China–Indonesia Symposium and Festival Dialogue in Music

Beijing 2012
World Music Days, Beijing 2012

China-Indonesia Symposium and Festival Dialogue in Music

Schedule

7th. November 2012, Wednesday

08:30-09:00  Registration
CCOM Friendship Hall

09:00-10:30  World Music Teaching Forum  Chair: An Ping, Wang Zhou
CCOM Recital Hall

10:30-12:00  Angklung Performing Practice I
CCOM Recital Hall

12:00-14:00  Banquet
CCOM Canteen

14:00-15:30  Balinese Gamelan Performing Practice I
CCOM Recital Hall

15:30-16:00  Coffee Break
Seventh Floor Lobby, Academic Building

16:00-17:30  Panel Discussion on Diaspora’s Music: Dialogue between Nanyin in China and in Indonesia
Chair: Li Xin
Conference Hall, Seventh Floor, Academic Building

18:00  Cocktail Party by the Indonesian Embassy
CCOM Friendship Hall

19:30  Opening Concert: Indonesian Music Collection and Nanyin
CCOM Recital Hall

8th. November 2012, Thursday

Scholar Session I  Chair: Djohan
09:00-09:30  Suwarta Zebua: Hoho’s Song in the Present Nias Society
Studies on Nias traditional music has been done by both Indonesian and foreign scholars. However, studies on the meaning of Hoho's song in Nias society have never been conducted. This matter is considered crucial seeing that the people of Nias have gone through changes on various aspects of their life. This research aims to revealing the meaning of Hoho's song for present Nias people as be seen from the cultural studies perspective.

Perfomers:

Su Shiyong: Nanyin's inheritor of the National Intangible Cultural Heritage; The master instructor of School of Music and Dance, Quanzhou Normal University.
Cai Jin niang: Member of Indonesian Oriental Music Foundation, one of the founder members.
Wu Lifeng: Member of Indonesian Oriental Music Foundation.
Chen Zhengmei: Master student of School of Music and Dance, Quanzhou Normal University. (Major in Nanyin Flute)
Zhuang Zhonghe: Master student of School of Music and Dance, Quanzhou Normal University. (Major in Nanyin Flute)
Cai Beilei: Undergraduate of School of Music and Dance, Quanzhou Normal University. (Major in Nanyin)

2012年11月8日（星期四）
8th. November 2012, Thursday

学术研讨一 主持人：乔罕
Scholar Session I Chair: Djohan

09:00-09:30 Suwarta Zebua: Hoho’s Song in the Present Nias Society
Conference Hall, Seventh Floor, Academic Building

迄今为止，印度尼西亚国内外的学者一直在从事尼亚斯传统音乐的研究，但却从未出现过有关尼亚斯社会中“嚯嚯”歌曲含义的研究。鉴于尼亚斯人在他们生活中的很多方面都在历经变化，因此研究“嚯嚯”歌曲至关重要。本研究致力于从文化研究的视角揭示嚯嚯歌曲对当今尼亚斯人的意义所在。

为了理解上述问题，本文应用了斯图尔特・霍尔提出的理论来研究现在的尼亚斯人如何看待“嚯嚯”歌曲在日常生活中的意义。文化产品的概念及其与表现、身份和音乐美学的关系完善了对尼亚斯社会“嚯嚯”歌曲含义的理解。为此，本研究将定性研究与民族志方法作为首要研究方法。除了第一手数据外，第二手资料用于完成文本分析、巨石文化语境与尼亚斯社会的现代性。

研究最后得出结论：“嚯嚯”歌曲不再被看作是能够影响它所支持群体生活的一种意念，它成为一种推动社会地位的标志。当今尼亚斯社会质疑“嚯嚯”歌曲在他们实际生活中的作用，它现在的功能仅仅被视为一种文化附件和商品。

