously fantasise about in our collective historical myths as the root and source of ‘European culture’, and at the same time exploit... clearly [revealing that] these musical images do not just reflect knowledge of ‘other places’ but perform them in significant ways” (Ibid:4-5).

How, then do the hierarchical relationships of the other places— Ireland and Greece— appear in performatively significant ways during the SF audition? What hierarchies of the oriental-other were transformed within the *new* unbounded space of a western *BGT*? The answers lie within the continuous relation that the pleasurable western fantasy-orient has to gender discourse (such as the Cypriot patriarchal tradition, the one that Tom seems to struggle with, realised and racialised as an abnormality within western societies) and to Frye’s third comic mode, high-mimesis. For Frye, high-mimetic comedy pertains to a powerful, Heraclean hero who through strength constructs his own society (the subcultural bricolage of idealised nature examined above), warding off all resistance until final success; yet, this mode also points towards a locale/place (hence our discussion above on space as distinct from place), for Frye argues that high-mimesis is structured for the ancients within the boundaries of a capital city, something that in the modern transreality can be observed as the cosmopolitanism and unboundness of Western European geographies.

Even the way they [SF] dance, yes, funny for sure, but it’s so masculine!
I know very well that the original routine is considered very much an
Irish masculine performance... perhaps that’s another reason I see
them as dancing in this way... nonetheless, they are Greek, so being
“masculine” is part of the equation... (Tom).

Despite the conscious attempt to present a modern and modernized
Ireland the actual performance of Irishness is traditionally
patriarchal... Flatley, the lead dancer, consistently occupies a privileged
position of masculinity. Only he is allowed to break and transcend the
traditional conventions of form, moving his arms freely in stark

contrast to the chorus of female and subordinate male dancers... Flatley's sequences are conscious acts of masculine prowess and become, in front of our eyes, the culminating triumph of the reconstruction of Irish dance (Carby 2001:333 and 336).

Demetris and Lakis in their turn, storm on stage in high-mimicry of Flatley, as if marching into battle accompanied by thunderous Irish drumbeats; yet humorously, in contrast to Flatley's solemn "summon[ing] on stage". After his initial circuits, Demetris centres himself mid-stage as Flatley did when performing his solo, which was "structured as an aggressive, percussive conversation in answer to the drummers' beats." Demetris then mimetically attempts a series of "broad sweeping movements" *au* Flatley, ending by "using his taps as the percussive signal to summon the dance troupe." During his solo, Flatley raised his arms in the air "as the chorus mounts from the back of the stage, making it appear as if Flatley brings them into being" (Ibid.:335). Taking the role of the drums and in his continuous engagement of such masculine signifiers and in mimicry of Flatley, Demetris kneels down and points his arm in the air, humorously overdramatising Flatley's gesturality but still embodying the aggression and masculinity of drumbeats (see Figure 4.7). His goal is achieved; the judges and audience laugh hysterically. Further humorous narrative duels (as father and son interplay dance turns) add further over-exaggerated gesturality leading to a funny but also more powerful masculine performance sequence. And when they both take centre stage, tap dancing together and synchronously concluding by ripping off their wigs and throwing them towards the



Figure 4.7: A photo collage showing Demetris (right) mimicking Flatley by kneeling down and pointing his arms in the air during his SF performance at BGT's first audition. Sources: CD Cover [Hardiman, R. (1996) *Michael Flatley's Lord of the Dance*. UK: PolyGram & Screenshot from Stavros Flatley – Britain's Got Talent 2009 – Show 1. [Online], Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I2NOfoeSX4k>

audience, this double attestation of masculinity peaks. The masculine solidarity and the display of power once again comically embody Flatley's "conscious acts of masculine prowess and become, in front of our eyes the culminating triumph" of two ordinary oversized and masculine

young British-GsCs powerfully warding off any resistance while realising their success story.

Look at their sunburned hairy massive bodies! That alone screams,
“Hello, I am Greek and I am masculine!” ...the tattoo also! Like bikers!
Hehehe (Tom).

The SF performance has further masculine overtones, materialised in other bodies, shapes and semiotics. The Demetrious’ oversized olive-skinned bodies reveal an oriental Mediterranean (thus patriarchal) and young (thus stronger) man as a masculine specimen of fascination for the *BGT*’s western tropes. Hard-working migrants are another sign of masculine praxis in “a messy miscegenation of musical and dance forms” (Carby 2001:336) which share power within a Greek/Cypriot/Celtic racial mythology. As another attestation of cultural bodily-exchanged juxtapositions, “these mythologies are not maintained as separate and distinct, they work apparently seamlessly together, and are mutually interdependent, each reinforcing and articulating the [masculine of the] other” (Ibid:338). A chimera of masculinity, power and control, the two Mediterranean bodies perfectly articulate the appeal of the semiotically manly spectacle of the tattoo adorning Demetris’ body. Tattoos are traditionally correlated with roughness, working class, power, and a public display of masculinity (Watson 1998:454-9),⁶⁰ “like bikers” as Tom puts it. For SF, this inked signifier generates its own permanent racial fiction, as Greekness manifested through Cyprus, in an aggressive ink-print manifestation of racialised masculinity.

SF’s first audition opens up a new cultural space where power, masculinity and showmanship are negotiated within a phantasmagorical separation of space from place. The hierarchical relationships of other places direct the patriarchal traditions of Irishness, Greekness and Cypriotism through the mis-dis-placement of a musical neo-Celtic resource, performed in novel ways that have been shown here to be significant. In these ways, SF embody Frye’s high-mimetic hero, the powerful and masculine warrior fending off resistance until his goal is achieved.

⁶⁰ Joel Watson (1998), in examining the androgyny of tattoos, writes that “males think of the tattoo as primarily a symbol of self concept or self control, functioning as a window into the self for both the themselves and others” (454).

Mode IV: Rite of Passage

As a low-mimetic comedy showing the heroes' social elevation, SF's video shows us a rite of passage into their newly elevated social stratum and celebratory ending. For Frye, this mode of exposition leans towards the individual and the selective subculture praxis, where that individual protagonist is centralised and has authority over his or her social elevation. The high-mimetic mode described the global flow in SF's praxes; the low-mimetic mode will tell the story of the inner flow of the intracommunal UK-GsC space. In simplifying these low-mimetic mode articulations, the next paragraphs will engage with this thesis' tripartite ritual profile as discussed in Chapter 1 to describe the Demetris' intracommunal social elevation as young British-GsCs, and so unfold the BbCs' (and others') experience of it *via* its meditational, literal, and philosophical components. The focus here on Demetris as opposed to the father-son duo is predicated on the logic that the son's rite of passage is an experiential extension of Demetris'.

These three rite-analysis modes seem adequate to capture Demetris' migrant-life narrative and self-construction during the audition. In realising Demetris' rite of passage, its three space components are organised according to the pre-BGT before, the during of the performance itself, and the post-BGT after.

In the before-time, Demetris, the liminary, was a forty-one-year-old London-born British-GsC raised in the north of the city in Oakwood, and now living in a five-bedroom house in Winchmore Hill, North London. He had followed the common social, educational and career pathways that migrant young British-GsC men of his age usually had, conforming to the usual communal social norms and structuralisms. He had finished school (both *Greek* and English), married his wife Karen in 1992, got himself aged twenty-two into the common career pathways for British-Cypriots by opening a Greek restaurant (in 1994), and then with his brother starting a family electrical business (LAGI Contractors). During his interviews, Demetris revealed that his father Michalis died when he was just five years old, and in honour of his memory he named his first-born son Lakis (short for Michalis, *via* 'Michalakis'). Demetris has a daughter with Karen, Elli, named after his mother Loulla (Elli is an Anglicised version); it is very common in GsC culture to name children after one's parents. Demetris had lived under the modern perception of the structured life-pattern of a twenty-first century GsC migrant, and his is a representative case for generalised GsC diasporic enquiries explaining and challenging socio-cultural theories. Even his father's early death is a recurring tragedy in migrant life, as I have also

observed from field research, mostly due to the poor, hard-working lifestyle that the older generation of Cypriot migrants (TsCs included) had during the colonial and early post-colonial migration era (see the cases of Christos Christou in Preface and Ibrahim Küçükogulları in Chapter 2).

To stress his representativeness, all of the Cypriot men (including TsCs) I have interviewed and met in Birmingham have at one stage of their life been involved with the catering/food industry, or have owned a family business. The correspondence here is obvious, with Demetris the everyday migrant hero a lived and embodied mirroring of every young GsC man I have met during my work in Birmingham. Yet, this was in the before of a past space and time, before Demetris moved from this migrant ordinariness onto the *BGT* stage, carrying Celtic music with him. On that day he had his rite of separation; the traditional GsC migrant life was inverted by the irregularity of a communal member deserting the inner flow to place himself in the trans-flow of *BGT*'s western reality. This was the symbolic departure from migrant ordinariness, before metaphorically severing his existing intracommunal contribution and function. On that stage he stepped into an elevated empyreal realm, filled with symbolic meanings, and being centralised he was now ready to undergo his rite of distinction. It is not hard to understand the whole *BGT* performance/ritual as a rite of distinction for Demetris: it was his moment, as the central special one at the top of the day's ephemeral GsC-migrant social pyramid. All communal and many national eyes were locked on him, if not during the first television broadcast, then through later YouTube views. The habitus was the audition day (a new one-day reality separate from everyday life) and the platform of distinction, the luminosity of the *BGT* stage.

Symbolic meanings ooze from this rite/performance. It testifies to the ability of a spoken narrative (Demetris' narration before he stormed on stage) to act symbolically as a memory sensor of the past ("many years ago in Cyprus lived a man who loved to dance!") and the present ("tonight, here for one night only, would you please welcome..."). What used to be a village dancer in the past of Cyprus, is now in the cosmopolitanism of *BGT* Mr. Stavros Flatley, pointing towards a rural/urban and oriental/cosmopolitan transformation; the change from the humble villager to a showman Mr. designates a dramatic social elevation, attesting low-mimetic comedy. The same motif inheres in the contrast between the pre-performance interview, when Demetris appears dressed in very ordinary joggers and fleece-top, and his stage persona as a half-naked Greek-Irish god-figure. Within this centre-stage rite of distinction, distinctions were also perceptible

in reciprocal gesturality and musicality: the thundering Celtic drumbeats and the high-mimicry of hands raised in the air both telling how a previously unnoticed British-GsC is now a symbol of power and masculinity climbing the social ladder before our very eyes and pointing upwards to the sky, to where celebrities retreat. As the representative specimen of British-GsC/Mediterranean manliness, and the central special one, Demetris acts as the mass media ambassador of his migrant community's cultural narrative. This distinction reveals a departure from his previous role as a folkloric raconteur, whose intracommunal role is elevated in the here and now of performance as a communal antenna that communicates and transmediates his own new appreciation of GsC heritage. Distinct symbolisms are also found on Demetris' physical body. His tattoo attests to the British-GsC viewer a perpetual racialised and romanticised neo-national devotion, in the sense of "I have even tattooed the name of 'CYPROS' on my body; thus more Cypriot than you". And now with his new intracommunal role, which goes beyond the merely folkloric, he has the power to transmit his own imagined and re-invented take on subculture and its distinct character, tradition and customs to viewers who are not British-GsCs.

This rite of distinction shows how all these symbolic reminders can be found transiently in imaginations, subcultural constructions, etc., perpetually in tattoos, gesturality and half-naked stout bodies, or intangibly in Celtic sounds and Greek aesthetics. All three were present in Demetris' performance. Although intangible, music—or better, a musical event—proved during Demetris' rite of distinction to have the capacity to generate, raise and organise selective and collective cultural, social and migrant memories vigorously, powerfully and lucidly, in a way inimitable by any other socio-cultural praxes.

In post-performance, Demetris finds himself within the *during* that follows the middle component (rite of distinction), before he undergoes his initiation rite, the celebratory ritual that Frye signifies as the last step of the low-mimetic comedy mode. I had initially supposed that the initiation/celebration rite would be another performance, with Demetris' appearance at the Royal Variety Performance in 2012 a strong candidate. Yet, my ethnographic observation suggests something other than this predictable and regular social elevation. SF's appearance (and especially, as explained later, their entrance on stage—see Figure 4.8) at the *Royal Variety Performance*, together with a further performance for the *Lesbian and Gay Pride Ball* in Birmingham (see Figure 4.9), are designated and organised here as the *during* phase, where Demetris finds himself in the middle of the social metamorphosis departing from the before-ordinariness of the everyday-GsC-migrant pinnacle of Mediterranean masculinity into the after of an

extraordinary British-GsC god, from being a peasant who “used to dance for villagers in Cyprus” to being a Mister who performs for Queens and Lords. After these, the initiation then unexpectedly comes from a joint interview he gave with his wife Karen on 20



Figure 4.8: A collage of moments from SF's performance at the *BGT* special of the Royal Variety Performance in 2012. Source: Daily Mail. [Online] Available: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-2235527/Stavros-Flatleys-Lagi-Demetriou-tall-big-father-Royal-Variety-Performance-stage.html>

September 2010 to Mark Anstead for *MailOnline*, even before the time of the during, Birmingham British-GsCs pointed me here; it was a constant reference on their lips during discussions at Chrystala's duplex of the SF phenomenon, and thus a Birmingham-GsC intracommunal rite of initiation for Demetris, even *in absentia*.



Figure 4.9: A collage of screen shots from SF's performance for the *Lesbian and Gay Pride Ball* in Birmingham. Source: Official Pride Ball 2010 Video. [Online] Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r2cJla7Zz10>

Let us remain within the during, and start with the one-minute SF appearance at the Royal Variety Performance. The *BGT* special of the Royal Variety Performance in 2012 began with two dance groups, previous winners of *BGT: Diversity* (contemporary dance) and *Spellbound* (acrobatic dance). Then the dancing and acrobatics stop, and a ship-cargo box emerges on stage while everyone wonders, ‘What is this?’ The box has a stamp

projected on its side saying “BRITISH TALENT – MADE IN CYPRUS”.⁶¹ All of a sudden Demetris storms out with Lakis following, reprising the wibbly-wobbly *Lord of The Dance* pastiche of their first audition, and now joined by the dancers of *Diversity*, who also put on blond flowing headband wigs and throw them towards the audience in the finale (see Figure 4.1 between 2.55”-3.20”). The part *Irish* and part *Greek* performance this time comes in a total package of “BRITISH TALENT” which was “MADE IN CYPRUS”; thus the bricolage plot thickens. Yet, no interrogation of racial signifiers will occur here. Instead, it is realised as a ritual that seals SF’s sameness as British, achieving full integration in front of the Queen though made in Cyprus (once again the theme of self-differentiation and racialised semiotics manifests). This attestation of dancing next to the stars (*Diversity* are internationally recognised), the recognition of their talent as British (even by the monarchical elite) and the stamp proclaiming Cyprus on the cargo box, are all now preparing Demetris to be initiated by watching intracommunal eyes as the ultimate specimen of the British-GsC.

The second example of the during phase is not as harmoniously played as the one at the *Royal Variety Performance*. “The Pride Ball is the biggest LGBT event of its kind in the UK! Held at the ICC / Symphony Hall Complex in Birmingham... the hilarious Stavros Flatley feat. Jack Ludwig performed the Lord of the Dance” (PrideBallBirmingham, 2011).

It’s mental some of the stuff we’ve done. We did the Lesbian And Gay Pride Ball in Birmingham. I’ve never hugged so many transvestites in my life... We met Boy George there, too. Apparently, I’m a bear. You know what that is, don’t you? It’s a fat fella who is a gay icon (Demetris in Hudson, 2010).

As Theodorakis and Hardiman did with the music of *Zorba’s Dance* and *Lord of The Dance*, compromising traditional creative elements in order to mediate successfully within western aesthetic cosmology, we observe SF during this performance compromising (or at least negotiating in disjuncture) key and traditional elements of their original performance and aesthetics. From that first audition, oozing with patriarchal masculinity expressions and father-son relationships, now in Birmingham a year later a different experience emerges: a bi-gender attestation of a heterosexual body performing for a homosexual meaning (with external participants—thus breaking the element of family

⁶¹ A YouTube video is also available to watch, uploaded by the user Matty (2012) and named *Paul Potts - Diversity - Stavros Flatley - Spellbound The Royal Variety Performance 2012* (available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m_RDhdkdBA4).

bond), as a praxis of affection. To clarify, this praxis differs from the stereotypical Mediterranean affection that one man might display for another (similar to that Demetris shows his son during their original performance). However, these two concepts are not necessarily mutually exclusive: affection from one man to another (especially if they are family) is by definition contrasted to hostility (or let's say less affection) towards others. Inclusivity and exclusivity are two sides of the same coin, and both are strong elements of patriarchal masculinity. This heterosexual body performance of homosexual meaning also gets stuck in the during phase, of a compromised disjuncture of the traditional GsC patriarch to a freer realm of sexual expression; about to initiate Demetris as a man who has masculine tattoos but with no taboos, a higher virtue-kind representation of British-GsCs, who still remain in the before and the ordinary patriarchy from which Demetris has now departed. Ironically taking place in Birmingham, but never spoken of among Birmingham-based GsCs as it causes a communal discomfiture as none would know what a "bear" is, or pretend not to; they choose to ignore this event instead of accepting the fact that their hero performed for lesbian women and gay men as well as for Queen and Lords. When I asked Nicola, Chrystala, Tom, and Kyriacos, their replies were along the lines of "I prefer not to talk about this".

Both performances of the during are realised as liminalities that prepared the liminary for the initiation/celebration rite, the last wheel within Frye's low-mimetic comedy mode; the interview with Mark Anstead in 2010, entitled *Our big fat Greek house sale: Stavros Flatley are dancing their way to a new country house*. Anstead reports:

In the 16 months since the father-and-son duo unleashed their comic Greek-Irish parody dance, bookings for their routine have not stopped rolling in. And now former electrical contractor Demetrios Demetriou... and ...Lagi, are proving how life-changing a TV talent show can be. Thanks to the money they are making—reportedly £500,000 since their debut—Demi can afford to sell his smart, five-bedroom house in Winchmore Hill, North London, and upgrade to a larger home.

'When we bought I honestly didn't see us moving from here for a long time,' says Demi. 'We had to stretch ourselves financially to afford it, so I thought this was it—we had arrived... 'But you can never predict what is going to happen. We entered *BGT*... struck a chord with the audience and they loved us and we still get that reaction whenever we perform today...

It's a long way from the electrical business Demi was running with his brother until last year...

Three years ago the business was doing well enough to allow Demi and Karen to move into their current home from a smaller three-bedroom house nearby.

'We wanted a larger space for the family,' says Karen, who works as a secretary for LAGI Contractors.

'We took one look at this property and loved the large rooms... we thought about updating the kitchen...

The house has a 37ft lounge, a large second living room, a kitchen/diner and a sizeable office. Upstairs a galleried landing has four large double bedrooms leading off, and outside the garden is 140ft long.

Demi and Karen have their sights on finding a property in Broxbourne in Hertfordshire with land and stables where they can keep the two ponies they have bought for Elli, whose passion is horse-riding.

I had never come across this interview until my discussions with Chrystala during the tea party. By that point the crowd at the duplex had grown, as the two “boys”, Chrystala’s and Nicola’s husbands—the “two Christoses” as the Mallas’ call them—got off work and joined us; and obviously the tea and cupcakes soon turned into alcoholic beverages with



Figure 4.10: Yiannakis and his sister Iliana dancing/imitating SF's performance. Photo: Author.

snacks. Chrystala then directed me (*via Google*) towards the article in which “they talk about their success, and their new cool home”; Chrystala says, “I wish I could have for myself... [looking at Christos, her husband, full of meaning]... but he is a paradigm to us I guess, that if you have talent you get the rewards... he did very well for himself, his wife is a lucky lady... wish one day I can buy a pony for Iliana and Loulou” [her two daughters]. And in a pleasant surprise, we were at that point interrupted by Yiannakis, her son, who started dancing/imitating SF’s performance (with his sister Iliana joining), as Tom pressed the space bar on my laptop to play the video. The initiation of Demetris, and

the Demetriou family in general, as a paradigm of a celebrity and a non-everyday-migrant god, is not limited to an individual testimony:

Thirty-seven ft?! Wow! When you have that and a pony, you know you made it... life of the celebrities, eh? (Kyriacos).

So strong that man he is... you know the Stavros guy... he managed to do everything from scratch! Opened a restaurant, failed, but still got back on the horse and look at him now! Literally riding horses because he can afford it! Good lad (Christos Michael, who also lost his father at a young age).

We share the fact that we both lost our fathers while young... also I know how hard it is to milk out money from a restaurant, we had one... this guy is a genius! By doing what he was doing having fun with his son in their living room on the TV he made millions [strictly factually inaccurate, yet it is a mis-dis-placed translation from a GsC expression which means 'made lots of money']. Not like us that we slave to work every day to provide for our kids (Christos Christou).

The Demetris of the after, living the life that almost every BbGsC I have met would like to have, is initiated by them and for them as a very important figure, someone they look up to; Elli's ponies and Karen's huge living rooms and plans for kitchen extensions symbolise the unreachable for most young British-GsC families, who remain in the before of being ordinary everyday migrant-heroes. Noted before as a transmediating antenna, the SF effect has very definitely arrived, and is influencing Birmingham British-GsC life. The same power that Demetris had during his rite of distinction to give his own take on subculture to non British-GsC viewers, also influences British-GsC viewers in Birmingham. I remain rather flummoxed when youngsters like Kyriacos recognise him as "a typical Greek (implying GsC)", with his routine being "traditional" too, even when in a previous interview he had recognised the Irishness of his performance. This takes us back to an earlier argument of this chapter, the epitome of transnationalism, with this oxymoronic and self-conflicting testimony and migrant crystallisation and re-realisation of the traditional which occurred in many of my discussions with young British-GsCs—people learning their own tradition through transmedia. Yet, what is vital here for

Demetris' initiation rite is his power to create a subculture that explains to another subculture (Birmingham British-GsCs) how they should perform traditionally.

I have noticed another oxymoronic and self-conflicting abnormality in communal testimony of how young British-BbGsCs would like to have the same life-style as the Demetris of the after: expressing awe of how big a house is during an interview in their own house (the duplex), which if not bigger or more luxurious, is of at least similar value. To clarify something here, many young British-BbGsCs have met financial success (mostly inherited); yet, there is a minority which has a much poorer life-style and depends on benefits. The oxymoron here is when migrants have wealth but are still in admiration of *the other* wealth. This communally attested *irony* might be described as an attestation of imagined cosmopolitanism, or blandly described as pure greed. In a more economic-ethnological approach, I would suggest that it also describes two types of wealth: the one that is localised, the private success story which remains on local display within the BbGsC community, as Demetris and his family experienced it in London in the before phase through their electrical company success; and the one that is nationalised (even internationalised) and conspicuously reflects the modern Cypriot success story in the new Europe, acting as a paradigm within which to construct other localised ones. Therefore, Demetris' case turns into the grand narrative of other BbGsC little narratives, becoming the perfect oversized body to make known to the rest of the world the European financial success of modern Cyprus (a pre-recession success in the island, it is true, but one which still resonates in diaspora). This is why an interview and not a performance act is the celebration and initiation rite for Demetris, especially as it tells the success story to the world *ironically* in a "*big fat Greek*" way. And yet, the possibility for an interview to turn into an initiation rite came about through a music-infused performance; far from music being underplayed through this process, it has proved to have the capacity to affect life-flow, regardless of space and place, like no other social event.

Mode V: Initiation Rite Coda in Irony

And even if a series of narrative ironies occurs during the low-mimetic mode, these unfold in the affirmative form of celebration. Yet, irresolution can also be celebrated and can also be condescending towards a hero, in conformity with Frye's last mode—the ironic comedy, offering biting social satire replete with condescension, which might even encompass a protagonist's rejection from society (thus failing the typical comic re-homogenisation). It also applies to the rather biting end of our own story about Demetris

and the SF phenomenon. SF's video was not only a topic of discussion at Chrystala's duplex, but has rather been a running theme in my interviews with young GsC migrants. To bring a holistic (musicians/non-musicians) balance, below are what the communal *zygia* had to say (during a later joint Skype interview), and a not-so-GsC, Tom:

What a chav! So distasteful and an embarrassment to our community, really! There is nothing Greek about this! To be honest I do not really care about these guys... they mean nothing to me (Alex Lambrou—9 November 2014, Skype Interview).

Yeah, OK Stavros, we get it! You made it! What a show-off... the worst is that now the whole nation thinks that all Greeks [British-GsCs] we are the same... cannot even imagine... well I can actually... that the Queen now thinks that this is a traditional Greek dance! (Michael Pitsillides—9 November 2014, Skype Interview).

As I told you before... playing his cards right—the martyr who eats from golden spoons... poor little Flatleys! Hahaha... You can tell how greedy they are from the way they treat their bodies! (Tom).

Birmingham testimony here reveals once again another type of initiation rite, sourcing from that same interview, but played in a revisited and reversed significance (hence the initiation rite coda subtitle). Many Birmingham British-GsCs have spoken sarcastically of their take on the SF phenomenon, rejecting him as their transmediating antenna and even questioning his function as a folkloric raconteur. This derailing of the typical comic re-homogenisation certainly reveals satire, but also a rejection of Demetris' subcultural bricolage from the Birmingham British-GsC subculture. Following the story of SF for the past three years myself, I have also observed some discontinuities and anti-epiphanies: from a son and father who in the before phase were portrayed by *BGT* as content with a sandwich and a microwave, to a family depicted in the before by the Anstead interview as having luxurious kitchen-upgrading intentions; from a camper van duo, to disseminators of tweets about washing their luxurious car⁶² and senders of messages to Simon Cowell about jet-skis;⁶³ or even new YouTube video uploads⁶⁴ of a brand new car purchase as a

⁶² <https://twitter.com/stavrosflatley/status/280290627244138497>

⁶³ <https://twitter.com/stavrosflatley/status/473441073650348032>

⁶⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BcbYIZ4Bfsw>

gift to Lakis for his seventeenth birthday. And while Demetris was interviewed previously saying, "It proves we haven't got too grand for our boots yet, doesn't it?", they still put on the riding boots to ride their ponies.

Such discontinuities and anti-epiphanies have pushed some of the BbGsCs to develop an ironic narrative understanding of Demetris' story. What propels these satirical rejection narratives? One might argue that it is envious nuances in an intracommunal contingency of meaning, from those who have achieved only a localised success story (or none at all), and not Demetris' national, grand one. This structural behaviour was indeed made obvious during my research, though mostly off the record as something that is not easy to admit publicly. This was not the only force pushing narratives of rejection, though; some stemmed from emotionality. Young BbGsCs have been living and experiencing the SF phenomenon since 2009, and will probably be doing so for years to come. Investment of time in another human being (or their subculture) eventually generates a series of emotional attachments and animosities towards them, which as we have seen can be celebrated in the binaries of affirmation and demurral. Many, between the first SF audition and today, have altered their emotional investment in them, turning from the sympathy, elation and affirmative initiation of low-mimetic comedy to the mode of irony, carrying rejection, apathy and a denied initiation rite. How is such reversal made possible, that someone who once was so loved is now held in such disaffection? Michalis answers that:

When they first came out during the first audition of *BGT*, I did like them... what make me change my mind is the fact that they let me down... they could do more Greek stuff and they could be showing off less... you know, represent! ...as they did during that [first] audition.

In a diaspora heavily constructed upon emotionality (nostalgias are a running theme of this thesis), British-GsCs and British-TsCs develop a localised reality of weighing social, cultural or political events. Being hurt by the discontinuities of Demetris' narratives and the anti-epiphanies of ethos that these entail has generated an ironic initiation rite coda for this large migrant Heracleian persona. And with these, all five of Frye's comic modes transpire in diasporic life, while locating many lived realities for young British-GsC (both London- and Birmingham-based). All five modes bind together a classic Summer myth of utopian fantasies, amassed from celebrity constructions, transnational bricolages, liminalities and finally, irony.

Chapter 5

Mange du kebabs/Eat Kebabs: Oriental Hip-Hop and Selective-Ethnogenesis in the Kebabosphere

If the transnational GsC migrant Zorba and Flatley mash-ups have extended our senses into the myriad transrealities of musical praxes, then the young TsC migrants will add to that some further *spice*. Utilising culinary resources as another ingredient in this (and the next) chapter's stock will make musical praxes more flavoursome. Ethnographically, it is a turn from the leisure and comfort of living-room tea parties and film viewings, to the hectic hardship of the workplace; ethnologically, it is a migration from one half of a di-ethnos, whose racial signifiers are "perks", to the other, that strives to overcome them.

As bodies of social struggles facing social inequality, young Birmingham TsCs epitomise Part II's Introduction sub-title "it is not the easiest thing to be a migrant", facing a series of challenges stemming from twenty-first-century dialectics such as islamophobia. Epithets like 'Muslims', 'Turks', 'Turkish-Cypriots', 'Cypriots', 'Kebab-makers', etc.—some of which manifest as ethnophaulisms—stimulate BbTsC youngsters to utilise foodstuffs, music, irony and humour in inventive and imaginative ways, eventually leading to selective-ethnogenesis.

This new musically- and culinarily-infused ethnologic reality is revealed in the next two chapters. In this one, I will engage with another YouTube *sensation*, one produced, unlike the GsC examples, rather far from Birmingham or London, in France. This is rapper Lil Maaz's⁶⁵ (2007) *Mange du kebab (Eat Kebabs)*. Chapter 6 covers LbTsC prosumer hasandinho95 (and his crew's) parody of 50 Cent's *Candy Shop*, dubbed and renamed *Kebab Shop* (2009). These two YouTube artefacts open up a series of BbTsC dialectics, from the way one structures itself and other, gender discourses, and meaning of one's sense of belonging, or better for BbTsCs one's placelessness, in the world. Gender discourses generated from both artefacts are discussed in Chapter 6, and also the choice and timeless affiliation of TsCs in diaspora with hip-hop (in its Mediterranean appeal).

