

WHY *KUNDA* SINGS: NARRATIVE DISCOURSE AND THE MULTIFUNCTIONALITY OF
BAKA SONG IN BAKA STORY

By

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To Yves Léonard: colleague, confidant, friend, and brother

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The subject of this dissertation is *bè na likàndò*: a genre of song sung in the course of telling a traditional Baka narrative. The Baka people of Cameroon are one of several preliterate people groups in Equatorial Africa. Their culture is primarily oral. Most of what is socially significant is typically marked by oral art, by song in particular. Contrary to the cumulative trope of both the scholarly and popular literature on the music of “pygmy peoples,” the Baka do not simply, nor principally, yodel “wordless” songs. They most often sing songs with words. As one genre of Baka song, *likàndò* song is both a specimen of the Baka song tradition *and* the Baka narrative discourse tradition. No other verbal performance phenomenon produces such an entanglement of Baka music and language as does *likàndò* song. My dissertation disentangles the complexes of signs comprising *likàndò* song. Its aim is to describe the multiple functions of Baka song in Baka story through an analysis of the semiotic forces that order the complex textual, musical, and contextual interactions of *likàndò* music and language. As a primary thesis of my dissertation, I argue that *likàndò* song most relevantly and inherently functions as a *discourse feature* of *likàndò* oral narrative. In particular, I

demonstrate that *likànò* song effects both narrative cohesion and narrative development. Narrative cohesion is achieved generatively, performatively, and intertextually. Narrative development is contextual and climactic in nature. As social acts *likànò* songs encode multiple socio-cultural functions: among them are social cohesion, collective expression, social critique, shared memory, and shared experience. Thus, when the well-known narrative character *Kùnda* (Turtle) sings, layers of communicative intent are potentially served. Minimally, *Kùnda* gives voice to the development of the story's action and conflict. His voice, however, is narrated, that is, it is embodied by the choir of Baka voices present at and participating in the *likànò*'s performance. His song is actually their song. He sings because they want to sing. And their reasons for singing *Kùnda*'s song, in turn, are intimately related to what is sung, how it is sung, when and where it is sung, and who sings it.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTIONS TO THE STUDY OF BAKA *LIKÀNÒ* SONG:

1.1 Research Subject, Purposes, Theory, Models, and Motivations

The subject of this dissertation is *bè na likànò*: a genre of song sung in the course of telling a traditional Baka narrative. The Baka people of Cameroon are one of several semi-nomadic, hunter-gatherer people groups in Equatorial Africa, commonly called “pygmies.” Although the Baka are now beginning to learn to farm, their culture is still primarily oral. Most of what is socially significant is typically marked by oral art, by song in particular. *Bè na likànò*—literally, “story’s song,” and glossed as / song / of / story /—can denote song sung with *any* story.¹ More often, however, it connotes song sung during the telling of a *traditional* Baka narrative, that is, one with traditional characters, settings, and themes. In order to maintain its traditional connotation, for the remainder of the dissertation I will most often refer to *bè na likànò* as “*likànò* song,” not as “story’s song.”

My study of Baka *likànò* song is an extension of my longstanding investigation of Baka song in general. I first encountered *likànò* song in 1997 during an all-night wake in the Baka encampment of Ndjibot. Since that time, I have found that of all the Baka’s song traditions, no other genre requires so much focused research on the nexus of music and language as does *likànò* song. Indeed, no other verbal performance produces such an *entanglement* of Baka music and language as does *likànò* song. Fox and Feld (1994) frame “the historical trajectories of thought about language and music in terms of four major predications: music as language, language in music, music in language, and language about music” (26). Any such research approach would be equally

applicable in the study of *likànò* song. My purpose, however, is to discover the functions of Baka song in Baka story through an analysis of the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic “rules” that order the complex textual, musical, and contextual interactions of *likànò* music and language.

The theoretical framework of this study is based upon the assumption that *likànò* song, if nothing else, is fundamentally a communicative act, a complex human sign. For this reason, I have chosen to approach my subject semiotically, with the specific inductive goal of identifying the chains of musical, textual, and contextual sign forms, references, and effects that are commonly at play in *likànò* song performance. The explanatory power of semiotics lies in the inherent interdisciplinary capacity of its conceptual terminology to identify and explain the integration of the multivalent and multifunctional interactions of seemingly separate domains of communicative phenomena, whether musical, verbal, or contextual. The interdisciplinary evidence of the fruitful application of semiotics to music, anthropology, and linguistics was first proposed to me in the scholarly works of Turino (1999, 2000), Agawu (1991, 2009), Nattiez (1990), Geertz (1973) and Turner (1967) and Jakobson (1973, 1960).

Behind the theoretical strengths of semiotics lies “a happy methodological fault,” in that the capacity of semiotics to interpret so many domains of semiosis also runs the risk of generating an unwieldy body of sign vehicles, that is, too much research data for a single dissertation. For this reason, I have chosen to focus this dissertation on the semiotic processes of *likànò* song’s *verbal* signs (as distinct, though not separate, from its visual, tactile, meta-physical, or even non-verbal-auditory signs). This seemingly narrower field of data, however, does not then result in a “thin description” of the

research topic. The discourse-centered studies of Bauman (1977), Urban (1982), Sherzer (1987) and Sherzer and Urban (1988) are examples to the contrary. Moreover, to “focus on verbal signs” does not necessarily exclude a thorough investigation of pertinent musical or contextual signs either. “Thick descriptions” of verbal phenomena abound in many full-blown ethnographies of musical performances, as evidenced in the scholarship of Qureshi ([1987], 2006), Coplan (1988), Stone (1988), and Waterman (1990). As ethnographic models, many of these studies suggest enumerable ways to focus on verbal phenomena without reducing them to “mere words.” Instead, potential poetic, musical, and contextual signs are teased out from the performance fabric of diverse speech acts and combed for their significance. In the process of disentangling the complexes of signs comprising *likàndè* song, it has become apparent that, generically, *likàndè* song is not simply *sung* verbal performance, but rather, *sung narrative discourse* performance. *This* song, then, is to be taken as integral to narrative, and in no way incidental. Indeed, as a primary thesis of this dissertation, I argue that *likàndè* song—as a complex sign—*most relevantly* functions as a *discourse feature* of *likàndè* narrative, that is, as one, albeit unique, discourse feature among many.

To deduce and recognize *likàndè* song’s potential narrative discourse functions, I have most often consulted the analytical models of discourse analysts Robert Longacre (1996), Joel Sherzer (1986), Stephen Levinsohn and Robert Dooley (2001). The methodologies of Longacre, Dooley, and Levinsohn are held to produce analytical descriptions that approximate “how discourse is actually produced and understood” (Levinsohn and Dooley iii). In short, their research findings are aimed at “application,” and thus, are intended to facilitate the competent communication of actual social acts.²

Kathleen Higgins (1981) and Yves Léonard (2003), as examples, have based their complementary text-linguistic analyses of Baka *likànò* on the analytical models of Longacre (1996) and Levinsohn (2001). They did so with the expectation that these methodologies would facilitate more apt translations of Baka narrative discourse (Léonard 1997). Léonard’s forthcoming publication of Baka biblical narratives will offer evidence of the aptness of his analytical models.

Having adopted and expanded upon these same models of discourse analysis, I hope to complement Léonard’s analysis by innovatively modeling a suitable research method for perceiving, recognizing, and describing the *sung* narrative performance features of Baka *likànò*. And like Léonard, my goal is not merely to objectively describe Baka narrative but also to subjectively participate in it, if only obliquely. That is why I have adopted a semiotic research approach. For as Clifford Geertz has stated, “The whole point to a semiotic approach is . . . to aid us in gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live so that we can, in some extended sense of the term, converse with them” (1973:24 as cited in Schrag 2005:41). To this end, I have proposed my analysis of *likànò* song to Yves Léonard as an indicator of how song might function in new Baka narrative translations (forthcoming).

While the greater part of this dissertation progressively explains *how likànò* song informs a Baka narrative performance, its pragmatic (social) functions and effects are of no less importance. I imply as much in the dissertation’s title: “Why *Kùnda* (Turtle) Sings.” *Kùnda* is a well-known Baka *likànò* character. In the story of “*Sùà tɛ Kùnda*” (“Leopard and Turtle”)—as narrated in Chapter 5—, *Kùnda* sings. In doing so, he gives voice to some of the story’s action and conflict. But *his* voice is narrated; that is, it is

embodied by the choir of Baka voices present at and participating in the *likànò*'s performance. *His* song is actually *their* song. He sings because *they* want to sing. And as it turns out, their reasons for singing the *likànò* song are intimately related—as I hope to show—to who actually sings, what they sing, how they sing, and even when and where they sing.

1.2 Research Literature Review

Baka language and narrative. My own fieldwork encounters with *likànò* song have been consistently informed (and re-informed) by the treasure of printed collections of traditional Baka stories transcribed and edited by Robert Brisson (1999), Daniel Boursier (1994), Kathleen Higgins (1981), Christa Kilian-Hatz (1989), and Yves Léonard (2003) (Sec. 4.1). To the study of these bodies of texts, I have also added the study of Brisson's Baka-Français dictionary (1979/1999, 2002), Kilian-Hatz's study of Baka grammar (1995), Kathleen Philips's Baka phonology (1981), and Kathleen Higgen's preliminary discourse analysis and anthropological studies (1981, 1984). Léonard's unpublished discourse analysis became available to me in 2004. To all these, I then added my own Baka language acquisition routine, and most importantly, the audio and audiovisual documentation of Baka *likànò* and *likànò*-song performances. Of all the documented *likànò* performances mentioned above, initially only my personal collection provided both print *and* non-print representations of *likànò* performances in social settings. Arom and Renaud's 1977/1990 recordings of Baka *likànò* only provided thematic synopses of narrative recordings; Brisson, Boursier, and Kilian-Hatz generally appeared to record *likànò* in their "natural" settings, but only published *written*

transcriptions of their recordings; and while Léonard made both his recordings and transcriptions available to me, the “tellings” he elicited were only done so during one-on-one interviews, that is, without a participating audience. In 2005 Higgs graciously sent me the original audio recordings from which she produced her 1981 text transcriptions (e.g., Sec. 4.3.2).

Cameroonian music research. When I arrived in Cameroon in 1995 as a researcher with the Christian faith-based non-governmental organization “SIL,” I did not initially know what language development project I would serve. As a result, my pre-field bibliographic research did not specifically focus on Baka culture, though I was certainly familiar with certain aspects. By 1999, as chronicled in my essay “A Profile of Cameroonian Music Research,” I was thoroughly familiar with the specifically ethnomusicological research carried out in that region of Africa (1999). The scholarship of four Cameroonian researchers, that is, Samuel Martin Eno-Belinga (1965, 1970), Francis Bebey ([1969] 1975, 1982, 1995), Abbé Pie-Claude Ngumu (1964, 1966, 1972a, 1972b, 1976), and Fr. Jean-Marie Bodo (1992, 1996), was of particular interest to me. Their writings, as well as their personal musical creativity, tellingly signaled a collective interest during their lifetimes for maintaining their most valued cultural identities, while still fruitfully engaging with the post-colonial world. My friendship with Fr. Bodo sealed my own commitment to these same interests.

Music of African hunter-gatherers. My engagement with the scholarly literature on the music of African hunter-gatherers has generally tended to focus on six to eight authors. I will review them here by summarizing the writings of each and then

characterizing them as a whole. I will conclude by assessing a few of the lacunae in this domain of research.

I do not consider the writings of Colin Turnbull as music research, strictly speaking. However, his 1961 *The Forest People*, his 1965 *Wayward Servants*, and his 1983 *The Mbuti Pygmies: Change and Adaptation* have served subsequent researchers with much helpful information. His earlier 1961 field recordings, *Music of the Rainforest Pygmies*, are, of course, of infinite historical value, but neither he (in his liner notes), nor any others that have followed have offered any substantive interpretive response to those recordings, other than, perhaps, the oft idealized tropes about pygmy egalitarianism and “naturalness.”³

Nicholas England, in his brief 1967 article “Bushmen Counterpoint,” presented what appears to be the first (albeit brief) music-centered study of African hunter-gatherers. England presented excerpted transcriptions and a brief analysis of five songs of the Zǔlu Khuisan people of South West Africa and Bechuanaland. His was the first analysis to posit evidence of contrapuntal techniques in Bushmen vocal music, “the distinctive mark of Bushmen communal music.” Ten years later, Alan Lomax’s *Folk Song Style and Culture* (1968) and *Cantometrics: An Approach to the Anthropology of Music* (1976) also briefly included two other overtly “analytical” approaches to pygmy music, but eventually faded in explanatory power for lack of detailed, sustained ethnography.

In 1971, Charlotte Frisbie published the article “Anthropological and Ethnomusicological Implications of a Comparative Analysis of Bushmen and African Pygmy Music.” Three descriptive categories profile the music of African Bushmen and

Pygmies: instruments, vocal music, and musical styles and structures. Frisbie's comparison of these three profiles suggests a high degree of similarity between Bushmen and Pygmy music, and are allegedly confirmed in other studies by Lomax, Grimaud and Rouget, Grauer, and Merriam. In turn, these similar profiles are said to support anthropologist G.P. Murdock's claim that the two pygmy groups have a common historical region of origin.

The first sustained fieldwork on the music of the Aka people of C.A.R. was undertaken by French-Israeli ethnomusicologist, Simha Arom. Arom's publications peaked in the early 1990s. The subsequent publications of those whom he mentored at the French C.R.N.S. research institute are still accumulating, though with less regularity. The works of Susanne Fürniss and Emmanuel Olivier are most notable. Fürniss has most recently made research trips among the Baka in Cameroon, though to my knowledge, no print publications have as yet resulted.

The bulk of the research carried out by Arom and his group at C.R.N.S. focuses on *music* analysis, that is, analyses of "scales," "modes," "polyphonies," "polyrhythms," "hocketing," "yodeling," etc.. Contextual studies, however, are not altogether neglected, as illustrated in Arom's *African Polyphony and Polyrhythm* (1991), and Olivier's "The Ju|'hoansi Bushmen's Conception of their Musical World" (1998). Still, (cognitive-) musico-structural analysis is clearly their research emphasis. The following three paragraphs briefly indicate the scope and method of their research.

Arom's 1978 audio recordings, *Centrafrique: Anthologie de la Musique des Pygmees Aka*, document thirty-two audio music events of the Aka Pygmies in southwestern Central African Republic. The recordings are accompanied by a thirty-two page

booklet of his commentary on Aka life and music, and more than half of that commentary is given to ethnographic description of the recordings. Arom's article "The Use of Play-Back Techniques in the Study of Oral Polyphonies" (1976) posits that all music traditions are coherent systems of cognition, and in order to analyze the constituent elements of a music system, the *transcription* of music is held as necessary to the analytical process. To facilitate the analysis, especially of multi-part textures, his innovative "play-back" recording technique is explained and applied. Similarly, in his article "Modélisation et Modèles dans les Musiques de Tradition Orales" (1991), Arom posits that the scientific method can and has demonstrated the existence of coherent systems of music cognition in oral societies, and that these, therefore, can be theorized, generalized, and taught. Arom's *African Polyphony and Polyrythm: Musical Structure and Methodology* (1991) is his most well-known study. It is not, however, a study of pygmy music exclusively, but of the polyphony and polyrhythm found in much of central Africa. This book-length work is primarily a synchronic study aimed (again) at the discovery of the underlying principles of musical forms. Broader contextual elements are intermittently addressed as well. Arom's research theory, methodology, and analysis are explained along with 450 music transcriptions as supporting evidence. The resulting analysis claims sufficient findings to be able to generate "new" versions of central African music, which "traditional musicians are likely to find acceptable."

Susanne Fürniss's "Recherches Scalaires chez les Pygmées Aka" (1991a) gives an account of the research process that Fürniss undertook in discovering the Aka Pygmies's use of "une échelle pentatonique anhémitonique ... basé sur l'agencement vertical des intervalles en certains points prédéterminés." Fürniss's article "La

Technique du Jodel chez les Pygmées Aka (Centrafrique): Étude Phonétique et Acoustique” (1991b) presents a phonetic and acoustic study of the vocal technique commonly called “yodeling” as performed in the familiar polyphonic vocal music of the Aka Pygmies. Her acoustic and phonetic analysis of Aka song recordings, complete with charts, music transcriptions, and “sonagrammes,” argues that the most striking characteristics of yodel execution and timbre result from two alternating articulatory mechanisms, sung with specific vowels, on particular constitutive degrees of a scale system. Later, in “Rigueur et Liberté: La Polyphonie Vocale des Pygmées Aka” (1993), Fürniss explains how processes of thematic variation generate variations on the governing melodic pattern of *one* polyphonic Aka pygmy song, illustrating “the phenomenon that Aka music cognition is essentially polyphonic.” Her 2006 article, “Aka Polyphony: Music, Theory, Back, and Forth,” takes much the same approach.

In 1996, Emmanuelle Olivier and Suzanne Fürniss revisited the question of the relationship of pygmy music and Bushmen music in their article “Musique Pygmée/Musique Bochimane: Nouveaux Éléments de Comparaison.” They conclude that both music traditions are “multi-voiced,” though only pygmy music is strictly polyphonic, while Bushmen’s is monophonic. Yet as similar as these two traditions appear, they are said to be conceived of differently by their practitioners. Two years later, in 1998, Olivier published a more context-oriented study in the article “Ju|’hoansi Bushmen’s Conception of their Musical World.” In it, Olivier profiles the local meanings assigned to the interrelated musical and social entities of the Ju|’hoansi Bushmen music. Two broad genres of song are then posited: “healing songs and non-healing songs.”

In 1995, around the same time that the C.R.N.S. group was publishing so prodigiously, Louis Sarno published both *Bayaka: The Extraordinary Music of the BaBenzele Pygmys and the Sounds of Their Forest* and *Song from the forest: my life among the Ba-Benjellé Pygmies*. In both works, Sarno chronicles his sustained experience among the Bayaka/Ba-Benzelle. Both accounts are more journalistic than scholarly in style. Bayaka, in particular, is part diary, part ethnography, part photo-essay, social commentary, and multimedia presentation. The oft idealized narrative of pygmy life is prevalent.

In sharp contrast with both the musico-structural research orientation of the C.N.R.S. research group and the idealized accounts of Sarno, Arom, Lomax, and others, Michelle Kisliuk—in her 1991 dissertation “Confronting the Quintessential: Singing, Dancing, and Everyday life among the Biaka Pygmies”—challenges “the utopian myth” of African egalitarian societies. Kisliuk’s reflexive ethnographic analysis strikingly shifts the scholarly research focus from decidedly *musical* questions to *socio-musical* questions. Her ethnography highlights the social negotiation of gender tensions as performed in a particularly popular Biaka dance, a dance controlled by Biaka women. Music transcription and analysis is secondary to Kisliuk’s socio-cultural emphasis. A similar ethnographic approach is found in many of her subsequent publications (1997, 1998a, 1998b, and 2000). Her book *Seize the Dance* (a reworking of her dissertation material) is regularly cited in ethnomusicological literature.

Kisliuk’s ethnographies regularly address issues of gender, identity, performance, and reflexivity. Her 1997 essay “(Un)doing Fieldwork: Sharing Lives, Sharing Songs” further underscores her research ‘journey’ as she narrates her concern for the identity

of the field researcher, the challenge of writing about field experience, and the problem of interpreting the relevance of those experiences.

It is said by some that Kisliuk's reflexive writing style runs the risk of self-indulgence, that readers learn more about her than her research "object" (Agawu 2003: 214–218). My perspective on Kisliuk's reflexive description is not the same as most readers. Having lived among the Baka in Cameroon for a similar period of time, I am not as much at a loss as a typical reader when it comes to imagining what it *feels* like to dance, sing, play, talk, get angry, cry, and laugh with African pygmy peoples. Thus, the initial impact and attraction of her personal narrative—for me—is blunted. However, the fundamental point of her thick sociological representation is certainly not lost: that is, Aka or Baka or Mbuti music does not take place in a vacuum—or on audio recordings, or in musical transcriptions—, but in Aka, Baka, or Mbuti communities. And to the degree that anyone might want to participate relevantly in such music-making, is the degree to which they would need to gain an adequate understanding of the social codes and cues that permeate these musical performances.

Among all the scholars representing the music of African pygmy peoples, the C.N.R.S. group and Michelle Kisliuk are the only authors who have published book-length studies. One publication privileges "the music itself," while the other privileges the music's context; and both focus on a single genre. My field recordings suggest that there are still many more genres and contexts yet to be described fruitfully (Sec. 1.6 and Fig. 2-1). This dissertation, therefore, will describe yet another, though not another study from the Aka music tradition. To my knowledge, this will be the first book-length study of a Baka music tradition.

Poetic analyses. There are other lacunae as well. One of the most conspicuous lacunae in the research literature related to this region of Africa, and of hunter-gatherer peoples in general, is in the area of poetic analysis of song. Poetic analysis is all too often reserved as the property of literary criticism, not linguistics—and certainly not ethnomusicology. But if my analysis of *likànò* song is to begin to penetrate the “interpenetration” of sound and sense in music and language, an analysis of song-text poetics is obligatory. The primary guide in my research of song-text poetics is loosely modeled after linguist Roman Jakobson’s well-known semiotic “principle of equivalence” (1960, 1966, 1973; Sec. 3.1). To this principle, I have added Banti and Giannattasio’s notion of “poetically organized discourse” (2004; Sec. 3.1 and Sec. 4.3.2.2). Numerous “lesser” poetic concepts have also found their way into my analysis, some from structural linguistics and literary criticism; others from ethnopoetics, folkloristics, orality studies, the ethnography of speaking and ethnomusicology. Of the scholarship from these areas that have marked me the most, the writings of Frisbie (1980), Feld (1982), Coplan (1988), Kindell (1996), Finnegan (1977, 1992, 2007), and Feld, Fox, Porcello, and Samuels (2004) have been most helpful.

Oral narrative research. The study of traditional oral narratives worldwide—and in Africa in particular—has steadily increased over the last seventy-five years (e.g., Malinowski 1922; Parry 1928; Lord 2000; Eno-Belinga 1965; Levi-Strauss 1969; Biebuyck and Mateene 1969; Dorson 1972; Abrahams 1972, 1983; Scheub 1977, 1996, 1998, 2002; Opekwho 1979, 1983, 1992; Foley 1987, 1988, 2002; Johnson, Hale, and Belchner 1997; Finnegan 1967, 1977, 1992, 2002, 2007). Similarly, though only

intermittently—and in widely varying degrees of ethnographic detail—, the last twenty-five years of ethnomusicology’s fruitful interdisciplinary dialogue with linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and literary studies have progressively drawn attention to *the role of music and song* in the narrative discourse of oral traditions (e.g., Ben-Amos 1975; Coplan 1987, 1988, 1994; Stone 1988; Yung 1989; Kisliuk 1991; Opland 1983; Agawu 1995; Charry 2000; Seeger [1987] 2004; Stock 2006). My dissertation on “Baka song in Baka story” seeks to build on the momentum and collective understanding of these earlier studies, though it particularly strives to describe, analyze, and interpret in greater detail *the nexus* of the interplay of a narrative’s sung multivalent, multifunctional musical, textual, and contextual signs.

1.3 Description of Chapters

The formal development of my dissertation is organized in five chapters. I began the present chapter (Chapter 1) by introducing my research subject, purposes, and motivations. Concomitantly, I have described the constellation of theoretical and methodological approaches that have most stimulated, and constrained, my research. The interdisciplinary nature of this study was reflected in the preceding review of the scholarly literature pertinent to Baka language and narrative, Cameroonian music research, the music of African hunter-gatherers, poetic analyses, and oral narrative research. In the remainder of this chapter I will shift from introducing my research *approach* to introducing my research *setting*. In Sections 1.4 and 1.5, I will describe select demographic, geographic, historic, linguistic, social, and cultural generalities about the Baka people themselves. And in Section 1.6, I will sketch the setting of my

research interactions with the Baka, and conclude with an outline of the scope of the research data.

In Chapter 2, entitled “Baka Verbal Performance in Song, Story, and Story’s Song,” I begin my argument that *likàndè* song is not so much “musical” performance as it is “verbal” performance, or rather, verbal performance that is particularly poetically, musically, narratively, and socially “marked.” Thus, as a type of verbal performance, *likàndè* song not only shares characteristic marks of both sung and narrated verbal performance types, but also bears distinctive song and story marks of its own. In Sections 2.2 and 2.3—under the headings of “Poetic Verbal Performance” and “Narrative Verbal Performance”—I frame Baka *song* and *story* as particular verbal performance types as well. Subsequently, in Section 2.4—entitled “Sung Narrative Verbal Performance”—I specify *likàndè* song as a unique sub-type of both story and song.

In Chapter 3, entitled “Baka Song-text Poetics,” I expand on Section 2.2 of Chapter 2 (“Verbal Poetic Performance”) by setting out a detailed inventory of Baka songs’ poetic devices. Section 3.3 covers Rhythmic Poetic Devices; Section 3.4.3 introduces Syntactic Poetic Devices; Section 3.4.4: Lexical Devices; Section 3.4.5: Phonological Devices; and Section 3.4.6: Semantic Devices. Section 3.5 concludes by introducing the potential effects of the cumulative patterning of these poetic devices.

Chapter 4, entitled “Baka *likàndè*-song as a Discourse Feature of Baka Story,” expands on Sections 2.3 and 2.4 of Chapter 2 (i.e., “Narrative Verbal Performance” and “Sung Narrative Verbal Performance,” respectively). I do so by tackling two fundamental questions regarding *likàndè*-song: that is, “Why do Baka stories include song?” and “What is the relationship of Baka songs to Baka stories?” The introductory

section (Section 4.1, “The Performance Relationship of Baka Story and Song”) explores the potential “performance integrity” of song and story, not just in Baka narrative performance, but throughout Africa. Are songs incidental to story, or intrinsic? In what ways and to what degree? In Sections 4.2 and 4.3, I progressively argue that *likànò* song is intrinsic to *likànò* story, both as a signifying force of narrative *cohesion* and narrative *development*. In Section 4.2, I explain that *likànò* song effects narrative discourse cohesion *generatively, performatively, and textually*. Then in Section 4.3, I demonstrate how *likànò* song signifies both *contextual* development and *climactic* development.

In the final chapter (Chapter 5, entitled “Why *Kùnda* Sings”) I finally examine the complex of symbolic, iconic, and indexical signs of song—musical signs, textual signs, and contextual signs—in a single *likànò* narrative performance: “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (“Leopard and Turtle”). Section 5.1 of Chapter 5 situates the performance of “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” as one narrative performance among thirteen performed one evening in the Baka camp of Ndjibot. In Section 5.2, I narrate “the performance of that performance,” that is, I describe the particular musical, textual, and contextual song features—and their narrative functions—that progressively unite, develop, and distinguish the story of *Súà tɛ Kùnda*. I then highlight the fact that songs in *Súà tɛ Kùnda* are sung by the narrative character *Kùnda* (Turtle). *Kùnda*’s voice, however, is actually performed (enacted, embodied) by all in attendance that evening. As a result, layers of communicative intent and effects are simultaneously signified. And “why *Kùnda* sings” is set out in the conclusion.

1.4 The Baka People

1.4.1 Designations

“Pygmy” peoples are often spoken of as if they were culturally homogeneous. This, of course, is not true; and the failure to recognize the distinctives of each group is an unfortunate hindrance to an adequate understanding of the unique identities and experiences of each group.

Traditionally, the Baka are one of several semi-nomadic, hunter-gatherer people groups in Equatorial Africa, commonly called “pygmies.”⁴ The generic designation ‘pygmy’ (apart from how it may be politically construed) recognizes certain phenotypical and cultural similarities among these people groups.⁵ Figure 1-1 plots approximate locations of these groups under seven commonly held ethnonyms: the Mbuti, Twa, Aka, Bongo, Baka, Tikar, and Bagieli.

Pygmy identities, however, are further distinguished by more than twenty-five designations, each reflecting the perceptions of any number of local or academic communities.⁶ The Baka themselves are variously referred to as *Bangombe*, *Bebayaka*, *Babinga*, *Bibaya*, and *Baka*. *Baka* is the designation most widely used.⁷ The people in the Baka camps of Ndjibot and Nomedjo—where I have lived and worked—call themselves and their language, *Baka* (Fig. 1-2).

1.4.2 Demographic, Geographic, and Historic Generalities

There are an estimated 250,000 to 350,000 African ‘pygmies,’ 30,000 to 50,000 of which are Baka (Survival 1998:1, 3). The Baka are spread throughout the adjoining rainforests of Cameroon, Gabon, and Congo, the largest concentration living in Cameroon. The Baka form the largest of Cameroon’s three pygmy groups—the *Tikar*,

Bagieli, and *Baka* (Fig. 1-1). The Baka encampment of Ndjibot has an average population of three hundred to four hundred people; the camp of Nomedjo is nearly twice as populated.

A synthesis of current studies tends to link the Baka with the Aka⁸ and Mbuti pygmies, biologically, linguistically, and historically.⁹ The emerging hypothesis suggests that approximately 1000 AD a common ancestry of these three groups migrated west from the Ituri Rainforest (currently located in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo). Those that remained in the Ituri became known as the Mbuti people; those that settled in western Central African Republic became “the Aka”; and those that finally reached southeastern Cameroon emerged as “the Baka” (Duke 2001:8–13; Bahuchet and Thomas 1986:90; Thomas 1991:19; Bahuchet 1993b:49).

1.5 Baka Language

1.5.1 Language Classification

For all that may point to how similar the Baka, Aka, and Mbuti people groups are, it must be remembered that *they do not speak the same language*. The Baka and Aka, for example, may live in relatively close proximity and even share a significant number of forest terms,¹⁰ but the Baka speak a Ubangian language, while the Aka speak a Bantu language. Thus, while both languages spring from the Niger-Congo language family, they are still removed from each other by at least five language family stratum (Fig. 1-3). Baka and Aka, then, are as far removed from each other as, say, Italian and Russian.¹¹

The linguistic bases of Baka and Aka, then, are critically different and therefore do not have the same phonological, grammatical, or prosodic resources to poetically

exploit. So, as tempting and common as it is to cast the Baka and Aka in the same mold, their songs (sung in two different languages) are not mutually intelligible. Even if by some miracle their texts suddenly became mutually intelligible (propositionally), the poetic and rhetorical effect of those texts would still be of *no effect*, as neither party would be familiar with the patterns of sounds, structures, and senses *poetically* at play; and the loss of a lyric's poetic effect is no lyric at all.

1.5.2 Linguistic Structures

The “poetic function” rests upon the poetic exploitation of fundamental linguistic elements of a received language tradition. Poetic devices depend upon the perception of distinctive linguistic features for their poetic effect. Perception of the following basic linguistic features of the Baka language is prerequisite to the perception of Baka poetic devices.

1.5.2.1 Phonology

Phonemes: consonants, vowels, tones, and syllables. The raw materials of phonological-level poetic devices (e.g., alliteration, consonance, assonance, homophony, and meter, as in Sec. 3.2) are taken from a language's distinct phonemic and phonological features. Baka has a basic inventory of thirty-two phonemes: twenty-five phonemic consonants and seven phonemic vowels. Figure 1-4 presents a table of the Baka consonants.

Baka's twenty-one phonemic vocalic sounds are derived from seven phonemic, short vowels, as shown in Figure 1-5. Each vowel may take three tone heights.¹²

Baka is a tone language with a register tone system of three level tones: high, mid, and low. Examples 1–3 illustrate the effects of these three phonemic tones on a single morphemic segment (*la*).

Example 1: a high tone (/ á /) on / lá / is glossed as ‘catfish.’

Example 2: an (unmarked) mid tone (/ Ø /) on / la / is glossed as ‘sleep.’

Example 3: a low tone (/ à /) on / là / is glossed as ‘who.’

There are two Baka syllable types; both carry one obligatory vowel and one tone. The smallest dynamic syllable consists of a single vowel (V), while the second type carries a consonant onset (CV). As a result, with the exception of ideophones, some proper names, and a few Bantu loan words, no Baka word may contain a consonant cluster and all Baka morphemes end in a vowel (Phillips 1981:19; Killian-Hatz [1995] 2004:8–9).

1.5.2.2 Morphology and syntax

Syntactic poetic units are composed of grammatical phrases (Pinsky 1998:28, 34). Baka grammar, as outlined by Killian-Hatz, employs four basic grammatical structures. From smallest to largest, they are (1) the nominal phrase, (2) non-verbal clause types, (3) the simple sentence, and (4) complex sentences. A Baka simple sentence has an SVO structure with the direct object competing with an indirect object for the slot following the verb (Killian-Hatz 9–14).

In addition to these four basic structures, Baka grammar is marked by three striking linguistic devices: vowel lengthening (e.g., Example 4; see also Sec. 3.2), reduplication (e.g., Example 5; see also Sec. 3.2), and ideophones (e.g., Example 6; see also Sec. 3.2) (Killian-Hatz 37–40).

Example 4: vowel lengthening: of the verb *jo* ('to eat'):

joooooo, 'é à jo pàmè.
eat . . . 3.SG.H IMPV eat.PRES wild boar
He's taking a long time to eat the wild boar. (Kilian-Hatz 40)

Example 5: reduplication: of the verb *gɔ* ('to go'):

'é à gɔ gɔ gɔ gɔ
3.SG.H IMPV go.PRES go.VN go.VN go.VN go.VN
He walks on and on..... (for a long time). (ibid.)

Example 6: ideophone

mo ò jè'? kpèèh!
2.SG PFV hear.PRES.ITR kpèèh!
Can you hear? 'kpèèh' (= a twig breaks)! (ibid.)

These fundamental grammatical structures and devices, then, also become the building blocks of syntactic-level poetic constructions (e.g., strophes, stanzas, phrase repetitions, parallelisms, enjambment (see also Sec. 3.2).

1.5.3 Semantics

Semantically, Baka is marked by "extreme polysemy." Morphemes with ten or more functions are by no means rare, but rather characteristic of the language (Kilian-Hatz 1, 170).¹³ The particle / *tɛ* /, for example, is defined as follows in a lexicon entry by Brisson & Boursier:

preposition. With 1. co-ordination, 2. means, 3. reference to the antecedent (relative), 4. benefactive, 5. locative, 6. factitive, 7. pronominal form. (Brisson & Boursier 1979:453; Kilian-Hatz 69)

Kilian-Hatz suggests as many as nineteen functions for the grammaticalization of / *tɛ* / as the comitative preposition "with" (70). She concludes,

This multiple synonymy ... does not follow necessity, but rather has a different motivation - the creativity of the speaker who wishes to achieve *stylistic variation*. (emphasis added, 170)

Kilian-Hatz's diachronic analysis further proposes that Baka language change is not so much driven by phonological convenience, as by a progression of semantic variations,

...[a] creative act which gives rise to a polyfunctional chain [that] takes place in tiny steps by way of *metaphoric-metonymic shifts* in meaning through expansion of context. (emphasis added, 3)

Stylistic variation, through metaphor and metonymy, are, of course, common elements of poetic expression. To find them in elemental grammatical strategies like polysemy suggests that the Baka language tends by nature toward poetic expression. Thus, metaphor and metonymy function not only diachronically, as fundamental grammatical devices at work in Baka language change, but synchronically, as semantic-level poetic devices in Baka song texts (Sec. 3.2). Such stylistic strategies intensify, however, when perceptions move from “non-poetic” to poetic structures.

1.5.4 Sociolinguistics: Language Change

Baka language, then, like any living language, is a language in process. In addition to internal causes of language change, as demonstrated in the dynamics of polysemy, certain external forces are also at work effecting change. The most obvious external dynamics of Baka language change are Baka-Bantu relations, modernization, sedentarization, and deforestation. Their effects on songtexts are most readily seen in new lexical and thematic material.

Much lexical change is born of Baka-Bantu relations. Baka encampments are spread throughout the vast adjoining rainforests of Cameroon, Gabon, and Congo. This loose web of Baka-speaking communities is in contact with more than twenty-five

Bantu language groups.¹⁴ Each camp may be in vital everyday contact with as many as one to three neighboring Bantu communities. Baka camps commonly borrow Bantu words from their nearest Bantu neighbors. Some borrowed words find only limited local use, while others become more widely and commonly used.¹⁵ Some, then, enter song texts, and thus, the Baka lexicon changes. The Baka camps represented in this study lie within three to five kilometers of a Bantu speaking village: the Baka speakers in Ndjibot, for example, are flanked by Makaa and Mpoumpoum villages; and the Baka in Mbalam and Menzo are neighbors to Badwe'e-speaking villages (see maps in Fig. 1-6). Many of my text transcriptions reflect this borrowing.

Further lexical change is brought on by the spread of the national language, that is, French. French is slowly coming into use among Baka speakers through modern educational, political, commercial, spiritual, medical, and technological institutions. Daily speech and songtexts reflect an ever increasing use of French loan words, not to mention more subtle changes in Baka phonology, syntax, and semantics. Through these "modern" institutions, not only does Baka language change, but also Baka experience. As a result, new thematic materials gradually enter Baka songtexts.^{16 17}

While sedentarization and deforestation may not so much effect grammatical change, they do, like modernization, effect changes in cultural themes. The gradual shift from a lifestyle of hunting and gathering to farming, from a life in the forest to a life in a village is a fundamental change of experience. The themes of everyday conversation, as well as the themes of newly composed songtexts, reflect this experience.¹⁸ But songtexts in any culture are characteristically marked by what has

already been or what may very well become the most highly valued common experiences of a community.

1.5.5 Section Summary

In summary, Baka song texts are fundamentally informed by numerous anthropological, linguistic, and sociological forces, some of which may be summarized as follows: Anthropologically, Baka song texts are thematically marked by the Baka people's particular experience as semi-nomadic, "pygmy," hunter-gatherer forest dwellers of equatorial Africa. Linguistically, Baka song texts are deeply marked by the typological features of Ubangian languages, as well as the distinctive features of the Baka language. For instance, phonologically, Baka is distinguished by a phonemic inventory of thirty-two phonemes (twenty-five consonants and seven vowels), a register tone system of three level tones (high, mid, and low), and two syllable types (V and CV). And syntactically, Baka is primarily characterized by four basic grammatical units: the nominal syntagm, non-verbal clause types, the simple sentence (with an SVO structure), and complex sentences and secondarily characterized by three other striking linguistic devices: vowel lengthening, reduplication, and ideophones. Semantically, Baka is marked by extreme polysemy. Sociolinguistically, the Baka language is undergoing obvious lexical change (through lexical borrowing, in particular) due to dynamics of "Baka-Bantu relations" and modernization. Literary themes are changing as well, due to modernization, sedentarization, and deforestation.

1.6 Research Data Sample

Most of the ethnographic data on which this dissertation is based—e.g., audio and audio-visual recordings, text transcriptions, music transcriptions, photographs and

fieldnotes—is derived from seven years of sustained fieldwork among Baka speakers in the southeastern rainforest of Cameroon. During my initial period of fieldwork, from November 1996 to May 1998, I documented more than four hundred field recordings of Baka song performances. These performances took place in five Baka camps scattered along 175 kilometers of the Abong Mbang-Lomie Road in the Eastern Province of Cameroon (Fig. 1-6, Map 4).

During my fieldwork my family and I first lived in the Baka camp of Ndjibot (Fig. 1-6, Map 4, B). The research data cited in Chapter 5 is exclusively drawn from music performances in Ndjibot (Sec. 5.1). The data for Chapters 2 and 3 was documented from performance events in the camps of Ndjibot, Mayos, Mbalam, Malen/Menzo, and “le Bosquet” (Fig. 1-6, Map 4; see also, Sec. 3.1). Two years later, my family and I relocated to the Baka camp of Nomedjo—100 kilometers south of Ndjibot—and resided there from August 2001 to June 2004, and (intermittently) from August 2005 to June 2008 (maps in Figure 1-2 and Fig. 1-6, Map 4, F).¹⁹ During our sojourn in Nomedjo I added and documented numerous additional field recordings and ethnographic metadata.

The research data for Chapter 4 is drawn from my fieldwork in Ndjibot and Nomedjo, though greatly augmented by extensive research documentation from Pères Robert Brisson (1999) and Daniel Boursier (1994), and linguists Yves Léonard (2005), Kathleen Higgs (1981), and Christa Kilian-Hatz (1989). Collectively, the recordings, transcriptions, and analyses of these five researchers represent sung narrative performances of Baka *likànò* that span some thirty years (i.e., 1973–2005) and take place in regions of the equatorial rainforest as near as 100 kilometers in proximity, or

as far as 400 kilometers (Map 3 in Fig. 1-6). This sample, then, represents the most geographically, historically, and socio-linguistically diverse data sample possible from known existing documentation of Baka *likànò* performance.

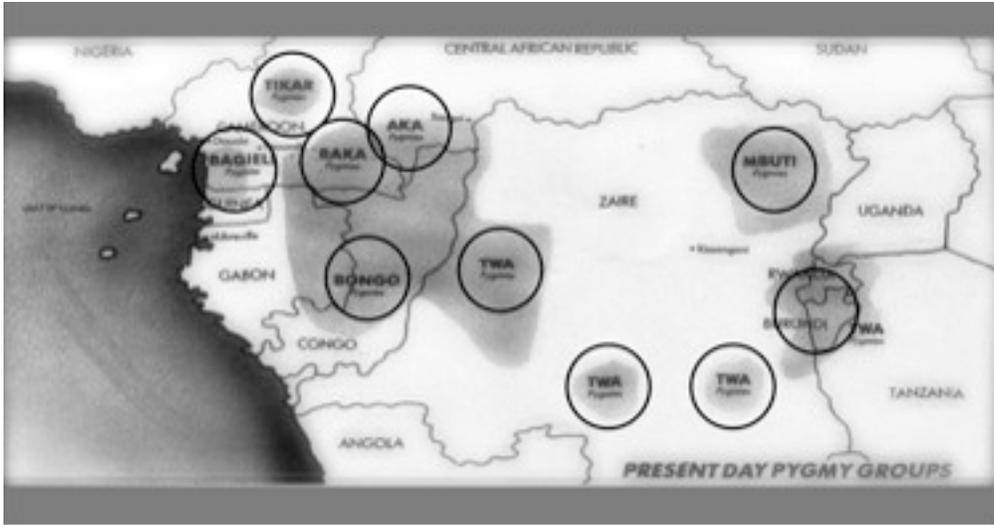


Figure 1-1. Map of central-African hunter-gatherers²⁰

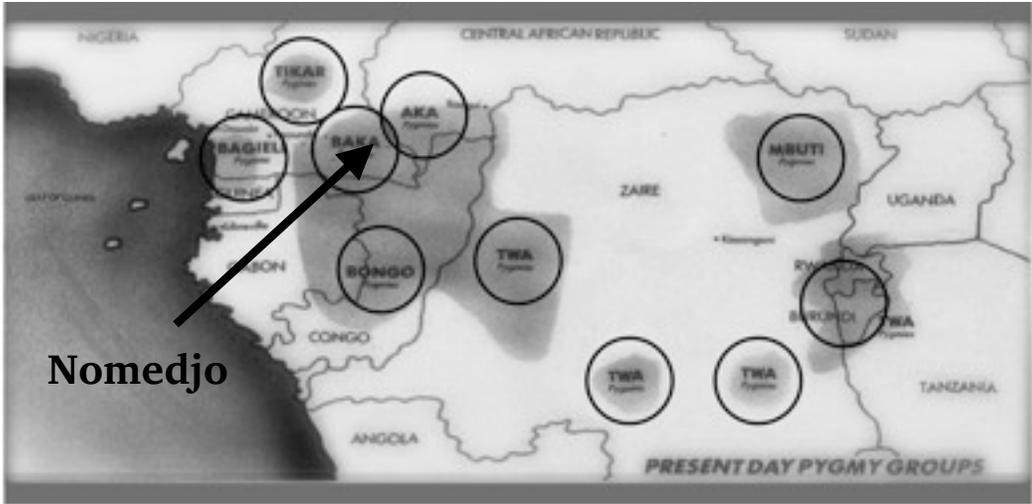


Figure 1-2. Map of Baka camp of Nomedjo²¹

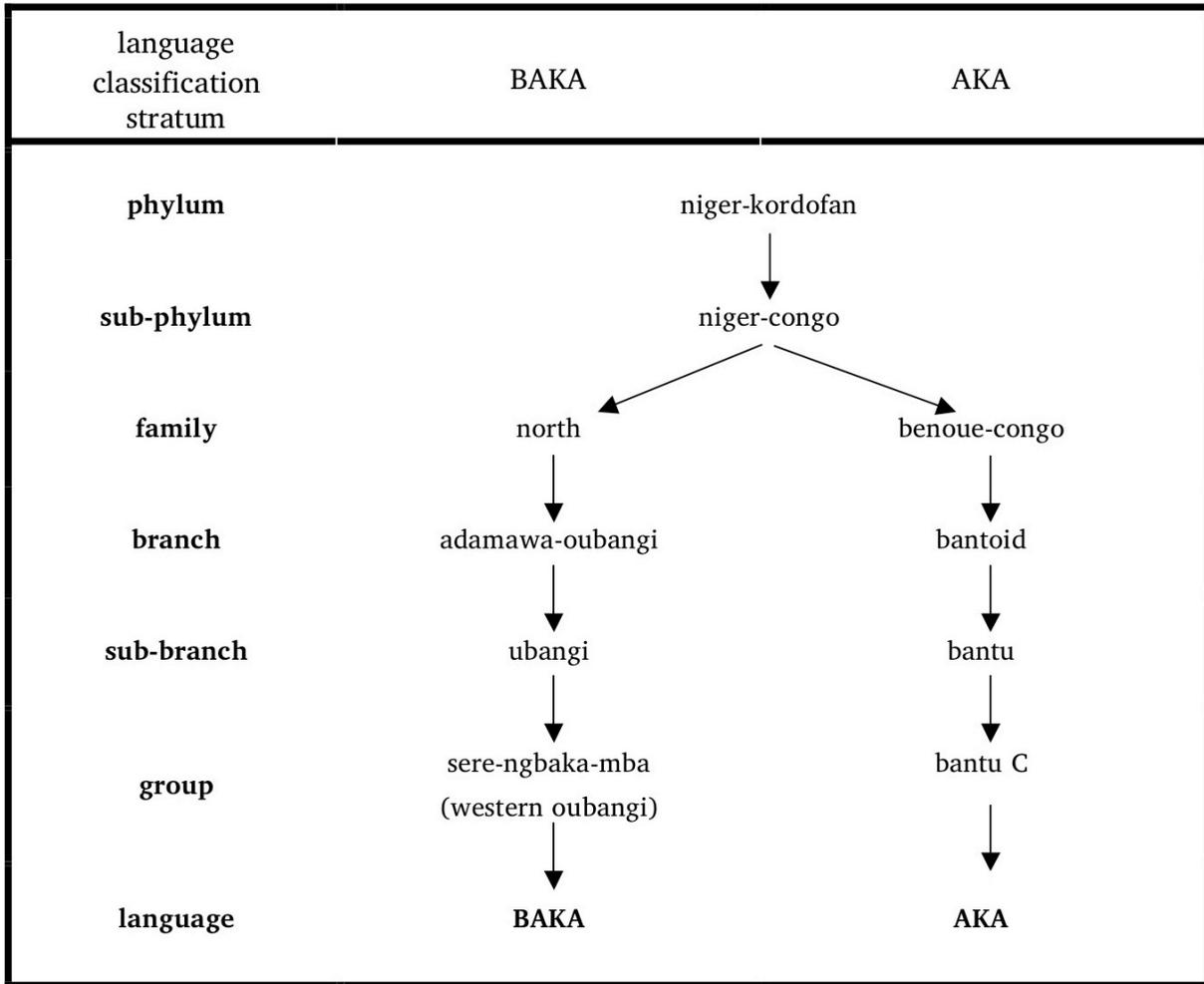


Figure 1-3. Comparison of Baka and Aka language classifications²²

	bilabial		dental alveolar		palatal	velar		labio-velar		pharyngeal	glottal
nasal		m		n	ɲ		ŋ				
plosive		b	t	d		k	g	kp	gb		ʔ
fricative	Φ	w	s		j					h ²³	
affricative				dz							
prenasalized		mb	nd	ndz			ng		ŋgb		
lateral				l							
trill				(r) ²⁴							
implosive		ɓ		ɗ							

Figure 1-4. Table of Baka consonants (Kilian-Hatz [1995] 2004:6; Brisson and Boursier 1979:VI; Léonard 2009:1) Note: Transcriptions of Baka texts (depending upon the transcriber) variously represent [ɲ] as [ny], [ŋ] as [ng], [Φ] as [p] or [f], [j] as [y], [dz] as [j], [ŋ] as [ng], [ŋgb] as [ngb], [ndz] as [nj], [ʔ] as [ʔ] or [‘] or [’]

	Front	Central	Back
Closed	i		u
Half closed	e		o
Half open	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

Figure 1-5. Baka vowel system (Brisson 1979:V)

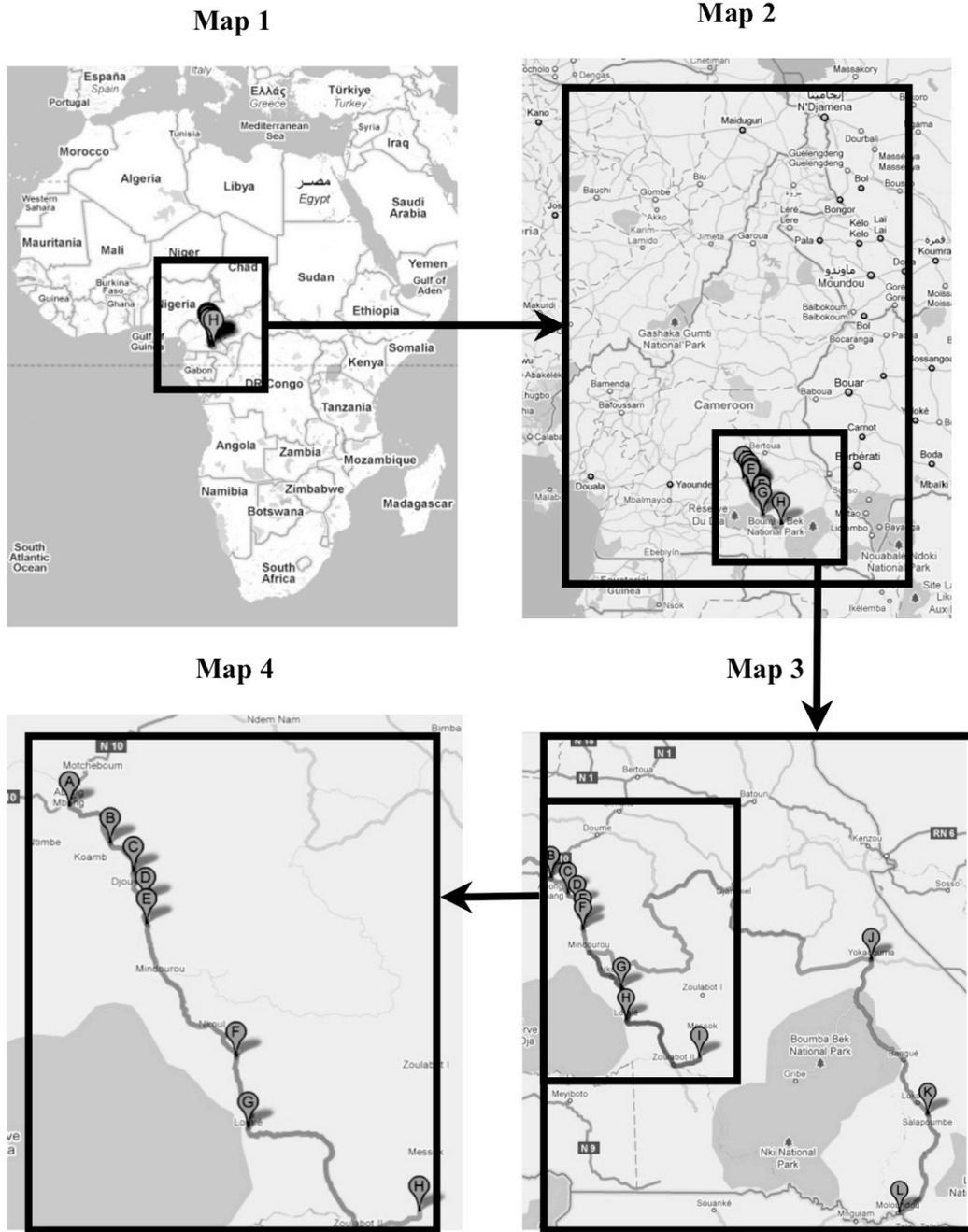


Figure 1-6. Maps: [Map 1] Africa, [Map 2] Cameroon, [Map 3] SE Cameroon Rainforest, Baka Region: (B) Abong Mbang, (C) Ndjibot, (D) Mayos, (E) Mbalam, (F) Malen/Menzo, (G) Nomedjo, (H) Lomié, (I) le Bosquet, (J) Yokadouma, (K) Salapoumbé, (L) Moloundou, [Map 4] Abong Mbang—Lomié Road: (A) Abong Mbang, (B) Ndjibot, (C) Mayos, (D) Mbalam, (E) Malen/Menzo, (F) Nomedjo, (G) Lomié, (H) le Bosquet

¹ Grammatically, *na* ('of') is more a genitive marker than a benefactive or possessive marker (see Kilian-Hatz 1995, translated in 2004 into an unpublished English version by Yves Léonard).

