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Oral Tradition seeks to provide a comparative and interdisciplinary focus for studies in oral literature and related fields by publishing research and scholarship on the creation, transmission, and interpretation of all forms of oral traditional expression. As well as essays treating certifiably oral traditions, *OT* presents investigations of the relationships between oral and written traditions, as well as brief accounts of important fieldwork, a Symposium section (in which scholars may reply at some length to prior essays), review articles, occasional transcriptions and translations of oral texts, a digest of work in progress, and a regular column for notices of conferences and other matters of interest. In addition, occasional issues will include an ongoing annotated bibliography of relevant research and the annual Albert Lord and Milman Parry Lectures on Oral Tradition. *OT* welcomes contributions on all oral literatures, on all literatures directly influenced by oral traditions, and on non-literary oral traditions. Submissions must follow the list-of reference format (style sheet available on request) and must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope for return or for mailing of proofs; all quotations of primary materials must be made in the original language(s) with following English translations. Authors should submit two copies of all manuscripts. Most contributions will be reviewed by at least one specialist reader and one member of the editorial board before a final decision is reached. Review essays, announcements, and contributions to the Symposium section will be evaluated by the editor in consultation with the board.

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All manuscripts, books for review, items for the bibliography updates, and editorial correspondence, as well as subscriptions and related inquiries should be addressed to the editor, John Miles Foley, Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, 316 Hillcrest Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65211.

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Editor's Column

Let me start this editor's column with an invitation before the menu. As always, we seek to publish the best available scholarship on the world's oral traditions, oral-derived texts, and related forms. Perhaps even more insistently than in prior years, as we near the turning of the millennium, studies in oral tradition need both greater breadth and increased depth. That is, *Oral Tradition* is eager to print articles treating both living traditions (whether fieldwork- or archive-oriented) and manuscript- or text-based works. We welcome your voice, and look forward to your joining the conversation.

Long-range, that conversation will be featuring two new initiatives. As well as our ongoing commitment to comparatively oriented issues, we will be producing two more focused special collections—one on the Minority Folk Literatures of China and the other on Oral Tradition and Contemporary Criticism. At this point, the plans for these special issues are still very much on the drawing board, so please let us have your ideas, either about subjects to be covered or about a potential contribution that you would like to propose.

The present number of *Oral Tradition* reflects the heterogeneity for which we have been striving since the inaugural issue in 1986. Thomas Hale begins the discussion with a look at *griot(te)*, the controversial term widely applied to African singers of tales. From African epic, Vaira Vīķis-Freibergs takes us to Latvian folksongs and the phenomenon of associative structuring. Leslie Stratyner's article deals with a fascinating hybrid text in Old English, "The Dream of the Rood," poised between orality and literacy and between the Germanic heroic code and Christian sacrifice. From AngloSaxon England we then journey first to Mongolian and then to Uzbek oral epic in east Asia. Chao Gejin, from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, offers an overview of the Mongolian epic territory, while Walter Feldman provides a case study of two performances of the "Return of Alpamiș." Finally, Catherine Quick adds to our annotated bibliographical series with the 1986-1990 installment of books and articles pertaining to oral-formulaic theory and related approaches to the study of oral tradition. We plan to bring the series up to 1995 soon. All new installments, as well as the original 1982 bibliography, will be available electronically at the website for the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition: http://oraltradition.org.

Next in the publication queue (13, i) stands a special issue devoted to Native American oral traditions, featuring the subject of co-translation by teams composed of one Native and one non-Native.

Once again, we welcome your input.

John Miles Foley, Editor

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From the Griot of *Roots* to the Roots of *Griot*: A New Look at the Origins of a Controversial African Term for Bard

Thomas A. Hale

Introduction

The spread of the word *griot* during the last two decades from its role as a regional descriptor for a certain kind of West African bard to global usage in an extraordinary range of media is the result of many factors. The 1976 *Roots* phenomenon introduced 1.5 million readers and 130 million viewers to the image of the griot (Pace 1992, Anonymous 1977). Today, griots perform at a variety of venues in cities such as Paris, London, New York, and Tokyo, as well as at hundreds of universities around the world. They are now having an impact on such diverse musical styles as rock, rap, and even modern symphonic music. The on-line LEXIS/NEXIS Information System available to data users at many sites worldwide lists over 1,500 citations containing the word *griot* in newspapers and other publications. Many of them refer to African American musicians, storytellers, and elders who increasingly are being compared to griots. For example, the National Association of Black Storytellers gave Mary Carter Smith the title "Mother Griot" at the 1994 National Festival of Black Storytelling (Smith 1996). But *griot* is not limited to the African diaspora. The author Studs Terkel, whose writings are based largely on oral interviews, now compares his work to that of a griot (Heinen 1995).

But the positive connotations associated with griots outside of their continent of origin mask an enormous ambivalence to the term for many West Africans, especially those who live in the cities of the Sahel and Savanna region—Dakar, Senegal; Bamako, Mali; and Niamey, Niger. One reason for this ambivalence is fear of the power of words spoken or sung by griots (Hoffman 1990, 1995). Another is an ancient tradition that marks them as a separate people categorized all too simplistically as members of a "caste," a term that has come under increasing attack as a distortion of the social structure in the region. In the worst case, that difference meant

burial for griots in trees rather than in the ground in order to avoid polluting the earth (Conrad and Frank 1995:4-7). Today, although these traditions are changing, griots and people of griot origin still find it very difficult to marry outside of the group of artisans to which they belong. Finally, griot behavior is marked by a freedom to speak loudly, to sing, dance, and demand gifts of others. To describe a boisterous friend as acting like a griot is to offer an insult.

Yet ever since the first griot was clearly documented in writing by the fourteenth-century Berber traveler Ibn Battuta (French Batoutah; 1859), we find that they have served as respected advisors to rulers, as tutors for princes, and as diplomats in delicate negotiations. Today, in spite of the seeming negativity associated with griots, West Africans at home and abroad give them gifts ranging from money to automobiles, houses, air tickets to Mecca, and, if they have nothing else, the clothing off their own backs. In one case, a wealthy fan of a griotte gave the woman a small airplane (Hale 1994). The most talented griots travel with presidents and serve as spokespersons. When a great griot dies, he or she may receive a state funeral or, in the case of Ban Zoumana Sissoko in Mali and Tinguizi in Niger, appear on a postage stamp.

The paradox bound up in the insult and honor associated with the word *griot* generates many questions. For a forthcoming study (1998) of griots and their female counterparts, griottes, I sought answers by focussing on their history, training, social status, verbal art, music, rewards, and use of technology. But at the root of any research on griots lies a deep-seated ambiguity surrounding the term by which they are known around the world today. This ambiguity stems not only from the mixed reception that griots receive at home, but also from two other factors: first, a widespread belief among scholars that the word *griot* is not of African origin, and, second, a lack of knowledge about the geographical extent of the griot world in West Africa. The result for modern researchers is doubt about whether or not to use *griot* or a local word to denote these multi-functional performers. The purpose here is to propose a solution to the problem of which term to use by focussing on both the etymology of *griot* and the local nomenclature for these artisans of the word in the various peoples of the Sahel and Savanna region. The result will be a new theory for the origin of the term, a better understanding of the cultural diversity it represents, and a clearer idea of the geography of the griot world in West Africa.

Often described simply as "praise-singers" because singing praises is the most obvious and audible function they perform, griots and griottes actually contribute to their own societies in so many other ways that "praise-singer" becomes a far too limited description. For example, they

are also historians, genealogists, advisors, spokespersons, diplomats, interpreters, musicians, composers, poets, teachers, exhorters, town criers, reporters, and masters of or contributors to a variety of ceremonies (naming, initiation, weddings, installations of chiefs, and so on). Although griots are born into their profession, they do not all perform all of these functions, some of which are gender-specific or not as actively practiced today as they were centuries ago. Furthermore, many people of griot origin inevitably choose a different path in life (see Panzacchi 1994).

Societies that count griots among their various professions, however, have their own words to describe them: *iggio* (Moor), *guewel* or *géwél* (Wolof), *mabo* or *gawlo* (Fulbe), *jali* (Mandinka), *jeli* (Maninka, Bamana), *geseré* or *jaaré* (Soninké), *jeseré* (Songhay), and *marok'i* (Hausa), not to mention a variety of other terms. Within a particular language group or culture there are other non-hereditary performers, such as hunters and Muslim clerics, who operate in some ways like griots to meet the needs of certain groups. The multiplicity of terms for hereditary griots across the Sahel and Savanna zones of West Africa reveals individual ethnic identities, cultural diffusion from one people to another over an apparently long period of time, and diversity in the variety of these bards within a particular society. In some cases, this fluid nomenclature leads to considerable ambiguity. This is especially evident where the griot profession overlaps with other activities and also when the notion of profession shades into ethnicity. The simplicity of *griot* and the complexity evident in these other terms is a major source of the debate, more often articulated orally than in print, about which word to use, *griot* or a more specific term such as *jali*.

Origins of *griot*

One reason for this debate is that no one has ever clearly documented the origin of *griot* in an African language. Travelers, colonial administrators, and scholars have advanced many theories to explain its etymology in European and African languages. It would require far more space than a single article to describe these different theories. In what follows, however, I will cite briefly most of them before developing in greater detail the one I think is most promising.

The first appearance of the modern ancestor of *griot* was the French word *guiriot*, employed by Alexis de St. Lô, a Capucin missionary monk who traveled along the Senegambian coast of West Africa in 1634-35 and published his *Relation du Voyage du Cap-Verd* in 1637. Michel Jajolet de La Courbe, the French director of the Compagnie du Sénégal, used the term

frequently in a lengthy narrative about the first of his three tours of duty in northern Senegal from 1685 to 1710. At one point, however, *guiriot* shifts to *griot*, but this is perhaps the result of a typographical error generated when the manuscript was edited and published in 1913 by Cultru.

Theories of the origin of the term in French emerged a century later in 1778 when Le Brasseur, a colonial administrator in West Africa, explained in a note in a report to a French admiral that

> [a] *grillot* is a species of negro actor whose theatrical costume resembles that of Harlequin. He has two or three hundred rattles [*grelots*] attached to his legs and belt, and makes them move when he is on stage with a variety and a cadence that would not shock the most delicate ear . . . . The *grillots* are liked and despised by people just like actors in Europe. They are not even looked upon as members of society, and they can only marry among themselves. (1778:27, my translation)

Le Brasseur's definition of the term is based on the phonemic similarity of two French words, *grillot* and *grelot*, but, coming as it does 150 years after *guiriot* first appears in the writings of St. Lô, it seems to be an isolated etymology that does not lead anywhere.

In the nineteenth century, Bérenger-Féraud proposed the Wolof term *gueroual* or *guewoual* for *griot* (1882). More recently, the Nigerian scholar Oumarou Watta (1985) suggested that *griot* comes from a Fulbe term, *gawlo*. Both the Wolof and Fulbe terms bear some similarities to *griot*, but more linguistic evidence is needed to make the case for them as sources.

The American linguist Charles Bird has suggested that *griot* comes from an early form of the Mandé word for *griot* that might have been heard as *gerio* by the French (1971:16-17). This view is contested by the historian David Conrad, who argues that the French had relatively little contact with people farther inland who use the modern form of that term, *jeli* (1981:8-9).

The French scholar Henri Labouret has proposed a Portuguese source, "*criado* '[one] who has been nourished, raised, educated, who lives in the house of the master'; and thus in a broader sense 'domestic, dependent client, preferred client'" (l951:56, my translation). Labouret's theory has some basis in the fact that the Portuguese arrived in West Africa long before the French, and that Portuguese was spoken along the coast from Senegal southward for some distance.

There is also an obvious link between loud verbal expression and a Portuguese family of words based on the verb *gritar*, "to shout." It includes *grito* (a shout), *gritalhao* (a person who shouts a lot), *gritador* (a person or place that is the source of much shouting), and *gritaria* (many shouts at

once). Tempting as a theory built upon these words may be, there remains a perplexing question: if *gritar* is the source of *griot*, why would the French adopt a variant of that particular term from Portuguese, and not *judeu*, the word used by Portuguese and Portuguese creole-speakers for five centuries in West Africa? *Judeu*, "Jew" in Portuguese, dates to 1506 (Fernandes 1951), preceding by 130 years the 1637 use of *guiriot* by St. Lô. It is still employed today in Guinea-Bissau in both standard Portuguese and in Portuguese creole, where it has become *jidiu* or *djidiu*. The reference here to Jews is rooted in a complex network of local knowledge about this minority in both Europe and Africa.

In Morocco, Mauritania, and neighboring areas during the Middle Ages, Jews who worked as metalsmiths were perceived to have special powers. Charles Monteil has advanced the thesis that metalsmiths and griots in this region came from Black populations that had converted to Judaism in part because of the gold trade (1951:287-88). Persecuted by Muslims, Jews had fled the Maghreb and descended into Mauritania where they converted Blacks to Judaism. Later, fleeing the Muslim Almoravids who were building an empire based in Morocco, they crossed the border into Senegambia and left archaeological traces as far inland as Tendirma, just upriver from Timbuktu (Camara 1976:80-83). It is quite possible that the Portuguese were aware of these communities and their activities, and therefore based their description of griots as Jews on more than simply observation of apparent social discrimination against them by other members of society. *Judeu*, the Portuguese word for griot, might then have evolved into the early French *guiriot* by the beginning of the seventeenth century.

More than one hundred and thirty years separate the Moravian writer Fernandes, who used *judeu* in 1506 in his compilation of travel information, *Description de la Côte d'Afrique*, from St. Lô, who employed *guiriot* in 1637—time enough for much linguistic change. When the French arrived in Africa in the early seventeenth century, *jidiu* might have evolved into *guiriot* as the channels of communication between Portuguese Creole-speaking Africans and French travelers developed.

As early as the Portuguese were in exploring West Africa, however, they did not have as much contact with the region, especially with North West Africa, as did the Spanish, whose contacts predate the invasion of Spain in 711 by Arab and Berber armies. Africans came to Spain throughout the Middle Ages via several routes: trade across the Sahara and the Mediterranean to Gilbraltar and other ports, through direct importation by slavers who landed along the West and North West coast, especially during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and through the Canary Islands.

Africans were so well known in southern Spain in the sixteenth century that they often appear not only in the literature of the time but also in other cultural activities that they brought with them. African influence is evident in a variety of vocabulary, including the *guirigay*, a dance popular in Seville in the sixteenth century (Ortiz 1924:246). The word entered the Spanish of this time to mean language that is obscure and difficult to understand (Ortiz 1924:246). It is possible that Spanish travelers invented this term to portray what they saw as the unintelligible song and bizarre dance of griots. The word for griot today in Spanish is *guiriote*, and this may well have been inspired by the seventeenth-century French term *guiriot*, or it may have developed from *guirigaray*. But more evidence is needed to follow this path.

Between West Africa and Europe, the Berber-speaking region marked by later Arabic influences constitutes a large zone of cultural diffusion that influences neighboring peoples on both sides. The French Africanist Vincent Monteil has suggested that *griot* came from the Berber *iggio*, or *iggiw* or *iggow* (1968:777-78). The British researcher H. T. Norris rejected Monteil's view of the Berber origin of *iggiw* when he asserted that the term comes from "communities across the [Senegal] river. It is *gêwel* in Wolof and *gawlo* in Toucouleur" (1968:53).

Norris's view finds support in the research of another French scholar, Michel Guignard, who studied the music of Moors and traced part of their musical tradition to Blacks. In the Arab-Berber world, he explains, there are no performers who fulfill the many roles of the griot, although one does find musicians, singers, and poets, as well as people who do all of these activities. If the same kinds of performers are found in Moor society, they are distinct from the *iggawen*, who are the only ones to play the lute as well as carry out the psychological and social functions that set them apart from other musicians. Guignard suggests that the griots may have come from the south, and adds that this hypothesis matches the belief of many Moors who trace the genealogies of their musicians either to Blacks or to Arabs. Black influence on Moor music is very ancient and, notes Guignard, continues to this day (1975:178-79).

Whether the origin of *iggio* is North African or West African, the link between these two regions is clear. The focus of the etymological search on the frontier between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa has directed attention to the dialects of Arabic in Mauritania, Morocco, and Algeria, as well as to the Berber influence on them. Charry has proposed that *griot* comes from the Arabic term *qawal*, or singer, via the Wolof *guewel* (1992:66-67). He sees a similarity between *griot* and *iggiw* (Hassaniya Arabic), *gewel* (Wolof), and *gaulo* (Fulbe):

> The Arabic root q-w-l essentially concerns speech. Some of the definitions given in dictionaries of medieval Arabic are virtual job descriptions of *griots*:
>
> > 'he spoke in verse . . . poeticized . . . good in speech . . . loquacious . . . copious in speech . . . eloquent . . .the man who talks too much' (Lane 1956:supplement 2995).
> >
> > 'Man of the spoken word . . . singer . . . traveling poet . . . improviser . . . to recite verse that one has composed oneself' (Dozy 1967:II, 420-21).

Charry's tantalizing hypothesis tying *qawal* to *griot* via *gewel*/*gawlo*/*iggiw* is based on the relationship between *gewel* and *griot* proposed by Bérenger-Féraud a century earlier. But that link is much less persuasive than the *qawal*/*guewel* etymology that leads up to it.

There is another source in Arabic that I believe offers the most promising path to the roots of *griot*: *guinea*, one of the oldest and most widely used geographical terms in West Africa. In a long note in his study on the fourteenth-century kingdoms of the Moors, Bovill explains the origin of *guinea* (1995:116):

> The name Guinea is usually said to have been a corrupt form of the name Ghana, picked up by the Portuguese in the Maghrib. The present writer finds this unacceptable. The name Guinea has been in use both in the Maghrib and in Europe long before Prince Henry's time. For example, on a map dated about 1320 by the Genoese cartographer Giovanni di Carignano, who got his information about Africa from a fellow-countryman in Sijilmas [ancient trading city in North Africa], we find Gunuia, and in the Catalan atlas of 1375 as Ginyia. A passage in Leo [Africanus] (vol. III, 822) points to Guinea having been a corrupt form of Jenne [2,000 year old city in central Mali on Niger river], less famous than Ghana but nevertheless for many centuries famed in the Maghrib as a great market and a seat of learning. The relevant passage reads: "The Kingdom of Ghinea . . . called by the merchants of our nation Gheneoa, by the natural inhabitants thereof Genni and by the Portugals and other people of Europe Ghinea." But it seems more probable that Guinea derives from *aguinaou*, the Berber for Negro. Marrakech [city in southeastern Morocco] has a gate, built in the twelfth century, called the Bab Aguinaou, the Gate of the Negro (Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, II, 277-278). The modern application of the name Guinea to the coast dates only from 1481. In that year the Portuguese built a fort, São de Mina (modern day Elmina), on the Gold Coast, and their king, John II, was permitted by the Pope [Sixtus II or Innocent VIII] to style himself Lord of Guinea, a title that survived until the recent extinction of the monarchy.

Through the Spanish *guineo*, *guinea* came to be a widely used term to describe all Black Africans and occurs today in the names of several countries—Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, and Equatorial Guinea—as well as the Gulf of Guinea. Ortiz cites the first use of it in Seville in 1413 (1924:245). By the early sixteenth century, a period when Spain and its dependencies, especially the Canary islands, had continuous contact with West Africa, the term *guineo* referred both to people from West Africa and to another dance in southern Spain that was inspired by Africans. Given its widespread use at the time and its deep roots in Africa, it is quite possible that with a shift from [*n*] to [*r*] *guineo* served as the origin for what later became in Spanish *guiriote* and in French *guiriot*.

The Berber root for *guineo* (*agenaou*, close to *iggio* and *iggiw*) supports the hypothesis that *griot* is of African, not European origin. We do not know for certain if it was diffused northward from sub-Saharan Africa by Black African populations living in southern Mauritania who pre-dated the arrival of Arabs in the region a thousand years ago, by traveling griots who associated with the original Berber populations in the region, or by traders who dealt in gold, slaves, and salt between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. It may even have been transmitted southward from North Africa to sub-Saharan Africa, as has been suggested by Vincent Monteil. But other evidence from recent archaeological work in Mali as well as from studies of music in Morocco support the hypothesis that the term came from south of the Sahara. That evidence requires a brief digression into the history of relations between North and sub-Saharan Africa.

Until relatively recently, scholars assumed that the cities of the Sahel were the product of trade between North Africa and the empires of the region during the Middle Ages. The work of archaeologists, especially that of the Americans Roderick and Susan McIntosh at the site of ancient Jenné-Jeno in Mali in the late 1970s and early 1980s (1981), supports the theory that at least one of those cities has existed for over 2,000 years. Jenné-Jeno was founded in 250 BCE and by the period 400-800 CE was a major trading center in the inland delta of the Niger river that lies between Bamako, the modern capital of Mali, and Timbuktu, an isolated city downstream that is 800 years old. Jenné-Jeno was also a large city for its time. Archaeological evidence shows that it was surrounded by a two-kilometer walled perimeter. Traders there dealt in gold imported from sources 800 kilometers to the south, which was then exported along with other products—food, ivory, and slaves—northward by caravan and northeastward on the Niger river. As indicated by Bovill earlier, it was not until the early fourteenth century that Jenné-Jeno began to appear on European maps.

This trade expanded considerably in the eighth century with the introduction of the camel. Slaves and gold were particularly important for the different dynasties that controlled North Africa and part of Spain during this period, the Almoravids (1071 to 1147) and the Almohads (1147 to 1248). Black Africans were especially valuable because of their use as both soldiers in the armies of the sultans and as laborers for the building of cities and fortresses. One city in particular, Marrakesh in southeastern Morocco, assumed a dominant role both as a major gateway to trade in sub-Saharan Africa and as a powerful political center in the region. Youssef ben Tachfine, appointed by the Almoravid leader Abu Bekr in 1071 to rule Marrakesh, began to build mosques and barracks for an army of 2,000 Black slaves. It is not surprising, then, that the importance of trade with sub-Saharan Africa and the presence of so many Blacks should prompt Sultan el Mansour, a later Almohad ruler, to order the Bab Agenaou, or Gate of Black Africans, to be built in 1185. This was the entrance through which flowed the slaves, gold, and other products from sub-Saharan Africa to the Kasbah, that part of the city containing the headquarters—the palaces, mosques, and military barracks—of the vast Almohad empire. From that time on, the Black African presence in Marrakesh has grown. The flow of slaves increased considerably after the Moroccan conquest of the Songhay empire in 1591, and by the time of Sultan Mouley Ishmael a century later (1672-1727), the regime depended upon not only Arab and Berber forces but also, and to a much greater extent, on a more reliable army of 150,000 Black Africans. Slaves continued to be bought and sold in Marrakesh until the early twentieth century.

The *agenaou*—the people from Black Africa—who passed through the Bab Agenaou to serve as soldiers, laborers, and servants were accompanied not only by gold and ivory but also by their own traditions. They may have suffered less cultural loss in Morocco than did other Africans during the Atlantic slave trade that developed several centuries later in Europe. Although we do not know if the term *agenaou* originated in Ghana, the empire to the south that served as a very early sub-Saharan terminus for the slave trade, or in Jenné-Jeno, the ancient city farther east, any visitor to Marrakesh today quickly encounters a living clue to the cultures of these slaves in a group of musicians known as *Gnawas*.

The *Gnawas* are not griots. But in both their own collective memory as well as in that of the people of Morocco, they are of sub-Saharan African origin. Their presence in Morocco probably precedes the sixteenth-century date most often given for the creation of the *Gnawas*, but with the Moroccan conquest of the Songhay empire in 1591, the flow of slaves across the desert increased dramatically and probably contributed greatly to

the growth of what Viviana Pâques calls the "brotherhood of the slaves" (1991).

Gnawa musicians represent a blending of the musical art of the griot (and other kinds of musicians) and the healing rituals of sub-Saharan Africa. Philip Schuyler describes them as a religious brotherhood that "claims spiritual descent from Bilal al Habashi, an Ethiopian who was the Prophet Mohammed's first muezzin," but adds that "most aspects of *Gnawa* ritual, however, clearly come from South of the Sahara" (1981:5). Their ceremonies focus on placating spirits that may have brought illness or other problems and also serve "to prolong a happy relationship with a spirit that has brought wealth, clairvoyance, or other blessings" (1981:5). They play a three-stringed instrument called the *gambere* that is similar in some ways to the different kinds of lutes common in Senegal, Mali, and Niger; they also play drums and metal castanets. The *Gnawas* are best known for the lengthy and complex *derdeba* ceremony that leads to trances, spirit possession, dancing, and pantomime. The music of the *Gnawas* includes references to languages and places in sub-Saharan Africa and often contains words that the singers do not understand today. The link between this brotherhood and sub-Saharan Africa has therefore survived, but, significantly, in a syncretic form that contains traces of many cultural activities tied to blacksmiths, griots, and sorcerers.

The *Gnawas*, then, are the cultural descendants of the *agenaou* who migrated through slavery and trade to North Africa. Their survival today suggests that *agenaou* is not simply a Berber term for Black Africans, but a descriptor that represents a very significant and ancient link between North and West African cultures. The word *agenaou*, so deeply imbedded in the intertwined cultures of the North West African region, was most likely a step in the process of linguistic change that began with *ghana* and went on to *gnawa*, *agenaou*, *guineo*, and *guiriot* to produce *griot*.

Two questions remain, one from the beginning, the other from the end of this long etymological journey: what was the origin of Ghana, the name attributed to an empire that was also widely known as Wagadu, and how did *guineo* become *griot*? There is no clear answer to either question, but I propose two plausible hypotheses. For the first, the earliest Arab sources (Ibn Hawqal, tenth century, and Al-Bakri, eleventh century) report that Ghana was the name given to the region of the Ghana empire and the title of its king (Levtzion and Hopkins 1981:52, 79). Although the Soninké call their empire Wagadu, Levtzion points out that *ta-ganat* is a word of Berber origin and means "forest" (1995b). Many archaeologists believe that a millennium ago southern Mauritania, the land of Ghana, was probably covered with forest (McIntosh 1995) and constituted, in a broader sense,

"the forest zone" that lies below the Sahara. Today, in fact, the ruins of a town called Ghanata lie ten kilometers north of Kumbi-Saleh; and according to Soninké oral traditions, Ghanata was the name of the capital of the Soninké empire (Levtzion 1980:25). It may well have been that the two linked cities described by Al Bekri, the one for the king of Ghana and the other for Muslim traders, were in fact known as Ghana and Kumbi Saleh. Yet even if the origin of the term *Ghana* remains unclear, the evidence indicates that it has served for the last 1,000 years to designate the first great empire of the Sahel.

If *ghana*, *gnawa*, *agenaou*, and *guineo* are stages on the route of a linguistic itinerary linking West Africa to Spain, then the question of how the French transformed *guineo* into *guiriot* depends on the nature of their interactions with the Spanish or their neighbors. I believe that *griot* probably resulted from contact with Spanish, Portuguese, or Arab navigators and seamen who knew the North West coast of Africa. At the time the French began to explore the region, North West Africa was marked by a complex national and ethnic blend. In addition to people of diverse Berber, Arab, and sub-Saharan African origin, one could find Jews, Spaniards, Portuguese, and other Europeans. Some were slaves, while others were traders or professionals in various fields. For example, a Spaniard of slave origin known as Pasha Judar commanded the Moroccan army that invaded the Songhay empire in 1591. A convert to Islam who was raised in the palace of the sultan, he led a 3,000-man force composed of a mixture of adventurers from the entire region, Berber troops, and local guides who knew their way across the Sahara.

In the same way that Pasha Judar assembled his army, it is highly probable that when crews were recruited by the French to sail south to the relatively unknown coast of North West and West Africa, those in command made a point to include at least some experienced sailors and navigators who knew the region—most likely old hands from neighboring Spain who had lived in North Africa, Portuguese who had similar experience, or Arabs. When the captains of these ships went ashore or received African chiefs aboard ships, the first people they encountered were undoubtedly griots. Written accounts of meetings between Europeans and chiefs often emphasize the fact that local rulers were usually preceded by griots, the people who announced them and who made the most noise with their loud shouts, songs, and instrumental music. If a captain asked who was the man making such a racket, the response of those in the crew who had visited the coast before may well have been a condescending "He is just another *guineo*." It is quite likely that, with a very slight sound shift from [*n*] to [*r*], race became profession: the *guineo* became a *guiriot*.

More research is needed to confirm the theory that *guineo* is the origin of *griot*. But from the foregoing review of other theories and the evidence assembled so far, it appears quite plausible that *griot* is indeed a term of African origin. At the very least, it derives from the Berber word *agenaou* and quite probably the root of this term, *Ghana*, the name of the first great empire of the Sahel. Although it has certainly passed through European languages, *griot* should not be rejected out of hand because of the belief that it has no connection with Africa.

Ethnospecific terms for *griot*

Even though it may be of African origin, *griot* serves mainly to open the door to a world of wordsmiths that is far more complex than anyone from Ibn Battuta to Alex Haley could ever imagine. In each African language there is not only one term for *griot*, but often several words. In many cases, there is considerable ambiguity about these local terms because of overlaps between the profession, the name of the ethnic group, and the descriptor for the subgroup of artisans. If the diverse theories for the origin of *griot* presented in the first part of this study seem to be confusing, the following list of terms for griots may generate even more ambiguity. But a closer look will reveal the kinds of patterns described above by Charry that cut across regional lines.

In Wolof, the general term for *griot* is *géwél*, sometimes spelled *guewel*. According to the Senegalese sociologist Abdoulaye-Bara Diop, at one time there existed a complex nomenclature to designate subcategories of performers depending on the kind of music the performers sang, the instruments they played, and their behavior in public. Today Diop recognizes them as blended together under one term. They were the *tamakat* (drummers), the *xalamkat* (players of the stringed *xalam*), and the *gawlo* (singers) (1981:53-54). As will be evident below, the term *gawlo* occurs in many other areas of West Africa.

In his description of the Waalo kingdom in the northwestern part of Senegal, on the border with Mauritania, the Guinean historian Boubacar Barry, drawing on Raymond Rousseau's 1929 analysis of *Les Cahiers de Yoro Dyao*, the record of a nineteenth-century Wolof aristocrat, describes griots as part of a group of artisans known by the general name *nyeenyo*. On the social ladder within this category, the *sab-lekk* were musicians and they included in their ranks the *tamakat* (a drummer) and the *xalmbaan*, who played a violin-like instrument. Barry mentions a third rank, the *baw-lekk*, or griots who act as clowns. They are known as *gawlo* and *géwél*

(1985:67). What Barry describes, however, is a social structure in the past that is disappearing under the weight of external cultural forces.

As might be expected, the nomenclature for griots among the many Mandé peoples—the Bamana, Maninka, Dioula, Mandingo, Mandinka, Khassonké, and others—varies from one part of the region to another. Throughout the Mandé world griots fall into the general category of *nyamakala*, which Conrad and Frank define as a "major professional class of artists and other occupationally-defined specialists" (1995:1). By artist they mean not only griots but also blacksmiths, potters, weavers, woodcarvers, and leatherworkers.

The Mandé area is very large, ranging from Senegal in the west to Mali in the east. For the Mandinka of the western Mandé in the Senegambian region, the term for *griot* is *jali* (pl. *jalolu*), with the male *jalike* distinguished from the female *jalimuso*. *Jaliya* is the profession or activity of griots. In the central Mandé area, especially in Mali, where the Bamana and Maninka variants are spoken, the term for *griot* is *jeli* (pl. *jeliw*). For women the equivalent is *jelimuso* (pl. *jelimusow*). The master singer, male or female, is known as *nara* or *ngara*.

Within these broad differences, one finds a variety of subgroups. For example, among the Khassonké, a Mandé people on the western frontier of Mali, there were two broad categories of griots, the *laada-jalolu*, who were attached to a particular family and therefore benefited from certain privileges not available to other griots, and the *naa*, the newcomers or itinerant griots. A chief griot was a *jali-kuntigo* (Cissoko 1986:160-61). The term *laada* and its variants mean "privilege," and these words recur throughout several related areas.

One such area is the Soninké. Throughout this region there are griots associated with particular groups: the *funé* (also spelled *fina*), for instance, is versed in oral arts associated with Islam (Conrad and Frank 1995:86), while the *donso-jeli*, or *sora*, serves as the griot for hunters by celebrating their exploits in the field (Cissé 1994:64-65). These bards, however, are different from griots; for example, they can come from any segment of society (Johnson and Sisòkò 1986:28-29).

Soninké is related to the Mandé family of languages but remains somewhat more distant than the others listed above. For this reason the terms for *griot* are more distinct. One Soninké word for *griot* is *geseré* (pl. *geserun*), sometimes spelled *gesseré*. The Soninké are split into several large subgroups, and this accounts for the diversity of terms. The term for *griot* among the Kusa, for instance, is *kusatage*, or "smith of the Kusa" (Meillassoux et al. 1967:13). Fatoumata Siré Diakité explains that *geseré* means "griot of the Wage fraction" or subgroup. A master griot, she adds,

is *fade geseré*, *fade* being a term "given to anyone who has acquired a certain notoriety in what concerns his personal activities" (1977:11). Pollet and Winter distinguish between the *geseré*, who may know some history, and the *dyare* (also spelled *jaare*), whose job it is to praise nobles to the accompaniment of music (1971:217).

These differences reported by scholars who have studied the cultures of the Soninké-speaking peoples are dwarfed, however, by the complex terminology collected by Mamadou Diawara, a Malian historian who conducted an extremely thorough study of the Jaara kingdom that dominated an area on the Western Mali-Southern Mauritania border in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Diawara, who comes from this region, drew on archival sources and an extensive range of oral informants to create a highly detailed portrait of the social structure of the Kingdom of Jaara. Today Jaara is no more than what he describes as a modest village thirty kilometers east-northeast of Nioro in Mali. From the tapestry of different kinds of wordsmiths who served the rulers of Jaara, one can understand the importance of hierarchy and ethnic or clan origin in defining differences between griots. It is also clear from Diawara's research why he believes that the general term *griot* should be proscribed (1990:40). The following summary of information presented in his *La graine de la parole* (40-46) may seem overwhelming at first. The purpose here, however, is not to confuse the reader, but to give some sense of how complex the world of griots can be in a particular social and historical context.

The *laxaranto* (s. *laxarante*), or "people skilled with words," include the *geseru*, the singers and musicians traditionally attached to the aristocracy of the Ghana empire and more generally serving the Soninké people, the *jaaru* (s. *jaare*), who carry out the same functions for people who are of Mandé origin but live in the Soninké milieu, and the *mancahinlenmu* (s. *mancahe*), players of stringed instruments who first served marabouts, Muslim religious leaders, and later expanded the range of their patrons to include the aristocratic clan of the Jawara.

In addition to these distinctions, Diawara notes other differences based on whether or not the griots are linked to the nobility in an official way. The *laadan nyaxamalo*, for example, serve the court of the ruler, and within this group one finds the *laadan jaaru*, or court griots, who serve people of Mandé origin, the *laadan geseru*, the court griots who serve the Soninké, and the *mancahinlenmu*, who provide instrumental music.

Within the *laadan jaaru*, there are four subgroups. One is the *sodogarenmu* or *sodoga*, the descendants of Maxa, the only remaining prince of the Nyaxate clan after a political change in the sixteenth century. Maxa lost his title and was given the job of taking care of foreigners who

had allied themselves with the new king, Maamudu. In Soninké, taking care of someone is called *soroga*. For this reason, Maxa was called "*soroga* Maxa." *Soroga* soon evolved into *sodoga*, and Maxa's children became *sodogarenmu*, or "children of *sodoga*." They became the official spokespersons for the aristocracy and occupied the highest rank at court. They did not play instruments, but the women of the clan sang. The *waalemaxannanko*, the descendants of Waala Maxa (different from Prince Maxa of the Nyaxate clan cited above), are of the Koyita clan. Whenever the scepter of the ruler appeared during a ceremony, they enlivened the event with songs and dances. They also made public announcements for the court and served as town criers. They received information from the chief of the *sodoga* and then disseminated it.

The third subgroup, the *xorobete*, arrived at court at the end of the sixteenth century, during the reign of King Haren Waali. They played the *ganbare*, a four-cord lute, and the small *dondondonne* drum. Their family names are *Dannyoxo* for the men and *Danba* for the women. The last subgroup is the *banbagede* of the Tunkara clan. They arrived at court at the same time as the preceding two groups, although Diawara's sources do not make clear exactly how their functions differed from the other griots.

Another group of the *laxaranto* are the *kuttu*, who, unlike the *laadan jaaru*, are not linked to the aristocracy. The *kuttu* are composed of *geseru* and *jaaru* who depend upon ordinary people for their livelihood. They may benefit from princes, but play no official roles for them.

The Soninké-speaking world is composed of peoples who claim descent from the Ghana empire of the eighth through the eleventh centuries. Given the age of the empire and the dispersion of many Soninké peoples throughout West Africa, it is not surprising that they should have so many terms for *griot*. As we shall see in the following discussion of Songhay terms, over the centuries their influence spread quite a distance from southern Mauritania.

On the right bank of the Niger river in western Niger, the heartland of the Songhay who fled south from Gao after the fall of the empire in 1591, the term for *griot* is *jeseré* (pl. *jeserey*) with *jeseré-dunka* denoting a master griot and *timmé* the descendants of master griots. *Jeseré-dunka* becomes in many cases the name of the person who simply exercises the profession (Olivier de Sardan 1982:225-30). The reason for the similarity between the Songhay and Soninké terms (*jeseré* and *geseré*, respectively) is that the ruler of the Songhay empire in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Askia Mohammed Touré, was probably of Soninké origin (Touré is a Soninké clan name). When he came to power in 1493, it is likely that Soninké griots migrated to his court. This would explain why Songhay

epics were performed for centuries in Soninké, a tradition that survives in the archaic Soninké terms sprinkled throughout *The Epic of Askia Mohammed*, which I recorded in 1981 (see Hale 1990). The Zarma people of this region, who live primarily on the left bank of the Niger River in western Niger, speak a dialect of Songhay. But for the most part they use *nyamakaale*, the Mandé term for artisans, to designate griots (Olivier de Sardan 1982:310). This may be the case because, according to their oral traditions, they migrated from Mali several centuries ago. My own interviews with more than a score of griots in both the Songhay and Zarma areas of western Niger turned up no difference between *jeseré* and *nyamakala* or *nyamakaale*. Finally, for the Songhay the word *gawle*, which appears in other societies, denotes the lower-class griot who seeks only to make money from his songs (Olivier de Sardan 1982:157). *Jeserétarey* is the profession of griots.

To the south of the Songhay empire, in the northern Benin region of Borgou, an area once controlled by the Songhay and heavily influenced by their culture, Jacques Lombard categorized griots of the Bariba-speaking peoples in terms of social status (1965:203-14). Those at the bottom are called *gasira*, flute players who may praise anyone. At the same level he lists the *yereku*, popular singers. A step above them on his scale are the *kororu*, hunters' griots who sing unaccompanied by instruments. The *barabaru*, another notch higher, play the drum. Next is the *bara sunon*, a high-ranking griot who associates with chiefs, and the *gnakpe*, the personal griot of the chief. At the very top of this griot hierarchy is the *gesere*, who is attached not simply to the chief but to the throne. The leader of all griots is the *Ba-Gesere*. Likewise, the term reported to Moraes Farias during a decade of research in Northern Benin is *geserebà* (Moraes Farias 1992, 1993).

Songhay terminology, influenced by Soninké and in turn influencing other peoples, such as those who speak Bariba in northern Bénin, bridges a considerable distance in time and space: the Ghana empire of the Soninké dates from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. Songhay, nearly 1,000 kilometers east of Ghana, did not emerge as a power until the fifteenth century, after the decline of the Mali empire. By contrast, the Fulbe, known also as the Fulani and the Peul, were responsible for a variety of kingdoms scattered across West Africa, some of which lasted until the late nineteenth century. The Fulbe employ a network of terms for *griot* that further complicates the nomenclature. There are words that change from one region to another, from one subgroup to another, and even from one kind of activity to another.

For those dwelling in the Futa Toro, a inland region on the left bank of the Senegal river in northern Senegal, the generic word for *griot* is *gawlo*, or less often *mabo*. However, *farba* designates a master griot, while the *awlube* knows the genealogy and praises for a particular family (Seydou 1972:15-24). The *bambaado* (pl. *wambaabe*) play the *hoddar*, a lute, or the *nyaa nyooru*, a kind of violin. Farther east, these same terms take on different meanings. The *mabo* is associated with the nobility while the *gawlo* interacts with other elements of society. Interestingly, Seydou, citing Gaden, suggests that *mabo* is actually a word of Mandé origin (1972:19-20).

One reason for the diversity of terms for Fulbe griots is the great spread of these people across West Africa from Senegal to northern Cameroon. In the introduction to their recent collection of essays, Conrad and Frank offer a fascinating discussion of the ambiguity generated by the terminology for Fulbe griots (1995:8-9). A summary of their diverse sources will illustrate the challenge faced by any scholar investigating the griot world and the roots of *griot*.

Conrad and Frank cite a Senegalese scholar, Yaya Wane, whose 1969 study of social stratification among the Tukulor of Senegal lists *galabés* as griots who sometimes worked in leather, whereas the French researcher Jean Cremer had seen them in 1923 as simply a category of people from a particular region, the Futa Jalon. For Cremer, the *jawambe* (s. *jawando*) were Fulbe griots high on the social scale but beneath the *mabow*, who are similar to the Mandé *jeliw*. However, Conrad and Frank also cite a French anthropologist, Louis Tauxier, who classified Fulbe griots in 1927 as *bambabe* or *niémmbé*. The *tyapurtaw*, another Fulbe group, were listed by a third French scholar, Dominique Zahan, as "the lowest class of Bamana griot, and bards of the Fulbe" (1963:128). The most confusing aspect of the Fulbe terms *mabow*/*mabubé* and *jawambe*/*diawando* was the blurring of the boundaries between professions, classes, and ethnicity. Drawing on a variety of sources from the past century, Conrad and Frank list a number of different identities attributed to *jawando*: courtiers and weavers (Delafosse 1912); griots (Arcin 1907, Cremer 1923); lower-class nobles (Gaden 1931); businessmen and go-betweens (Moreau 1897); and traders, cattle raisers, and teachers (Tauxier 1927). One source (Pageard 1959) indicated that the *diawambe* were prohibited from acting as griots, and another described them as "a branch of a Tukulor lineage who speak Fulfulde and are fanatical Muslims" (Urvoy 1942:25).

The nineteenth-century German traveler Heinrich Barth (1965), note Conrad and Frank (1995:9), listed the *jawambe* as a distinct ethnic group known as the Zoghorân, who were separate at least until the sixteenth

century, when they became assimilated into Fulbe society. A modern scholar, the Senegalese historian Ibrahim Bathily, sees them as an ethnic group with particular professions. He divides the *Diawando* into several different groups: the *Diawandos*, the *Lahtimbés* (slaves of the *Diawando*), and the *Kida Mabos*, the source of the Mabo griots (1936:191-92). By matching Bathily's view with other sources, Conrad and Frank explain that much of the confusion over the professional activities of the *mabow* stems from the fact that as they were being assimilated into the vast Fulbe society, they took on a variety of social functions ranging from trade to education. Zahan, they add, found evidence for the *mabow* as bards among the Bamana, as tanners and weavers among the Fulbe, and as blacksmiths and bards among the Tuareg (1995:10).

The terminology for Fulbe griots, then, is highly complex and fluid, shifting over time and space and depending on the gaze of the classifier and the migration patterns of a people who have probably covered more territory than almost any other in West Africa. *Mabo* and *jawando* seem to be the most generally recognized terms, but it is evident from the foregoing discussion that local context is more important than any system of classification one might attempt to invent.

By contrast, in some areas the nomenclature appears to be relatively straightforward. Returning to H. T. Norris's explanation (1968:35), the Moor term for a griot is *iggiw*, sometimes spelled *iggio* (pl. *iggawen*). A female griot is a *tiggiwit* (pl. *tiggawaten*). According to Skinner, the Mossi of Burkina Faso employ the word *bendere* for *griot*, and the chief griot is called *bendere naba* (1989:35). Geneviève Calame-Griaule describes the Dogon griot as a *genene* (1987:487). But the relative simplicity of terminology available here may simply be due to the lack of research on this particular aspect of these societies by specialists in music. For example, farther east, the Hausa-speaking peoples of northern Nigeria and western Niger designate griots by *marok'a*, with *marok'i* (s. masc.) and *marok'iya* (s. fem.). But these terms cover a vast and diverse collection of musicians, some of whom consider themselves to be *marok'i*, or griot, while others do not.

In the 1960s, Ames and King studied Hausa musicians in Zaria and Katsina, two northern Nigerian emirates with very long histories and a highly stratified ruling class. They produced a list of musicians categorized by a variety of collective terms, such as *mabusa*, wind-instrument players; *magu'da*, women specializing in celebratory ululating; *maka'da*, drummers, understood in the broadest sense of the term; *maka'dan Sarki*, musicians for the Emir; *marok'an baki*, professional acclamators; *marok'an hakimi*, griots in the service of a high official; *marok'an sarakuna*, those who may be in

the service of any high officeholder, including the Emir; and *zabiya*, professional women singers (1971:62-96).

These terms, however, serve only to designate an even longer and more diverse listing of sixty-four different kinds of musicians divided into specialized categories. If *griot* represents the top of the pyramid and local terms such as *jeli* and *marok'i* constitute the supporting ethnic blocks that are not always evident to those unfamiliar with these wordsmiths, then the list of performers prepared by Ames and King might be viewed as an example of the deepest and most complex substratum of these performers' diverse world. Not all of those listed are still identifiable today. Ames and King attempt to distinguish between what we might call griot and non-griot musicians. But it is difficult to separate the two amid the extraordinary variety of these performers. Ames and King classify them into five categories: drummers, lutenists, blowers, acclamators, and talkers (1971:70-103). There is not enough space to list here the enormous variety of griots, but suffice it to say that it is doubtful that any other people in West Africa can claim such a complex nomenclature for the broad category of performers who either are griots or are related in some way to the activities of the profession.

Although the activities of *marok'a* in the Hausa-speaking world do not match completely those of their counterparts to the east in the more unified Wolof-Mandé-Songhay region (for example, there is a far less evident epic tradition), it is clear from Ames and King's long list that these griots are very much a part of a regional tradition of musical and verbal art that extends from Senegal to Lake Chad.

The Tuareg, who live in the Sahara and on the northern fringe of the Sahel—they are concentrated in northern Mali and Niger as well as in southern Algeria—do not have a separate griot tradition. But their artisans who work in metal, wood, and leather, known as *inadan* (s. *ened)*, carry out so many of the functions of griots, such as singing songs at weddings and serving as go-betweens, that they cannot be excluded entirely from any discussion of the griot world. Most widely known as blacksmiths, these artisans have so many technical and social functions that this term seems somewhat limiting (Rasmussen 1995).

Geography of the griot world

The nomenclature described above provides a basis for outlining a map of the griot world. If the large family of Mandé peoples stands at the center, and includes Senegal, the Gambia, northern Guinea, and central

Mali, the fringes will extend northward well into southern Mauritania and northern Mali. The southern frontier spreads south to northern Sierra Leone, northern Liberia, northern Côte d'Ivoire, part of Burkina Faso, northern Benin, and northern Nigeria. To the west, parts of eastern Niger and northern Cameroon must be included. In these areas one finds societies that have long supported professional wordsmiths who carry out a variety of other functions. Although one may find counterparts in societies along the southern coast of West Africa, the griots of this inland band that stretches from Senegal to Lake Chad seem to share a common tradition of social function and verbal art that distinguishes them from those farther south. This is not to say, however, that one will not encounter griots in those southernmost areas, especially in the large expatriate communities of Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire; Accra, Ghana; Lomé, Togo; and Cotonou, Bénin.

Within this vast region, the area that is richest in the griot tradition, both verbally and musically, appears to be the heartland of the Mali empire, which includes northern Guinea and southwestern Mali. Whether or not the profession originated in this region is difficult to tell. But the spread of the empire and its cultural influence suggests that the dynamic griot tradition that we know today may have came from this part of West Africa and diffused to the Senegambian area many centuries ago. Activities such as the playing of the *ngoni*, the oldest and most ubiquitous instrument in the griot world, and the chanting of long narratives that celebrate the past are common to this region, which includes southern Mali, northern Guinea, most of Senegal and the Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau.

To the east and north the picture changes. The farther away one travels from the northern Guinea/southwestern Mali heartland, the fewer are the common features. For example, in eastern Mali there are still griots in the isolated area around the northern bend of the Niger River, but at the northern extreme end, around Timbuktu, those who are still performing do not chant long epics. Downriver from Timbuktu, in western Niger, the long narratives recounted by *jeserey* tend to be shorter than those of their Malian counterparts. Farther east, Hausa griots sing praises, but do not usually chant long epics about the past.

Why the relative uniformity to the west, and the changes to the east? One can only speculate about the forces that may have diffused the griot tradition in the region. Certainly the West was the heartland not only of the Mali empire but also of a region that represented in many ways the center of the Sahelian civilization of the Middle Ages. Elements of the Ghana empire migrated southeast to this and other regions, carrying with them a rich cultural heritage. This same Mali heartland fell under Songhay influence for many generations, and the Niger River served as a cultural

conduit in both directions. But once we move eastward, the cultural thrust of the civilization represented by Ghana, Mali, and Songhay seems to undergo a slight shift as we enter another zone of influence. Northern Nigeria, eastern Niger, Chad, and northern Cameroon were all far more influenced by Kanem and Bornu of the Lake Chad region. The one cultural strand that spans these two zones of influence belongs to the Fulbe, who, bearing with them a heritage that goes back to Ghana and earlier, migrated eastward for centuries and absorbed other influences along the way. Again, one can only speculate about the reasons for the changes in the griot tradition from West to East. But what is more important, differences aside, is the relative unity of a profession anchored in verbal art, in service to noble families, and in the symbiotic relationship of word and music.

Griot or *jali*: Which term to use?

If the map of this world is clearer from the foregoing discussion, the question of which term to use—one of the many encountered among the diverse peoples, or simply *griot*—is not. Diawara and other scholars, African and non-African, do not like *griot* because of its ambiguity. It certainly does not do justice to a profession that is so old and varied. A simple solution would be to replace it with "bard" or some other term or set of terms.

That is what the government of Niger tried to do in 1980. On December 18, l979, the President of Niger, Seyni Kountché, complained in his annual address to the nation about what he saw as economic waste occasioned by griots. He felt that people were devoting too much of their resources to gifts for griots at weddings and naming ceremonies. The result of his speech was an unsuccessful attempt to "sanitize" the profession. A study commissioned by the government of Niger recommended that the word *griot* be replaced with the terms artist, musician, and singer. The authors of the report, respected scholars, also proposed the establishment of a professional association, a school to train griots, and the award of medals to the most talented of them (Hale 1990:42-43). In spite of this attempt at linguistic change, however, the term *griot*, like the profession it designates, survives in Niger today.

Such a negative view of the word *griot* is nothing new. For a French official in nineteenth-century Senegal, griots appeared to be a social plague in the capital city of Saint Louis (Héricé 1847:9). This notion has not changed much in many cities today. When a naming ceremony is announced on the radio, the event can attract scores of griots and griottes

eager to help the parents celebrate the occasion—and collect rewards from the many relatives who attend and become the subjects of praises. The linguistic offshoots of *griot*, *griottage*, *griotique*, and *griotism*, have also taken on negative connotations in France where, as in West Africa, they often signify empty praise or praise for pay.

Another reason for the negative connotations attached to *griot* is the dominance of the Mandé cultures in West Africa. They cover an area of West Africa nearly 1,500 kilometers from west to east and almost 1,000 kilometers from north to south. Not all peoples in that area are Mandé, but the Mandé influence is nevertheless the most extensive. There is a tendency therefore on the part of the comparatively large number of scholars interested in these interrelated peoples to take a Mandé-centric view of the profession and to call for the exclusive use of Mandé terms for *griot*, *jeli* and *jali*. This stems from both a desire for greater precision and the fact that the profession of griots is largely populated by Mandé *jeliw* and *jalolu* from the region. But this ethnocentric view of the griot world also comes from a general lack of information about non-Mandé griots in surrounding countries such as Mauritania, Niger, and Benin, as well as among non-Mandé groups scattered throughout the region (the Fulbe, for example).

For two major reasons, however, it seems inevitable that *griot* will continue to serve as the generic term for these wordsmiths. First, the word *griot* has spread into many parts of the African diaspora, in particular the Caribbean and the United States, taking on extremely positive connotations for those who see the profession as a link to their ancestors. African Americans have assumed the role of the griot to read excerpts of the Sundiata epic at Kwanzaa ceremonies each year in December. One finds both excerpts from this text and references to griots in books on this annual African American celebration (Riley 1995, Harris 1995). Distinguished African American musicians and scholars have sometimes been compared in print to griots, while both the mayor of the city of Baltimore and the governor of the state of Maryland have named an official griot, Mary Carter Smith (Smith 1996). Finally, as a result of the *Roots* phenomenon, *griot* has entered the vocabulary of African Americans to such an extent that it would be impossible to try to suppress it. Like the widely traveling wordsmiths themselves, the term *griot* has taken on a life of its own since the seventeenth century and is becoming recognized around the world.

Second, the regional nature of the terms *griot* and *griotte* underscore the fact that the profession carries out some of the oldest and most important cultural activities, activities that link many diverse peoples, including those that are not related to the Mandé. The words are useful reminders of what Paul Stoller has identified as deep Sahelian and Savanna

civilization (Hale and Stoller 1985). Like so many other crossculturally generated words in the Sahel, *griot* has come, then, to serve the needs of West Africans who must communicate with each other across numerous linguistic frontiers within Africa as well as with peoples outside of the continent, be they African or non-African. As with other regional words imbedded in West African languages, *griot* has traveled across much of the continent and found a home in the modern French and, to a lesser extent, the English spoken by many West African peoples. The fact that only a minority of the populations in these countries speaks these European languages does not affect the griot's role in them.

How, then, can one reconcile the ambiguity of *griot*, a term with probable African roots, and the specificity of such ethnically rooted words as *jali*? The answer is that by using both *griot*/*griotte* and the more precise words, scholars can more effectively bridge the gap in knowledge about the oral tradition for those outside of West Africa. At the same time, the adoption of *griot*/*griotte* signals to those who are unaware of the existence of *jelimusow* and their sisters in neighboring West African cultures that women also play an active role in the profession (see Hale 1994).

The use of both kinds of terms, the general and the specific, provides the regional framework into which discussions of different kinds of griots—past and present griots, griots from various ethnic groups, griots who perform different functions—can be conducted. This solution allows the varied audiences for griots to hold on to what they value. At the same time, such an approach will facilitate the diffusion of knowledge about griots as important components in the regional fabric of the Sahel and the Savanna.[1]

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Sink or Swim: On Associative Structuring in Longer Latvian Folksongs

Vaira Vīķis-Freibergs

The oral tradition of Latvian lyrical folksongs, or *dainas*, began to be recorded at the beginning of the last century and is currently available in both the printed and the electronic media. These songs are in octosyllabic blank verse divided by a caesura, and the overwhelming majority of them follow a trochaic meter, the rest being dactylic.[1] The classical source is the collection of 217,996 text versions classified and published by Krišjānis Barons (Barons and Visendorfs 1894-1915), in which a "song" is typically presented as a brief, epigrammatic quatrain unit, with barely 10% of the material consisting of texts longer than eight lines. The same system of text identification was adopted in the supplement to this corpus published by Peāteris Šmits (1936-39) and in the Daina Data Base (1982), a transcription of a 12-volume collection incorporating the essential elements of both these primary sources (Švābe et al. 1952-56). A major, up-to-date collection aiming to represent the approximately one million text versions deposited in the Latvian Archives of Folklore has been for many years a major undertaking at the Language and Folklore Institute of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, and six of the planned volumes have been published so far, each accounting for a corpus of some 70,000 text versions (Latvijas Zinātŗu Akadeāmija 1979-93).

