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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 annual bibliography, and editorial correspondence should be directed to the editor, John Miles Foley, Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, 301 Read Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65211.

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Editor's Column

With the present issue we are pleased to observe that the typographical format of *Oral Tradition* has changed. Typesetting will from this point on be done at the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition at the University of Missouri-Columbia. Advances in technology and lowering of equipment costs have combined to make it feasible to assemble text in the various alphabets used by the journal without leaving the editorial offices, and without making concessions in the form of either deleting original-language quotation or depending solely on transliteration. We are grateful to Slavica Publishers for honoring this policy in past issues, and are happy to be able to assume the burden now.

The new format has been the brainchild of Ed Tyler, my main editorial assistant since the birth of the journal. He has brought together the computer equipment provided by Milton Glick, past Dean of the College of Arts and Science, with state-of-the-art software and font programs to produce the pages you hold in your hands. Russ Meyer of the English Department, computer advisor extraordinaire, has been a guiding light during the changeover, and deserves the thanks of all concerned.

For this first effort at on-site generation of typography we have returned to the miscellany model which will serve as the organizing principle for approximately two of every three triannual issues. The dialogue opens with Walter Ong's lead essay, "Before Textuality: Orality and Interpretation," in which this eminent scholar considers the origin of hermeneutics in relation to orality-literacy contrasts. Next in order is Luisa Del Giudice's thought-provoking discussion of traditional patterning and psychological function in the Italian lullaby, or *ninna nanna*. From the lullaby we move to the Romanian epic, with Margaret Hiebert Beissinger tackling the important but little-studied problem of the relationship between textual and musical structure.

Jill Brody's contribution, "Incipient Literacy: From Involvement to Integration in Tojolabal Maya," includes both a linguistic analysis and a dual-language presentation of two collected texts on the cusp between orality and literacy. The fifth essay, "Lord of the Singers" by Jeff Opland, reports a series of Xhosa sequels to the 1934 "Song of Milman Parry" by the Yugoslav *guslar* Salih Ugljanin; he looks at spontaneously composed South African praise-poems in honor of Albert Lord as an example of oral poetry in that milieu. The issue concludes with Joseph Falaky Nagy's 1988 Milman Parry Lecture, delivered at the University of Missouri-Columbia in April 1988. Entitled "Oral Life and Literary Death in Medieval Irish Tradition," it provides

a suggestive portrait of conventional images of orality and literacy that illustrates how these two modes of composition and transmission were symbolized in various medieval sources. As Professor Nagy points out, his lecture was to be paired with one by the late Kevin O'Nolan of University College, Dublin; we all regret Professor O'Nolan's passing but shall remember his enormous and unique contribution to studies in ancient Greek and Irish oral traditions.

As for future numbers of *Oral Tradition*, we look forward to the special issues on Arabic (a double issue: 4, i-ii), Oceania, and Yugoslavia, as well as to miscellanies like the present one. We encourage all readers to send the journal manuscripts for possible publication, responses for the Symposium section, news of conferences and other professional activities, and books and articles for review and annotation. All materials and correspondence should be sent to our new address: Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, 301 Read Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65211.

John Miles Foley, Editor

Oral Tradition, 3/3 (1988): 259-269

Before Textuality: Orality and Interpretation

Walter J. Ong, S.J.

I

It is a commonplace that the formal study of hermeneutics or exegesis began by centering on texts. In his profoundly rich and comprehensive *Truth and Method*, Hans-Georg Gadamer states (1985:146): "The classical discipline concerned with the art of understanding texts is hermeneutics." He goes on immediately to explain how the concept of hermeneutics must be extended to include aesthetics, "the whole sphere of art and its complex of questions." He notes later (353) that hermeneutics extends also to oral utterance and states that Schleiermacher was the first to discern this truth. But aesthetics and oral utterance appear as "extensions" of a narrower original focus, the textual focus. Gadamer recalls (353) "that the task of hermeneutics was originally and chiefly the understanding of texts." This appears to have applied quite certainly to the rabbinical tradition, too, from the start, even in the light of the interplay of text and orality in this tradition described by Susan A. Handelman in *The Slayers of Moses* (1982:27-82).

The formal study of hermeneutics or interpretation or exegesis that began by focusing on texts and then extended itself to provide interpretations of art and/or oral utterance extended eventually—although Gadamer does not go into such matters—also to gesture or other kinesics (the use of any kind of nonlinguistic body movements), to social behavior, to social structures, and eventually to anything that carries "meaning," intentionally or merely *de facto*. One can even interpret a sunset or a blast of wind, for interpretation (the Latin-based equivalent of the Greek-based "hermeneutics") means ultimately making evident to a present audience or milieu something in a manifestation that is not of itself evident to this milieu (it may be quite evident to other milieus).

Even when the concept of hermeneutics or interpretation is extended far beyond the textual, however, there can remain a tendency to take textual interpretation as the model for all other kinds of interpretation. In "The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered as a Text," Paul Ricoeur proposes that the human sciences (*sciences humaines*, such as history,

sociology, and so forth) develop by interpreting human action by analogy with textual interpretation (1971:529), which serves not only as the historical starting point for the science of hermeneutics or interpretation but as a model or paradigm for all interpretation (559). Human actions, in other words, are understood for interpretive purposes by analogy with texts, though, of course, they are not reduced to texts. The idea of "nature" as something "out there" like a text of a book–a kind of visible "thing" to be read and interpreted runs back at least to the Middle Ages (Curtius 1953:311-19). But David Olson (ms. in progress) has made a more specific point: the very idea of interpretation as an activity separate from other kinds of statement depends on the existence of writing. Interpretation of the "text" that is the world would be something of a different order than the text itself if the world is like a text. Before writing, there is no functional or effective distinction between a statement and an interpretation of a statement. Asked to repeat a statement and an interpretation of a statement that he or she has made, a person from an oral culture commonly gives not a word-for-word repetition of what he or she has said, but an interpretation–and with good reason, I would suggest, since the request to repeat the statement establishes a new context for the statement (one which, moreover, suggests that the original wording was not understood). Since the oral mind is holistic, it adapts to the new context with a wording that presumably fits the new context, not the original context, a wording which we would regard as interpretative but which to the oral mind represents in the new context essentially what the original statement represented in the original context. What is the point of repeating *verbatim* a statement that is unclear enough to elicit a request to repeat it? A text sets up a different situation from this oral scenario, providing a visual object which is thing-like, seemingly stable, so that verbal commentary on it appears to be of a different order of being. In Olson's view, it would seem, interpretation is antecedent to text, for it operates in purely oral cultures, too: texts provide verbalization which only appears different from interpretation.

Olson's and Ricoeur's observations are extraordinarily informative, and they both suggest a somewhat text-centered concept of interpretation or hermeneutics which the history of the term, as explained by Gadamer, validates. Hermeneutics begins with texts, and it appears to stay in some primary sense with texts or, if in some vaguer sense not always with texts, at least with words, implying that the problem of explanation or hermeneutics is paradigmatically a problem of making clear something that is verbalized.

Why is this so? Since anything that is unclear may call for interpretation—a sunset, as instanced before, or a person's gait or other behavior–why is the formal study of hermeneutics or interpretation so primarily focused on something that is verbalized or, more specifically, something that is textualized (written or printed)? First, because of all things in human life, words clamor most for explanation. The reason they do is

paradoxical: words themselves are efforts at explanation, and, in so far as they do not provide total explanation, they face the reader or hearer with unfinished business. Total verbal explicitness is impossible, so that all words, written or spoken, are invitations for more words. But textualized words, written or printed, call especially for explanation because, while spoken words–which for tens of thousands of years were the only words formed in any human society–are in great part ultimately explained, given meaning (implicitly but really), by the nonverbal elements in the situation in which they are spoken–who is speaking to whom, on what occasion, with what sort of force, with what gestures, what facial expressions, and so on–these nonverbal elements are missing in a text and must somehow be made up for. Hermeneutics (interpretation, exegesis) allows us to make up for them, shows how to supply now in words the originally nonverbal elements or their equivalents. (Of course, the supplied, interpretive words themselves are ultimately explicable only with the help of the nonverbal, but for the nonce they suffice.) Even if we know the language in a text, to interpret a text two thousand years old requires special knowledge and skills to recover something of the text's extraverbal context, in which its meaning was originally defined, and thus requires formal study and/or application of hermeneutical or interpretative or exegetical techniques.

Moreover, formal, "scientific" study of anything at all is by its nature text-dependent and in this sense text-oriented: formal study requires texts, written or printed (Ong 1982:8-10). This is not to say that persons from a primary oral culture, a culture with no idea at all of writing, cannot be widely knowledgeable and articulate about specific matters as well as wise about complex and deep matters, but only that they cannot set up their knowledge in the elaborately categorical, scientific ways that formal study demands and that writing and, even more, print and computer cultures can manage. Since formal study of any subject began with the use of texts, its interest in interpretation gravitates with a special intensity toward texts first of all: these constitute the habitat of its thinking in a way that pure orality does not. It took many millennia for a science of linguistics to develop which had a true feel for language as basically oral, as sound. Rhetoric indeed had for centuries studied the use of language, and precisely the use of sounded language, for rhetoric was originally, and until very recent years, the study of oratory, but rhetoric was not linguistics or even much related to linguistics: it was more related to politics, developing skills addressed to practical persuasive purposes.

II

One reason, then, why hermeneutics has begun with texts is that they are at first blush more noetically manageable than oral utterance is (Ong 1982:1-30), for they are quiescent, passive, fixed, recuperable, manipulable. They are seemingly reified verbalization. They can be treated as things. But several developments in structuralism and poststructuralism and deconstruction have tended to undermine this sense of the text as simply reified. Awareness of intertextuality makes it evident that all texts, even when they are not explicitly citing other texts, are interwoven with other texts in the most elusive ways. All texts are part of what poststructuralists call generically Text or Writing or *Ecriture* (Barthes), which often renders any given bit of writing particularly unsteady in the virtually limitless and uncontrollable relations it has with an unknown number of other writings. Thus we find Michel Leiris's "reflections on the associations of the name 'Persephone' alongside Derrida's discussion of the limits of philosophy" or, perhaps at the greatest extreme, Derrida's *Glas*, which presents in parallel the text of Hegel's analysis of the concept of the family and a text of Jean Genet, interrelating the two (see Culler 1982:136). Intertextualist critics look for the most unexpected "traces" of other texts in a given text, "a set of relations with other texts" (Leitch 1983:59) cued in by various methods. Of course, there is no end to this game. One can always produce one more study, or a hundred more studies, carrying into new innings, if not always new thoughts.

Intertextuality has upset many persons by countering the more or less received romantic doctrine that the successful writer was marked by "originality," an ability to produce quite fresh verbiage, something new and previously unrealized. This most often unarticulated but strong presumption has produced the state of mind which Harold Bloom treats in *The Anxiety of Influence* (1973)–the nervous fear that, after all, one may be inevitably more bound to one's textual predecessors than it is comfortable to admit.

Further, ideals of literature as "self-expression" have encouraged the older anti-intertextualist set of mind, for what can be more different from everything else in existence than I myself am? As Gerard Manley Hopkins notes (1959:123), "We say that any two things however unlike are in something alike. This is the one exception: when I compare myself, my being-myself, with anything else whatsoever, all things alike, all in the same degree, rebuff me with blank unlikeness." The "taste of self" is absolutely unique. In 1890, the year after Hopkins' death, William James makes precisely the same point (1950:289): "to everyone, the neighbor's *me* falls together with all the rest of things in one foreign mass against which his own *me* stands out in startling relief." Although everyone is aware that

everyone's verbal expression is somewhat derivative, to think of writing as essentially self-expression is in some ways to encourage the most anti-intertextualist mindset possible.

In *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology* (1971) I have tried to make the point that the Romantic Movement coincided with the deep interiorization of print, which culminated (for the moment–the computer was yet to come) the reduction of sound to space initiated by script. This interiorization of print coincided with a marked atrophy of the old classical rhetorical tradition which had dominated the academic and intellectual world since antiquity in sometimes gross and sometimes subtle but always pervasive ways. The classical rhetorical tradition had kept the old oral tradition of expression very much alive even through many centuries of manuscript culture and for the first three centuries and more after print, for rhetoric was originally the art of public speaking and its oral pull was strong until the fuller fixation of the spoken word in space which print eventually effected. The first American rhetoric to address itself explicitly to written composition, Samuel Newman's *A Practical System of Rhetoric*, appeared only in 1827 (Stewart 1983:145). And the point has often been made that *McGuffey's Readers*, the first of which was published in 1836, were concerned not principally with reading for understanding but with declamatory platform reading. Many new developments in literary and intellectual genres following on the deep interiorization of print with the Romantic Age and immediately after were antithetical to the old classical rhetoric: the encouragement of silent reading, the weakening or virtual disappearance of orally grounded noetic structures (formulaic expression and composition, including the conspicuous use of balance, parallelism, antithesis, epithets, openly agonistic approaches to subjects generally, and the like). These elements, evident well into our present century, but more and more moribund, caught in the backwaters of thought, were more and more submerged as print–and, eventually, the computer–brought attention to bear more and more on the text as text. Ultimately, as vernacular literature by the end of the 1800s became a significant academic subject, the ground was laid for the New Criticism, or, its continental European equivalent, Formalism, each a self-consciously text-bound approach to verbal interpretation, keeping the reader's attention programmatically close to what was before him or her on the page, reifying the text as it had never been reified before.

Then, after the New Criticism and Formalism had served their usefulness, there came structuralism, poststructuralism, and deconstruction, and with these, the sense or cause of intertextuality, which noted how massively, and often subtly, a text was really not so quiescently reified as its visual make-up suggested but was, to any reader, dependent upon other texts.

III

Of course, recognition of the "influence" of one text on another was not new. What was new about the modern sense of intertextuality was the sense of how thoroughly and hauntingly and inevitably texts seem to inhabit one another, how much echoing and counterechoing there not only was but also had to be. Textualization builds all texts into each other. There are "traces" of everything everywhere, and to the extent that the traces even at some points (not at all points, I would insist) contradict one another (if given the necessary interpretation), they thereby give rise to deconstruction, the critical enterprise which undertakes to show always that any given work of textual art eventually breaks itself down, implying in one place what it denies elsewhere.

The destabilization of the text effected by deconstruction was abetted by the reader-oriented or reader-response criticism which grew into prominence a little ahead of deconstruction, and which insisted that one could not assign a meaning to a text simply in terms of the intent of its writer. One must also take into account what the reader makes of the text, the reader's response, for in the reader, and only in the reader, the text comes to life.

IV

Both the sense of intertextuality and reader-response theory have had a twofold effect. On the one hand, they have called attention to the text more than ever before. But on the other hand, they have destabilized the text, making it impossible to regard it as simply an isolated, visual unit, quiescent, passive, fixed, recuperable, manipulable–in other words, manageable as an object is. Intertextuality involves the text in front of one's eyes with so many other possible texts as to make the text in front of one's eyes impossible to pin down completely. Reader-response criticism involves the text with the nontextual quite explicitly: it locates the text within the consciousness of whatever reader chances upon it. Putting utterance into writing or print can easily be thought of as removing it from discourse. This is precisely what putting utterance into writing or print cannot do. There is no way to remove utterance from discourse. Writing and/or print only delays the discourse, which the reader resumes.

One of the paradoxes of the text is that, until it is read, in a very real sense it is not truly a text. It is only coded marks on a surface. It takes on meaning when it is read–which means, when it is somehow related to sound (internally in the imagination or externally, aloud), and thereby made to

move through time. For sounded words are not things, but events: a sounded word can never be present all at once, as things are. In saying "nevertheless," by the time I get to the latter part of the word, "-theless," the first part of the word, "never-," has passed out of existence. When a text which has laid unread for several hundred or several thousand years is first seen and, often with great difficulty, finally read, moved through current time, the discourse of which the text was a record is resumed. And on such occasions, the validity of reader-response theory makes itself felt. Only in the present reader can any meaning for the text assert itself. The reader may feel called on to study assiduously in order to create, as far as possible, the original world in which the text was put down so as to resume the discourse, so far as possible, from the point at which it was broken off. But he or she has to do the re-creation of the original context, too. Textualized discourse, as has so often been pointed out, is of itself context-free, but reading it gives it context, always related dynamically to the present even more than to the past.

V

Oral utterance is inevitably discourse, verbal exchange between two or more persons, and the text reveals itself to us today as more like oral utterance than had often been thought before. The interweaving of texts to which a sense of intertextuality and a knowledge of reader-response criticism alerts us suggests the well-known interweaving of verbalization in the primary oral world, where continuity with what had been said was of far more consequence than the discontinuity and isolation which have earlier been attributed to textual "creations" or "objects." Oral habits of thought and expression are essentially interweavings with each other, deeply repetitive, built on formulaic expression, commonplaces, epithets, responsive to the total context in which they come into being, and supported in the formal art of rhetoric by the doctrine of imitation, which is repetition of sorts, a kind of interweaving of art and nature. Such habits of thought and expression were taken for granted before the Romantic Age. Their classic expression is Pope's statement in "An Essay on Criticism" that wit deals with "What oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed." Intertextuality *à outrance*.

There is no doubt that writing and print (and now the computer) realize potentialities in language which oral speech cannot realize, and thus in certain ways bring language to a climax (whether to its final climax is no longer so certain since the advent of electronics). But it is paradoxical that concerted studies of the Text or Writing or *Ecriture*, with their associated concerns with intertextuality, "traces," and the like, have served to bring out

features in textualization which are remarkably like the hallmarks of orality itself.

What does this say about the origins of hermeneutics in the study of texts as texts, when the texts here in some sense seem to dissolve back into orality? One thing it might suggest is that, although the scientific study of hermeneutics or interpretation begins historically with the study of texts for reasons earlier suggested, hermeneutics or interpretation is in fact antecedent to textuality. Hermeneutics needs to be considered in perspectives beyond those in which it understandably arose as a scientific study, just as rhetoric has had to be considered as a highly developed human activity long antedating the scientific study of rhetoric or the "art" of rhetoric.

Most modes of human verbalization have never been written at all and never will be. Of the tens of thousands of languages spoken by *Homo sapiens* since the species first appeared, almost none have or have had or ever will have any textual existence at all. Most of them have disappeared without ever having been written and many more are fast disappearing leaving no literature behind. It has been calculated that since the beginning of human history only some 106 languages have ever had a literature (Edmonson 1971:322) and of the 3000 to 4000 spoken today, only some 78 have a literature (332).

Since oral utterance, too, obviously calls for interpretation—people have to explain to one another what they say, at least from time to time—must this interpretation arise only by analogy with textual interpretation? The question cuts deep, for when oral language is thought of in terms of interpretation, it would appear that it is always interpretation. This goes farther than the statement that there are no facts, only interpretations. For it includes oral utterance over and beyond that which may be concerned with "facts." The term "fact" in our ordinary sense of that which is actually the case, appears very late in English (in the *Oxford English Dictionary* the first record of its use dates only from 1581). Human utterance is concerned basically with more than announcing or disputing "facts," although it sometimes does deal with "facts," too.

Oral utterance comes into being in a holistic situation which is fundamentally nonverbal. Two or more human persons exist in a given temporal, spatial, social, interpersonal setting into which words erupt, not as things, but as events. For words are sounds, and sounds are events. Words modify the holistic situation and in one way or another they explain or interpret it, make something known in it that was not know before—a need for assistance, a manifestation of unity as in a greeting, or, as in some greetings, a manifestation of hostility, a manifestation of the meaning of some nonverbal element in the situation, a manifestation of exaltation or celebration, and so on *ad infinitum*.

It is in orality that verbal expression has its origin. The oral word is essentially a call, a cry (Ong 1967:111-75). It is not a thing or a reification, but an event, an action. The oral word is a call from someone to someone, an interpersonal transaction. No interactive persons, no words. The oral word is a unique kind of event and it may have to do with all sorts of things, including information and even "facts," but if there is no hint of another person, real or imaginary, to whom the word is addressed, called out, cried out, the sound is simply not functioning as a word. Because it is a call, a cry, addressed to another person or, the equivalent, an imagined person or persons, the oral word is essentially explanation or interpretation or hermeneutics, a clarification by one person of something that to his or her interlocutor or interlocutors is otherwise not evident.

The etymology of the term "interpret" is informative here. It comes through the Latin from a Proto-Indo-European root *per-*, meaning "to traffic in, to sell," and, more remotely, "to hand over, to distribute." This root belongs, with many other verbal roots, to a more generalized Proto-Indo-European root group *per-*, which forms the base of many prepositions and proverbs with the fundamental meaning of "forward" or "through," a meaning which gets widely extended to senses such as "in front of," "before," "early," "toward," "around," and so on. To this root, the Latin form adds the preposition *inter*, which itself means "between." The Latin term *interpres* thus means initially an agent who barters between two parties, a broker or negotiator, and from this comes to mean an interpreter pretty much in the present sense of this English word, that is, an explainer.

It will be noted how far all this is from a sense of language as essentially a phonocentric or logocentric enterprise (Culler 1982:92), a set of signs cued one-to-one to each other and to external reality outside consciousness. We are here in a climate of interpersonal negotiation, in which meaning is brought into being and sustained or changed through discourse between persons set in a holistic, essentially nonverbal context. Indeed, since the *per-* root refers to interaction and the prefix *inter-* to in-betweenness, the term *interpres* and its English derivative "interpreter" reinforce the idea of inbetweenness by a kind of doubling of the idea. An interpreter is in between his or her interlocutor and the noninterpreted phenomenon–whether something not a human creation such as a bank of red clouds at sunset, or something that is a human creation, such as a gesture or, paradigmatically, as has been explained earlier, a verbal utterance. Ultimately, meaning is not assigned but negotiated, and out of a holistic situation in the human life world: the speaker or writer in a given situation, which is shared by speaker and hearer in oral communication, but in written communication is generally not shared.

Interpretation as an activity that inhabits or suffuses the oral world and interpretation as an activity that is applied to texts relate to one another in

many ways beyond those specified here. All that these reflections undertake to do is to suggest some of the differences in ground between interpretation in a purely oral world and textual hermeneutics.

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Ninna-nanna-nonsense? Fears, Dreams, and Falling in the Italian Lullaby

Luisa Del Giudice
(for Elena)

The language and style of the *ninna nanna*,[1] or Italian lullaby, often suggest that the rhyme has no reason and that, like the *filastrocca*, or nursery rhyme, it ought to be classified as a *nonsense* rhyme. While some *ninne nanne* may, indeed, defy semanticization, there are nonetheless borderline cases which serve to illuminate their internal organizational principles and reveal something of the reason in the rhyme.

While the primary function of the lullaby is indubitably putting the infant to sleep through melodic, rhythmic movement, lullabies in many traditional societies have other no less important—that is, not secondary—functions. They may commence inculturation of the infant in musical as well as conceptual terms, and simultaneously, they may provide the mother or other female custodian such as grandmother, aunt, older sister, an outlet for the expression of emotions, anxieties, desires, and generally her world view:

> L'infanzia nell'Italia e nella Spagna meridionali stabilisce it suo primo contatto con la musica attraverso la madre e la parentela femminile. Queste voci, che lo cullano per farlo addormentare e girano per la casa mentre le donne sono intente al lavoro, accompagnano il bimbo nella veglia e nel sonno. E ciò che ode è una voce acuta, una melodic gemebonda, espressione della tragedia del vivere nell'Italia Meridionale, della sua povertà, delle sue tradizioni sessuali, fonte di insoddisfazione e di amarezza.
>
> (Lomax 1956:128ff)[2]

> [In southern Italy and southern Spain, infancy establishes the first contact with music through the mother and female relatives. These voices which lull him to sleep and are heard around the house while the women are intent on their work, accompany the child in waking and sleeping. And what he hears is an acute voice, a lamentful melody, expression of the tragedy of life in southern Italy, of its poverty, of its sexual mores, source of dissatisfaction and bitterness. (trans. mine)]

If these brief comments give an incomplete assessment of the southern Italian lullaby tradition (and imply by contrast that its northern counterpart is rosy and optimistic),[3] we should bear in mind that they were made in the 1950's and hence in a war-ravaged pre-Boom Italy. Nonetheless, they contain enough truth to make them still now a meaningful point of departure. Even today there is no denying that a profound cultural rift continues to divide northern and southern Italy. A child's first contacts with music as with life more generally occur primarily through female agencies—although not only in southern Italy and in Spain but the world over. The lullaby therefore provides a unique opportunity for analysis both of the first elements of culture imparted to children and of life as experienced by females. It is primarily on this latter aspect that I shall focus here: i.e., upon the lullaby as a vehicle for expressing—consciously or not—a feminine worldview.

Sanga (1979:41) classifies lullabies into three types: 1) *magical*, in which Sleep is directly invoked; 2) *erotic*, a more or sometimes less explicit love song; and 3) "*di sfogo*" (literally, "outlet," "venting"), in which the woman laments her condition or the human condition. While this classification is basic and useful, it does not account for all lullabies; for example, the expression of anxieties and fears need not become explicitly a lament, but may instead surface more obliquely in metaphorical language, say as a "love song." If lullabies indeed do provide the opportunity for "venting" anxieties, such personal expression entails generative mechanisms (ordering of formal elements) or metaphoric strategies which may be far from transparent. Factors such as the "oneiric" process or a subconscious metaphoric displacement of anxieties and desires, patterns of "falling" mimicking the descent into sleep, genre-crossover which widens the lullaby's semantic "zones"; all these account for the structure and content of more than a few Italian lullabies.

By way of initial example, consider the following *ninna nanna* which was collected in Tuscany from Mrs. Pia Calamai, a former elementary school teacher, in Barberino Val d'Elsa in 1965.[4]

v. 1 Ninna nanna il mio ciocione
e di pane non ce n'è un boccone
né del crudo e né del cotto
né del macinato troppo.

5 Il mugnaio non è venuto
lo potesse mangiare il lupo
e il lupo e la lupaia
li venisse 1'anguinaia.

9 L'anguinaia l'è mala cosa
e più su ci sta una sposa

e più giù ce ne sta un'altra
una fila e una l'annaspa.

13 Una fa il cappellino di paglia
per portarlo alla battaglia
la battaglia e 'l battaglino
dettero foco a Barberino.

17 Barberino corri corri
dette foco a quelle torri
una torre la si spezzò
il bambino s'addormentò.
(Bueno 1976)

This lullaby is translated literally below, ignoring the (yet crucial) rhyme scheme, while favoring word order, particularly the replication of words in final position:

1 Rock-a-bye, my suckling
and of bread there's not a morsel
neither dry, nor cooked
nor much [that is] ground.

5 The miller[5] has not come
may he be eaten by a wolf
and the wolf and the wolf's lair
may he be struck by the plague.

9 The plague is a terrible
thing and up above there is a bride
and down below there is another
one weaves and the other winds.

13 One makes a little hat of straw[6]
to take to battle
the battle and the small battalion
set fire to Barberino.

17 Barberino, run, run!
did set fire to those towers,
a tower fell asunder
and the baby fell asleep.

Essentially two techniques move the "narrative" forward in this lullaby: *coblas capfinidas* (or *enjambement*) whereby the final word of one verse is repeated at the start of the following verse, producing through this repetition a chain effect, or concatenation; and the rapid progression through rhyming couplets. It is significant that the two devices do not occur simultaneously. If concatenation links two verses, these verses do not share the same rhyme or

assonance, such as those instances occuring at 6-7 (*lupo*), 8-9 (*anguinaia*), 14-15 (*battaglia*), 16-17 (*Barberino*), 18-19 (*torre*), as against the remainder which either rhyme *(ciocione*/*boccone* 1-2, *lupaia*/*anguinaia* 7-8, *cosa*/*sposa* 9-10, *paglia*/*battaglia* 13-14, *corri*/*torri* 17-18,) or are assonant (*cotto*/*troppo* 3-4, *venuto*/*lupo* 5-6, *altra*/*annaspa* 11-12, *battaglino*/*Barberino* 15-16, *spezzò*/*addormentò* 19-20).

This short composition—yet rather long by *ninna nanna* standards[7]—is nonetheless dense with images of death and disaster, the one leading to the next in quick succession: hunger/poverty (there is no bread); two cruel curses directed at the miller (that he be devoured by a wolf and that the plague might strike him); death through allusion to the three Fates, weavers of man's destiny and end ("una fila e una l'annaspa/una fa il cappellino di paglia" 12-13); war; destruction by fire (Barberino and its towers are set afire); flight from danger (or running to the attack—it is unclear): "Barberino, corri, corri," 17); potential risk from a falling tower ("una torre la si spezzò" 19).