² Longacre, Levinsohn, Dooley, Higgins, and Léonard have been or are currently members of SIL. Examples of SIL's research applications can be accessed through their Website at <http://www.sil.org/>.

³ Much of the same could be said of Grimaud and Rouget's earlier 1957 recordings.

⁴ The Baka are *primarily* hunter-gatherers, gradually learning to farm.

⁵ For further explanation and discussion of the term "pygmy" see Bahuchet (1993c), Kisliuk (1998:6), and Duke (2001:5).

⁶ See "The Index of 'Pygmy' Groups" in *Forest Foragers of Tropical Africa* by Survival for tribal peoples as compiled by Virginia Luling and Justin Kenrick, 1998.

⁷ Cf. Grimes, Barbara F. 2000. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 14th Edition. Dallas: SIL International, p. 30 and "The Index of 'Pygmy' Groups" in *Forest Foragers of Tropical Africa* by Survival for tribal peoples as compiled by Virginia Luling and Justin Kenrick, 1998.

⁸ Various referred to as Bayaka, Baaka, Ba-Aka, Biaka, Ba-MbenzeleBa-Banjelle, Bambenga, Babenga, Benga (Duke 2001:10)

⁹ (For easier access to sources, please reread as...) A synthesis of current studies tends to link the Baka with the Aka and Mbuti pygmies (Duke 2001:8-13) biologically (Cavalli-Sforza 1986), linguistically (Bahuchet 1989:54, 1993b:39, 48; Thomas 1991:19–20f; Kilian-Hatz [1995] 2004:4–5 (in English translation); Ruhlen 1987) and historically (Bahuchet and Thomas 1986:90; Bahuchet 1993b:49; Thomas 1991:19f).

¹⁰ See Bahuchet 1993b:39 and Duke 2001:45.

¹¹ Further study might be given to describing how Baka song texts do (or do not) reflect and exploit the distinctive features of Ubangian languages.

¹² See Phillips 1981:23; Kilian-Hatz [1995] 2004:6–8.

¹³ See /*pe*/ "back" and /*na*/ "of" for other exemplary polysemic morphemes (see Kilian-Hatz 2004: Sec. 3.8.1 and Sec. 3.10.3 'na').

¹⁴ Grimes, Barbara F. 2000. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. 14th Edition. Dallas: SIL International, pp. 17, 18, and 20.

¹⁵ See also, any of Brisson's lexicon entries marked (K), i.e., *Kakò* ('non-Baka') (1979).

¹⁶ On the other hand, old themes may be re-contextualized or disappear all together.

¹⁷ For example, my field recordings #A082097I-II (Catholic Church songs); #A113097A (plucked ideophone songs, one about the governmental sedentarization program); #A102497 (children's game songs wherein "school" is mentioned); #A042197 (aita accomp. Lomie Catholic church song); #A040397 (youth dance song: one about village rivalries).

¹⁸ Ibid..

¹⁹ In Nomedjo I acquired a level 3 ILR (FSI) Baka language proficiency.

²⁰ Map adapted from Lisa Silcock's *Baka: People of the Rainforest*. Chanel 4 Television, London, 1988:25.

²¹ Ibid..

²² I have synthesized this classification from a number of sources, most notably Kilian-Hatz 2004, Duke 2001, Grimes 2000, and Bender-Samuels 1989.

²³ Kilian-Hatz and Léonard add the pharyngeal fricative [h] which occurs mainly in ideophones and borrowed words, also marginally as an initial consonant.

²⁴ Kilian-Hatz adds the alveolar trill [r] which occurs in ideophones and loan words which have become part of the lexicon of Baka.

CHAPTER 2 BAKA VERBAL PERFORMANCE IN SONG, STORY, AND STORY'S SONG

“The relationship of music to language is an enormously broad area of research” (Feld and Fox 1994:26). Feld and Fox reference 379 research works in their 1994 review of the English literature on interdisciplinary studies of the relationship of music and language. “Ethnomusicological surveys...and substantial musical, linguistic, and literary dissertations...indicate how this vast interdisciplinary literature links research in musicology, acoustics, linguistics, literary studies, philosophy, psychology, and anthropology, and continues to inspire conferences, symposia, and research across these disciplines” (ibid.). The bibliography of my dissertation, moreover, suggests that the subject of music and language is of no less interest to researchers today than it was sixteen years ago.

Two years after Feld and Fox’s review, I began my fieldwork among the Baka people of Cameroon. At that time, however, I had no explicit intention to focus my research on the nexus of Baka music and language. My interests then generally lay in musico-structural phenomena, melody in particular. Eventually, however, as my collection of early field recordings grew, a surprisingly *verbal* dimension of Baka music became apparent. My awareness of this dimension of Baka music was first triggered by the elemental discovery that no matter how many field recordings I collected, most recorded songs remained an enigma to me insofar as I remained ignorant of *what*—semantically speaking—the Baka were singing about. For to my surprise, the Baka never seemed to “just make music”; they sang songs—songs with words. Contrary to what I had earlier and passively come to expect from the cumulative trope of both the

scholarly and popular literature on the music of “pygmy peoples,” the Baka did not simply, nor principally, yodel “wordless” songs. To be sure, “the most striking features of Pygmy music include the often wordless yodelling that results in disjunct melodies, usually with descending contours...and densely textured multi-part singing” (Cooke and Kisliuk 2008:1). Yet, yodeled song styles are but one among many other styles. And more importantly, for the Baka music tradition in particular, there are numerous other stylistic aspects of their music tradition that are no less relevant *to them* depending upon the performance context they serve.

In as little time as the first three months of my fieldwork, I also became aware of the enormous variety of Baka music styles and settings. The breadth of song styles represented in Simha Arom and Patrick Renaud’s 1977 recordings of Baka music should have adequately prepared me for this variety (1990). But the prevailing “World Music trope” of the “yodel-like, hocket style choral polyphony sung by pygmy women”—as well as my own initial fascination with that vocal style—predisposed me to expect otherwise. Eventually, however, my own field recordings revealed a broader repertoire. Figure 2-1 lists all of the song performance styles that I have thus far documented with audio or audio-visual media. The maps in Chapter 1, Sec. 1.6 indicate the geographical locations of these recordings; Chapter 3, Sec. 3.1 summarizes their attending cultural themes, composition histories, and performance practices.¹ I do not intend to imply any kind of song taxonomy in this list (i.e., Fig. 2-1). However, the Baka “terms” for these groupings of song performances do generally seem to identify groups of song compositions according to similar constellations of stylistic and/or contextual features. That said, the list is still only intended to provide an

introductory impression of the stylistic breadth of the whole of their song tradition. More pertinently, the listing also introduces *likànò* song, the subject of this dissertation, as one among many other song performance types.

Likànò song is listed third in the table. As indicated, the social context of *likànò* song is most often a funeral or a hunt. Occasionally, it occurs during a divination ritual, or even during evening recreation. What is not explicitly indicated in the table is that the typical *verbal discourse context* of *likànò* song is oral narrative discourse (see also, Sec. 4.1.2). *Likànò* song, then, is both a specimen of the Baka song tradition *and* the Baka narrative discourse tradition. As such, it exhibits certain characteristic *verbal performance* elements of both song and story, while simultaneously distinguishing itself from other Baka song genres and narrative discourse features. The aim of the rest of this chapter is to introduce some of the more salient generalities of all three verbal performance types—songs, stories, and stories’-songs—in order to contextualize the more detailed descriptions of *particular* Baka song, story, and story-song *features* presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

2.1 Baka Verbal Performance

To reiterate, Baka song, story, and story’s-song are types of Baka verbal performance (Bauman 1992). Ethnographies of verbal performance commonly comprise a complex of research approaches, drawing most often on research practices in performance theory, the ethnography of speaking, discourse analysis, and ethnopoetics (Finnegan 1992: 29–52). From a macro-level research orientation, performance theory recognizes verbal performance as but one cultural performance

type within a continuum of performance types (cf. Herndon and Brunyate 1975; McLeod and Herndon 1980). As a mid-level research orientation, the ethnography of speaking specifies the particularities of distinctive “speech acts.” The most fundamental distinction is between “everyday” speech patterns (the default pattern) and “performed” speech patterns. Such ethnographies claim that the patterns of “everyday speech,” when altered, are distinguished from “performed speech” by the execution of culture-specific “strategic devices” that “mark” “frame,” “key,” “cue,” and “codify” particular verbal acts for particular social purposes (Bauman 1977, 1986, 1992, 1998; Sherzer 1987; Dooley 2001).

Baka speakers identify a variety of speech acts. The Baka lexicon records a range of at least nine types of speech behaviors. Figure 2-2 displays a table of lexical entries of the most prevalent Baka speech act terms, along with their typical collocating verbs.

From these sets of lexical entries, I observe a repertoire of nine speech acts and their typical collocating verbs. Thus, in the Baka language someone may be said to

- (1) speak a word or have a discussion (*ngòmà*);
- (2) make conversation (*lòmù*);
- (3) explain formal counsel (*kàlò*);
- (4) give personal advice (*lèwù*);
- (5) relate an account (*mòsimò*);
- (6) tell, recount, or narrate a story, legend, or fable (*likànò*);
- (7) recount an allegory, proverb, or dictum (*gbòngòngò*);
- (8) strike a comparison or speak a parable (*mbàli*);
- (9) sing (*be*) a song (*bè*). (Brisson 2002; Kilian-Hatz 1989)

The two terms *ngòmà* (‘discussion’) and *lòmù* (‘conversation’) implicitly identify an “ordinary,” “unmarked” “speech style,” that is, a Baka speaker’s “everyday linguistic

code.” The other seven terms—*kàlò*, *lèwù*, *mòsimò*, *lìkàndò*, *gbèngèngè*, *mbàli*, and *bè*—, however, identify a “special,” “variant,” “marked [speech] code” (cf. Herndon 1975; Urban 1982:18–22; Levinsohn 2001:38–48; Alvarez-Cáccamo 2001:23–26; Banti and Giannattasio 294). And while the Baka do not as yet formulate abstractions about what actually constitutes distinctions between “marked” and “unmarked,” “ordinary” and “special” speech acts, I have empirically abstracted several of the distinctive features that constitute the two variant speech acts that the Baka identify as *bè* (‘song’) and *lìkàndò* (‘story’). The Baka also specify a third, variant speech act which occurs when song is sung in the course of telling a traditional story. They identify that speech act as *bè na lìkàndò*, that is, ‘story’s song.’ Thus, in this linguistic construction, that is, language *about* music, Baka speakers imply that *lìkàndò* song not only shares characteristic marks of both sung and narrated verbal performance types, but also bears distinctive song and story marks of its own. General descriptions of these marks will be set out in the sections that follow, that is, Sections 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4. In those sections, I will introduce the generalities of Baka song, story, and story’s-song under the headings of “Poetic Verbal Performance,” “Narrative Verbal Performance,” and “Sung Narrative Verbal Performance,” respectively. I will take up *song* (*bè*) first, but reframe it—in the words of Banti and Giannattasio (2004)—as “poetically organized discourse” (as opposed to “musically framed discourse”). I choose to frame song in this way because discourse about the nexus of music and language is more aptly discussed in poetic terms, especially when shared performance phenomena like rhythm and intonation are under discussion. Furthermore, the performance frame of *lìkàndò* song is generically

verbal, as opposed to musical, that is, song is sung in the context of “telling,” not *vice versa*.

2.2 Poetic Verbal Performance: Song

“Ethnographic research has shown that “poetic” forms and behaviors are almost universally widespread...” (Banti and Giannattasio 2004:290; Feld and Fox 1994:30, citing Lomax 1968). Moreover, “poetry is performed more commonly as sung rather than spoken discourse in all oral traditions” (2004:297). Such is the case in Baka verbal communication. It should be added, however, that the potential for poetically organized verbal performance—sung or spoken—is always present in any kind/genre of Baka discourse, even during everyday speech. For as with most cultural performance forms—verbal or non-verbal—poetic procedures are “variable qualities, relatively more or less salient among the multiple functions served by a communicative act” (Bauman 1992:44). Thus, for example, from within the nine speech acts previously displayed in Figure 2-2, if I were to sample the relative presence of a single poetic procedure such as *repetition*, we would generally observe less repetitive phenomena in “conversation,” “discussion,” and “personal advice,” more repetition in “formal counsel,” and personal “accounts,” and still more in “proverbs,” “parables,” and “stories.” Tautologies of the greatest variety and frequency, however, would be reserved for “song.” Similarly, along this same continuum of speech acts we could expect to find the same relative increase in the presence of other poetic procedures, although song, again, would exhibit more “poetic” speech than all other Baka speech acts.

In Chapter 3, entitled, “Baka Song-text Poetics,” I provide a detailed inventory of those poetic procedures that generally distinguish *sung* Baka discourse (‘*bè*’) from everyday Baka discourse. That account, as its title indicates, tends to emphasize song *text* poetics, though the poetic procedures that it describes extend beyond mere “textual” concerns. Theoretically, the poetic formalization of Baka song texts is characterized by what Roman Jakobson (1960:358) describes as “the [semiotic] projection of the *poetic function* into a verbal sequence to the point that *the principle of equivalence* is promoted as *the* constitutive device of the sequence” (brackets and emphases added; see also Sec. 3.1). Formally, then, I identify five particular domains of poetic *equivalence* in Baka song: rhythmic, syntactic, lexical, phonological, and semantic equivalence. Each domain, in turn, exhibits numerous poetic devices of its kind. For example, equivalent rhythmic forms emerge as pulse and meter; syntactic similarities may include repeated verses and verse-segments; lexical tautologies may be manifested as repeated words or as homonyms; phonologically poetic phenomena may include assonances and ideophones; and semantic equivalences can be recognized in metaphor or parallelism.

As is suggested by these examples, the boundaries of syntactic, lexical, and semantic domains tend to most often include strictly “textual” phenomena. Rhythmic and phonological domains, however, more often constitute what many would consider to be “musical” phenomena, or, to put it in another way, “the music *in* language” (Feld and Fox 26).² This interpretation is more likely when the scope of the “phonological” patterns, that is, sonic patterns, of verbal performance is thought to include melodic or timbric qualities. When speech sounds are interpreted in this way, melic, timbric, and

rhythmic phenomena are recognized as shared qualities of both language and music. The formalization and re-formalization of these three dimensions of speech is a hallmark of “poetically organized discourse.” In their 2004 essay on poetry and “poetically organized discourse, Banti and Giannattasio claim that “the main procedures for formalizing speech sounds beyond those used in normal conversation seem to be no more than three: 1. altering ‘voice register’... 2. altering melodic contour... 3. segmenting utterances rhythmically ...” (295). Banti and Giannattasio’s three “main formalizing procedures” roughly correspond to the distinctive timbric, melodic, and rhythmic qualities that typically infuse sung Baka discourse. Indeed, the most distinctive formal generalities that distinguish Baka singing from Baka speaking concern rhythmic segmentation, voice register (which is primarily constituted timbrically), and melodic contour. A more detailed discussion of these generalities will be set out in the immediately following sub-sections. Section 2.2.1 will introduce Baka song’s basic rhythmic distinctives, Section 2.2.2 will treat melodic generalities, and Section 2.2.3 will discuss song’s special voice register.

2.2.1 Baka Song’s Rhythmic Generalities

The predominant differentiation between everyday Baka discourse and poetic Baka discourse is rhythmic, periodic rhythm in particular. More generally, Jean Molino claims that “poetry cannot be confused with language or with any of its functions: it is the outcome of imposing upon language a structure that has very strong links with music and dance” (Molino 2002:31 cited in Banti and Giannattasio 2004:292). Vida Chenoweth frames the nexus of music and language (in song) in a similar fashion:

It is *musical grammar* superimposed upon verbal grammar which makes song transcend speech. This *musical grammar* has a ‘life’ of its own. It is the nature of song to enhance words. (italics added; 1972:102)

In the case of Baka song, the most pertinent generality regarding the relationship of musical grammar to verbal grammar concerns rhythm. This characterization is so, because *the essential musical mark of sung Baka discourse is that it is rhythmically organized*. Melodic organization may occasionally be absent, as in vocal compositions employing *sprechstimme*-like utterances (i.e., ‘rhythmic speech’), but rhythmic organization may not. Thus, the musical syntax of periodic phrase-level rhythmic units defines the bounds of a song-text’s poetic line, transforming verbal sequences into lyrical *lines* (Sec. 3.3.4–3.3.5).

Such a process is not unusual in African literary forms. “In fact the occurrence of music or of a sung mode of expression has sometimes been taken as one of the main differentiating marks between [African] prose and verse” (Finnegan 1970:75). Yet, the underlying dynamic and character of the musical organization of verse—any verse—goes beyond cultural particularities. Barbara Herrnstein Smith, in her book on poetic closure, posits that

... as soon as we perceive that verbal sequence has *a sustained rhythm*, that it is formally structured according to *a continuously operating principle of organization*, we know that we are in the presence of poetry and we respond to it accordingly ... expecting certain effects from it and not others, granting certain conventions to it and not others. (emphasis added; Herrnstein Smith 1968, cited in Alter 1985:6)

Thus, as concerns Baka poetics in particular, the primary distinctive poetic feature of sung Baka discourse is the *musically metered line* to which it is set.

It must be emphasized, that the poetic nature of a Baka line is not so much verbal, as it is musical. More precisely, *a line is a rhythmical unit* (an organized unit of time), not a syntactical unit (Pinsky 1998:28, 34). However, a Baka song line does not express rhythm formed of patterned prosodic or semantic units (as in Greco-Roman and Japanese meter, or Semitic parallelism), but periodic rhythm *minimally formed from a continuously recurring sequence of pulses*. More specifically, Baka song-line meter types are organized in units of either 16, 12, 8, or 4 pulses per line. Thus, the average meter is 12 pulses per line, though the predominant meter is 8 pulses per line (Chap. 3, Sec. 3.3.4). I set out a more detailed description of Baka rhythmic devices in Chapter 3, Section 3.3. For the purposes of this present introductory section on Baka song's rhythmic generalities, it is enough to simply state that in all sung Baka discourse four rhythmic devices converge to form what Herrnstein-Smith would call "the continuously operating principle of [poetic] organization": they are, *pulse, tempo, meter, and line*.

The recognition of a hierarchically organized "musically metered line" as the essential poetic mark of Baka song is an empirical—though I trust accurate—abstraction. The Baka, however, do not consciously articulate any such notion. Their conscious conceptions of rhythm in song begin with an explicit identification of particular rhythmic motifs (*'kole'*) that they (the Baka) typically associate with 'this or that' song. For example, the traditional constellation of percussive rhythmic patterns associated with *likàndò* song—as transcribed in Figure 2-4, Section 2.4—is simply identified by Baka speakers as "*kole na bè na likàndò*," that is, 'the *likàndò* song rhythm.' Even when this composite rhythmic motif (or simply one or two of its component patterns) is percussively performed *without* vocal performance, the rhythm is still

indexically recognized as the “right one” (“*èe ná kè e jókò nè*”) for that particular song genre. Most Baka speakers can identify numerous song styles in this manner, especially dance songs.

Every traditional rhythm is correlated with the musically metered line of its respective song style. Motif and line are found to correlate in one of three ways: (1) the boundaries of certain rhythmic motifs may also coincide with the boundaries of a song’s lyrical line, while (2) the boundaries of other rhythmic motifs are iterated twice before coinciding with song-line boundaries; and (3) still other composite motifs may span the duration of two complete song lines, depending upon the relative measure of pulses per rhythmic motif and pulses per poetic line.

Not only are specific rhythmic figures correlated with specific musical meters, grammatical constructions are correlated as well. Larger syntactic constructions, like verses, are set to particular metric lines. Similarly, smaller constitutive verbal constructions, like syllables, are subsequently synchronized with the component segments of the larger rhythmic motif.

A more detailed analysis of Baka songs’ rhythmic tradition is beyond the scope of this present section. Detailed descriptions of traditional rhythms would only serve to distinguish one song style from another song style. It is enough, then, to close this present section on the rhythmic generalities of Baka song and reiterate that all sung verbal utterances—as opposed to spoken verbal utterances—are always segmented according to a musically metered line.

2.2.2 Baka Song's Melic Generalities

In addition to special formalizations of *rhythm*, Baka song—as opposed to Baka speech—is linguistically and musically marked by distinctive *intonational* and *melic* formalizations.

The raw material of intonational formalizations is constituted by the phenomenon of pitch. Verbal intonation is a variation in pitch *sequences* in speech (Loos 2004). An intoned melody, by extension, is a continuum of culturally regularized sequences of emically discrete tones (Chenoweth 1979:125). Pitches in Baka culture, however, are not culturally regularized; *intervals* between pitches are. Thus, the minimal unit of melodic organization is a melodic *interval*, a sequence of two tones (ibid.). To be sure, there are many other emic principles that subsequently order the *succession* of melodic intervals, but my goal here is not to posit *all* the patterns of intonational (or melodic) organization, only those that minimally distinguish the movement of pitch in Baka song from that in Baka speech.

Alexander Reed begins his 2005 dissertation, “The Musical Semiotics of Timbre in the Human Voice,” by distinguishing the semiotic potential of the *multiple individual frequencies* that normally constitute the complex spectrum of all periodic sound. At a most elementary level, *fundamental* frequencies are shown to constitute signs of *pitch*, while *partial* frequencies collectively signal timbre. In the process of discriminating these bands of frequencies, Reed formulates the simple yet important generalization that “one chief difference between speech and singing is that there is *much greater movement of and stability between movements of the fundamental frequency* in a singing voice” (emphasis added; Reed 2005:5).

Generalizations like Reed's are normally posited with the aid of spectrograph analysis. Yet even without the confirmation of spectrograph measurements, the kinds of variations in fundamental frequencies of which Reed describes are plainly evident when comparing Baka speaking and singing. To my knowledge, however, the Baka make no such abstractions about alterations in fundamental frequency patterns. They do not, for instance, have an equivalent term for "pitch" in their lexicon. For the Baka, as already noted in Section 2.2.1, a speech act is identified as "song" (*bè*) when verbal segments are rhythmically metered, that is, when verbal segments are performed in particular periodic rhythmic patterns (*'kole'*). However, even in the absence of explicit verbalizations about pitch, I have empirically observed that whenever such periodic segmentation is performed, "greater movement of and stability between the movement of the fundamental frequency" is always concomitant, though in varying degrees. *Lesser* increases in the degrees of alteration in fundamental pitches are exhibited in occasional *Sprechstimme*-like song styles. Most often, however, song is indexically (and iconically) signified by still *greater* degrees of movement of and stability between movements of fundamental pitches. When regularized, these alterations generate patterned melodic contours. The empirical and emic measures of these movements have yet to be adequately determined, but certain basic characteristics can be preliminarily proposed even now. But before doing so, a word about my pre-ethnographic research in this regard seems in order.

My initial research of Baka melodic formalizations began with an orientation to the fruitful and seminal analyses of Aka melodic and polyphonic music systems by French ethnomusicologists at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientific (e.g., Arom

1991; Fūrniſs 1991, 2006; Fūrniſs and Olivier 1996). Susanne Fūrniſs briefly summarizes Aka melody and polyphony

... as being based upon an anhemitonic pentatonic system—a five-tone scale in which neighboring degrees are separated by intervals that can vary between about a major second and a minor third. [Aka] Musicians, however, are more concerned with correct relationships between parts than they are with a rigid idea of interval sizes. (2006:177)

With greater specificity, Fūrniſs further explains that

Aka music issues from a system of multiple levels of significance: the principal parameter concerns the order of succession of scale degrees in a melodic pattern derived from a pentatonic scale in which the only constant is the absence of an interval of a half-step...the second significant parameter, which informs the realization of polyphonic songs, is based on a vertical arrangement of intervals at certain predetermined points. The unfolding of melodic lines, with all the freedom of development it allows, is nevertheless dependant upon the anchor points of the polyphony. (my translation; 1993:136, 137)³

Given the common narrative concerning African pygmy peoples, one might presume that the melodic system of the Baka in Cameroon is the same as that of the Aka in Central Africa. However, the linguistic, geographical, and historical differences between the two groups—as briefly described in Chapter 1, Sections 1.4 and 1.5.1—should suggest caution before making such an assumption. Moreover, even if the music cultures were identical, the application of another theoretical model—i.e., one other than that of the C.R.N.S. group—might yield a slightly different, though presumably complementary, description and analysis. To this end, I have begun my own analysis.

My *emic* analysis of the Baka melodic system is not yet complete, though a few fundamental characteristics are already emerging. The theoretical model for an *emic* analytical approach was first developed by Vida Chenoweth in the 1970s (Chenoweth [1972] 2006, 1979). I first applied Chenoweth's model during my 1989 Master's thesis' analysis of the melodic system of the Tewa Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.⁴ Chenoweth's model is based upon a slightly, though critically, different generative premise than that of the C.N.R.S. group, a premise that presumes—in short—that as a *phoneme* is to language, so a melodic *interval* is to music. Thus, from the start Chenoweth's model theoretically assumes that the “paramètre principal” of melodic organization is first constituted by a *regularized quality of movement* from one pitch to another within a single given melodic *interval*; and thus, presumably, melody could not be principally constituted—as suggested by Fürniss's hypotheses—by the quality of movement between degrees of *pitch* within a given *scale*.

I do not intend to posit a full description of the Baka melodic system in this dissertation, let alone constructively critique the analyses of other (presumably) similar melodic systems. My present focus is only on those qualities that *minimally* distinguish the patterns of fundamental frequencies of Baka speaking from those of Baka singing. My intent, then, is simply to account for yet one more distinctive feature of Baka verbal performance, that is, one verbalized sign among many signs that both indexically and iconically marks singing as an extra-ordinary Baka speech act. Thus, I have found it necessary to introduce, if only briefly, some of the rationale for establishing the melodic *interval* as the essential, initial measure of intonational and melodic variation.

Having done so, I quickly resume my introductory description of the essential melic marks of Baka song.

First, like the Aka of Central Africa, anhemitonic intervallic progressions predominate in Baka song. Thus, the melodic contours of Baka singing are predominantly informed by etic intervals akin to unisons, major seconds, minor thirds, perfect fourths, and perfect fifths.⁵ However, unlike Aka intervallic sequences, minor seconds and major thirds are not uncommon in the Baka repertoire. One probable reason for this discrepancy is undoubtedly due to the fact that unlike the corpus of songs analyzed by Arom and Fürniss, I have included a number of song styles in my data that most likely have (relatively recently) been borrowed from neighboring music traditions. I have chosen to include some of these borrowed styles only when there seems to be adequate evidence that the Baka themselves appear to be generating and sharing (with some regularity) new compositions in these styles. Whenever this appears to be the case, I consider such compositions to be an emerging style in the regional Baka repertoire, just as it seems the Baka do. Not surprisingly, most of these song styles exhibiting the less-common “hemitonic intervallic progressions” tend to emerge from performance contexts commonly associated with certain youth dance songs, particularly the *basúka* and *mèbàšì*.

As is readily deduced from the work of Fürniss *et al.*, there are several other complementary levels of Baka melodic organization that organically extend well beyond isolated abstractions of “minimal units of movement.” One such formalization involves the typical *distribution* of the available melodic intervals. Simply put, that particular formalization stems from the fact that no single voice-part in the traditional

Baka repertoire coordinates the intervallic boundaries of melodic contours with less than two, or more than five distinct emic *itches* per song.⁶ Some analysts would identify this parameter as a pentatonic scale. I prefer, however, to identify it as an *inventory* of five pitches, not *fixed* pitches, but rather, an inventory of five tones dynamically relative to a tonal center.

To clarify, only individual voice-parts may not employ more than five pitches. The composite inventory of distinct pitches in songs with multiple voice-parts, however, may exhibit more than five pitches. From a sample of eighty-six diverse songs, slightly more than half exhibit five or fewer pitches; slightly less than half appear to use more than five, that is, six, or possibly seven, distinct pitches. Exceptions to the typical five-tone inventory generally appear to occur in polyphonic songs. To reiterate, these five pitches are not fixed, but are only identified relative to a tonal center. And further, even though melody is essentially a continuum, any notion that these inventories of tones are somehow organized along a scalar continuum is not yet warranted in the light of my preliminary analysis of Baka song (Chenoweth 1979:125).

In analyzing Baka melodic contours, the notion of pentatonic scales as organizing principles of melodically inflected verbal discourse might arise from the potentially prescriptive effects of tuned instruments. In Baka instrumental performance, for example, no traditionally tuned chordophone, regardless of how many strings it may have, exhibits more than five discrete pitch classes. But instrumental melodic practice does not *necessarily* prescribe sung melodic practice. For example, I know of no melodic sequence in the traditional Baka song repertoire—even when accompanied by a tuned instrument—that plainly exhibits an uninterrupted, descending or ascending

“scalar” succession of all five available melodic pitches. Such a continuum may be physically, and even theoretically possible, but within my corpus of recordings no such melodic figure is ever performed by a singing voice.

Before drawing this section to a close, I note that the concept of “scale” is not only problematic in discussions of Baka melodic phenomena, but in other contexts as well. Arnold Whittall, in his entry on melody in the *Oxford Companion to Music*, argues that

It is important to the consideration not only of ancient music but also of the Western tradition to realize that the concept of scale is based on practice, rather than being the basis of practice.... The scale determines the kind of music made only in the sense that it becomes fixed in *instrumental* music. Thus the existence of five-string lyres some three thousand years ago, as well as of wind instruments with certain possible fingerings and transpositional relationships to other instruments, *suggests* the fixed-pitch content of ancient melody on a pentatonic basis. (Whittall 2010)⁷

In an analogous article, Alexander L. Ringer writes,

Leaving aside the admittedly important issue of fixed tuning, however, scalar considerations can hardly be said to place more than very general constraints on melodic activity, if only because the scales themselves are derived from existing melodic practices. The image of the scalar tail wagging the melodic dog would seem grotesque, were it not for the implied reminder of the extent to which musical notation, with all its blessings, has narrowed Western man’s understanding of a cultural phenomenon that is always aural in essence and rarely if ever graphic. (Ringer 2010)⁸

A much more in-depth argument is called for in defense of my initial suppositions concerning Baka melodic perceptions. The preceding introductory comments are only

meant to clarify—as much as seems necessary—the bases for the measures I have chosen to characterize the kinds of variations of intonational patterns that distinguish sung from spoken verbal discourse.

To summarize, then: The increased movement of and stability between movements of fundamental frequencies that typically distinguish Baka singing from Baka speaking is minimally signaled (1) through anhemitonic intervallic sequences which are most often expressed through an available intervallic inventory of unisons, major seconds, minor thirds, perfect fourths, and perfect fifths, respectively, and (2) through two to five discrete tones (intervallically relative to a tonal center) that mark and correlate the boundaries of the available inventory of emic intervals.

2.2.3 Baka Song’s Voice Register Generalities

Not only are sung verbal performances marked by special *rhythmic* and *intonational* formalizations, special *voice registers* are often employed as well. At this point in my study of Baka-song voice registers, I am only able to propose two distinctive sets of binary features: first, two contrastive sets of “more-dense versus less-dense” spectral fields of high-register harmonics, and second, two contrastive sets of “closed-vowel formants versus non-closed-vowel formants.” These proposals are deduced in large part from earlier phonetic and acoustic studies by Susanne Fürniss (1991b) of the singing techniques of Aka yodelers in Central Africa.⁹

Before describing any fineries of Aka or Baka yodeling, it bears repeating that Baka yodeling (*‘yeyĩ’*)—according to the Baka—, is singing (*na be ´ bè*). In Baka ‘talk’ about Baka song, Baka speakers often identify yodeling as “song” (*‘bè’*), but more often they identify it as *‘yeyĩ’* (*‘yodel’*). Non-yodeling songs, however, are never identified as

‘yeyĩ’. I find it particularly telling that in regards to the specific *act* of yodeling (‘yeyĩ’), singers (*wa be´ bè*) are either said “to sing” (“*na be*”) when yodeling, or more often—in reference to female vocalists—, “to whistle” (“*na ù*”) when yodeling—as in “*Wósèò, wó à ù yéyi*” (“The women are whistling a *yeyĩ* song”). This recognition by the Baka of a whistle-like component in yodeling, as I will discuss near the end of this section, corroborates with Fürniss’s spectral analysis of the so-called “head’ voice sound in Aka yodeling. But before proceeding with a discussion of the ‘head’ voice—‘chest’ voice phenomenon associated with voice register, the basic term “*register*” needs some preliminary clarification.

Often, confusion ensues when employing the term “register” in interdisciplinary studies involving both musicology and linguistics, especially when the linguistic components include studies of phonetics, phonology, and linguistic anthropology. Music theorists, for example, most often use *register* to denote a particular region of a vocal or instrumental frequency range. In addition, musicians may even use the term to refer to a set, or the control of a set, of organ pipes. Anthropological linguistics (or, sociolinguistics), on the other hand, employs the term *register* to indicate

...a linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices. [...] Formally, registers differ in the type of repertoire involved (e.g., lexemes, prosody, sentence collocations), and many registers involve repertoires of more than one kind. (Agha 2001:212)

In yet another research context, phoneticians apply the term *register* in reference to “the VOICE QUALITY produced by a specific physiological constitution of the LARYNX” (Crystal 1997:327). For example, “variations in length, thickness, and tension of the

vocal cords combine to produce (in singing) the differences between, soprano, contralto, tenor, and bass etc. voices, and also (within one person) such differences as between ‘head’ (*falsetto*) and ‘chest’ voice” (ibid.). Of all the various applications of the term “register,” this acoustic phonetic concept is most pertinent to my present discussion of Baka song’s voice register generalities.

While my present aims focus more on sonic phenomena, I do not want to imply that sociolinguistic notions of register are in any way irrelevant. The unique repertoire of physiological formations that produce such contrasting vibratory phenomena as the alternating ‘chest’ and ‘head’ voice in Baka yodeling most certainly indexes *particular* Baka social events and practices. Indeed, such sonic signs are perpetuated precisely for culture-specific events. But my aims are much more limited at the moment. And so, for those readers interested in the sociolinguistic implications of Baka or Aka voice register, I remind them of the various ethnographic descriptions by Turnbull (1961, 1965), Frisbie (1971), Arom (1991), Sarno (1995), Fürniss and Olivier (1996), Kisliuk (1998), or Fürniss (2006) that have already drawn attention to the numerous ritual, spiritual, and sociological contexts so potently indexed by the unique sonic signs of yodeling. With that said, I return to my general description of the physiological and acoustic formalizations of Baka-song voice registers.

Linguist Giorgio Banti and ethnomusicologist Francesco Giannattasio, as cited earlier, claim that “altering voice register” is one of the three main procedures for formalizing speech sounds. More specifically, “...altering intentionally and/or by convention one’s voice register, is to alter its “*frequency range, timbre, and intensity*” (emphasis added; ibid.). Voice registers, then, are particular bundles (i.e.,

“ensembles”) of subtle voice qualities generated by particular vocal tract conditions (Fürniss 1991b:168). To better appreciate a voice register’s acoustic phenomena, some understanding of its physiological formation is helpful.

The initial physiological site of vocal production is the larynx. In both speaking and singing, the vibrating vocal folds of the larynx produce a complex spectrum of frequencies. The particular spectral formation of these frequencies, as alluded to earlier, is initially formed by particular combinatory variations in the length, thickness, and tension of the vocal cords. Normally, the lowest and most prominent frequency generated by the vocal cords is the fundamental (Reed 2005:2). The perception of a fundamental frequency, however, has more to do with the sonic dimension of pitch, than with the dimension of timbre (ibid.). The specifically timbral qualities of voice register are primarily signified by particular configurations of the multiple non-fundamental spectral frequencies of a sound, that is, its partials, or harmonic overtones.¹⁰ As these partials progress through the vocal tract, some (either naturally or through manipulation) resonate with and cluster around particularly resonant vocal tract cavities. This resonance reinforces these frequencies. The loudest and most prominent clusters of frequencies are called *formants*. “The number, intensity, and position of a sound’s formants is the most important characteristic” of the timbral dimension of a sound (ibid.). Particular formant frequency resonances of a “lower” spectral tessitura (below F2, i.e., below 2000–3600 Hz) characterize *phonemic vowel formations*, while particular partials of a higher spectral tessitura (above F2, i.e., above 2000–3600 Hz) signify consonants and many other acoustic qualities like “sibilance, breathiness, and ‘brightness’” (2005:4). Further, and more importantly, from within

these higher levels of the spectral frequency range “we [also] receive a great deal of information regarding the location, clarity, and richness of a sound” (ibid.). Thus, while lower-level formants critically signal the vocalic, phonemic basis of a people’s language,¹¹ particular formations of a voice’s higher partials signal *who* is speaking, or singing. These higher partials not only identify a person’s gender, or likely age group, but who they are as unique individuals (Sundberg 1987:2; Howie and Delattre 1962:6–9, cited in Reed 2005:4).

Given the special semiotic potential of sonic signs formed from a voice’s higher partials, it is tempting, at this point, to speculate about the collective voice-register *identity* of whole people groups like the Aka and Baka, people who share such unique physiological characteristics. One might ask, for example, “How significant is the relationship between the collective sizes and shapes of Baka female vocal tracts to the seemingly unique acoustic quality of their choral yodeling technique?” “What might a comparative spectral analyses with other people groups reveal about the uniqueness of Baka voice?” These and other similar questions, however, must be left for another study. For I should digress no longer, but directly progress to a description of the distinctive voice register and formant qualities produced by the vocal tract of Baka singers.

A “chest” voice, produced by shorter, thicker, denser vocal cords, is used in ordinary speaking and ordinary singing (Fürniss 1991b:169).¹² Fürniss’s acoustic measurements of the Aka ‘head’ voice partials reveal a dense field of harmonics, much more dense than that produced by a ‘head’ voice technique (176–183). When a “special,” that is, a contrastive, voice register density is called for, as in the case of

yodeling, longer, thinner, and more attenuated vocal cords are called on to produce the ‘head’ voice sensation. Fűrniſſ’s spectral measurements of the acoustic effects of this “mechanism” typically reveal a far less concentrated field of harmonics, affecting a “less-dense,” “lighter” acoustic quality (ibid. 182). The effect of this regularized alternation between “more-dense” and “less-dense” voice qualities (timbres) acts to promote the *timbre* of voice-register as an increasingly constitutive principle and special mark of this speech act (185). But as distinctive as this device may be, it is not the only device being timbrally foregrounded; special vowel formant patterns are correlated as well.

The Baka and Aka, interestingly, share the same set of seven short phonemic vowels: /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /ɛ/, /a/, and /ɔ/.¹³ The formants that characterize the timbre of both vowel systems, as in most languages, are constituted among lower formant frequencies. I assume that the formant formation of the seven phonemic vowels of the Baka language is phonemically the same in Baka singing as it is in Baka speaking. If this were not so, the resulting phonemic confusion would render texted voice parts unintelligible. The one significant exception to this pattern of vowel formalization takes place, as one might guess, during the performance of yodeled song styles.

In the Baka song tradition, sung *verbal* performance is normally executed by non-yodeling voices, or voice parts. Yodeling voices may *vocalize*, but they do not simultaneously *verbalize*. Not all the world’s yodeling traditions exclude lexical performance so strictly. For example, a number of American country music styles combine—in the same verse—yodeled vocables with lexical utterances (Wise 2007). I

cannot as yet propose the exact reasons as to why the Baka typically choose to exclude *verbal* performance from most of their yodeled voice parts. However, Fürniss's study of Aka yodeling, again, seems to suggest a few potential forces, among which the formation of vowel formants is most pertinent.

In the course of Aka yodeling, for instance, the contrastive alternation of 'head' voice and 'chest' voice register is also correlated with alterations between a specific set of the Aka's *closed* vowels, that is, the phonemic /i/ and /u/, and the phonetic [y] and [ɥ], with those of an opposing set of their *non-closed* vowels, that is, the phonemic /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, and /o/ and the phonetic [oe] and [ø], respectively (175). I can confirm that nearly the same correlation takes place in Baka performance, though I have not had opportunity as yet to verify the subtle presence of the four additional, conditional phonetic vowels, that is, [y] and [ɥ], [oe] and [ø]. Regardless, the cumulative effect of these correlated and homologous timbral "densities"—i.e., closed vowels with less-dense voice registers, and open vowels with more-dense voice registers—seems evident in their mutual reinforcement as emphatically contrastive timbres, and thus as marks of a "special" kind of verbal performance. These correlated alternations of "higher" and "lower" registers, along with their well-known "disjunct intervallic motion," thus constitute the fundamental timbral character of the yodeling technique (Baumann 2011). As a result, whenever the contrastive timbral patterns of the yodel technique are promoted as the constitutive principle of a sung vocal sequence, the distinctive phonemic timbres of normal lexical utterances are at best, hard to realize, and more often, abandoned altogether (Fürniss 1991b:175).¹⁴

Fürniss implicitly corroborates certain aspects of her empirical phonetic and acoustic analysis of Aka yodeling with ethnographic analysis. For example, she reports that within the typical four-part performance textures of Aka song, only one voice part utters words, that is, *mòtángòlè*;¹⁵ and *mòtángòlè* does not yodel. Yodeling is reserved for one of the other voice parts, that is, *điyèi*.¹⁶ Correlationally, *mòtángòlè* (literally, ‘one who counts’) exclusively sings with the (lower) “chest” voice register, while *điyèi* (‘yodel’) uses (in alternation) both a “chest” voice register and a (higher) “head” voice register (2006:175).¹⁷ The Baka differentiate voice parts, as well, but not nearly so finely. In multi-part voice textures, two categories apply: *wànjàmba* (‘the one who begins’) and *wàtúkò* (‘the one who “pours”’).¹⁸ While there is only one *wànjàmba* voice-part—though more than one person may sing it, depending upon the song style—there is often more than one distinct *wàtúkò* voice-part. So, while any “chest-voice-register” voice-part may utter either words, or non-lexical vocables, yodeled voice-parts—with their alternating “chest” and “head” voice registers—predominantly only utter non-lexical vocables (especially when the song style is explicitly identified as “*yeyi*, or *yeli*”). In general, then, yodeled parts are most often identified as *wàtúkò* voice-parts, and lexical utterances are most often identified with the *wànjàmba* part.