Studies on Nias traditional music has been done by both Indonesian and foreign scholars. However, studies on the meaning of Hoho's song in Nias society have never been conducted. This matter is considered crucial seeing that the people of Nias have gone through changes on various aspects of their life. This research aims to revealing the meaning of Hoho's song for present Nias people as be seen from the cultural studies perspective.
To understand the issue mentioned above, the theory of articulation proposed by Stuart Hall was applied to study how the people of Nias recently view the meaning of the Ho ho's song in their everyday life. The concept of production of culture and its relation to representation, identity, and music aesthetics complemented to the understanding of the meaning of Ho ho in the Nias society. For that purpose, this research applied the qualitative research design with the ethnographic approached as the primary method. Beside the primary data, the secondary data were used to completed the text analysis and megalithic cultural context, as well as the modernity in Nias.

The results of these research summarized that the Ho ho's song are no longer believed as a spirit that influenced the life of its supporting society, the Ho ho's song as a sign to forced the social status, the present Nias society doubts the function of the Ho ho's song in their real life and recently the function of Ho ho's song just as the cultural accessories and commodities.

Keywords: Ho ho's song, music functions, society changes

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09:30-10:00 亚斯利尔·穆奇塔：《塔萨鼓在塔布克仪式中构建精神的角色》
综合教学楼七层学术报告厅

09:30-10:00 Asri Muchtar: The Role of Gandang Tasa on Building Spirit in Tabuk Ritual Conference Hall, Seventh Floor, Academic Building

在西苏门答腊岛的米南加保文化中，将音乐纳为最重要、最具有决定性因素的仪式极为罕见。除了在塔布克仪式中，人们普遍认为音乐的功能是使仪式更为活泼和完整，而在塔布克仪式中，音乐却扮演着重要的角色。塔布克仪式是一种大型庆典活动，展示了塔布克帕萨和帕萨萨巴郎等两种相互对立的塔布克派别，而音乐则支撑着仪式的进行，其音乐富于活力。塔萨鼓特别用于构建精神，特别是在仪式的激烈部分，两个派别的大量拥护者相互殴斗的时候引起一种愤怒的情绪。
THE Hoho SONG IN THE SOCIETY OF THE PRESENT NIAS ISLAND
Suwarta Zebua
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Abstract
Research on the traditional music of Nias Island has long been conducted, either by Indonesian or foreign researchers. However, research on the meaning of the Hoho song in the society of the present Nias Island has not been done. The aim of this study is to uncover the meaning of the Hoho song based on the views of the society of the present Nias Island seen from the perspectives of cultural studies. For understanding the topic above, the traditional concepts proposed by Giddens are used to study how Nias society gives meaning to the Hoho song in their daily life. The concepts of the production and consumption of arts and their relation to the representation, identity, and enjoyment of music will complement this understanding. This study uses the qualitative research design with ethnography as its main method. In addition to the primary data, secondary data are used to support the understanding of Nias cultural arts. Research results show that the Hoho song in the traditional Nias society has undergone shifts in meaning as presently experienced. This is evident from the fact that the Hoho song is performed for the mere sake of tradition lacking the values of entertainment or performance. The conduct of Hoho song in traditional ceremonies is seen as weighting so that it needs adaptation.

Key words: meaning of Hoho, Nias society changes

A. Introduction
The Island of Nias, which lies to the west of Sumatera, is known as one of the heritages of megalithic cultures in Indonesia which still exists to the present time (Koestoro & Wiradnyana: 2007). In the villages of Nias, such as Hilisimaetanö and Bawömataluo in South Nias or Sihare’ö Siwahili in West Gunungsitoli, can still be seen traditional elevated houses stretching along with yards made of finely arranged stones. Despite the earthquake in 2004 and Tsunami in 2005, these traditional houses remain intact up to now. Houses in the northern part of Nias are oval in shape, while those in the south are rectangular. It is in the yards of these houses that ethnic ceremonies of the Nias society take place. And it is during these ethnic ceremonies that arts, especially the traditional Hoho song, are generally performed. These facts have attracted the attention of the researcher.