For this chapter, after explaining why young BbTsCs turn into bodies of social struggles facing social inequality (mostly due to their Muslim background), a musical analysis of *Mange du kebab* follows. In turn, its musical elements tune the reader into a series of

⁶⁵ Real name Yilmaz Karaman, a Turkish-born migrant to France.

metanarrative discussions: from orientalisms, exoticisms, and cosmopolitan cross-pollinations (all three imagined in most cases), to journeys of transnational localities that contain their own translocal tropes. Further, *Mange du kebab* as a digital artefact appears to be efficacious in explaining BbTsC selective-ethnogenesis, one that old generation migrants developed through stereotyping kebabs, and a *new* one in which young migrants reuse stereotypes in striking and imaginative ways. Finally, *Mange du kebab*'s capacity further accommodates and points towards spatial structuralisms not fissile without the music's metanarrative. These will be objectified through the notions of public (in juxtaposition to) and private spheres (the *kebabosphere*), as a theme that concludes this chapter but also runs through the one following.

Spheres, and rationalising the utterance of *Mange du kebab* through the Küçükoğulları

In realising the notion of the public/private spheres through a digital artefact like *Mange du kebab*, the Habermassian notion of the public sphere needs to be recognised and appraised (Habermas, 1974/1989). Bart Cammaerts (2008; 2009:557) devotes substantial space to the relation of digital culture as “the inaptness of the normative Habermassian public sphere notion at a theoretical level in accounting for current political and social processes in highly mediatized and popular culture driven societies.” While in clarifying what “public sphere” is, Cammaerts (2008:358) elsewhere explains:

The public sphere refers to a (national) sphere, independent from state and market, where public opinion and consensus is formed through communicative action, through the free and open exchange of rational arguments between status-free citizens.

German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1984:49) himself abstracts his own notion as:

By ‘the public sphere’ we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body.

Following Habermas, contemporary scholarship has done well to recognise and underpin the capabilities of these public spheres, free from state prohibition, as spaces of synthesising and disseminating individual but also non-state collective socio-political life, Cammaerts amongst them;⁶⁶ and when protest and inequality (as in the case of BbTsCs) is added to that, which empower the citizen in criticising regimes. This empowerment “lies in the fact that it is where the state shows its public face” (Tripp 2012:73). In the contemporary post-modern discourses, the Habermasian public sphere is better fathomed as “a discursive arena that is home to citizen debate, deliberation, agreement and action” (Villa 1992:712). This derives from the modern realities as these in turn derive from the accommodation of these constructed and deconstructed spheres on the Internet, in diversification of colours, races, means, objectives, and goals; all contributing to the emergence of online public spheres.

Yet, as Cammaerts (2009:558) correctly notes, “deliberation is... very much entrenched in the Enlightenment tradition rather than postmodernism.” Thus, in deliberating the public sphere one should also consider individual agency, which in its turn generates a binary counter to the public, the private, especially when YouTube videos such as *Mange du kebab* position themselves between an ever expanding arbitrary of the private (both the person who uploaded/created the video, but also the individual who watches/listens to it) and the public. In this way, *Mange du kebab*, and any other YouTube video, is experienced through an individual’s personal senses; and experience “provides a bridge between the private, subjective sphere of self-expression and the socially fragile civic sphere in which publics can form and act” (Coleman 2005:277). This is only a theoretical tasting of *Eat Kebabs*, as an artefact, bounded in conclusion to this chapter. And yet one may as well, playfully, coin the term *kebabosphere*; a sphere merging out of the relations in BbTsCs praxes, via *Mange du kebab*, of the private/public and the realised.

One justification for using a pan-Islamic diasporic example to exemplify Birmingham TSC youngsters’ current experience of selective-ethnogenesis and ethnophaulisms is that it mirrors how younger generations of Turkish-Muslim migrants generally integrate themselves into western popular cultures, as young migrant bodies disregarded by their GsC counterparts, fulfilling their placelessness in this way. *Mange du kebab* also agrees with the thesis’ general ethos, of looking at transbordering tropes, in pointing to two cosmopolitan cities (Paris and Birmingham), and also in locating the mis-dis-placements and flows of a cultural resource generated in diaspora by a *motherland*-born migrant that

⁶⁶ Cammaerts (2008; 2009) rigorously reviews the literature of these scholarships.

generates vibrant online dialogues of homeland for British-TsCs in Birmingham. I was introduced to Maaz's song/video by two TsC youngsters in Birmingham, Sevven and her brother Ceylan Küçükoğulları, during one of our interviews, 8 October 2014 at their family fish'n'chip/kebab shop at Woodgate. Having had that song/video (and some extra weight from the kebabs I had) as a paraethnographic reflection on my mind for a few months, I later encountered a very interesting essay by Jonathan Ervin (2014) for a review I was working on that year (Poupazis, 2014a). Ervin's chapter looks at that specific YouTube video and the online dialogues of young Islamic migrants. He focuses on a critical theoretical analysis rather than a musicological one, while this chapter does both; but he does confirm my understanding of that song/video as having much more meaning than its surface humour. Its mention by the Küçükoğulları was significant.

I met with the Küçükoğulları on Wednesday 8 October 2014, a day after the tea party at Chrystala's luxurious not-so-duplex. It was perhaps the nearness in time and the antithesis of place/space from Chrystala's living room to the Küçükoğulları's workplace that made the difference particularly vibrant for me. I have visited the Küçükoğulları several times during my research since then, and have had great music-infused discussions and culinary experiences every time (I have tried most of the items on their menu). Discussions about Maaz's video/song were not limited to my visits to Woodgate, but as with Zorba and Flatley were a default feature in most interview I had with young British-TsCs; Arif Kömürcügil (a twenty-three year old BbTsC and postgraduate student at Birmingham University) also had interesting takes, and the video/song contained many streams and vistas of discourse. With the voice of young Muslims having little media representation in Western Europe (Hargreaves 2007:107), YouTube offers them a significant performative space:⁶⁷ "a discursive arena that is home to citizen debate, deliberation, agreement and action" (Villa 1992:712), epitomising an ethnographically observed public sphere. The video itself "conforms to or challenges stereotypes" and "promotes tolerance and acceptance" (Ervin 2014:261), issues surrounding young British-TsCs in Birmingham also in constructing the dialectics of public/private spheres. As this section will reveal, it also musically infuses the cultural importance of culinary creation in diaspora as a means of constructing new ways of self-representation for British-TsCs, while pointing to music and food's fused utterance (mostly as kebabs) in constructing a selective-ethnogenesis, as a *kebabosphere* that makes life in diaspora manageable.

⁶⁷ France is home to more Muslims than any other Western European host country (Laurence and Vaisse 2006:1).

Fox News vs. Birmingham's Muslims

Let's start from the beginning, by realising why British-TsC youngsters like Sevven testify that "it is not the easiest thing to be a migrant", especially as a Muslim in a western host(ile). On 12 January 2015, Fox News (US) broadcast:

[Judge Jeanine]: Developing tonight, new reports of terrorism, seat yourselves, may be activated in France. This is we are learning of new details about hundreds of "no-go zones" across France and other countries that are off limits to non-Muslims. Steve Emerson, founder of the investigation project joins us. All right Steve, my last guest told us some chilling details about these no-go zones. What more can you tell us about these zones, Steve?

[Steve Emerson]: Well these no-go zones do not only exist not only in France but they exist throughout Europe. They are sort of a amorphous they are not continuous necessarily but sort of safe-havens and the places where the governments like France, Britain, Sweden and Germany they don't exercise any sovereignty. So you basically have zones where sharia courts were set up, where Muslim density is very intense, where the police don't go in, and where it's basically a separate country almost, a country within a country...

[Judge Jeanine]: You know what it sounds like to me, Steve? It sounds like a caliphate within a particular country!

[Steve Emerson]: Ha! Well, it certainly does sound like that! It is almost the prescription that they are asking Israel to do which is to set up a separate state within their own states. They are not recognising it, they are not dealing with it because they don't want to get into a

tweet fight with the French ambassador who deny that there are such thing as no-go zones except from the French, you know, website that it says there are... and it actually has a map of them. In Britain, it's not just no-go zones, there are actual cities like Birmingham that are totally Muslim where non-Muslims just simply don't go in. And, parts of London, there are actually Muslim religious police that actually beat and actually wound seriously anyone who doesn't dress according to religious Muslim attire. So there is a situation that Western Europe is not dealing with, and in this country, you know, we have this... this, you know, this selective orientation of what is radical Islam! The president doesn't say it, we include Turkey as part of our ally despite the fact that it supports Hamas, it provides safe-haven to the leaders of Hamas, they coordinated attacks on Israel, it doesn't include Europe slip the sanctions on Hamas... so when Europe says or France says we are engage in a war with radical Islam they don't include Hamas, they don't include Hezbollah.

[Judge Jeanine]: Steve, is there any way to get these no-go zones back? In other words does France want them back, does Belgium want them back, does Germany want these zones back? Because what's happening is this is metastasizing into a simple take over! I think, even, you said Europe is over... what did you say Steve?

[Steve Emerson]: I said Europe is fi... I said the other day Europe is finished!

Whilst discussing no-go areas in Europe for non-Muslims on Fox News with Jeanine Ferrise Pirro, American "terrorism expert" Steve Emerson, declared that Birmingham is "a totally Muslim" city. This apparently factual declaration surprised many residents of Britain's second-largest city, which he alleged is under "complete Muslim control".

Emerson's claims might be considered the biggest and most inaccurate ethno-phaulisms against Birmingham's Muslims. As PM David Cameron put it (12 January 2015 on ITV News), "Frankly, I choked on my porridge and thought it must be April's Fools Day. This guy is clearly a complete idiot." James Risen (2014:220-24) talks about how islamophobia



Figure 5.1: Video still from Fox News broadcast (12 January 2015) with Jeanine Ferrise Pirro (left), and American "terrorism expert" Steve Emerson. Video: urbanimage (2015) [Online], Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-zF7nbEvwY>

creates a modern regime from the West, and the war on terrorism has created an anti-terror industry that some people have got rich from—one being Steve Emerson himself, an ex-journalist who now makes his living by commodifying these notions, scaring people about Muslims through public declarations of islamophobia. It seems as if Emerson was

promoting his business on Fox News that day. This takes us back to the early parts of Part II and Preface, discussing how TsCs in their diasporas face a pervasive appearance of islamophobia as a selective pan-western concept (one might call this as a regime; similarly to the way Risen does). This solidifies my previous argument of such phobias being generated by hypothetical assertions of post-9/11 and -7/7 times. After a wave of angry, sarcastic and ironic responses from the people of Birmingham—a city of a not-so-finished Europe (even less finished after the latest Brexit developments)—and Britain at large, Emerson apologised *via* several public streams.⁶⁸

And yet, Birmingham-based Muslims have had to face more of these rather obscenely islamophobic western hypothetical assertions. Tweeted on 11 January, 2015 on #foxnewsfacts, an Arabesque artwork is claimed to reveal the design of Spaghetti Junction in Birmingham as a map-plot of how Muslims want to make the city their own. According to that same tweet, that "proves" Birmingham to be a complete Muslim city. In many ways, this depicts the sublime of art itself and how an arguably beautiful

⁶⁸ One example is "after being contacted by *The Telegraph*, Mr Emerson released a fulsome apology, saying he 'clearly made a terrible error for which I am deeply sorry'. He added he was going to make a donation to a Birmingham charity and take out an ad in a Birmingham newspaper. In a statement, he said: '.... My comments about Birmingham were totally in error. And I am issuing an apology and correction on my website immediately for having made this comment about the beautiful city of Birmingham. I do not intend to justify or mitigate my mistake by stating that I had relied on other sources because I should have been much more careful. There was no excuse for making this mistake and I owe an apology to every resident of Birmingham. I am not going to make any excuses. I made an inexcusable error. And I am obligated to openly acknowledge that mistake'" (Holehouse and Sanchez, 2015).

creation can be communicated in other, hypothetical and sinister ways. It also tells of how cultural resources are strong ingredients in the making of this social stew, served in

#foxnewsfacts Spaghetti Junction was designed on Islamic Arabesque Art principles

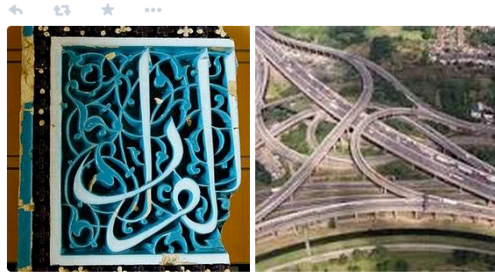


Figure 5.2: Screenshot of # foxnewsfacts tweet on 11 January 2015. Screenshot: Author.

platters filled with islamophobic nuances. Yet, the questions relevant to this chapter are not Cameron's and Risen's opinions, nor even how a non-musical artwork can be interpreted; they are how young TsCs in Birmingham react to such ethnophaulisms, and how these reactions find musical expression. When showing the Fox News footage to Sevven, Ceylan, and Arif:

"You see! These are the kind of things that I was talking about! Makes me laugh because they are stupid, but up to an extent some people take it seriously and that has a domino effect on us" (Sevven—19 June 2015).

"Idiots and racists my friend... they have no idea! If they really want to know how the people of Birmingham are, they should come here and let us explain to them what is really going on. Lots of nonsense tweeting and broadcasting such lies... especially by people who most likely have never been to Birmingham themselves... you can not do more than laugh with these stupidities" (Ceylan—19 June 2015).

"There is so much conspiracy theory out there! I like artists and people who make fun of such nonsense. Paranoia can be answered and fought with humour I suppose... at least that is what I do!" (Arif—16 June 2015, Birmingham City Centre).

How, then, do they deal with it *via* musical praxes, and how does *that* particular song lead to a communal contingency of meaning, experience and creation? As a cultural resource for British-TsCs in Birmingham, Maaz's *Mange du kebab* reveals a selective-ethnogenesis through musical and culinary homogenisation.

“Oh! You know [talking to his sister], show him the Eat Kebab one.... You know, the French one...” (Ceylan—8 October 2014).

“You should watch this! The song is in French but it says about eating kebabs... pretty much sums up our discussion right now! ...it is also hilarious! Hehehe... Watch it. I am sure you will like it and make lots out of it later on your own...” (Sevven—8 October 2014).

That was the moment when Sevven and Ceylan introduced to me Maaz’s song on YouTube during our interview in the back-office of their family fish’n’chips/kebab shop. In the meantime their father (Ibrahim) was, ironically, serving lamb kebab to customers, while Boren (their mother) was laughing quietly to herself while battering fish and listening to our discussion. On returning to Ireland from that research trip—with the murmuring of customers and smells from kebabs from the Küçükoğulları’s shop vibrant in my mind, extending my senses—I did indeed make lots out of listening to and watching the video, as Sevven suggested, seeking out background information on the artist himself and his song.

Yilmaz Karaman (Lil Maaz) is a kebab vendor in the 18th arrondissement of Paris. Originally from Siirt in the southeast of Turkey, he migrated to France in 2003 and began working as a waiter (as many Turkish and TsC migrants do). Rapping whilst preparing kebabs for customers, Maaz soon got the attention of regulars at Restaurant Diyar, one of whom helped him film the video for *Mange du kebab*, while others happened to work for a major record label (EMI). Soon the video was uploaded on YouTube and later released as a single by EMI (Samuel 2007; Suares 2007; Au fil du Bosphore 2007). That was the

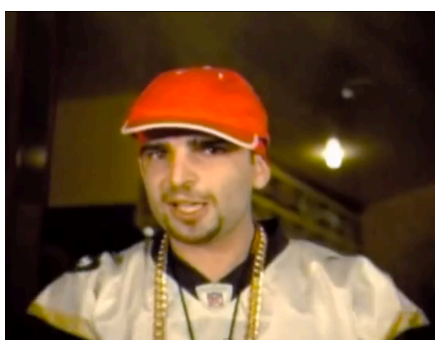


Figure 5.3: Lil Maaz featuring in his video *Mange du kebab*. Video still: EMI music (2009) [Online], Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LxcKSVpMwQc>



Figure 5.4: The first shoot of the *Mange du kebab* video showing the exterior of the Diyar kebab shop in Paris. Video still: EMI music (2009).

summer (2007) that Yilmaz, a young twenty-seven years old migrant Muslim, who had

left school aged eleven⁶⁹, became famous; the “novelty” single became a viral success on YouTube, and “gained a cult following in France” (Ervin 2014:261). Its French success led to the release of a Turkish version, *Kebab Ye* (2007),⁷⁰ extending Maaz’s popularity all the way back to his homeland. Despite Ervin’s national observations the same “cult following” also embraces a pan-Islamic migrant membership, and can be observed affecting the musical praxes of British-TsCs in Birmingham. Yet, Maaz’s YouTube performance—valorising kebab making with humorous means—goes beyond intracommunal and national discourses. Its dissemination via new media technologies allows celebratory memorialising of cultural peripheries within the *new* spatial unboundness, as this is realised in contemporaneity.

Figure 5.5: A timeline collage of the *Mange du kebab* video. Collage: Author. Video stills: EMImusic (2009) [Online], Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LxcKSVpMwQc>



⁶⁹ See Preface discussion on how Cypriot-born migrants have explored employment opportunities in the UK that do not ask for educational qualifications (e.g. catering industry; thus fish’n’chips or kebab shops).

⁷⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1BwzYQoNxb0>



The western of hip-hop with its eastern musical twist, the lyrics, and the visual of the video have lots to tell. Figure 5.6 below shows the musical observations I have made, while Figure 5.7 offers the French (or in the case of the Bridge, Turkish) lyrics translated into English.

Figure 5.6: Musical analysis of *Mange du kebab*

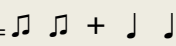
Time Progression	0.00-0.28	0.29-0.47	0.48-1.06	1.07-1.16	1.17-1.26	1.27-1.43	1.44-2.02	2.03-2.12	2.13-2.24	2.25-2.32	2.33-2.41	2.42-end
Form	B ⁱ	A	A ⁱ	B	B	A	A ⁱ	B	B	C	C	B×4
Event	Introduction on the motif of the Chorus	Verse I	Verse II – with melodic theme	Chorus	Chorus	Verse III	Verse IV – with melodic theme	Chorus	Chorus	Bridge I	Bridge II	Chorus repeated four times
No. of Bars		16	16	8	8	16	16	8	8	8	8	32
Chord Progression	i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-i	i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-iv	i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-iv	i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-i	i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-i	i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-iv	i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-iv	i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-i	i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-i			i-iv-v-i-i-iv-i-i ×4
Other Musical elements	Web 2.0 instrument descending resembling the ululation of the finale	Verses sung/rapped out of tune on a generic Web 2.0 beat. In A ⁱ Web 2.0 instruments come in		Eastern/oriental aesthetics from Rûbab and Dombra Web 2.0 instruments. Ululation in the background		Verses sung/rapped out of tune on a generic Web 2.0 beat. In A ⁱ Web 2.0 instruments come in		Eastern/oriental aesthetics from Rûbab and Dombra Web 2.0 instruments. Ululation in the background		Language change to Turkish making vocal production sound more exotic		The song ends with an Arab-like ululation
Key	C Minor 											
Time Signature / Rhythm	4/4  (in cut time) / Rhythm Syrtos = 											

Figure 5.7: *Mange du kebab* lyrics translation

<i>Mange du kebab</i>	<i>Eat Kebabs</i>
<u>Verse I</u> Toute la journée je fais du kebab Salade tomate oui c'est mon taf Derrière le comptoir je prépare le pain Je le caresse de mes deux mains J'suis le rappeur du sandwich grec Mayo, ketchup, sauce blanche, côtelettes C'est tout un art de cuire le mouton De faire des brochettes mais pas de cochon. <u>Verse II</u> Chez nous y a des odeurs d'orient Qui resteront sur tous tes vêtements Des petits gateaux bien remplis d'huile Pour digérer c'est plus facile! Tous les jours c'est kebab party, Y a de l'ambiance, y a de la musique Y a des clients qui kiffent les boulettes Et d'autres. <u>Chorus</u> Mange du kebab! (x4) T'es chiche? Kebab! (x2) Mange du kebab! (x4) T'es chiche? Kebab! (x2) <u>Verse III</u> On a la classe en chemisette Aussi sexy dans Chippendales On tourne la broche qu'est-ce qu'on transpire Les filles aiment ça, on les attire Moi je veux le rêve américain Faire du kebab pour les ricains Avoir une chaîne de restaurants Et mon nom en lettres d'argent <u>Verse IV</u> En attendant, il faut que j'astique La cuisine et toute la boutique Le fond de la cuve ou baignent les frites Et les jolies nappes en plastiques Si un jour tu cherches une adresse Ici c'est le royaume de la graisse Retient ce nom restaurant Diyar Des spécialités turques et kebab <u>Chorus</u> Mange du kebab! (x4) T'es chiche? Kebab! (x2) Mange du kebab! (x4) T'es chiche? Kebab! (x2) <u>Bridge</u> Hadi be hadi be beni bekletme isim var gucum var beni deli etme Ne duruyorsun? O elindeki paket ne? Ye! Ye! <u>Chorus</u> Mange du kebab! (x4) T'es chiche? Kebab! (x2) Mange du kebab! (x4) T'es chiche? Kebab! (x2)	<u>Verse I</u> All day long I make kebabs Salad, tomato, that's my job Behind the counter I slice the bread I stroke it with my two hands I'm the rapper of the Greek sandwich Mayonnaise, ketchup, white sauce, chops It's quite an art, cooking lamb To make kebabs (leave out the ham). <u>Verse II</u> With us you get those Eastern smells That linger on your clothes Little cakes chock-full of oil So easy to digest! Every day's a kebab party, There's atmosphere, there's music There's people here who dig the balls... And others. <u>Chorus</u> Eat kebabs! (x4) You got the guts? Kebabs! (x2) Eat kebabs! (x4) You got the guts? Kebabs! (x2) <u>Verse III</u> I look classy in my polo shirt Also sexy when I strip it off I turn the spit, so what's the sweat? The girls they like it, it pulls them Me, I want the American dream Making kebabs for the Yanks Having a chain of restaurants And my name written up in cash <u>Verse IV</u> But here and now, I gotta shine The kitchen and the whole shop The bottom of the fryer where the chips are swimming And the lovely plastic tablecloths If some day you want a place to be The kingdom of grease is here Remember that Restaurant Diyar name For Turkish specials and kebabs <u>Chorus</u> Eat kebabs! (x4) You got the guts? Kebabs! (x2) Eat kebabs! (x4) You got the guts? Kebabs! (x2) <u>Bridge</u> Come on man, come on man, don't keep me waiting I've got stuff to do, don't drive me crazy What are you waiting for? What's that in your hand? Eat! Eat! <u>Chorus</u> Eat kebabs! (x4) You got the guts? Kebabs! (x2) Eat kebabs! (x4) You got the guts? Kebabs! (x2)

The music of *Mange du kebab* is composed in flux between Western structure and Turkish (Eastern/Oriental) aesthetics. Its sonic preconception indicates Turkish musical elements, but through a series of antithetical structural pragmatisms the song proves itself very much Western. Such use of musical resources is a recurring ethnographic experience, and a common diasporic creation process, as seen in the use of the *Zorba's Dance* music (as compositional-ethnogenesis) and in SF's later performance.

Even if the song screams out key modulations and makam structure, yet in theory it is tonic (C minor natural) throughout with a Form of Bⁱ (Introduction)—A (Verse)—Aⁱ—B (Chorus)—B—A—Aⁱ—B—B—C (Bridge)—C—B—B—B—B. Form, events and bar-length are very symmetrical throughout, with perhaps a slight deviation in that the two Bridge sections (C—C) come late and are not followed by a Verse, as it is customary in popular songs. The time signature holds a 4/4 steady beat in cut time (diminished imperfect time), a common feature for hip-hop compositions, while the chord progression starts with three common chords of a C minor natural progression (i-iv-v; see Figure 5.6 for the rest). Yet what are the aesthetic elements that make the song sound exotic, even though it has such a clear Western arrangement?

The riddling sound descending that occurs in the five opening seconds of the song is arguably the digital equivalent of the ululation but in descent, occurring seconds later in Bⁱ of the introduction, and recurring during the B Form of the song's Choruses. (It occurs in ascent during Introduction and Choruses). This ululation—la, la, la, la over and over, high-pitched and fast—is the first obvious exoticism, and serves an oriental sonic aesthetic throughout *Mange du kebab*. Dictionaries gloss ululation as a "wailing or howling", but its cultural nuances are richer. Pointing towards specific geo-gender orientations, ululation is common in Africa and the Arabic world performed by women as a statement of joyousness, for example during wedding rituals. There are also instances where cultural events use ululation as a lamentation. The Arabic name for it is *zaghruta* and in Turkish folk culture is also known as *zılgıt*. The *zılgıt* used in *Mange du kebab* constitutes an oriental aesthetic particle in composition, used as a performance of celebration and not lamentation. Yet, the western ear might not perceive it in this way (because of the cultural and historical nuances of ululating), and relates it to another kind of exoticism deriving from western popular culture and the commodification of oriental sound. Introduced into the west from the mid-twentieth-century *via* Hollywood, through films like *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) and *The Battle of Algiers* (1966), ululation is represented as a battle cry of the Arabs. This perception around the meaning and

utterance of ululation has picked in contemporaneity with news broadcasting Arab “terrorists” performing zaghrutas while celebrating battle-wins. Therefore, the kind of ululation perceived as exotic and oriental in *Mange du kebab* is the product of a bastardisation of an Arabic woman’s joyful/lamentation performance, into an all-purpose ululation for consumption.

When looking for exoticising aesthetic elements, instrumentation cannot be overlooked. It is clear that Maaz does not use live instruments, but Web 2.0 virtual instruments via a synthesiser. When I first heard the song it was clear that this virtual instrumentation included strings, and I was almost sure that it was one or two violins in ensemble. Yet, after listening to the song several times, there was a strumming (almost staccato) sound and feel to it, that convinced me that a pick was involved and that the virtual instruments used were chordophones. After exploring software instruments myself in order to replicate Maaz’s sound, I concluded that the instrumentation does indeed involve exotic/oriental instruments: the Turkish rûbab (a necked bowl lute), and dombra (a plucked three-stringed instrument similar to balalaika). Both infuse a great deal of exoticism into *Mange du kebab*, acting as a binary opposite aesthetic element to the ones found in mainstream hip-hop production (East vs. West).

Arguably, there is lots to be said about the choice of composing the song on a C minor natural, as several makams and dromoi have a similar minor nature, and can also easily harmonise on the C minor chord (i). The same argument can also be made in the case of the song’s relevant Major tonality (E ♭). Makams/dromoi that have a minor nature are Uşşak/Ousak, Sabâh/Sampac, Nihavent/Niabent and the Nikriz makam, and any of the natural, harmonic or melodic minor dromoi. What makes this analysis imprecise is the fact that any of these makams and dromoi can harmonise and accompany any minor chord in the book; therefore, there is no scientific justification to build such a case here and it remains unproven whether makams/dromoi inclusions (with their tetrachords) are infusing orientalism and exoticism to the song. Yet, let us assume that the makam Nikriz is having an influence on this song’s oriental aesthetics. It is common in Nikriz makam compositions to have the same rhythmic pattern as *Mange du kebab* has: Syrtos in 4/4. This perhaps adds some rigour to such an argument. Additionally, the choice of Syrtos alongside the 4/4 diminished imperfect time certainly does infuse into the song a large dose of rhythmic oriental and exotic beat.

One more aesthetically exotic performative characteristic is observed from Maaz's rapping/singing (or better, perhaps, recitation). Maaz has almost no vocal range in Forms A, Aⁱ and C, remaining on one (mostly droning) note for prolonged periods (bars), deviating briefly, only to return to the same note again. This is also common and very regular in Byzantine chanting, a technique known as *isogratima*, something that offers another exotic and oriental aesthetic (mono)tone to the song. Ισοκράτημα (Greek) derives from *ison*, literally 'same thing', a drone note slowly moving as a lower vocal part, and *gratima* that literally means holding. The *gratima* of the *ison* in Byzantine chanting usually holds for many bars, periodically and briefly visiting other notes only to return, exactly what Maaz does in his recitation during the Verses and Bridges of *Mange du kebab*. And as also happens in Byzantine performance, Maaz's *isogratima* accompanies the choral melody during the Chorus, multi-layering the vocal lines (singing in Forms B is performed by several voices), transforming the Choruses of the song into harmonised and polyphonic sections that "eat kebabs". It is also worth noticing here that even with the slow recitation of *isogratima*, Maaz chooses to rap and have a flow in his vocal line as is customary in hip-hop. This diasporic performative observation takes us back to our discussion of the flow of ideas and resources within transnational migration fields, and shows *Mange du kebab* to be a resource capable of representing such phenomena.

The dialogue between the fused binary oppositions of western and eastern musicology that this song serves, in a "stereotypical" Turkish wrap, conforms to the grand (migrant) narrative of performance observed in Part II so far. The musical analysis talks about cultural mis-dis-placements as a way of compromising one's musical traditions in order to achieve mainstream appeal in the form of a western product (hip-hop). This can be considered as another choice by a migrant musician to attempt to achieve sameness (the choice of hip-hop as a musical genre empowering migrants is discussed in the next section). It also explains how orientalism/exoticism is capable, in a Turkish-orientated context as in a Greek-orientated paradigm (in a Mediterranean appeal), of capturing western audiences' imaginations, turning its commodification into a tool of integration even for a less-welcomed migrant group. This also takes us back to our discussion of an oriental Mediterranean as a product of fascination from Westerners (see Stavros Flatley's example). The elements pointing towards occidentalism—the oriental compositional elements in flux between the Turkish, Arab, Greek, and Byzantine musical canons—also reveal the cosmopolitanism that the Mediterranean east has offered since antiquity, and how it travels and moulds itself into a unique creation in its diasporic mis-dis-placement.

Maaz portrays this unique and cosmopolitan melting-pot as a composition of self-identification, mis-dis-constructing even his own Turkish background while oxymoronically and in particularism claiming his identity-self of being a Turk in Paris as a performance of self-differentiation. Although cosmopolitanism points towards a universal collectivism, it often adopts the particularism of individual self-identity expressions “seek...[ing] to suffuse [them] with a sense of moral accountability to other human beings” (Linklater 2007:36). With that, Maaz’s cosmopolitan composition and performance are defined as a form of “belonging to, and responsibility for, humanity as a whole... rather than a [performance] bounded to a particular culture or territory” (Mihelj, vanZoonen and Vis 2011:617). *Mange du kebab* is a prolific example of how a migrant creation and performance can be a product of imagined cosmopolitanism (see Chapter 1 for definition), a milieu story of a young migrant Muslim and his chameleonic inner battles of self-identification; a metanarrative attestation of struggle, social inequality, and proving that “it is not the easiest thing to be a migrant” performer/songwriter.