As noted earlier in this section (Sec. 2.2.3), the Baka recognize a “whistling” (*na ù ’ ù*) quality in female *yeyi* singing. For the most part, both scholarly and popular studies identify yodeling’s ‘head’ voice sound as “*false*to,” or “*faus*set,” (i.e., “artificial”) (Fürniss 1991b, Baumann 2011). Still, a number of acoustic and vocology studies further specify a difference between male and female “head and chest” voices. Johan Sundberg reports that

...while both men and women have a head voice, these registers are apparently not the same thing: for when women yodel, it is not between their ‘chest voice’ and their ‘head voice’, but rather between their head voice and ‘*whistle*’ register. (emphasis added; Wise 2007:7, citing Sundberg 1987:50)

While some confusion still surrounds academic definitions of a *whistle register*, the implications of the basic concept are clear enough in that the diminutive acoustic density of the higher-range partials produced by a flute is acoustically similar to that produced by the vibrating outer layers of the vocal folds of a female Baka yodeler (Miller and Schutte 1993).¹⁹

The special timbral status of the higher-level voice register of *yeyĩ* is further reinforced by other socio-cultural claims and traditions. From his many years of ethnographic work among the Baka, Robert Brisson reports that not only is the sound of *yeyĩ* likened to a whistle, or flute, some Baka have even said that “*yeyĩ*-song originates from the resonant sound of God’s harp-zither” (“le chant du “*yeyĩ*” viendrait de la résonance de la guitare de Komba”) (English translation, mine; 2002:626).²⁰ Baka ‘talk’ about *yeyĩ* sound is further contextualized in the ethnographic work of Fr. Daniel Boursier and Robert Brisson. Both Boursier and Brisson document the ways in which the *yeyĩ* song tradition is socio-culturally set apart. For example, the *yeyĩ* tradition is set apart sociologically by perpetuating and framing it in a special rite of initiation for Baka girls. An insightful account of this tradition is documented in *Pöli: Mémoires d’une Femme Pygmée: Témoignage Auto-Biographique d’une Femme Pygmée Baka (Sud-Est Cameroun)*, an autobiography of a Baka women, *Pöli*, as told to Fr. Daniel Boursier (1996).

There are other aspects of the dimension of voice register that deserve further attention but can only be briefly mentioned at present. For instance, I have occasionally heard and documented Baka singers performing a speech act that some western academic traditions call “*sprechstimme*,” or ‘speech-voice.’ The voice register of this speech act—comprised of lower formant frequencies and an *irregular* movement of and between fundamental frequencies—lies somewhere between speaking and singing. Baka speakers, nonetheless, simply refer to this verbal formalization as ‘song’ (‘*bè*’), with no apparent regard for the etic distinctions that I perceive in the acoustic character of its fundamental frequency and formants (see also Sec. 2.1 and 2.2).

To conclude this section, then: the Baka implicitly recognize three basic voice registers, those of speaking, singing, and yodelling. The voice registers of “ordinary” singing and yodelling, however, are often differentiated still further. Empirically, for example, they are found in contrast in two binary sets of timbres: first, as either “more dense” or “less dense” voice registers, and second—as well as correlationally—, as either “closed vowels” or “non-closed vowels.” Ethnographically, the “more dense” and “closed-vowel” registers may even be identified as whistle-like, or possibly even harp-like.

2.3 Narrative Verbal Performance: Story

Many scholars of discourse analysis explicitly claim, or even tacitly assume, that narrative discourse is a universal social act (e.g., Gulich and Quasthoff 1985:169; Dooley and Levinsohn 2001; Renkema 2004). Implicit in these claims is the notion that there are universal characteristics of narrative discourse, that is, general features

that distinguish narrative discourse from other types of verbal performance. To the degree that this is true, then, any attempt to describe the distinctive features of a culture-specific narrative—for example, a traditional Baka *likànò*—must first establish the theoretical parameters of any such universal narrative features. In this present section, then, I will first outline the theoretical assumptions on which my description rests. Based on these assumptions, I will follow a decidedly functional and cognitive research approach, drawing particular attention to grammatical features, both formal and pragmatic. Once I have introduced the essentials of my adopted theoretical model, I will proceed to describe the generalities of Baka narrative in terms of that model.

In surveying the theoretical terrain of various approaches to discourse analysis, Mann and Thompson (1992) claim that no matter what one's research orientation may be, whether it is a "semantic" orientation, a "speech-act" orientation or "social-act" orientation (or a combination of all three), the study of text relations practically (and historically) begins with semantic considerations.

... all three orientations are said to largely agree on 1) the centrality to discourse organization of semantic or discourse functional relations among the parts of the text, specifically between clause-like units... 2) 'predications' and 'propositions' are the basic units of text, 3) 'clauses' are prominent subsets of predications and propositions, and "minimal working units," 4) textual units are relational, e.g., there are 'interclausal relations,' and 'relations between predictions' and larger aggregated units. [...] *Thus, discourse analysis minimally begins with the study of 'text relations' whose clauses (liberally defined) are used to build discourse structure in different ways...for a variety of ends.* (emphasis added; Mann and Thompson 1992:19, 21)

For the discourse analyst, then, grammar—clause-level grammar in particular—acts as the basic strategic resource for “framing,” “keying,” and “codifying” particular discourse performances. *Narrative* discourse performance, as one among several discourse genres, is marked by its own pattern of discourse features and pragmatic goals.

Discourse analysis of narrative discourse There are a variety of theoretical models applied to the analysis of *narrative* discourse (Van Dijk 1997; Beaugrande 1997; Renkema 2004). I have adopted an eclectic model, one proposed by Robert Dooley and Stephen Levinsohn as “a good approximation of how discourse is actually produced and understood” (2000:iii).²¹ In their research approach, Dooley and Levinsohn draw on the scholarship of a number of discourse analysts, the work of Robert Longacre, in particular. Longacre places the investigation of grammatical structures at the heart of his approach, but only after boldly typifying his understanding of the universal features of narrative discourse. Indeed, discourse typology is a major emphasis of Longacre, who argues that typology is an essential step in any linguistic analysis of a discourse.

Characteristics of individual discourses can be neither described, predicted, nor analyzed without resort to a classification of discourse types. It is pointless to look in a discourse for a feature which is not characteristic of the type to which that discourse belongs. So determinative of detail is the general design of a discourse type that the linguist who ignores discourse typology can only come to grief. (Longacre 1996:7)

Longacre’s classification of broad discourse genres is primarily based upon predicative, propositional *content*, as distinct from form.²² He classifies the content of a

discourse—any discourse, not just narrative discourse—on the basis of four pairs of parameters: agent orientation, contingent temporal succession, projection (i.e. future orientation), and tension. Within this schema, Longacre’s approach potentially yields sixteen discourse types (Clendenon 1989; Longacre 1996). Dooley and Levinsohn interpret the *primary* features of Longacre’s categorization schema as follows:

Longacre’s broad categorization makes use of plus and minus values for a set of four features. Two of these features—*contingent temporal succession* and *agent orientation*—can be taken as primary, and serve to identify the four broadest categories. *CONTINGENT TEMPORAL SUCCESSION* refers to a framework “in which some (often most) of the [discourse] events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings” (p. 9)...The second primary feature, *AGENT ORIENTATION*, refers to whether the discourse type deals with “events or doings” which are controlled by an agent (one who performs an action), “with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse.” (emphasis added; Dooley and Levinsohn 2001)²³

The diagram in Figure 2-3 presents the four categories of discourse genre generated from these two primary features:. From this diagram, then, I further note that the content of narrative discourse is most broadly and universally marked by the dual values of *agent orientation* and *contingent succession*.²⁴

Longacre further posits that the expression of these two primary generic qualities of narrative discourse, that is, of “agency in contingent temporal succession,” typically reflects the following template for narrative *development*: “stage, inciting incident, mounting tension, climax of tension, and release of tension” (1996). Strategies for the *actualization* of agency and contingent temporal succession, and of “mounting tensions,

climaxes, and denouements” are, of course, culture-specific, and legion. An outline of the culture-specific “strategies” of Baka narratives follow.

Baka Narrative Discourse Features. Both Kathleen Higgins (1981) and Yves Léonard (2003) have identified and described the presence of narrative discourse among the wide variety of Baka verbal performance types. Higgins’ description focuses on the more global concerns highlighted in Longacre’s “narrative (development) template”; Léonard’s description—following Levinsohn’s model—gives a more detailed description of the grammatical devices of Baka narrative, though always with a view to explaining *how such devices inform larger formal, functional, and pragmatic purposes*. Dooley and Levinsohn’s model, as presented in *Analyzing Discourse* (2001), distills a number of Longacre’s basic theoretical concepts, synthesizes them with the work of other analysts, and reformulates them in a template to which analysts can refer for the discovery of some of the most common worldwide strategies in realizing narrative discourse, oral narrative in particular. As stated earlier, Léonard’s analysis, for the most part, builds on Levinsohn’s model. A minimal, clause-level summary of Léonard’s analysis is as follows.

The principal grammatico-pragmatic strategies of traditional Baka oral narratives are (1) variations in the default order of clause constituents, (2) devices that give prominence to focal clausal constituents, (3) devices that foreground or background narrative events, (4) devices that highlight climaxes, significant developments, or key assertions, (5) varieties of clausal connectives or markers that coordinate sentences that describe the main events, describe successive events performed by the same subject, or describe new development or new material, (6) particular participant referencing, and

(7) distinct devices for the reporting of embedded narrative conversation (Léonard 2003 and Dooley Levinsohn 2000). Each strategy may be realized through any number of a variety of grammatical, rhetorical, or poetic devices: for example, tense markers; aspect makers; complementizers; relative clause markers; cataphoric, exophoric, and anaphoric markers; repetition; ideophones; conjunctions; demonstratives; and developmental markers. Some of these devices may function in isolation, though more often they complement others. These same devices may also function one way in one clause, and another way in another clause. Repetition, for example, “can bring emphasis, it can mark the progression of a story, or can slow down the story before a climax (Léonard 2005:12). Each narrative device, then, contributes in distinct and multiple ways to the realization of those common narrative qualities that typically focus on “agency and contingent temporal succession” expressed and developed in “mounting tensions, climaxes, and denouements.”

Before concluding this section on Baka narrative generalities, three other narrative performance devices should be briefly highlighted: first, opening and closing formulas; second, narrative ‘aspect;’ and third, song.

First: Baka storytellers most often, though not always, indexically frame the beginning and/or ending of a traditional *likàndò*—or one of its episodes—with all or part of a traditional call-and-response exchange with the participating audience. The teller begins with “*likàndò pòngu*”; the audience responds with “*pòngu*”; then, the teller utters, “*e sasa*,” and the audience responds again with “*sàa*” (Léonard 2005:4). (An example of this formula can be heard in the first accompanying audio file (Object 2-1. Audio

clip of *likàndò* formula (.mp3 24 KB)) and its gloss can be read in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.)

Second: One of the most essential grammatical features of Baka narrative is the *narrative aspect marker* / à /. The narrative tense is decisive in marking and recognizing a *likàndò*'s storyline (i.e., its “contingent temporal succession”). Its essential role in the narrative cohesion and development of *likàndò* is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, Sections 4.2 and 4.3.

Third: The principal thesis of Chapter 4 is the claim that *likàndò song* functions as a narrative discourse feature of Baka *likàndò*. When Baka song is sung in the course of telling a Baka story, two kinds of verbal performance phenomena converge, wherein song is pragmatically subsumed in story. In this verbal performance context, story and song are not simply two “kinds” of speech acts, but one, wherein story, is the *genre* of verbal discourse performed, and song (along with speech) is one *manner of producing* that one verbal discourse type.²⁵ The semantic, grammatical, syntactic, rhythmic, melic, and timbric peculiarities of this discourse type are encoded, configured, intertwined, and produced to achieve the especially inter-subjective effects of narrativized communication. “Any old” song, however, will not do. *Likàndò* songs may bear the generic marks of all Baka songs, as generalized in Sections 2.2.1, 2.2.2, and 2.2.3, but they also bear marks of their own. In the remainder of this chapter, then, I will briefly outline those features that set *likàndò*-song apart from other Baka song forms, song features that (for the Baka) are somehow more referentially, iconically, and indexically suited for narrative performance. For *likàndò* songs are typically found to

exhibit particular discursive functions, poetic lines, musical rhythms, melodic textures, and voice registers.

2.4 Sung Baka Narrative Performance: Story's Song

The particular discourse functions of *likànò* songs will be described at length in Chapter 4. However, a summary preview of those functions is presented here in order to introduce and emphasize the integrity of the multiple complementary signs with which *likànò* songs are imbued.

Fundamentally, Baka *likànò* songs are found to function in two essential signifying domains of narrative discourse: first, as an agent of narrative discourse *cohesion* (Chap. 4, Sec. 4.2), and second, as an agent of narrative discourse *development* (ibid., Sec. 4.3).

Likànò songs are found to effect discourse cohesion *generatively, performatively, and textually* (ibid., Sec. 4.2). Intertextual cohesion of spoken and sung *likànò* texts most often emerges as grammatical and semantic in nature.

Likànò songs also effect discourse *development*, both *contextually* and *climactically* (ibid., Sec. 4.3). Contextualizing devices typically constitute five “contextualizing information types” (ibid, Sec. 4.3.1), while climactic devices are recognized according to five common marks of climactic development (ibid., Sec. 4.3.2).

While it is likely that songs are largely experienced as undifferentiated wholes, they are, nevertheless, *complex* (semiotic) wholes (see also Turino 1999:237–245, 2000:174–177). Thus, when describing the multiple potential discourse functions of *likànò* song in *likànò* story, it should be remembered that *likànò* songs are actually

ensembles of signs whose effects might only be signified by certain components of the song. Recognition of this componential condition goes a long way toward explaining *likànò* songs' multiple discourse functions (Chapter 4).

Likànò song is not only typified by common textual discourse functions, but also by common poetic and musical characteristics. The most fundamental poetic feature of *likànò* song is its poetic line, which—according to my data sample—tends to be limited to either eight or sixteen pulses per line. (Twelve- or four-pulse lines are absent; see Sec. 2.2.1). Other characteristics of *likànò* song's poetic line include an average of 11 words per line (ranging from 7 to 16 words per line), with an average 21 syllables per line (ranging from 20 to 22 syllables per line). The most common syntactic, phonological, and lexical poetic devices include iterative verses and verse-segments, grammatical substitution, vocables, and interlinear lexical repetition. There may be as few as one type of vocable per song or as many as seven. All such poetic devices are commonly derived from an average inventory of 14 words per song, some songs with as few as 4 words, others with as many as 24. Chapter 3 presents a detailed inventory of all the poetic devices thus far identified in a representative sample of my field recordings. For a better understanding of the distinctives of *likànò* song-text poetics, a comparative reading of Chapter 3 is recommended. For now, however, I move on to describe briefly the specific polyrhythmic patterns most often performed and associated with *likànò* song.

Not all sonic rhythms performed in *likànò* song are vocally produced. Some are manually produced. The voices of people (*li-bo*) are commonly accompanied by the sounds, or “voices” of drums (*li-ndùmù*) and other percussive instruments. Specifically,

two percussive polyrhythms indexically key *likànḍ* song performance. Excerpts of each one can be heard in the following two audio clips: Object 2-2 and Object 2-3, respectively (Object 2-2. Audio file of rarer *likànḍ* rhythm (.mp3 705 KB) and Object 2-3. Audio file of typical *likànḍ* rhythm (.mp3 1.1 MB)). The (primarily) simple-meter pattern, heard in the audio clip linked to Object 2-2, is rare—according to my field recordings and recollection—and is not exclusively associated with *likànḍ* song, but may be used in other song styles as well. For these reasons, I will forego its description for a later study.

By far, the *likànḍ*-song rhythm (*kole na bè na likànḍ*) that is performed most often is that which is heard in the audio clip linked to Object 2-3 and transcribed in Figure 2-4. The transcription in Figure 2-4 represents an archetypal composite of this traditional polyrhythm. It does not account for any of its common variations, for my present intentions are only to highlight the most typifying features.

The entire rhythm's traditional cycle of eight pulses is executed once or twice in the course of one verse (or song line) depending on whether the song line's 'meter' is a sequence of eight pulses, or, as is more common, sixteen pulses. The rhythmic hierarchy of this pattern is built upon a pulse ranging from 118 MM to 148 MM with a mean tempo of 125 MM. The tempo for each song—not to mention the variations in the rhythm's execution—significantly informs not only the character of each song, but the rhythm, pace, tone, and development of each narrative. A pulse is most commonly subdivided into some form of triplet rhythmic figure, though it is not uncommon, especially in melodic-rhythms, to subdivide pulses into duple figures.

The *likànò* song rhythm does not need to be actuated. Song performances may be executed “without the ‘voice/sound’ of drums” (*‘ndé li-ndùmù*).²⁶ A minimal rhythmic framework, however, is often actuated by the clapping of (*‘gbɔ’gbò kole tɛ kpáó*) at least one of two complementary rhythmic patterns: “*kole a lélè tɛ kpáó*” (“the smaller (infant) clapping rhythm”) (as shown in the first staff of Figure 2-4), or “*kole a nyényè tɛ kpáó*” (“the mother clapping rhythm”) (as shown in the second staff). *Kole a lélè tɛ kpáó* is most predominant, and quite often occurs alone.²⁷ By it, *likànò* song is indexically “keyed.” When a song performance includes two drums, the *kole a lélè tɛ kpáó* is further reinforced (as seen in the third staff of Figure 2-4) by the homologous dynamic accents of *kole a lélè tɛ kubù*, that is, “the smaller rhythm of the (smaller) *kubù* (hand-drum).” Still more emphasis occurs during larger performance gatherings, when the basic framework of the smaller drum rhythm is mimicked in the *mbànda*, a rhythmic action performed by striking a large shaft of raffia bamboo—which is laying on the ground—with one or two smaller sticks of (raffia) wood. Yet in complementary contrast with the emphatic *lélè* rhythm, Baka hand-drummers additionally index *likànò*-song performance with *kole na nyényè tɛ mòkinda*, that is, ‘the grander ‘mother’ rhythm of the larger *mòkinda* hand-drum’ (as transcribed on the fourth staff of Figure 2-4). The signal of this seemingly “single” drum rhythm—executed as it is by one hand-drummer on a large, single-headed cylindrical wooden drum—is actually distinguished by (1) a pattern of two contrastive levels of dynamics (e.g., “accented” and “unaccented”) patterning with (2) a pattern of three contrastive timbres, that is, a low-compact-and-sustained tone, a high-compact-and-sustained tone, and a high-diffuse-and-clipped tone (again, see the fourth staff in Figure 2-4). No other sonic structure associated with

likànḍ song so potently indexes *likànḍ* song experience as does the *likànḍ*-song rhythm (*kole na bè na likànḍ*)—whether that rhythm is performed by a polyrhythmic percussion ensemble or a quiet, lone hand-clapper.

Before closing this section and chapter, one generality concerning *likànḍ*-song *melody* should be highlighted. I am only able to describe certain macro-level melodic characteristics because—as stated in Section 2.2.2 of this chapter—my analysis of the *systemic* nature of critical micro-level structures, such as melodic *intervals*, is not yet complete. Thus, most generalities concerning particular song genres would be premature. Nonetheless, it is still possible to address the question of *who* typically sings *what elements* of *likànḍ*-song melodies.

As in most—but not all—Baka song genres, *likànḍ*-song melodies are never performed solo, but by two or more voices, that is, by a choir of voices. Furthermore, *likànḍ*-song—as with most genres—always exhibits two or more melodic voice-parts. Thus, two or more voice-parts are typically distributed among two or more singers' voices. As set out earlier, in multi-part voice textures, two categories apply: *wànjàmba* and *wàtúkò*. And, while there is only one *wànjàmba* voice-part—though more than one person may sing it, depending upon the song style—, there is often more than one distinct *wàtúkò* melodic voice-part. In the case of *likànḍ* song, however, the *wànjàmba* voice-part is normally performed by the storyteller-singer, though others may occasionally join. The *wàtúkò* voice-parts, then, are performed by the participating audience-choir (e.g., Chap. 5, Sec. 5.2). *Likànḍ* song melodies may be segmented and organized as alternating, overlapping, interlocking, and/or polyphonic sequences, and then performed by responsorial, antiphonal and/or polyphonic choirs of voices. The

choirs of many other Baka song genres are commonly homogenous choirs of either males or females, young or old; but *likànḍ* song exhibits no such gendered or generational homogeneity. All attending voices, regardless of gender or age, join the choir.

2.5 Summary

In summary, “everyday” speech and conversation constitute the “default” formalizations of Baka verbal discourse. Alterations in these ordinary patterns of verbal discourse—whether rhythmic, syntactic, lexical, phonological, or semantic alterations—signal extra-ordinary verbal discourse, effecting extra-ordinary purposes. Baka song, story, and story’s-song, each in its own way, signal “special” verbal performance. As a complex sign, *sung* verbal performance (*bè*), regardless of genre or style, is poetically organized, and thus, typically constituted by a distinctive set of rhythmic, syntactic, and intonational formalizations. Extra-ordinary phonological, lexical, and semantic formalizations are often employed as well. The content of *narrative* verbal discourse, on the other hand, is typified by the dual primary features of “agent orientation” and “contingent temporal succession.” In Baka *likànḍ*, agency and contingent succession are actualized, unified, and developed by a variety of extra-ordinary grammatical, rhetorical, and poetic devices, song being one such poetic device. When song (*bè*) is sung in the course of telling a traditional Baka narrative (*likànḍ*) Baka speakers specify it as “*bè na likànḍ*” (i.e., “*likànḍ* song”). As a type verbal performance, *likànḍ* song not only shares characteristic marks of both sung and narrated verbal performance types but also bears distinctive song and narrative

features of its own. The most conspicuous rhythmic features are (1) the typical polyrhythmic percussion accompaniment *kole na bè na òkàndò* (the *òkàndò* song rhythm) and (2) metered poetic lines of eight or sixteen pulses. This “*òkàndò* rhythm” and its corresponding line, in turn, inform the rhythmic segmentation of a *òkàndò* song’s lyric. Iterative, non-contrastive verses and verse-segments predominate. Simultaneously, melodic formalizations of *òkàndò* lyrics are ordinarily distributed among two or more voice-parts which in turn are (1) organized as alternating, overlapping, interlocking, and/or polyphonic sequences, and (2) performed by responsorial, antiphonal, and/or polyphonic choirs of voices. But unlike many Baka song styles and genres, the vocal timbres of *òkàndò*-song choirs are “mixed,” that is, anyone in attendance may sing, regardless of gender or age. So finally, complexes of rhythmic, syntactic and melodic signs that constitute and characterize *òkàndò* song do not simply encode *sung* verbal performance, but also and more significantly serve *narrative* verbal performance. *Òkàndò* song, then, is inherently a discourse feature of *òkàndò narrative*. In particular, *òkàndò*-song effects narrative cohesion and narrative development. Narrative cohesion—through song—is achieved generatively, performatively, and inter-textually. Narrative developmental, on the other hand, is contextual and climactic in nature. Elaborations on all of these generalities are set out in the chapters that follow.

Baka Term(s)	Etic Description	Typical Contextual Associations
<i>bè na basúka</i>	youth recreational dance songs	evening recreation
<i>bè na mèbàsì</i>	youth recreational dance songs	evening recreation
<i>bè na líkànò</i>	traditional story's songs	hunting/funeral
<i>bè na Mbòàmbòà</i>	dance songs w/ “Mbòàmbòà”	funeral
<i>bè na ngàngà</i>	divination songs	divination/healing ritual
<i>bè na mbomba</i>	divination “fire” songs	divination/healing ritual
<i>bè na Jengì</i>	dance songs assoc. w/ “Jengì” (spirit)	spirit initiation
<i>bè na `èsònjò</i>	dance songs to dispel malevolent spirits	sorcery (Brisson 1999:84)
<i>bè na ðínda</i>	spiritual/ceremonial dance songs	to find one lost in forest (Brisson 81)
<i>bè na `èðìò</i>	dance songs assoc. w/ sorcery/healing	sorcery; healing; funeral
<i>bè na mangélébo</i>	ritual song(s) to dispel ancestral spirits	wake, funeral (81)
<i>bè na mòkòndì</i>	(dance) songs assoc. w/ socerer-spirit	healing (ibid.)
<i>bè na “`ebùmà”</i>	dance songs w/ “`ebùmà” spirit	sorcery; funeral
<i>bè na mòlingè</i>	trapping songs	trapping
<i>bè na màka/na ndando</i>	hunting songs (sung by women)	for a successful hunt
<i>bè na yéyi</i>	women's ritual association songs	hunting; healing; benediction; sorcery
<i>bè na màka/na sò</i>	women's hunting songs (men's return)	“great” hunt celebration
<i>bè na màka na geè yà</i>	men's elephant hunting songs (return)	hunting celebration
<i>bè na màka na geè `èbofo</i>	men's gorilla hunting songs	hunting
<i>bè na màka na geè sèkò</i>	men's chimpanzee hunting songs	hunting
<i>bè na màka na geè pàmè</i>	men's wild pig hunting songs	hunting
<i>bè na ngúma</i>	women's dam-fishing song	fishing
<i>bè na bèkà</i>	circumcision ceremony dance song	male circumcision
<i>bè na bo ðíndó</i>	lullaby	night/sickness
<i>bè na múkó</i>	dance songs celebrating birth of twins	birth celebration
<i>bè na sòlò</i>	children's game song	recreation
<i>bè na kúlu</i>	children's vine-swinging song	recreation
<i>bè na nda a Komba</i>	church song	Catholic Church celebration
<i>bè na àsike</i>	songs accomp. by bow harp	recreation
<i>bè na aita</i>	songs accomp. by frame harp	recreation/personal expression/narrative
<i>bè na ngòmbi nà lo</i>	songs accomp. by plucked idiophone	recreation/personal expression
<i>bè na ngòmbi nà pèke</i>	songs accomp. by harp-zither	recreation/personal expression/narrative
<i>bè na língbidi</i>	songs accomp. double-string bow harp	recreation/personal expression/narrative
<i>bè a ngúma/bàlè</i>	songs accomp. by “water-drumming”	fishing/recreation/washing
<i>bè na pòkì</i>	honey-gathering songs	honey gathering
<i>bè na mógulu</i>	songs while constructing leaf-hut	habitat construction

Figure 2-1. List of Baka song field recordings

Nominal Term		Collocating Verbs	
Baka Noun	Gloss	Baka Verb	Gloss
<i>ngòmà</i>	discussion, word	<i>mɛ̀ɛ̀ ngomà</i>	make, speak, have
<i>lɔ̀mù</i>	conversation, discussion	<i>mɛ̀ɛ̀</i>	make, (be in)
<i>(‘è)kàlò</i>	(formal) counsel from elders	<i>manà</i>	explain, give
<i>lèwù</i>	(personal evening) advice	<i>tɔ̀ (pe)</i>	give
<i>mòsimò</i>	proverb, recitation, account, narrative, monologue (w/o song)	<i>kpɔ̀ dɔ̀ tɛ̀</i>	relate, recount, bring
<i>gb̀ngongo</i>	allegory, proverb, saying, dictum	<i>kpɔ̀</i>	recount, tell
<i>mbàli</i>	comparison, parable	<i>gbɔ̀ ngomà</i>	strike, speak to, speak in
<i>likànò</i>	story, legend, fable, history, <i>chantefable</i>	<i>kpɔ̀</i>	recount, narrate, tell
<i>bè</i>	Song	<i>bè</i>	sing

Figure 2-2. Lexical sets of common Baka speech act terms

		Agent orientation	
		+	-
Contingent temporal succession	+	narrative	procedural
	-	behavioral	expository

Figure 2-3. Fundamental categories and features of discourse genres

Figure 2-4. Composite transcription of *likànò* rhythms (my transcription);
Pulse = 125 MM

¹ Reference to Robert Brisson’s and Daniel Boursier’s work—especially the *Petit Dictionnaire Baka* (1979)—could be consulted to expand or modify this list. Brisson has told me in personal conversation (2006) that plans are in the works for Susanne Fürniss to supplement his 2002 version of *Petit Dictionnaire Baka* with additional musical entries. In either case, corresponding audio recordings would be needed to corroborate any conclusions that might be drawn from those lexical entries.

² Fox and Feld initially frame their 1994 survey of the literature on the relationship of music and language “in terms of four major predications: music as language, language in music, music in language, and language about music.” Further, they discuss “attempts to integrate these four themes through semiotics and sociomusicology” [prominent in the 1980s] and through “the ethnographic approach to intersections of language and music.” i.e. “a refigured anthropology of the speaking and singing voice to key issues in contemporary [*circa*.1994] social theory” (26).

³ Fürniss’ text reads: “Pour la musique aka, il se dégage un système à plusieurs niveaux de pertinence: le paramètre principal est l’ordre de succession des degrés dans un patron mélodique donné au sein d’une échelle pentatonique quelconque dont la seule constante est l’absence de l’intervalle de demi-ton...Le second niveau de pertinence, qui concerne la réalisation des chants polyphonique, est fondé sur l’agencement vertical des intervalles en certains points prédéterminés. Le déroulement des lignes mélodiques, par delà la license de réalisation qu’il admet, est néanmoins tributaire des points d’ancrage de la polyphonie” (1993:136, 137).

⁴ Fitzgerald, Dan. 1989. "An Emic Analysis of the Tewa Pueblo Indian Melodic System." (unpublished). I plan to reformat and publish this study in a forthcoming website.

⁵ Terms such as "major" or "minor" "seconds" or "thirds," or "perfect" "fourths" or "fifths" do not, of course, refer to the fixed conventions of western music theory, but simply indicate etic approximations of acoustic "distance." The culture-specific identities of such symbols is the subject and first step of emic analysis.

Further, the melodic intervals of "unyodeled" song styles are normally articulated solely through a "head voice" "laryngeal mechanism." The boundaries of melodic intervals in yodeled song styles, however, are marked by alterations between "chest voice" and "head voice" tones. Still, the *predominance* of major seconds, minor thirds, and perfect fourths and fifths applies to both unyodeled and yodeled styles. However, "head voice" tones most commonly terminate intervals of a perfect fifth, or, not uncommonly, perfect fourths or minor sixths. The emic status of these four intervallically similar tones is yet to be determined.

⁶ This observation assumes that each voice sings only one melodic part per song (cf. Fürniss 2006).

⁷ Arnold Whittall Whittall, Arnold. "melody." *The Oxford Companion to Music*. Ed. Alison Latham. *Oxford Music Online*. 14 Oct. 2010
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e4345>>

⁸ Alexander L. Ringer. "Melody." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. 8 Oct. 2010
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/18357>>.

⁹ Yodel [(‘*d̥iyèi*’ in Aka)] is sung "above" all the other parts by women. It is determined by the yodel technique, a constant alternation between laryngeal mechanisms 1 and 2, which is commonly called "falsetto," or head voice". It consists of melodies of mainly wide intervals and uses specific vowels correlated to the two yodel registers: low yodel register – mechanism 1 –[with] open vowels as [e, a, o]; high yodel register – mechanism 2 – closed vowels as [i, y, u] (Fürniss 1991, cited in Fürniss 2005:11).

¹⁰ Strictly speaking, all spectral frequencies are partials, the fundamental partial is just the lowest and most audible (see Reed 2005).

¹¹ The phonemic basis of a people's language is essentially built upon the timbral dimension of sound, more specifically, upon "consistent distinctions in the formant patterns" (cf. Jakobson, Funt, Halle 1967, cited in Reed 2005:3).

¹² An excerpt of Fūrniſs’s definition of the yodel technique: “Yodel [(‘*dīyèl*’ in Aka)] is sung above all the other parts by women. It is determined by the yodel technique, a constant alternation between laryngeal mechanisms 1 and 2, which is commonly called “falsetto,” or head voice”. It consists of melodies of mainly wide intervals and uses specific vowels correlated to the two yodel registers: low yodel register – mechanism 1 – [with] open vowels as [e, a, o]; high yodel register – mechanism 2 – closed vowels as [i, y, u]” (Fūrniſs 1991, cited in Fūrniſs 2005:11).

¹³ These shared vowel systems might suggest similar vocalic constraints in song performance. The implications of such an assumption should not be taken too far given the fact that the Baka and Aka do not share the same set of phonemic consonants or tones, not to mention grammatical systems. The Aka, for example, have two phonemic tones, while the Baka have three.

¹⁴ In the case of the Aka, the articulatory effect of the yodel technique can often even conditionally create its own set of vowels (see Fūrniſs 1991:175).

¹⁵ Literally, “the one who counts” (Fūrniſs 2006:175).

¹⁶ Literally, “yodel” (ibid.).

¹⁷ Aka use of the “head” voice does not oblige the singer to sing with words. For example, other voice parts, like the *ngúé wà lémbò*, and *òsêsê* most often articulate wordless syllables exclusively with ‘head’ voice.

¹⁸ Just as Fūrniſs points out that the Aka rarely “talk” about distinctive voice-parts and their functions (see Fūrniſs 2006:176), neither do the Baka. In fact, I hesitate to claim that all Baka speakers share the same lexical expressions when speaking of voice-part performance. It is highly likely that the word *wànjàmba* is widespread (see Brisson 1992:465), but use of the word *wàtúkò* would still need further verification.

¹⁹ See Miller DG, Schutte HK. “Physical definition of the the ‘flageolet register’.” *J Voice*. 1993 Sept.; 7(3):206–12. School of Music, Syracuse University, New York.

²⁰ Brisson claims that the etymology of the word *yeyĩ* is formed from the lexemes *ye* (‘to like’) + *li-* (‘voice of,’ or ‘sound of’), meaning ‘to like the voice-sound of,’ as in “*é à ye li-ngombi*” (“He likes the voice-sound of his guitar”) (see 1999:626; 2002).

²¹ I was initially motivated to adopt Dooley and Levinsohn’s approach because SIL colleagues Yves Léonard (2005) and Kathleen Higgins (1981) had both, in one way or another, at one time or another, based their complementary discourse analyses of Baka traditional narratives on the models of Longacre, Dooley, and Levinsohn.

²² “More specific genres often involve other textual properties. Drama, for example, may be a narrative according to broad genre, but one that is presented in the form of

dialogue (Chapter 1) and is typically written (Chapter 4) for live presentation. Letters are written discourses and may be of any one of several genres. Jokes are typically oral narratives with a particular goal (humor) and a specific register of speech, and so forth” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001).

²³ “Besides these two primary features, Longacre discusses two further ones: *projection* and *tension*. *PROJECTION* in its + value “has to do with a situation or action which is contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated, but not realized”; prophecy is + projection narrative, stories are – projection, and so forth. *TENSION* “has to do with whether a discourse reflects a struggle or polarization of some sort”. Narrative can be + or – tension, as can scientific articles (depending on how polemic they are), etc.” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 9, 10).

²⁴ “*Procedural discourse* (“how to do it, how it was done, how it takes place”) is marked by contingent succession, but not agent orientation (since “attention is on what is done or made, not on who does it); *behavioral discourse* (exhortation, eulogy, some speeches of political candidates, etc.) clearly exhibits agent orientation, but not contingent succession (since “it deals with how people did or should behave”; and *expository discourse* (budgets, scientific articles, etc.) is marked by neither feature” (cf. *ibid*).

²⁵ For an introductory discussion of a discourse’s “manner of production,” refer to Dooley and Levinsohn 2000/2001:1–6.

²⁶ The dependent lexeme ‘*li-*’ can be translated here as ‘voice of,’ or ‘sound of.’ In some contexts, it commonly translates as ‘language of’ (cf. Brisson 2002:259).

²⁷ A variation of *kole a lélè tē kpáó*—one that simply displaces the actuation of the entire pattern by two pulses—is often performed complementarily.

CHAPTER 3
BAKA SONG-TEXT POETICS: AN INVENTORY OF POETIC DEVICES

3.1 Introduction: Sung versus Unsung Verbal Discourse

In Section 2.1 of Chapter 2, I reported that Baka speakers identify a variety of verbal discourse types. The table in Figure 3-1—a simplified version of the table in Figure 2-2—displays a set of lexical entries of nine of the most prevalent Baka speech-act terms. As I explained in Section 2.1, the two terms *ngòmà* (‘discussion’) and *lòmù* (‘conversation’) identify “ordinary” verbal acts. The other seven terms—*kàlò*, *lèwù*, *mòsimò*, *gb̀ngongo*, *mbàli*, *likàǹ*, and *bè*—identify “extra-ordinary” verbal acts. Still, the Baka do not formulate abstractions about “ordinary” versus “extra-ordinary” speech acts. In this chapter, however, I have empirically abstracted several of the distinctive features that constitute the particular (extra-ordinary) verbal act that the Baka identify as *bè*, that is, “song.” My analysis is inductively developed from the notion that there is one underlying function in all of the features that distinguish song from non-song, that being a “poetic function.” What follows, then, is (1) a brief description of what generally constitutes poetically organized discourse and (2) an inventory of the poetic devices thus far discovered in Baka song texts.

In the opening statement of their essay “Poetry”—in Alessandro Duranti’s *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (2004)—Giorgio Banti and Francesco Giannattasio assert that “ethnographic research has shown that “poetic” forms and behaviors are almost universally widespread...” (Banti and Giannattasio 2004:290). Further, they elaborate on the notion of “poetry” in this way.

It should be clear at this point that two different levels of definition for poetry have to be taken into consideration:

- [The first level is] a wider level of *poetic procedures*, whose general features broadly correspond to what [Roman] Jakobson [(1960)] said about his poetic function of language. They not only characterize poetry proper, but also include magical spells, prayers, and ritual discourse, in proverbs and children’s games, and so on, right up to today’s advertising jingles and political slogans, and of course, in the different forms of chant and song. They all share the fact of being special, not ordinary speech. (293-294)
- [The second level is] a narrower level of *poetry in the strict sense*, that is autonomously defined by each culture in the course of its history on the basis of its own choice of genres, specific contents, ways of production, functions, occasions of performance, and aesthetic and social values. (ibid.)

The scope of the analysis presented in this chapter is limited to Banti and Giannattasio’s “wider level of *poetic procedures*,” that is, that level which is roughly modeled after Roman Jakobson’s notion of the “poetic function.”

In the field of twentieth-century semiotics—a field first engaged in the 1960s by musicologists and ethnomusicologists alike¹—the writings of Roman Jakobson (1896–1982) bridged the two major streams of semiotics that initially flowed from the pioneering works of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) (Cobley and Janz 1997:144).² In treating “song as sign,” there are two kindred articles from Jakobson to which I have gravitated: one, because it gives specific attention to *poetics* as a semiotic process; the other, because it addresses *music* as a semiotic process.

In his oft cited essay “Linguistics and Poetics” Jakobson justified and modeled a linguistic treatment of poetics, hitherto reserved as the property of the literary studies.

He wrote,

This separation of the two fields from each other is based on a current but erroneous interpretation of the contrast between the structure of poetry and other types of verbal structure.

Many poetic features belong not only to the science of language but to the whole theory of signs, that is, to general semiotics. This statement is valid not only for verbal art but also for all varieties of language since language shares many properties with some other systems of signs or even with all of them (pansemiotic features). (1960)³

In 1973, in his article “Le langage en relation avec les autres systèmes de communication,” Jakobson later characterized music as a semiotic system, one in which “introversive semiosis” (that is, the reference of each sonic element to the other elements to come) predominates over the “extroversive semiosis” (i.e., the referential link with the exterior world) (1973:99–100).⁴

Common to Jakobson’s semiotic notions of both poetics and music is an emphasis on sound—“figures of sound” and “sound symbolism.” Yet even while Jakobson championed a call to continually and more deeply give sound (as sign) its due, he simultaneously urged the investigation of yet another, more fundamental dynamic at work, that is, “the principle of equivalence.” Fully stated, it reads, “The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination” (1960:358). Restated in 1968, Jakobson wrote, “in poetry, similarity is superimposed on contiguity, and hence “equivalence is promoted to the constitutive

device of the sequence” (1966:602).⁵ Literary scholar, Jonathan Culler tried to reduce Jakobson’s formulation this way:

In other words, the poetic use of language involves placing together in a sequence items which are phonologically or grammatically related. Patterns formed by the repetition of similar items will be both more common and more noticeable in poetry than in other kinds of language. (1975:56)⁶

Jakobson, however, would not agree to limiting his poetic principle to traditional literary categories of phonology and grammar.

No doubt, verse is primarily a recurrent “figure of sound.” Primarily, always, but never uniquely. Any attempts to confine such poetry conventions as meter, alliteration, or rhyme to the sound level are speculative reasonings without any empirical justifications. The projection of the equational principle into the sequence has a much deeper and wider significance. Valery’s view of poetry as ‘hesitation between the sound and the sense’ is much more realistic and scientific than any bias of phonetic isolationism.⁷

Russian folk poetry (for example) can be fruitfully analyzed on all linguistic levels—phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical: we learn what elements are conceived as equivalent and how likeness on certain levels is tempered with conspicuous difference on other ones. (1960:369)

The inventory of Baka song text poetic devices identified in this study are recognized within and across five musico-linguistic poetic domains: rhythmic, syntactic, phonological, lexical, and semantic domains. In addition, the recognition of the poetic function in these five domains is guided not only by an abstract search for Jakobson’s “principle of equivalence,” but also, more specifically, by Peirce’s “second

trichotomy” of semiotic concepts (Turino [1988], 1999:226–229). In it, Peirce posits that there are “three ways that a “sign and [its] object’ *are related in perceivers*” (emphasis added; *ibid.*). First, a sign and object may be related “iconically,” whereby sign and object are said to be related through “resemblance.” Second, sign and object may be related “indexically,” wherein sign and object may be related through “co-occurrence,” or “association.” Third, a sign and object may be related referentially, or “symbolically”—as Peirce defines it—through language (i.e., words) (*ibid.*). As it relates to poetic analysis, foreknowledge of these three distinct ways of *relating sign and object* aids poetic analyses in that it lends greater specificity to *how* Jakobson’s “principle of equivalence” might be potentially constituted. Equivalencies among song signs—that is, the ways that signs and objects might “relate”—are not expected to be of one order, but of many, though iconic, indexical, and symbolic in nature. In addition to semiotic methodologies, the identification of the constitutive poetic elements—whether rhythmic, syntactic, phonological, lexical, semantic, or other—is further aided by familiarity with (1) conventional analytical methods of music theory, linguistics, poetics, and literary criticism, and (2) pertinent local terminologies. Indeed, though the theory and methodology employed in this analysis is rooted in semiotics, semiotic terminology will not be prevalent in the sections that follow. Rather, descriptive terms of poetic constituents are primarily drawn from the conventions of linguistics, poetics, ethnopoetics, literary criticism, and music theory. I have chosen to employ conventional terms simply because they are more widely understood than semiotic terms.

With this framework in mind, the plan for the rest of this chapter is first, to introduce the scope and sources of the Baka song-texts under study; second, to present an overview of *all* Baka song-text poetic devices found to date; third, to examine in detail the rhythmic devices at play in nine select Baka songs (Sec. 3.3); fourth, to describe all of the poetic devices found at play in *one* particular Baka song (Sec. 3.4); and last, to summarize the *cumulative* effect of that one song's multiple, interconnected poetic signs (Sec. 3.5).

Song text sources. In Section 1.6, I reported the scope and location of the ethnographic data that I collected during my initial period of fieldwork from November 1996 through May 1998. During that period I collected over four hundred field recordings of Baka song in five Baka camps in the Eastern Province of Cameroon (maps in Fig. 1-6). From this corpus, preliminary textual transcriptions were made of approximately seventy-five song texts representing a cross-section of potentially thirty to forty song types (Fig. 2-1). From these seventy-five song texts, nine contextually divergent texts were selected for more detailed analysis (Fitzgerald 2003).

These nine detailed song-text transcriptions represent songs with a variety of cultural themes, composition histories, and performance practices. Compositely summarized, they are songs both ancient and contemporary *composed* by individuals and groups of Baka people from all age groups and genders. Furthermore, they represent songs *performed* by individuals and groups (homogenous or mixed) of all genders and age groups, with and without instrumental accompaniment, with and without dance, antiphonally and polyphonically, staged and naturally, at night and in day, casually and formally, in solitude or in community, as sacred or profane.

3.2 Inventory of Baka Song-Text Poetic Devices

Figure 3-2 presents an inventory of all of the poetic devices thus far identified in my analysis of the nine selected song texts. The inventory is guided and organized by the etic perception of signifying patterns in five distinct but interrelated poetic domains, that is, *rhythmic, syntactic, phonological, lexical, and semantic* domains. With some elaboration, particularly in regard to the systemic distribution of these poetic devices, the entire inventory may be read as follows: First, in the domain of rhythmic poetic devices, all Baka song texts have the poetic devices of *pulse, tempo, meter, and line*. Second, in the domain of syntactic-poetic devices, all Baka song texts include the device conventionally termed “*verse*”; most also have *verse-segments*, and some have *stanzas*. All *verses, verse-segments, and stanzas* are at some point *repeated*, and most become *varied*. *Contrastive* verses and verse-segments are most commonly exhibited; *derivative* verse types occur less so. *Enjambment*—both syntactic and rhythmic in nature—is not an uncommon syntactic poetic device. Third, in the domain of lexical poetic devices, it is quite common to find intra- and inter-linear *repetition, reiteration, or reduplication* of *phonemes, ideophones, and words*. *Homonyms* occur less frequently, but certainly are not rare. Fourth, the phonological functioning of poetic devices is too diverse to give much elaboration here. A simple listing of these devices is adequate for our present purposes. The phonological devices, then, include the use of *vocables, vocable repetition, vocable substitution, ideophones, assonance, consonance, alliteration, borrowed words, vowel lengthening, and sprechstimme* (sometimes referred to as “*rhythmic speech*”). Fifth, and last, is the functioning of poetic devices on the semantic level.

This also is too diverse to offer much elaboration at present. Simply listed, semantic level devices include the use of *ideophones*, *reiterated ideophones*, *reduplicated ideophones*, *similes*, *metaphors*, *metonyms*, *lexical reiteration of metonyms*, *anthropomorphism*, *meronymy*, *hyponyms*, *semantic parallelism*, *complimentary syntactic-semantic parallelism*, *syntagmatic-paradigmatic grammatical substitution*, *loan word synonymy*, and *ellipsis*.

The preceding plain reading of the entire inventory is only intended to present a quick profile and overall impression of the kinds of poetic devices performed in Baka song texts. I have, however, documented a description of each device listed in the inventory, but the presentation of that lengthy study lies outside the scope of this chapter. What follows, then, is first, a description of all the rhythmic poetic devices found in the selected corpus of nine songs, and then second, a description of *all* of the poetic devices recognized thus far in *one* particular Baka song.

3.3 Rhythmic Poetic Devices

3.3.1 Line

The primary distinctive poetic feature of sung Baka discourse is its *musically metered line*.⁸ It must be emphasized, that the poetic nature of a line is not so much verbal, as it is musical. More precisely, *a line is a rhythmical unit* (an organized unit of time), not a syntactical unit.⁹ A Baka song line, however, does not express rhythm formed of patterned prosodic or semantic units (as in Greco-Roman and Japanese meter, or Semitic parallelism), but rhythm *minimally formed from a continuously recurring sequence of pulses*. Restated then, the primary distinctive poetic feature of sung Baka discourse is the *musical meter* to which it is set.

The poetic line in all nine song texts in this study is musically metered.¹⁰ Musical meter, however, is not always apparent in conventional text transcriptions using Roman script. Meter of this nature is better represented by way of a *music* notation system.¹¹ In lieu of music notation in all the examples that follow, it is adequate for my purposes here—purposes decidedly linguistic and literary in emphasis—to (1) tacitly mark *the bounds* of a musically metered poetic line by the typographical convention of “stopping at the right margin and returning to the left margin”¹² and (2) explicitly note both *tempo* and *meter* in the upper-left margin of the first line. In addition to text examples, audio excerpts (clips) accompany most text examples in this section.