The ordering of images in this lullaby is achieved not through strict logical progession but rather through something akin to the free association of ideas and images (or "stream of consciousness") typical of the "oneiric," or dream, process. The dream dimension is particularly congruous with sleep induced through lulling or rocking in the lullaby and the peculiar ordering of images here present is indeed proper to dreams. The unravelling or semanticization (i.e., interpretation) of a mass of conscious/semi-conscious/unconscious expressions of anxieties, fears, desires, and so on, often quasi-chaotic and bordering on nonsense, is required of dreams. One mechanism typical of the dream process is displacement through metonymy or metaphor. Metonymic displacement has some affinities with the chain effect achieved through the *coblas capfinidas* and the concatenation of images. For example, the miller, processor and purveyor of the staff of life, bread, both causes (through his absence) the child's hunger and, through displacement, becomes himself food for the wolf. The wolf, who in many cultures represents physical or social dominance (sexually "devouring" the female, or in lullabies and tales, defenseless infants and children—that is, all weaker elements of a hierarchical society) in turn, causes tenor and death.[8] The tenor caused by the wolf is not unlike that caused by the plague—two scourges which strike unexpectedly. Like Death, one day they appear at the door and there is no choice but to succumb. The flow of images, however tenuously linked, guides us ever farther away from the initial state until soon, the baby is forgotten and the mother is contemplating disease, death, and battle scenes. It is the worrying over the lack of nourishment for the child, however, which motivates this projection in phases of disaster on a larger, all-encompassing scale. It is this serpentine presence of negative images which links beginning to end and gives this *ninna nanna* semantic unity. The confusion or simultaneity of chronologic and metaphysical planes, characteristic of the oneiric

dimension, is also here reflected: present reality—the child's hunger and the family's general poverty; mythic representation (if, indeed, we might follow Bueno 1976 in viewing the allusion to the weavers as a reference to the Fates); historic memory—the battle apparently fought between Barberino and the tower city by antonomasia, San Gimignano.[9] All three levels speak of death: physical (through starvation), existential (the thread of life), communal (the town's destruction through war).

The very nature of the lullaby "event" provides the natural context for the oneiric process. The rocking movement, the melodic voice often induce a state of *rêverie* in the mother herself, intimate moments of reflection in which profound fears and desires may surface in consciousness. Is it not the case, for instance, that often mother *and* child, or mother *rather than* child fall asleep as a result of the lulling effort (or due to sheer exhaustion on the part of the mother)? One humorous text records such a role reversal:

> Fai la nanna, fai la nanna
> Il bambino addormenta la mamma;
> E la mamma dormirà,
> Se il bambino la nanna farà.
>
> (Bacci 1891:25)

*****

> Rock-a-bye, rock-a-bye;
> The child puts mother to sleep;
> And mother shall sleep
> If baby will sleep.

Although it may seem unlikely that a lullaby produced under such circumstances might have survived intact from a dream state, still such a scenario may have contributed to the creation of this type of lullaby.

It should also be remembered that the prolonging of song through the accumulation of images and formulas may be practically motivated: the mother grasps at what first comes to mind, ransacking her imagination in order to keep the soothing succession of sounds (certainly not of images!)[10] flowing (cf. Lomax-Hawes 1974:141ff). In her effort, however, a thread of psychic motivation (in this instance, underlying insecurities regarding health and wellbeing), gives reason to the apparent nonsense (cf. Lord on "tension of essences" [1956, 1960]).

Frequently the language of the *ninna nanna* is far from pampering. The death-*wish* may be as frequent, if oblique, as the fear of death, such as in the following lullaby, where its final abrupt reversal encapsulates this ambivalence:[11]

Fai la nanna, che tu crepi
Ti portassino via i preti
Ti portassino al camposanto
Fa' la nanna, angiolo santo
(Bacci 1891:21)

*****

Rock-a-bye, may you croak
May the priests take you away
May they take you to the grave
Rock-a-bye, holy angel.

In a variant of the Lazio lullaby (cf. infra.), Di Prospero[12] accounts for the expressed cruelty on the mother's part as self-irony, a deliberate undermining of the silly and sentimental sweetness of "official" maternal culture:[13]

Ninna oh ninna oh
che pacenza che ce vò
mo te sbatto pe' gli comò
ohò! ohò! ohò!

* * * * *

Rock-a-bye rock-a-bye
what patience it takes
I'm going to knock you against the dresser
ohò! ohò! ohò!

Negative imagery abounds in lullabies, as it does in much of children's folklore, often serving as cruel intimidation of the child in order to subdue it. A rather extreme instance follows as found in an English lullaby:

Baby, baby, naughty baby,
Hush, you squalling thing, I say.
Peace this moment, peace, or maybe
Bonaparte will pass this way.

Baby, baby, he's a giant
Tall and black as Rouen steeple,
And he breakfasts, dines, rely on't,
Every day on naughty people.

Baby, baby, if he hears you,
As he gallops past the house,
Limb from limb at once he'll tear you
Just as pussy tears a mouse.

And he'll beat you, beat you, beat you,
And he'll beat you all to pap,
And he'll eat you, eat you, eat you,
Every morsel snap, snap, snap.
(Opie 1951, 1969:59)

Why death by a famished predator ought to be so universal a form of intimidation is a question which merits investigation. The image of the wolf devouring the sheep, a widely-used topos, particularly in southern Italian lullabies, is a forceful one:

Sùënnë nghênnêtòërë, nghênnêggénd' òh
e nghênn'a ccussë figghjë assolêménd' òh ...
Ninnênênnë e nninnênênnë
u lupë s'ha mmêngiàtë la pecoréll' òh ...
Pecoréllê mìë, comë facìëst' òh
quênnë mmòcch'o lupë të vëdìstë? òh ...

O Pecoréllê mìë, com'ha da fà
quênnë mmòcch'o lupë t'ha d'acchjà? òh ...
U lupë tradëtòërë e mmêgnêròënë
la pecoréllë tòttë së l'ha mmêngiàt' òh ...
la pecoréllë l'av'arrëmêsë solêméndë
la péddë e rrë ccórnë e nnur'alt' òh ...
(de Santis 1979:35ff)

*****

Sleep, you Trickster, trickster of men,
trick this child only. o-o ...
Rock-a-bye and rock-a-bye,
the wolf has eaten the sheep. o-o ...
My little lamb, what did you do
when you found yourself in the wolf's mouth? o-o ...

O my little lamb, what will you do
when you find yourself in the wolf's mouth? o-o ...
The wolf, traitor and devourer
has eaten all of the lamb, o-o ...
of the lamb only
the skin and horns and nothing else remain. o-o ...

The encounter with the wolf (the formula is: "il lupo si è mangiato la pecorella") is often followed by the question: what did you do [how did you manage] when you were in the wolf's chops? The question might also be formulated as: what *will* [future tense] you do? or, what will *I* [as your guardian] do? The presence of the wolf in central and southern Italian song, perhaps due to the more persistent pastoral culture, may indeed provide the opportunity to introduce the child to the harsh realities of life and to prepare and counsel him in its ways.

Human predicament with analogues in the animal world is extremely common in children's folklore, where the hierarchy of predation is made accessible to the child. A widely diffused child's iterative rhyme, *La mosca dal moscaio* (Settimelli 1972) plays on this long chain of predation: the elephant captures the lion who captures the tiger who captures the wolf, dog, cat, mouse, grasshopper, spider, fly, blackberry. Of course, *filastrocche* of this sort not only exercise the memory and the tongue—as tongue-twisters, such as this one, do—but teach certain fundamental laws of nature and of the social order. Other animal/human analogies found especially in lullabies are, for example, the image of the hen dying while hatching her eggs (Noviello 1976:655): "Iè morta la gallina sop'a l'ove," expressing the very real fear of the mother dying in childbirth and leaving her child defenseless. The dying hen in this song is followed by the wolf devouring the lamb and then, revealingly, by the statement: "iè piccininn' e nu' canosce amore:" ("[the child] is very young and doesn't know [what] love [is]"), thereby equating the wolf with a sexual predator. Fears over the mother's or the child's untimely death are rarely so explicitly stated as in the following English lullaby, where the mother feels guilt over the baby's fate:

> Bye, O my baby
> When I was a lady,
> O then my baby didn't cry;
> But my baby is weeping
> For want of good keeping
> O I fear my poor baby will die.
>
> (Opie 1951, 1969:59)

The theme of hunger is ubiquitous in a large part of Italian "popular" literature from Boccaccio's time forth, from the image of the starving servant/jester or famished dependent, Arlecchino or Bertoldo, to the ill-starred, impoverished peasant, Ruzante, to the euphoria of gastronomic utopias envisioned in *Il paese di Cuccagna*—neat counterpoints to the frequent descriptions of sumptuous banquet scenes of courtly Italian literature. Giulio Cesare Croce, a seventeenth-century street performer (*cantastorie*) in the Bologna area, made a career, marginal though it was (for he was constantly forced back to work as a smith to make ends meet), by composing and performing short recitations largely on the theme of hunger.[14] Hunger is a natural theme in lullabies, since one of the prime functions of caring for babies is to appease their hunger; hence the provision for nourishment, and its obverse, the fear of want, find constant expression in Italian lullabies.

The songs called to serve as lullabies, needless to say, are not always lullabies *sensu stricto*, but ballads, nursery rhymes, satirical songs, even vendor's cries, dance tunes, and so forth. While this has often been noted, it

may not be as readily apparent that the lullaby itself, that is, the song which purports to be a lullaby, often subsumes several other genres, e.g., amorous serenade or love song, prayer, funeral lament, fairy tale.[15] Furthermore, while expressions of views and anxieties may be explicit in the text of the *ninna nanna* proper, they may instead only be implied through the choice itself of the song to be used as a lullaby.

Ballads, by their length, simplicity, and the repetitiveness of their tunes, serve the lullaby function well. Conati (1976:48), for instance, records *Donna Lombarda* (Nigra 1), as having been used as a lullaby. The fact that this ballad may serve to vent the woman's protest against her husband, whom she attempts to poison, and the presence of the child in the cradle warning its father of the mother's scheme (i.e., recalling the mother to her maternal-cum-wifely duties), grants its use as a lullaby certain social resonances. Conati (1976:65) records that *Il padre impiccato* ("the hanged father") has also been sung as a lullaby, again, perhaps, expressing the mother's frustrations and secret wish. The use, instead, of the ballad *L'infanticida* (Nigra 10), as a *ninna nanna* (cf. Sanga 1979:40), presents a cruel paradox and may again point to the ambivalence of the singer's attitude toward the child, secretly harboring murderous fantasies both toward the child and, as above, toward the father. On the other hand, to bring before herself a tragic tale of an uncaring mother merely as a desperate and extreme dilemma may serve only as a negative *exemplum* on which to reflect and may actually reinforce her bond toward her child. A mother's lament over her lost and carefree youth may even find open expression (Sanga 1979:45). In the following lullaby a mother warns her child to enjoy its present state of innocence and to sleep soundly, for it will never again enjoy that possibility (n.b. the gender of the child addressed):[16]

Dormi, mia bela dormi,
Dormi e fa la nana,
chè quando sarai mama
non dormirai così.

Dormi mia bela dormi,
dormi e fa la nana,
chè quando avrai lo sposo
non dormirai così.

Dormi mia bela dormi
nel tuo leto di gigli,
chè quando avrai dei figli,
non dormirai così.

(Leydi/Paiola 1975:54)

*****

Sleep, my beauty, sleep,
Sleep and rock-a-bye,
because when you become a mother
you won't sleep like this.

Sleep, my beauty, sleep,
Sleep and rock-a-bye,
because when you have a husband
you won't sleep like this.

Sleep, my beauty, sleep,
in your bed of lilies
because when you have children
you won't sleep like this.

This lullaby is widely diffused throughout the Lombardy-Veneto regions (for a variant from 1953, cf. Bermani/Uggeri 1974:20), and, as an inverse functional crossover, is sometimes sung as a bride's farewell serenade. To complete the cycle of inversions, personal experience has taught me that the use of the serenade as a lullaby sung to a female infant seems particularly natural, nothwithstanding that serenades normally beckon the loved one to awaken and come to the window, rather than to sleep.

The pluri-functionality of expressive topoi in folklore is well documented. As far as lullabies are concerned, the image of the wolf provides a point of convergence between childlore and erotic expression. A curious example is provided by the text of a street vendor's cry, or song, known as "Cilentana" (Biagiola 1979), heavily laced with erotic fantasy and erotic topoi: the fountain, water, hen, which later give way to more explicit invitations to make love by a secret haystack. Following this sexual invitation are typical *ninna nanna* verses or formulas (cf. sup.):

nonnë nonnë nonna uè nunnarella
e o lupe s'ha magnate la pucurella

e pucurella mi comme faciva
i quanno mmocc'a a lupe nonna nonna to le veriva
(Biagiola 1979)

*****

Rock rock rock-a-bye, heh lightly rock-a-bye[17]
the wolf has eaten the little lamb

and little lamb, how did you manage
when you found yourself in the wolf's mouth?

The topos of the wolf here represents eros expressed as violence and dominance. Might the fact that the mother also makes recourse to this image so frequently in lullabies represent an expression of her own constant reflection on her sexual predator, her husband? She might indeed see herself as a defenseless child—which often she in fact was—bonding her even more to her child and at the same time prompting her to warn and protect it.[18]

The love song, on the other hand, might also be expressed in the most conventional of poetic language with the medieval *Dolce stil novo* or even the Sicilian School and its Provençal antecedents as its ultimate source. The beauty of the child sometimes evokes language reminiscent of the Italian lyrical tradition in which hair is compared to golden ringlets and threads, eyes to stars, the mouth to roses or paradise, and so forth (Naselli 1948:44ff).

Ballads, vendors' cries, and dance tunes, such as *La girometta* (Sanga 1979:41), have all been used to lull children to sleep. Serenades, prayers, and funeral laments, on the other hand, have actually been assimilated by many lullabies. A Lazio lullaby, as typical of central and southern Italian *ninne nanne*, puts in relief one of the religious elements:

Ninna nanna ninna nonna[19]
fatte la ninna cu la Madonna,
fatte la ninna alla cunnula d'oro
fatte la ninna cu sant'Insidoro.

Fatte la ninna, fatte la nanna
dint'a la cunnula d'argento
addò fu cunnulato san Vicenzo.

Fatte la ninna, fatte la nanna
dint'a la cunnula de raso
addò fu cunnulato san Gervaso.

Fatte la ninna fattela pristo
dint'a la cunnula de zippo
addò fu cunnulato Gesù Cristo.

(Di Prospero 1975)

*****

Ninna nanna ninna nonna
rock-a-bye with the Madonna
rock-a-bye in the cradle of gold
rock-a-bye with Saint Isidore.

Rock-a-bye rock-a-bye
in the cradle of silver
where cradled was Saint Vincent.

Rock-a-bye rock-a-bye
in the cradle of satin
where cradled was Saint Jarvis.

Rock-a-bye rock-a-bye quickly
in the cradle of straw
where cradled was Jesus Christ.

The other invokes divine guardians, the Madonna, the saints," and Christ himself in the religious/magical fantasy.[20] Indeed, many a *ninna nanna* is nothing more than a prayer for safekeeping and success in his future, uttered over the child before surrendering him over to sleep (cf. n. 7), since the child is unable (as it will be taught to do in early years) to pray for itself. As one *ninna nanna* of the Basilicata regione aptly puts it: "Sante Nicole nu' vulia canzune,/Vulia paternustre e 'raziune" ("Saint Nicolas did not want songs/He wanted paternosters and orations" [Noviello 1976:655]). These mothers know well the psyche of the saints to which they pray!

The almost monotonous repetition of a given formula, *fatte la ninna*, shows a preference for tryads: the formula is repeated three times to three different saints (Isidore, Vincent, Jarvis). Like magic spells, they are recited both to ward off evil and invoke divine help,[21] as well as, in this case, to induce sleep through the hypnotic effect of repetition. The saints themselves are magical and, like the princes and princesses of tales, they sleep in precious beds: of gold (*oro*/*I[n]sidoro*), of silver (*argento*/*Vincenzo*), of satin (*raso*/*Gervaso*)—the saints having been chosen to rhyme with the various precious materials. The topos of the embellished bed is particularly common in central and southern lullabies,[22] such as in the following lyrical passage:

[...] Fatte la ninna, fiju meu gentile
lo letto to l'ho fatto de viole,
e pe' coperta lo cielo sereno
e pe' cuscino te dò er core mio
nanna-o

(Leydi/Montobbio)

*****

Rock-a-bye, my dear son
I have made your bed of violets
and for a blanket the tranquil sky
and for a pillow I'll give you my heart
nanna-o

The musical matrix of many southern *ninne nanne* is indistinguishable from the funeral lament proper (Lomax 1956:128). It is in fact common belief that sleep is a temporary form of death and something in itself to be feared (Sanga/Ferrari 1979:93-94). It nonetheless casts the lulling in a mournful

tone[23] and suggests that the presence of and responsibility for children is as lamentable a fact of life as is the death of a loved one. Indeed the lament is frequently explicit in central and southern lullabies, as in this Lazio lullaby.

Ninna oh ninna oh
che pacenza che ce vò
co' 'sto figlio nun c'è pace
la pappetta nun je piace.

Ninna nanna ninna nonna
mamma è fori e mo aretorna
mo ca radduce l'areporta
le zinnotte piene piene.

Ninna core ninna core
fatte la ninna donne secure
ca nònneta è guardiana de le mura.

(Di Prospero 1975)

*****

Ninna oh ninna oh
what patience is needed
with this child there is no peace
his pap he doesn't like.

Ninna nanna ninna nonna
mother's out [working] and soon will return
when she returns she'll bring
breasts, full, full [of milk].

Rock [my] heart rock [my] heart
rock-a-bye sleep securely [sure]
'cause your grandma is guardian of the walls.

In this lullaby the child is seen as a burden: it will not be still, will not eat, and taxes the patience of the grandmother who, typically, has been charged with the baby's care. Anxiety over the fate of the defenseless child expresses itself through the grandmother's reference to herself as guardian of the walls and the child's protector. The invocation of divine guardians, the Madonna, the saints, and Christ himself, functions similarly. The (southern) Italian mother often focuses on the paradigmatic Mother and Child, Mary and Christ, identifying herself with that saintly figure of womanhood and depicting the Madonna in the act of cradling the child.[24] Sometimes other saintly mothers are also invoked in empathy, such as St. Anne lulling the child Mary to sleep. There seems little doubt that the mother casts herself—and is cast by her society—in the role of the pious, self-sacrificing Madonna, alone in her intimacy with her child, coping with the poverty all around her.

While genre crossover may account for some lullabies and the oneiric process for the internal organization of others, these do not, by any means, even account for the majority of them.

The ideal conclusion to any lullaby, of course, is that the child fall asleep. It is this *falling* asleep which allows us to identify yet another pattern internal to many lullabies, reflected in a variety of stylistic and rhythmic devices. The Tuscan lullaby cited at the outset, for example, employs an explicit reference to falling. After the rapid build-up rhythmically and stylistically (through the many disturbing images), there is an abrupt *chûte* in the image of the falling tower, immediately followed by the reference to the baby's sleep. The assonance of verse-final "spezzò" (literally "broke" and hence also "fell") with "s'addormentò" ("fell asleep") reinforce their close connection, even unity, perhaps simultaneity. The falling of objects is likely a cross-cultural, widely used technique, to designate the end of the lullaby. One classic example is found in *the* lullaby of Anglo-America:

> Rock-a-bye baby, on the tree top,
> When the wind blows the cradle will rock;
> When the bough breaks the cradle will fall,
> Down will come baby, cradle, and all.[25]

This lullaby yet more explicitly associates falling with the baby itself in the cradle. The *breaking* and *falling* (of the tower, of the cradle) in lullabies metaphorically replicates the "falling" from consciousness into unconsciousness, that is, literally the *falling* asleep. English idiom clearly illumines this aspect of the process.

While the reference to falling may be more or less explicit as in the above examples, it may also appear in other, more oblique modes. The downward movement in the Lazio lullaby cited above is both gradual and abrupt. The gradual descent is reflected in the order of cradles, with reference to their quality, beginning with the most precious (gold), the less so (silver) and from a precious metal to textile (satin), and finally to the worthless and most common, straw basket or cradle. From riches and finery to humble poverty—the poverty which both the infant and Christ share. This final recall to reality is rather abrupt: the fantastic heights of elegance and wealth, where even the relatively perfect rhymes induce partial "hypnosis," to the poverty of Madonna and child, where the rhyme scheme changes and the expected assonance is somewhat discordant (*pristo*/*zippo*/*Cristo*). A similar procedure of descent and abrupt return to reality is found in a fragment of the following Veneto lullaby:

Nana bambin, nana bambin,
e dormi dormi più di una contesa;
to mama la regina,
to padre il conte;
to madre la regina dela tera,
to padre il conte dela primavera

(Lomax/Carpitella)

*****

Sleep child, sleep child,
and sleep sleep more than a countess;
your mother the queen,
your father the count;
your mother the queen of the earth,
your father the count of spring.

The fall is not always abrupt. In the highly lyrical lullabies of the south, sleep is often a winged creature wafting and floating. Flying through the air is yet another example of the spatial metaphor of sleep. Sleep personified is seen as a figure in flight—sometimes a trickster, sometimes an ange1[26]—who finally alights and induces sleep in the child who lies below (cf. Naselli 1948:25; e.g., in a lullaby refrain from Basilicata: "O suonno ca pi l'aria fai la strada [...] O suonno ca pi l'aria fai la via" ("O Sleep who through the air make your road [...] O Sleep who through the air make your way" Noviello 1976:947-48). Sleep may also be a knight swiftly riding high upon a fine horse, elegantly bedecked.[27] Flight and sensations of weightlessness may indeed replicate the early phases of falling asleep, while the fall from on high is the end result. Consider a perfect example of this metaphor of sleep and waking furnished by the American classic, *The Wizard of Oz*. In the film version, Dorothy imagines the house in which she has taken refuge from the tornado, as being hurled through the sky and finally landing with a thud in the Land of Oz (Oz=doze or, the Land of Sleep?). It is in this state of unconsciousness (we later learn that she had been hit in the head by a falling window shutter), after having *fallen*, that the dreams of Oz unfold. The *psychomachia* between the forces of good and evil, the struggle to return home, i.e., the struggle to regain consciousness, ought to take the form of a flight *upward* in the wizard's helium balloon. The magical wizard, like the knight on horseback, or Sleep personified, flies through the air.

The devices conveying descending or fading or falling vary in efficacy. While the falling of a tower or cradle may seem particularly clear, there are other images of fading: night falling, a lamp extinguishing itself, or, as in the following lullaby, green wood slowly burning and petering out: "La se indormenza a poco o poco/come la legna verde col foco" ("She falls alseep,

little by little/like green wood while it burns," Leydi 1973:53). This image is shared with songs of the love repertoire:

> In cima all'aia c'è un camino che fuma
> l'amore del mio bene che si consuma
> che si consuma a poco a poco
> come la legna verde sopra al fuoco
>
> *****
>
> At the top of the threshing floor there is a smoking hearth
> the love for my darling being consumed
> that is consumed little by little
> like green wood on the fire

This lullaby is actually composed of a series of amorous *strambotti* (Sanga 1979:42).

A lovely *filastrocca*, or nursery rhyme, in which the turning of the pages in a book stands as a metaphor for life, also conveys the process of fading (cf. Bueno 1976). The first page sees a woman sowing seeds of grain, then the refrain *volta la carta*[28] "turn the page" is followed by the *villano* "peasant" tilling the soil. We again "turn the page" and see war; many soldiers; the sick who suffer; the doctor giving prescriptions; Concetta closing the door; death. The passing of life from birth—seeds sown—to death is seen through this descending chain of causality.

The essential Italian lullaby sound-pattern is, of course, *ninna-nanna*, that is, the repetition of nasal [N] + vowel [A, E, I, O, U—regionally determined]. This pattern is cross-regional. At the phonic level it provides soft and soothing sounds which through repetition induce sleep. Semantically, in its various forms, concepts essential to the child's experience are expressed: sleep, food, rocking, baby, grandmother [cf. n. l, 17, 30].[29] A descent or fall at the phonetic level in the lullaby may occur when the iterative *ninna-nanna* is reduced to the repetition of the mere "ninna oh, ninna oh" or yet further to the rhythmic lulling and repetition of "oooh-òh, oooh-òh." In my Lazio experience, there is rising intonation on each final "òh," which is also rapidly enunciated and accentuated [cf. sup. Lazio lullaby] and corresponds kinetically to the completion of a movement forward and back, the wave pattern of intonation favoring the rapid descent by prolonging the rise to a maximum. Eventually the lullaby "trails off' into pure vocalization with no consonantal closure. The other main Italian family of sounds for "rocking" [yet rarely used in lullabies] is also based upon a reduplicative nucleus: *din don* or *don don*, e.g., Lombard *dondonà*, Italian *dondolare*, or with the same repetitive contour, Italian *gongolare*, Venetian *gondolar*, *gongolar*, etc. A lovely Venetian lullaby (Lomax/Carpitella:4, 14) curiously breaks the melismatic quality of the first part, with a more hypnotic string of baby words

coinciding with the two-beat *nin/na nan/na* lulling paradigm: "Na-na bo-bò, pe-pe co-cò/e tutti putei fa' nanna/La Maria Teresa no!/Na-na, na-na ...." In these infantile "words" may be discerned concepts basic to the child's well-being: *nana* "sleep"; *bobò* (possibly) "treat," "horse, ox" (cf. *nar a bobò* "to go for a piggyback ride"), *cocò* "egg." Baby-talk, it ought to be noted, is as dialectal as adult speech and ubiquitous phonic units such as *bobò*, *cocò*,and even *nannà*[30] vary in meaning. Even within a relatively small area, such as Sicily, *bbobbò* may mean "sleep," "doggy," "pain," *cocò* besides "egg," means "confetti," "candy," "turkey," "credulous, dull-witted person."[31]

Thus by phonic strategy, moving in tandem with body movement, the lullaby emphasizes the fall: the descent into sleep and, I believe, after examining a few, but a representative few, lullabies, into the semi-conscious. In performative terms, the intimacy or privacy of the recitation makes it a functional soliloquy. Catharsis or satisfaction for the performer (i.e., the mother or her surrogate) seems twofold: the infant is delivered to sleep, momentarily releasing her from immediate pressures and responsibilities; and the singer has given voice to love, stress, and *angst*. It is not surprising therefore that images of sweetness and light are found together with others of a darker sort. Naselli may have been hesitant to grant these latter images equal consideration (assigning them to the joking or ironic vein), given the national ideal of motherhood which prevailed while she wrote. Lomax clearly had his finger on the pulse, but his enlightened sympathy for socially oppressed and sexually repressed southern Italian womanhood led him to link his findings to Mezzogiorno backwardness alone. Female anxiety and frustration know no such boundary. Analogous apprehensions and elements of protest surface cross-culturally—to the north of the Apennines no less than to the south and is proper to the lullaby genre.

Inducing sleep through the use of lullabies affords the mother an opportunity for reflection and self-expression, often directly related to the child's wellbeing and future promise, but on occasion also venting unacknowledged private grievances in a form of unheard confession. Inasmuch as the defenseless child is totally dependent on its mother for nourishment and protection, expressions of such anxieties over these responsibilities abound in lullabies, and may restore the singer through catharsis. Patterns of free association (in which images and worries flow together in a quasi-nonsensical way) typical of dreaming, precede the eventual "fading out" or "falling into" sleep—the logical end to any lullaby.

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NOTES

I wish to thank Eleanor Long, Glauco Sanga, and my husband, Edward Tuttle, for their helpful suggestions in modifying this paper.

[1]*Ninna nanna* (*ninna-nanna* or *ninnananna*) is a reduplicative formation, since both *ninna* and *nanna* used independently, can mean "sleep" in baby-talk (cf. *ninnare* "to lull a child to sleep," infantile equivalent to Italian *addormentare*, *dormire*), as well as "baby" (obs. and dial. Tusc. [Buonarroti il Giovane], cf. Neap. [m.] *ninnë*/ [f.] *nenna*. While the standard Italian term is shared by many dialects (cf. *AIS* I:62), not to mention other Romance languages, e.g. Portuguese *nana nina nina-nana* "cradle song," whence *nanar* (*fazer nana*) *ninar* "to rock to sleep, to sleep," nonetheless others conserve alternate indigenous terms, e.g., Sicilian *canzuni di naca* or *vo'* (suggested by *vogare*/*vocari* "to row" or, rocking motion of a boat on the waves; for the lullaby's use of maritime imagery, particularly in the Sicilian tradition, cf. Naselli 1948:14-15, 17-20).

[2]On the concept of inculturation in the lullaby, cf. Leydi 1973:38ff.

[3] Lomax, of course, makes much of this "venting" function, especially for the southern Italian woman who lives in a more repressed society, which gives few opportunities for self-expression. Her deepest anxieties, laments, and flights of fantasy therefore often find their way into her *ninne nanne*, which appear harsher and more cruel and give a bleaker vision of life than those of her northern sister. Leydi (Leydi/Sanga 1978:481 n. 6) rightly cautions against accepting this division uncritically since, he argues, women may have been less than eager to divulge this most intimate and personal part of their repertoire to a stranger—and foreigner as well.

[4]While sung by a folk revivalist, Caterina Bueno, there is no reason to doubt its authenticity since, besides singing traditional music, Bueno belonged to that group of young intellectuals of the late 60's and 70's who collected materials directly in the field.