While the orientalism infused into the music of the song has metanarrative meanings—a migrant expression of self-identification and cosmopolitanism both for Maaz and his audiences (see young British-TsCs), of sameness with western elements and self-differentiation from oriental elements—the lyrics have a much clearer and more direct migrant narrative. Maaz points towards three geographies: Greece, Turkey and America. Although each is referenced for different reasons, all three are bounded by Cyprus from the status quo there; and in diaspora embodied by Sevvén, Ceylan and Arif. Ervin (2014:268) also makes the same observation, briefly reinforcing my argument on the importance of Cyprus as a space of ‘third dimension.’

The reference to Greece, “du sandwich grec” (“Greek sandwich”), shows the commodification of cosmopolitanism in national popular culture, as this is the customary name for kebabs in French. Maaz explains his reference: “in the front of our restaurant we have written ‘Greek and Turkish specialities’, even though we are all Turkish; the word Greek has greater resonance with the French than doner, the most popular variety of kebab” (Maaz in Tonet, 2007—see also Figure 5.4). It is clear that with the inclusion of the Greek sandwich Maaz is attempting to achieve popular appeal with the French audience (not far from BbGsCs utterance of *the Greek* as a “perk”); however, this has left an unpleasant taste for some of his Turkish listeners. This unpleasantness manifests in a series of ethnophaulic anti-Greek comments by Turkish YouTubers under the comment sections of the video, where other users also suggest that kebabs are a Kurdish rather

than a Turkish dish (Ervin 2014:268). Sevvien does not even recognise Greece as a part of this song in her understanding: “I have no idea why he mentions Greece here, just don’t get it”; same are the cases for Ceylan and Arif. However, for Maaz, all these identity expressions that come with the reference to Greece layer together an attempt to achieve sameness together with expressions of self-differentiation in the form of Turkishness (objectified through ethnophaulisms and lack of acknowledgment against Greekness) as the filling in a transnational sandwich.

The second geography referenced in the song’s lyrics, Turkey, comes through narratives of censorship, particularism and emotionalism. As Ceylan simply puts it, “kebabs are our thing”; by “our”, here, siding with the Turkish rather than the TsC. Alleging censorship of kebabs’ Turkishness, “des spécialités turques”, Maaz self-differentiates himself as Turkish via kebabs, ignoring and mis-dis-placing any potential Kurdish or Greek input to the dish in his effort to simplify the lyrical flow (Ervin 2014:268), a common feature of cosmopolitan communication. “Cosmopolitan communication [in this instance is] shaped by the unequal distribution of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices among groups” (Mihelj, vanZoonen and Vis 2011:613), but also determined by the particularisms found in Maaz’s choice of words.

With language having no autonomous meaning apart from the people who use it, several of Maaz’s French lyrics function as strictly untranslatable words attesting a collective self-differentiation, of the *them and us* kind. “Chez nous y a des odeurs d’orient” and “on a la classe en chemisette” are two extracts of that nature. “Chez nous”, translated as “with us”, has considerable thickness in meaning. It can also be used to identify a space not necessarily physical but rather conforming to our previous analysis of the *new* space located in between social, political, cultural and idiosyncratic dynamics of mobilities. In this instance, it talks of belonging to a community, a space, and shows self-differentiation but also a feeling of communal connection; whether this is the migrant community that Maaz considers himself a member of, or the Turkish ethnos in general, (or simply the restaurant), is moot. Yet these observations are also found in distant diasporas, like the one Arif belongs to; he claims that “for a reason when I listen to it [the song] and even if I do not know any French, it connects me with my people [TsCs]... it’s strange.”

The second lyrical stanza where strict untranslatability is observed, is “on a la classe en chemisette” (“we look classy [lit. have class] in our shirts”). Being ambiguous, the translation to English emphasises the deep and untranslatable nature of the French word

“on”. As in the case of “chez”, the word “on” also points towards a community and a spatial belonging. In addition, Maaz uses this ability of untranslatable linguistics to create a pun; thus enhancing the humorous nature of the song. A word play that is repeated again and again occurs when Maaz keeps asking during the choruses “T’es chiche?” and then singing “Kebab!” The sonic production clearly resembles “shish kebab” (squared lumps of meat on skewers—şiş in Turkish meaning skewer), and this is probably the main point of the lyric. A possible literal translation of chiche is ‘mean, stingy’, but a more likely secondary reference here is to the colloquial être chiche de faire quelque chose, to dare (or to be able) to do something. The rendering “You got the guts? Kebab!” follows this usage, while attempting to recreate something of the punning character of the original. I still remember Sevven and Ceylan imitating the hand-dance gesture found in the video while clearly singing “shish?” instead of “T’es chiche?”, while laughing hysterically that Tuesday. This also demonstrates that the untranslatable words function in distant diasporas, unfamiliar with the language, proving again that language has no autonomous meaning apart from the people who use it.

Perhaps a clearer attestation of self-identification as Turkish and not a French-Turk, is when Maaz chooses to recitate the C Forms (the Bridges of the song) in his mother tongue, despite the fact that he has also released an entirely Turkish version of the song. “The only part of the song I bloody understand what he is talking about!” as Sevven said before she helped me translate that part. Behind every reference to Turkey there adheres a nostalgic link from Maaz towards his homeland. In a sentimental reference Maaz recitates “des odeurs d’orient qui resteront sur tous tes vêtements”, nostalgically talking about the oriental scents that remain on all of his clothes regardless of where he is—a memorandum home woven from intimate smells and sounds explaining how both food and music are utilised daily by the migrants as home and the familiar. For Maaz, the intermingling of Turkish sounds with aromas from his workplace’s kitchen cooks two of the ingredients that actualise individual memories from homeland Turkey. Similar observations are also found in Ibrahim’s (the dad’s) significance (see Chapter 2). While for Sevven and Ceylan who literally grew up in their kebab shop, nostalgia is not linked to homeland or motherland, but rather shapes in an ersatz fashion for the familiar. Maaz’s manifestation of intimate smells and sounds into a nostalgic stock of another place and space is the lived reality of the young Küçükoğulları.

The third geographical reference in the *Mange du kebab* lyrics is America: “The American dream my friend! Who doesn’t want that! ...for sure Maaz does!” (Arif). America also acts

as a strong indication of the imagined cosmopolitanism that affects many young migrants, that becomes apparent in a variety of geo-cultural “cosmopolitan musical affinities and practices... constructed simultaneously... [to] reality and myth, experience and fantasy, harmony and struggle” (Tsioulakis 2011:179). The myth of America as the Promised Land, the reality of Maaz’s aspirations of one day fulfilling his American dream through his transient French struggles and the fantasy of becoming a great cook in harmony with his rapping, comprise an imagined cosmopolitanism. The first American infusion comes through the visuals, with Maaz sporadically appearing in his video wearing a St. Louis Rams (American football team) jersey together with gold-coloured chains and rings (commonly known in western hip-hop culture as bling)—see Figure 5.5. And then “en lettres d'argent”, a pun on argent meaning silver (metal/colour), and argent meaning money, as shown by the dollar in the video. These are tangible declarations on his behalf connecting himself with American rappers. Within his lyrics, talking of the future is always done in reference to America: “Moi je veux le rêve américain” (Me, I want the American dream) and “faire du kebab pour les ricains” (making kebabs for the Yanks) are the two references found in the song. The first stanza clearly tells of the above observations. Yet, the second stanza—making kebabs for the Yanks—reveals a young Muslim migrant who realises his success story *via* kebabs. His future aspirations of “making kebabs for Americans, as opposed to becoming a rap star or successful businessperson, does bring with it a notion of subservience... [showing] someone who aspires to be, at best, one of a great many cooks” (Ervin 2014:268-9). Even if he is neither cook nor rapper, and talks no French, Arif also shares Maaz’s ambitions of one day migrating to America: “the opportunities there are more and bigger... if given the opportunity to go there I would perhaps study again something I really like this time.”

With *Mange du kebab*, Maaz takes his listeners to the orients and exoticisms of Greece and Turkey and then to the future far(s) of the United States. Surprisingly, through this geo-cultural journey the absence of France (the transient) is more visible than concealed. As the absence of Cyprus itself in the parallel journey Ceylan and Sevvien take while listening to the song. Ervin (267) argues this absence might be due to Maaz migrating to France as an adult, his not spending his childhood there leading to a “lack of engagement with France or ‘Frenchness’.” The transient character that a Turkish migrant might give to France can also be linked to Alec G. Hargreaves’ (2007:42-95) observations for Turkish migrants undergoing a problematic process of integration in relation to other diasporas in l’Hexagone. Beyond a sense of belonging manifesting into placelessness (also reflected by TsCs in their diaspora to the UK), the absence of France can also be noted as an

expression of self-differentiation. Maaz's self-identification shows a migrant rapper who grew up in Turkey and remains attached to his ethnic identity, but detached from the vast majority of other French rappers, who typically grew up in the less-privilege peripheries of French cities.

Selective-Ethnogenesis: Reusing Stereotypes in Striking and Imaginative Ways

Maaz's story also narrates the migrant struggle of locating oneself into a cosmopolitan environment such as Paris, and the social inequalities that such geographies contain. Such struggles derive from oppressions caused by the West's Steve Emersons, its regimes, and their hypothetical, islamophobic assertions, which eventually leave young and dispersed Muslims in placelessness. Yet what remains unanswered in the above subsection is how these modern Muslim migrant articulations are played and negotiated by the young British-TsCs in Birmingham. The following paragraphs extend Maaz's geographical itinerary, adding to Greece, Turkey, America and France a fragmented *homeland*, Cyprus, of young Turkish-speakers and their life-narrative as experienced and realised in Birmingham. We will see how *Mange du kebab* reveals young British-TsCs realising their success story, too, *via* kebabs. Their story will narrate the migrant struggle of locating oneself into a cosmopolitan environment such as Birmingham and the ethnophaulisms that this entails, and finally how young British-TsCs achieve sameness and integration through a selective-ethnogenesis in order to overcome their placelessness, blending musical and culinary resources with irony, humour and imagination.

The *Mange du kebab* video shows Maaz rapping an explanation of how to make this mostly migrant-made Turkish food; "in other words, he is acting out a fairly stereotypical role for a Turkish migrant", using "strategic means of attempting to ensure mainstream appeal" through YouTube (Ervin 2014:265). One might understand this representation of Muslim migrants as a bad example, as it stereotypes them as kebab shop workers, self-generating ethnophaulisms that empower their western hosts to make further ones. However, one might ask why Muslim migrant youngsters relate to this 'stereotypical and mainstream' audiovisual. The answer, as I suggest and as Ervin also includes in his analysis of Maaz's video, lies with the notion of humour. Humour is young Birmingham TsC migrants' chosen element through which to integrate themselves into the cosmopolitanism of the city, and thus their method of contemporary selective-ethnogenesis.

Since like ever, I remember my dad working in his [kebab] shop... most of the TsC families here [Birmingham] own, or rent, or work at a fish-n-chips or kebab shops (Sevven—19 June 2015).

My dad used to work in a chip shop for a Greek [GsC] when he first moved to Birmingham. After having us [him and his two sisters] he rented it out from him and now he owns the place... I know is a stereotype, but yes Turks [TsCs] here usually own kebab shops! (Arif—16 June 2015).

The *older* generation of TsC migrants in Birmingham, as cross-revealed through Plumer Osman's testimony (see Preface), looked to either do factory work or establish kebab takeaways when they first settled there. The choice of doing kebabs, beyond the business



Figure 5.8: Ibrahim and Sevven outside their shop at Woodgate, Birmingham. Photo: Author.

benefits, was their means of selective-ethnogenesis. After all, the kebab is something that makes a Turk proud, as “C'est tout un art de cuire le mouton (transl: It's quite an art, cooking lamb).” This reflects a common Mediterranean cultural belief that food which takes longer to prepare is linked with art and higher social strata, and considered higher quality than food which takes less time.

Food preparation is a necessary module for Cypriots migrants (both GsCs and TsCs), who either cook at home for the family (mostly housewives) or at their fish'n'chip/kebab shops, taking substantial time over it every day. As similarly observed in Renée Hirschon's (1998:176) bi-ethnic ethnography on Greek and Turkish Asia Minor refugees in Piraeus, BbTsCs see food preparation as a central praxis, associated with an symbolic series of mixed gendered social roles: of the BbTsC man cooking in shops and woman as a housewife providing “sustenance for the family as well as... the social evaluation of [their] competence and worth.” In Birmingham, a TsC migrant's food preparation skills catalyse their intracommunal reputation. One of the first things that Ibrahim told me when we met was that he makes the best kebabs in Birmingham!—also echoing in Ceylan's words that his “dad makes mean kebab”. I have heard the same self-appraisals by Salih, for his culinary product, when visiting his shop at Cannock with Christos (see Preface).

This intracommunal reality stems from the history of Cypriot migration to the UK (examined closely in the Preface), and the continuous and diachronic relation of Cypriots with catering businesses in their diasporas. What *older* TsCs initially did in Birmingham, after the first, early twentieth-century migration waves, was to exploit and do selective-ethnogenesis through changing their stereotypical experience with the kebab. To quote Mireille Rosello (1998:9), they have “learn[ed] how to reuse stereotypes in striking and imaginative ways.” British-TsC (and Turkish migrant) kebab makers’ goal was to make the kebab an accepted part of UK life, both for financial and selective-ethnogenesis reasons. Indeed, by the late twentieth-century the kebab had gained popularity and became a common dish in the lives of many British citizens. With the kebab industry currently having an annual £2.2 billion (approx.) contribution to the British economy, one can conceptualise in numbers its popularity and financial importance (The British Kebab and Retail Awards, 2016).⁷¹ Holding such a substantial slice of the British economic pie, kebabs nowadays are even glamorised by awards and celebrity gala ceremonies, and the industry converges on Parliament to honour the best in the business. All this kebab paraphernalia is generated from *The British Kebab & Retail Awards*, “founded by the Centre for Turkey Studies... [which] aims to shed light on this established industry, to recognise the cultural and economic contributions that the various restaurants, suppliers and workers make to the UK” (Ibid).

In British popular culture, kebabs are now the favourite after-drinking delicacy. The television series *The Fried Chicken Shop* (2013-), on Channel 4, UK, illustrates this well, as does a walk in any British town/city centre after hours on a Saturday night. Yet, kebabs have not always been so well integrated in British popular culture; the older generation of TsC (and mainland-Turkish) migrants had to work hard and creatively in that direction. During an interview at his home at Edgbaston, Seven and Ceylan’s grandfather (or “Dede” as they call him), octogenarian Cemal Ahmet (eighty-six years old at the time, 2014) explains: “for us [older TsC migrants] when we first came here [Birmingham] it was very hard to make kebabs for the English as they did not like it. They thought it was a dirty food... My Ibrahim [son-in-law] is having now a kebab shop and is doing good business!” And this is where the imaginary way came in, so as to achieve their main aim with the kebab; in order to make kebab dishes acceptable, that older generation of migrants made some lasting culinary modifications to this traditional delicacy, such as

⁷¹ http://www.britishkebabawards.co.uk/about_british_kebab_awards

adding garlic mayonnaise, to match it to the palate of the host nation.⁷² This observation agrees with Linley Chiwona-Karlton's (2005:79) hypothesis on Turkish migrants and their kebab utterance in Sweden, and underlines these 'imaginative' alterations of the dish as "a situation of reverse parasitism". This was a pre-9/11 recipe that worked for TsC migrants' selective-ethnogenesis. However, for the younger generations, the challenges raised by post-7/7 islamophobia vitiated this tested kebab-built, and kebabospheric selective-ethnogenesis; we are now in the era of hypothetical assertions *au* Emerson, that the dish is acceptable but not the people behind it.

Younger Muslim migrants such as British-TsCs in Birmingham now have to re-invent 'striking and imaginative ways'. They use the culinary stereotypes to integrate into the post-7/7 cosmopolitanism of Birmingham, and this is where music performance takes a significant role and meaning. As a reaction to contemporary ethnophaulisms, most young Muslim migrants today follow the rather more radical path of Taqwacore (transnational Muslim punk music), while others (like the young British-TsCs of Birmingham) choose the power of hip-hop. Their musical genre choice comes in juxtaposition to irony and humour, and as we have already seen, to kebabs (as the culinary link with homeland/motherland). Both Taqwacore and hip-hop are realised as attestations of resistance (discussed in more detail in the next section), and are heavily musically- and internet-dependent; they are easily mis-dis-placed, and thus become more accessible to migrants. Ideally I would expand a little further on Taqwacore Muslim cyber-expressions in diaspora, yet it lies outside the bounds of this thesis and is also a genre not so familiar to the young BbTsCs. As for hip-hop, the next chapter will expand further on its meanings and significances as a genre choice by the young TsC community in Birmingham. Our focus now turns to the recipe of hip-hop, humour/irony and "the Greek sandwich", which is served by the young TsCs in Birmingham as a re-invention of their ethnic construction in achieving integration within cosmopolitanisms; a selective-ethnogenesis, tailored and modified around the pragmatisms of our days and in dealing with their featured placelessness, and as a way of individual expressions manifesting in a collective body of expressing a sense of, we are also here! A clear postmodern, and contemporary manifestation of the notion of the Habermassian spheres.

The following paragraphs discuss the last constituent of these contemporary post-9/11 methods of musical and cyberspace selective-ethnogenesis I suggest above: irony and

⁷² It is arguable whether the British palate at that time was particularly accustomed to garlic. Britons would more likely have viewed it as exotic and Gallic. Perhaps it was introduced by TsC migrants as a relatively well-known exotic ingredient from Britain's near abroad, in a piece of culinary mis-dis-placement.

humour, the behavioural tool and the integration method of choice for the British-TsC youngsters of Birmingham. Ceylan, Sevven and Arif's testimonies above are very revealing of the serious social trade that humour and irony have become for the youngsters. Maaz's video/song generates for the Sevvens, Ceylans and Arifs of Birmingham "a special kind of irony"—*sensu* Goffman (1968/2009:132,160)—which one group might project when they are well aware of the way they are perceived by others. This is a rather current Muslim expression, post-9/11 and -7/7 regimes of the West, which started growing for the above social-structural reason and the anti-demonisation of Islam tropes. Yasmeen Khan (2007) in her article 'Does Islam have a Sense of Humour?' explains the rise of Muslim stand-up comedians, mostly in the UK, as a proof of these contemporary new and humorous selective-ethnogenesis expressions. These are nuances that artists like Maaz, and listeners like the trio from Birmingham (connected through the inequalities they have to face and the struggle to live as young Muslims in their western host-iles) like to explore. Maaz's humorous lyrical context and subjunctive performative mood come to empower distant other Muslim migrants, such as in Birmingham, in realising that self-sarcasm and irony are strong tools for potential use; perhaps their "perk". These might take the form of a pig-masked individual being pushed away by a broom while listening to the lyric "mais pas de cochon" ("miss out the ham") in Maaz's video, and, for the distant others in Birmingham a realisation that these audiovisuals can give "answer[s to]... and fight [hypothetical nonsense] with humour" (Arif—16 June 2015). And then, such notions become recognised, explored and finally turned into a contemporary expression of selective-ethnogenesis by young British-TsCs there.

The *Mange du kebab* video covers all the above; by every means, Maaz is promoting his kebab shop as a cosmopolitan and imagined environment, a need of social migrant representation also found in the Birmingham TsC workplace. This mirrors every fish'n'chip and kebab shop owned by TsCs in Birmingham (and I have been to many), with Sevven as just one embodied example. Ceylan also nods his head when I ask him if that is the 'vibe' in the Turkish barbershop he works at, and Arif agrees that it is the case amongst his university circles. Making kebabs, and being self-sarcastic while doing so, offers that special kind of irony empowering modern British-TsC youngsters to construct a *new* form of selective-ethnogenesis; one that *now* extends to the people behind it our sense that the dish they serve is acceptable. It is "a protest against the inequality [ethnophaulisms] of the struggle to live, a way of atonement and reconciliation, a treaty with all that is wilful, impaired, beyond [their] power to control" (Nash1985/2014:1).

Reflecting on Walter Nash's explanation and in concluding this chapter, young BbTsCs objectify this postmodern expression discussed so far within the bounds of what I term here as the *kebabosphere*. Their utterance of kebabs as a culinary means by the older generation as the stock for selective-ethnogenesis, and its humorous transmogrification into musical-infused structuralisms by young BbTsCs in new and imaginative ways, comprise an epitome of Habermas' (1984:49) definition of the "public sphere": "a realm of [BbTsC] ...social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all [BbTsCs, and not only them; seeing *Mange du kebab's* passage and effect on other localities]." Further this kebab and musically expressed BbTsC public sphere tunes itself into a collective BbTsC expression through the private individuals' conversation in an assembly; Sevvien, Arif, and Ceylan have never expressed their praxes with the song/video collectively, however, *Mange du kebab* still empowers these individuals to protest against inequality and ethnophaulisms in solidarity.

And yet as an example of postmodern life and the transnational tropes of today's diasporas, *Mange du kebab* comes to prove itself as a resource and an 'oriental' artefact that generates "a discursive arena that is home to citizen debate, deliberation, agreement and action" (Villa 1992:712). For young BbTsCs, *Mange du kebab* (the "discursive arena" and the public expression of the sphere), accommodates an ethnic group debating its placelessness within a western host, deliberating on the islamophobic regimes that it encounters there, agreeing on utilising humour, music, and kebabs in dealing with it, and putting these notions and cultural resources into action to achieve a selective-ethnogenesis in postmodern ways. A new ethnologic reality is thereby observed, one that they are obliged to structure in order to make their life manageable as young Muslim Cypriots. In its totality this process (and chapter) showcases an intellectual approach from young BbTsC migrants with a great sense of self-sarcasm and humour, a *kebabosphere* which opens up new spaces and possibilities in their diasporic life, and explains to us (the outsiders) new and unknown ways of how to *Eat Kebabs*, extending this way our senses both with sounds, flavours, and spatial shape shifts.

Chapter 6

Kebab Shop: Kebab Leitmotif, Resistance, and the Heterosexual Paradox of the Meat

The selective-ethnogenetic affiliation of young British-TsCs in Birmingham with the synergy of hip-hop, kebabs, irony and humour to express a milieu story of self identification in diaspora is not limited to *Mange du kebab* and its paraphernalia. It is a continuous and everyday communal musical and culinary juxtaposition, a much-realised praxis. “For a reason, young Muslims seem to have a strong affiliation with hip-hop” as Arif puts it. In response to Arif’s observation this Chapter comes to locate and analyse the “reason”, while also extend into more pathways of this through another artefact.

The choice of hip-hop rather than any other popular music genre has been noteworthy throughout my ethnography. As Sevven says, “Seems like there are lots of kebab-related hip-hop songs that we like listening to.” And yet when that is occurring in constant dialogue with kebabs, it adds to the musical praxis a pinch of extra flavour and definition. While this juxtaposition is realised as a notion of Muslim solidarity in diaspora, as collective self-identification, for young British-TsCs in Birmingham it is once again much more than that: a paradox that fragments individual intracommunal expressions. It can also be examined as an expressive BbTsC metaphor of the public/private sphere. Each youngster I have worked with has a unique identity profile, with the catalyst being gender. Due to the patriarchal communal structures, women for example usually face intra-communal struggles and inequalities (in the private sphere) beyond the collective ones (of public sphere). Yet, these complex juxtapositions and fusions come at a time when Muslim media-representation is underplayed (though in Britain it is much higher than in the rest of Western Europe and America). These ethnographic realities, encountered with young British-TsCs in Birmingham, are not only complicated but are also multifarious and paradoxical: myriad molecules, all strung together to form long chains of meanings, and more complicated structures also.

Lack of Muslim media-representation has caused young Muslim prosumer-musicians to represent, beyond the otherness and usually from their bedroom studios, the collective resistance towards the post-9/11 and -7/7 hypothetical assertions/regimes. The transnational ability of YouTube to communicate with distant other young Muslims seems ideal, since uploading music there is very simple and cheap, and achieving dissemination on television or radio seems almost impossible. It is from these concepts

that the last musical example of this Chapter is born, but this time not from the distant otherness of France, but the nearness of London. I am here referring to the last of our Summer myths, the parody of 50Cent's *Candy Shop* dubbed with lyrics from a London-based young British-TsC prosumer hasandinho95, the *Kebab Shop* (uploaded on YouTube in 2009). Young British-TsC migrants like hasandinho95 usually do not have "the financial resources and organisational skills necessary for the reproduction of their Islamic heritage" (Hargreaves 2007:106). However, YouTube does not hold such limitations, enabling British-TsC prosumers (and all its users) to have exposure. It therefore acts as a shortcut to fame for professional musicians (like Maaz) and a pragmatic dissemination platform for non-professionals like hasandinho95.

Dhiraj Murthy (2014:10), explores "the continuing circulation of the pejorative essentialism of diasporic Muslim males (especially as 'terrorists'/demonic 'other') and underlines the possibility of cyberspace to function as a meaningful and progressive Muslim social space which challenges this essentialism both online and offline, and thus the study of the anti-Islamophobic leanings of the [hip-hop]." In other words, a public sphere that can send positive instead of negative messages for Islam. Still 'othered' or 'exoticized', young Muslim males in diaspora—like Ceylan, Arif, and hasandinho95—are marginalized on- and offline. "They can see my name, even when I am online... in a chat room for example... they know I am Muslim and then a paranoia of messages starts" (Arif). The online presence of hip-hop opens a space for them where this essentialism is challenged. "You see with hip-hop we get to say what we feel" (Ceylan) it is for them a 'discursive arena' for *new* postmodern moves. Even in the wake of post-9/11 and -7/7 islamophobia, this hip-hop cyberspace continues to be regarded as a *safe* channel, usually linked with progressive activist Muslims. "The Internet allows young people to express themselves freely and creatively" (Sevven). Yet, when Sevven refers to young people, she paradoxically means male Muslims, sustaining an ambiguity as to where women stand within this intracommunal expression.

In abstract, this Chapter strings together these aforementioned molecules in reflection to this YouTube track, to narrate the complex ethnographic chains observed and the polymers they create. First I analyse the video/song, framing my thesis of the *kebab leitmotif*, before starting dialogues of musical (genre) choices and intracommunal genderified power relations. While doing this, paradoxical praxes are met with, which will be in constant dialogue with the young migrants' chameleonic self-identification(s) in

juxtapositional spatial siftings between the public and private. The end bounds everything within the flow and unboundness that YouTube and *new* spaces have to offer.

Oriental Trills, Menace and the Kebab Leitmotif

“I will send you a link so you understand what I am talking about!

Brb [‘be right back’]

here

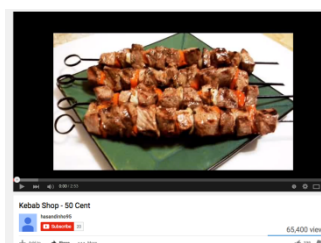
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZ9pcR8ylNY>

this is a good example of the funny side of kebabs I guess:p I have to say I find this hilarious! Lol

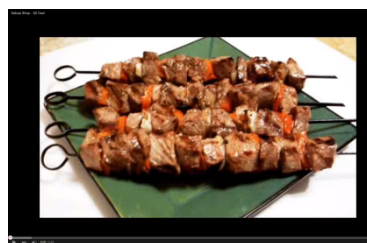
...There are many more I can show you similar to this! (Sevven).

In that Facebook interview/chat (extract above) with Sevven, I was made aware of the *Kebab Shop* YouTube track. The connections with *Mange du kebab* were striking: the running theme of humour, the special kind of irony, and of course, hip-hop/kebab hybridities. From a first listening, one might say that locating TsC migrants’ meanings would require little musical analysis. *Kebab Shop* keeps 50Cent’s *Candy Shop* music and minimal visuals (a four-picture slide-show—see Figure 6.1), so the obvious analysis would be of the meanings of the lyrics that handinho95 chose to dub on top (Figure 6.2); that is without underplaying the importance of the visuals, which will be discussed later apropos. Yet, and as always, music hides much more meaning than the obvious: with its metanarrative pointing, in this instance, towards paradox, something not yet encountered in Part II.

Figure 6.1: Video stills and screenshots’ collage from hasandinho95’s (2009) *Kebab Shop*. Video: hasandinho95 (2009) [online], Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZ9pcR8ylNY>



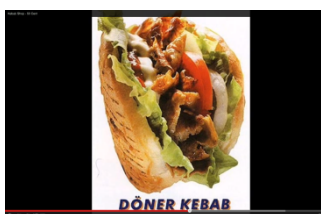
Screenshot at 0.00”



0.01”-0.46”



0.47”-1.35”



1.36”-2.19”



2.20”-end



Screenshot of comments

Figure 6.2: Hasandinho95's dubbed lyrics for 50 Cent's *Candy Shop*.