3.3.2 Pulse

The recognition of pulse is fundamental to an authentic understanding of a song line’s nature. A pulse (a periodic unit of time) is the minimal rhythmical unit of a line. However, as the pulse in any given song or song line is not always actuated, a cultural “outsider” may not immediately experience its presence. To a cultural “insider,” however, its presence, actuated or not, is still experienced. As Vida Chenoweth writes:

In any particular composition not all the pulses are necessarily actuated, but because of their regularity, all of the pulses are anticipated and felt by the listener [i.e., a cultural insider]. (1972:99)

This phenomenon of perception was corroborated in the transcription of the data under question. The pulse in Example 1, for instance, is clearly actuated by the simple clapping of hands and was readily perceived and transcribed by me – a cultural outsider. I iconically represent it here with numbered quarter notes equidistantly plotted above the text, roughly synchronizing pulse and text.¹³

Example 1: Elephant Hunting Song (Object 3-1. Audio file of elephant hunting song (mp3. 944 KB))

8 pulses per line

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

(3a)

(hε ‘ε) ya mo le (ndε)...

(3b)

(hε ‘ε) ya mo le ya ke, ngoikonja (-o)

In another example, Example 2, the pulse was again readily perceived, but its actuation was less evident in the accompanimental rhythm of an *aita*, a Baka seven-string frame-harp. (Again, numbered quarter notes are added to the original transcription to make the line’s rhythmic character explicit.)¹⁴

Example 2: Song of a Young Boy Playing with His Parents (Object 3-2. Song of a young boy playing with his parents (mp3. 932 KB))

8 pulses per line

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

(1)

‘Amá, wá binjà lè.

Maman! Ils me trompent!

(2)

‘Apá, wá binjà lè ko, nkò é me.

Vraiment, papa! Ils me trompent. (Meme,) moi!

(3)

***Am-biance* à búmá-lè ko (-i-e) bo(-o) wè-**

Pauvre de moi! (Ecoutez) tout le monde! C’est vrai (qu’ils me trompent ... meme, moi!)

(4)

ngaà (-e) wá binjà le,

(5)

‘amá, wá binjà lè,

In still another case, the presence of the pulse was not plainly evident, yet still *suggested* in the regularity of both the melodic rhythm and the accompanimental rhythm of the *ngòmbi nà pèke*, a plucked harp-zither. However, its *emic* timing was

initially unknown to me. As an outsider, I was not culturally competent to immediately respond to it. It was, however, eventually revealed to me when Baka friends began clapping and dancing to a recording playback of the song. The pulse is plotted below in Example 3. (An audio clip in Object 3-3 presents the original recording (Object 3-3. Audio file of solo song of lament (.mp3 952 KB)). The audio clip in Object 3-4 records a Baka speaker clapping to a playback of the original recording (Object 3-4. Audio file of solo song of lament with clapping (.mp3 804 KB)).

Example 3: Solo Song of Lament, with Harp-Zither Accompaniment (ibid., i.e., Object 3-3 and Object 3-4 above)

1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4...
♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪...

(140 MM)

(line 1)

Wu we wu we(-o),

(line 2)

Wu we wu we(-o),

(line 3)

là – mò fà sià;

(line 4)

mò-mò fà ngomà;

(line 5)

jε-mò fà jè b e l e.

Finally, there are those songs where the pulse is not actuated at all, where neither accompaniment nor dancing exist to realize it. Melodic rhythm alone is left to suggest it. Yet, should the melodic rhythm be characterized by syncopation, which of course is not uncommon in sub-Saharan Africa, the pulse may be all the more imperceptible to the uninitiated. This phenomenon was the case in song Example 4. It was not until the song was re-performed months later in another context (with drumming and dancing)

that the pulse was made explicit. (The audio clip in Object 3-5 presents an unaccompanied performance and the audio clip in Object 3-6 documents an accompanied version, with drums (*'ndùmù'*). (Object 3-5. Audio file of male initiation song without accompaniment (.mp3 1 MB) and Object 3-6. Audio file of male initiation song with accompaniment (.mp3 944 KB), respectively.)

Example 4: Male Initiation Song (with the spirit, *Jengi*) (ibid., i.e., Object 3-5 and 3-6 above)

16 pulses per line

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
(7a)

(‘i ya-)(w)è! wè-nganga là kō--- **(‘i ya-ε-----)**

// ah! / pauvre de nous / qui / comme ca /

// On va faire comment, avec Jengi comme ca?//

(7b)

sàlèsale(-e)

// entrez! /

(‘ɔ-)Momba(-ε)

Jengi (maitre du couteau) //

I have found, then, that the first step in the process of defining the rhythmic nature of a poetic line begins with *emically* distinguishing the minimal dynamic unit of rhythm, the pulse. Once competently determined, a pulse may then be described in terms of its *tempo*.

3.3.3 Tempo

Tempo is pulse rate. Detailed etic descriptions of song performance tempi are more properly the realm of musicological studies. Linguistic and literary conventions do not typically account for this element of a poetic line. I include tempo markings at the beginning of each of my linguistic transcriptions to underscore the extent of the musical character of the Baka poetic line and to indicate, even if only slightly, the quality of movement and energy animating a song line. Data of performance tempi

might also become pertinent to linguistic description if correlations emerge between tempo and tendencies concerning compositional word choice, word performance, or a line's text load. Plainly put, there are only so many verbal segments one can comfortably articulate in a given period of time. Thus, for example, poetic devices such as elision and ellipsis may tend to be found in songs of faster tempi.

In my transcriptions, a line's tempo is described by way of the musical convention of metronome markings displayed next to the meter measure at the upper-left margin of the first line. The table in Figure 3-3 displays the various tempi in our song sample. The range of song line tempi in our sample varies fairly evenly between 105MM to 160MM, the mean tempo being 126MM. Personal recollection suggests that a more complete sample may extend these extremes, but not radically so. Even with a broader range, the mean tempo would not likely change significantly.

3.3.4 Meter

While pulse and tempo are fundamental dynamics in the temporal organization of a Baka song line, they do not define its boundaries. Pulse is but a minimal rhythmic unit from which other larger units are constructed.¹⁵ We recognize the organization of larger units in *prevailing patterns of repetition*, that is, varying repeated segments of music, texts, and performance textures. In Baka song texts, patterns of syntax are patterned with patterns of rhythm. In most cases, syntax patterns coincide with line patterns. *This patterning defines a song line's boundaries.* The number of pulses within its boundaries is termed its *meter*. Meter then, is the "length" of a Baka song line, the measure of its primary organizing principle.¹⁶

The table in Figure 3-4 displays the distribution of the four meter types found in my data. The four meter types are 16, 12, 8, or 4 pulses per line. Each type is shown in Examples 5–8, respectively. Some examples excerpt two lines from a complete song text transcription in order to demonstrate coinciding patterns of line and syntax.

Example 5: Dance Song (1) Returning from a Gorilla Hunt or, (2) during a Circumcision Rite (Object 3-7. Audio file of dance song for return from gorilla hunt (.mp3 848 MB))

16 pulses per line; pulse = 118MM

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
(13a)																
‘Ámù yekèyekè tópe sòkè.								kàngò,								
(13b)					‘Á ye kàngò,				(‘ee-)				kàngò, ‘á ye kàngò.			

Example 6: Song Associated *Jengi* (Spirit of the Forest) (Object 3-8. Audio file of song associated with the spirit, *Jengi* (.mp3 976 KB))

12 pulses per line – 105MM

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
(6a)												
(‘e yε) bu la-bàngì(-ε)								(‘e yε)				
(6b)	(‘e-e-e-								‘e-e- ‘i yε-o)			
(6c)					‘e dòto (tε) pítimà de(-ε)				(‘ε-) wá tù-ε de(-ε)			

Example 7: (see Example 1)

8 pulse per line – 125MM

Example 8: (see Example 3)

4 pulse per line – 140MM

Within the sample, then, there are four songs with metered lines of 8 p.p.l. (pulses per line), three songs with 16 p.p.l., two songs with 12 p.p.l., and one song with 4 p.p.l.. Taken as a whole, the sample suggests the following preliminary summary of

Baka song line meter types: (1) lines are organized in metrical units (“lengths”) of either 16, 12, 8, or 4 p.p.l.;¹⁷ (2) the maximum line length allowable is 16 pulses; (3) the minimum line length allowable is 4 pulses; (4) half the line types have 12 or 16 p.p.l., while another half have 4 to 8 p.p.l.; (5) the average line length is 12 pulses; (6) the predominate (typical) song line length is 8 pulses.

3.3.5 Summary of Rhythmic Devices

In summary, the rhythmic poetic devices of Baka song texts may be described as follows: The primary distinctive poetic feature of sung Baka discourse is its musically metered line. A Baka song line is essentially a rhythmical unit, an organized unit of time. The minimal rhythmic unit of a Baka song line is a pulse. From a pulse, other larger rhythmic units are constructed. In any given Baka song a pulse is not necessarily actuated, but can nonetheless be emically recognized because of its regularity. The measure of its regularity is its tempo. Baka song tempos range from 105MM to 160MM, with a mean tempo of 126MM. A song line is minimally formed from a continuously recurring sequence of pulses. The organization of these sequences is recognized in patterns of repeated segments of music, texts, and textures. In Baka songtexts, patterns of syntax are patterned with patterns of rhythm. In most cases, syntax patterns coincide with line patterns. This patterning, then, defines a song-line’s boundaries. The number of pulses within its boundaries is its meter, that is, its relative “length,” the measure of its primary organizing principle. Baka song line meter types are organized in units of either 16, 12, 8, or 4 p.p.l.; the average meter being 12 p.p.l., the predominant meter, 8 p.p.l..

3.4 Description of the Poetic Devices of One Baka Song

Having presented an analysis of the rhythmic poetic devices of Baka songs, what follows is a description of *all* of the poetic devices—rhythmic, syntactic, phonological, lexical, and semantic—thus far analyzed in one particular Baka song, a lament. Figure 3-5 presents a textual transcription of the song. Object 3-9 documents the audio performance of the song (Object 3-9. Audio file of solo song of lament (.mp3 1.9 MB)). The analysis is applied to the *entire* song performance, not just one representative refrain as is so often the case in literary studies of partially improvised song-texts.¹⁸ Performance examples will be identified and presented for each device found in the transcription, but elaboration on their poetic *function* must be reserved for a future article.

3.4.1 Ethnographic Background

The song selected—the simplest of the nine select, transcribed songs—was recorded in 1998 in the Baka encampment of Mbalam (Map 3 in Fig. 1-6). It was sung by a 30 to 45 year old Baka man named Ayé (Figure 3-6). The composer is unknown.

Ayé sang and instrumentally accompanied himself on a plucked four-metal-string raffia-frame harp-zither (*'ngòmbi nà pèke,'* or *'ngòmbi nà kpokpo'*) (Figure 3-7). The six components of the *ngòmbi nà pèke* are constructed from five locally available materials, mostly forest materials. The bridge (*'mbònjò'*) is whittled from the wood of the *mòsasàa* tree. The neck (*'mbéngà'* = 'lance') and the soundboard/resonator (*'dèdè'*) are fabricated from various parts of a raffia-palm tree (*pèke*). Traditionally, the four strings (*'ku'*) of the harp-zither were made from the rattan *kpokpo* vine; today, however, wire

strands (*wáyá'* = Eng. 'wire') from metal trapping cable are used. The strings are attached to two end-pegs whittled from the wood of *mòsasàa* tree saplings, or are simply wound around three- to five-inch metal carpentry nails. Finally, the eight tuning cinches (*kíyò'*) are made from thin strips of bark peeled from *kpongbo* vines. The four strands of metal trapping cable are attached to and stretched along the straight, slender shaft of the raffia palm branch. The four metal cords are then further stretched and set in four notches (*tètè'*) carved in the wooden bridge which is perpendicularly attached to the raffia shaft. The intersection of bridge and cords effectively doubles the four cords, producing eight distinct pitches when plucked. The pitches of *Ayé's* zither where approximately tuned to F-3, Ab-3, Bb-3, C-4, Eb-4, F-4, Ab-4, Bb-4.¹⁹ Tension in the cords, and thus tuning, is effected by sliding each of the eight thin bands of vine that encircle the raffia shaft and cords toward or away from the bridge nodes. The zither is normally laid across a players lap and plucked with the index fingers.

The song is sung solo, as are many Baka songs which are sung to the accompaniment of the *ngòmbi nà pèke*. The themes of songs sung with *ngòmbi* accompaniment are often personal, and even intimate, in nature. *Ayé* sings a personal lament—a “song of woe”—while communing with the forest for solace, a telling expression of the degree to which many Baka identify with their forest home.

In brief, in the opening verses, that is, Verses 1–2 (Example 9), *Ayé* utters the “moan-like” ideophone “*Wu we wu we-o... Wu we wu we-o.*”

Example 9: Song of Lament, Verses 1–5

(1)

Wu we wu we-o,

Wu we wu we-o. (wu we (wu we-o): ideophone = 'moan'

(2)

Wu we wu we-o,

Wu we wu we-o.

(3)

Là-mò bà sià,

My eyes are looking to...

(4)

mò-mò bà ngomà(-e),

My mouth is speaking to...

(5)

jè-mò bà jè bele.

My ears are listening to... the forest..

Then, in Verses 3-5, he directs his attention to the forest, singing, “*Là-mò bà sià*” (‘my eyes are looking to’), “*mò-mò bà ngomà(-e)*” (‘my mouth is speaking to’), [and] “*jè-mò bà jè bele*” (‘my ears are listening to the forest [for help ... for consolation...for provision]’). The accompanying audio file in Object 3-9 documents Ayé’s entire performance (Object 3-9. Audio file of solo lament with harp-zither accompaniment (.mp3 1.9 MB)).

In the sections that follow, that is, Sections 3.4.2 through 3.4.6, I will describe the rhythmic (Sec. 3.4.2), syntactic (Sec. 3.4.3), phonological (Sec. 3.4.4), lexical (Sec. 3.4.5), and semantic (Sec. 3.4.6) poetic devices thus far discovered in Ayé’s text.

3.4.2 Rhythmic Poetic Devices

Pulse, tempo, meter, and line (Fig. 3-2). Four rhythmic devices converge in Baka poetic texts to form what Herrnstein-Smith would call the “sustained rhythm...the continuously operating principle of organization” in Baka poetic discourse: pulse, tempo, meter, and line. And as explained in Section 3.2, Example 3 of this Chapter, there are four pulses per line in Ayé’s lament (Example 10). The presence of the pulse is not plainly evident, but is nonetheless *suggested* in the regularity of both the song’s

melodic rhythm and the zither's accompanimental rhythm. In Example 10 (as in Example 3) the pulse is placed above the transcription and is represented with numerals equidistantly plotted above the text, roughly synchronizing pulse and text.

Example 10: 4 pulses per poetic line

Pulses →	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4...
(140 MM)								
(line 1)								
(line 2)								
(line 3)								
(line 4)								
(line 5)								

(Line boundaries and text boundaries do not, however, coincide, as described further in Section 3.4.3 and Chap. 2, Sec. 2.2.1.)

The measure of a song line's pulse is its *tempo*, that is, its pulse rate. This song normally averages 140 MM, an average tempo for a Baka song.

Four meter types are present in Baka song: 16, 12, 8, or 4 pulses per line. The meter of this song is four pulses per line.

3.4.3 Syntactic Poetic Devices

Contrastive verses and verse variations (Fig. 3-2). Sung Baka discourse is not only subject to particular patterns of rhythm, but to particular patterns of verbal syntax as well. Syntactic patterns, as opposed to rhythmic patterns, are composed of grammatical units, not chronological units; and every kind of grammatical unit (morpheme, word, phrase, sentence, etc.) is potentially subject to poetic treatment. Generally stated, the poetic function distinctively marks the verbal *syntax* of a Baka

song by the cumulative action of particular poetic *devices*, acting on particular syntactic *units*, particularly ordered.

3.4.3.1 Available grammatical units

As for the natural grammatical units available for poetic exploitation in this song, one solo voice part versifies an available grammatical inventory of 10 different words and 2–6 distinct vocables. For each verse of this poetic discourse, 0–5 words and 1–6 vocables are uttered in a span of 5–6 syllables and synchronized to poetic lines of 4 pulses.

3.4.3.2 Available poetic syntactic units

From the text transcription (shown in its entirety in Figure 3-5), we discover that this song is composed of four available poetic-syntactic units (represented here in Figure 3-8 as Verses A, B, B¹, and B²). Example 11 presents the two basic *contrasting verses* (Verse A, e.g., 1.1 and Verse B, 1.3). In addition, one verse, (Verse B) is further subject to two kinds of *variation* (e.g., Verse B¹, 1.4 and B², 1.5).

Example 11: Verses in Contrast and in Variation

(pulse)

1 2 3 4 (1 2 3 4 etc.)

(line 1)

[Verse A]

Wu we wu we-o,

// wu we wu we.(-o) //

Wu we wu we-o. (wu we (wu we-o): ideo. = gémir(fr.)/moan(eng.))

(line 2)

Wu we wu we-o,

// wu we wu we.(-o) //

Wu we wu we-o.

(line 3)

[Verse B]

Là-mò fà sià,

// oeil de moi / IMP / regarder //

Mes yeux regardent;

(line 4)
[Verse B¹]
mò-mò ɓà ngomà(-e),
// bouche de moi / IMP / parler.(-e) //
ma bouche parle;

(line 5)
[Verse B²]
jè-mò ɓà jè bele.
// oreille de moi / IMP / écouter / forêt //
mes oreilles écoutent la forêt.

3.4.3.3 Complementary devices of syntactic development

In this song, both verse variations (i.e., variations B¹ and B², e.g., 1.4 and 1.5 respectively) are created by grammatical *substitution*, that is, *syntagmatic-paradigmatic substitution*. One variation is also altered by textual *expansion* (i.e., B², e.g., 1.5).

To explore *grammatical substitution* further—as it is quite common in Baka song-texts—we note that two syntagmatic²⁰ slots, that is, the subject slot and the predicate slot, in contrastive verse “B” are subject to *paradigmatic* substitution. Both slots may be improvisationally filled by one of three paradigmatic substitutes: first, the subject slot in all “B” verse-types may be filled with one of three *co-hyponyms* from a semantic set of what might be called “the singer’s communicative sensory organs,” that is, his “mouth,” “eyes,” and “ears”; second, the predicate slot in all “B” verse-types may be filled by one of three *co-hyponyms* from a semantic set of what might be called “*functions* performed by the singer’s communicative sensory organs,” that is, “speaking,” “looking,” and “listening.”

The textual *expansion* of the verse is accomplished by the *addition* of an indirect object (i.e., “forest.”) as heard in “B²” verse-types.

As briefly noted earlier, verse boundaries and line boundaries do not coincide in verse-type “B²”; in this song, verse-terminal boundaries *overlap* line-initial boundaries.

Technically, this is a kind of *enjambment*, though its regularity tends to temper its typically tension-producing effect.

3.4.3.4 Frequency and distribution of available syntactic poetic units

The table in Figure 3-9 presents the frequency and distribution of the available verse types. Relative to the frequency of each verse type, the two basic verse types are distributed fairly evenly throughout. The initial contrastive verse (A) evenly pervades nearly two-thirds of the discourse while the subsequent contrastive verse (B) and its variations (B¹ and B²) together, fairly evenly share the remainder of the sung discourse.

3.4.3.5 Syntactic development and form

Figure 3-10 charts the overall syntactic development of the entire song-text. The table and diagram in Figure 3-11 depicts the allowable pairs of adjacent verse types and verse progressions. From Figures 3-10 and 3-11, I induce that the syntactic development and form of the entire discourse generally tends to be both iterative and revertive in that most often a series of one of the two contrastive verses is followed by a series of the other contrastive verse (or one of its variations). However, while a series of immediately repeated verses seems to generally mark the syntax as iterative, the alternation of the two contrastive sets of immediately repeated verses eventually produces a revertive effect as well.²¹ These sets of contrastive verses always revert to “A” verses-types.

3.4.4 Lexical Poetic Devices

Lexical repetition and homonym repetition (Fig. 3-2). In the domain of lexical poetic devices, this song exhibits two devices: simple *lexical repetition* and

homonym repetition. *Lexical repetition*, that is, simple lexeme repetition, is intra-linearly recurrent in the performance of Verse A (e.g., line 21, Example 12).

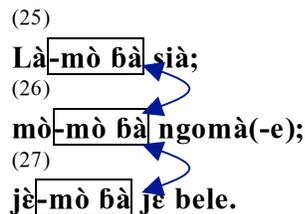
Example 12: Intra-linear Lexical Repetition

(21)  **Wu we wu we-o.**

It is also inter-linearly recurrent in words sung in a series of “B” verse-types (e.g., lines 25–27, Example 13).

Example 13: Inter-linear Lexical Repetition

(25) **Là-mò bà sià;**
 (26) **mò-mò bà ngomà(-e);**
 (27) **jè-mò bà jè bele.**



Repetition in homonyms recurs intra-linearly in most stanza-final lines, as in line 31 and 32 of Example 14; with the homonyms *mò* (the noun for “mouth”) and *-mò* (the 1S possessive pronoun), as well as the homonyms *jè* (the noun for “ear”) and *(na)jè* (the verb “to hear”).

Example 14: Homonyms

(31) 
mò-mò bà ngomà(-e);
 // **mouth** / **1S pos** / **IMPV** / **speak** / **voc** //
My mouth is speaking.

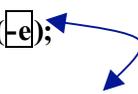
(32) 
jè-mò bà jè bele.
 // **ear** / **1S pos** / **IMPV** / **listen** / **forest** //
My ears are listening...to the forest.

3.4.5 Phonological Poetic Devices

Assonance and alliteration (Fig. 3-2). In the domain of phonological poetic devices, there are two basic devices: *assonance* and *alliteration*. *Assonance* occasionally recurs improvisationally in Verse B in word-final, line-final *vocable repetition* (e.g., line 38 with line 39, Example 15).

Example 15: Assonance (word-final, line-final vocable repetition)

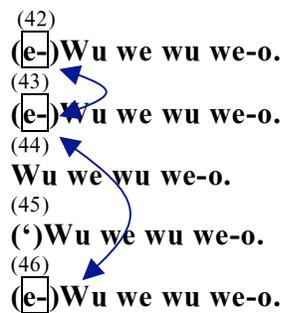
(38)
 Là-mò fà sià(-e);
 (39)
 mò-mò fà ngomà(-e);



Assonance also intermittently recurs in Verse A in word-initial, line-initial *vocable repetition* (e.g., lines 42, 43, and 46 in Example 16).

Example 16: Assonance (word-initial, line-initial vocable repetition)

(42)
 (e-)Wu we wu we-o.
 (43)
 (e-)Wu we wu we-o.
 (44)
 Wu we wu we-o.
 (45)
 (‘)Wu we wu we-o.
 (46)
 (e-)Wu we wu we-o.



Alliteration (of voiced, bilabial fricatives) is recurrent in Verse A, phoneme-initially, in the reiterated phonemes of the ideophone *Wu We Wu We-o* (e.g., line 22, Example 17).

Example 17: Alliteration (phoneme-initially)

(22)
 Wu we wu we’.



3.4.6 Semantic Level Poetic Devices

Ideophones, syntagmatic-paradigmatic grammatical substitution, reiteration of co-hyponyms, reiteration of meronyms, complimentary syntactic-semantic parallelism, and anthropomorphism (Fig. 3-2). Finally, in the domain of semantic level poetic devices, this song makes use of at least six semantic level poetic devices: *ideophones, syntagmatic-paradigmatic grammatical substitution, reiteration of co-hyponyms, reiteration of meronyms, complimentary syntactic-semantic parallelism, and anthropomorphism.* Unfortunately, the scope of this chapter only allows for a presentation of examples; detailed description of their poetic function must be left for a future study.

The *ideophone*²² *wu we wu we-o* (an ideophone that *stands for* “moaning”) serially recurs in all occurrences of the contrastive Verse A (e.g., lines 1 and 2, Example 18).

Example 18: Ideophone

(1)

Wu we wu we-o.

Wu we wu we-o. (wu we (wu we-o): ideo. = gémir(fr.)/moan(eng.))

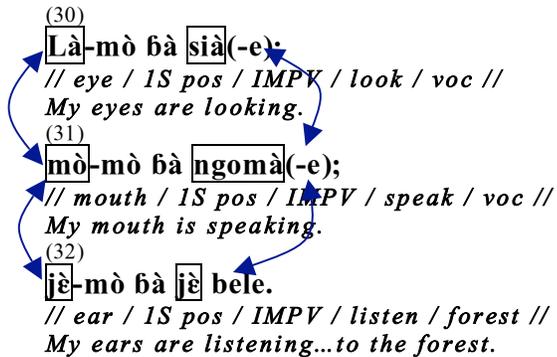
(2)

Wu we wu we-o.

The semantic devices at play in the typical ordering of Verse B and its variations (B¹ and B²) represent many of the most typical semantic poetic devices in the Baka song repertoire. Like many sequences of Baka song verses, the sequence of Verse B, B¹, and B² in Ayé’s lament simultaneously effects and affects multiple semantic-level signals. The five semantic devices that converge and bring this about are highlighted in these final five examples.

The first semantic device is *grammatical substitution, syntagmatic-paradigmatic substitution*, in particular. It is commonly constituted when, as in Example 19, two syntagmatic²³ slots (e.g., the subject slot and the predicate slot in contrastive verse “B”) are subject to *paradigmatic* substitution.

Example 19: Syntagmatic-paradigmatic Grammatical Substitution (three co-hyponyms)



Improvisationally, both slots may be filled by one of three paradigmatic substitutes: first, the subject slot in all “B” verse-types may be filled with one of three *co-hyponyms* from a *semantic set* of “the singer’s communicative sensory organs: his “mouth,” “eyes,” and “ears”; second, the predicate slot in all “B” verse-types may be filled by one of three *co-hyponyms* from a semantic set of “*functions* performed by the singer’s communicative sensory organs”: “speaking,” “looking,” and “listening.”

The second semantic device, also shown in Example 18 (above), is the *reiteration of hyponyms*.²⁴ Throughout the song, the *reiteration of hyponyms* is inter-linearly intermittent, though prevalent, in the same-syntax-slot co-hyponyms *là*, *mò*, and *jè* (“eyes, mouth, and ears”, i.e., “kinds of the sensory organs”), as well as the co-hyponyms *sià*, *ngomà*, *jè* (“see, talk, and listen”, i.e., “kinds of sensory communication”), as seen in lines 30–32.

The third device is lexical *reiteration of meronyms*.²⁵ The *reiteration of meronyms* is inter-linearly intermittent, though prevalent, in the same-syntax-slot meronyms *là-mò*, *mò-mò*, *jè-mò* (i.e., “my eyes, my mouth, and my ears”) in lines 30–32, Example 20.

These organs are meronyms in that they each ultimately “stand for” the person of whom they are sensorial parts.

Example 20: Meronymy

(30) **Là-mò** bà sià(-e);
 (31) **mò-mò** bà ngomà(-e);
 (32) **jè-mò** bà jè bele.

The fourth semantic device, complimentary *syntactic-semantic parallelism*, is inter-linearly intermittent, though prevalent, where successive lines, like lines 30, 31, and 32 in Example 21, *progressively develop and intensify similar semantic images* in three adjacent verses containing what might be called “sensory communication modes.”

Example 21: Complimentary syntactic-semantic parallelism

(30) **Là-mò bà sià(-e);**
 // eye / 1S pos / IMPV / look / voc //
My eyes are looking.
 (31) **mò-mò bà ngomà(-e);**
 // mouth / 1S pos / IMPV / speak / voc //
My mouth is speaking.
 (32) **jè-mò bà jè bele.**
 // ear / 1S pos / IMPV / sten / voc //
My ears are listening.

The fifth, and last, semantic device is *anthropomorphism*. In the *Ayé’s* lament, anthropomorphism is semantically implicit in the inter-linear and intermittent occurrences of lyrics that give expression to the singer’s personal engagement with the forest, that is, in his “looking to,” “speaking to,” and “listening to” the forest for solace,

sympathy, or help. They are performed in any recurrence of Verse B² (e.g., lines 3–5 in Example 22).

Example 22: Anthropomorphism

(3)

La-mò bà sià(-e);

// *eye / 1S pos / IMPV / look / voc //*

My eyes are looking.

(4)

mò-mò bà ngoma (-e);

// *mouth / 1S pos / IMPV / speak / voc //*

My mouth is speaking.

(5)

je-mò bà je bele.

// *ear / 1S pos / IMPV / listen / forest //*

My ears are listening...to the forest.

3.5 Conclusion

Having discussed each of the principal poetic devices for this single song one by one, I conclude by re-presenting them together, as a complementary whole. I recapitulate in this manner because the peculiar effects of poetically organized discourse are not ultimately experienced by considering poetic devices one by one, but in the cumulative perception and experience of the ebb and flow of multiple interconnecting poetic devices. In the diagram in Figure 3-12, I have depicted the interconnectedness of most of the aforementioned poetic devices in Ayé's lament.

Any one of the song-text's ten words and two vocables might function in multiple poetic devices. The poetic "equivalencies" of the lyric's sixteen poetic devices signify multiple "chains of semiosis" (Peirce, cited in Turino 1999: 222–240). Any one of these sixteen poetic devices is potentially linked to another. For example, *rhythmic* poetic devices (like pulse, tempo, meter, line) are linked to *syntactic* poetic devices (in verses repeated, verses contrasted, verses in variation, or verses in enjambment). These linked devices, in turn, are also "chained" to *lexical* poetic devices (like repeated words

and homonyms), or to *phonological* devices (signified in assonance and alliteration), or to *semantic* poetic devices (like ideophones, hyponyms, meronyms, semantic parallelism, and anthropomorphism). Each device communicates its own qualities, yet all are unified in time.

The most conspicuous semiotic effect of these semiotic chains is the interconnected patterns that they create. These patterns, in and over time, create expectations and unify experience (Meyer 1956:22–42; Dooley and Levinsohn 2000:26; Chenoweth 2001:112). Variations on these patterns reshape expectations, and thus engender a sense of drama as they unfold. In Baka song, as in all poetic traditions, the perception and performance of traditional poetic patterns—like those in Ayé’s lament—is indispensable for anyone who would competently participate in the communication of the unique and powerful communicative effects of poetically organized discourse. Even the generation of new poetic creations will build upon *received* forms, even and especially if these new creations would generate new effects to serve new purposes. Expectation—as an experiential effect of poetic patterning—is but one, albeit fundamental, poetic function of Baka song texts. Other effects are of course created. Examples of such effects will be taken up in Chapters 4 (e.g., Sec. 4.3.2) and 5 (e.g., Sec. 5.2). The scope of those effects, however, will be limited to the particular poetic effects achieved through songs sung in the course and context of performing traditional Baka oral narratives.

Baka Noun	Gloss
<i>ngòmà</i>	discussion, word
<i>lòmù</i>	conversation, discussion
<i>(‘è)kàlò</i>	(formal) counsel from elders
<i>lèwù</i>	(personal evening) advice
<i>mòsimò</i>	proverb, recitation, account, narrative, monologue w/o song
<i>gbòngongo</i>	allegory, proverb, saying, dictum
<i>mbàli</i>	comparison, parable
<i>likànò</i>	story, legend, fable, history, <i>chantefable</i>
<i>bè</i>	song

Figure 3-1. Common Baka speech act terms

FIVE POETIC DOMAINS	
<p>(1) RHYTHMIC POETIC DEVICES pulse tempo meter line (musically metered)</p> <p>(2) SYNTACTIC POETIC DEVICES repeated verses repeated verse-segments repeated stanzas contrastive verses contrastive verse-segments verse variations verse-segment variations stanza variations verse derivations enjambment</p> <p>(3) PHONOLOGICAL POETIC DEVICES vocables vocable repetition vocable substitution ideophones assonance consonance alliteration borrowed words vowel lengthening sprechstimme (speech-song)</p>	<p>(4) LEXICAL POETIC DEVICES (intra- and inter-linearly) repeated phonemes repeated ideophones, repeated words homonyms reiterated homonyms reduplicated homonyms (rhythmically)</p> <p>(5) SEMANTIC POETIC DEVICES ideophones reiteration of ideophones reduplication of ideophones similes metaphors metonyms reiteration in metonyms anthropomorphism meronymy (co-)hyponyms semantic parallelism (complimentary) syntactic-semantic parallelism syntagmatic-paradigmatic grammatical substitution rhetorical questions archaic language loan word synonymy ellipsis</p>

Figure 3-2. Inventory of Baka song-text poetic devices

Song	Tempo (pulse rate: MM =)
V98032100338: story-song with bow-harp accompaniment (lingbidi)	160
A081497III251: dancesong in celebration of the birth of twins	140
V980204I02110: solo "lament" with zither accompaniment	140
D980227I00423: elephant hunting song	125
V980204I00900: song with frame-harp accompaniment of a young boy playing with his parents	125
A102997A200: dancesong (1) returning from a gorilla hunt or, (2) during a circumcision rite	118
A102997A252: song announcing the return from a successful elephant hunt	115
A110697A022: male initiation song (with the spirit Jengi)	105
A110697A000: song associated with Jengi, a spirit	105

Figure 3-3. Table of song tempi

Song	Meter (pulses per line)
A110697A022: male initiation song (with the spirit Jengi)	16
A102997A200: dancesong (1) returning from a gorilla hunt or, (2) during a circumcision rite	16
A102997A252: song announcing the return from a successful elephant hunt	16
A110697A000: song associated with Jengi, a spirit	12
A081497III251: dancesong in celebration of the birth of twins	12 / 8
D980227I00423: elephant hunting song	8
V980204I00900: song with frame-harp accompaniment of a young boy playing with his parents	8
V98032100338: story-song with 2-string bow-harp accompaniment (lingbidi)	8
V980204I02110: solo song of woe with zither accompaniment	4

Figure 3-4. Table of song meter types

(1)

Wu we wu we(-o).

// wu we wu we.(-o) //

Wu we wu we-o. (wu we (wu we-o): ideo. = gémir(fr.)/moan(eng.))

(2)

Wu we wu we(-o).

// wu we wu we.(-o) //

Wu we wu we-o.

(3)

Là-mò bà sià;

// oeil de moi / IMPV? / regarder //

Mes yeux regardent;

(4)

mò-mò bà ngomà(-e);

// bouche de moi / IMPV? / parler.(-e) //

ma bouche parle;

(5)

jè-mò bà jè bele.

// oreille de moi / IMPV? / écouter / forêt //

mes oreilles écoutent la forêt.

(6)

Wu we wu we-o.

(7)

(-')Wu we wu we(-o).

(8)

Là-mò bà sià;

(9)

mò-mò bà ngomà(-e);

(10)

jè-mò bà jè bele.



(11)

Wu we wu we-o.

(12)

Là-mò bà sià(-e);

(13)

mò-mò bà ngomà(-e);

(14)

jè-mò bà jè bele.

(15)

Wu we wu we-o.

(16)z

(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(17)

(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(18)

Là-mò bà sià(-e);

(19)

mò-mò bà ngomà(-e);

(20)

jè-mò bà jè bele.



(21)

Wu we wu we-o.

(22)

Wu we wu we'

(23)

Wu we wu we-o.

(24)

Wu we wu we-o.

(25)

Là-mò bà sià;

(26)

mò-mò bà ngomà(-e);

(27)

jè-mò bà jè bele.

(28)

Wu we wu we-o.

(29)

Wu we wu we-o.

(30)

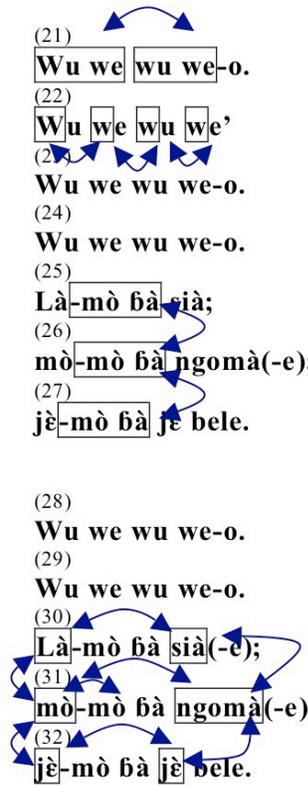
Là-mò bà sià(-e);

(31)

mò-mò bà ngomà(-e);

(32)

jè-mò bà jè bele.



(33)
Wu we wu we-o.

(34)
Wu we wu we-o.

(35)
Wu we wu we-o.

(36)
Wu we wu we-o.

(37)
Wu we wu we-o.

(38)
Là-mò b̀a sià(-e); 

(39)
m̀ò-m̀ò b̀a ngomà(-e); 

(40)
j̀è-m̀ò b̀a j̀è bele.

(41)
Wu we wu we-o.

(42)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(43)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o. 

(44)
Wu we wu we-o.

(45)
(‘)Wu we wu we-o.

(46)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o. 

(47)
J̀è-m̀ò b̀a sià(-e).

(48)
(ε-)Wu we wu we-o.

(49)
Là-m̀ò b̀a sià(-e);

(50)
j̀è-m̀ò b̀a j̀è bele.

(51)
Wu we wu we-o.

(52)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(53)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(54)
Wu we wu we-o.

(55)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(56)
Là-m̀ò b̀a sià(-e);

(57)
j̀è-m̀ò b̀a ngomà(-e).

(58)
(ε-)Wu we wu we-o.

(59)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(60)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(61)
Là-m̀ò b̀a sià(-e);

(62)
là-m̀ò b̀a sià(-e). 

(63)
Wu we wu we-o.

(64)
Wu we wu we-o.

(65)
Là-m̀ò b̀a sià(-ε);

(66)
j̀è-m̀ò b̀a j̀è bele.

(67)
(ε-)Wu we wu we-o.

(68)
(ε-)Wu we wu we-o.

(69)
Là-m̀ò b̀a sià(-e);

(70)
m̀ò-m̀ò b̀a ngomà(-e);

(71)
j̀è-m̀ò b̀a j̀è bele.

(72)
Wu we wu we-o.

(73)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(74)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(75)
Wu we wu we-o.
(76)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.
(77)
Wu we wu we-o.
(78)
Là-mò b̀a sià(-e);
(79)
j̀e-mò b̀a j̀e bele.

(80)
Mò-mò b̀a ngomà(-e).

(81)
Wu we wu we-o.
(82)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.

(83)
Wu we wu we-o.
(84)
Wu we wu we-o.
(85)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.
(86)
Là-mò b̀a sià(-e);
(87)
j̀e-mò b̀a j̀e bele.

(88)
Wu we wu we-o.
(89)
Wu we wu we-o.
(90)
Wu we wu we-o.
(91)
Wu we wu we-o.
(92)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.
(93)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.
(94)
Là-mò b̀a sià;
(95)
j̀e-mò b̀a ngomà(-e);
(96)
j̀e-mò b̀a ngomà(-e);
(97)
j̀e-mò b̀a j̀e bele.

(98)
Wu we wu we-o.
(99)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.
(100)
(e-)Wu we wu we-o.
(101)
(‘-)¹Wu we wu we-o.
(102)
(‘-)Wu we wu we-o.

(103)
Wu we wu we-o.
(104)
J̀e-mò b̀a j̀e bele.

(105)
Là-mò b̀a sià(-e).

(106)
Mò-mò b̀a ngomà(-e)

Figure 3-5. Textual transcription of a Baka lament (see also, audio file in Object 3-9. Audio file of solo song of lament (.mp3 1.9 MB)). Arrows and boxed texts draw attention to poetic equivalencies. Each poetic device (equivalency) is only highlighted once, then, excerpted and described in Examples 10-21. Spaces between lines indicate approximate temporal passing of non-texted instrumental accompaniment.

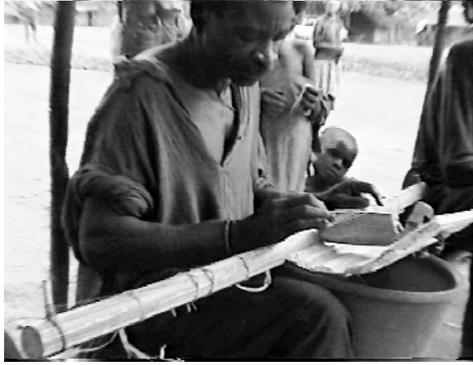


Figure 3-6. Photo of Ayé singing song and playing *ngòmbi nà pèke*



Figure 3-7. Photo of a Baka harp-zither (*'ngòmbi nà pèke'/'ngòmbi nà kpokpo'*)

(e.g., line 1)
A
(e.g., line 3)
B
(e.g., line 4)
B ¹
(e.g., line 5)
B ²

Figure 3-8. Composite of available syntactic verse types

number of unit occurrences	percentage of unit occurrences
A x 35	A = 62%
B x 8	B x 14%
B ¹ x 6	B ¹ = 11%
B ² x 7	B ² = 13%

Figure 3-9. Frequency of available verse types

Syntax

(1) = line 1, etc. and A, B, = verses

(1) A (2) A (3) B (4) B¹ (5) B²
(6) A (7) A (8) B (9) B¹ (10) B²
(11) A (12) B (13) B¹ (14) B²
(15) A (16) A (17) A (18) B (19) B¹ (20) B²
(21) A (22) A (23) A (24) A (25) B (26) B¹ (27) B²
(28) A (29) A (30) B (31) B¹ (32) B²
(33) A (34) A (35) A (36) A (37) A (38) B (39) B¹ (40) B²
(41) A (42) A (43) A (44) A (45) A (46) A (47) (B)
(48) A (49) B (50) B²
(51) A (52) A (53) A (54) A (55) A (56) B (57) B¹
(58) A (59) A (60) A (61) B (62) B
(63) A (64) A (65) B (66) B²
(67) A (68) A (69) B (70) B¹ (71) B²
(72) A (73) A (74) A
(75) A (76) A (77) A (78) B (79) B² (80) B¹
(81) A (82) A
(83) A (84) A (85) A (86) B (87) B²
(88) A (89) A (90) A (91) A (92) A (93) A (94) B (95) B¹ (96) B¹ (97) B²
(98) A (99) A (100) A (101) A (102) A

Figure 3-10. Chart of syntactic development

Adjacent Verses				
	A	B	B ¹	B ²
A	+	+		
B	+ ⁱ	+	+	+
B ¹	+		+	+
B ² (Note ii)	+ ⁱⁱⁱ		+	

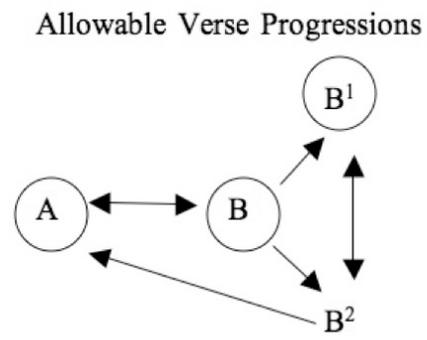


Figure 3-11. Adjacent verses and diagram of allowable verse progressions

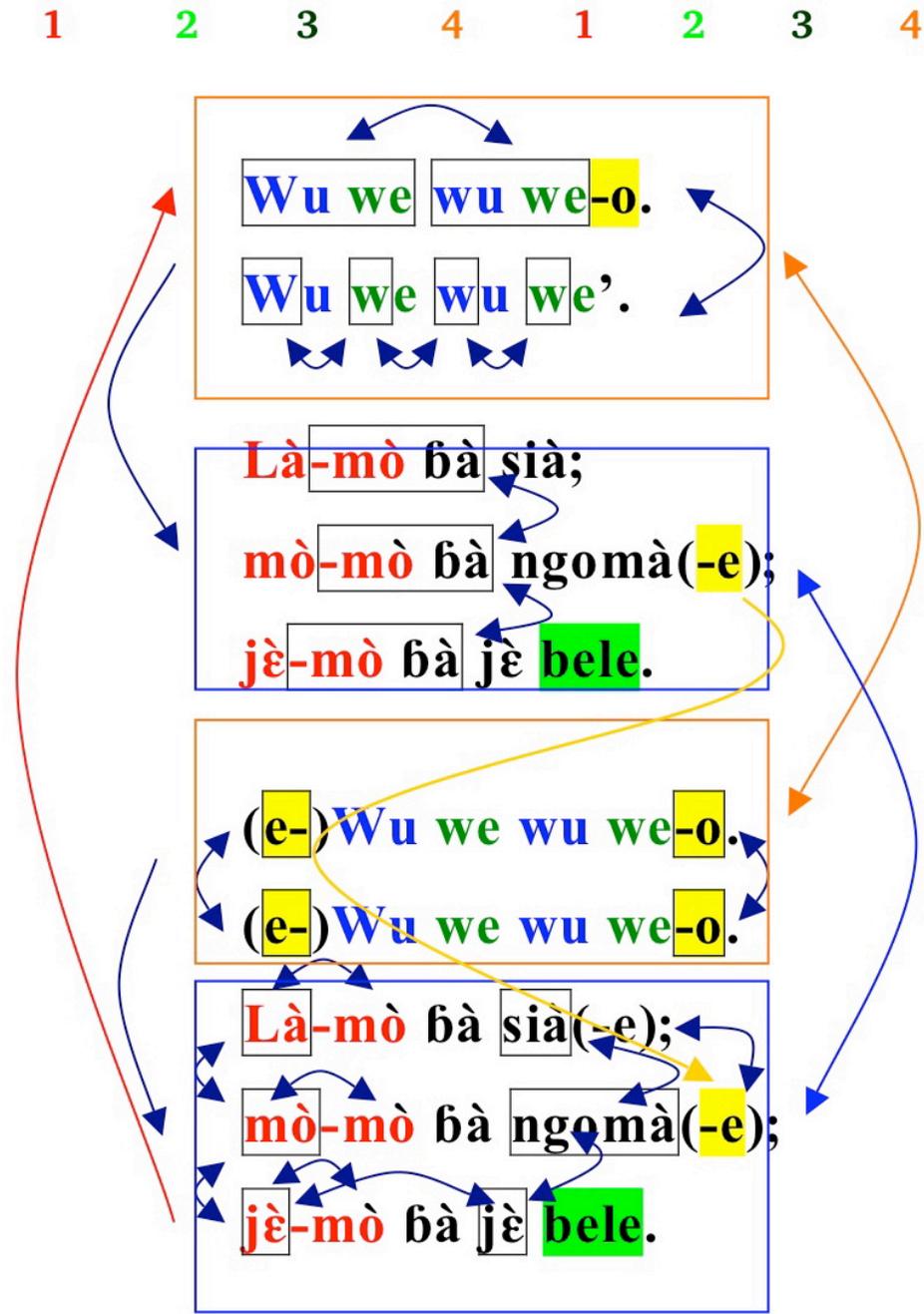


Figure 3-12: Diagram of the poetic patterns of "Aye's Lament." (The color-coded arrows, boxes, highlighting, numbers, letters, and words are intended to iconically and symbolically suggest the complementarity of the poetic devices previously set out in Sections 3.4.2 through 3.4.6. The performance of all ten verses is hypothetically patterned with ten metered lines of four pulses each, lasting approximately twenty seconds.)

¹ See Jean-Jacques Nattiez, “The Contribution of Musical Semiotics to the Semiotic Discussion in General,” *The Garland Library of Readings in Ethnomusicology Vol.2* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 221-242.

² Paul Copley and Litza Janz, *Introducing Semiotics*, New York: Totem Books, 1997), 144.

³ Roman Jakobson, “Linguistics and Poetics,” in *Style in Language*, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok (The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1960), 351.

⁴ Roman Jakobson, “Le langage en relation avec les autres systèmes de communication,” in *Essais de linguistique générale II* (Paris: Minuit, 1973), 99-100.