Ever since Barons' monumental work established the quatrain as the canonical text unit in the Latvian *dainas*—a unit that exhibits both metrical and semantic unity—very little attention has been paid to the manner in which quatrains follow each other in actual song performances. The first and most obvious reason for this is that Barons made the editorial decision to cut up longer strings of text that seemed to have little compositional unity in order to class them under the same identification number with other texts having roughly the same content.[2] This allowed him to publish vast

[1] SeeVīķis-Freibergs 1981 for additional details.

[2] See Arājs 1985 for details on Barons' principles of classification and redaction.

quantities of materials within the frame of his thematic-functional system of classification with remarkable economy of space but also had the unfortunate result of obliterating much of the information on how the texts might have been organized and retrieved in the memory of any particular singer. It should be noted in Barons' defense, however, that even among the longer texts that he did publish in full, signs of clear compositional structure are by no means always easy to discern. The same can be said of the longer song texts recorded by various collectors of folk melodies, such as Emīlis Melngailis (1951-53).

The very notion of composition presumes the presence of deliberate, more or less artistically inclined intent in a song's construction, an intent that may be more or less successfully realized in the final product, and which may be more or less readily discernible as laws or principles according to which various elements of the whole relate to each other. While the degree of artistic achievement lies largely in the eyes of the beholder (or the ears of the listener) and depends entirely on the fashions of the day and the types of aesthetic canons involved, the degree of lawfulness, system, and method in a song's textual cohesion may be considered as a problem in cognitive organization and is therefore amenable to analysis from that point of view. Since a song, just like spoken language, represents a sequence of elements following each other along a temporal dimension, the principles of its composition should be revealed by examining the rules and regularities that govern the sequentiality of its component functional elements.

One form of composition, which forms the very core of epic but is much less frequent in lyrical materials, is the narrative sequence, in which a coherent unfolding of events is presented, frequently from the point of view of one privileged protagonist or "hero." Such narrative songs are relatively rare among the *dainas*, being largely confined to the thematic cycles of courting and wedding songs,[3] or to what have been termed "folk romances" (*tautas romances*).[4] Even there, however, completely developed narrative structures with a full sequence of exposition, development, climax, and conclusion are the exception rather than the rule. More frequently encountered are songs presenting mere narrative episodes or situations (Ligere 1977:114), or, again, narrative or pseudo-narrative structures in which the plot is relatively weakly developed.[5] More frequent still in the

[3] See Barons and Visendorfs 1904, 1905, 1909: vol. III, tomes 1, 2, and 3.

[4] See further Bērzkalne 1942, Ligere 1977, Ozols 1968.

[5] See further Jaremko 1989; Reynolds 1989;Vīķis-Freibergs 1989c, 1992b, 1996.

Latvian tradition are songs that might be said to represent the "degree zero" of narrative structuring. These are strings of stanzas in which nothing much happens in the way of either plot or character development and in which the principles governing stanza sequentiality are frequently far from evident. These so-called "strings of songs" (*dziesmu virknes*) have been considered by Ozols (1968:228) as a transitional form between the shorter and the "longer songs" proper ("longer songs" presumably being those evincing recognizable principles of composition). As their name implies, such strings might represent, at the limit, nothing more than a purely mechanical concatenation of various song fragments (Ligere 1977). Or, as G. F. Stender the Elder put it in the 1783 edition of his *Lettische Grammatik* (quoted in Bērziņš 1932:31; see also Arājs 1985):

> Einige lettische Nationallieder continuiren in der angefangenen Materie, so wie es die Phantasie hinter einander eingegeben. Diese werden besonders Singes genannt. . . .[6]

In such a limiting case of zero structuring, each successive text unit would appear to be drawn at random from a singer's total repertoire, this repertoire in turn possessing about as much internal organization as a bag of marbles. The performance of such a song would thus amount to shaking up the bag and then blindly pulling out one stanza after another at random.

The argument of the present paper is that stanza sequencing in longer songs is never completely random and that some principles of internal cohesion and structuring are at work even in the most loosely organized strings of texts. While in the Latvian materials the degree of internal structuring may be quite variable, even the least structured text will show association with some common theme or motif. Song composition based on *association as a principle of textual cohesion* will be demonstrated here by analyzing one particular song text in detail. The text presented was chosen because it fulfills two requirements: considerable length and a minimal degree of overall composition (in the traditional sense of that term).

Our first step will be to clarify what we consider to be the major functional elements of text composition in the longer *dainas*—couplets and modules—and to set forth the rules by which song texts may be segmented into such units. Next, we will sketch a brief theoretical outline of how these functional units of oral lyrical texts are organized within a hierarchical system of symbolic representation. Accepting our sample text as

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[6] "Some Latvian national songs may continue on the same theme in whichever way the imagination may place one after another. These especially are called *ziņģes* . ."

representative of associative songs as a type, we shall then look for elements in it that contribute to textual coherence between one stanza and the next, and endeavor to discover what makes even the simplest of songs an object of deliberate creation rather than the result of blindly random processes. Following the actual text analysis, we shall return to the question of just how longer non-narrative songs may be composed according to the principle of association and, finally, offer some additional theoretical considerations.

Text Segmentation and the Hierarchical Organization of Songs

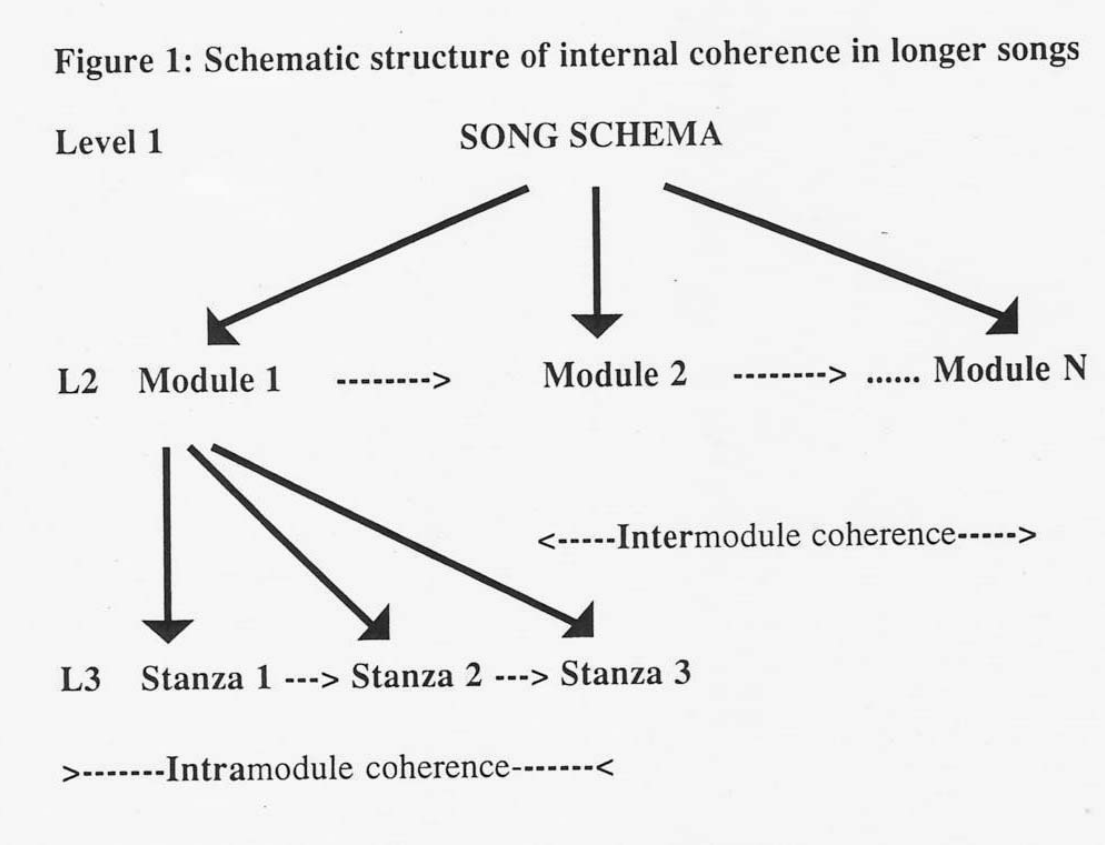
The principles by which a text is to be segmented into functional units need to be clarified before we look for any laws of composition or of combinatorics operating between them. While the quatrain has been generally accepted since Barons' time as the basic semantic unit in the Latvian *dainas*, it should be emphasized that, in the case of longer songs, the line couplet is actually the basic functional unit or stanza. This distinction was already noted by Bērziņš (1932), who attributes the couplet strophe to the longer songs (for which he keeps the somewhat pejorative term *ziņģes,* introduced by Stenders in the eighteenth century). The line couplet is a segment of text making up one complete grammatical sentence as well as the segment usually carried by one repetition of the melody (which usually also includes a repetition of all or part of the text and/or a refrain).

Line couplets, in turn, are organized into larger text units that for lack of a more imaginative term I have termed modules (Vīķis-Freibergs 1989c, 1992b). A module may be defined as a unit of text that is usually but not necessarily larger than a single couplet,[7] possesses thematic (i.e. deep-semantic) unity and is expressed through either identical or closely similar poetic imagery. A further criterion is that a module should be found to recur elsewhere in a representative corpus of *dainas*, either as a single isolated unit—such as the typical quatrain of the Barons collection— or in different distributional contexts in other longer songs. In the case of narrative songs, a module may be considered a special case of what Lord

[7] It happens that the thematic modules found in Latvian longer songs are quite frequently only two couplets long; that is, they are of the scope of the traditional "Barons' quatrain." Nevertheless, a module is definitely not just a quatrain under another name, since modules consisting of a single couplet, a three-stanza sextet, or even longer passages of text are also possible in the Latvian *daina* tradition (Vīķis-Freibergs 1989c).

(1960) called themes in the epic, such themes being definitely tradition-dependent (Foley 1976:221).

The empirical existence of the couplet and the module as distinct units of text segmentation, each with its own distributional contexts, suggests a hierarchical mode of organization in the mental representation of a song, with several distinct levels, each more abstract than the next. In psychological terms, we might say that the more abstract the level, the deeper the level of required cognitive processing and symbolic transformation. In Figure 1 below, Level 1, the highest level of abstraction, would represent the song as a whole; Level 2, the next level down, the modular units of text; and Level 3 the level of the semantic contents of the couplet stanza. Within such a hierarchical structure, not all transitions between stanzas are created equal. Therefore, in analyzing the structure of a song, the principles of textual coherence *within* each module (*intramodule coherence*) have to be distinguished from those which govern the sequentiality *between* one module and the next (*intermodule coherence*).



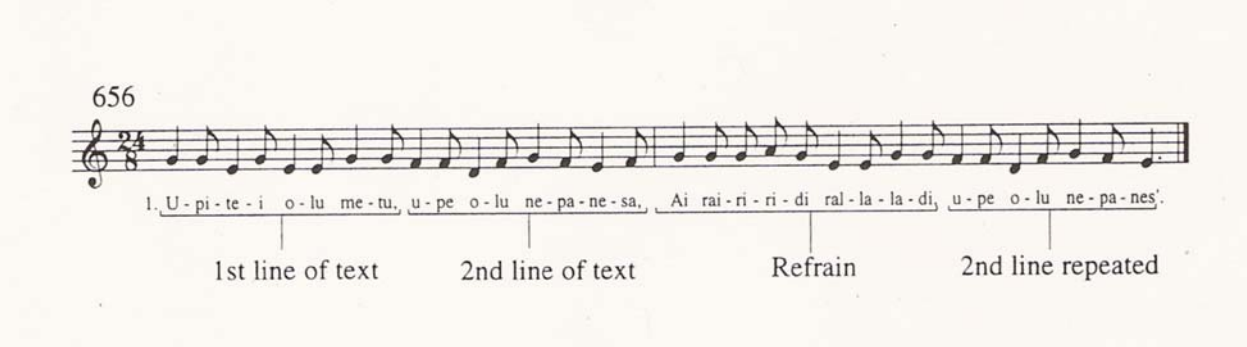
The regrouping of stanzas into larger chunks or modules suggests that the generation of an oral lyrical song in performance is a two-tiered process. As soon as the song is started, the singer would already have the

whole first module in mind, the general semantic content of which would then be progressively decoded into couplet stanzas, one after the other. On reaching the end of the first module, the singer now has to gain mental access to the global semantic content of the second module, and this in turn would now be decoded into its component stanzas. The same process would then continue for each successive module until the end of the song was reached. There are thus two successive steps at which a more abstract content has to be translated into a more concrete one, a process that helps to explain the wide variation in concrete expression that is a hallmark of oral traditions. The actual generation of a specific sequence of words for any one particular song version will be guided both by the metrical constraints of the *daina* stanza and its traditional sentence frames, style, and diction, and will include recourse to such stanza structuring devices as parallelism, similarity, and contrast (Vīķis-Freibergs 1994b, forthcoming). For all intents and purposes then, a lyrical song has to be generated anew each time it is performed, just like the epic (Lord 1960; Foley 1976, 1991)—not generated *ex nihilo,* of course, but from a given repertoire of traditional elements structured according to traditional rules. The same basic processes would account for the variations produced by the same singer at different times, or by different singers within the same tradition.

Material to Be Analyzed and Text Segmentation

Keeping in mind the requirements of length, of a "degree zero" of narrative structure, and of an associative type of thematic unity, a song consisting of eighteen two-line stanzas was chosen to be analyzed in detail. This text, which we shall call "The Stone in the River," has been published as song No. 656 in E. Melngailis' collection of melodies from Kurzeme (1951:1.227). More specifically, it comes from the districts of Bārta and Nīca in southwestern Kurzeme, not far from the Lithuanian border. All that is known about the text is that it is one of two songs transmitted by V. Dārznieks to Melngailis, who did some editing on the melodies but not on the texts. I have been unable to find any other longer song that might be considered a direct variant of this particular text. In terms of subgenre, it belongs to the broad category of courting and wedding songs. The song has been republished by Vītoliņš in his large compendium of melodies of Latvian courting songs, where it has been classed among a handful of other "Miscellaneous" songs (1986:554). More specifically, I would classify it within a special subgenre of "maiden songs," prenuptial songs sung from the woman's point of view, which are stylistically and thematically quite

distinct from the male "suitor's songs," where the "lyrical I" is a young man who "rides off in search of a wife."[8]



As a first step in our analysis, the eighteen couplet stanzas of this lyrical song are segmented into seven independent thematic *modules*. For the convenience of the reader, the text of each module will be presented just before the analysis of that particular song fragment.

All seven of the "Stone in the River" modules are widely attested as independent short songs elsewhere in the *daina* corpus, and Table 1 below presents a quantitative overview of each module's distribution, that is, of the total number of its recorded versions. The corpus searched included the computerized Daina Data Base (1982) of 71,000 texts, and additional variants and subvariants were retrieved by hand from the 217,996 text versions published in Barons and Visendorfs.[9] This was done by adding up all the regional codes listed there under each type-song, its numbered variants, and unnumbered subvariants.[10] Most of these other versions of our seven modules were also recorded in Kurzeme, the western part of Latvia, so that this entire body of material attests to a strongly regionalized component in the Latvian *daina* tradition. The search also covered the corpus of songs from Kurzeme in the Melngailis collection, where a few of the "Stone in the River" modules do appear as parts of other longer songs.

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[8] On prenuptial songs sung from a young man's point of view, seeVīķis-Freibergs 1989c, 1996.

[9] A complete computer-accessible transcription of this corpus has recently been completed as a joint project between the University of Latvia and the Latvian Academy of Science. The data base is expected to become operational in the not-too-distant future.

[10] For further details on the system of *daina* text identification and classification, see Arājs 1985;Vīķis-Freibergs 1989a, 1992a.

Table 1: Recurrences of text modules from "The Stone in the River" elsewhere in the *daina* corpus

Module sequence number	Total number of recorded versions
1	45
2	153
3	82
4	57
5	5 [78]
6	65
7	88

Three of the seven modules of the "Stone in the River" song consist of a classical *daina* quatrain, usually built on strong principles of parallelism. As will become apparent in the analysis to follow, the *syntagmatic* relationship between pairs of consecutive couplets *within* each module is based on two main classes of semantic relationships: *similarity* and *contrast*. Two among a number of possible intraquatrain structures are shown in the schemas of Figure 2, where each letter and its prime represent the two closely linked lines of each couplet stanza.

Figure 2: Contrast and similarity as intraquatrain structuring principles

Stanza			**Stanza**		
1.	A		1.	A	
	A'	Thesis		A'	Thesis 1 (Nature)
2.	B	**Contrast**	2.	B	**Similarity**
	B'	Antithesis		B'	Thesis 2 (Culture)

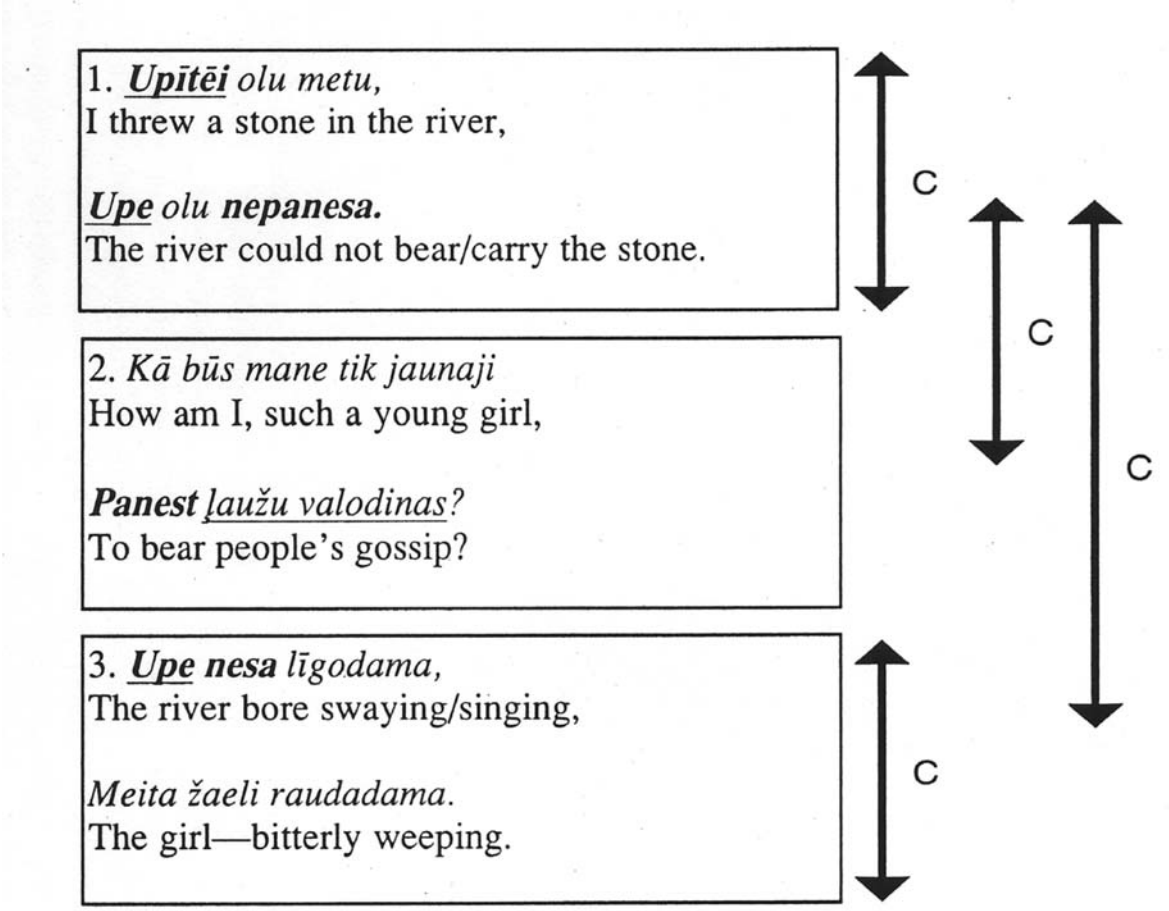
Four of the seven modules of the "Stone in the River" song are sextets, that is, a basic quatrain unit followed by a third couplet stanza. In two of the sextet modules (Nos. 6 and 7), the third couplet represents an additional elaboration of the semantic content of the second couplet. In the other two cases (Nos. 1 and 2), the sextet module is in fact a condensation of two separate quatrains each starting with the same couplet, this common couplet being elided rather than repeated. This condensation may be schematically expressed as follows:

Quatrain 1	+	Quatrain 2	---------->	Fused Sextet
[AA' + BB']	+	[AA' + CC']	---------->	[AA' + BB' + CC']

[Thesis + Antithesis 1]+ [Thesis + Antithesis 2] --->[Thesis + Antithesis 1+ Antithesis 2]

The song as a whole develops the extremely widespread theme of the marriage prospects of unmarried girls and is presented from the viewpoint of the girl herself. It belongs to a substantial subcorpus of songs about the maiden who manages to make a desirable match in spite of being maligned by malicious gossip. While there is no obvious deep-structure compositional schema governing the permissible sequencing of different modules among themselves, they are linked to each other by overlapping *associative* links of similarity or contrast at every level of text representation. At the deep-semantic level, each module reiterates the same core metaphor, which expresses a sharp contrast between social influences that are threatening as well as emotionally harmful and the individual's attempts to counter them with the visualization of their beneficial contraries. Each module reformulates this central theme through a different concrete image, so that a semantic relation of similarity links different modules between themselves, as well as each module to the common theme. In that sense a *paradigmatic* equivalence is established between the deep-semantic content of the different modules. At the same time, associative links of similarity also obtain between various other text features, notably lexical, morphemic, and phonemic similarity or repetition, as will become apparent by examining each of the seven modules in turn.

Module 1: The stone thrown into the river[11]

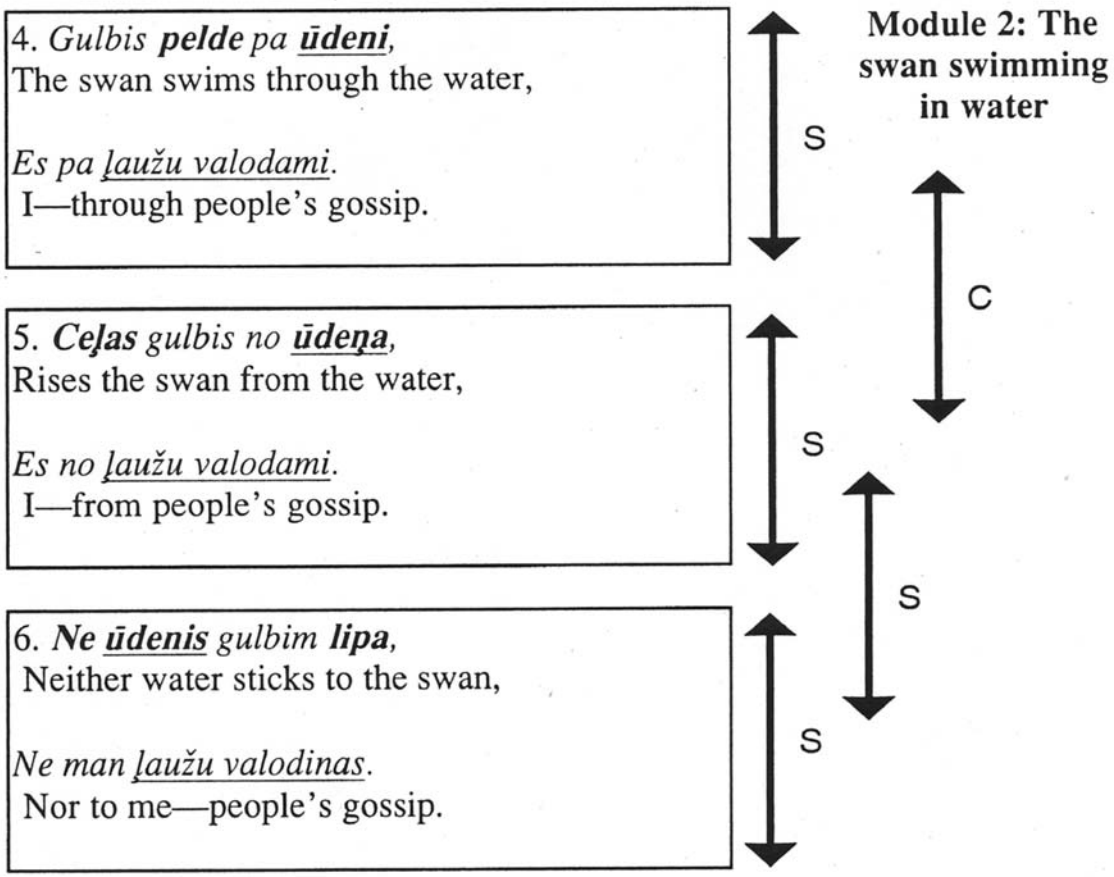


The first stanza of the first module starts with the vivid, concrete image of a stone thrown into a river and sinking to the bottom, since it is too heavy to float and be carried along by the river. A tendency toward contrasts is thus immediately established in the song. The second couplet poses a rhetorical question that expresses the song's central preoccupation: how is a defenseless young girl to bear malicious gossip, the psychological weight of which is every bit as heavy as a stone in water? This constitutes an implicit contrast with the first stanza: the girl has to bear her psychological burden, since she has no other choice, while the river simply does not carry the stone. These first two stanzas together thus form a classical *daina* quatrain of a type I am terming "horizontal" nature-culture parallelism. A poetic image from the realm of nature, expressed in the first couplet, is followed by an analogous parallel from the realm of culture in the second: the stone is to the river what the gossip is to the girl. The

[11] Each labeled vertical arrow, both here and in the shemas that follow, refers to a discrete link of either similarity (S) or contract (C) within a module.

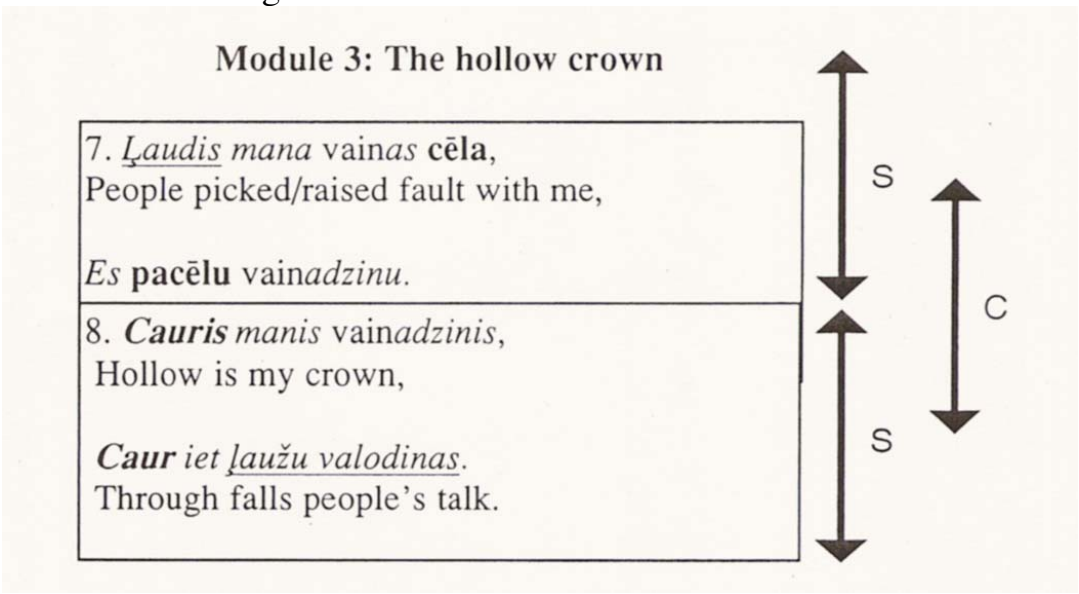
images from these widely distant semantic domains are unified by the common concept of a burden too heavy to be borne.

The third couplet in this module represents an alternative contrast to the first couplet, while at the same time functioning as an elaboration of the second. The river, which according to the first stanza is unable to bear the stone, is now said to carry it along *līgodama*, that is, either singing or swaying or both, but in any case without difficulty. The rhetorical question about the girl's reaction, expressed in the second stanza, is now answered as an explicit negative contrast to the happy-go-lucky river: the girl bears what she must, but with great anguish and bitter tears. This first module thus presents the exposition of the problem: a young maiden sorrowful and bitter under the psychological burden of social condemnation.



The second module reiterates the same central contrast between sinking and swimming, but replaces the word "river" (*upe*) with the more generic word for water (*ūdens*), both words being close equivalents at the level of lexical semantics and starting with the same vowel. While water remains a common feature in both modules, its metaphorical significance has been reversed: from being the figurative analogue of the sorrowful maiden, it now becomes a metaphor for the ceaseless flow of malicious talk. In sharp contrast to the stone that sinks in the river (Module 1), the swan swims through and on the water. By doing so, the swam becomes a direct simile for the maiden who "swims" through the flood of gossip.[12]

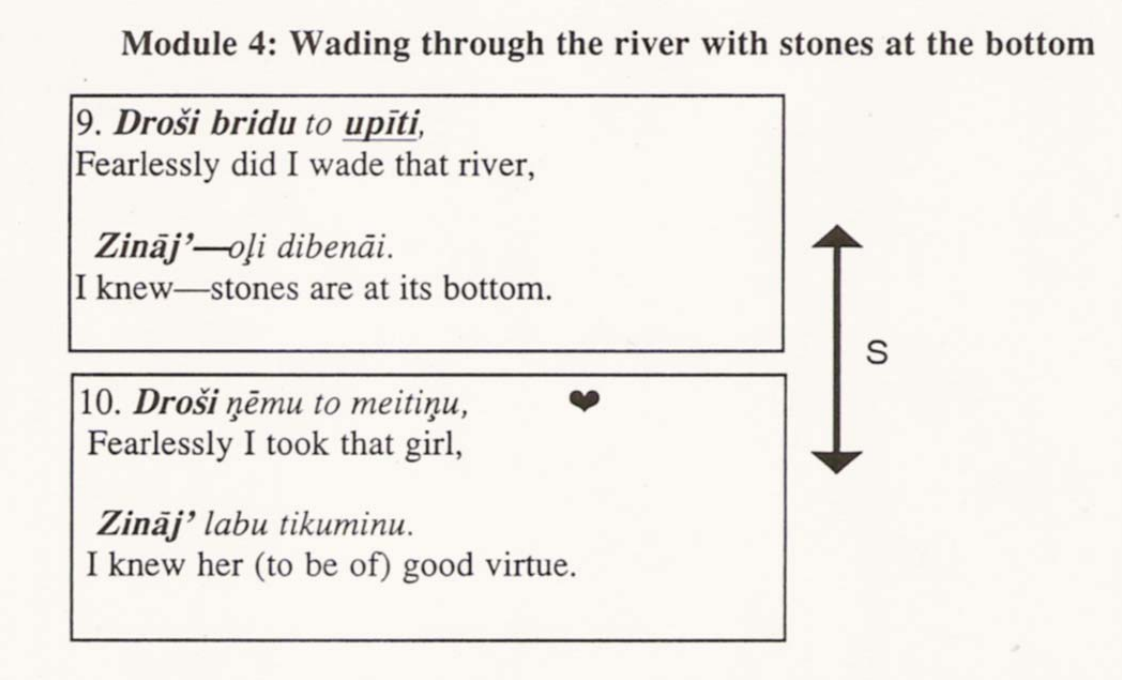
A second simile aligns a swan's taking flight and rising above the water surface with a maiden's psychologically rising above the harmful influences of other people's talk. The third maiden-swan simile, in the third stanza, elaborates and reiterates this central idea. The abstract semantic core notion is the importance of rising above adversity, like the swan rises above the water and into the air. The third stanza introduces the important nuance of the maiden's remaining unscathed and untouched, just like a swan with water rolling off its back; of keeping one's sense of personal integrity intact even under the stream of cruel talk meant to destroy or damage it. It also develops and makes explicit the dynamic sense of verticality, of a liberating upward movement, which is in direct contrast to the negative downward movement of sinking.



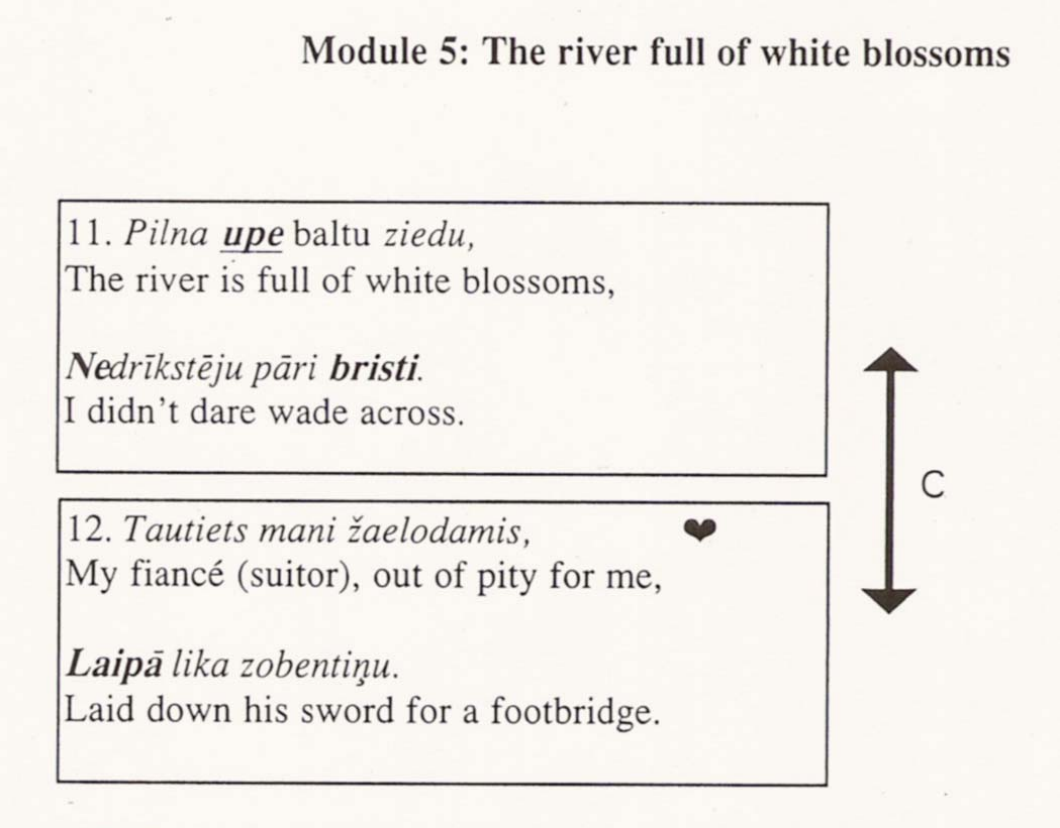
[12] In some Latvian wedding songs the swan may allegorically refer to the bride. The relatives of the bride/swan may address the mere "geese" of the groom's wedding party with the cry, "Open up [i.e. make way], you flock of geese, let the swan into the room."

The third module features a startling departure from the earlier water metaphors by introducing the new and unexpected image of the maiden crown, a metonymic symbol of a girl's personal honor and good reputation (apart from its obvious function as a symbol of virginity and of the unmarried state). Here two sets of parallel lines establish a sort of mocking link of similarity between the actions of "people" and those of the "lyrical I." First, there is a punning parallel between the verbal preterite root *ceāl-*, meaning to lift up, to pick up, to raise up in the literal, physical sense—here, the lifting up of the crown, much as one would tip one's hat—and the idiomatic expression for picking fault, *vainu celt* (literally, "to raise fault or faults"). A second pun in the same couplet plays on the phonetic recurrence of the two syllables in *vainas* ("fault," genitive singular, or "faults," nominative plural) as the first two (etymologically unrelated) syllables in the word ***vaina****dzinu* ("crown," accusative singular). Yet a third pun in this same module plays on the phonetic similarity between *caurs* ("hollow") and *cauri* ("through").

The second stanza of this third module contains another internal simile between the physical hollowness of the maiden crown and the psychological hollowness of people's fault-finding. It has a causal relationship to the first stanza, but also contains an element of contrast, since the flow of talk disappearing through the hollow crown amounts to saying that it causes absolutely no effect, that the "faults" attributed to the girl do not in any way affect that for which her crown symbolically stands. This module is linked to the preceding one through the lexical and phonetic associations of the verb form *cel-*. The forms *cēla* ("raised fault") and *pacēlu* ("I raised up" or "I lifted up") in this module are etymologically and phonetically related to *ceļas* ("rises") in the preceding module, a word that refers to the swan's rising up into the air as it takes flight from the water's surface. The semantic components of these associations amount to playing (or even punning) on the literal, idiomatic, figurative, and symbolic meanings of this family of key words.



The fourth module returns to the twin images of the stone and the river of Module 1 through a double link of conceptual and lexical association, but this time in a quite different configuration. The stones now lie at the bottom of the river, not as a symbol of sinking under the weight of adversity, but as its very contrary—the safety of wading across a river that has a good, solid stone bottom. In order to make use of this clever twist on the first module, however, the singer is forced to use a human parallel that switches the gender of the "lyrical I" from the persona of the maiden to that of a male suitor. Artistically this makes for a somewhat clumsy break in compositional unity at the surface level, yet the deep-level semantic meaning and the tone fit well with the rest of the song. The young man claims to have no fears or qualms about taking (i.e. marrying) the girl, since he has personal knowledge of her solid character. Implicit in this module, through association with the preceding ones, is the notion that he keeps his faith in the girl's good virtue in spite of the river of bad talk about her. The metaphorical river of flowing talk is inferred implicitly as a textually unexpressed parallel to the literal river with the stones at its bottom. The second stanza of this module introduces for the first time the explicit mention of a girl being chosen in marriage. This now spells out textually the preoccupation with the effects of social gossip on an unmarried girl's marriage prospects, effects that constitute a central theme in the song but that until now have only hovered implicitly in the background. The little heart (❤) next to stanza 10 signals the appearance of the marriage theme, a theme that will recur in the next three modules as well.



The full quatrain of this module, starting with the striking and euphonious couplet about the river full of white blossoms (***Pil****n*a ***up****e b*a***l****t****u*** *zied****u***) that a girl does not dare to cross, recurs as such only five times elsewhere in the *daina* corpus. The second couplet alone, on the other hand, about the gallant young man laying down his sword as a footbridge, recurs 78 times, either as an isolated quatrain or as the starting module of a whole cluster of longer songs. In all of these other versions, however, it is always the brother and not the suitor who lays down his sword as a result of his "taking pity" on the girl's fear. In addition to its Freudian connotations as a symbol of manhood, the sword plays a crucial role in Latvian courting and wedding songs as the prerogative of a free man (as opposed to a serf). In the wedding traditions of some regions of Latvia, the ceremonial removal of the bride's maiden crown, to be replaced by a married woman's headgear, was done with the sword of the bridegroom. These connotations create implicit associative links between the suitor's sword in this module and the maiden's crown in the third module.

This fifth module is the first in the song in which there are no direct or indirect references to gossip. The image of the river, however, forms a direct associative link with the river of the first module and the water of the second. Conceptually there is a contrast between the fearless taking of the

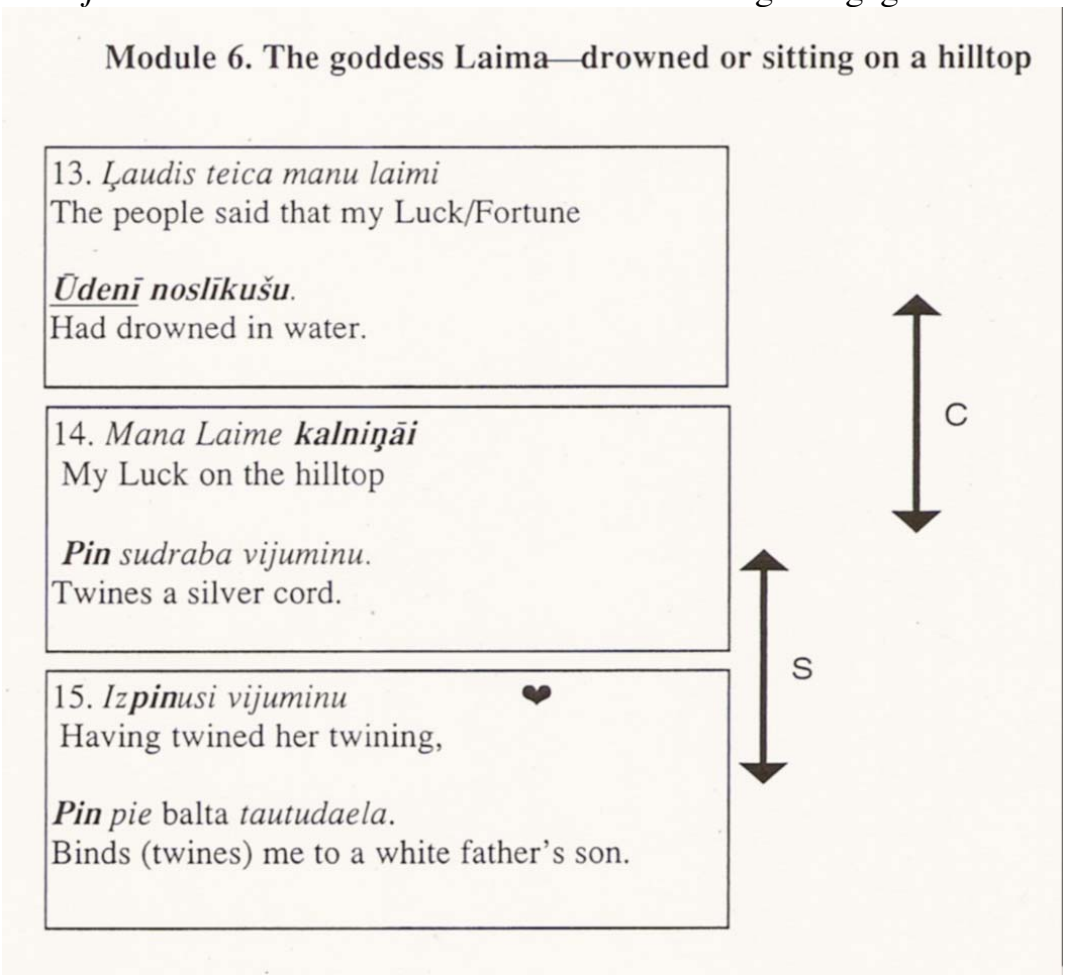
girl in marriage in the preceding module and the fear of wading expressed in this one. Most importantly, the conceptual contrast between being submerged in water and rising above it returns here as a central theme, but with yet another twist to it. The first couplet explicitly states, "I didn't dare wade across," but it is not clear whether this fear is meant literally as a fear of physical danger from the river or as the expression of a taboo against disturbing the white blossoms. At one level, it could be simply a fear of wading across a river full of waterlilies that, pretty though it may be on the surface, is likely to be murky and weed-filled underneath, and where one's feet would sink into the ooze at the bottom. Yet the word used to express this reticence is not the common *baidījos* ("I feared") but rather *nedrīkstēju*, which may mean "I dare not," but also means literally "I was not allowed" or "I was not permitted to." This evokes for me a personal association with an early, indistinct childhood memory of being told by some woman that "one must not pick the white waterlilies" or that "it is not allowed to pick the white blossoms"—the ones that I wanted—"but you can have the yellow waterlilies," which I found much less pretty. This would suggest that the white blossoms were taboo,[13] possibly as a reminiscence of earlier times when they might have been sacred to a deity. At a symbolic level, then, the text might reflect a fear of committing sacrilege. While I have found no direct evidence that this is so, the appearance of the goddess Laima in the following module might possibly be the result of such an implicit association.

Whatever its presumed source, the somewhat vague fear expressed in the first couplet is assuaged by the protective and caring gesture of a young man who, just like Lord Raleigh for Queen Elizabeth I, places a precious possession under her feet. ("Precious is my sword /More of gold than of silver" is the next stanza in a related song.) This fifth module thus presents a double contrast to the feelings and images evoked in the introductory module. First, on the physical plane, the image of the footbridge (*laipa*), of crossing dry-footed in contrast to sinking or wading in water, creates a sense of safety and escape, of rising above something that is potentially threatening. Second, on the social plane, the striking (but not particularly

[13] The color white, by the way, is the most frequently mentioned color in the *dainas*, and it carries strong metonymic connotations of brightness, purity, honor, and virtue. It has definite associations with the sacred in general and with various divinities in particular (see also Maurinça 1968;Vīķis-Freibergs 1980, 1989b). Thus the mythological Sun may be addressed as "Oh, little Sun, dear, white;" the Mother of Shades sits "white on the hill of white clover, her hand full of white flowers;" and the goddess Laima is sometimes referred to as "a white guest who comes in the evening."

realistic) image of the sword as a footbridge evokes the girl's feeling of being cherished and protected by her suitor, which is in stark contrast with the sense of being attacked, denigrated, and threatened by society at large. Finally, the footbridge is an implicit metonymic symbol for the successful passage from maidenhood to the married state. Thus a poor girl being courted by a young man of a great and distinguished family might exclaim in despair (song no. 15444 var. 1)[14]:

Plata upe, šaura laipa,	Wide the river, narrow the footbridge,
Kā bij man pāri tikt?	How am I to get across?
Lielas tautas, mazs pūriņš,	Great his family, small my dowry,
Kā bij man sadereāt?	How am I to get engaged?



[14] Barons and Visendorfs 1894-1915: vol. III, tome 1.

The sixth module starts with a couplet that returns to the theme of "people" saying bad things about one, as well as to the image of water in its threatening and engulfing sense. Specifically, the people are saying that one's *laime*, that is, one's personal fate and fortune, decreed at birth by Laima, the goddess of fate and fortune, has "drowned in water."[15] This is a formulaic expression widespread in the *daina* corpus, a dramatic metonym for a life destined by fate to be unlucky and unhappy. Implicit in this couplet is the superstitious fear that people will actually cause such bad luck by formulating it in words and, possibly, by wishing for it too.[16]

The second couplet represents a direct contrast to the first, and the third presents a specific elaboration of the general principle expressed in the second. To counteract the threatening image of Laima drowning in water, the next couplet seeks her maximum elevation on the vertical plane by placing her on a hilltop—most likely the hill of heaven, the abode of the gods. This then is yet another variation on the central "sink or swim" theme. It is reminiscent of the swan of the second module rising up from the water and taking flight toward the heavens, as well as of the more pedestrian image of the maiden crown being raised up. The image of Laima drowning recalls the metaphorical analogy with the girl's reputation and honor being "drowned" in the waters of malicious gossip. Its contrast, Laima sitting on a hilltop, is a widespread motif in the *dainas*, as is the image of Laima associated with something made of silver as a sign of her being favorably disposed.

The last stanza spells out directly the kind of good luck that Laima is actually fashioning—it is a silver cord to bind the fate of the talked-about girl to a "white father's son": a wellborn young man of good family, good material prospects, good character, and pleasant appearance, all implicitly wrapped up in one formulaic package. In the face of her lack of moral support and even ill will and ill wishes from the social world she lives in, the singer is seeking solace in her deep faith that the goddess of Fate will set things right in the end. Whatever others are saying, she concentrates on the image of her personal Laima not merely as safe and sound but as exalted, and looking after her interests at this very moment by twining the silver cord.

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[15] On Laima, see also Biezais 1955, Gimbutas 1989,Vīķis-Freibergs 1989b.

[16] This belief is implied in the Latvian word *pierunāt* (to cause to happen by talking about it) or the expression *piesaukt nelaimi* (to "call out" misfortune by naming the thing feared).

Module 7: The resplendent blooming of the wind-broken apple tree

16. *Raedz, kā* ***koši*** *noziedēja*
Behold, how brightly/richly bloomed

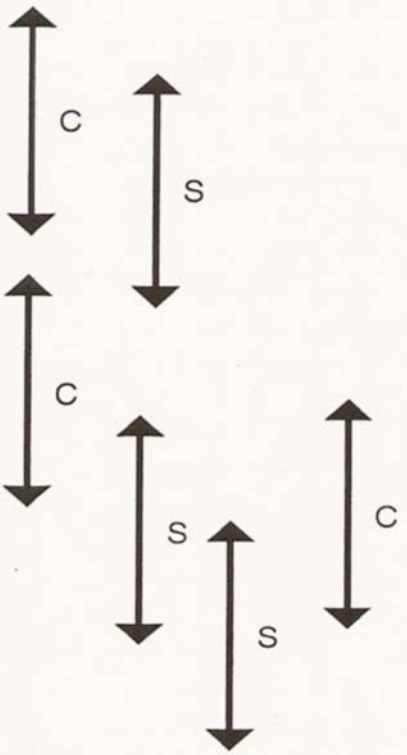
Vēja lauzta ābelīte
The wind-broken apple tree.

17. *Raedz, ka* ***koši*** *izprecēja* ❤
Behold, the bright/rich match made by

Vaino*jamu matesmeitu.*
The disparaged mother's daughter.

18. **Vaino** sivu, **vaino** dzedru,
They disparage/blame her as sharp, as cold,

Vaino darbu nemākošu.
They disparage her as inept at work.



A new image is introduced in the seventh and final module: the contrast between the poor prospects of a wind-broken apple tree and its remarkable bursting forth in abundant and beautiful bloom. Since elsewhere in the *dainas* apple trees always "bloom with white blossoms," this image does not arise at random, but rather through a co-textually motivated associative link with the "white blossoms" of Module 5, as well as with the implicit whiteness of the swan in Module 2. In the first couplet, the internal contrast from the realm of nature is followed by a direct parallel from the human sphere, as the "mother's daughter" with apparently poor prospects, the one whom everybody disparages, manages to make a brilliant match nonetheless. The third and last couplet of the module merely elaborates the second by spelling out the kinds of faults that people have been ascribing to the girl. These faults—a sharp temper, a cold personality, and ineptitude in all the skills that constitute women's work—are clearly of a kind to strike fear in the breast of any prospective husband.

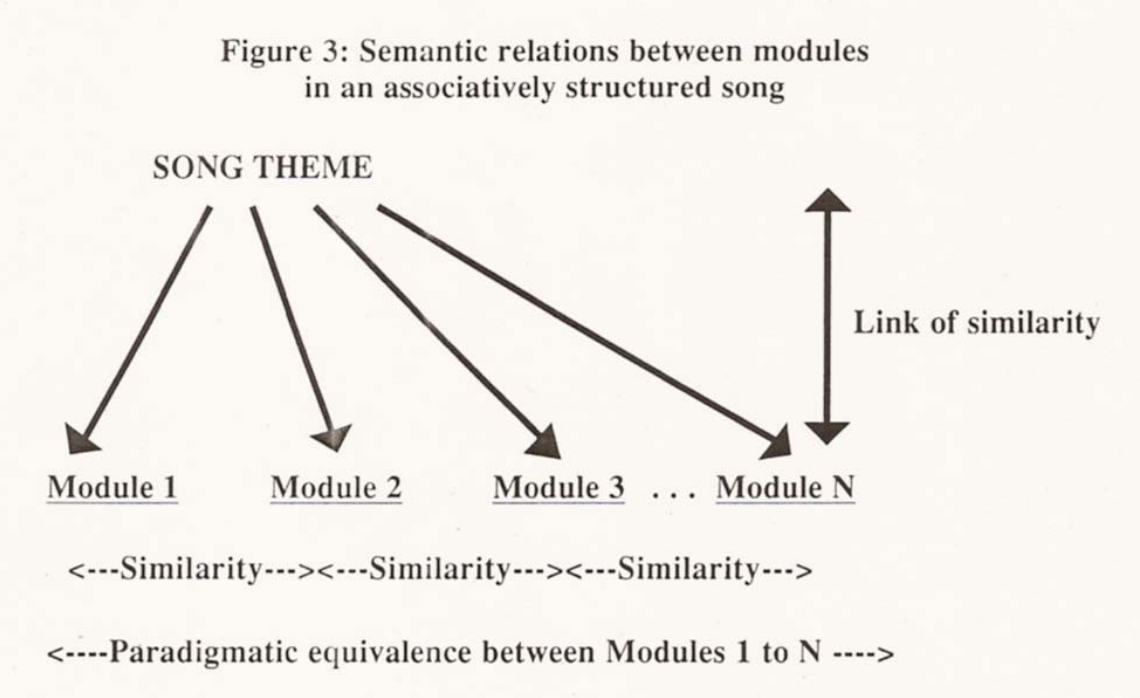
Curiously enough, the song ends abruptly with this rather negative couplet, just because it is so closely linked to the preceding one by the lexical and semantic repetition of the root-form *vain-*, *vaino*, which expresses the notion of blaming, disparaging, or finding fault. This somewhat inelegantly abrupt ending *en queue de poisson* is compensated by the strength of the preceding image, the apple tree in brilliant bloom, which is an extremely rich symbol in the *dainas*, loaded with positive connotations and associations (see Rūķe-Draviņa 1989).

The Associative Link in Longer Song Composition

Having seen in some detail how one associatively organized song is structured, we now return to considerations of what such songs might be like as a class. While several earlier authors have mentioned association as a principle of stanza organization (Ligere 1977, Ozols 1968), no ready-made sets of criteria for identifying this type of song are currently available. I propose that longer Latvian songs be classed as associative in type only if they answer to both of the following criteria. First of all, the sequence of stanzas or other text units should show the *absence of sequential narrative development*. This first criterion, then, is entirely negative, operating as it does by exclusion. The reason for this is purely pragmatic. Since association represents the weakest degree of sequential structuring, it would be difficult to uncover its principles of operation in texts where it is overshadowed by structurally stronger narrative principles. The second criterion requires the *presence of associative elements*, and these, in turn, are of two different types.

First, the modules in an associative song should belong to the same overall thematic category, each representing a new variation on this central theme. Such themes are part and parcel of the traditional thematic repertoire of the *dainas* and what they have to say about a variety of topics in that tradition (such as, in our text, the gossip about unmarried girls). The repertoire of modular core metaphors that develop variations on each given theme is also part of the tradition (e.g. sink or swim, drown or sit on a hilltop, and so on). These metaphors are associated with each other, as well as with their common theme, by a semantic link of similarity. At some level of their deep-semantic content, the modules would thus become paradigmatic equivalents of each other, being to some extent mutually interchangeable, as shown in Figure 3 below. Songs possessing only this modular type of thematic association would exhibit the lowest possible form

of sequential structuring, being at the next level above a total absence of any principle, i.e., total randomness.



In the song I analyzed above, each text module provided a variation on the central theme, which was an implicit contrast between positive and negative psychological states. Within each module, the deeper core metaphor or general semantic message was decoded into a series of less abstract but equally traditional poetic images and these, in turn, were expressed in the specific final wording (i.e. the given version of a recorded text). Most of the modules concretized the central theme through negative images of sinking or drowning and their many positive contraries: floating, swimming, crossing over water, or even wading across a river with a good, solid bottom. The implicit dynamic verticality of this contrast was specifically developed in a related set of metaphors, such as the swan rising out of the water, the maiden crown raised in the air, and the goddess Laima sitting on a hilltop. The overarching message of the song was that the "lyrical I" must not let herself be crushed by the low expectations, dire predictions, or bad wishes of others, for her essential personal integrity cannot be harmed by what other people say. Furthermore, the dim marriage prospects ascribed to her in the imagination of local village gossips will be blatantly contradicted by the gratifying reality of a brilliant match, arranged by none other than the goddess Laima herself.