<u>Intro:</u> Oooooo / Yeesssss / Mehmet Ali... / So seductive.... <u>Chorus 1:</u> hasandinho95's call: I'll take you to the kebab shop I'll let you lick the chilli pots Go darling don't you stop Keep going till you hit the spot Woooah... <u>Female response:</u> Take me to your kebab shop I need a taste of what you got You have me spending all I got Keep going till I lick the pot <u>Verse 1:</u> I'ma do it my way forget how you want it You can eat my last shish on my Mercedes' bonnet Dip you fries in my chilli – hotter than the devil You can suck on my skewer I aint-talking-bout metal <u>Verse 2:</u> Only got big portions baby is simple If you'll be a nympho I'll be a nympho If you go to Cyprus my uncle got rental or piggy back whatever you are into <u>Verse 3:</u> One taste of my shish – believe me I got ya Pass you pitta bread so as we can stuff ya You want a Corba [soup] or just the main course? A fat juicy kebab with extra garlic sauce <u>Verse 4:</u> As long as when I serve you, you are calling me boss Stuffing all the salad I have got no remorse But let me explain I ain't becoming your man So next time you come don't come with your friend <u>Chorus 2:</u> hasandinho95's call: I will take you to the kebab shop I will let you lick the chilli pots Go darling don't you stop Keep going till you hit the spot Woooah	<u>Female response:</u> Take me to your kebab shop I need a taste of what you got You have me spending all I got Keep going till I lick the pot <u>Verse 5:</u> Give it to me baby nice and slow Come and get a taste of donner kebab though You ain't never eat shish like this before You can eat it on the counter or on the shop floor <u>Verse 6:</u> You got a sweet tooth? I got something sweet La Bamba baby as much as you can eat Scoop it with your spoon or lick it from my hand Let the cream drip we don't care where it lands <u>Verse 7:</u> No serviettes I prefer the mess Taste my dips you know is the best Burger sauce or mayonnaise Taste it one time and you're back every day <u>Verse 8:</u> Can't get enough cause it tastes so good The main kebab shop in your neighbourhood Never n***a meat all you can eat So lets cut the talk and let your body speak <u>Chorus 3:</u> hasandinho95's call: I will take you to the kebab shop I will let you lick the chilli pots Go darling don't you stop Keep going till you hit the spot Woooah <u>Female response:</u> Take me to your kebab shop I need a taste of what you got You have me spending all I got Keep going till I lick the pot
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Why this song is a parody is not hard to figure out after listening to it once; or just take Sevven's word for it that it is "hilarious." If anything is to be analysed musically, it is 50Cent's original audio. My instinctive understanding of the song was linked to the candy shop as a spatial symbolism, with comparisons to the kebab shop arising from this. My discussion on space in regards to this interplay will follow at a later stage, particularly within this chapter's conclusion; first, though, some background details, important enough to have significance in the musicological analysis that follows.

Released in 2004, 50Cent's famous hip-hop tune did not take long to meet success;⁷³ at that time the rapper was at his popular peak. Featuring Olivia (Olivia Longott), this Curtis Jackson composition captures the trend of that time of male hip-hop artists collaborating with female singers. A mid-tempo and low-fi hip-hop dance tune, *Candy Shop* is primarily interesting for its masculine lyrical context and 50Cent's rapping style and flow. However, these are but two of the reasons why hasandinho95 choose this particular song to dub his own expression onto. The only elements that remain unchanged are purely musical ones; Olivia's and 50Cent's vocal parts are excluded; and it is hasandinho95 and his anonymous female singer that we will examine. 50Cent's song is also commoditised *via* capturing the imagination of its western audience concerning the exotic or oriental other. Popular journalism talks of this in a cosmopolitan communication; of a "Middle Eastern tinge" "unleash[ing] a darkly atonal whirl" with its Web 2.0 (synthesized/virtual) strings, from an artist "linked with Hollywood" regardless of his "fabled upbringing on the... streets of Jamaica" (Spence 2005). But what are the actual musicological empiricisms behind this western auditory perception of oriental/Middle Eastern music parts?

I do love the background sounds [in the song]... very Turkish don't you think? (Ceylan).

Yes I can hear them... Definitely Turkish! I think this is the reason he choose to dub on this song! (Sevven).

My musical analysis fully concurs with, yet also extends Marita B. Djupvik's (2014:218) take on *Candy Shop*. The song unfolds through a riff performed with virtual instruments, strings in particular. This riff flows on a mid-tempo five-note progression of F#, G, A, B and E. This sequence of five flat notes (flat- ii, iii, vi and vii) in progression (always ending its circle on the tonic F#) is common Phrygian phrase clearly pointing towards that mode. In ancient Greek times, the Phrygian mode was regarded, as Aristotle wrote, "as inducing frenzy and being 'effeminate'." The Phrygian mode's sonic aesthetics are a classic example of what the untrained western ear understands as oriental and exotic; an anecdotal and default pragmatism. Interestingly, TsCs like the two young Küçükoğulları recognize it as Turkish, a clear attestation of heritagizing and mis-dis-placement. As for the 'effeminate' nuances, these will be kept for a later section. Djupvik locates the song's

⁷³ *Candy Shop* features on 50 Cent's album *The Massacre* (2005). As a single it managed to reach number one on the US *Billboard* Hot 100, number one on the UK CD singles on that year, and also be nominated for Best Rap Song at the 2006 Grammy Awards.

exoticism and orientalism entirely in that string riff flowing in semi-tonal circles, always ending on the tonic F#; yet, there is a stronger musical signifier of orientalism in the song.

Empowering further the Phrygian attitude of the semi-tone steps, these are the sparse flute trills, the first things noticeable when the music commences, complementing the main riff. An obvious studio implementation, from the producer of the song Scott Storch, these *sudden* half-steps cause more menace and oriental undertones through a simple two-note (semitone) play (G/F#). This semitone repetitive theme has been well tested in past compositions that have endeavoured to create aesthetics of menace; classic examples are John Williams' *Jaws* theme (1975), and Bernard Herrmann's music for the notorious *Psycho* (1960) shower murder scene:

Supported by harmony in the tonic of E flat minor, the first eight notes... of "The Psycho Theme" pass over the diatonic E flat minor scale. Before reaching the tonic of E flat... the tune drops a half-step and passes through another eight notes... in diatonic E minor. The tune continues with two iterations of an operatic "sigh motif" (an augmented and inverted reference to Steiner's two-note figure from [the composition's] "Prelude") and concludes by stepping down another half-step onto the note F onto a "Hitchcock Chord" (Husarik 2009:144-145).

As sudden as the flute trills are in *Candy Shop* and the *Kebab Shop*, equally (if not more) sudden are the violin shrieks caused by a descending chord of major sevenths and then an ascending glissando in the *Psycho Theme*. It is indeed a cinematic moment that manages to depict "the subliminal pulse of violence... still [lying] beneath the surface of... society" (Brown 1982:46). That moment, where a half-step sonic production migrates on-screen as a knife-wielding terror, is also the moment in musicology for these half-step movements to gain significance and recognition. Stephen Husarik (2009:142-46) calls them "Steiner's figures", which eventually build up to the famous "sigh motif" (*Psycho Theme*). This is where "Norman is musically transformed into the deadly knife itself as he stabs Marion to death with atonal chord clusters based upon the key notes of his own theme... this is Norman's greatest moment of madness".

The pairing of the two-note/semi-tone circles with violence and menace has empowered composers harmonically and melodically since 1960. This "sigh motif" resurfaces in

Williams' *Jaws* music. A sparse dissonant chord of moderate crescendo moves slowly in the foreground; two men are fishing, when *suddenly* an unusually large and strong fish takes the bait. At that exact moment a musical motif (melodic interval of minor second) resonates repeatedly on strings. The shark pulls one of the fishermen into the water, and the motif's tempo and crescendo peak, accenting the downbeats and getting louder as the fisherman now swims in agony for his life. This cinematic watershed is nowadays recognised as Williams' *Jaws leitmotif*; a sharper, minimal paraphrasing of Herrmann's *sigh motif* where two notes (E/F) alternate in second interval, a *leitmotif* signifying a man-eating shark (and the famous shots of its fin) and the intangible notions of horror, evil, danger, and menace.

The concept of leitmotif was developed and refined primarily by the German composer Richard Wagner (1813–1883), and in order for a musical theme in film to be considered a leitmotif 'one must observe a clear and consistent relationship between a musical idea and its onscreen counterpart' (Hickman 2006:43 cited in Wingstedt, Brändström and Berg 2010:198).

However, what foregrounds the menacing orientalising string riff and flute trills in *Candy Shop/Kebab Shop* is the serenity of the lower register bass fills, which bound everything in a well-stocked musical spatiality. This locates the song's ominousness somewhere in between the complexity of the *sigh motif* and the simplicity of the *Jaws leitmotif*, as something as yet unnamed. *Sigh motif* perhaps fits 50Cent's original *Candy Shop* audiovisual better in describing the Phrygian menace of the semi-tone steps, being the exotic, the erotic and the "Middle Eastern tinge", and with closer contextual analysis of the *Candy Shop* video's semiotics, Hickmannian leitmotifs might also surface; but what matter here are the visuals of the user-produced *Kebab Shop* video. There is not much to see—cartoonish kebab makers and shish-kebabs (Figure 6.1)—and, with no consistency in relation to the half-step motif, the leitmotif as Hickman understands it is debunked for hasandinho95's upload. Using *sigh motif* also seems inappropriate in linking a solemn cinematic horror scene with hasandinho95's special kind of kebabby irony.

Yet what if we paraphrase Hickman's leitmotif definition, as Williams did with Herrmann's *sigh motif*, replacing film-narratives with real-life narratives of migrant musical performance? Maaz and hasandinho95 are but two of the many Muslim migrant musicians consistently relating kebabs and hip-hop in their life and musical every-day

praxes. As Sevven has already explained, “There are many more... similar to this”; this commonly observed practice is clearly significant for young Birmingham British-TsCs. And if Sevven assumes correctly that hasandinho95 chose to dub 50Cent’s song because of its oriental trills (Turkish as she calls them), the discourse thickens, showing a reversed occidentalism that acts also as a form of re-re-orientalism. Keeping that in mind together with the trills’ functions as menace-signifiers (with their own reversals and direct meanings), I term this complex construction of culinary and musical interplay in diaspora by TsC youngsters the *kebab leitmotif*—a leitmotif not linked with carnivorous or psychotic semi-tones, but associated with the BbTsCs’ grand narrative, a *kebab leitmotif* of half-steps in motion to musical praxes and in consistency with life- and culinary-infused narrative counterparts.

Hip-Hop as Resistance and the Muslim Networks: “Ima do it my way...”

What, then, are the real-life discourses comprising this *kebab leitmotif*? Or as Arif calls it, the timeless affiliation of young Muslims with hi-hop and kebabs? Before moving into the lyrical and performance gender-play surrounding the *Kebab Shop* (and *Mange du kebab*), there is much to be said about the choice of the hip-hop genre to represent contemporary young TsC migrants’ expression, and perhaps even explain and answer Arif’s comment through historical empiricisms. Taqwacore and hip-hop are both highly-internet-dependent and -generated genres of choice for young Muslims in diaspora, yet in my ethnography Taqwacore remains unmet as a genre of choice and expression—either in Birmingham or beyond (and I have conducted work with Cypriots in London, Yorkshire and the Midlands).

One might perceive these two neo-modern and cyberspatial Islamic youth musical expressions as new but ‘rather radical’ disseminations and expressions. This is partly due to their explicit lyrical contexts, which mostly contain intra-cultural and intracommunal sarcasms rather than declaring opposition to the Western context (as extremist Muslims would do). This perception might stem from the fact that extremist Muslims tend to pair themselves with hip-hop as a genre of resistance. Yet crucial in understanding young TsCs’ choice of hip-hop as a ‘cyberexpression’—the “reason, [why] young Muslims seem to have a strong affiliation with hip-hop” (Arif)—is the historical role and function of Muslim networks, with music being a protagonist in the mobility of cultural resources. And most importantly when these movements are assessed in their Mediterranean appeal (metanarratively important for this thesis).

Muslim networks

The fact that there has been a continuous networking amongst Muslim populations for the past fourteen hundred years is not something newly appreciated. Yet what has developed in our days is the neophobia about the Muslim New Age traveller whose mobility entails not only a physical movement: young Muslim cybernauts—and also their non-Muslim coequals—mobilise and mis-dis-locate rapidly resources and ideas of the, i.e., Taqwacore and hip-hop kind. Modern Muslim networking methods, mostly a young people's praxis, take place in the flows which connect times and worldviews within the *new space* where newly-generated cultural resources disseminated in public spheres, like *Kebab Shop* and *Mange du kebab*, comprise the progeny of this history. By some (the Emersons of Fox News) this heterodoxy of the new age and media networking with newly generated cultural resources signifies dangers mystified in the 'dark secrets' of Islam. After all, what travels within these Muslim networks in the form of cultural, social and political resources is the symbol of Islam: "an empty symbol of freedom and solidarity... [which] was at once the goal and method" of Muslim expression (Cooke and Laurence 2005:18).

The earliest networks, the Silk Roads and Mediterranean trade routes, cursorily expanded into transbordering passages of scholarship, pilgrimage, and transmogrifications of Muslim notions (such as humour), beliefs, and emotionalities transcending through tangibles and intangibles. However, each of these Mediterranean

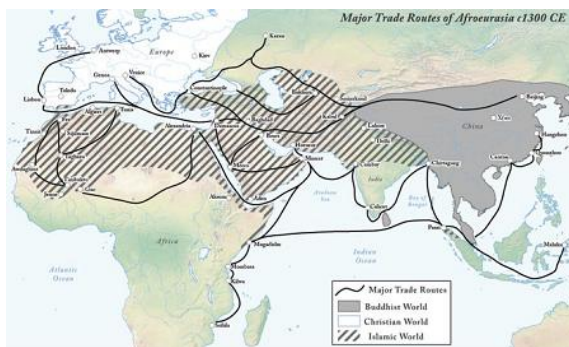


Figure 6.3: Map identifying the Silk Roads, Mediterranean Trade, Trans-Saharan Trade, and the Indian Ocean networks. Map: apworldpedia. [Online], Available: http://apworldpedia.com/images/0/00/Trade_routes2.JPG

networks was (and still is) travelling in equidistance from intra-Muslim socio-politico-cultural developments of their times. This is how the "empty symbol" of Islam manages to fill the Muslim movements with different meanings: as a post-WWII Muslim reaction. In the decade following the war (1945-1955), most Muslim countries with serious activist partisans managed to gain political independence. However, such activist

movements hit the wall of secular politicians establishing at the time new nation-states; and none of this was happening under the Islamic rhetoric. Yet in the late 1960s and early

1970s the new nation-states saw autocratic secularists' corruption and outsiders in seek of their oil natural resources, and Islamic rhetoric came to the vanguard as an activist movement fighting intra-social and political injustice. That was the time when Islam turned into the symbol, "the goal and method" (Ibid.) of the Muslim networks.

Mediterranean Muslim travelling in equidistance, Islam's networking has been greatly influenced by colonial rule, in terms of its current meanings and socio-politico-cultural expression. During the 1980s and 1990s it functioned and transmuted into life-stories of transnational synergy and resistance for both native and migrant Muslims of the Mediterranean. However, these traditional tropes of networking the Islamic rhetoric have drastically changed in our days as a result of the islamophobic wake of 9/11 and 7/7. The dramatisation of the movement of Islamic rhetoric has now migrated to cyberspace, the *new* space that exists in an unboundness of expression, resistant to monitoring, with kebab, music (hip-hop), and a large dose of self sarcasm as these are bound in the two examples examined, *Kebab Shop* and *Mange du kebab*. In this way and with such artefacts, shape-shifting public spheres function online as discursive arenas—like the *kebabosphere* observed in formation on behalf of young BbTsCs in Chapter 5—apropos to the socio-politico-cultural concerns/expressions concerning different Mediterranean Muslim diasporas in the west. This causes in the case of BbTsCs a real, every-day, experienced and expressed *kebab leitmotif*.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the networking of musical and cultural resources. Such Muslim networks are seen throughout history to be divided on sectarian lines: whether these have been mobilised and mis-dis-placed by, i.e., radical Salafists and Wahhabis or mystical Sufis in translocal endemic and transnational circulation. The modern Mediterranean Muslim networks align with these transbordering pan-Muslim and pan-Islamic axes, and music has been perhaps one of their strongest signifiers. Through their global circulations and transborderings, (mostly non-orthodox) Islamic cultures trans-hybridise with cosmopolitan, regional and local music—as well as dance and bodily performances—generating new and heterogeneous musical traditions. These newly-formed music cults (whose produce *Kebab Shop* and *Mange du kebab* are) emit reformatories to Islamic orthodoxy as idiosyncratic performances of Islamic ethics and piety. These series of inherited performances are in a continuous interplay with other contemporary protest musics, one being the hip-hop cult.

Hip and Muslim

Regardless of which example we use, music and culture underpin like no other resource in movement how it is to be part of a mutating moment while retaining one's own identity (or chameleonic self-attesting it). And this is where hip-hop takes a pivotal role both in the lives of young BbTsCs and Muslim diasporas in a grand narrative; as the "musical genre that has networked Muslims in many national and linguistic subcultures... [by] demonstrat[ing] both its versatility and its connectivity in the information age. If hip-hoppers are the most recent Muslim cybernauts, they share a common challenge with all Muslim cybernauts: how to be hip and Muslim..." (Cooke and Laurence 2005:26).

The pivotal role of hip-hop—as one key transmediating ornament of the Islam rhetoric in twenty-first-century—sources from the fact that "music and performance have been an important issue in Islamic thought from the start of Islam." It is also linked to the musical travelling during colonial modernity; from gramophone recordings, radio, cassettes, CDs and eventually the Internet. "Its dissemination in modernity is itself another reason for music's importance within the ongoing struggle between modernity and Islamic (neo-) traditionalism" (Salhi 2014:1). It can also be argued that hip-hop, as manifested in the two artefacts examined here, beyond epitomising the historicity of Mediterranean transbordering tropes, is also a domino reaction to the traditional (Western) and stereotyped assertions (and in some cases documented realities) linked with Islam: fundamentalism, repression and pleasure leading to violence. Even if Muslims collectively and historically are far from being categorised as hedonists (historically more linked with Christianity, and with Socrates' student Aristippus of Cyrene—ironically the modern Kyrenia on the north coast of Cyprus) they have still managed to find ways of celebrating their culture like human beings in all societies. And yet, and as Kamal Salhi (2014:1) correctly notes, "such simplifications are misleading"[, as] "...diverse communities of Muslims [such as Mediterranean/Cypriots] live their collective identities in dialogic interaction with various [global] social forces: the legacies of colonialism [much evident in the Cypriot paradigm], the imperatives of globalisation, the pressures of diaspora, the demands of modernity, the pull of sacred pan-Islamic radicalism, and the perceived injustices of the 'war on terror'."

As for the role of these newly-formed musical cults, Taqwacore and in more thickness hip-hop challenge Islamic orthodoxy as idiosyncratic performances of Islamic ethics and piety. As series of inherited performances, they are in continuous interplay with other contemporary protest musics, and not only do new age travellers of diasporic

movements, but also new media (like YouTube) endorse such phenomena. These have been evident in *Mange du kebab* in Chapter 5, as a resource and artefact showcasing in the public sphere a postmodern form of young BbTsCs' protest against inequality and ethnophaulisms. Expanding outside Birmingham, "the example of hip hop in Europe [and its media] is thus instructive as a cultural form that is ostensibly about militant opposition and resistance..." (Rollefson 2016:iv). Adding to that the Islamic rhetoric and the Muslim networks, hip-hop "links between embodiment and mobility, fixity and fluidity in the contemporary world" (Salhi 2014:12).

The cultural form of resistance and the popularity of hip-hop for young Muslims, (including British-TsCs) is realised and structures itself as these idiosyncratic and hybridised performances. Here, young Muslim expression meets a *new* space of social acceptance through online public spheres (in the Habermassian sense), especially nowadays, when Muslim musical performance is surrounded by uncertainty regarding its meaning and intention. Maaz's interpretation exemplifies this mixture of meaning and intention in performance; especially when he approaches the West in the form of America, Maaz separates himself from mainstream young Muslim belief in "Islam as a symbol of resistance to (variously or simultaneously) Western political and cultural imperialism, capitalism, racism and white-dominated bureaucratic states" (Vertovec and Rogers 1998:11). "This is also happening at a time when young European Muslim protest accrues, that there is no inherent contradiction necessarily associated with having street-cred and hip-hop style, identifying with certain contemporary global orientations within Islam (...) and perhaps being at the same time in accord with and at odds with the views and values of one's parents" (Salhi 2014:12).

It[hip-hop] talks to me... it is a slap in the face, a way of sticking it to the man... I bought on iTunes many Turkish hip-hop tracks, I love them... they make s**tloads of money... I think it's cool that both songs [*Mange du kebab* and the *Kebab Shop*] are raw-cut clips on YouTube and you can get them for free (Ceylan).

In Birmingham, the hip-hop *kebab leitmotif* affirms Griff Rollefson's (2016:vi) argument that the genre is commonly misread in our times as a marginalized "resistance vernacular"; migrants like Ceylan are living proof of that, as they conceive it as "sticking it to the man" but also "[buy] on iTunes many Turkish hip-hop tracks." It is also a manifestly mainstream cultural commodity and an alternative form of assimilation into

national discourses, languages, and economies cross-pollinating between self-narratives/TsC/Turkish, France/French and Birmingham/English. The choice of hip-hop by young British-TsCs turns into “a puzzling contradiction that we might call the paradox of commercialized resistance music” (Rollefson 2016:viii). Adding to the resistance here is YouTube itself, which challenges music industry marketing conventions. With street-cred (“raw-cut clips... for free”—Ceylan) being a key metric for doing hip-hop *via* YouTube, Ervin (2014:276) explains how these cyber-resistance aesthetics manifest in bodies. Paradoxically, one of them is the migrant one of a GsC female rapper, Diam’s [sic, not ‘Diam’]⁷⁴ “who responded negatively to Kamini winning the best video prize at the French *Victoires de la Musique* awards ceremony in 2007. Her worries centered on the argument that the acclaim with which a low-budget video uploaded to YouTube was received may make it harder for established artists to command large budgets for their own video.”

Yet the paradox of the *kebab leitmotif* for young British-TsCs does not end on the resistance utterances of hip-hop, not when it is done in fusion with kebabs, the selective-ethnogenesis motif of their parents. As previously stated, the dish is now acceptable, but not the people behind it, and this problematic pragmatism underlines that linking the popularity of foreign cuisine in the UK with tolerance, diversity and acceptance is fallacious. Therefore, “the following warning needs to be considered when situating the image of conviviality which Lil Maaz projects in *Mange du kebab*”, and hasandinho⁹⁵ in *Kebab Shop*:

It is interesting to examine how an inclusive rhetoric of curry-loving culture in the UK serves as a smoke screen to occlude inequalities among the various constituencies of Britain, and the vast socio-economic distance which separates those serving the curry-shifts from those swallowing the cardamom (Hutnyk 2000:182—cited in Ervin 2014:275).

Whether functioning for Birmingham British-TsCs as a neo-Islamic cultural formation for selective-ethnogenesis in a Western European host, as a newly-hybridised expression of Islamic resistance, or a paradox of commercialized resistance music, hip-hop also transmediates “new beginnings and arrest[s] the path of change, stretching beyond the

⁷⁴ Melanie Georgiades (Diam’s) was born in Nicosia of a French mother and a GsC father. In France she is considered a feisty young “rappeuse”.

horizons of authenticity” (Salhi 2014:5). It is a form of musical expression where they “get to say what [they] ...feel” (Ceylan). Whatever its eventual impact, music is “omnipresent [genrified as hip-hop] in [migrant TsC] Muslim experience and its capacity in the transformation [of Islamic stereotype tropes] can be immediate” (Salhi 2014:5). As a heterodox genre it functions on cyberspace where is constantly challenging Islamic marginal essentialisms while at the same time is viewed by the Western big brother as an activist yet safe Muslim expression. It is also a musical genre that “underlines the possibility of cyberspace to function as a meaningful and progressive Muslim social space which challenges this essentialism both online and offline, and thus the study of the anti-Islamophobic leanings of the [hip-hop]” (Ibid.:10). As a third space “the internet allows young people [British-TsCs] to express themselves freely and creatively” (Sevven) epitomising “the inaptness of the normative Habermassian public sphere notion at a theoretical level in accounting for current political and social processes... [amongst young BbTsCs, a] highly mediatized and popular culture driven societ[y]...” (Cammaerts 2009:557). And yet this is done with an ingredient we have not encountered before, kebabs, in creating a new form of sphere—a *kebabosphere*; a sphere merging out of the relations of private/public and realised in young BbTsCs praxes via *Mange du kebab*, the *Kebab Shop*, and an endless catalogue of conjunctural examples of cultural resources in diaspora.

Masculinity of the Meat, and the Heterosexual Paradox of the Kebabosphere

Islamic hip-hop in the West is highly political, not only charged with the dominant conflict between ‘the West’ and ‘Islam’, but also with political debates within Muslim communities. Hip-hop thus has the agenda of claiming one’s rights, stating one’s identity and voicing concerns about unprivileged groups in society. A dialectical relationship develops between the different nodes to which people relate (Salhi 2014:13).

How true is Salhi’s statement when it comes to the female component of young BbTsCs, like Sevven? Do young TsC women claim their rights? Are they in a place to be “voicing concerns about [their] unprivileged groups in [their migrant, Birmingham] society via hip-hop”? What are the gender structuralisms within the observed diasporic *kebab leitmotif* in Birmingham and the two musical resources that comprise it? And what are the paradoxes within this gender discourses, as observed ethnographically?

Before addressing these questions, this section locates the masculine undertones of the *Kebab Shop* and *Mange du kebab*, as the two artefacts comprising the *kebab leitmotif*. In many ways, the *kebab leitmotif* enriches this traditional link between meat and masculinity by adding music. Or as Sevven puts it “kebabs, macho men and hip-hop are a big thing in our community.” In her work *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, Carol Adams (2000) emphasises the relationship of meat and masculinity, arguing that eating meat is a masculine praxis, and meat a protein source that gives strength to men. Added to that are the lyrics of the two songs examined, “which both communicate actual content and contain insinuations of gender—for example, it is considered masculine to be able to talk and write well and feminine to be an irrational, emotional chatterbox” (Djupvik 2014:214). After all, the *kebab leitmotif* is all about “Eat kebabs!” and provocations to “Come and get a taste of donner kebab.” Both Maaz and hasandinho95 capitalize on *their* culinary resource of kebabs in keeping with *other* fellow-Muslims in diaspora. In other words they write in a migrant-to-France Turkish and in a migrant-to-Birmingham TsC vernacular (language irrelevant). Yet while doing so, traditional sexual and masculine Muslim tropes are challenged. Even if Sevven periodically admits such communal amalgamation above, discourses like gender, ethnic and social class—obvious in the musical resources that she pointed to—are never addressed and are far from being challenged intracommunally.

Visuals (mostly in *Mange du kebab*), rapping techniques (mostly in hasandinho95’s performance), and lyrics of the two comprising the *kebab leitmotif* highlight the above observations. Always, in irony and parody, Maaz portrays himself as a rapper/sex-symbol in the kebab shop, while hasandinho95 raps about a misogynist “gift to women from Allah!” (Sevven). Maaz “suggests that the sight of him sweating away in front of the grill is something which makes him appealing to female customers”, with him being in constant flirtation with them (Ervin 2014:271—also see Figure 5.5 at 1.30” and 1.33”); all while handling meat with his hands. And in a grotesque exaggeration of this sex-symbolic sensuality he raps “kiffent les boulettes”, a triple ironic play on boulettes as testicles, fools, and meat-balls, and with a male customer who eats them gaining in strength. Vocal qualities and rapping style are crucial to hasandinho95’s performed identity and masculinity (partly due to the fact that visuals are minimal in his video and show none of him, keeping him anonymous):

Important aspects of rap vocal practice include vocal quality such as resonance, timbre, colour, technique of lyric delivery such as flow, tempo, articulation, declamation, pronunciation, and physical qualities such as register, range, pitch and intonation. These elements all work to underpin rap's performative conventions, which include braggadocio, sexual assertiveness, aggression, toughness, confidence and seductiveness (Woods 2010:9, cited in Djupvik 2014:214).

In *Kebab Shop*, hasandinho95 mimics 50Cent in using a vocal technique known as sung-effusive flow that “features strict couplet groupings, on-beat accents and regular on-beat pauses[;] ...a tendency...to spill over the rhythmic boundaries of the meter, the couplet and, for that matter, of duple and quadruple groupings in general” (Krimms 2000:64).⁷⁵ Hasandinho95's delivery is clear and perspicuous, but like 50Cent, he raps in low range with a rough, grunge and “raspy” vocal timbre, “conventional marker[s] of both virility and the potential for badness or evil” (Djupvik 2014:214). “A rough quality can contribute to a hard, edgy sound, which, when combined with appropriate lyrics and imagery, helps to characterise a rapper as tough and masculine” (Woods 2010:10). Take, for example, Verse 2 of hasandinho95's delivery:

Only got big portions baby it's simple
If you'll be a nympho I'll be a nympho
If you go to Cyprus my uncle got rental or piggy back whatever you are
into

Hasandinho95 here raps with insouciant and slow “sung rhythmic style” on rough and misogynist lyrics and imageries, again clearly mimicking 50Cent's delivery. With rhythmic repetition the above couplets are symmetric, and his delivery style symbolises his masculine dominance and power. Adding to this hypermasculine prowess are the production elements. Hasandinho95 double-layers his voice while he raps, in an even larger multi-voiced attestation of strength and masculinity.

Although both songs of the *kebab leitmotif* are classic performances of hypermasculinity, it is women and feminine aesthetics that frame their virile performers. The examination of these is objectified through the notions of public/private spheres in order to achieve

⁷⁵ These complex categorisations deserve deeper analysis, which cannot be accommodated here. Djupvik's article (2014:214-15) and Adam Krimms' (2000:50-65) book *Rap Music and the Poetics of Identity* are suggested for further reading.

holistic and thickened coverage of young BbTsC praxes in the performance of the *kebab leitmotif*. This observed framing of hypermasculinity by women actors, is deeply rooted as an epiphenomenon within the grand narrative of the Muslim public sphere, narrating the Islamic sphere in its (historical) totality as two sides of the story: firstly, in the stringent notions of radical Islamic (where women have to wear veils; usually common in Muslim countries), and secondly, in the secular formations to be found in modernised Muslim states like Turkey—“equating national progress with women’s emancipation formed the backbone of Kemalist feminism” (Göle 1997:61)⁷⁶—but also into Western modernities/locales, where “women’s visibility, women’s mobility, and women’s voices” (Milani 1992:238) are key ingredients in challenging radical Islamic moves while exploring new boundaries for new secular public spheres. Taking into consideration the status of BbTsCs, linked with Turkey as their super-culture and also embodying Muslim moves in a western locale, one can safely argue that the community in Birmingham bounds itself within the secular public sphere; one that “emerged as a liberal bourgeois sphere, with women (and the working class) initially excluded [from radical Islamic spheres] and thus also excluded from the definition of the universal citizens” (Ryan 1993:277) now being central and very much universal actors.