⁵ Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings, vol.III, Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry* (Mouton: The Hague, 1966), 602.

⁶ Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 56.

⁷ P. Valery, *The Art of Poetry*, Bollingen Series 45 (New York, 1958).

⁸ The metered line is *the primary* poetic feature because it is the sole poetic device (thus far in this study *and* in my personal recollection of the whole of the Baka song tradition) which no Baka song may be without and still be called song (*bè*). While it is true that *most* sung Baka discourse employs highly formantal vocal techniques and highly repetitive syntactical structures, *not all* songs do. Thus, songs may exclusively employ *sprechstimme* (“spoken-song,” vocal techniques with relatively little formant articulation), or (non-denotative, non-grammatical) *vocables* (as in the ‘yodelling’ song-style called *yeyi*) and still be called song, primarily because it is marked by a musically metered poetic line.

⁹ Robert Pinsky. 1998. *The Sounds of Poetry*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. p.28, 34.

¹⁰ Indeed, every song from a corpus of more than 400 field recordings of Baka songs has a musically metered poetic line.

¹¹ In either case, technical verification of this auto-segmental reality requires competency in music literacy.

¹² There are cases that typographically necessitate using half-lines. Such cases are indicated accordingly. The effect (real and representational) of superimposing a line upon the syntax of a verbal utterance is described later in Sec. 3.4.3.3, after line and syntax have been described as units in themselves. The relationship of line to verbal syntax is like wind is to leaves on a tree, that is, it is only perceived in the effect one

has on the other. This effect then, of the line on syntax, is symbolized in the formatting conventions of a writing system.

¹³ Other conventions, slashes for example, would be sufficient modifications in text transcriptions using Roman script.

¹⁴ Another poetic effect of the line (a rhythmical principle) on the verbal syntax (a grammatical principle) is indicated by the relative spacing of words and syllables as performed in time, that is, in reference to the pulse.

¹⁵ And tempo is but an elementary quality of a pulse.

¹⁶ It is not yet known whether or not the meter of a particular Baka song or song genre is “principally” dictated by received musical forms, textual forms, or both. (Forthcoming music analysis will help to determine this.) As has been said, what is known from the data is that meter in a Baka song line respects the prevailing patterns of verbal syntax. This relationship of line and syntax can be measured. It is doubtful that a lingua-literary description would need a more detailed description of the musically rhythmic nature of a poetic line than a description of its tempo and meter.

¹⁷ It will be pertinent to music analysis to then characterize these metrical units (even the lines of 12 p.p.l.) as formed from duple rhythms. Thus (so far), we see pulses organized into duple rhythms which in turn are organized into metrical lines divisible by two.

¹⁸ Composite representations of song refrains may serve many purposes, but they cannot bring into relief variational or contrastive performance features that may progressively signify any of the emerging structures of oral performance. Only a thick analysis of a full performance can suggest such structures.

¹⁹ Tunings vary with compositions. Another song, performed by another musician, for example, uses the approximate tuning of F-3, [G-3], Bb-3, C-4, [D-4], F-4, [G-4], Bb-4. Careful measurements have been documented for many Baka instruments and will likely be accounted for in a forthcoming emic analysis of the Baka melodic system, currently underway.

²⁰ This term refers to the ordering of sequences in grammatical structures.

²¹ Both iterative and reversion processes involve repetition, but an iterative process is one in which you repeat something again and again, using the results from an immediately preceding stage (e.g., A A A A A); whereas reversion processes repeat results from a more distant stage (e.g., A B C B A) (Chenoweth 1972:94, citing Nettl 1956:66-71).

²² See Section 4.3.2.2 for an explanation of ideophones.

²³ Again, this term refers to the ordering of sequences in grammatical structures.

²⁴ A *hyponym* is “a word of more specific meaning than a general or superordinate term applicable to it. For example, *spoon* is a hyponym of *cutlery*.” From: “hyponym”. Oxford Dictionaries. April 2010. Oxford Dictionaries. April 2010. Oxford University Press. 5 January 2011 <http://oxforddictionaries.com/view/entry/m_en_us1256654>.

²⁵ I understand a *meronym* to be a kind of *synecdoche* which, in turn, is a kind of *metonym*. All three concepts deal with “whole-part,” or “part-whole” lexical relationships. *Meronymy*, however, specifies “a non-hierarchical relationship between lexical units that deals with the significant parts of a whole.” From: “What is a whole-part lexical relation?” Glossary of linguistic terms, Eugene E. Loos (general editor) Susan Anderson, Dwight H. Day Jr., Paul C. Jordan, and J. Douglas Wingate (editors). 5 January 2011
<http://www.ethnologue.com/LL_docs/show_bookdesc.asp?bookid=48>

CHAPTER 4
BAKA *LIKÀNǀ*-SONG AS A DISCOURSE FEATURE OF BAKA STORY

4.1 Performance Relationship of Baka Story and Song

Song (*bè*) sung in the course of telling a traditional Baka story (*likànǀ*) is referred to by the Baka as *bè na likànǀ* ('story's song'). Most Baka *likànǀ* include song. Of 147 Baka *likànǀ* documented in seven distinct collections of traditional Baka narratives, 109 (77%) include song (Higgins 1981; Brisson 1981, 1996, 1999; Kilian-Hatz 1989; Boursier 1994; Léonard 2003; Fitzgerald 2007). Additional songs would have likely been included in these seven collections had all of the original audio recordings been carried out in more "natural" circumstances, that is, in settings with both a storyteller and a participating audience, as opposed to a storyteller and an ethnographer in a "staged," one-on-one interview. Even so, it is plain enough that most Baka stories do include songs. To say so may state the obvious, but not all of the world's story-telling traditions do, in fact, include song. And so, it is reasonable to ask, "Why do most traditional Baka narratives include song? What is the relationship of Baka songs to Baka stories?" These two questions are the principal concerns of this chapter.

4.1.1 Story and Song in African Narrative Performance

In Africa—and throughout the world—story and song (or, story and *music*) co-occur in countless varieties of social settings.

African communities combine texts with music to create recitations of narrative songs, genealogies, and epics. Aside from a study on the Kpelle Woi epic (Stone 1988) and phonograph recordings documenting sung stories, genealogies, and histories of the Zulu, the Shona, the Karanga, the Duma, the Soga, the Wolof, and their West African neighbors,

ethnomusicologists have given little attention to analyzing such music thoroughly. (Hampton 2000:107)

This present analysis—as it seeks to contribute to the body of research that addresses this lacuna—begins with the observation that while story and song do indeed co-occur in countless African communities and in a variety of social settings, it is equally, if not more, important to note that their *performance integrity* varies just as greatly.

A brief survey of Africanist scholarship—linguistic, folkloristic, anthropological, and musicological—documenting African oral narrative performance types ranging from North and West African epics (*épopées*), to Central African chantefables, to East African folktales, to South African sung narrative poetry, initially suggests three broad performance distinctions. At one extreme, story may, of course, be told without music (and *vice versa*) (Dorson 1972; Abrahams 1983; Finnegan 1967; Kisliuk 1991:373-383). In other performance contexts, story and song may be performed “in alternation” with varying degrees of cohesion. The music and songs of some of these narrative events are variously described as “intermissions,” “interludes,” or “intercalated [songs]...which punctuate the narrative” (Léonard 2003:2; Agawu 1995:170-179; Johnson, Hale, and Belchner 1997: xvii, 255; see also Ben-Amos 1975:24, 51; Finnegan 1977:109, 119, 2007:51). The songs of other “alternating” performance practices, however, are viewed as significantly more integral to the narrative’s structure and storyline (Biebuyck and Mateene 1969; Stone 1988:3, 6; Kisliuk 1991:74-80, 364-372; Agawu, *ibid.*). The most extreme integration of story and song, of course, is achieved when certain narratives are entirely sung (Coplan 1987, 1988, 1994; Opland 1983). And

whether exclusively spoken, or exclusively sung, or a combination of both, African monologue narrative discourse is also commonly performed with intermittent or continual instrumental or choral accompaniment, or both (Okpewho 1979:59-66; Johnson, Hale, Belcher 1997:255).

I have initially described these three broad characterizations of African monologue narrative performance in terms of a relative and variegated “promoting and demoting” of certain binary distinctions, comparing the descriptors “story and song,” “song and music,” “speaking and singing,” “instrumental and choral,” “intermittent and continual.” Cumulatively, this description generally and simultaneously suggests that (1) the semiotic relationship between story and song, that is, their performance integrity, inherently tends more toward synthesis than antithesis, (2) the nature of their tendency toward unity is predicated on their shared *verbal* properties, and (3) the nature of their boundaries is more complex than simple. Ruth Finnegan expands on the relationship of verbal and non-verbal modes in her book *The Oral and Beyond: Doing Things with Words in Africa*.

So we can see Africa as indeed the rich home of words—but emphatically not of words separate from their multiplex multi-modal settings or of some mysterious and distinctive “orality.” (2007:223)

... getting rid of the over-ambitious claims for “language” in fact allows a clearer perspective on humans’ active use of words—but words now seen, more modestly, as set in the context of, and intermingled with, the array of other communicative modes of which verbal language is only one. (ibid., 210)

The boundaries of “the oral”, of “performance,” and of literature may come to dissolve...but at the same time such notions, treated more

critically and imaginatively, can lead into a deeper understanding of people’s creative and reflective ways with words, more sophisticated and more richly intermingled into intricately meshed modalities than we once realized. (224)

In Figure 4-1, I have abstracted the verbal and aural qualities of the aforementioned song-and-story performance practices and (re)configured them in a graph in order to (re)present the relationship of story and song in Africa as “more richly intermingled” and “intricately meshed...than...once realized.” The axis graph abstractly posits that the performance distribution of speech, song, and music in African monologue narrative discourse results from the axis of a “speech-song continuum” variously projected into the axis of an “instrumental/choral accompaniment continuum.”

From the graph, we read that along a simple speech-song continuum, monologue narrative discourse performance may be (1) exclusively spoken with varying degrees of “everyday” and “heightened” speech registers, (2) alternately spoken or sung in varying manners and degrees of frequency and distribution, or (3) exclusively sung. Simultaneously, each of these verbal performance practices—whether spoken, sung, or both—is potentially subject to varying degrees of instrumental and/or choral accompaniment.

4.1.2 Story and Song in Baka Narrative Performance

To find examples of some of the basic permutations of African narrative performance practices, one need not comb all of the literature on all of the narrative

discourse traditions of Africa: a cross section of Baka narratives conveniently exhibits a good number of verbal performance types.

The distinction between those Baka stories with song and those without was first made by French priests Robert Brisson and Daniel Boursier. Brisson and Boursier lived among the Baka, in different communities, for over twenty and thirty years respectively, and were the earliest to document Baka traditional stories (1979, 1984, 1994, 1996). In their respective commentaries on traditional Baka narratives—as well as their collaborative work on a dictionary of the Baka language—they specifically assign the French term *chantefable* (‘sung tale’) to describe those Baka *likànò* that include singing.¹ However, both Brisson and Boursier—and later, Higgins, Kilian-Hatz and Léonard—in each of their collections, only modestly describe the characteristics that distinguish sung narrative texts from spoken narrative texts. Further, the typographical conventions of the text transcriptions of their audio field recordings could not (nor doubtless, were they ever intended to) adequately represent either the temporal distribution of song in a story, or the performance duration of such songs, especially when speaking and singing overlap. Indeed, when a song is first uttered or reintroduced in these recorded narrative performances, most song text transcriptions only present a single, typified version of the refrain. Neither subsequent lyric variation, nor the relative temporal performance relationship of speaking and singing were germane to the initial purposes of these collections (and no one would necessarily expect otherwise). By drawing attention to the limitations of these conventional transcription practices, I only mean to aid the appreciation of the emerging processes

that have guided the understanding of oral narratives. This present analysis, to which I return, only benefits from these former representations regardless of their limitations.

As reported in the opening paragraph of this chapter, my tabulations of the narrative collections of Brisson and Boursier, as well as Higgens, Kilian-Hatz, Léonard and Fitzgerald, confirm that most Baka narratives include song. Yet plainly, those same tabulations indicate that it is not uncommon to hear some Baka narratives exclusively *spoken*. Roughly a quarter of the documented narrative collections have no singing. These exclusively spoken performances, however, vary greatly in their proportional usage of “everyday” versus “heightened” speech patterns, depending upon who is narrating and what they are recounting. For example, a sought-after and practiced adult Baka teller telling a well-known and highly formalized traditional story (*likànò*) employs many more heightened speech devices than does a Baka child recounting (and re-recounting) a memorable personal experience in the forest.²

By far the most common Baka narrative performance styles and practices exhibit *both* spoken and sung performance—sometimes in alternation, sometimes overlapping. Taken as a structural and sequential whole, the relative temporal distribution of speaking to singing in a Baka *likànò*, at least in my initial analysis, seems to resist generalization: sung discourse may be distributed at the beginning, middle, or end of a *likànò*; it may occur one or multiple times, intermitently or constantly, briefly or protractedly. In some cases, for instance, choral accompaniment may be performed during the entire narrative performance while the teller-singer weaves in and out of speaking and singing.

The only verbal performance style not exhibited in Baka narrative performance is that in which the entire narrative discourse—strictly speaking—is sung. In fact, as the bulk of the rest of this chapter will point out, “mainline” narrative material is rarely produced in sung mode. So while occasionally an entire narrative performance may be permeated with singing, as highlighted above, the main storyline is rarely produced in sung-mode. Instead, the storyline is reserved for speech-mode. However, I do not mean to imply that sung discourse material does not intrinsically and critically *inform* the “mainline” material of a *lìkànò*. To the contrary, whether “mainline or supportive,” “foreground or background,” the pragmatics of singing in Baka narrative discourse indicate that sung discourse mode can be decisive in achieving the intra- and supra-pragmatic goals of a narrative performance. This particular role of song is progressively set out in greater detail in Sections 4.2–4.3 of this chapter, and Sections 5.2–5.3 in Chapter 5.

Having introduced in some detail the breadth of variation in the relative co-occurrence of speaking, singing, and instrumental accompanying in Baka narrative (or any similar narrative tradition), I now move from a *description* to an *analysis* of these variations in actual performance practice. For my interest is not so much in discovering “how much or how little” is spoken or sung in a traditional Baka narrative, but in understanding the *nature* of such a variety of *choices*. For the *choosing* of one configuration of “speaking to singing to musiking” over another implies communicative intent. I borrow this conclusion from functional linguistics which claims, according to Levinsohn, that

... one basic principle of a functional approach to text-linguistics is that choice implies meaning. In virtually every sentence, authors have the option of expressing themselves in more than one way. Are these ways simply “stylistic variations”? Text-linguistics answers, No! Because there is a choice of ways, the ways differ in significance; there are reasons for the variations. (2004:0.2.1)³

To move on then from quantitative and comparative descriptions of surface structures of “speaking and singing and musiking,” to interpreting the semiotic significance of the principal aural signs of Baka song in Baka story, what follows is a *discourse analysis* of the intertextual nature of *bè na likànò* (Baka ‘story’s song’) in *likànò* (Baka ‘story’). The aim of the analysis will be to understand better *why* the Baka sing—as opposed to simply speak—when they tell a traditional narrative. A discourse analysis is applied because the nature of discourse analysis, regardless of its application, whether sociological, political, linguistic, or other, is essentially ordered to asking *why* “this or that” discourse is executed in “this or that” way.⁴

The data for the analysis is based upon the documentation of 12 select Baka *likànò*—two narratives from each of the six collections of traditional Baka narratives cited at the beginning of this chapter. This data sample represents the most geographically, historically, and socio-linguistically diverse sample possible from existing documentation. First, because the areas from which these field recordings originate represent the most culturally diverse regional concentrations of Baka speakers in the southeast rainforest of Cameroon (Map 3 in Fig. 1-6). And second, because the recorded performances are not limited to my fourteen years of field experience, but span nearly forty years, the earliest recorded in 1973. A comparison of these diverse

documentation projects is made quite feasible by the fact that most, if not all, of the recordists and ethnographers were quite competent in the Baka language and followed a fairly similar and consistent transcription methodology and technique.

The original field recording for every documented narrative is still not available for study. Thus, while all twelve *text* transcriptions are available, only the recordings of Higgs, Léonard, and Fitzgerald provide audio documentation. For this reason, the text-linguistics findings of the following textual analyses are more fruitful than the more performance-centered analyses. Once the audio recordings for all of the narrative performances are gathered into one place, additional performance-centered studies can be performed.

The basic format of the analysis is presented in Figure 4-2. The prose sections that follow (Sections 4.2 through 4.3) mirror the order of the outline.

Fundamentally, Baka *likànǎ* songs are found to function in two essential signifying domains of narrative discourse: first as an agent of narrative discourse *cohesion* (presented in Section 4.2), and second as an agent of narrative discourse *development* (presented in Section 4.3).

In Section 4.2, my analysis reveals that *likànǎ* songs effect discourse cohesion *generatively, performatively, and textually*.⁵ Descriptions and examples of each of these four sub-domains of cohesion are documented in their respective sub-sections, though textual analyses predominate. Within this domain, (inter)textual cohesion of spoken and sung *likànǎ* texts emerges as chiefly grammatical and semantic in nature. In the sub-sections of Sections 4.2.3.1 and 4.2.3.2, examples of typical grammatical and

semantic devices are cited from the texts of our aforementioned sample of 12 traditional narratives (Sec. 4.1.2).

In Section 4.3, the analysis further reveals that *likàndè* songs also effect discourse *development*, both *contextually* and *climactically*. The sub-sections of Section 4.3.1 then present typical examples of contextualizing devices for five “contextualizing information types.” Most are textual devices. Finally, the sub-sections of Section 4.3.2 cite examples of devices that frequently contribute to *climactic* development. These devices are recognized according to five common marks of climactic development. And while climactic devices—like cohesive devices and contextualizing devices—are often signified textually, many other climactic signs are formalized musico-poetically, as we shall see.

4.2 Cohesion of *likàndè* Story and Song

4.2.1 Generative Cohesion (Stories Engender Songs)

Baka songs are not merely “included” in most stories; stories engender songs. My longtime friend, *Tombombo*, once explained that, “All [Baka] songs come from stories...not just [*likàndè*] story songs...but even hunting songs, lullabies, divination or dance songs [come from “narratives”] (Tombombo 2007). He further claimed that “stories might be forgotten, but [stories’] songs are not” (ibid.).⁶ Some songs, then, as they become disassociated with the story from which they arose (for any number of reasons), may gradually and eventually become appropriated for use in social contexts other than the narrative contexts in which they originated, as in the case of “dance” *likàndè* songs at Baka funerals. In such cases, the *temporal cohesion* of story and song—normally implied by their mere co-occurrence—is absent.

During Baka funerals *likànd* songs *may* be sung outside the *temporal* context of a storytelling event. At such times, *likànd* songs are performed, though no story is told, no story-teller telling. This does not mean that stories are not or cannot be told during funerals, for they often are; but they need not be. A story's song can stand on its own.

I observed this practice during my first few years of fieldwork among the Baka in the encampment of Ndjibot (1996–1997). In Ndjibot I recorded and participated in—that is, attended, mourned, danced, and contributed monetarily to—a number of funerals. The audio recordings were mainly of the dance music performed at funerals. Initially, I assumed that all or most of the dance songs performed during a funeral were exclusive for that context. However, as I continued to gather audio-visual recordings, collect ethnographic information, and progress in Baka language competency, I gradually learned that four or five distinct dance song genres were typically performed in the course of an all-night funeral celebration. These included dance song genres invoking the forest spirits *Jengĩ*, *Ebùmà*, *Esònjò*, and *Mbòàmbòà*, as well as *likànd* dance songs. Most of these dance songs for spirits, however, were also performed in social and ritual contexts other than funerals. In addition to these dance songs for spirits, however, *likànd* songs were also sung, and “danced,” though *without narrative*.

Initially, with the absence of a storyteller, I did not assume that the term *likànd* (dance) and *likànd* (story) necessarily referred to the same thing. None of the literature, Brisson, Boursier, *et al.*, made explicit mention of dancing taking place during storytelling. So I assumed at first that perhaps these songs shared the same term, but not the same song texts. As each song was sung and danced, Baka friends would simply seem to describe the import of the dance-song as somehow (*ipso facto*)

referring to the character of a well-known forest animal (fieldnotes: dry season, 1997). What was not made explicit—though plainly assumed—was that song texts were not abstractly composed and associated with some forest animal, or legendary character, but rather, generated in and thereby associated with a particular Baka narrative, whose protagonist (or antagonist) was the subject of the dance song at hand. Thus, songs index stories. For the Baka, the integral link between dance, song, and story is assumed. They eventually made this connection explicit to me in their claim that, “We clearly *see* the story as we sing the story’s song and dance its dance” (emphasis added; Nomedjo group interview, March 2008).

It is unlikely, then, that the Baka generate many songs, if any, “for song’s sake.” In all my collection of several hundred field recordings, I know of no song (whether *likàndò* song or non-*likàndò* song) that is clearly not somehow the related experience of some individual or group, fictitious or non-fictitious. Over time the intertextual cohesion of a Baka song—any Baka song—and the experience that generated it may become obscure indeed. Yet, what is suggested by the process that generates *likàndò* song is that Baka song in Baka story is no mere “interlude” or “intermission,” but an intrinsic feature of the discourse. For even when *likàndò* songs occur outside the passing context of a storytelling event, the cohesive effects of other cohesive phenomena still indexically, iconically, and symbolically effect a connection in the minds of the Baka.

4.2.2 Performance Cohesion of *likànḍ* Story and Song

The cohesive nature of Baka story and story-song is further confirmed not only in what is learned from how they are generated (i.e., from a common experience), but in how they are *performed*.

Baka narrative cohesion is *embodied* in the constellation of spoken and sung speech acts performed by a Baka community at each storytelling event. Story and song cohere all the more because they are performed by a socially homogenous choir of voices, a Baka-speaking community. At the hub of this constellation of voices stands the storyteller-singer (*wa kpo*). The story unites with the song through the voice of one narrator who intermittently tells the narrative, intones the song, and leads others to join in the refrain (see, for example, the narrative of “*Lòndò*,” Sec. 4.3.2, Fig. 4-8, or “*Sùà tɛ Kùnda*,” Chap. 5). Through the performance of this refrain, the participants’ voices are joined to that of the storyteller-singer, and through his (or her) voice all are joined to the story. If the storyteller is not competent to both tell the story and lead in singing, the “story-with-song” (*chantefable*) is not normally performed. A Baka story is not typically told by one person and sung by others, as is the case in some African cultures (Agawu 1995:165-166).⁷ The common performance thread, then, is the voice of the singer-storyteller, who simultaneously tells, sings, and joins: joining story to song, people to song, people to story, and people to people.

Having considered the cohesive relationship of *likànḍ* and *bè na likànḍ*, both generatively and performatively, I now move on to consider how they also unite *textually*.

4.2.3 Textual Cohesion of Story and Song

The most salient phenomena of (verbal) discourse is the fact that sentences or utterances are linked together (Renkema 2004:103). Texts are considered “discourse” if they are interpreted as *connected* to each other somehow. Two criteria of this “connectedness,” according to de Beaugrande (1981), are *intertextuality* and *cohesion* (Renkema *ibid.*:49-51). In discourse analysis, connections which result when the interpretation of a textual element is dependent on another element in the text is called *cohesion* (*ibid.*). In the spoken and sung texts of Baka *likànò* textual cohesion is manifested grammatically and semantically (Figures 4-3 and 4-4).

4.2.3.1 Grammatical cohesion

Three grammatical devices may effect inter-textual cohesion between spoken and sung *likànò* texts: lexical repetition, lexical substitution (anaphora, specifically), and common point of view (Figure 4-3).⁸

Grammatical cohesion through lexical repetition. Intertextual cohesion is compounded when the narrative’s spoken and sung texts not only share a common voice (embodied in the storyteller-singer), but also share common words and phrases. Sung texts often simply reiterate, verbatim or near-verbatim, previously spoken texts. In the *likànò Kálá*, for example, the entire refrain of the *likànò* song (Example 1, Verse 8b) is a verbatim repetition of the opening spoken line (Example 1, Verse 1) of the story.

Example 1: Brisson (1996), “*Kálá*,” v.1 and 8b

(verbatim sung reiteration of previously spoken phrases)

(Verse 1, the character, *Komba* (God), speaks)

"Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: bele a bo..."

"I look all around, only to see this... forest of people..."

"Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: yòmbò a bo..."

"I look all around, only to see this... world of people..."

(Verse 8b, the character, *Komba* (God), sings)

"Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: bele a bo..."

"I look all around, only to see this... forest of people..."

"Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: yòmbò a bo..."

"I look all around, only to see this... world of people..."

Many song texts are *near-verbatim* repetitions of previously spoken texts, as exemplified in the following excerpt from the story *Dèngbè* (Example 2).

Example 2: Kilian-Hatz (1989), "*Dèngbè*," v. 9 and 10

(near-verbatim sung reiteration of previously spoken phrases)

(Verse 9, the narrator speaks)

li-ndùmù à Súà, é bà mèè 'kpeng! kpeng!

The sound of the Leopard's drum goes, 'Kpeng! Kpeng!'

(Verse 10, the narrator sings)

yá ya bí ná, siki siki

Friend! Move! Move!

ya bí ná, e de ´ ? li-ndùmù a Dèngbè, é bà mèè siki

Friend... don't you agree? The sound of Leopard's drum moves [us to dance].

No less common is a song's simple echo of the spoken name of a story's principal character, as in the case of the name *Kpángbala* in the story *Kpángbala* (Example 3).

Example 3: Léonard (2003), "*Kpángbala*," v. 6, 8, 10 and 38

(sung reiteration of previously spoken words, e.g., proper names)

(Verse 6, 8, 10, the narrator intermittently speaks the name of the main character)

(6) Wá kòtò te bite Kpángbala nyíá-ó.

They go to live with their mother, Lizard.

(8) Wá mèè pe Kpángbala bela na jo.

They work for their mother, Lizard, preparing food.

(10) Ekò, Kpángbala, é pe, " wɔ-là a ngéó wó be pé wà wode!

However, Lizard says that her daughter-in-laws don't gather any firewood for her.

(Verse 38, the character, Kpángbala, sings)

ke li nge te ke li nge te, ha yo ha yo ke li nge te è

(archaic, unknown words)

"èé Kpángbala ma mɛè pe?"

"Mother Lizard, what am I to do?"

Lyric texts not only reiterate spoken texts; spoken texts may occasionally reiterate lyric texts. In the story of "Sèkò," the protagonist's central imperative ("Go away!") is first expressed in song (Example 4, Verse 13), and then later reiterated in speech (Example 4, Verses 2, 24, 25).

Example 4: Kilian-Hatz (1989), "Sèkò," verses 13, 22, 24, 25

(spoken reiteration of previously sung phrases)

(Verses 13, the character, Chimpanzee, sings)

(choir)

"mbamba tó mbamba tó... lèji kè... mbamba tó mbamba tó

(meaning unknown) Go away! (meaning unknown)

(storyteller)

lèji, lèji kè; te Kàkà? te Báka? mbamba tó... Te pe mɛ? lèji ke!"

Go! Leave here! Are you a villager? A Baka? (?) A spirit? Go away!

(Verse 22, the character, Chimpanzee, speaks)

"Dɔngi na sikà lè? Okà! Lèji peè..."

Were you waiting for me? Come on! Go away..."

(Verse 24, the character, Chimpanzee, speaks)

"e mò là? Te pe Kàkà? Te pe Báka?"

"Who are you? Are you are villager? Are you a Baka?"

(Verse 25, the character, Chimpanzee, speaks)

"Te pe mɛ? e mò là? Lèji peè!"

"Are you a spirit? Who are you? Get away from me!"

Grammatical cohesion through lexical substitution. As illustrated above, lexical *reiteration* signals inter-textual cohesion both iconically and symbolically: reiterated words—first spoken, then sung, or sung then spoken—bring about inter-textual connections because they sound the same, and mean the same. However, when particular sung words are interpreted as lexical *substitutes* for certain previously spoken words—and *vice versa*—inter-textual cohesion is signaled symbolically; that is, the words do not sound the same, but do have the same or similar meanings.⁹

In Baka *likàndò*, anaphora is a common type of lexical substitution, therefore often functioning as a symbolic semiotic sign of textual cohesion. Through anaphora, back-referential pronouns in *likàndò* song-texts function intertextually as grammatical substitutes for antecedent spoken *likàndò* narrative subjects (Example 5).

Example 5: Léonard (2003), “Mbòàsèka,” lines 11-12

(Line 11, the narrator speaks)

Pe é kɔ̀tò mbɔ̀li tó, é jè... èmbòàsèkao

When he arrives there, he hears Deerflies.

(Line 12a, the narrator continues to speak)

wá tongoà te na' bè, te 'e-lé.

They start to sing his name (i.e., about him).

(Line 12b, the characters “Mbòàsèka” sing)

"kpa-Komba ko mbìndò ná"

"God's hand is filthy."

(Line 12c, the narrator sings about “them,” i.e., Deerflies)

È ngengè lù, é ngengè lúúú¹⁰

They(he/she) mock [God].. They(he/she) mock [God]. [Eng. trans., mine]

Grammatical cohesion through common point of view. Every Baka *likàndò* song is connected to a *likàndò* story by way of a common *point of view*. The point of view taken in a story’s song is most often that of a story’s principal character,

occasionally that of the narrator, or both (though the personal identity of the song's voice is not always explicit). In the course of the story-song of "Lòndò," for example, the narrator occasionally tells us explicitly that it is the main character, *Lòndò* (Otter), who is speaking or singing (Example 6).¹¹

Example 6: Higgins (1981), "Lòndò," Verses 5f-6b, 9a-b

(Lines 5f – 6a narrator narrates the action and speech of the main character, Otter)

Lòndò pe: "Ma à be mbèè nè mòsubù." Na gɔ Lòndò kò yîê.

Otter says, "I will go a little way downstream." Otter goes.

(Line 6b: the main character, Otter, sings)

"Hi, hi lùkà nyèè ngo, A gɔ a lùkà nyèè ngo..."

"We are going to prospect at the great river, hi hi..."

(Line 9a – the narrator narrates)

E bèè ðíðíí, na be bè kòpe...

Finally, he [Lòndò (Otter)] sings, sings the whole song...

(Line 9b – the main character (Otter) sings)

"Hi, hi lùkà nyèè ngo, A gɔ a lùkà nyèè ngo..."

"We are going to prospect at the great river, hi hi..."

As a *likànd* unfolds, the point of view in the *spoken* discourse may frequently change between that of the narrator and one of the principal characters; the voice of the narrative's *sung* discourse, however, with its smaller text load, typically expresses but one point of view, most often, that of a principal character. The following excerpt from the story "Kálá" (Example 7) briefly illustrates this tendency: the song refrain (Verse 8b) only expresses the main character's point of view (*Komba*), but the immediately preceding and ensuing spoken verses narrate two points of view, first through the voice of the main character (Verse 8a) and then through the voice of the narrator (9a).

Example 7: Brisson (1996), “*Kálá*,” Lines 8–9a

(Line 8a, the character, *Komba* (God), speaks)

"I wèè na geè lè géè!"

"So that, then, was why you were looking for me."

(Line 8b, the character, *Komba* (God), sings)

"Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: bele a bo..."

"I look all around, only to see this... forest of people..."

(Line 9a, the narrator narrates)

Ee ná à mèè kò, dee! E kè, Káláo wá weè tɛ libànjò-nyìàó ɓo yìè...

So then, the Crabs, they come and touch the forehead of their Father (God)...

While the point of view of a *likànò* song is most often that of a principal character, occasionally the voice of the narrator sings, as in the story “*Gbanga*” (Example 8, Verse 5).

Example 8: Brisson (1999), “*Gbanga*,” 4b–5¹²

(Line 4b, the narrator narrates)

... na gɔ gbanga à bu ngo kò yìè ...

... the calabasse goes down the river...

(Line 5, the narrator voices the song)

... okà! Gbanga wàñi, oo!

àmìnà nkùè! àmìnà nkùè!

gbanga títà, oo, gbanga wàñi. Be!

Let's go! [let's sing!]¹³ Calabasse of God! Oh!

Nothing but water! Nothing but water!

Uncle's calabasse, Oh! God's calabasse. [Sing!]

Songs typically express only one point of view, yet two are apparently not unheard, as in the following example from the *likànò* “*Gbanga*” in which half of the refrain is the voice of the Deerfly characters and the other half is that of the narrator (Example 9, Verses 12b and 12c, respectively).

Example 9: Léonard (2003), “Mbòàsèka,” Verses 12a,b,c

(V.12a, the narrator narrates)

wá tongoà te na' bè, te 'e-lé.

They start to sing his name (i.e., about him).

(V.12b, the characters “Mbòàsèka” sing)

"kpa-Komba ko mbindò ná"

"God's hand is filthy." [Eng. trans., mine]

(V.12c, the voice of the narrator sings)

É (∅) ngengè lù, é (∅) ngengè lúúú [‘null’ symbol added]

They mock God.. They mock God. [Eng. trans., mine]

Over the entire course of a *likànò*, then, both the narrator, or a narrative character, may speak or sing, or both. In either case, and most importantly, both texts—sung or spoken, poetic or prosaic—are united by a common point of view, a common voice. The grammatical effect is inter-textual cohesion, whereby a common voice weaves together a narration of sung texts and speaking texts. Thus, in contrast to other narrative performance traditions that include singing, *likànò* songs do not merely comment on, embellish, or “frame” a narrative through some anonymous, disembodied voice, but speak as an integral voice from within the narrative (cf. Agawu 1995:165-179).

4.2.3.2 Semantic cohesion

In addition to the typical lexical devices of inter-textual cohesion mentioned previously (i.e., lexical repetition and anaphora in Sec. 4.2.3.1), Baka *likànò* and their songs occasionally signal their relatedness *semantically*, particularly through the devices of *synonymy* and *meronymy* (Fig. 4-4).

Synonymy. Inter-textual lexical synonymy is not merely limited to synonymous words. In Example 10, the synonymous *lexemes* are the verb *na subùngà* (‘to walk in water’) and the ideophone *njàngàmu* (‘walking-in-the-water-sound’).

Example 10: Boursier (1994), “Mbïlo,” Verses 30b, 35

(Verse 30b, the character, Mbïlo, speaks)

... e kò kè nè: **na subùngà**¹⁴ e kò, I gò te jò, gàje pásá.

... *it is this: to walk in (the) water; (you) cross to the other side of the river.*

(Verse 35, the character, Mbïlo, sings)

Mbïlo, kɔ-lè kò, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

Ngbandà mòpèngɔ, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

Ma mòòlo Mbïlo de, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

Ngbandà mòkàke, njàngàmu taà bàlè...

Mbïlo, my husband, then... [walking-through-water idio.]... truly... in the river,

I'm testifying to the truth... [walking-through-water idio.]... truly... in the river,

I did not murder Mbïlo... [walking-through-water idio.]... truly... in the river,

I'm bearing witness to the truth... [walking-through-water idio.]... truly... in the river,

Neither of the two synonymous lexemes, however, are necessarily words. In the same *likànd* excerpted above, the intertextual cohesion of the *likànd*'s sung and spoken texts is further signaled by the utterance of two synonymous ideophones: *tchubu* and *njàngàmu*, both meaning “walking-in-the-water-sound” (Example 11).

Example 11: Boursier (1994), “Mbïlo,” (1994), Verses 12, 35

(Verse 12,¹⁵ the character, Mbïlo, speaks)

Tchubu... tchubu...nè à bu-ngo

[Walking-in-the-water-sound (idio), Walking-in-the-water-sound (idio.)] here in the stream

(Verse 35, the character, Mbïlo, sings)

Mbïlo, kɔ-lè kò, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

Ngbandà mòpèngɔ, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

Ma mòòlo Mbïlo de, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

Ngbandà mòkàle, njàngàmu taà bàlè...

*Mbïlo, my husband, then... [walking-through-water-sound (idio.)]... truly... in the river,
I'm testifying to the truth... [walking-through-water-sound (idio.)]... truly... in the river,
I did not murder Mbïlo... [walking-through-water-sound (idio.)]... truly... in the river,
I'm bearing witness to the truth... [walking-through-water-sound (idio.)] truly... in the river,*

Meronymy. The last inter-textually cohesive device to note is *meronymy*. In the story of “*Sángòngo*,” the narrator tells us that *Sángòngo*-bird is off in search of yams, singing along the way. As *Sángòngo*-bird comes upon each yam plant, his lyric does not explicitly indicate that he has found a yam, rather, he meronymically implies it by describing each kind of yam *flower* that he comes upon (Example 12).

Example 12 Higgins (1981), “*Sángòngo*,” Verses 2a, 2c, & 9

(Verse 2a, the narrator narrates)

Sángòngo kò labòà gàje... nà kónò sapà yîè de? ...

*That *Sángòngo*-bird goes off in one direction... [and] isn't he looking for yams?*

(Verse 2c, the narrator narrates)

Sángòngo á sià ékè nò mòfima.

Sángòngo-bird sees another yam (stem).

(Verse 9, the character, *Sángòngo*-bird, says, then sings)

Sángòngo á doe njamba ðídíí.

Sángòngo-bird has started up singing, and goes on and on.

ie, Kóngofálò, ie ie ie, Kóngofálò, ie ie

ie, Kóngofálò, ie ie ie, Kóngofálò, ie ie

é gàje na mànjùmbà,

He is by the yam flower,

é gàje na bèlèbo,

He is by the yam flower,

é gàje na mànjùmbà ko

He is by the yam flower there

4.3 Narrative Discourse Development through Song

Having described the intrinsic unity of *likàndò* song in *likàndò* narrative performance, that is, the cohesive relationship of *likàndò*'s sung-mode and speech-mode discourse, I now turn to consider the internal, purposive nature of that unity—how *likàndò* song serves narrative discourse *development*.

As introduced earlier, *likàndò* is shown to effect two kinds of narrative development: *contextual development* and *climactic development* (Figure 4-5).

The particulars of contextual development will be discussed in Section 4.3.1 and those of climactic development in Section 4.3.2. First, however, both of these dynamics of narrative development will first be distinguished from the more prominent and fundamental notion of *storyline* development, for such a distinction is critical to recognizing the distinctly *narrative* discourse functions of *likàndò* song in *likàndò* story.

Storyline prominence. Among many discourse analysts, the most salient *developmental* dynamic of narrative discourse concerns the formation of the narrative's "storyline." "It is commonly recognized that viable discourse has cohesion/coherence *and prominence*" (emphasis added; Longacre 1996:33). Longacre refers to storyline prominence, that is, the basic constitutive elements of the narrative framework, as "mainline" material; Dooley and Levinsohn use the term "foreground"; Grimes describes it as "event" information (Longacre 21-24; Dooley and Levinsohn 41-44).

Discourse analysts (particularly in textlinguistics) not only single out a narrative's mainline/foreground/event material, but also distinguish it from the same narrative's supportive/background/non-event material (ibid.). Grimes asserts that "the *first*

distinction made in the analysis of discourse is between *events* and *non-events*” (emphasis added; Dooley-Levinsohn 2001: Chap. 12:2, citing Grimes 1975: 35; see also Longacre 21 for others). To distinguish event and non-event, foreground and background, mainline and supportive material, Longacre and others maintain that such a search is most often signalled by “a characteristic constellation of verb forms,” or rather, is marked by particular “uses of a given tense/aspect/mood form” (2003:39-48).

Discourse grammarians are coming to recognize more and more that in the telling of a story in any language, one particular tense is favored as the carrier of the backbone or storyline of the story while other tenses serve to present the background, supportive, and depictive material in the story. (ibid, 59, 64)

Thus, “for any language, each type of text [i.e., genre of discourse] has a mainline development and contains other material which can be conceived of as encoding progressive degrees of departure from the mainline” (Longacre 1996:23, citing Longacre 1989a). Such is the case in Baka narrative.

In his discourse analysis of Baka *likànò*, Léonard—modeling Dooley and Levinsohn’s methodology—reports that in Baka *likànò*

... *foreground events* are carried out with the perfective/*narrative aspect* marked by [à] which elapses with the pronoun in the 3rd person singular and plural.

Perfective/Narrative aspect (verb ‘to go’)			
1.SG	ma	à gɔ	1.PL.(excl) nga à gɔ
2.SG	mo	ò gɔ	1.PL.(excl) nga à gɔ
3.SG.(human)	á	gɔ	1.PL.(incl) a gɔ nǐ
3.SG.(neutral)	a	gɔ	1.PL.(dual) a gɔ nǐ
			2.PL i à gɔ
			3.PL wá gɔ

The *narrative* [aspect] has two functions in discourse: It indicates completeness of the immediate action, and it indicates [strict] chronological sequence. (emphasis added; 2005:13)

Complementarily, “the *background* in Baka narrative allows the use of *different* tenses” (emphasis added; *ibid.* 14).

Thus, the default grammatical form used to signal Baka storyline is the narrative aspect; background (“non-event”) material is uniquely marked with other tense-aspect forms; and nowhere is this binary distinction of foreground versus background more apparent than in the case of *likànò* song, for the perfective-narrative aspect is never observed in any of the song text transcriptions at hand. Moreover, in all of the six collections of Baka traditional stories (noted earlier), *likànò* song rarely, if ever, manifests constitutive elements of the basic narrative framework of a *likànò*—that is, its mainline narrative events. *Instead, likànò song communicates supportive elements.* Song text clauses—with their non-narrative tense-aspect status—uniquely serve as *contextual* material, and are therefore marked by either the imperfective aspect (Examples 13–14), distant and recent past tense markers (Ex. 15–16), general future tense (Example 17), or more often as verb forms with no tense-aspect at all (Ex. 18–19).¹⁶ Examples 13 and 14 (below) demonstrate performances of the imperfective aspect:

Example 13: Kilian-Hatz (1989), “*Dèngbè*,” Verse 10

[Choir sings]

yá ya bí ná, siki siki

// ? ? / ami / là / bouger / bouger //

Friend! Move! Move!

[Soloist sings]

ya bí ná, e de ´ ? li-ndùmù a Dèngbè, é ɓà mɛ̀ sǐ'kǐ

// ? ami / là / n'est-ce pas / son de tambour // // de / antilope / il / IMP / fait / bouger //

Friend... don't you agree? The sound of Leopard's drum moves [us to dance].

(To avoid confusion, the [à] aspect in the “*Ma à ngengè*” clause in Example 14 should not be mistaken for a perfective-narrative aspect marker; it is, rather, a phonologically eroded variant of the imperfective marker *ɓà* (Kilian-Hatz [1995], translated by Léonard 2007:29). The potential for this formal confusion is most apt to occur in the conjugation of 1.S, 1.PL.EXCL, 1.PL.INCL, 1.PL.DUAL, and 2.PL structures. The discourse context of the verb phrase, however, clarifies the intended aspect; as is the case in Example 14 where the mere repetition of the verbal phrases alone indicates that the action of “looking side to side” is ‘habitual’, ‘progressive’ (ibid.).)

Example 14: Brisson (1996), “*Kálá*,” Verses in 8b
(Verse 8b, the voice of the character, *Komba* (God), singing)

"Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: bele a bo..."

// 1S / IMP / look side-to-side / OBL / see // forest / POS / people //

"I look all around, only to see this... forest of people..."

"Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: yòmbò a bo..."

// 1S / IMP / look side-to-side / OBL / see // world / POS / people //

"I look all around, only to see this... world of people."

Among the twelve transcriptions under analysis only one lyric (Example 15) employs the past tense; in this case the *distant* past tense.

Example 15: Boursier (1994), “*Mbïlo*,” verse 35

[the character, *Mbïlo*, sings]

Ma mòdò Mbïlo de, njàngamu taà bàlè,

// 1.S / murder / P3 / NEG / idio.walking-through-water / truly / river //

I did not murder Mbïlo... [walking-through-water idio.]... truly... in the river,

Despite this solitary example from the twelve principal narratives under investigation, it is not, however, uncommon to find other non-mainline clauses within the larger corpus of 109 documented narratives whose verb constructions also use past tenses, not to mention future tenses, or no verbal aspect marker at all.

Example 16 illustrates singing of the *recent* past (glossed “P1”).

Example 16: Brisson (1999:162), “*Gĩlĩmàndò*,” verse 22b

ma 'ɔ̃ɛ mò wɛɛ 'èe a lè a nda! e!

/je/ai laissé/toi/auxil.//chose/de/moi/à/maison/hé/ [Brisson’s French gloss]

//1S/leave.**P1**/2S/be.**P1**/thing/POS/1S/POS/house/hé.ideo// [English gloss, mine]

Je t’avais laissé! tu étais mon bien, là, dans la maison! Héé!

Example 17 illustrates singing of with the general future tense (glossed “fut.”).

Example 17: Brisson (1999:206), “*KPINYA III*,” verse 11

kòmbe ma mɛ̀è là pe...

//fut./je/fais/comment//

Qu’est-ce que je vais faire?

What am I going to do? [Eng. trans., mine]

And finally—from our primary corpus of twelve narratives—Examples 18 and 19 illustrate lyrics with no aspect marker in the verbal syntagm (see ‘Ø’; also, Léonard 2003: Sec. 5.2.2).

Example 18: Brisson (1996), “*Mángɔ*,” Verse 9

Sima longo (K.), ma (Ø) kpe l̀̀k̀̀

//sima/longo(K.)/1S/fear/unclean// [English gloss, mine]

Miracle! Je n’aime pas la saleté! (J’ai peur de la saleté!)

(Miracle! I don’t want (to be near)/am afraid of this ritually unclean corpse). [Eng. trans., mine]

Example 19: Léonard (2003), *Mb̀̀às̀̀ka*, Line 12c

(the narrator sings about Deerflies)

É (∅) ngengè lù, é (∅) ngengè lúúú [‘null’ symbol added]

They mock God.. They mock God. [Eng. trans., mine]

4.3.1 Contextual Narrative Development through Song

While it is informative to note quantitatively the relative use of the various non-narrative tense-aspect forms in *lìkàndè* lyrics, it is more pertinent to this study to move on from this elemental distinction and begin to more finely characterize song’s multiple structural-functional roles in Baka *lìkàndè*. So, having posited that song does not ever constitute a *lìkàndè*’s basic narrative “skeleton,” but rather, its supportive “sinew,” I will now move on to describe the particular kinds of supportive material it provides. For as fundamental as it is to determine song’s basic role *vis-à-vis* the “event/non-event saliency scheme” of a Baka *lìkàndè*, what song does not do is not nearly as pertinent as what it does do, and how.

Grimes distinguished event from non-event and divided the latter into *setting, background, evaluations, and collateral*.¹⁷ *Setting* was posited as having to do with “where, when, and under what circumstances actions take place” (p.51). By *background* he meant secondary information that is used to clarify a narrative (p. 56)... In reference to *evaluations* Grimes stated: “Not only do speakers report the state of the world; they tell how they feel about it” (p. 61). He mentions that evaluations can be directly on the part of the narrator or that he may put such an evaluation into the mouth of one of the participants in the story. As to *collateral* information, Grimes comments: “Some information, instead of telling what did happen, tells us what did not happen. It ranges over possible events, and in so doing sets off what actually happens against what might have happened” (p. 64). Under this heading Grimes includes most instances of negation, adversatives, questions, and the content of quotations (especially denial,

question, or prediction (pp. 64-70). (emphasis added; Lonagacre 1996:23-24, citing Grimes 1975)¹⁸

Dooley and Levinsohn build on Grimes' categories and add that

These categories [i.e., setting, background, evaluation, collateral,] are not always mutually exclusive; bits of information in a text can belong to more than one, having more than one discourse function. Quite often, different kinds of information are mixed together in a single utterance... (2001: 43)

Many, if not all, of Grimes' non-event information subtypes are demonstrated in *likànò* song texts, and often occur "mixed together." Figure 4-6 lists five of Grimes' six subtypes evidenced in the lyric texts of the twelve *likànò* under investigation.