Culture and art researchers have been present in Nias Island since the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and have been active again in the 1980s. Most of the research results
are published in Dutch, German, and English. Publication in Indonesian or in Nias language is not much. Publication of research results tends to be difficult to find and this may be one of the reasons for the lack of understanding of Nias cultures. However, the recent time has seen the efforts to document Nias cultures either by the Government or by culture researchers, such as done by Nias Heritage Museum in Gunungsitoli.

Early research on Nias arts and cultures has been more ethnographic, especially on the studies of cultural materials. Modigliani (1890) documented a lot of Nias cultural aspects. Sundermann (1891) wrote down the *Lailo* text (one of Nias songs). Fries (1907) stated that many Nias traditional songs disappeared and replaced with choral songs and church hymns. The same things were documented by Steinhart (1937) who conducted the study in Batu Island, South Nias.

Research specific on Nias music has been conducted by the Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst (1937). Prior to this, Schroder in 1917 wrote about Nias music including its instruments. It is in 1987 that Patton specialized his study on *Hoho* in Bawomataluo, South Nias. In his dissertation, Patton tried to compose *Hoho* genre based on indigenous criteria. He developed the *Hoho* classification based on the song shape and textual material. He transcribed four *Hoho* pieces and analysed the musical features based on the form, rhythm, melody, and interval.

Further on, Manhart, in his dissertation, “*Song for Lowalangi*” (2004), studied the interculturalization of Nias music by the Catholic Church missions. According to Manhart, the Catholic Church in Nias had tried to compose service music taking musical elements of Nias. The *Hoho* song was also used as a basis for the writing of church songs. In 2006 Sadieli Telaumbanua studied the *Hoho* song in his dissertation. The analysis was more textual of the creation myth regarding the origin of Nias based on the lyrics in the *Hoho* song.

Based on these studies, it is apparent that the *Hoho* song still exists in the midst of the society and is actively used in the ethnic ceremonies in Nias, Southern, Middle, and Northern. However, no research has focused on the meaning of *Hoho*, especially in the present life of the society of Nias.

The present research focuses on the study of the meaning of *Hoho* according to the views of the society of Nias from the perspectives of cultural studies. This study is conducted on the reason that the present conditions of Nias society have undergone changes in various life aspects, especially after communication and information media
have touched the life of Nias society. This study is aimed at describing how Nias society gives meaning to the *Hoho* in their life, which should be different from the conditions of the traditional society before receiving influences from outside. This understanding is retrieved in line with the views growing in the society as this study is being conducted.

B. Method

This study was aimed at uncovering the meaning of *Hoho* to Nias society. The study was conducted from July 2011 to October 2012. The study took place in the villages of Hilisimaetano (South Nias Regency), Sihare’ö Siwahili (Gunungsitoli City), and Dahana, Alasa, Ombolata, and Lahewa (North Nias Regency). The main research method used was that of ethnography. The selection of the research method was based on the fact that the study used heavy emphasis of the views of the inside of the society (emic perspectives) or, in Spradley’s words (1997: 3), on the views of the indigenous people; those who were the doers and consumers of the Nias *Hoho*. Data collection was done using open interviews, observation, and documentation.

The primary data of the study were the opinions and views of the people of Nias who were active in *Hoho*. The research subjects were *Hoho* performers, indigenous leaders, and members of the society who took part in ethnic ceremonies. Observation was done to retrieve data about the manners of the daily life of the people and data related to *Hoho* traditions in the ethnic ceremonies.

The validity of the data was obtained by way of the length of the presence of the researcher in the field, in-depth observation, triangulation (by a number of sources, methods, and techniques), and member checks of the research findings to resource persons. Informants were selected purposively, i.e. they were chosen under the consideration that they would be able to provide information as required by the research aims. Data were then analyzed in line with the research foci. Data obtained from the field coming from the observation, interview, and oral discourse were then categorized and grouped. Data were then read again and analyzed, forming the interpretation among the *Hoho* phenomena. Elements to be used for analyzing articulations were those of production and consumption in order to uncover the meaning of *Hoho* to the society of the present Nias.