It is a core ideal of the Enlightenment ethos that a universal citizen—regardless of gender, social status, or beliefs—is necessary in structuring secular public spheres. This was after all one of Habermas’ (1991) criteria in his *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Yet why are gender imbalances still visible in the relationship of male with female counterparts in the making of this *kebab leitmotif* and its secular *kebabosphere* amongst BbTsCs? And what legitimises (or normalises) the existing boundaries between the private and public in this *form* of secularism? Both queries bridge the grand narrative of the modernism/secular vs. radical Islamism spheres into the gendered spatial (observed as paradoxical) structuralism in the west for BbTsCs. And even if within the secular sphere, women are not secondary actors, Nilüfer Göle (1997:69)—in her extensive work on the matter—explains that:

...on the other hand, women’s identities, whether seen in individual aspirations or collective feminist consciousness, are confined within the broader boundaries of political projects. Both images of women, the

⁷⁶ “Turkish Kemalist modernism cannot be grasped without understanding the centrality of women, as both agents and symbols of secular modernism. Each revolution redefines the attributes of an ‘ideal man,’ yet Kemalist revolution represents and idealizes new women figures in their social roles, public visibility, and Western appearances and ways of life” (Göle 1997:66).

modernist and the Islamist, subordinate female identities—whether relating to individual or collective consciousness—to value of modesty demanded by the populist nature of both ideologies. Yet there is a shift in the image of the ideal woman from “modern yet modest” to “Islamic thus modest.” Islamist veiling expresses the unapologetic assertion of modesty and religiosity in new self-definitions of Muslim women.

The distinctions in gender disseminations are obvious in Maaz’s video and hasandinho95’s lyrics. Yet a heterosexual representation does not necessarily imply gender-equality. Men and women share almost equal roles, yes, but different ones indeed! In *Mange du kebab* men touch the meat, prepare kebabs, and are sex symbols flirting with the girls on the other side of the counter. Behind the counter, where the meaty performance is taking place, there are no women; the serious job is left to the men. On the other side of the counter, there is a mixed sample of customers, but while male customers are seen to be eating meat(-balls), women customers are merely dancing or sitting at tables in front of kebabs. “Modern yet modest”, there is no protein power for women. “In other words, gender relations within the kebab shop seem to mirror those of patriarchal society [as also observed from my research for Birmingham-based TsCs] ...relegating women to largely passive roles whilst it is the men who are in control (making kebabs or visibly consuming them). Thus, the activities of preparing and consuming kebabs appear to reinforce traditional images of (heterosexual) masculinity” (Ervin 2014:272).

In hasandinho95’s case, this role-unbalanced heterosexual representation is clearly musically performed. Firstly, in the Choruses of the song, an unknown female takes the role of Olivia from the original track “in a call-and-response pattern” (Djupvik 2014:215). Secondly, hasandinho95’s overall sung-infusive flow creates an ambiance of sensuality, regardless of the misogynist lyrics. Yet the strongest effeminate element in the song is the use of the Phrygian mode that since Aristotle has been established in western understanding as a feminine musical signifier. Its “semitone movement... from dissonance to consonance” causes a form of “tension” perceived as “emotionally destabilising and even erotic” (Fast 2001:43), turning the meat-eating heterosexual praxes into a hypermasculine musical performance.

And yet, in all these genderings within the *kebab leitmotif*, there is a paradox I could not ignore, a constant observation during the four years I have been working with TsC

migrants. We have seen so far how young British-TsC females like Sevven attest sameness as chameleons, with a self-appointed inventory of strategic identities such as Muslim, Turkish, Cypriot, British, and otherness. Yet, as mentioned in Part II's introduction, Sevven herself would confess that with family or other TsCs, she takes an intra-communal "I am a good Cypriot girl!" identity revealing a form of shifting from the private to a public communitarian morality. What engendering meaning does this self-other differentiation have locally/diasporically? And how do Sevven's normatively embodied hybridities and diversities around strategically selected personas paradoxically point towards homogeneity and continuity in diasporas?

I was always puzzled how a young female of any national identity would find songs with a misogynist context "hilarious" and amusing. I was also aware during my research of Cypriot migrants' cultural sensitivities, and that they usually keep such discussions sub rosa. Sensus Göle, Sevven's response attests a female actor who, although not an epiphenomenon of communal structuring, still subordinates herself as "modern yet modest" as part of the BbTsC communitarian morality. Knowing that Sevven herself had considerable educational attainments I had to frame my questions carefully, yet I had to be brave and just ask. During one of our interviews, making sure we were on our own without any other TsC counterparts (especially males), I asked Sevven how was it possible that she enjoyed these songs while knowing that they potentially disempowered those from a similar background. This disempowerment is not only gendered, but might apply to anyone wanting a non-stereotyped career; she herself has studied fine arts, and aspires to be a full-time professional installation artist. Can you see the paradox here, Sevven?

Yes I see that, there is a paradox but I can explain why, though. You see some things for us [TsC women] don't come easy. We have to be flexible [around the social realities of our community]. After all, it's just music and two songs in this case... I see it as fun and entertainment rather than thinking about it from a serious angle. Even the songs are parodies, jokes, and the fact that they both make fun of the macho Turkish men, makes it easier for me to enjoy if you know what I mean... It's all in good spirits, it's humour and fun... (Sevven).

Sevven's testimony recalls Djupvik's (2014:222) observations about 50Cent's track, glossed here to spread them on the webs of young British-female-TsC meaning:

Most people find pleasure in popular music because it is entertaining and fun, and [*Kebab Shop*—also *Mange du kebab*] can certainly be read as nothing more than a parody of one [TsC, and in general, Mediterranean] male's fantasy (and therefore, to an extent, of the racist stereotypes of the hypersexual [Cypriot] men that underpin it).

In short, within the humorous/ironic/parodied observance of the *kebab leitmotif* there is a perceptible paradox; “yes I see that, there is” (Sevven). Ervin (2014:276) observes for Maaz that “on one hand, [he] appears to simultaneously play up to stereotypes about Turkish immigrants and challenge stereotypes about Islam [while] on the other hand, the lyrics and video demonstrate that he feels that both of these aspects of his identity have comedic potential which he is prepared to exploit.” In hasandinho95's case, things—even if they seem straightforward due to the lyrics—are not as obvious. This is mostly due to the fact that the video is very minimal and shows neither the female singer nor him; there is no face for this heterosexual performance. In other words, we are missing what these concepts mean to them or why they should be celebrated through their performance. With these two key pictures missing, one can only assume humour and parody from the exaggerated lyrical context. Yet there are two sides to humour and parody, an entertaining one, and one that contains the danger that it might corroborate what it looks to deride (Butler 1990:188). This applies equally for *Mange du kebab* and *Kebab Shop*. When Maaz and hasandinho95 mock the “primal” and “oriental” Mediterranean man in embodiment, they also, in many ways, carry that stereotype.

Beyond the normalisation on behalf of Sevven to the hypermasculine construction of the *kebab leitmotif* and *kebabosphere*, as leisure experiences of “humour and fun”, there is much more to be said about this paradox. The communitarian morality that Sevven displays is only the petit récit of a young woman in the BbTsC community. In a grand and collective narrative it can be seen as a social phenomenon of a continued observed self-conscience, modern-self, individual unbosoming, in public exposure of a young female BbTsC who struggles to structure her-self in relation to communal dealings. In Birmingham young modern TsCs (like most western-based modern individuals) manifest themselves through the hypothesis that truth and real meanings are the aftermath or product of self-conscience, forwarding the prolific exegesis given from Bryan S. Turner (1994:62) of being “private thoughts,” “self-accusation,” and “self-awareness” instead of collective praxes. And even if publicly secular, in the BbTsC context morality shapes

intracommunal movements for women; in their everyday praxes that tune communitarian morality into a set of censors for the individual under the rose, yet, on a bed of authoritarianism soil and histories.

Therefore, the dispersal of female young BbTsC bodies burgeons a secular but also restricted veiling of the community, embodied in Sevven as an urban and educated young woman within the communal public sphere. Yet this reveals a public/private binary in paradox. On one hand it renders the BbTsC woman a visible agent, but also one in conformity with the intracommunally required modesty, resulting in a secular public collectivity as opposed to an individual forbidden sphere. Sevven obtains a place in the public secularism through her involvement in higher education, while Boren her mother, representing the old generation of a BbTsC woman, does so through her interest and participation in Islamic political affairs. Yet these modern-female movements do not seem enough to break down the paradox observed, as there is still a covert crisis in the gender-equality: “they quit traditional life roles, making their personal life a matter of choice, pursuing a professional and/or political career, yet they acquiesce in incarnating the Islamic way of life, Islamic morality, and Islamic community” (Göle 1997:73).

The BbTsC communal morality hosts this paradox unconsciously, empowering the female individual while at the same time subdue it. As observed, the *kebabosphere* in Birmingham, in a leitmotif performance of hip-hop and kebabs shows a visible woman in public *kebabosphere*, yet this visibility is veiled from communal nuances of being “modern but modest”, or in Sevven’s words, “a good Cypriot girl”. In adding the culinary and musical component to these complex alignments, the *kebabosphere* showcases a leitmotif of real life and music filled with migrant meanings, extending our senses to postmodern moves, modern individual thoughts, self-accusations, and self-constructions bounded within transients of kebab smells, hip-hip rhymes, spaces, and the tangibles of people, places food-products; all creating a milieu of young BbTsC truths, significances, and meanings.

Last Thoughts

In abstract, both songs comprising the *kebab leitmotif* are classic performances of masculinity: talking about Mercedes-Benz, displaying bling, and showcasing submissive and always sexually-available females. Intensifying their performance into hypermasculinity is also their constant leitmotif with the meat (the kebabs), especially

when this association occurs within a cultural (and as we have seen above, intracommunal) TsC pragmatism where food holds an important and symbolic role in social structuring and meaning. In short, they portray the stereotypical ways in which TsC masculinity is perceived as a result of their patriarchal structurings; in *Kebab Shop* in extreme ways, as dominating, controlling and misogynistic. Despite such orthodox, dated and classic Muslim trends, both songs and rappers appear to be part of diasporas (young French-Turkish and British-TsC) that adopt a more liberal approach to sexuality and gender equality but still perform in hypermasculinity. Hypermasculinity can also be read as a special kind of irony or parody in this *kebab leitmotif*, as both Maaz and hasandinho⁹⁵ perform classic masculine tropes exaggeratedly; yet, these humorous and parodic tropes sustain a paradox that comes with a covert epiphenomenon of women as particles of the public but underplaying their role in the private of the *kebabosphere*.

With language's meaning depending entirely on the people who use it, both migrant musicians/rappers reach to their migrant fellows by lyrically connecting with them in what is locally perceived to be resistance vernacular. As a heterodox genre functioning on cyberspace, hip-hop is the choice of genre. For the time I have spent with young TsCs, hip-hop deciphers a number of lived realities and senses for them. I have observed hip-hop in Birmingham as a recapitulation of the first activist meaning of Islam as the "empty symbol" which once functioned (during the late 1960s and early 1970s) in professing one's rights within social injustice formations surrounding the Muslim world. The choice of exploring its performance in diaspora acts as a prism through which they realise their own (neo)-history and -heritage as TsCs but also as Mediterraneans. Its choice and popularity enable a young Muslim group in a cosmopolitan setting, unorganised in placelessness, to have some sort of common socio-cultural (though not so much political) reference, and a shade of organisation around it. Yet most importantly, and this comes from their own narratives, is the fact that it enables them to pair this genre with the special kind of irony and culinary resources, in a *kebab leitmotif* that represents for them (perhaps unconsciously) the initial activist goals, methods and meaning of Islam; as a symbol of hope and as a way of making their lives manageable and enjoyable.

Both *Mange du kebab* and *Kebab Shop's* lyrics (in French, Turkish and English) also point towards other geographical physicalities (Turkey, Greece, America, Paris, London) wrapped in cosmopolitanism. Yet, all destinations connect with Birmingham in transmediating tropes, finding home in the bodies of young British-TsCs. Generating the *kebab leitmotif*—a lived reality for them—enables the young heterosexual British-TsC

expression to normalise embodied hybridities and diversities around strategically selected personas; chameleonic attestations necessary to make their lives manageable and as part of their selective-ethnogenesis. However, the story of Sevven, thickens this heterosexual function; “you see some things for us [TsC women] don't come easy”. Female British-TsC chameleonic transformation has “to be flexible” in order to achieve the patriarchal homogeneity and continuity in diasporas which defines its ethnos.

The utterance of menace through sound production as an oriental and exotic practice, in the *kebab leitmotif*, runs through both musical examples. We have seen how the bastardisation of ululation into a performance of mass and exotically-regarded western consumption also features in *Mange du kebab*. Yet in the case of the Phrygian half-step circle and the trills found in the music of *Candy Shop* and *Kebab Shop*, the aesthetics of menace derive from other historically attested musicological examples of sharks and psychopaths. These musical empiricisms and aesthetics manage to bind together all the discourses discussed, adding meaning to the historical, social, political, personal, collective, and of course cultural—encasing, that is, the *kebab leitmotif* with the spices that the shish and chili sauce contain: our senses extended. And these senses come to meet (in meat) at a space that also is a place, the kebab shop. The kebab shop is many TsC migrants’ childhood memories, a nostalgic whole filled with intimate sounds and smells. It can also be a blunt workplace or a place of constant culinary temptation. Both for the artists and for the young Birmingham-based British-TsCs, the kebab shop allegorically draws an imaginary spatial and physical detachment from everyday life. And still for most of us, the kebab shop is not what we would call “real life”, a place where we can set foot into unconditionally and indulge in culinary experiences. Within the place of the kebab shop comes the *kebabosphere* (as the alternative sphere fashioned publicly and tailored privately from and around young BbTsCs), and the flow and unboundness that characterises YouTube, which in the case of young British-TsCs suggests the *kebab leitmotif* as one of the *new* spaces it has to offer. All in all, kebab shops and the *kebab leitmotif* are as much imagined as they can be real.

* * *

Four Virtual Stories: Senses Extended

Part II extended our senses with four artefact stories, a series of di-ethnic ethnographic experiences in diaspora; four tales of young British-Cypriot folkloric raconteurs that lay out local, national, translocal and transnational tunings of this diaspora, and by doing so

show a space, unknown to shallow realms, but also hollowed out by transnational regulatory regimes of differential and racial injustices. Adding to the already complex spatial unboundness of the virtual, the young British-Cypriots' pre-digested construction of self and other as a chameleonic transformation, their difference, in-betweenness and hybridities, and finally their strategic utterance of humour, satire and irony all bound together through the flows of transmedia on YouTube, create four stories telling of artefacts with several meanings.

In the intersectional of Greek, Turkish, Cypriot, and Birmingham and their other in-between rites of passage (geographies and locales) as means of hybridities, where space is cosmopolitan, and can also be real, virtual or imagined, and diasporic or not—here there is a migrational trans-spatial new profanity of senses. While young British-Cypriots could chose to see these four virtual stories as mere entertainment, instead their narration gives them empowerment meanings and definitions by objectifying humour, satire and irony as a way of extending their (and our) senses within their self-authored milieu story of the modern diasporic world.

Whether these stories are bound in a Zorbas, Flatleys or Kebabs cover, both contain mostly-new diasporic musical behaviours, ones that only make full sense locally. In between the lines and staves (metanarratively), their significances are hidden within their complexities. For a diasporic group within a contested and fragmented identity negotiation and tension, such as young British-Cypriots, the senses explored spiral. Then a journey to the other valleys (the Internet) began. Four YouTube videos and their artefacts have been employed to build an application that would generate answers. The influence that these YouTube music videos exert makes them motifs of selective-ethnogenesis, socio-political participation, and cultural re-imagination for migrant citizens, for those who create them, those who (re)broadcast them through social networks, and those who simply watch them.

When alternating observations between young BbTsCs and BbGsCs, seasons change, migrating us from two Summer to two Spring myths. Adding some “spice”, there comes a di-ethnic TsC diasporic selective-ethnogenesis in an intersection of musical and culinary praxes and the formation of a *kebab leitmotif*. In what appears as a seasonal migration, the ethnography also relocates from leisure (play) to work, and from the homeliness of the GsC living room to the discombobulation of the kebab shops (the workplace). Another ethnographically observed instantiation that interlinks with the above is of BbGsC's

placefullness in opposition to BbTsC's placelessness. As an ethnological embodiment, these expressive migrations within the diaspora manifest into GsC bodies (stout in some cases) as "perks", and TsC bodies of social struggles facing inequality; another form of asymmetry in diaspora. National popular music and a transnational musical bricolage infused by neo-Celtic and neo-Greek westernised appeal structure the GsC artefacts, while food/service and hip-hop structure the TsC objects into a *kebab leitmotif* which transmediates in a *kebabosphere*. Regardless of which counterpart you look at, young British-GsC or -TsC, both epitomise that "it is not the easiest thing to be a migrant", each facing a series of challenges stemming from twenty-first-century dialectics expressed in either the extents they go to exploit the philhellenism of Britons, or in overcoming the ethnophaulisms of islamophobia.

In the case of GsCs, we came across the flash-mob *Zorba* being able to bind together a milieu story of yesterday's romantic nationalism. While doing so, it pointed towards imagined cosmopolitanisms of past Hollywood successes of "Greekness" in yesterday's musical compositional-ethnogenesis, modern selective-ethnogenesis of chameleonic transformations, and eventually re-imagined futures of the GsC young migrant raconteurs in Birmingham. Beyond its intention to disseminate an imagined national romanticism, it turns into a deeper meaning of unconsciousness through the multiversity of events analysed and is, by the end, understood as entertainment of multiple socio-political-cultural discourses in the midst of transmedia, cosmopolitanism and other nuances of the flow of transnational interchange. In locating Cyprus itself within this flow, is important to underpin how the musical resource (Theodorakis' song) is used as a staging ground for further postmodern diasporic moves. The *Birmingham Zorba's Flashmob*, as a simulacrum staged in diaspora, is also a staging-ground like Cyprus, revealing it as a proxy suspended in migrant realities.

In the second Greek-infused Summer myth, the one of the wobbly Flatleys, space is met in separation of place, defined by westernised realms of celebrities yet realised through transnational regulatory regimes of self-other differentiation, strategic identity appointments and attestations of sameness. As a video of multiple discourses, it aligns with the scale of ethnographic exercise that this work practices, and as a thickened methodological description it offered interpretive meanings, explained significances and narrated the story of modern Cypriots in diaspora, with the success story and anxiety (that epitomise the movement of modern Cypriot life into the *new* European identity and the diasporic translocal) taking comedic centre stage. Oxymoronically, comedy turns into

the serious socio-politico-cultural realities that GsCs experience in the UK, and tells us a lot about lived communal reality and imagined utopias. In this scale-line, one must start from its starting anchor and review the whole spectrum of reality television talent shows (*BGT* and others) before coming back to the analysis of Stavros Flatley's first audition. Considering the on-/off-small-screen migrational process of the video in question together with its humorous, satirical or ironic nature, it can be seen to resemble in function, outlook and ingredients the phenomenon of polintertainment TV (Polintertainment = politics + entertainment—Panke 2013:4).⁷⁷ Also revealed is the transmedia's naturally comic ostentation, which talks about social integrations in mythic forms of acceptance, and of romanticisms that idealise simplified forms of nature. It speaks further of a high-mimetic performance that tell us how the Herculean heroes create their own identity performance space in a phantasmagorical separation from place as a distinct consequence of modernity, and also of a low-mimicry that narrates the protagonists' rite of passage from one social stratum to another leading to a success story, meanwhile portraying ironic failure of the typical comic re-homogenisation.

In the case of young TsCs in Birmingham, we came across migrant bodies of social struggles, facing islamophobia to overcome it while projecting humour and culinary resources as their weapons, fighting towards selective-ethnogenesis. These dialectics are initially bounded by Lil Maaz's *Mange du kebab* in a *kebabosphere*, as the first leg of the *kebab leitmotif*, revealing the western hypothetical assertions that young British-TsCs struggle to deal with. When Maaz performs the Muslim migrant stereotype, with a special kind of irony, transnational identities surface. These are thrown at TsC migrants, and eventually lead to a communal contingency of meaning, experience and creation. The utterance of musical resources like Maaz's song is "a protest against the inequality [ethnophaulisms] of the struggle to live, a way of atonement and reconciliation, a treaty with all that is wilful, impaired, beyond [their] power to control" (Nash1985/1994:1). The example of *Mange du kebab* also demonstrates that language has no intrinsic meaning apart from its users, through a cross-pollinated type of vernacular independent of the language spoken; one that takes all Muslim migrants, Birmingham-TsCs included, into a translocal spatiality of solidarity. In order to get there, Maaz takes his listeners to the orients and exoticisms of Greece and Turkey and then to the future far(s) of the United States. Surprisingly, through this geo-cultural journey the absence of France (the

⁷⁷ "Polintertainment programs... [are] those who constantly use music to address political and topical issues, resulting in a satirical and humorous treatment of them" (Viñuela Suárez 2015:290).

transient), and the artist's lack of any direct connection with Cyprus, the motherland of Sevven, Arif and Ceylan is only visited by them via effective responses generated from the song. For young British-TsCs, *Mange du kebab* turns into a musical infusion of cultural importance towards their culinary creation in diaspora, and the sound of them constructing new ways of self-representation. This fused utterance of music and food is recognised, explored, and finally traversed into a contemporary expression of selective-ethnogenesis by young British-TsCs, one that *now* extends to the people behind it our sense that the dish they serve is acceptable.

It took a young TsC migrant prosumer (hasandinho95) and a dubbed lyrical parody (*Kebab Shop*), while cross-examining another young BbTsC expressed *kebabosphere*, to fully realize the communal extents of the *kebab leitmotif*: the synergy of hip-hop, kebabs, irony and humour to express a milieu story of self-identification in diaspora. This Spring myth begins from the underplaying of Muslim media-representation, giving rise to young Muslim prosumer-musicians linking with the otherness and translocal through hip-hop; the “safe” channel, and one that has also connected us with the pasts of Muslim Mediterranean networking tropes, and to its modern representation of the New Age traveller through the bodies of Sevven, Ceylan, and Arif. With smart choices when it comes to genre (hip-hop—the neo-Islamic cultural formation for selective-ethnogenesis) and also dubbing or parodying stereotypes of social patriarchies and musical exoticisms, young British-TsCs generate a leitmotif detached from carnivorous or psychotic semi-tones. Instead, they experience one that associates with their grand narrative, a *kebab leitmotif* of half-steps in motion to musical praxes and in consistency with life- and food-infused narrative counterparts. These narratives show a *kebab leitmotif* within its construction with consistent musical elements, social realities and paradoxes, all giving gendered meanings for the TsC diaspora in Birmingham. Hip-hop, as a choice on behalf of young migrants, firstly speaks of the paradox of commercialized resistance music. It also tells and transmediates new beginnings while empowering change; it is a form of musical expression where they “get to say what [they] ...feel” (Ceylan). As a heterodox genre in diaspora, which breathes in cyberspace, it manages to challenge Islamic marginal essentialisms while at the same time being viewed by the Western eye as an activist but safe Muslim expression. In further genderifications, the *kebab leitmotif* enriches the traditional link between meat and masculinity by infusing music, wrapped up in two musical performances defined by hypermasculine prowess and men eating meat. Although heterosexual, through their performance comes gender role-imbalance. This unbalanced heterosexuality either finds shelter in the Phrygian mode's feminine

signifiers or in migrant lived realities as a paradox of the “I am a good Cypriot girl!” kind. Either way you choose to see it, it acknowledges and eventually translates meat-eating praxes into hypermasculine musical performances. By the end, the *kebab leitmotif* comes to normalise embodied hybridities and diversities around strategically selected personas for young British-TsCs, makes their lives manageable (as part of their selective-ethnogenesis) and cancels any female protest by being flexible towards it, thus achieving the patriarchal homogeneity and continuity in diasporas which defines its ethnos. And in direct contrast to the phantasmagorical separation of place from space observed for young British-GsC performance in Stavros Flatley, the kebab shops are the performance of a space that is also a place bounded in a *kebab leitmotif* which is as much imagined as real.

As always, music conceals much more meaning than the obvious; when performed in significant ways it can function as the metanarrative of a story. It is also a connector of worlds, real or imagined, and it is the latter that makes Part II’s thesis durable for some readers and enigmatic for others. In organising this Part, I choose musical examples that provide a gnomic outcome in di-inclusion, proving a directory of resources in similar but various ways. Orientalism, occidentalism, re-re-orientalism, hybridism and exoticism are but a few discourses that have been used to describe such connections and meta-narratives. And then musical notes are bounded together as cyber/digital mosaic pieces that tessellate polintertainment meanings for this di-ethnic diaspora. In four movements (stories) and two seasons, they compose a transnational itinerary of cosmopolitan communications. The four myths take us from Cyprus to Birmingham, and from there we begin a transbordering journey to many sites: Greece, Turkey, London, Paris, America, Ireland, the Mediterranean, and back to Cyprus, all recapitulating to Birmingham. And from there on we have travelled to unbounded *new* spaces of imagined worlds and *otherness*, which narrate a migrational trans-spatial new profanity of senses.

Sounds and smells are further empowered by emotionalities, mostly nostalgia in all of its forms and shapes. These Cypriot diasporic structurings could not be met without such notions (of nostalgia and love), feelings also kindled from the four transmedia covered in Part II. All four play a part towards imagining and structuring one’s migrant-self as part of a broader localised solidarity of shared ideas and ideals. What needs to be given more prominence is that such movements (postmodern ones, some would argue) occur within a diasporic, di-ethnic context, where factionalised macro- and micro-politics and thus fragmentation abound. Even within migrant imagined solidarity, effectual praxis is not

only experienced and expressed through the love and nostalgia that the harmlessness of national popular music accommodates in this instance. It can also be manifested into affective responses of protest and disappointment through the spiciness of a kebab and its hip-hop menace in a *kebab leitmotif*, and hence at a moment when young British-Cypriots, on either side of the contested/fragmented identity negotiation/tension, are impelled to structure themselves (with a large dose of imagination) as part a broader translocality. In doing so, they narrate further local, intracommunal, antithetical phrases, some of which generate further inter-ethnic fragmentation. This is the modern young British-Cypriot way of heritagizing.

If we are to remain pragmatic in scientifically comprehending transnational localities and their formations and continuities of challenging di-ethnic identities, we must start giving importance to cultural resources and how they impact these processes, even in cyberspatial shapes. All four of this chapter's stories, with their cultural components extended our senses towards the myriad trans-realities of our times, have showcased how transnational human re-creations within their new third, unbounded or undefined spatial arrangements still maintain their profane bodily essence as opposed to the futuristic post-human direction. What this chapter does is allow us—the researchers, writers and readers—to extend our senses beyond our embodied and geographical habitus parameters: introducing us to *new* places, spaces, people, sights, imaginations, sounds, smells, flavours and realms that would otherwise remain unexperienced.

Part III:

The Mediterranean Imaginary in Postlude

- *The Mediterranean Imaginary:
Finding Cyprus Through Tillirka in
Birmingham*

○ *Postlude*

Chapter 7

The Mediterranean Imaginary: Finding Cyprus Through Tillirka in Birmingham

A series of cultural resources and artefacts, their past and present meanings, and their migrant significances and futures, have so far been under examination in Parts I and II, in a melange of spatial distributions and constructions—from nostalgic internalised abysses, to unbounded cyber-locales. These examinations proceeded through the insights of practised musical performances of materialising or imagining memories from *homeland* Cyprus. To get there, the thesis has been through transnational passages beyond the triangle of *homeland* Cyprus, and *motherlands* Turkey and Greece. The end of Chapter 2 bounded these in an Anatolian mosaic (using Stokes' [2010] description and geographical denominations). And yet, through these passages we have not yet seen a common Cyprus-linked pathway, a cultural resource with a clear Cypriot indigeneity, a musical resource that commonly joins this di-ethnic migration (if we exclude Kazantzidis' song in Ch.2 which connects through shared emotionality). As Part II has previously described, it is the absence of Cyprus itself that is worth mentioning so far; or Cyprus turning into a staging ground for further postmodern moves (with previously observed artefacts as simulacrum staged in diaspora)—a proxy suspended in migrant realities.

Two di-ethnic moments experienced in Birmingham in the last four years have stuck with me. First, the Mallas' living room during the *Zorba The Greek* viewing, with Iliana offering traditional Cypriot *koullourakia tilihta*; and second, having the exact same culinary experience at a TsC household in Edgbaston a month later, in Cemal and Özel Ahmet's kitchen. In both moments, beyond the tangible delights of these desserts, the transient and intangible smell of cinnamon filling di-ethnic Cypriot *home* spaces overpowered my ethnography. And all this while talking about music as a way of extending our senses in two (interethnic binary) Cypriot and diasporic households' liminalities; yet sharing common di-ethnic braided dessert bites as the *most* memorable paraethnographic trophy I recovered. It was perhaps my own nostalgic shades of *xenitia* and the *hüzün* shared with my friend Ibrahim that turned these two memorandum moments filled with intimate smells, tastes, dialogues, sounds into interpersonal relationships.

These senses shared between TsCs and GsCs, both in the native and Birmingham diasporic, also extend to a considerable amount of other culinary resources, as certain

food products such as trahan (a form of porridge made from cracked wheat and soured goat's milk) for TsCs—*trahanas* (τραχανάς) for GsCs—and χαλούμι (*halloumi* cheese) for GsCs, hellim for TsCs. I still remember Burhan (a.k.a. Bernie) telling me about his business ambitions to start producing and distributing hellim in Birmingham, while driving me to the Ahmets'. He also explained to me how he sees hellim as a truly Cypriot cheese that has no difference between the TsC and the GsC products. Another example, a traditional Cyprus dish that also underpins shared Cypriot dialect linguistics between GsCs and TsCs, is the local delicacy of *shieftalia* (peach kebab)—for TsCs *şeftali kebabi* and for GsCs σιεφταλιά, yet for both sonically expressed the same—the only difference being that GsCs prepare the dish with pork while TsCs use lamb instead. Further shared cultural heritagings amongst GsC and TsC women is to be found through the making of traditional textile craft/art, known as *lefkaritika* (traditional embroidery, originally laced artwork in the village of Lefkara). What gives a clear Cypriot character to these cultural delicacies and crafts, and thus makes them Cypriot in the consciousness of modern Cypriots, is the fact that they do not originate in any way from the two *motherlands*, but instead remind and taste in many other ways of *home*. They are indigenous, belonging to a different time (pre-1974) when TsCs and GsCs used to live together. These come in as a flavoursome and refined extension to the common folk dancing and music discussed in the Preface. Such things are also channelled through the Cypriotness worldview as opposed to the binary oppositional terms pointing towards the two super-cultures in the island; again, these are explored in depth within the Preface, as Turkishness, Greekness, and Cypriotness.