Participant orientation, setting, explanatory, and collateral information are common, but evaluative information is most predominant. Performative information is the only contextualizing material absent from the data.¹⁹ Examples of each non-event text type are cited and explained in the sections that follow, Sections 4.3.1.1 through 4.3.1.5.

4.3.1.1 Participant information through song

Occasionally, song texts "introduce, reintroduce, or describe in greater detail" particular narrative participants, as in the stories of "*Súà tɛ Kùnda*" (Example 20) and "*Kùnjenje*" (Example 21). In the lyric of "*Súà tɛ Kùnda*," the text makes explicit, as well as poetically highlights—by way of *paradigmatic substitution* (Sec. 3.4.3.3 and 3.4.6)—the local knowledge that the two principal characters, *Súà* ('Leopard') and *Kùnda* ('Turtle'), are not merely two disinterested and unrelated characters, but *Súà* is *Kùnda*'s uncle (*títà*) (Example 20).^{20,21}

Example 20, Fitzgerald (Appendix A), “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*,” Verse 8

Lè-ke, la’ mòdòlɛ títà(-e)? La’ mòdòlɛ Súà(-e)? Kùnda! Títà(-o-ɛ), la’ mòdòlɛ títà(-e)?

Here, who killed Uncle? Who killed Sua (Leopard)? Kùnda (Turtle)! O Uncle, who killed Uncle?

In the story of “*Kùnnenje*” (Example 21), local knowledge of the narrative setting and natural habitat of the protagonist, *Kùnnenje*, is made explicit in the song’s lyric. *Kùnnenje* is held to resemble both a duck and a chicken (personal conversation; Brisson 2002:213). Local knowledge of *Kùnnenje*’s peculiar forest role as *nu na ngo* (‘water bird’) and *nu na bale* (‘river bird’) is made explicit and reinforced in the song’s text.

Example 21, Fitzgerald, “*Kùnnenje*”

Kùnnenje, Kùnnenje(-o), Kùnnenje, nu na ngo...

Kùnnenje(-o), Kùnnenje, nu na bàlè...

Kùnnenje! Kùnnenje(-o)! Kùnnenje...bird of the water...

Kùnnenje! Kùnnenje(-o)! Kùnnenje...bird of the river...

4.3.1.2 Setting information through song

Just as frequently as “participant orientation” information is included, “setting” background information is occasionally embedded in a lyric clause.²²

In the song of the story “*Kálá*” (Example 22), *Komba* (‘God’) locates, both generally and specifically, the scene of the story’s conflict, that is, the (humanly) inhabited forest (*bele*), or the world...of people (*yòmbò*).²³

Example 22: Brisson (1996), “*Kálá*,” Verse 8b

(Verse 8b, the character, *Komba* (God), sings)

"Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: bele a bo..."

"I look all around, only to see this... forest of people..."

"Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: yòmbò a bo..."

"I look all around, only to see this... world of people..."

In the story of “*Sángòngo*” (Example 23), *Sángòngo* has wandered off in search of wild yams (*safà/sapà*), and details his surroundings as he goes, describing the specific types of flowering yam plants that he comes upon along his path.²⁴

Example 23: Higgs (1981), “*Sángòngo*,” Verse 9

(Verse 9, the character, *Sángòngo*-bird, sings)

ie, Kóngofálò, ie ie ie, Kóngofálò, ie ie

ie, Kóngofálò, ie ie ie, Kóngofálò, ie ie

é gàje na mànjùmbà,

He is by the (large) yam flower,

é gàje na bèlèbo,

He is by the (small) yam flower,

4.3.1.3 Explanatory information through song

In addition to the “participant orientation” and “setting” information subtypes, *explanatory* information may also inform a lyric clause, and by comparison, does so more frequently. In my initial analysis, I simply searched for explanatory material in adjectival or adverbial phrase constructions, but eventually found that the most prevalent explanatory materials were communicated through *ideophones*.

Explanatory information through sung ideophones. Kilian-Hatz’s (1989, 2001) fruitful study of Baka ideophones provides a most helpful orientation to the signifying potential of Baka ideophones. This present section on explanatory background information is but one domain of discourse in which ideophones are prominent. In an early, introductory description of Baka ideophones, Kilian-Hatz writes,

[Ideophones] serve the [Baka] story-teller as a stylistic device allowing him to describe as realistically as possible what happened and so give the

listener proof of the authenticity of the story or experience. (Kilian-Hatz 1989:37)²⁵

Léonard later confirms the descriptive power of Baka ideophones in Baka narrative discourse.

These short utterances provide greater precision in the description of an action that would otherwise require sentences to communicate. A single ideophone can describe with accuracy abstract concepts, such as sounds, feelings, odours, colours, actions, or even complete activities. (Léonard 2005:11)

Baka ideophones are either nominal or verbal, though most often verbal, as is reflected in the *likànò* songs of the narratives “*Lòndò*” (Ex. 24), “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (Ex. 25), “*Mbòàsèka*” (Ex. 26) and “*Mbìlo*” (Ex. 27). In the story of “*Lòndò*” (Example 24) the reduplicated verbal ideophone “*hi*” (‘to go away quickly’) symbolically signals a more realistic and intense image of the main character’s “going” in the forest, that is, the continuous, brisk nature of his walking and searching.²⁶

Example 24: Higgins (1981), “*Lòndò*,” Verse 6b

(Line 6b: the main character, Otter, sings)

A **gò** a lùkà nyêê ngo... **hi, hi** lùkà nyêê ngo...

// 3S / **gò** / INF / to prospect / mother / water / **IDE. “to go away quickly”** / to prospect / mother / water //

“We are going to prospect at the great river, **hi hi**...”

In another song, from the *likànò* of “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (Example 25), the verbal and reduplicated ideophone “*kpɔ*” (‘to chop with an ax’) symbolically signals a more vivid representation of the actors busily “chop... chop... chopping” the “tree of calamity.”

Example 25, Fitzgerald (Appendix A), “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*,” Verse 39

Nga **buù** wà nà weè(-eeee)... Nga **buù** wà nà weè(-e)... **kpɔ! kpɔ!, kpɔ!**

We are cutting down the “tree of calamity”... “Chop! Chop! Chop!”

In the following excerpt from the story of “*Mbòàsèka*” (Example 26), the verbal ideophone “*lú*” (rendered “*lúúú*” when subjected to vowel lengthening, to indicate continual action) more realistically portrays the mocking gesture the Deerflies perform as they continually and actively “shake their heads and eyes” at *Komba*.

Example 26: Léonard (2003), “*Mbòàsèka*,” Line 12c

[the narrator sings about “them,” i.e., Deerflies]

E ngengè lù, é ngengè lúúú

//3S/agite/action de se tourner.[IDEO]/3S/agite/action de se tourner.[IDEO]// [ideophone marker added; Brisson 2002:285]

They mockingly shake their heads at God. [Eng. trans., mine]

And for a final example of the use of an ideophone as a device for conveying background information, I cite the narrative of “*Mbïlo*” (Example 27). Here, the nominal ideophone *njàngàmu* symbolically encodes “the sound of walking in water,” evoking a more realistic sonic environment during the climax of the narrative’s conflict, as the accused wades through the poisoned waters.

Example 27: Boursier (1994), “*Mbïlo*,” verse 35

[the character, *Mbïlo*, sings]

Ma mòòlo Mbïlo de, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

// 1.S / murder / P3 / NEG / idio.walking-through-water / really / river //

I did not murder Mbïlo... [walking-through-water idio.]... really... in the river,

4.3.1.4 Collateral information through song: quoted questions and denials

In addition to the occasional presence of participant, setting, and explanatory information in the contextual discourse materials of *lìkànò* song, *collateral* information is sometimes included.

Some information, instead of telling what did happen, tells what did not happen. It ranges over possible events and in doing so sets off what actually does happen against what might have happened. Under this

heading Grimes includes most instances of negation, adversatives, questions, and the content of quotations (especially denial, question, or prediction. (Longacre, 24; citing Grimes 1975:64-70)

Collateral information, simply stated, relates non-events to events. By providing a range of non-events that might take place, it heightens the significance of the real events. (Grimes 65)

In *likànò* song lyrics (the content of) *quoted questions* of the principal characters are the most typical form of expressing *collateral* information; *quoted denials* are less frequent, but not uncommon. The question voiced by the main character in the song of “Sèkò” (Example 28), for instance, brings into relief Sèkò’s concern over the unknown identity of a creature in the distance along his path, that is, whether or not it is “friend or foe.” The future “eventline,” in turn, hinges on this non-event collateral question.

Example 28: Kilian-Hatz (1989), “Sèkò,” verses 13

(Verses 13, the character, Chimpanzee, sings)

lèji, lèji kè; te Kàkà? te Báka? mbamba tó... Te pe me? lèji ke!"

Go! Leave here! Are you a “villager” (Bantu)? Baka? (?) A spirit? Go away!

In another example, from the *likànò* song of “Súà te Kùnda” (Ex. 29), the protagonist, *Kùnda*, asks the question, “Who killed my uncle (*Súa*)?” And like the function of the collateral question in Example 28 (immediately above), *Kùnda*’s (non-event, collateral) question heightens the listener’s expectation as to what will actually happen, that is, what significant event will take place, once the alledged tragedy is brought to light.

Example 29, Fitzgerald (Appendix A), “Súà te Kùnda,” Verse 8

Lè-ke, la mòòle títà(-e)? La’ mòòle Súà(-e)? Kùnda! Títà(-o-ε), la’ mòòle títà(-e)?

Here, who killed Uncle? Who killed Sua (Leopard)? Kùnda (Turtle)! O Uncle, who killed Uncle?

In addition to quoted questions, quoted *denials* can communicate collateral information in song texts, though less frequently. In the narrative of “*Mbïlo*” (Example 30), each of the accused denies murdering their husband (*Mbïlo*). Their denials heighten the anticipation (in the listener) of a likely future event—their potential demise from the swallowing of a poisonous truth serum—that will potentially reveal the truth of their respective professions.

Example 30: Boursier (1994), “*Mbïlo*,” Verse 35c

[a wife of *Mbïlo* sings]

Ma mòlo Mbïlo de, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

// 1.S / murder / P3 / NEG / idio.walking-through-water / really / river //

I did not murder Mbïlo... [*walking-through-water idio.*]... *really... in the river,*

4.3.1.5 Evaluative information through song

Of all the contextual information subtypes found in *likànò* song texts, *evaluative* texts predominate. Through them, “speakers not only report the state of the world,” “*but how they feel about it.*” Evaluative materials in *likànò* song texts may be encoded propositionally, lexically, grammatically, rhetorically, poetically, and musically. They may report the speakers’ subjective assessment of the relative virtue of the state of affairs at hand; or as is more often the case, they may express the speakers’ feelings or attitudes toward another person, or about circumstances in the past, present, or future. The affective evaluations expressed through Baka *likànò* songs are numerous; they encode feelings of anxiety, grief (or pseudo-grief), annoyance, obligation, eagerness, anticipation, fear, self-pity, dread, helplessness, victimization, offense, shock, scandal, isolation, frustration, unhappiness, loneliness, antagonism, dislike, intolerance, confidence, self-satisfaction, and delight.

The following sub-sections of this sub-section (Sec. 4.3.1.5) highlight the most prevalent devices found in Baka *likàndò* song for the expression of evaluative discourse: propositions, obligative mood, imperative mood, exclamatives, interjectives, ideophones, intensifiers, rhetorical questions, and vocatives.

Evaluative information through propositions. Explicitly evaluative utterances are most plainly communicated *propositionally*. In the song of “*Mángɔ*” (Example 31), the story’s principal character expresses his fear of what might happen to him if he goes to his mother’s burial.

Example 31: Brisson (1996), “*Mángɔ*,” Verse 9

[the character, *Mángɔ*, sings]

Sima longo (K.), ma kpe lòkò

Miracle! Je n’aime pas la saleté! (J’ai peur de la saleté!)

(Miracle! I don’t want (to be near)/am afraid of this ritually unclean corpse). [Eng. trans., mine]

And in another story (Example 32), the protagonist, *Bòkìsà* (the solitary male gorilla), plainly laments his isolation when he sings “*wámèlɔ*” (‘malheureux’ Fr., ‘poor me’ Eng.) as he complains of his lonely predicament.

Example 32: Boursier (1994), “*Bòkìsà*,” line 22

[the character, *Bòkìsà*, sings]

'àlòngò na mò-bi wámèlɔ 'è

/ séjour / de / bouche-buisson / malheureux / hé /

Séjour de l'entrée du buisson... Malheureux que je suis...

Opening-day of entanglements... poor me...

In the story song of “*Mbìlo*” (Example 33), *Mbìlo*’s wives flatly deny their culpability in *Mbìlo*’s murder, and thus, assert the injustice of their trial.

Example 33: Boursier (1994), “Mbïlo,” Verse 35c

[a wife of Mbïlo sings]

Ma mòòlo Mbïlo de, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

// 1.S / murder / P3 / NEG / idio.walking-through-water / really / river //

I did not murder Mbïlo... [walking-through-water idio.]... really... in the river,

In the song of “Mbòàsèka” (Example 34), Deerflies express their opposition to God as he approaches; they mock him in song, singing that his “hand is filthy,” that is, that what he is likely to do is unjust, unfair, immoral, arbitrary.

Example 34: Léonard (2003), “Mbòàsèka,” Line 12b

[the characters “Mbòàsèka” sing]

"kpa-Komba ko mbïndò ná"

"God's hand is filthy." [Eng. trans., mine]

Evaluative information through grammar. The import of most evaluative strategies, however, is not so explicitly propositional. Instead, valuations are more often implied through the inherently “heightened” evaluative and expressive functions of certain grammatical forms. In song texts, the most common evaluative grammatical forms are obligative and imperative moods, exclamations and interjections, vocatives, ideophones, intensifiers, and rhetorical questions.

Evaluative information through obligative mood marker. In the lyrics of two story-songs, “Bòkìsà” (Ex. 35) and “Kálá” (Ex. 36), the principal characters utter the obligative mood marker “ngò” (‘must’) in order to express the obligation they feel to act on the intolerable situation in which they find themselves. In the story of “Bòkìsà” (Ex. 35), Bòkìsà feels compelled to do something about his intolerable isolation and loneliness. And in the *likànò* “Kálá” (Example 36), Komba (‘God’) feels so annoyed with

the distracting sound of someone's (*Kálá's*) noisy singing that he is driven to set out to find the source of the noise and put an end to it.

Example 35: Boursier (1994), “*Bòkìsà*,” line 22

[the character, *Bòkìsà*, sings]

o ngò mèè taà 'èe, ngò mèè taà 'èe,

/ oh / OBL²⁷ / faire.IMP / vrai / chose / OBL / faire.IMP / vrai / chose /

“*Oh! fais vraiment quelque chose, Oh! fais vraiment quelque chose,*”

“*Oh! Really... (you must) do something! Really... (you must) do something!*” [Eng. trans., mine]

Example 36: Brisson (1996), “*Kála*,” line 8b

[*Komba* sings]

Ma à ngengè, ngò sià kè: bele a bo...

Je regarde de tous les cotes, mais regarde donc! C'est la foret des gens!

“*I look all around, (but you should) see this... a forest of people!*” [English translation, mine]

Evaluative information through imperative mood marker. In addition to the obligative mood, the imperative marker also encodes heightened feelings, and attitudes regarding the action and hand. In the story song of “*Sèkò*” (Example 37), the cowardly protagonist is inordinately leary of the unknown object in his path ahead, an object which in the end simply turns out to be a stump. In the face of a potential threat, *Sèkò* calls out with false bravado and orders “it” to “Go (away)!”, to “Leave!” (*lèji*), and let him pass.

Example 37: Kilian-Hatz, (1989) “*Sèkò*,” verse 13

[*Sèkò* sings]

lèji, lèji kè; te Kàkà? te Báka? mbamba tó... Te pe me? lèji ke!

“*Go! Leave here! Are you a ‘villager’ (Bantu)? Baka? (?) A spirit? Go away!*”

And again in the song of “*Bòkìsà*” (Example 38), *Bòkìsà*, compelled by his growing sense of an obligation to take action, commands himself (at least interiorly) to “do something” about his intolerable isolation.

Example 38: Boursier (1994), “*Bòkìsà*,” line 22

[*Bòkìsà*, sings]

o ngò mèè taà 'èè, ngò mèè taà 'èè,

/ oh / OBL / faire.IMP / vrai / chose / OBL / faire.IMP / vrai / chose /

“*Oh! fais vraiment quelque chose, Oh! fais vraiment quelque chose.*” (French translation, Boursier)

“*Oh! Really... (you must) do something! Really... (you must) do something!*” [English trans., mine]

Evaluative information through exclamative and interjective markers. Other grammatico-rhetorical devices may co-occur with and augment the expressive effect of devices like exclamatives and interjectives; they may even function as the sole textually heightening formalization of a song lyric. In the song of “*Bòkìsà*” (Example 39), in addition to the obligative marker “*ngò*” and the imperative “*mèè...èè*,” the exclamative “*O!*” and the intensifier ‘*taà*’ are added to the text to further enhance the lyric’s expressively heightening effect.^{28, 29}

Example 39: Boursier (1994), “*Bòkìsà*,” line 22

[the character, *Bòkìsà*, sings]

o ngò mèè taà 'èè, ngò mèè taà 'èè,

/ oh / OBL³⁰ / faire.IMP / vrai / chose / OBL / faire.IMP / vrai / chose /

“*Oh! fais vraiment quelque chose, Oh! fais vraiment quelque chose.*”

“*Oh! Really... (you must) do something! Really... (you must) do something!*” [Eng. trans., mine]

Not all songs, however, bundle so many expressive signs in its lyric as does that of “*Bòkìsà*.” In the song of “*Mángo*” (Example 40), for example, the exclamatory phrase “*sima longo*” (‘miracle!’), borrowed from the neighboring *Djem* language, is the sole grammatical formalization used to indicate the strength of the emotional impact of the

protagonist's experience, that is, of his horror of coming in contact with his mother's dead body.

Example 40, Brisson (1996), “*Mángɔ*,” Verse 9

Sima longo (K.), ma kpɛ l̀̀k̀̀

Miracle! *Je n'aime pas la saleté! (J'ai peur de la saleté!)*

Miracle! *I don't want [to be near] (am afraid of) this ritually unclean corpse.* [Eng. trans., mine]

Evaluative information through intensifier markers. In another example, in “*Mb̀̀às̀̀èka*” (Example 41), the lone grammatical intensifier *ko* is chosen to heighten the already affectively pregnant poetic import of the mockery expressed in the lyric of the Deerflies.

Example 41: Léonard (2003), “*Mb̀̀às̀̀èka*,” line 12

[Deerflies sing]

"kpa-Komba ko mb̀̀ind̀̀ ná"

// hand-God / INT / dirty / DEM //

“*God's hand...(it)is really filthy.*” [Eng. trans., mine]

Evaluative information through ideophones. Along with obligatives, imperatives, exclamatives, and intensifiers, ideophones may occasionally, connotatively contribute to a lyric's evaluatory signal. The ideophone *hi* (‘to go quickly’, as noted earlier in Ex. 24, from the story song of “*L̀̀nd̀̀*”) not only explicitly details the quality of the action at hand, but also implies the eager (perhaps carefree, though ultimately self-centered) attitude with which the actor is carrying it out.

Evaluative information through rhetorical questions. Rhetorical questions may also constitute evaluative material, for while their direct illocutionary force is a question, “[they are] not generally used with the expectation of an answer, but with some different, indirect force, such as a command, or an *evaluation*” (brackets and

emphasis added; see “illocutionary force” in Loos 2004). In the story song of *Dèngbè* (Example 42), the effectiveness of the sound of *Dèngbè*'s drum to “move one to dance” is judged to be so self-evident that the speaker confidently elicits that same evaluation from the others in the form of the rhetorical question “*e de'?*” (“*n'est pas?*”).

Example 42: Kilian-Hatz (1989), “*Dèngbè*,” line 10

[Choir]

yá ya bí ná, siki siki

// ? ? / ami / là / bouger / bouger //

Friend! Move! Move!

[Soloist]

ya bí ná, e de'? li-ndùmù a Dèngbè, é bà mèt siki

// ? ami / là / n'est-ce pas / son de tambour // // de / antilope / il / IMP / fait / bouger //

Friend... Don't you agree? The sound of Leopard's drum moves [us to dance]. [Eng. trans, nine]

Another rhetorical question commonly uttered as an evaluative expression is the interrogative phrase “*ma mèt pe?*” (“What am I to do?”). As in Example 43, it expresses fear, frustration, or, more commonly, a cry of self-pity.

Example 43: Léonard (2003), “*Kpángbala*,” line 38

(the character, *Kpángbala*, sings)

ke li nge te ke li nge te, ha yo ha yo ke li nge te è

(archaic, unknown words)

"èé Kpángbala ma mèt pe?"

// thing / Lizard / IS / do / ITR.what //

"Mother Lizard, what am I to do?"

Evaluative information through vocatives. Finally, the most common grammatical device connoting evaluative and expressive illocutionary force is a *vocative*, that is, “a noun whose referent is being addressed” (Loos 2004). Seven of the

twelve stories sampled contain vocatives in their songs' texts; some songs may even employ more than one.

According to McCormick and Richardson, "the functions of vocatives is a topic that is highly debated amongst linguists" (2006).

Vocatives are said to "express attitude, politeness, formality, status, intimacy, or a role relationship, and most of them mark the speaker, characterizing him or her to the addressee" (Zwicky, 1974) ... Elizabeth Axelson (2003) references research that identifies vocatives as "markers of power and solidarity (Hook, 1984), in-group status (Wood & Kroger, 1991, Brown & Levinson, 1978), or pseudo-intimacy (McCarthy & O'Keeffe, 2001), equality (Troemel-Ploetz, 1994) or condescension (Wood & Kroger, 1991) ... and as redressive action for facethreatening acts (Ostermann, 2000, Brown & Levinson, 1978)" ... the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (1999)* states that there are three main functions: Summoning Attention ... Addressee Identification ... Establishing and maintaining social relationships. (McCormick and Richardson 2006)

Paul Portner adds to the debate by suggesting "that the meaning of vocatives be formulated as *expressive content*" (emphasis added; Portner 2004:5).³¹

In Baka song texts, vocatives are most often proper names, though not always. Singers/speakers utter vocatives to address other narrative characters and/or themselves. The *illocutionary point* of a sung vocative, that is, a speaker's basic purpose in uttering (or *singing*) it, is at once *directive* and *expressive* (Loos 2004.). It is directive in that *lìkàndè* vocatives may summon attention, elicit pity, solicit solidarity, plead for sympathy, call for help, and/or direct (one's) attention; it is expressive, and thus evaluative, in that vocatives may index (connote) feelings of anxiety, fear, self-pity,

dread, anticipation, expectation, isolation, vulnerability, self-absorption, self-satisfaction, obligation, loneliness, unhappiness, frustration, discontent, and/or anger.

The referent of a *likànò* song vocative is most often a proper name (Examples 44–49), though not always (Ex. 50). Further, the addressee of the vocative is most often the addresser. Thus, sung vocatives are often self-referential (Examples 44–49). Through these vocatives the speaker is primarily “talking to him/herself,” revealing his/her inner thoughts, attitudes, and feelings about the narrative circumstance in focus. Indeed, as is evidenced by the pattern of the contexts in which these vocatives are uttered in our sample, *likànò* song vocatives are most often contextually associated with tense emotional circumstances, and thus, are indices of strong emotional experience.

Expressive and directive purposes of vocatives need not be mutually exclusive; but rather, can be complementary, wherein strong emotional states act as perlocutionary forces that incite the addressee to act as a responsible agent in the face of a problem at hand.³² In the songs of “*Kpángbala*,” “*Bòkìsà*,” and “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*,” for example, each of the stories’ respective protagonists address themselves in order to incite themselves to action. For her part, *Kpángbala* (Example 44), frustrated and even angered with the undutiful behaviour of her daughter-in-laws, calls out her own name in song and indexes her frustration in the question, “What am I to do?”

Example 44: Léonard (2003), “*Kpángbala*,” line 38

(the character, *Kpángbala*, sings)

"èé Kpángbala ma mɛ̀ pe?"

// thing / VOC.Lizard / 1S / do / ITR.what //

"Mother Lizard, what am I to do?"

The self-referential vocative uttered by the *likànò* character *Bòkìsà* in Example 45, however, does not so much collocate with an interrogative and its accompanying feelings of frustration, but rather, with an inciting directive to “Do something!” given *Bòkìsà*’s vulnerable, and thus, anxious state of isolation (as a *solitary* male gorilla).

Example 45: Boursier (1994), “*Bòkìsà*”, line 22

[the character, *Bòkìsa*, sings]

O ngò mèè taà 'èè! ngò mèè taà 'èè!

//oh/ asp. / faire / vrai / chose / asp. / faire / vrai /chose //

Oh! fais vraiment quelque chose, Oh! fais vraiment quelque chose!

O! You must do something, really! You must do something, really! [Eng. trans., mine]

Bòkìsà 'e 'àlòngò wà-méè

//VOC.Bòkìsà / heà / séjour / celui-faire //

Bòkìsà, hé! ...séjour...celui qui fait...

'àlòngò na mò-bi wámèlò 'è

/ séjour / de / bouche-buisson / malheureux / heà/

Séjour de l'entrée du buisson... Malheureux que je suis...

This negative, affective evaluation of “solitary living” is not, of course, simply the self-expression of a single abstract narrative character such as *Bòkìsà*. Through the group performance of the narrative voice of *Bòkìsà*, the Baka people strongly and socially express in song their collective valuation of community over individuality.

In a slightly different example, the pragmatics of the self-referential vocative of the character *Kùnda*, in the story “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (Example 46), indexes neither frustration nor anxiety, but grief and self-pity—though ingenuinely—as *Kùnda* pretentiously laments his uncle *Súà*’s alleged death.

Example 46: Fitzgerald (Appendix A), “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*,” Verse 8

[the character *Kùnda*, sings; performed by storyteller-singer and choir]

Lè-ke, la’ mòdòlè títà(-e)? La’ mòdòlè Súà(-e)? Kùnda! Títà(-o-ɛ), la’ mòdòlè títà(-e)?

Here, who killed Uncle? Who killed Sua (Leopard)? *Kùnda* (Turtle)! O Uncle, who killed Uncle? [my translation]

Not all *likàndè* song vocatives are self-referential. In the *likàndè* “*Kùnjénjé*” (Example 47), as *Kùnjénjé* (‘Water-fowl’) floats down the rising river he utters his disgust (‘*ma à kpo*’) with what he sees along the river bank. He does not, however, utter his disgust to himself. Instead, he first draws attention to himself, identifying himself to others as “the one speaking/singing”—the self-identified “moral authority.” He then summons those along the river bank to listen to him, “*Kùnjénjé*,” and stop all their ostentatious behaviour (*mɔ̀ngɔ̀m̀ng̀*).³³ And as I noted in the story of “*Bòkìsà*” (Ex. 45), the collective sung social performance of such evaluative strategies, through the voice of narrative characters like *Kùnjénjé*, not only develops the narrative context, but as a social act potentially signifies and reaffirms traditional Baka social values.

Example 47: Fitzgerald (2008), “*Kùnjénjé*”

[*Kùnjénjé* sings]

Kùnjénjé, Kùnjénjé(-o), Kùnjénjé, nu nà ngo...

Kùnjénjé(-o), Kùnjénjé, nu nà bàlè...

Kùnjénjé! Kùnjénjé(-o)! Kùnjénjé...bird of the water...

Kùnjénjé! Kùnjénjé(-o)! Kùnjénjé...bird of the river... [Eng. trans. mine]

Similarly, the carefree and self-centered *Kóngofálo* (Example 48) sings his own name not to address himself, but to make himself the narrative subject of his own “happy-go-lucky,” self-satisfied song.

Example 48: Higgins (1981), “*Sángòngo*,” Verse 9

[Verse 9, the character, *Sángòngo*-bird, sings]

ie, Kóngofálo, ie ie ie, Kóngofálo, ie ie

// go quickly.ideo. / Kóngofálo / go quickly.ideo. / Kóngofálo / go quickly.ideo. //

The referent of a sung *likàndè* vocative is not, however, always the addresser, but may occasionally be another character in the narrative. In Example 49, the wives of

Mbïlo call out the (proper) name of their deceased husband, in fear and in search of pity during their present trial. The illocutionary point of their vocative is “to maintain and reinforce their [familial] relationship” and thereby gain an advocate in their crisis (Biber 1999:1108, cited in McCormick and Richardson 2006).

Example 49: Boursier (1994), “*Mbïlo*,” verse 35

(Verse 35, the character, *Mbïlo*, sings)

Mbïlo, kɔ-lè kò, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

Ngbàndà mòpèngɔ, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

Ma mòòlo Mbïlo de, njàngàmu taà bàlè,

Ngbàndà mòkàke, njàngàmu taà bàlè...

Mbïlo, my husband, then... [walking-through-water idio.]... truly... in the river,

I'm testifying to the truth... [walking-through-water idio.]... truly... in the river,

I did not murder Mbïlo... [walking-through-water idio.]... truly... in the river,

I'm bearing witness to the truth... [walking-through-water idio.]... truly... in the river,

Similarly, in Example 50, the addresser calls out and refers to the addressee—an anonymous narrative character, or a performing participant—as “friend” (*bi-*) in an attempt to elicit his solidarity of opinion regarding the exceptional sound and power of the drum “to move one to dance.”

Example 50: Kilian-Hatz (1989), “*Dèngbè*,” line 10

[Choir]

yá ya bí ná, siki siki

// ? ? / ami / là / bouger / bouger //

Friend! Move! Move! [Eng. trans, mine]

[Soloist]

ya bí ná, e de ´ ? li-ndùmù a Dèngbè, é bà mèè siki

// ? ami / là / n'est-ce pas / son de tambour // // de / antilope / il / IMP / fait / bouger //

Friend, don't you agree? The sound of Leopard's drum moves [us to dance]. [Eng. trans, mine]

4.3.2 Climactic Narrative Development through Song: the Story of “Lòndò”

Having dwelt at some length on a description of the unifying and contextualizing/developmental functions of Baka song in Baka story, a brief recapitulation of the preceding sections may be helpful before moving on to the final section of my discourse analysis.

From the point of view of the broadest textual concerns of narrative discourse analysis, it has been necessary to account for how (if at all) *likànò* song serves the fundamental narrative dynamics of these performances, with the essential dynamics, thus far, being narrative *cohesion* and *prominence* (or *saliency*) (Sections 4.2 and 4.3). Within the dynamic of prominence, I have shown that *likànò* song texts rarely, if ever, signal foreground storyline content. Rather, a song text typically communicates background content, that is, it does not extend the basic narrative framework but primarily “aids in [the] internal and external contextualization” of the narrative’s storyline (Dooley and Levinsohn 2000:12). And further, of all the subtypes of background information, song texts most often signify evaluative information, that is, expressive content. Yet song texts serve narrative development in other ways.

The formal and functional development of any narrative not only forms a unity while simultaneously signifying peculiar supportive qualities more or less salient to the emerging storyline framework; but a narrative also *progresses*. Longacre puts it plainly:

While a discourse has cohesion/coherence and prominence, it just as necessarily involves *progress*, a well-formed discourse is going somewhere. The [macrostructure] progress of a discourse typically issues in some sort of climactic development (or developments). (1996:33)

Of the various and potential signs of narrative “progress,” climactic development is typical. Longacre underscores the analytical importance of the recognition of narrative climax.

It is especially crucial that we be able to recognize the peak... in the surface structure. We can then identify prepeak episodes and postpeak episodes *and can consequently better articulate the [entire] surface structure of the narrative.* (emphasis added; 1996:38)³⁴

Longacre characterizes climactic development (or “peak”, as he prefers to call it)

... [as] essentially...a *zone of turbulence* in regards to the flow of the discourse in its preceding and following parts. Routine features of the storyline may be distorted or phased out at the peak. Thus, the characteristic storyline tense/aspect may be substituted for by another tense/aspect. (emphasis added; 1996:38)

Such a substitution, of course, is true of the default grammar of Baka *likàndò* song (as mentioned earlier in the “*Storyline Prominence*” paragraphs of Section 4.3). There, we noted that the perfective-narrative aspect that so normally constitutes the foreground of Baka traditional narrative is never heard in a *likàndò* song text (at least not in the data sample at hand). Thus, the performance of *likàndò* song and its attending non-storyline verb forms has the innate potential to signal climactic development. Such a single “distorted” feature, however, is but one mark of “turbulence.” Other “positive” features, according to Longacre, commonly contribute to the evidence that development is afoot. Thus, in addition to the conditions of “minus [verb form] features and distortion,” “peak has features peculiar to itself and the marking of such

features takes precedence over the marking of the mainline” (1996:38).³⁵ And such generalized features are observed in sung *likànò* discourse.

Longacre posits six common marks/keys of narrative structure peaks: (1) rhetorical underlining, (2) concentration of participants, (3) heightened vividness, (4) change of pace, (5) change in vantage point, and (6) incidence of particles and onomatopoeia (ibid., 39–48). Of these six signs, four are exhibited in the corpus of *likànò* songs analyzed in this chapter. They are (1) rhetorical underlining, (2) heightened vividness, (3) change of pace, and (4) a shift of incidence of onomatopoeia (or as we shall specify later, a shift of incidence of ideophones). Several, or even all four, of these four qualities commonly coalesce in song to form the “zone of turbulence” that typifies climactic development.

Climactic development in the story and song of “Lòndò” (‘Otter’). In the following description of the climactic development of one traditional Baka story, “Lòndò,” all of the four common marks of sung climatic development (i.e., rhetorical underlining, heightened vividness, change of pace, and shift of incidence of ideophone) are exhibited. As each of the four key marks is presented, it will also be elaborated upon. By choosing to exemplify each of the four features *from a single story*—as opposed to presenting select examples from all twelve narratives—not only will the particularities of each distinct mark be considered, but also their cumulative complementarity should be made more apparent as well.

With some modification, Figure 4-7 (re)presents Kathleen Higgens’ transcription and English translation of the traditional Baka narrative “Lòndò” (‘Otter’) (1981:35-42). Higgens abbreviates her transcription of the sung refrain by presenting in italics only

its first and last iterations (6b and 9d). I have added gray highlighting to the representation to indicate the continual repetition of the refrain as it simultaneously overlaps with the spoken narration. The relative sonic prominence and timing of the overlapping telling and singing is best appreciated, at least initially, by listening to the accompanying audio excerpt of the original field recording (Object 4-1. Audio file of *likànò* story “*Lòndò*” (.mp3 3.4 MB)) (Higgins 1981).

Figure 4-8, then, reframes Higgen’s transcription in order to further disclose the particularly developmental structures and features of this narrative performance. What follows is a brief “reading” of the diagram in Figure 4-8. The reading summarizes the temporal representation of the plot, and the relative distribution of singing and speaking to the plot’s *peak*.

About a quarter of the way into the narrative [i.e., at :50 sec.], the principal character (*Lòndò*) shifts from speaking to singing (mode) at which time he sings the words “we are going prospecting, *hi hi*, at the great river.” As he sings on his way to the river, *Komba* (God) hears *Lòndò*’s song and becomes increasingly annoyed with his singing. (*Lòndò*’s singing is “disturbing the peace of the forest” and hindering *Komba* from hearing the humming of the bees, the very sound that, according to local knowledge, invariably leads *Komba* to his prized forest honey.) The resulting two-minute and fifty-second syntactic versification of the single clause “we are going prospecting at the great river” issues in a refrain (of modest musical variation) that continues throughout the last three quarters of the story’s performance [i.e., from :50–3:40 sec.] and terminates suddenly at the narrative’s peak [i.e., at 3:40 sec.], that is,

the point at which *Komba* touches the forehead of *Lòndò*, “the person,” and thus transforms him (*kwa, kwa, kwa*) into *Lòndò*, “the otter.”

The initial two thirds of the refrain’s performance [50–2:37] are sung in a simple two-part polyphonic texture: the narrator sings one part (the *wà-njàmba* part) while the small audience-choir sings the other (the *wà-túkò* part) (Example 51).

Example 51: Higgs (1981), Sung Refrain from *Lòndò* (‘Otter’).

[The following is a modified (re)presentation of Higgs’ transcription: format and gloss are added; numbers 1-4 indicate the pulses of a metered line; *wà-túkò* = choir, *wà-njàmba* = storyteller-singer]

1	2	3	4
[<i>wà-túkò</i> : accompanying voices]			
			a gɔ a
<i>lùkà</i>	<i>nyéè ngo...</i>		
/ prospect / mother-river //		// 3.SG.N / go / LOC	
<i>We’re going prospecting at the great river.</i>			
[<i>wà-njàmba</i> : storyteller-singer]			
		<i>hi(-i)</i>	<i>hi...</i>
<i>hi(-i)</i>	<i>hi...</i>		
<i>(balembɛo)</i>			

During the last third of the performance [2:37–3:40] the narrator leaves off singing and takes up the spoken narrative once more *while* the choir continues singing the (*wà-túkò*) refrain “in the background.”

Having presented the basic narrative framework of *Lòndò*’s story and the distribution of song in it, I move on to describe the most common marks of sung narrative development in Baka *likànò*, again, as exemplified in the narrative of “*Lòndò*” (‘Otter’). Figures 4-2 and 4-10 outline these five marks of sung climactic development

alongside the five marks of sung contextual development to serve as a reminder that these signs are not signified in isolation, but in concert—potentially—with many other distinct, though complementary signs.

4.3.2.1 Climactic development through rhetorical underlining: repetition

Of all the marks of *likàndò* climactic development—in the story “*Lòndò*,” or any other Baka *likàndò*—none is more ubiquitous than that of rhetorical underlining.

The importance of rhetorical underlining must not be underestimated. It is one of the simplest and most universal devices for marking the important point not only of a narration but of other sorts of discourse as well. (1996:39)

And of all the potential types of emphatic rhetorical devices, *repetition* is most common.

The narrator does not want you to miss the important point of the story so he employs extra words at that point. He may employ parallelism, paraphrase, and *tautologies of various sorts* to be sure you don’t miss it. (emphasis added; *ibid.*)

In the song of “*Lòndò*,” for instance, the most prominent form of rhetorical underlining observed in the versification of the clause “we are going prospecting at the great river” is repetition. Indeed, Baka song of any kind, *likàndò* song or otherwise, typically employs not one or two, but a variety of tautologies. As demonstrated in previous chapters treating *likàndò* song musical structures and text poetics (Chapters 2 and 3, respectively), bundles of syntactic, lexical, phonological, rhythmic, and melodic redundancies are always converging in the musical and poetic formalizations of any genre of Baka song. The plainly redundant nature of Baka song thus imbues it with the

requisite “emphatic characteristics,” that is, the rhetorical underlining, so typical of *likànò* climatic development.

Syntactic repetition. Within the initial bundle of repeated textual constituents in *Lòndò*’s song in particular, *syntax*-level repetition is most apparent. Two concurrent (overlapping and/or interlocking) syntactic units—the propositional clause “we are going prospecting at the great river” and the ideophonic phrase “*hi hi*” (‘to go away quickly’), as shown previously in Example 51—are repeated in one varied form, or another, approximately sixty-four times [from :50–3:40 sec.] before culminating at the narrative’s peak [at 3:40 sec.]. Both the clause and the phrase are initially intoned in their entirety by the singer-storyteller [from :50–54]; however, the clause and phrase are subsequently and varyingly repeated and distributed between the singer-storyteller’s voice part and the audience-choir’s voice part [from :54–3:40] (again, see Example 51, and listen to accompanying audio file in Object 4-1 (Object 4-1. Audio file of *likànò* story “*Lòndò*” (.mp3 3.4 MB)).

Rhythmic repetition. The text’s *syntactic* repetition [from :50–3:40] coincides with units of *rhythmic* repetition, as the boundaries of these two concurrent, repeated textual units synchronize, transforming sixty-four (merely) verbal sequences into sixty-four poetic/lyric *lines* (Example 51; see also Chapter 3, Sections 3.3.4, 3.3.5 and 3.4.3). And furthermore, within this musically metered line, still other redundancies emerge, converge, and thus multiply the refrain’s rhetorical effect when the syllabic units of these verses are also rhythmically segmented and iconically patterned with *likànò* song’s typical eight-pulse poetic meter and underlying (though latent) generic polyrhythmic percussion pattern (Sec. 2.4 and Figure 2-4).

Melic (melodic) repetition. In addition, the redundancies of *Lòndò*'s song are neither limited to syntactic nor to rhythmic elements. The rhythmic formalizations of speaking are also intonationally formalized into *melic* patterns. Sixty-four repetitions of complementary *syntactic* and *rhythmic* patterns are also patterned with sixty-four repetitions of the single, basic *melodic* refrain shown in Figure 4-9.

If the scope of this chapter allowed, a detailed description of the compositional devices that develop this simple musical refrain would further reveal many more musical redundancies. Such a description, however, is reserved for the narrative of “*Sùà tɛ Kùnda*” in the following chapter (Chapter 5), and even there, only modestly so. In this present section, our point is simply to give adequate evidence of the basic types of syntactic, rhythmic, and melic repetitive³⁶ devices that typically coalesce in the service of “rhetorical underlining,” or rather, in the service of climactic narrative development. Having done so, we move on, for as was said earlier, the “zone of turbulence” enroute to a narrative’s peak consists of more than rhetorical underlining. “Heightened vividness”—as Longacre refers to it—is typically effected as well.³⁷

4.3.2.2 Climactic development through “heightened vividness”

In his chapter “Plot and Peak” Longacre (1996) does not define “heightened vividness,” *per se*, but rather, deduces it: “Heightened vividness [as a mark of climactic development] may be obtained in a story by [1] a shift in the nominal-verbal balance, [2] by a tense shift, [3] by a shift to a more specific person, or [4] by a shift along the narrative-drama parameter” (40-43). In addition to Longacre’s four parameters of “heightened vividness,” I would propose a fifth: that of “*a shift to a more poetic*

organization of discourse.” I base my proposal to expand Longacre’s notion of “heightened vividness” on the cumulative implications of a number of factors. A brief summary of these factors seems in order before continuing with our description of the parameters of heightened vividness found in *likànḍ* song.

Heightened vividness through poetically organized discourse. First, the decriptive term “heightened vividness” is vague, and presumably intentionally so. It *connotes* certain semiotic phenomena more than *denotes* them, and in doing so, already allows for the perception of a broader range of related signs (which is what naturally happens when a more interdisciplinary approach is taken to discourse analysis). Second, poetic procedures are inherent in nearly all of Longacre’s higher-level inventory of prototypical features of narrative peak (e.g., rhetorical underlining, heightened vividness, change of pace, and use of onomatopoeia). Third, Longacre’s own exemplary analysis of the Hebraic *Genesis* narrative claims that poetic discourse lies at the heart of both episodic and global narrative peaks of the *Genesis* narrative (2003:21,39,300).

And last, it is striking how many interdisciplinary studies of the relationship of music and language share the kindred terms “heightened text,” “heightened speech, and “heightened voice” in their discussions of a number of expressive and poetic speech acts. For example, in their survey of (English) interdisciplinary studies investigating “the relationship of music and language,” Feld and Fox, citing the studies of Lomax (1967), Hinton (1984), Basso (1985), and Feld (1990), posit that “music’s formal redundancy and auto-referentiality *heighten poetic texts*” (emphasis added; 1994:27). In other studies, List (1963), Finnegan (1977, 1988), Banti and Giannattasio

(2004), and Feld, Fox, Porcello, and Samuels (2004) similarly use the kindred terms of “heightened voice,” or “heightened speech” to develop the notion of “different *levels of formalization of speech* by means of timbric, rhythmic, and/or melodic procedures that *heighten and specialize its symbolic effect*” (emphasis added; Banti and Giannattasio 295). Linguistic anthropologist Giorgio Banti and ethnomusicologist Francesco Giannattasio then recast and re-term these “levels of formalization of speech” as “poetically organized discourse (POD).”

Poetically organized discourse (POD) and, in general, poetic procedures may be regarded as a special way of formalizing speech by means of a number of constraints on how the text is organized—such as meter, rhythm, morphosyntactic parallelism, assonance, and other procedures—[procedures] that effect speech sounds in the voice register, in the melodic and accentual contour, and, especially, in their recurrence through time, on the basis of an equivalence between vocalic or syllabic units, stresses, and/or several recurring text or sound units, so as to frame one’s speech in a cyclic time, often relying on a periodic measure unit or beat. Such constraints, that often occur together, *heighten and specialize the symbolic impact* of an utterance. (emphasis added; 315)

The marks of “poetically organized discourse,” then, are numerous. In the case of Baka song in general, many such marks have already been illustrated in our previous chapter on Baka poetic texts (Chapter 3). In this present chapter and section, however, these poetic procedures (and more) are not simply abstracted and enumerated, but framed and interpreted in a particular context, that is, that of narrative discourse, and more specifically, within the particular activities of *climactic development* in narrative discourse. In this genre of Baka discourse, as we shall see, the “zone of turbulence” so often associated with climactic development often bears many marks of poetically

organized discourse; and these marks are not only perceived in the timbric, rhythmic, and melodic formalizations of speech that effect heightened vividness, but may also be present in (1) the redundant procedures of rhetorical underlining, (2) the rhythmic nature of a narrative “change of pace,” and (3) the semantic and phonological effects of onomatopoeia.

Having expanded and reconfigured the notion of “heightened vividness” to include the parameter of “a shift to a more poetic organization of discourse,” we resume our identification of poetically organized discourse in the climactic development of the particular Baka narrative of “*Lòndò*.”

“P.O.D.” through voice register, intonation, and rhythm. To reiterate, “the main procedures for formalizing speech sounds beyond those used in normal conversation seem to be no more than three: 1. altering ‘*voice register*’... 2. altering melodic contour... 3. segmenting utterances rhythmically ... (Banti and Giannattasio 295). As for the particular repertoire of formalized speech sounds in the subtle domain of *voice register*, “altering intentionally and/or by convention one’s voice register, is to alter its “*frequency range, timbre, and intensity*” (emphasis added; *ibid.*). Shifts in these three vocal qualities alone (i.e., pitch, timbre, and intensity) can by themselves signal heightened vividness (Sec. 2.2.3). Yet, even when bundled with other shifts in poetic intonational contours and rhythmic segmentation (Sec. 4.3.2.1) “any of these procedures can work as an indexical framing device for *picking out* an utterance as *special* in some way” (emphasis mine; 295; Bauman 1977:15-25).

Many such poetic procedures are at play in the climactic development signaled by the performance of *bè na òkànò*. The Baka, as we have already seen in Sec. 2.1, “pick

out” a number of distinct speech acts (e.g., conversations, discussions, accounts, counsels, proverbs, parables, stories, and songs). Within the particular performance context of traditional story (*likànò*), the Baka explicitly distinguish *speech*-mode from *sung*-mode discourse. Their conceptual distinctions (i.e., what they say about it) can be correlated initially with alterations in vocal pitch range, timbre, and intensity, and eventually with patterned alterations in melodic contour and rhythmic segmentation. During the performance of the story of “*Lòndò*,” for example, the singer-storyteller first “tells the story” (*na kpɔ̄ likànò*) [from 0 to :50 sec.], then “intones the song” (*na tɔ̄ njàmba*)³⁸ [at :50 sec.], and then “sings the song” (*na be bè*) [from :50 to 2:37 sec.]. The first signs of the shift are signified within a second or two [from :50 to :52 sec.] by an alteration in the sound (*li-*) of “the intoner’s voice” (*li na wà-njàmba*), that is, a conventional alteration of the teller-turning-singer’s vocal frequency range, timbre, and intensity. This vocal shift at and in the *njàmba* (“the intoning of a song”) instantly indexes the possibility that something “special”—as Banti and Giannattasio put it—is in the offing. This “special” (i.e., extra-ordinary, “more-than-everyday”) speech-sign is quickly formed as the “teller-turning-intoner-turning-singer” reflexively changes the size and shape of his vocal tract in order to intone the phrase “*a gɔ̄ a lùkà*.” He changes from the default vocal register associated with a “telling voice” to the special register of the *njàmba* voice, a register marked by a prolonged “low”-range fundamental frequency, a distinctive cluster of overtones (‘formants’), and increased intensity.³⁹ In just a few seconds more [Fig. 4-8, at :52 sec.] intoning quickly becomes singing as the inflected voice utters the words “*a gɔ̄ a lùkà*” in new and protracted melic and rhythmic patterns. At this point in the narrative’s development a more poetic organization of

the verbal discourse predominates. This shift, then, perlocutionarily evokes qualities of heightened vividness, qualities that so often index climactic development in Baka *likàndò*.