[5]Cf. Opie (1951, 1969:58) "Hush thee, my babby,/Lie still with thy daddy,/Thy mammy has gone to the mill,/To grind thee some wheat/To make thee some meat,/Oh, my dear babby, lie still."

[6]The "little straw hat" occurs in many children's songs (e.g. Leydi/Paiola 1975:53; Borgatti 1968:1), yet it is unclear what may be its ultimate source. Another Tuscan variant (Bacci 1891:18) instead ends with one of the weavers weaving not a straw hat, but *la treccia d'oro* ("the golden braid").

[7]Long *ninne nanne* may be found in Noviello 1976 and may be attributed to the fact that they are, in substance, prayers, wherein many saints and divine protectors are invoked, formulas (like spells) repeated, and the projection of the child's rosy future described (wishful thinking). Noviello's rich, well-transcribed anthology is marred only by the lack of indices to make the material accessible.

[8]Cf. the American English expression "to keep the wolf from the door" (= "to avert hunger and poverty").

[9]This historic note was provided Bueno 1976 by the informant herself, who learned of the remote battle between Barberino and San Gimignano as a child.

[10]Infants or very young children of course do not likely understand what mother is saying. It is the rhythm, soothing sounds, warmth, and security in the mother's arms which ultimately induce sleep. As one of my clever students, Nadja Brost, pointed out: if the child could understand these terrible images, it would never fall asleep!

[11]The juxtaposition of cruel imagery and the soft romantic melody with which it is expressed may serve to remove the child (through the melody) from the harsh realities of the world just as bedtime stories are used to put the child in an imaginary world in order to ease its fears. The melodic "intermezzo" serves both child and mother, since the lullaby is a "dyadic event" (Caspi/Blessing 1988:ch. 2).

[12]Grazielli Di Prospero and her husband Giorgio Pedrazzi have directly collected and Di Prospero scrupulously reproduced traditional southern Lazio song-types and vocal style in dialect on three Cetra recordings. The variant which follows is unedited and was kindly provided by Pedrazzi and Di Prospero from their private collection.

[13]Naselli 1948:37ff concurs with La Sorsa 1939:499, 545, and par. xiv, 169-80: "Ninne nanne di contenuto scherzoso," that even when the death of the child is invoked, these apparently non-maternal feelings are spoken only in jest. However, given that in many traditional societies infanticide is by no means unknown, perhaps such ambivalent expressions need not all be taken lightly. For analogous broaching of taboos, cf. Ercolani (1975:133, 139, 153), where a mother comments instead on her own infidelity toward her husband and questions the paternity of the child (the father is often a cleric!). The effect may be ironic or even masochistic as in the instance the mother calls herself a *put[t]ana* "prostitute." On the other hand, such a lullaby may even serve as a moment of confession.

[14]On this most fundamental question of hunger in literature, from a historical perspective as well as philosophical, see Campoesi (1978, 1983) while Cocchiara (1952, 1980 rpt.) limits his investigation to a historical cataloguing of the occurrences of the topos.

[15]On elements of fairy tales and legends in Sicilian lullabies, cf. Naselli 1948:64ff.

[16]The gender of the child addressed in lullabies is significant, and may account for the tone and the radically different messages and themes reserved for the two sexes. For instance, while dowry and marriage might be mentioned where reference to a girl is made, the wish for intelligence, good looks, and good fortune might be reserved for a boy (e.g., Noviello 1976:701, 709, 990-92). Naselli (1948:47) notes that in Sicilian lullabies, the mother often speaks of a carriage for the boy in order that he might learn to walk (and hence make way in the world) and a loom for the girl in order that she might learn to weave (and hence be wedded to the domestic hearth). Curiously, the Sicilian mother often expressed that both her boy or girl might become clerics ("monachella" and "monachello"), which either makes reference to the custom of dressing small children in the habit of one's favorite saint, or may actually express the fulfillment of a vow to give one's child to a religious order. Having a priest for a son was one of the ideals of the peasant class for centuries. Sometimes the mother instead warns her daughter that her fate will be similar to her mother's, as in this lullaby. A survey of the frequency of references to a male child as opposed to a female child could well prove significant, since, unlike English, gender in Italian must be specified. I do not believe the argument for the likely higher frequency of the unmarked term (i.e. "bambino" or "figlio" instead of "bambina" or "figlia") would be relevant, since a mother would hardly be speaking in abstract or general terms when the infant in her arms is before her and its gender cannot be avoided. Further documentation is necessary. For instance, a mother might be asked whether she substitutes "questo figlio" with "questa figlia" (syllabically equal and since they often occur in non-final position,

would not interfere with the rhyme) with her various children. A recent collection of lullabies however, *does* make frequent reference to the female child (Ercolani 1975:121-63).

[17]*Nonna* is here merely a variant of *nanna* or *ninna* ("sleep" in baby-talk) or, as used in lullabies (cf. infra. Lazio lullaby), also means "grandmother" (*nonno* "grandfather") in standard Italian. In the Lazio lullaby its presence is particularly interesting, since it is the grandmother who is rocking the child to sleep while the mother of the child is out working in the fields.

[18]For the wide use of erotic imagery in vendor's cries, see Sanga 1979:78ff. Besides seeing the itinerant vendor who travels from town to town selling his "wares" (and this does represent a substantial metaphoric area for lovemaking) as sexual opportunity for the women of the community, one might also consider the sexual *double entendre* in vending calls to be a pre-industrial use of sex in advertising, so prevalent today. The device assured sales then as it does today. Cf. also Del Giudice 1989.

[19]Cf. n. 17.

[20]Sacred legends and apocrypha can also be found in lullabies (Naselli 1948:54f), such as those details concerning the childhood of Christ: his first tooth, the games he played, his caprices.

[21]For the presence of magical elements in lullabies, see Cocchiara 1939: ch. 2.

[22]Naselli (1948:pp. 15ff.; 16, n. 1 for other occurrences) sees historic accuracy in this detail which reflects the princely (and not so princely) custom of lavishly embellishing their cradles with rich fabrics of silk and damask and golden chains—some remnants of which remain. A sumptuary law of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries attempted to curtail such expenses in cradles and clothing for newborns. The law seems to have been harsher toward female infants. It forbade: "[di] fare culle o nache dorate o inargentate, nè letti, trabacche, cortinaggi, nè padiglioni d'alcuna sorta alle bambine, nè ornar essi bambini con perle, nè con oro, argento, di martello o tirato filato, nè tener sopra essi bambini cerchi d'argento" (Pitre 1879:42). For a northern example, cf. sup. *leto di gigli*.

[23]Cf., for example, the term *nenia* (lat. *nenia[m],* of onomatopoeic origin) (phonetically similar to *ninna* or *nanna*) = lugubrious song accompanied by flute and sung while burying the dead, extended to mean any monotonous song. Cf., as applied to Di Prospero sup., for example.

[24]In at least one lullaby Mary is credited with having made the first cradle with her veil and placed her child outdoors under the trees surrounded by singing birds (cf. Naselli 1948:13).

[25]Lomax-Hawes (1974:147), somewhat inexplicably, interprets the fall thus: "Perhaps it is not too fanciful to suggest that the moment of high spatial drama that concludes the most popular of all English-language lullabies simply presages, for the modern American baby, the closing of the bedroom door. There are not many other societies in the world besides ours that hold to the belief that babies should sleep alone." The article is otherwise extremely useful. For the various interpretations given to the fall in this lullaby (e.g., warning to the proud and ambitious, Amerindian custom of hanging a birchbark cradle on the branch of a tree, and so on), see Opie 1951, 1969:61-62.

[26]It is a common belief that when a child smiles in its sleep that it is smiling at or communing with the angels (cf. Naselli 1948:29)

[27]While Lomax (1956) gave an unequivocally negative judgement of the southern lullaby which is full of brooding over life's miseries, he failed, it seems, to identify the same repertoire as highly lyrical as well and full of magical imagery of the most powerful and beautiful sort.

[28]The *carta* may also mean a card, as in tarot cards, or, as Bueno speculates, the various faces to a folded page in a child's game.

[29]On sound-patterning, as it contributes to the creation of the formula (a fusion of sound, idea, and form), the "building block" of orally-composed song, cf. especially Lord 1956, 1960:52-58, but also Creed 1980 and 1981, Foley 1979, Peabody 1975:182-84.

[30]In my Lazio dialect (Terracinese) for example, *nannà* means "to eat" (from *magnà*, It. *mangiare*), and *mimmì* instead means "to sleep" (It. *dormire*).

[31]Lomax-Hawes (1974:144ff.) distinguishes the "chatting" phase from the "lulling" in lullabies and deduces, on the basis of this ratio, illuminating cultural differences in American vs. Japanese methods of mothering. Referring to the work of Alan Lomax and the linguist Edith Crowell Trager (Lomax/Trager 1964), Lomax-Hawes recalls the hypothesis that folksong areas can be partly defined in terms of vowel preference patterns and that "these basic patterns of assonance seem particularly evident in the texts of lullabies" (1974:142-43).

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Text and Music in Romanian Oral Epic

Margaret Hiebert Beissinger

Studies of oral composition in epic poetry have traditionally focused on textual analyses. However, since oral epic is a sung genre, the relationships between text and music are fundamental to understanding oral composition. Does the music aid the singer in the composition of the text? What types of patterns are evident as singers combine text and music? What determines units of structure in the text and music? In an attempt to confront these and other questions, I will be analyzing the relationships between units of textual and melodic structure in the epic song repertoires of six contemporary Romanian traditional singers.

Oral epic poetry is still a living tradition in Romania. Singers continue to sing their tales today as they have for centuries. The existence of traditional narrative poetries in the modern world, such as the Romanian genre, allows for extensive observation and documentation in investigations of both text and music. I argue in this article that Romanian epic singers sense fundamental structures of text and music as well as clear relationships between them, such that units in the text and music function and interact with remarkable consistency. Rhetorical-compositional devices serve to underscore textual units and are repeatedly reinforced by patterns within the music, creating structures characterized by unity of form and content. To demonstrate these points I will contrast the singing styles of professional gypsy singers with those of non-professional ethnic Romanian singers. The professional singers, who generally exhibit a more developed and crafted style, structure both the text and music of their songs with an artistry and logic that the non-professional singers less frequently display. After a brief introduction to the six singers whose songs are analyzed in this study and a short description of the Romanian epic, I will examine the various units of text and music and how they interact.

Romanian Oral Epic Tradition

1. Traditional Singers and their Songs. The Romanian oral epic is found now almost exclusively in villages in south central Romania. The singers from this

rich area of epic singing are primarily professional traditional male singers, *lăutari*, of gypsy descent. Ethnic Romanian peasant singers, generally male, also sing epic, but in most cases they are not professional musicians; hence, their style is less developed than that of the *lăutari*. Epic singers typically play the fiddle, although a variety of other stringed instruments, such as the *cobză* (a strummed instrument often replaced at the present time by the guitar), *ţambal* (hammer dulcimer), double bass, and violoncello, occasionally are employed. An epic singer usually is accompanied by a small group of musicians, a *taraf*, whose instruments characteristically include any of the instruments named above, and sometimes the accordeon or the clarinet.

Four of the six singers whose repertoires are analyzed in this article were *lăutari*: Costică Staicu (1913-83), Mihai Constantin (b. 1912, d. ?), Mitică Burcea (b. 1886, d. ?), and Alexandru Cercel (b. 1883, d. ?). The two ethnic Romanian peasant singers examined are Vasile Anghelache (1920-?) and Marin Dorcea (b. 1895, d. ?).[1] All of the singers were from Oltenia and Muntenia in south central Romania, where epic singing has continued to flourish. Each singer played the fiddle. Most of them were semi-literate, having completed two, four, or in one case five years of grade school. Mihai Constantin, one of the finest contemporary Romanian *lăutari*, did not receive any formal education and was unable to read or write. Similarly, all of the singers were virtually illiterate with regard to music.

Romanian oral epic includes a large body of heroic songs, fantastic and mythological songs, *haiduc* songs (on the exploits of heroic social outlaws), and balladic narrative songs of a more lyric nature. Although epic songs formerly were sung at a variety of festive occasions, they now are performed in Romania primarily at village weddings. *Lăutari* play at weddings throughout the nuptial season, traditionally autumn, and earn a considerable amount of money for these services. Their repertoires include lyric, ritual, and dance genres, as well as epic songs, termed *cîntece bătrîneşti* (ancient songs). During the traditional two- or three-day-long nuptial celebration, several epics are customarily requested by the wedding guests. The non-professional peasant singers also play occasionally at weddings, but rarely; *lăutari* tend to have a monopoly over wedding entertainment.

Singers' epic repertoires vary in size; they generally know somewhere between twenty and forty different songs. A total of eighty-four epic songs were examined in this study. The singers each provided at least three different epic recordings for this article, representing only a fraction of their total repertoires. The *lăutar* Costică Staicu, my informant from a lengthy study on compositional style, sang for me on numerous occasions; sixty-two of his recordings are treated in this analysis. In some cases, published texts, including melodic excerpts for a few of them, have supplemented my own textual and melodic transcriptions.[2]

2. The Format of the Romanian Epic. Romanian epic songs range from approximately 150 to 400 lines. The average length of those analyzed for this article is 212 verses. While performances last on rare occasions for only seven or eight minutes, lengthier songs extend up to a half hour or longer. Songs in this study average sixteen or seventeen minutes.

Romanian epic songs typically begin with an instrumental introduction played by the singer and the members of his ensemble. The instrumental introduction contains melodic themes from the vocal sections to follow, developed and embellished, with the singer playing the melody on his fiddle. In former times, the introduction was often preceded by an instrumental section, termed *taxîm*, unrelated thematically to the song itself (see Alexandru 1980:58). The *taxîm* is rarely played at the present time and does not figure in any of the epic songs analyzed here.

After the instrumental introduction, the singer frequently calls for the attention of his noisy and preoccupied audience at the Sunday evening wedding feast. A typical invitation to his listeners from the *lăutar* Staicu's repertoire was: "Atenţiune, masă frumoasă! Vărog foarte mult, ascultaţi acest cîntec; ieste al lu' naşu!"[3] ("Attention, great wedding table! Please listen to this song; it's for the best man!").

Following the instrumental introduction and call for attention, the singer then begins to sing while his fellow musicians play a harmonic accompaniment. The epic song consists of vocal sections of varying lengths that are separated by instrumental interludes. The singer typically assumes the lead with the melody on his fiddle during the instrumental interludes, embellishing and developing melodic themes from the vocal sections while the ensemble continues to accompany him. While the length of each instrumental interlude varies, it generally does not last longer than a minute. Following each instrumental interlude, the singer resumes his narration. This interplay between vocal section and instrumental interlude continues throughout the song. The perpetually variable length of each vocal section is characteristic of the classic Romanian epic performance. At the end of the epic, the ensemble customarily plays a lively dance tune (termed *vivart*), unrelated thematically to the music of the song. The *vivart* lasts on the average somewhat longer than a minute.

3. Metrical, Poetic, and Musical Considerations. Romanian epic songs are characterized by generally trochaic verses of seven or eight syllables. In addition, a small number of songs have lines which are penta- and hexasyllabic. In this study, the seven- or eight-syllable meter is predominant.

The poetry frequently contains successive groups of two or more lines that rhyme or assonate. Morphological rhyme accounts for a great deal of the acoustic parallelism in the genre. Where analogous syntactic patterns are repeated successively, the words in final position frequently rhyme or

assonate, due to the nature of the grammatical categories in Romanian. Other types of sound patterns in the poetry include anaphora, parallelism, alliteration, and various kinds of repetition, from individual sounds and morphemes to words and entire lines.

The scales employed in the music of the Romanian epic are for the most part gapped. Half of the songs in this study are sung to pentatonic scales, roughly one-third to hexatonic scales, about one-eighth to tetrachords, and a very small number to diatonic scales.

4. Styles of Recitation. Romanian epic consists primarily of sung verses, but occasionally includes verses that are spoken. The melodic style, in which melodic formulas have a syllabic correspondence to textual lines, is the principal mode of recitation. Melodic lines account for almost three-fourths of the poetic verses in this study. The identity of each melodic formula can be determined by its contour: where the line begins, whether it is descending, ascending, or a combination thereof, and the cadence. Divergences within the contour of each melodic formula include primarily rhythmic and melodic variation, as well as ornamentation—grace notes, melisma, and other expressive devices.

Although Romanian singers typically claim that each narrative song has a distinct melody, in actuality most songs have clearly related clusters of melodic formulas. There is a relatively stable pool of melodic formulas that circulate within each singer's repertoire, as well as in the genre at large. Similar melodic formulas usually recur in various renditions of any given song that a singer performs and frequently across song boundaries. However, no two songs, nor even two performances of the same song by a single singer, contain precisely the same combination of melodic formulas. There is much flexibility and variation within a relatively fixed pool of melodies.

As distinct from the melodic style, the *recto-tono* style consists of the same musical tone repeated for each syllable in the line, creating a chant-like, monotonic quality. The *recto-tono* style is employed in only a minute percentage of the poetry.

The *parlato* style of recitation is distinguished by verses that are spoken rather than sung. Due to the fact that the metrical framework provided by the music is lacking in such lines, their character is markedly different from that of the sung portions. The tempo of the poetry in the *parlato* recitation style is much quicker than that of the sung segments. Spoken lines often lose the metrical regularity of sung verses because singers are not directed by the restrictions that the music creates. For example, the tonic accent of spoken language prevails in the *parlato* sections, as opposed to the trochaic patterns normally heard in the sung poetry. Furthermore, while singers usually speak metrically regular verses, at times they lapse into segments of *parlato* delivery

in which the lines are irregular. In extreme cases, such as in the songs of the peasant singer Marin Dorcea, the number of syllables fluctuates from as few as two to twelve or more per line. About a fourth of the verses in this study are delivered in the *parlato* style.

Singers vary considerably in their use of the sung and spoken styles of recitation. For example, the *lăutar* Alexandru Cercel does not turn to the spoken style at any time during his performances; his poetry is entirely sung. On the other hand, the peasant singer Dorcea actually sings only about one-fourth of his verses. Rather, he relies predominantly on the *parlato* style, which is a less demanding manner of telling stories in poetic form than the sung style. In this way, Dorcea regularly opts for significantly less taxing performances than does a singer such as Cercel, who excels in ornamental, melodic deliveries.

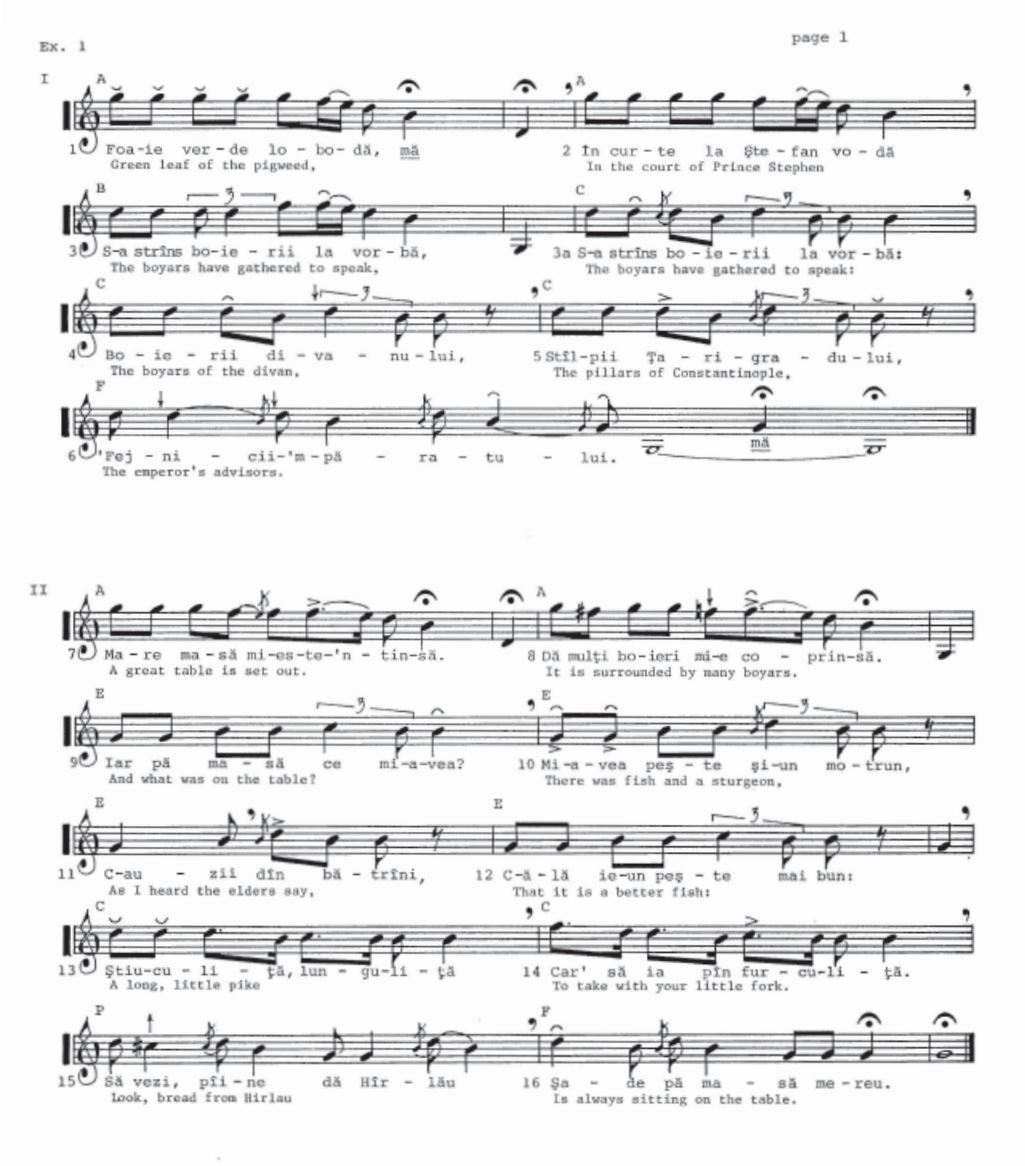
Relationships between Text and Music

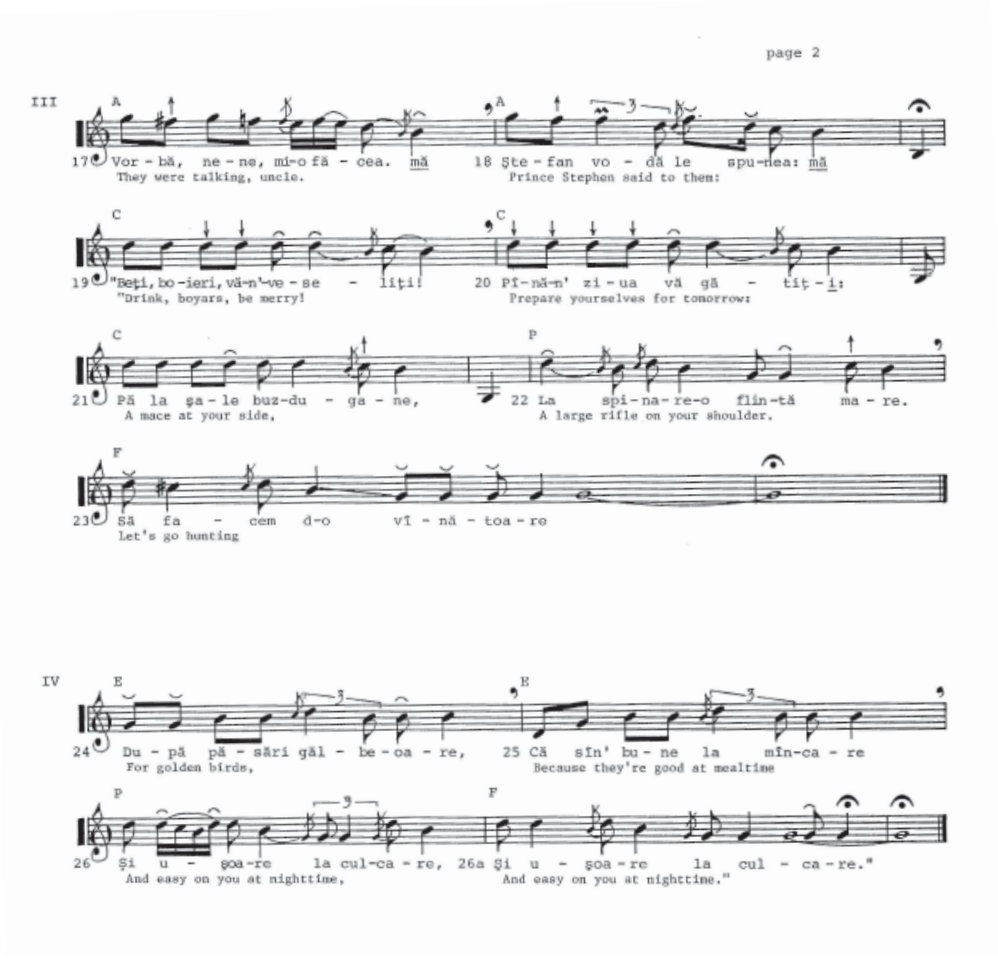
There is a great deal of flexibility in the organization of an epic song when the many elements that contribute to its structure are considered. Needless to say, no song is ever put together exactly the same way during different performances. Although the essential story remains reasonably constant, the content and ordering of the small units of narrative vary with each rendition, including elaboration, addition, or omission of text, as well as flexibility in the sequence of actions and descriptions. Similarly, while the fundamental set of melodic formulas remains relatively stable, the combinations of melodic formulas used in each song are ever fluid and changing. Despite the fundamental fluidity of text and music, the relationships that ensue when they intersect reveal that the text and music generally function in a unified and mutually reinforcing way.

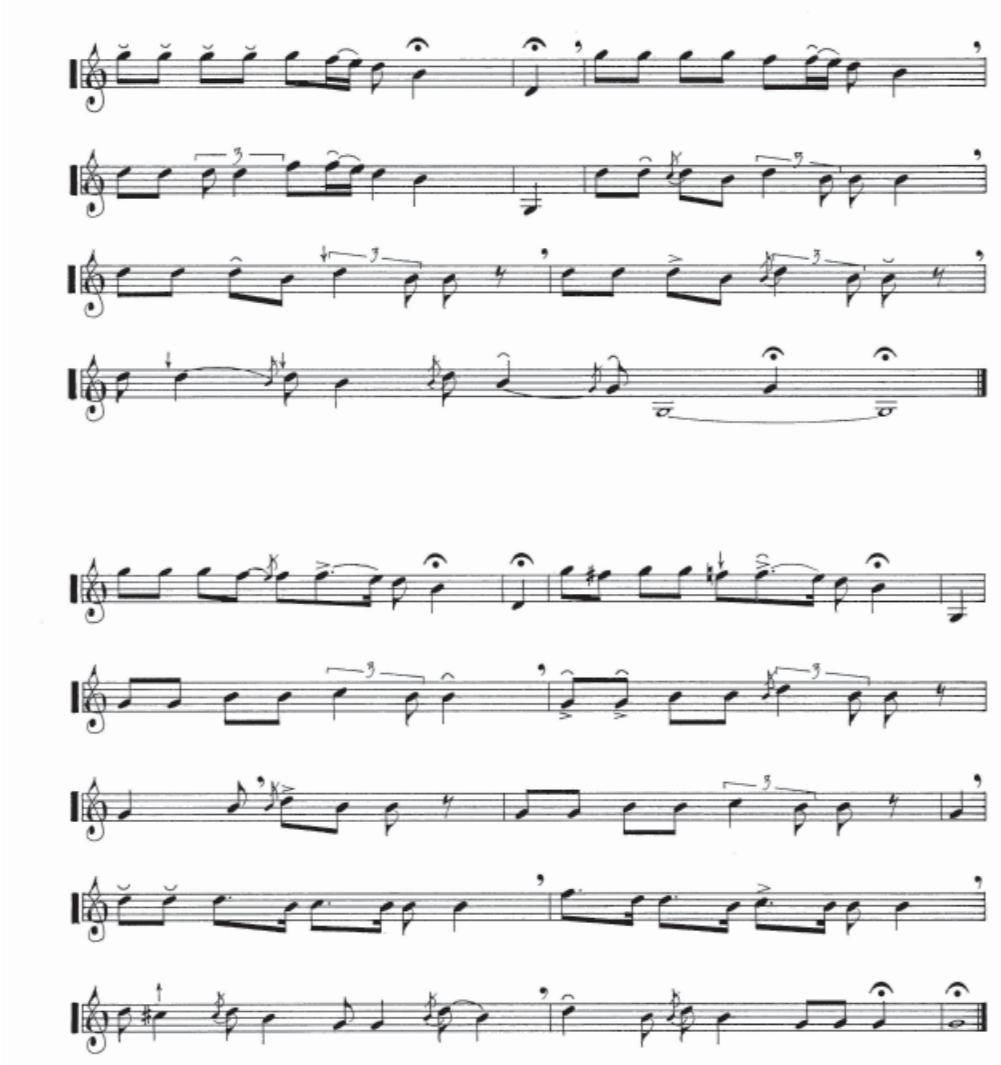
1. Sentences and Musical Strophes. The fundamental unit of narrative content in epic poetry is the complete thought, which is expressed as a complete sentence, with a subject and a predicate. Complete sentences in the Romanian genre may include only a single verse or a cluster of lines. It is these individual units that, when strung together, form the story. In the Romanian epic, musical strophes are the principal units of musical structure. A musical strophe includes a variable number of sung or spoken lines. It is framed much of the time by an initial melodic formula and virtually all of the time by either a final melodic formula or a *parlato* line followed by an instrumental cadence. Each vocal section consists of one or more musical strophes.