This chapter completes the analytical mosaic of Anatolia, by focusing on one such example, a common musical composition shared within the triangle of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, a cultural resource considered (di-ethnically and throughout the Mediterranean) as one “of the most deeply rooted and persistent musical pleasures in the region” (Stokes 2005:viii). While doing so, it also re-negotiates the concept of *the third space*, tessellating more complexities to this mosaic, and calls it *the Mediterranean imaginary* of the diasporic Cyprus.

Following the construction of *the Mediterranean imaginary*, the analytical focus is a set of versions of the Cypriot traditional tune known as *Dillirga* among TsCs and *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* (*Tillirkotissa*, also referred to as *Tillirka*) among GsCs. The song is found within a di-ethnic dichotomization of a single composition, which prevents Cypriot identity from being realised (by migrants) as either a hybrid, or fragmented (without this

fact excluding hybrid musical elements). It does not fall into the generalised categories of *Greek-* or *Turkish-music* in the migrant understanding; it is not a child in a custody battle between TsC and GsC censorships, as it appears to be in the native parallel. Such observations in diaspora mirror the dominant question among contemporary Cypriot scholars (Papadakis and Hatay 2015:33; Tsangaridou 2015:47-48): is this Turkish- or Greek-Cypriot, or is it at bottom the “anthem of Cypriotness”? In the first ethnomusicological volume on *Music in Cyprus* (Samson and Demetriou, 2015), the song in question is briefly noted in Effie Tsangaridou’s chapter as a common cultural tie between native TsCs and GsCs. The present chapter comes to challenge the di-ethnic utterance of *Tillirka* in much more depth, while extending its academic citation beyond the native of Cyprus to an apropos reference in diaspora.

In starting practicing this di-ethnic unifying ethos, I will be referring to the song as *Tillirka* in a way that sonically matches both di-ethnic ears, and linguistically matches a unique item/utterance deriving from the Cypriot dialect (again shared di-ethnically). The same applies to the naming of the rural area of Tilyrká—Dillirga (for TsCs) or, Τηλλυρία

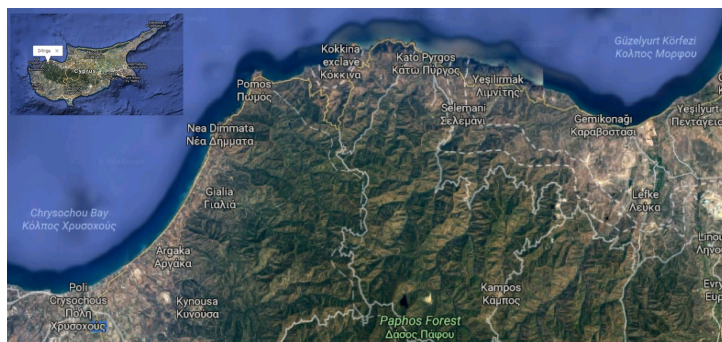


Figure 7.1: Map of Tilyrká. Maps: Google Maps – Maps’ collage: Author.

(Tillirya) in Greek and Τηλλυρκά (Tilyrká) in the Cypriot GsC dialect—stretching through its forest wilderness on the northwest coast of the island. I will be using Tilyrká (non-italicised and with a y instead of the final

I as to differentiate from the song). Tilyrká (a region covering several—pre-1974 mixed di-ethnic—villages), as folkloric myths have it, in AD327 the area took its name from τέλος (*telos* for *end*); thus Tilyrká means *telosia*, the end of the land in the Cypriot (GsC) dialect, with that being geographically the end of the northwest coast (Weaver 2002:43).

The analytical balance of this chapter varies from the ones which go before. A great deal of my narrative will discuss the construction of *the Mediterranean imaginary*, in conclusion proving *Tillirka* to be a translocal and transnational representation of it; making this chapter a facilitator of comparative ethnomusicological pathways between the native past and modern to the diasporic. This structural dichotomy, even if it meets in the concluding notes, initially engages in a historical and philosophical dialogue with

interdisciplinary literature on Mediterranean studies, and then takes an ethnographic and folkloric tack in its second half.

Constructing the Mediterranean Imaginary

In 1988, archaeologist Alan H. Simmons, begun excavations at the Akrotiri peninsula and at *Aetokremmos* (cliff of the eagles), a collapsing rock shelter near the city of Limassol on Cyprus' southern coast. Simmons' team managed to unearth strong evidence of human association with the endemic Cypriot pygmy hippopotamus through the recovery of an unusually high consignment of burned bones. These, "evidence in Cyprus for a hunter-gatherer phase of human subsistence... [implying] that Cyprus was the first island in the Mediterranean for which mainlanders showed more than just a passing interest" (Bolger 2003:53). Furthermore, this site—unique in Cyprus—has proved since its 1988 unearthing that the Cyprus prehistoric and the wider Mediterranean picture were never in isolation from one another. Most importantly, it evidences Cyprus' Neolithic links with the wider Mediterranean's social, labour, cultural and gendering structuralisms.

Cyprus, the third largest and third most populous island in the Mediterranean, has been centralised in the cultural evolution of eastern and pan-Mediterranean movements ever since (see Held, 1993). Mediterranean trade from Mesopotamia (and other geographies) always passed through Syria, Cyprus, and Anatolia (Muhly 1980:27), while in the 1880s the route to India, central to British focus, was safeguard in the Mediterranean through Gibraltar and the island of Cyprus (Dubois 2002:59). In short, and using Sarah Janes' words (2010:127), "Cyprus has long been seen as a 'crossroads' of multiple, complex interactions, acting as a stepping-stone between east and west. Accordingly, the island has played a central role in studies of trade and exchange... and of the movement and transfer of ideas, material culture and traditions across the Mediterranean." It is therefore inevitable that Cypriot music performance was deeply affected by the millennial upheaval surrounding its making and travels.

The set of the Cypriot traditional tune of *Tillirka* examined in this chapter is very much affected by these, while also possessing a "Mediterranean dimension", falling into the kind of spatial placement that Paul Sant Cassia (2000) ascribed to the Maltese musical genre of *ghana* as "peripheral [to Mediterranean] music", but which is eventually encompassed in the more generalised category of "Mediterranean music" at large. Thus, *Tillirka*, as we will also later prove analytically, is "Mediterranean music", and as in the

case of ghana and Malta for Sant Cassia, “come[s] to represent both a timeless past of aboriginality and a living demonstration of the island as an exemplar of a contemporary pan-Mediterranean culture” (287). Or, as I will put it, its indigeneity shows first translocal and then (through its diasporic mis-dis-placements) transnational movements, but still very much draws a contemporary paradigm of a pan-Mediterranean culture in diaspora.

Notwithstanding, and with a pinch of political saltiness, “everyone agrees that a stable Cyprus... could be a factor for stability in the Mediterranean” (Güven-Lisaniler and Warner, 1998). Yet this stability is very much determined from a triangle pointing towards Cyprus, connecting notions within the island to two more sites. The first, northern axis passes through the Cilician Basin, connecting to the Anatolia plateau of Turkey and the second north-western axis, meeting *via* first the Minoan and then the Aegean Seas, its littoral with Greece. *Tillirka* comes along as a cultural agent to connect up this triangle for us later on, with its Mediterranean dimension paint-brushing an imagined way of listening and musically performing as Cypriot Mediterraneans, rather than Turkish or Greek Mediterraneans, while for the Cypriot Mediterranean migrant, such performances take place in the not-so-Mediterranean Birmingham.

Parts I and II have so far observed transpatial alignments and hybridities in music and other cultural expressions, as dynamic attestations of *the third space*, which *sensu* Bhabha (1994) does not remain in the meeting of two autochthonic resources, events or moments. Migrant narratives observed so far have met in cultural cross-pollinations, from orientalisms, occidentalisms, the West or the East, to the indefinable of transpatial connections. Yet the conglomeration of complex academic definitions, and the nature of post-modernism itself, leave *the third space* in ambiguity. In structuring a realistic and pragmatic orientation towards this unbounded spatiality and its social and historical development, habituality, practicability, and applicability within the Cypriot diasporic paradigm, the next paragraphs frame *the Mediterranean imaginary*—an informed, playful, and re-structured space in the triangle of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece geographically determined in an extra-Mediterranean host. An initial illustration has already been drawn during the conclusion of Chapter 2, in regards to *the Mediterranean imaginary*, but it is merely a taste of the whole Mediterranean dish. As the starting point for this exploration, a musical synthetic moment of past conflict and reconciliation, the Middle East is visited before making the link with Mediterranean Cyprus—only to foreground, initially, the importance and discourse that music has in such travels and debates. In a way to remind the reader that music has the capacity to “evoke... and organise...

collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity” (Stokes 1997:3).

From the Middle East, to Cyprus, into a Mediterranean ecumenical:

The musicians told me that they softened the tension with melodies and rhythms familiar to those present. They said they felt the tension melting away as people on both sides of the room heard “their own” music... and found that they had common ground with those on the other side of the divide... these... modelled the possibilities for peaceful coexistence and collaboration, embodying the symbolism of their band’s name, ‘The Olive Leaves’ (Brinner 2009:3-4).

When conflict and reconciliation (the latter not necessarily as an activist praxis) are themes in a body of work, we should start from the example of Palestine and Israel, it being a popular paradigm mass-globally. In 2009, Benjamin Brinner tracked the reconciliation efforts of two leading Arab and Jewish bands that emerged in the last turn of the twentieth-century, while *Playing Across a Divide*. He describes “a vibrant, highly diversified grassroots musical scene with a trans-national circulation and representation and a continuing vitality that has endured regardless of the vicissitudes of the official peace process” (Davis 2010:13).

These examples lie at a historical distance from the rest, but both the before and the afters of this chapter are contingent on music’s narrative telling a reconciliation metanarrative. As ethnomusicologists who try to contribute beyond the narrow span of our discipline, we should be looking at what these examples have to offer to our ethnographic fields (or better, spaces) in order to start constructing and understanding the spatial complexities observed so far, or that will be challenged next for the Cypriot diasporic example. As Brinner, pan-Mediterranean ethnomusicological works such as Cooper and Dawe (2005), and Parts I and II of this thesis explain, both the Middle Eastern and the Mediterranean musical constructions are highly hybridised beyond the meeting of two autochthonic resources/events/moments. Yet, they have to meet somewhere and somehow if we want to be pragmatic about it. Therefore, the first question here would be in what language (spoken or otherwise), and how does this musical synthesis link the Middle East with Mediterranean Cyprus (the resources/events/moments), and then its diaspora (the beyond)?

The musical language was a new synthesis drawing on common Middle Eastern musical elements, but not situated centrally in an Arab or Turkish style. Elements of other musical styles, ranging from Indian *sarod* playing to hard-edged jazz flute were equally prominent (Brinner 2009:4).

Ruth Davis (2010:13) underlines how if this socio-cultural synthesis is traced back—even if the tracking remains within the geo-cultural interplay of Arab and Jewish (or better, Eastern) music—its origins are found in the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean communities and their performative spaces and mobilities. Yet, Davis' arguments still leaves ambiguous the historic pragmatisms in the link between Middle Eastern and Mediterranean. Historian Neil Silberman's (1995:267) work on *Promised Lands and Chosen Peoples* explains as "symbolic" the link between countries such as Israel, the Gulf, Egypt, Cyprus, Turkey and Greece throughout time. Nation states of this vast region, though, have been caught in the middle of censorship claims, both in the past and present, in the "attribution of multiple meanings for monuments, places and histories: many overlapping pasts exist within this common framework" (Meskell 1998:9). Music adds to that an emotional power, unmatched by any other cultural resource, in making the link from the present to the past. "Coupled with this is the theme of 'origins' and most often this has been co-opted into the metanarrative of European civilisation" (Ibid). Explaining the emotional extents of music in the area, the "cultural contact, a great antiquity, golden ages, a colonial backlash or contemporary political issues" (Ibid.). For the latter two, is in fact true that both Cyprus (eastern Mediterranean) and the Middle East share "residual formations of colonialism" (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998:15). And even if the colonial past in Cyprus goes a yard or two further, one can link their musics in the hybridisms stemming, as Davis (2010:13) says, from their communities and their performative spaces and mobilities (especially the Middle Eastern diaspora in Cyprus which is on the rise during modernity, and also historically the Jewish migration to the island).

Martin Stokes (2005:vii-ix), forewording a collection of essays covering *The Mediterranean in Music* bound together by the writing of David Cooper and Kevin Dawe, located these hybridisms within "imagined Mediterranean musical spaces." I understand Stokes' *imagined Mediterranean spaces* as concentrating on the past; and the Mediterranean past, especially the Cypriot paradigm, contains lots of identity fragmentation, conflict, mobility and mis-dis-placement. *The Mediterranean in Music*,

arguably, is the first movement (even if itself fragments in thematic/geographic foci/chapters) of a musicological study that links “Mediterraneans” (*sensu* Greverus, Welz and Römhild 2000:1)⁷⁸ and cultures in the same way as the Mediterranean Sea links the adjoining airspace and lands: in connecting and exchanging people, cultural and material resources, and European thought and imagination throughout history. The result is Mediterranean cultural and social connections, linked with places and bodies to do with mobility “such as ports, as well as people who transcend the sea, such as merchants” (Haller 2000:4), and the New Age traveller. In other words, and as we have already observed for the New Age traveller in Chapter 1, what started as the earliest networks, the Mediterranean trade routes, cursorily expanded into transbordering passages of scholarship, pilgrimage, and transmogrifications of an ecumenical pan-Mediterranean, or, to be more specific for the case of Cyprus, Sunni Muslim and Greek-Christian Orthodox notions. These may be affirmative ones like music, but also dissenting ones such as banditry (St. Cassia 1993), if we start examining from Cyprus’ modern history and do not perplex this argument further with the various past settlers—Phoenicians, Assyrians, Persians, Byzantines, Crusaders, Venetians etc. (see Preface).

In the light of that, the broader overview of twentieth- and twenty-first-century Mediterranean-orientated music scholarship has drawn attention to the area’s geo-cultural intellectuality and political past, which unfolds “between social democracy, fascism and communism, and increasingly... between Christianity, Judaism and Islam” (Stokes 2005:vii). Paradoxically, and in defiance of the above political and religious fragmentations, these pan-Mediterranean ternary oppositions have produced “some of the most deeply rooted and persistent musical pleasures in the region (Arab music in Spain & Turkish music in Greece)” (viii), unifying a Mediterranean transbordering of cultural resources and an ethnic dialogue rather than conflict.

Such *musical pleasures* mobilise both within, across, and beyond the Mediterranean while maintaining their Mediterranean flavour or imagination, for instance through physical diasporas in and out of Cyprus, and on- and off-line media dissemination. They offer “opportunities to piece together fragments of highly mobile lives and suggest how they might be made intelligible and pleasurable, rather than... confusing, alienating and oppressive” (Ibid.). It is an example of what we call transnational now. Mediterranean musics are the “agents” of this cultural history, carrying through their travels “the myths

⁷⁸ “‘The Mediterraneans’ is plural, thus making space for multiple perspectives on multiple realities. Yet, the encompassing focus is on the Mediterraneans as the people who are subjects—and objects—of these perspectives and realities” (Greverus, Welz and Römhild 2000:1).

of origin and return, of... diaspora, with them in their displacements, travels, and migrations" (Bohlman EOL3:1).

These transnational complexities of contemporaneity, as they reflect technological advances, make us look into *new spaces*, something that Part II and Chapter 1 responded to in depth. Contemporary communities (diasporic or not) are now connected with more than economical/trade, religious, political and interpersonal realms; they are linked in the virtual space, which in its turn has the capacity to bind together all the above. The trail of this kind of mobility situates these transnational resource interexchanges in a *new* place, and in distorted forms shaped by all the above nuances of modern globalised flow and life. And with the naturalisation, that mobility is a central action in the midst of flow; its impacts and utterance with diasporic music take a central role in this thesis, stoking ideas and arguments of transnational (inter)exchange. All these take place while examining the interrelationship between a di-ethnos as a single community, or better, a community stemming from a web of diasporic communities. The modern Mediterraneans of Cyprus and their networks align with these transbordering axes, and music is one of its strongest signifiers.

Therefore, *the Mediterranean imaginary* comprises a point where all of the above meet. It truly is a liminality, of the ethnographic, the philosophical, and the literal, and it is the epitome of my methodological proposition—the *new scale of engagement* in Chapter 1 with all the meditational components engaged. *The Mediterranean imaginary* is the *new space* and the *new* but also *old* categories, which level the scales between the derelict orientations of geography that disappear in the virtual world, as clearly observed in Part II, and the *new* emergence of musical transbordering tropes. And when it is linked to a specific musical resource, like *Tillirka*, its historical turns into a native translocal as *Tillirka* (or better Tilyrká for GsCs and Dillirga for TsCs) is also a geography in Cyprus. While turning its diasporic ethnographic instantiation into transnational migrant praxes, and causes its metanarratives to locate *the Mediterranean imaginary* musically as the third diasporic space among BbCs. Yet *the Mediterranean imaginary's* functionality does not stop there. It also projects a positive and activist narrative, a story of how a di-ethnos rendered problematic by its fragmented national identity can evolve from Cyprus in its diaspora and move on from native and dated standpoints, to migrant and updated projections of common music-infused ties to homeland.

* * *

And still, in order to fully construct *the Mediterranean* imaginary beyond the aforementioned mobilities (or better mis-dis-placements), transbordering axes, and in *new spaces*, a pleasurable and ecumenical Mediterranean resource is needed. However, a resource can equally subsist by being embodied transiently (for example in food and drink) or perpetually (on vinyl), *via* dynamic social, communication and trade networks involving Cyprus while also being pleasurable and ecumenical. The overpowering smell of cinnamon filling the di-ethnic Cypriot *home* spaces from Iliana and Özel's kitchens may as well represent *the Mediterranean imaginary* transiently, and the cookies known as braids perpetually. After all, it was the first common cultural resource recovered during my trips to Birmingham; a paraethnographic culinary transformation and adaptation that connects the real and imagined Mediterranean past to its present through extending our senses.

It is, however, the set of *Tillirka* tunes that take the focus in the following paragraphs, firstly through explaining why I have referred to it as a set, instead of as a singular tune.



Figure 7.2: Arda Gündüz during our interview in Lefkoşa, Cyprus. Photo: Author.

The reason lies within the minor, but important differences found in the performances of the song by TsCs and GsCs. This translated ethnographically into paying di-ethnic visits both to Birmingham, and to Cyprus where I have discussed *Tillirka* with two folk musicians: in the south of Paralimni with Násos, talking about *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*, and in the northern part of Lefkoşa (Nicosia) discussing *Dillirga* with Arda Gündüz. This in fact followed my initial engagements and trail of migrant narratives about *Tillirka* in the diaspora of Birmingham, but it is presented in this chapter in reverse order.

From the historical to the modern native translocal:

Hehehe, yes of course I know *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*! We [with Alex] always perform this song during our sets; everyone loves it! ...The words? To be completely honest I have no idea what they are saying... is more of tongue twist that I have memorised through the years... I think is *Kipriaka* [Cypriot (GsC) dialect] but to me is *akatalavistika* [gibberish,

or, incomprehensible] (Michael Pitsillides—19 November 2012, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

It is to my understanding that *Dillirga* was firstly composed and performed by the Greeks [GsCs]... I remember when I was little, my dad used to perform *Dillirga* and sing it with its Greek words... I am not so sure if it's Greek [the song's lyrics], or I mean the Cypriot version of Greek [suggesting Cypriot (GsC) dialect], they sound more like just vowels and sounds... my dad used to tell me that there are lots of Jewish influences in this tune... I even remember some of it from my dad [starts singing]... 'shene vereve na na varava' right? (Arda Gündüz—18 April 2015, Nicosia, Cyprus).

I know is an authentic Cypriot song. Apart from that I do not know much about the history behind it... I think the words are *Kipriaka* but [pause and laughs] hehehe... no idea what they are all about, except some words I can pick like the *PELLI* [crazy]... (Eftihios Mallas—21 November 2012, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

I am not sure, but I think some of the words in the first version of the song are Turkish [suggesting Cypriot TsC dialect]. But! But, it is our [GsCs] song not theirs [TsCs], just to clarify that! (Násos Georgiou—22 April 2015, Ayia Napa, Cyprus).

The reasons behind GsCs claiming censorship of *Tillirka* in such strong manner as Násos

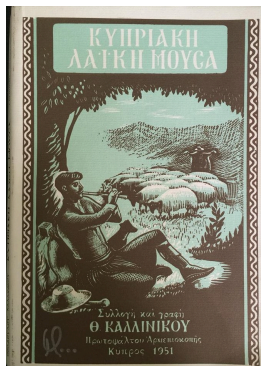


Figure 7.3: Kallinikos' (1951) collection of *Κυπριακή λαϊκή μούσα* cover. Photo: Author.

above, as *theirs* and not of TsC origins, stems from the song's past. The first performance and transcription of *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* remains recorded as a traditional Cypriot folk composition by GsCs, and with a humorous instantiation that BbGsCs seem to "love", its words were written in the Cyprus (GsC) dialect with the first transcription recovered by Theodoros Kallinikos (1951:50-51) in his collection of *Κυπριακή λαϊκή μούσα* (*Cypriot Popular Muse*) transcribed both in western and Byzantine notation. Commonly known in Cyprus and amongst BbCs as *Kipriaka* (Cypriot dialect), explained in depth in the outskirts of the thesis, it extends

into a unique vocabulary and a pre-1974 bilingualism. Bilingualism in those days was heavily determined by geography found mostly in rural areas like the region of Tilyrká (Brendemoen 1999:365-366). This perhaps explain Násos' confusion whether some of the words where Turkish or not. In fact, Mustafa Gökçeoğlu and Ahmet Pehlivan (2006:85) write about the bilingualism of the Linobambaki⁷⁹ (TsCs) poets, who lived in Tilyrká and used to write in the Greek adaptation of *Kipriaka*. Gökçeoğlu and Pehlivan

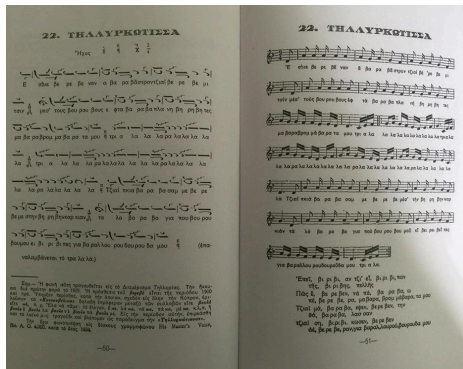


Figure 7.4: Kallinikos (1951:50-51) transcription of *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*. Photo: Author.

also describe how both TsCs and GsCs performed bilingualism musically, through the indigenous of *tchiattista* and *Akritika* songs. Ahmet An (1999:33) also comes to say that the TsC performance of *Akritika* songs in Tilyrká were in linguistically much more advanced Greek than the ones from GsCs. Yet, the first performance of *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*, which took its name after this bilingual region, was from a mono- instead of di-ethnic (GsCs) creation. This does not translate into TsCs not being able to see *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* as

an ecumenical and indigenous expression; as Arda explains, his dad also used to perform the song pre-1974, making it a musical language synthesis *sensu* Brinner (2009:4) and Davies (2010:13). And yet, TsC performance around *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* back then took place without claiming any form of di-ethnic censorship around it. Using Arda's words, it was their "understanding that *Dillirga* was firstly composed and performed by the... [GsCs]."

Interestingly, the words of the GsC version of the song are *akatalavistika*! On top of that, there were also an uncountable number of versions, mostly varying not musically but in the words used. This enabled TsCs to engage with *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*'s performance, as its words for them "sound[ed] more [like] vowels and sounds..." and not as linguistics of *the other*. Arda also explains how he "even remember some of it from [his] dad... 'shene vereve na na varava' right?" I am sure Arda on that sunny April afternoon in northern Nicosia was singing one of the many variant adaptations of the song, one in fact that I was familiar with from my own childhood. After extensive research in Cypriot folk archives

⁷⁹ Linobambaki were a Crypto-Christian Catholic community in Cyprus, persecuted during the Ottoman rule of the island. During British rule, they assimilated with TsCs, and since then they are considered as part of this di-ethnic identity. Their name, Linobambaki, derives from the merger of the Greek words λινό (*lino*) "linen" and βαμβάκι (*vamvaki*) "cotton", a metaphor of having Catholic origins, yet portraying themselves as TsC Muslim.

about the linguistic ambiguity of the song, Georgios Averof (1989:218) explains that within *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* there is an interference of some molecular linguistics (such as vereve, varava, vourouvou, and etc) in between the song's syllabic structure and words. Averof further refers to a folkloric myth about this as the communication ways of a *past* time, when people wanted to communicate in secrecy during the Ottoman rule, and thus used these cryptic molecular linguistics. In the only academic research conducted on this linguistic matter, Andreas Panayiotou (2006:98) writes of “regional forms such as the

Verse I Εδε έβερεβε-ναν ά-βαραβα-στρον τζιαί ε-βερε-ν μισίν Μες τους-βουρουβους εφτά-βαραβα πλανή-βιριβι- τες για-βαρα-λουρου-βουρου-δα μου Chorus Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Verse II Τζεπκιά-βαραβα-σαν με-βερεβε μες τη-βιριβι-ν καρκιάν Τα λό-βοροβο-για που βουρουβου μου εί-βιριβι-πες για-βαρα-λουρου-βουρου-δα μου Chorus Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Verse III Επή-βιριβι-αν τζ-ει-βιριβι-παν της βιριβι-ς πελλής Πως έ-βερεβε-ν να πά-βαραβά-ω πέ-βερεβε-ρα για- βαρα-λουρου-βουρου-δα μου Chorus Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Verse IV Τζια εμά-βαραβα-εψε βερεβε-ν την θά-βαραβα- λασαν Τζε ασή-βιριβι-κωσέ βερεβε-ν αέ-βερεβε-ραν για- βαρα-λουρου-βουρου-δα μου Chorus Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα Τριαλάλα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα-λα	Verse I Eshien vereven-nan a-varavan-stron tzie e-vereven mitsin [little one] Mes tous-vourouvous epta-varava plani-virivites gia- vara-lourou-da mou Chorus Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Verse II Tziepkia [which]-varava-san me-vereve mes ti [within]-virivin karkian [heart] Ta low-varovo-gia pou [for where] vourouvou mou [mine] i-virivi-pes [tell] gia [for]-vara-lourou- vourou-da mou [mine] Chorus Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Verse III Epti-virivi-an tz-i-virivin-pan tis [on top of] virivi-s pellis [crazy woman] Pos [How] e-vereve-n na pa [to go]-varava-o pe- vereve-ra gia [for]-vara-lourou-vourou [running]-da mou [mine] Chorus Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Verse IV Tzie [And] emá-varava-epse [last night] vereve-n tin [the] tha-varava-lassan [sea, broken in the middle with the -varava-] Tze esi [And you]-virivin-kose vereve-n ai-vereve- run [air, broken in the middle with -vereve-] gia [for]-vara-lourou-vourou [run]-da mou [mine] Chorus Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá Tria-lala-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-lá
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Figure 7.5: Transliteration/translation of the GsC performance of *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*. Transliteration and translation: Author.

alleged linguistic form/code used in the region of Tilyrká (katsouvellika) of which today we have only a few remnants in music/song”. Thus, and as no other academic work has explained so far beyond this chapter, the first known version of the song *Tillirka* was sung in *katsouvellika* (κατσουβέλικα). And even if *katsouvellika* in modern Greek is a term used to describe incomprehensible language, in the Cypriot historic context, however, it denotes a Tilyrká(rian) language, a homogenisation deriving from the di-ethnic inhabitation and bilingualism of the region itself.

The linguistic extents of *the past* (pre-1974) covered so far show a harmonious and ecumenical performance of *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*; with a “peripheral [to the Mediterranean] music” that “come[s] to represent both a timeless past of aboriginality and a living demonstration of the island as an exemplar of a contemporary pan-Mediterranean culture” (Sant Cassia 2000:287). Yet, late-modernity comes to change this harmonious *past*. Post-1974, the song was merely a GsC business and performance up until the early 1980s. That was when a cultural movement amongst TsCs in the island started promoting visions of Cypriotism, as an identity statement of being Cypriots as opposed to using non-ecumenical fragmentation prefixes (Turkish-Cypriots). The reference point for their

endeavours was the rich common and shared di-ethnic cultural wealth of the island, with traditional Cypriot folk music being foregrounded.

Verse I Dillirgadan gece geçtim Suyundan içtim Badem gözlü bir yar sevdim Kendimden geçtim Chorus Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la lay Verse II Dillirganın tepeleri denize bakar Köy kızları saçlarına çiçekler takar Chorus Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la li la lay Verse III Çilek yüzlü bir yarımın Nazlı bir yarsın Mavi dalgalar boyunca Sen uzanırşın Chorus Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la li la lay Verse IV Yemyeşil urubaların var Buzlu suyun var Yesillik, maviliklerle ne güzel uyar Chorus Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la li la lay	Verse I I passed through Dillirga in the night. I drank from it's waters. I fell in love with an almond eyed beauty. I was overcome. Chorus Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la li la lay Verse II Dillirga's mountain tops look out to the sea The village girls put flowers in their hair Chorus Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la li la lay Verse III You are my strawberry faced love. My coy love. You are as eternal as the blue waves. Chorus Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la li la lay Verse IV You have bright green clothes. You have ice cold water The greens and the blues go beautiful together. Chorus Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay Lara lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la lay la la li la li la li la lay
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Figure 7.6: Translation of Özgürsel TsC cover of *Dillirga*.
Translation: Author.