“Heightened vividness” through a shift in tense. At the beginning of this subsection (Sec. 4.3.2.2), I noted that “a shift in tense,” according to Longacre, is also a common parameter of heightened vividness. And of all of the four parameters of heightened vividness originally observed by Longacre, only “a shift in tense” is exhibited in all twelve of the *likàndò* songs under investigation. This shift, of course, is consistent with our earlier discussion of “*storyline prominence*” in Section 4.3 in that song text clauses rarely, if ever, employ the conventional narrative tense-aspect marker reserved for the foreground storyline, but rather use either the imperfective aspect, the distant and recent past tense markers, the general future tense marker, or verb forms with no tense-aspect markers at all (e.g., Examples 13–19).⁴⁰ These are the tenses and aspects conventionally associated with supportive background material. The song of “*Lòndò*,” then, is no exception. The verbal construction “*a gɔ a lùkà...*” (‘we are going prospecting’), especially in its prolonged and redundant song form, conspicuously contrasts with the strict chronological sequencing that typifies much of the previous narrative foreground. The construction does not signal a sequence of actions but indicates an action in progress, one that is ongoing and oriented to the future. Léonard describes such verbal constructions in this way:

The two auxiliary verbs *gɔ* ‘going’ and *dɔ* ‘coming’ play a crucial role in setting a point of orientation in Baka stories. *Gɔ* is most often used, and its main function is to mark that the story is *going* towards a point of

interest. By doing this, it indicates that an action is already in progress and is *taking time to fulfill*. (emphasis mine; 2005:36)

“Heightened vividness” through change of pace. As stated earlier, Longacre’s third peculiar feature of climactic development is “change of pace.” In most *likànò* songs “change of pace” can be signified in more than one manner. In *Lòndò*’s song in particular, a “change of pace” is signaled through (1) variation in the regularity of narrative action, as indicated in the relative pattern of foreground versus background verb constructions, (2) variation in the relative sizes of grammatical constructions (e.g., clauses, paragraphs, or embedded discourses), and (3) variation in the relative rhythmic regularity of spoken utterances versus sung utterances.

Variation in the regularity of narrative action. The foreground action that precedes *Lòndò*’s song is fairly regular and indicative of the stricter sequential flow of mainline *likànò* discourse (cf. Léonard citation early in Sec. 4.3). But *Lòndò*’s song, like all *likànò* song, is not a foreground verbal construction, but rather, background. In *Lòndò*’s refrain the verbal construction “*a gɔ*”—as previously discussed in Sec. 4.3.2.2—is understood as meaning “taking time to fulfill,” that is, an action “in progress.” This prolonged action contrasts with the previous narrative action (i.e., in Fig. 4-8: lines 1-6a, 0–:50 sec.) which changes fairly regularly, as recognized in the foregrounded sequence “Otter says... Otter sets off... Otter goes... He arrives... He says... Otter spears... he looks... Otter says... Otter goes.”

Variation in the relative sizes of grammatical constructions. Beyond these shifts in verb constructions and regularity of action, there are variations in the sizes of discourse constructions. The redundancies of poetic constructions, like songs, lengthen

grammatical units; and the mere length of time it takes to perform the sixty-four repetitions of *Lòndò*'s refrain plainly “slows down” discourse development.

Léonard observes three or four other (spoken) discourse features that “slow down” a story in order to “build the climax”: they include “use of non-narrative aspect,” “variation in the order of clause constituents,” “tail-head linkage,” and “repetition,” (2003:11, 13, 15). The principle of repetition, in fact, is at play in most of these “pace-changing” devices, and illustrates the multifunctionality of the syntactic, rhythmic, and melodic repetition treated earlier in our analysis of *Lòndò*'s song, and other *lìkànò* songs.

Variation in the relative regularity of spoken utterances to sung utterances.

The last kind of pace-changing device to highlight is that which is observed in the variation that takes place between the relative rhythmic *regularity* of spoken utterances versus sung utterances. In sung discourse the “ordinary” rhythms of everyday speech (or even those of oratory) are subjected to “extra-ordinary” rhythms. The most striking quality of these extra-ordinary rhythms is their *periodicity*, a fairly strict periodicity at that, in the case of *lìkànò* song. The utterances of sung *lìkànò* discourse are always segmented and rhythmically patterned with one or two particular traditional polyrhythmic percussion patterns: *kole nà bè na lìkànò* (as shown in Sec. 2.4). In turn, the boundaries of *kole nà bè na lìkànò* are patterned with a fairly strict pulse which, in turn, is metered into groups of 8, or 16 pulses (Sec. 2.4). The combined and complementary periodicities of pulse, meter, and percussion pattern may be further affected by variations in tempo; and to the degree that the segmented utterances of narrative discourse are (re)patterned with the periodic patterns of *kole nà*

bè na likàndò, a “change of pace” is perceived in the development of a *likàndò* and a narrative climax may be anticipated.

Climactic development through a shift in incidence of ideophones. The last of four features exhibited in *likàndò* song that commonly contributes to the “zone of turbulence” that so often marks climactic narrative development is “*a shift in incidence of ideophones.*” Longacre initially chooses to describe it as “a shift in incidence of *onomatopoeia,*” but later implies that the concept of ‘onomatopoeia’ is more appropriately termed *ideophone* when speaking of many African languages (48). For the Baka language in particular,

... the different formal features of ideophones... [semantically] represent two points on a scale leading from onomatopes (i.e., ideophones representing pure audible sensations) to non-onomatopes (i.e., ideophones representing all other kinds of sensations). (Kilian-Hatz, 2001:163)

[Thus,... the various semantic concepts [of Baka ideophones] don’t illustrate only audible events but... *can generally point out every detail of every lexeme* that [a Baka speaker] wants to use.” (emphasis added; *ibid.*, 162)

Léonard observes that “[spoken] ideophones often appear at the climax of a story” (5.3.4).⁴¹ And from the data at hand I observe that sung ideophones are occasionally exhibited in *likàndò* songs as well. In fact, as has already been illustrated in Sec. 3.2, ideophones are common in the general Baka song repertoire. Of the twelve *likàndò* songs sampled for this present chapter, two employ ideophones (“*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (2nd song) and “*Lòndò’s*” song). Both participate in climactic development.

The ideophonic phrase in *Lòndò*'s refrain, as shown earlier in Example 24, is “*hi hi*” (‘to go away quickly’). Minimally, it grammatically functions to modify the verbal phrase “*a gɔ a lùkà...*” (‘we are going prospecting’). But Kilian-Hatz claims that the pragmatics of Baka ideophones exceed mere grammatical categories.

Ideophones... are direct speech, a verbalized imitation of extra linguistic events or situations. By the use of ideophones the speaker simulates—or raises the illusion—that the verbalized event happens simultaneously the moment of its production/pronunciation (ibid, 155)... [It] is a *vivid* representation or re-creation of an event in sound. (emphasis added; Kilian-Hatz, 155, citing Fortune 1962:6)... [Its] function is to dramatize a narration... (157)

A shift in a narrative’s “incidence of ideophones,” then, not only has the potential to indexically signify narrative climactic development, but can also iconically and symbolically signify numerous affective qualities of “heightened vividness” which, as presented earlier, are also so often associated with climatic development. This bifunctionality of ideophones is indicative of a number of verbal discourse devices and conveniently segues to the generalization that few narrative discourse devices in a *lìkàndè* song act as isolated, unifunctional signs. (This generalization will be made more evident in the following chapter, Chapter 5).

4.4 Summary

In summary, *lìkàndè* song functions as a discourse feature of *lìkàndè* narrative in at least two signifying domains of narrative discourse: first as an agent of narrative discourse *cohesion*, and second as an agent of narrative discourse development. In the immediately preceding sub-section (Sec. 4.3.2), I described *lìkàndè* song’s effect on

climactic development; in the prior sub-section (Sec. 4.3.1), I discussed its effects on *contextual* development; and in Section 4.2, I identified song's unifying effect on the entire narrative performance. Figure 4-10 recaps the numerous *specific* ways in which *likànḍ* song can potentially function as a feature of *likànḍ* narrative discourse. I summarize the outline as follows.

Likànḍ song effects discourse cohesion *generatively, performatively, and (inter-)textually*. The fundamental unity of story and song is inherent in that stories engender songs and that both are generated from a common experience. This cohesion is reinforced *performatively* through the embodiment of the discourse in the speaking and singing *voice* of the storyteller-singer who in turn is joined by the singing voices of the storytelling's participants. The intertextual cohesion of their spoken and sung texts is further manifested both *grammatically* and *semantically*. Grammatical devices may include *lexical repetition, lexical substitution* (e.g., *anaphora*), and/or a shared *point of view*. Semantic devices often include *synonymy* and *meronymy*. Narrative texts do not simply cohere, however, but also develop.

Likànḍ song effects narrative development both contextually and climactically. Song lyrics commonly contextualize the main storyline by providing supportive participant information, setting information, explanatory information, collateral information, and evaluative information. Any of these information types can be communicated directly through propositions, but more often they are expressed indirectly through devices like ideophones, obligative mood markers, imperative mood markers, exclamations, interjections, intensifiers, rhetorical questions and vocatives. Finally, *likànḍ* song may develop a narrative's climax through either special verb forms,

rhetorical underlining, heightened vividness, a change of pace, or a shift in the incidence of ideophones—or a combination thereof. Signs of rhetorical underlining include syntactic, rhythmic, and melodic repetition. Signs of heightened vividness may include a shift in tense or a shift to a more poetic organization of discourse. The potential devices of poetic organization are particularly encoded in special formalizations of verbal syntax, phonology, semantics, rhythm, intonation, and timbre. The changes of pace that so commonly mark climactic development are typically signaled in the shifts in the kinds and sizes of a song's verbal constructions, or the shifts in the regularity of action suggested by a song's verb forms. Finally, *likànò* song texts also contribute to the “zone of turbulence” that so often marks climactic development by employing a shift in the incidence of ideophones.

Likànò song, then, functions as a discourse feature of Baka narrative discourse in multiple, complementary ways, ways that both unify and develop narrative discourse performance. Yet even as I close this section of my analysis I am still becoming aware of other related functions. I suspect, for instance, that the unifying function of song does not simply unite sung and spoken “texts,” but more specifically unites particular narrative episodes, or sequences of actions. These potential functions, and others, however, must be left for a future study. Still, in Chapter 5, I will gradually extend my description of *likànò* song's multifunctionality beyond the domain of discourse and into the more pragmatic domains of social and spiritual experience.

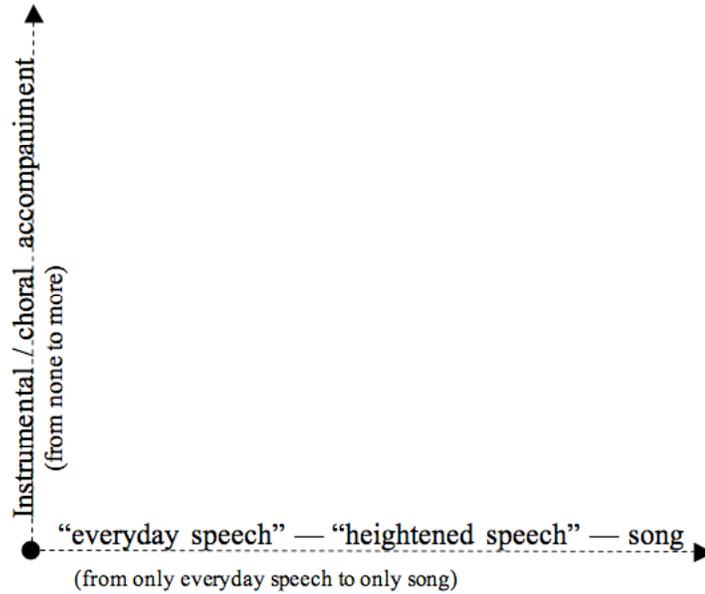


Figure 4-1. Axis graph of the potential performance distribution of speech, song, and music in African oral monologue narrative discourse

LĪKÀNÒ SONG AS A DISCOURSE FEATURE OF LĪKÀNÒ NARRATIVE		
SUNG TEXTS ⇒	I. IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE COHESION (Sec.2)	SPOKEN TEXTS ⇐
	1. GENERATIVE COHESION (Sec.2.1) 2. PERFORMANCE COHESION (Sec.2.2) 3. TEXTUAL COHESION (Sec.2.3) Grammatically (Sec.2.3.1) & Semantically (Sec.2.3.2)	
	II. IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE DEVELOPMENT (Sec.3)	
	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;"> 1. CONTEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT (Sec.3.1) through a. Participant Information (Sec.3.1.1) b. Setting Information (Sec.3.1.2) c. Explanatory Information (Sec.3.1.3) d. Collateral Information (Sec.3.1.4) e. Evaluative Information (Sec.3.1.5) </td> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;"> 2. CLIMACTIC DEVELOPMENT (Sec.3.2) through a. Particular Verb Forms (Sec.3.2.1) b. Rhetorical Underlining (Sec.3.2.2) c. Heightened Vividness (Sec.3.2.3) d. Change of Pace (Sec.3.2.4) e. Incidence of Ideophones (Sec.3.2.5) </td> </tr> </table>	
1. CONTEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT (Sec.3.1) through a. Participant Information (Sec.3.1.1) b. Setting Information (Sec.3.1.2) c. Explanatory Information (Sec.3.1.3) d. Collateral Information (Sec.3.1.4) e. Evaluative Information (Sec.3.1.5)	2. CLIMACTIC DEVELOPMENT (Sec.3.2) through a. Particular Verb Forms (Sec.3.2.1) b. Rhetorical Underlining (Sec.3.2.2) c. Heightened Vividness (Sec.3.2.3) d. Change of Pace (Sec.3.2.4) e. Incidence of Ideophones (Sec.3.2.5)	

Figure 4-2. Outline of discourse analysis of *lĭkà̀nò* song in *lĭkà̀nò* narrative

3. TEXTUAL COHESION				
Grammatically			Semantically	
• LEXICAL REPETITION	• LEXICAL SUBSTITUTION	• POINT OF VIEW	• SYNONYMY	• MERONYMY

Figure 4-3. Grammatical devices of textual cohesion

3. TEXTUAL COHESION				
Grammatically			Semantically	
• LEXICAL REPETITION	• LEXICAL SUBSTITUTION	• POINT OF VIEW	• SYNONYMY	• MERONYMY

Figure 4-4. Semantic devices of textual cohesion

<i>LÌKÀNÒ</i> SONG AS A DISCOURSE FEATURE OF <i>LÌKÀNÒ</i> NARRATIVE			
	II. IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE DEVELOPMENT		
	1. CONTEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT	2. CLIMACTIC DEVELOPMENT	

Figure 4-5. Types of sung narrative development

II. IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE DEVELOPMENT ¹
<p>1. CONTEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT</p> <p>through</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Participant Information b. Setting Information c. Explanatory Information d. Collateral Information e. Evaluative Information

Figure 4-6. Subtypes of sung contextual development

1. Lòndò fe: "Ma à gɔ lùkà. Ma à gɔ lùkà naà".
2. "Lòndò?"
"Hè é?"
"Yékè ndáindo na màka ná, ngé à mèè-le. A mèè ndáindo kò nè, à de-ngo kè, i gɔ a jè njambò kè nè nè "
3. O, Lòndò na gɔé kò yîè. Kpɔ kpɔ kpɔ kpɔ kpɔ kpɔ.
4. Lòndò à lɔ mbèmbo, lɔlɔ nà mimilì, rrrrr...kótò à ngo.
5. Tɛ a kɔtɔè nè à ngo nɛ, 'é sià, 'é sià, 'é sià bu-ngo.
'É fe: " O, yékè mòàmòà na ndéngé ná ngé kokò là? Si ngé mèè mòàmòà na 'èè kokò".
O, lòndò à de nɔ. Kpan kpan kpan kpan.
"O, yékè ngé kò si, o, yékè ngé kò si."
Kòndo, lòndò wèè nè, gàje kè 'é mèè fe 'é sià tɛ gàje kè lùkà wèè bo, fe 'é manà fe wà-dàdiò.
Lòndò fe: " Ma à be mèè nè mòsubù".
6. Na gɔ lòndò kò yîè.
A gɔ a lùkà nyéè ngo, hi hi, nyéè ngo, balembɛo, hi hi, lùkà nyéè ngo, balembɛo.
7. Kòndo, ekè lòndò 'é wèè nè mbòlì nè, kòndo na gɔ lòndò kò yîè. Tééé.
8. Fe Komba jè okò, 'é fe: "Woo, yékè je bè ná, 'èè ná ngé okò là?"
Komba à yèji ba kusa gàje, tɛ nà lábòà lòndò gàje.
Fe lòndò dɔ tɛ yîè na bébè á nè:
"Ngɔ sià okò".
Komba á dɔ tɛ na feè kpàje- kpibwu - a ba kusa.
'É mèè fe:
" E, ma à mu nye nè fe à bo? Ngɔ sià okò.
O, nye ngé kina. Yékè nye mò a njèma tɛ bele kokò nè. ma à lɛ na nyikè mòngènjà kò tɛ bè ná ekè mo mèè nè.
Ngɔ bà dɔ tɛ bè kɔ mo, mo wèè tɛ libànjò-lè."
"O, títà, títà, maà lɛ lélè ko bè yékè de, ma lɛ ekè ngé lélè, 'é na lekè té ode".
Oo, bà bè".
9. 'É bèè didíí, na be bè kòfɛ. 'É dɔ tɛ na bébè kina nè, fe ' é ja yîè mòsùma nè, 'é mèè fe kótò tɛ nè a sɔɔ-Komba nè okò. Tɛ ekè 'é wèè libànjòè.
Hi, hi lùkà nyéè ngo, a gɔ a lùkà nyéè ngo.....
Kokò tɛ 'é wèè libànjòè - kwa kwa kwa kwa. A mbe.
1. Otter says: "I am going prospecting. I am going prospecting for myself".
2. "Otter?"
"Yes?"
"This rest in the hunt has lasted a long time. While we are resting here beside the water, you go and listen to the swamp".
3. O, otter sets off. *Kpɔ kpɔ kpɔ kpɔ kpɔ.**
4. Otter goes quickly to the place where animals pass, he goes really quickly - rrrr..... He arrives at the water.
5. When he arrives at the water he looks, he looks, he looks into the water. He says: "O, what wonderful fish is this? What wonderful fish is here". O, otter spears another. *Kpan, kpan, kpan.* "O, what a lovely fish. o, what a lovely fish". Finally, from where the otter is, he looks in the direction of the place he was going to prospect, so that when he goes back he can tell everyone. Otter says: " I will go a little way downstream".
6. Otter goes.
We are going to prospect at the great river, hi hi.
7. Finally, though the otter was at first close by, now he goes a long way off.
8. When God hears this, he says:
"Woo, who is singing this beautiful song?"
As God leaves in one direction to look for a vine, otter comes from the other direction. When otter comes along with this dance -
" I must see this".
God comes along clearing the path - kpibwu - looking for a vine he says:
" Oh, what is that I see like a man? This I must see. Oh, there it goes again. Why are you disturbing the forest like this, while I am trying to hear the bees humming? You really must come hear with that song of yours, come and touch my forehead".
"O, grandfather...that song wasn't the one I was singing. The only one I know I don't do very well".
" O, please sing".
9. Finally he sings, sings the whole song. As he comes along singing again, dancing in his own personal style, it seems as if he will dance right up to God's side. Then he would touch his forehead. *We are going to prospect at the great river, hi hi...* Just as he touches his forehead - kwa, kwa, kwa, kwa.

Figure 4-7. Transcription and translation of “Lòndò” (‘Otter’) (Higgins 1981:35-42) (also, Object 4-1. Audio file of *lìkànò* story “Lòndò” (.mp3 3.4 MB))

Narrative Performance of <i>Lòndò</i> ('Otter')												
(Field)	(Description)											
Higgins' Transcription Sections	1	2	3	4	5	6a	6b			7-9a-g	9h-i	
Chronology	0						:50	:52	2:37			3:40
Duration	:49						:02	1:45			1:03	:03
Discourse Structure	Setting		Episode 1			Episode 2					Climax & Resolution	
Plot			Otter wanders off, arrives at water, and fishes.			Otter wanders off still further (singing as he goes...) and God hears Otter's annoying singing, and tracks him down...					God transforms Otter	
Oral Mode	Telling			Intoning	Singing			Singing & Telling			Telling: Everyday & Heightened	
Formalizing Speech Procedures	Everyday Speech Forms & Heightened Speech Forms			Extra-ordinary Speech Forms distinctive... <i>1 Voice Register (Pitch range, Timbre (formant), Intensity)</i> <i>2 Intonational Contour (melic)</i> <i>3 Rhythmic Segmentation</i>			Everyday Speech, Heightened Speech, Extra-ordinary Speech			Everyday & Heightened		
Storyteller-Songleader Performance Distribution	Tells (narrative)			Intones	Sings (single-clause refrain) (one part of a two-part polyphonic texture) ¹			Tells (narrative)				
Audience-Choir Performance Distribution	Listens			Sings (single-clause refrain) (one part of a two-part polyphonic texture)						Listens & Speaks responsively		
Poetic Syntax						64 Repetitions of the Refrain.....					

Figure 4-8. Framework of the narrative performance development of “*Lòndò*” (‘Otter’) (also, see Object 4-1. Audio file of *likànò* story “*Lòndò*” (.mp3 3.4 MB))

The image displays a musical score for the "Lòndò" refrain, organized into two main sections: Voice 1 and Voice 2. Each section begins with a "Basic Figure" and is followed by six "Improv. Substitute" lines.

Voice 1 Basic Figure: The melody starts with a dashed box around the first four notes (quarter notes). The lyrics are "a go a lu-ka nyee ngo". The melody continues with eighth notes and includes a triplet of eighth notes.

Voice 1, Improv. Substitute 1-6: These lines show various melodic variations. Substitute 1 and 2 are aligned with the first four notes of the basic figure. Substitute 3 and 4 are aligned with the eighth notes. Substitute 5 and 6 are aligned with the triplet.

Voice 2 Basic Figure: The melody starts with a dashed box around the first four notes (quarter notes). The lyrics are "a go a lu-ka nyee ngo".

Voice 2, Improv. Substitute 1-3: These lines show variations. Substitute 1 and 2 are aligned with the first four notes. Substitute 3 is aligned with the eighth notes.

The score uses a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes, and the basic figures and substitutes are enclosed in dashed rectangular boxes.

Figure 4-9. Composite melody of “Lòndò” refrain (Object 4-1. Audio file of *likànò* story “Lòndò” (.mp3 3.4 MB)). (Two voice parts are performed: that of the storyteller-singer (Voice 1) and of the storytelling participants (Voice 2). The basic melodic figures for Voice 1 and 2 are framed in dashed rectangles; improvised melodic substitutes are then aligned with their respective slots below each of the two basic figures. Pulse \approx 94 MM. The refrain is repeated sixty-four times during the performance.)⁴²

LĪKÀÑĐ SONG AS A DISCOURSE FEATURE OF LĪKÀÑĐ NARRATIVE								
SPOKEN TEXTS ⇒	I. FOR NARRATIVE DISCOURSE COHESION				SUNG TEXTS ⇐			
	1. GENERATIVELY							
	2. PERFORMATIVELY							
	3. TEXTUALLY							
	Grammatically			Semantically				
	• LEXICAL REPETITION	• LEXICAL SUBSTITUTION	• POINT OF VIEW	• SYNONYMY			• MERONYMY	
	II. FOR NARRATIVE DISCOURSE DEVELOPMENT							
	<i>CONTEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT</i>			<i>CLIMACTIC DEVELOPMENT</i>				
	1. Participant Information			1. Verb Forms (-)				
	2. Setting Information			2. Rhetorical Underlining				
	3. Explanatory Information			• REPETITION				
	• IDEOPHONES			• <i>SYNTACTIC</i>				
	4. Collateral Information			• <i>RHYTHMIC</i>				
	• QUOTED QUESTIONS/DENIALS			• <i>MELODIC</i>				
	5. Evaluative Information ...			3. Heightened Vividness				
	<i>(Explicit Evaluation)</i>			• VERB FORMS (+)				
	• PROPOSITIONS			• POETICALLY ORGANIZED DISCOURSE				
	<i>(Implicit Grammatical Evaluation)</i>			• VOICE REGISTER				
	• OBLIGATIVE MOOD			- <i>PITCH</i>				
	• IMPERATIVE MOOD			- <i>TIMBRE</i>				
	• EXCLAMATIONS			- <i>INTENSITY</i>				
	• INTERJECTIONS			• INTONATION				
	• IDEOPHONES			• RHYTHM				
	• INTENSIFIERS			4. Change of Pace				
• RHETORICAL QUESTIONS			• VARIATION in the regularity of narrative action (verb forms)					
• VOCATIVES (proper names ...)			• VARIATION in the relative sizes of grammatical constructions					
• other- and self-referential			• VARIATION in the relative regularity of spoken utterances to sung utterances					
• directive and expressive								
• inciting action								
• validating experience								
			5. Incidence of Ideophones					

Figure 4-10. Summary outline of the functions of *lĭkàñđ* song in *lĭkàñđ* narrative

¹ The term “*chantefable*” was first coined to describe a particular French medieval narrative, part recited prose and part sung verse (see “Chante-fable.” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/05418> (accessed February 1, 2011). Finnegan refers to *chantefable* as “prosimetric” form in which prose alternates with verse (1977:109, 119).

² To become familiar with stories told by Baka youths, consult Brisson’s *Contes des Pygmées baka du Sud Cameroun*, Vol. 1-4. Douala: Collège Libermann, 1981. 200 p.

³ This quote from Stephen Levinsohn is taken from the introductory chapter of his lecture notes for a course in the “Analysis of Narrative Texts” given February 3–14, 2003 at Horsleys’s Green, UK. A similar course was presented in Yaoundé, Cameroon in 2004.

⁴ Despite its common association with postmodern thinkers (e.g., Derrida, Foucault, Kristeva, Jameson, etc.), discourse analysis is not the exclusive methodological property of deconstructive or critical theory. As mentioned above, all discourse analysis, regardless of its application, asks *why* “this or that” discourse is executed in “this or that” way. However, answers to such questions need not solely be applied to deconstructing or “subverting” the hidden motivations, aims, or agendas of social, political, or philosophical discourse (cf. Beard and Gloag 2005:38). In translation studies, for example, discourse analysis (or “text-linguistics”) is often appropriated for use in addressing the pragmatic problems of “relevancy” in translation. In the task of translation, for example, an informed choice between two similar linguistic forms (whether lexical, syntactic, semantic, or poetic) is greatly aided by a more explicit understanding of which of two or more optional forms are most relevant to the purposes of the discourse at hand. Likewise, in the case of Baka narrative discourse, it is hoped that discourse analysis will help determine the relevancy of choosing the peculiar verbal forms of *sung* discourse over those of similar, yet distinct, *spoken* discourse when performing a traditional story.

⁵ *Temporal cohesion*, that is, the mere fact that story and song occur together “in time” during discrete social events, is implicit in Sections 4.1, 4.1.1, and 4.1.2. It is also presented more explicitly in Section 4.2.1. Otherwise, there seems little advantage in treating *temporal cohesion* more fully in this analysis.

⁶ Having made this claim, *Tombombo* would not, however, deny that certain elements of a song (especially the lyrics) would be forgotten, modified, or become archaic. Often, when he and other Baka speakers would assist me in transcribing song texts, the meaning of various words or phrases could not be identified, and would often be explained as archaic, even by elders.

⁷ Yves Léonard has told me that some Baka speakers in the camp of Ndjibot claim that a *likànǎ*'s song may occasionally be initiated by someone other than the story's teller (2010, personal conversation).

⁸ My search for cohesive devices is built on the work of Halliday and Hassan (1976, cited in Renkema 2004:103-108) who distinguish five types of cohesion: substitution, ellipsis, reference, conjunction, lexical cohesion (e.g., repetition, synonymy, hyponymy, meronymy, antonymy).

⁹ Possible exceptions may include certain ideophones, grammatical reduplication, or onomatopoeia.

¹⁰ Léonard explains this ideophonic gesture this way: "Les bourdons s'agitent en faisant des gestes de provocation pour se moquer de Komba. Ils bougent leurs yeux et leurs têtes d'un côté à l'autre" (2003:80).

¹¹ Earlier in the narrative, the narrator does not explicitly indicate that it is the voice of Otter performing the first entrance of sung discourse.

¹² This example is not taken from the twelve representative songs in focus in this chapter because it is not clear that any of the twelve indisputably presents the point of view of the narrator in the song (though it is very likely that the song in Higgen's "Dèngbè" (verse 10) also functions as the grammatical voice/point of view of the narrator. Example 8, then, is from the story of "Gbanga a Tità" on pages 152-153 in Volume I of Robert Brisson's *Mythologie des Pygmées Baka*, 1999.

¹³ The accuracy of Brisson's translation and transcription is in question here. I have bracketed those words and phrases that I have reinterpreted. "okà" and "be" are not, then, properly part of the narrative, but the narrator's instructions to the gathered community to "begin singing!" and "sing strong!" respectively. Therefore, it is not likely that these phrases are repeated in the refrain.

¹⁴ "Na subùngà" is also uttered in verses 31 and 32.

¹⁵ Also uttered in verses 13, 27, 28, and 36.

¹⁶ Léonard outlines similar, as well as additional, correlations of verb forms with narrative information types, though only non-lyric/poetic narrative clauses are cited (2005:14-17).

¹⁷ Dooley and Levinsohn (and Longacre) call "collateral information" "irrealis" (cf. 2001:43; 1996).

¹⁸ Dooley and Levinsohn cite two additional "Grimes-like" "non-event types": participant orientation and performative information (ibid.).

¹⁹ According to Dooley and Levinsohn, “PERFORMATIVE INFORMATION (Grimes, Chapter 5) deals with aspects of the situation under which the text is produced, especially the speaker-hearer axis. This comes out when the speaker speaks in first person to the hearer in second person. Also included in this category are morals, conclusions, and applications to the audience, which also overlap with evaluation” (2000:43). It is to be expected, then, that performative information is typically absent from “traditional” song texts, given that sung lyrics, among the Baka, are pre-composed and remain relatively fixed.

²⁰ According to local knowledge, *Súà* is *Kùnda*’s notorious uncle.

²¹ It can also be said that this information is not only participant orientation background information, but explanatory information as well.

²² In addition to the following two examples, the story of “*Lòndò*” could also be cited as an example of a lyric with *setting/orientation* information.

²³ It is common (local) knowledge that this stereotypical scene, that is, the forest...with noisy people in it, is likely to annoy *Komba*.

²⁴ It might also be said that this information is both *setting and background* material.

²⁵ Also from Kilian-Hatz, “Ideophones in Baka have the function of communicating reality. Their proper use is "Proof that one knows the world in which the story is taking place" (Kpokpo Maurice, personal communication)... ([1995] 2004:37).

²⁶ Reduplication, in Baka, indicates that the meaning of the lexeme is somehow augmented, either in duration, iteration, speed, or quantity (see Kilian-Hatz 39).

²⁷ Boursier glosses *ngò* as a verbal aspect (‘asp.’), but linguist Kilian-Hatz more accurately identifies *ngò* as an “agent-oriented obligative modality marker” (‘OBL’) (see p. 30).

²⁸ See Léonard regarding the grammatico-pragmatic function of the lexeme *taà* (2003).

²⁹ See *taà* in *Mbilò* also.

³⁰ Again, Boursier glosses *ngò* as a verbal aspect (‘asp.’), but linguist Kilian-Hatz more accurately identifies *ngò* as an “agent-oriented obligative modality marker” (‘OBL’) ([1995] 2004:30).

³¹ For further clarification, Portner goes on to write that “the meaning of vocatives be formulated as expressive content in the sense discussed recently by Potts (2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004).”

³² Cf. Austin, J.L. *How to Do Things with Words*. Harvard Univeristy Press, Cambridge, 1962.

³³ While the refrain of “*Kùnnenje*” does make *Kùnnenje*'s disgust/disapproval explicit, the improvised lyric of the storyteller-singer also does, as indicated in the excerpted phrases *ma à kpo* (‘I refuse/disapprove/hate’) and *mɔ̀ngɔ̀m̀ng̀* (‘ostentatious strutting’).

³⁴ I too have found in a previous *musical* analysis that the identification of macro-level climatic structures seems to be an analytical prerequisite to an apt description of many lesser-level structures and developmental strategies. In my comparative analysis of Monteverdi’s Italian opera *Orfeo* and Yang’s Chinese opera *The Prostitute’s Tears*, for example, “the larger-scale formal designs of both *Orfeo* and *Tears* greatly inform smaller-scale forms: larger-scale narrative development gives rise to larger-scale musical development; “lesser-scale” musical forms and devices serve the greater, though the subtlest devices (e.g., ornaments, register, voice timbre, and silence) seem most critical to the realization of a narratives heightened dramatic affect. No musical “sign,” then, no matter how nuanced, should go unidentified, if one would understand why any sung narrative “sounds the way it does” (Fitzgerald 2009, unpublished).

³⁵ By “minus features” Longacre means those verb forms that are not typically used in the main storyline material.

³⁶ Therefore, repetition—as a quintessential iconic and indexical sign of rhetorical underlining—is plainly signaled as the narrative’s climax builds.

³⁷ In his *Storyline Concerns and Word Order Typology in East and West Africa*, Longacre uses the term “immediacy” instead of “heightened vividness” (1990:9).

³⁸ It may also be expressed as “*na kpɔ̀ɔ̀ njàmba*,” or “*na tongòà bè*” (‘begins the song’) (cf. Brisson 2002:465). Further, I surmise that the term *njàmba* (intonation) potentially signifies any combination of four aspects of that speech act: for example, (1) the solo beginning of a song, (2) the “lead” song part, (3) the essential and composite elements of the song (text and tune) from which other singers are enabled to “pick up” or recall their complementary “part” in the song, and (4) the essential sonic features associated with the typical vocal register of Baka singing, that is, its frequency range, timbre, and intensity.

³⁹ A fuller description of these voice register qualities, that is, frequency range, formant, and intensity, is beyond the scope of this chapter, but intended for future studies. Vocal formant qualities is of particular interest. Pages 332–336 of Feld, Fox, Porcello, and Samuel’s “Vocal Anthropolgy: From the Music of Language to the Language of Song” (2004) seem to indicate a fruitful approach.

⁴⁰ Léonard outlines similar, as well as additional, correlations of verb forms with narrative information types, though only non-lyric/poetic narrative clauses are cited (cf. Léonard 2005:14-17).

⁴¹ Léonard focuses on the texts of *spoken* discourse, not the texts of *sung* discourse.

⁴² This composite version of the refrain of “*Lòndò*” is an etic transcription, and not very detailed at that. It is merely intended to bring into relief some of the more obvious repetitive melodic figures that overlap with, intermingle with, and enhance the other redundant non-melic, non-rhythmic elements at play. A fuller emic analysis of the Baka melodic system has already begun and is intended for publication at a later date.

CHAPTER 5
WHY *KUNDA* SINGS: SONG IN THE STORY OF “*SÚÀ TÈ KUNDA*”

5.1 One Storytelling Event: Fourteen Stories and Sixteen Songs

From my original data sample of four hundred recorded songs, more than forty are *likànò* songs (Sec. 1.6). Sixteen of those forty *likànò* songs were recorded during a single storytelling event one evening in August 1997. What immediately follows is a brief description of that event: the setting, the people, and a few generalities concerning that evening’s fourteen stories and sixteen songs. This general description will then segue into and provide the context for a more detailed description of one particular story, “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (“Leopard and Turtle”), and its embedded songs. My description of this single *likànò* song will serve as the preamble to my conclusions regarding (1) how a *likànò* song functions in a traditional Baka story and in Baka experience in general, and (2) why *Kùnda* (Turtle)—in the story of “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*”—sings, rather than speaks, when expressing himself.

5.1.1 Ethnographic Synopsis of the Storytelling Event

One clement evening (August 14, 1997) in the short dry season of the southeast rainforest of Cameroon in the Baka encampment of Ndjibot, fourteen traditional Baka stories (*likànò*) were performed over a period of approximately one and one-half hours. The principal organizer of the storytelling event, as well as its principal storyteller, was a Baka man named *Nguna*, an elder (*kobo*) of about 60 years of age. A few days prior to the event, *Nguna* had asked me for some money. (I had been living in Ndjibot about three months at this point.) I gave him what he asked for, and in return I asked to hear

him tell a few traditional Baka stories (as weeks prior I had heard that he was a “very good storyteller” (“wà-kpɔ́kpɔ́, é ko kpéké”).¹

On that evening *Nguna* assembled a group of fifteen to thirty people for a story telling under a 4 x 5 meter rafia shelter at the entrance of my home in Ndjibot. The shelter was illuminated by two or three kerosene lamps. The gathered group was fairly evenly mixed in gender and age, from nursing infants, children, and adolescents, to young adults, older adults, and elders of approximately seventy years of age. Almost all were members of one of three or four clans (*yèè-*). All were Baka speakers; no Bantu neighbors from nearby villages were present. The number of participants fluctuated slightly during the evening, as a few came and went at will. Most sat around in a small circular arrangement, some on wooden benches and some on the ground. A few others, like *Nguna*, stood.

Nguna was positioned well inside the northern rim of the circle. On the opposite rim of the circle were two adolescent male drummers, each seated upon and straddling an approximately 40 cm. by 14 cm., single-headed, cylindrical wooden drum (*ndùmù*) that laid horizontally on the ground. With the drumheads straddled between their legs, the drummers struck the deer-skinned heads with their hands.

Nguna narrated and led the singing in thirteen of the fourteen stories. A younger man, *Konji*, recounted one other story.

The sonic *ambience* for the entire evening’s event was one of continual low-level chatter, light banter, intermittent giggles, and occasional harmless reprimands (as certain sporadic behavior by the children during the performance seemed “ill regarded”). A few utterances from within this continual verbal stream converged with

the formal narrative, as storyteller-singer and participating audience-choir intermittently exchanged fleeting comments and rhetorical questions. These exchanges also included interjections of surprise and disapproval, playful mockery, and occasional questions regarding the story's characters, or the story's action.

5.1.2 General Narrative Features

The average duration of a single story's narration, including any pre- and post-narrative discussion, was six and one-half minutes, though the story "proper" averaged only four minutes. The shortest story lasted two and one-half minutes; the longest nearly nine. Each story segued into another.

The settings, characters, and plots of all fourteen stories were typical of the Baka *likànò* repertory, in that (1) the setting is always in the forest—at a hunting camp, a forest camp, a river's edge, or some spot along any number of forest paths between well-known areas for hunting, fishing, gathering food, or collecting honey; (2) the characters are most commonly drawn from a familiar cast of animals, people, and spirits, such as *Kùnda* (Turtle), *Súà* (Leopard), *Sèkò* (Chimpanzee), *Lìmbènù* (an ancient heroine), *Komba* (God), *Jelò* (God's first daughter), and *mε* (spirits); other less predominant, though no less familiar characters are *Mònjombe* (the great leaping deer), *Bìlì* (Mouse), *Kpángbala* (Lizard), *Kpìnyà* (Anteater), *mókósè* (an ordinary man), and *wósè* (an ordinary woman); (3) plots ordinarily revolve around well-known, ongoing and inherent conflicts between certain stereotypical characters (like the dangerous *Súà*, the clever *Kùnda*, or the attractive *Jelò*). Many other plots, however, are built around the familiar challenges, hazards and dangers of life lived in the forest, ranging from lesser problems posed by such things as prickly thorns and stinging bees, to more

earnest problems experienced in childbirth, child-rearing, marriage, and death. Still other plots are etiological, told in order to explain, or at least imply, the causes, nature, or origins of certain animals, peoples, or spirits.²

5.1.3 General *Likàndò* Song Features

5.1.3.1 Performance distribution of songs in stories

As for the general patterns of the occurrence of song during the evening's tellings, twelve of the fourteen stories included at least one song; two stories included two songs.³ Each song occurred only once (as opposed to a few stories in the greater repertory that intermittently reiterate a song throughout). Songs ranged from forty seconds to five minutes in length, the average song lasting about two and one-half minutes.

The relative duration of a *likàndò* to its song, as well as the chronological distribution of the song within a story both bear significantly on a story's rhythm and pace, and by extension, upon its dramatic development and poetic effect. It is therefore noteworthy that on the average, well over half the duration (60%) of a story involves singing (regardless of song length); a few stories were nearly completely performed with song.⁴

All songs occurred within the "main body" of a story, with the main body normally preceded, at the very least, by a spoken opening formula and some type of introductory section. (Some stories, however, included an episode or two in the main body of the narrative before introducing the song).⁵

5.1.3.2 Discourse functions of songs in stories

As for the narrative discourse function of all the story's songs, little can be said about their general character that has not already been outlined in Chapter 4. That is, every song in every story that evening, in a variety of ways, contributed to both the cohesion and development of its respective narrative. Each song was story-specific; each one connected and developed intra-narrative material; and none functioned inter-narratively, that is, as if it were a mere interlude between contiguous narrative performances

In regards to narrative *cohesion* (Sec. 4.2), it is worth reiterating that in all fourteen of the evening's *likànd* the voice of the storyteller-singer embodied the cohesive locus of both verbal discourse and narrative performance: his voice told and sang the narrative, and his voice led and enjoined the choir.

Occasionally, songs were performed during the *telling* of a short series of contingent narrative actions, or during the transition from one narrative episode to another. Such an occurrence of song seemed to reinforce the connection between these contiguous discourse units.⁶

As generally regards the narrative *development* of all fourteen stories, all song texts, in various ways and in varying degrees, provided supportive, contextual information for each story. Song texts often contained information about the narrative's characters or settings, commonly provided explanatory or collateral information, and always communicated evaluative information wherein and whereby the thoughts, emotions, and attitudes of narrative characters and performers were

explicitly or implicitly expressed. In addition to contextual development, songs often indexically signaled (“foreshadowed”) climactic development (Sec. 4.3.2).

5.1.3.3 Stylistic features of story’s songs

All fourteen songs were performed by an adult male soloist and mixed vocal choir composed of all in attendance—male and female, young and old. Drumming (on two drums) and hand-clapping accompanied nearly all the songs (Sec. 2.4). It is presumed that drumming and clapping would have accompanied all the songs had the drums and drummers been in place earlier.

The choral performance textures of all fourteen *likànò* song performances generally reflect the typified descriptions presented in earlier chapters (Chapters 2 and 4). To briefly reiterate and elaborate: The Baka refer to two fundamental voice parts in their performance of *likànò* song: the voice part of *wànjàmba* and the voice part of *wàtúkò*. The storyteller is primarily responsible for singing the *wànjàmba* part; the audience-choir sings the *wàtúkò* parts. Often, *wàtúkò* is subdivided into two or three other constituent parts.⁷ The term *wànjàmba* also, and more fundamentally, refers to “one who” sings the opening *njàmba* part. “*Njàmba*” denotes the action whereby the song-leader prompts the audience-choir to begin singing their respective *wàtúkò* voice-parts. The prompt is signaled when the storyteller-singer intones an aggregate song-line from segments of both the *wànjàmba* and *wàtúkò* voice-parts.⁸ Once the *njàmba* is repeated once or twice, members of the participating audience-choir immediately take up their respective *wàtúkò* part(s).⁹ Soon after, the storyteller-singer—in this case, *Nguna*—begins to gradually leave off those figures and phrases of the composite song line that are strictly proper to the *wàtúkò* part in favor of those figures and phrases

normally associated with the *wànjàmba* part. The storyteller-singer then tends to only sing the *wànjàmba* part, though intermittently may perform *wàtúkò* phrases, freely varying either part, though within the unspoken bounds of Baka “improvisation.”

Once all voice parts have entered, from that point forward their composite performance relationship may generally be described as an overlapping responsorial choral style. Occasionally, voice parts in some songs, or song sections, may overlap and interlock to the extent that the choral texture can no longer be considered homophonic, but polyphonic. Thus, the relative choral textures and contours of the *likànò* song voice-parts performed during the evening’s fourteen story-tellings ranged from irregularly alternating unison and/or parallel-chordal textures, to modestly polyphonic textures.

Musically rhythmic features. All but one of the sixteen *likànò* songs performed that evening employed the accompanimental rhythm most often associated with *likànò* song, that is, *kole na bè na likànò*. The audio clip for Object 5-1 presents one song’s performance of the predominant rhythm pattern; Object 5-2 documents the only song featuring the single alternative rhythm (see Object 5-2 audio file of “rarer” *likànò* rhythm (.mp3 705 KB) and Object 5-1 audio file of “typical” *likànò* rhythm (.mp3 1.1 MB)). Both rhythms, especially the most common one, have already been described in more detail in Section 2.4.

Instrumental accompaniment did not begin promptly with the first *likànò* telling. However, by the time the second *likànò* was being recounted, both drummers had arrived with drums. From that time on, all songs were accompanied by the drumming duo and audience hand-clapping. Pulse tempi ranged from 118 MM to 148 MM. Often

enough, the tempo of a song would accelerate as the song progressed. Frequently a song's tempo would accelerate once the choir had refamiliarized themselves with their respective voice parts. Other times, the drums and singers accelerated the tempo at the direct command of the storyteller to "Get going!" ("okà!"), or "[Sing] stronger!" ("tè kpéké!"). At such times, dynamics often increased as well. As already described in Chapter 2, the percussion ensemble most commonly subdivides the pulse into some form of triplet figure, though it was not uncommon in the songs performed that evening for the pulse of melodic-rhythms to be subdivided into duple figures as well. The entire rhythm's traditional cycle of eight pulses was executed either once or twice in the course of a poetic line, depending on whether or not a song line's meter was constituted by a sequence of eight pulses, or, as was more common, a sequence of sixteen pulses.

Poetic features of song texts. The most characteristic poetic features of the evening's sixteen song-texts can be adequately generalized from the texts of just four select songs. It does not suit my present purposes to account for the poetics of all sixteen song texts. For a more systemic discussion of songtext poetics, the reader is directed to Chapter 3.

The texts of all sixteen *likànò* songs are set to recurring poetic lines of either eight or sixteen pulses. Settings are primarily syllabic. Quasi-neumatic figures are common enough, though most are performed as vocables in word-final, phrase-final, or line-final positions. In addition to lexical units (words), a lyric almost always employs vocables (non-lexical phonemes). Average song lines carry a "text-load" ranging from 5 to 16

words per line, and 2 to 11 vocables per line. A line's syllabic count ranged from 20 to 22 syllables.

Beyond the phonological level of syllable and pulse, the nature of the relationship of text and line is most obviously expressed syntactically. In particular, what is most conspicuous is that in most of the sixteen *likànò* songs, as in any Baka song (regardless of genre), verse boundaries typically coincide with line boundaries. Enjambment is occasionally employed, but co-terminal boundaries of text and tune predominate.