A principle of thematic association such as the one just outlined, however, is only capable of explaining the "vertical" links of similarity in Figure 2, that is, the semantic link of similarity of each modular unit to a common, overarching theme. It would not possess any specific *principle of sequential organization*. Being semantically equivalent, the modules might be produced in any order whatsoever—that is, in every possible sequential permutation. In that case the sequence of stanzas produced by any one singer in any given recorded performance would not really represent a canonically "correct" song as a recognizable and stable entity. Any song such as we know it—either through oral or recorded transmission—might have been sung in any number of different orders from the one that happens to have been preserved for posterity. Upon examination, however, even the most loosely structured "strings of stanzas" in the *dainas* seem to exhibit at least some minimal degree of sequential organization**,** so that some units are more likely to follow each other in sequence than others. In a statistical sense, this amounts to introducing some degree of sequential dependency in the theoretically possible arrays of module (and stanza) sequences, so that some become more probable in any given position and others less so. In other words, sequentiality in associative songs such as "The Stone in the River" is neither blindly random nor rigidly deterministic, but probabilistic.

The major principle of sequential organization in the *dainas* is the presence of *syntagmatic associative links* between key items in successive modules. At the semantic level, these would be families of similar poetic images or metaphors, as well as a multilayered network of links of similarity and contrast. At the lexical level, these associative links would be of the kind typically found between pairs of words in free association tasks, such as antonyms (hard-soft), categorical equivalents (blue-green), or items linked by contiguity in everyday experience (salt-pepper) (see Warren 1921, Vīķis-Freibergs 1994a). At the phonetic level, association would be expected primarily on the principle of similarity, including recourse to homonyms and punning. The greater the number of associative links between two modules, the greater the probability that one would follow the other in a song. This would result in a relatively weakly structured overall song schema, as well as in sequential links of varying degrees of strength between different successive pairs of modules.

The syntagmatic associative links at each component layer of such a complex network might well operate through *spreading activation in associative networks*, following the same principles that are invoked in cognitive models of lexical retrieval (see, e.g., Dell 1986, McClelland et al. 1989). We may imagine any key word, concept, or even phonetic element of a module in performance as activating all modules in which the same or

similar elements are contained. Any module containing activated elements would then start moving "to the head of the line" in the mnemonic repertoire, ahead of such modules containing no associated elements. The more activated units in a module, the more likely that it might be chosen next in an actual performance. The sequential probability of any module Y (that is, the probability of Module Y following Module X) could then be expressed as the aggregate of the weighted strength of associative links of every type (phonetic, lexical, semantic) existing between them:

$$pY(X) = A_{phon} + A_{lex} + A_{sem} \ldots\ldots + A_x$$

The stronger the contextual activation of any given module, the more likely its choice as the next one to be produced among all possible candidates. Once activated, any associative element might remain active for some time, a condition that would account for remote or delayed associations within the song text, such as an image from Module 1 reappearing again in Module 4. The net result of such a process would be to restrict, at least to some extent, the degrees of freedom open to the singer in the choice of each successive song stanza, thus moving the structure of the overall song away from randomness and closer to a deliberate sequential schema of composition.

The theoretical model just outlined cannot claim to represent a precise process model of the detailed sequence of psychological events that would result in a song being either created for the first time or recreated from the tradition. As we know from experimental work on the processes of lexical access, for example, different process models could equally well account for the same sorts of empirical results (see Vīķis-Freibergs 1994a). In a similar manner, different process models could be invoked to account for the same types of song structures.

Imagine for a moment by what specific mechanisms an associative song representing modular variations on a central theme could be produced in actual performance. In Model A, a singer's whole repertoire of modules would be stored as one undifferentiated mass in a large, unlabelled mnemonic bag. Each module, however, would bear one or several tags identifying its thematic content. In performance, elements would be generated at random from the total repertoire, but before any text unit crossed the singer's lips, it would be checked for thematic appropriateness and either accepted or rejected on that basis. In other words, in this model, the singer's mental process is akin to, say, accepting only marbles of a certain pre-determined color (green, for instance) as they come out randomly from a mixed bag of every possible color, and rejecting all others

for the moment. In terms of psychological reaction times for the processes of selection, decision, and so on, this model seems somewhat cumbersome. Yet it just might be physically possible in the case of experienced singers. In Model B, modules would be stored from the start in separate, thematically labeled mnemonic loci or smaller "bags," such as "all songs about oak trees," "all songs about an orphan's sorrows," and so on. In the performance of such thematically associative songs, the singer's first decision would be to select a given thematic subrepertoire. This done, the further process of selecting any one specific unit within the thematic bag could either be assumed to be random, or else to follow some additional principle of sequential organization.

Recapitulation and Conclusions

Songs of a loosely associative type seem to be put together more for the pleasure or satisfaction of the singer than with the conscious intent of impressing or entertaining a potential audience. While each module exhibits the high degree of internal cognitive structuring characteristic of the *daina* quatrain or sextet, the associative structure of the song as a whole may be relatively loose. In the case of work songs, especially those sung during physically demanding and highly coordinated tasks such as threshing, the main functions of the song are to keep rhythm and to promote endurance without being mentally distracting. In the case of lyrical songs that express some highly emotional preoccupation, such as "The Stone in the River," each module contributes some new nuance in a protracted meditation on a problem and reiterates what amounts to a therapeutic solution to a fundamental emotional conflict. The negative images of social persecution and emotional pain allow the singer to become acutely conscious of a certain problem, even to the point of wallowing in self-pity. Yet again and again the negative image is supplanted by a positive one, thus canceling out its effects.

Such an exercise should not be dismissed too quickly as simple wool-gathering and wishful thinking. Curiously enough, the vivid visualization of solutions to one's problems and the mental rehearsal of positive and self-valorizing feelings has been rediscovered in recent years by modern clinical psychology as an important tool in therapeutic intervention. In fact, half a century ago Robert Desoille, with his "ascension psychology," was already employing guided imagination to develop "the verticality of aerial imagination" in his patients, thus leading to the sublimation of their problems (Bachelard 1943). In still earlier

times, the singing of loosely associative songs such as "The Stone in the River" might well have served a similar therapeutic purpose for the *daina* singers—"The Stone in the River" even includes the ascension element so emphasized by Desoille. This might well account, at least in part, for the apparent lack of interest in creating more developed global compositional schemas. All that was needful and useful in a structural sense being already available within the scope of the quatrain or the sextet, higher level composition would tend to be neglected in favor of global emotional coherence and force. By playing a new variation on the common theme, each module induces a cathartic visualization of both the felt problem and of its desired solution. Long before psychotherapy was invented, the singer of old could look to her oral tradition, where she would find a plentiful supply of poetic icons to reinforce her sense of personal integrity, reassure her about the strength of her inner resources, and assure her of divine love and protection.[17]

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The "Battle with the Monster": Transformation of a Traditional Pattern in "The Dream of the Rood"

Leslie Stratyner

Background

In his preface to his edition of the Old English poem "The Dream of the Cross," more often called "The Dream of the Rood," Michael Swanton describes the poem as "immediately attractive," stressing that "its poetic content is readily accessible to the modern reader" (1970:v). The question of accessibility is a good place to begin, but concern with the poem's accessibility to the modern audience should not be the ultimate issue. Of far greater importance is how the poem was "accessible" to its contemporary readers. It seems that much of the criticism surrounding this poem has at its heart an intent to expound upon what Swanton calls the poet's "literary sophistication" (v), which becomes more apparent, Swanton suggests, as we familiarize ourselves with the poem. To an Anglo-Saxon audience, however, "literary sophistication" was not necessarily a determinant of poetic merit. Even so, the status of "The Dream of the Rood" as having roots in oral tradition is not yet fully acknowledged.

Incorporation of oral-formulaic theory into an analysis of "The Dream of the Rood" may at first seem odd. It is safe to say that the term "oral literature" is far easier to associate with a poem like *Beowulf* than a poem that has been the crux of such thoroughgoingly *literary* criticism. From Swanton's perspective, as well as the perspective of many other critics of the poem, "literary sophistication" is one, if not *the* determinant of the poem's poetic merit. Martin Irvine completely textualizes "The Dream of the Rood"; he suggests that as a text itself it drew its lifeblood only from other texts, and should be read "as exegetical extensions of, or supplements to, the gospel narratives, commentaries on the gospels, and saint's lives—texts that formed one of the deepest layers of literary discourse"

(1986:175).[1] Whether one agrees with this statement or not, there is a vast array of criticism associating "The Dream of the Rood" with doctrinal and Latin influences.[2] Even Alain Renoir, in "Oral Theme and Written Text," suggests that "the detectable influence of Latin hymns suggests a literate composer for 'The Dream of the Rood'" (1976:339).

Yet Renoir also stresses the importance of what he calls "oral-formulaic theme survival," stating that "The Dream of the Rood" is among those "Anglo-Saxon poems presumably written but nonetheless composed in accordance with oral-formulaic practices" (345). Nor does he stand alone in his assessment of the poem as, if not orally composed, certainly rooted within oral-derived themes. Carol Jean Wolf (1970), for example, has illuminated the poem's "larger formulaic structures," such as the "approach to battle" type-scene.

Thus, although I would not suggest that "The Dream of the Rood" was composed orally in performance, it is, I would contend, oral-derived, and it is that presumption upon which this analysis is founded. The poem, in other words, straddles both worlds, having ties to both textuality and orality. The term "oral-derived" itself, as John Miles Foley points out, "disenfranchises neither oral tradition nor textuality, allowing us to take full account of the complexity of the work of art" (1992:81). This essay, then, is by no means designed to obviate the need for other readings, except perhaps those that view orality as a bacillus stamped out by intertextuality, as if the mere existence of literacy eviscerates all connection to the preliterate world. Rather it seeks to include rather than exclude, to suggest the kind of enriched reading made possible when we consider this poem as an inheritor of oral tradition instead of an exclusively textual creation.

In what follows I intend to show how the Rood poet drew upon the "Battle with the Monster" sequence as a strategy for the poem's composition. Albert Lord focused upon this narrative pattern within Indo-European epic, with particular emphasis on the theme of the "Death of the

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[1] He textualizes the Anglo-Saxons themselves as well, stating (1986:175): "This was a culture based on texts. . . . Literate Anglo-Saxon culture in the monastic Christian environment was a composite of an earlier oral orientation towards tradition which was becoming largely superseded by the written traditions and textuality of Roman Christianity."

[2] See, e.g., Patch 1919, Woolf 1958, A. Lee 1975, and O'Carragáin 1982. For a discussion of the source and use of prosopopoeia, see Schlauch 1940.

Substitute."[3] More recently, in *Immanent Art*, Foley has expounded upon the sequence, defining the Battle with the Monster sequence as a combination of five specific concomitants: Arming, Boast, Monster's Approach, Death of the Substitute, and Engagement (though these events may occur in differing order). It should be said at this point that even Foley asserts that within the corpus of Anglo-Saxon poetry the "Battle with the Monster" sequence is manifest in only one poem, *Beowulf* (1991:232). His analysis consists of a codification of this sequence in terms of the "succession of actions and motifs" (231) that comprise it as shown in that poem. Foley's aim is a consideration of how the "Battle with the Monster" sequence as evident in *Beowulf* helps us in understanding that poem's traditional structure, how "oral-formulaic structure stands as a viable hypothesis" for this patterning (232). But I would suggest that the pattern that emerges in Foley's discussion of the sequence in *Beowulf* is one startlingly close to the pattern of conflict that emerges in "The Dream of the Rood."

Though there has been a wealth of criticism identifying the epic heroic elements in "The Dream of the Rood," there has yet been no attempt to situate that heroism within an identifiably orally connected design as complex as the "Battle with the Monster" sequence. The Rood poet's utilization of this sequence shows that though he may have been literate, he possessed an intricate rather than a rudimentary understanding of the traditional poetic idiom. A key factor affecting the present analysis, and a reason why the poem's conformation to the pattern has heretofore remained unrecognized, is the Rood poet's radical but consistent transformation of the pattern to suit the specific subject matter. The sequence still exists and is still identifiable, but it is pressed into unique service. Though "The Dream of the Rood" can aptly be termed "heroic verse," the merging of the genres of riddle, dream-vision, and Christian narrative complicates things significantly. It is the crucial fact that this is a Christian narrative, and especially that it is a narrative of the crucifixion, that is the most demanding. The Rood poet cannot utilize this theme in precisely the same way that the *Beowulf* poet did because of the variant subject matter of his poem. Though the Rood poet may describe it as a heroic struggle, in reality the struggle inherent in the crucifixion is in most respects quite atypical, differing markedly from the traditional physical "tests" that the Anglo-Saxon scop was accustomed to versifying.

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[3] Lord also explores the "mythic pattern" of the Death of the Substitute in *Singer of Tales* (1960:187, 195-97), with particular reference to the *Iliad*.

In "The Dream of the Rood" we have a poem about a battle that is not really a battle and about deaths that are not really deaths. In Jesus, we have a lord whose depiction as a hero is paradoxically reinforced by his *subversion* of the topoi usually associated with the heroic battle; he strips instead of arms, and his strength is manifested by his submission to and suffering in his own murder rather than by an outward display of courage in battle. In the Rood we have a thane who is atypical not only because he is not human, but also because his primary duty—protecting his lord—is actually forbidden by that lord himself. According to Foley (1991), in the Battle with the Monster sequence, "the recurrent structure meshes with and is modified by the demands of a particular situation" (236). "The Dream of the Rood" is certainly not standard heroic verse; thus it is only to be expected that the "Battle with the Monster" sequence will be transformed as well.

Let us examine, then, element by element, how the Rood poet utilizes this sequence to impart a traditional context for "The Dream of the Rood." The monster's Approach is perhaps the most difficult to discern. Foley stresses that the "monster's Approach constitutes either the beginning or the third element in the sequence" (1991:234). This element occurs at the beginning of the sequence in "The Dream of the Rood." But who approaches whom? The crucifiers are termed enemies by the narrating cross, but it is clear that neither Christ nor the Rood ever engages with them. Christ is not interested in doing so, and the Rood is forbidden such conduct. What approach or approaches are described, then?

Curiously enough, it is the approaches of Christ and the Rood that are illuminated here. The Rood's description of his creation as a cross is essentially his depiction of his "approach" to Golgotha (32-33a):[4]

> Bæron me ðær beornas on eaxlum, oððæt hie me on beorg asetton,
> gefæstnodon me þær feondas genoge.
>
> Men bore me on their shoulders, until they set me on a mound,
> Enemies enough fastened me there.

Carried by the crucifiers, the Rood ascends the hill and is established there. It is then that Christ also approaches, towards the Rood, immediately hastening to him just as a hero might ascend to battle (33b-34):

> Geseah ic þa frean mancynnes

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[4] All quotations are taken from Krapp 1932; all translations are mine.

efstan elne mycle þæt he me wolde on gestigan.

Then I saw the Lord of Mankind
hastening with great valor to ascend me.

What does it mean that the Approach in this variant of the "Battle with the Monster" sequence involves not paradigmatic enemies but essentially a lord and thane?

Obviously, Jesus and the Rood are not opponents of the Beowulf and Grendel ilk, but then this is not a poem like *Beowulf*. The author of "The Dream of the Rood" drew on a traditional pattern to highlight the struggle of the Rood and Christ, to emphasize that both the dramatic tension and the poignancy inherent in the poem spring from the fact that their true battles are not against the Romans, but against each other. Jesus must endure his suffering upon the Cross, and the Cross must correspondingly suffer his complicity in that death, forbidden by his lord to offer aid. Jesus dies on the Rood, and the Rood must eternally suffer his status as *bana*, "slayer," because his lord forbade him to help. The Rood calls the crucifiers "enemies," but in terms of narrative progression the fighting is waged not between the Romans and the Rood, or the Romans and Jesus, but between the Rood and Jesus.

When we factor the traditional pattern into this variant of the Approach, the conflict resonates with a poignancy that is otherwise impossible to perceive. This lord and thane, who share a bond of duty and sacrifice, are forced to confront one another as adversaries, to become each others' "monsters," and are cast into that role not only by the crucifiers and the decree of Jesus but by the oral traditional pattern itself. In the New Testament (John 19) it should be noted, Jesus is described as carrying the cross himself to the place of his crucifixion. Without changing the essence of the story, the Rood poet subtly but deliberately transforms the event as depicted in the Gospel to make the poem resonate and harmonize with the traditional multiform, even as he transforms the traditional multiform to suit the specialized situation.

Perhaps this evidence for the Rood poet's utilization of the "Battle with the Monster" sequence would seem either circumstantial or thin were not the other elements of the sequence in place. Yet before Jesus actually ascends the Rood, we find variations of both the Boast and Arming topoi. Just before Jesus commits his heroic act, the Rood claims that "Ealle ic mihte/feondas gefyllan, hwæðre ic fæste stod" ("I was able to fell all enemies, but I stood fast," 37b-38). There is no other way to describe this than to say that the Rood is uttering a conventional Germanic *beot*. This

passage fulfills all the concomitants of the traditional Anglo-Saxon boast, conveying the Rood's personal statement of will, ability, and individual intent, directed outward; the same can be said of Beowulf's boast before he fights Grendel. Yet the Rood's assertion that "I was able to fell all the enemies" is followed by a qualifier: "but I stood fast." How can this be a boast if its intent is thwarted by the Rood's refusal to enact it?

The answer lies in the particular religious and aesthetic problem under scrutiny in this poem. The inversion of the traditional paradigm that highlights his achievement emphasizes the fact that the Rood's true challenge is found not in his ability to overcome the crucifiers, a feat that he could accomplish with ease, but in his willingness to obey the word of his lord by refusing to submit to that desire. As with Jesus, "standing fast" *is* the battle.[5]

Like the Rood's "anti-boast," Jesus' stripping for battle (rather than arming) presents another reversal of the traditional paradigm. The Rood describes his actions: "Ongyrede hine þa geong hæleð, (þæt wæs god ælmihtig)/strang and stiðmod" ("The young hero who was Almighty God unclothed himself, strong and firm of mind," 39-40a). As in the case of Beowulf's fight with Grendel, this disarming is not a sign of weakness, but a declaration of strength, a further assertion of the hero's status as "strang and stiþmod." The fact that the Rood poet chooses precisely this moment to term Jesus a *hæleð* ("hero") emphasizes this traditional projection as well.

The Rood poet's inversion of the Arming and Boasting elements is obvious, but it is that obvious transformation that should sensitize us to a search for inversional changes in the more elusive components of the "Battle with the Monster" sequence, such as the Approach, the Engagement, and ultimately the Death of the Substitute. The Approach has already been discussed, and within "The Dream of the Rood" the crucifixion itself is the Engagement, since the true battle is between Jesus and the Rood. This opposition is reinforced not only in the Approach, but throughout the poem. Although the crucifiers drive the dark nails, it is the Rood who becomes soaked in Jesus' blood, the Rood who is described as "ðam hefian wite" ("that oppressive torment," 61). Throughout, the Rood depicts *himself* as the source of Jesus' struggle, identifying himself at one point as Jesus' *bana*, or slayer (66). In turn, the Rood describes the presence of Jesus as the source of his own woes (42-45):

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[5] Burrow (1959) points out the Cross' ability to strike down the evil-doers, yet believes that this must be tied to Christ and his freedom not to take up the cross, to refuse to submit, because the Cross/Christ are indissolubly linked.

> Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte. Ne dorste ic hwæðre bugan to eorðan,
> feallan to foldan sceatum, ac ic sceolde fæste standan.
> Rod wæs ic aræred. Ahof ic ricne cyning,
> heofona hlaford, hyldan me ne dorste.
>
> I trembled when the man grasped me round. Yet I did not dare to bow to earth,
> to fall to the earth's surfaces, but I had to stand fast.
> I was raised up a cross. I lifted up the powerful Ruler,
> the Lord of the Heavens, I did not dare to bend.

As Jesus' torment resides in enduring the Rood, so the Rood's torment resides in enduring both Jesus and Jesus' command that the Rood forgo action against the crucifiers.

But though each element in the "Battle with the Monster" sequence is in evidence here, it is the Death of the Substitute that reverberates most profoundly, not only for the most immediate conflict involving the Rood and Jesus, but also for the dreamer and the Christian audience. As Lord puts it, this pattern entails "the death of one of the hero's companions, a death that is caused by the actions of the hero" (1980:140). This death usually precedes the main character's battle, and often serves as a galvanizing event in the development of that hero. In *Beowulf*, Hondscio and Æschere are substitutes, and they perish before that hero's battles with the monstrous Grendel and his dam, respectively. In the *Iliad*, to take another example, Patroklos serves as the substitute, dying instead of Achilleus at the hands of Hektor; Achilleus later avenges his companion's death. It is as if the demise of the hero's companion acts as a catalyst for the evolution of the hero himself: Achilleus achieves glory during his subsequent vengeance-driven *aristeia*, and Beowulf, after witnessing the killing of Hondscio, attains his first great victory. Both Beowulf and Achilleus can be seen as blameworthy in the deaths of their friends—as Achilleus lends Patroklos his armor and Beowulf makes no move to protect his kinsman—and both are spurred by their losses to deeds that come to define them.

Who serves as the "substitute" in "The Dream of the Rood?" The main criteria of the pattern are threefold: his death is caused by the actions of the hero, customarily precedes the main character's battle, and is often a galvanizing event in the development of that hero.

The primary hero in the poem is usually assumed to be Jesus, who in action and description has been aligned by many with the prototypical Anglo-Saxon hero. With the creation of Jesus as a hero-lord, the Anglo-Saxon poet attempts to assimilate the crucifixion into the matrix of the warrior band, in an effort to make the poem's conflict relevant to its

audience. Wolf argues that the crucifixion is a "heroic conflict" in which "the Redeemer exhibits the heroic attitudes of resolution and boldness" (1970:204, 206). In addition, Macrae-Gibson (1969) and Dubs (1975) discuss Jesus himself as a warrior approaching battle. Diamond (1958) thoroughly catalogues the heroic phrases used in "The Dream of the Rood", and A. Lee characterizes Jesus as "the figure of the heroic Dryhten par excellence, strong, resolute, and eager for battle" (1975:178). Even Diamond's assertion that the heroic diction is somewhat inappropriate (considering the situation) amounts to evidence, in a backhanded way,[6] of the poet's intent to create his poem in accordance with the mindset of his audience. It is not difficult to establish Jesus as heroic. But how does the Rood serve as Jesus' substitute?

Certainly the Rood's "death" is brought about by Jesus. The Rood's boast indicates that if he had been allowed he could have saved his lord, and saved himself in the process. But that course of action was forbidden (35-39):

þær ic þa ne dorste	ofer dryhtnes word
bugan oððe berstan,	þa ic bifian geseah
eorðan sceatas.	Ealle ic mihte
feondas gefyllan,	hwæðre ic fæste stod.

I did not dare to bend or burst
over the commandment of the Lord, when I saw the surfaces
of the earth trembling. I was able to kill
all the foes, but I stood fast.

It is Jesus' edict that prevents the Rood's action, Jesus' edict that causes not only his own death but that of the rood, a death underscored by the Rood's burial in a deep pit after the crucifixion.

As a rule, the Death of the Substitute precedes the hero's battle, but in this specialized case, the substitute *is* the hero's battle, and so the typical progression cannot stand. It is the substitute's death as a galvanizing force in the development of the hero that is of greater interest. In the context of the poem, Jesus' suffering and death are impossible without the suffering and death of the Rood. And without both events taking place, Jesus cannot become the *heofonrices weard* ("guardian of the heavenly kingdom," 91), and ascend in ultimate triumph. Without the death of the Rood, Jesus' own victory becomes inconceivable.

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6 Diamond attempts to explain away the disjunction by suggesting that the Rood poet was "caught in a net of tradition," and "unable to compose any other way" (1958:5).

What is most fascinating, however, is how the oral traditional pattern of the Rood as Jesus' surrogate meshes with what has previously been considered purely a doctrinal influence. Rosemary Woolf (1958) asserts that the poem represents an Anglo-Saxon attempt at coming to grips with a medieval area of dispute: the dualistic nature of Christ, which we may see as mirrored in the Rood's assumption of Jesus' suffering, his "substitution" for him. We see the Rood, not Jesus, driven through with dark nails, and we see the Rood, not Jesus, soaked in blood, because the poet wished to show us Jesus as victor and sufferer, represented respectively by the young hero who forcefully and willingly ascends the Rood and by the Rood itself.[7] A pertinent and arresting assertion to be sure, but perhaps not the whole story. We also see the Rood suffering instead of Jesus because in keeping with the oral traditional multiform, the Rood serves as Jesus' substitute, suffering and dying like Patroklos and Hondscio so that the hero can ultimately conquer.

With the discussion of Rood as substitute, one might think that the topic is closed. But the *geong hæleð* ascending the cross is not the only hero in "The Dream of the Rood" worth considering, and the Rood is not the only substitute. We saw in the elements of Approach and Engagement that in keeping with the traditional pattern, each character served as the other's antagonist. Now each character serves as the other's substitute as well. With some particularization due to the unusual nature of the situation, the three criteria for the Substitute are met not only by the Rood but by Jesus as well.

In the past, critics have focused almost exclusively on the figure of Jesus, whom the Rood poet transforms into a warrior lord dying for his *comitatus*. Yet if it is true that the story of the crucifixion is the centerpiece of the poem and its central conflict, we have to note that at the most basic level this crucifixion story is not is not mainly the story of Jesus at all, but rather of the Cross. The perspective is first-person; the point of view is entirely the Rood's as he tells of *his* origination. His story relates how he became a cross, hewn down from the edge of the wood, and is not concerned with the story of the nativity. It is the actions and reactions of the Rood that constitute the bulk of the narrative.

In addition, the crucifixion itself is described through the Rood's eyes; we see his own first impressions of Jesus hastening towards him, his own wishes to defend his lord, and his own torment at not daring to do so. The central heroic conflict is clearly the Rood's. Though it is Jesus who dies "þa he wolde mancyn lysan" ("when he wished to free mankind," 41),

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[7] On the Cross serving as a surrogate for Christ, see also Patten 1968.

it is the Rood who sees, who is able to fell the crucifiers, who stands fast, who trembles, who holds up the high king, who is covered in his blood. During some fifteen lines that describe the crucifixion scene, the first person singular pronoun is used no fewer than twelve times. Certainly Jesus is depicted as a warrior, but in terms of the narrative the Rood is portrayed no less heroically. The Rood may define himself as his lord's slayer, but he is also the means by which Jesus conquers, and the Rood's status as a hero is reflected in his gold and silver ornamentation (77), his ability to heal anyone in awe of him (85-86), and his function of bringing mortals into heaven (135-40).

So the Rood is a hero as well. Then how does Jesus fit as his substitute? First, it is evident that Jesus' death is caused by the actions of the Rood, whose complicity in the death of his lord is beyond question. The Rood calls himself a *bana* ("murderer"), and he cannot escape the literal and figurative "stain" of that killing. Jesus' death is also most certainly a galvanizing force in the Rood's development. In terms of the dramatic action of the poem, Jesus' death transforms the cross from mere wood to *wuldres treo* (14), a "tree of glory" covered in gold and gems. The Rood itself speaks of its change in status (80b-83a):

> Is nu sæl cumen
> þæt me weorðiaþ wide and side
> men ofer moldan and eall þeos mæran gesceaft,
> gebiddaþ him to þissum beacne.
>
> Now the time is come that men honor me far and wide
> over the earth, and all this great creation, that they
> worship this sign.

The Rood also states that *because* god suffered upon him, he now rises up glorious under the heavens. Without Jesus' death, the Death of the Substitute, the hero cannot attain glory. We could assert much the same concerning the substitute deaths of Hondscio and Patroklos.

When we consider Jesus as substitute, however, "The Dream of the Rood" truly begins to resound. This is a deeply Christian poem, and it is important that we not underestimate the nature of its connection with the oral traditional context. The traditional pattern found in oral and oral-derived pre-Christian Indo-European epic, the Death of the Substitute, blends with the "referent" of the "substitution" of Jesus in Christian terms. As Jesus tastes bitter death on the Rood, he not only substitutes for the Rood, he "substitutes" for all mankind, making salvation possible. And this is the same Jesus whose death, in terms of the oral traditional paradigm,

fortifies and glorifies the Rood. As Grasso argues in "Theology and Structure in 'The Dream of the Rood'," "the poem presupposes belief in the tenets of faith, Christ's salvific death and resurrection" (1991:23).[8] No one would contest this opinion. But to assert that doctrine is the only influence on the poem robs it of a vital nuance of meaning. As the death of Patroklos transformed Achilleus, Jesus' death is the event through which the Rood itself is imbued with purpose.

And here we see how the Christian and oral traditional referents merge. Jesus serves as the substitute not only for the Rood but for all mankind; thus his death, in Christian terms, is the event that imbues with purpose not only the Rood but all mankind as well, a truth reflected in the emotions of the dreamer (145b-48a):

	Si me dryhten freond,
se ðe her on eorþan	ær þrowode,
on þam gealgtreowe	for guman synnum.
He us onlysde	on us lif forgeaf,
heofonlice ham.	

Let the lord be my friend,
he who before suffered here on earth
for the sins of men upon that gallows-tree.
He redeemed us and gave us life,
heavenly home.

As the Rood attains glory because of the death of his substitute, so the dreamer attains eternal life and a heavenly home.

The significant scriptural influence upon which the poet draws plays a crucial part in transforming the traditional pattern itself, and imbuing it with new meaning. For instance, Albert Lord suggests that the Death of the Substitute is "followed by a journey during which the hero's ultimate destiny, death, is discovered" (1980:140). This is indeed the destiny of both the Rood and Jesus, but the ultimate result of their deaths, and those of all the characters in the poem, is eternal life. The "deaths" of the substitutes are not really deaths at all.

Aligning "The Dream of the Rood" with the Battle with the Monster sequence indeed offers us rich insights into how traditional structures are transformed. Nowhere can this be more clearly demonstrated than in a final

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[8] Grasso further asserts that both the theology and structure of the poem have their source in the Nicene Creed, and speculates that "'The Dream of the Rood' may well have been composed as a personal meditation on the creed by a monastic author" (1991:25).

analysis of Lord's general comment on the mythic pattern of the Death of the Substitute within the Germanic tradition. Lord asserts that an essential element is missing, an essential element that an examination of "The Dream of the Rood" proves wasn't really missing at all: "the sense of guilt in breaking taboos and insulting the gods" (141). In the case of *Beowulf*, Lord explains, "the hero not only does not incur any guilt in the Germanic reinterpretation of the pattern, but, quite the opposite, he gains great glory" (141). Certainly this does seem to be the case in *Beowulf*, but to extend that assumption to the rest of Germanic tradition may amount to oversimplifying the situation, especially when we consider the case of Jesus and the Rood.

One of the Rood's identifying features is that he suffers exquisite guilt over his role in the death of Christ, the death of his substitute, much as Achilleus suffered guilt over the death of Patroklos. The Rood's guilt is made manifest in the poem's central metaphor, that of the Cross as one moment adorned with gold and the next moment sweaty with blood. The Rood has broken the ultimate taboo; he has become the instrument of his lord's death. In *Beowulf*, Lord states, "guilt has become a virtue and the pattern is broken" (141); I would suggest that "The Dream of the Rood" proves that the pattern is not broken, but almost magically recast. Within the metaphor of a cross that is represented as covered with blood that both stains and adorns, we see the perfect union of guilt and virtue—not the evolution of culpability into merit but their paradoxical coexistence. Guilt has not *become* a virtue, guilt *is* the virtue.

"The Dream of the Rood" is a poem whose richness resides in its ability to be everything at once, and not only in terms of genre. We have the paradoxical status of the Rood, who is both Jesus' slayer and the instrument through which he transmits eternal life, both the betrayer of his lord and the fulfiller of his lord's desire. He is hero, monster, and substitute all at once. We have the paradoxical status of Jesus, whose heroism is inherent in his refusal to fight for his life and whose life is inherent in his death. All of these contradictions are caught, to borrow Diamond's words, in a "net of tradition" (1958:5), but not in a pejorative sense. The Rood poet offers us a web that interweaves patterns found in oral-formulaic narrative with the story of the crucifixion. The central Christian symbol is accorded its meaning through the lens of the traditional paradigm. From the audience's perspective, it is reverence rooted in traditional referentiality.

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Mongolian Oral Epic Poetry: An Overview

Chao Gejin

Background

Mongolian *tuuli*, or epic poetry, the most important genre in Mongolian literary history, is a vast tradition of orally composed works. Accompanied by musical instruments such as the *tobshur* and the *choor*, *tuuli* relates these nomadic peoples' glorious past: their ideal heroes—the bravest hunters and herdsmen—and their ideal world—rich pastures, open steppes, decorated yurts and palaces, beautiful maidens, and swift horses. The heroes keep and guard these riches, perform deeds in defense of their holdings, and, more importantly, acquire new herds and new nomadic territories.

The scholarship on Mongolian epic can be traced back to the beginning of the nineteenth century.[1] We have, for instance, some early German and Russian versions gathered from among the Volga Kalmyks. Around the beginning of this century, researchers such as G. Ramstedt, C. Zhamcarano, and B. Vladimirtsov reached many Mongolian regions and recorded a number of valuable epics (Niekeliuduofu 1991:1, 25). At that time scholars believed that there were three epic regions in the Mongolian world. As Vladimirtsov points out (1983-84:11):

> At the present time in the Mongolian world, as far as we know, there are three areas, three regions, where the heroic epic cycles live or still exist, where professional singers of tales are found, . . . distinguished one from the other by many individual features. The bearers of these three types and forms of the Mongolian epic are the following Mongolian tribes: the Buriats both of the Irkutsk *gouvernement* and the Trans-Baikal district, the Volga Kalmyks (Oirats), together with those who in the second half of the 18th century nomadized out of Russia and now live in Dzungaria and on the T'ien-Shan, and finally, the Oirats of North-West Mongolia, together with some Mongolized Turkic tribes. In each of these regions populated by one of these tribes, we find the heroic epic, organically mature, having its own

[1] See further Bergmann 1804-05.

> definite history and being preserved or living at present in one or another characteristic form.

Vladimirtsov goes on to note that "there still exist areas, Mongolian tribes about which our information in this regard is quite insufficient, and we can say almost nothing as to the position of the heroic epic there" (11-12).

Apparently little was known at that time about epic centers and the epic tradition in China, but scholarship on Mongolian epic poetry has developed considerably.[2] The work of accumulating, publishing, and studying the epic tradition has been carried out for more than forty years, with a pause from the second half of the sixties through the seventies due to the Cultural Revolution. New discoveries have been reported in regions that were never before studied. In what follows, I would like first to describe the spread of Mongolian epic in China, and then discuss a few aspects of the Mongolian epic tradition that differ from other epic traditions.

According to reliable statistics (see Bürinbeki and Boyanhesig 1988:1), seventy different epic poems have been published in the Mongolian language in China. The two most famous epics—the *Jianggar* and the *Geser*—are not included in these statistics. These two traditions boast a number of different versions; for example, we have ten versions in thirteen volumes of the Mongolian *Geser*: *Ordos Geser, Oirat Geser, Zaya-in Geser, Usutu Zuu-in Geser, Ling Geser, Nomchi Hatun Geser*, *Beijing Modon Bar Geser*, *Long Fu Si Geser*, *Pajai Geser Un Tooji*, and *Abay Geser Hübegün*. And more than seventy "cantos," exceeding two hundred thousand lines, have been collected of the *Jianggar*, not including variations. These epics were found in Mongolian areas in China—Bargu, Buriat, Jaruud, Horchin, Chahar, Ordos, and Ulaganchab—as well as in regions with Mongolian inhabitants, such as Xinjiang, Qinghai, Gansu, and Liaoning. The majority of all these epics and epic cycles were published in Mongolian, Todo, and Chinese over the past twenty years.

Within China, scholars in this field gradually reached a consensus that there were three areas of China where Mongolian epics flourished: two of

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[2] There is no space here for an exhaustive review of the scholarship. In short, several relevant research institutions have been founded; quite a number of the influential epics were published in Mongolian, Chinese, and Oirat; and there has been a group of scholars researching Mongolian epic in China. One example must suffice: "The Geser Office," a special institution with several scholars in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, focuses on collecting, printing, and studying the Mongolian epic *Geser*. It is worth mentioning that they are scheduled to publish 23 different versions in 34 volumes of this epic; 10 versions in 13 volumes have already appeared.

them, Bargu and Horchin, are in northeastern Inner Mongolia and one, Oirat, is in Xinjiang. A few epics were found outside of these specific regions—in Bayannuur and Chahar, for example—but after careful analysis we have concluded that these do not represent an independent epic tradition but belong instead to one of the three epic centers.

Epic Centers

An epic center is an area characterized by a strong epic tradition in which a group of epics is linked together by common historical, geographical, and tribal features that differentiate it from other such groups.

The Bargu Epic Center

The Bargu people, a tribe with a long history among the Mongols, inhabit the three Bargu Banners (counties) of Hölön Boir Aimak in northeastern Inner Mongolia. Nearly twenty epic poems have been gathered in this relatively small region. Several epics recorded from other Mongolian areas such as Ulaganchab and Ordos are also related to this center. The representative epics include *Gurban Nasutai Gunagan Ulagan Bagatur*, *Altan Galagu Hüü*, *Aburaltu Khan*, *Bayan Bolod Ebügen*, *Ajig Teneg Bagatur*, *Sireetü Mergen*, *Batu Uljei Bagatur*, and *Silin Galjuu Bagatur*.

First and foremost, the Bargu epic retains the ancient themes of the hunter and the herdsman's primitive ideas and desires—for instance, the fighting between families and clans or the marriage of a hero, which in some cases is achieved by bride-capture. As for the size of the epic, we know that none of the epics in this center exceeds two thousand lines, with only ten to twenty motifs in each work, a length regarded as quite short within the overall Mongolian epic tradition. Typical characters include a main hero, who is always a hunter or herdsman, and sometimes one or two comrades. The hero's opponent is a monster, usually the many-headed *manggus*.[3] A semi-poetic, semi-narrative form is the major feature of the Bargu epics. This form signals a degeneration of the oral art. In addition, there is no report of any professional epic singers found among the Bargu people. The performers are amateurs—common herdsmen and their wives.

[3] See the section below on the *manggus*.

All these phenomena indicate that epic development and epic creativity ceased long ago. Performances recently witnessed by the author are a kind of echo of this tradition's glorious past, when there existed a large number of talented singers. The Bargu epics have in some respects maintained the original form of the early stages of epic poetry, but the Bargu people have in effect lost their tradition of epic singing; it even seems that the ability to play accompanying musical instruments during a performance has been lost. In spite of such losses, Bargu performers have tried to keep oral performance in its original form in order to preserve these living fossils of folk art.

The Oirat Epic Center

As an independent tradition, the Oirat epics have spread among the "Four Oirats" and the Chahar people in Xinjiang. It has been reported that these epics were also found among the Mongol tribes who inhabited Qinghai and Gansu. Around the end of the last and the beginning of this century, a few performances were collected in Xinjiang and Qinghai and printed in Russian (see Niekeliuduofu 1991:1-4). The majority, however, have been found over the last twenty years. The most influential is

undoubtedly the *Jianggar* cycle.[4] As mentioned above, we now have several Mongolian versions of this epic, including the so-called "Raw Material Printings," a Todo version, and two Chinese translations. In addition, twenty other epics have been gathered by scholars such as Rinchindorji, Badma, and Jamso (Rinchindorji 1987:23-25). Because of these modern discoveries, the great Russian Mongolist Boris Vladimirtsov's conclusion that the Oirats have only a single poem has to be revised.

The Oirat epic has its own characteristics. First of all, we can recognize the same primitive motifs and elements that are found in the Bargu epic tradition: for instance, the pursuit and marriage by capture, fighting between families and clans, and expeditions to carry out revenge. However, we can also find later historical layers, such as Buddhist worldviews, and new relations between the khan and his heroes and people. These features reflect the actual social structure in the Dzungar Kingdom. Indeed, even the battles in the Oirat epics are different from those in the Bargu tradition; alongside personal fighting, clan revenge, and the like, a completely new type of contest may be found, the battle between kingdoms.

At any rate, the Oirat epic is a rather well developed tradition, both historically and poetically. The majority exceed two thousand lines, including the *Jianggar* cycle. There are a great many characters involved in the stories—a large group of heroes, each with a distinct personality and playing a different role in the khan's court. The Oirat stories also have complicated plots. They are molded into formulas or "common passages," such as the fixed ornament and epithet, regular motif series, and other features. It is quite natural that some similarities exist between Oirat and their Turkic neighbors' epics. For example, the main hero of most Oirat epics is a khan, and it is common for the old hero to be defeated and his descendants to continue fighting against the enemy. A similar such epic can also be found among the Turkic traditions.

In this center there is a long tradition of well trained and skillful professional singers. They are called *tuulchi* or *Jianggarchi*, meaning epic singer or *Jianggar* singer. We have found that five counties are famous for their *Jianggarchi*: Hobokser, Wenquan, Nilek, Hejing, and Heshuo. According to some legends among Oirat singers, Tur Bayar, a very talented *Jianggarchi* who lived in the seventeenth century, could sing seventy chapters (or cantos) of the *Jianggar*; he therefore received the title *dalan tobchi*, which means "seventy-chapter pouch" (Rinchindorji 1987:24).

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[4] Some scholars do not think that the *Jianggar* is a single epic, but rather a group of epics, because the cycle is really a series of poems. These poems are independent of each other and are mutually connected only by the fact that Jianggar Khan appears in all of them.

The Horchin Epic Center

Horchin represents a particular kind of regional culture among the Mongolian tribes. Located in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia, close to the agricultural region, it has slowly changed its way of life from nomadic herding to farming. For hundreds of years it has thus been a semi-agricultural, semi-animal husbandry region. Horchin possesses its own dialect and strong shamanistic traditions as compared to other areas. It is also the birthplace and core of the *bensen üliger*, or "text story,"[5] an influential folk art that uses Chinese historical fictions and legends as raw material to produce Mongolian verse tales and is well known for its folk songs, which usually tell a tragic tale about a hero's revolt or a sad love story.

One can easily distinguish Horchin epics from others on the basis of their many unique features. For example, the main hero is sometimes an emperor, and thus does not personally participate in the fighting; instead, he sends other heroes as champions to fight for him. The hero's opponent is, just as in other traditions, the *manggus*, but in Horchin epics the *manggus* is more powerful and dangerous than those found in the other two epic centers. Another distinguishing feature of Horchin epic is that each *manggus* has its own name. In other traditions, it always has many heads, but no name. The heroes, on the other hand, are correspondingly quite weak and dull. In this tradition, they cannot defeat the opponent, but must rely on Moomai Manggus, a surrendered *manggus*, to overcome the enemy. This is a novel feature when set against the background of the whole Mongolian epic tradition.

Another distinguishing feature is that marriage, one of the two basic themes of Mongolian epics, has been neglected by Horchin singers. It is difficult for them to understand that their hero should perform heroic deeds and conduct dangerous exploits in order to obtain a wife. They even see this as a shameful thing. In their epics, the beautiful maiden must come to marry the hero on her own initiative. Indeed, women's chastity and virginity are held in high esteem. The hero's wife must do all she can to protect her chastity if she is captured by the *manggus*, and she always manages to keep herself pure until rescued.

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[5] In which the usually illiterate singer holds a text in hand to symbolize that the performance is not fictional but historically true to its sources.

Buddhist elements are also found in these epics. The Buddhist worldview has entered into the poetry and influenced many formulaic descriptions, such as the opening motif, an explanation of how the sun, moon, and stars formed under the power of the Buddha. The hero of a Horchin epic may burn incense and present a *hadag*[6] to his steed. Sometimes the hero's weapon is a Buddhist instrument of some sort. One should also note that some plots apparently were borrowed from Chinese legends that were disseminated in the Horchin region over a long period of time.

Horchin epics are connected with some other oral genres, such as *bensen üliger* and *holboo* ("folk ode"). The narrative skills native to these verse tales and folk odes have been used in epic singing. It also appears that Horchin singers work more freely within the traditional practice, following their own inspirations and composing their work creatively. They even use other epics as raw material for such composition; for example, in the Horchin epic *Asar Chagan Haiching*, sung by Chuluu and Nasuntemur, characters and plots are borrowed from the popular epic *Silin Galjuu Bagatur*.

Structure and Theme

Mongolian epic poetry as a whole has its own basic structure and themes. According to the German Mongolist Walther Heissig, there are more than three hundred motifs, which we can further classify into a series of fifteen motifs: time, the hero's birth, the hero's locality, the hero himself, the steed's personality and capability, expedition, the sworn brother and aide, threats, the enemy, fighting against the enemy, the hero's stratagem, courtship, matrimony, wedding, and the return to homeland. A considerable number of motifs with close mutual connections form a motif series. For instance, under the second series, "the hero's birth," we have (1) given birth by parents in the usual manner, (2) born from a stone, (3) forming by himself, (4) assigned to be born by a deity, (5) parents described, (5.1) old couple who do not have a child, and (5.2) couple that begs for a child.[7]

Thus Mongolian epics tell the story of a hero, his uncommon birth, his fertile fields and uncountable livestock, his courtship and marriage to a

[6] A silk scarf customarily used in Buddhist rituals.

[7] See further Bürinbeki 1997:32-33; Bürinbeki and Boyanhesig 1988:987-1021.

maiden with beautiful cheeks, and his heroic battle against an opponent—usually the many-headed *manggus* or, in some cases, an entire enemy kingdom. With the assistance of a heroic companion and his horse the hero defends his property successfully against all attackers. The heroes differ from epic to epic in various traditions, but we can conclude in the end that all Mongolian epics follow two basic patterns: fighting and courtship. In other words, one cannot find a Mongolian epic with a theme other than these two basic types. Therefore, the main focus of the audience is not, say, how the poem will end but how the story will develop.

Constituent units of Mongolian epics can be distinguished on different levels, namely theme, subtheme, and motif, which we believe to be the smallest formative unit. According to this classification, we may group the epics into two patterns. Epics with one unifying theme are single-round epics, and those with two or more themes are multi-round epics. The multi-round epics can in turn be divided into two types by their structure: the series type and the parallel type. Below is a summary of a single-round epic, *Aguula Khan*, collected by G. J. Ramstedt (quoted from Poppe 1979:106):

> In a fine earlier time there lived the ruler of the northeastern continent, Agula Khan. His wife once had an ominous dream and woke up her husband, who paid no attention to her alarm. Having lain down again to sleep, his wife saw in a dream that the fifteen-headed yellow Mangus An Dulai was moving to war on them. She again woke the khan and he, after use of divination, was convinced her dream was true. The khan equipped himself for the trip and went out towards the Mangus. After meeting him and exchanging such questions as who he was and where he was going, he engaged in a duel with him and slew him, after which he trampled the Mangus's wife, the size of a spider, to death, gathered up the Mangus's possessions, returned home, and lived peacefully and happily.

A further analysis of themes and subthemes will give us a more fundamental understanding of these epics. Again, one of the two basic themes is fighting, and it has two subthemes: fighting for revenge and fighting for possessions. As for courtship, the subthemes are marriage by capture, marriage through competition, and marriage arranged by parents. Let us represent each theme and subtheme by a symbol, as A, B, A1, B1, and so forth:

A Matrimony
  A1 marriage by capture
  A2 marriage through competition
  A3 marriage arranged by parents
B Fighting
  B1 fighting for revenge
  B2 fighting for possessions

The series type of multi-round epics combine rounds in patterns such as A+B, A+B+B, B+B, and so on.[8] Thus Hangin concludes (1989:8) that

> [a]n analysis of the structure of a typical long epic reveals that it consists of several rounds or "cantos." Generally, there is an introduction, followed by the opening round. It portrays the battle with the mangus or other opponent, and defeat of the hero. The second round might be the suit of the hero for the Heavenly Daughter, in which he must win in the Manly Games. The third round might be the reanimation of the hero who has been laid low in the first round, or his victory over the mangus-monster, his return to his wife and family, and so on.

Parallel stories, like the Oirat *Jianggar*, often differ. On one hand, the cantos are independent from one another, and are connected only by the fact that Jianggar Khan appears in all the poems. The *bagatur*-heroes all serve Jianggar Khan and also appear in all the poems. Nevertheless, one cannot discover the proper sequence of events among these cantos. On the other hand, there are a number of reasons to define each of them as a single poem. For one thing, each canto includes a brief introduction of the central hero, Jianggar Khan, and the other heroes. Each canto also has the same story-pattern: a large feast appears in both the opening and closing of the canto to surround the story in a ring-frame, as if the story never had a beginning or an ending. In other words, these cantos describe the same group of heroes with a conventional scheme and narrative style. As Vladimirtsov puts it (1983-84:17-18), the *Jianggar*

> has far more internal similarity of action than the separate song-poems; they are linked not only by internal connection (by one and the same khan); each of them is a natural continuation, a development of the preceding: contradictions almost never arise; the singer performing any given song calls others to mind, and sketches them on a distant background. A real *Jianggarchi* is one who knows and clearly presents the whole poem, this entire cycle, and at the same time can perform for the listeners any song of

[8] See further Bürinbeki and Boyanhesig 1988:987-1021; Rinchindorji 1989.

> the *Jianggar* cycle in such a way that it is fully understood and produces a complete impression. Finally, the *Jianggar* cycle differs from the Russian *byliny* cycle further by the fact that Khan Jianggar is an actual hero, a major functioning figure of the poem; true, he turns up in some songs in the background, yielding place to this or that knight, but all the same is a functioning hero everywhere. Last, the songs are chapters of the *Jiannggar* cycle which were delimited beforehand and made into a cycle by a definite quantity of knights close to Jianggar, the heroes of the individual songs.[9]

Certain features of Mongolian epic have their roots in real-world practices and customs. The plot of marriage by capture (A1) in Mongolian epic poetry is undoubtedly the echo of an actual custom that existed in the clan society of this nomadic world. Exogamy (interclan matrimony) persisted for many years; the same is true of battles for revenge. There is reason to believe that motifs such as these have their origin in ancient times. As a special kind of vehicle, the oral epic has recorded certain historical practices, and exogamy is one example. The hero's quest for a wife from among other distant clans reflects the earliest form of marriage.

Marriage through competition (A2), to take yet another example, became more common in later periods, and stems from developing tribal alliances. The most important thing for the patriarch or chieftain of a tribe to consider was how to become more powerful, and marriage functioned as a bond to achieve tribal union. There are passages in some epics in which the hero's father-in-law leads his clan and all their property to join the hero's clan. The competition involved is always the "Three Manly Games": archery, wrestling, and horseracing. These contests were thought to be the best way to choose the bravest and strongest herdsman or hunter from among the gathered competitors (Poppe 1979:119-20; Rinchindorji 1989:18). These games still survive as the most common form of organized competition among the Mongols.

It is well to keep in mind that although the epics include historical elements, their main function is far from recording history. We should rather think of them as a reservoir of historical echoes. In the following section I would like to introduce the figures common in the Mongolian epic tradition. I will emphasize the elements that differ from other epic traditions.

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[9] As far as we know, it is quite possible that a *Jianggarchi* knows only and can sing only a few cantos of the whole *Jianggar* cycle. There is an old saying among these singers that there used to be seventy-two cantos of *Jianggar*; nobody could present all of them. See further Rinchindorji 1987.

The Hero

The most important figure is of course the hero. Some scholars argue that Chinggis Khan, as the "chief and leader of the 'Steppe Aristocracy' of nomadic feudalism" (Poppe 1979:7), has been the main hero of all the Mongolian epics.[10] As Poppe points out, the legendary information about Chinggis Khan became so interwoven with genuine historical fact that Mongolian chroniclers soon ceased to distinguish between the two. Legends about him and his exploits occupy a leading position in the written epic literature of the Mongols. Interestingly enough, Chinggis Khan appears in these works not only as a hero, the leader of mighty warriors, but also as a wise teacher. Moreover, the epic works about him have, in distinction to other types, no local character. This is understandable, since these works to a large degree go back to the period when a unified Mongolia existed and feature Chinggis Khan, the emperor of a considerable part of the Mongol people, as their chief hero.

But this position can be challenged. In fact, one of the most characteristic features of Mongolian epic poetry is its complete neglect of any authentic historical events and personalities. There certainly were national heroes and great military campaigns suitable for heroic epic treatment, but we cannot find any evidence of historical fact in such works. In some epics that might have been composed in earlier periods, the hero is apparently the representative of the Mongol people's ideal hero—an outstanding hunter or herdsman. Being strong and brave is his fundamental nature. In some later epics the hero takes on the identity of a feudal lord. Even here, one could not find any evidence to support the hypothesis that there were real correspondences between the hero in epic and the historical figure Chinggis Khan. The Mongolian epic composers even go so far as to carefully avoid using geographical names in their works. The "hero's locality" is one of the fifteen motif series, and Mongolian singers have indeed developed many formulas describing the open steppe, the lofty mountains, the clear rivers, and so on, but no one has any idea of where or during what period the story took place.[11] No Mongolian epic specifies for

[10] See for example Qi Mu Dao Ji and Zhao Yongxian 1981.

[11] Some local geographical names occasionally appear in the details of some stories, as scholars have pointed out, but as a whole, Mongolian epic is generally set in a fictional place in a "fine earlier time." See Jamso 1988.

itself a certain historical period; rather, the story takes place in a "fine earlier time"—that is, an indefinite time.

The *Manggus*

Now let us consider the hero's adversary. As stated above, the mythical monster *manggus* quite often steps into the role of the hero's opponent. This monster always has many heads—fifteen, twenty-five, or even as many as ninety-five. The initiative always belongs to the creature since the goal of his attack is to seize treasure, livestock, and beautiful maidens.

It is interesting that, from the Horchin people in eastern Mongolia to the Oirat people around the Tien Shan Mountain and the Kalmyk people on the Volga River, the *manggus* seems to exist everywhere, dependably emerging as the chief villain in all crimes. Some scholars therefore argue that it stands for certain natural forces that the Mongol people could not control, while others believe that the *manggus* is representative of the feudal lord (!). But the matter may not be so simple. As a villain the creature must of course be vested with negative force, but we should remember that Mongolian epics do not belong to any one historical period or social class, and thus neither does the *manggus*.

The word *manggus* itself emerges rather early, appearing in the most important document of Mongolian history, *The Secret History of the Mongols*,[12] compiled during the first half of the thirteenth century. According to Nicholas Poppe, "the word *manggus* is attested in the meaning of 'great serpent'" (1979:134).

The image of the *manggus* is connected with the Mongolian peoples' archaic religion—shamanism, which spread widely and lasted long as a dominant worldview. According to its tenets, the world can be divided into two sides—white and black, west and east, good and evil, and so on. Thus there are ninety-nine *tegri*, or heavenly deities, divided between east and west. The thirty-three eastern deities are evil, while their western counterparts stand in the opposite camp. This worldview is reminiscent of the structure of Mongolian epic poetry, in which the characters are clearly grouped into two opposite sides, one aligned with the hero and the other

[12] This document is regarded by Mongolists as one of the most significant historical records of the early Mongolian peoples. It was compiled by nomadic Mongolian historians.

with the *manggus*. Conflicts exist everywhere between the two sides, as the following selective list illustrates:

hero	*versus*	*manggus*
beautiful maidens	*versus*	ugly female relative
swift steed	*versus*	sluggish donkey
towering palace	*versus*	gloomy cave
tasty food	*versus*	human corpse
rich steppe	*versus*	deserted land
domestic animals	*versus*	ominous animals
deity as patron	*versus*	devil as patron

Obviously such binary opposition is a conventional principle of structuring the epic that reveals the Mongolian people's archaic outlook on nature, society, and the spiritual world.[13]

The Horse

In Mongolian epic poetry the horse plays a tremendously important role. From the frequency of the horse motif in this tradition, one could easily get the impression that horses are as important as their masters. We have not yet found any epic in this nomadic tradition that is without a steed and the assistance it provides. After all, how could it be possible that a steppe hero should set out on an expedition to pursue a maiden or fight a multi-headed *manggus* without his horse?

A number of characteristics illustrate this importance. The frequent motif of the simultaneous birth of the hero and his horse reveals the notion that there is a predestined correlation between them. An exceptional hero must possess an extraordinary steed. In some cases, the horse is born prior to its master's birth, thus heralding the hero's coming into the world.