C. *Hoho* in Nias Society
Nias music, almost the same as other types of music in other regions of Indonesia, consists of vocal and instrumental. From the time when the researcher lives in Nias up to the year 1980, and according to the statements of the resource persons, it is known that the traditional music instruments in Nias consist of bows (i.e. lagia), percussions (like tutu and ndruri gahe), and winds (like sigu). However, in the traditional music of Nias, no pluck instruments can be found.

The traditions to do music in Nias can be individual or in groups. Singing or playing musical instruments is done to enjoy oneself or killing the time at home, in the evening or at the time after working in the field. In general, the lyrics tell about contemplations or reflections of life experiences. In the local language, singing this way is called fahubölö. There is another singing which is called ngenu ngenu. Because the traditional Nias people are generally farmers, the musical instrument that is played individually is dolidoli, a type of xylophone, consisting of four bars of wood. At the time of this research, singing and playing this musical instrument are already scarce. Now, individual singing uses instruments coming from outside Nias, especially the guitar which is loved by the youngsters.

While the above singing is performed individually, group music can be found only in ethnic ceremonies such as the famözi aramba in a wedding ceremony in North Nias. In the local music playing, choral singing is always integrated into ethnic ceremonies. Singing in the ethnic ceremonies is not particularly performed to be watched. In addition, there are songs that are sung while dancing; in the local language called maena.

The song which is always taken as a reference in the life of the Nias people is the Hoho. This song is considered as so important by the people of Nias since the Hoho contains lyrics that are often used as media for communication, education, history, and life wisdom for the people. As an education tool, the Hoho gives the pictures of how to behave towards others (social) and of things that can or must be done (ethics). How to behave in front of the speaking opponent can also be learned through the Hoho. The history of how men came down to Nias or the purpose of living a life can be found in the Hoho. No wonder the Hoho is so important to Nias people. The Hoho is the identity of the Nias people.

In the society of the present Nias, the Hoho can be watched in ethnic ceremonies, such as the wedding ceremony in North Nias. In the evening of the wedding day (folau
The singing sinunö Ga’o Si Meziwa Numana is always performed. So are Hoho ba wolaya (male) dan Hoho ba wanari (female). In the southern part of Nias, Hoho ba wetataro and Hoho ba waluaya are well-known. And, there are still other Hoho variants in other parts of Nias as heritages from the ancestors passed orally from generation to generation. The Hoho is not only sung by men, but also by women.

The Hoho song is unique. It is vocal singing, without instrumental accompaniment (a capella). In the performance, the Hoho singing is always initiated by a solo singer (sondronia’ö/solohe) which then is followed by other singers one after another by sanehe/sanojohi. Apart from its unique melody which gives a certain enjoyment to the listeners, the Hoho lyrics also bring out messages which contain values of education, philosophy, and life history of the people of Nias. Musically, the Hoho is always sung full of ornaments and rare of vibration. All these give the sensation of beauty on the part of the listeners, such as the one in the example below.

**Hoho Si Sambua Amatona**

Haiwa hö tabörätai tabörögö, ae
Ho ya, aehe, aö
Y’a haiwa na lahuta balô e
he balô zechu, aö a
lawa lö zechula, aö a
Ae, ta tou’ö ba iwawö
he ba iwawö ma, aö a
lawa wawö maera, aehe, aö a
Hai me’acha alacha e
aehe ba na mowa, aö a
yawa na mowa’a, aehe, aö a
Hai wa na lahuta balô e
he, balô gölö, aö a
lawa lö gölömbu, aehe, aö a
Ae ta tou’ö ba iwawö
he ba iwawö mba, aö a
lawa mbawa batu, aehe, aö a
Hai mea alacha’ö e
he ba na mombu, aö a
lawa na mombulu, aehe aö a
Aehe

