CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

INTRODUCTION

JAMES J. FOX

The ten essays that compose this volume are directed to a examination of an ethnographic phenomenon of singular importance: the prevalent use of strict forms of parallelism in traditional oral communication. In communication of this kind, parallelism is promoted to the status of canon, and paired correspondences, at the semantic and syntactic levels, result in what is essentially a dyadic language – the phenomenon of 'speaking in pairs'.

Since such forms of parallelism are widely attested in the oral poetry and elevated speech of a variety of peoples of the world, comprehension of this linguistic phenomenon is crucial to an understanding of oral literature. Moreover, since patterns of dyadic composition are implicated in diverse forms of communication, consideration of this phenomenon is equally important to an understanding of the ethnography of rhetoric and ritual.

The essays in this volume all deal with forms of dyadic language that occur within a single broadly defined ethnographic area, namely the islands of eastern Indonesia. Each essay is concerned with the particularities of dyadic composition in a separate cultural setting. This is in itself strategically important since it allows the possibility of co-ordinated comparison among related languages and cultures. As a whole, therefore, the volume represents a concerted attempt to focus examination on dyadic language as a special linguistic phenomenon in a comparative ethnographic context.

Eastern Indonesia, the context for this comparison, is an area of considerable linguistic diversity – a common feature of many of the areas of the world where complex forms of parallelism are particularly prominent. Eastern Indonesia's linguistic diversity is due to both geographical and historical factors. A mix of large and small islands, a mountainous hinterland on several of the larger islands, ample possibilities for migration, the lack of political hegemony by any one linguistic group, an historical division among colonial powers – Dutch and Portuguese – and colonial policies ranging from self-rule accorded numerous petty rulers to near indifference or outright neglect, combined with internal pressures within

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

many small polities to enhance differences to distinguish themselves from neighbouring groups; and all these factors have contributed to creating a culturally diverse region.

Current evidence points to the islands of eastern Indonesia as a region into which distinct subgroups of Austronesian-speaking peoples migrated in the distant past. Thus the overwhelming majority of the languages of the area are Austronesian, but these languages show considerable divergence. The islands of the Sumba–Flores–Timor area, on which most of this volume is concentrated, have by conservative estimate at least twenty-one distinct Austronesian languages. And as one expands the boundaries of eastern Indonesia to include the Moluccas and Sulawesi, the number of Austronesian languages more than doubles. In terms of dialects, the region becomes even more complex. In addition, a number of non-Austronesian languages are to be found on Alor, Pantar, Timor, and Halmahera, adding further diversity to the region.

Within the region literacy has until recently been limited to certain elites. As a result, the cultures of the area are noted for their lively and diverse oral traditions; but they are equally, and perhaps even more importantly, noted for the cultural importance attached to dyadic speech. Oral composition in a binary mode is an essential means of social as well as ritual communication. Dyadic language is, however, more than a means of special communication; it has become, for many of the societies of the region, the primary vehicle for the preservation and transmission of cultural knowledge. Thus, in eastern Indonesia, fundamental metaphoric structures of culture are embedded in forms of dyadic language.

The contributors to this volume have all done extensive fieldwork among the peoples whose dyadic language they describe and, as a result, have come to recognise the critical importance of an understanding of dyadic language to an understanding of the culture that they had committed themselves to comprehend. Hence a major impetus for the study of dyadic language can be seen to derive from the cultural centrality of the phenomenon itself. One of the chief purposes of this collection of essays is to establish this point by portraying a variety of cultural analyses that take the linguistic phenomenon of dyadic composition as fundamental to an ethnographic understanding of the region.

Parallelism as a linguistic phenomenon

Since 1753, when Robert Lowth first noted and defined the use of parallelism in relation to Hebrew verse, the concept of parallelism has come to mean many things. In some contexts parallelism is used to refer to nothing more than a limited rhetorical device; in other contexts, as in the case of this volume, parallelism refers to the distinctive, indeed defining,

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

feature of specific forms of oral communication. Both of these definitions of parallelism, however, merely represent aspects of a wider understanding.

Early in his career, in an essay in 1919 on the new Russian poetry, Roman Jakobson enunciated a sweeping definition of parallelism (Jakobson 1973). In almost aphoristic form, he asserted that 'poetic language consists of an elementary operation: the bringing together of two elements ...'. This 'bringing together of two elements' he defined as parallelism. And with this definition he went on to argue that comparison, metamorphosis, and metaphor were all 'semantic variants' of the operation of parallelism. Comparison was 'a particular instance of parallelism'; metamorphosis was 'parallelism projected in time'; and metaphor, 'parallelism reduced to a point'. 'Euphonic variants' of this same process of juxtaposition were rhyme, assonance, and alliteration (Jakobson 1973:21).