Cemal Özgürsel, a TsC folk musician, performer, and composer, has been particularly central in this process. In order to revive and re-introduce to the younger generation of TsCs (who are not at all familiar with Greek, or Cypriot [GsC] dialect) to old Cypriot folk tunes, Özgürsel translated two of his favourite songs.⁸⁰ The first was the song known to GsCs as *Ψιντρή βασιλιτζιά μου* (*Psintri vasilitzia mou*; *My fine basil*), that Özgürsel translated (title and words) as *Feslikan* (*Basil*) in

Cypriot TsC dialect. The second song Özgürsel choose to translate was *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*; from whence the TsCs title of *Dillirga* derives. Since then, Özgürsel started performing the songs bilingually (both with his translation but also in a GsC version) at TsC communal events, mostly weddings. In 1983, he went a step further with *Dillirga*, making a rough recording of the song (according to Tsangaridou [2015:48], at home on a cassette recorder) that he distributed to TsC radios. “It soon became popular [and] although it was previously unknown to Turkish-Cypriots (at least those who could not speak Greek), its translation as ‘Dillirga’ subsequently transformed it into what many considered as something of an anthem of Cypriotness” (Papadakis and Hatay 2015:33).

It was, however, the rest of the statement from Yiannis Papadakis and Mete Hatay that got my attention, as it continues: “Most Turkish-Cypriots thus now assume that ‘Dillirga’... was also a Turkish-Cypriot traditional song and that it was a melody common to both communities.” And yet, disappointingly, their narrative on *Tillirka* ends there.

However, reading between the lines, a di-ethnic censorship claim over the origins of the songs appears. The insinuation that is merely and *truly* traditional only for GsCs stems, not only from intellectual opinion, but also from very much lived realities in the modern Cypriot divide. And of course, this censorship debate is not restricted to *Tillirka* and its paraphernalia. Momentarily one of the most popular GsC folk musicians in the island, Michalis Tterlikkas (2006), states in a more general and fragmented frame of mind: “...mind you, tomorrow they are going to tell us that everything was Turkish and that it was us who stole songs from them” (cited in Tsangaridou 2015:51). The reasons why GsC musicians feel this way, are somehow justified by historical events according to Tsangaridou’s chapter, and I direct the reader there for such exegesis (50-52). Yet, it still strikes me as irregular that someone would call a folkloric resource, like *Tillirka* “stolen” because someone translated it into another dialect. Narratives similar to Tterlikkas’ also play out in my ethnographic interviews, revealing a conflicting *present* for *Tillirka* contrary to its ecumenical Mediterranean *past*. These also disclose a violent past in the area of Tillirya, in variance from the commonly shared tune:

You know the story about the troubles in Tilyrká right? ...I remember watching a documentary about it and it broke my heart... I am talking about the battle of Kokkina [a village of Tilyrká region]... Seeing Turkish troops marching there, ready to kill us! (Násos Georgiou—22 April 2015, Ayia Napa, Cyprus).

Násos here refers to what is known to GsCs as The Battle of Tilyrká or the Battle of Kokkina, and to TsCs Erenköy Direnişi (The Battle of Erenköy); a bout of intercommunal violence dating back to 1964. The battle took place on the rocky shore of Erenköy (Kokkina), as GsCs soldiers launched an attack on TsC troops there under the suspicion that they were smuggling weapons from Turkey. Following this event in the August of 1964, on the eighth of that month Turkish jets also launched an attack on the GsC soldiers.⁸¹ It seems that Násos is referring to the latter. I also tried to discuss this with Arda, but he politely denied, an invariable reaction from all the TsCs I have talked to during my research both in Birmingham and Cyprus when my questions concerned conflicting pasts. Even if it was my endeavour before meeting Násos that day in Ayia Napa to avoid any political discussion, his strong feelings about it could not be tamed. As I explained in the Preface, it is almost impossible not to talk about fragmentation, conflict

⁸¹ I forward the reader to Rebecca Bryant’s (2012:168-194) chapter, *The Fractures of Struggle: Remembering and Forgetting*; a heartfelt account on The Battle of Erenköy in the relation between myth and history.

and politics when you structure a project on the Cypriot di-ethnos. I then swiftly changed our discussion to the album by the *Cyprus: Famagusta Municipality Magem Folkdance Group: Traditional Songs and Dances* (2013)—see Preface—which Násos already had in his hands. It did not took him long to pick out the song of *Dillirga*:

You see?! This is our song! Is a Greek song! They took it and made it theirs... this is the things they do if you give them the chance... and all in the name of ‘peace’... Makes me so angry! ...[After briefly listening to the track on my laptop]... hmm... they just changed the instruments, put Turkish ones like ντουμπερλέκι [meaning here the Turkish darbuka, a percussion instrument]... in other words they tried to make it Turkish! The song, my friend, was made famous by the version of Michalis Violaris... that is the real version of *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* and that's all I have to say.

And then, at the first chance I got, I looked for Violaris’ version of *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* on YouTube, to see if it sounded somehow more *authentic* to my ears. And while I was expecting to hear the *real* Cypriot instrumentation of *zygia* (with violin and lute), being



Figure 7.7: Video still of Violaris’ version of *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* on YouTube. Video: gorgo8872 (2011). [Online], Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1t3Ar6aSwyI>

according to Násos the “real version” of the song, I heard *bouzoukia* and saw visuals of the map of Cyprus divided in blood. . I can see how someone can claim censorship of the song by adding instruments traditional to *their* motherland. However, this does not apply only for the TsC take on the song—for which Násos points toward the utterance of *daburka*, an instrument factually linked from ancient time with

the civilisations of Mesopotamia, Central Asia and Anatolia (and thus as much Greek as Turkish)—but, as Násos’ “real version” shows, it also manifests in GsC praxes around *Tillirka* with the addition of *bouzoukia*. By that point in my research, that ecumenical Mediterranean performance of the song’s past seemed very far away, and after five years of discussing Cypriot folk music with Cypriots in native and diasporic sites, I can safely say that the relationship of the aforementioned is problematic. *Tillirka* is a prolific example of how Cypriot folk music is a heritage shrouded in political purposes and

intentions; a scapegoat withholding narratives of fragmentation and traces that might also exemplify them, regardless of whether these are coming from TsC or GsC performance.

With so many takes on *Tillirka*, what remains undeniable—even if it is performed with *bouzoukia* or *daburka*—is the song’s musical genre; in the same sense, you can perform rave music with traditional Russian instruments, but it still raves. *Tillirka* is in reality a Cypriot *syrτος* dance tune (συρτός for GsCs and sirto for TsCs). This appears as a more empirical signifier as *to whom Tillirka* belongs, instead of scapegoating its utterance.

It is a *syrτος* yes... *syrτος* is considered as a clear Cypriot dance (Násos Georgiou—22 April 2015, Ayia Napa, Cyprus).

I know for a fact that we have so much music and dances uniting us... like *karşılama*, *sirto* or even *zeybek*... I am sure I can think of many others if we had more time (Arda Gündüz—18 April 2015, Nicosia, Cyprus).

Syrτος’ dance songs have a clear Cypriot character—as with *karchilamas* (*karşılama* for TsCs and καρτσιλαμάς for GsCs) and *zeybek* (ζεϊμπέκικο [*zeibekiko*] for GsCs) amongst many other dances in the island, as Arda correctly notes above—and their indigenous provenance is attested by a plethora of folkloric references (Averof, 1989; Giorgoudes, 1999) and other academic work on the matter (Poupazis 2013:51; Tsangaridou 2015:37-39). Folkloric records also state that even if any *foreign* elements were to have impacted the formation of these Cypriot dances, it would matter little to native Cypriots who, despite their diverse origins, choose to focus these disparate elements into a single Cypriot folk music identity (Attalides, 1979; Averof 1989; Mavratsas, 1997; Papadakis, 1998). The strong identity signifier of Cypriotism surrounding the performance of *Tillirka* (*via* its genre), might also explain why Özgürsel decided to translate it, why TsCs consider it the anthem of Cypriotness, and the reason why the song today in both its GsC and TsC renditions is commonly performed as a mixed *syrτος* in both the north and south of Cyprus. Tsangaridou (2015:48) gives the example of the bi-communal dance group *Steps for Peace*, an activist folk group, dancing to *Tillirka* both as *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* and *Dillirga*.

And even if native Cypriots historically choose to ignore the possibility of foreign elements in their folk music structure, this does not necessarily mean that this chapter

will. With Cypriot folk music, as any national folk music, being transmitted through centuries as an oral tradition, it is impossible to trace back the actual sources that the fiddlers who composed *Tillirka* got their influences from.

My dad used to tell me that *Dillirga* has Jewish influences... after all Cyprus is a mixture of many races and their musics (Arda Gündüz—18 April 2015, Nicosia, Cyprus).

I've never heard of Jewish influences for *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*. However, the Middle East is definitely a strong influence in our music... we are not much different to the Arabs and others around us, but mostly through history the Greek elements in Cyprus overpowered them; we are Greek (Násos Georgiou—22 April 2015, Ayia Napa, Cyprus).

Both the past and present performances of *Tillirka* in Cyprus showcase a vibrant translocality. If the Turkish and Greek elements in the construction of Cypriot folk music are taken as granted, this binary seems to also extend in the case of *Tillirka* (and Cypriot folk music in general) to other neighbouring locales. Beyond its genderification as a *syrτος* dance, and speaking strictly musically, *Tillirka* also falls into the subgenre of *phones* (φωνές, meaning voice). This GsC denomination of the subgenre, pre-1974, was also applied by TsCs, who also refer to it as *phones*. *Phones* and their variations, are folklorically framed as traditional Cypriot folk melodies and constitute the motifs of the island's folkloric repertoire. They are “model tunes”, and as a musical genre only met in the island of Cyprus thus signify indigeneity (Giorgoudes, 1999; 2004:136).⁸² These indigenous melodies and their motifs are usually named after the geographical location they have been conceived from or composed at; i.e. *Tillirka* from Tilyrká, or to be more accurate *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* (*A Girl from Tilyrká*). And as for Cyprus itself, their modern construction stems from a multicultural (pan-Mediterranean) ascendancy. This also matches the geographical past of Tilyrká, a trade port linked with cosmopolitan movements (legal and otherwise), interethnic marriages (Güven-Lisaniler and Warner 1998:2), and an entry point from which *kompanies* (during the recent past) and Levantine travelling musicians (in the distant past) would inaugurate and expose their

⁸² Panikos Giorgoudes (1999) in his online article *Music of Cyprus*, gives a musicological analysis of these “model-tunes” and their forms. And even if Giorgoudes' work does not seem as non-folkloric in fairness, there is an amass amount of folkloric references on the subject (only but a few: Tompolis 1980; Averof, 1989; Argyrou, 1996; and Yiangoullis, 1999). While surprisingly, none is to be found in the latest (and only) academic in book form publication of *Music in Cyprus* (Samson and Demetriou, 2015).

musical traditions to the natives during the nineteenth-century in the GsC café chantant, the TsC café aman, or at festivals and fairs (during and before the nineteenth century). Musical histories in Cyprus point towards these cosmopolitanisms, and are very much realised by young Cypriot musicians like Násos and Arda nowadays.

This said about the translocal structuralisms around *Tillirka*—historically, musicologically, and folklorically—there are no archives pinpointing specific *other* influences to this indigenous tune. This statement comes with the exception of an autobiographical video published in 1999 by the song’s proto-an-notator, Kallinikos, from the Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus. In it, he explains how the protagonist travelled in 1950 to the village of Marathovounos (in central northern Cyprus; de jure Μαραθόβουνος, and de facto Ulukışla) where he met a centenarian man who taught him the song, before transcribing it for the first time (at least, the first recorded time). The centenarian was of GsC lineage, but this brief capture of *Tillirka* on videotape still leaves an ambiguity around its orientations (in terms of these pointing towards a specific *other* culture). However, and in metanarrative, the song’s rhythm of 2/4 is quite telling.

I made this link, surprisingly, in Istanbul and its paths—lamenting a dead civilization and its avenues mediating life’s serpentine affinities, as Pamuk (2003) describes—during a conference I attend there in May 2015. I met and exchanged cross-cultural ideas with my friend Anas Abbasovicz, a Syrian migrant who has worked there as a musician and a translator. During this tête-à-tête, and in what seemed the ideal place for it to occur, in the crossing of West and Anatolian in Istanbul over Turkish tea and delights, *Tillirka* also came into play. A month after my discussions with Násos and Arda, Anas’ narrative input, it felt like the missing piece that completes the narrative-puzzle for *Tillirka*. Anas seemed mesmerised by the song and by Cypriot folk music in general:

Cyprus, has such a diversity within its own [indigenous] culture... always being the crossroad of worlds, and for me the capital nation of the Levant [a historical term pointing towards eastern Mediterranean cultures]... like the song you just played for me, *Tillirka* is it?... you can hear the rhythmic patterns of the Levant... yes I can hear too that it is in 2/4, and yes I can think of hundreds of Syrian, Israeli, Lebanese, Jordanian, Turkish and Greek songs that have a similar rhythmic pattern to this (28 May 20015—Istiklal Avenue, Istanbul, Turkey).

Anas' words then made me realise that songs such as *Tillirka* not only impact native and migrant Cypriots, but can also be claimed in censorship across the Mediterranean, starting from the Levant in the east. Yet this claim appears to be more empirical, well rooted in the structure of the composition and not within its adorned *afters* of Greek/Turkish instrumentations. *Tillirka's* "musical language [tunes into] a new synthesis drawing on common... [Levant] musical elements, but not situated centrally in... [a Greek] or Turkish style" (Brinner 2009:4). It is a primary translocal example of what Stokes (2005:vii-ix) frames as an "imagined Mediterranean musical space" heavily depending in its past. And having in mind the modern Cypriot, their modern past contains lots of identity fragmentation and conflict, but also mobility and mis-dis-placement; the last two will be the next section's focus. Even the song's molecular linguistics (in its first known form) are neither Greek or Turkish, cryptic yet, and what I have previously described as a unique Tilyrká(rian) language of homogenisation—a language which someone may as well suggest as being the mother tongue of eastern Mediterraneans, as this is performed by its natives and within its "capital nation of the Levant" within a song named after one of its most cosmopolitan ports.

The song's current native utterance (beyond its censorial claims) points towards a musical resource enjoyed as a humorous but also educational⁸³ agent (Mosxos, Toumbakari and Tombler 2003:42). In this sense, either as *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* or *Dillirga*, the song is one "of the most deeply rooted and persistent musical pleasures in the region" (Stokes 2005:viii), the *anthem of Cypriotness* unifying a Mediterranean translocal of music homogenisation and an ethnic dialogue rather than conflict. *Tillirka's* translocal, ecumenical, and pan-Mediterranean past of Cyprus is antithetical to the modern native narratives and realities I have observed. Yet at the end of the day, music's *real* meanings are what the people who listen to it believe them to be.

Tillirka, in contemporary Cyprus, anthologises a set of versions and performances that amass a *new* socio-cultural synthesis that is fully understood locally. Yet this contemporary expression has its origins in the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean communities and their performative spaces, mobilities, and meanings. And these meanings, as well as the local synthesis of the song, travel and disperse with Cypriots in diaspora, personifying in many ways the Levant New Age Travellers with their songs of

⁸³ *Tillirka* is utilised for teaching music at primary school children, mostly due to its humorous and tongue-twisting nature, but also due to its easy musical structure. These elements of the song are believed to help the children engage and learn the song faster and more enthusiastically.

the past but in contemporaneity, who can be found and acculturate anywhere in the world. In Birmingham I have found but a few such travellers, with a mis-dis-placed *Tillirka* in a different (but not unfamiliar) kind of utterance, but still very much as an agent of this cultural history.

Tillirka: To the Migrant Transnational

I have an extra copy here if you want to take it home with you... it is this version [of the song] we perform... mostly during wedding parties but also all kind of events at the *Estia* (Michael Pitsillides—19 November 2012, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

We do listen to Cypriot folk also... I really like *Dillirga*... it doesn't get any more Cypriot than this I suppose... let me find the link [of the YouTube video] of the song for you... yes, this is the one [version] we listen to (Sevven Küçükoğulları—8 October 2014, Woodgate, Birmingham).

It was during my first visits to Birmingham that I came across narratives on *Tillirka*—first the GsC one, during my first encounter and interview with Michael Pitsillides in 2012, and

Τιλλιρκα Μ.Π.

Tempo 160

Am Dm Am Dm G Am

Ε - σιέ - βε - ρε - βε - ναν ά - βα - ρα - βα - στον
 τζιαί - βε - ρε - βε - μι - τσίν Μεσ τους βου - ρου - βους ε -
 φτά βα - ρα - βα - πλα - νή - βη - ρη - βη - τες μα - βα - ρα - βρομ - μά - βα - ρα - τα
 μου Τρια λα λα Τρια λα λα Τρια λα λα

Figure 7.8: The transcription Michael and Alex use to perform *Tillirka* in Birmingham. Photo: Author.

the TsC one considerably later (in 2014), during one of my visits to the Küçükoğullarıs' kebab shop. These two dates are also linked with two of the most valuable paraethnographic items I have recovered, the tangible transcription, given to him by his Uncle Savvas, that Michael uses and performs from with Alex during communal events, and a YouTube link of the song from Sevven “the version... [TsCs] listen to.” The YouTube link that Sevven gave me, directed me to the recorded version of *Dillirga* by Özgürsel (1983). The diasporic praxis around *Tillirka*,

preliminarily observed, is much more specific in musical performance compared to the parallel native complex engagements, as the ambiguities and variant forms of the song observed in Cyprus are not there; in diaspora I located two specific versions, in di-ethnic performance.

Figure 7.9: A collage of video stills from the YouTube link that Sevven gave me. Collage: Author - Video: gokdenizli (2008). [Online], Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kA0s2E6xc2U>



Figure 7.10: Transcription of Özgürsel's (1983) *Dillirga*. Transcription: Author.

Dillirga



general performance of folk music between BbTsCs and BbGsCs, as GsCs there have musicians performing tunes like *Tillirka* for them (during communal events) while TsCs limit their experience to listening to similar tunes through non-live streams, such as YouTube. With this observation being perhaps the strongest difference within the BbC performance of *Tillirka*, a closer look in the notation and the words also surface some others. Michael's transcription is also clearly re-transcribed in Figure 7.11, while above, translations of both versions' words are given, in order to make the reader's comparative eye-work easier. In the case of the BbGsC version's words I have used the ones that Michael and Alex sing more often during their performances; I have witnessed a few of these in person, and they are indeed very close to the first transcription of the song by Kallinikos in 1951.

Looking at the words of the two versions, the most apparent difference comes from their theme; with *Dillirga* talking about the beauty of Tilyrká and its girls, while *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* (*A Girl from Tilyrká*) comprise a humorous take in *katsouvellika* tongue (a linguistic tongue twister whose difficulty is reflected in the complexity of translating it, or better *transliterating* it). As Michael explains, "it is one of those songs that no one knows what its words are all about... but everyone enjoys listening to it as far as you play it with a funny note". Therefore, thematically (and musically) the GsC version meets the *authentic* proto-performance of the song recorded by Kallinikos (see Figure 7.2), while the TsC version seems more *authentically* to meet the definition of the *phones* sub-genre, naming itself and talking about physical beauty (the prime characteristic of this unique Cypriot genre). However, the TsC native understanding of the song's theme changes shape and meaning in diaspora. Talking about the song at the Küçükoğulları's kebab shop in Woodgate, on 8 October 2014, one can see the different migrant understandings BbTsCs can have about the song, depending mostly on their migrational and social/family status but also on personal idiosyncrasy:

OK. Before I tell you what I make out of this song, I should let you know that we have a disagreement with Ibrahim about what the story behind it is all about... Sevven is with me on that... always on mommy's side, my precious daughter! Hehehehe... I definitely consider this song as the most Cypriot of them all! (Boren).

To mom and myself, it is a love song, about someone who is in love with a girl from Dillirga... I think the Lara in the chorus is her name...

not so sure as it might also be a lalala, you know... the singer calls her different names... like, almond-eyed, coy, but the most hilarious is the strawberry faced! Hehehehe... My dad calls me silly for thinking that these are the real words of the song... he was laughing at me the first time I told him what I got out of the lyrics... we used to listen to it since we were little, it was part of our Cypriot schooling at home from dad and mom! Hehehe... not sure if I like the song to be honest, but it reminds me of my childhood and that is why I am quite keen on it... (Sevven).

And even if Ibrahim was initially listening patiently, I could see out of the corner of my eye that he was dying to say something! And suddenly, and without me asking, he could not hold back any longer:

What are you saying to the man?! Hehehe... Michalis, look, this is silly, what they are saying makes no sense whatsoever! Do you want to know what the song is really all about? Then you ask me, don't listen to them! ...it definitely talks about Dillirga, you know the village... about its beauty, its almond trees and strawberry fields, not a strawberry face! Sevven is a bit of a silly-face! Hehehehe... The Greek version was first, yes, and the Turkish one came out around the 80s, I remember... in reality though it is a true Cypriot song, 'cos if you take the Greek and Turkish words out it sounds the same, it sounds Cypriot music and nothing else... (Ibrahim).

What comes transparently from the Küçükoğulları's discussions about the song is the collective understanding that *Tillirka* is "the most Cypriot [song they experience in diaspora] of them all!" However and like the *akatalavistika* nature of the GsC performance, the TsC version here finds an equivalently *akatalavistika* thematic understanding, perhaps better described as a series of misconstructions. Boren and Sevven, as BBTsCs, seem to be finding different (minor but important) meanings in the song's theme from Ibrahim, a Cypriot-born BbTsC. The romance that surfaces in the female BBTsC attestation is replaced by the nostalgia of a Cypriot-born male traveller, who listens to references of his *homeland* instead of a love story. And even if Ibrahim does not come from Tilyrká, but from Nicosia, Özgürsel's voice in his philopatridomantic ears and senses talks about passing by a Cypriot village (nostalgically reminding him of

past times in his own village), while extending further *álgos* through triggering senses through the smell of flowers and almond trees (in memory shapes for Ibrahim). Yet beyond the metanarratives of Ibrahim's emotional abyss, the observedly understood meanings in the song pragmatically come from the fact that he has a much better understanding of the TsC dialect than Boren and Sevven do. This misconstruction of the song's meaning is not limited to ethnographic TsC narratives, but also extends to the literature, whereas Tsangaridou (2015:48) writes that "its Turkish-Cypriot version it is a love song in which the beauty of Tillyrka area is evoked". No other academic writing refers to the *Dillirga* song in a way that would resolve the song's Gordian interpretation difficulties (love song, a song about Tilyrká, or, both?), and this Chapter work towards filling this literature gap. Considering my limited sophistication in Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot dialect knowledge, I find Ibrahim's understanding of the song the most reliable source possible (Plumer, who also knows the song very well, concurs); an insider who has experienced the song since it "came out around the 80s, [something which he] remember[s]..." well. Figure 7.6 is composed on the logic of the above factors together with Burhan's (a.k.a. Bernie's) testimony about the song below (next section).

Regardless of the consciously *katsouvellika* meaning given to the song by BbGsCs, thus keeping up with their tradition, the words of Özgürsel's performance also seem to be inconsequential for BbTsCs, even if discussing their meaning might lead to playful intra-family debates. "At the end of the day is not so important of what the song says... it is what you make of it" (Ibrahim). Yet it is through this playfulness and while explaining the song to me that the Küçükoğullaris reveal how a musical resource, which points towards *the home* and *the traditional*, can navigate someone metanarratively through the socio-cultural structuralisms of an ethnos (or di-ethnos) in diaspora. The patriarchal normality which keeps women and men separate when dealing with a guest was clearly observable, with the man as the head of the family interrupting by the end dismissing a wife's and daughter's meanings and communicated understandings by saying, "This is silly, what they are saying makes no sense whatsoever...[,] Sevven is a bit of a silly face! ...you ask me, don't listen to them!" And in many ways this socio-cultural observation keeps up with the Cypriot structuralisms and traditions in itself.

The music is no different here, for both the TsC and GsC versions found in Birmingham also keep up with a form of cultural and heritage contingency: in the case of TsCs identically (as they are listening to the original recording of Özgürsel's translated cover); and Michael and Alex perform the song in mood variations but always based on the

version as this was transcribed by Kallinikos and performed with humour. This enriches the traditional links already mentioned, of the *phones* subgenre and the *katsouvellika* performance. Yet a closer look into the transcriptions of both versions show a few musical and literary deviations in Özgürsel's translated version from Kallinikos' version of the song, that are very much like the one found in BbGsC performance. However, these differences are not a diasporic outcome, as exactly the same developments are found historically one after the other in native performance. These deviations are merely inherited by BbCs, yet are need to be examined to find their meanings and significances.

The first observed difference between the di-ethnic diasporic performances of *Tillirka* is the time signature. Taking as a given that time signature is somewhat arbitrary, with performers free to express themselves in whatever time frame works best for them, in the case of the two BbC versions there is much to be said. Time signature is usually there to give you a sense of how to piece together a coherent interpretation of the *entire* work, and not necessarily dictating where to put the accent. However, that is not the case for the set of migrant *Tillirka* performances. Özgürsel's *Dillirga* is in 4/4, while the *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* of Kallinikos and the BbGsCs in 2/4. In realising this time disjunction, one should look at it from the perspective of a composer. Being one myself (though not as talented as I would like), if I were to rewrite one of my 2/4 compositions in 4/4 I would expect this to lead to more pronounced and larger phrases than my initial composition for each measure, especially if my initial 2/4 composition had, like *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*, focused intensively on accents on a per-measure basis and I wished to change its effect in re-directing focus on phrasing, as Özgürsel does with *Dillirga*. Further, remodelling the song in 4/4 makes the beat's motion more circular, rolling from one count to the next, causing an accented down beat epitomising one's intension on phrasing upon this circular movement. In contrast, the initial 2/4 finds every other beat in a bouncy motion, bouncing back and forth from one count to the next, as an accented down beat, perhaps implying that the change to 4/4 is motivated by accents and aesthetics.

In talking about aesthetics, the timbre is also determined from this meter disjuncture. As expected, the BbGsC performance in 2/4 signifies Greekness, with a more Aegean and *nishiotika* (νησιώτικα, meaning island-tune) timbre, while the BbTsC performance in 4/4 provides an Arabic timbre, with its microtonal character matching its instrumentation. The BbGsC utterance of the *nishiotika* timbre is not necessarily reflected in the native performance, but also not mutually excluded due to the plethora of variations of *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* found in Cyprus; for example Kallinikos transcribed the song in

Byzantine notation, while Violaris performs it with *laika* aesthetics linked with the *bouzoukia* in his version. Both Michael and Alex, have strong affiliations with a *kalamaras* (mainland Greek) musician who was (ephemerally) based in Birmingham, and that might explain why they perform in this *nishiotika* timbre their take on *Tillirka*:

Theios [uncle] Savvas is really close with Stathis Koukoularis! You know who that is, right? ...well he is a very famous *kalamaras* [folk] musician... he plays *nishiotika*... We [uncle Savvas, Alex, and himself] spent a lot of time with him when he was in Birmingham... we learned a lot from him about Greek traditional music... he is now back in Athens... everyone [GsCs] in Birmingham admire him and love listening to him performing but also talking about music (Michael Pitsillides—28 March 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Uncle Savvas' affiliation with the famous Greek folklorist, Stathis Koukoularis, instilled *nishiotika* in many of Michael and Alex's performances; as I have explained elsewhere this becomes apparent and proven through their inclusion of *nishiotika* tunes during communal wedding-adornment ritual performances (Poupazis 2013:100-106). And this is not a subconscious consequence of two young BBGsC musicians admiring an elder Greek one. It very much a conscious choice by the two:

Well I have to say there is a *nishiotika* vibe about the way we perform... yes for sure we are influenced by Koukoularis a lot... Even traditional Cypriot tunes [like *Tillirka*], we give them a *nishiotika* twist... we enjoy it, that's why... (Michael Pitsillides—28 March 2013, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

However, when asking for clarifications about whether this might confuse an untrained ear into mistaking *Tillirka* for a traditional Greek instead of Cypriot tune, Michael firmly explains:

No way! Everyone knows that *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* is Cypriot... ask your aunty and uncle [Iliana and Eftihios], they will tell you the same... we just like performing it this way, that's all... also the *nishiotika* vibe helps

to make the song sound more funny, which is the whole point behind it... or at least how Cypriots [GsCs] here like to listen the song.

It is a classic story of mis-dis-placing a cultural resource from the native to diaspora, and then developing around it while heritagizing: a song, which travelled in Birmingham with Savvas' Cypriot folk knowledge, but also took a localised shape (in meaning and performance) with Koukoularis' *nishiotika* influence. And yet this is the version of the song that, when BbGsCs listen to it, reminds them of Cyprus and not Greece, despite its "*nishiotika* vibe." Just a few answers to the question "do you think this is Cypriot or Greek?" are needed to explain that:

Definitely Cypriot, mate! (Christos Christou—7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Well, it is Greek music but I am sure it is a Cypriot song... no, no, I know for sure it's Cypriot, but again, Greek, Cypriot or *Arabica* [Arabic] sound the same, don't you think? (Nicola Christou—7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

Only the words make it clear that is Cypriot... *Kipriaka* [GsC dialect] all the way! (Chrystala Mallas—7 October 2014, Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham).

On one hand, this exemplifies musically the identity-blurring Greek/Cypriot hybridisation that occurs amongst BbGsCs: Cypriot folk music, performed in a distinctively Greek (*nishiotika*) timbre; while on the other, it provides a BbGsC attestation of recognising *Tillirka* as a Cypriot tune, linking the song with its Mediterranean dimensions. It is, nonetheless, a blurred hybrid with a clear Cypriot identity comprehension by BbGsCs. However, something also transpires when Michael talks about Koukoularis as someone whom they "learned a lot from... [and that all BbGsCs] admire him and love listening to him performing but also talking about music". This reflects a modern Cypriot's reality, in looking up to a mainland Greek as a paradigm, and in this case idealising his musical knowledge and skills, reminding the reader of Chara Pappoutta's testimony in Chapter 3: "the *kalamarades* are in charge and the Cypriots follow" (17 April 2015, Larnaca, Cyprus). For non-musician migrants in Birmingham, Koukoularis functions as a paradigmatic reference, idealising this mainland Greek man as

a paradigm of how to be a true Greek, thus creating a selective-ethnogenesis of being Greek in migration. This is another way of mandating authenticity, as *everything is Greek* to them.