As it has been stated before, the Hoho is always performed at ethnic ceremonies. The narratives contained in the lyrics and melodies are suited with the events being held. For example, Hoho singing for sorrow or grievance contains lyrics about the good deeds of the dead person and consolation for the family and relatives. Lyrics for wedding parties contain praises for the speaking opponents through metaphors (amaedola). It may be hard
to understand for those who do not know Nias language, but the melodies present a special enjoyment. As can be seen in the example above, the singing is initiated by a singer followed by three groups of singers, each group consisting of two singers. The melody is woven one after another (counterpoint) in a register that is commonly high.

The *Hoho* singers are amidst the ethnic elders (*salawa hada/mbanua*). These singers play the role as ethnic elders. The other participants in the ceremony watch everything which takes place in the ceremony (*tome* and *sowatö*). The ceremony is conducted by two parties, i.e. the guest and the host. There are therefore two groups of singers, one from each side. That is why the *Hoho* is performed reciprocally, one praising the other while maintaining a low profile. The *Hoho* for funerals (*Hoho ba zimate*), however, is performed by one group since the purpose is to console the family and relatives of the decease.

Besides the *Hoho* performers, the other participants in the ceremony, both from the guest side and the host side, join in to sing the *Hoho*. So, all the participants of the ceremony are active singing the *Hoho*. Each side enjoys the *Hoho* performed by the speaking opponent. The atmosphere will elevate when each side is challenged to perform lyrics. The *Hoho* performance stops when the purpose of the ceremony is considered achieved. In *Hoho ba zimate*, the ceremony attendees just watch and listen to the *Hoho* performers since the purpose of the performance is merely to give consolation. The participation of the attendees to sing the *Hoho* makes it possible for the youngsters to learn to sing the *Hoho*. This is how the *Hoho* is passed naturally from generation to generation. When older performers are gone, younger ones will replace. In the local proverb, it is said, “*hulö la’esö hao mbitaha, hulo la’esö hao kauko, aheta-heta zagatua, mangali ngali zesoło*”. This means that the coming generation shall be ready to take over when time is called.

Based on the information given by the recourse persons and the observation in the field, it seems that interest in the *Hoho* has decreased. Nowadays, *Hoho* performers are scarce. The *Hoho* singers in North Nias are now around 60 years old, and some are even over 70 years old. Singers of the younger age are scarce. When verified to the resource persons, it is true that not every village now has *Hoho* singers who have the complete repertoire of lyrics. In the district of West Gunungsitoli which has nine villages, for example, only a small number of singers can perform the *Hoho*. Ama Abai Zebua from the village of Lölömoyo stated “*iada’a ba lö ero banua so zangila manutunö Hoho*”
(presently not every village has singers who can perform the *Hoho*). This fact is confirmed by other resource persons. They stated that, before, in every village there were 2 – 4 or more singers who were professed in performing the *Hoho*.

The decrease in the number of performers among the younger people results in the fact that the *Hoho* is seldom performed in the complete manner. The *Hoho*, which once was regarded as something meaningful since it contained various values, now does not attract the younger people to learn it. The *Hoho*, which once was a moment to be waited for and to pay attention to, has now been performed merely as a tradition. According to the resource persons, although the elder persons in the old days could not read or write, they were able to memorize every phase and lyric of the song in every ethnic ceremony since they learned it whenever the song was performed.

It is found in many cases that, when the *Hoho* is being performed, most of the participants of the ceremony do not pay due attention. Nowadays, a new phenomenon has surfaced where in wedding ceremonies the *Hoho* song is not performed fully. More unfortunately, in many cases, the *Hoho* is not performed and is replaced by popular music that the local people call *kibo* (single keyboard). This latter music is more interesting to the younger people in Nias. When a solo keyboard player performs in a village, youngsters from other villages will come and they will be able to stay until late. This shows that there have been changes in the attitudes of the people who own the *Hoho*. The taste of the society has changed. The question is what the *Hoho* means to the people of the present Nias.