Example 1 contains the first vocal section from the epic "Miu haiducu," sung by the *lăutar* Staicu in 1979.[4] It illustrates many of the elements that intersect in the textual and musical organization of the song. The vocal section contains four musical strophes (indicated by Roman numerals).

Example 1


Ex. 1
page 1
I
1 Foa-ie ver-de lo-bo-dă, mă
Green leaf of the pigweed,
2 În cur-te la Şte-fan vo-dă
In the court of Prince Stephen
3 S-a strîns bo-ie-rii la vor-bă,
The boyars have gathered to speak,
3a S-a strîns bo-ie-rii la vor-bă:
The boyars have gathered to speak:
4 Bo-ie-rii di-va-nu-lui,
The boyars of the divan,
5 Stîl-pii Ţa-ri-gra-du-lui,
The pillars of Constantinople,
6 Fej-ni-cii-'m-pă-ra-tu-lui.
The emperor's advisors.
mă
II
7 Ma-re ma-să mi-es-te-'n-tin-să.
A great table is set out.
8 Dă mulţi bo-ieri mi-e co-prin-să.
It is surrounded by many boyars.
9 Iar pă mă-să ce mi-a-vea?
And what was on the table?
10 Mi-a-vea peş-te şi-un mo-trun,
There was fish and a sturgeon,
11 C-au-zii dîn bă-trîni,
As I heard the elders say,
12 C-ă-lă ie-un peş-te mai bun:
That it is a better fish:
13 Ştiu-cu-li-ţă, lun-gu-li-ţă
A long, little pike
14 Car' să ia pîn fur-cu-li-ţă.
To take with your little fork.
15 Să vezi, pîi-ne dă Hîr-lău
Look, bread from Hirlau
16 Şa-de pă ma-să me-reu.
Is always sitting on the table.


page 2
III
A
17 Vor - bă, ne - ne, mi-o fă - cea. mă
They were talking, uncle.
A
18 Şte - fan vo - dă le spu-nea: mă
Prince Stephen said to them:
C
19 "Beţi, bo - ieri, vă-n'-ve - se - liţi!
"Drink, boyars, be merry!
C
20 Pî-nă-n' zi - ua vă gă - tiţ - i:
Prepare yourselves for tomorrow:
C
21 Că la şa - le buz-du - ga - ne,
A mace at your side,
P
22 La spi - na - re-o flin-tă ma - re.
A large rifle on your shoulder.
F
23 Să fa - cem d-o vî - nă - toa - re
Let's go hunting
IV
E
24 Du - pă pă - sări găl - be - oa - re,
For golden birds,
E
25 Că sîn' bu - ne la mîn-ca - re
Because they're good at mealtime
P
26 Şi u - şoa-re la cul-ca - re,
And easy on you at nighttime,
F
26a Şi u - şoa - re la cul - ca - re."
And easy on you at nighttime."



A complete sentence in the Romanian epic may be expressed in one independent verse, characterized by the absence of necessary enjambement. A single-line sentence is designated in this study as a "short sentence." Short sentences frequently begin with the direct or indirect object of the sentence and end with a third-person imperfect verb, such as in line 17 in example 1. Another common type of short sentence is the introductory question, which also typically ends with a third-person imperfect verb, as in line 9. Other syntactic patterns characteristic of short sentences include subject + verb + adjective (line 7) and object + implicit subject + verb + adjective (line 8). A complete sentence may also be expressed in a sequence of verses, a unit including a main clause contained in a single line, preceded or followed by dependent clauses and additional phrases, each usually comprising one verse. Such verses are distinguished by necessary or unperiodic enjambement. Sentences containing two or more lines are termed "long sentences" in this study. In the majority of cases, long sentences begin with a main clause and are followed by dependent clauses, including subjunctive and other verbal constructions, prepositional phrases, and noun phrases. Long sentences end with the final clause or phrase of a completed idea, a verse that by definition contains no enjambement. Any number of clauses and phrases combine to form long sentences. The long sentence extending from line 10 to line 14 in example 1 begins with a main clause (10) and is followed by two dependent clauses (11, 12), a noun phrase (13), and the final dependent clause (14).

Long sentences in this study contain an average of four verses. However, the average number of lines per long sentence among *lăutari* typically is higher than among peasant singers. *Lăutari* frequently draw out and embellish individual narrative ideas through the use of additional clauses and phrases that modify the main clause. Such is the case in the long sentences in lines 1-6, 10-14, 20-22, and 23-26a in example l, which are seven, five, three, and five lines long, respectively. Peasant singers, on the other hand, tend to relate the narrative in successive short sentences, where subject and predicate follow one upon another with little ornamentation of the main idea.

While musical strophes vary considerably in size, their average length in the songs examined here is eight to nine lines. Marked differences are evident in the length of musical strophes sung by peasant singers and those sung by *lăutari*. The peasant singers compose musical strophes that average twelve lines, while those of the *lăutari* average seven. For instance, the four musical strophes in example l, sung by the *lăutar* Staicu, are seven, ten, seven, and four lines long respectively. There are several possible explanations for this divergence in practice between peasant singers and *lăutari*. In the repertoire of the peasant singer Dorcea, for example, the lengthy musical strophes may be accounted for by his heavy reliance on the *parlato* style of recitation, in which cadential melodic formulas designating the end of strophes occur with less frequency than in musical strophes which are sung. The extended musical

strophes in the songs of the other peasant singer, Vasile Anghelache, may be due in part to the fact that they generally include a relatively high number of repeated textual lines, thus naturally retarding the pace of the narrative and prolonging the duration of the musical strophe. In comparison, the musical strophes sung by the *lăutari* are generally not marked by excessive *parlato* verses or repeated textual lines. They tend to be more compact units of musical and textual content.

On the average, between five and six musical strophes comprise a typical vocal section in the six repertoires. While the two peasant singers sing vocal sections that typically contain between one and two musical strophes, the *lăutari* sing vocal sections that are clearly lengthier, comprising nine strophes on the average. Peasant singers rely on a less taxing mode of singing than do *lăutari*. They break up their songs into short sections of text and music, thereby allowing themselves ample time during the frequent musical interludes to rest from singing and gather their thoughts for each subsequent portion of the narrative. *Lăutari*, on the other hand, with greater endurance and mastery, sing lengthy vocal sections, where many verses follow one upon another in succession. In light of all of these textual and musical differences, it is clear that *lăutari* and peasant singers have contrasting styles of composition and that *lăutari* have mastered the skills of composition to a far greater degree than peasant singers. The *lăutari* evidently have learned a set of techniques that allow them to compose more elaborate and more highly structured epics than peasant singers. An examination of these techniques reveals the ways in which text and music interact in oral composition.

2. Verses and Melodic Formulas. Music actively reinforces text in the Romanian epic, with framing devices in the melodic structure corresponding to framing devices in the poetry. The intersection of text and music is conspicuous as singers delineate structures in performance.

The initial and final melodic formulas are the most stable melodic lines in a musical strophe. They determine the beginning and end of each musical unit (melodic formulas are indicated in the examples by capital letters to the left of each verse). The initial melodic formula that appears most frequently in this study has a distinct contour. It is typically initiated from an octave or seventh above the tonal center and rests on a fifth or third above it, such as in the formulas labeled "A" in example 1 (lines l, 2, 7, 8, 17, and 18). All of these descend from an octave to a third above the tonal center, which is g´ in this song. Slightly more than a third of all musical strophes in the songs examined here begin with this type of initial melodic formula. When musical strophes do not start with this formula, singers most often turn to an alternative melodic formula or a *parlato* verse. In example l, musical strophes I, II, and III begin with the initial melodic formula "A" (lines l, 7, and 17). However, the fourth musical strophe (IV) does not; it is initiated by an alternative melodic formula

"E" (line 24).

Initial melodic formulas typically coincide with the beginnings of sentences; in this way text and music concur. The vocal section in example 1 begins with two initial melodic formulas ("A": lines 1 and 2) which announce the beginning of the entire song. Line 1 is a traditional introductory textual formula and line 2 is a dependent clause that ushers in the narration; the repeated initial melodic formula underscores this sequence. Introductory textual formulas, such as line 1, are widespread in the Romanian epic, and they are generally noun phrases characterized by vegetation imagery. Such introductory textual formulas are usually sung to initial melodic formulas and as such are virtually always sung at the outset of musical strophes, as in example l.

The initial melodic formulas ("A") in musical strophes II and III from example 1 coincide with short sentences (lines 7, 8, and 17) or with the beginning of a long sentence (line 18). The repetition of the initial melodic formula, as in musical strophes I, II, and III, is a frequent stylistic device that singers employ to signal the beginning of the musical strophe. From the example it is clear how the initial melodic formulas simultaneously underscore short sentences or beginnings of long sentences.

The final melodic formula is the definitive feature of a musical strophe because of its stability and consistency in the musical structure as a whole. In the vast majority of final melodic formulas, the line is descending, most commonly from a fifth or fourth above the tonal center. It rests on the tonal center and is repeated during (and sometimes already before) the second half of the line, reinforcing in this way the cadence of the musical strophe. The final melodic formulas labeled "F" in example 1 (lines 6, 16, 23, and 26a) all descend from the fifth to the tonal center (g´). Final melodic formulas play a key role in the framing of musical strophes. Four-fifths of the musical strophes in this study contain a distinct final melodic formula. All of the musical strophes in example 1 end with this type of final melodic formula.

A penultimate melodic formula frequently precedes the final melodic formula, thereby reinforcing the cadence of the musical strophe. In this type of melodic formula, the singer anticipates the subsequent final melodic formula by resting on the tonal center in mid-line before a leap of a large interval. The penultimate melodic formula commonly ends on a major or minor third above the tonal center. Labeled "P," it is sung in three of the musical strophes in example 1 (lines 15, 22, and 26). Approximately one out of three final melodic formulas in this study is preceded by a penultimate phrase.

When singers do not signify the end of the musical strophe through a final melodic formula, they most often utilize the *parlato* style of recitation as the musical strophe is brought to a close. In such cases, the singer plays a final melodic formula on his instrument immediately following the *parlato* line,

such that a melodic cadence is effected. Among the present songs, many of the musical strophes that end with *parlato* verses belong to the repertoire of the peasant singer Dorcea, unique in his heavy reliance on the spoken style of recitation.

Another way in which music regularly underscores text in the Romanian epic is the use of final melodic formulas to reinforce final clauses of sentences. A close look at example 1 clearly reveals this in three of the four musical strophes. The first musical strophe (I) coincides exactly with the first long sentence in the song (lines l-6). It ends with a final melodic formula on line 6, which is the last verse in the long sentence. Compositional-rhetorical devices further underscore the structure as a whole. The last three textual lines, genitive noun phrases that bring the sentence and musical strophe concurrently to a close (lines 4-6), are united by syntactic parallelism and final rhyme.

Throughout the songs in this study, patterns of final rhyme or assonance coincide in various ways with musical strophes. A full seventy percent of musical strophes that end with completed sentences in this study terminate with a sequence of lines that rhyme or assonate. The rhyme or assonance in such verses is not resumed in the subsequent musical strophe, such as in musical strophes I and II in example 1. In this way, a clear unity of sound and syntactic pattern reinforces the sentence, which is further underscored by the cadence of the musical strophe.

Musical strophe II in example 1 (lines 7-16) ends with a penultimate followed by a final melodic formula. This coincides exactly with a rhyming couplet (lines 15-16), the concluding long sentence in the musical strophe. The last musical strophe in the vocal section (lines 24-26a) ends with a pair of penultimate and final melodic formulas that coincide with lines 26-26a. This is the last verse of the long sentence, which moreover is repeated. The completion of the narrative idea and the musical strophe is reinforced in this way. Acoustic patterns similarly underscore the unity of the passage; final assonance begins in line 22 and continues until line 26a.

Medial melodic formulas, the lines that are situated between the initial and final melodic formulas, have distinct contours. In this study, they are most frequently formulas with an overall descending pattern, including upward intervals within the line. They end most typically on a third above the tonal center. This type of medial melodic formula includes all of the formulas labeled “B” (line 3) and “C” (lines 3a, 4, 5, 13, 14, 19, 20, and 21) in example l. Another relatively common type of medial melodic formula in this study includes an overall ascending contour, such as the melodic formula “E” in example 1 (lines 9, 10, 11, 12, 24, and 25), which typically rests on a third above the tonal center (g´). The ordering of medial melodic formulas within the musical strophe is ever variable, as is evident in example l. Short sentences (line 9, 19), long sentences (lines 10-14), and portions of long

sentences (lines 3-5, 20-21, and 24- 25) are sung to medial melodic formulas, as the example illustrates.

The average number of distinct melodic formulas per song in this study is between five and six. A large number of melodic formulas and considerable variation within them characterize songs by skilled singers. For example, the *lăutari* Staicu and Constantin both normally work with about seven basic melodic formulas per song, although at times they may include up to ten. The song from which example 1 is excerpted, sung by Staicu, includes eight melodic formulas that he varies throughout the song with considerable imagination. On the other hand, in the repertoire of the peasant singer Dorcea, who relies at times on as few as three melodic formulas per song and customarily employs very little variation, the effect is often repetitive and somewhat monotonous.

3. Form and Content. A singer's delivery is often neatly organized. Completed sentences and completed musical strophes coincide in the majority of cases, as observed in example 1. Eighty-five percent of all musical strophes in this study end with a short sentence or concluded long sentence, while only twelve percent end with an unfinished long sentence, thereby marked by necessary or unperiodic enjambement. Moreover, musical strophes and completed sentences coincide at likely resting points in the narrative, such as at the end of passages of discourse, descriptions, actions, or events.

Example 1 provides a typical illustration of the logic of the singer's delivery. Musical strophe I (lines 1-6) depicts the court of Prince Stephen, where a gathering of boyars is assembled. The second musical strophe, containing five sentences (lines 7-16), is a description of the festive dinner table around which the boyars are seated. Musical strophes III and IV (lines 17-23 and 24-26a) comprise the episode in which Prince Stephen proposes a hunt, on which the boyars will accompany him. The fourth musical strophe concludes elegantly with the end of the prince's address to the boyars. In all cases the narrative content is clearly reinforced by the music.

Comparisons of performances at different times by the same singer illustrate how singers perpetually fashion varying, but nonetheless neat and consistent structures in their songs. In recordings from 1966 and 1980 of the song just discussed, "Miu haiducu," by the *lăutar* Staicu,[5] musical strophes are completed at different but still perfectly logical resting points in the narrative. As in the performance in 1979, short or long sentences that correspond to actions, occurrences, descriptions, and passages of discourse are underscored by musical units. Points in the text that serve as narrative junctures may occur at a large number of places. Cadential points in the music and completed ideas in the narrative generally concur.

Examples from the repertoires of other singers illustrate comparable patterns in the arrangement of text and music. Other highly skilled singers repeatedly match textual units with musical units in their performances. For instance, example 2, an excerpt from the epic "Tănislav," sung by the *lăutar* Constantin in 1951,[6] exemplifies a typical ordering of text and music. Musical strophe XIV (lines 115-18) contains a short sentence at the outset, corresponding to the melodic formula "G," which in this song is an alternative to the initial melodic formula. It ends with a completed long sentence (lines 117-18) and a final melodic formula, "F." Tănislav, the hero of the story, has been thrown by some Turks, while sleeping, into the Danube River with a stone tied around his foot. Constantin describes how Tănislav wakes up and makes his way to the surface in musical strophe XIV. It is a compact passage in which text and music form a single unit. Musical strophe XV, of which only the first six lines are included (lines 119-24), begins with an introductory question (line 119), sung to "G." It outlines the start of a new event in the story—how Ilenuţa spots the hero floundering in the water and attempts to solicit help from her brother in order to save him (*parlato* verses are signified by +).

Ex. 2

XIV	
G 115 O dată să opintea.	He moved around a little.
C 116 'N faţa apii că ieşa.	He rose to the top of the water.
A 117 'Nota ca un păstrăghior	He swam like a little trout
F 118 Cu pietricica după iel.	With the little stone trailing him.
XV	
G 119 Iar pe iel cine-1 vedea?	And who saw him?
A 120 Ilenuţa Şandrului,	Ilenuța, the daughter of Sandru,
A 121 Ibomnica, frate, -a lui;	His beloved, brother;
+ 122 La frate-său să ducea.	She went to her brother.
+ 123 De genuchi îngenunchea	She knelt down on her knees
+ 124 Şi de iel că să ruga	And implored him
etc.	etc.

Introductory questions frequently frame units of narrative content at the beginning of a musical strophe. They are typically sung to initial or alternative melodic formulas that introduce musical strophes, such as in example 2, line 119. Example 3, a musical strophe from the epic "Miu haiducu," by the *lăutar* Cercel in 1957,[7] also illustrates how an introductory question (line 94), sung to the initial melodic formula "A," begins a musical strophe. Final assonance unites the entire passage. It ends neatly with penultimate and final melodic formulas at the conclusion of the long sentence (lines 99-100).

Ex. 3

A 94 Dar Florica ce-m' făcea?	But what did Florica do?
B 95 Sărea în deal, sărea-n vălcea,	She jumped over hill and over dale,

C 96 Şi-o pustie dădirea.	And made her way across a field.
C 97 La Bucureşti ajungea.	She arrived in Bucharest.
B 98 Boierii culcaţi mi găsea	She found the boyars asleep
P 99 Şi ia, frate,-i deştepta,	And she woke them up, brother,
F 100 Şi-n vînătoare că-i pornea.	And sent them out on the hunt.

As illustrated in example 1, an introductory textual formula signifies the beginning of a musical strophe. Sometimes an introductory textual formula is immediately followed by an introductory question at the outset of a musical strophe. Thus, several devices simultaneously serve to articulate the beginning of the passage. Example 4, a musical strophe from the epic "Miu haiducu," sung by the *lăutar* Constantin in 1951,[8] illustrates this phenomenon in lines 27-28. The introductory textual formula in line 27, reinforced by the initial melodic formula "A," is followed by the introductory question in line 28, also sung to an initial melodic formula. They clearly announce the beginning of the episode. The musical strophe ends with a short sentence (line 32) sung to a final melodic formula "F."

Ex. 4

A 27 Foaie verde viorea,	Green leaf of the violet,
A 28 Stefan-vodă ce-m' făcea?	What did Prince Stephen do?
C 29 Di la uşe ca-m' striga:	He shouted from the door:
D 30 "Beaţi, boieri, da' nu prea beatî!	"Drink, boyars, but don't drink too much!
E 31 Mîncaz' de vă săturaţi!	Eat until you are satisfied!
F 32 Pînă-n ziuă vă sculaţ'!	Wake up by morning!

On occasion, an introductory question at the beginning of a musical strophe is also repeated; in this way several effects function concurrently to announce the event. Example 5, another musical strophe from the *lăutar* Cercel's "Miu haiducu,"[9] demonstrates how an introductory question, sung to an initial melodic formula "A" in line 41, is repeated in line 41a, framing the beginning of the passage. Line 43, a short sentence repeated and sung to a final melodic formula "F" in line 43a, structures the end of the musical strophe. The passage is united by final assonance.

Ex. 5

A 41 Dar Florica ce-m' făcea?	But what did Florica do?
B 41a Dar Florica ce-m' făcea?	But what did Florica do?
C 42 Papuc pe talpa că-m' lua.	She put some slippers on her feet.
C 43 Sărea-n deal, sărea-n vălcea.	She jumped over hill and over dale.
F 43a Sărea-n deal, sărea-n vălcea.	She jumped over hill and over dale.

Passages at times are introduced by repeated statements, either short sentences or opening clauses of long sentences. They frequently correspond

to initial melodic formulas at the beginning of a musical strophe. Such framing devices reinforce the unity of the structure, both in the text and music. One example is the musical strophe in example 6 from the epic "Scorpia," performed by the peasant singer Anghelache in 1966.[10] The long sentence stretching from line 6 to line 9a is contained neatly in the musical strophe. Line 6, sung to an alternative initial melodic formula "D," is repeated in line 6a as Anghelache underlines the beginning of the sentence. Penultimate and final melodic formulas match the last textual line of the sentence, which is repeated (lines 9-9a).

Ex. 6

D 6 Trei coconi, feciori de domn*i*,	Three young lads, sons of the king,
D 6a Trei coconi, feciori de domn*i*,	Three young lads, sons of the king,
D 7 Mi-a plecat la vînătoare	Set out on a hunt
D 8 Cu merinde-n trestioare	With food in their bags
P 9 Şi cu apă prin sacale,	And with water in their sacks,
F 9a Şi cu apă prin sacale.	And with water in their sacks.

Sequences of parallel lines, most notably characterized by anaphora, often coincide with the ends of sentences and musical strophes. Singers in this study sometimes terminate sentences and musical strophes with at least two verses marked by anaphora and syntactic parallelism, often corresponding to penultimate and final melodic formulas. This creates a repetitive rhythm combined with acoustic and syntactic patterns that correspond to closures in the text and music. An example is the musical strophe in example 7 from the *lăutar* Staicu's "Tănislav," sung in 1965.[11] The two verses marked by anaphora (lines 164, 165) are sung at the end of the musical strophe to penultimate and final melodic formulas.

Ex. 7

C 160 Pă Tănislav că mi-1 loa.	They took Tanislay.
C 161 Acasă că să ducea.	They went home.
E 162 Cu fata popii să logodea.	He married the priest's daughter.
E 163 Nuntă, frate, că-m' făcea	They had a wedding, brother,
P 164 Şi bea, neică, să cinstea,	And they drank, uncle, they made toasts,
F 165 Şi, neică, să-nveselea.	And, uncle, they made merry.

4. Lack of Agreement between Text and Music. It is evident that a distinct connection between completed narrative and musical ideas pervades the structuring of passages of text and musical strophes in the epic songs in this study. This is especially true with regard to the songs of the *lăutari*. However, there are exceptions to this. Some singers, usually peasant singers, at times display a lack of agreement between text and music. Several typical patterns emerge. The most common type of disharmony between text and music involves musical strophes that terminate with a textual line marked by unperiodic enjambement. Such is the case at the end of musical strophe III in

example 1, where line 23 appears to be a short sentence; when viewed with the subsequent musical strophe IV, it is the main clause within the long sentence stretching from lines 23 to 26a.

On occasion, verses marked by necessary enjambement are sung at the end of a musical strophe. This includes primarily the separation of main clauses from dependent clauses at the juncture between two musical strophes. In example 8, an excerpt from the *lăutar* Mitica Burcea's 1951 recording of the epic "Novac,"[12] musical strophe I is a series of ornamental dependent clauses, with no subject or predicate. The last verse of the musical strophe (line 6), sung to a final melodic formula "F," is a hanging dependent clause marked by necessary enjambement. The musical strophe that follows (II) is a continuation of the same long sentence; the main clause is finally sung in line 9.

Ex. 8

I		
	R 1 Munţii Steri Dealului,	The mountains of the Old Hill,
	R 2 Tocmai la muntili-'nalt	Even at the tall mountain
	A 3 Unde pazvanţii să bat*î*,	Where the old giants fight,
	A 4 Tocmai la muntili sec*î*	Even at the barren mountain
	B 5 Unde vitejii să-ntrec,	Where the heroes compete,
	B 5a Unde vitejii să-ntrec,	Where the heroes compete,
	F 6 La ciardacu lui Novac*î*,	At Novac's castle,
II		
	D 7 A lui Novac, Baba Novac*î*,	Novac's, Baba Novac's,
	A 8 Car' trăeştea-acum d-un veac*î*,	Who has lived for a century,
	B 9 Mare masă mi-e-ntinsă.	A great table is set out.
	etc.	etc.

At times, a verse announcing direct discourse, clearly a hanging clause, is the final line in a musical strophe, such as in example 9, another excerpt from the peasant singer Anghelache's "Scorpia."[13] Line 40, sung to the final melodic formula "F," is the beginning of a long sentence that is completed in the following musical strophe in lines 41-42.

Ex. 9

VI	. . .	. . .
	E 39 Cel voinic le răspundea.	The heroic one answered them.
	F 40 Din guriţă-aşa-mi zicea:	From his little mouth he said:
VII		
	A 41 "Şi ieu am fost ca voi,	"I too was once like you,
	G 42 Făr' dă griji, făr' dă nevoi'.	Without worries, without needs.
	etc.	etc.

Occasionally, an introductory question posed at the end of a musical strophe similarly disrupts the continuity of the passage. An excerpt from "Tănislav," sung by the peasant singer Dorcea in 1962,[14] illustrates this in example 10. Dorcea completes musical strophe XXVI with a repeated

introductory question on lines 210-10a, sung to the final melodic formula "F." The response to the question continues in the next musical strophe, beginning with the introductory melodic formula "A" in line 211.

Ex. 10

XXVI

B 209 Pă Tănislav mi-1 scotea.	He pulled Tănisla out.
B 210 Da' Tănislav ce făcea?	But what did Tănisla do?
F 210a Da' Tănislav ce făcea?	But what did Tănislav do?

XXVII

A 211 La un popas să ducea	He went to a resting spot
+ 212 Şi veşmintili că i le lua	And he took the garments
+ 213 Şi iel popă sa făcea.	And he made himself a priest.
etc.	etc.

In this as well as the preceding two examples, where the agreement between text and music is violated, the effect is unsettling. The listener has the impression that the singer has lost his train of thought and is not actively involved in the telling of his tale.

Conclusion

Oral composition in Romanian epic is characterized by a congruity between textual and musical ideas. Singers clearly sense a relationship between text and music and utilize complex patterns of interaction as they construct their traditional songs. A deep structure in the text, in which complete thoughts are formulated, functions in conjunction with a deep structure in the music, in which integral musical ideas are generated. Rhetorical devices that frame sentences and passages, most notably introductory textual formulas, introductory questions, repeated verses, syntactic parallelism, rhyme, and anaphora, regularly coincide with specific melodic formulas and other patterns in the musical structure. Thus, music persistently reinforces text.

A comparison of the singing techniques of *lăutari* and peasant singers reveals distinct styles of composition. The *lăutari* display a more developed and eloquent command of epic singing. They have mastered the skills and techniques of the art, allowing them to compose neatly structured, expressive epics. The devices surrounding the effective welding of text and music that have been detailed in this article are precisely those skills of composition that the *lăutari* have learned and perpetuated from generation to generation. They are the skills that provide for the telling of a good story, which is, after all, the aim of the oral poet. This mastery is repeatedly demonstrated through deliveries that, though they differ from performance to performance, are logically conceived and well-told time after time. The peasant singers are also by and large good storytellers. However, they plainly exhibit a less skilled

and demanding approach to composition. The differing compositional styles of peasant singers and *lăutari* reveal the various mechanisms and techniques that can be used to join text and music as epic is sung. Despite the differences among individual singers, a clear correlation between narrative and musical ideas permeates the composition of all the epic songs in the repertoires examined. Singers perpetually fit coherent and logically structured narrative and musical ideas together as they sing their tales in poetic form. The further exploration of relationships between text and music in the epic poetries of other traditions could serve to enlarge our perspective of oral composition.

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Notes

[1] The epic songs used in this analysis were collected during field trips in Romania in November 1979 and September 1980, as well as obtained through the generosity of the Institute of Ethnology and Dialectology in Bucharest, under whose auspices I was given copies of epic song recordings made in the 1950's and 1960's. Sources of information regarding the singers include my own field notes, field notes that I was kindly permitted to examine from the Archives of the Institute of Ethonology and Dialectology, and biographical notes contained in Amzulescu 1974:517-18, 520-24, and 529-30. M. Constantin and M. Dorcea are deceased, although the exact years of their deaths are not known. C. Staicu died in 1983. The other singers, with the possible exception of V. Anghelache, are presumed dead.

[2] Supplementary published materials are from Amzulescu 1974, 1981; Amzulescu and Ciobanu 1956.

[3] Costică Staicu, "Cintecul naşului," recorded by myself, September 5, 1980 in Bleşti-Teleorman, spoken introduction. Unpublished.

[4] Costică Staicu, "Miu haiducu," recorded by myself, November 2, 1979 in Bucharest, lines 1-26a. Unpublished.

[5] Costică Staicu, "Miu haiducu," recorded by Alexandru Amzulescu, March 31, 1966 in Bucharest. Unpublished. Tape numbers 2991b and 2992a, Archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Dialectology, Bucharest; Costică Staicu, "Miu haiducu," recorded by myself, September 4, 1980 in Bleşti-Teleorman. Unpublished.