Almost fifty years later Jakobson returned to his earlier insights having discovered that the poet G.M. Hopkins had preceded him in advancing a similar argument about parallelism. In a major article, 'Grammatical parallelism and its Russian facet', Jakobson observed:

> one is irresistibly compelled to quote again and again the path-breaking study written exactly one hundred years ago by the juvenile Gerard Manley Hopkins: 'The artificial part of poetry, perhaps we shall be right to say all artifice, reduces itself to the principle of parallelism, ranging from the technical so-called parallelisms of Hebrew poetry and the antiphons of Church music to the intricacy of Greek or Italian or English verse'. (1966:399)

Thus, following Hopkins, Jakobson reasserted his own earlier argument that 'on every level of language the essence of poetic artifice consists of recurrent returns' (1966:399). By this definition, parallelism is an extension of the binary principle of opposition to the phonetic, syntactic, and semantic levels of expression. Poetic language is the most elaborate and complex expression of this phenomenon.

Useful as this definition may be at a general level, it does not satisfactorily distinguish the specific forms of parallelism that Lowth originally defined. As numerous scholars have observed, in many cultures of the world tradition demands that certain compositions be given dual expression. Words, phrases, and lines must be paired for a composition to be defined as poetry, ritual language, or elevated speech. Moreover, many of these traditions also prescribe, always with varying degrees of freedom, what words, phrases, or other elements of language are to be paired in composition. Jakobson has described this form of parallelism 'where certain similarities between successive verbal sequences are compulsory or enjoy high preference' as 'compulsory' or 'canonical' parallelism – what

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

Hopkins referred to as 'the technical so-called parallelisms of Hebrew poetry' (see Fox 1977:59–60).

Although widespread, canonical parallelism as a strict, consistent, and pervasive means of communication is limited to specific cultures. Its importance, however, is not restricted by this occurrence. The theoretical significance of canonical parallelism lies in the glimpses it provides of fundamental aspects of linguistic composition.

In the concluding section of *Fundamentals of language* (1956:58ff.), Jakobson defined, by a series of parallelisms of his own making, two poles or axes of language: a paradigmatic axis based on selection and a syntagmatic axis based on combination. The first of these axes defines the creation of metaphor by means of similarity; the second the creation of metonymy by means of contiguity. Despite Jakobson's lucid presentation, the significance of these distinctions cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of his notion of parallelism and particularly the phenomenon of canonical parallelism which he alludes to in his discussion. The same is true of Jakobson's often-quoted statement that 'the poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination' (1960:358). Whereas in other forms of poetry the 'poetic function' is subtly concealed or implicit, only in canonical parallelism is this function given direct and explicit expression. Culturally defined linguistic equivalences, both semantic and syntactic, must be fully expressed. Hence if poetic language is the most complex expression of the application of the principle of binary opposition, canonical parallelism has to be regarded as its most manifest aspect. As such, it offers an elementary starting point for study of all forms of poetic language.

Initial observations on parallelism

Parallelism as a phenomenon was first formally noted and defined in the middle of the eighteenth century by the Professor of Hebrew Poetry at Oxford, the Reverend Robert Lowth. In his nineteenth lecture on the 'Sacred poetry of the Hebrews', delivered in Latin at Oxford in 1753, Lowth observed that the poetry of the Old Testament consisted of 'versicles or parallelisms corresponding to each other', and he defined this parallelism as follows:

> The poetic conformation of the sentences, which has been so often alluded to as characteristic of Hebrew poetry, consists chiefly in a certain equality, resemblance, or parallelism between members of each period; so that in two lines (or members of the same period) things for the most part shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

> measure. This parallelism has much variety and many gradations; it is sometimes more accurate and manifest, sometimes more vague and obscure. (Lowth 1971:II,32–34)

Later, in his 'Preliminary dissertation' on a new translation of Isaiah, published in 1778, Lowth set forth, in a more explicit fashion, a terminology for what he identified as *parallelismus membrorum*:

> The correspondence of one verse or line with another, I call parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it in sense, or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction, these I call parallel lines; and the words or phrases, answering one to another in corresponding lines, parallel terms. (Lowth 1834:ix)

With this by no means simple definition of a complex phenomenon, Lowth, in effect, established the study of parallelism and, in the process, an entire tradition of scholarship. Interestingly, in concluding his earlier historical lecture on Hebrew poetry Lowth offered the simple but prescient remark:

> I scarcely know any subject which promises more copiously to reward the labour of such as are studious of sacred criticism, than this one in particular. (Lowth 1971:II,57)

The impact of Lowth's research was immediate and pronounced. It inspired the writing of English poetry in a Hebrew vein and influenced J.G. Herder, who popularised Lowth's notion of parallelism in his *Vom Geist der ebraischen Poesie* (1782). Lowth's writings were translated and appeared in numerous editions. Lowth himself was made Lord Bishop of London in 1777 and was later, in 1783, offered the position of Archbishop of Canterbury, an honour which he declined.