In an informal talk with Pilton Dachi, a university student from the village of Hilisimaetanö in July 2011, it is found that he is not so familiar with the *Hoho*. When asked why that happens, he answered because he seldom watched the *Hoho* performance fully since he was a small child. In the morning and afternoon, he went to school. In the evening he worked on the school assignments. A different phenomenon is shown by Ama Refa Dachi from the same village, who graduated from a university in Jakarta. He stated that he was able to enjoy the *Hoho* song and that he could stay till late (for example, in a funeral ceremony) since the *Hoho* lyrics and the way they were sung gave him a special sensation. This is the battle faced by the society of Nias, especially the younger people.

In another occasion, i.e. on 26 July 2011, a funeral ceremony was held in the town of Gunungsitoli of a dead person of a Chinese descent. While a funeral ceremony is an ordinary occasion for the people of Gunungsitoli, this one was felt as unique. This is
because the ceremony was held following the tradition of Hilisimaetanö in Gunungsitoli. This is actually understandable since the mother of the dead person was from the village of Hilisimaetanö. Because the decease was from a noble family (si’ulu) from the mother line, the ceremony was held by performing the *Hoho ba zimate* all the route of three kilometers from the house to the cemetery. The *Hoho* was sung by *ere Hoho* in a group completed with all the traditional costumes. All the way to the cemetery, the procession attracted the attention of the people since the performing of the *Hoho ba zimate* was a rare occasion, not only in Gunungsitoli but also in other places as well. The question is: “Can such ceremony be held by all the others?”

In Nias, the performing of ethnic ceremonies needs expenses. For a certain ethnic ceremony, like the *owasa*, tens or even hundreds of pigs are slaughtered by the host to be served to the guests. For the ordinary people, expenses for ethnic ceremonies are hard to obtain. Even in wedding ceremonies, expenses of the parties are always suited with the social status of the hosts. The higher the social status, the higher the expenses. This condition has an impact on the existence of the *Hoho*.

On another occasion, on the death of a noble descendent, (si’ulu), in Hilisimaetanö, South Nias, the researcher contacted a resource person living in that village from Sihare’ö, Gunungsitoli. In a phone conversation, the researcher obtained the information that the *Hoho* singing was not performed due to the high cost. This means that the family did not have enough fund to host the event, especially to provide the *Hoho* performers with the needed accommodation. On the other hand, *Hoho* performers restrained themselves from performing to avoid the impression of “earning a living” in the sorrowful situation. Generally, the performers are provided with a young pig (*ono mbawi*). If a thing like this happens all the time, it can be predicted that *Hoho* singing becomes even rarer to find.

D. Reflection

Presenting old arts within the present time is a tradition stated by Giddens in Sunardi (2012: 409). Only by way of singing the *Hoho* of the past can a collective memory of the life of the ethnic Nias society be developed. It is this kind of society that is dreamt of by the old generation upon the new. Can this be realized? The society has its own want. It is the society that constructs its life. In this case, the society itself gives meaning to what it experiences.
What the society is undergoing at the present is different from what it was in the past time. While, in the past, the Nias society used to “live” in time, now it “gives life” to time. This means that the society is aware that time is limited to do something; therefore, time must be filled out and made used of. This is what the Nias society is facing. In the conduct of traditional ceremonies, for example, in the past wedding ceremonies would last all day and night. To the present society, this is inefficiency. While, in the past, the traditional society earned a living by working in their own farms or ranches, now the working pattern of the people has changed. The people of the present work as labourers, office workers, and others who are tied to other parties. If they are not able to be present fully in ethnic ceremonies, this is because of restriction with their work. As a result, substantial portions of the ethnic ceremonies are skipped off. While, in the old days the *Hoho* was performed to achieve a certain purpose, now it is conducted in a casual manner; böi zilo’ö, better than never, as said in the local language.