[6] Mihai Constantin, "Tănislav," recorded by Alexandru Amzulescu, February 22, 1951 in Desa-Dolj, lines 115-24. Published in Amzulescu 1981:377-83. Tape number 17a, Archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Dialectology, Bucharest.

[7] Alexandru Cercel, "Miu haiducu," recorded by Paula Carp and Ghizela Suliţeanu, May 31, 1957 in Cîmpulung-Argeş, lines 94-100. Unpublished. Tape number 1100a, Archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Dialectology, Bucharest.

[8] Mihai Constantin, "Miu haiducu," recorded by Alexandru Amzulescu, February 22, 1951 in Desa-Dolj, lines 27-32. Published in Amzulescu 1980:506-14. Tape number 18a, Archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Dialectology, Bucharest.

[9] Alexandru Cercel, "Miu haiducu," 1957, lines 41-42a. See note 7.

[10] Vasile Anghelache, "Scorpia," recorded by Alexandru Amzulescu, October 12, 1966 in Graeca-Olteniţa, lines 6-9a. Unpublished. Tape number 3090Ia, Archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Dialectology, Bucharest.

[11] Costică Staicu, "Tănislav," recorded by Alexandru Amzulescu, September 10, 1965 in Bleşti-Teleorman, lines 160-65. Tape number 2878Va, Archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Dialectology, Bucharest.

[12] Mitică Burcea, "Novac," recorded by Alexandru Amzulescu and Gheorghe Ciobanu, March 24, 1951 in Merenii de Sus-Vida, lines 1-9. Published in Amzulescu and Ciobanu 1956:67-72. Tape number 92f, Archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Dialectology, Bucharest.

[13] Vasile Anghelache, "Scorpia," 1966, lines 39-42. See note 10.

[14] Marin Dorcea, "Tănislav," recorded by Emilia Comişel and Ovidiu Bîrlea, July 18, 1962 in Ciuperceni-Teleorman, line 209-13. Unpublished. Tape number 2203a, Archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Dialectology, Bucharest.

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Incipient Literacy: From Involvement to Integration in Tojolabal Maya

Jill Brody

I. Introduction

With the development of writing systems and the spread of literacy, authors in Latin American Indian communities are now beginning to produce written works in their native languages.[1] When indigenous authors present material from the oral tradition of these communities (folktales, etc.) in the written medium, there arises an ideal environment in which to examine possible differences between spoken and written narrative for languages without a written tradition. Some of these differences are explored here through a comparison of two versions of a folktale by native speakers of the Mayan language Tojolabal.[2] What I hope to show is that Tojolabal folktales, as part of the Tojolabal oral tradition, exhibit elaborate and artistic structure; that the spoken form is carefully constructed and emphatically not defective; and that features identified by Chafe (1982) as characteristic of spoken language are transferred from the primary spoken medium into the secondary written medium. In the course of this exploration of some of the differences between spoken and written Tojolabal in a lab-like situation of minimal contrast, I hope to suggest some new directions for the exploration of orality and literacy not as "gross typological constructs" but in terms of the "understanding of speaking and writing in human life on the basis of soundly empirical, cross-cultural investigations" (Bauman 1986:10).

The story presented in two versions below is from the ample Tojolabal oral tradition. It is a well-known folktale of the community, and provides an account of the reason behind the major yearly pilgrimages of many Tojolabal people to Santo Tomás in Oxchuk and to San Bartolomé in Venustiano Carranza. These pilgrimages are in general part of a larger complex of religious activities and in particular part of a yearly supplication for rain.

The two recountings originate from different storytellers. The written version was inscribed by a man who is bilingual and fairly comfortably literate

in both Spanish and Tojolabal; he learned to write Spanish in school and he learned to write in Tojolabal from Protestant missionaries. The oral version is a transcription of a taped oral presentation by another bilingual man who enjoys a good reputation as a storyteller, but who has very little experience of literacy in either Spanish or Tojolabal.

The recountings represent two versions of what both narrators recognize as the same story. Several similarities and differences between the two versions are discussed below. Of course, some of the differences between them arise from the fact that the stories were told by two different people. The differences brought out in the discussion below, however, are those which derive principally from the medium: oral presentation as opposed to written presentation. It is certainly too ambitious to claim the ability to distinguish between all traits of individuality on the one hand and all oral/written differences on the other. However, the data analyzed here as a case study are representative of the differences between oral and written presentations in Tojolabal that I have generally observed in the examination of an extensive corpus of material both written and transcribed from tapes.

Although the two versions of the folktale are related by different storytellers, there are other considerations that facilitate a direct comparison. Most analyses of spoken and written language have involved extremes of difference in the material, such as comparisons between unplanned, unrehearsed dialogue and carefully crafted prose (e.g., Chafe 1982; an exception is Tannen 1982). These varieties of language use can be expected to differ in a number of ways, since they represent distinct genres, each with particular communicative tasks. The fact that the data examined here are from the same genre makes them more directly comparable. The choice of the folktale as opposed to other genres (such as conversation, for example) further constrains possible differences. This can be traced to the requirements of the genre: not only is content restricted, there being recognized stories frequently told in the community, but there is also a set structure for folktales. So while spoken language is generally characterized by a lack of planning as compared with written language (Ochs 1979, Redeker 1984), folktales represent a highly planned form of speech. The fact that the folktales compared here are both well known and highly structured results in a situation where the oral and written versions should differ minimally with respect to planning. In Ochs's terms, the oral version would be a sample of planned spoken discourse. Chafe (1982) has noted similarities between written language and ritual language in nonliterate traditions, with the latter demonstrating "content, style, and formulaic structure which remains constant from performance to performance" (1982:49). In Tojolabal, the folktale as a genre falls in an intermediate category between colloquial speech and ritual speech (Brody 1986a). A final consideration in selecting the folktale genre is

that many stories contain elements from traditional Mayan belief, and thus the genre represents at least in part an enduring Mayan tradition.

Some studies have compared spoken and written language in the context of an extensive and highly developed literary tradition (Chafe 1982, Tannen 1982), a situation that is not directly comparable to literacy in Tojolabal. More pertinent to the situation explored here are studies that have examined the development and spread of literacy in situations of "restricted literacy" (Goody 1968; Scribner and Cole 1981:238). However, the focus of that work has been on the way in which social hierarchies and institutions affect the development and distribution of literacy and how intellectual processes differ between individuals with exclusively oral experience and those who are literate. In some ways, the situation described here is also one of restricted literacy, in that writing and reading have been recently introduced and are not widespread in the Tojolabal community. However, the focus in the analysis here is not on the social and intellectual aspects of literacy, but rather on its individual and linguistic dimensions. I offer the term "incipient literacy" as descriptive of the Tojolabal situation, to bring out the possibilities and limitations inherent in the new and potentially powerful tool of literacy.

Literacy in Tojolabal must be viewed as an individualized phenomenon, because it is not established in the Tojolabal community as it is, for example, among the Vai, the African community described by Scribner and Cole (1981). Nor is literacy in the modern Mayan community closely associated with religion, as it is for the situations of "restricted literacy" described by Goody (1968), though literacy in the ancient hieroglyphic writing certainly was (Schele and Miller 1986). Only a few Tojolabal speakers are literate in their language; there is little to read, and there are few to write for. The potential does exist for the use of Tojolabal to develop the type of role that "restricted literacy" plays in the Vai community. However, literacy in Tojolabal is currently so restricted as to be really only a potential in the community. On the level of the individual literate in Tojolabal, the linguistic consequences of incipient literacy can be therefore examined in relative isolation from the social. For example, it is expected that fewer of the kinds of differences between spoken and written texts found by Chafe (see below) would be present in the absence of a tradition of literacy. In the absence of widespread, well established literacy and a set Tojolabal literary style, the effect of written tradition upon spoken Tojolabal must be minimal. There is doubtless influence from general literacy, those complex interrelations between the spoken and the written discussed by Ong (1982), Finnegan (1977), Goody (1968, 1987), and Heath (1983), in particular from Spanish, the language of literacy in the dominant Mexican political entity. The effects of this influence might be established through comparing a text like the written one analyzed here with one written by an individual who was monolingual

and literate in Tojolabal; however, cultural realities make this an unlikely combination of characteristics.

Given the conditions described above, it might be expected that the two versions of the folktale would be nearly identical renderings. However, it is clear from the synopses in Section II below (see also the full texts in the Appendices) that this is not the case. In order to investigate and distinguish which features may be distinctive to oral delivery and which may be factors of the written medium, it is first necessary to elucidate those features that are inherent in the genre of the folktale. The organization of Tojolabal folktales has three major aspects: structure, content, and delivery. These three aspects are partially congruent with categories developed by Hymes (1981) in analysis of Chinookan folktales: poetic form, rhetorical form, and vocal realization, respectively; they are discussed in Section III. Differences in all three areas are traced to the spoken origin of the folktale in the context of the Tojolabal speech community. In section IV, the implications of Chafe's (1982) categories of integration and involvement features in spoken and written language are applied to this Tojolabal data. While the examples used are drawn from the test case of the two versions of the folktale that appear in the appendices, the features discussed here are characteristic of a large corpus of spoken and written texts as a whole, and are not idiosyncracies of these two particular renditions.

II. Synopses of the Two Versions of the Folktale

These synopses relate only the action and the characters of the two folktale versions. Complete presentations of the two versions are included in the appendix.

A. Spoken Version

Sto. Tomás began to fight with San Bartolomé. They hit each other and fought with fire. Then Sto. Tomás became angry and wanted to demolish the volcano. He sought advice, taking along the younger sibling San Carlos, and San Mateo. They went to meet with the Padre Eterno. He calmed them down, advising them not to kill people in vain, because if the volcano were to be destroyed, then all would be finished, and that would be a shame. So Sto.Tomás obeyed, and Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé fought only between themselves. When the fight was over, it turned out that it happened because of what Sto. Tomás stole from San Bartolomé. When the fight was over, then the pilgrimages were begun.

B. Written Version

San Bartolomé went to Sto. Tomás' house and destroyed it. This angered Sto. Tomás, so he went to San Bartolomé's house, where there is a big volcano, and tore it down in order to kill all the people living there. Sto. Tomás saved humanity when the god "who really orders" fashioned a new creation to replace the current one. The new creation of people had only one hand, leg, and eye. When Sto. Tomás saw it he kicked it, proclaiming the new creation inferior because it was incomplete. Thus Sto. Tomás merits worship by pilgrimage. Sto. Tomás also saved the people when the ash fell, by having it fall cold.

III. Comparison of the Two Versions of the Folktale

A. The Organization of Tojolabal Folktales

There is a characteristic form and organization to folktales in Tojolabal; this structure is part of what defines the folktale as a genre (Brody 1986b). In Hymes' terms (1981:322), poetic form is the organization of a Chinook narrative into verse, line, stanza, and scene. The units I will discuss for Tojolabal are different but also function to structure the folktale narrative: formulaic framings, the recapitulation, and the denouement. For Hymes, the rhetorical structure of Chinookan texts has to do with the organization of action into a three-stage sequence of first outset, then ongoing action, and finally outcome (322). For purposes of the discussion of the Tojolabal folktales, I want to deal with content in a very general sense—the events related and the characters participating in the folktale. It is in terms of delivery or presentation that the oral and written versions of the story differ most. Hymes includes a wide range of "voice" features under his category of vocal realization, including quotation, onomatopoeic sounds, expressiveness variously manifested, and audience response (322). A set of similar and overlapping features constitutes what I label as "delivery" features in Tojolabal, including stylistic features used by the storyteller, responses by the audience, sentence length, and the use of fillers, hesitation words, or conjunctions. The focus is on how these features are interactive, calling upon the relationship between the storyteller and audience in the moment of the performance.

B. Structure

The structure of Tojolabal folktales is not dependent on literacy, since the basic structure found in the written version is also present in the spoken version. I will not attempt here a complete treatment of folktale structure in Tojolabal, but rather will discuss several structural features shared by the two

versions: 1) formulaic openings and closings that frame the story and mark what they enclose as a folktale, 2) the retelling of the story at the end as a recapitulation, and 3) the explanatory denouement that presents the moral of the story near the end. These are present, to different degrees, in both versions of this tale.

Both versions of the story open with typical folktale beginnings: the spoken version begins with *oj kal jun kwento*... "I will tell a story..." and the written version with *ja kristiano jumasa waxyalawe7 ke*… "People say that...." The formulaic beginning of the spoken version is clearly more personally oral, with the storyteller announcing that he is about to speak the story. The formula initiating the written version literally places the folktale in the collective mouths of the community; this feature reinforces the point made above that these folktales represent shared cultural knowledge. The written version ends with the typical folktale termination *ti ch'aka* "Then it is finished." The speaker of the oral version was interrupted after sentence #23; he continues to speak on related topics, and when he is finished speaking, he too uses the typical termination.

The synoptic recapitulation of the story is part of the terminal structure of the Tojolabal folktale. Both versions of the tale in effect tell the story twice; the first time through includes all the detail, with the second pass being sketchier than the first. The detailed first telling of the spoken version is from sentence #1 to #18, and the synoptic recapitulation is from sentence #19 to #23.

19. k'e7 ja skorajae7.
They got angry.

20. syama sb'aje7.
They fought each other.

21. *entonse* komo ja7 el ja pagre eterno ye7n ya7 kulan kani.
Then since it is that the Padre Eterno came out, he made them calm down.

22. mi oj ya7 sb'aje7 *jach* wa xsjem ja bolkan i.
They won't fight each other in order to destroy the volcano.

23. yajni ya7 kulane7 *antonse* ja7 ti xa ochie7 k'u7anel ja kristiano.
When he calmed them down, that's when the people began the pilgrimage.

The written folktale version offers a very brief synopsis in the final sentence #20.

20. *ti ch'ak a* ja lo7il *jastal* k'e7iye7 tiro ja san bartolo i sok ja santo tomas i sok ja *jastal* waxkoltani ja santo tomas i.
The story is then finished how San Bartolomé and Sto. Tomás began to fight and how Sto. Tomás helps.

The relating of a narrative with a recapitulation at the end is a manifestation on the level of the story of the aesthetically prized characteristic of repetition (which I have discussed elsewhere in detail [Brody 1986a]).

Both the oral and the written versions of the account of Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé illustrate another important structural feature of Tojolabal folktales: the characteristic indication of the story denouement. Longacre (1982) has discussed the various ways in which the peak or climax of a story is typically indicated (e.g., change in verb tense, shorter sentences, gathering together of participants, etc.). The climax, however, is not as apparent in the material under consideration here as is the denouement. This latter section is where the reason behind all of the activities related is put forth, and the "moral" of the story is given.

The denouement in Tojolabal folktales can in part be understood as incorporating the functional units of evaluation and result isolated in spoken narratives by Labov and Waletsky (1966).[3] The evaluation functions in "suspending the complicating action" (35); the result resolves these complications. Evaluation in Labov and Waletsky's spoken narratives is largely personal, where the emphasis on some parts of the story as more important than the rest conveys the storyteller's attitudes and feelings about what has occurred, although an outside figure may be introduced to provide evaluation of a more highly embedded nature (39). The main function of evaluation is to highlight the purpose or moral of the story—why the story was told and what it means, and this is carried out by the denouement in both oral and written Tojolabal folktales. For the Tojolabal folktales, however, the evaluation is not made in reference to speakers' attitudes, nor is it made by outsiders. Rather, evaluation is in relation to cultural tradition, and is made by reference to the community. Recourse to tradition as explanatory of actions related in the narrative resolves that action and gives the point of the story. In the written version the action of the main story ends, rather abruptly, with sentence #15. The remainder of the tale consists of the denouement (#16-19, with #20 as recap), containing the reasoning behind carrying out the pilgrimage to Sto. Tomás: that he helped the people when San Bartolomé wanted to destroy them, and also when the ash fell.

16. *pwes ja7ch* waxyalawe7 ke ja7 b'*iyuj* jel t'ilan ja k'uanel i *porke* ja santo tomas i ye7n b'i mero waxkoltani.
Well, thus they say, that for this reason (it is said) that the pilgrimage is very necessary, because (it is said) it is really Sto. Tomás who helps.

17. *ja7ch* b'i ja yora ko7 ja k'ak'al ta7an ja najate7.
Thus it was (it is said) when the hot ash fell long ago.

18. ye7n b'i cha mero koltani ja santo tomas i.
(It is said) it was also Sto. Tomás who really helped.

19. ja7 b'i *yuj* che7e xa ko7 ja k'ak'al ta7an i.
For this reason the ash was already cold when it fell (it is said).

In the spoken version, the recounted events are presented directly as justification for the pilgrimage.

18. yajni lamxi ja pleyto jaw i *este yuj* b'i wan yelk'ajel *jas* waxyelk'an yuj ja san bartolo.
When the fight settled down, um (it is said) it was because he is robbing what he robs from San Bartolomé.

The denouement occurs just before the recapitulation, and is indicated linguistically by the occurrence of several explanatory-type expressions in consecutive sentences. These explanatory expressions are the relative pronouns *jas* and *jastal* "how," the conjunction *ja7ch* / *jach'* / *jachuk* "thus, in this way," the borrowed Spanish conjunction *porke* "because," and the Tojolabal relational noun *yuj*,[4] also translated as "because." These words occur (in italics) in the written version in sentences #16, #17, #19, and #20; in the oral version, they occur (in italics) in sentences #14, #16, #17, #18, and #22. Note that they all appear toward the end of the story. In the written folktale, the action of the main story ends, rather abruptly, with sentence #15. The remainder of the tale consists of the denouement (#16-19, with #20 as recap), which explains (indirectly) that it is important to go on pilgrimage to honor Sto. Tomás because, as recounted, he saved the people from San Bartolomé, and he also saved them when the ash fell. In the spoken folktale, there are two denouements, one in sentences #14-18 for the first pass through the story (sentences #1-18), and the second in sentence #22 for the recap (#19-23).

14. *porke* ta wa7yi7 ja bolkan i ti ch'ak unabes a.
Because if you destroy the volcano, then it will be finished for once and for all.

15. i lastima."
And it would be a shame."

16. *jachuk* k'okxi.
Thus he obeyed.

17. ja7 kechan wa syama sb'aje7 *jach'* entre ye7nle7.
Thus they just fought between themselves.

18. yajni lamxi ja pleyto jaw i *este yuj* b'i wan yelk'ajel *jas* was xyelk'an yuj ja san bartolo.
When the fight settled down, um (it is said) it was because he is robbing what he robs from San Bartolomé.

19. k'e7 ja skorajae7.
They got angry.

20. syama sb'aje7.
They fought each other.

21. *entonse* komo ja7 el ja pagre eterno ye7n ya7 kulan kani.
Then since it is that the Padre Eterno came out, he made them calm down.

22. mi oj ya7 sb'aje7 *jach* wa xsjem ja bolkan i.
They won't fight each other in order to destroy the volcano.

23. yajni ya7 kulane7 *antonse* ja7 ti xa ochie7 k'u7anel ja kristiano.
When he calmed them down, that's when the people began the pilgrimage.

Thus we can see that in terms of general structural elements, the oral and written versions are very similar, although their particular manifestations are somewhat different. Other structural similarities that could be mentioned include typical ways of introducing characters, indicating dialogue, and locating the story in past time (Brody 1986b). The structural pattern of Tojolabal folktales is not dependent on writing; it is present in and basic to the spoken folktale.

C. Content

One of the most striking differences between these two versions of the folktale is their difference in content: each mentions events that the other neglects. For example, the written version discusses the creation by God and the destruction by Sto. Tomás of other generations of people, which is not mentioned in the spoken version, while the spoken version brings out Padre Eterno's role as peacemaker, a point not included in the written version. When I discussed the story with the storytellers, each one knew that the events mentioned by the other were part of the folktale, but had chosen not to include them in his own particular performance. In addition, there were other parts of the story that both tellers knew, but which neither included in his presentation. For example, while both versions discuss the fight between Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé, only the spoken one makes reference to a theft as the reason for the fight. Neither version includes the information (which both storytellers certainly knew) that Sto. Tomás stole some squash seeds from San Bartolomé, and that this theft was the precipitating event of their feud. Ruz (1982) records a number of other elements of the entire story. Another category of shared cultural knowledge unnecessary for the Tojolabal storytellers to relate, and yet crucial for interpretation by outsiders, is that pilgrimages honor the saint to whom they are made, and that it is important to so honor a saint in order to insure continued protection and patronage.

The differences in content derive, I believe, from the fundamentally oral nature of Tojolabal narrative (despite the fact that one version was written) and

the high degree of shared knowledge in Tojolabal society (Brody 1986b, forthcoming b). This tale is from the repertoire of common shared Tojolabal cultural knowledge; *everyone* knows this story, and *everyone* knows that the fight began because Santo Tomás stole squash seeds from San Bartolomé. Details may be left out because hearers can be presumed to be familiar with them. Each telling, whatever elements it includes, stands for the whole folktale, and is presented within the structure of a whole folktale (see section III. A). Differences in content at different performances of a folktale are also manifestations of the storyteller's creativity as a performer engaged with his audience in the interactive creation of the folktale at each telling. Jacobs describes a similar situation for myth-telling among the Clackamas Chinook (1959:5):

> Each myth, and each phrase within a myth, functioned in a raconteur-audience-community relationship of shared participation, because literary creativity resided as much in the community as in the storyteller of the evening. That which was familiar to all was treated with an extreme of selectivity as well as with a special kind of stylization. Only a few features of a situation or actor were chosen for mention; they were worded succinctly and in traditional manner. The narrator's terse phrases were, in current terminology, coded signals. Audience members reacted by decoding, reconstructing, filling in.

Differences in content do not imply defectiveness. Rather, performers of Tojolabal folktales may be operating on another aesthetic metric, also noted for Chinookan by Hymes (1981:322)—the ability to capture the essence of the tale in a short performance. This succinctness is satisfying in an atmosphere of shared knowledge—the encapsulated folktale invokes the whole tale, even the whole mythic world. Recounters of Tojolabal folktales are able to depend on shared knowledge within the community for the interpretation of their performances. Neither spoken nor written versions are incomplete. In oral performance, the storyteller does rely on an interactive relationship with his audience, as detailed in the following section.

D. Delivery

Since the Tojolabal folktale is originally a spoken genre of language, features of the actual delivery and performance of these stories in cultural context must be appreciated. The setting for telling folktales is a small group. There are no particular restrictions on the time or season for storytelling. The delivery of folktales can be seen as a performance, but this performance is not a solo. As Furbee-Losee (1976; see also Furbee 1988) has pointed out, overt reply is a significant feature of large categories of Tojolabal speech. Folktale speech events in Tojolabal require overt responses from the audience. The importance of the audience is overtly acknowledged in the oral version of this folktale, where the audience is actually addressed, in line #1, as *ermano*

"brother."[5] Folktale presentations are interactive group performances. Audience interaction with the storyteller includes making appropriate back-channel responses, exclamations, clarifications, and comments (as noted by Brody 1986a for Tojolabal, Burns 1983 for Yucatec, and Maxwell 1982 for Chuj). These contributions are an integral part of the event, making the performance a group production. Although neither of the versions analyzed here includes audience participation, the oral version can be seen to reflect the accommodation to audience responses in the use of relatively shorter sentences.

Determination of sentence boundaries is always a difficult and perhaps impossible task in a language without a written tradition. For the folktales analyzed here, sentence breaks were made in the written text by the author, and were marked in the transcription of the spoken version according to the co-occurrence of syntactic and prosodic breaks. While both versions contain approximately the same number of sentences, it is noteworthy that the average sentence is nearly twice as long in the written version (11.7 words per sentence) as in the spoken one (average 6.3 words per sentence). The number of clauses per sentence does not differ greatly (1.6 for the written version, 1.3 for the spoken; see section IV below). As noted by Tannen (1982), the greater length of the written sentence is likely to derive from the leisure the writer has to compose it, as opposed to the urgency of speech. Sentences and clauses in the oral version commonly begin with fillers, hesitation words, and conjunctions; indeed, these words are among the most definitive indicators of sentence and clause boundaries. Examples of these are *este* (#2, #18), *antonse* or *entonse* (#5, #12, #21), and *pes* (#7). These words are all borrowed from Spanish, and occur with high frequency in Tojolabal spoken by both bilinguals and monolinguals (Brody forthcoming a). The filler *este* has no semantic content; *entonse/antonse* (Sp. *entonces*) "then" and *pes* (Sp. *pues*) "well, then" function not only as fillers but also as temporal conjunctions and as discourse markers (Schiffrin 1987). As temporal conjunctions, the conjunctions borrowed from Spanish help to sequentialize the action. As fillers in spoken language, these words allow speakers to gain time to gather their thoughts, to make dramatic pauses, and to exhibit personal style. As discourse markers, these words function in both spoken and written Tojolabal as markers of transitions on the level of discourse.

For example, each use of the borrowed Spanish conjunction *pwes* in the written version (in sentences #5, #8, #9 and #16) can be seen to initiate a new topic in the narrative. The topic of sentence #4 was the destruction of Sto. Tomás' house; sentence #5 begins with *pwes* and changes the topic to Sto. Tomás' reaction to the incident:

4. spojo b'i ja snaj ja santo tomas i.
(It is said) he destroyed Sto. Tomás' house.

5. *pwes* waxyalawe7 ke yajni b'i yila poj ja snaj ja santo tomas i jel b'i k'e skoraja.
Well, they say that when (it is said) he saw his house demolished, (it is said) that Sto. Tomás got very angry.

The interaction of the storyteller and his audience is reflected in several aspects of the delivery of the folktales, including the length of sentences and the use of discourse markers. The shared knowledge of the audience is another factor that the storytellers rely on, whether the medium of relation of the folktale is oral or written, as pointed out in the preceding section (III.C).

E. Conclusions

Minimal differences between the spoken and written versions of the tale of Santo Tomás and San Bartolomé would be expected, given that the two versions relate the same story, participate in the same genre, and exist in a context relatively free from literate influence. Structure is highly similar in the oral and written versions. Content diverges not as a factor of literacy but rather because of a high degree of shared cultural knowledge and the absence of a strong value placed on exact repetition of stories. It is in delivery that most of the medium-related differences can be found. These have to do with presence vs. absence of remarks made to an addressee, the use of hesitation fillers, and the length of sentences.

The lack of an immediate and responsive audience must be one of the major differences between speaking and writing, and it is hardly surprising that this should be reflected in the two versions of the folktale. The use of hesitation fillers in spoken language may allow the speaker to gain time to complete a thought. A major function of these fillers in conversation is to hold the speaker's turn, to prevent the listener from jumping in. This function is much less important in storytelling, however, since even though the listener does make responses, these are not directed at taking over the storytelling role. Greater sentence length and less frequent use of fillers definitely reflect the greater amount of time available to the writer as opposed to the speaker. In the following section, these features of delivery will be discussed in relation to Chafe's (1982) features of involvement and integration.

IV. Discussion: Involvement & Integration in Incipient Literacy

Although this pilot study offers only a simple comparison between two versions of a single folktale, some instructive directions for future work are suggested on applying Chafe's (1982) important metric of features of involvement and integration in spoken and written language.

In comparing spoken and written language, Chafe has isolated two dimensions or axes along which speaking and writing differ: involvement to

detachment, and fragmentation to integration. Integration is accomplished through the use of "nominalizations, increased use of participles, attributive adjectives, conjoined phrases and series of phrases, sequences of prepositional phrases, complement clauses, and relative clauses" (Tannen 1982:8); fragmentation is the lack of integrative features. Involvement features include monitoring of the communication channel; concreteness and use of detail; emphasis on action and people, especially first-person, including speakers' mental processes; direct quotation; fuzziness; and use of emphatic particles. Features of detachment include all means of distancing from involvement, such as the passive in English. Chafe notes that spoken language is relatively high in involvement and low in integration, while writing is relatively high in detachment and low in fragmentation.

Examination of the two folktale versions presented here in terms of involvement features reveals some differences: the spoken version uses first-person orientation, shows heavier use of pause fillers as monitors of the communication channel, and incorporates somewhat more specific detail. The spoken version incorporates first-person involvement in its opening frame,

1. *oj kal jun kwento ermano* komo jastal k'e7 ja tiro sok ja san bartolo ja santa toma.
   I will tell a story, brother, how Sto. Tomás started a fight with San Bartolomé.

while the written version defers in its frame to the voice of "the people":

1. *ja kristiano jumasa waxyalawe7* ke jun ek'ele7 k'e7iye7 b'i tiro ja santo tomas i sok ja san bartolo.
   People say that one time, (it is said) Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé began to fight.

As monitors of the communication channel, borrowed conjunctions in their function as pause fillers qualify as indicators of involvement. The spoken version of the folktale uses eight borrowed conjunctions, while five occur in the written version; more about these below. An example of a borrowed conjunction as pause filler is found in sentence #2 from the spoken version:

2. este k'e tiro.
   um com-BEGIN-3a FIGHT
   Um, they began to fight.

Specific detail is seldom greatly elaborated in Tojolabal folktales, in that they are so much a part of shared community knowledge that the details, well known by most people, may be suppressed in particular performances (see above section I, also Brody forthcoming b). Other involvement features appear in both spoken and written versions; for example, the written version actually includes more actors than does the spoken version, a characteristic which could be interpreted as indicating a stronger orientation toward people.