More importantly, as Lowth himself predicted, his research gave rise to voluminous scholarship. Following Lowth's early observations, scholars have continued to study the parallelism of Hebrew poetry. G.B. Gray's *The forms of Hebrew poetry* (1915), devoted in large part to a 'restatement' of Lowth's work, carried this research into the twentieth century; L.I. Newman and W. Popper's *Studies in biblical parallelism* (1918–23) marked a further advance; and Newman's introduction to his study, 'Parallelism in Amos' (1918), surveyed a wide range of Near Eastern traditions of parallelism – ancient Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Arabic – and examined as well the diminished reliance on parallelism in the New Testament, and in rabbinical, medieval, and modern Hebrew literature.

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

In 1928 the remarkable discovery, at Ras Shamra, of Canaanite or Ugaritic texts opened a new area of study. The existence of these critical texts led a host of scholars to examine, in meticulous detail, the extent to which Lowth's 'parallel terms' constitute, in the ancient oral traditions of Syria and Palestine, a standardised body of fixed word-pairs by means of which verse forms were composed. A particularly useful study in this regard was S. Gevirtz' s *Patterns in the early poetry of Israel* (1963). More recently, D.N. Freedman in his 'Prolegomenon' to the reprinted edition of Gray (1972) has compiled an annotated bibliography on the developments in this specialised textual research, including references to the work of such scholars as Albright, Cross, Dahood, Driver, Ginsburg, Gordon, and Rin. In this field of textual scholarship, Dahood's extensive reconstruction of 'pairs of parallel words' common to both Hebrew and Ugaritic marks a critically important development in the study of parallelism (see, for example, Dahood and Penar 1970:445–446).[1]

The occurrence of canonical parallelism

With a few exceptions, however, the tradition of biblical scholarship has confined its attention principally to the consideration of parallelism within Semitic languages. It has not taken cognisance of the existence of parallelism in other major languages, although it was Lowth's recognition of Hebrew parallelism that initially gave rise to the comparative study of parallelism. Already in the nineteenth century, linguists, literary scholars and, not infrequently, Bible translators encountered traditions of parallel composition in widely scattered areas of the world. The enormous accumulation of these studies has created a rich comparative literature.

The Ural–Altaic region is one area remarkable for its use of parallelism. Roman Jakobson, in particular, has pointed to the importance of parallelism in an admirable survey of the principal literature on this linguistic phenomenon in the region (1966:403–405). Studies of Finnish oral poetry offer a classic case. The *Kalevala*, for example, is probably the most frequently cited example of parallel poetry after that of the Old Testament. Prior to Lowth, Cajanus (1697), Juslenius (1728), and Porthan (1766–68) all noted the similarities between Finnish and biblical poetry, though Marmier (1842) appears to have been the first Finnish scholar to adopt Lowth's terminology to characterise these verse forms.

W. Steinitz' s major monograph, *Der Parallelismus in der finisch–karelischen Volksdichtung* (1934), traces the development of these studies. Ahlqvist's dissertation (1863), Steinitz's pioneering study and his further work on Ostyak (1939–41), followed by Austerlitz's monograph on Ostyak and Vogul folk poetry (1958), the continuing work of Hungarian scholars such as Zsirai (1951) and Fokos (1963), and recent research by Schulze

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

(1982) and Lang (forthcoming) have all advanced this study of parallelism.

In the epic poetry of the Mongolians, parallelism was first remarked on by H.C. von der Gabelentz in 1837. This research on Mongolian has been carried forward particularly by N. Poppe (1958). Similar valuable research has also been done on parallelism in Turkic poetry by Kowalski (1921) and Schirmunski (1965). As Lotz has argued, 'parallelism is a common phenomenon in Ural and Altaic folkpoetry' (1954:374). In fact, the Ural–Altaic region in its complexity of oral traditions is one of the major areas of the world for the study of parallelism.