If this problem persists, what kind of *Hoho* can the older generation pass to the new generations? This is what the society of Nias is struggling with. On the one hand, the society is aware of the importance of passing the *Hoho* song to the next generation since the song contains the values of *fa’a ono niha* (Nias like). On the other hand, there are other values so that the *Hoho* song must be performed with an amount of involuntariness. The conduct of the *Hoho* performance is for the sake of parents’ requests or for a matter of prestige.

Contradiction in values of the society as a result of changes needs a study of its own. According to the resource persons based on information from the previous generation, the culture face of Nias has not received much influence from outside. This may be because of its location which is quite distant from Sumatera. Surprisingly, it is the presence of the new religions (especially Christianity) through the missionaries that has been a reason for the decrease in the strength of Nias traditions. In 1906-1907, *fangesa sebua* (great repentance) occurred. At that time, cultural practices were banned, especially *folohe adu/fanomba adu* as the original religion of Nias. It is why no more statues of ancestors were found in Nias since worship of statues was forbidden by the new religions. As a result, the tradition of *fo’ere* in which there was worship singing accompanied by the playing of the *fondrahi* instrument disappeared.

For the resource persons, the banning of the practices of the origin religions can be accepted for the principle of the belief in one God. However, they question why the
previous generations have not changed the lyrics in the worship of the ancestors into those of the new religions. The disappearance of the worship to ancestors in front of the statues in front of every house (atia nadu) results in the fact that the singing art of fo’ere cannot be seen up to the present time. The resource persons feel thankful that the Hocho and other cultural practices that exist until now are not banned so that they can be passed to the next generations. Nevertheless, this thankful feeling is blanketed with worry. This is because, in general, Nias society, especially the younger generation, has low interest in Nias arts and traditional songs.

In South Nias, this unrest feeling is not so apparent. This is because the Hocho is not only performed to welcome guests, but it is also performed for tourists. This has brought some pride to the local people, especially the Hocho performers as they always get a reward after each performance. Unfortunately, this art in these performances is not congruent with the context of the local cultures since these performances are packaged as a performance art. In it, there is more of entertainment than guidance. In this case, the economical value is more prominent than the cultural values given by the ancestors. In short, linked to the Marxian understanding, cultural co-modification has occurred. Nevertheless, presenting the Hocho in this fashion has been felt by the performers both as conservation and welfare and as the cultural identity of Nias.

Based on the observation and information presented above, research results found in the field show the following:

1. The Hocho is conducted merely for the sake of tradition. In this case, tradition is seen as something involuntary in order to guard the prestige of the family or of the previous generation.
2. The Hocho is now seen as something not lively and unable to give life to ethnic ceremonies. It means that there is no entertainment in the Hocho.
3. The Hocho, which in the past was seen as guidance and entertainment in line with Nias cultural values, is now seen as disturbing, inefficient, a waste of time and finance.
4. In the mind of some Hocho performers, the Hocho is regarded as a commodity which can be exchanged with other values (such as economy).

Nias, which has thus far been known with its megalithic cultures, in fact possesses oral tradition treasure, one of which is the Hocho song. In the past, the Hocho became a life philosophy of Nias people, especially through the values contained in the lyrics being sung. Through the Hocho, the people of Nias can learn about the life of their ancestors in
the past to be passed to the succeeding generations selectively as far as possible from new values received from outside. This is in a link with Hall’s views (1973) that texts and cultural practices do not contain fixed meanings as they are influenced by their articulation processes which are contextual and varied. In the society which has undergone changes, the *Hoho* has been given a different meaning. The older generation, especially active performers of ethnic ceremonies, still wants a continuation of the Nias tradition *Hoho* to the coming generation. On the other hand, the younger generation is amidst the struggle to face an era different from the previous generations. This battle will determine the meaning of the *Hoho* to Nias in time that is to come.
References


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