Both folktale versions include direct quotations. The written version contains four usages of the emphatic expression *mero* (Sp. *mero*) "really," an indication of involvement, while none appear in the spoken version. Thus the two folktale versions exhibit a comparable level of use of involvement features.

Integration features are, however, more problematic; these features are relatively absent in the spoken version of the folktale, but are present only to a limited degree in the written version. This is partly a feature of the particular structure of Tojolabal grammar. High use of nominalizations and participles (features defined by Chafe 1982 as indicating integration) characterize the Tojolabal language in all speech genres (Furbee, personal communication), and hence cannot be viewed as diagnostic of integration for this language. Attributive adjectives are uncommon in general in Tojolabal; there are very few adjectives as a word class, and their frequency of occurrence is not high. This makes adjectives difficult to use in Tojolabal as a diagnostic of integration. Nonetheless, there is higher adjective use in the written as opposed to spoken language, with three (*niwan* "big" #7, *k'ak'al* "hot" #17 and #19) in the written version, and one (*k'ox* "littlest" #9) in the spoken version.

Sentence complexity is also a feature of integration. As discussed above (section III.D), the written version has longer sentences, with a slightly higher number of clauses per sentence. The written version does exhibit more conjunctions, complement clauses, relative clauses, and strings of prepositional phrases than does the spoken version.[6]

In the spoken version there is a tendency for clauses to be related to one another through parallel construction. Sentences #3 and #4 exhibit syntactic, semantic, and phonological parallelism (see also sentences #8, #10, and #11 from the spoken version):

3. wa xsk'ana smak' sb'aje7
   They wanted to hit each other.

4. puro sok k'ak' ya7 sb'aje7.
   They fought each other with fire only.

Ochs (1979) noted parallelism as characteristic of unplanned spoken discourse (see also Tannen 1982). Parallel construction is an important structural device in Tojolabal, especially in ritual speech (Brody 1986a, 1988; Furbee 1988). It relates contiguous sentences or clauses both structurally and semantically, and can be seen to function as an oral means of cohesion and integration.

As mentioned above (section III.D), many of the conjunctions borrowed from Spanish function as discourse markers, in which function they are promoting the integration and cohesion of the narrative. The example cited in section III.D above of *pwes* indicating change of topic is a clear use of a

borrowed conjunction as a discourse marker of cohesion, linking one part of the narrative to the next. Although it appears contradictory to point to the same items as evidencing now integration, now involvement (as in the example shown earlier in this section), discourse markers are in their essence notoriously multifunctional (Brody forthcoming a, Schiffrin 1987). In sum, there is somewhat greater use of integration features in the written version than in the spoken. However, the problems in applying linguistic features from Chafe's list to Tojolabal—as in the relative lack of attributive adjectives in Tojolabal and the presence of integrative parallelism—point to the need to adapt the list to the particular structures and usages of particular languages. The list of features as it stands provides guidelines, but is probably too general and is biased toward English.

There are several ways in which the genre of Tojolabal folktales can be seen to select for particular features on the involvement-detachment and fragmentation-integration continua. The overall heavy use of involvement features in the written version may be due to the cultural emphasis on certain aspects of involvement in the genre of folktales, such as audience response. As a feature of detachment, the reportative particle *b'i* is characteristic of folktales,[7] and functions to distance the speaker from what is related in the tale. However, the story structure itself mitigates against fragmentation, as does the fact that the stories are well known and repeatedly told, and hence are always planned discourse. Thus the Tojolabal evidence corroborates Tannen's (1982) findings for English that individual genres in particular languages may have their own specific configurations of involvement and integration features, rather than involvement only being found in speech and integration only in writing.

One interpretation to be drawn from the general distribution of involvement features as shared by both oral and written language, and integration features as more representative of written language, is that involvement is prior to integration. This is hardly surprising, since fundamentally speech is prior to writing. In these language samples from a cultural situation where literacy is not strongly established, the written version of the folktale evidences a higher level of integration features, but about the same use of involvement features in comparison with the spoken version. What appears to have occurred in the transferral of the Tojolabal tale to the written medium is that a number of the indicators of involvement that characterize oral delivery have been carried over. This provides evidence for the operation of an hypothesized sequence in the development of literacy: 1) language use in non-literate situations is characterized by high involvement; 2) with the advent of literacy, written language in the incipient literacy stage is characterized by continuing use of involvement features; 3) the loss of involvement features begins and the use of integration features develops as a literary style.[8] More data from other situations of incipient literacy will be necessary to further test this hypothesis.

A valuable kind of information can be gained through analysis of spoken and written texts that are very narrowly comparable, such as those discussed here. Anthropological linguists have frequently stressed the importance of true performances (Bauman 1977, Sherzer 1983), for which stories written by native speakers would not qualify. However, these written stories are valuable in that they represent an outgrowth of the oral tradition, and are some of the first attempts at accommodation to literacy in these languages. Additionally, as we have seen here, the comparison between written and oral versions of a story can reveal important similarities and differences between the two media for newly literate people.

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Notes

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[1]Prominent among these are the works of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil Maya Writers Cooperative, Sna Jtz'ibajom, in San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico.

[2]Tojolabal Maya is spoken in the *municipios* of Las Margaritas and Altamirano in Chiapas, Mexico, in the lower highlands near the border with Guatemala; it is probably most closely related to the Guatemalan Mayan language Chuj. Tojolabal has not been studied as extensively as its highland Chiapas neighbors Tzeltal and Tzotzil, though it is of equivalent cultural and linguistic richness (Brody 1982, Furbee-Losee 1976). Mayan cultures are well known for their storytelling traditions (Bricker 1974, Burns 1983, Gossen 1974, Laughlin 1977).

[3]These are often fused in narrative (Labov and Waletsky 1966:35).

[4]*y-uj*: 3rd-person possessive prefix-relational noun of agency.

[5]The spoken version of the folktale was elicited and recorded by the author of the written version.

[6]Conjunctions (both borrowed from Spanish and native Tojolabal)—eight in the spoken version: #1, #4, #5, #7, #12, #15, #21, #23; fourteen in the written version: #1, #5, #6, #8, #9, #11 (three), #14 (two), #16, #18, #20 (two). Complements considered here are aspectless embedded clauses, and those with *ke* complementizer (Brody 1982)—three in the spoken version: #6, #11, #13; four in the written version: #1, #5, #9, #16. Relative clauses—three in the written version: #8, #10, #15; one in the spoken version: #18. String of prepositional phrases—one in the written version: #2.

[7]The spoken version of Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé analyzed here is peculiar in that the reportative particle *b'i* does not appear.

[8]It would be interesting to see if this were the distribution of involvement and integration features for situations of "restricted literacy" as well; I would predict that it would be.

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Text 1. Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé (oral)

1. *oj kal jun kwento ermano* komo jastal k'e7 ja tiro sok ja san bartolo ja santa toma.
I will tell a story, brother, how Sto. Tomás started a fight with San Bartolomé.

2. *este* k'e tiro.
Um, they began to fight.

3. wa sk'ana smak' sb'aje7
They wanted to hit each other.

4. puro sok k'ak' ya7 sb'aje7.
They fought each other with fire only.

5. *antonse* tajki ja santa toma i.
Then Sto. Tomás got mad.

6. ja7 wa sk'ana sjema ja bolkan i.
What he wants to do is to demolish the volcano.

7. pes el ja santa toma yi7aj a7b'al.
Well, Sto. Tomas went to ask advice.

8. ek' yi7 ja ijtz'inal i.
He went by to pick up the younger sibling.

9. ja7 k'ox ijtz'inal ja san karlos i.
It is San Carlos who is the youngest.

10. ek' yi7 ja san mateo.
He picked up San Mateo.

11. ek' b'a sta7 sb'aje7 ja b'a pagre eterno.
They went to meet with the Padre Eterno.

12. *entonse* el ja pagre eterno.
Then the Padre Eterno came out.

13. ye7n ya7 kulan ke "miyuk lom oj jach'ak ja kal kunintik i."
He calmed them down, [saying] "No, you will not do in our dear children for no reason."

14. *porke* ta wa7yi7 ja bolkan i ti ch'ak unabes a.
Because if you destroy the volcano, then it will be finished for once and for all.

15. i lastima."
And it would be a shame."

16. *jachuk* k'okxi.
Thus he obeyed.

17. ja7 kechan wa syama sb'aje7 *jach'* entre ye7nle7.
Thus they just fought between themselves.

18. yajni lamxi ja pleyto jaw i *este yuj* b'i wan yelk'ajel *jas* wa xyelk'an yuj ja san bartolo.
When the fight settled down, um (it is said) it was because he is robbing what he robs from San Bartolomé.

19. k'e7 ja skorajae7.
They got angry.

20. syama sb'aje7.
They fought each other.

21. *entonse* komo ja7 el ja pagre eterno ye7n ya7 kulan kani.
Then since it is that the Padre Eterno came out, *he* made them calm down.

22. mi oj ya7 sb'aje7 *jach* wa sjem ja bolkan i.
They won't fight each other in order to destroy the volcano.

23. yajni ya7 kulane7 *antonse* ja7 ti xa ochie7 k'u7anel ja kristiano.
When he calmed them down, that's when the people began the pilgrimage.

70. *ti ch'ak a*.
Then it is finished.

Text 2. Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé
(written)

1. *ja kristiano jumasa waxyalawe7* ke jun ek'ele7 k'e7iye7 b'i tiro ja santo tomas i sok ja san bartolo i.
People say that one time, (it is said) Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé began to fight.

2. ja san bartolo i k'ot b'i masan b'a snaj ja santo tomas il b'a oxchuk.
San Bartolomé arrived (it is said) in Sto. Tomás' house in Oxchuk.

3. ti b'i swajel ja san bartolo.
(It is said) then San Bartolomé went.

4. spojo b'i ja snaj ja santo tomas i.
(It is said) he destroyed Sto. Tomás' house.

5. *pwes* waxyalawe7 ke yajni b'i yila poj ja snaj ja santo tomas i jel b'i k'e sokoraja.
Well, they say that when (it is said) he saw his house demolished, (it is said) that Sto. Tomás got very angry.

6. cha waj b'i ja santo tomas il man b'a snaj ja san bartolo i.
(It is said) that Sto. Tomás also went to San Bartolomé's house.

7. ay b'i jun niwan witz ja tiw i.
It is said there is a big volcano there.

8. *pwes* ja santo tomas i sjema b'i ko7n ja witz jaw i b'a oj cham spetzanil ja ma7tik kulan ja b'aya ja san bartolo i.
Well, (it is said) that Sto. Tomás tore down that volcano so that all of those living where San Bartolomé is will die.

9. *pwes* waxchayalawe7 ke ja santo tomas i ye7n b'i mero waxkoltani ja7 yuj mey lach'aktik.
Well, they also say that it's Sto. Tomás who really (it is said) helps so that we're not done in.

10. jun ek'ele7 ja diyos ma7 mero wask'ulan mandar i ti xa b'i ay yuj ja jlok'oltik i.
One time the god who really orders, then (it is said) he had made by his order our substitute [generation].

11. pero jasa kechan b'i jun yok sok jun sk'ab' sok jun sat.
But it turns out that (it is said) [that they had] only one foot and one hand and one eye.

12. yajni b'i yila ja santo tomas i jun ta b'i patada ya7yi7.
It is said when Sto. Tomás saw it, (it is said) he gave it a kick.

13. ti b'i yala a "jas ya7teluk ja it i.
Then (it is said) he said, "What is this good for?

14. kechan jun yok sok sk'ab' i jun sat.
He just has one foot and hand and one eye.

15. b'a waj slaj ja kuntikil jumasa tz'ikan yoj sk'ab'ie7?'
How can he equal our children who are complete in their hands and feet?"

16. *pwes ja7ch* waxyalawe7 ke ja7 b'i *yuj* jel t'ilan ja k'uanel *porke* ja santo tomas i ye7n b'i mero waxkoltani.
Well, thus they say, that for this reason (it is said) that the pilgrimage is very necessary, because (it is said) it is really Sto. Tomás who helps.

17. *ja7ch* b'i ja yora ko7 ja k'ak'al ta7an ja najate7.
Thus it was (it is said) when the hot ash fell long ago.

18. ye7n b'i cha mero koltani ja santo tomas i.
(It is said) it was also Sto. Tomás who really helped.

19. ja7 b'i *yuj* che7e xa ko7 ja k'ak'al ta7an i.
For this reason the ash was already cold when it fell (it is said).

20. *ti ch'ak a ja* lo7il *jastal* k'e7iye7 tiro ja san bartolo i sok ja santo tomas i sok ja *jastal* waxkoltani ja santo tomas i.
The story is then finished how San Bartolomé and Sto. Tomás began to fight and how Sto. Tomás helps.

Introduction to Texts

Below are four folktales from the Tojolabal Maya tradition. The first two are spoken and written versions of the tale of Sto.Tomás and San Bartolomé that were analyzed above in "Incipient Literacy: From Involvement to Integration in Tojolabal Maya." Here they are presented with a fuller morphological breakdown.

Two additional folktales are also presented, with similar linguistic analysis. The folktale *"ja winik b'uk'ji yuj ayin"* was written out by the same author who wrote the written version of "Sto. Tomás." This version shares the basic characteristics of structure, content, and delivery with the written version of "Sto. Tomás." One interesting structural feature of *"ja winik buk'ji yuj ayin"* is that the recapitulation takes the form of a testimonial of reported experience. The story "*birjin*" was transcribed from tape. It also shares many of the basic structural characteristics with the spoken version of "Sto.Tomás," though it lacks the recapitulation and formulaic closing. Delivery features of the presentation of this folktale include much vocal expressiveness in the quoted speech, especially near the end. Both *"ja winik b'uk'ji yuj ayin"* and *"birjin"* are succinct in their content; each story has other episodes in other versions ("*birjin*" was discussed in this regard in Brody 1986b).

Abbreviations and conventions of transcription follow the texts.

Text 1. Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé (oral)

1. oj k-al-0 jun kwento ermano komo jastal 0-k'e7-0
fut le-SAY--3a ONE STORY BROTHER how how com-BEGIN-3a

ja tiro sok ja san bartolo ja santa toma.
det FIGHT with det SAN BARTOLO det SANTO TOMAS
I will tell a story, brother, how Sto. Tomás started a fight with San Bartolomé,

2. este 0-k'e7-0 tiro.
um com-BEGIN-3a FIGHT
Um, they began to fight.

3. wa x-s-k'an-a-0 s-mak'-0s-b'aj-e7.
pro inc-3e-WANT-tvm-3a 3e-3e-refl-3pl
They wanted to hit each other.

4. puro sok k'ak' 0-y-a7-e7 s-b'aj-e7
ONLY with FIRE com-3e-GIVE-3a 3e-refl-3pl
They fought each other with fire only.

5. antonse 0-tajk-i-0 ja santa toma=i.
then com-BECOME ANGRY-ivm-3a det SANTO TOMAS=npt
Then Sto. Tomás got mad.

6. ja7-0 wa s-k'an-a-0 s-jem-a-0 ja bolkan=i.
cl-3a pro 3e-WANT-tvm-3a 3e-DEMOLISH det VOLCANO=npt
What he wants to do is to demolish the volcano.

7. pes 0-el-0 ja santa toma 0-y-i7-aj-0 a7b'al.
well com-EXIT-3a det SANTO TOMAS com-3e-TAKE-tvm-3a ADVICE
Well, Sto. Tomás went to ask advice.

8. 0-ek'--y-i7-0 ja ijtz'inal=i.
com-PASS--3e-TAKE-3a det YOUNGER SIBLING=npt
He went by to pick up the younger sibling.

9. ja7-0 k'ox ijtz'inal ja san karlos=i.
cl-3a YOUNGEST CHILD YOUNGER SIBLING det SAN CARLOS=npt
It is San Carlos who is the youngest.

10. 0-ek'--y-i7-0 ja san mateyo.
com-PASS--3e-TAKE-3a det SAN MATEO
He picked up San Mateo.

11. 0-ek'=b'a=s-ta7-0 s-b'aj-e7 ja b'a pagre eterno.
com-PASS=loc=3e-MEET-3a 3e-relf-3pl del loc PADRE ETERNO
They went to meet with the Padre Eterno.

12. entonse 0-el-0 ja pagre eterno.
then com-EXIT-3a det PADRE ETERNO
Then the Padre Eterno came out.

13. y-e7n 0-y-a7-0--kulan ke "miyuk lom
3e-indpn com-3e-GIVE-ea--DO sub NO FOR NO REASON

oj ja-ch'ak-0 ja k-al k-unin-tik=i.

fut 2e-FINISH-3a det le-dim le-CHILD OF MAN-pl=npt
He calmed them down, [saying] "No, you will not do in our dear children for no reason.

14. porke ta w-a7--y-i7-0 ja bolkan=i
because if 2e-GIVE--3e-TAKE-3a det VOLCANO=npt

ti ch'ak-0 unabes=a.
then FINISH-3a ONCE AND FOR ALL=clt
Because if you destroy the volcano, then it will be finished for once and for all.

15. i lastima-0."
and SHAME-3a
And it would be a shame."

16. jachuk 0-k'ok-x-i-0.
thus com-OBEY-mid-ivm-3a
Thus he obeyed.

17. ja7-0 kechan wa x-s-yam-a-0 s-b'aj-e7
cl-3a only pro inc-3e-GRAB-tvm-3a 3e-refl-3pl
jach' entre y-e7n-le7.

thus BETWEEN 3e-indpn-3pl
Thus they just fought between themselves.

18. yajni 0-lam-x-i-0 ja pleyto jaw=i este
when com-CALM-mid-ivm-3a det FIGHT THAT=npt um

y-uj=b'i wan y-elk'ajel-0 jas wa x-y-elk'an-0
3e-relN-rpt prog 3e-STEAL-3a WHAT pro inc-3e-STEAL-3a

y-uj ja san bartolo.
3e-relN det SAN BARTOLO
When the fight settled down , um (it is said), it was because he is robbing what he robs from San Bartolomé.

19. 0-k'e7-0 ja skoraja-e7.
com-BEGIN-3a det ANGER-3pl
They got angry.

20. 0-s-yam-a-0 s-b'aj-e7.
com-3e-GRAB-tvm-3a 3e-refl-3pl
They fought each other.

21. entonse komo ja7-0 0-el-0 ja pagre eterno
then since cl-3a com-EXIT-3a det PADRE ETERNO

y-e7n 0-y-a7-0--kulan--kan=i.
3e-indpn com-3e-MAKE-3a--SIT--STAY=npt
Then since it is that the Padre Eterno came out, he made them calm down.

22. mi oj 0-y-a7-0 s-b'aj-e7 jach wa x-s-jem-0
neg fut com-3e-MAKE-ca 3e-refl-3pl thus pro inc-3e- DESTROY

ja bolkan=i.
det VOLCANO=npt
They won't fight each other in order to destroy the volcano.

23. yajni 0-y-a7-0--kulan-e7 antonse ja7-0 ti=xa
when com-3e-MAKE-3a--SIT DOWN-3pl then cl-3a then=now

0-och-i-e7 k'u7anel ja kristiano.
com-BEGIN-ivm 3apl PILGRIMAGE det PEOPLE
When he calmed them down, that's when the people began the pilgrimage.
...

70. ti 0-ch'ak-0=a.
then com-FINISH-3a=clt
Then it is finished.

Text 2. Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé (written)

1. ja kristiano jumasa wa x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ke jun ek'ele7
det PEOPLE genpl pro inc-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl sub ONE OCCASION

0-k'e7-i-e7=b'i tiro ja santo tomas=i
com-BEGIN-ivm-3apl=rpt FIGHT det SANTO TOMAS=npt

sok ja san bartolo=i.
with det SAN BARTOLO=npt
People say that one time, (it is said) Sto. Tomás and San Bartolomé began to fight.

2. ja san bartolo=i 0-k'ot-0=b'i masan b'a s-naj
det SAN BARTOLO=npt com-ARRIVE-3a=rpt UNTIL loc 3e-HOUSE

ja santo tomas il b'a oxchuk
det SANTO TOMAS HERE loc OXCHUK
San Bartolomé arrived (it is said) in Sto. Tomás house in Oxchuk.

3. ti=b'i s-wajel ja san bartolo.
then=rpt 3e-GO det SAN BARTOLO
(It is said) than San Bartolomé went.

4. 0-s-poj-o-0=b'i ja s-naj ja santo tomas=i.
com-3e-BREAK-tvm-3a=rpt det 3e-HOUSE det SANTO TOMAS=npt
(It is said) he destroyed Sto. Tomás' house.

5. pwes wa x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ke yajni=b'i
well pro inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl sub when=rpt

0-y-il-a-0poj-0 ja s-naj ja santo tomas=i
com-3e-SEE-tvm-3aBROKEN-3a det 3e-HOUSE det SANTO TOMAS=npt
jel=b'i 0-k'e-O s-koraja.
MUCH=rpt com-BEGIN-3a 3e-ANGER
Well, they say that when (it is said) he saw his house demolished, (it is said) Sto. Tomás got very angry.

6. cha=0-waj-0=b'i ja santo tomas il man b'a s-naj
rep=com-GO-3a=rpt det SANTO TOMAS HERE UNTIL loc 3e-HOUSE

ja san bartolo=i.
det SAN BARTOLO=npt
(It is said) that Sto. Tomás also went to San Bartolomé's house.

7. ay-0=b'i jun niwan witz ja tiw=i.
BE-3a=rpt ONE BIG WOODS det THERE=npt
It is said there is a big volcano there.

8. pwes ja santo tomas=i 0-s-jem-a-0=b'i=ko7n
well det SANTO TOMAS=npt com-3e-DESTROY-tvm-3a=rpt=DOWNWARD

ja witz jaw=i b'a oj cham-0 spetzanil ja ma7-tik
det WOODS THAT=npt loc fut DIE-3a ALL det rel-pl

0-kulan-0 ja b'aya-0 ja san bartolo=i.
com-LIVE-3a det BE THERE-3a det SAN BARTOLO=npt
Well, (it is said) that Sto. Tomás tore down that volcano so that all of those living where San Bartolomé is will die.

9. pwes wa x=cha=y-al-aw-0-e7 ke ja santo tomas=i
well pro inc=rep=3e-SAY=tvm-3a-3pl sub det SANTO TOMAS=npt

y-e7n=b'i mero wa x-koltan-i-0
3e-indpn=rpt REALLY pro inc-HELP-ivm-3a

ja7-0 y-uj mey la-ch'ak-tik.
cl-3a 3e-re1N neg 2a-FINISH-2apl
Well, they also say that it's Sto. Tomás who really (it is said) helps so that we're not done in.

10. jun ek'ele7 ja diyos ma7 mero wa
ONE OCCASION det GOD rel REALLY pro

s-k'ulan-0--mandari=i ti=xa=b'i ay-0 y-uj
3e-MAKE-3a--ORDER=npt then=now=rpr BE-3a 3e-re1N
ja j-lok'ol-tik=i.
det le-REPLACEMENT-1pl=npt
One time the god who really orders, then (it is said) he had made by his order our substitute [generation].

11. pero jasa kechan=b'i jun y-ok
but it-turns-out-that ONLY=rpt ONE 3e-FOOT

sok jun s-k'ab' sok jun s-sat.
and ONE 3e-HAND and ONE 3e-EYE
But it turns out that (it is said) [that they had] only one foot and one hand and one eye.

12. yajni=b'i 0-y-il-a-0 ja santo tomas=i
when=rpt com-3e-SEE-tvm-3a det SANTO TOMAS=npt

jun=ta=b'i patada 0-y-a7--y-i7-0.
ONE=com-rpt KICK com-3e-GIVE--3e-TAKE-3a
It is said when Sto. Tomás saw it, (it is said) he gave it a kick.

13. ti=b'i 0-y-al-a-0=a "jas y-a7tel-uk-0 ja it=i.
the=rpt com-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-clt WHAT 3e-USE-sbj-3a det THIS=npt
Then (it is said) he said, "What is this good for?

14. kechan jun y-ok sok s-k'ab' i jun s-sat.
ONLY ONE 3e-FOOT and 3e-HAND and ONE 3e-EYE
He just has one foot and hand and one eye.

15. b'a wa x-s-laj-0 ja k-untikil jumasa
HOW pro inc-3e-EQUAL-3a det le-CHILDREN genpl

tz'ikan-0 y-ok--s-k'ab'-7?"
COMPLETE-3a 3e-FOOT--3e-HAND-3pl
How can he equal our children who are complete in their hands and feet?

16. pwes ja7ch wa x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ke ja7-0=b'i y-uj
well thus pro inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl sub cl-3a=rpt 3-re1N

jel t'ilan-0 ja k'uanel=i porke ja santo tomas=i
VERY NECESSARY-3a det PILGRIMAGE=npt because det SANTO TOMAS=npt

y-e7n=b'i mero wa x-koltan-i-0.
3e-indpn=rpt REALLY pro inc-HELP-ivm-3a
Well, thus they say, that for this reason (it is said) that the pilgrimage is very necessary, because (it is said) it is really Sto. Tomás who helps.

17. ja7ch=b'i ja y-ora 0-ko7-0 ja k'ak'al ta7anja najate7.
thus=rpt det 3e-TIME com-FALL-3a det HOT ASH det LONG AGO
Thus it was (it is said) when the hot ash fell long ago.

18. y-e7n=b'i=cha mero 0-koltan-i-0 ja santo tomas=i.
3e-indpn=rpt=rep REALLY 3a-HELP-ivm-3a det SANTO TOMAS=npt
(It is said) it was also Sto. Tomás who really helped.

19. ja7-0=b'i y-uj che7e-0=xa 0-ko7-0 ja k'ak'al ta7an=i.
cl-3a=rpt 3e-re1N COLD-3a=now com-FALL-3a det HOT ASH=npt
For this reason the ash was already cold when it fell (it is said).

20. ti 0-ch'ak-0=a ja lo7il jastal 0-k'e7--iy-e7
then com-FINISH-3a=clt det STORY how com-BEGIN-ivm-3apl

tiro ja san bartolo=i sok ja santo tomas=i
FIGHT det SAN BARTOLO=npt with det SANTO TOMAS=npt

sok ja jastal wa x-koltan-i-0 ja santo tomas=i.
and det how pro inc-HELP-ivm-3a det SANTO TOMAS=npt
The story is then finished how San Bartolomé and Sto. Tomás began to fight and how Sto. Tomás helps.

Text. 3 ja winik b'ujk'ji yuj jun ayini

1. ja bankil-al jumasa wa x-y-al-aw-0-e7
det OLDER BROTHER-ndr genpl pro inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl

jun s-lo7il-e7 ja b'a najate7.
ONE 3e-STORY-3pl det loc LONG AGO
The elders tell a story of long ago.

2. 0-ajyi-0 jun winik ke jel tzatz-0 wa
com-BE-3a ONE MAN sub VERYSTRONG-3a pro
x-y-a7-a-0 s-b'aj.
inc-3e-GIVE-tvm-3a 3e-refl
There was a man who was confident that he was very strong.

3. mi=b'i wa x-s-na7-a-0 ja s-b'ej ja xiwel=i.
neg=rpt pro inc-3e-KNOW-tvm-3a det 3e MEANING det 3e fear=npt.
It is said he did not even know the meaning of fear.

4. ti 0-waj-0 atnel b'a s-ti7 niwan tzoman ja7.
then com-GO3a BATHE loc 3e-EDGE BIG GATHERED WATER
Then he went to bathe at the edge of the sea.

5. jasa yajni wan-0 atnel=i
but it turns out when prog-3a BATHE=npt

ti=b'i 0-jak-0 jun niwan ayin=a.
then=rpt com-ARRIVE-3a ONE BIG ALLIGATOR=clt
But it turns out that when he was bathing, then it is said, a big alligator arrived.

6. ja=xa winik jaw=i jutz'in=b'i
det=now MAN THAT=npt QUICKLY=rpt

0-b'uk'-j-i-0--ko7
com-SWALLOW-pas-ivm-3a--DOWNWARD

wego y-uj ja ayin=i.
NOW 3e-re1N det ALLIGATOR=npt
As for that man, it is said he was right away swallowed down quickly by the alligator.

7. wa x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ke ja yajni ti=xa ay-0 b'a
pro inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl sub det when then=now BE-3a loc

y-oj s-lukum ayin ja winik jaw=i 0-jak-0
3e-INTERIOR 3e-STOMACH ALLIGATOR det MAN THAT=npt com-ARRIVE

s-k'ujol wego ke ti y-i7oj ja s-kuchulo.
3e-HEART NOW sub loc 3e-POSSESSION det 3e-KNIFE
They say that when that man was inside the alligator's stomach, then he realized right away that he had his knife with him.

8. pes ti=b'i 0-s-le7-a-0 modo jastal oj s-k'ul-uk-0
well then=rpt com-3e-SEEK-tvm-3a WAY how fut 3e-DO-sbj-3a

b'a y-ojol s-lukum ja ayin=i.
loc 3e-INTERIOR 3e-STOMACH det ALLIGATOR=npt
Well then it is said that he looked for a way to do it in the stomach of the alligator.