Horses possess not only supernatural strength and speed, but also wisdom and magical power. Poppe points out that the horse usually acts as faithful comrade and counselor to the hero and plays a crucial role in the events of the epic: "For the Khalkha-Mongolian epics, and not only for them but also for Oirat and Buriat-Mongolian epic works, very characteristic is the circumstance that the horse in them assumes the role of advisor to the hero, foreseeing events and forewarning his master" (1979:128). The hero regularly turns to his steed as a friend, companion,

[13] See further Bürinbeki 1997:87-138.

and comrade equal to himself. In fact, we frequently find the theme of the hero who does not listen to his horse's advice, and in such cases it invariably turns out that the horse was right. Moreover, in some epics, the horse plays a decisive part in the story. For instance, the hero Bomerdeni sometimes cannot defeat his opponent; he must turn to his horse, bow three times, and beg for help three times; only then does he gain his horse's necessary advice. In another case, the hero Silin Galjuu fights unsuccessfully for three years against the *manggus*'s thirty copper boys until his horse tells his master the way to kill his enemy. For that matter, the horse's role is not always in battle, but sometimes in the hero's courtship. For instance, the horse may transform itself into a bee or a mosquito and secretly help its master to win the games in competition for the bride.

Our conclusion, then, is that the horse has a threefold nature: it is an animal with the shape and function of a horse; it is the hero's companion and friend, vested with human speech and wisdom; and it is also a deity who can foresee events and forewarn of danger. Toward these ends it can transform itself into various shapes and help the hero to achieve final success. It is therefore not surprising that, because the horse plays such an important role in Mongolian life, it assumes a divine nature in Mongolian epics.

Mongolian epic is not a historical record, but represents a kind of historical spirit. Thus, the *manggus* represents everything of a negative nature rather than a particular historical villain or a particular social evil. The hero is not a historical hero per se, but rather the embodiment of the dreams, ideals, and aspirations of the Mongolian nation.

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Two Performances of the "Return of Alpamiṣ": Current Performance-Practice in the Uzbek Oral Epic of the Sherabad School

Walter Feldman

The present study attempts to clarify the issues of text composition and poetic style within the Uzbek oral poetic genre known as the *doston* (*dastan*). It focuses on four short oral poetic texts: two recordings of two identical sections of the Alpamiṣ *doston* sung by a single bard (*bäxṣi*) in 1990 and in 1991. Due to the fact that researchers within Uzbekistan and other former Soviet republics of Central Asia have paid little attention to issues of "improvisation" and "memorization," even such a modest attempt at multiple recording can help to state the relevant questions more clearly. A close analysis of the four texts demonstrates how the techniques of oral composition intersect with poetic style. This analysis is aided at times by interviews with and explanations from the bard. In addition, these interviews and observations of the bard and his immediate environment reveal aspects of the *bäxṣi* profession that he viewed as having significance.

Schools of *Doston* Singing in Southeastern Uzbekistan

Since the nineteenth century the entire mountainous area in the northeast of the Qashqadarya and the northwest of the Surkhandarya oblasts,[1] as well as the plains to the south and southeast of these mountains, have been united in one epic tradition, today referred to as the "school" (*maktab*) of Sherabad. The earliest named figure in this school is Ṣernä Bäxṣi Beknäzäroġli (1855-1915), who lived near Sherabad. The professional lineages of the bards of Sherabad, Baysun, Denau, Shorchi, and Dehkanabad (formerly Teng-i Haram) are all interrelated (Qahharov 1985:20). The area beginning with Kitab and Shahrisabz, and continuing

[1] Situated in the southeast of the country, with Tajikistan to the east, Turkmenistan to the southwest, and Afghanistan to the south.

westward to the plains of Qamashi and Qarshi, is considered to be another "school."

The material presented here was collected during two short field trips to the Qashqadarya and Surkhandarya in May of 1990 and June of 1991. Prior to that I had worked with Tora Mirzaev in the Folklore Division of the Institute for Literature in Tashkent in the summers of 1988 and 1989; through him I had recorded Çari Ṣair, a representative of the Qarshi-Shahrisabz tradition of epic, who had acted as an informant for Karl Reichl in 1981.[2] I was able to record and interview my principal informant from the Qashqadarya, Qahhar Räximov, again in October 1991 when he was invited to the United States by the Asia Society as part of a tour of Uzbek musicians.[3]

In this research I am indebted principally to two individuals—Qahhar Räximov and Abdumumin Qahharov. Qahhar Bäxṣi (b. 1958) is the eldest son of the late Qadir Räximov (1931-86), one of the greatest oral bards of twentieth-century Uzbekistan and the leading bard of the mountainous section of the eastern Qashqadarya region. The bards of this area consider themselves to be representatives of the bardic lineage of Sherabad, started by Ṣernä Bäxṣi and continued today by Ṣernä's grandson Xuṣväqt Märdänaqulov.

The Räximovs are members of the Tillowmät lineage (*urugh*/*uruuw*) of the Qungrad tribe (*el*). At present the meaning of "tribe" in the Uzbek modern context is far from established.[4] The Qungrads are the principal tribal group of the Qashqadarya and Surkhandarya regions, but their relationship to "Qungrads" elsewhere (e.g. in Khwarezm) and the period of their entry into southern Uzbekistan is unclear (Karmysheva 1976:211-22). By now they have accepted the macro-ethnicity of "Uzbek," like all other Turkic-speakers in Uzbekistan who are not members of national minorities

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[2] See Reichl 1992:99, 110, 173.

[3] Unfortunately my field trips could not be extended at that time because of the extreme sensitivity of the Qashqadarya and Surkhandarya regions, which are relatively close to both Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Termez, the southernmost town in the Surkhandarya region, is closed to foreigners. The continued instability in Afghanistan and the civil war in Tajikistan renders the conditions for extensive fieldwork in the near future rather questionable. I regard the material collected so far as sufficient only to answer certain questions; other broader topics, such as the professional life of the *bäxṣis* and current performance practices in different performance situations, must be left to future research in more stable times.

[4] For recent anthropological perspectives on the topic of tribes in the Middle East, see Khoury and Kostiner 1990.

with official status in the Soviet system, such as Turkmens, Karakalpaks, Kirghiz, Kazakhs (cf. Roy 1991). The Qungrads have adopted a fully settled life, mixing stockbreeding with dry agriculture at least since the early nineteenth century. The Räximovs live in the Chalga village in the Khoja Makhmud settlement area, situated in the mountains above Teng-i Haram and now called Dehkanabad. Qahhar works as a school-teacher and farmer. Qahhar's younger brothers perform some of the *bäxṣi* repertoire, and he is actively instructing new students as well as several older students of his late father.

Abdumumin Qahharov (Qahhorövv) is a teacher in the Pedagogical Institute of Qarshi, specializing in Uzbek literature and folklore. While he has published little, he is the leading authority on the epic tradition of Sherabad, which is by far the most active tradition in Uzbekistan today. He had worked with Qadir Ṣair since the 1960s and published one of his *doston* texts (Zarif 1984).

The Motif-Line and Text Generation

One of the most important techniques of the Uzbek oral *doston* is a species of refrain for each poetic speech that is continually transformed in the course of the oral performance. The Uzbeks themselves have no term for this phenomenon, which I had termed the "motif-line" (1983), and which was later termed the "key line" by Reichl (1992:202): "The repeated lines function as the semantic focus of the passage: A 'Give advice!,' B (and C) 'We have to pay tax, should we give it?' Often these key-lines are taken up in the following speech. . . ." In my earlier work I described the phenomenon in these terms (1980:126): "Because it was repeated frequently, the motif-line was subject to transformation, both by rephrasing in a different linguistic form, and by decomposition into component phrases. The decomposed phrase could then be combined with other phrases." Furthermore, "the reformation of the motif-lines and the creation of totally new ones naturally influenced the other lines in the speech, which were obliged to conform to the rhetorical development of these lines. . . . The bard could transform the entire surface appearance of a line, leaving only a word, [or] a verbal form . . . to convey a meaning similar or complementary to other versions of the motif-line. It would be futile to isolate one variant as the primary motif-line" (1983:15).

My own survey of the published texts and my fieldwork from 1988 to 1991 lead me to the conclusion that the Uzbek oral *doston* shows little sign of the kind of textual "conservatism," either in the form of "text-

orientation" or even the looser "memorization," that is so evident in the Karakalpak and Kazakh traditions (Reichl 1992:267). The following analysis of two performances of the same episode by the same bard separated by a gap of over one year will illustrate the use of the motif-line technique within the form of text generation that seems to be typical of the Uzbek bards of the Sherabad School, and probably of other regional schools as well.

The Macrolevel of Flexibility in Performance: the Tale

All my informants in the Qashqadarya region defined the *bäxṣi* profession as comprising three areas of competence—tale, verse, and music. To the *bäxṣis* of Khoja Makhmud what distinguishes their verbal art is first of all its flexibility. Without it they feel the tradition would die. Ismail Bäxṣi Räcäbov, the son of Qadir Ṣair's teacher Räcäb Ṣair, stressed this point in his first meeting with me (7/4/91). Ismail Bäxṣi described to me a conversation with one of the leading Tashkent folklorists, who had been insisting that the Uzbek *doston* had disappeared with the death of Fazil Ṣair Yoldaṣoghli (Coldaṣuwlı) of Bulunghur in 1955 and the others of his generation, and that in any case it could not survive in the social conditions of modern socialist Uzbekistan. I myself had heard both of these opinions from the same individual. First of all, Ismail had replied, Qadir Ṣair was as talented as any *bäxṣi* who had lived in Uzbekistan in any era of which we have any knowledge. Second, he had said, "You think that the *doston* is a stone that sinks after being thrown in the water; it is not—it is a reed that floats to the surface." According to him, the folklorists in Tashkent had done very little research in this southern mountain region, even though it was only here that the Uzbek *doston* was alive after the 1950s. As a result, they persist in describing the Uzbek oral epic as dead or dying. In fact, the 1960s were a richly creative period in southern Uzbekistan, during which many new *dostons* and *termäs* (topical poems) were performed.

In the Uzbek *doston,* mutable and immutable features exist both on the macrolevel of the narrative and on the microlevel of line construction. The macrolevel of this flexibility is the variability of the narrative. A *bäxṣi* could expand or contract his tale according to the demands of his audience. This type of variability seems broadly similar to what Lord and Parry had found in the western Balkans.[5] Qahhar Bäxṣi and his student Cawlı had emphasized this point to me in an amusing way. On the floor of the guest

[5] For background on their research, see Lord 1960, Foley 1988.

room they arranged four tea cups. They said, "These are the major parts of a *doston*. You can tell it like this," and they pointed their fingers from the cup on the right to the one on the left, "or like this," and they made the most elaborate and devious routes from the tea cup on the right, circling and recircling all of the tea cups before finally reaching the tea cup on the left. I asked them who liked to hear the *dostons* in the latter fashion. They replied that the best weddings were now among Uzbeks in Tajikistan. There, they said, they could never get away in less than ten to twelve hours for a single *doston*. The biggest problem, they said, was that nowadays weddings were never more than one day. A *doston* could no longer be stretched out over several days, as in the past. Most often in fact, they did not perform whole *dostons*, but only selections. Nevertheless, as they repeated on several occasions, a true *bäxṣi* had to know the stories of many *dostons* in all their details. They criticized certain performers as not being true *bäxṣis* because they did not know a single complete *doston*. In addition, a bard will often know more than one variant for each episode in a *doston*, especially if it is a widely known epic. The remainder of this article will focus on the treatment of two episodes of the Alpamiṣ epic.

"Alpamiṣ" is one of the most ancient of Turkic oral epics and is still widely known in Uzbekistan. I interviewed Qahhar to determine the stable features of the Alpamiṣ epic, which is known throughout Uzbekistan in the Qungrad version.[6] Qahhar stressed that everyone in these parts, most of whom are Qungrads, knows the story of Alpamiṣ. For a Qungrad not to be familiar with "Alpamiṣ" is considered a disgrace. However, he said, in the present day it is usually impossible to perform the entire *doston*. If he were to begin it at the beginning, he would never reach the end by the end of the wedding or other celebration (*toy*). Therefore, he and other *bäxṣis* begin in the middle, with the return of Alpamiṣ from the Qalmyqs.

For almost two hours he told me the main features of the story, those that every *bäxṣi* had to mention in his performance. However, in performance, a *bäxṣi* might not have the time to perform each section with its own melody and new poetic text. In that case he could tell a section briefly in prose, and then go on to sing the next section. Although the bard could not rearrange the order of the sections, he could substitute one abridged variant of a section for a more elaborate one. When time is very short, a *bäxṣi* will present only selected scenes from the epic. On a later occasion Qahhar explained that at present a full performance of "Alpamiṣ" might take three nights; a short performance might run five to six hours (oral communication 10/91).

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[6] Cf. Zhirmunsky 1960, 1966; Mirzaev 1968; Feldman 1980; Reichl 1992:160-70.

In "Alpamiṣ," the hero returns from his captivity in the Qalmyq land. As he approaches his home, he meets several members of his household who have all been put to service by the slave Ultan. He encounters these people, such as his servant Qultay, his father Bayborı, and his sister Qaldırġaç, in the desert. The hero reveals his identity only to the servant Qultay. In addition, several animals discover him—his dog, the mother of his horse Bayçıbar, and the she-camel who had been raised with him. All of these animals die at the recognition. In order to avoid the same fate befalling his human kin, he disguises himself from both father and sister. However, both almost recognize him, and the interplay between them and Alpamiṣ creates highly pathetic scenes that are much appreciated in southern Uzbekistan today.[7]

Immediately following these scenes Alpamiṣ comes upon the "wedding" celebration where his bride Barçın is about to be married off to the slave Ultan, while his son Cadigar (Literary Uzbek Yodigor) is made to serve the guests at the wedding. This is another pathetic scene, which Qahhar frequently performs. The previous May, at a birthday celebration in the town of Dehkanabad, Qahhar had sung a version of Alpamiṣ's meeting with his son Cadigar. Later that day, Qahhar sang parts of "Alpamiṣ" for me and his friends in his own house. Here the meeting with Cadigar was told according to a different and somewhat more elaborate version, which will be described below. While the version sung may vary, somehow Alpamiṣ must meet his son Cadigar—the return of Alpamiṣ would not be complete without this scene.

The following day I asked Qahhar to sing for me the same sections that he had sung for me last year. We decided he would do all of the return portion from the meeting with Qultay and the shepherds to the meeting with Cadigar. Qahhar's student Cawlı heard this recipe and went out for a stroll. An hour and a half later he returned and asked, "Did you kill off the mare or the she-camel?" We replied, "The mare." This was the *bäxṣi* code to indicate the encounters with the old mare and with Qaldırġaç (who is minding the she-camel), respectively. Much to my surprise, however, the episode with Qaldırġaç was told very quickly in prose. The previous year I had heard Çari Ṣair base a forty-minute performance entirely on Alpamiṣ's sister recognizing the horse-blanket that she had woven for Bayçıbar. In this episode she repeatedly asks the unknown traveler to turn his horse's head so that she can better view the blanket. All this was now told by Qahhar in a few quick prose sentences. Evidently in the Sherabad tradition

[7] Both Qahhar and Çarı Ṣair (of the Kitab-Qarshi tradition) use these scenes as separate mini-performances.

this episode was not considered to be one of the essential ones within the Alpamiș *doston*.

The Microlevel of Flexibility in Performance: the Line

The microlevel of flexibility relates to the creation of poetic lines. Qahhar Bäxși articulated the issue as follows (6/5/90):

> Q.R.: Another aspect of it [i.e., the *bäxși* profession] is that we don't perform from memory, rather we create it (*toqu aytämiz*). . . . Our tradition (*än'änä*) is like this. We don't memorize. For example, one cannot just take a book and memorize from start to finish. One can read it five or six times, learn it, memorize the names of the heroes, fix it in the memory, and then one creates it (*toqilädi*).
> W.F.: Do you create the rhymes first and then the lines?
> Q.R.: No, at the same time. For example I sing one couplet and then I think about the next, and so on.

Qahhar's mention of the "book" points up the fact that today the use of a book as a source for a tale is not considered contrary to the tradition. For example, Qahhar himself has created a *doston* out of the printed version of Aysulu as told in prose by Ergaș Șair to Hodi Zarifov (*Özbek Xalq Icodi* 1984). Uzbek folklorists have documented the use of books as sources for epic tales in previous generations as well, although in most cases the *bäxși* had to get access to the book through a professional reader, a *qissäxân* (Mirzaev 1979:13-17). Unlike the situation described earlier for the text-oriented bards of Iran or Azerbaijan, neither today nor in the past did the "book" serve as a source of legitimacy. Rather, legitimacy was a function of the chain (*silsilä*) of epic teachers within a school. In the case of Aysulu, an old part of the epic repertoire was reentering the oral tradition via a published version.

The Two Performances

I visited the town of Dehkanabad and Chalga village in May of 1990. On May 4 I attended a birthday *toy* held to celebrate the sixty-third year of a prominent member of the Dehkanabad community. There I heard Qahhar Raximov perform selections from the second half of the Alpamiș *doston*, which I call the "Return of Alpamiș," including the meetings between

Alpamiş and his father Bayborı, his sister Qaldırġaç and his son Cadigar (Yodigor). Later that evening I drove with Otanazar Matyaqubov, head of Oriental Music at the Tashkent State Conservatory, and Qahhar up to his village of Chalga in the Khoja Makhmud district, seventeen kilometers from the town. He invited several friends to his home. There he performed a more continuous version of this episode of "Alpamiş," including a much elongated version of the meeting with Cadigar.

In July of 1991 I spent a week in Chalga village. One of my goals was to observe how Qahhar would sing the same versions of the episodes of the epic that he had sung the previous year. I wanted to observe the relationship of both the poetic texts and the musical settings in these two performances. I asked Qahhar Bäxşi to sing for me a continuous section of the "Return of Alpamiş" that would include all of the episodes he had sung last year, using the versions that he had used then. On July 3 he sang the "Return of Alpamiş" in two sections of two hours and one hour, respectively. The following day we transcribed the texts and he furnished a detailed commentary on all the expressions that he had employed. We were able to compare two performances of the same version of the meetings with Bayborı and with Cadigar. We could not compare the meeting with Qaldırġaç because he went through this episode only in prose in the 1991 performance. We also had to leave out the earlier performance of the meeting with Cadigar from the afternoon of May 11, 1990, because it turned out he had employed an alternative version of that episode, a version that was not really comparable with the other two performances (of that same evening and of July 1991). Performance A of the Bayborı episode is 16 lines; B is 28 lines. Performance A of Cadigar is 19 lines; B is 25 lines. Performance B is thus somewhat longer than A.

Bayborı

When Alpamiş returns from his captivity among the Qalmyqs, he disguises himself in the clothing of his servant Qultay. However, he continues to ride his own horse, Bayçıbar. The disparity between his humble clothing and his magnificent and somehow familiar mount creates confusion in the minds of the members of his family whom he encounters on his way. In the desert Alpamiş meets his father, Bayborı, who is now blind. Bayborı recognizes the sound of Bayçıbar's hoofbeats, but Alpamiş, who fears that his father's heart may burst if he learns his true identity, denies his relationship to his father. At this Bayborı becomes angry and accuses Alpamiş of heartlessness and failure to perform his duty as a son.

[Motif-lines or repeated parts of motif-lines are given in bold-face, secondary motif-lines are underlined.][8]

Performance A: May 11, 1990

1. *Xuday keçäsin da balam xatañdı*
   Ara çöldä haydama da batañdı
   Bir pasılġa qara deymän aydahar
   Taylab ketäsän ma bu gun atañdı

My child, may God forgive your sin
Don't drive the one who prays for you into the desert of Ara
I bid you [stop and] look for a moment, o mighty dragon
This day will you throw out your own father?

2. *Cigitliktä abad edi guzarım*
   Qayġa barsam bustan edi bazarım
   Öz atañdı taşladıñ mı aydahar
   Egäsiz bop qalar boldı mı mazarim

In my youth my paths were well founded
Wherever I went, my bazaar was a garden
Have you thrown away your own father, o mighty dragon
Will my tomb be utterly abandoned?

[8] The Latin orthography of these texts is based on the Qipchak-Uzbek dialect spoken in the Qashqadarya and Surkhandarya regions. The principal difference from the Turkish-based Latinization adopted recently for Literary Uzbek lies in the vocalic system. Qipchak-Uzbek retains a form of Turkic vowel harmony, and the Turkic *a* has not been transformed into the Tajik *o* ("aw"). Therefore Qipchap has the front-back opposition *ä*/*a* where Literary Uzbek writes *a*/*o*. The Qipchak vowel *o* is much the same as the Turkish *o* (Lit. Uzbek *ö*) . For the sake of consistency with my other writings, I retain the Literary Uzbek spelling *doston* for the Qipchak *dastan*. I retain the more common Anglicized orthography for place-names, e.g. Surkhandarya instead of Surxandaryo, Tashkent instead of Toćkent, and so forth. With personal names I have employed the Uzbek orthography for consonants, but have used the standard vocalic system only for Uzbek figures who were not native to the Qipchak-speaking regions; thus Hodi Zarif (the literary scholar) but Qahhar (not Qahhor) Raximov. Were these latter figures to appear in an Uzbek text, their names would appear in the standard form, since their local dialect has no official status in the Uzbek Republic.

3. *Şahlıġımda baländ edi subitim*
Qayźa barsam nurli edi bu betim
Öz atañdı tanımadıñ aydahar
Egäsiz bop qalar mı tabutim

When I was king majestic was my appearance
Wherever I went, full of light was this face of mine
You did not recognize your own father, o mighty dragon
Will my casket be utterly abandoned?

4. *Temirlärdän edi naylay tuyägim*
Pärzänd uçun bu yaġım
Öz atañdı taşladıñ mı aydahar
Kimlärgä qalar ekän bu süyäkim

My nails had been of iron
This wealth of mine was for my child's sake
Have you thrown out your own father, o mighty dragon
To whom will I leave these bones of mine?

Performance B: July 3, 1991

1. *Kozlärimdän aġadı da cala-ya*
Xudayım da cetim ekän nala-ya
Pärzänd bolsañ kelip başım silä-ya
Boyanıñdan äylänäyin aydahar-a
Öz atañdı tanımadıñ mı bala-ya

From my eyes tears flow
To God I wail like an orphan
If you are my child, come and stroke my head
How dear to me is your stature, o mighty dragon
O my child, did you not recognize your own father?

2. *Tawdan aşşañ Baysun degän qır deydi*
Astañdagi attı Bayçıbarday şir deydi
Mehnätimdi bilsäñ balam bir deydi
Öz atañdı tanımadıñ boyñana
Arqañdan cılaźandır Bayborıdey ćor deydi

If you ascend the mountain, you will reach the peak called Baysun, they say
The horse under you is the lion called Baycıbar, they say
Were you to know my woes, you would have added yet another, they say
You did not recognize your own father, my handsome lad?
Behind you weeps the wretch called Bayborı, they say.

3. *Märt cigitlär ġazada köñli xuşlay mı*
Küygän adam bilgin läbin tişläy mı
Oġurlar här elättı läşläy mı
Bu gün adam bop qaldıñ mı Alpamiş
Kättä bolġan pärzänd atasın taşlay mı

Isn't the heart of a brave warrior glad in battle?
Doesn't the grief-laden man bite his lip?
Don't bandits strip clean the miserable folk?
Didn't you suddenly become a man today, Alpamiş?
Does a son who has come of age throw away his father?

4. *Amaldarlar bilgin ketti xana-ya*
Aştı mikän calġınçıda guna-ya
Cetti cılab colıña zor tepä-ya
Boyanıñdan ayläyin colawçi-ya
Kärigändä keräk emäs mi ata minän ana-ya

The ministers have abandoned the khan
Hasn't sin increased in this deceitful world?
I have waited sadly for you for seven years
Traveler, how dear to me is your stature
When they grow old, isn't there a need for father and mother?

5. *Açılġanda tazä gullär sola mı*
Namärd adam oylaġanı bola mı
Tawuşıñdan äylänäyin colawçi
Pärzänd degän balam sendäy bola mı

When they bloom, will fresh roses fade?
Will the plans of the coward ever come to pass?
Traveler, how dear to me is your voice
Does a real son behave to his father as you have done?

6. *Cañılmagın balam cürgän colıñdan*

Miñ cılġaça quwwät ketmäsin beliñdän
Bir pasılġa toxta deymän colawçi
Aylänäyin Alpamiş degän tiliñdän

Stray not, my child, from the road you are traveling
For a thousand years may strength not leave your loins
I bid you tarry a moment, o traveler
Alpamiş, how dear to me is your tongue!

Performance A then shifts into a narrative tirade in eight-syllable verse, beginning:

cürek bawrını bozulup	his heart and liver broken
barġan cayları qazılıp	the path where goes all rutted
qarañ Alpanıñ közidän	look at Alpamiş, from his eyes
caġlar baradı tizilip	tears flow continuously.
cüregi vayran boladı	his heart is desolate
atañ ketti da qazılıp	woe! he left all broken up
zarlıqqananı bildirip	he made known his misery
bedaw atını celdirip	he trotted his bedouin steed
cürek qayġuġa toldırıp. . . .	his heart filled with grief. . . .

Performance B also closes with eight-syllable narrative verse. However, in this instance the passage is arranged in four-line strophes:

Hay nazidän nazidän	Oh its style, its style
Alpamiş degän sözidän	The words Alpamiş had said
Cetä almaydı da Bayborı	Bayborı could not comprehend
Cılablar qaldı izidän	He remained behind him, weeping.
Asman ayas hava kök	The sky was clear the air blue
Belgä baylap tırdan oq	He tied the quiver to his waist
Här bir adam elidä	In each land of men
Daim bolsun da [*dostlar*] *bek*	There should always be a *beg*, my friends.

Analysis

The episode of the meeting of Alpamiş with his father Bayborı is one of the essential sections in the *doston*, and cannot under any circumstances be omitted. It appears in every recorded version of "Alpamiş" (Mirzaev 1968), and Qahhar Bäxşi affirms that it is one of the necessary episodes of

the "Return of Alpamiş." Furthermore, audiences frequently ask for it to be performed separately, even without the rest of the *doston*. To Qahhar Bäxşi, these two speeches by Bayborı are "the same" in that they occur in the same place in the story and fulfill the same function. They both present the words of the father to his son. Performance A (1990) is set in a four-line strophe, while performance B (1991) is in a five-line strophe. Both employ eleven-syllable lines, but this is a standard feature of virtually all speeches in the Uzbek *doston*. Furthermore, they were sung to different melodies. Performance A uses the standard epic melody (*namä*) termed *garipnamä* while B is sung to *turkmennamä*.

Both performance A and B use two motif-lines. This doubled motif-line in A divides the quatrain into two sections, which now have their own separate semantic organization (as indicated by the bold face versus normal font). In A we see virtually a "motif-couplet," which always appears in the second half of the strophe. In the first line of this couplet the key words are *aydahar* ("dragon") and the verbs *taşladıñ* ("you threw away") or *tanımadıñ* ("you did not recognize"). This first motif-line may be paraphrased as "Did you abandon/fail to recognize your own father?" The first strophe is irregular in that *taylab* (literary *täşläb*, "throwing away") appears in the second line of the couplet rather than the first. In strophes 2 and 4 this line would have appeared as line 3 rather than 4, preceding the word *aydahar*. In strophes 2, 3, and 4, the third line begins with the words *öz atañdı* ("your father") and ends with *aydahar*.[9] The verb may be *taşladıñ* or *tanımadıñ*.

The second motif-line may be paraphrased as "Will my bones/casket be abandoned?" In each strophe the fourth line presents the results of the heartless action of the son, Alpamiş—the tomb (*mazar*), the casket (*tabut*), or the bones (*süyäk*) of the father will be abandoned. Syntactically these lines are closely parallel. In strophe 2 and 3 the second motif-line begins with *egäsiz bop* ("without owner") and ends with the possessive suffix *-im*. Strophe 4 substitutes *kimlärgä* ("to whom") for *egäsiz*.

The opening couplets of strophes 2, 3, and 4 have their own semantic structure. They are so closely related that they almost form a second series of "motif-lines." In these lines Bayborı laments his lost youth and present

[9] The use of the word *aydahar* (Persian *azhdaha*, "dragon") requires a gloss. In other published *dostons*, *aydahar* appears in the usual Persian-Islamic context as a negative, monstrous figure. Yet when I questioned him, Qahhar insisted that in his tradition *aydahar* has positive value as a metaphor for a brave, valiant warrior. Hence the translation "mighty dragon."

weakness. The major constant syntactic feature is the first-person possessive suffix at the end of each line—my path, my bazaar, my appearance, my face, my nails, my wealth. These are always preceded by the simple verb *edi,* "it was." Thus the pattern goes as follows: "in my youth" my a, b, c, d was x, y, z. In line 2 (strophes 2 and 3) we see the repetition of the phrase *qayġa barsam* ("wherever I may go").

[XXXX	XX	*edi*	XX-*ım*]
Cigitliktä	*abad*	*edi*	*guzarım*
Qayġa barsam	*bustan*	*edi*	*bazarım*
Ṣahlıġımda	*baländ*	*edi*	*subitim*
Qayġa barsam	*nurli*	*edi*	*bu betim*

"In my youth my paths were well founded
Wherever I went, my bazaar was a garden"

"When I was king majestic was my appearance
Wherever I went, full of light was this face of mine"

In strophes 2, 3, and 4 no explicit connection is ever created to link the first and the second halves of the strophes. It is this juxtaposition of two distinct themes that creates the poignancy of these strophes. In the first theme Bayborı laments his helpless and humiliating old age, and in the second he castigates his son for adding a further insult to the injuries he is already suffering.

The opening strophe is structured rather differently from the succeeding three. The first half asks God to forgive his son's transgression, with whom Bayborı then pleads directly. The fourth line is closely related to the third line of all the other strophes. The third line, however, is echoed nowhere in the entire speech, apart from the closing word *aydahar*, which is then taken up in each successive third line. However, if we jump ahead and look at the closing strophe of performance B of fourteen months later, we see a variant of this line in the third position within the final strophe (6):

A) *Bir pasılġa qara deymän aydahar*
"I bid you [stop and] look for a moment, o mighty dragon"

B) *Bir pasılġa toxta deymän colawçi*
"I bid you tarry a moment, o traveler"

There can be no question of the *bäxṣi* remembering the performance of fourteen months earlier. Rather it would seem that the lines were created according to a formulaic pattern: *Bir pasılġa* XX *deymän* XXX.

In performance B Qahhar Bäxṣi has created a very different text from performance A. Formally he is using a five-line strophe, constructed AAABA. In his musical performance the fourth, B-line is emphasized by a long melisma after the closing syllable. Nevertheless, this privileged position of the fourth or B-line does not always coincide with the motif-line, which is located in the fifth line in all but the second strophe. In this motif-line we can see something of the first motif-line of performance A, namely the formula *öz atañdı* ("your own father") and the verb *tanımadıñ* ("you did not recognize").

A, strophe 3:
Öz atañdı tanımadıñ aydahar
"You did not recognize your own father, o mighty dragon"

B, strophe 2:
Öz atañdı tanımadıñ boyñana
"You did not recognize your own father, my handsome lad"

Qahhar Bäxṣi chose a different formal structure for strophes 5 and 6, which are quatrains. He maintained the *turkmennamä* melody, however, with the melismatic ending after the B-line, which now is line 3, rather than 4. In strophes nos. 3, 4, and 5 he changed the motif-line. Previously, the motif-line had been a variant of the motif-lines that he had used in performance A. Now he breaks this syntactic pattern and leaves out the key words, except for a single appearance of *taṣla-* in strophe 3. His new motif-line is structurally looser. It conveys an idea (probably heard in homes throughout the world) that might be paraphrased as "now that you are grown up, do you think you can abandon your parents?" He has no single syntactic formula for this statement. In both strophes it appears with a new structure. However, the semantic relationship with the earlier motif-lines ("Didn't you recognize/ Did you throw out your own father?") is clear.

The remaining lines do not reflect the subject of the lament of Bayborı in performance A. The five-line strophes (1-4) are not structured like the quatrains of A, which were bifurcated into a couplet plus a doubled motif-line. Most of the lines in B seem paratactic, but they often reveal an indirect relationship with the motif-line. For example, in strophe 3, lines 1, 2, and 3 contrast the conquering hero with the wretched victim of bandits.

The implication may be that although Alpamiş seems to be a hero, his heroism is like that of a bandit—it is cruel and does not respect legitimate social relationships and boundaries. He has become a brave young warrior, but he announces this fact by abandoning his aged father. Likewise, in strophe 4 the ministers abandoning their khan refer once again to Alpamiş abandoning his father. True parataxis appears only in the quatrains that end the segment. In strophes 5 and 6 the opening couplets are formulas, as are the lines using the word *aylanayin* (lit. "let me circumambulate"), units that are formulaic for such good wishes.

The narrative verses that close the speech of Bayborı contain no common features in performances A and B. In A this section is tiradic, in B strophic. A speaks only about Alpamiş; B begins by describing Bayborı, turning to Alpamiş in the second strophe. The final two lines, "In every land of men/ there should always be a *beg*, my friends," is an indirect reference to Alpamiş as the legitimate ruler of the Qungrads. Narrative verse does not employ the motif-line technique, so this is not a unifying factor. Furthermore, no single word or even any syntactic structure links the two performances.

We can conclude that these two performed texts are as a whole dissimilar except for the motif-line of B that is closely related to the first motif-line of A. The single word *aydahar*, so prominent in the motif-line of A, is echoed only in the first strophe of performance B. This early appearance of *aydahar* suggests that there must have been earlier performances in which this word also had played a part in the motif-line. Obviously, the relationships between these performance-generated oral texts are almost infinite. In this minimal sample of two texts, the density of correspondence is different in the motif-lines and in the remainder of the texts. It is possible to find very close relationships in the motif-lines, suggesting both words and syntactic patterns previously employed, whereas the other lines of these two texts are mainly dissimilar. The *bäxşi* also demonstrates difference by creating a text in a new strophic format, set to a melody that differs from the musical underpinning of the earlier text.

Cadigar

Alpamiş's first meeting with his son Cadigar (Yodigor) is told variously in the Uzbek epic traditions. In its variant appearances it is one of the basic episodes of the "Return of Alpamiş." On the evening of May 11, 1990, and on July 3, 1991, Qahhar Raximov told it according to the standard version of his tradition. In this version Alpamiş appears at the

wedding of Ultan and Barçın, disguised in the clothing of the servant Qultay. He sees a young boy, apparently an orphan serving the guests. Although he does not know that this is his son Cadigar (whom he has never seen), he pities the boy's forlorn and hungry appearance, and, taking a piece of the best cut of meat (from the upper thigh), he gives it to the young man. However, when the cook spies Cadigar feasting on the lamb's thigh, he becomes angry and strikes him in the face. Cadigar is hurt and confused by the seemingly kindly behavior of the stranger that has nevertheless caused him pain and embarrassment. The speech of Cadigar is a feature of the Sherabad tradition, as it had been performed by Qadir Ṣair, and both performance A from 1990 and performance B from 1991 reflect the same episode.[10]

Performance A: May 11, 1990

1. *Muna çöldä körinädi bay adamnıñ karvanı*
Saġır bolsa adamzad kop boladı armanı
Tuyalärgä taylar mikän karmanı
Bul gäpimä qulaq salġın babacan
Ṣul boldı mı bir Xudanıñ parmanı

In this desert a rich man's caravan appears
If he is orphaned, many of a man's desires are unfulfilled
Do they throw rich grass to the camels?
Give ear to my speech
Is this the decree of God?

2. *Cürek baġrın xanäsidän tilindi*
Saġırlıġım naylay ṣu bugundä bilindi
Ne säbäbdän cilik berdiñ babacan
Aq tenedä qızıl qanlar körindi

My heart is torn from its home
My orphanhood today is made known

[10] On the afternoon of May 11, 1990, Qahhar had performed the meeting of Alpamış and Cadigar as an isolated scene at the birthday celebration in Dehkanabad. There he had employed another version, in which there is no leg of meat, and therefore no striking of Cadigar by the cook. The following comparison does not include this performance, which was based upon a different version of the tale.

Why did you give me the thigh bone?
Red blood appeared on my white flesh

3. *Oylay bersäm temir tegdi tenemä*
Aq otawda cılab qaldı enäm-ä
Caman qursın caxṣı gäpgä konämä
Bir pasılġa qara deymän babacan
Çini bilän boṣaydı mı xanäm-a

[If I think of it] iron touched my flesh
My mother weeps bitterly in the white yurt
Let there be no evil, will one listen to good talk?
I bid you stop and look for a moment
Truly, will my house be destroyed?

4. *Baländ tawlar baṣı boladı qıya*
Ata bolsa adamġa berär saya
Saġırġa bir keñ ekän dä dunya
Ne säbäbdän cilik berdiñ babacan
Bu saġırnı cılattıp kopeymädimi guna

The tops of the tall mountains are peaks
A father gives shade to a human being
The world is wide (i.e., without shelter) to the orphan
Why did you give me the thigh bone?
Were his sins so great that you caused this orphan to weep?

Performance B: July 3, 1991

1. *Tawlar xonik bolar baba laläsiz*
Ṣähär vayran bolar baba qalasız
Adam garip bolmas biliñ naläsiz
Cilik bermäy axir boġun babacan
Ne säbäbdän urdurduñ aytqın baläsiz

Without a tulip the mountains are ugly
Without a fortress the city is ruined
Without a groan a man is not mournful
Give no more thigh bone to me,
Tell me, why did you cause me to be beaten, o childless one?

2. *Açılmayın baba gullär solġan ma*
Ya bolmasa bu paymanın tolġan ma
Kocädägi adamlar häm uradı
Ya çini bilän babacan meniñ atam ölgän ma

If they do not bloom, will the flowers fade?
Is this destiny fulfilled?
Men in the street strike me as well
Tell me truly, is my father dead?

3. *Bedawiñdi maydan maydan celdirdiñ*
Cilik berip duşmanıñdı güldirdiñ
Cüregimdä tawça alam qaldırdıñ
Cilik bermäy axir boġun babacan
Atacanıñ coqlıġını bildirdiñ

You galloped your bedouin steed around the square
By giving the thigh bone you caused your foe to laugh
In my heart you left a pain great as a mountain
Give no more thigh bone to me,
You let it be known that I have no father

4. *Garip cılasa gäpgä qulaq salmıyma*
On beş bolsa asmanda ay tolmayma
Niyät qılsañ babam bir kun bolmayma
Cilik berip qızıl qanġa boyadıñ
Käşäl ketgän atacanım kelmaymä

If he weeps, will they not give ear to the wretched stranger?
If it is fifteen days old, is the moon in the sky not full?
If you have the proper intention, will it not come to pass?
By giving me the thigh bone you bathed me in red blood
Will he not come home, my father who has gone to Kashal?

5. *Mingän atıñ baba seniñ kökmiymdi*
Qılġan ićiñ yalġançı ya xaq mıydı
Bir awladıñ aytgın baba bek miydi
Ne säbäbdän cılattıñ da saġırdı
Ya bolmasa babacan seniñ balañ coq mıydı

Are you riding a gray horse?
Was your deed false or true?
Tell me, was this son of yours a *beg* ?
Why did you cause the orphan to weep?
Is it because you have no child?

Analysis

The theme of Cadigar's speech in both performances is a meditation on orphanhood. Qahhar Bäxṣi presents what he considers the essence of the life of an orphan in the last strophe of performance A. When I questioned him about the meaning of the world being "wide" (*keñ*) for a [fatherless] orphan (*saġır*), he explained that an orphan sees much more of the world than a normal child. The orphan must be aware of everyone's actions and how these might bear upon him—information with which a child within a family would not concern himself. The orphan cannot allow himself to misbehave, because he has no one to protect him from just or unjust punishment (cf. B2: "men in the street strike me as well"). In the ecological context of the Khoja Makhmud district, the peaks of the "tall mountains" in A4 are bare and treeless, and it is the father who "gives shade," shelter from the heat of the sun. All his life Cadigar has lived as a fatherless orphan, yet he is not certain that his father has died. The generous deed of the disguised Alpamiṣ seems "fatherly," yet its results prove bitter. Cadigar interprets this development as a cruel plot on the part of the stranger. Unlike his grandfather Bayborı, or his aunt Qaldırġaç, he is not certain that he has seen Alpamiṣ. Therefore the ambiguity of this episode is greater than in parallel episodes in the "Return" cycle. This ambiguity is what creates the pathos of this scene.

There is, however, a difference in emphasis between these two performances. Performance A speaks almost exclusively about orphanhood (*saġırlıq*). The word *saġır* or *saġırlıq* appears in three out of four strophes, including an early appearance in strophe 1. It is the motif-line, speaking of the meaty thigh bone (*cilik*), that links this general lament to the specific situation of the episode. Performance B is exclusively concerned with the episode itself.

The nature of this difference is not dissimilar to what we have seen in the two versions of the speech of Bayborı. Both Cadigar and Bayborı address two different aspects of the same predicament. In particular, Bayborı's speech in A could have developed in a very different direction, and become a lament over his lost youth, as Cadigar's in A is a lament on

orphanhood. It is probably not accidental that the performance A versions of both episodes are more "philosophical," more general, and less concerned with the specific situation than those of performance B. It is possible that B, as an elicited performance, was more narrowly directed toward the episode, perhaps because this is what Qahhar thought was required. The performance A versions, on the other hand, were not elicited (by me). They represent two different performance situations on the same day, both having larger audiences (25 people in the afternoon, 10 in the evening).

Formally, the two performances employ alternating four- and five-line strophes with eleven-syllable lines. In A the succession is 5, 4, 5, 5, while in B it is 5, 4, 5, 5, 5. Melodically, performance A was sung to *turkmennamä*, while performance B used a melody of the *garipnamä* family. A alternates between two different motif-lines while B uses two motif-lines in succession in each strophe. However, one of the motif-lines of A is almost identical to the first motif-line of B. The most obvious formal difference between the two performances is the constant insertion of the two-syllable word *babam* or *baba* ("old man") in performance B. In strophe 1, line 3 *biliñ* ("know") is substituted for *baba*. These two-syllable words (not indicated in the translation) are part of the eleven-syllable structure, although they contribute little to the meaning.

The key-word of the motif-lines of both performances is *cilik*, "meaty thigh bone." Here, this part of the sheep's anatomy symbolizes much of what a father can do for a son. In the context of Cadigar's degraded existence, *cilik* is something that he cannot hope to have, and perhaps has never tasted. *Cilik* appears in two of the four strophes of performance A and in four lines within the five strophes of B. As we have seen, this greater concentration on the core of the episode is characteristic of performance B.

Cilik also appears as the keyword of the motif-line of a third performance, recorded in October 1991 in New York. The Cadigar speech in this performance had five five-line strophes. In three of these the word *cilik* appeared in the following contexts:

1. *Ne sebebdän cilik berdiñ boyuñdan*
   "Why did you give the thigh-bone, o dear stature?"
2. *Negä cilik berdiñ babacan*
   "Why did you give the thigh-bone, dear old man?"
3. *Ne sebebdän cilik berdiñ babacan*
   "Why did you give the thigh-bone, dear old man?"

This motif-line appeared in identical or very similar form three times over a period of over eighteen months, a regularity that suggests that it is a somewhat stable feature of this sub-tradition. The later performance of the Cadigar episode contained only one overt echo of one of these two earlier performances. Compare the very last line of the last strophe—

Käṣälgä ketgän atacanım enäcan aytgin kelmäymi
"Tell me dear mother, will he not come home, my father who has gone to Kashal?"

—with the fifth line of strophe 4 in performance B:

Käṣäl ketgän atacanım kelmäymä
"Will he not come home, my father who has gone to Kashal?"

These are identical lines, except that in the former Qahhar adds the parenthetical "tell me, dear mother" (*enäcan aytgin*), which breaks the syllable count of the line. Thus we observe another obvious link between the performances of May 1990 and October 1991.

The syllabic structure of the motif-line in A is (1-3-2-2-3):

[X	XXX	XX	XX	XXX]	
Bul	*gapimä*	*qulaq*	*salġın*	*babacan*	
Ne	*säbäbdan*	*cilik*	*berdiñ*	*babacan*	(2x)
Bir	*pasılġa*	*qara*	*deymän*	*babacan*	

"Give ear to my speech"
"Why did you give me the thigh bone?"
"I bid you stop and look for a moment"

In performance B the syllabic structure becomes (2-2-2-2-3):

[XX	XX	XX	XX	XXX]	
Cilik	*bermäy*	*axir*	*boġun*	*babacan*	(2x)
Cilik	*berip*	*duṣmanıñdı*		*güldirdiñ*	
Cilik	*berip*	*qızıl*	*qanġa*	*boyadıñ*	

"Give no more thigh bone to me"
"By giving the thigh bone you caused your foe to laugh"
"By giving me the thigh bone you bathed me in red blood"

Cilik has two syllables. The root of the verb *bermaq* (*ber*-, "to give") is a single syllable. When combined with either the participle *-ip* or the negative participle *-mäy*, it forms a two-syllable word. The three-syllable slot at the end of the line, which is not as variable as the other slots, can be filled either with an apostrophe or with a finite verb. In Uzbek, both a two-syllable verbal root plus the second person past suffix and a monosyllabic verbal root plus a causative suffix plus the second person past suffix will result in a trisyllabic word (e.g. *güldirdiñ* or *boyadıñ*). These patterns will generate seven out of the eleven syllables needed for the stich, and they will insure its opening and closing. The remaining four syllables in the middle of the stich can be generated from a wide variety of patterns. In the three examples above, each of these four-syllable segments represents a different part of speech.

In strophes B1 and B5 the bard repeats the basic structure of the second motif-line of performance A, beginning with the phrase *ne säbäbdän*. In B1 he mistakes the syllable count:

[X	XXX	XXX	XX	XXX]	(1-3-3-2-3=12)
Ne	*säbäbdän*	*urdurduñ*	*aytqın*	*baläsiz*	

"Tell me, why did you cause me to be beaten, o childless one?"

In strophe 5 the syllable count is correct, but the breakup is not elegant:

[X	XXX	XXX	X	XXX]	(1-3-3-1-3=11)
Ne	*säbäbdän*	*cılattıñ*	*da*	*saġırdı*	

"Why did you cause the orphan to weep?"

The ineptitude in handling this type of line probably indicates that he has not used it for some time, perhaps not since performance A fourteen months before.

The motif-line of performance A, strophe 3 repeats a structure familiar to us from the Bayborı episode:

Bir pasılġa qara deymän babacan,

"I bid you stop and look for a moment"

to which may be compared:

Bir pasılġa qara deymän aydahar
Bir pasılġa toxta deymän colawçi

"I bid you [stop and] look for a moment, o mighty dragon"
"I bid you tarry a moment, o traveler"

Here the three-syllable *babacan* fills the place taken elsewhere by *aydahar* ("dragon") and *colawçi* ("traveler"). The first strophe employs a similar syllabic and syntactic structure for its motif-line:

[X	XXX	XX	XX	XXX]
Bul	*gapimä*	*qulaq*	*salgin*	*babacan*
"This	to my speech	ear	do give	dear old man"

This line has no reference to *cilik* or *sağir*, but appears to be an "all-purpose" motif-line that calls attention to what will follow.

This type of syllabic patterning and syntactic parallelism resembles essential techniques of folk verse in many Turkic languages (Zhirmunsky 1965; Reichl 1992:178). It is also not distant conceptually from the type of patterning that forms the basis for South Slavic epic (Lord 1960:45-58). What is significant here is that it has a specific function in the creation of a particular kind of line, which in turn has a specific function in the *doston*. From this limited sample it would appear that some motif-lines are varied and restructured until only a single word or a syntactic pattern remains, while in other cases the line may be preserved through several performances virtually intact. Such a stable line may even form the nucleus around which the entire speech is built.

In the sample adduced here, these motif-lines could represent one line out of a four-line strophe, one line out of five, or two lines out of five, or even two lines out of four. However, not every motif-line is equally formulaic. As noted above, there is a structural difference between the "classical" formulicity of the type of *bul gapimä qulaq salġın babacan* or the pattern *bir pasılġa* XX *deymän* XXX, on the one hand, and the motif-lines of performance B of Bayborı on the other:

Kättä bolġan pärzänd atasın taşlay mı
"Does a son who has come of age throw away his father?"

Kärigändä keräk emäs mi ata minän ana-ya
"When they grow old, isn't there a need for father and mother?"

Pärzänd degän balam sendäy bola mı
"Does a real son behave to his father as you have done?"

Both the syntax and the syllabic structures of these three lines are extremely divergent. They cannot be considered formulaic in the usual sense of generation through syntactic manipulation and lexical substitution. The very fact that the bard has elided the first syllable of *atasın* and gone over the syllabic limit in the second line may stem from his struggle to avoid the syntactic patterns used elsewhere in this motif-line or in the speech in general.

Performance A of the Bayborı speech is created as four-line strophes that give the impression of having come from two distinct speeches or perhaps themes. The two motif-lines always occupy the second half of the strophe and are clearly related to Bayborı's lament. They seem like "classic" motif-lines that can be manipulated and reformulated with minimal change of meaning. We know that the first motif-line, beginning with the formula *öz atañdı* ("your own father") was in fact manipulated to serve as the motif-line of performance B. The opening half of each strophe is also composed of lines that are so formulaic—and seem so appropriate to express another theme (namely the lament for lost youth)—that some of them may have functioned as motif-lines in another episode. In strophe 3, in addition to the formulaic opening *qayġa barsam* ("wherever I would go"), the remaining words *nurli edi bu betim* ("this face of mine was luminous") echo a formula found in other epics of the Sherabad tradition: *sarġaymasın nurli cüz* ("may the luminous face fade not"). Thus, this particular speech appears to contain the highest density of formulas of the three examined here.

Conclusion

Qahhar Bäxṣi constructs his *doston* text in an essentially performance-generative manner, with no evidence of a previously learned text. Despite the common Turkic heritage of syntactic parallelism and syllabic patterning, his technique is quite remote from the documented practices of Karakalpak or Kazakh *zhıraus* in neighboring areas of Central Asia. This is admittedly a very small sample, but it coincides well with what is known about the Uzbek epic tradition as a whole (see Reichl 1992, Feldman 1983). A much larger sample, especially from the same region, would very likely unearth many other verbal resemblances with other versions. Nevertheless, the type

of rearrangement of essentially text-oriented material that predominates in the Karakalpak and Kazakh epic, not to mention the direct text-reproduction of the Turkmen or other Oghuzic traditions, does not seem to be present here.

The Uzbek epic texts show a much smaller degree of text-reproduction than any of the other Central Asian Turkic oral epics.[11] Within a particular performance, the motif-line represents formulicity of a different order from the bulk of the text. This series of variants of one or two lines is usually created through syntactic manipulation and lexical substitution in a much more restricted way than is the rest of the text. Whatever their relationship to earlier performances might be, in a particular performance the motif-lines are rather close conceptually to the formulaic lines studied by Albert Lord in the South Slavic epic. In the short examples analyzed here, there are instances of a motif-line corresponding to a line-pattern recorded in an earlier performance by the same bard. In other cases we have no way of knowing whether a given line-pattern had been employed earlier. However, the structural resemblances to the Balkan epic line should not disguise an important difference in the Uzbek material. As I have noted earlier, in the Uzbek *doston* the "constant reformation of the syllabic lines allowed little retention of fixed elements. This fact contrasts with the situation in Yugoslavia where an isosyllabic format did permit the continuous use of many inherited and regionally stable formulas and epithets."[12]

Considering Reichl's convincing conclusions on the creation of the Karakalpak and Kazakh *zhır* and his suggestions about the Kirghiz Manas, the Uzbek *doston* would appear to be the only form of oral epic in Turkic Central Asia that practices significant performance-generation, without "text-orientation" or "memorization." At the current state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine whether the Uzbek practice represents the continuation of the more ancient tradition, so that it was these other Turkic groups who abandoned "creative" performance-generation for epics (they still practice it for competitive poetic genres), or whether it was the Uzbeks alone who applied the performance-generation techniques long used in competitive poetic genres and adapted them to epic. In any case it is

[11] Reichl's fieldwork in Uzbekistan is less extensive, but his material, along with the evidence of published texts, leads him to conclude that "in the southern Uzbek tradition comparable love-romances such as *Kuntuġmic* vary far more radically from variant to variant" (1992:268).

[12] 1983:14. I pursue the question of the motif-line and in particular its relationship to the style of the Turkmen literary *destan* elsewhere (Feldman 1994).

significant and hopeful to learn that, despite the negative pronouncements of the academic folklore establishment in Tashkent, one region of the country is still producing a generation of oral bards who show every sign of bringing the Uzbek oral *doston* into the twenty-first century.[13]

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[13] I would like to thank Susan Slyomovics (MIT) and Judit Frigyesi (Princeton University) for their thoughtful readings of an earlier draft of this article.

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Annotated Bibliography 1986-1990

Catherine S. Quick
With the assistance of Amerina Engel, Sheril Hook, and Rosalinda Villalobos Lopez

The following compilation represents the third installment of *Oral Tradition*'s ongoing annotated bibliography of scholarship relevant to the field. This addition, covering the years 1986-1990, maintains the goals of the first two installments: 1) to update John Miles Foley's original bibliography, *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research* (Garland 1985), which provided an annotated listing of scholarship on the Parry-Lord theory of oral composition up until 1982, and 2) to expand the scope of the bibliography into other fields related to the study of oral traditions. The initial year of this installment also marks the beginning of *Oral Tradition* itself, and all articles published in the journal from 1986-1990 are herein annotated.

Although the bibliography emphasizes the Parry-Lord approach, we have continued to expand coverage into related areas in order to make the bibliography as useful as possible for scholars studying the world's oral traditions. You will therefore discover entries related to orality/literacy theories, performance approaches, and ethnopoetics, as well as oral-formulaic theory. While it would probably be impossible within the scope of this bibliography to provide a comprehensive listing of *all* scholarship from *all* of these areas, we have attempted to highlight some of the major theoretical contributions in these fields and to reference some of the geographic and language areas that have not been well represented in the oral-formulaic approach but nevertheless contain important insights for scholars of oral tradition.

Of course, the only way such a wide-ranging bibliography can continue to be of use is if experts in all of the represented areas participate. Therefore, we ask that *all authors contribute regularly by sending copies of recent publications to the editor*. Relevant articles and books will be annotated in forthcoming installments, and any books received will be eligible for published review. We also would appreciate any suggestions our readers may have for making this bibliography a genuinely useful and relevant tool.

To this end, we have recently made the leap into the electronic age. In 1995, the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition entered cyberspace by establishing a home page on the World Wide Web that, among other things, provides a downloadable edition of Foley's original bibliography. Soon to come will be a searchable index of all entries from the original and all installments of the bibliography. We invite you to visit the site and explore the information available at http://www.missouri.edu/~csottime.

For previous installments of the bibliography, see *Oral Tradition* 1, iii (1986):767-808; and *Oral Tradition* 3, i-ii (1988):191-228.