As mentioned before, the BbTsC performance of *Tillirka*—in 4/4 meter, accommodating the *extra* notes in order to emphasise phrasing—has a rather binarily opposing timbre (Arabic/Turkish) to the BbGsC “*nishiotika* vibe.” This is also linked to Özgürsel’s choice of not only altering the *katsouvellika* words with TsC dialect items, but also to make changes to the musical language and its instruments: shifting from the traditional Cypriot ones of *zygia* to the traditional (for TsCs in the island) of *daburka*, *kanun* and *oud*. The sounding characteristics and microtonal performance of these instruments shift the aesthetics of *Tillirka* towards orientalism, transforming the musical language into one that TsCs could relate to, while alienating them from the one that had a clear Cypriot character. For a GsC, migrant or native, it is more like listening to a familiar tune but with alien sounds, wrapped with unfamiliar (or even, sometimes, unwanted) aesthetics.

In performance, *zygia* closes each phrase, while the *daburka*, *kanun* and *oud* trills are not only extending but also bridge the ending phrase with the one beginning (in the 4/4 circular movement). Melodically, Alex and Michael utilise a Perfect Vth interval when opening the song, while Özgürsel repeats the first note (A) and then the Perfect Vth interval occurs. Regardless of the two not being synchronous, both versions choose to utilise the Perfect Vth interval, something typical in Cypriot folk music. The microtonal nature of Özgürsel’s rendition is also made clear in Figure 7.10, whereas the black dots on top of notes signify the bridges occurring (the same applies, but less frequently, for the GsC version in Figure 7.11). These noted bridges are where one can turn one’s attention in order to listen the binary timbres found in the set of *Tillirka* (Arabic for the TsC and *nishiotika* for the GsC renditions).

Tillirka Is the Mediterranean Imaginary

I met no narratives of fragmentation around the diasporic set of *Tillirka* during all of my five research years and visits in Birmingham. This observation becomes stronger the more one talks with migrants, who all have an undeviating affiliation with the song. See, for example, Burhan (a.k.a. Bernie), who tries to make his own *hellim* and who is actually from the a village in the Tilyrká area (born and raised in Yeşilırmak, commonly known as Limnitis [Λιμνίτης]):

You see, this song, for me, is like a slice of home! Makes me happy every time I listen to it... some family, friends and myself, from Dillirga, we get together from time to time [in Birmingham] to have a BBQ with

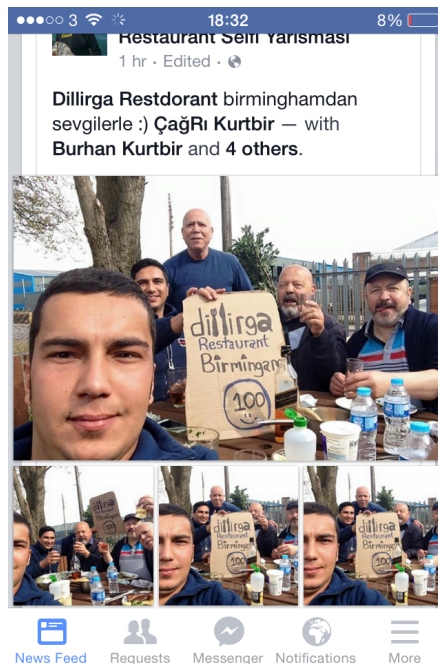


Figure 7.12: Screenshot of Burhan's post on Facebook. Post and photos: Burhan's personal archive.

some *zivana* [a di-ethnically shared traditional Cypriot alcoholic drink known as *zivana* or *zivania*] and we call our party place 'Dillirga restaurant!' hehehe... I have a post on Facebook, I will send it to you... you know just for fun... we listen to *Dillirga* while we BBQ, yes, and other Cypriot songs... it also make us feel a bit closer to home... the song definitely talks about Dillirga, the area you know... about the beautiful trees and girls... I wouldn't call it a love song, no... (Burhan—12 February 2016, Skype Interview).

When Burhan, his family, and friends gather in the back garden of one of their houses, a space shapes from memorandum moments (of *the home*) filled with intimate smells, tastes, dialogues, sounds and interpersonal relationships.. And yet these senses shared between BbTsCs are negotiated in a profoundly playful way. It is a space defined from nostalgic movements, which celebrates them in an ersatz fashion, in what Boym (2002:13) refers to as the “grey areas on the outskirts of imaginary homelands.” And music is a profound resource in constructing such spaces, as for a migrant who was born or has a lineage from the area of Tilyrká, listening to songs like *Tillirka* makes these momentum experiences more powerful and meaningful; stimulating senses in ways that is not possible to ignore. When Burhan, his family, and friends create such *grey* moments they also seem to overpass any fragmented contemporary undertones that the song has in Cyprus; Násos testimony makes this obvious. In a way, they bridge the song within its *new* diasporic space meanings and (for them) utterance, with the ecumenical and pleasurable, listening to a Mediterranean past. However, this spatial construction in

diaspora—*on the outskirts of imaginary homelands*—adds more complex alignments in defining this transpatial reality. It appears that the space that Burhan and his affiliations create fits in *the Mediterranean imaginary*—an informed, playful, and re-structured space in the triangle of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, but yet geographically determined in a not-so-Mediterranean host.

Yet to understand and realise *Tillirka* fully as *the Mediterranean imaginary*, further analysis is needed. After seeing Burhan's praxes around the song, perhaps the only component remaining ambiguous within the above equation of *the Mediterranean imaginary*, and its triangle, is the edge and vertex it creates with Greece. That is to be found within the BbGsC performance and its mis-dis-placed hybridism with the Greekness of *nishiotika*. And even if that is the case for Alex and Michael when performing *Tillirka*, it does not seem to affect in any way the collective BbGsC grand narrative about the song, that it is clearly a Cypriot tune. This makes *Tillirka* the first musical resource that Cypriot migrants in Birmingham (both Greek- and TsCs) share not only musically but also as a sonic signifier (in their conscious narrative) as a resource of the *homeland*; regardless of the fact that *motherlands* have affected its technical construction in diaspora. Even if Alex and Michael perform the song with alien *nishiotika* elements, or if Özgürsel attached to it Turkish aesthetics, neither affects BbCs in any way, who clearly identify the set of *Tillirka* as Cypriot.

This is something I cannot say for the native parallel narrative, filled with claims of neo-national romanticism rejecting the di-ethnic and ecumenical past of the song. However, it still remains both in diaspora and in Cyprus a pleasurable resource, of dancing *syrto*s and laughing with its humorous nature. Its portability and mis-dis-placement, through uncle Savvas firstly and Koukoularis later, but also through cyberspace (*via* YouTube), make *Tillirka* an exemplar of how a cultural resource is centralised in the cultural-evolution of eastern- and pan-Mediterranean movements throughout history and contemporaneity, while its fragmented modern and native translocal forms remind one that "Cyprus has long been seen as a 'crossroads' of multiple, complex interactions, acting as a stepping-stone between east and west" (Jane 2010:127), with any geographical focus linking it with Tilyrká's battles and violence. The two sets of *Tillirka* found amongst (and as understood by) BbCs lie within two imagined Mediterranean diasporic musical spaces that bridge the native ecumenical and Mediterranean pasts of the song with the diasporic contemporary, while overpassing modern native narratives of fragmentation. In short, and as Stokes (2005:viii) suggests, these two spaces create "opportunities to piece

together fragments of highly mobile lives and suggest how they might be made intelligible and pleasurable, rather than... confusing, alienating and oppressive”.

In realising the triangle attached to *the Mediterranean imaginary*, one needs to look at the role that Greece and Turkey have within these two spaces—with the “*nishiotika* vibe” and the Turkish aesthetics and timbre in both performances—like two edges meeting in the vertex of Cyprus (in native and diasporic shapes). However, this is not an equilateral triangle, as this native Cypriot vertex with its meanings extends another edge to the non-Mediterranean Birmingham; thus *transnationalising* the translocal. Within this transnational vertex *Tillirka* is “definitely Cypriot, mate!” as Christos ‘affirmatively’ states. This is so both for the ‘laudably’ Greek GsC, and also for TsCs, who reject the Turkishness found in Özgürsel’s rendition, and who choose to listen to stories about love and nostalgia for *the homeland*. It is indeed for them all *the anthem of Cypriotness*. And that comes only from migrant narrative, as the musical metanarrative expands this diasporic and di-ethnic *Cypriotness* further. The traditional structure of *Dillirga* apropos the indigenous genre of *phones* (when it comes to the theme) overpowers any sonic Turkish signifiers; Boren and Ibrahim felt so strongly about the *authentic* Cypriot identity of the song that they even utilised it as “part of [Sevven and Ceylan’s] Cypriot schooling at home” according to their daughter. And as Michael attests, “whenever someone asks for a *kipriako* [Cypriot song], we always play *Τηλλυρκώτισσα*” (28 March 2013).

The occurrence of these two imagined Mediterranean diasporic musical spaces—even if they overpass the native praxes (the translocal space) in order to bridge the ecumenical Mediterranean *pasts* to a *new* transnational diasporic—still remains pragmatic in the sense that it follows Stokes (2005:vii-ix) definition of “imagined Mediterranean spaces.” When BbCs experience *Tillirka*, they do so by being very much informed by the historicity that generates this local dual spatiality. Ibrahim recognises that “the Greek version was first... and the Turkish one came out around the 80s”, while Michael re-assures that “everyone [BbGsCs] knows that *Τηλλυρκώτισσα* is Cypriot,” thus directing one to re-visit the native and translocal construction of what makes *Tillirka* Cypriot—this time, though, for both natives and migrants. It takes one back to the idea of the Levant and its musics and travels, describing “a vibrant, highly diversified grassroots musical scene with a trans-national circulation and representation and a continuing vitality that has endured regardless of the vicissitudes of the official peace process” (Davis 2010:13). This is how a *new* emerging, imagined and diasporic space around *Tillirka* structures itself, in the meeting of this dual-spatiality.

And if we add to that the playful instantiations in its utterance (see Burhan's 'Dillrğa restaurant' and the humorous performance from Michael and Alex, or even the song's utterance as a humorous way of learning music at school in Cyprus), *Tillirka* in diaspora turns into a dynamic attestations of *the third space*, which *sensu* Bhabha (1994) does not remain only in the vertices of the West (GsC performance) with East (TsC performance) in aligning a triangle with Cyprus. It instead expands in other postmodern moves and pathways. Its cultural evolution from a translocal ecumenical resource to the transnational of Britain is one of such movements: the normalisation of transnationalisation. And even if it goes on record as contemporary and postmodern—this *Tillirka*(rian), diasporic, and Mediterranean *third space*—is the aftermath of a musical resource tuning as a paradigmatic agent of the Cypriot and east-Mediterranean history, from Levant cultural movements to updated modern Cypriot realities, histories, travels, and imaginations: “myths of origin and return, of... diaspora, with them in their displacements, travels, and migrations” (Bohlman EOL3:1).

Tillirka, even as far from the Mediterranean as Birmingham, is therefore a (till now) imperceptible meeting of many spatial alignments. The song's historical “Mediterranean dimension... come to represent both a timeless past” (Sant Cassia 2000:13) of indigeneity, showing first translocal and then (through its diasporic mis-dis-placements) transnational movements, but still very much drawing a contemporary paradigm of a Cypriot and pan-Mediterranean culture in diaspora. It tells the story of a musical resource that “soften[s] the tension with melodies and rhythms familiar to those present.... [with] tension melting away as people on both sides... heard “their own” music... and found that they had common ground with those on the other side of the divide... these... modelled the possibilities for peaceful coexistence and collaboration” (Brinner 2009:3-4).

In conclusion and in short, *Tillirka*'s timeline traces a far past of an ecumenical Mediterranean, a native modern of translocal structuralisms and fragmented censorial claims, while its trail peaks in diaspora where it recapitulates to the ecumenical and Mediterranean. BbC performance takes the song back to its indigenous form, drawing a contemporary paradigm of a pan-Mediterranean culture in diaspora. It is a music bathing in Mediterranean Sea links, hovering in adjoining airspaces, and mobile on land linking with places, spaces and bodies in stasis or dispersal; and in all this, being bounded in embodiments of the New Age Cypriot traveller. *Tillirka* is *the Mediterranean imaginary*—

an informed, playful, and re-structured space in the triangle of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, but yet geographically determined in a not-so-Mediterranean host.

* * *

Postlude

I quickly realised after my MA work with BbGsCs that my research calls for a turn that tunes into a greater semantic domain beyond the geographies, narratives, and spaces of Birmingham, and BbC community musical metanarratives. I therefore made a conscious choice in representing, in postlude, Cypriot modernity and culture in its grand narrative as my main goal, with its petit récit being the lived realities of one of its not-so-populous di-ethnic diasporas. The lived migrant significances, that have shaped this petit récit (and this thesis so far), expand into a milieu of senses that eventually shape the grand narrative, giving lots to say about the politico-socio-cultural structuralisms of contemporary Cypriots everywhere. Birmingham is only a staging ground in exploring their “truth” and other postmodern moves experienced and performed by them.

In doing interpretative ethnomusicology, and in accord with the thickened description so far engaged, this postlude explores its space in reflecting but also talking beyond the metanarratives of musics analysed so far. I should clarify that using the term ‘metanarratives’ does not mean that the lived realities observed in utterance and play by migrant or native Cypriots will be ignored in favour of a metaphysical conclusion; on the contrary, the “real” will be foregrounded. For example, the music/every-day-life metanarrative of the *kebab leitmotif* will no longer be analysed musically but critically, and reflected upon culturally, socially, and however else adds significance, new knowledge, and meaning for today’s Cypriot.

Spaces and places

One abstraction that has stayed with me while writing this thesis is the profound experience of trans-spatiality found on the analytical journey to its conclusion. Though I was aware in advance of the translocal, transnational and cosmopolitan challenges I faced, the outcomes unfold a series of deeper and thickened descriptors of complex interrelationships between space and place. These are expanded in geographies like Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, Britain; and then Birmingham, Istanbul, London, France, and America; and then Larnaca, Ayia Napa, Paralimni, Lefkoşa, Tilyrká, Çatalköy, Limnitis, Kokkina, and the vast expanses of Mediterranean. They also point towards *other* places

and *new* spaces, such as the *other* carried by orientalism, occidentalism, exoticism, cyberspace, Cypriot history, and all the other geographies examined and their *pasts*. Metanarratively-derived *new* spaces applicable only to the Cypriot paradigm, such as the Mediterranean Imaginary, the televised and then transmediated liminality of *BGT*, and the *kebabosphere* (among others) entail a more lateral and thickened explanation of what a *third space* might be. These are complex, inevitable facts of contemporary real life; inevitable, too, is interpretative anthropology's grappling with *realms* of this kind while being interpenetrative. Yet in this transpatial and multi-sited analytical lynchpin we have seen how these formations, *newly*-presented in this thesis, are bounded by notions that matter (mostly) to the people who comprise them: Cypriots in di-ethnicity.

One thing that can be learned from locating and then empirically proving the existence of these *new* spaces and places is how much they depend on and are shaped by the idiosyncrasy of the Cypriot di-ethnos itself. That said, the contingencies of *new* spaces that this thesis delivers are tailored to the individuality of modern Cypriot society, the BbC community and other pertinent diasporas, and also the individuals who comprise them. Though these contingencies have proved to be accurate and powerful in describing modern Cypriot life in diaspora (and to an extent, in the native habitus), they are not apropos to any other ethnic group. It might seem appealing to explore whether the *kebab leitmotif* and the *kebabosphere* could be applied to other Muslim diasporic communities in the West; though that might be possible, the idiosyncrasies of whatever other specific group is to be examined should be the drive behind the construction of an idiosyncratic leitmotif or public/private sphere instead.

It is not the outcomes, but the work underlying this thesis' making of new spaces and places that can be developed into a methodological profile for studying any group in diaspora. This thesis proposes engaging with the full spectrum of intersections, with a methodological axis from the metanarrative engagement of analysing music in juxtaposition with real diasporic life, the undertaken *new* alignment of exploring such through translocal and transnational, and the examination of such things through philosophical, historical, and ethnographically-instantiated lenses and facts—always utilising cultural resources as artefacts for analysis. This blueprint can apply to any other modern diaspora, regardless of structural complexity, the adeptness and multilateralism characterising its design and its approach of keeping real people always in mind leading to thickened description. This thesis demonstrates it to be a functional way of doing interpretative anthropology and ethnomusicology in interpenetrative ways.

Beyond the *new* affective way of doing interpretative ethnomusicology, this thesis also reconfirms that each person and ethnos structures itself, not only on its current habitus, but also on its emotional individuality, socio-cultural memory, and even the moment's subjunctive mood shaped by current global affairs. As I write this, the UK has voted to leave the European Union; this seems set to affect the dynamics, experiences, and eventually placements and praxes of any diasporic group on British soil. This is very much so for the British-Cypriot community, especially the ephemeral migrants (such as students) who will no longer be hosted as 'native' Europeans. This calls for a re-evaluation in capturing future *new* meanings, significances, and meanings that could be found within the Cypriot diaspora in the UK in a short period of time (when the Brexit impact becomes transparent, as at the moment it is merely philosophical). This thesis establishes the empirical tools for doing so, but its findings are not timeless. Constantly updating knowledge on the Cypriot diaspora in the UK seems almost obligatory in keeping up with the times.

Philosophically, postmodern moves such as the ones observed of Cypriots in diaspora need postmodern approach, analysis, and dissemination in order to be refined and presented as interpretative anthropology. Postmodern ways of doing things have defined this thesis from its early beginnings. As a whole it parallels Lyotard's Delphic (*The Postmodern Condition*, which it understands and celebrates as an event rather than merely a book. Yet, within the above paragraphs, only one exegetical aspect of the contingency of *new* spaces and places has been explained; this thesis' contribution in juxtaposition to this contingency mostly attests what one can learn from and for Cypriots in contemporaneity.

Cypriots' spaces and places

TsCs' sensed placelessness and GsCs' experiential placefulness are directly linked, in diaspora and to a large extent among natives, with the two *motherland* supercultures. GsCs appear to romantically conflate indigeneity (ancient and modern) with Greekness, transforming proven Cypriot cultural resources like *Tillirka* with Greek aesthetics and a new compositional-ethnogenesis of *bouzouki* sounds and *nishiotika* vibes. This miscegenation is the process of "purifying" (as they understand it) everything according to Greek race and heritage. Placeless TsCs, on the other hand, regard themselves as a silenced ghost-community, corresponding to a very different way of linking with their

motherland, Turkey. They reject Turkishness, considering it one of the main generators of their placelessness, and try to belong while also locating themselves within the Cypriotness cosmology. They, too, miscegenate every cultural resource they experience, but via a purification process of being Cypriot. This is currently a hard praxis to align oneself with, and even if they project themselves in the public sphere as Cypriots as opposed to Turks or Muslims, Western perceptions of the island are still very much linked with Greece. The majority of British tourists sees Cyprus as a Greek island, since that is the way it is introduced to them by their holiday hosts. When visiting Cyprus they listen to the *Zorba*, eat *moussaka*, conflate the Cypriot with the Greek pitta bread, and consider *halloumi* a Greek cheese, buying it in the British supermarket from the shelf next to the *feta*.

In the Birmingham community, this leads to the observed di-ethnic asymmetry of “it’s all Cypriot to me” from TsCs, and “it’s all Greek to me” from GsCs. While BbGsCs tend to romanticise all of their cultural resources, and to an extent their social and political values also, to the *motherland*, BbTsCs appear to romanticise culture as a product of *homeland*. For both, this is a conscious way of heritagizing, as both TsCs and GsCs in Birmingham show considerable sophistication in realising whether resources they experience or perform are derived from motherland or homeland. What is different is how they express this: BbGsCs are ‘laudably’ Greek, while BbTsCs are ‘silent’ Cypriots. As for Cyprus itself, ideologies of Greekness and Turkishness are both clearly dichotomised from Cypriotness and less mitigated. Among BbGsCs, this projection is not visible in the communal public spheres, mostly because being Greek is perceived to have its “perks”. Therefore, any British-GsCs who align themselves at all with Cypriotness keep their worldview sub rosa to remain within the communal comfort of placefulness, a socialisation mostly structured from the church and placebo nostalgias experienced in childhood, which manifest in adulthood as real or ersatz nostalgic experiences and define the placebo-nostalgia praxis. (See how cautious Christos was in introducing me to one of his best friends, Salih—see Preface). For BbTsCs, being both Muslims and Cypriots is too unwieldy to be accepted by a series of agents: their superculture, which promotes Turkishness; the GsCs who reject this binarily opposing superculture; and the western host which feels experientially comfortable in looking at Cyprus as a Greek island, but also experience an islamophobia fuelled by events like 7/7. In placelessness, BbTsCs take every opportunity to break the silence, and have illustrated a willingness to also be laudable and shout of their Cypriotness worldview when given the opportunity; see the

narratives within this thesis, showing that all TsC participants were more than willing to convince me and everyone else that they are Cypriots.

Cypriots' grand modernisation process is also located within the dialogical binary divisions of each superculture with Cypriotness. In the preface it was explained how Cypriot elitists *link themselves* with superculture, where working class and lower strata *are linked* with Cypriotness. Yet no other work on Cypriots is recent enough to describe their contemporary postmodern condition. Cypriotness has found a new semantic domain, that migrates this worldview from the bounds of class identity into a much more sophisticated postmodern movement. Such movements have now found *new* people and *new* ways of cultural representation—Michael Hadjimichael and Zeki Ali, for example (Preface), and many others, who use creative ways to declare Cypriotness musically and in other cultural forms. As another postmodern response, some contemporary Cypriots (regardless of class identity and supercultural signifier) are in the early stages of creating a new wave of Cypriot folk music revival. Cemal Özgürsel, the musician who generated the TsC version of *Tillirka*, embodies this movement well, while Násos, in claiming Greek censorship for the song, embodies the opposing worldview while paradoxically also being active in the Cypriot folk music revival. This paradox stems from the blurred Greek/Cypriot/European identity presently found amongst GsCs.

A point of meeting, a vertex in the in the triangle of Greekness, Turkishness, and Cypriotness where this observed di-ethnic asymmetry turns symmetrical, is to be found in the *new* spaces/places established in this thesis: the ecumenical Mediterranean past, the informed, playful, and re-structured space of this diasporic triangle of *the Mediterranean Imaginary*. Cultural resources and the shared historical, social, and cultural pasts of Cyprus that fill these spaces and places drive this balancing. The Mediterranean imaginary is a space not only in close proximity to BbCs, as a third space amongst them and them only, but also a space generated by them; it is very much lived in and accessible to all BbCs, but it remains mostly unconscious. If conscious, then evaded, of a migrant sustaining their placement in the comfort and structuralisms already in play in diaspora. Designed and ready for them, *the Mediterranean Imaginary* is an ecumenical meeting point which, if they choose to reach it, can easily de-fragment their lives as Cypriots and introduce new and easier ways of being a migrant.

Senses don't lie

Ibrahim's philopatridomantic tears, Eftihios' parents' travels with their *xenitia* baggage, young BbCs' timeless need to be heritagizing in new, imaginative, and acculturated ways in order to belong and integrate: these can not be ignored. Migrants themselves do not turn a blind eye to what they sense, as these senses are catalysts in determining their lives, which do not lie and which generate reconciliation pathways and projections that suggest an ethnically symmetrical way of seeing oneself in diaspora. This depends heavily on individual sensorial faculties, and whether one is willing to turn from the fragments of today to re-live another, ecumenical past.

When SF used his Mediterranean bodily appearance as a "perk" he also showed that Cypriots in their diasporas do not need to align with their supercultures in exploiting British orientalisms, as this can be achieved equally (or better) with a Mediterranean appeal. In any case, in contemporary pragmatism the whole idea of romanticising Greekness in a western host is in decline, due to Greece's current financially ruinous and increasingly xenophobic condition—realities far from the sublime perception of Ancient Greek philosophy. Further, for a westerner nowadays to eat *moussaka* and listen to the *Zorba* is considered rather kitsch, and SF shows that being Mediterranean in contemporary Britain may confer more "perks" than being Greek. This Mediterranean appeal can be shared di-ethnically with TsCs, finding them a placement in place of their torturous placelessness. TsCs should not have to fight against inequality all the time in diaspora, and should not have to feel that "it is not the easiest thing to be a migrant"; being a migrant should *not* be that hard, really, in the global twenty-first-century transnational mapping. Life should be manageable without constantly seeking new and strikingly inventive ways of doing selective-ethnogenesis—one's ways and senses should be enough to do the job. And yet, young British-Cypriots' levels of sophistication and commitment in achieving selective-ethnogenesis in diaspora are remarkable. Their postmodern heritagizing movements and the complexity behind the utterance of their cultural resources also show their abilities to reach spaces and places never seen before, and it was they who guided me in the trans-spatial contingency of places/spaces presented in this thesis.

Similarly, the Internet enables young BbCs to imaginatively create a contingency of new places and spaces; *new worlds* previously unmet. Yet their real-life impact migrates through the artefacts examined and into the grand narrative of global flow of information

and culture via young people. On that grand scale, BbC youngsters embody a young global citizenship that, finding itself in public spheres of any kind, seeks intellectual truth behind cultures and traditions even if they are mis-dis-placed or acculturated, and crystallises new ones while heritagizing. When someone portrays themselves as a kebab-maker or a dancing Zorba, other global citizens (e.g. Western Europeans and in particular Britons) also have the intellectual capacity and intuition to see beyond that: an entertaining and tasty way of belonging, but also another group's kitsch expression of heritagizing and creating placements amongst them.

SF, using a rather more Mediterranean appeal and a *self*- (Zorba-)sarcasm managed to win over the global citizens of their host nation, illustrating Britons' understanding of the neo-Hellenic clichés relating to Greek and GsC migrants in the UK. The same applies with TsCs and the *kebabs*. The *kebab leitmotif* and the *kebabosphere*, beyond their main ingredients of foodstuff, real life, and hip-hop, both have humour, irony and self-sarcasm as their stock. This new, imaginative and striking way in which the young generation of TsC migrants achieve a new selective-ethnogenesis also proves that the *other* (but at the same time *host*) global citizens again understood the ways of these TsCs' predecessors, who merely used kebabs as their means of selective-ethnogenesis. It is these postmodern moves and traits (i.e. *self*-sarcasm) that have been embraced by the modern hosts and global citizens, not the kitsch ones of Zorba and kebabs.

I find these observations to be both critical and crucial; they define the communal and di-ethnic future, as they are directly linked with and generated by the young generation of Cypriots. Their narratives show high levels of sophistication, but so do their praxes around cultural resources, and the postmodern dissemination of kebabs, Zorba, Flatleys, and so on seems to be working for them in ways that they sense are right. This is where postmodernism find itself one step ahead of modernity (arguably its defining characteristic). Yet these Cypriot migrant achievements are not timeless, as times are changing very fast nowadays, causing a form of apathy in the host group that also has postmodern ways of understanding other groups' movements. We have seen how the older migrant generation used their cultural resources directly as "perks", while the young generation has had to find new and inventive ways of re-using them to make them perks once again. This suggests that the next generation will also need to be creative around the contemporary utterance of cultural resources, and re-re-use them in even 'more' imaginative and striking ways. Is this, though, the way for a migrant to be? Is it really necessary for them to feel that "it is not the easiest thing to be a migrant"? Do

Cypriots in their diaspora need to be inventive all the time in order to make life manageable?

One might argue that such concerns will become derelict in future, as migrants will mostly not need to integrate but will assimilate fully into the *then* British popular culture. This also suggests that the Cypriots of today also do not need to try any further, since their postmodern tropes work and they can remain comfortably numb without worrying about future movements. However, and even as the intellectual and postmodern global citizens that they are today, there is also a future danger. If these fragmented projections (of the *now* postmodern tropes) sustain themselves, the asymmetry will continue to exist while increasingly dividing the two ethnoi of this diaspora. And even if some ecumenical and third spaces have been observed in the way BbCs present these movements, utilising them in real, every-day migrant praxes is another story. This story cannot be told better than through the feelings of migrant themselves during my research: real, raw, but also reversing and eliminating asymmetry and fragmentation by looking at the Mediterranean appeal of things; *the Mediterranean Imaginary*. In short, if Cypriots start using such spaces in their diaspora, that will eliminate not only their contemporary struggles, but also create a di-ethnic solidarity away from home that empowers them for future moves.

Such senses have sometimes proved to overpower politics, memories, and narratives of fragmentation. When these are expressed, materialised, and sensed through cultural resources, especially the transient and intangible ones of music and food, they explode into a sensorial defiance of fragmentation. Senses can be internalised and emotionalised like nostalgia (real, ersatz, or imagined), eventually leading into a contingency of externalised movements which *can* be sensed physically: as when Ibrahim pathologically epitomises philopatridomania when listening to *Londra Sokakları*; through family ties, as when Eftihios listens to *Αναθεμά σε Ξενιτιά*; or in bitter-sweet recall of childhood through songs from home-schooling (like *Tillirka* for the Küçükogulları) or Greek-schooling (*1st April*). These externalised BbC notions are very real, but so were the narratives of fragmentation I experienced in the native parallel, for example when talking with Násos; and so also was TsCs' apathy (or hesitancy) in expressing themselves about fragmentation, as when I met Arda in Nicosia. Real, too, was Ibrahim, Boren, Salih and others' sensed love for their homeland Cyprus; but so was BbGsCs' emotional attachment their Greek superculture, which institutionally structures the community and creates placefulness in their diaspora. Conversely, BbTsCs' stronger attachment to homeland—the northern part of Cyprus, internationally unrecognised and unfamiliar—disengages

them from Turkish superculture, leaving them ambiguously adrift between these alignments as *ghosts* in diasporic placelessness.

Some believe that emotions are overrated; however, emotions and their motions are all we have got, especially in postmodern contemporary trans-pragmatism where belonging and identity are in flux and in crisis. Cypriots form a di-ethnos—which shares halloumi but divides over ham—that in its totality senses an ecumenical Mediterranean past. When something is sensed as organic and right, such as these emotionalities and transpatial openings that Cypriots in Birmingham create for themselves, then why fight over it? ...especially when music appears to be more than organised sounds in their lives, but a social and cultural event whose power for change is unmatched by any other resource, and is in diaspora the third space itself. As Ibrahim explains: “If you take the Greek and Turkish... out it sounds the same, it sounds Cypriot... and nothing else...”

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