9. wa x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ke ok'-el-al 0-el-0 y-uj
pro inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl sub CRY-vdr-ndr com-EXIT 3e-re1N
ja s-kuchulo ja b'a s-naj=i.
det 3e-KNIFE det loc 3e-SHEATH=npt
They say that with difficulty he took his knife out of its sheath.

10. ja=xa yajni ti=xa yaman-0 y-uj=i ti=b'i
det=now when then=now GRIPPED-3a 3e-re1N=npt then=rpt

0-s-t'aj-a--y-i7-0 ja s-lukum ja ayin=i
com-3e-SPLIT-tvm--3a-TAKE=3a 3e-STOMACH det ALLIGATOR=npt
As for when he then had it grasped, he then split open the stomach of the alligator.

11. pwes ja=xa winik jaw=i jel=xa jaman-i-0
well det=now MAN THAT=npt VERY=now OPEN- ivm-3a

0-y-il-a-0 ja satk'inal ja yajni 0-el-0=ta
com-3e-SEE-tvm-3a det WORLD det when com-EXIT-3a=already

b'a y-oj s-lukum ja ayin=i.
loc 3e-INTERIOR 3e-STOMACH det ALLIGATOR=npt
Well that man, the world looked very open to him when he got out of the alligator's stomach.

12. jach 0-waj-i-0 ja lo7il s-b'a winik
thus com-GO-ivm-3a det STORY 3e-loc MAN

0-b'uk'-j-i-0 ayin=i.
com-SWALLOW-pas-ivm-3a ALLIGATOR=npt
Thus goes the story of the man swallowed by the alligator.

13. ja7-0 y-uj wa x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ja kristiano jumasa
cl-3a 3e-re1N pro inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det PEOPLE genpl

ke mi lek-uk-0 oj ajy-uk-0 och-el atnel ja b'a
sub neg GOOD-sbj-3a fut BE-sbj-3a ENTER-ndr BATHE det loc

s-ti7 niwan tzoman ja7=i sok ja b'a s-ti7 niwan
3e EDGE GATHERED WATER=npt and det loc 3e-EDGE BIG

ja7=i porke ja7-0 jel xiwel ja s-b'aj ja b'a ay-0
WATER=npt because cl-3a VERY FRIGHT det 3e-refl det loc BE-3a

ti pakan-0--ek' ja tan ayin=i.
loc LYING-3a--PASS det DAMN ALLIGATOR=npt
That is why all the people say that it is not good to go bathe by the edge of the sea or by the edge of the river, because it is quite frightening by where the alligator lies.

14. jach 0-k-ab'-0 s-lo7lta-j-el ja b'a lado s-pat
thus com-1e-HEAR-3a 3e-TALK-prt det loc SIDE 3e-BACK

margarita ay-0=b'i jun winik ti 0'waj-0 no7x-jel
MARGARITAS BE-3a=rpt ONE MAN loc com-GO-3a SWIM-prt

b'a jun s-ti7 niwan ja7.
loc ONE 3e-EDGE BIG WATER
Thus I heard tell that by the back side of Las Margaritas there (is it is said) a man who went to swim at the edge of a river.

15. pes ja winik jaw=i 0-b'uk'-j-i-0=b'i ayin.
well det MAN THAT=npt com-SWALLOW-pas-ivm-3a=rpt ALLIGATOR
Well that man was swallowed by an alligator.

16. ja=xa yajni wan-0 b'uk'-jel=i
det=now when prog-3a SWALLOW-prt=npt

wa x-s-wetal-0-a7an ja b'a y-oj s-ti7
pro inc-3e-KICK-3a-pl det loc 3e-INTERIOR 3e-MOUTH

ja tan ayin=i.
det DAMN ALLIGATOR=npt
As for when he was being swallowed, he kicks a lot inside the mouth of that damn alligator.

17. jachuk 0-lejb'a-j-0--jan b'a jwera
thus com-SPIT OUT-pas-ivm-3a--STAY loc OUTSIDE
Thus he was spit out.

Text 4. birjin (oral)

1. ja najate7 ay-0=b'i jun birjin.
   det LONG AGO BE-3a=rpt ONE VIRGIN
   Long ago (it is said) there was a virgin.

2. wa x-s-k'ul-an-0 y-alaj-il s-chenek'.
   pro inc-3e-MAKE-tvm-3a 3e-MILPA-ndr 3e-BEAN
   She made her milpa of beans.

3. i ja y-alaj-il ja s-chenek'=i jel
   and det 3e-MILPA-ndr det 3e-BEAN=npt VERY

   s-ch'ak-0--chan.
   3e-FINISH-3a--ANIMAL
   And her milpa of beans was really being done in by animals.

4. i mi 0-s-na7-a-0 jasu7a ja wan-0
   and neg com-3e-KNOW-tvm-3a WHAT det prog-3a

   y-a7-jel--y-i7-0.
   3e-GIVE-prt--3e-TAKE-3a
   And she didn't know what was doing it in.

5. i 0-s-k'ul-an-0 jun manya.
   and com-3e-MAKE-tvm-3a ONE ARTIFICE
   And she made an artifice.

6. 0-s-k'ul-an-0 jun pigura jach puro chab'ek'.
   com-3e-MAKE-tvm-3a ONE FIGURE THUS PURE BEE'S WAX
   She made a figure out of bee's wax.

7. 0-y-al-a-0 ja tan chich=i ke
   com-3e-SAY-tvm-3a det DAMN RABBIT=npt sub

   wa x-s-k'ul-an-0--pensar ke kristiyano-0.
   pro inc-3e-MAKE-tvm-3a--THINK sub PERSON-3a
   The damn rabbit said that he thought that it was a person.

8. pero mi kristiyano-uk-0 sike kechan pigurado ay-0.
   but neg PERSON-sbj-3a but rather ONLY FASHIONED BE-3a
   But it wasn't a person but rather it was only fashioned.

9. i mi=xa 0-och--jan-i-0.
   and neg=now com-BEGIN--APPROACH-ivm-3a
   And he didn't begin to approach.

10. mi=xa 0-och--jan-i-0.
    neg=now com-BEGIN--APPROACH-ivm-3a
    He didn't begin to approach.

11. wa x-xiw-i-0.

pro inc-FEAR-ivm-3a
He was afraid.

12. i deayi 0-och--jan-i-0.
and then com-BEGIN--APPROACH-ivm-3a
And then he began to approach.

13. 0-jak-0 s-k'um-uk-0.
com-ARRIVE-3a 3e-SPEAK-sbj-3a
He came up to speak to it.

14. "mach' ay-a" wa x-y-ut'-a-0 ja tan pigura.
WHO BE-2a pro inc-3e-SCOLD-tvm-3a det DAMN FIGURE
"Who are you?" he asked the damn figure.

15. "mach' ay-a."
WHO BE-2a
"Who are you?"

16. i mi x-k'um-an-i-0.
and neg inc-SPEAK-vdr-ivm-3a
And it doesn't speak.

17. deayi este wa x-s-mak'-a-0.
then um pro inc-3e-HIT-tvm-3a
Then, um, he hit it.'

18. i 0-kan--nok'an-0 ja jun s-k'ab=i.
and com-STAY--STUCK-vdr-3a det ONE 3e-HAND=npt
And one of his hands stayed stuck.

19. i cho=0-y-a7-a-0--y-i7-0 otro.
and rep=com-3e-GIVE-tvm-3a--3e-TAKE-3a OTHER
And he gave it to him again.

20. "mi=k'a x-a-sijb'un-0--k-i7-0 ja jun j-k'ab'=i
neg=con inc-2e-RELEASE-3a--le-TAKE-3a det ONE le-HAND=npt

este oj cho=k-a7-a-0--aw-i7-0 jun-uk-0.
um fut rep=1e-GIVE-tvm-3a--2e-TAKE-3a ONE-sbj-3a
"If you don't release my hand, um, I'm going to give you another one.

21. cho=ay-0 jun j-k'ab'" x-chi-i-0.
rep=BE-3a ONE 3e-HAND inc-SAY-ivm-3a
And I have another hand," he said.

22. i cho=0-y-a7-a-0--y-i7-0 otro.
and rep=com-3e-GIVE--vm-3a--3e-TAKE-3a OTHER
And he gave him another one.

23. cho=0-kan--nok'-an-0 ja jun s-k'ab'=i.
rep=com-STAY--STUCK-vdr-3a det ONE 3e-HAND=npt
And his other hand stayed stuck.

24. entonses cho=0-s-wet-a-0.
then rep=com-3e-KICK-tvm-3a
Then again he kicked him.

25. tambien cho=0-kan--nok'-an-0 ja y-ok=i.
ALSO rep=com-STAY--STUCK-vdr-3a det 3e-FOOT=npt
His foot again also stayed stuck.

26. "mi=k'a x-a-sijb'un-0 ja k-ok=i pwes
neg=con inc-2e-RELEASE-3a det 1eFOOT=npt well

cho=ay-0 otro k-ok."
rep=BE-3a OTHER le-FOOT
"If you don't release my foot, well, I have another foot."

27. ti=xa cho=0-s-wet-a-0=a otra welta.
then=now rep=com-3e-KICK-tvm-3a=clt OTHER TIME
Then he kicked him again.

28. entonses ti 0-kan--pegado juntiro ja s-chan-il
then then com-STAY--STUCK REALLY det 3e-FOUR-ndr

ja s-k'ab'=i sok ja y-ok=i.
det 3e-HAND=npt and det 3e-FOOT=npt
Then really all four of his hands and feet stayed stuck.

29. entonses ti=xa 0-jul-0 ja birjin=a.
then then=now com-ARRIVE-3a det VIRGIN=clt
Then the virgin arrived.

30. 0-y-il-a-0 ke ti nok'-an-0 ja s-koronda=i.
com-3e-SEE-tvm-3a sub loc STUCK-vdr-3a det 3e-ENEMY=npt
She saw that her enemy was stuck there.

31. entonses ti 0-y-i7-a-0--k'e7e.
then then com-3e-TAKE-tvm-3a--UP
Then she took him up.

32. 0-waj--s-lut-0 b'a chikero
com-GO--3e-IMPRISON-3a loc PIGPEN
She went and locked him up in the pigpen.

33. "oj=ma wa7-an-0" x-7ut-j-i-0=b'i ja tan chich=i.
fut=Q EAT-vdr-3a inc-SCOLD-pas-ivm- 3a=rpt det DAMN RABBIT=npt
"Do you want to eat?" the damn rabbit was asked.

34. "oj=o" x-chi-i-0.
fut=fterm inc-SAY-ivm-3a
"Yes," he said.

35. "entonses oj waj--k-i7-0--kon=i ja wa-wa7-el=i"
then fut GO--1e-TAKE-3a--DOWN=npt det 2e-FOOD-ndr=npt

x-chi-i-0.
inc-SAY-ivm-3a
“Then I’ll go bring your food down,” she said.

36. entonses komo ay-0=b’i jaman-0 xet’an jachuk=i
then since BE-3a=rpt OPEN-3a PIECE thus=npt

ja ti 0-el-0=a ja tan chich=i.
det then com-EXIT-3a=clt det DAMN RABBIT=npt
Then since there was a little opening like this, then the damn rabbit escaped.

37. entonses s-waj--el-0=a ke s-ta7-a-0 ja
then 3e-GO--EXIT--3a=clt sub 3e-MEET-tvm-3a det

tan ok’il=i.
DAMN COYOTE=npt
Then on his departure, he encountered the damn coyote.

38. este 0-s-lo71-a-0 ke ja b’a el-0=i jel=b’i
um com-3e-DECEIVE-tvm-3a sub det loc EXIT-3a=npt VERY=rpt

ja wa7-el=i.
det FOOD-ndr=npt
Um, he deceived him that where he’d left from, (it is said) there was a lot of food.

39. entonses ja tan ok’il=i 0-s-k’u7-an-0.
then det DAMN COYOTE=npt com-3e-BELIEVE-tvm-3a
Then the damn coyote believed him.

40. 0-waj--y-il-0-e.
com-GO--3e-SEE-3a-term
He went to see.

41. entonses ti=b’i yajni jaw=a.
then then=rpt when THAT=clt
Then (it is said) that’s the way it was.

42. pwes b’a ayi 0-lap-j-i--y-i7-0 asedor ja
well loc then com-PUT-pas-ivm--3e-TAKE-3a SKEWER det

s-top ja tan okil=i.
3e-ASS det DAMN COYOTE=npt
Well then she put a skewer in the damn coyote’s ass.

43. entonses ti=to k’ul-aji-0--librar=a.
then then=already MAKE-vdr-3a--FREE=clt
Then he was set free.

44. “jas y-uj ja lom ja-lo7l-ay-on
WHAT 3e-AGENCY det FOR NO REASON 2e-DECEIVE-tvm-3a

jachuk=i.
thus=npt
“Why did you deceive me like that?”

45. porke jel 0-k-i7-a-0 ja bida=a” x-chi-i-0
because VERY com-1e-TAKE-tvm-3a det LIFE=clt inc-SAY-ivm-3a

ja tan ok’il=i.
det DAMN COYOTE=npt
Because I really took a lot of abuse,” said the damn coyote.

46. entonses yajni jaw=a.
then when THAT=term
Then that’s that.

47. “pwes jas y-uj porke jaw-e7n mi x-a-k’an-a-0
well WHAT 3e-relN because 2e-indpn neg inc-2e-WANT-tvm-3a

ja wa-wa7el=i” x-chi-i-0=b’i.
det 2e=FOOD=npt inc-SAY-ivm-3a=rpt
“Well why, because *you* didn’t ask for your meal,” (it is said) he said.

48. “pwes wa x-j-k’an-a-0 pero mi x-ajyi-0--k-i7-0.
well pro inc-1e-WANT-tvm-3a but neg inc-BE-3a--1e-TAKE-3a
“Well I wanted it, but I didn’t get it.

49. kastigo 0-ajyi-0--k-i7-0” x-chi-i-0=b’i.
PUNISHMENT com-BE-3a--1e-TAKE-3a inc-SAY-ivm-3a=rpt
What I got was punishment,” (it is said) he said.

50. entonses yajni jaw=a.
then when THAT=term
Then that’s that.

51. “pwes bweno si=ta oj cho=wa7-an-0 mas la7”
well GOOD if=con fut rep=EATndr-3a MORE COME!
“Well good, if you want to eat more, come on!”

52. jun=b’i sete--ja7 jachuk=i ti=b’i
ONE=rpt CIRCLE--WATER thus=npt then=rpt

x-y-il-aw-0-e7=i jun keso=a.
inc-3e-SEE-tvm-3a-3epl ONE CHEESE=term
(It is said) [there is] a puddle like this, then (it is said) they saw a cheese.

53. pero mi keso-uk-0.
but neg CHEESE-sbj-3a
But it wasn’t a cheese.

54. ja7-0=b’i nan luna.
cl-3a=rpt MOTHER MOON

It was (it is said) Mother Moon.

55. “entonses ta oj ch’ak--aw-u7-0-e ja ja7 it=i
then if fut FINISH--2e-DRINK-3a-term det WATER THIS=npt

entonses ti oj j-ta7-0-otik--k’ot=a ja keso=i”
then then fut 1e-FIND-3a-1epl--ARRIVE=term det CHEESE=npt

x-ut-j-i-0=b’i ja tan ok’il=i.
inc-SCOLD-pas-ivm-3a=rpt det DAMN COYOTE=npt
“Then if you finish up this water, then we will find the cheese,” the damn coyote was told.

56. “jaw-e7n=i niw-an-a.
2e-indpn=npt BIG-ndr-2a
“You’re big.

57. oj=xa och-uk-0 ja b’a wa-lukum=i” wan-0
fut=now ENTER-sbj-3a det loc 2e-STOMACH=ntp prog-3a

x-ut-j-i-0=b’i
inc-SCOLD-pas-ivm-3a=rpt
It will go into your stomach,” he was being told.

58. bweno entonses ti=b’i cho=0-y-u7-a-0 ja ja7=i
GOOD then then=rpt rep=com-3e-DRINK-tvm-3a det WATER=rpt

ja tan ok’il=a.
det DAMN COYOTE=term
Good, then the damn coyote drank the water again.

59. i ja y-e7n ja tan chich=i cho=wan-0.
and det 3e-indpn det DAMN RABBIT=npt rep=prog-3a
And the damn rabbit, he did too.

60. entonses yajni “mi=ni modo.
then when neg=emp WAY
Then, “No way

61. oj b’ojt-uk-on” x-chi-i-0=b’i
fut EXPLODE-sbj-1a inc-SAY-ivm-3a=rpt
“I’ll explode,” (it is said) he said.

62. “miyuk=xa a7-a-0--i7-0 t’un s-moj.”
NO=now GIVE-tvm-3a--3e-TAKE-3a A LITTLE 3e-COMPANION
“No, take a little more.”

63. “a mi=ni=a.”
ah neg=emp=term
“No, really.”

64. entonses ti-b’i wa--x=cho=och-0=a ja tan ok’il=i.
then then=rpt pro-inc=rep=BEGIN-3a=clt det DAMN COYOTE=npt
Then (it is said) that old coyote began again.

65. entonses ti=xa yajni ja jaw=a.
then then=now when det THAT=clt
Then thats how that was.

66. “pwes mi=xa=ni=a.”
well neg=now=emp=term
“Well, really no!”

67. entonses ti=b’i 0-waj--kulan-0=a b’a jun laja ton
then then=rpt com-GO--SITdr-3a=clt loc one FLAT STONE

ja tan ok’il=i.
det DAMN COYOTE=npt
Then (it is said) the damn coyote went and sat on a flat stone.

68. 0-waj-0=to=b’i=y-ab’-i-0 “waj b’ojom”
com-GO-3a=still=rpt=3e-HEAR-tvm-3a WHOOSH BOOM

x-chi-i-0 ja s-lukum jan tan o k’il=npt.
SAY-ivm-3a det 3e-STOMACH det DAMN COYOTE=term
(It is said) that he heard it go, “Whoosh boom,” said the stomach of the damn coyote.

69. 0-b’ojt-i-0.
com-EXPLODE-ivm-3a
It exploded.

70. i ja tan chich=i wan-0 tze7ej.
and det DAMN RABBIT=npt prog-3a LAUGH
And the damn rabbit was laughing.

71. i 0-brinko-0--ek’=e.
and com-JUMP-3a--PASS=term
And he jumped off.

Abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
--	compound
1,2,3a	first, second, third person absolutive
1,2,3e	first, second, third person ergative
clt	clause terminal
com	completive aspect
con	conditional
fut	future
fterm	future terminal
genpl	generic plural
inc	incompletive aspect
indpn	independent pronoun
ivm	intransitive verb marker

loc	locative
ndr	nominalizer
neg	negative
npt	noun phrase terminal
pas	passive
pl	plural
pro	progressive
prog	progressive
prt	participle
Q	question
refl	reflexive
rel	relative
relN	relative noun
rep	repetitive
rpt	reportative
sbj	subjunctive
sub	subordinator
term	terminal
tvm	transitive verb marker
vdr	verbalizer

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Lord of the Singers

Jeff Opland

In *The Singer of Tales* Albert Lord presents a description not so much of oral poetry as of oral *traditional* poetry. The concept of tradition permeates his presentation of the singer, the formula, the song, the theme, the effect of writing on the oral poet, and much else besides. Indeed, in Lord's special understanding of the terms, "oral poets who are not traditional do not exist" (1960:155). Hence, Lord expresses disappointment with the "first singing" of a song (100),

> because the singer has not perfected the song with much practice and by the test of repeated performance. Even after he has—and it may change much as he works it over—it must be accepted and sung by other singers in order to become a part of the tradition, and in their hands it will go through other changes, and so the process continues from generation to generation.

In his notes Lord quotes an example of the one song Parry collected in 1934 that was composed and sung for the first time in his presence, a song that was "coaxed out of Salih Ugljanin, about Parry and Nikola and the collecting" (286), and Appendix VI contains a song "about Parry or in his honor, written by Milovan Vojičić and given to him" (288). Presumably, Lord consigns such texts to appendices and footnotes because they are not traditional; he offers as justification the fact that "the songs made up about collectors are not very good examples because collectors and collecting are not inspiring nor proper subjects for epic!" (286). To be sure, Lord himself receives short shrift in these songs. Vojičić's effusive poem in honor of "Professor Milman Parry the glorious" and his journey from America to Yugoslavia, composed as it was in 1933, makes no mention of Lord, who first accompanied Parry on his second trip in 1934; and, as he prepares himself to sing about Parry, Ugljanin expresses his intention to ignore Parry's student assistant (287):

> Salih: What's the name of the boss? Nikola: Milman. S: Milman? N: Yes. S: And you're Nikola? N: Yes. S: As for the other let him...[Lord is referred to here in the next room at the recording machine.] N: What? What did you say? S: We won't include him, you know, but only you two. Parry: All right, as you like.

Now in South Africa, it is indeed traditional for Xhosa oral poets to produce spontaneous poems in praise of dignitaries, whether they be local chiefs or visiting professors from America, and indeed on his recent visit to South Africa Lord formed the subject of poems produced orally by three Xhosa poets. The presentation here of the texts of the poems Lord heard performed in South Africa and that were sung for the first time in his presence, serves to confirm that Albert Lord has graduated from his position "in the next room at the recording machine"; in 1934 Salih Ugljanin judged Lord to be neither an inspiring nor a proper subject for celebration in song, but by 1985, after the passage of 50 years, Lord had become a collector fit in his own right to inspire poems of praise.

Lord travelled to South Africa in 1985 at the invitation of the Medieval Society of Southern Africa to participate in a conference on "Oral Tradition and Literacy: Changing Visions of the World" in Durban from July 22 to 25.[1] I had agreed to participate in an evening of performances of Xhosa and Zulu poetry on the second night of the conference by introducing David Livingstone Phakamile Yali-Manisi, the foremost living exponent of the traditional art of Xhosa oral poetry.[2] On Sunday July 21 I drove from Johannesburg to Queenstown, and early on Monday morning drove to Manisi's home in the Matyhantya location about ten miles from Queenstown across the Transkei border on the road to Lady Frere. Together we drove to Durban, arriving in time to catch the closing minutes of the opening session of the conference. Manisi attended most of the conference sessions during the four days that followed. On Tuesday evening, under the chairmanship of Trevor Cope, two Zulu poets were introduced by Elizabeth Gunner. The first was a neophyte oral poet who had written out his poem in advance, but who in performance diverged slightly from his prepared text; the second was a retired school teacher who read from a poem he had written in traditional style. In introducing Manisi, I referred to the role of poetry in Xhosa society, its generic characteristics (unlike the narrative Yugoslavian poetry, Xhosa poetry is praise poetry, a genre common in Africa[3]), and Manisi's career. I particularly stressed the tendency in Xhosa poetry toward improvisation, as distinct from Zulu poetry, which is apparently primarily memorial.[4] Manisi then stood up in the university lecture hall and declaimed the following poem:

Yasuka yahlala intaka yamahlathi	The bird of the forest grows restless,
Ngu Wothsethe ke lowo	One who never refuses when sent, that one,
Usibunu sentaka yimilenze	The bird that squats when it sits,

Kub'ithi yakuchopha bathi yahlala — When it perches they say there it stays,
Bathi yakusuka bathi yagidima — When it takes off they say there it goes.
Bhotani mabandlandini — Greetings, you crowds of people.
Ndibon' iimpuluswa zamadoda neentokazi — I see neat and tidy men and women,
Ndibon' ucwamb' oluhle lokhanyo — I see the beautiful radiant cream,
Iintw' eziingqondo zikhany' iinkwenkwezi kwakunye nenyanga — Things with minds aglitter with the stars and the moon:
Kuloko namhla zingxamel' ukubamb' ilanga — So today they rush to grab the sun,
Kulok' isuke le nkwenkwez' ilanga — But in the end this star the sun
Ibhantsuze ngobushushu — Overpowers them with its heat
Aqal' amadod' asemhlabeni abe zizithwanyula — So that the men of the earth lie stunned.
Bhotani mabandlandini — Greetings, you crowds of people.
Bhotani makhosazana — Greetings, ladies.
Bhotani madun' amahle — Greetings, handsome gentlemen,
Mathol' oonyawo zabezolo — Sons of heroes of old,
Iint' ezingoyki kufa — Things who didn't fear death,
Ezawel' ulwandle zisimelela ngenkanunu nemfakadolo — Who crossed the sea leaning on cannon and breechloader,
Iint' ezaluwel' ulwandle ziqikatha — Things who crossed the sea enthusiastically.
Zafik' i Afrika zayiphunzisa — They came to Africa and raped it,
Kuba kwakudiban' entilini — For when they met in battle
Yalal' imikhuthuka macal' omabini — The warriors fell on both sides,
Kodwa hay' imfakadolo yaseMlungwini — For oh the breechloaders of the whites
Yamqengqa yamqungquluzis' umAfrika — Laid the African low and defenseless!
Xa kulapho ke sinivile nithetha nitwatyula — So, then, we've heard you covering everything in your speech,
Nayihlakanisa nada nayihlakahleza — Probing and prizing
Intetho neelwimi zezizwe — The lore and tongues of nations,
Nibonis' imbadu kwakunye nebudandimunye — Showing how they come into being and fall by the wayside.
Kodwa naxa kulapho sibulela ntonye — But even then we're thankful for one thing,
Kub' anizishiyang iimbali zomz' oNtsundu — That you've included stories of blacks.
Ndithetha ngabakwaZulu nabakwaXhosa — I'm talking of the Zulu and the Xhosa—
Nakub' andivanga nto ngoMshweshwe noSekroma — Although I've heard nothing of Mshweshwe and Sekroma
Kub' iintetho zenu ziye zagxininisa kwabaseBunguni — Because your talks stressed the Nguni languages
Andazi nto ngesiSwayile — (I know nothing about Swahili).
Kha niphakame ntondin' ezibuchopho — Please arise, you things with brains
Buphaphama kwakunye neenkwenkwezi nenyanga — That fly 'mongst the stars and the moon,
Niphakame nithabath' iintonga — Arise and take up arms
Khe niphengulule niqongqothele — So that you do research with vigor
Niyek' ukuphikisana ngokwenziwa kweensomi — And stop splitting hairs over trivial folktales:
Niphikisane ngokudaleka kweentetho — Rather split hairs over the origin of languages.

	Siyabelula thina basemaXhoseni Ngokufika kweento zooRose nezooBheni	We're thankful, we of the Xhosa, For the arrival of men like Ross and Bennie
	Ukuz' amaXhos' avulek' ingqondo	Who ignited the mind of the Xhosa
45	Kulo mhla yaqal' ukubhalwa le ntetho	On the day they first wrote down the language,
	Intethw' engqongqotho yasemaXhoseni Ncincilili	The unshakable language of the Xhosa. I disappear!

The first line of the poem, in which he refers to himself as a bird, leads Manisi into the next four lines, which he commonly uses in reference to Kaiser Matanzima but here applies to himself. He then greets the audience of academics before him (lines 6-9) in terms similar to those he employed in greeting similar audiences at an Arts Festival in Grahamstown in 1977 and at an exclusive private school in 1979, using celestial imagery, as he often does, to connote intelligence and education; but, as is often the case in Manisi's poetry, there are ominous undertones that suggest turmoil and confrontation in South Africa (lines 10-13). He returns to greeting his white audience, and once again praise yields to criticism, for they are descendants of nineteenth-century imperialists who deprived blacks of their rights through unequal (or, often, deceitful) military conflict (lines 17-25), a common trope in Manisi's poetry. He then refers to the conference, where he has heard papers on traditional literatures; he praises the inclusion of the Zulu and Xhosa traditions, though he notes the omission of other black South African traditions (line 33: Mshweshwe was the founder of the Sotho nation, and Sekroma was the father of Khama, the founder of the Tswana nation). In the traditional role of the Xhosa oral poet *(imbongi),* Manisi turns next to exhortation (lines 36-41), urging those involved in the conference to undertake research into matters of significance; folktales, the province of women, are relatively low in literary status and unworthy of attention, Manisi suggests. Then in conclusion he praises some pioneering missionaries like John Ross and John Bennie (line 43) who, unlike the destructive militarists of their generation (lines 19-25), took up symbolic arms (line 38) to engage the educational struggle for systematically transcribing and printing the Xhosa language for the first time.

After Manisi's performance, Lord offered some remarks and observations before Cope invited questions from the floor. As it turned out, the final question of the session came from one of the organizers of the conference, Edgard Sienaert, who expressed doubt about the element of improvisation in Manisi's performance. Manisi had known in advance that he would be producing a poem at the conference, he had spent the previous day driving to Durban in a car with me, and had spent a full day at the conference: surely he must have had sufficient time to prepare a poem?

> ... at least over the last three days, when he came from Queenstown, he knew while he came here, he knew the subject of the conference, he knew the theme, and then he arrived here,... so he has been building up this in his mind. Now I don't see any difference between this and actually jotting down a few notes on a piece of paper. If you write it on paper, or you write it in your mind, or you think it in your mind, it's the same thing. So improvisation—we must know exactly what we are talking about.