Another major area for the study of parallelism is Middle America, some of whose complex oral traditions can be traced to an earlier pre-Columbian period. Garibay, in his monumental history of Nahuatl literature (1953), lists parallelism as the first principle of Maya poetry, a point that J.E.S. Thompson had already remarked on in his introduction to Maya hieroglyphic writing (1950:61–63). Recognition of this principle has led to the retranslation of old texts. Edmonson, for example, has retranslated the *Popol vuh*, demonstrating that this long poem is based on a formal canon of traditional lexical pairs (1970, 1971), and R. de Ridder (1979) has extended this study of canonical parallelism in the *Popol vuh* to a general examination of Quiche Maya traditions.

A considerable amount of research has also been devoted to the study of parallelism in the oral traditions of the region. Bricker has written on the 'couplet poetry' of the Zinacantecos of Chiapas (1974); Gossen on the use of 'metaphoric couplets' in Tzotzil speech genre (1974a, 1974b); Siskel on the couplets used in Tzotzil curing (1974) and Field on similar couplets in Tzotzil prayers (1975); Boster on prayer couplets among the K'ekchi' Maya of British Honduras (1973). Kramer (1970) and D. and J. Sherzer (1972, 1974) have investigated parallelism in Cuna oral literature.

One of the earliest observations of another important tradition of parallelism was made in a long essay by J.F. Davis, 'On the poetry of the Chinese' (1830), published in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In his essay Davis noted 'a striking coincidence' between the construction of Chinese and Hebrew verse. He contended that a 'synthetic' or 'constructive' parallelism, which he defined, following Lowth, as 'a marked correspondence and equality in construction of the lines – "such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative" ... was by far the most common species of parallelism with the Chinese' (1830:414). This parallelism, he maintained, was 'much more exact' in Chinese than in Hebrew, owing to the structure of the language and the writing system of the Chinese. Davis contended that parallelism 'pervades their poetry universally, forms its chief characteristic feature, and is the source of a great deal of its artificial

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

beauty' (1830:415), but he also noted that parallelism was not strictly confined to verse:

> The constructional parallelism of sentences extends to prose composition, and is very frequent in what is called *wun-chang*, or fine-writing, which is measured prose, though written line by line, like poetry. (1830:416)

Davis's observations initiated a substantial tradition of sinological studies of parallelism. The use of parallelism in Chinese has been noted in a variety of linguistic forms: in the earliest of written documents (Granet 1919), in the *fu* or 'rhyme-prose' of the Han period (Watson 1971), in the later literary style, *p'ien-wen*, known as 'parallel prose' (Hightower 1966), in love songs (Clementi 1904), in proverbs (Scarborough 1875; Smith 1902), and in popular poetry (Jablonski 1935).[2] Similar usages also occur throughout Tibetan literature (Stein 1972:252ff.).

For mainland southeast Asia, the missionary linguist O. Hanson was among the first to recognise the importance of parallelism. In his dictionary of Katchin, Hanson noted that the 'most marked characteristic' of Katchin religious language was '*parallelismus membrorum*, or the attempt to unfold the same thought in two parallel members of the same verse or stanza' (1906: 33). Since Hanson, various anthropologists have pointed to the existence of similar forms of parallelism among the Garo, Shan, Burmese, Mon, Karen, and Thai peoples. It is Vietnamese, however, of all the languages of mainland southeast Asia, whose tradition of parallelism has been best studied. Nguyen Dinh Hoà, who has written papers on parallelism, has observed:

> A characteristic feature of Vietnamese literary utterances is parallelism, which is found not only in verse but also in prose. This parallel structure requires the use of two phrases, or 'two sentences, that go together like two horses in front of a cart'. The nature of the parallelism may reside in the content and/or the form. Parallelism of form or structure is minimum, however. (1955:237)

Although Chinese influence on Vietnamese parallel poetry is undeniable, this tradition of parallelism appears to be indigenous and goes well beyond what is found among the Chinese. Nguyen notes the occurrence of parallelism as a 'prominent feature' not only in folk literature but in all literary forms: in poetry, in funeral orations, and in the formal language of inscriptions. Vietnam's great literary classic, *Tryuen Thuy Kieu*, belongs in this tradition. Quoting Vietnamese sources, Nguyen asserts: '"two successive sentences become poetry as soon as they are parallel"' (1965:133).

For Austronesian languages, the evidence of parallelism is enormous.

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

In the nineteenth century the missionary linguist, A. Hardeland, in his *Versuch einer Grammatik der Dajackschen Sprache* (1858), was the first to point to the parallelism in Dayak 'spirit language' (*basa Sangiang);* another nineteenth-century missionary linguist, J. Sibree, made a similar observation about Malagasy: 'in the more formal Malagasy speeches the parts of every sentence are regularly balanced in construction, forming a kind of rhythm very closely resembling the parallelism of Hebrew poetry' (1880:148).