Area Abbreviations

AA	African American	CZ	Czech	JV	Javanese
AB	Albanian	DN	Danish	KR	Kirghiz
AF	African	EG	Egyptian	KZ	Kazakh
AG	Ancient Greek	EK	Eskimo	LA	Latvian
AI	American Indian	ES	Estonian	LG	Languedoc
AL	American Literature	ET	Ethiopian	LO	Laotian
AN	Afghan	FA	Faroese	LT	Latin
AND	Andaman Islands	FB	Folk Ballad	ME	Middle English
ANR	Anglo-Norman	FK	Folklore	MG	Modern Greek
AR	Arabic	FM	Film	MHG	Middle High German
ARM	Armenian	FN	Finnish	MI	Modern Irish
AU	Australian	FP	Folk-preaching	MK	Molokan
BA	Barbar	FR	French	ML	Melanesian
BB	Bibliography	FU	Fulani	MN	Mongol
BE	Belgian	GM	Germanic	MS	Malaysian
BG	Byzantine Greek	GR	Greenlandic	MU	Music
BH	Bahamian	HA	Haitian	MY	Mayan
BI	Bible	HB	Hebrew	NR	Narte
BL	Blues (see also MU)	HI	Hispanic	NW	Norwegian
		HN	Hindi	NZ	New Zealand
BQ	Basque	HT	Hittite	OE	Old English
BR	British	HW	Hawaiian	OF	Old French
BU	Bulgarian	HY	Hungarian	OHG	Old High German
BY	Babylonian	ID	Indonesian	OI	Old Irish
CA	Canadian	IE	Indo-European	ON	Old Norse (Old Icelandic)
CC	Concordance	IN	(Asian) Indian		
CH	Chinese	IR	Iranian	OS	Ostyak
CN	Contemporary Poetry & Fiction	IS	Islamic	OSX	Old Saxon
		IT	Italian	PH	Phillippine
CP	Comparative	JP	Japanese		

PL	Polynesian	ST	Scots	UK	Ukrainian
PO	Polish	SU	Sumerian	US	United States
PR	Persian	SW	Swedish	UZ	Uzbek
PT	Print Technology	TB	Tibetan	VG	Vogul
RM	Romanian	TD	Toda	WI	(British) West Indies
RU	Russian	TH	Theory		
SAI	South American Indian	TI	Thai	WL	Welsh
		TK	Turkish	YI	Yiddish
SC	Serbo-Croatian	TU	Tunisian		
SCN	Scandinavian	UG	Ugaritic		
SK	Sanskrit				

1. Achtemeier 1990 (BI, TH)

Paul J. Achtemeier. *"Omne Verbum Sonat:* The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity." *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 109:3-27.

Notes significant characteristics of the residually oral environment from which the New Testament documents emerged, and concludes that the NT must be understood as speech. To understand the organizational principles behind NT composition, one must look for verbal clues that by being *heard* would aid a listener in understanding the complex writings of the NT. Based on this conclusion, Achtemeier questions as anachronistic typical scholarly assumptions about NT authors' use of "sources."

2. Agovi 1989 (AF)

Kofi Agovi. "Oral Tradition and Social Change in Contemporary Africa." *Crosscurrent,* 2, ii-iii:44-54.

Demonstrates that, within turmoil, instability, and constantly shifting social and political structures in Africa, oral traditions are a unifying force and symbol of continuity within change. Specific traditions do change, but new forms, contents, and contexts "will always be absorbed and merged in the permanence of oral tradition" (53).

3. Aitchison 1987 (OI)

N. B. Aitchison. "The Ulster Cycle: Heroic Image and Historical Reality." *Journal of Medieval History*, 13:87-116.

Contends that the form of the tales of the Ulster cycle indicates that they "belong to a literary medium of composition and transmission" (115) rather than an oral one.

4. Alexander 1990 (BI)

Loveday Alexander. "The Living Voice: Scepticism towards the Written Word in Early Christian and in Graeco-Roman Texts." In *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of Forty Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield*. Ed. by David J. A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl, and Stanley E. Porter. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 87. David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies, gen. eds. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. pp. 221-47.

Explicates a fragment of Papias that expresses preference for the living voice over the written word, and asserts that antipathy toward writing was not exclusive to early Christians, but was a widespread Greco-Roman attitude.

5. Alhoniemi 1990 (FN)

Pirkko Alhoniemi. "The Reception of the *Kalevala* and its Impact on the Arts." In Honko 1990a. pp. 231-44.

Traces the early reception process of Lönnrot's *Kalevala* in Finland and across Europe, and describes the work's influence on nineteenth-century Finnish art, poetry, music, and drama.

6. Almqvist et al. 1987 (CP, FN, AF, AG, AR, FA, IN, LA, OI, ON, SC, ST, TK, UG, WL)

Bo Almqvist, Séamas Ó Catháin, and Pádraig Ó Héalaí, eds. *The Heroic Process: Form, Function and Fantasy in Folk Epic*. Proceedings of the International Folk Epic Conference, Dublin, September 2-6, 1985. Dublin: Glendale Press.

Varied collection on world epics, commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the *Kalevala*, and the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Irish Folklore Commission. Separately annotated are the 1987 entries for Blackburn, Bruford, Erlingsson, Foley (1987c), Gwyndaf, Koljević, Lord (1987b), Mac Cana, Mac Innes, MacQueen, Meek, J. Nagy (1987a), Nolsøe, Norris, Ó Fiannachta, Ó hÓgáin, Oinas (1987b), Okpewho, O'Nolan, J. D. Smith, Uysal, and Wagner.

7. Anahory-Librowicz 1988 (FB, HI)

Oro Anahory-Librowicz. *Cancionero sephardi du Quebec*, vol. 1. Montreal: Fonds FCAR, College du Vieux Montreal.

Transcriptions and analysis of the ballad traditions among the Sephardic communities in Quebec.

8. Andersen 1990 (AG)

Øivind Andersen. "The Making of the Past in the *Iliad*." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 93:25-45.

Considers how Homer, through the speeches of the characters in the *Iliad,* creates a sense of the past. Notes that "an oral culture is not only a culture of tradition but a 'culture of occasion'" (43),

and that the re-creation of the past is, at the moment of the creation of the poem, the "valid" version: "the tradition is a potential which achieves specificity and form only in an actual poem" (44).

9. Armistead 1989-90 (HI)

Samuel G. Armistead. "Modern Ballads and Medieval Epics: *Gaiferos y Melisenda*." *La Corónica*, 18, ii:39-49.

Demonstrates that the modern versions of *Gaiferos y Melisenda* derive not from the sixteenth-century print versions, but from an unbroken oral traditional continuum.

10. Armistead 1989 (HI, FB, BB)

Samuel G. Armistead. "Bibliografia del Romancero (1985-1987)." In *El Romancero: Tradición y Pervivencia a Fines del Siglo XX*. Ed. by Pedro M. Pinero, Virtudes Atero, Enrique J. Rodriguez Baltanas, and Maria Jesus Ruiz. Fundacion Machado. pp. 749-89.

Bibliography of articles published between 1980 and 1988 on Romance ballads.

11. Armistead 1988 (HI)

Samuel G. Armistead. "The 'Paragogic' *-d-* in Judeo-Spanish *Romances*." In *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Joseph H. Silverman*. Ed. by Joseph V. Ricapito. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta. pp. 57-75.

Describes the origin in oral epic of the paragogic "d" and "e" in Judeo-Spanish *romances*.

12. Armistead 1987 (HI)

Samuel G. Armistead. "Schoolmen or Minstrels? Rhetorical Questions in Epic and Balladry." *La Corónica*, 16, i:43-54.

Argues that rhetorical questions in medieval Hispanic narrative poetry need not be the invention of persons formally educated in rhetoric; the comparative evidence from modern traditions provides many examples of the device's use in oral traditions.

13. Armistead 1986 (HI)

Samuel G. Armistead. "*Encore Les Cantilènes*: Prof. Roger Wright's *Proto-Romances*." *La Corónica*, 15, i:52-66.

Challenges the contentions of a certain strand of neoindividualist thinking that claims that Spanish epics are made up of the older ballads strung together, productions most likely of learned persons. Instead, the article argues for the traditionality of *both* genres, epic and ballad, noting that ballads often derive from episodes of traditional epics.

14. Armistead and Silverman 1987 (HI)

Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman. "The Judeo-Spanish Ballad Tradition." *Oral Tradition,* 2:633-44. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989, pp. 235-46.

Surveys the ballad repertoire of the Sephardic Jews in the Balkans and in Morocco.

15. Armistead and Silverman 1986 (HI)

Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman. With musical transcriptions and studies by Israel J. Katz. *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Oral Tradition:* I. *Epic Ballads*. Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews, 2. Berkeley: University of California Press.

First volume of a definitive multi-volume collection of Sephardic oral traditions from around the world. This volume includes musical and lyric transcriptions of variant versions of six epic ballads, extensive bibliography, and detailed indices of tunes, motifs, and topoi, among others.

16. Arthur 1990 (AU, BR, CD, EK, TH)

Kateryna Olijnyk Arthur. "Beyond Orality: Canada and Australia." *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*, 21, iii:23-36.

Believes that writing derived from oral traditions is "in an ideal position to set up" (24) a dialogue with European-centered colonial histories. Uses *Hamlet* as a metaphor for competing colonial histories, as an "allegory of dialogic history, of histories confronting each other and fighting for their lives" (26).

17. AshShareef 1989 (AR)

Teirab AshShareef. "Banī Halba Classification of Poetic Genres." *Oral Tradition,* 4:236-53.

Explains the Banī Halba (an Arabic-speaking group in the Sudan) classification of poetic genres as based on gender, tune, and type of musical accompaniment.

18. Aus 1985 (BI, HB)

Roger David Aus. "Luke 15:11-32 and R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus's Rise to Fame." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 104:443-69.

Finds that Jesus' parable of the Prodigal Son and the parallel tales in the Eliezer narratives were "probably both dependent on a common oral tradition" (445). The differences between the versions arise through the theological interests and emphases of the respective storytellers.

19. Azuonye 1990a (AF)

Chukwuma Azuonye. "The Heroic Age of the Ohafia Igbo: Its Evolution and Socio-cultural Consequences." *Geneve-Afrique*, 28, i: 7-35.

Suggests that the head-hunting activities of the precolonial Ohafia Igbo people result neither from "savagery nor mercenarisms" but from "that heroic love of adventure and military glory which is characteristic of all heroic societies" (29). Evidence for this interpretation of head-hunting is drawn from the oral traditional heroic epic poetry of the Ohafia people.

20. Azuonye 1990b (AF)

Chukwuma Azuonye. "The Performances of Kaalu Igirigiri, an Ohafia Igbo Singer of Tales." *Research in African Literatures*, 21, iii:17-50.

Study of the traditional aesthetic principles behind the performances of an acclaimed epic singer of tales among the Ohafia Igbo of Nigeria. This study demonstrates that the oral artist is not only guided by these principles but, contrary to widely held assumptions, is quite capable of defining them.

21. Bakker 1988 (AG)

Egbert J. Bakker. *Linguistics and Formulas in Homer: Scalarity and the Description of the particle* per. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

A linguistic study of the Greek particle *per* as it occurs in Homer. Chapter Five specifically discusses the meaning and function of *per* in the hexameter lines and the formulaic diction of Greek epic.

22. Balisidya 1987 (AF)

N. M. Balisidya. "Adopted or Adapted To? Neo-Swahili Oral Literature in Tanzania." *Kiswahili*, 54, ii:14-33.

Discusses the Swahili oral literature produced by the Wagogo fo Dodoma in central Tanzania, a group who only recently have adopted the Swahili language for purposes of Tanzanian national identity. Describes two periods in the transition: 1) oral artists' adaptation of content to the new language, and 2) the adoption and acceptance of the language as an effective means of communication.

23. Barber and de Moraes Farias 1989 (AF, CP, TH)

Karin Barber and P. F. de Moraes Farias, eds. *Discourse and Its Disguises: The Interpretation of African Oral Texts*. Birmingham University African Studies Series, 1. Birmingham: Centre of West African Studies.

Collections of essays attempting to articulate interdisciplinary approaches (emphasizing history, poetics, and sociology) to African oral texts.

24. Barr 1986 (BI)

David L. Barr. "The Apocalypse of John as Oral Enactment." *Interpretation*, 40:243-56.

Describes the oral setting and oral methods of structuring the Apocalypse and contends that its orality is "an essential element of its hermeneutic" (243), that its oral enactment within the liturgy brings the presence of the kingdom it describes.

25. Basso 1990 (SAI)

Ellen B. Basso, ed. *Native Latin American Cultures Through Their Discourse*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Essay collection focusing on the role of discourse—oral and written, narrative and non-narrative—in representations of history and culture for various native Latin American groups.

26. Bauman 1989 (FK, TH, US)

Richard Bauman. "American Folklore Studies and Social Transformation: A Performance-Centered Perspective." *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 9:175-84.

Discusses the shift in American folklore studies towards performance-centered approaches. Notes the possibilities of such perspectives for reflective criticism on the methods and practices of folklorists.

27. Bauman 1986 (FK, TH, US)

Richard Bauman. *Story, Performance, and Event: Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative*. Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture. Ed. by Peter Burke and Ruth Finnegan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Using a performance approach as a theoretical basis and Texan oral narratives as case studies, this book seeks an "integrated vision of the social and the poetic in the study of oral literature" (2), and demonstrates the complex interrelationships among narrated events, narrative texts, and the narrative events.

28. Bauman and Briggs 1990 (FK, TH)

Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs. "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19:59-88.

An overview and bibliographic essay of performance-based approaches to the study of poetics in anthropology, considering both their contributions and the potential problems inherent in such approaches.

29. Baumann 1986 (AF, AG, BI, BR, HB, HT, IE, PT, CP, TH)

Gerd Baumann, ed. *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*. Wolfson College Lectures 1985. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

An interdisciplinary collection of essays focusing on the impact of literacy as it relates to "the impact of other social practices in specific cases of historical transition" (4). The central thesis of the collection comes from Ong's article: "writing is a technology that restructures thought." See the 1986 entries for A. Davies, Hodgkin, Lewis, Ong (1986b), A. Smith, K. Thomas, and Vermes.

30. Bäuml 1987 (MHG, CP, TH)

Franz H. Bäuml. "The Theory of Oral-Formulaic Composition and the Written Medieval Text." In Foley 1987a. pp. 29-45.

Distinguishes between a "primary" and "secondary" oral theory, arguing that for medieval works this dichotomy is not helpful, since the reception and transmission processes for medieval works were not exclusively either oral or written. Calls for a "tertiary" theory that explains texts that exhibit formulaic composition "as a reference to, and a comment on, oral tradition" (38).

31. Bäuml 1986 (MHG)

Franz H. Bäuml. "The Oral Tradition and Middle High German Literature." *Oral Tradition*, 1:398-445.

Surveys the impact of oral-formulaic theory on Middle High German studies. Believes the most promising direction for research lies in the analysis of oral transmission and reception of written texts.

32. Beaton 1990 (BG)

Roderick Beaton. "Orality and the Reception of Late Byzantine Vernacular Literature." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14:174-84.

Examines the complexities of oral-literate relationships in the composition, performance, and transmission processes of *Digenes Akrites* and other late Byzantine narrative poems.

33. Beaton 1986 (MG)

Roderick Beaton. "Oral Traditions of Modern Greece: A Survey." *Oral Tradition,* 1:110-33.

Bibliographic survey of six oral traditional genres in the modern Greek language: the "demotic" song, folktales, Karagiozis shadow-puppet theatre, the "historical" tradition, urban folksongs, and medieval vernacular texts. Includes for each genre a description, a chronological list of collections, and a history of scholarly studies.

34. Beaujour 1989 (CP, TH)

Michel Beaujour. "Ils ne savent pas ce qu'ils font: L'ethnopoétique et la méconnaissance des arts poétiques des sociétés sans écriture." *L'Homme*, 29:208-21.

Criticizes ethnopoetic approaches to non-Western oral poetries for ethnocentrism, for ignoring indigenous poetics and instead applying methods of Western poetics or creating a coherent linguistic system out of the poetry of which the native speaker is not aware.

35. Beck 1986 (AG)

William Beck. "Choice and Context: Metrical Doublets for Hera." *American Journal of Philology*, 197:480-88.

Examines two metrically equivalent formulae for Hera and concludes that the poet's choice between the alternatives is contextual.

36. Beissinger 1988 (RM, MU)

Margaret Hiebert Beissinger. "Text and Music in Romanian Oral Epic." *Oral Tradition,* 3:294-314.

Descriptive analysis of present-day Romanian oral epic songs, demonstrating that textual patterns are reinforced by musical patterns. Compares compositional styles of professional gypsy singers and amateur ethnic Romanian peasant singers.

37. Belcher 1986 (AF)

R. Belcher. "From Literature to Oral Tradition and Back: The Griqua Case History." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 261-69.

Examines interactions of oral and literate traditions in Griqua culture, with some emphasis on the transformation and assimilation of Dutch hymns into Griqua songs.

38. Bellamy 1989 (AG)

Rufus Bellamy. "Bellerophon's Tablet." *Classical Journal*, 84:289-307.

Beginning by comparing the tables found at Nimrud to Bellerophon's tablet and moving through an analysis of hexameter verse as completely dependent upon the alphabet, this article concludes that Homer's art was fully and necessarily literate.

39. Berthelsen 1988 (GR)

Christian Berthelsen. "Main Themes in Greenlandic Literature." *Folk*, 30:133-48.

Includes brief reflections on the presence of oral traditions within postcolonial written Greenlandic literature.

40. Bezuidenhout 1986 (AF)

Morné Bezuidenhout. "Oral Tradition in Medieval Plainchant with Special Reference to MS Grey 64b in the South African Library, Cape Town." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 50-60.

Interprets the notation system used for the chants found in manuscript Grey 64b as a "support" for what largely remains an oral traditional performance. The notation would not encode enough information for a sight-reading performance; "it still relies on the reader's foreknowledge of the contents" (57).

41. Biebuyck 1987 (AF)

Daniel P. Biebuyck. "Names in Nyanga Society and in Nyanga Tales." In Foley 1987a. pp. 47-71.

Describes the use of names in tales and in the society of the Nyanga of eastern Zaire, noting that names convey messages beyond simple identification, messages such as establishing character or noting one's place in the social system.

42. Biernaczky 1989 (AF)

Szilárd Biernaczky. "Orality in African Literature Today." *Neohelicon*, 16:317-57.

Considers the role of oral traditions in African poetry, music, prose, and drama, a role that is different for African audiences than for European. Notes that time and space are compressed in the situation of Africa, creating a cultural syncretism of traditional and modern, oral and written.

43. Blackburn 1988 (IN, TH)

Stuart H. Blackburn. *Singing of Birth and Death: Texts in Performance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Asks "how text affects the telling" (xviii) in the performance of Tamil [India] bow songs, reversing the usual performance studies emphasis on how performance situation affects the text. Includes translations of three performances from a standard bow song festival.

44. Blackburn 1987 (IN)

Stuart H. Blackburn. "Epic Transmission and Adaptation: A Folk *Rāmāyaṇa* in South India." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 569-90.

Describes an instance in which a written classical epic, specifically a medieval *Rāmāyaṇa*, has been adapted and is now orally performed and transmitted in a folk context, as part of a leather shadow-puppet play. Includes translation of one verse and a puppeteer's commentary on it from a 1985 performance.

45. Blackburn, Claus, Flueckinger, and Wadley 1989 (IN)

Stuart H. Blackburn, Peter J. Claus, Joyce B. Flueckiger, and Susan S. Wadley, eds. *Oral Epics in India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Part I is a collection of essays on the social and performance contexts of various oral epic traditions in India. Part II includes a synopsis and contextual overview of each epic story discussed in Part I.

46. Blacking 1989 (AF, MU)

John Blacking. "Challenging the Myth of 'Ethnic' Music: First Performances of a New Song in an African Oral Tradition." *Yearbook of Traditional Music,* 11:17-24.

Describes the social and musical background of the performances of a new Nsenga (western Zambia) song, emphasizing that the authors of such "ethnic" songs are not just informants from some kind of "folk collective" (17). They truly are *composers*; the use of this term should not be limited to Western European classical music.

47. Bloomfield and Dunn 1989 (OE, OI, ON, ST, WL, CP, TH)

Morton W. Bloomfield and Charles W. Dunn. *The Role of the Poet in Early Societies*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Discusses the role of the poet and the functions of poetry in early European societies (Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, Norse, and Old English), drawing comparisons between these societies and twentieth-century societies that are still largely oral. To appreciate the poetry of these "primal" cultures, the modern reader must interpret the poetry within the relevant cultural background, dismissing one's own tastes and standards and becoming, as much as possible, a member of the "tribe." Includes chapters on early concepts of wisdom and wisdom literatures.

48. Bolton 1985 (OE)

W. F. Bolton. "A Poetic Formula in *Beowulf* and Seven Other Old English Poems: A Computer Study." *Computers and the Humanities,* 19:167-73.

Databased study of the formula described as "three-word a-verse (X Y Z) in which the first and last words (X, Z) are alliterating content-words and the second word (Y) is a preposition" (167). On the basis of a computer analysis of its presence in both prose and poetry, the article rejects any connection of this formula with oral composition.

49. Botha 1990 (BI)

Pieter J. J. Botha. "Mute Manuscripts: Analysing a Neglected Aspect of Ancient Communication." *Theologia Evangelica*, 23:35-47.

Applies recent research in orality-literacy theories to the study of early Christian texts, noting the literary bias of many New Testament scholars who do not consider in their interpretations the different cultural attitudes of early Christian writers and audiences toward concepts of text, writing, and tradition.

50. Boungou-Poati 1988 (AF)

Gervais Boungou-Poati. "Apports de la tradition orale à la littérature d'expression française." *Notre librairie*, 92-93:65-68.

Describes the remnant elements from oral tradition in francophone literature of the Congo: the omnipresence of the narrator, the mixing of literary genres, the inclusion of songs and proverbs in prose works, etc. Concludes that "the presence of the tradition in modern literature of Congo is a heritage of the past, but remnant, full of new meaning and not a simple imitation nor a direct passage from oral tradition to literacy" (68).

51. Bourke 1988 (MI)

Angela Bourke. "The Irish Traditional Lament and the Grieving Process." *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11:287-91.

Contends that the keening of Irish women for the dead consists not of inarticulate outcries, but is instead a significant form of oral-formulaic poetry, embodying a "disciplined and powerful expression" of the stages of a grieving process (287).

52. Bowen 1989 (ID)

John R. Bowen. "Poetic Duels and Political Change in the Gayo Highlands of Sumatra." *American Anthropologist*, 91:25-40.

Considers how the changes in Gayo society (Indonesia)—from relatively egalitarian to hierarchical—has restructured the formal and semantic features, as well as the performance

contexts, of poetic dueling. The shift of the dueling in function from exchange to rivalry is interpreted through Bakhtinian terminology as a shift from monologic to dialogic.

53. Bremer, de Jong, and Kalff 1987 (AG, TH))

J. M. Bremer, L. J. F. de Jong, and J. Kalff, eds. *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry. Recent Trends in Homeric Interpretation.* Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner.

Collection of essays from a 1986 symposium exploring Homer's unique artistry, how Homer the poet transcends a fixed tradition.

54. Briggs 1988 (HI, TH)

Charles L. Briggs. *Competence in Performance: The Creativity of Tradition in Mexicano Verbal Art.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Transcriptions, translations, and analyses of several genres performed in a Hispanic community in northern New Mexico. The analyses of *la pláticida de los viejitos de antes* ("the talk of the elders of bygone days")—historical discourse; proverbs; scriptural allusions; jests, anecdotes, and humorous tales; legend and treasure tales; and hymns and prayers—demonstrate that these performance genres are highly complex dialectics between the text and context. The structure and meaning of the text are incomprehensible apart from "the way in which mental representations unfold in performance" (6). The introduction includes a concise yet thorough discussion of both the advances and the remaining problems of performance theories and ethnopoetics.

55. Bright 1990 (SAI)

William Bright. "'With One Lip, With Two Lips': Parallelism in Nahuatl." *Language,* 66:437-52.

Defines the patterns of parallelism in classical Nahuatl (Aztec) oratory as "binary and embedded." Underlines the necessity of ethnopoetic reconsiderations of Native American texts taken from oral tradition in order to understand and make accessible the intrinsic aesthetic value of the oral literature.

56. Brody 1988 (MY)

Jill Brody. "Incipient Literacy: From Involvement to Integration in Tojolabal Maya." *Oral Tradition,* 3:315-52.

Through the comparison of native authors writing in the Mayan language Tojolabal with equivalent oral narratives, the author examines "differences between spoken and written narrative for languages without a written tradition" (315). Includes interlinear transcriptions, translations, and linguistic analyses of the sample texts.

57. Brown 1986 (HN, TH)

C. MacKenzie Brown. "Purāna as Scripture: From Sound to Image of the Holy Word in the Hindu Tradition." *History of Religions*, 26:68-86.

Discusses the mistrust of writing and the pervasiveness of oral traditions and transmission reflected in the Hindu Purānas. Believes many of Ong's psychodynamics of orality to be "out of place in the Hindu context" (86).

58. Bruchac 1989 (AI)

Joseph Bruchac. "The Storytelling Seasons: Some Reflections on Native American Storytelling Traditions." *Parabola,* 14:87-92.

Emphasizes the importance of studying and/or telling Native American tales with awareness of their context, including function within the culture and the appropriate time and place for telling.

59. Bruford 1987 (OI)

Alan Bruford. "Oral and Literary Fenian Tales." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 25-56.

Considers oral tales from the Fenian cycle that evince some literary influence. Classifies various elements in these tales according to whether their origins stem from literary and/or oral sources.

60. Buchholz 1990 (GM)

Peter Buchholz. "Geschichte, Mythos, Märchen - drei Wurzeln germanischer Heldensage?" In *Atti del 12 Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medievo*. Sp. A. Arti Graphiche Panetto & Petrelli. pp. 391-404.

Discusses the conflicting relationship between stability and variability in oral Germanic tradition, which does not necessarily exclude the consistency of particular details such as names, situations, and reminiscences.

61. Butcher 1987 (OE)

John W. Butcher. "Formulaic Invention in the Genealogies of the Old English *Genesis A*." In Foley 1987a. pp. 73-92.

Discusses how the *Genesis A* poet "employs both tradition-wide and individual . . . formulas in composing" (73) an Old English metrical version of Genesis. Notes that epithets are more than metrical "filler"; they also echo the rich tradition of Germanic heroic epic.

62. Bynum 1990 (FN, SC, CP)

David E. Bynum. "The Väinämöinen Poems and the South Slavic Oral Epos." In Honko 1990a. pp. 311-41.

Discovers, despite the obvious surface differences, parallel motifs between stories of Väinämöinen and South Slavic epic heroes, including the hero's resourcefulness after a mishap, the illegitimate son who becomes king, the wedding test, and the taking on of the character of an artisan during a crucial journey.

63. Bynum 1987 (AG)

David E. Bynum. "Of Sticks and Stones and Hapax Legomena Rhemata." In Foley 1987a. pp. 93-119.

In order to elucidate how much of the Hesiodic and Homeric versions of the story of Amphitryon is formulaic, and whether or not those formulas are oral traditional, the author draws analogies from similar stories in the South Slavic tradition. Finds that "statistical frequency of any particular phrase in the diction of an oral traditional epic poet can never be taken as evidence" of original invention (118).

64. Bynum 1986 (SC, TH)

David E. Bynum. "The Collection and Analysis of Oral Epic Tradition in South Slavic: An Instance." *Oral Tradition,* 1:302-43.

Examines Miroslave Pantiěc's reconstruction of a poem imperfectly recorded by Rogeri de Pacienza di Nardo in 1497, widely considered to be the first text ever written down from the South Slavic epic tradition. Several of Pantiěc's lines, which he reconstructed conservatively from Rogeri's text and adapted to an epic meter, contain severe metrical irregularities. Bynum re-reconstructs the poem in the meter of a lyric song, as a forerunner to the *bugarstica*-form, and discovers that the meter is, in fact, quite regular and consistent. This example is used to demonstrate the problems of intervention in a text from oral tradition by *literary* transcribers and editors. Includes a comprehensive list of collectors of South Slavic epics.

65. Camargo 1987 (ME)

Martin Camargo. "Oral Traditional Structure in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*." In Foley 1987a. pp. 121-37.

Characterizes the deep structure of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as a "quest" pattern. Assumes that an oral traditional audience would recognize this structural technique, but asserts that it is "more than a convention. It provides an underlying control that enables the poet to multiply signifiers at the surface level and thus keep the reader/listener off balance without ever sacrificing coherence" (131).

66. Cancel 1989 (AF)

Robert Cancel. *Allegorical Speculations in an Oral Society: The Tabwa Narrative Tradition.* University of California Publications in Modern Philology. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Transcriptions, translations, and analysis of the Tabwa *inshimi*, or oral narrative, traditions. Takes from both formalist and performance-centered approaches to demonstrate the role of allegory in the narratives, to join "often disparate elements to create a cultural argument or statement" (196), and that the meaning emerges in contextualized performance.

67. Cancel 1988-89 (AF)

Robert Cancel. "Three African Oral Narrative Versions: Text, Tradition and Performance." *The American Journal of Semiotics*, 6:85-107.

Compares three versions of one narrative told in different contexts in order to discuss the "meaning-making channels that exist in the oral tradition's system of communication" (87).

68. Canonici 1989 (AF)

N. N. Canonici. "The Sour Milk of Contention: Analysis of a Zulu Folktale." *African Studies,* 48, i:1-36.

Comparative structural analysis of three written versions of the Zulu folktale "The Mother-in-Law and the Sour Milk," each with different situations of writing/recording and intended audience. The assumption that Zulu folktales are fundamentally an oral traditional performance art underlies the analysis of the written versions.

69. Capper 1988 (AU, CN)

Wendy Capper. "Facey's *A Fortunate Life* and Traditional Oral Narratives." *Australian Literary Studies*, 13:266-81.

Contends that an oral traditional approach is more relevant to understanding Bert Facey's book than a literary poetics, for the book reflects both an oral traditional mindset and form.

70. Carpentier 1988 (FR)

André Carpentier. "Yves Theriault et la fiction brève." *Etudes Littéraires*, 21, i:27-43.

Discusses the difference between oral narrator and the written "nouvelle" and short prose and enumerates the characteristics in Theriault's work that make his way of narrating similar to that of an oral narrator.

71. Carrier and Carrier 1990 (ML)

James Carrier and Achsah Carrier. "Every Picture Tells a Story: Visual Alternatives to Oral Tradition in Ponam Society." *Oral Tradition,* 5:354-75.

Using Ponam ceremonial gift displays as an example, this article demonstrates that significant elements of a tradition can be communicated without words—spoken or written. Although words are a part of such displays among the Ponam, the arrangement or re-arrangement of the gifts itself is what actually conveys information about the state of social relations within the community.

72. Catalán 1987 (HI)

Diego Catalán. "The Artisan Poetry of the *Romancero*." *Oral Tradition,* 2:399-423. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989, pp. 1-25.

Urges scholars of Hispanic literatures "to rescue the *romancero* from the hands of critics who close their eyes to the poem/song" in its oral state and who concentrate only on the fixed written version. Offers advice to researchers on collecting, editing, and archiving the oral texts, and on analyzing the oral poetics of the *romances*.

73. Charlot 1990 (PL)

John Charlot. "Aspects of Samoan Literature I: The Structure of the Single Story Form and Its Uses." *Anthropos*, 85:415-30.

Analyzes narrative elements of published collections of Samoan texts, occasionally making comparisons between texts directly transcribed from an oral informant and texts edited into more Western formats.

74. Cherniss 1989 (OE)

Michael D. Cherniss. "'Beowulf Was Not There': Compositional Aspects of *Beowulf*, Lines 1299b-1301." *Oral Tradition,* 4:316-29.

Uses the seemingly awkward placement of the lines noting Beowulf's absence from the hall *after* Grendel's mother has attacked to discuss the poet's oral-influenced compositional habits. When compared to similar narrative sequences in the poem, this mention of Beowulf's absence is read not as a "correction" nor a simple explanation of the avenger's success, but provides an essential component (the hero) of a conventional narrative pattern of elements.

75. Chesnutt 1987 (ME)

Michael Chesnutt. "Minstrel Reciters and the Enigma of the Middle English Romance." *Culture and History,* 2:48-67.

Declares fallacious two common scholarly assumptions about minstrel reciters and the Middle English romance: 1) that the minstrel recitation of the romance was abandoned by the fifteenth-century upper classes and only then was it transmitted by oral traditional means among the lower

classes; and 2) that the existence of literary sources for formulaic texts makes oral theory invalid for the study of Middle English verse narration.

76. Chesnutt 1986 (BR, FB, ST)

Michael Chesnutt. "The Ballad History of the Lifetime of Mary Queen of Scots." *Unifol*, 125-52.

Attempts to establish a chronology of historical poems from Child's *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* that refer to events from the lifetime of Mary, Queen of Scots. Includes some remarks on possible oral composition and formulaic diction in these ballads.

77. Chicote 1988 (HI)

Gloria Chicote. "Selección de Romances y Rimas Infantiles Recientemente Documentados en la Tradición Oral." *Incipit*, 8:133-44.

A list of ballads and infantile rimes of Argentina recently taken down from oral tradition.

78. Clark 1986 (AG, TH)

Mark Edward Clark. "Neoanalysis: A Bibliographic Review." *Classical World*, 79:379-94.

Surveys developments in the neoanalytic approach to the Homeric question, which may be a potential bridge between the analysts and the proponents of the Parry-Lord theory.

79. Clements 1990 (BI)

R. E. Clements. "The Prophet and His Editors." In *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of Forty Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield*. Ed. by David J. A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl, and Stanley E. Porter. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 87. David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies, gen. eds. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. pp. 203-20.

Traces scholarly research on the relationship of editors and redactors to the "actual" words of the prophet Jeremiah and the preserved Jeremiah tradition.

80. Clemoes 1986 (OE)

Peter Clemoes 1986. "'Symbolic' Language in Old English Poetry." In *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield*. Ed. by Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton, and Fred C. Robinson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp. 3-14.

Expresses dissatisfaction with Parryan definitions of formula in Old English contexts. Would instead view formulas as a form of symbolic language for Old English poets, in that these

"dramatically exploitable and evocative pieces of language [combine] socially established semantic potential with culturally established conformity" (10).

81. Clerk 1990 (PL)

Christian Clerk. "'That Isn't Really a Pig': Spirit Traditions in the Southern Cook Islands." *Oral Tradition,* 5:316-33.

Introduction to the *tūpāpaku* ("spirit") narratives of the Cook Islands, noting the possible connections of these modern stories with the divinities of the pre-Christian Polynesian religious traditions.

82. Clunies Ross 1986 (AU)

Margaret Clunies Ross. "Australian Aboriginal Oral Traditions." *Oral Tradition,* 1:231-71; 446-56.

Surveys history of research on Australian Aboriginal traditions, with special emphasis on mortuary rituals. Notes several problems involved in such research: the traditions are secretive, they combine several different media into one ritual event, and they include few recognizable equivalents to Western literary genres, making the aboriginal aesthetic difficult to understand. Predicts that the state of scholarship will improve, as aborigines themselves are becoming interested in disseminating their traditions, and suggests several possible avenues for future research. Includes two sample texts with translations and musical transcriptions.

83. Cohen 1989-90 (AG)

I. M. Cohen. "Traditional Language and the Women in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*." *Scripta Classica Israelica: Yearbook of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies*, 10:12-27.

Examines the traditional and innovative ways that women are described in the *Catalogue of Women*, finding that the poet occasionally adapts traditional language in new ways "to emphasize the extraordinary attributes of this poem's heroines" (26).

84. Combellack 1987 (AG)

Frederick M. Combellack. "The λύσις ἐκ τῆς λέξεως." *American Journal of Philology*, 108:202-19.

Believes to be incorrect Parry's translation and interpretation of the title phrase as "the solution of the passage is found in its context" as it appears in the Homeric scholia. The author prefers "the solution based on language" as more appropriate to the problematic passages explained in the scholia by this phrase.

85. Comprone 1986 (TH)

Joseph Comprone. "An Ongian Perspective on the History of Literacy: Psychological Context and Today's College Student Writer." *Rhetoric Review,* 4:138-48.

Examines possible implications of Ong's research into orality and literacy for modern writing pedagogy. Notes that today's students are "products of Romantic reaction" (146) against the use of traditional, conventional expression. However, students also need guidance in writing as a "social game" (147) in which conventional expression is necessary for a sense of connectedness to a broader discourse context.

86. Connelly 1986 (AR)

Bridget Connelly. *Arab Folk Epic and Identity.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Defends the notion that the Arabic legendary folk biographies, called *al-sīra*, are a vital oral traditional epic genre, especially when considered "from the point of view and aesthetic tastes of its intended audience" (25). Chapter Four considers specifically the application of oral-formulaic theory to musical improvisation in the performance of these epics.

87. Connelly and Massie 1989 (AR, TU)

Bridget Connelly and Henry Massie. "Epic Splitting: An Arab Folk Gloss on the Meaning of the Hero Pattern." *Oral Tradition,* 4:101-24.

As Tunisian folk artisans picture the "epic splitting" (slicing the enemy in half from head to toe) as the representative scene for the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, so the authors employ this symbol to illuminate, through a psychological reading, the departure-return pattern of the epic. The choice of this symbol by the Tunisians functions as a ventilation of repressed anxieties toward the Arabic migrations, "to spell out the rupture, to expose the 'cleaving' of Berber onto Arab" (119).

88. Conrad 1987 (BU)

Joseph L. Conrad. "Bulgarian Magic Charms: Ritual, Form, and Content." *Slavic and East European Journal*, 31:548-62.

Introductory study of Bulgarian charms, with comments on common formulae and on the ritual healing process associated with the charms.

89. Cooper 1989 (AA, AL, FP)

Grace Cooper. "Black Preaching Style in James Weldon Johnson's *God's Trombones*." *Middle Atlantic Writer's Association (MAWA) Review*, 4, i:13-16.

Demonstrates how Johnson textually creates an authentic oral traditional black preaching style in his novels.

90. Cope 1986 (AF, TH)

A. T. Cope. "Literacy and the Oral Tradition: The Zulu Evidence." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 151-61.

Contends that the evidence from Zulu written poetry cannot support the thesis that a people's world vision changes with the transition to literacy; instead, "the nature of Zulu thought and expression has been conditioned rather by the models the poets chose to adopt than by the degree of literacy" (161).

91. Coplan 1988 (AF)

David B. Coplan. "Musical Understanding: The Ethnoaesthetics of Migrant Workers' Poetic Song in Lesotho." *Ethnomusicology,* 32, iii:337-68.

Examines the significance of musical and rhythmic qualities to meaning in performances of Basotho (southern Africa—Lesotho and South Africa) migrant worker's and women's sung poetry.

92. Coplan 1987 (AF)

David B. Coplan "The Power of Oral Poetry: Narrative Songs of the Basotho Migrants." *Research in African Literatures,* 18:1-35.

Introduction to the sung poetry, *sefela*, of the migrant workers in Lesotho. Notes the neglect of this genre by researchers, and questions Finnegan's (1970) and Opland's (1983) notion that all poetry in southern Africa is praise poetry or a variant of praise poetry.

93. Couch 1989 (TH, CP)

Carl J. Couch. "Oral Technologies: A Cornerstone of Ancient Civilizations?" *The Sociological Quarterly*, 30:587-602.

Contends that "oral technologies were a necessary precursor for the emergence of civilizations" (587). Technical information was preserved orally in ancient societies, as well as artifactually (e.g. tokens to represent quantitative information), but because oral studies have focused mostly on epics, scholars have missed the significance of orally maintained technologies such as calendars, agricultural and navigational methods, astronomy, mathematics, and genealogies. Draws evidence from both ancient and modern oral traditions.

94. Crane 1988 (AG)

Gregory Crane. *Calypso: Backgrounds and Conventions of the* Odyssey. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum.

Considers how the poet of the *Odyssey* is able to use and manipulate traditional patterns for various effects because both poet and audience are familiar with the conventions. The poet is able to play "obliquely upon the knowledge that his listeners bring with them" (13).

95. Crane 1987 (AG)

Gregory Crane. "The *Odyssey* and Conventions of the Heroic Quest." *Classical Antiquity*, 6:11-37.

Claims that the traditional thematic patterns in the *Odyssey* form the basic patterns for the stories of other Greek heroes, such as Jason, Perseus, or Heracles. Specific comparisons are made with the stories of the Argonautica.

96. Creed 1990 (OE)

Robert Payson Creed. *Reconstructing the Rhythm of* Beowulf. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

A study of the prosody of *Beowulf*, based on the assumption that *Beowulf* is indeed a poem and on the hypothesis that "certain parts of certain measures are created not by speech but by silence" (3). Also contends that this form of prosody reflects how speech is produced in the brain.

97. Creed 1989a (OE, IE, TH)

Robert Payson Creed. "A Student of Oral Traditions Looks at the Origins of Language." In *Studies in Language Origins, Vol. 1*. Ed. by Jan Wind, Edward G. Pulleyblank, Eric de Grolier, and Bernard H. Bichakjian. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. pp. 43-52.

Contends that the oral traditions of the *Beowulf* poet "may help explain how the human brain and even the vocal tract evolved" (49). Suggests a process by which protohumans may have invented spoken language.

98. Creed 1989b (OE)

Robert Payson Creed. "*Beowulf* and the Language of Hoarding." In *Medieval Archaeology: Papers of the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*. Ed. by Charles L. Redman. Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies. pp. 155-67.

Assumes an oral origin for *Beowulf*, and demonstrates the value of the poem as a source for information on religious rituals and beliefs of preliterate Germanic peoples.

99. Creed 1987 (OE)

Robert Payson Creed. "*Beowulf* on the Brink: Information Theory as Key to the Origins of the Poem." In Foley 1987a. pp. 139-60.

Theorizes that the versification of *Beowulf* is a work of "oral technology." Describes a computer program used to demonstrate this theory by delineating the poem into lines and half-lines without recourse to line endings or verse/line numbers in edited texts.

100. Creed 1986 (OE)

Robert Payson Creed. "The Remaking of *Beowulf*." In Foley 1986a. pp. 136-46.

Believes the *Beowulf* poet was a "virtuoso traditional poet" who preserved traces of his Germanic past by transforming parts of that past to make it acceptable to Christianity.

101. Crosby 1988 (BI)

Michael R. Crosby. "The Rhetorical Composition of Hebrews 11." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 107:257-73.

Discusses how the author of Hebrews employs rhetorical strategies in the list of examples of faithfulness in Hebrews 11 to appeal to a listening audience.

102. Culley 1986 (BI)

Robert Culley. "Oral Tradition and Biblical Studies." *Oral Tradition,* 1:30-65. Rpt. in Foley 1990a. pp. 189-225.

A bibliographic essay arranged by three methodologies for studying oral tradition in the biblical texts: 1) looking for clues in the text itself; 2) analogies to oral materials from other cultures; and 3) theories of oral cultural models applied to texts, often in contrast with literate cultural models. Concludes that, although most Biblical scholars acknowledge oral antecedents for the Old and New Testaments, much disagreement remains as to the degree of influence of oral tradition on the texts and how the connection between oral and written may be established.

103. Curtis 1987 (TH)

James M. Curtis. "Coming of Age in the Global Village." *Oral Tradition,* 2:357-70.

Examines the present-day violence against public figures (such as the Kennedys, George Wallace, Ronald Reagan, and John Lennon) as an attempt at compensation "for the absence of ritualized combat with planned aggression in the form of assassinations" (364) by unbalanced persons in a society whose consciousness is shaped by secondary oral media. In each case, the assassin saw himself in the role of hero or savior, and desired to close the gap between the "mediated" figures and himself as an "unmediated" figure in this highly technologized society.

104. da Costa Fontes 1987 (HI)

Manuel da Costa Fontes. "Collecting Portuguese Ballads." *Oral Tradition,* 2:547-72. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989, pp. 149-74.

Describes fieldwork methods used by the author and his wife for collecting Portuguese ballads in Portugal and in North American Portuguese communities.

105. Dakubu 1987 (AF)

M. E. Kropp Dakubu. "Creating Unity: The Context of Speaking Prose and Poetry in Ga." *Anthropos*, 82:507-27.

Examines a form of Ga (Ghana) oratory, the *amaniɛ bככ*, or "exchange of news," in which a host and a visitor give speeches surrounded by a series of formalized greetings and prayers. Considers the role of water as the central symbol in the rituals, and includes transcriptions and translations of one speech sequence and several examples of prayers.

106. Dargie 1986 (AF, MU)

D. Dargie. "Problems of Music Literacy: Gains and Losses, with Particular Reference to Xhosa Music." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 249-60.

Details the inadequacies of Western musical theory (as it was imposed by colonizers) for understanding and notating the complexities of Xhosa music.

107. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987 (EK)

Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, eds. *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives*. Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation.

Collection of texts and translations of Tlingit clan stories, with introductory ethnographic and linguistic materials.

108. Davidson 1988 (IR)

O. M. Davidson. "A Formulaic Analysis of Samples Taken from the *Shâhnâma* of Firdowsi." *Oral Tradition,* 3:88-105.

Examines formulaic variants in one passage of the *Shâhnâma* to establish its poetics as fundamentally oral in nature. Assumes "oral" to describe the situation of *performance*, not necessarily that of composition.

109. A. Davies 1986 (IE, AG, HT, TH, CP)

Anna Morpurgo Davies. "Forms of Writing in the Ancient Mediterranean World." In Baumann 1986. pp. 51-78.

Refutes, by comparative analysis of five ancient writing systems (cuneiform Hittite, Linear B, hieroglyphic Hittite, syllabic Cyprian, and the Greek alphabet), Havelock's notion that there is a large conceptual gap between the "alphabetic mind" and the "syllabic mind" (68), and that the "begetter of the new non-oral culture" (53) in ancient Greece is alphabetic writing. Several examples from ancient texts demonstrate that various "non-oral" attitudes, such as the concept of a "word" and a suspicion of oral transmission, were present in these societies, regardless of the form of their writing system.

110. J. Davies 1984 (AG, TH)

J. K. Davies. "The Reliability of the Oral Tradition." In *The Trojan War: Its Historicity and Context*. Papers of the First Greenbank Colloquium, Liverpool 1981. Ed. by Lin Foxhall and John K. Davies. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press. pp. 87-110.

Applies methods and historical criteria derived from the field of oral history "to assess the reliability or otherwise of the oral tradition about Troy" (87). The article makes no explicit judgment about the reliability of the tradition, but concludes that the *Iliad* is at least a literary narrative reflecting an orally transmitted historical tradition of the Trojan war. See Hainsworth 1984.

111. S. Davies 1988a (WL)

Sioned Davies. "Y Fformiwla Yn *Pedeir Keinc Y Mabinogi*" [The Formula in the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*]. In *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* XV. Ed. by J. E. Caerwyn Williams. Gwasg Gee, Dinbych, Clwyd, Wales. pp. 47-72.

Analyzes in detail the formulaic content of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi: linguistic formulae (greetings, oaths); variable formulae (physical appearance, fighting, transition from one day to the next, feasting and preparations, approach to a castle/fort, beginning and ending a tale, comparative and superlative degree for the adjective when describing people/places, taking of counsel); and doublets. Contends that these tales, although written, have a degree of formular content reflecting one of the narrative conventions of the medieval oral storyteller.

112. S. Davies 1988b (WL)

Sioned Davies. "Pryd A Gwedd Yn Y *Mabinogion*" [Physical Appearance in the *Mabinogion*]. In *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* XIV. Ed. by J. E. Caerwyn Williams. Gwasg Gee, Dinbych, Clwyd, Wales. pp. 115-33.

Although the eleven medieval Welsh tales of the *Mabinogion* vary in content, form, background, and date, there are some narrative techniques common to all, implying that the authors of the written tales respected certain conventions when narrating a story, such conventions originating in the oral performance of the tales. This paper analyzes in detail the techniques employed to describe physical appearance, showing (a) that there is a definite order within the descriptions and (b) that the authors

build up the descriptions by combining short formulaic units consisting of a noun + descriptive element.

113. S. Davies 1988c (WL)

Sioned Davies. "*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*—A Case for Multiple Authorship." In *Proceedings of the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies.* Ed. by Gordon W. MacLennan. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

Makes a case for multiple authorship of the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi* based on variations in formulaic detail.

114. de Wet 1986 (AF)

Chris de Wet. "Perceptions of Village History: Headmanship in a Rural Ciskei Village (1854-1950)." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 216-48.

Traces three themes emerging from the accounts of headmanship in Chatha, a rural village in Ciskei: "(1) the right . . . of the Jama lineage to the headsmanship on genealogical grounds; (2) the importance of the two territorially based factions with Chatha . . . (3) the power of [government] authorities to intervene in the villages' perceived right to elect their own headmen" (243). The differences between oral accounts and the official accounts of the history of headmanship reflect the contradictions inherent in the colonial situation.

115. del Guidice 1988 (IT)

Luisa del Guidice. "Ninna-nanna-nonsense? Fears, Dreams, and Falling in the Italian Lullaby." *Oral Tradition,* 3:270-93.

Considers the psychological functions of traditional elements in Italian lullabies for the women who sing them, especially the darker images of violence and death. The function is cathartic, first by putting the child to sleep and releasing the mother from responsibility, and second by allowing the singer to express "love, stress, and angst" (286).

116. Denny 1989 (AR, IS)

Frederick M. Denny "*Qur'ān* Recitation: A Tradition of Oral Performance and Transmission." *Oral Tradition,* 4:5-26.

Elucidates certain aspects of *Qur'ān* recitation, including the oral origins of the *Qur'ān*, the imperatives to recite it found in the text itself, recitation training, musical qualities, style and technique, types, and the place of *Qur'ān* recitation in the community. The author declares that the practice of oral recitation of the *Qur'ān* means that "Islam has retained a high level of orality in its piety and in its way of understanding the nature of things" (23).

117. A. Dewey 1989 (BI)

Arthur J. Dewey. "Acoustics of the Spirit: A Hearing of Romans 10." *Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Bible Societies*, 9:212-30.

Contends that Paul's letter to the Romans exhibits a "fascinating dialectic" between oral and literate modes of communication and that this interaction serves Paul's attempts to promote certain kinds of social relations in the early Christian communities.

118. J. Dewey 1989 (BI)

Joanna Dewey. "Oral Methods of Structuring Narrative in Mark." *Interpretation*, 43:32-44.

Contends that the methods of composition in Mark are primarily oral, including concrete visualization rather than abstract speculation, and arrangement based on association and pluralization rather than on cause and effect. Concludes that Mark was writing for a listening audience and that scholars need to better understand the relationship of oral and written media in early Christianity.

119. Diaz Roig 1987 (HI)

Mercedes Diaz Roig. "The Traditional *Romancero* in Mexico: Panorama." *Oral Tradition,* 2:616-32. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989, pp. 218-35.

Survey of *romancero* research and collection in Mexico, with analysis of those versions that evince "crossings, signs, and national re-creations of importance" (623). Emphasizes the untapped potential of Mexico as a fruitful source for ballads.

120. Dickson 1990 (AG)

Keith Dickson. "A Typology of Mediation in Homer." *Oral Tradition,* 5:37-71.

Examines the formula ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν and the characters with whom it is associated to develop a typology of mediation in Homer.

121. Dickson 1990 (AG)

Keith Dickson. "Voice and Sign in Pindar." *Ramus*, 19:109-29.

Finds in Pindar's odes a contrast between voice and sign that exhibits a sense of loss due to the process of "transition from a poetics of voice . . . to the mute density of signs" (125).

122. Dimler 1986 (PT, TH)

G. Richard Dimler. "Word Processing and the New Electronic Language." *Thought*, 61:460-67.

Considers how word processing may transform the concept of the written word. One consequence may be a return to formulaic language by use of cut-and-paste, macros, windowing, and other features that allow for easy repetition and restructuring of elements—a "boilerplate mentality" (460) in the writing process.

123. Dobozy 1986 (OF, ME, MHG)

Maria Dobozy. "Minstrel Books: The Legacy of Thomas Wright in German Research." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 87:523-36.

Applies research in oral-formulaic poetics to understand the function of minstrel books in the training and practices of medieval minstrels. The author concludes that "there is no evidence to support the theory that the minstrel actually needed such books either to store his works or ease his memory" (536).

124. Domokos 1990 (RU)

Péter Domokos. "Epics of the Eastern Uralic Peoples." In Honko 1990a. pp. 343-58.

Under an assumed definition of an epic as a literary compilation/transformation of related folklore materials, the author considers the possibilities for the existence and/or development of national epics for various smaller Uralic populations. Concludes that only the Mordvinians, the Cheremis, the Zyrians, and the Volyaks have the scholarly, folkloric, and political prerequisites for creating such epics.

125. Donner 1987 (PL)

William W. Donner. "'Don't Shoot the Guitar Player': Tradition, Assimilation and Change in Sikaiana Song Performances." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 96:201-22.

Ethnographic description of the *mako hatu* ("composed song") performances on Sikaiana (located in the Solomon Islands). Includes specific discussion of the changes in traditional song composition resulting from contact with outside cultures.

126. Duggan 1989 (OF)

Joseph J. Duggan. "Performance and Transmission, Aural and Ocular Reception in the Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Vernacular Literature of France." *Romance Philology,* 43:49-58.

Establishes a performance continuum from "oral composition" (works created in performance) to "vocal performance" (memorized and repeated works), placing medieval French genres along the continuum according to their relative modes of performance by *jongleurs*. Includes the *chansons de geste*, courtly romances, saints' lives, *fabliaux*, and lyric poetry.

127. Duggan 1986a (OF, HI)

Joseph J. Duggan. "Social Functions of the Medieval Epic in the Romance Literatures." *Oral Tradition,* 1:728-66.

Identifies and comments upon six social functions of medieval epic in Romance literatures: "entertainment, information, sanction of conduct, preserving awareness of the past, and providing models for imitation" (730), as well as an economic function.

128. Duggan 1986b (FR, HI, CP)

Joseph J. Duggan. "Medieval Epic as Popular Historiography: Appropriation of Historical Knowledge in the Vernacular Epic." *Grundriß der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, 11:285-311.

Survey of the elements and functions of the medieval Romance epic as a form of historiography, including voice, typology of character, historical situations, medieval attitudes toward the epic, and the epic as a conditioning force in group consciousness.

129. du Toit 1988 (AG, TH)

D. S. du Toit. "Shifting Sands in Homeric Criticism: Milman Parry and Thomas Kuhn." *Akroterion*, 33:106-33.

Understands Parry's work and the ensuing controversies over it in Homeric studies as marking a paradigm shift in the Kuhnian sense. Suggests that the inherent incompatibility of American oral theories with European neoanalytic theories is based on the oralists' assumption of the centrality of the mode of production as *the* crucial determinant of the resultant textual structure. Nagy (1979) is cited as an attempt to bridge the two paradigms.

130. A. Edwards 1988 (AG, IE, TH)

Anthony T. Edwards. "κλέος ἄφθιτον and Oral Theory." *Classical Quarterly,* 38:25-30.

Argues against Finkelberg 1986, contending that oral theory cannot provide any satisfactory answer to the question of the Indo-European heritage of κλέος ἄφθιτον.

131. M. Edwards 1990 (AG, TH)

Mark W. Edwards. "Neoanalysis and Beyond." *Classical Antiquity*, 9:311-35.

Contends that changes made by Homer in traditional stories may have resulted from competitiveness with other bards, with the poet making "intentional improvement upon a scene" (316). Homer's version of the tale of Achilles' Hephaestus-made armor demonstrates such modifications.

132. M. Edwards 1988 (AG, BB)

Mark W. Edwards. "Homer and Oral Tradition: The Formula, Part II." *Oral Tradition,* 3:11-60.

Second of a three-part series surveying scholarship on the Homeric formula from Parry to the present. Part II discusses studies of specific formulae, meanings, analyses, and future directions for formula studies. For Part I, see Edwards 1986b. Part III appears in *Oral Tradition*, 7 (1992):284-330.

133. M. Edwards 1987 (AG)

Mark W. Edwards. *Homer: Poet of the* Iliad. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Introduction to Homer and a commentary on the *Iliad* that seeks to bring together recent pioneering work on the text. Much of Part One concerns the oral traditional style of the poem, with discussion of such features as formulae, meter, type-scene, and story-patterns. A brief bibliographic essay is provided for each topic discussed.

134. M. Edwards 1986a (AG)

Mark W. Edwards. "The Conventions of a Homeric Funeral." In *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, vol 1. Ed. by J. H. Betts, J. T. Hooker, and J. R. Green. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press. pp. 84-92.

Compares funeral scenes in Homer in order to demonstrate how the poet manipulates traditional elements to enhance poetic effect and emotional significance.