Whether verse boundaries coincided with line boundaries or are enjambed, there tends to be but one basic recurring verse in any song—conventionally represented as Verse “A”. From the songs sampled, no verse was found in *contrast* with another, textually or musically; that is, there was no Verse “B” or “C”. (cf. Sec. 3.4.3). A basic *likànò*-song verse can, however, undergo *variation*, as is often represented with the conventions Verse “A¹” or “A²” or “A³”. Verse (or verse-segment) variations were most often due to some form of textual or musical expansion, diminution, or substitution. Various paradigmatic (textual) substitutions were particularly prevalent.

The syntactic development of these *likànò* songs may be characterized as iterative, given there are no contrastive verse types. Even so, strict repetition is avoided and syntactic development is still achieved through the more subtle complementary devices of verse *variation* and *derivation* as implemented through various improvisatory musical and textual expansions, diminutions, and substitutions.

The aforementioned generalities are culled from a brief survey of the fourteen stories and sixteen songs of a single performance event. Many more generalizations could be induced from this event, its stories, and its stories' songs. However, my

purpose in this section is not to be exhaustive, but rather, to prepare an adequate context for a more detailed description of one particular *likànò* performance that evening—the *likànò* of “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (“Leopard and Turtle”). In the following section (Sec. 5.2.), I will detail the particular song features and their narrative functions that unite, differentiate, and develop “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*.”

5.2 Song’s Discourse Functions in the Narrative Performance of “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*”

The *likànò* “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (“Leopard and Turtle”) was the tenth traditional story told that evening. The elder male, *Nguna*, was the storyteller-songleader. The setting, characters, plot, and dialogue are archetypal. The audio file in Object 5-3 documents the performance (Object 5-3. Audio file of *likànò* story “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (.mp3 4.4 MB), and a text transcription is presented in Appendix A. A synopsis of the story is as follows:

Súà (Leopard) feigns his death in the hope that all the other animals of the rainforest will gather for his funeral, at which time *Súà* plans to suddenly arise, spring on them, and kill them. Meanwhile, from another part of the forest, *Kùnda* (Turtle, *Súà*’s nephew) hears the rumor, but is naturally skeptical, given *Súà*’s dubious and dangerous reputation. *Kùnda* then sets out for the funeral with his own scheme to outwit *Súà* and thwart his likely plans for treachery. Along the way, *Kùnda* gathers every manner of itchy, prickly plant and insect in the forest. *Kùnda* arrives at the funeral where the other animals are gathered around *Súà*’s seemingly lifeless body. Then, by stealth, *Kùnda* takes a notoriously poisonous caterpillar from his pouch and slips it next to *Súà*’s inert body... right on *Súà*’s testicles! *Súà* can pretend no longer; and his body, ever so slightly, begins to twitch. *Kùnda*, his suspicions confirmed, quickly organizes a few other animals (behind the scenes) to fell a nearby tree in the hope that it might fall on the pretender *Súà* and crush him before he rouses in

fury to carry out his plan to attack and kill them all. But just as the tree begins to fall, *Súà* jumps up in pain, and in a craze, flees into the forest... and the schemes of both rivals, once again, are foiled.

The performance of “*Súà te Kùnda*” is a multi-layered progression of interwoven signs: words, rhythms, tunes, timbres and gestures. The diagram in Figure 5-1 progressively represents the simultaneous and contingent interrelationship of a number of the narrative’s more salient layers of signifying *sonic* phenomena. Special attention is given to the interrelationship of the dynamic structures of the songs’ texts and tunes, and how they, in turn, relate to the entire story’s development.

An amplified and expanded “reading” of and commentary on the performance represented in the diagram in Figure 5-1 follows. Reference to performance chronology is parenthetically inserted when indicated.

The entire performance of “*Súà te Kùnda*” lasts a little more than four and one-half minutes (:00—4:50), slightly longer than the average duration of the other thirteen *likànḍ* performed that evening. It was one of two *likànḍ* performances that included two *likànḍ* songs. The first song of “*Súà te Kùnda*,” as is typical, lasted two and a half minutes; the second song, however, only lasted forty seconds.¹⁰ And though bits of spoken narration are interjected in the course of both songs, we note that the temporal ratio of song to story is unusually high, that is, three-quarters of the story is taken up in song.

The basic structure of “*Súà te Kùnda*” is typical of any *likànḍ*: a traditional opening formula is stated (:00–:05), followed by an introductory exposition of the circumstances (:05–:19); introductory material then transitions into the “inciting moment” and main

body of the story (in this case, the main body consists of two episodes (:20–2:50 and 2:50–4:30); the story finally climaxes and soon closes with the traditional closing formula (4:30–4:49) (Higgins 1981:1-34; Longacre 1996:34-38).

The introductory material of “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*” (:00–:20) is entirely spoken. At the beginning of the introduction *Nguna* initiates the first responsorial formula, and his audience, as expected, responds (Appendix A, line 1).

(call)	<i>e sá'sá</i>
(response)	<i>saa'</i>
(call)	<i>likànò pòngu</i>
(response)	<i>pòngu</i>

This opening formula is a potent index of the *likànò* performance experience. Most traditional Baka narratives are generically framed this way, although many of the participants freely admit that they do not know what this expression lexically denotes. Minimally—at this point in the narrative—the formula is explicitly held to signify “the beginning” (*‘à na tóngòà’*). Implicitly, such “performative speech”—given its repeated, shared-group use over time—also typically indexes a host of expectations as to what kind of discourse is likely to follow, and what kind of experiences it might likely invoke (Behagué 1992:174–177; Gumperz 1995:395; Kahlberg 1998:5, 9–10; Turino 2000:174–176; Briggs and Bauman 2009:226 in Duranti 2009). The formulaic opening, then, is the first generic, indexical mark of a shift from “ordinary” verbal interaction, to a specific “extra-ordinary” verbal interaction (cf. Sec. 2.1).

Once the formula is uttered, the general circumstances of the narrative—as so often happens—are briefly explained (:05–:20, see also Appendix A, lines 2–5). Then

immediately, with the scene set, *Nguna* shifts from speaking mode to singing mode and transitions to the first episode (at :20). Together, the alteration of his vocal intonation, that is, “the increase in movement of and stability between the movement of the fundamental frequency,” and his shift to a periodic segmentation of his speech (both iconically and indexically) signal a “heightened” orality, and with it the potential of narrative “progress” (cf. Sec. 2.2; Sec. 4.3.2). The pace of the narrative has changed. The introductory *njamba* has been sounded and the audience-choir is implicitly being cued to participate (cf. Sec. 2.4).

Concurrently, the sung narrative voice and lyric of *Kùnda* (Turtle) (Appendix A, line 8), embodied through *Nguna*’s voice, reveals critical additional contextual information:

Lè-ke, la’ mòòle títà(-e)? La’ mòòle títà(-e)? Kùnda.
Who then? Who has killed Uncle? Who has killed Uncle? Oh Kunda!

Títà(-o-ε). La’ mòòle títà(-e)?
Uncle! Who has killed Uncle?

Through it we learn that the allegedly deceased, *Súà* (Leopard), is not just any old animal in the forest, but is *Kùnda*’s own (albeit, infamous) uncle (*títà*). In addition, *Kùnda*’s collateral, value laden question “Who killed Uncle?” forcefully expresses and highlights *Kùnda*’s distress and apprehension regarding the circumstances surrounding his uncle’s alleged demise, not to mention the potential difficulties that lie ahead at the wake. Still more evaluative context is added when the intensity of *Kùnda*’s ambivalent feelings are reinforced through the exclamatory vocatives “*Kùnda!*” and “*Títà(-o-ε)!*” Through these vocatives, he reveals and expresses his familial solidarity with his

deceased uncle, and his subsequent self-pity, distress, and anxiety—or so we are lead to believe (see also Sec. 4.3.1.5).

After *Nguna* has intoned these emotionally expressions two and one-half times, other participants begin to join him (and *Kùnda*?) in singing (:40). Soon after, *Kùnda*'s questioning lyric is segmented (~:45): *Nguna* sings one segment in the *wànjàmba* voice-part; the audience-and-choir sings the other in a *wàtúkò* voice-part. At this point in the narrative, each one in attendance is now participating in the story and its telling. The multiple voice-parts of the solo male singer and mixed choir soon begin to overlap and interlock the lyric's complementary verse-segments whereby a new collective vocal timbre emerges. Lexemes, words, verses, lines, and motifs—both rhythmic and melodic—are repeated. By the end of the fourth verse (~:50), the clipped timbres of drums and clapping have also emerged as the unmistakable *lìkànò*-song rhythm begins to permeate the performance. More voices are added; the volume grows a little louder, the tempo a little faster, and even the choir's pitch begins to “go sharp” (1:00 and 2:30). Clearly, the patterns of ordinary verbal discourse are being reconfigured, and a unmistakable “zone of turbulence” is developing (Chap.4, Sec. 3.2).

Suddenly (though not unexpectedly), about halfway through the song (1:18), *Nguna* begins to narrate—not sing—how *Kùnda*, on the path to *Súà*'s funeral, is slowly gathering all manner of poisonous plants and insects as perfect tools for his devilish scheme (Appendix A, line 9). The choir continues the refrain. (Everyone assembled, teller and choir, already knows what *Kùnda* will do with these itchy, prickly things, so expectations seem to mount all the more. One or two participants momentarily abandon the singing and blurt out feigned cries of incredulity at *Kùnda*'s dubious

intentions, exclaiming “èé’?” (“What’s this?”), or “a yĩ” (“No way!”) (e.g., 2:26, line 12b; 2:33, line 15b). By the last four verses of the singing, the choir is full-throated, the drums and clapping are strong, and *Kùnda* has gathered all the poisons he needs. The song performance and storyline seem to be peaking (2:36). But suddenly, *Nguna* abruptly and sharply cues the choir to stop singing and the drummers to stop drumming (“*he he he!*” (2:42)), and without pause again initiates the formulaic episodic call and response (2:44):

(call)	<i>e sa’sa’</i>
(response)	<i>saa’</i>
(call)	<i>likànò pòngu</i>
(response)	<i>pòngu</i>

The performance formula marks the end of the first episode. But *Kùnda* still does not know who has killed his uncle, and we, or rather, the Baka have yet to hear about—or perhaps, participate in?—*Kùnda*’s purposes for collecting all those harmful insects and plants. Narrative resolution is delayed. We are told that *Kùnda* simply paddles upstream a little further and arrives at the funeral site where the rest of the animals are gathered around *Súà*’s lifeless-looking body—the scene of a second episode (2:47; see also Appendix A, line 18).

Episode 2 is shorter than Episode 1. Most of the first half of Episode 2 is spoken (2:50–3:50); most of the second half is sung (3:50–4:30). As outlined in the story’s synopsis, at the funeral site we are told that *Kùnda*’s suspicions are quickly revealed and confirmed when the narrator recounts how *Súà* can no longer lie lifeless, moments after *Kùnda* places the prickly caterpillar on *Súà*’s body (2:51–3:13; Appendix A, lines 20–28).

Having incited *Súà* to action, *Kùnda* immediately counteracts. *Nguna* quickly narrates *Kùnda*'s covert and frantic effort to organize the other animals to fell a tree and crush *Súà* beneath it (3:13–3:38; Appendix A, lines 28–36). The conflict now develops quickly. A second discourse shift, that is, another “zone of turbulence,” is conspicuously signaled in the narrative as *Nguna* and the entire audience-and-choir give voice—in song—to the entire choir of narrative characters singing and narrating their frenzied attempt to fell the tree. *Nguna*, as expected, begins this second song (3:40). First, he intones the opening verse of the *wàtúkò* voice-part: “*Nga buù wà nà weè(-e)*” (“We are cutting down this tree of calamity!”). The lyric contextualizes the action: the narrative’s participants are intensely concentrating, the chopping is continuous, and the scene is calamitous. *Nguna* then switches to his *wànjàmba* part. His ideophone *kpò kpò kpò* (‘chop chop chop’) heightens and vivifies the sound and movement of the tree-chopping action, and its repetition reinforces it. His words are sung, not spoken; *poetically* organized, not *ordinarily* organized. His vocal sounds are altered; intonational contours and rhythmic segmentations are re-formalized. The intonational contours are not as overtly melic as in the narrative’s earlier song; the intervals of the fundamental frequencies are not as melodically formalized; they are more “*sprechstimme*-like”—though the Baka still recognize such verbal performance as *bè* (song) (Chap. 2, Sec. 2.3). The sung clauses are repeated, and thus become verses; and these same verses then overlap and pattern (in enjambment) with sixteen-pulse lines. By the second repetition of these lines, *Nguna*'s *wànjàmba* line and voice-part is regularly alternating with the choir’s line and *wàtúkò* part. And by now, the extra-linguistic sonic signs of clapping and drumming are re-sounding again. The drummers,

as anticipated, index the *likànḍ*-song experience with the familiar *likànḍ*-song rhythm (Chap. 2, Sec. 4). Climactic development resurges. Expectations are again building. The tempo even increases slightly, as does the overall amplitude. But a third and fourth verse delay the narrative climax when *Nguna*—as the voice of *Kùnda*—lingers and shouts out two quick commands in an effort to coordinate the group’s desperate efforts to fell the tree (4:00, 4:08). He even improvises with additional, though brief, melic variation (Figures 5-3, 5-4, 5-5). But finally, in the fifth verse, with everyone participating—singing, clapping, drumming, performing—*Nguna* suddenly stops singing and abruptly shifts to speaking the penultimate “closing” formula, “*e sa’sa’!*” (4:16). And all the others immediately respond, “*saa’!*” Their singing, clapping and drumming stop too. And we are immediately told—from within the relative silence—that *Súà* unexpectedly springs up, and flees away, into the forest in pain (Appendix A, line 42). So, *Kùnda*, thwarted by *Súà*’s escape, blurts out the narrative’s final words: “You’re lucky! If I had cut the tree down myself, you’d be dead!” (Appendix A, lines 44–45). To this last-ditch threat and expression of frustration, many of the performers respond in laughter; and a few (once again) pretend incredulity. The “closing” formula is once more performed and thereby marks the end of that *likànḍ*’s performance (4:33).

In general, the pace of Episode 2 moves faster than that of Episode 1; its “length” is also shorter—almost a third as long. The duration of its song is also a third as long as that of the first episode. But the development of Episode 2, in many ways, still mirrors that of Episode 1—rhythmically, syntactically, dynamically, and dramatically. As the entire *likànḍ* unfolds—as the intensifying red hue of the diagram in Figure 5-1 indicates—each section of this oral narrative, and every element within each section,

builds upon another to bring about the collectively desired dramatic effect. The Baka's song is particularly effective, especially in its ability to both unify and develop their narrative.

5.3 Conclusion: Why *Kùnda* Sings

At the heart of this performance stands the storyteller-singer, *Nguna*; and at the heart of his *likànò* stands the character *Kùnda* (Turtle). *Nguna* narrates *Kùnda*'s actions, but *embodies Kùnda's* voice. When *Kùnda* sings *Nguna* sings, but *Nguna* does not sing alone; he is joined by others. Everyone present, then, embodies *Kùnda*'s singing voice. And it is that voice which both unifies and develops the evening's verbal discourse in so many distinct and complementary ways: rhythmically, syntactically, grammatically, phonologically, melodically, timbrically, and semantically. To be sure, not all Baka *likànò* exhibit singing. Discourse cohesion and development are not, therefore, *dependent* upon song (Léonard 2003:44–155). But most *likànò* do have song, presumably because there are unique advantages to *sung* narrative discourse.

Sung verbal discourse encodes narrative cohesion and development in ways that speech, even heightened speech, does not. As I have demonstrated in *Kùnda*'s song and numerous other songs cited in Chapters 3 and 4, Baka song's peculiar rhythmic, syntactic, melic, timbric, and semantic formalizations far outnumber those of most Baka speech acts. Yet the advantages of *likànò* song are not simply discursive, but social, as well.

As one kind of song among many, *likànò* song is a mode of collective social communication that provides a type of communal expression unlike any other in Baka

culture. As I noted earlier, virtually no one present at this storytelling event did not actively participate in singing. Except for the two drummers and a few infants, everyone in attendance that evening sang the *likàndò* songs—male and female, young and old. This inclusive participation is not the case with most Baka song types. Certain kinds of songs tend to be sung exclusively by women, or girls; others are only sung by men, or teenage boys; still others are typically reserved for the youth, or just for solo singing in a quiet corner of the camp. Not so with *likàndò* song. Nearly everyone gathered sings. When *Kùnda*, or *any* *likàndò* character sings, everyone present at the storytelling event is afforded the opportunity to lend their voice to his and join in singing. As such, the opportunity that *likàndò* song provides for social cohesion is unique among Baka performance genres. This unity is not, however, exclusively formed through shared *vocal* performance, but also achieved through shared *expressive* performance.

In the first song of the *likàndò* of “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*,” *Kùnda* expresses his incredulity, self-pity, and distress over the news of his uncle *Súà*’s alleged death. Later, in the second song, he and all the other animals present, express their anxious anticipation in felling the “calamitous” tree. Many *likàndò* songs, maybe even most, give voice to intensified emotional experience, grief and delight, loneliness and confidence, eagerness and dread (Sec. 4.3.1.5; Boursier 1994:8). It is not likely that such performed expressions are simply the imagined experiences of narrative characters like *Kùnda*, but rather, are opportunities for *likàndò* singers to collectively express and participate in those emotional experiences common to any Baka community. Fr. Daniel Boursier, having lived among the Baka for many years, and witnessed numerous *likàndò*

performances in their natural settings, frames the collective expressive function of *likànò* song in a very similar way. Borrowing from French sociolinguist Ferdinand Agblemagnon, Boursier writes:

These refrains contribute to creating an atmosphere and to rendering the hearers invested parties: “These songs...carry an emotional charge which again encourages and emphasizes collective public participation, such that the storyteller and his audience form but one and the same person, one and the same body. To a large degree, the story is a veritable socio-drama, not only involving participation in the play of one or several privileged personalities (actors), but those of the entire assembly.” (my translation; Agblemagnon 1969:220 cited in Boursier 1994:8)¹¹

Thus, when *Kùnda* sings, he sings in order that the Baka themselves may sing and give “free expression to genuine social conflict” and experience (ibid. 10).

Beneath the mask of personalities who distract us, arises our admiration or our indignation, often hiding an exacerbated irony or social critique. (ibid.)¹²

To be sure, this social critique is not always veiled behind “the mask” of a traditional narrative character like *Kùnda*. Whether sung or not,

Elders may...use storytelling to [explicitly] address particular problems among the people, and thus resolve conflicts within an atmosphere of relaxation, humour, and entertainment. The storyteller can end a story with an explanation, a comment, or a moral. If he or she is an authority figure, such as an elder, he/she can direct an application to a situation, such as a rebuke or an admonition. (Léonard 2003:4)

Likànò song’s collective expression of *shared experience* and *shared values* also reflects and reinforces a *shared memory*. At many, maybe even most Baka social events involving song or dance, everyone participates in one way or another, whether

dancing, singing, drumming, clapping, speaking, or otherwise. But in *likànò* song nearly everyone unites around and utters *the same words*, important words for the Baka, words that form and re-form traditional narratives long associated with Baka notions of who they are, where they came from, and what is most important about life in the rainforest (Boursier 1994, Brisson 1999, Higgens 1981, and Léonard 1997).

As I have reported in Section 4.2.1, even when a *likànò* song is performed in isolation from its *likànò* narrative (e.g., as a dance-song at a funeral), the Baka nonetheless “see” (i.e., *remember*) the basic story with which it is associated and from which it was generated. Thus, it is assumed that when the Baka sing *Kùnda*’s song in the story of “*Súà tɛ Kùnda*,” that story—through song—is somehow made more memorable. Plainly, *likànò* song plays an important role in the Baka’s collective memory. The mnemonic capacity of *likànò* song is not surprising, for “the power of music to trigger associations in the memory is legendary” (Dunsby 2011, referencing Nattiez 1989). Indeed, it is well documented that song is an effective cognitive aid to memory (Yalch 1991, Wallace 1994, Rainey & Larsen 2002).¹³ Songs performed in many traditional African stories—or in any primarily *oral* society—are generally held to be powerful mnemonic aids in the collective memory of that community (Finnegan, 1970). The implications of this phenomenon merit a closer look at some of the more potent mnemonic devices at work in *likànò* song.

A fundamental dynamic of mnemonics is, of course, repetition; and *likànò* song, as has so often and in so many ways been pointed out in this study, is replete with repetition: repeated vowel sounds, repeated phonemes, repeated lexemes, words, phrases, syntaxes, meters, lines, verses, verse-segments, semantic categories, rhythmic

figures, melodic figures, tempi, dynamics, and timbres. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, most of these tautologies build cohesion, others effect development, and many signal both. Nearly all such patterning also make a song and its story more memorable. But no pattern marks a *likàndè* song so uniquely as does melodic patterning. All *likàndè* songs may share certain typical metrical patterns, syntactic patterns, and rhythmic patterns (Sec. 2.2), but no two *likàndè* songs bear the same melodic pattern. A song's melody is *likàndè*-specific.

Yet, while no two song lyrics are set to the same melody, nearly all melodic movement in Baka song is constituted by at least two basic melodic units: repeated melodic refrains and repeated melodic motives. The motives constitute the refrains while the refrains constitute the song's greater open, iterative structure. The choice to repeat or vary a motive is acted on improvisatorially. Within any *likàndè* song's choral texture, melodic motives may be repeated or developed, that is, repeated with variation. Their repetition and development may take place intra-linearly and/or inter-linearly, for example, within a single voice-part (like the *wànjàmba* or the *wàtúkò*) or between multiple voice-parts. Thus, the refrain of *Kùnda*'s first song, for instance, is iconically constituted by numerous variations on a single melodic motive: a "short-short-long" triplet formation of an intervallic sequence etically comprised of a descending perfect fourth/major third and a unison, as shown in Figure 5-2.¹⁴ The motive regularly begins on the first, fifth, ninth, and thirteenth pulses of *Kùnda*'s sixteen-pulse refrain.

Most often the motive is restated as a *melodic sequence* in a single voice, as shown in measures 9, 13, 17, and 21 of Figure 5-2. Melodic sequence between two voices, as

between measures 121 of the lead-voice and 125 of Voice 1 (in Figure 5-3), is also common.

Often enough, the motive's rhythm is strictly repeated, but *intervallic substitutions* are improvised and added. This kind of variation is exemplified in measures 81 and 85 of Voice 1 and measures 49 and 53 of the lead voice, shown in Figure 5-4. At other times, however, the motive's rhythm is *contracted* (Fig. 5-5, measures 149, 157, and 165, V1 & V2).

In general, subtly improvised *combinations* of sequences, substitutions, and contractions permeate the forty iterations of *Kùnda's* melodic refrain. Such repeated refrains and their constitutive motives act as the distinguishing mnemonic devices of each unique *likànò* song. As suggested by a number of popular music studies, melodic motives, in particular, function as songs' principal mnemonic "hooks" (Adorno 1976:34–37 Burns 1987, Kronengold 2005:381–397).¹⁵ Informal evidence of the mnemonic effectiveness of these melodic hooks has often been observed whenever I have elicited the identity of a particular Baka song by simply humming a small portion of its melody to a Baka friend. The moment my Baka friends recognize a melodic motive, the song's words soon follow; and if the song is a *likànò* song, a synopsis of the story soon follows as well, maybe even an entire story telling. Nearly every *likànò* song verse has at least one 'hook' of some kind—be it a repeated verse segment, a repeated rhythmic figure, a repeated melodic motif, or some combination thereof.

Processes of repetition do not aid memory on their own, for they are inextricably linked with *that* which is repeated. The *particular* form of each motive is the unique index of each story and song; its multiple reiterations increasingly ensure its

recognition. It is not likely that all melodic motives are equally effective “hooks,” but to the degree that the melodic motives of *likàndò* songs are emically “well-formed,” songs (and their stories) are more likely made more memorable.

Likàndò songs and stories are not, however, simply “things to be remembered.” As Chapter 4 suggests, *likàndò* song’s developmental function also makes the performance *experience* more memorable. In the performance of *Kùnda*’s song, for example, as *Kùnda* gathers his poisonous plants and insects, melodic and syntactic variations incrementally unfold, the choral performance intensifies, the pitch rises, the tempo increases, and drums and voices crescendo. Layers of symbolic, iconic, and indexical signs coalesce and induce a “semantic snowballing effect” (Turino 2000:175–176). Thus, as the performance develops, not only is the *narrative* marked by *likàndò* song, the *Baka* are “marked” as well. For “signs calling forth densely layered meanings often initially create complex effects *which ‘we’ experience as feeling*” (italics added; *ibid.*). Thus, the affective experiences associated with *likàndò* song performance further complicate the semiotic potential of *likàndò* song and so index the *Baka experience* of the narrative that the memory of both its performance and storyline are rendered all the more memorable.

As social acts, then, *likàndò* songs implicitly encode multiple socio-cultural functions: among them are social cohesion, collective expression, social critique, shared memory and shared experience. But there is more, according to the *Baka*. In the ethnographic accounts of Boursier, Brisson, Higgens, and Léonard many more explicit functions of *likàndò* song and story are reported (Boursier 1994:8–10 and Higgens 1981:5–7, cited in Léonard 2003:3–5). For example, in semi-permanent forest camps,

songs and stories are traditionally held to “weaken the heart of the animals” so that they fall into Baka traps (ibid.). Similarly, at camps on hunting trips, songs and stories “weaken the forest” so that hunters’ “chances” for a successful hunt are ensured (Higgins 1985:101, ibid.). These are no small purposes for a people so dependent on the forest for their food. In addition to the basic struggle for food, elders are said to tell stories during wakes “to please the spirit of the deceased person” in order to maintain peace in the community (Léonard 2003:5). Yet the purposes of stories and their songs are not always so explicitly pragmatic.

As explained above, *likànd* song and story are memorably marked. But they are not only memorable in themselves, but also for what they explicitly and implicitly “pass on” about everyday life in the forest, beliefs about the origins of things, and traditional customs, mores, and spirituality (Boursier 1991:26–31,¹⁶ 1994:10–17, 26–30; Brisson 1999:8–103). Strikingly, such consequential themes are not only sung and spoken in earnest, but are plainly—and often simultaneously—performed to amuse and recreate (*na mɛ̀ soba/sòlɔ*) as well. As Boursier describes it,

In an atmosphere of play and relaxation, an impressive knowledge is transmitted to the newer generations regarding all that touches the forest, from animals and their habits, to the world of the sacred. There emerges a very clear overall impression: this very unified vision of the world of the Baka where the realm of the supernatural, the world of men and of nature communicate and exchange incessantly. The daily life and conduct of the Baka only serves to reinforce this impression. (my translation; emphasis added; 1994:10)¹⁷

Therefore, when *Kùnda* sings, layers of communicative intent are potentially served. The greater part of this dissertation has decidedly focused on *likànd* song’s

discursive purposes, that is, how it serves the narrative discourse of which it is a part. Yet, it is likely that the Baka take such abstract functions quite for granted. Their purposes, as I have just explained, are much more socially, physically, and spiritually pragmatic. Yet, to say that the Baka would take abstractions like “discourse functions” for granted, does not mean that they would be indifferent to *how* a *likàndò* song is composed or performed. For the discernable patterns in their traditional performances strongly suggest that the relationship of form and function are not arbitrary, but ardently intentional. So, for example, *Kùnda* does not merely speak, but also sings. And when he sings, he sings in earnest. And we know he is in earnest because of what he sings, and when and how he sings it.

Solo Adult Male Lead (NGUNA)

la mo la _____
M2d M2a

9
lead
M2a M3d u u _____ M2d u+d M2+a M2a M3+d u _____ M3d M2a _____

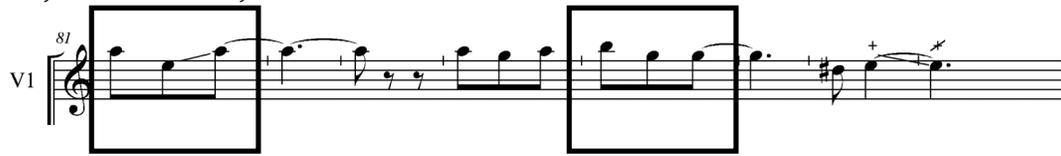
17
lead
P4a P4d u _____ M3+d m6a u+d M2a M2a P4d u _____ P4a u u M2d m2+a

Figure 5-2. Melodic motive of “*Kùnda’s Song*”: a “short-short-long” triplet formation of a descending perfect fourth/major third and a unison. (See also within the complete transcription in Appendix B, measures 9–24)

The image shows a musical score for four parts: V1, V2, V3, and lead. Each staff begins with a measure number '121' and a '+' sign above the first note. V1 and V2 have a '2' below the first note. V1 and V2 have a boxed melodic motive consisting of a quarter note, an eighth note, and a quarter note. V3 has a '+' sign above the first note. The lead staff has a '+' sign above the first note and a boxed melodic motive consisting of a quarter note, an eighth note, and a quarter note. Below the lead staff, the lyrics 'M2a M3+d u, _____' are written.

Figure 5-3. Motive of “Kùnda’s Song” restated in *melodic sequence* between two voice parts

Voice 1, Measures 81, 85



Lead Voice, Measures 49, 53

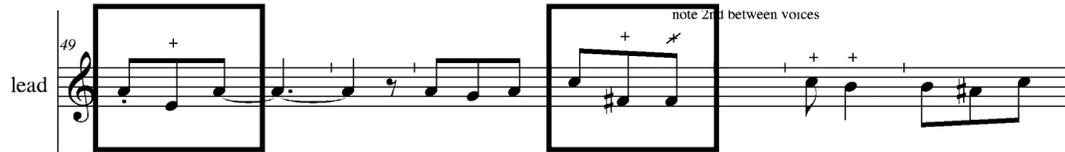


Figure 5-4. Motive of “Kùnda’s Song” strictly restated rhythmically, but with *intervallic substitutions*

The figure displays two systems of musical notation, each consisting of two staves labeled V1 and V2. The first system covers measures 145 to 152. The V1 staff contains a melodic line with various ornaments (accents, slurs, and a breath mark) and a box highlighting a specific rhythmic contraction. The V2 staff contains a lower melodic line with lyrics 'buried...' and 'distribution indistinguishable...'. The second system covers measures 153 to 160. The V1 staff has a box highlighting another rhythmic contraction. The V2 staff has lyrics 'vague...'.

Figure 5-5. Motive of “Kùnda’s Song” restated with *rhythmic contractions*

¹ “wà-kpɔ́kpɔ́ ko kpéké” is more literally “a very strong story-teller.”

² For fuller accounts of the typical scenes, characters, plots, and functions of Baka *likànò*, I refer the reader, again, to the works of Higgs (1981), Brisson (1981, 1996, 1999), Kilian-Hatz (1989), Boursier (1994), and Léonard (1997).

³ Interestingly, the second song in both of these narratives employed *sprechstimme* throughout.

⁴ This should not be taken to mean that the story still carried a typical text load; it did not. In fact, it is difficult to understand if there was any narration spoken at all in such cases. Just how such a short lyric and such little spoken narration could constitute a “complete” story will need further investigation.

⁵ More complete transcriptions are needed to verify this, and to better describe the distribution in a story’s structure.

⁶ This discourse function warrants more study, though requires better representation of the overlap of speaking and singing in performances.

⁷ In other contexts, for example, other *likànò* songs and other Baka song genres, these terms would need further clarification. The clarification is needed in that while these terms may be the *lexical* extent to which the Baka distinguish voice parts, there may be other distinctives.

⁸ The nature of these composite versions of both parts varies with any *likànò* song and is an interesting study in itself. As an example, the description of *Súà te Kùnda* presents some of the particulars as to the composite nature of its introductory *wànjàmba*.

⁹ The *wànjàmba* part is normally only performed by the lead singer, but not always. Occasionally, once the lead singer has adequately stated the *wànjàmba* part, the *wànjàmba* part may be picked up by other voices as well (especially other adult male voices, as in the case of a few of these sixteen *likànò* songs, for example, “*Kùnda te Jelo*”).

¹⁰ When a traditional Baka story includes more than one occurrence of song in the course of a narrative’s performance, songs typically become progressively shorter in duration. This pattern is consistent with the “change of pace” that Longacre claims is so commonly found in narrative discourse development, climactic development in particular.

¹¹ Aggblemagnon, F. *Sociologie des sociétés orales d’Afrique noire*, Mouton, Paris, 1969.

Boursier’s text reads: “Ces refrains contribuent à créer un climat et à rendre les auditeurs partie prenante: “Ces chansons...apportent une charge emotive qui favorise et accentue encore la participation collective du public, de telle sorte que le conteur et son auditoire ne forment qu’une seule et meme personne, qu’un seul meme corps. Dans une large mesure, le conte est un véritable socio-drame n’impliquant pas seulement participation au jeu d’un ou plusieurs personnages privilégiés (acteurs), mais celle de l’assemblée entière” (Aggblemagnon 1969:220 cited in Boursier 1994:8).

¹² Ibid.: “Sous le masque de personnages qui nous distraient, suscitent notre admiration ou notre indignation, se cache souvent une forme exacerbée d’ironie ou de critique sociale” (ibid.).

¹³ Wallace, W. (1994). “Memory for music: effect of melody on recall of text.” *Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 20(6), 1471-1485; Rainey, David W. & Larsen, Janet D (2002) “The Effect of Familiar Melodies on Initial Learning and Long-term Memory for Unconnected Text.” *Music Perception*, Winter, Vol. 20, No. 2, 173-186; Yalch, Richard (1991) “Memory in a Jingle Jungle: Music as a Mnemonic Device in Communicating Advertising Slogans.” *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol.76, No. 2, 268-275.

¹⁴ My etic transcription includes quarter-tones, indicated by a “+” over the notehead. Because of this, a number of the motive’s descending intervals are neither /P4/ (perfect fourths), nor /M3/ (major thirds), but rather, M3+ (e.g., see measure 13).

¹⁵ See Adorno 1976:34–37; Burns, Gary. 1987. “A Typology of ‘Hooks’ in Popular Records,” *Popular Music* 6(1): 1–20; Middleton, Richard 1990:51, 98; Shepherd, John, 2003. “Hooks” in *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*. London: Continuum, p. 563–564; Vernallis, Carol. *Experiencing Music Video: Aesthetics and*

Cultural Context / Carol Vernallis. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
Kronengold, Charles. 2005. "Accidents, hooks and theory." *Popular Music*, 24, pp 381–397.

¹⁶ See Boursier, Daniel, *Réflexions sur l'évangélisation des Baka*, Vivant Univers, n° 396, nov.- déc. 1991, pp. 26–31.

¹⁷ Boursier's text reads: "*Dans une ambiance de jeu and de détente, un savoir impressionante est transmit aux nouvelles générations pour tout ce qui touche à la forêt, aux animaux et leur moeurs, au monde du sacré. Il s'en degage une impression globale très nette: cette vision très unifiée du monde baka où l'au-delà, le monde des hommes et la nature communique et échangent sans cesse. Le vécu et le comportement quotidiens des Baka ne font que renforcer cette impression*" (italics added; 1994:10).

APPENDIX A
TEXT TRANSCRIPTION OF THE STORY OF “SUA TE KUNDA”

(My English translation is a “free” translation. Line numbers are indicated in parentheses. Chronology is intermittently indexed in brackets. Sections highlighted in gray represent an ongoing choral refrain.)

- (1) [:00]
e sasa e. *sàa.*
likànò pòngu. *pòngu.*
(Opening “Formula”)
(2)
Wó pe, lòmù a gòo pe Súà á kpiε.
News has spread that Leopard is dead.
(3)
Ndéeèkè Súà, é à mèè'pe ' e' a na jo yèe-sòo pe wó tùa té(tó).
But Leoard plans to eat all the animals that come to his funeral.
(4)
wó sì gèngà.
So the animals begin to gather.
(5)
é à (ye pe é) mòò sso.
But Leopard won't kill them just yet.
(6)
Wóε, é à biε (jungi).
His wife is going to have a baby.¹³⁴
(7) [:15]
e sasa e. *sàa*
likànò pòngu. *pòngu.*

(8) [:21]
(Sung Refrain)

[WA-TUKO TE WA-NJAMBA]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

Lè-ke, la' mòòle

títà(-e)? La' mòòle títà(-e)? Kùnda. Títà(-o-ε). La' mòòle títà(-e)? Lè-ke, la' mòòle

Lè-ke, la' mòòle sùà(-e)? La' mòòle títà(-e)? Kùnda.

Títà(-o). La' mòòle títà/sùà?(-e)?

Who killed my uncle, Sua (Leopard)? Who killed my uncle, Sua (Leopard)? O Kùnda (Turtle)... O Sua (Uncle Leopard)...

(Storyteller narrates while choral refrain continues.)

(9) [1:30]

Kùnda á ja. Súà nè Kùnda á ja nõð. Á ja sása, á lîngé. Á ja kóko, á lîngé. (òòò).¹³⁵ Á dù a mpe'e.¹³⁶ (Voila)¹³⁷

Turtle starts packing... He picks up a biting soldier ant...wraps in a leaf... he picks up a giant stinging black ant...wraps it up; and puts them in his travel sack.

[longer narrative pause]

(10) [2:07]

Súà, á ja na gɔε¹³⁸ ... Kùnda, á ja na gɔε te èe kònðò.

He sets out on his trek to the funeral ... collecting these insects as he goes...

(11)

È à gɔ te. a esue¹³⁹ a Súà.
...traveling with them...to Sua's funeral.

[shorter narrative pause]

(12) [2:25]

Á ja èbàmbì. Á lingà. èè!¹⁴⁰

He wraps up a venomous caterpillar;

(13)

Á ja kóko. Á lingà. èè?¹⁴¹

He wraps up (another) biting ant;

(14)

Á ja èkàlo. Á lingà.

He wraps up a biting termite;

(15)

Á ja páàmò. A a lingà.

He wraps up another stinging black ant;

(16)

É à gò te. a esue.

And heads off to Sua's funeral.

[narrative pause]

[2:45]

[He he he heè.]

[Stop! (A signal to the choir to stop singing.)]

(17)

e sasa e.

sàa.

likànò pòngu.

pòngu.

(Formula)

(18)

A ndaà kè. Kúnda, wó koàlo te à ga pe é koà jò o kò. Súà kè latì.

From here, Turtle paddles upstream with the others to finally see Leopard's body lying there.

(19) [2:51]

(KONJI: Ngàà jè wa- kò-bo.)¹⁴³

(We hear talking about the deceased.)

(20)

Kúnda ja pe jo Ngé, Súà kè pe ndoò à koólé.

Turtle prepares to speak, but notices that Leopard's testicles are exposed and moving.

(21) [2:56]

É te (Kúnda)... é te wòè pe (en privee):

He whispers to his wife,

(22)

Moò dòto nè a èe kè ma à liki (frotter) te títà-lè ma à bandàmà té te èbàmbi a (lékà-)nge-lé tè.

Get ready for what's about to happen... when I lay this stinging caterpillar on Leopard's testicles.

(23)

Ngó dòto tie.

Get ready...

(24)

Ngó dòto tie.

Get ready...

(25)

à nye èbàmbi kè.

because the sting of this caterpillar...

(26)

À wa é wà kékè.

..is really painful.

(27) [3:09]

Pe Kúnda weè (les testicules) pe é liki te Súà a nge-lé ó kò sisisìsìsì.

So Turtle lays the itchy caterpillar on Leopard's testicles, and Leopard begins to twitch (ideophone)!

(28)

Woo!¹⁴⁴

Yikes! Woe!

(29)

é te Mbambè pe: wotò go

Turtle says to Giant Lizard, Come on!

(30) **Pe wó te Mbambè, wó koò a ja kókò. Á (kókò) nyomò te ngé tité. Tité, á kpe.**
So, Turtle leaves with Lizard, and pricks Leopard again, and now Leopard is afraid.

(31) [3:20]
é te wǎ̃ mo mue dé?
Turtle says to his wife, "Did you see that?"

(32)
títà-lè, é kpiè de.
My Uncle's not dead!

(33) [3:23]
Gó nì. Buù nì wà.
Let's go! Let's chop down this tree over here.

(34)
kpò kpò kpò, ngà buù wà nà we.
Chop, chop, chop, Let's cut down this tree...

(35)
i ngò buù kò-lo kè à mu teè.
Giant Lizard and you others, help cut down this tree!

(36)
Kǎe te a kà? Wóó! Kǎe te nè!
Where's it gonna fall?! Right here on Leopard.

(37) [3:35]
e sasa e. *sàa* [“formula”]

(38)
Boo, wá lo kò ngò-bo a kò-lo. Wó te Mbambè.
So everybody gathers around the tree with Giant Lizard!

(43) [4:25]

likànò pòngu. pòngu.

(Formula)

(44)

Kùnda te tité pe, é do kò ngaà lo kè lekè mo kpie we.

Kunda shouts to Leopard, "If I had cut down the tree myself, you'd be dead now!"

(45)

Pe' e¹⁴⁵ a mò à wotò

"You're just too smart. You've got all the luck!"

(46) [4:33]

e sasa e.

sàa.

likànò pòngu. pòngu.

(“formula”)

(47)

[O kà nòò bo wèè sì.]

(?)

APPENDIX B

ETIC MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION OF VOICE PARTS:¹

“KUNDA’S SONG” FROM THE BAKA NARRATIVE “SUA TE KUNDA”
 (Object 5-3. Audio file of *likànò* story “*Sùà tɛ Kùnda*” (.mp3 4.4 MB))

Note: (1) This transcription only represents the melodic and rhythmic elements of the voice parts; percussion parts are represented in a composite transcription in Chapter 2, Figure 2-4; textual representation is only provided during the initial entries of certain voice parts; (2) a plus symbol over a note-head indicates that the pitch is a quarter-tone sharp; a diagonal slash through a plus symbol, however, indicates that a quarter-tone alteration is cancelled; (3) note-stems without note-heads rhythmically indicate a vocal presence, but only an approximate pitch; (4) notes with “x” note-heads indicate indefinite pitches/tones.

♩. = 140 MM.

Voice Part 1 (1-12 higher females & boys)

Voice Part 2 (1-7 lower females and boys)

Voice Part 3 (1-4 adult males)

Solo Adult Male Lead (NGUNA)

la mo la ti ta e e — la mo la ti ta e — Ku nda —

V1

V2

V3

lead

ti tao — e la mo la ti ta e — l²éke la mo la ti ta e — la mo la tu a e — Ku nda —

33

V1

V2

V3

lead

Su a o _____ la mo la Su a e _____ le ke la mo la Su a e _____ la mo la ti ta e _____ Kunda _____

49

V1

V2

V3

lead

ti ta o _____ la mo la ti ta e le ke la mo la Su - a - e _____ la mo la ? a e _____

Kunda _____

Kunda _____

65

V1 (Sua — lamoola ti-tale —

V2 (Kunda) — lamoola ti-tale — Kunda —

V3 (Kunda) e — lamoola ti-tale — Kunda —

lead (Aye) la moola —

81

V1

V2

V3

lead

4

sua te kunda

The musical score consists of four staves: V1, V2, V3, and lead. The first system covers measures 97 to 112, and the second system covers measures 113 to 118. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

System 1 (Measures 97-112):

- V1:** Treble clef, starting at measure 97. Contains complex melodic lines with many sixteenth notes and slurs. Includes dynamic markings like mf and mf .
- V2:** Treble clef, starting at measure 97. Contains complex melodic lines with many sixteenth notes and slurs. Includes dynamic markings like mf and mf .
- V3:** Treble clef, starting at measure 97. Contains a steady accompaniment pattern of eighth notes.
- lead:** Treble clef, starting at measure 97. Contains a melodic line with some rests and a double bar line at measure 100. Includes dynamic markings like mf and mf .

System 2 (Measures 113-118):

- V1:** Treble clef, starting at measure 113. Contains complex melodic lines with many sixteenth notes and slurs. Includes dynamic markings like mf and mf .
- V2:** Treble clef, starting at measure 113. Contains complex melodic lines with many sixteenth notes and slurs. Includes dynamic markings like mf and mf .
- V3:** Treble clef, starting at measure 113. Contains a steady accompaniment pattern of eighth notes.
- lead:** Treble clef, starting at measure 113. Contains a melodic line with some rests and a double bar line at measure 116. Includes dynamic markings like mf and mf .

129

V1

V2

V3

lead

note drift up in pitch

145

V1

V2

V3

lead

ti taaw _____

6

sua te kunda

21

161

V1

V2

V3

lead

23

24

177

V1

V2

V3

lead

faint.....

Konji

sua te kunda

7

26

193 ²⁵⁺

V1

V2

V3 *faint*

lead

Ku-nda — Su - a - aw —

209 ²⁷ ²⁸

V1

V2

V3

lead

a - - - lamoola - ti-ta - ye Ku - nda —

lamoola - ti-ta - ye Ku - nda —

ti - ta - aw —

225

V1 lamoola - ti-ta - ye Ku-nda —

V2

V3 a - e —

lead ti - ta-e — le-ke lamoda ? ? ?

241

V1

V2 Ku-nda —

V3

lead

sua te kunda

33 34

257

V1

Su- a - aw la moo la - ti-taye Knda.

V2

257

V3

ti-ta-aw —

lead

257

35 36

273

V1

V2

273

V3

lead

273

10

sua te kunda

289 37 38

V1

V2

V3

lead

39 40

305

V1

V2

V3

lead

Glide

faint....

C#???

The musical score consists of four staves, each starting with a measure number '321'.
 - **V1:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#). It begins with a melodic line that includes a glissando ornament over a note, indicated by the word 'Gliss' above the staff.
 - **V2:** Treble clef, featuring a melodic line with several slurs and ties.
 - **V3:** Treble clef, showing a rhythmic accompaniment with a series of eighth notes.
 - **lead:** Treble clef, featuring a melodic line with various ornaments, including a section marked 'shouted.....' with a series of sharp accents (>) above the notes.

¹ In Section 2.2.2, I implicitly question etic (i.e., “outsider”) notions of Baka perceptions of melodic intervals. Thus, in preparing for my forthcoming emic analysis of Baka intervals, I have included quarter tones in most of my transcriptions in the event that these melodic variations turn out to be emically significant to the Baka. I have left the representations of quarter tones in this present transcription of “*Kunda’s* song,” but they have little relevance to my present concerns.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dan Fitzgerald was born in Auburn, New York in 1955. The youngest of five children, Dan grew up in western New York in the town of Lyons and graduated from Lyons Central High School in 1973. He earned his M.M. in performance and literature in applied percussion from the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York in 1977 and his M.A. in missions/intercultural studies and ethnomusicology from Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois in 1989. During his ethnomusicology internship at Wheaton College, Dan carried out ethnographic field work among the Tewa Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, under the supervision of Dr. Vida Chenoweth. He pursued an M.A. in linguistics from the University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas from 1992-1993.

Dan performed as a percussionist with the Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra from 1976-1977, with the Pasadena Symphony from 1978-1979, and as an ethnic percussionist with the Rwanda Lewis Afro-Cuban Dance Company in Los Angeles in 1979. He also taught and performed percussion as a member of the faculties of music at the State University of New York at Geneseo and Brockport from 1979-1986 and 1981-1983, respectively.

Dan began his ethnomusicological field work in Cameroon, Africa, in 1995, as a member of SIL, an international Christian faith-based language development NGO. From 1996 to 2008, Dan and his family intermittently lived in Cameroon's eastern rainforest among the Baka people as part of SIL's Baka Language Development Project.

Dan and his wife, Debra, and their four children, Emma, Aaron, Mary, and Jonathan, returned to the U.S. in June 2008. Currently, Dan is teaching at the

Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics (GIAL) in Dallas, Texas. Upon completion of his Ph.D in May 2011, he will continue to pursue a career in teaching and ethnomusicological research.