Parallelism is so prominent a feature of Austronesian languages that a proper survey of all of the evidence would be a major undertaking. (For a brief survey, see Fox 1971:217–19.) Parallelism is strikingly evident in extensive collections of texts gathered from among the Merina of Madagascar, from the Rhade of central Vietnam, from the peoples of Nias, from a variety of Dayak groups throughout Kalimantan, from among Toraja groups in central Sulawesi, and from Bolaang Mongondow of northern Sulawesi, as well as from many of the populations of eastern Indonesia.

A listing of texts, however, hardly begins to cover the evidence of parallelism throughout Indonesia, the Philippines, and the Pacific.[3] Van der Tuuk for the Batak, Matthes for the Bugis, Adriani for the Bare'e Toraja, and Onvlee for the Sumbanese, all indicated the importance of parallelism in the languages they studied, but none of these linguists ever published extensive texts (Fox 1971:218). Parallelism in the work of Dutch Bible translators was, for example, a subject of discussion in missionary journals because of its singular importance in the oral traditions of the Indonesian peoples (see van der Veen 1952; Onvlee 1953). Kern pointed out the importance of parallelism in the Malay dialect of Kutai, suggesting that such parallelism was also a prominent but often overlooked feature of other Malay dialects (1956:17–18).

Parallelism is also evident in Philippine oral literature. As Wrigglesworth notes, 'even the most unskilled Manobo, in singing or in storytelling, will repeat for days an attractive couplet of parallelism which he has just heard expressed in a tale, while savouring its every word' (1980:50). There is also good evidence of parallelism among Oceanic language speakers of the Pacific. The *Kumulipo*, the long Hawaiian creation chant, translated by Beckwith (1951), provides an excellent example of the extended use of parallelism. Yet for the Philippines and areas of the Pacific, as indeed for parts of western Indonesia, parallelism is not as prominent or as rigorously maintained as in parts of Borneo, Sulawesi, and eastern Indonesia. This is itself a fact that requires explanation.

The large collection of texts, mainly in parallel verse, that were gathered by Berthe (1972) from among the Bunaq, a non-Austronesian population in the mountains of central Timor whose linguistic links are to Irian Jaya,

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
0521343321 - To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia
Edited by James J. Fox
Excerpt
More information

are of considerable comparative importance and extend the occurrence of parallelism to yet another large language family. Of similar importance is the study by Sankoff (1977) of parallelism in the poetry of the Buang of Papua New Guinea. Within the general region, however, the single most important contribution to the study of parallelism is T.G.H. Strehlow's masterly examination of Aranda songs, *Songs of Central Australia* (1971). The son of a missionary, Strehlow was raised among the Aranda and had a native speaker's knowledge of the language. The depth of his knowledge of Aranda and the clarity of his insights lend particular weight to his analysis, which clearly establishes parallelism as fundamental to Aboriginal oral composition. Strehlow describes the structure of this form of composition as follows:

> in a native song words and word-weaving receive as much attention as the rhythms and tonal patterns which accompany them ... the Aranda couplets (or quatrains) tend to consist of two individual lines which, musically and rhythmically, stand in a complementary relation to each other: the second line of a couplet is either identical in rhythm and construction with the first line, or it balances the first line antithetically and rounds off the couplet by a contrasting rhythm of its own. This relation of parallelism and antithesis also characterizes the language of songs. As a general rule each couplet, like a Hebrew psalm verse, falls into two halves: the second half either reiterates or restates, in slightly different words, a subject already expressed by the first half, or it introduces a new thought or statement, thereby advancing or completing the subject that has been expressed in the first half ... The structure of these couplets is of the utmost simplicity; and yet it is most effective. (1971:109–110)

From India the evidence of parallelism is mixed. Allen (1978), for example, has pointed to the binary structure of the ritual language of the Thulung Rai of East Nepal. Parallelism is also indicated in the ritual texts of the Sadars of Jashpur published by Rosner (1961) and suggested by other sources. But it is only in Emeneau's studies of the 'formulaically fixed pairs' of song units among the Todas of south India that parallelism has been specially noted. According to Emeneau, 'If we combine the Hebrew parallelism and the use of stereotyped phraseology of the epics or the Vedas, and push the combination to its farthest point, we have Toda poetry' (1937:560).

Parallelism in Indo-European languages also presents a less determinate case. Both Bloomfield in *Rig-Veda repetitions* (1916) and Gonda in *Stylistic repetition in the Veda* (1959) have compared Vedic verse structures with the parallelism in Hebrew poetry, but the 'catenary structures'

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org