135. M. Edwards 1986b (AG, BB)

Mark W. Edwards. "Homer and Oral Tradition: The Formula, Part I." *Oral Tradition,* 1:171-230.

First of a three-part series surveying scholarship on the Homeric formula from Parry to the present. Part I discusses bibliographies and surveys, the structure of the Homeric hexameter, the formula and the hexameter, the history of the Homeric formula, and enjambement. For Part II, see M. Edwards 1988. Part III appears in *Oral Tradition*, 7 (1992):284-330.

136. Ekdawi 1990 (MG)

Sarah Ekdawi. "Text and Song: The Oral Aspirations of Anghelos Sikelianos." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14:214-22.

Discusses sound patterns in the poetry of Sikelianos and demonstrates how his writings "subvert the idea of literacy as progress and propose, in its place, an ideal of post-textual orality" (214).

137. Ellis 1989 (AF)

Stephen Ellis. "Tuning in to Pavement Radio." *African Affairs*, 88:321-30.

Encourages scholars of oral traditions to study the phenomenon in Africa known as *radio trottoir*, or "pavement radio," the "popular and unofficial discussion of current affairs in Africa, particularly in towns" (321).

138. El Saffar 1987 (HI)

Ruth El Saffar. "The Making of the Novel and the Evolution of Consciousness." *Oral Tradition,* 2:231-48.

Considers how the novels *Don Quixote* Part I and *Lazarillo de Tormes* "reflect clearly that moment in Western culture when the narrative voice dissociates from collective presuppositions and values while presenting itself as purveyor of the *written* and not the spoken word" (231).

139. Enos 1990a (AG, BR, IE, PT, CP, TH)

Richard Leo Enos, ed. *Oral and Written Communication: Historical Approaches*. Written Communication Annual: An International Survey of Research and Theory. Vol. 4. Charles R. Cooper and Sidney Greenbaum, series eds. London: Sage Publications.

Collection exploring, from a rhetorical perspective, relationships among speaking, reading, and writing in various cultures from antiquity to the present. Separately annotated are the 1990 entries for Enos (1990b), Hunter, Ong 1990, Troll, and J. Ward.

140. Enos 1990b (AG, IE)

Richard Leo Enos. "Sophistic Formulae and the Emergence of the Attic-Ionic Grapholect: A Study in Oral and Written Composition." In Enos 1990a. pp. 46-64.

Discusses how the oral methods of the Greek sophists influenced "the transformation of the Attic-Ionic dialect to a grapholect" (47), and the establishment of that grapholect as the preferred form of written literary discourse.

141. Erlingsson 1987 (ON)

David Erlingsson. "Prose and Verse in Icelandic Legendary Fiction." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 371-93.

Survey of the Icelandic epic tradition, with particular attention to the interaction of verse and prose elements in storytelling. Explains the concept of tradition by analogy to a biological ecosystem.

142. Erlmann 1986 (AF)

Veit Erlmann. "Colonial Conquest and Popular Response in Northern Cameroun (1881-1907): How Literature Becomes Oral Literature." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 162-78.

Examines *mbooku*, a call-and-response chant genre of the Fulbe, for its relationship to other Fulbe oral traditions and to Islamic literary production.

143. Ewald 1988 (AF)

Janet Ewald. "Speaking, Writing, and Authority: Explorations in and from the Kingdom of Taqali." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30:199-225.

Discusses the use of official documents by the historical kings of Taqali in the Sudan during its height from 1780-1884. Finds that Taqali kings rarely used documents, that oral communication carried the authoritative weight. Encourages researchers to consider not only the form of the source (oral/written) but also the relationship between author, audience, and the culture that created it.

144. Farrell 1987 (TH)

Thomas J. Farrell. "Early Christian Creeds and Controversies in the Light of the Orality-Literacy Hypothesis." *Oral Tradition,* 2:132-49.

Employs orality-literacy theories of Ong and Havelock to interpret the formulary expressions in the Nicene Creed of 325 and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed of 381.

145. Farrell 1986 (TH)

Thomas J. Farrell. "A Defense for Requiring Standard English." *Pre/Text*, 7:165-79.

Defends against charges of racism his view that all students, regardless of race, should learn conventions of standard English. His views are loosely based on the orality and literacy theories of Ong and Havelock.

146. Feld 1990 (ML)

Steven Feld. "Wept Thoughts: The Voicing of Kaluli Memories." *Oral Tradition,* 5:241-66.

Ethnographic study of the *sa layab*, a form of musical ritual wailing performed by Kaluli women, centered on five issues (in author's terms): boundaries of speech and song, composition-in-performance, emotion, gender and genre, and rituals and metaphors of transition and renewal.

147. Feldstein 1988 (BB, RU)

Ronald F. Feldstein. "Additions to F. J. Oinas' Bibliography." *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 60:69-80.

Update of the author's 1981 *Felix Johannes Oinas Bibliography* (Köln: E. J. Brill).

148. Fenik 1986 (AG, OHG, CP)

Bernard Fenik. *Homer and the* Nibelungenlied: *Comparative Studies in Epic Style*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Comparative study of narrative formulas (repeated episodes) and ring composition as an artistic style in the *Iliad* and the *Nibelungenlied* (with brief mention of the *Chanson de Roland*, *Rolandslied*, the gospel of Mark, Augustine's *Confessions*, and the writings of Jeremias Gotthelf). No definite speculation is made as to the origins or composition (oral or literate) of the poem, but the study suggests that both works are products of a transitional period.

149. Ferguson 1987 (AU)

Charles A. Ferguson. "Literacy in a Hunting-Gathering Society: The Case of the Diyari." *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 43:223-37.

Chronicles the development of vernacular literacy in the hunting-gathering society of the Diyari, an aboriginal society in central Australia. Developed by German missionaries, the Diyari writing system came to serve functions within the indigenous cultural traditions, apart from the need to interact with the outsiders. This case study is compared with other examples of a vernacular literacy "taking hold" within a culture, specifically the experience of the Aleut with Russian missionaries in the nineteenth century.

150. Finkelberg 1990 (AG, SC)

Margalit Finkelberg. "A Creative Oral Poet and the Muse." *American Journal of Philology*, 111:293-303.

Claims that one important similarity between Greek and South Slavic epic is that both traditions are premised on "the tension between the oral poet's commitment to preserve the tradition and his artistic creativity" (302).

151. Finkelberg 1989 (AG)

Margalit Finkelberg. "Formulaic and Nonformulaic Elements in Homer." *Classical Philology,* 84:179-97.

Applies oral-formulaic analysis to verbal ideas in Homer, using expressions of joy as a test case. This analysis demonstrates that the theory of oral-formulaic composition is as applicable to verbal expressions as to noun-epithet combinations.

152. Finkelberg 1988a (AG)

Margalit Finkelberg. "Ajax's Entry in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*." *Classical Quarterly*, 38:31-41.

Considers whether the version of Ajax's listing in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships is a direct source for the version in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* or if the two are "mutually independent variants" (33). Based on geographic and political incompatibilities between the two versions, the author opts for the latter explanation.

153. Finkelberg 1988b (AG)

Margalit Finkelberg. "A Note on Some Metrical Irregularities in Homer." *Classical Philology,* 83:206-11.

Qualifies Parry's theory that the Homeric poets chose metrically irregular phrases rather than abandon tradition. Instead, some of these "flaws" occur because the poet wishes "to express something for which his tradition did not provide the ready-made [metrically regular] diction" (210).

154. Finkelberg 1987 (AG)

Margalit Finkelberg. "Homer's View of the Epic Narrative: Some Formulaic Evidence." *Classical Philology*, 82:135-38.

Suggests that Homer applied to epic poetry the verb καταλέγειν, which is usually used to mean an exact, point-by-point account of the facts, because he considered his narratives to be a truthful telling of the story in the proper order.

155. Finkelberg 1986 (AG)

Margalit Finkelberg. "Is κλέος ἄφθιτον a Homeric Formula?" *Classical Quarterly*, 36:1-5.

Answers the title question in the negative, concluding that κλέος ἄφθιτον is not separate from the expression κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται. Neither is this phrase a formula; rather it is an innovative expression formed according to the poet's creative sensibilities. See A. Edwards 1988.

156. Finkelberg 1985-88 (AG)

M. Finkelberg. "Enchantment and Other Effects of Poetry in the Homeric *Odyssey*." *Scripta Classica Israelica: Yearbook of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies*, 8-9:1-10.

Discusses the effects of poetry—pleasure and enchantment—on the audiences within the poems. Notes that these effects are derived from the whole context of an oral performance, which includes music and dancing as well as poetry.

157. Finnegan 1990a (ML, PL, TH, CP)

Ruth Finnegan. "Introduction: Or, Why the Comparativist Should Take Account of the South Pacific." *Oral Tradition,* 5:159-84.

Introduction to a special issue of *Oral Tradition* on South Pacific traditions. Provides a general discussion of problems in the study of South Pacific oral traditions and the contributions of such studies to research in comparative oral traditions. See the 1990 entries for Carrier and Carrier, Clerk, Feld, Firth, Huntsman, McMath and Parima, Orbell, Pond, A. Thomas and Tuia, and Waiko.

158. Finnegan 1990b (TH)

Ruth Finnegan. "What is Orality—if Anything?" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14:130-49.

Discusses the benefits and problems of the term "orality" as it has affected scholarship in recent decades. Concludes that "orality" is "nothing" (147) as a term, but functions as a label to call forth important questions about text and media that scholars need to consider.

159. Finnegan 1989 (PT, TH)

Ruth Finnegan. "Communication and Technology." *Language and Communication*, 9:107-27.

Challenges the "simplistic and generalized" (123) assumptions that communication technology progresses through evolutionary stages of change (i.e. oral to literate to print to electronic). Instead this article encourages the realization that there are "varying paths that human cultures have taken to represent information and experience" (123), and such paths, like the Western model, are culturally and socially determined.

160. Finnegan 1988 (AF, ML, PL, TH, CP)

Ruth Finnegan. *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Collection of papers written by the author between 1969 and 1984 on the subject of orality and literacy, contending that these media are not "two mutually exclusive and opposed processes for representing and communicating information" (175). Rather, they exist in complex interaction in given historical situations and cultures. Examples are drawn mostly from African and South Pacific traditions.

161. Firestone 1987 (MHG, GM)

Ruth H. Firestone. "On the Similarity of *Biterolf und Dietleib* and *Dietrich und Wenezlan*." In Foley 1987a. pp. 161-83.

By pointing out the similarities between the journeys in the long narrative *Biterolf* and the fragmentary *Wenezlan*, the author contends that the fragment of *Wenezlan* "once functioned as a subordinate move in a narrative" with a composition similar to that of *Biterolf* (180).

162. Firth 1990 (PL)

Raymond Firth. "Sex and Slander in Tikopia Song: Public Antagonism and Private Intrigue." *Oral Tradition,* 5:219-40.

Analyzes the pervasive sexual imagery in Tikopia (Solomon Islands) taunting songs, composed by young, unmarried men and women and performed in chorus, often in formal exchange of insult between the genders.

163. Floyd 1989 (AG)

Edwin D. Floyd. "Homer and the Life-Producing Earth." *Classical World*, 82:337-49.

Contends that *phusizoos aia* in Homer is not merely a stock epithet meaning "earth," but that "life-producing" is a meaningful adjective used appropriately and artistically at points "in which life is contrasted with death" (337).

164. Foley 1990a (AA, AG, BI, FP, HI, SC, CP, TH)

John Miles Foley, ed. *Oral-Formulaic Theory: A Folklore Casebook*. New York: Garland.

Collection of reprinted texts that touch "in some important way on the origin, evolution, or response to oral-formulaic theory" (xiv). Most of the works are annotated in previous installments of the bibliography; separately annotated in the present installment are the 1986 entries for Culley, Lord (1986b), Rosenberg, and R. Webber (1986b).

165. Foley 1990b (AG, OE, SC, TH, CP)

John Miles Foley. *Traditional Oral Epic: The* Odyssey, Beowulf, *and the Serbo-Croatian Return Song*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Begins the process of developing a traditional oral poetics by which to understand the structural and aesthetic principles underlying oral and oral-derived texts. Applies this methodology to a comparative study of the *Odyssey*, South Slavic return songs, and *Beowulf*.

166. Foley 1988a (AF, AG, AR, BG, BI, HI, MG, MHG, MI, OE, OF, OI, SC, CP, TH)

John Miles Foley. *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

A comprehensive history of oral-formulaic theory, beginning with the pre-Parry debates over the Homeric question, through the studies of Parry and Lord, and concluding by discussing the impact these studies have had on diverse and interdisciplinary fields, as well as the contributions to the theory itself from these other fields.

167. Foley 1988b (ME, TH)

John Miles Foley. "Towards an Oral Aesthetics: A Response to Jesse Gellrich." *Philological Quarterly,* 67:475-79.

Extends the argument of Gellrich 1988 to the realm of aesthetics, noting that the persistence of oral-derived structures in medieval texts results from their metonymic utility in encoding meaning that has reference to a larger tradition.

168. Foley 1987a (AF, AG, FK, FP, GM, ME, MHG, OE, ON, SC, CP, TH)

John Miles Foley, ed. *Comparative Research on Oral Traditions: A Memorial for Milman Parry.* Columbus, OH: Slavica.

Interdisciplinary and cross cultural collection of essays honoring the memory of Milman Parry as the founder of the field of oral traditional studies. See the 1987 entries for Bäuml, Biebuyck, Butcher, Bynum, Camargo, Creed, Firestone, Foley (1987d), Fry, Haymes, Hieatt, Irving, Lawless, Lord (1987c), D. Miller, Mitchell, Nagler, J. Nagy (1987b), Olsen, Parks (1987b), Renoir, Russo, Russom, and R. Webber.

169. Foley 1987b (AG, SC, CP, TH)

John Miles Foley. "Man, Muse, and Story: Psychohistorical Patterns in Oral Epic Poetry." *Oral Tradition,* 2:91-107.

Considers how oral traditional epic encodes not only the practical life-knowledge of a culture, but also "the drama about psychological maturation—the record a culture maintains . . . about the secrets of the human psyche in its development from birth to adulthood" (94). Employs the return song in ancient Greek and South Slavic as the primary example.

170. Foley 1987c (SC, CP, TH)

John Miles Foley. "Formula in Yugoslav and Comparative Folk Epic: Structure and Function." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 485-503.

Two-part article that advocates consideration of traditional elements, such as the formula, in their own context before comparative analysis or any attempt to understand meaning. The first half outlines three principles for analysis of folk epic in context and applies them to the South Slavic formula: tradition-dependence, genre-dependence, and text-dependence. The second half discusses the principle of metonymy, according to which the meaning of traditional elements resides not necessarily in the text itself, but in the extratextual connotations invoked by the text.

171. Foley 1987d (TH, CP)

John Miles Foley. "Reading the Oral Traditional Text: Aesthetics of Creation and Response." In Foley 1987a. pp. 185-212.

Contends that "a bona fide reading [of an oral text] requires isolation . . . of exactly what the poet and tradition are communicating to their audiences through the mutually intelligible symbol" (190). Considers the place of meaning in oral art, seeking to balance out the scholarly emphasis on structure and to answer the literary critics' objections to the idea of an oral art by suggesting that stock formulas function metonymically, that they explain the "momentary action in terms of the larger characterization, the present in terms of the timeless and unchanging" (193).

172. Foley 1986a (AG, BI, BR, HI, OE, OHG, CP, TH)

John Miles Foley, ed. *Oral Tradition in Literature: Interpretation in Context*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.

Collection of essays considering how we "read" works of literature that stem from oral traditions, and what difference a work's orality makes to its interpretation. Includes introduction and selected bibliography by the editor. Separately annotated are the 1986 entries for Creed, Lord (1986a), G. Nagy, Ong (1986a), Renoir (1986a), and R. Webber (1986a).

173. Foley 1986b (AG, SC, CP, TH)

John Miles Foley. "Tradition and the Collective Talent: Oral Epic, Textual Meaning, and Receptionalist Theory." *Cultural Anthropology*, 1:203-22.

Suggests that oral traditional units in texts are not complete within the text, but are rather "incomplete cues to be contextualized by the audience's subjective participation in the tale-telling process" (217). Applies the methodology resulting from this concept to the "pan-Balkan" story form of the return song.

174. Ford 1988 (AG)

Andrew Ford. "The Classical Definition of ῥαψῳδία." *Classical Philology*, 83:300-07.

Contends that the early meaning of ῥαψῳδία was not limited to the reciting of epic, but designated any type of poetry that was spoken rather than sung.

175. J. Fox 1988 (ID)

James J. Fox, ed. *To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

A collection of essays on parallelism as a primary means of oral composition in Eastern Indonesia. For the societies in question, the dyadic language is not just a means to communication; it has embedded within the dual structure the fundamental metaphor of the culture.

176. L. Fox 1990 (AF)

Leonard Fox, trans. *Hainteny: The Traditional Poetry of Madagascar*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, Inc.

Texts and translations of *hainteny*, an oral traditional genre of Malagasy poetry. Includes an ethnographic introduction.

177. Friedman 1990 (HI)

Edward H. Friedman. "The Writerly Edge: A Question of Structure in the *Poema de Mio Cid*." *La Corónica*, 18, ii:11-20.

Argues that the *Poema* "displays a consciousness of its written nature and of a potential reading public" (14). By taking this stance in a context of intertextuality, the author does not deny that oral tradition plays a role or that the poem was not meant for a listening audience, but claims rather that it must be acknowledged that the *Poema* may also be read as a written work.

178. Fromm 1990 (FN, OHG)

Hans Fromm. "*Kalevala* and *Nibelungenlied*: The Problem of Oral and Written Composition." In Honko 1990a. pp. 93-114.

Concludes that there is no evidence that the *Nibelungenlied* influenced the collection of the *Kalevala* in any way. However, the works are comparable in several respects, most significantly in considerations of the evidence of oral and written composition within the epics.

179. Fry 1987 (OE)

Donald K. Fry. "The Cliff of Death in Old English Poetry." In Foley 1987a. pp. 213-33.

Identifies a new Old English formulaic theme, "The Cliff of Death," with four basic elements: "cliffs, serpents, darkness and deprivation, and . . . wolves and wind" (215). Concludes with brief comments on the aesthetic impact of a poet's evoking this theme.

180. Galley 1990 (AR)

Micheline Galley. "Arabic Folk Epics." In Honko 1990a. pp. 425-38.

A short introduction to vernacular Arabic epics, focused primarily on the history of Western and Arabic scholarly interests in Arabic folk literature (especially the *Romance of Antar*), as well as on the characters, language, and transmission of the Hilalian *sīra*.

181. Gasinski 1986 (RU)

T. Z. Gasinski. "Oral Tradition in Early Russian Literature." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 61-69.

Survey of the influences of native and foreign oral traditions on several genres of Old Russian literature from the tenth to the seventeenth century.

182. Gellrich 1988 (ME, OI, TH)

Jesse Gellrich. "Orality, Literacy, and Crisis in the Later Middle Ages." *Philological Quarterly*, 67:461-80.

Attempts to account for the persistence of orality in the Middle Ages despite the rise of textuality by citing and illustrating the medieval view of writing as an extension of speaking, the medieval resistance to writing, and the transformation of text into oral practices. See Foley 1988b.

183. Ghil 1986 (RM)

Eliza Miruma Ghil. "A Romanian Singer of Tales: Vasile Tetin." *Oral Tradition,* 1:607-35.

Portrait of a popular oral epic singer taken from interviews conducted in 1983. Includes transcription and translation of his "The Song of Iancu Jianu."

184. Gioia 1987 (MU)

Ted Gioia. "Jazz: The Aesthetics of Imperfection." *The Hudson Review*, 39:585-600.

Defines the aesthetics of jazz as a conflict between spontaneous improvisation and improvisation that relies on formulae (which is compared to an oral poet's use of formulae to compose poetry in performance).

185. Glosecki 1989 (OE, ON, EK, CP)

Stephen O. Glosecki. *Shamanism and Old English Poetry.* The Albert Bates Lord Studies in Oral Tradition, Vol. 2. New York: Garland.

Contends that *Beowulf*, many Old English charms, and Old Norse sagas reflect a "vigorous shamanic tradition current at some point in Germanic prehistory" (1). Draws comparative evidence from present-day shamanic groups.

186. Goetsch 1989 (BR, TH)

Paul Goetsch. "Fictive Oral Storytelling in *Lord Jim*." In *Anglistentag 1988*. Ed. by Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock and Renate Noll-Wiemann. Tübingen: Göttingen. pp. 179-95.

Describes how the fiction of Marlowe's oral storytelling in *Lord Jim* allows Conrad "to articulate his modernist intuitions," as Marlowe retells and filters the stories so that "they shed light on the problems of community, illusion and reality" (181).

187. Goetsch 1988a (BR)

Paul Goetsch. "Fingiertes mündliches Erzaehlen in den Wessex - Romanen Hardys." In *Mundliches Erzahlen im Alltag, fingiertes mundliches Erzahlen in der Literatur*. Tubingen: Narr.

Describes the different techniques Hardy employs in his Wessex novels to create an impression of orality and explains the various functions of fictitious oral narratives.

188. Goetsch 1988b (BR)

Paul Goetsch. "Linguistic Colonialism and Primitivism: The Discovery of Native Languages and Oral Traditions in Eighteenth Century Travel Books and Novels." *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, 106:338-59.

Discusses how writers of eighteenth-century travel books and novels used the oral traditions of the "natives" to defend the various attitudes toward colonialism and the slave trades.

189. Goetsch 1987 (BR, TH)

Paul Goetsch. "Orality and Literacy Events in English Fiction." *Komparatistische Hefte*, 15/16:147-61.

Analyzes various orality and literacy events in English novels to ascertain "how they function in the novel, what advantages and disadvantages they seem to have, and how they help to define the writer's attitude towards orality and literacy" (148).

190. Goody 1987 (CP, TH)

Jack Goody. *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral*. Studies in Literacy, Family, Culture, and the State. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

By drawing on evidence from interdisciplinary and cross cultural perspectives, this book examines the extent to which writing impacts a cultural system and an individual's cognitive processes. Considers three major contexts for interaction of the oral and written: the meeting of cultures with and without writing, the ways in which a culture employs writing, and the uses of speech and writing by an individual within a culture.

191. Goody 1986 (CP, TH)

Jack Goody. *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*. Studies in Literacy, Family, Culture, and the State. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Considers the effect of writing and the transition from oral to written means of communication on four general areas: religion, economy, bureaucracy and politics, and law. Focuses mostly on the ancient Near East and on modern West Africa.

192. Green 1990 (PT, CP, TH)

D. H. Green. "Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies." *Speculum,* 65:267-80.

Contends that the development of literacy in the Middle Ages was a necessary precursor to the invention of printing; therefore, the study of orality and literacy in the Middle Ages should be a central concern for medievalists.

193. Griffin 1986 (AG)

Jasper Griffin. "Homeric Words and Speakers." *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 106:36-57.

Claims that proponents of oral theory have paid little attention to distinctions between speech and narrative; this distinction demonstrates the subtlety and complexity of Homeric language, especially in the speeches of Achilles, and that it is "less uniform than some oralists have tended to suggest" (50).

194. Gunner 1986a (AF)

Elizabeth Gunner. "A Dying Tradition? African Oral Literature in Contemporary Context." *Social Dynamics*, 12, ii:31-38.

Questions whether oral literature is being supplanted by written genres in South Africa, answering ultimately in the negative, that the vitality and adaptability of the *izibongo* and the oral forms has kept them at "centre stage in the attempt to define contemporary worker consciousness in South Africa" (37).

195. Gunner 1986b (AF)

Elizabeth Gunner. "The Word, the Book, and the Zulu Church of Nazareth." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 179-88.

Examines the interaction of orality and literacy in the life of Isaiah Shembe and the oral and literate elements in his biography, completed by John Dube after Shembe's death.

196. Gurza 1986 (HI)

Esperanza Gurza. "La Oralidad y *La Celestina*." *Confluencia*, 1:94-105.

Discusses the oral traditional roots of *La Celestina* and demonstrates the importance of the spoken word over the written within the work.

197. Gwyndaf 1987 (WL)

Robin Gwyndaf. "The Cauldron of Regeneration: Continuity and Function in the Welsh Epic Tradition." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 413-51.

Considers certain historical figures who appear as heroes in the Welsh epic folk tradition, with emphasis on how their functions and characterizations in the traditions change in different historical situations.

198. Hainsworth 1984 (AG, TH)

J. B. Hainsworth. "The Fallibility of an Oral Heroic Tradition." In *The Trojan War: Its Historicity and Context*. Papers of the First Greenbank Colloquium, Liverpool 1981. Ed. by Lin Foxhall and John K. Davies. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press. pp. 111-35.

Attempts to trace the "channel of transmission" (112) from the hypothetical historical events of the Trojan War to the heroic poetry in the time of Homer. Concludes that the basic Troy story has "eight irreducible elements, around which the episodes cluster" (119). There is no attempt to judge the historicity of the elements; all that can be inferred historically is an "Event" (121). See J. Davies 1984.

199. Hamos 1988 (HI)

Andrea Warren Hamos. "Ten Judeo-Spanish Ballads from the Eastern United States." *La Corónica*, 16, ii:86-92.

Transcription of ten ballads collected in Georgia and Florida that characterize this tradition as one "in decline" (86).

200. Hangin et al. 1989 (MN)

John Gombojab Hangin, ed. and trans., with Paul D. Buell, J. R. Krueger, R. G. Service, and William V. Rozycki. "Mongolian Folklore: A Representative Collection from the Oral Literary Tradition, IV." *Mongolian Studies,* 12:7-69.

English translation of the *Epic of Khan Khai Kharangui*. A brief introduction provides information about Mongolian heroic epic in general, including performance, structure, and typical characters.

201. Haring 1988 (FK, TH)

Lee Haring. "Interperformance." *Fabula*, 29:365-72.

Describes a folkloric notion of intertextuality by coining the word "interperformance," meaning the "relation of inclusion which connects storytelling events to the various types of discourse which engender them" (365), or the dynamic intersection of tradition and situation.

202. R. Harris 1989 (AG, TH)

Roy Harris. "How Does Writing Restructure Thought?" *Language and Communication*, 9:99-106.

Introduces the concept of "autoglottic space," in which there occurs a "conceptual gap between sentence and utterance" (104), to explain how writing restructures thought. Opposes this notion to the "romantic" and ethnocentric notion that Greek-style alphabetic literacy is the means to such restructuring.

203. W. Harris 1989 (AG, LT, TH)

William V. Harris. *Ancient Literacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Argues that prevalent estimates of literacy levels in ancient Greece and Rome are greatly exaggerated. Evidence is drawn from inscriptions, graffiti, functions of literacy and of oral traditions, the reputation of written documents versus oral procedures, representations of writing in documents and art, techniques of book production, letter writing, and educational systems. Concludes that literacy levels in the ancient world, for the total adult populations, probably never reached more than 10-15% overall, writing being restricted to a privileged minority and existing alongside elements of an oral culture.

204. Harwood 1990 (ME)

Britton J. Harwood. "Dame Study and the Place of Orality in *Piers Plowman*." *English Literary History*, 57:1-17.

Understands the Dame Study episode of *Piers Plowman* as the crucial episode in the poem's overall thematic ambivalence towards literacy.

205. Hau'ofa 1990 (AU, PL)

Epeli Hau'ofa. "Oral Traditions and Writing." *Landfall: A New Zealand Quarterly,* 44:402-11.

The author traces the varying functions of oral storytelling in the life stages of Tongan men by relating his own life story as a member of that society. Having been educated in Australia as a

young adult, however, the author discovers that he has lost the oral storytelling abilities that would have been his had he remained among the Tonga, although he can successfully write the stories in English. Conversely, individuals who remained immersed in the largely oral world of the Tonga, although literate, could not write very well the stories they told orally with great success.

206. Havelock 1989 (AG, TH)

Eric A. Havelock. "Orality and Literacy: An Overview." *Language and Communication*, 9:87-98.

Transcript of a talk given at the "Transformations of the Word" conference at Vassar College in June 1987. Introduces a special issue, dedicated to Havelock's memory, containing the papers from that conference. Separately annotated are the 1989 entries for Finnegan, R. Harris, Kelber, and J. Nagy.

207. Havelock 1987 (AG)

Eric A. Havelock. "The Cosmic Myths of Homer and Hesiod." *Oral Tradition,* 2:31-53.

Explicates a series of passages in Homer and Hesiod that give some insight into how the poets conceived and envisioned the cosmos. Comparison of the examples demonstrates a philosophical movement of the cosmological concept from the actions of a divine agent to a phenomenon that just "exists."

208. Havelock 1986a (AG)

Eric A. Havelock. "The Alphabetic Mind: A Gift of Greece to the Modern World." *Oral Tradition,* 1:134-50.

Argues that "the history of Greek culture is the history of confrontation" between the oralist mind and the alphabetic mind, "their creative partnership as it developed over three and one-half centuries to the point of their amalgamation" (139). Explains the differences in conceptualization processes between the two "minds," and discusses the noetic resulting from the eventual overtaking of the oralist mind by the alphabetic.

209. Havelock 1986b (AG, TH)

Eric A. Havelock. *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Attempts to bring together the conclusions of the author's long and prolific research career on the transformation from Greek orality to Greek literacy. The overall theory is that a technological change—the advent of alphabetic literacy—brought about a drastic change in ways of thinking and knowing, leading to the development of philosophical thought and a concept of selfhood.

210. Haydar 1989 (AR)

Adnan Haydar. "The Development of Lebanese *Zajal:* Genre, Meter, and Verbal Duel." *Oral Tradition,* 4:189-212.

Analyzes the structural characteristics and describes the performance situation of Lebanese *Zajal* poetry, a sophisticated, popular form of poetic dueling.

211. Haymes 1987 (MHG)

Edward R. Haymes. "'ez wart ein buoch funden': Oral and Written in Middle High German Heroic Epic." In Foley 1987a. pp. 235-43.

Discusses the transition from orality to literacy in written late Middle High German epic. Earlier poems attempt to establish legitimacy by reference to their roots in oral traditions; later poems cite written sources, often from a foreign language (despite the fact that these poems still stem generally from oral sources).

212. Haynes 1988 (TH)

W. Lance Haynes. "Of That Which We Cannot Write: Some Notes on the Phenomenology of Media." *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 74:71-101.

Examines the significance of orality and literacy and their associated media to rhetorical studies, and considers video a "synthesis" (81) of the qualities of oral and written media. Analyzes two examples of contemporary rhetoric—a speech from an evangelical Christian college student and a television ad for blue jeans—to illustrate the process of a "nonliterate rhetoric" (83).

213. Heissig 1990 (MN, FN, CP)

Walther Heissig. "Motif Correspondences between Mongolian Epics and the *Kalevala*." In Honko 1990a. pp. 455-70.

Shows parallels in motifs related to the suitor theme between Mongolian epics (esp. *Gesar Khan*) and the *Kalevala*. No direct influence between the epics is suggested, although similarities might be partially attributed to the great Eurasian migrations of a millennium ago.

214. Henderson 1986 (AG)

W. J. Henderson. "Oral Elements in Solon's Poetry." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 26-34.

Analyzes the various elements of orality and literacy in Solon's poetry and concludes that "Solon's poetry reflects the change of Athenian culture from one of predominant orality to one of increasing literacy" (32).

215. Henige 1988 (TH)

David Henige. "Oral, but Oral What? The Nomenclatures of Orality and Their Implications." *Oral Tradition*, 3:229-38.

Considers terms and concepts related to "oral tradition" from the perspective of a historian. Advocates a comparative approach to oral materials, not only across cultures but across scholarly disciplines as well.

216. Herrera-Sobek 1990 (HI)

María Herrera-Sobek. *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Examines four archetypal images of women in the Mexican *corridos*. Chapter One discusses the oral-formulaic function of the suffering mother motif, and Chapter Four includes discussion of formulaic units related to the Virgin of Guadeloupe.

217. Herrmann 1990 (TB, IN)

Silke Herrmann. "The Life and History of the epic King Gesar in Ladakh." In Honko 1990a. pp. 485-502.

Reviews the history of research on the King Gesar epic as it is told in Ladakh, a culturally Tibetan area of India, suggesting that the central question for future research concerns the relationships between oral and written versions.

218. Herzfeld 1990 (MG)

Michael Herzfeld. "Literacy as Symbolic Strategy in Greece: Methodological Considerations of Topic and Place." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14:151-72.

Treats orality and literacy not as abstract concepts, but as social values, and examines textual influences on modern Greek oral traditions. Emphasizes that meaning in oral traditions is derived socially, that is, by performance in context. Traditions separated from their society are "the bones without life" (170), and the derivation of a poetics divorced from context is impossible.

219. Hicks 1988 (ID)

David Hicks. "Literary Masks and Metaphysical Truths: Intimations from Timor." *American Anthropologist*, 90:807-17.

Demonstrates that "a corpus of narratives in a non-literate society can serve as a vehicle for transmitting profound metaphysical truths" (807) by analyzing the interplay of five common motifs in Tetum oral narratives.

220. Hieatt 1987 (OE)

Constance B. Hieatt. "On Envelope Patterns (Ancient and—Relatively—Modern) and Nonce Formulas." In Foley 1987a. pp. 245-58.

Discusses the "envelope pattern," the enclosing of significant elements of a poem by formulaic repetition within several lines, as a rhetorical device in Old English poetry. Concludes that the envelope pattern was an invention of oral poetry later adopted for written poetry.

221. Higbie 1990 (AG)

Carolyn Higbie. *Measure and Music: Enjambement and Sentence Structure in the* Iliad. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Detailed statistical study of enjambement in the *Iliad*. Includes discussions of enjambement as a test for orality, assuming but not arguing for oral composition of the poem.

222. Higley 1986 (OE)

Sarah Lynn Higley. "*Aldor on Ofre*, or the Reluctant Hart: A Study of Liminality in *Beowulf*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 87:342-53.

Shows the image of the deer trapped on the bank to be a symbolic, ironic counterpart to the hero on the beach type-scene. The deer represents the trapped beast, an image of paralysis that contrasts sharply with the image of the triumphant hero.

223. Hodgkin 1986 (PT, TH)

Adam Hodgkin. "New Technologies in Printing and Publishing: The Present of the Written Word." In Baumann 1986. pp. 151-70.

Discusses the effect of recent technologies—including word-processing, databases, computerized typesetting, and even photocopying—on writers, readers, the publishing industry, and the dissemination of knowledge. Points out that new technologies not only help accomplish tasks in better ways, but they also actually "change the nature of what we are trying to do" (151).

224. Hodgson 1986 (AF)

Janet Hodgson. "Fluid Assets and Fixed Investments: 160 Years of the Ntsikana Tradition." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 189-202.

Describes how the oral and written traditions relating to Ntisikana, a charismatic Xhosa figure from the early nineteenth century, enrich Xhosa literatures, making Ntsikana "the overarching symbol through which African people can find unity in all the complexity of their diversity" (200).

225. Hoffman 1986 (BR, AG)

Elizabeth A. Hoffman. "Exploring the Literate Blindspot: Alexander Pope's *Homer* in Light of Milman Parry." *Oral Tradition,* 1:381-97.

Argues that the preface to his translation of the *Iliad* indicates Pope's awareness of the differences between oral and literate composing processes, although he was unable to fully articulate these differences. Pope's "Pre-Parry" literate mindset was, to a certain extent, balanced by the residual orality still prevalent in his time, enabling him to "hear" Homer in a way that is impossible for a modern reader. His translation, therefore, is the "last retelling of Homer in English able to echo something of the form and music of the original" (395).

226. Hollenweger 1989 (TH)

Walter J. Hollenweger. "The Ecumenical Significance of Oral Christianity." *Ecumenical Review,* 41:259-65.

Suggests ways of establishing a better dialogue between the "literate" theology of the West and the "oral" theology of the Third World. Because such a dialogue must view both approaches as equally valid, the article defends oral theology against attacks of "illegitimacy."

227. Holton 1990 (BG)

David Holton. "Orality in Cretan Narrative Poetry." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14:186-98.

Examines selected Cretan narrative poems from the sixteenth century, concluding that they exhibit varying degrees of oral residue. It is, therefore, more profitable to consider the interactions of orality and literacy in such poetry rather than to debate the question of "popular" versus "learned."

228. Honko 1990a (AF, AG, AR, BR, CH, CN, ES, FK, FN, FR, HY, IN, IR, JP, LT, MN, OHG, ON, RU, SC, SCN, ST, TB, CP, TH)

Lauri Honko, ed. *Religion, Myth, and Folklore in the World's Epics: The* Kalevala *and its Predecessors*. Religion and Society 30. Luther Martin and Jacques Waardenburg, gen. eds. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A collection of essays addressing, in turn, the influence of previous epics on the *Kalevala*, the influence of the *Kalevala* on other epic traditions, and points of comparison between the *Kalevala* and various European and non-European epic traditions. See the 1990 entries for Alhoniemi, Bynum, Domokos, Fromm, Galley, Heissig, Herrmann, Honko (1990b, c), 'Jam-dpal rgyal-mtsho, Jensen, Karhu, Kaukonen, Knappert, Kuusi, Laugaste, Lönnroth, Obayashi, Oinas (1990b), Oksala, Puhvel, Schenda, Seydou, Thomson, Voigt, and Zhi.

229. Honko 1990b (FN)

Lauri Honko. "The *Kalevala*: The Processual View." In Honko 1990a. pp. 181-229.

Examines the *Kalevala* process from three angles and their contingent critical concerns: as a folk epic (authenticity), as Lönnrot's epic (interpretation), and as a national epic (cultural identity).

230. Honko 1990c (FN)

Lauri Honko. "The *Kalevala*: Problems of Interpretation and Identity." In Honko 1990a. pp. 555-75.

Epilogue to Honko 1990a discussing reception of the *Kalevala* as history, ethnography, mythology, and identity symbol.

231. Hooker 1986 (AG)

J. T. Hooker. "A Residual Problem in *Iliad* 24." *Classical Quarterly,* 36:32-37.

Contends, in answer to Macleod's commentary (Cambridge 1982) on the passage, that the problematic presence of ἐπικερτομέων at line 649 may best be explained as a residue from another version of this scene, a version "which preserves to its end the traces of Achilles' animus against Agamemnon" (37).

232. Horrocks 1987 (AG)

Geoffrey C. Horrocks. "The Ionian Epic Tradition: Was there an Aeolic Phase in its Development?" In *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek Presented to John Chadwick* (= *Minos* 20-21). Ed. by John T. Killen, José L. Melena, and Jean-Pierre Oliver. Salamanca, Spain: Universidad de Salamanca. pp. 269-94.

Answers the title question with a tentative "no," arguing that diffusionist theories, which postulate "continuations of Mycenaean dactylic poetry in both Ionic and Aeolic territory in the post-Mycenaean period" with borrowings between both groups (294), explain the presence of Aeolic forms in Homeric Greek better than theories of an Aeolic "phase" between Mycenaean and Ionic epic traditions. Cites Parry as an advocate of a version of a "phase" approach.

233. Horwatt 1988 (FK, FP)

Karin Horwatt. "The Shamanic Complex in the Pentecostal Church." *Ethos*, 16:128-45.

Contends that Pentecostal faith healers use oral-formulaic techniques to create a "shamanic environment" (128) in order to effect healing by relieving psychosocial stress, which in turn alleviates psychosomatic illness.

234. Hovdhaugen 1987 (PL)

Hovdhaugen, Even. *From the Land of Nāfanua: Samoan Oral Texts in Transcription and Translation, Notes and Vocabulary.* Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

Transcriptions and translations of oral traditional stories recorded from two gifted Samoan storytellers, Ali'imalemanu Falē and Moti Afatia.

235. Howell 1986 (MS)

Signe Howell. "Formal Speech Acts as One Discourse." *Man,* 21(n.s.):79-101.

Instead of treating the various oral traditional genres of one society as separate forms of discourse, this article examines "all the genres of formal speech acts within any one society as one discourse" (80), studying genres in relation to the others. For the study of Chewong oral traditions (an aboriginal group of the Malay Peninsula), this approach finds spells to be a synthesis of songs and myths, and of accordingly greater value to the Chewong, since spells use knowledge of both songs and myths as a source of power to achieve a specific purpose.

236. Hunter 1990 (AG, TH)

Lynette Hunter. "A Rhetoric of Mass Communication: Collective or Corporate Public Discourse." In Enos 1990a. pp. 216-61.

Reads Plato's *Phaedrus* and the problem of "absent audience" in rhetorical studies into three ongoing scholarly debates: "first, the language debate over the connection between the oral and the written; second, the literacy debate over modes of cognition; and third, the debate . . . over the existence of the mass audience and the role of ideology" (221).

237. Huntsman 1990 (PL)

Judith Huntsman. "Fiction, Fact, and Imagination: A Tokelau Narrative." *Oral Tradition,* 5:283-315.

Analysis of three versions of a Tokelau narrative that explores how native performers themselves distinguish between fact and fiction in their narratives. Emphasizes the importance of listening to and appreciating the variations of tales and the performers' commentaries on their own art.

238. Hutchings 1986 (AF, TH)

Geoffrey J. Hutchings. "'Home-made Furniture': Some Observations on Oral Literature and Its Place in the Teaching of English." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 270-81.

Suggests that English literature courses should teach English oral literature alongside written literature. Faults English departments for almost completely ignoring oral literature beyond the medieval period.

239. Ingalls and Ingalls 1985 (IN)

Daniel H. H. Ingalls and Daniel H. H. Ingalls, Jr. "The *Mahābhārata*: Stylistic Study, Computer Analysis, and Concordance." *Journal of South Asian Literature*, 20, i:17-46.

Preliminary report on the authors' attempts to develop computer hardware and software for metrical and stylistic analysis, concordances, and indices of the *Mahābhārata*.

240. Irele 1990 (AF)

Abiola Irele. "The African Imagination." *Research in African Literatures*, 21:49-67.

A survey of the concept of an "African Imagination" covering oral traditions, literature created in indigenous languages, and those in colonial languages. Contends that "oral literature . . . represents the basic intertext of the African imagination" (56).

241. Irving 1989 (OE)

Edward B. Irving, Jr. *Rereading* Beowulf. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Looks at the oral-derived features of *Beowulf* and considers how oral theory sheds light on problematic aspects of the poem.

242. Irving 1987 (OE)

Edward B. Irving, Jr. "What to Do with Old Kings." In Foley 1987a. pp. 259-68.

Contrasts the *Beowulf* poet's treatments of Hrothgar and Beowulf as "old kings," finding that "Beowulf is cared about deeply in a way that Hrothgar is not, except in a distant and ritual way" (267). Concludes that Beowulf's image as hero derives in part from the poet's skillful manipulation of a traditional "old king" motif.

243. 'Jam-dpal rgyal-mtsho 1990 (TB)

'Jam-dpal rgyal-mtsho. "The Singers of the King Gesar Epic." In Honko 1990a. pp. 471-84.

A brief introduction to present-day performers, performances, and collections of the King Gesar epic in Tibet.

244. Janko 1990 (AG)

Richard Janko. "The *Iliad* and its Editors: Dictation and Redaction." *Classical Antiquity*, 9:326-34.

Compares three theories of how the Homeric texts came to be written down, deciding in favor of Lord's oral dictation hypothesis. Discusses the consequences of this theory for modern text editing of the poems.

245. Janko 1986 (AG)

Richard Janko. "*The Shield of Heracles* and the Legend of Cycnus." *Classical Quarterly*, 36:38-59.

Questions whether the *Shield* tells the story of Heracles and Cycnus in a manner that the original audience would consider traditional or "canonical." Comments on the possibility of simultaneous oral and written transmission and doubts whether interpolations by rhapsodes can explain the overall lack of quality of the poem.

246. Jargy 1989 (AR)

Simon Jargy. "Sung Poetry in the Oral Tradition of the Gulf Region and the Arabian Peninsula." *Oral Tradition*, 4:174-88.

Describes *Nabaṭī* poetry, a sung poetry of Bedouin origins. Includes discussion of structure, characteristics, genre, and oral transmission.

247. Jason 1990 (HB, FK)

Heda Jason. "Study of Israelite and Jewish Oral and Folk Literature: Problems and Issues." *Asian Folklore Studies,* 49:69-108.

Survey of Jewish/Israelite folk traditions from biblical times to the present. Each relevant time period is discussed according to the types of oral and/or literary traditions present and according to the various theoretical issues involved in studying these traditions.

248. Jeffreys 1986 (BG)

Elizabeth and Michael Jeffreys. "The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry." *Oral Tradition,* 1:504-47.

Contends that the extant examples of the poetry of medieval Byzantium are "the written remains of a tradition of oral poetry" (506)—not necessarily dictated texts, but poetry written in a genre whose normal mode of composition and dissemination was oral.

249. Jenkins 1986 (AF)

Elwyn Jenkins. "Marguerit Poland and the Tradition of Anthropomorphism in Animal Stories." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 122-34.

Discusses the convergence of two traditions in Poland's animal stories for children: 1) the oral traditions of African and San folktales, and 2) European "talking beast" tales and other Western children's classics that portray anthropomorphized animals.

250. Jensen 1990 (AG)

Minna Skafte Jensen. "The Homeric Epics and Greek Cultural Identity." In Honko 1990a. pp. 29-48.

Discusses how traditional poems both influence and reflect the cultural identity of author and audience, and considers, in turn, what "traditional" means to modern readings of Homer.

251. Johnson and Sisòkò 1986 (AF)

John William Johnson and Fa-Digi Sisòkò. *The Epic of Son-Jara: A West African Tradition*. African Epic Series. Thomas A. Hale and John W. Johnson, gen. eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Translation of a performance by Fa-Digi Sisòkò of the Mande epic, with ethnographic commentary on the Mande people and the context of the epic.

252. Johnston 1989 (EK)

Thomas F. Johnston. "Song Categories and Musical Style of the Yupik Eskimo." *Anthropos*, 84:423-31.

Descriptive study of the thirteen main Yupik song categories, including notes on function, performance, and musical elements of each. Compares the style of Yupik songs with that of the Inupiaq.

253. Kaiser and Elbert 1989 (PL)

Michel Kaiser and Samuel H. Elbert. "Ka'akai O Te Henue 'Enana: History of the Land of Men." *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 98:77-83.

Publication of a Marquesan chant, with original language text and English translation.

254. Kamera 1986 (AF)

W. D. Kamera. "Loo Ammohhuuma: An Iraqw Reconciliation Rite." *Anthropos*, 81:137-49.

Ethnographic description of the Iraqw concept of justice. Includes the text of one *Loo Ammohhuuma*, or reconciliation, an important verbal dramatic ceremony of Iraqw litigation in which the wronged party, with the entire community participating, retracts curses.

255. Karhu 1990 (FN, CN, BR, CP)

Eino Karhu. "The Role of Mythologism, Past and Present." In Honko 1990a. pp. 537-53.

Compares nineteenth- and twentieth-century literatures with regard to the roles played by myth, folklore, and history. The nineteenth century seemed more concerned with historical aspects of ancient myth and culture, while the trend in twentieth-century literature is toward a mythologism in which space and time appear as unities rather than continuums. Such literature is characterized by violations of logical causality, rich symbolism and fantasy, and the neglect of laws of empirical time and space. García Márquez, Joyce, and the Finnish writers Sillanpää and Manner are cited as examples.

256. Kaukonen 1990 (FN)

Väinö Kaukonen. "The *Kalevala* as Epic." In Honko 1990a. pp. 157-79.

Characterizes the unity of the *Kalevala* as based on the epic as an autonomous poetic universe interpreted mythically and allegorically. A narrative outline of the work describes the history, mythology, and worldview of this "Kalevala era," which existed in preliterate poetry, but not as an ancient reality.

257. Keast 1985-86 (PT, TH)

Ronald Keast. "*It is Written—But I Say Unto You*: Innes on Religions." *Journal of Canadian Studies,* 20:12-25.

Summarizes the work of the Canadian historian Harold Innes on how oral, written, and mechanized communication affect the development of faith and religion, especially Christianity.

258. Kelber 1989 (BI, TH)

Werner H. Kelber. "Sayings Collections and Sayings Gospel: A Study in the Clustering Management of Knowledge." *Language and Communication*, 9:213-24.

Contends that the clustering arrangement of the sayings gospel demonstrates the genre's purpose as a carrier and preserver of oral traditions. Notes that clustering and narrative gospel traditions need not represent connected evolutionary stages in the development of gospels, but may represent different and competing media and rhetorical needs.

259. Kelber 1987 (BI, TH)

Werner H. Kelber. "The Authority of the Word in St. John's Gospel: Charismatic Speech, Narrative Text, Logocentric Metaphysics." *Oral Tradition,* 2:108-31.

Suggests that the Gospel of John, while incorporating a strong sense of oral ethos, functions to "recontextualize orality, and to devise a corrective against it" (116).

260. Kellogg 1987 (AG, BR)

Robert Kellogg. "The Harmony of Time in *Paradise Lost.*" *Oral Tradition,* 2:260-72.

Considers the relationship of *Paradise Lost* to the Homeric epics on the basis of their similar function of telling a traditional heroic story.

261. Kennedy 1987 (TH)

William J. Kennedy. "*Voice* and *Address* in Literary Theory." *Oral Tradition,* 2:214-30.

Contends that deconstruction and Ramism share a central weakness: each reduces "the rhetorical presence of voice and address to an emotional affect, to subordinate it to the suppositious materiality of a figure or trope" (214). The approaches of Walter Ong transcend this weakness by giving voice and address a primary role in meaning-making: "they constitute a frame that powerfully modifies both the speaker's and the audience's focus on language and meaning" (227).

262. Kerewsky-Halpern 1989a (BU)

Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern. "Boundaries of an Ethnography of Communication: An Example from Bulgarian Oral Tradition." *Program in Soviet and East European Studies: Occasional Papers Series* No. 21. University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Comparative study of the inclusivity/exclusivity of participation in two Bulgarian communities in the *lazaruvanye*, an oral traditional ritual associated with St. Lazarus Day. Concludes that in the inclusive community the traditions are growing and changing, while in the exclusive community the knowledgeable members, for some reason, show little interest in transmitting their knowledge, and potential receivers of that knowledge show little interest in learning it. The tradition in the latter community, therefore, is likely to die out.

263. Kerewsky-Halpern 1989b (SC)

Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern. "Healing with Mother Metaphors: Serbian Conjurers' Word Magic." In *Women as Healers: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Ed. by C. McClain. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. pp. 115-33.

Analyzes the psychotherapeutic effects of mother metaphors in the oral traditional healing charms and ritual acts performed by four *bajalica* in rural Serbia.

264. Kerewsky-Halpern 1985 (SC)

Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern. "Trust, Talk, and Touch in Balkan Folk Healing." *Social Science Medicine*, 21:319-25.

Examines how a South Slavic *bajalica* promotes healing through the communicative modes of trust, talk, and touch, essential parts of a "ritual psychomancy by which the treatment 'works'" (319). Details one case study in which a *bajalica* through ritual and folk medicines treats a case of erysipelas.

265. Kernan 1987 (BR, PT, TH)

Alvin Kernan. *Printing Technology, Letters, and Samuel Johnson.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

A study of the shift in the eighteenth century from an oral-scribal culture to a print culture, focusing specifically on Samuel Johnson and how he, as a writer, reacted and adapted to the technological changes in the way people wrote, distributed, and consumed literature.

266. Kleiman 1990 (AL, PT)

Ed Kleiman. "Mark Twain's 'Rhapsody': Printing and the Oral Tradition in *Huckleberry Finn*." *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 50:535-48.

Examines references in *Huckleberry Finn* to oral traditions and to the printed word as metaphors for the conflict between authority and restrictions, represented by the printed word, and "the life of natural spontaneity that Jim and Huck find on the raft" (539), represented by oral traditions. Sees the novel as a whole as "a weaving and stitching together of voice and text—to which both traditions contribute" (547).

267. Knappert 1990 (AF, CP)

Jan Knappert. "Is Epic Oral or Written?" In Honko 1990a. pp. 381-401.

Categorizes African and European epics according to whether an epic exists in oral or written traditions or in various combinations. Concludes that the question "What is an epic?" must be answered before deciding if epic poetry is oral or written.

268. Koljević 1987 (SC)

Svetozar Koljević. "Formulaic Anachronisms and their Epic Function—'Marko Kraljević and his Brother Andrijaš'." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 505-20.

Argues for a poetic function (as opposed to a poetic "mistake") for anachronisms in South Slavic epic, discussing how their interplay creates "a narrative space which becomes an artistic norm unto itself" (507). The world of the epic, the author concludes, is an imaginative, created world that draws from all time periods through which the epic has passed.

269. Kraft 1989 (HY, MU)

Wayne Kraft. "Improvisation in Hungarian Ethnic Dancing: An Analog to Oral Verse Composition." *Oral Tradition,* 4:273-315.

Applies certain tenets of oral-formulaic theory to a nonverbal art form, ethnic dancing, specifically the *legényes* from the ethnically Hungarian Kalataszeg region of Transylvania. Performance of this dance involves improvisation by selecting appropriate movements (i.e. formulae) from a large, traditional repertoire and composing them into a dance during performance.

270. Kuiper and Austin 1990 (NZ)

Koenraad Kuiper and Paddy Austin. "They're Off and Racing Now: The Speech of the New Zealand Race Caller." In *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English.* Ed. by Allan Bell and Janet Holmes. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp. 195-220.

Concludes that New Zealand race-calling is an oral-formulaic genre by analyzing the race-callers' speech according to four features of oral-formulaic discourse: abnormal fluency, droned prosodics, discourse structure rules, and oral formulae indexed to these rules.

271. Kurz 1987 (BI)

William S. Kurz. "Narrative Approaches to Luke-Acts." *Biblica*, 68:195-220.

Discusses the relevance of various contemporary literary theories to biblical exegesis, cautioning that any theory that fails to account for the oral origins and dissemination of many of the biblical texts has limited applications to biblical study.

272. Kuusi 1990 (FN)

Matti Kuusi. "Epic Cycles and the Basis for the *Kalevala*." In Honko 1990a. pp. 133-55.

Applies Julius Krohn's geographical-historical evolutionary model of the development of epic to Sampo episodes in *Kalevala* poetry, drawing from many regional variants to demonstrate the close affinity of the different poems on the Sampo theme.

273. Lamphear 1988 (AF)

John Lamphear. "The People of the Grey Bull: The Origin and Expansion of the Turkana." *Journal of African History*, 29:27-39.

Discusses how the oral traditions of the Turkana can supplement archeology and reconstructive linguistics to formulate the early history of East African pastoral societies.

274. Laugaste 1990 (FN, ES)

Edward Laugaste. "The *Kalevala* and *Kalevipoeg*." In Honko 1990a. pp. 265-85.

Compares the creation process of the *Kalevipoeg* to that of the *Kalevala*, and discusses Finnish influences on the Estonian epic tradition, and Estonian influences on the Finnish tradition.

275. Lawless 1988 (FK, FP)

Elaine J. Lawless. *Handmaidens of the Lord: Pentecostal Women Preachers and Traditional Religion*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Study of women preachers in Pentecostal groups in rural Missouri, examining the irony and precariousness of their position in a cultural situation that does not generally approve of women in the pulpit. Several chapters analyze women's sermons as artistic oral traditional performances, noting especially the use of maternal images and themes of sacrifice, which seem to provide a symbolic basis to justify a woman as preacher and pastor in this particular milieu.

276. Lawless 1988 (FK, FP)

Elaine J. Lawless. *God's Peculiar People: Women's Voices and Folk Tradition in a Pentecostal Church*. Louisville, KY: The University Press of Kentucky.

Ethnographic study of a "Oneness" Pentecostal sect in Southern Indiana, focusing on discourse and speech acts of women in the group. Chapter Four includes examples and discussions of how formulae are employed in the composition of spontaneous, traditional testimonies given during the worship services.

277. Lawless 1987 (FK, FP)

Elaine Lawless. "Tradition and Poetics: The Folk Sermons of Women Preachers." In Foley 1987a. pp. 269-312.

Applies a modified Parry-Lord analysis to oral sermons of fundamentalist women preachers, contending that "the spontaneously performed traditional religious genres of testimony, sermons, and prayers" (274) are legitimately called oral poetry.

278. Lee 1986 (BR)

B. S. Lee. "Margery Kempe: An Articulate Illiterate." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 70-80.

Attempts to separate elements of *The Book of Margery Kempe* that show the influence of the priest/scribe from those that seem to reflect Margery's own speaking/thinking process.

279. LeMaire 1986 (HI)

Ria LeMaire. "Explaining Away the Female Subject: The Case of Medieval Lyric." *Poetics Today*, 7:729-43.

Examines three Portuguese medieval love-songs—two very close to oral tradition, the third more literate—specifically looking at whether women are active/passive as represented subjects and the movement from women to men as active. The comparison illustrates that the transition from orality to literacy reflected in these poems contributed to "the growing inequality between men and women" as "men used that new technology to exclude women from various fields in culture, e.g. as authors of love poetry" (740).

280. Lentz 1989 (AG, TH)

Tony M. Lentz. *Orality and Literacy in Hellenic Greece*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Examines the "symbiotic relationship between orality and literacy" in Hellenic Greece (3), arguing that literacy alone did not bring the flourishing of culture to Greece, but that the integration of the strengths of both orality and literacy as media forms was crucial to this process.

281. Levitt 1988 (RU)

Marcus C. Levitt. "Aksakov's *Family Chronicle* and the Oral Tradition." *Slavic and East European Journal*, 32:198-212

Answers the question of defining the genre of Aksakov's *Family Chronicle* by demonstrating that the novel is "an attempt to capture the vanishing world of oral culture in print" (198).

282. Levy 1990 (MU)

Kenneth Levy. "On Gregorian Orality." *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43:185-227.

Considers various approaches to the study of the oral transmission of Gregorian chant, with the *Elegerunt apostoli*, a chant found in several versions, as the primary example.

283. Lewis 1986 (AF, TH)

Ioan Lewis. "Literacy and Cultural Identity in the Horn of Africa: The Somali Case." In Baumann 1986. pp. 133-50.

Uses Somalia as a case study to test the notion that the spread of vernacular literacy is necessary for the development of national identity. Concludes that literacy in Somalia is "peripheral to Somali identity" (148), and that secondary oral media (esp. audio technology) will ultimately have the more significant political and cultural implications.

284. Linkhorn 1989 (AF, CP)

Renee Linkhorn. "Un discours ambivalent: le roman-palabre d'Afrique francophone." *Revue francophone de Louisiane*, 4, ii:3-12.

Compares elements of Romance influence (literacy) and elements of African orality in Mongo Beti's "Mission terminée," Ahmadou Kourouma's "Les Soleil des indépendances," Sony Labou Tausi's "Les Yeux du Volcan," and Mbwil a Mpang Ngal's "Giambatista Viko ou Le Viol du Discours Africain." Makes a distinction between "oral tradition" and "oral literature": "oral tradition is at the same time the result and the action of transmitting" (3).

285. Lisi 1990 (HI, CN)

Francisco L. Lisi. "Oralidad y Escritura en la Crónica de P. Cieza de León." *Hispamerica: Revista d'literatura*, 19:175-85.

Discusses the relationship between oral and written composition in literature of Peru, and questions the relative levels of oral and written traditions in the work of Cieza.

286. Lönnroth 1990 (ON)

Lars Lönnroth. "The Old Norse Analogue: Eddic Poetry and Fornaldarsaga." In Honko 1990a. pp. 73-92.

Based on performances narrated within the stories themselves, this article speculates on the nature of oral performances of thirteenth-century Eddic poetry and prose sagas, then compares the manuscript compilations and combinations of these two genres to determine the extent of their influence on the organization of the *Kalevala*.

287. Lord 1987a (SC, TH)

Albert B. Lord. "Characteristics of Orality." *Oral Tradition*, 2:54-72.

Applies the characteristics of orality outlined in Ong 1982 to South Slavic epic traditions. Emphasizes the creative and aesthetic qualities of the tradition.

288. Lord 1987b (FN, SC, AG)

Albert B. Lord. "The *Kalevala*, the South Slavic Epics, and Homer." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 293-324.

Comparative study of Finnish, South Slavic, and Ancient Greek epic traditions, focusing primarily on relationships among them, "techniques of composition and transmission," and "shared epic subjects and narrative patterns" (293).

289. Lord 1987c (TH, CP)

Albert Bates Lord. "The Nature of Oral Poetry." In Foley 1987a. pp. 313-49.

Three-part article that accomplishes the following: 1) concludes that one who memorizes (without composing) oral poetry cannot be called an oral traditional poet; 2) differentiates between composition in performance and improvisation; and 3) calls for more research into the nature of transitional texts.

290. Lord 1986a (SC)

Albert B. Lord. "The Merging of Two Worlds: Oral and Written Poetry as Carriers of Ancient Values." In Foley 1986a. pp. 19-64.

The first half of this article describes the interaction of oral and literate traditions in the poetry from Dalmatia and Montenegro in the first half of the twentieth century. The second half compares the ring composition in Avdo Međedović's "The Wedding of Smailagić Meho" with a written version in which the ring structure is partially missing, concluding that Avdo consciously and artistically creates a sense of balance in the structuring of the epic.

291. Lord 1986b (AG, SC, TH)

Albert B. Lord. "Perspectives on Recent Work on the Oral Traditional Formula." *Oral Tradition*, 1:467-503. Rpt. in Foley 1990a. pp. 31-55.

Updates a 1974 article of the same title, with emphasis given to the increase of study in various language areas and the scope of studies dealing directly with formulae. Concludes that "the time has come to deepen our comprehension of the role of *tradition* in oral traditional literature" (494).

292. Lord 1986c (SC, MI, BL)

Albert B. Lord. "Words Seen and Words Heard." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 1-17.

Discusses some of the crucial differences between oral "literature" and written literature, and describes the transition from oral to written literary production in a traditional society. Emphasizes the dependence of much written literature on oral traditions that precede and exist alongside it.

293. Lumpp 1987 (US, CP, TH)

Randolph F. Lumpp. "Literacy, Commerce, and Catholicity: Two Contexts of Change and Invention." *Oral Tradition*, 2:337-56.

An exploration of the applications of orality and literacy theories to the relationship of Catholicism to commerce. Focuses on two historical situations: medieval Europe (eleventh to thirteenth centuries) during the rise of the Western commercial culture, and American twentieth-century Catholicism.

294. Lunk 1988 (RU)

Maria Lunk. "Towards a New Thematic Structure of the Religious Folk Verses about St. George." *Slavic and East European Journal*, 32:25-40.

Argues that many of the themes in Russian folk verses about St. George stem from oral tradition, rather than from the written ecclesiastical traditions. The result is a breaking down of the dichotomy of "spiritual content and oral form" (26), since it can be demonstrated that content has oral traditional roots as well.

295. Lutgendorf 1989 (HN)

Philip Lutgendorf. "The View from the Ghats: Traditional Exegesis of a Hindu Epic." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 48, ii:272-88.

Examines the "lake" metaphor of the Hindu *Mānas* epic as a cosmological and structural paradigm for retellings and for exigesis (both written and oral) of the epic. The central image of the lake surrounded by four *ghats* (points of access) provides "a map not only of the cosmos but of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition itself. . . . [I]t is simultaneously a blueprint for its ongoing expansion and for its realization in performance" (287).

296. Mac Cana 1987 (OI)

Proinsias Mac Cana. "*Fianaigecht* in the pre-Norman Period." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 75-99.

Questions why the Fionn cycle, which was popular as an oral folk tradition, was "largely neglected in the written texts" (92) until the tenth or eleventh century. The answer is found in the lack of a need during this period for a concept of Irish nationality. As the period of foreign incursions began in the ninth century, the popular heroes were accepted by the learned hierarchy as support for their institutions.

297. Mac Innes 1987 (ST)

John Mac Innes. "Twentieth-Century Recordings of Scottish Gaelic Heroic Ballads." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 101-30.

Surveys some of the recorded Gaelic ballads preserved in the archives of the University of Edinburgh's School of Scottish Studies, highlighting the cultural background that enabled the ballads' survival in Scottish oral tradition.

298. MacDonald 1986 (AG, BI)

Dennis Ronald MacDonald. "From Audita to Legenda: Oral and Written Miracle Stories." *Forum*, 2:15-26.

Considers the "diachronic variability" of miracle stories (18), with special attention to the incorporation of the story of Thecla into the *Acts of Paul* compared to versions in independent circulation.

299. Mackridge 1990a (BG, MG)

Peter Mackridge. "Orality in Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry: Introduction." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14:123-28.

Introduction to a collection of essays, from a colloquium with the above title, that considers the interaction of orality and literacy in medieval and modern Greece. See also the 1990 entries from Beaton, Bolton, Ekdawi, Finnegan, Herzfeld, Mackridge (1990b), and Robinson.

300. Mackridge 1990b (MG)

Peter Mackridge. "The Metric Structure of the Oral Decapentasyllable." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14:200-12.

Dissects the "grammar" of Greek folk songs in which the poet is constrained not only by the grammar of the language, but also by a poetic grammar necessitated by meter.

301. MacQueen 1987 (ST, WL)

John MacQueen. "Epic Elements in Early Welsh and Scottish Hagiography." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 453-70.

Compares the secular incarnations of certain Welsh and Scottish heroes with their Christian re-interpretations as subordinate to or defeated by a Christian saint. Concludes that saints' lives have somewhat the character of heroic epics.

302. Mahdi 1989 (AR)

Muhsin Mahdi. "From History to Fiction: The Tale Told by the King's Steward in the *Thousand and One Nights*." *Oral Tradition*, 4:65-79.

Compares the tale told by the King's steward in the Hunchback story in *1001 Nights* with an earlier, similar story transmitted as a historical account of events that purportedly occurred in tenth-century Baghdad. History and fiction, the author concludes, are not so much distinguished by fact or truth, but by the willingness of the audience, whether listeners in tenth-century Baghdad or modern historians, to *accept* the story as true.

303. Maier 1984 (SU, HT, CP)

John R. Maier. "Three Voices of Enki: Strategies in the Translation of Archaic Literature." *Comparative Criticism*, 6:101-17.

Defines archaic literature as a way "to describe this proximity to—but separation from, in a decisive way—the tradition of oral composition" (105). Considers the consequences of this definition for translation of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite literary texts.

304. Mair 1988a (CH)

Victor H. Mair. "The Buddhist Tradition of Prosimetric Oral Narrative in Chinese Literature." *Oral Tradition*, 3:106-21.

Argues that Chinese written vernacular literature was greatly impacted during the T'ang period (618-906) by the Buddhist oral storytelling tradition from India. Focuses on the *pien-wen* genre ("transformation texts").

305. Mair 1988b (CH)

Victor H. Mair. *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation, Its Indian Genesis, and Analogues Elsewhere*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Argues that the medieval Chinese practice of oral traditional storytelling with pictures (a practice from which the *pien wen* may have derived) has roots in ancient India.

306. Mair 1988c (CH)

Victor H. Mair. *T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China*. Harvard-Yenching Monograph Series, 28. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Council on East Asian Studies.

Chapter four includes a discussion of the possible oral traditional origins of the Chinese *pien wan*, or transformation texts.

307. Mariscal de Rhett 1987 (HI)

Beatriz Mariscal de Rhett. "The Structure and Changing Functions of Ballad Traditions." *Oral Tradition*, 2:646-66. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989. pp. 247-68.

Discusses how and why *romancero* singers vary and adapt functions and structures of the ballads. The examples cited demonstrate how the prevalent feminine transmission may have shaped both the genre and individual narrative structures, surviving because the themes have adapted to changing social situations.

308. Martin 1989 (AG, TH)

Richard P. Martin. *The Language of Heroes: Speech and Performance in the* Iliad. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Considers the difficult question of poet's "voice" as an individual artist in the *Iliad* by examining how the speakers within the poem, especially Achilles, use traditional language to project a sense of their personalities. The act of a boast, or of storytelling, or of any significant speech act is a recomposition of a traditional text that is personalized to create a unique voice for the speaker. The poet performs the *Iliad* in much the same way, by manipulating the traditional material and surpassing previous tellings. Such an approach justifies an assumption of oral composition, but also allows for the monumental achievement that is the *Iliad*.

309. Maxwell 1990 (ID, MS)

Allen R. Maxwell. "Balui Reconnaissances: The Badang Kenyah of Long Gang." *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 51:21-116.

Ethnographic survey of a certain ethnic group in Borneo. Includes transcription and English summaries of Badang oral histories.

310. Maxwell 1989a (ID, MS)

Allen R. Maxwell. "Origin Themes in Orang Ulu Ethnohistorical Traditions." *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 40:231-49.

Suggests a common heritage among a number of ethnic groups in Borneo, based on common themes in their origin myths.

311. Maxwell 1989b (ID, MS)

Allen R. Maxwell. "A Survey of the Oral Traditions of Sarawak." *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 40:167-208.

Describes the oral traditions of various Sarawak ethnic groups, with special emphasis on Iban traditions. Points out the need for more research in this area, especially in the oft-ignored non-Iban ethnic groups.

312. Maxwell 1987 (ID, MS)

Allen R. Maxwell. "Balui Reconnaissances: Introduction to the Research." *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 37:1-14.

Introduction to a series of ethnographic articles on various ethnic groups in the Balui River Valley, with some emphasis on oral traditions in these cultures.

313. Mbele 1986 (AF)

Joseph L. Mbele. "The Identity of the Hero in the Liongo Epic." *Research in African Literatures*, 17:464-73.

Confirms, through methods of textual analysis and comparative folkloristics, that the proper name of the hero of the Swahili Liongo epic is Liongo Fumo, that Fumo Liongo is actually the hero's father. The confusion over the name is then related to other contentious issues about the hero's identity, especially his ancestry (black African or Arabic) and religion (traditional Swahili, Christian, or Muslim). The article briefly discusses these issues, but leaves clear-cut answers to further research.

314. Mbele 1985 (AF)

Joseph L. Mbele. "The Hero in the African Epic." *Africana Journal*, 13:124-41.

Criticizes certain universalistic comparativist approaches to the hero that fail to consider the total image of the hero (which is often complex and even contradictory) within the appropriate cultural context. Tests the general theoretical contentions of the article with the heroes Sundiata, Mwindo, and Chaka.

315. McAllister 1986 (AF)

P. A. McAllister. "Conservatism as Ideology of Resistance Among Xhosa-Speakers: The Implications for Oral Tradition and Literacy." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 290-302.
Examines the role of oral tradition, especially oratory, in promoting Red Xhosa conservative ideology and what effect education and literacy have had on this world view.

316. McGillivary 1990 (ME)

Murray McGillivray. *Memorization in the Transmission of the Middle English Romances*. The Albert Bates Lord Studies in Oral Tradition, vol. 5. New York: Garland.

Examines four Middle English romances—*Floris and Blauncherflur*, *King Horn*, *the Seege of Troye*, and *Sir Orfeo*—demonstrating that the texts we have were reproduced from the minstrels who memorized and performed them. Memorial transfer, rather than scribal alteration, better accounts for most of the textual variants.

317. McKitterick 1989 (OF)

Rosamund McKitterick. *The Carolingians and the Written Word*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Discusses how the written word became central to the Frankish society in the Carolingian period, concentrating on the dissemination and functions of, as well as the attitudes toward, writing to conclude that "Frankish society was far from being illiterate" (272) and therefore the so-called

renaissance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries has its roots partially in the developments during this earlier period.

318. McMath and Parima 1990 (PL)

Marivee McMath and Teaea Parima. "Winged Tangi'ia: A Mangaian Dramatic Performance." *Oral Tradition*, 5:376-414.

Ethnographic study of a Mangaian dance-drama performance, a highly flexible art form that provides evidence of syncretism of "traditional Mangaian society, Christianity, and modern society" (378). Includes transcription, translation, and photographs of one such performance.

319. Meek 1987 (ST)

Donald E. Meek. "Development and Degeneration in Gaelic Ballad Texts." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 131-60.

Emphasis is on *written* variants of the ballads in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, but some consideration is given to the effect a contiguous tradition of oral performance may have had on textual development.

320. Megenney 1989 (AF, HI)

William W. Megenney. "Sudanic/Bantu/Portuguese Syncretism in Selected Chants from Brazilian Umbanda and Candomblé." *Anthropos*, 84:363-83.

Presents several widely sung Afro-Brazilian chants and examines their African (Sub-Saharan) linguistic and cultural elements. Concludes that the syncretism in the chants not only exists at the linguistic level, but reflects a people attempting to maintain contact with traditional beliefs and practices dating back to pre-colonial Africa.

321. Meñez 1986-87 (PH)

Herminia Q. Meñez. "Agyu and the Skyworld: The Philippine Folk Epic and Multicultural Education." *Amerasia Journal*, 13, i:135-49.

Considers how study of Philippine folk epics might function within a multicultural curriculum. Examines from a comparative perspective several traditional formulas and themes that are culturally specific but have transcultural counterparts in other heroic traditions.

322. Miletich 1990 (SC)

John S. Miletich, ed. and trans. *The Bugaršstica: A Bilingual Anthology of the Earliest Extant South Slavic Folk Narrative Song*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Texts and translations of pre-twentieth-century *bugaršti*ca. The introduction makes the case for considering these works to be oral traditional narratives.

323. Miletich 1988 (OE, HI, SC)

John S. Miletich. "Muslim Oral Epic and Medieval Epic." *Modern Language Review*, 83:911-24.

Discusses the influence of work drawing on South Slavic Muslim oral epics on the study of Old English and medieval Spanish epics.

324. Miletich 1986 (HI, SC, CP)

John S. Miletich. "Oral Aesthetics and Written Aesthetics: The South Slavic Case and the *Poema de Mio Cid*." In *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Alan D. Deyermond: A North American Tribute*. Ed. by John S. Miletich. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies. pp. 183-204.

Disagrees with an earlier contention by Deyermond questioning that the *Poema de Mio Cid*, because of its "aesthetic patterning" (183), could be orally composed. The comparative evidence from South Slavic traditions, however, demonstrates that the highly organized structure and rich psychological drama of the *Poema* is possible in an orally composed poem.

325. C. Miller 1987 (AF, TH)

Christopher L. Miller. "Orality Through Literacy: Mande Verbal Art After the Letter." *The Southern Review*, 23:84-105.

Explores the complex relationship between orality and literacy and truth and history in the epic of Sunjata and in the Mande culture in general. Concludes that Western scholars often misinterpret the role of oral tradition in Mande culture because they fail to grasp the role of speaking and silence in the knowledge base and power structure of Mande society. Western literate renderings of oral traditions may misappropriate orality for our own purposes, but this misappropriation "echoes and repeats *ironically* the transformation of silence into speech by Mande griots" (105).

326. D. Miller 1987 (TH)

D. Gary Miller. "Towards a New Model of Formulaic Composition." In Foley 1987a. pp. 351-93.

Proposes a new model for identifying general characteristics of an improvising formulaic tradition, characteristics categorized under interacting language systems, the poet's intentionality and goals, and adaptations of systems for certain scripts/contexts.

327. Mills 1990 (AN)

Margaret A. Mills. *Oral Narrative in Afghanistan: The Individual in Tradition*. Harvard Dissertations in Folklore and Oral Tradition. Ed. by Albert B. Lord. New York: Garland.

Analysis of oral narratives collected from two Afghan female storytellers. Compares variants of tales told by both women to discuss the importance of studying features of individual performance.

328. Milubi 1988 (AF)

N. A. Milubi. "Development of Venda Poetry from Oral Tradition to the Present Forms." *South African Journal of African Languages/Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Afrikatale*, 8:56-60.

Comparison of Venda traditional oral poetry and modern written poetry, that is, poetry written under the influence of western literary standards. Modern poetry moves away from expressing the traditional, communal spirit to emphasizing the individual. However, the rise of protest poetry among contemporary South African peoples seems to be reversing that trend.

329. Minchin 1986 (AG)

Elizabeth Minchin. "The Interpretation of a Theme in Oral Epic: *Iliad* 24.559-70." *Greece & Rome*, 33, i (n.s.):11-19.

Explains the motive behind Achilles' seemingly paradoxical anger at Priam in Book 24 as a consistent "Achillean reaction" (12). The oral singer has called upon, and interwoven, two traditional thematic structures, both of which are consistent with Achilles' character. The juxtaposition serves to emphasize the significance of the agreement (ransom for Hector's body) to Achilles.

330. Mitchell 1987 (ON)

Stephen A. Mitchell. "The Sagaman and Oral Literature: The Icelandic Traditions of Hjörleifr inn kvensami and Geirmundr heljarskinn." In Foley 1987a. pp. 395-423.

Demonstrates how the sagaman of *The Saga of Hálfr and His Warriors* used oral sources in composing the saga. Characterizes the written saga as a "transitional text," defined here as a written work that bears stylistic traits of its origin in oral composition.

331. Molan 1988 (AR)

Peter D. Molan. "The *Arabian Nights*: The Oral Connection." *Edebiyat*, 2:191-204.

Argues that the *Arabian Nights* are folk tales from oral tradition, written down and polished by redactors, an argument based, in part, on words and phrases meaningless or extraneous in a written text, but indicative of an oral performance. The conclusion of the article evaluates the MacNaghten and Būlāq editions of the *Nights* based on their proximity to an authentic oral tradition.

332. Monroe 1989 (HI, AR)

James T. Monroe. "Which Came First, the *Zajal* or the *Muwaššaḥa*? Some Evidence for the Oral Origins of Hispano-Arab Strophic Poetry." *Oral Tradition*, 4:38-64.

Argues that the *zajal* is an older form of Hispano-Arabic poetry than the similar *muwaššaḥa*, despite the fact that the oldest surviving *zajal* texts are dated two centuries after the earliest *muwaššaḥa* texts. The article demonstrates that the *zajal* was actually an older, oral traditional Andalusian form, composed in the vernacular. The *muwaššaḥa* was a learned Arabic imitation of the popular form.

333. Montgomery 1987 (HI)

Thomas Montgomery. "The Uses of Writing in the Spanish Epic." *La Corónica*, 15, ii:179-85.

Analyzes references to acts of writing in Old Spanish epics, concluding that these references are not evidence for either the oral or the written nature of the poems, but for the dynamic interaction and contrast between oral and written.

334. Monye 1988 (AF)

Ambrose A. Monye. "The Use of the Ideophone as a Taxonomic Element in the Oral Literary Criticism of Aniocha Proverbs." *Proverbium*, 5:117-27.

Demonstrates that ideophones in Aniocha proverbs "not only give vivid descriptions of what is observed or stated but are . . . the user's critical evaluation of the proverb speaker's performance" (127).

335. Moore 1986 (AF)

D. M. Moore. "Oral Testimony and a Community in Transition: Some Thoughts on an Appropriate Methodology." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 203-15.

Describes some of the problems facing a historian in the collection and evaluation of South African oral history (specifically in the Eastern Cape and Border region).

336. Morris 1986 (AG)

Ian Morris. "The Use and Abuse of Homer." *Classical Antiquity*, 5:81-129.

Cautions that historians who wish to use Homer as a historical source must first come to an understanding of the relation of oral poetry to its society. Homer, as "oral poetry frozen in writing," is not a source for dark age societies, but a subtle and complex source "for the social history of the eighth century B.C." (127).

337. Morris and Wander 1990 (AI)

Richard Morris and Philip Wander. "Native American Rhetoric: Dancing in the Shadows of the Ghost Dance." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 76:164-91.

Analyzes the rhetoric employed by Native American leaders in the late nineteenth-century Ghost Dance Movement and the 1973 protest at Wounded Knee. Includes brief comments on the protestors' belief in orality, that is, the spoken word, in creating community.

338. Morrison 1987 (TH)

Ken Morrison. "Stabilizing the Text: The Institutionalization of Knowledge in Historical and Philosophical Forms of Argument." *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 12:242-74.

Traces the development from orality to textuality through a concept of literacy based on the social organization of the Western textual tradition rather than one based on language or linguistic categories. This revision finds that the "acceptance of stable textual norms capable of sustaining" (243) scientific and scholarly argument came about in "the fifth and twelfth centuries A.D. rather than the sixth, fifth, or fourth centuries B.C." (270).

339. Moto 1986 (AF, TH)

Francis Moto. "The Effects of Literacy on an Orally Based Society." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 282-89.

Argues that when literacy is introduced into a developing society, "it should not be treated as an isolated entity far-removed from the forms of education that exist in a traditional society. . . ." Rather, "oral traditions should be incorporated into the modern ways of disseminating vital information for development" (288).

340. Moyle 1988 (PL)

Richard Moyle. *Traditional Samoan Music*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Ethnographic survey of traditional Samoan song types, music, and dance. Includes transcriptions (both musical and verbal) and translations of each type, with photographs of musical instruments and performances. Concludes that, despite European influence, the traditional Samoan musical heritage remains socially and stylistically relevant to contemporary Samoan life.

341. Msimang 1986 (AF)

C. T. Msimang. *Folktale Influence on the Zulu Novel*. Pretoria: Acacia Books.

Reviews folk motifs and images in nine Zulu novels to assess the influence of oral traditional folktales on plot, characterization, and style in the novels.

342. Mullins 1988 (TH)

Phil Mullins. "The Fluid Word: Word Processing and Its Mental Habits." *Thought*, 63: 413-28.

Extends the continuum of orality to literacy and their respective effects on thought processes to electronic communication, considering how word processing will affect the mental habits of writers. Cites especially the collaborative and intertextual practices made possible by the computer and the changing conceptions of "text," some of which have parallels in oral traditional cultures.

343. Murko 1928/1990 (SC, AG)

Matija Murko. "Singers and their Epic Songs." Trans. by John Miles Foley. *Oral Tradition*, 5:107-30.

Translation of Murko 1928, one of the major pieces that prompted Parry's comparative work on South Slavic oral epic poetry and Homer. See Murko 1928 in Foley 1985.

344. Myrsiades and Myrsiades 1988 (MG)

Kostas Myrsiades and Linda S. Myrsiades. "A Computer Application for the Study of Oral Literature." *College Literature*, 15:57-68.

Explains how the Notebook II database application assisted their study of the oral structures of Karagiozis (Greek shadow puppet theatre) performance.

345. Nagle 1987 (LT)

Betty Rose Nagle. "Ovid, 'Facile' or 'Formulaic'? A Metrical Mannerism and Its Implications." *Quaderni Urbinati de Cultura Classica*, 54, i:73-90.

Describes Ovid's use of disyllabic forms of *manus* at the end of pentameter lines as part of an oral-formulaic style, rather than as merely a facile habit.

346. Nagler 1990 (AG)

Michael N. Nagler. "Odysseus: The Proem and the Problem." *Classical Antiquity*, 9:335-56.

Discusses Odysseus' statement spoken as he prepared to kill the suitors—that he will try a shot "no one has ever hit" (*Od*. 22.6)—in light of the thematic problem set forth in the proem of the *Odyssey*—that of the "hero's violence against his own social group, presented as the only means to recover order" (354). The problematic line in book 22 is read as essentially a double-entendre commenting on this theme.

347. Nagler 1987 (AG, IN)

Michael N. Nagler. "On Almost Killing Your Friends: Some Thoughts on Violence in Early Cultures." In Foley 1987a. pp. 425-63.

Discusses ritual phenomena in certain oral texts (mostly the Homeric epics and the *Mahābhārata*) that seem to promote a "very serious program for the management of violence" (406). Considers in detail certain ritual sacrifices and the theme of "almost killing your friends" by mistaken identity in battle.

348. G. Nagy 1990 (AG)

Gregory Nagy. *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Attempts to answer the question, what was Homer to Pindar, contending that for Pindar, "Homer is the representative of all epic, not just the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*" (15). Pindar "cites" Homer not as a textual source, but by transforming Homeric forms and themes into "the poetic requirements of Pindar's medium" (437).

349. G. Nagy 1986 (AG)

Gregory Nagy. "Ancient Greek Epic and Praise Poetry: Some Typological Considerations." In Foley 1986a. pp. 89-102.

Describes the referential relationship between Homeric epic poetry and the praise poetry of Pindar.

350. J. Nagy 1989 (OI)

Joseph Falaky Nagy. "Representations of Oral Tradition in Medieval Irish Literature." *Language & Communication*, 9:143-58.

Explores the theme of the struggle for authority between oral and literate traditions in medieval Irish literature. Their relationship is depicted in one of two ways: as rivals or as dependents. Highlights sets of metaphoric/metonymic binary categories by which orality and literacy were referred.

351. J. Nagy 1988 (OI)

Joseph Falaky Nagy. "Oral Life and Literary Death in Medieval Irish Tradition." *Oral Tradition*, 3:368-80.

Argues that the tension between oral and literary means of communication underlies most of the literature produced in the scribal culture of Ireland between the sixth and sixteenth centuries A.D.

352. J. Nagy 1987a (OI)

Joseph Falaky Nagy. "Fenian Heroes and their Rites of Passage." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 161-82.

Considers the theme of ritual transition in Fenian tales, demonstrating this theme's association with symbols of hunting, cooking, and music.

353. J. Nagy 1987b (OI)

Joseph Falaky Nagy. "The Sign of the Outlaw: Multiformity in Fenian Narrative." In Foley 1987a. pp. 465-92.

Argues for the "genuine traditionality—if not the orality" of the Fenian narratives by describing the multiformity of a story-pattern in which a motif of recognition by smelling is a theme.

354. J. Nagy 1986 (OI)

Joseph Falaky Nagy. "Orality in Medieval Irish Narrative: An Overview." *Oral Tradition*, 1:272-301.

Survey of scholarship addressing the question "to what extent is this oral tradition reflected in the substance and style in extant medieval Irish narrative texts?" (275).

355. Nannini 1987 (AG, IT, LT, TH)

Simonetta Nannini. "Le tecniche della comunicazione e le filologia classica in Italia." *Lingua e Stile*, 22:269-80.

Discusses the work of Italian philologists since the sixties who have debated the issues of orality and literacy in ancient Greek and Latin literature as raised by Parry and Havelock.

356. Neethling 1986 (AF)

J. Neethling. "From Griot to Written Folktale: the *Contes d'Amadou Koumba* by Birago Diop." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 96-103.

Explains Diop's process of and motivation for putting oral traditional tales in writing, and discusses the resulting works.

357. Nelson 1990 (OE)

Marie Nelson. "King Solomon's Magic: The Power of a Written Text." *Oral Tradition*, 5:20-36.

Demonstrates how the poet of the "Solomon and Saturn I" establishes a dramatic performance context for an oral genre—a charm—within the written work.

358. Neusner 1987 (HB)

Jacob Neusner. *Oral Tradition in Judaism: The Case of the Mishnah*. The Albert Bates Lord Studies in Oral Tradition, vol. 1. New York: Garland.

Discussion of the art of memorization and oral transmission of the Mishna, demonstrating how the very "formulation of the document facilitates remembering its exact words" (ix). Part One provides an introduction to the historical contexts of the Mishnah geared to a non-specialist.

359. Nimis 1987 (AG, LT, IT, BR, CP)

Stephen A. Nimis. *Narrative Semiotics in the Epic Tradition: The Simile*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Study of the epic simile from Homer and his imitators up through Milton. Praises oral-formulaic theories for emphasizing the underlying logic of oral composition in Homer, but criticizes the emphasis on static structure rather than poetic purpose. Borrows concepts from Riffatere and Eco to broaden the investigation of simile "to an analysis of signifying practices as *social practices*, specifically as examples of *ideological production*" (22).

360. Nolsøe 1987 (FA)

Mortan Nolsøe. "The Heroic Ballad in Faroese Tradition." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 395-412.

Describes the history of collection of Faroese heroic ballads.

361. Norris 1989 (AR, FR)

H. T. Norris. "Arabic Folk Epic and the Western *Chanson de Geste*." *Oral Tradition*, 4:125-50.

Compares the Arabic *sīra* and the European *chanson* for parallels and possible borrowings.

362. Norris 1987 (AR, FN)

H. T. Norris. "Folk Epic in the Wilderness: Arabia and the Nordic World." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 521-50.

Provides a brief survey of pre-Islamic oral epic traditions and compares them with certain elements of the *Kalevala*. A few specific borrowings can be discerned, but most of the similarities are attributed to a similar artistic response to severe climates and a harsh existence.

363. Obayashi 1990 (JP)

Taryo Obayashi. "The Yukar of the Ainu and its Historical Background." In Honko 1990a. pp. 519-33.

Contends, by reviewing the historical contacts and comparing epic genres, that both Siberian and Japanese epics influenced the *yukar*, a genre of Ainu epic. Siberian features include the "lonely hero" as central character, while the first person narration is indicative of Japanese influence.

364. Ó Fiannachta 1987 (OI)

Pádraig Ó Fiannachta. "The Development of the Debate between Pádraig and Oisín." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 183-205.

Through a survey of several versions, finds that many of the manuscripts of the "Agallamh" have a "personal and individual quality of a living version of a folktale" (195) and may have been memory aids to singers.

365. Ó hÓgáin 1987 (OI)

Dáithí Ó hÓgáin. "Magic Attributes of the Hero in Fenian Lore." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 207-42.

Compares portrayals of certain characters in the *Acallamh* and other written Fenian tales with their portrayals in recent oral tradition, describing how mythic features and images, along with explanations for them, accumulate around a given hero.

366. Oinas 1990a (FN, SC, CP)

Felix J. Oinas. "Finnish and Yugoslav Epic Songs." *Indiana Slavic Studies*, 5:155-70.

Compares the origin, collection, structure, and performance of Finnish and Yugoslav epic songs. The significant differences are two: 1) Finnish songs are mostly mythical, Yugoslav historical; and 2) Finnish singers are judged on memory and exactness, Yugoslav singers on creativity and improvisation.

367. Oinas 1990b (RU, FN, CP)

Felix J. Oinas. "Russian and Finnish Epic Songs." In Honko 1990a. pp. 287-309.

Compares Russian and Finnish epic songs as to their respective origins, dissemination and preservation processes, classifications, story patterns, formulas, meters, magical and ceremonial functions, and performance situations.

368. Oinas 1987a (RU, CP)

Felix J. Oinas. "Hunting in Russian Byliny Revisited." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 31:420-24.

Establishes the usual function of hunting in Russian *byliny* as subordinate to the fighting theme, serving as a signal to focus the audience's expectations toward a forthcoming dangerous encounter. Compares this function to that of the beasts of battle theme in Old English poetry.

369. Oinas 1987b (FN)

Felix J. Oinas. "Elements of Eastern Origin in the *Kalevala*. A Preliminary Report." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 325-45.

Lists songs and motifs of Eastern origin found in the *New Kalevala*.

370. Oinas 1986 (ES, BI, AG, RU, FK, CP)

Felix J. Oinas. "Legends of Kalevipoeg." *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 17, iv:313-20.

Compares two legends of the Estonian hero Kalevipoeg—flogging the waters and carrying Christ across the waters—with similar international variants from the Bible, Herodotus, Russian folklore, and Catholic St. Christopher legends.

371. O'Keeffe 1990 (OE)

Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe. *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Analyzes Caedmon's *Hymn*, *Solomon and Saturn I*, the *Metrical Preface* to Alfred's *Pastoral Care*, and poems of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to support her argument that "the manuscript records of Old English poetry witness a particular mode of literacy" and that "examination of significant variants and of developing graphic cues for the presentation of verse . . . provide strong evidence of persisting residual orality in the reading and copying of poetry in Old English" (6).

372. O'Keeffe 1987 (OE)

Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe. "Orality and the Developing Text of Caedmon's *Hymn*." *Speculum*, 62, i:1-20.

Compares various manuscript versions of Caedmon's *Hymn* to demonstrate how literate formatting methods in the manuscripts accommodate oral transmission and receptional needs.

373. Okpewho 1987 (AF)

Isidore Okpewho. "'Once upon a Kingdom . . .': Benin in the Heroic Tradition of Subject Peoples." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 613-50.

Surveys the present traditions that include Benin in their stories of origin and considers how the Benin empire exerted such great influence over these peoples "that they subordinated their mythic imaginations to the overarching image of the imperial power" (617).

374. Oksala 1990 (LT, FN, AG, CP)

Teivas Oksala. "Virgil's *Aeneid* as Homeric, National, and Universal Epic." In Honko 1990a. pp. 49-71.

Examines the *Aeneid* on four levels in comparison with the *Kalevala*: birth of the epic, its relationship to Homeric epics, its status as a national epic, and as a universal epic. Questions the romantic notion that the *Aeneid* is a pale imitation of Homer, lacking in the "folk spirit" of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and shows how Lönnrot, in creating the *Kalevala*, was influenced in different ways by both the *Aeneid* and the Homeric epics.

375. Olsen 1989a (OE)

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen. "Cynewulf's Autonomous Women: A Reconsideration of Elene and Juliana." In *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*. Ed. by Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. pp. 222-32.

Reads Cynewulf's female characters as active and heroic human beings, contending against typical scholarly readings of these characters as passive, allegorical, or negative. Instead, these women are both "heroines in a tradition that merges the Christian and the heroic" (224), and to understand them, we must consider them within this transitional Old English society.

376. Olsen 1989b (BR, LT, ME)

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen. *"Between Ernest and Game": The Literary Artistry of the* Confessio Amantis. American University Studies, series IV: English Language and Literature, 110. New York: Peter Lang.

Structuralist analysis of the *Confessio Amantis* undertaken to demonstrate the value of this work as part of the English literary canon. Chapter 5 demonstrates that the artistry of the *Confessio* derives in part from the aesthetic standards of an oral-formulaic poetry.

377. Olsen 1988 (OE, BB)

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen. "Oral-Formulaic Research in Old English Studies: II." *Oral Tradition*, 3:138-90.

Second part of a two-part survey. This half focuses on levels above the theme, the case against the oral-formulaic theory, the comparative method, present trends, and future directions.

378. Olsen 1987 (ME, LT)

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen. "Literary Artistry and the Oral-Formulaic Tradition: The Case of Gower's *Apollonius of Tyre*." In Foley 1987a. pp. 493-509.

Defends the literary quality of Gower by demonstrating his artistic use of the oral-formulaic tradition that lies behind certain elements of the text.

379. Olsen 1986 (OE, BB)

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen. "Oral-Formulaic Research in Old English Studies: I." *Oral Tradition*, 1:548-606.

First of a two-part survey. This half focuses on the question of "oral or written" for Old English poetry, the oral-formulaic theory, the formula, and themes and type-scenes.

380. Ong 1990 (BR, TH)

Walter J. Ong. "Technological Development and Writer-Subject-Reader Immediacies." In Enos 1990. pp. 206-15.

Examines the effect of telegraph technology on the immediacy of the writer-reader relationship in Hopkins' "Wreck of the Deutschland," comparing the effect of electronic communication (radio and TV) on the "reader" - "writer" relationship today.

381. Ong 1988 (TH)

Walter J. Ong. "Before Textuality: Orality and Interpretation." *Oral Tradition*, 3:259-69.

Suggests a difference "between interpretation in a purely oral world and textual hermeneutics" (268). Examines concepts from contemporary literary theory (deconstruction, intertextuality, reader-response) in light of difference among oral discourse, writing, and print.

382. Ong 1987 (TH)

Walter J. Ong. "Orality-Literacy Studies and the Unity of the Human Race." *Oral Tradition*, 2:371-82.

Speculations on the past and orality-literacy studies—the closing remarks from a symposium in the author's honor (held in 1985 in Kansas City, Missouri). Believes that orality-literary studies are in a unique position to "give us a new experience of the human race, diachronically and synchronically" (375), promoting empathy and non-patronizing understanding between diverse oral and literate cultures.

383. Ong 1986a (BI, TH)

Walter J. Ong. "Text as Interpretation: Mark and After." In Foley 1986a. pp. 147-69.

Discusses orality and textuality in the gospel of Mark and in the centuries of interpretation following the writing of the gospel. Suggests a model of the Church as an "oral-chirographic interpretive community, founded in oral-traditional materials early interpreted in textual form and thereafter interpreted in a historically continuous communal setting by continuous interaction of the oral and the textual" (168).

384. Ong 1986b (TH)

Walter J. Ong. "Writing Is a Technology That Restructures Thought." In Baumann 1986. pp. 23-50.

A significant article demonstrating that writing is, in fact, a technology, an artificial creation that is both "uplifting" and "alienating" in its transformation of consciousness (32). Contends that of all societal developments resulting from technological innovation, literacy is most crucial: "almost everything in the noetic and social structures of a society where writing has been widely interiorized relates in one way or another to writing" (36). The most telling effect of writing is separation, or distance, and the article lists and explicates fourteen ways in which writing separates. Separation, however, "ultimately brings reconstituted unity" as the knower and the known are united "more consciously and more articulately," as distance allows reflection on and identification with the known within a conscious subject-object relationship.

385. O'Nolan 1987 (MI)

Kevin O'Nolan. "The Functioning of Long Formulae in Irish Heroic Folktales." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 471-84.

Compares an Irish folktale told on two occasions by storyteller Éamon Búrc, one in which the storyteller was dissatisfied with his performance that consisted entirely of long "runs" of formulae, and one that was much more satisfying to performer and audience. Such a comparison yields "insight into the way the storyteller's memory and creativity work" (471).

386. Opland 1988 (AF)

Jeff Opland. "Lord of the Singers." *Oral Tradition*, 3:353-67.

Presentation of five Xhosa oral praise poems sung in honor of Albert Lord during his visit to South Africa in 1985 by poets David Livingstone Phakamile Yali-Manisi and Melikaya Mbutuma, and a written poem by Peter Mtuze.

387. Opland 1987 (AF)

Jeff Opland. "The Bones of Mfanta: A Xhosa Oral Poet's Response to Context in South Africa." *Research in African Literatures*, 18:36-50.

Transcriptions and translations of two oral poems and one written poem by D.L.P. Yali-Manisi. The differences among the three poems are discussed and partially attributed to the poet's awareness of the political inclinations of the intended audience.

388. Opland 1986 (AF)

Jeff Opland. "The Transition from Oral to Written Literature in Xhosa (1823-1909)." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 135-50.

Examines Xhosa periodicals published in the nineteenth century to delineate the transition from oral to written literature. Concludes that this literature "stands closer to the oral tradition in social function than written literature published in twentieth-century books" (137), and thus provides a better history of the transition from orality to print.

389. Orbell 1990 (PL)

Margaret Orbell. "'My Summit Where I Sit': Form and Content in Maori Women's Love Songs." *Oral Tradition*, 5:185-204.

Demonstrates the close relationship between form and content of Maori women's love songs and the common thought patterns and behavior in Maori life.

390. Palaima 1987 (AG)

Thomas G. Palaima. "Comments on Mycenaean Literacy." In *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek Presented to John Chadwick* (= *Minos* 20-21). Ed. by John T. Killen, José L. Melena, and Jean-Pierre Oliver. Salamanca, España: Universidad de Salamanca. pp. 499-510.

Contends that the restriction of Mycenaean literacy to administrative purposes does not stem from the unsuitability of Linear B for anything else, but from a "narrow cultural attitude toward writing" (509).

391. Palleiro 1990 (FK)

María Inés Palleiro. "The Folktale: A Plural Message." *Revista de Investigaciones Folklóricas*, 5:29-35.

Presents a methodology of folk narrative analysis based on the fictional textualization procedures of the enunciative context, the basic components of this context being the addresser, the receiver, and the reference areas. The axis of this methodology is the consideration of the folktale as a plural text, whose message expresses the cultural identity and the social diversity of each group.

392. Parks 1990 (AG, OE, CP, TH)

Ward Parks. *Verbal Dueling in Heroic Narrative: The Homeric and Old English Traditions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Study of heroic flyting—"agonistically styled verbal disputation with martial overtones" (6)—in Ancient Greek and Old English materials, although later chapters explore verbal dueling as a pervasive and cross-cultural phenomenon. Places flyting in an oral traditional contexts for these cultures.

393. Parks 1988 (OE, AG, CP)

Ward Parks. "Ring Structure and Narrative Embedding in Homer and *Beowulf*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 89:237-51.

Explores possible functions of ring-structure within the context of a "larger narrative poetics" (237). In Homer and *Beowulf*, one such function is "narrative integration," a bridge between plot movements or between narration and digression.

394. Parks 1987a (OE, AG, CP, TH)

Ward Parks. "The Flyting Speech in Traditional Heroic Narrative." *Neophilologus*, 71:285-95.

Identifies constitutive "acts" in a typical heroic flyting speech that contribute to "the fulfillment of the contestual aim . . . the establishment of identity agonistically yet within a contractual framework" (292). Finds these acts—identification, retrojection, projection, attribution, evaluation, and comparison—by examining flyting speeches in *Beowulf* and the *Iliad*.

395. Parks 1987b (TH)

Ward Parks. "Orality and Poetics: Synchrony, Diachrony, and the Axes of Narrative Transmission." In Foley 1987a. pp. 511-32.

Discusses similarities and differences in narrative transmission in oral and written works from a structural perspective. Suggests that narrative studies and oral studies can beneficially supplement each other.

396. Parks 1986a (OE, AG, AA, US, IT, CP, TH)

Ward Parks. "Flyting, Sounding, Debate: Three Verbal Contest Genres." *Poetics Today*, 7, iii: 439-58.

Compares three verbal contest genres—flyting (*Beowulf* and *Iliad*), sounding (African-American "signifying"), and debate (Lorenzo Valla's *Dialogue on Free Will*)—according to their subject matter, referential mode, locus of resolution, and context. The intent is to provide a framework, via these case studies, for understanding the interrelationships among the mass of contest material from a broad spectrum of cultures.

397. Parks 1986b (OE, AG, CP)

Ward Parks. "Flyting and Fighting: Pathways in the Realization of the Epic Contest." *Neophilologus*, 70:292-306.

Reviews seven verbal contexts from *Beowulf*, *The Battle of Maldon*, and Homer to illustrate the relationship in each between the military encounter and the preceding verbal exchange. Flyting is both "quarrel and contract" (292); it not only leads inevitably to the combat, but negotiates the terms on which that combat will be fought.

398. Parks 1986c (ME, TH)

Ward Parks. "The Oral-Formulaic Theory in Middle English Studies." *Oral Tradition*, 1:636-94.

Survey of scholarship in Middle English studies related to the oral-formulaic approach, focused on three central topics: 1) comparison of the use of formulas, themes, type scenes, etc. in "Middle English manifestations with their counterparts in primary oral traditions" (637); 2) the question of how awareness of an oral performance medium should influence interpretation of these texts; and 3) relevant historical and cultural topics, such as literacy, or the Alliterative Revival.

399. Peeters 1986 (OF)

Leopold Peeters. "Syntax and Rhythm in the *Song of Roland*: Evidence of a Changing Vision of the World?" In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 35-43.

Demonstrates that the *Song of Roland* is a text meant to be performed, and that the performative elements communicate the poet's vision of the world.

400. Penfield and Duru 1988 (AF)

Joyce Penfield and Mary Duru. "Proverbs: Metaphors that Teach." *Anthropological Quarterly*, 6:119-28.

Argues that oral traditions, specifically proverbs, used in everyday conversation play a major role in the cognitive and social development of Igbo children. Suggests that educators need to do more research into how culturally based uses of language contribute to the thought development of children of all societies, in order to build on those processes in classroom settings.

401. H. D. Petersen 1988 (GR)

H. D. Petersen. "Song and Verse in Traditional Greenlandic Society." *Folk*, 30:229-44.

List of Greenlander song types, described according to their function within the traditional Greenlandic pre-Christian society. Notes that a revival of interest in preservation of traditional songs and dances has come about in the last decade.

402. S. Petersen 1987 (HI)

Suzanne Petersen. "In Defense of *Romancero* Geography." *Oral Tradition*, 2:472-513. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989. pp. 74-115.

Defends geographical approaches to the study of the *romancero* from recent attacks on the validity and relevance of such studies. Shows how computer cartography and geographic information systems can assist in understanding the process of the ballads' transmission and transformation.

403. Peires 1988 (AF)

Peires, Jeff. "Piet Draghoender's Lament." *Social Dynamics*, 14, ii:6-15.

Provides the sociological context for "Piet Draghoender's Lament," a song composed orally by a South African farmer facing eviction from his birthplace. Includes transcription and translation of the lament.

404. Pond 1990 (PL)

Wendy Pond. "Wry Comment from the Outback: Songs of Protest from the Niva Islands, Tonga." *Oral Tradition*, 5:205-18.

Examines three Tongan songs from the Nuia Islands, in which the poets embellish their poems to provide multiple levels of meaning, one for outsiders and one for the poet's own people. Such indirection or misdirection in the songs gives a safe voice of protest to groups who are politically and socially powerless.

405. Porush 1987 (TH)

David Porush. "What Homer Can Teach Technical Writers: The Mnemonic Value of Poetic Devices." *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, 17:129-43.

Explores how devices of oral poetry—formulae and themes—may be of use to technical writers. Because these devices make language memorable and easier to recall to their audiences, technical writers should consider adapting the principles behind their use to information in technical communication that requires recall.

406. Powell 1989 (AG)

Barry Powell. "Why Was the Greek Alphabet Invented? The Epigraphical Evidence." *Classical Antiquity*, 8:321-50.

Examines archaic inscriptions from eighth and seventh century B.C. to test the Wade-Gery hypothesis that the Greek alphabet was invented to write hexameter verse. Although no definite conclusions are made, the epigraphical evidence weighs in favor of this theory.

407. Powell 1988 (AG)

Barry B. Powell. "The Dipylon Oinochoe and the Spread of Literacy in Eighth-Century Athens." *Kadmos: Zeitschrift für vor- und frügriechische Epigraphik*, 27:65-86.

Drawing from theories of oral composition and early alphabetic literacy, this article presents new interpretations of the Dipylon oinochoe, the oldest Greek alphabetic inscription, offering detailed answers as to who wrote it, the occasion of the inscribing, and the reasons for it.

408. Puhvel 1990 (IR)

Jaan Puhvel. "The Iranian Book of Kings: A Comparativistic View." In Honko 1990a. pp. 441-54.

Discusses the interplay of history, myth, and national psychology in the Shāh Nāma, claiming that the epic has little to say about the early history of Iran, but is a "treasury of mythic and legendary tradition" (453) that reflects and reinforces the Iranian national consciousness to an extent comparable to the influence of the *Kalevala* on Finland.

409. Rabel 1990 (AG)

Robert J. Rabel. "Agamemnon's *Aristeia*: *Iliad* 11.101-21." *Syllecta Classica*, 2:1-7.

Examines the temporal references in one episode to "demonstrate the artful complexity attainable through a Homeric multiple-correspondence simile both in relation to its immediate narrative context and to incidents of the past and future to which it is related" (1). Assumes that such artistry of verbal echoes is a feature of an oral poem.

410. Radloff 1885/1990 (TK)

Wilhelm Radloff. "Preface to Volume V: *The Dialect of the Kara-Kirgiz*." In *Sample of Folk Literature from the North Turkic Tribes*. Coll. and trans. by Willhelm Radloff. English translation by Gudrun Böttcher Sherman, with Adam Brooke Davis. *Oral Tradition*, 5:73-90.

Translation of Radloff 1885, an essay that exerted much influence on the early thought of Milman Parry. See Radloff 1885 in Foley 1985.

411. Raffel 1986 (RU, ID, OE, CP)

Burton Raffel. "The Manner of Boyan: Translating Oral Literature." *Oral Tradition*, 1:11-29.

Discusses problems encountered by translators related to uncertainties about the levels of oral influence on the composition and transmission of the text. Examples include a Russian tale, an Indonesian children's rhyme, and the Old English Caedmon's Hymn.

412. Rambo 1990 (ML)

Karl F. Rambo. "Jesus Came Here Too: The Making of a Culture Hero and Control over History in Simbu, Papua New Giunea." *Ethnology*, 29:177-88.

Demonstrates that the association between the legendary Simbu figure Magruai and the Christian Messiah promotes acceptance of Christianity by incorporating the foreign religion into relevant local traditions. The Magruai/Christ combination influences the Simbu perceptions of both the present and historical religious and cultural situations.

413. Rappaport 1987 (SAI, HI, TH)

Joanne Rappaport. "Mythic Images, Historical Thought, and Printed Texts: The Páez and the Written Word." *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 43:43-61.

Refutes, by examining the relationship between oral and written in the paraliterate society of the Paez (central Colombia), the concept of a myth/history binary within the oral/literate binary as implied in the work of Ong and of Goody and Watt. For the Páez, the distinction between orality and literacy exists not as a part of an evolutionary dichotomy from the past as myth to the past as history, but as a means to preserve their own cultural identity while still existing in Colombia's dominant, Spanish-colonialized society.

414. Rechtien 1987 (TH)

John G. Rechtien. "The Ramist Style of John Udall: Audience and Pictorial Logic in Puritan Sermon and Controversy." *Oral Tradition*, 2:188-213.

Examines the sermons of John Udall, a sixteenth-century Puritan minister, for evidences of a shift from "phonocentrism" to "logocentrism," a shift that is typified by the Ramist revisions of rhetoric and logic. Udall's practices of audience accommodation (for both educated and uneducated audiences) are cited as evidence that persuasion and investigation have been replaced by pedagogy, or the transmitting of certainties, as the purpose of discourse.

415. Redondo 1986-87 (HI)

Fernando Gómez Redondo. "Fórmulas Juglarescas en la Historiografía Romance de los Siglos XIII y XIV." *La Corónica*, 15, ii:224-39.

Examines the oral-formulaic style of the medieval Spanish historiographies from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

416. Reichl 1989 (KZ)

Karl Reichl. "Formulaic Diction in Kazakh Epic Poetry." *Oral Tradition*, 4:360-81.

Extends oral-formulaic theory to the many Turkic epic traditions in Central Asia, finding at least one such tradition, Kazakh epic poetry, to be highly formulaic.

417. Reichl 1987 (SC, TK, CP)

Karl Reichl. "Beowulf, Er Toestuek und das Baerensohnmaerchen." In *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung IV*. Ed. by Walther Heissig. Wiesbanden: Harrassowitz. pp. 321-46.

Discusses the differences between the oral presentation of the folk-tale (narration) and the epic (recitation, partly sung), noting that the differences between the two forms of oral tradition are not absolute. Draws examples mainly from Serbo-Croatian and Turkish oral traditions.

418. Reichl 1987 (ME)

Karl Reichl. "Popular Poetry and Courtly Lyric: The Middle English Pastourelle." *REAL: The Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature*, 5:33-61.

Interprets three of the few extant thirteenth-century Middle English *pastourelles* as rooted in a popular tradition, contradicting critics who believe them to be isolated stylistic exercises. Concludes that in these verses "Romance and native elements combine to form a pattern which shows . . . complexity and ingenuity" (56).

419. Rejhon 1990 (OI, OF, TH)

Annalee C. Rejhon. "The Effects of Oral and Written Transmission in the Exchange of Materials between Medieval Celtic and French Literatures: A Physiological View." *Oral Tradition*, 5:131-48.

Applies recent physiological studies of the bicameral brain to the oral/literate dichotomy in the transmission of materials between Medieval Celtic and French literatures. Specific questions concern the differences between orally received materials and written materials in the process of reception and the changes made during the transmission between the cultures.

420. Renoir 1988 (OE, OHG, MHG)

Alain Renoir. *A Key to Old Poems: The Oral Formulaic Approach to the Interpretation of West Germanic Verse*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Compares the theme of the "hero on the beach" across several works from Old English and Old and Middle High German traditions, suggesting that oral-formulaic theory provides a means to interpreting such poems. This approach does not necessarily provide for judging the relative oral or written means of composition in the work, but rather is a tool to understand written poetry

composed within an active oral traditional context. Based on this stipulation *Beowulf*, *Elene*, and the *Hildebrandslied* are profitably studied from an oral-formulaic perspective, but the author cautions against applying it indiscriminately to "poetry adorned with an inactive veneer of oral-formulaic rhetoric" (173), such as the *Nibelungenleid* or *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

421. Renoir 1987 (OHG, OF)

Alain Renoir. "Repetition, Oral-Formulaic Style, and Affective Impact in Mediaeval Poetry: A Tentative Illustration." In Foley 1987a. pp. 533-48.

Outlines four "facts" about oral literature and suggests how awareness of these facts affects our reaction to certain works. As an example, he contrasts the *Hildebrandslied* and the *Chanson des Quatre Fils Aymon*, stating that the significant difference between them is the artistic quality of the use of oral-formulaic elements: "the poet of the *Hildebrandslied* handles the tools of oral-formulaic rhetoric with extraordinary sensitivity and technical skill, the poet of the *Chanson* handles them with mechanical clumsiness and a seeming insensitivity to their implications" (545). Awareness of the "four facts" helps in making better critical judgements.

422. Renoir 1986a (BR, OE, OHG, TH, CP)

Alain Renoir. "Oral-Formulaic Rhetoric and the Interpretation of Literary Texts." In Foley 1986a. pp. 103-35.

Outlines three considerations necessary for those who wish to interpret ancient writing with roots in oral tradition: "1) the extent to which the poet was cognitively and emotionally steeped in the relevant oral-formulaic tradition . . . , 2) the extent of the familiarity the poet was assuming the intended audience to have with the relevant oral-formulaic tradition . . . , [and] 3) the extent to which the poet was expecting the audience to be primarily composed of listeners or readers" (116-18).

423. Renoir 1986b (OE)

Alain Renoir. "Old English Formulas and Themes as Tools for Contextual Interpretation." *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield.* Ed. by Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton, and Fred C. Robinson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp. 65-79.

Claims that for certain Old English poems we may look to oral-formulaic rhetoric as a partial substitute for the scarcity of the historical contexts that usually supply the material for interpretation. This conclusion is based on the repetitiveness of formulaic elements, which attests to their pervasiveness and impact in the historical context.

424. Reynolds 1989 (AR)

Dwight F. Reynolds. "*Sīrat Banī Hilāl*: Introduction and Notes to an Arab Oral Epic Tradition." *Oral Tradition*, 4:80-100.

An introduction to and survey of recent translations and scholarship on *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, the North African epic oral tradition that chronicles the migration, victories, and eventual conquering of the Bedouin tribe *Banī Hilāl*.

425. Richmond 1989 (FB, BB)

W. Edson Richmond. *Ballad Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography.* New York: Garland.

Bibliography of ballad scholarship published from 1898-1986, based mostly on studies rather than on collections of ballads. Of special interest is section E, "Ballad Theory," which lists works dealing with oral-formulaic composition in ballads.

426. Ritoók 1989 (AG)

Zs. Ritoók. "The Views of Early Greek Epic on Poetry and Art." *Mnemosyne*, 42:331-48.

Considers what ancient Greek epics themselves say about poetry and art, with emphasis on the role of the Muses and the purpose to "delight." Points out the importance of remembering the oral performance situation of Greek poetry.

427. Rivers 1987 (HI)

Elias L. Rivers. "Two Functions of Social Discourse: From Lope de Vega to Miguel de Cervantes." *Oral Tradition*, 2:249-59.

Advocates a sociolinguistic approach (derived from Ong, Havelock, Austin, Labov, Benveniste, Voloshinov, and Bakhtin) for the study of language and literature. Gives a brief synthesis of the consensus of these authors on issues related to the social functions of language.

428. Robbins 1988 (AG, TH)

Rosemary A. Robbins. "Contributions to the History of Psychology: XLVII. Ancient Greek Roots of the Assumptions of Modern Clinical Psychology." *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 66:903-21.

Discusses the shift from orality to literacy in ancient Greece and the corresponding emergence of a concept of individuality and dual nature: the rational and irrational. Believes the notion of madness may be "an artifact of attempts by an emerging rational culture to legislate against the irrational" (920).

429. B. F. Roberts 1988 (WL)

Brynley F. Roberts. "Oral Tradition and Welsh Literature: A Description and Survey." *Oral Tradition*, 3:61-87.

Survey of extant Middle Welsh writings that have roots in oral tradition, with consideration given to the effects writing may have had upon the oral tradition.

430. M. Roberts 1989 (IN)

Michael Roberts. "A Tale of Resistance: The Story of the Arrival of the Portuguese in Sri Lanka." *Ethnos*, 54:69-82.

Explains how the original oral rendering of a sixteenth-century Sinhalese folktale would permit the performers to satirize and inferiorize the conquering Portuguese and also Christianity, thus symbolically pointing to their vulnerability.

431. Robinson 1990 (MG)

Christopher Robinson. "Musicality in Modern Greek Poetry, 1900-1930." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14:224-39.

Claims that critics are misguided in dividing twentieth-century Greek poetry into "musical" and "visual" types, that "musical patterning is a fundamental technique" (224) even in the so-called visual poetry.

432. Romeralo 1987 (HI)

Antonio Sánchez Romeralo. "Migratory Shepherds and Ballad Diffusion." *Oral Tradition*, 2:451-513. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989. pp. 53-73.

Traces the geographic diffusion of one ballad, *La loba parda*, along the old migratory routes (*cañadas*) of shepherds in Spain. Includes a catalogue of the versions of this ballad collected from 1977-82 according to their proximity to the various *cañadas*.

433. Rosenberg 1987 (TH)

Bruce A. Rosenberg. "The Complexity of Oral Tradition." *Oral Tradition*, 2:73-90.

Argues that "oral and literate societies exist in a continuity, not a dichotomy, as do their lyrics and narrative" (74). Condenses a broad interdisciplinary range of research in evidence of this point.

434. Rosenberg 1986 (FP, AA, US)

Bruce A. Rosenberg. "The Message of the American Folk Sermon." *Oral Tradition*, 1:695-727. Rpt. in Foley 1990a. pp. 137-68.

Analysis of American folk sermons focusing on structure but emphasizing that the sermon is in the performance, that folk preaching "will never be adequately understood on the printed page" (719).

Includes analysis of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech and a political speech from Jesse Jackson.

435. Russo 1987 (AG)

Joseph A. Russo. "Oral Style as Performance Style in Homer's *Odyssey*: Should We Read Homer Differently after Parry?" In Foley 1987a. pp. 549-65.

Answers the title question affirmatively, based on the poems' "essential characteristic of being a *performance style*" (564). Believes that the high quality of their verbal texture is not beyond the reach of an illiterate poet who has retold and polished the story, and in fact, a performance explanation of Homeric composition accounts for both the quality and the "minor slips" in the poem.

436. Russom 1987 (OE)

Geoffrey R. Russom. "Verse Translations and the Question of Literacy in *Beowulf*." In Foley 1987a. pp. 567-80.

Contends that even though the Beowulf poet shows evidence of careful word choice, "we cannot conclude, without other evidence, that his skill had a literary basis" (576).

437. Sacks 1987 (AG)

Richard Sacks. *The Traditional Phrase in Homer: Two Studies in Form, Meaning, and Interpretation*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Considers the key paradox in Parry-Lord theory to be the question if formulae are "ornamental" (1), how do they function to create meaning in the Homeric poems? The answer lies in "traditionality" as a "bridge between form and content" (3). This study attempts, with a few paradigmatic examples, to uncover the depth of meaning, or "content," behind the "form" of epithets and phrases.

438. Salamone 1988 (MU)

Frank A. Salamone. "The Ritual of Jazz Performance." *Play and Culture*, 1:85-104.

In a discussion of jazz performance as a ritual with elements that communicate meaning to the initiated in the audience, this article notes that Foley's receptionalist theory of oral tradition "applies perfectly to a jazz performance" (100; see Foley 1986b). Jazz is like oral traditional performance in "the presences and reworking of set themes, reliance on synecdoche and overtones, . . . and the absolute necessity for subjective audience participation to render the 'story' meaningful in a current context" (100).

439. Sale 1989 (AG)

William Merritt Sale. "The Trojans, Statistics, and Milman Parry." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 30:341-410.

Examines through quantitative methods the lack of exactly repeated formulae for the Trojans in Homer, and modifies the Parryan notion of a formula system to account for this lack. Having made such modifications, the article claims its conclusions to be a "remarkable qualitative validation of Parryan systems" (346).

440. Sale 1987 (AG)

William Merritt Sale. "The Formularity of Place Phrases of the *Iliad*." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 117:21-50.

Based on a study of place phrases for Troy that indicates "low formularity and a . . . lack of regularly recurring formulae" (38) for Troy, the article concludes that Homer invented rather than inherited much of the phraseology for the scenes in Troy.

441. Salleh 1987 (MS)

Muhammad Haji Salleh. "Fiction for the Voice: Oral Elements in Modern Malaysian Literature." In *The Writer's Sense of the Past: Essays on Southeast Asian and Australasian Literature*. Ed. by Kirpal Singh. Singapore: Singapore University Press. pp. 17-33.

Study of the oral residue in Malaysian literature, noting that because of strong oral traditional influences on contemporary Malaysian writers, the oral aesthetic has strong influence on what constitutes a good work of art.

442. Sawa 1989 (AR, MU)

George D. Sawa. "Oral Transmission in Arabic Music, Past and Present." *Oral Tradition*, 4:254-66.

Compares the process and problems of oral transmission in medieval Iraqi music (specifically from *Kitāb al-Aghānī—Book of Songs*, by al-Iṣbahānī) and modern Egyptian music. Notes parallels in how transmitters of each tradition alter the repertoire, and in how written notation affects transmission and preservation.

443. Sayers 1990 (OI, ON)

William Sayers. "The Three Wounds: Tripartition as Narrative Tool in Ireland and Iceland." *Incognita*, 1:50-90.

Briefly discusses the purpose of tripartition in an oral narrative tradition, and its function for the organization, storage, and retrieval of information in a pre-literate society.

444. Sbait 1989 (AR)

Ḍirghām Ḥ. Sbait. "Palestinian Improvised Sung Poetry: The Genres of Ḥidā and Qarrādī—Performance and Transmission." *Oral Tradition*, 4:213-35.

Analyzes the poetic structure and performance contexts of two genres of *ash-shiᶜr almurtajal*, Palestinian improvised poetry. *Hīdā* and *Qarrādī* are both rhythmical genres, accompanied by folk dancing and punctuated by audience refrains. The differences lie in performance contexts, melody, and type of refrain.

445. Schaefer 1988 (OE)

Ursula Schaefer. "The Instance of the Formula: A Poetic Device Revisited." In *Papers on Language and Mediaeval Studies Presented to Alfred Schopf.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. pp. 39-57.

Accounts for the presence of formulae in Old English written poetry by noting the oral-aural receptional situation and discusses the role of formula in the transition from orality to literacy.

446. Schenda 1990 (FR, CP)

Rudolf Schenda. "Frédéric Mistral's Poem *Mireille* and Provençal Identity." In Honko 1990a. pp. 359-78.

Asks whether Mistral can be seen as a Lönnrot for Provence, creating for his country a national identity by creating an epic. Although the *Mireille* contains much information about Provençal language, culture, and history, Mistral's epic did not enter the popular consciousness in any way, nor did it separate a Provençal identity apart from a French national identity.

447. Scheub 1987 (AF)

Harold Scheub. "Oral Poetry and History." *New Literary History*, 18:477-96.

Argues that historical images used in Xhosa oral praise poetry create new historical motifs that transcend a sense of linear history. Known images "are placed in novel alignments, as the poet shifts from the perspective of historical sequence to that of didactic argument. . . . When the images thus disjointed recover their form, they represent a new dimension of history, an experience in which images of real time and place are reformed by the poetic line" (478).

448. Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1988 (AG)

Annie Schnapp-Gourbeillon. "Homère, Hipparque et le Bonne Parole." *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 43:805-21.

Contends that the ancient sources (specifically Hipparcus) scholars use to pinpoint the date of the writing down of Homer fail to answer adequately this question of dating, but instead reveal much about the ancient authors' respective attitudes toward writing and speech.

449. Scott 1989 (AG)

Wilhelm C. Scott. "Oral Verse-Making in Homer's *Odyssey*." *Oral Tradition*, 4:382-412.

Identifies several types of stories told by characters in the *Odyssey*, and evaluates the success each has in storytelling within his or her audience and situation, naming Odysseus as the master storyteller and the closest in method and intent to the poet Homer.

450. Sears 1989 (JV)

Laurie Lobell Sears. "Aesthetic Displacement in Javanese Shadow Theatre: Three Contemporary Performance Styles." *TDR: The Drama Review: A Journal of Performance Studies*, 33, iii:122-40.

Describes three performance styles of the *wayang* tradition in Java on a continuum from a traditional Javanese style, which is largely oral and composed in performance, to a westernized style, which is written and performed from a fixed text. Considers the influence the written styles are beginning to have on the more traditional styles.

451. Seeger 1990 (HI)

Judith Seeger. *Count Claros: Study of a Ballad Tradition*. The Albert Bates Lord Studies in Oral Tradition, vol. 4. New York: Garland.

Study of the *Conde Claros* ballads, tracing its history and development through oral and written traditions in various regions of the world (including Canary Islands, Portugal, Brazil, and Sephardic communities) through 400 years.

452. Seeger 1988 (HI)

Judith Seeger. "The Curious Case of *Conde Claros*: A Ballad in Four Traditions." *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 12:221-37.

Compares four sixteenth-century versions of *Conde Claros*, finding one to be consistent with professional oral composition by a minstrel, one to be related to popular oral traditions, and the other two to be more "literary." Concludes that "these different versions flourished in different, though not isolated, milieux" (236).

453. Seeger 1987 (HI)

Judith Seeger. "The Living Ballad in Brazil: Two Performances." *Oral Tradition*, 2:573-615. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989. pp. 175-217.

Compares two oral performances of the ballad *El conde Claros de Montalbán*, recorded in rural Brazil, focusing on "musical, linguistic, social, and aesthetic characteristics" (575). The analysis demonstrates the oral traditional ballad's capacity to incorporate changes necessary for survival.

454. Segal 1989 (AG)

Charles Segal. "Song, Ritual, and Commemoration in Early Greek Poetry and Tragedy." *Oral Tradition*, 4:330-59.

Explores the indebtedness that classical Greek tragedians have to "some of the forms for commemorating noble deeds and lamenting suffering" developed in Homeric and early Greek poetry (330).

455. Sellew 1990 (BI)

Philip Sellew. "Oral and Written Sources in Mark 4:1-34." *New Testament Studies*, 36: 234-67.

Contends that the elements of the "parable chapter" in Mark derive from "multiple paths of transmission," both oral and written, and that the gospel writer himself may have been the first to combine these three "seed" parables along with the Interpretation of the Sower. By including the interpretation with the other parables, the writer follows a Jewish literary tradition of vision/dream interpretation in an attempt to develop the hermeneutical implications of the sayings.

456. Seniff 1987 (HI)

Dennis P. Seniff. "Orality and Textuality in Medieval Castilian Prose." *Oral Tradition*, 2:150-71.

A look at the possible applications of orality and literacy theories to Medieval Castilian prose. The article does not attempt to draw specific conclusions, but suggests several avenues for further research.

457. Seniff 1989 (HI, TH)

Dennis P. Seniff. "Approximacion a la oralidad y textualidad en la prosa castellana medieval." *Actas Del IX Congreso de la Asociacion Internacional de Hispanistas*. Neumuenster: Vervuert. pp. 263-77.

Evaluates various medieval Castillian works in prose in regard to the research of orality and literacy, and explains the concept of "diaglossia" and its oral and written characteristics.

458. Seydou 1990 (AF, TH)

Christiane Seydou. "Identity and Epics: African Examples." In Honko 1990a. pp. 403-24.

Demonstrates by African examples how different sociocultural situations produce different types of epics in terms of mythological or historical orientation of the epic and in terms of the role of the bard in relation to the text.

459. Sharratt 1987 (TH)

Peter Sharratt. "Peter Ramus, Walter Ong, and the Tradition of Humanistic Learning." *Oral Tradition*, 2:172-87.

Examines Ramus' ideas on the teaching of literature and Ong's explication and evaluation of these ideas "to suggest that the teacher of literature today should still aim at an encyclopedic ideal" (173). Stresses the importance of teaching and studying oral expression.

460. Shehan 1987 (MU, JP, IN, TI)

Patricia Shehan. "The Oral Transmission of Music in Selected Asian Cultures." *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, 92:1-14.

Compares the education of musicians in Japan, India, and Thailand. In each case training is accomplished largely through oral transmission processes, although these processes differ in their level of memorization and improvisation by formulae. Ends by suggesting aural strategies as a way to develop musical sensitivity in Western students.

461. Shenhar 1987 (FK, TH)

Aliza Shenhar. "Metafolkloristic Additions to Stories by the Artistic Narrator." *Folklore*, 98, i:53-56.

Extends Dundes' term "metafolklore" to mean "the conception a culture has of its own folklore communications as it is represented in the distinction of forms, the attribution of names to them, and the sense of the social appropriateness in their application" (53). The example cited demonstrates how a storyteller, by metafolkloristic additions to the narrative, transmits to the audience a message that "is not in the natural and original cultural context" (53).

462. Sherzer 1987 (SAI, TH)

Joel Sherzer. "A Discourse-Centered Approach to Language and Culture." *American Anthropologist*, 89:295-309.

Reconceptualizes the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis by centering on the *discourse* of a culture rather than the grammar, seeing discourse as "an embodiment of the essence of culture and constitutive of what the language-culture-society relationship is all about" (297), and as the actualization of a creative process between "language, culture, society, and the individual" (308). Draws illustrations from Kuna (Panama) oral traditions.

463. Sherzer and Urban 1986 (SAI)

Joel Sherzer and Greg Urban, eds. *Native South American Discourse*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Collection of papers with the stated aim of being "an initial attempt to document language use in native lowland South America" (1), with emphasis on how discourse, which for the groups under study is largely poetic, creates and transmits culture.

464. Sherzer and Woodbury 1987 (AI, SAI, MY, EK)

Joel Sherzer and Anthony C. Woodbury, eds. *Native American Discourse: Poetics and Rhetoric*. Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, 13. Peter Burke and Ruth Finnegan, gen. eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Collection of six essays dealing with the ways in which Native American discourse is represented, translated, and analyzed. The focus is on discourse- and performance-centered approaches to oral discourse.

465. Shive 1987 (AG)

David M. Shive. *Naming Achilles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Questions the validity of the Parryan concepts of economy and extension in Homeric poetry by examining formulae for Achilles in all grammatical cases and various metrical shapes. The conclusions from this analysis suggest "deliberate, literate composition" for the Homeric epics (130).

466. Sienaert 1990 (BB, TH)

Edgard Richard Sienaert. "Marcel Jousse: The Oral Style and the Anthropology of Gesture." *Oral Tradition*, 5:91-106.

Summary and bibliography of the major works of Marcel Jousse. Includes a bibliography of research by other scholars on Jousse and his work.

467. Sienaert 1988 (AF)

E. Sienaert. "Perspectives on and from an Oral Testimony: Piet Draghoender's Lament." *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature*, 21:227-41.

Analysis, transcription, and translation of an unexpected and quite remarkable poetic outburst during an interview with a farmer of the displaced Kat River people of South Africa.

468. Sienaert 1986 (FR)

E. Sienaert. "Reading a Story Carved in Ivory: *La Chastelaine de Vergi*." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 81-95.

"Reads" the story of "La Chastelaine de Vergi" as carved into ivory-caskets by interpreting the pictorial formulae by which the artist communicated the story.

469. Siikala 1986 (FN, CP)

Anna-Leena Siikala. "Variation in the Incantation and Mythical Thinking: The Scope of Comparative Research." *Journal of Folklore Research*, 23:187-203.

Examines formulae in Finnish incantations, citing the main difference between their use in the incantations and the epics to be in the function of mythical elements. In epic, "mythical elements create a concept of the world," but in incantations they are "the *tietäjä's* medium of influence" (202).

470. Silagan 1986 (AF)

Marciana F. Silagan. "The Genealogy of Mukama; the Methodology of Oral Tradition." *Dialectical Anthropology*, 10:229-47.

Examines the use of the Mukana figure in South African Zula/Xhosa oral praise poetry, who exists in opposition to institutionalized forms of authority. Uses this figure as a symbolic analogy to explicate class systems in contemporary African literature, and by this process, attempts to re-think the oral/literate dichotomy often used to describe African cultural systems.

471. Silva 1989 (HW)

Kalena Silva. "Hawaiian Chant: Dynamic Cultural Link or Atrophied Relic?" *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 98:85-90.

Describes the revival of interest among Hawaiians in the type of chanting associated with *hālau hula*, a traditional school of Hawaiian dance. The chants are one of the many traditions that nearly died out as a result of the American-enforced neglect of Hawaiian language and culture in the early- to mid-twentieth century.

472. Slater 1990 (HI, FK, TH)

Candace Slater. *City Steeple, City Streets: Saints' Tales from Granada and a Changing Spain*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Analysis of stories told in Granada and eastern Andalusia about Fray Leopoldo, a popular but nonconsecrated Spanish saint. The study demonstrates the dynamic (but not necessarily binary) tension between the popular oral versions of the saint's life, which often express anti-institutional sentiments, and the official biography of the saint, written by a fellow monk.

473. Slyomovics 1987 (AR, EG)

Susan Slyomovics. "The Death Song of ʿAmir Khafājī: Puns in an Oral and Printed Episode of *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*." *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 18:62-78.

Investigates a discrepancy between the large number of puns in an oral version of the Death Song of ʿAmir Khafājī and the relatively few puns in a printed version, attributing much of the discrepancy to varying methods of characterization in oral and literary epics.

474. Slyomovics 1987 (AR)

Susan Slyomovics. *The Merchant of Art: An Egyptian Hilali Oral Epic Poet in Performance*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

A performance-centered study of the singing of tales from the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* by ʿAwadallah, an Egyptian oral epic poet. This poet's version has a certain message for his audience; it tries to demonstrate that poets should be treated with respect, despite prevailing customs of treating the poet as an outcast. Consideration is also given to gender roles in both story and story-telling.

475. A. Smith 1986 (TH)

Anthony Smith. "On Audio and Visual Technologies: A Future for the Written Word?" In Baumann 1986. pp. 171-92.

Considers "the way in which perceptual revolutions take place through the agency of new media" (172), assessing especially the impact of visual technologies on the processing of the printed word. Notes two possible directions (not mutually exclusive): "the first toward a merger of the printed word and the moving image, the second away from the printed word to the screen" (189).

476. A. S. Smith 1986 (OE)

Ailsa Stewart Smith. "Non-aristocratic Poetry: The World Beyond *Beowulf*." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 44-49.

Contends that preserved Anglo-Saxon charms and riddles, derived from older, oral traditions, provide insights into the lives of social classes not usually mentioned in heroic poetry.

477. J. D. Smith 1990 (IN, SK)

John D. Smith. "Worlds Apart: Orality, Literacy, and the Rajasthani Folk-*Mahābhārata*." *Oral Tradition*, 5:3-19.

Compares a certain tale from the written Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* to a present-day Rajasthani oral-folk version of the same tale. Also considers reasons for the decline of folk-*Mahābhārata* traditions.

478. J. D. Smith 1987 (IN)

John D. Smith. "Formulaic Language in the Epics of India." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 591-611.

Lists some of the common characteristics among the widely diverse epics of India, and discusses the relevance of oral-formulaic theories to some of these epics.

479. J. M. H. Smith 1990 (OF)

Julia M. H. Smith. "Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250." *Speculum*, 65:309-43.

Examines a portion of the Breton hagiographical corpus to demonstrate, against certain common scholarly assumptions, that the "oral is not necessarily the popular, nor even the inauthentic and disreputable" (312). The evidence from Breton hagiography indicates little antagonism between written/clerical and oral/laity in the authoritative structures of the saints' cults, and that the oral traditions were considered valid accounts of the saints' lives, especially for postmortem miracle stories.

480. Soko 1986 (AF)

B. J. Soko. "Translating Oral Literature into European Languages." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 113-21.

Discusses the problems inherent in translating African oral literatures into written European languages, including issues of performance, language, and style. Suggests an ethnolinguistic approach as a way to address these problems.

481. Sowayan 1989 (AR)

Saad Abdullah Sowayan. "'Tonight My Gun is Loaded': Poetic Dueling in Arabia." *Oral Tradition*, 4:151-73.

Ethnography of the *riddiyyih* poetry (Arabic poetic dueling), including descriptions of performance, compositional strategies of the poets, and the historical, cultural, and literary contexts for poetic dueling.

482. Sparrow 1989 (AF, CN)

Fiona Sparrow. "Telling the Story Yet Again: Oral Traditions in Nuruddin Farah's Fiction." *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 24:164-72.

Analyzes oral traditional elements and the interplay of orality and literacy issues in Nuriddin Farah's novels. Concentrates on the character of Deeriye in *Close Sesame* who embodies the evolution of Somali society from oral to literate.

483. Speight 1989 (AR, IS)

R. Marston Speight. "Oral Traditions of the Prophet Muhammed: A Formulaic Approach." *Oral Tradition*, 4:27-37.

Overview of formulaic elements in the *hīadīth* literature of Islam, textual collections of various oral traditions about the Prophet Muḥammad and other figures from the early Islamic period.

484. Stahl 1989 (FK, TH)

Sandra Dolby Stahl. *Literary Folkloristics and the Personal Narrative*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Makes a case that personal narratives are a legitimate genre of oral traditional literature. The performance of personal narratives assumes a "range of traditions significant in the listener's hearing of the story [that] is larger and more inclusive than previously assumed and that the process of hearing the text is a creative act in which the listener's own large store of cultural and personal resources is used to produce a unified resonance of meaning" (2).

485. Stahmer 1987 (GM, TH)

Harold M. Stahmer. "Speech Is the Body of the Spirit: The Oral Hermeneutic in the Writings of Rosenstock-Huessy." *Oral Tradition*, 2:301-22.

Contends that Rosenstock-Huessy's "lifelong preoccupation with the Incarnate Word and the spoken word . . . dominated and shaped the substance and style of his written work" (303).

486. Steele 1987 (AL)

Thomas J. Steele. "Orality and Literacy in Matter and Form: Ben Franklin's *Way to Wealth.*" *Oral Tradition*, 2:273-85.

Describes how Franklin adapted a medium, proverbs, that was oral in origin into a literate and typographic object, making "a breakthrough from the ineffective old morality [i.e. oral and communal] to a new world of system and ethics" (282).

487. Stewart 1989 (HY)

Michael Stewart. "'True Speech': Song and the Moral Order of a Hungarian Vlach Gypsy Community." *Man*, 24 (n.s.):79-102.

Performance analysis of Hungarian Vlach Gypsy (Rom) songs, pointing out the difference the Rom themselves mark between the "true speech" of song and normal talk. The song becomes a source of power, albeit brief, by which the Rom men identify themselves as a distinct, ideal community, the singers as a united brotherhood. This picture contrasts with the normal speech activities of the community, which are individualistic, often fractious, and do not exclude participation by women.

488. Stock 1990 (TH)

Brian Stock. *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Collection of essays by the author, focusing on antiquity to the thirteenth century, that considers "what happens when there is a shift from the oral to the written in the field of religion and society" (2). Attempts to find unity in the dominating theories of orality and literacy that on the one hand propose a great divide between oral and literate life and thought and, on the other hand, consider the dynamic interactions between the oral and the written once literacy is introduced.

489. Stoddart and Whitley 1988 (AG)

Simon Stoddart and James Whitley. "The Social Context of Literacy in Archaic Greece and Etruria." *Antiquity*, 62:761-72.

Compares the differing uses of alphabetic scripts in Ancient Greece and Etruria to demonstrate that the effects of alphabetic literacy are not uniform or predictable, but vary greatly according to the local social context.

490. Swanepoel 1990 (AF)

Chris F. Swanepoel. "Thomas Mofolo's Chaka and the Oral Legacy." In *Semper Aliquid Novi: Littérature comparée et litteratures d'Afrique*. Ed. by Janos Riesz and Alain Ricard. Tübingen: Narr. pp. 287-95.

Presents Thomas Mofolo's book "Chaka" as a suitable representative of South African orality. Its legacy is determined by myth and archetype of the structure of the story, by the style which follows formulaic patterns, by the subjective standpoint of the narrator ("oral reporter"), and by the application of various oral narrative genres (myth, legend, and folktale).

491. Swann and Krupat 1987 (AI, SAI)

Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat, eds. *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Collection of essays on the presentation (especially of oral forms) and interpretation of Native American literatures. The central concern is to present the current and most promising trends in criticism of Native American literatures.

492. Sweeney 1987 (MS)

Amin Sweeney. *A Full Hearing: Orality and Literacy in the Malay World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Examines the relationship between oral and written traditions in Malay society, specifically in Malay literature and in the teaching of students who are strongly oral-oriented.

493. Swiderski 1988 (IN)

Richard M. Swiderski. "Oral Text: A South Indian Instance." *Oral Tradition*, 3:122-37.

Demonstrates the various ways in which orality and literacy are interdependent by examining a Knanaya songbook, a printed version whose purpose is to be integrated back into oral performance, specifically in the singing of wedding songs. The book does not serve as a "script" for the performance, for the songs are known without it. However, the *presence* of the book itself is traditionally required at the singing.

494. Tannen 1988 (TH)

Deborah Tannen. "The Commingling of Orality and Literacy in Giving a Paper at a Scholarly Conference." *American Speech*, 63:34-43.

Uses the occasion of the delivery of a paper at a conference to demonstrate that orality and literacy are not mutually exclusive, but are "complex and intertwined dimensions" (42).

495. Tapping 1990 (AF, TH)

Craig Tapping. "Voices Off: Models of Orality in African Literature and Literary Criticism." *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*, 21, iii:73-86.

Criticizes contemporary literary theorists who employ Western language ideologies to interpret African literatures and who ignore or debase African-derived representations of oral culture.

496. Tarlinskaja 1989 (RU, BR)

Marina Tarlinskaja. "Formulas in Russian and English Verse." In *Russian Verse Theory*. Proceedings of the 1987 Conference at UCLA. UCLA Slavic Studies, vol 18. Ed. by Barry P. Scherr and Dean S. Worth. Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers. pp. 419-39.

Study of literary "formulas" (defined roughly as recurring rhythmical-grammatical-lexical patterns) in Russian and English poetic traditions. Demonstrates that such formulaic elements form an integral part of even the post-Romantic poetic craft.

497. Tedlock 1985 (MY)

Dennis Tedlock, trans. *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Translation of the Quiché Maya book of creation, with introduction and commentary by the translator.

498. Teffeteller 1990 (AG)

Annette Teffeteller. "Αὐτὸς ἀπούρας, *Iliad* 1.356." *Classical Quarterly*, 40 (n.s.):16-20.

Refutes the charge that *Il.* 1.356 contains a contradiction to other accounts of the removal of Briseis from Achilles' camp, that it is an instance of oral inconsistency. Maintains that the phrase is rather "a subtly delineated development in the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon" (16).

499. A. Thomas and Tuia 1990 (PL)

Allan Thomas and Ineleo Tuia. "Profile of a Composer: Ihaia Puka, a *Pulotu* of the Tokelau Islands." *Oral Tradition*, 5:267-82.

Profiles Ihaia Puka, a highly respected Tokelaun composer-poet, generalizing from his experience to describe the poetic tradition of his community, and to point out the necessity of emphasizing *individual* contributions to a community's tradition, as well as the tradition itself.

500. K. Thomas 1986 (BR, TH)

Keith Thomas. "The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England." In Baumann 1986. pp. 97-132.

Evaluates the meanings, extent, and effects of literacy (manuscript and print) in England between 1500 and 1750. Concludes that the spread of literacy in this period "did not noticeably alter the direction in which society was moving anyway," had only a "gradual effect upon people's mental habits," and reinforced "already established values" within the class structure (121).

501. Thomson 1990 (ST, FN, TH)

Derick Thomson. "Macpherson's Ossian: Ballad Origins and Epic Ambitions." In Honko 1990a. pp. 115-30.

Demonstrates the effect of political and economic circumstances on James MacPherson's literary efforts, as he sought, by producing a Scottish national epic, to recapture the "lost glory of his native land" (115) and to make a name for himself in eighteenth-century literary circles. The results were the poems of Ossian, which were, despite their Gaelic ballad sources, largely products of MacPherson's own literary imagination, developed out of literary expectations for an epic. A final

section of the article draws parallels between MacPherson's process in creating a Scottish epic and Lönnrot's efforts at Finnish epic.

502. Thornton 1987 (PL, AG)

Agathe Thornton. *Maori Oral Literature as Seen by a Classicist.* Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press.

Compares Maori myths of cosmogony, underworld journeys, and other stories to their ancient Greek counterparts. Many of the examples cited demonstrate in their structure the "close and intense" (58) involvement of both storyteller and audience. The final section discusses how this relationship influences the writings of Te Rangikaheke, a traditional storyteller writing to two different audiences, the people of Hawaii and Sir George Gray, insiders and outsider (respectively) to the tradition.

503. Tonkin 1986 (AF, TH)

Elizabeth Tonkin. "Investigating Oral Tradition." *Journal of African History*, 27:203-13.

Critiques the structural functionalist approach to African oral traditions as history and offers alternative models that incorporate "the subjects of society, its agents, who are not, simply free individuals but in part socially constituted beings" (211).

504. Top 1990 (FK, BE)

Stefaan Top. "Modern Legends in the Belgian Oral Tradition." *Fabula: Zeitschrift für Erzählforschung*, 31:272-78.

Describes the existence and collection of modern legends in Belgium. Includes numerous examples and a comparison with legend types identified by Brunvand.

505. Traill 1989 (AG)

David A. Traill. "Gold Armor for Bronze and Homer's Use of Compensatory *timê*." *Classical Philology*, 84:301-304.

Interprets the unequal exchange of armor between Diomedes and Glaucus in light of a Homeric type scene, in which gifts are exchanged according to the *timê* of the participants. In this instance, the exchange preserves the guest-friendship relationship between the two while still demonstrating that Diomedes is the victor. The gift of gold for bronze compensates Diomedes for the *timê* he would have undoubtedly won if he had battled with Glaucus.

506. Tranter and Tristram 1989 (OI)

Stephen N. Tranter and Hildegard L. C. Tristram, eds. *Early Irish Literature—Media and Communication (Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in der frühen irischen Literatur).* ScriptOralia 10. Tübingen: Narr.

Collection of essays concerning the transition from oral to written tradition in Old Irish literature.

507. Trapero 1987 (HI)

Maximiano Trapero. "Hunting for Rare *Romances* in the Canary Islands." *Oral Tradition*, 2:514-46. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989. pp. 116-48.

Describes recent scholarly searches for rare and archaic *romances* in the Canary Islands. Includes a transcription and translation of one *romancero* completely unknown outside of one singer living in the islands, and makes evaluative comparisons between the Canary *romances* and those of eastern Sephardic peoples.

508. Tristram 1989a (OI, MI, BR)

Hildegard L. C. Tristram. "Why James Joyce also Lost His 'Brain of Forgetting': Patterns of Memory and Media in Irish Writing." In *Anglistentag 1988 Göttingen.* Ed. by Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock and Renate Noll-Wiemann. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. pp. 220-33.

Considers Cenn Faelad and Suibne as *prae-textus* for Joyce and Yeats in that each pair of authors, ancient and modern, writes in a period of transition, of outside influence, and feels the compulsion to preserve Irish heritage in part by codifying oral folk traditions into writing.

509. Tristram 1989b (OE, OI)

Hildegard L. Tristram. "Early Modes of Insular Expression." In *Sages, Saints, and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney.* Ed. by Donnchadh ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach, and Kim McCone. Maynooth Monographs 2. An Sagart: Maynooth. pp. 427-48.

Contends that for Insular literatures (early Irish, Old English, early British) "writing as a new technique of verbal communication did not give rise to entirely new modes of literary expression. Its effects lay in the sophistication of the inherited pre-literary modes" (427).

510. Troll 1990 (TH)

Denise A. Troll. "The Illiterate Mode of Written Communication: The Work of the Medieval Scribe." In Enos 1990. pp. 96-125.

Examines medieval manuscript technology and the practices of the monastic scribes to understand the constraints this technology placed on culture and knowledge and how it contributed to the structure of the pre-print consciousness.

511. Tsitsibakou 1986 (AG)

Evanthia Tsitsibakou. "Two Homeric Formulae in the P. Lille Poem: Θεοὶ Θέσαν and ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων." *Glotta*, 64:165-84.

Contends that the Homeric formula ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων in the P. Lille was chosen consciously not for its metrical utility but for "its potential to convey contradictory ideas and messages," insinuating certain ideas about the god and creating "a climate of suspense by foreshadowing events" (184) and giving the poems the feel of tragedy.

512. Tucker 1989 (ON)

John Tucker, ed. *Sagas of the Icelanders: A Book of Essays*. Garland Reference Library for the Humanities, 758. New York and London: Garland.

Although most of the essays in this volume do not discuss oral tradition per se, the introduction notes that questions related to oral tradition and authorial composition form the "central debate of saga scholarship" (14).

513. Turner 1986 (TH)

Frederick Turner. "Performed Being: Word Art as a Human Inheritance." *Oral Tradition*, 1:66-109.

Advocates oral tradition as a literary theory that could serve as a unifying paradigm for all of the various approaches to literary studies, on the analogy of the unifying force of evolutionary theories in the biological sciences.

514. Tyler 1988 (BB)

Lee Edgar Tyler. "Annotated Bibliography to 1985." *Oral Tradition*, 3:191-228.

Second installment, covering the years 1984-85, of the continuation of John Miles Foley's 1985 bibliography of research on oral traditions and oral-formulaic theory. See Tyler et al. 1986.

515. Tyler et al. 1986 (BB)

Lee Edgar Tyler, Juris Dilevko, and John Miles Foley. "Annotated Bibliography." *Oral Tradition*, 1:767-808.

Continuation, covering 1983, of John Miles Foley's 1985 bibliography on *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research*. See Tyler 1988.

516. Unabia 1985 (PH)

Carmen Ching Unabia. "*Gugud*: a Bukidnon Oral Tradition." *Asian Folklore Studies*, 44:205-29.

Describes the *Gugud*, a mythological oral tradition recited as prose narrative by the Bikidnan, a scattered cultural minority group in the Philippines. Includes three texts: "The Flood and the Origin of the Talaandig," "The Drought and the Origin of the Bukidnan," and "The Flight of Agyn and his Family."

517. Urban 1988 (SAI)

Greg Urban. "Ritual Wailing in Amerindian Brazil." *American Anthropologist*, 90:385-400.

Contends that ritual wailing demonstrates "how culture comes to exercise control over affective process" (386) by the interaction of "affect, signal, and meta-signal" (399). By grieving in the appropriate way, the griever makes the emotion and the actions of grieving intelligible to the community and socially acceptable.

518. Urban 1986 (SAI)

Greg Urban. "Ceremonial Dialogues in South America." *American Anthropologist*, 88:371-86.

Investigates ceremonial dialogues from five different South American native groups. The conclusion from the comparison of their formal characteristics and contextual dynamics is that the dialogues convey a "culture-specific message about solidarity, i.e. a message about how cohesion is . . . achieved in that society" (371).

519. Uysal 1987 (TK)

Ahmet Edip Uysal. "The Use of the Supernatural in the Turkish Epics of *DedeKorkut* and *Köroğhlu*." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 551-67.

Explains certain supernatural references in Turkish epics, with emphasis on those from pre-Islamic origins.

520. Valenciano 1987 (HI)

Ana Valenciano. "Survival of the Traditional *Romancero*: Field Work." *Oral Tradition*, 2:424-50. Rpt. in R. Webber 1989. pp. 26-52.

Offers practical advice to field researchers who wish to collect examples of the traditional *romancero*.

521. Valesio 1987 (CN, TH)

Paolo Valesio. "A Remark on Silence and Listening." *Oral Tradition*, 2:286-300.

Advocates "listening to mute things" as an approach to critical interpretation of texts, explicating a Pirandello short story as both a metaphor and an example of this act of listening.

522. van Beeck 1987 (TH)

Frans Jozef van Beeck. "Rahner on Sprachregelung: Regulation of Language? Of Speech?" *Oral Tradition*, 2:323-36.

Examines the works of Karl Rahner, contending that "Catholic theology has gained enormously from the two influences at work" in his theological oeuvre: "the formal-literate and the rhetorical-literary" (333). Discusses the traditional use of theological terminology in the "live, oral-acoustical profession of faith" (330), given by laypeople, those who have had no formal instruction in theology.

523. Vermes 1986 (BI, HB, TH)

Geza Vermes. "Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Written and Oral Torah." In Baumann 1986. pp. 79-96.

Describes the complex interaction of written Scripture and associated oral traditions in inter-testamental Judaism, concluding that "the overall function of the oral Torah has been to infuse with dynamism and vitality the religious messages of the written Bible . . . [and] to maintain its impact until now on the mind and life of the believing Jew" (94).

524. Visotzky 1983 (HB)

Burton L. Visotzky. "Most Tender and Fairest of Women: A Study in the Transmission of Aggada." *Harvard Theological Review*, 76:403-18.

Describes the development of a single aggadic narrative by comparing biblical exegesis by Josephus and several rabbinic parallels. Advocates reconstruction of the midrashic exegesis as a better method for tracing the oral and written transmission of a legend over standard folklore methods.

525. Visser 1988 (AG)

Eduard Visser. "Formulae or Single Words? Towards a New Theory on Homeric Verse-Making." *Wurzburger Jahrbücher für Die Altertumswissenschaft Neue Folge*, 14:20-37.

Divides the formula into noun + epithet, stating that the noun is a unit chosen by the poet; the epithet is determined by meter: "the constituents of the noun-epithet formula are not connected inextricably and that therefore the generally accepted idea of the formula as a fixed unit has to be abandoned" (27). Homer can therefore be read as any other poet, since "he obviously thought in categories of single words and not in formulaic word-blocks" (36).

526. Vitz 1986 (OF)

Evelyn Birge Vitz. "Rethinking Old French Literature: The Orality of the Octosyllabic Couplet." *Romanic Review*, 77, iv:307-21.

Argues that the Old French octosyllabic rhymed couplet is a pre-literary form, contradicting usual assumptions that the form "emerged along with the written vernacular" (308). Suggests that this hypothesis forces a rethinking of basic premises about the development of French literature.

527. Voigt 1990 (FN, ES, HY, SCN, RU, FK, CP)

Vilmos Voigt. "The *Kalevala* and the Epic Traditions of Europe." In Honko 1990a. pp. 247-64.

Describes the influence of the *Kalevala* and Finnish folklore studies on the collection and analysis of other European epic traditions, namely Estonian (*Kalevipoeg*), Hungarian, Scandinavian, and Russian.

528. Wagner 1987 (HB, FN, OI, GM, SU, UG, CP)

Heinrich Wagner. "The Roots of Finno-Ugric Folk Epic." In Almqvist et al. 1987. pp. 347-70.

Considers the nature of parallelistic verse in various European epic traditions that were free from classical Greek and Roman influence, including Sumerian, Hebrew, Ugaritic, Mordvin, Old Irish, and ancient Germanic languages, as well as Finno-Ugrian. Presents evidence, based on the type of parallelism featured in the epic poetry, for historical links between Finnish, Mordvin, Ugaritic, and Sumerian epic traditions.

529. Waiko 1990 (ML)

John D. Waiko. "'Head' and 'Tail': The Shaping of Oral Traditions Among the Binandere in Papua New Guinea." *Oral Tradition*, 5:334-53.

Describes the transmission process of oral traditions from one generation to another among the Binandere, demonstrating in detail how this process can lead to "distortion and/or corruption" (351) of the traditional reconstruction of community and family histories.

530. Waiko 1987 (ML)

John D. Waiko. "Oral Traditions Among the Binandere: Problems of Method in a Melanesian Society." *Journal of Pacific History*, 21:21-38.

Examines oral traditions of the Binandere (Papua New Guinea) that speak of events in the recent past, specifically since first contact with Europeans. The *ji tari*, a chanted lament, seems to provide reliable evidence for events in the recent past, but it is a dying form, due to European influences on its music and structure, and to discouragement of its practice by church and colonial administrators.

531. Waltke 1986 (BI, HB)

Bruce K. Waltke. "Oral Tradition." In *A Tribute to Gleason Archer*. Ed. by W. Kaiser and R. Youngblood. Chicago: Moody Press. pp. 17-34.

Attempts to demonstrate that "oral tradition played a minor role in the transmission" of biblical literature (Old Testament), and that this notion will help "to restore more confidence in the Old Testament's reliability and to clarify its meaning" (19).

532. C. Ward 1990 (AF, CN)

Cynthia Ward. "What They Told Buchi Emecheta: Oral Subjectivity and the Joys of 'Otherhood'." *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 105, ii: 83-97.

Reads Emecheta's novel *Joys of Motherhood* as an example of an "oral antiaesthetic" in which a multiplicity of voices, often contradictory, evade a single authoritative perspective through which a unified interpretation of meaning can be derived.

533. J. Ward 1990 (TH)

John O. Ward. "Rhetoric, Truth, and Literacy in the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century." In Enos 1990. pp. 126-57.

Describes the so-called Renaissance of the twelfth century as a "collapse . . . of the political economy of truth" (126) for that society. A significant factor in this collapse was an oscillation between oral and literate modes of thinking and their competing claims to power and truth. The "Renaissance" is then defined as types of discourse that occur when large numbers of persons are drawn by sociocultural forces into the textual world and compete for control of interpretation.

534. A. Webber 1989 (AG)

Alice Webber. "The Hero Tells His Name: Formula and Variation in the Phaeacian Episode of the *Odyssey*." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 119:1-13.

Believes that the deviation from the thematic patterns of hospitality in the Phaeacian episode is an example of how an oral traditional poet creatively uses the formulaic language by varying it to "bring out a special meaning" that by its variation "commands the audience's attention" (2).

535. R. Webber 1989 (HI, FB)

Ruth H. Webber. *Hispanic Balladry Today*. The Albert Bates Lord Studies in Oral Tradition, vol. 4. New York: Garland.

Reprint in book form of *Oral Tradition* 2, ii-iii, May-October 1987.

536. R. Webber 1987 (FB, CP)

Ruth H. Webber. "Ballad Openings in the European Ballad." In Foley 1987a. pp. 518-96.

Comparative statistical study of ballad openings from six traditions: Hispano-Portuguese, French, Italian, English-Scottish, Danish, German, and Serbo-Croatian. Despite numerous differences in the openings, a "fundamental homogeneity of the pan-European ballad" is suggested, based on the "essential identity of the process of oral composition" (592-93).

537. R. Webber 1986a (HI)

Ruth H. Webber. "The *Cantar de Mio Cid*: Problems of Interpretation." In Foley 1986a. pp. 65-88.

Assesses the validity of the critical techniques that have been used by scholars to demonstrate the origins of the *Cantar de Mio Cid* as oral or written, and considers the effect the recent origins debates have had on the interpretation of the poem.

538. R. Webber 1986b (HI)

Ruth House Webber. "Hispanic Oral Literature: Accomplishments and Perspectives." *Oral Tradition*, 1:344-80. Rpt. in Foley 1990a. pp. 169-88.

Survey of scholarship on Hispanic oral literatures (including Portuguese). Discusses epics, ballads, lyrics, folktales, and proverbs.

539. Webster 1989 (CN)

Michael Webster. "Words in Freedom and the Oral Tradition." *Visible Language*, 23:65-87.

Notes how the style of the poet Filippo Tommaso Marionetti reflects his habit of oral composition, with its formulaic epithets and paratactic structure. This notion is somewhat ironic coupled with the fact that this poet is credited with inventing a very visual form of poetry. Ultimately, Marionetti's poetry "attempts to put the visual at the service of the oral" (86).

540. M. West 1988 (AG)

M. L. West. "The Rise of the Greek Epic." *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 108:151-72.

Attempts to discover the early origins and the phases through which the Greek epic tradition passed in its development. Claims that Euboea, not Ionia, was the place where oriental contacts led to a "marvelous new creative phase" (170) in the development of the Greek heroic traditions.

541. S. West 1988 (AG)

Stephanie West. "Archilochus' Message-Stick." *Classical Quarterly*, 38:42-48.

Contends that Archilochus' message-stick has nothing to do with writing, but rather refers to ancient oral practices in which notched sticks served as mnemonic aids or as symbolic messages in themselves. By adopting the message-stick as a symbol for the poet, Archilochus distances himself from his message by portraying himself as agent, as a carrier or symbol of a message from another.

542. West-Burdette 1987 (HI)

Beverly West-Burdette. "Gesture, Concrete Imagery, and Spatial Configuration in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*." *La Corónica*, 16, i:56-66.

A performance-based analysis contending that formulaic phraseology containing concrete imagery of body parts, in addition to its mnemonic and referential functions, also served to induce and direct gesture and expression on the part of the performer.

543. Whitaker 1986 (AG)

R. A. Whitaker. "Oral and Literary Elements in Homer's Epics." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 18-25.

Briefly surveys eighteenth-century studies on the Homeric epics as oral traditional literature, demonstrating their role as foundational scholarship for Parry and other twentieth-century researchers. Concludes that the epics cannot be placed at either extreme of the oral-literate continuum and that scholars should focus as much on the poetic vision of the poem as on the techniques of epic narrative.

544. Whitaker and Sienaert 1986 (AF, AG, IT, ME, MU, OE, OF, RU, TH, CP)

R. A. Whitaker and E. R. Sienaert, eds. *Oral Tradition and Literacy: Changing Visions of the World*. Selected Conference Papers, University of Natal, Durban, July 1985. Durban, South Africa: Natal University Oral Documentation and Research Center.

Publication of an interdisciplinary collection of papers presented at the Conference on Oral Tradition and Literacy, University of Natal, South Africa, in July 1985. See the 1986 entries for Belcher, Bezuidenhout, Cope, Dargie, de Wet, Erlmann, Gasinski, Gunner, Henderson, Hodgson, Hutchings, Jenkins, Lee, Lord (1986c), McAllister, Moore, Moto, Neethling, Opland, Peeters, Seinaert, A. S. Smith, Soko, and Whitaker.

545. Willcock 1990 (AG)

M. M. Willcock. "The Search for the Poet Homer." *Greece & Rome*, 37, i:1-13.

Argues for a problematized notion of a single author for Homer, asking if literary and oral theory approaches are compatible: "repetition as an inherent feature of oral poetry, but a poet who uses it

also for his own artistic ends?" (4). Examines arming scenes, the Polydamas/Hector exchanges, and soliloquies to answer the question "yes."

546. Williams 1989 (BI)

Sam K. Williams. "The Hearing of Faith: ΑΚΟΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ in Galatians 3." *New Testament Studies*, 35:82-93.

Interprets the phrase ἄκον πίστεως in Gal. 3:2, 5 in light of Paul as part of an oral traditional culture. The usual translation as "message/proclamation about faith" ignores the active, metaphoric implications of "hearing" in a society that experiences the word largely through sound.

547. Wolf 1988 (GM,OE)

Alois Wolf. "Die Verschriftlichung von europaeischen Heldensagen als mittelalterliches Kulturproblem." In *Heldensage und Heldendichtung im Germanischen*. Ed. by Heinrich Beck. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. pp. 305-28.

Discusses the influence of the three heroic ages on the writing of the oral epic trying to preserve some of its oral style and characteristics.

548. Wongthet 1989 (LO)

Pranee Wongthet. "The Jataka Stories and Laopuan Worldview." *Asian Folklore Studies*, 48:21-30.

Describes the changing function of jataka story recitations among Laotian groups who were settled in Thailand and faced mistreatment as an ethnic minority. Such stories "helped to forge Laopuan worldview as a spiritual refuge for survival . . . , enabled [them] to feel confident and proud of their own ethical values . . . , [and] are thus . . . a valuable spiritual linkage between the past in Laos and the present in Thailand" (27).

549. Wood 1985 (WL)

Juliette Wood. "Walter Map: the Contents and Context of 'De Negis Curialium'." *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 96:91-103.

Sees the "De Negis Curialium" as a unique example of a body of medieval Welsh folklore collected and retold by an individual for whom we have definite biographical information. The situation gives the modern researcher the tools to better understand the oral traditional context from which the tales were derived.

550. Woolf 1986 (BR, TH)

D. R. Woolf. "Speech, Text, and Time: The Sense of Hearing and the Sense of the Past in Renaissance England." *Albion*, 18:159-93.

Examines a variety of writings from the English Renaissance to discover "the ways in which attitudes to sound and sight structure the perception and study of the past" (160). Believes that the "perceptual shift from oral to written in this time period has been overstated," that the "early modern historical mind sprang from oral and aural roots . . . [and] was fully capable of balancing aural and visual perception" (160).

551. Worth 1990 (HI, TH)

Frederick R. Worth. "On Fixed and Fluid 'Texts': *The Singer of Tales* and the Natural Approach of Tracy D. Terrell." *Hispania*, 73:522-23.

Considers the application of methods by which oral poets learn to compose to beginning language instruction.

552. Wright 1989 (AF, CN)

Derek Wright. "Unwritable Realities: The Orality of Power in Nuruddin Farah's *Sweet and Sour Milk*." *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 24:185-92.

Explores how Farah's novel *Sweet and Sour Milk* questions the nature of power and reality in an oral culture.

553. Wright 1990 (AF, CN)

Derek Wright. "Somali Powerscapes: Mapping Farah's Fiction." *Research in African Literatures*, 21, ii: 21-34.

Examines in part the role oral traditions and an oral culture play in creating and expressing the themes in Nuruddin Farah's novels.

554. Wyatt 1988 (AG)

William F. Wyatt. "Homer in Performance: *Iliad* I.348-427." *Classical Journal*, 83:289-97.

Uses this scene between Achilles and Thetis, in which their is no audience/witness to their conversation within the story, to demonstrate how Homer, as an oral composer, is able to manipulate the emotions and reactions of the hearers as they identify with different kinds of "hearers" in the story itself.

555. Wynchank 1986 (AF, CN)

A. Wynchank. "The Griot as a Source for Ahmadou Kourouma's Novel, *The Suns of Independence*." In Whitaker and Sienaert 1986. pp. 104-12.

Demonstrates how Kourouma "perpetuate[s] in his work the art and skill of the traditional griot" (107), both in form and content.

556. Yuan et al. 1990 (CH)

Ji Feng Yuan, Koenraad Kuiper, and Shu Shaogu. "Language and Revolution: Formulae of the Cultural Revolution." *Language in Society*, 19:61-79.

Discusses the changes in formulaic speech between pre- and post-revolutionary China. Demonstrates that the new formulae, although they express revolutionary intent, still reflect to some extent the old social norms.

557. Zhi 1990 (CH, CP)

Jai Zhi. "Epics in China." In Honko 1990a. pp. 503-18.

Surveys and compares some of the living cosmogonic and heroic epic traditions among various ethnic groups in present-day China.

558. Ziadeh 1986 (AR)

Farhat J. Ziadeh. "Prosody and the Initial Formation of Classical Arabic." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106:333-38.

Contends the "meter and rhyme were instrumental in shaping the morphological structure" (333) of classical Arabic as the poets made features of the language serve the requirements of their poetry.

559. Zinsou 1989 (AF, FR)

Senouvo Agbota Zinsou. "Aux sources de la création." *Notre Librairie: Revue de Livre*, 98:22-25.

The author tells his own story of growing up as an African child in a culture of oral literature (legends, myths, story-telling, etc.) and his later confrontation with literacy (school, French language, French writers, etc.).

560. Zumthor 1990 (TH, CP)

Paul Zumthor. *Oral Poetry: An Introduction*. Trans. by Kathryn Murphy-Judy. Theory and History of Literature, 70. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Orig. publ. as *Introduction à la poésie orale*. (Paris Éditions du Seuil, 1983.)

Seeks to define a general poetics of orality through a wide-ranging survey of oral poetries and theories of oral poetry.

About the Authors

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