Sienaert spoke from the back of the auditorium in a French accent, so I leaned over and repeated the question to Manisi. Taking the question as a slight on his creative abilities by a foreigner who did not understand the culture, Manisi rose immediately to quash the imputation.

To be sure that the poem I sang here was from my mind, I can sing another one now:

	Xa kulapho ke	So then,
	Nkunz' edl' eziny' iinkunzi dla libhavuma	Bull that eats other bulls, that eats while mumbling,
	Wathetha ngentetho yakwaXhosa nakwaZulu	You speak of the languages of Xhosa and Zulu:
	Uyamaz' uZulu noXhosa?	Do you know anything at all about Zulu and Xhosa?
5	Uvela phi na, kub' ezakowenu ziyabasind' abakokwenu	Where do you come from? For the affairs of your people are your own affairs:
	Wayeken' amaXhosa noZulu	Leave the Xhosa and Zulu alone
	Ahlale nesiNguni sawo	To look after the Nguni languages,
	Kuba lo mhlab' uxakekile	For this country's in trouble.
	Sasiqibele sibantu	Once we were people
10	Kodwa hay' ishwangusha lethu	But oh our misfortune
	Lokufika kooyihl' amadun' asentshonlanga	Brought by your fathers, the gents of the west!
	Basidlavula besibhulusha	They shattered and scattered us,
	Kub' amaNges' asigantsinga	For the English ground us underfoot,
	Ay' amaBhulw' esiqunyuva	While the Boers blunted our horns,
15	Ay' amaFulan' esifulathela	And the French turned their backs,
	Namhlanje sijanyelwe ngamaJamana	Today the Germans just watch us.

Manisi addresses Sienaert, who controlled the conference proceedings, metaphorically as the top bull and asks whether he has the right to speak about Xhosa or Zulu traditions, for he is a white, and a foreigner to boot. Again the recurrent trope appears: the country is in trouble because black dignity has been destroyed by whites. Specifically, the whites responsible are Sienaert's European ancestors (line 11). In much the same phrasing, lines 12-16 appear in a number of Manisi's poems in my collection, and connote anger at the indifference of the international community to the plight of South African blacks. Sienaert expressed doubts about Manisi's ability to compose spontaneous poetry; in his spontaneous poetic response, Manisi draws on familiar formulations, formulaic expressions whose connotations are in

harmony with his emotions of anger and resentment at European culpability, whether active or passive, in the subjugation of black South Africans.

This response evoked warm enthusiasm in the audience, and Cope closed the proceedings on that note. On Wednesday Manisi and I transcribed and translated the two poems. That night a dinner was held in a local restaurant. I sat at a table with the Principal of the University, Lord, Gunner, Sienaert, and others, and Manisi sat at another table. During the meal one of Manisi's table companions came up to me and said "David says he wants to do it." I sent back a message that it would not be appropriate for him to perform an oral poem in a public restaurant (at which we were not the only patrons), but that he would have an opportunity to express himself the next day. During one of the closing sessions on Thursday I presented the texts to the conferees as models of oral poems that would require techniques of explication different in some respects from those required for written productions. After Sienaert had closed the conference, Manisi rose to claim the final word:

	Lugaga luyagongqoza;	This dried oxhide rustles!
	Ndiphuma kwiintab' ezimahlath' amnyama	I come from the mountains with dense forests
	AkwaRharhab' akwaNgubengcuka, kwaGcaleka;	Of Rharhabe, Ngubengcuka and Gcaleka
	Ndiphuma kwimilamb' ephuphuma	I come from the rivers that overflow
5	Kwiinzonzobila zolwandle;	Into the depths of the sea,
	Kuba ndiyayithand' iNciba,	Because I love the Kei,
	Ndiyawunqul' uMbhase.	I worship the Bashe,
	UMthatha likaya.	Umtata's my home.
	Nto zimnandi hay' ukudwekesha;	Things are good, but oh idle chatter!
10	Nto zimnandi hay' ukutheth' ugaphendulwa;	Things are good, but oh to speak and get no reply!
	Kodwa nto ziyoyikeka hay' ukuxoka.	Indeed, things are frightening, but oh to lie!
	Nto ziyaxoka hay' iimbongi;	Things tell lies, but oh iimbongi!
	Kodwa iimbong' azixoki,	But iimbongi do not tell lies.
	Zilawul' amathongo njengokw' evela	They reveal visions from the ancestors as they are revealed.
15	Ndixakiwe nini bantundini,	I have a problem with you people,
	Kuba ndithetha ulwimi	For I speak a tongue
	Oluxakisa iingqondi nezazi;	That presents problems to sages and experts;
	Ngekuba ndiyanithuma,	I would be asking you
	Ndithi yitshoni nonke,	Saying, all of you exclaim
20	Nibulise kwitno kaLodi	And hail the son of Lord
	Nithi Aa! Dumakude!	Saying, Hail, World-renowned!
	Bayawandixaka k'abantu baseMlungwini	I have a problem with white people
	Bedibene nengqugu yomqhutsapela wabantu abaNtsundu.	As well as the dusty horseshit of the blacks.
	Sikunk' igama nto kaLodi	We give you a name, son of Lord,
25	Ath' amaXkosa, Aa! Dumakude!	The Xhosa say, Hail, World-renowned!
	[Opland: Aa! Dumakude!]	*[Opland:* Hail, World-renowned!]
	Yitshoni nonke, Aa! Dumakude!	All of you exclaim Hail, World-renowned!
	[many voices: Aa! Dumakude!]	*[many voices:* Hail, World-renowned!]

Yiyo le le nkosi yan yaseMlungwini,
Igwangq' elimehlw' aluhlaza
Ngokwale ngada ivel' ehlathini
Yint' eentonga zimnyama
Zilel' echwebeni leAtlantikhi;
Ichwechwe ixel' uNozakuzaku
Esis' intomb' emzini.
Washiy' iAmerika wez' emaxelegwini.

Gxeb' akhon' amaxelegw' eAmerika,
Kulokw' akabhengezwanga.
Kub' inyala laseAmerika
Lihleli phansti kweengubo,
Lay' eloMzantsi Afrika
Liqhashumba njengokwekhozo lombona
Litshiswa lilahl' ezikweni lomlilo.
Uxakekil' uMzantsi Afrik',
Uz' uyibike loo nto.
Uzivil' iintetho ziwe kakuhle,
Awanga-wangis' amathokazi,
Engqinelana kwakunye namaduna,
Zadibana kwNtizitshil' esibhaka-bhakeni
Yayintetho nolwimi yayingxube xuxu yevange
Siyabulela nto kaLodi, ngwev' emthuqwa
Eyayidla yayidla, gxebe yayitya
Yada yayityekeza le mfundo.
Ukuxelelwe ngubani
Ukuba iilwimi zale Afrika
Zingaphezulu kwamakhulu-khulu?
Ntondin' ohla ngasentla uvuke ngezantsi

Uthi wakufika phakath' udal' izaqwenga.
Siyakubulela thole leenkunzi
Ezimaphiko-phiko zakuloEyisenhawa;
Uz' umxelele noRigene
Ukuba besibek' ithemba kuye,
Kodw' asikaboni nt'itsitsayo.
Sibonile ngoRusfelthe;
Bathe bakuzibeth' iintonga noSimati
Bedibene kunye noTshetshili,
Yaqal' iJamani yasuz' izichamela.

Yombela ntombazana kuyagodukwa,
Kuba lo mhlab' uxakekile.
Xa kulapho ke,
Ntomb' ezintle zoMzanti Afrika,
Madun' aququbalayo,
Nto zithunywa ziye zingatshijili.
Siyabulela, lith' elokugqibela,

Here is this chief of mine of the whites,
Dun-colored one with grey eyes,
Like a wildcat emerging from the forest.
He's one bearing black sticks
That are kept hidden in the Atlantic shore.
He sneaks out like a go-between
Sending a bride to her new home..
You left America and came to the roughnecks.

By the way, there are roughnecks in America
But they're not readily seen,
For American abomination
Lies concealed under blankets,
While that of South Africa
Explodes like popcorn
Heated on the embers of a hearth.
South Africa's in trouble:
Be sure to say so.
You've heard the well-rounded speeches,
Ladies presenting balanced views,
Reaching agreement with men,
Meeting together in that faraway land in the sky.
The range of speeches and cultures perplexed and confused me.
We thank you, son of Lord, tan-skinned elder,
Who ate and ate, indeed you ate so much
That you burped up this education.
Who told you
That the tongues of this Africa
Exceed hundreds and hundreds in number?
You start in the north and come down to the south

And when you return to the center your knowledge is boundless.
We thank you, noble son of the bulls,
Garnerers of the land of Eisenhower:
Make sure you tell Reagan
That we put our trust in him
Be we haven't seen anything flowing.
We saw something in Roosevelt's time
When he stood alongside Smuts
And they came together with Churchill:
Then the Germans farted and pissed themselves.

Sing, girl, it's time to go home,
For this land's in trouble.
So then,
Lovely daughters of South Africa,
Diligent gentlemen,
Things who when sent do not hesitate,
We thank you, this is the last word,

	Godukani kuba kugqityiwe,	Go home, for it's over,
	Godukani besishiy' amakhaya exakekile.	Go home, for we left our troubled homes behind,
75	Godukani nokubikel' abasemva,	Go home, and report to those who stayed
	Ukuba niyihlinzile le nkomo,	That you have flayed this beast
	Nasitya nesibindi sayo	And you ate up its liver
	Nayitya nada nayishwabanisa namanqin' ayo.	And you ate on right up to the hooves.
	Ncilili-i-i!!	I disappear!

In his introduction to this poem, Manisi refers to himself as the skin of a drum, and identifies himself with the physical features of the country of the Xhosa, Thembu, and Gcaleka peoples. Lines 9-14 are constructed on the rhetorical principle of statement: denial, or (in line 11) statement: intensification. Thus there are good things (lines 9 and 10), but idle chatter or receiving no response to talk is not good; there are frightening things, but lying is especially frightening; there are lies, but *iimbongi* do not tell lies, for they are inspired. Each line leads into the next, and the whole passage (lines 9-14) leads into the next (lines 15-26): as an *imbongi,* Manisi has a problem, and his problem is that he is speaking Xhosa, a language most of his audience does not understand, even though they are "sages and experts" (line 17). Thus he knows that as an *imbongi* it is his duty to greet Lord with a royal praise name, but he does not expect his audience will understand what he is doing and respond as a traditional Xhosa audience should by repeating the praise name after him: this is why it is not good to "speak and get no reply" (line 10). As an *imbongi,* Manisi would be asking his audience to follow him in exclaiming *A! Dumakude!* (the praise name he has given Lord: lines 18-21). When he does utter Lord's praise name (line 21) and in fact receives no reply, he then blames both whites *and* blacks in his audience for their reticence (lines 22-23): he repeats the praise name a second time (line 25), and only on the third occasion (line 26) elicits a satisfactory response from his audience. He then proceeds to refer to Lord in animal imagery (the grey eyes signify age, the wildcat is not often seen). Black sticks (line 30) represent things of value, which Lord brings across the Atlantic, building bridges of communication (like a marriage broker) between Americans and South Africans. The roughnecks of line 34, as always in Manisi's poetry, are white social predators who victimize blacks in South Africa, but America too has its share of roughnecks, for racism lies concealed in America, unlike South Africa's explicit racism (lines 35-41). South Africa is in a state of conflict (line 42: cf. line 8 of Manisi's reply to Sienaert); this is the message Lord should carry back to America. Manisi then praises Lord for undertaking his extensive research trip and for participating in the conference (lines 44-56), but urges him to carry a message home (lines 59-65): in Roosevelt's time Americans and South Africans joined the British effectively to defeat the Germans, but

the Reagan administration's talk of action in support of South Africa's blacks produces no effective action to alleviate their distress. Manisi repeats the essential message he wants Lord to convey to the Americans: South Africa suffers under apartheid (lines 66-67). Manisi then calls the conference to a close (lines 68-78), for the matters under debate have been debated entirely.

After the conference, Lord stayed on at the University of Natal, and Manisi and I drove up to Johannesburg, where we spent a week working on material in my collection. Then we traveled back to Durban to collect Lord for a brief field trip. On Wednesday, July 31 we checked into the Holiday Inn in Umtata, the capital of Transkei. This field trip took place during the state of emergency declared by the South African government; we could not travel freely off the major roads, so I was forced to attempt somewhat clumsy arrangements in advance to bring oral poets I knew to rendezvous with us. I had written to Melikaya Mbutuma and Nelson Mabunu to ask them to meet us at the Holiday Inn, but received a response only from Mbutuma. Late that afternoon, Mbutuma and his second son, Lord, Manisi, and I gathered in my hotel room. Mbutuma had always been an outspoken critic of the President of Transkei, Kaiser Matanzima, and an ardent supporter of his opponent, Sabata Dalindyebo.[5] In 1980 Matanzima finally succeeded in destroying Sabata politically; although he was paramount chief of the Thembu people and Matanzima's senior, Sabata was tried and found guilty of an offense under the Public Security Act and the Constitution Act, which prohibit a violation of the dignity or injury to the reputation of the state president, and went into exile in Zambia. Mbutuma's fortunes had also changed since I last saw him: he was now a Member of Parliament, having been elected as a representative of Matanzima's party. I asked him about his change in status and also his apparent change in loyalties. He had stood for election to parliament, he said, because he saw that as the most effective way of helping the people of his district, and this entailed a voluntary muzzling of his true feelings about Matanzima. What about his oral poetry, I asked, in which, as a spokesman of the people, he had consistently voiced criticism of Matanzima for acting in a manner detrimental to the interests of the people? Mbutuma replied that he had stopped performing poetry in public, for if he did, he would not be able to restrain himself from praising the exiled Sabata and decrying Matanzima, and this would no longer be politically expedient. Mbutuma had in fact demonstrated considerable personal loyalty to our relationship by coming to meet us; he had recently been informed that one of his sons had been shot by the police in Cape Town (he was offered no explanation of the circumstances) and had only just returned from the funeral.[6] Shortly after our meeting with Mbutuma in the Holiday Inn in Umtata, Chief Sabata Dalindyebo died in Zambia, and was returned to Transkei for a funeral stage-managed by Kaiser Matanzima in 1986.

In the hotel room, after introductions and the exchange of news, Mbutuma

responded immediately to my request for a poem by praising Sabata, as it turned out the last of an extended series of oral poems in honor of his paramount chief he produced during Sabata's lifetime. Later on in the conversation, I told Mbutuma that Lord was interested in the *imbongi*'s ability to compose poetry with no premeditation.

Opland: You've met Professor Lord now*;* you've known him for one hour.
Mbutuma: Yes. Opland: Can you *bonga* him? Mbutuma: Definitely.

	Liggala lendoda	He's a man of experience,
	Intw' eyinwele zihlwitheke zahlwitheka ngenxa yemfundo	One whose hair's been lost to learning,
	Intw' emehlw' angongo-nzongo	One with keen-sighted eyes,
	Kuba yajonga yajongisisa	For he peered and peered intently.
5	Umagobhoz' ezincwadini	Authority in the world of books,
	Ayokuphumela ngaphesheya	Even overseas
	Bamnik' imixhaka	They showered him with honors
	Kwathi kwada bathi yiprofesa	Until they called him professor.
	Nditsho kuwe nkosi yaseminzini	I refer to you, honored guest,
10	Nditsho kuwe silo esakhangela sakhangela	I refer to you, beast who searched and searched
	Saze safungel' ukunced' abantu	Until you determined to help others,
	Nditsho kuwe sizaka-zaka sendoda	I refer to you, piercing spear of a man,
	Umazimela ngemfundo	Who hides behind his education
	Bade bakhal' abantu bathi wenze ntoni na	Till people exclaim saying "What is it you've done?"
15	Hayi zizidanga zaseMlungwini	Oh, these are awards from the whites!
	Ndibon' abafazi behlahlamba	I see women crying loudly,
	Bathi yeyani na le mihombiso	Asking, "Why all these decorations?"
	Hayi yeyabuprofesa nobugqirha	Oh, they're for professors and doctors!
	Hayi zizidanga zasemfundweni	Oh, these awards are for education!
20	Ngubani n' othethayo xa ndithetha	Who speaks when I speak?
	Nditsho ngawe gqala lendoda	I refer to you, man of experience,
	Nditsho kuwe kaloku	I refer to you, of course,
	Wen' uvela ngaphesheya kwamanzi	You who come from across the sea
	Ukuz' uzokwazi ukugqala	In order to pursue research,
25	Ucakaz' izinto ngezinto	To distribute all sorts of things
	Bakwaz' ukuphila abasezayo	For the benefit of those who come after.
	Ibindim ndenze ntoni na	What is it that I've done?
	Ndee ncam nckelele	That's it! I'm stopping now!

Mbutuma's spontaneous tribute to Lord concerns itself with his physical qualities and his educational achievements. Mbutuma is impressed by Lord's bald head sporting tufts of hair (line 2) and by his eyes (lines 3-4). He is a richly honored scholar from overseas whose work benefits others (line 11), but who wears his learning lightly (line 13) though he has received "decorations" for scholarship (lines 15-19). In conclusion, Mbutuma recapitulates: Lord is an eminent scholar from overseas whose books distribute knowledge to his successors (lines 21-26). The last two lines are

Mbutuma's favored poetic closure, just as Manisi prefers the more common *Ncincilili*.

Our meeting with Mbutuma ended soon afterwards, and we drove on to meet another eminent *imbongi,* Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, in King William's Town.[7] The following morning, August 2, in Lord's hotel room, Manisi and I together translated in Lord's presence the last poem he had produced at the conference. Then we took Manisi home and drove on to Johannesburg, where Lord spent a week teaching at the University of the Witwatersrand. On Thursday August 8, I drove Lord to Pretoria for a guest lecture at the University of South Africa, where I was employed in the Department of African Languages. One of my colleagues was Peter Mtuze, the most versatile and prolific Xhosa author.[8] Mtuze had been introduced to the ideas of Lord as a student of mine at Rhodes University a few years earlier, and we had discussed Manisi's performances at the conference in Durban when Manisi and I called on him after the conference but before the field trip, while Lord stayed on at the University of Natal. Mtuze had produced oral poetry as a boy, but only recently started performing in public once again. He had been asked to prepare a poem in honor of our colleague Professor Rosalie Finlayson, which he recited from his prepared text as she entered the hall to deliver her inaugural address on June 27, 1985. Shortly thereafter, at a ceremony to honor Professor C.L.S. Nyembezi at a conference in Pietermaritzburg, inspired by a Zulu poem that Professor D.B. Ntuli had written for Nyembezi and had just read in his presence, Mtuze started jotting down some ideas but abandoned them as he leapt to his feet and declaimed a spontaneous poetic tribute in Xhosa. Now, six days before Lord was scheduled to deliver his guest lecture at the University of South Africa, he had been asked to compose and recite a poem in honor of Professor Lord.

Mtuze prefaced his recital, which was intended to welcome Lord to the University in traditional fashion, with a few comments he had written about his poem. He read these from his text, then read his poem in traditional style, adding the last line (not in his prepared text) as he yielded the floor to Lord. These are Mtuze's written texts, with the translation added:

Explanatory Comments

1. I needed inspiration which could not come until late last night.
2. Had to imagine myself performing in front of some audience.
3. Stumbled in the beginning until I decided on what line of action to take—I must welcome Professor Lord and give him an African Salutation name *A-a Dumakude* (Hail you whose fame knows no limits).

4 From this point things started moving more smoothly. I could work on his fame and his contribution to oral literature esp. with regard to *The Singer of Tales*.

5. On several occasions I had to fall back on my African background for inspiration—reference to the Winterberg where my great and grandfather

were buried, and to Africa as a whole.

6. The poem ends by invoking an African tradition of meeting foreign visitors—a pipeful of tobacco and a few drinks from what remained from the visitors' personal provisions.
7. Then only we can be ready for the big *indaba* [conference].

Elokwamkela into kaLothe

	Ngxatsho ke makad' eneth' engenabhati,	OK then, you who've been through the mill,
	Ngxatsho ke sinunza-nunza sasemzini,	OK then, dignified guest,
	Ndimel' ukukunik' isikhalelo sakwaNtu,	I stand here to grant you a praise name from Ntu's place,
	Ndikwamkelele kumzi kaNtu noweUnisa,	To welcome you to the home of Ntu and Unisa:
5	A-a Dumakude! A-a Dumakude!	Hail, World-renowned! Hail, World-renowned!
	NguDumakude into kaLothe bafondini,	He's World-renowned the son of Lord, gentlemen,
	NguDumakude njengeNkonkobe kubaThembu.	He's World-renowned, like Nkonkobe to the Thembu:
	Ngubani n' ongayaziy' iNkonkobe yiWinterberg?	Who doesn't know Nkonkobe's the Winterberg?
	Ngubani n' ongamaziyo uAlbert kaLord?	Who doesn't know Albert Lord?
10	Nkosi yam, Lord, iyakwamel' iAfrika,	My Lord, Lord, Africa welcomes you,
	Nkosi yam, Lord, iyabulis' iAfrika,	My Lord, Lord, Africa greets you,
	Nkosi yam, Lord, ith' iUnisa huntshu!	My Lord, Lord, Unisa shouts "Hooray!"
	Ithi mandith' izivil' izithonga zakho,	Saying it noted your outstanding deeds,
	Ithi mandith' izivil' izinqi zokuthetha	Saying it noted the eloquent speeches
15	Kwendod' eyaz' iimbongi zezwe lonke,	Of a man familiar with the poets of the world,
	Int' eth' ihlomla kubabethi-gusle	Who can allude to *gusle*-beaters
	EYugoslavia itshil' itshotsh' itshatshele.	Of Yugoslavia and hold his audience spellbound.
	A-a Dumakude! A-a Dumakude!	Hail, World-renowned! Hail, World-renowned!
	Sithululele ke ntondini kuloo mava,	Pour out for us, fellow, from that wisdom,
20	Sibhulele ke Lawundini kuloo ngxowa,	Thresh for us, mate, from that bag,
	Sicikelele okubona kwezakokweth' iimbongi,	Choose for us from what you see of our poets,
	Kodwa phambi kokub' uthethe nal' isiko	But before you speak, here's a custom—
	Rhol' indarha kaloku siqhumise ntondini,	Haul out a joint and light up, fellow,
	Rhol' ihamb' idlani silungis' imilomo	Haul out the booze and wet our whistles
25	Sizokudl' imbadu sisul' iinyembezi	So we can make merry and dry our tears:
	Ngeenyembezi zikaVitoliya, uyayazi mos.	That's the tears of Victoria, as you well know.
	Kwaqal' ukuqaqamb' umqal' omaqoq' aliqela,	The many-notched throat begins to ache:
	Ihamb' idlani mfondini—padkos.	Haul out the booze, my man—food for the way.

	A-a Dumakude! A-a Dumakude!	Hail, World-renowned! Hail, World-renowned!
30	[Ndikugqibile Lawundini!]	[I've finished with you, mate!]

Mutze's poem is more colloquial, more witty, and more puckish than those of Mbutuma and Manisi. He starts by greeting Lord with the praise name Manisi had accorded him in Durban to welcome him to the University of South Africa (Unisa) and to the black community (descendants of the eponymous Ntu). Lord's reputation as a student of oral poetic traditions preceded him to Unisa (lines 12-15); he has earned a reputation as an authority on those Yugoslavian singers who played the *gusle* for him (lines 16-17). Mtuze urges Lord to study and report on South African poetic traditions for their benefit (lines 19-21). But, as Mtuze explains in his sixth prefatory note, first there should be deference to the tradition of smoking and drinking together (Victoria's tears are liquor; *padkos* is Afrikaans for a food hamper for travellers).[9]

During his visit to South Africa, Lord was thus able to witness a series of Xhosa performances, reflecting both similarities and dissimilarities with the features of the tradition of narrative song he observed in Yugoslavia. Here was praise poetry as distinct from narrative, poetry within a tradition that accepted as normal the poet's ability to compose original poetry on the spur of the moment, spontaneous poetry that exploited to a greater or lesser extent words and techniques common to the tradition; here was a literate poet writing and declaiming a poem in traditional style. Scholars are able to perceive the outline of problems requiring detailed investigation because of the pioneering work of Albert Lord. Just as the two South Slavic poems do for Parry, these poems reflect the response of Xhosa poets to a meeting between a foreign scholar and their tradition. They express admiration for Lord, respect for his achievements, and gratitude for his interest in their traditional craft. All students of oral poetry join the chorus with Manisi, Mbutuma, and Mtuze in exclaiming

A! Dumakude! Hail World-renowned, the son of Lord!

Vassar College

Notes

[1] For a report on this conference including a description of Manisi's performance on the Tuesday evening, see Whitaker and Sienaert 1986a. An edited videotape of the evening's Zulu and Xhosa performances, introduced and discussed by Trevor Cope, Elizabeth Gunner, myself, and Albert Lord, is available as *Zulu and Xhosa Oral Poetry Performed and Explained* from The Secretary, Department of French, University of Natal, King George V Avenue, 4001 Durban, Republic of South Africa. For the full proceedings of

the conference, see Whitaker and Sienaert 1986b.

[2] On Manisi, see Opland 1975, 1984b:105-16 and *passim,* 1984a, 1987.

[3] On praise poetry in Africa (sometimes referred to as panegyric or eulogy), see the excellent comparative study in Finnegan 1970: ch. 5. On some differences between Yugoslavian and Xhosa poetry, see Opland 1976. See also Nagy 1986.

[4] It is clear that the poetry of the Xhosa *imbongi,* or tribal poet, is primarily improvisational, while that of the Zulu *imbongi is* primarily memorial (although this salient difference needs to be tested further through an examination of performances in context), but in the poetry of ordinary individuals about themselves, about others or their clans, the two traditions might well prove to be closer to each other with regard to the relative incidence of improvisation and memorization. On the Zulu tradition, see Cope 1968 and Gunner 1984.

[5] On Mbutuma, see Mafeje 1963, 1967; Opland 1974, 1984b:99-105 and *passim*.

[6] This is the son whose poems I recorded on January 9, 1971: see Opland 1974:13.

[7] On Ncamashe, see Opland 1974, 1984b:96-99 and *passim*.

[8] At last count, between 1966 and 1984, excluding works then in press, Mtuze had published three novels, two anthologies of poetry, a collection of poetry, a collection of short stories, a collection of essays, and an autobiography.

[9] I am grateful to Thamie Nyoka for his assistance in the translation of Mbutuma's and Mtuze's poems, and to the Committee on Research at Vassar College for funding the translations. I am also grateful to David Manisi for checking the transcription and translation of his and Mbutuma's poems. Mtuze approved a draft translation of his poem, offering suggestions that have been incorporated into the translation presented here.

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Oral Life and Literary Death in Medieval Irish Tradition

Joseph Falaky Nagy

The Milman Parry Lecture on Oral Tradition for 1988

This paper[1] will not tell you much about medieval or modern Irish oral tradition, although there is much to be said on the subject. Indeed, my contribution was originally planned as an accompaniment to a talk by Dr. Kevin O'Nolan of University College, Dublin, who had been invited by Professor Foley to share with you some of his groundbreaking researches into the oral compositional nature of some of our medieval Irish texts; most regrettably, Dr. O'Nolan was unable to accept the invitation owing to poor health.[2] My own interests center not so much on the realities of Irish oral tradition as on the conceptualizations of "oral composition" and "literary composition" that are to be found in the texts produced by the rich scribal culture of Ireland between the sixth and sixteenth centuries A.D. The Irish *literati* and *semi-literati,* like any other people faced with the prospect of writing, theorized about and agonized over the repercussions of the shift from the oral mode of verifying and perpetuating cultural "truth" to the written mode of so doing, a shift of which these elite members of their society were keenly aware. Most scholars in the tight, arcane little field of medieval Irish studies, as those of you who are so generous with your time as to have gained acquaintance with it may know, have until recently not paid much attention to this problem of transition that so racked the minds of the medieval Irish. Thanks, however, to the work of O'Nolan, Proinsias Mac Cana, Seán Ó Coileáin, Edgar Slotkin, and others,[3] we have become more sensitive to the oral-versus-literary tension that provides a key subtext to so many of the medieval Irish texts Celticists have been mulling over philologically for the past hundred years. One could now even propose a radical re-evaluation of medieval Irish literature in the wake of our being made aware of this clash of communicative legitimacies, going so far as to say (at least to an audience of kindly and indulgent non-Celticists) that most of what "happens" in these literary texts, on the levels of both form and content, is directly and even self-consciously expressive of this clash. Such dialectical self-reflexivity in

the medieval Irish text is in fact what is to be expected of a "transitional" literature that is still growing out of, or even alongside, a vital oral tradition.

The tension between oral and literary that underlies the scribal understandings of the origins of the Irish literary tradition and the assertions of its authority is usually to be found interlaced with other equally disparate tensions faced by the bearers of this tradition. Perhaps the most conspicuous of these coordinated tensions, and the one with which it made the most sense historically to link the tension between oral and literary, is that between pagan and Christian. Reading and writing became important activities in Ireland with the coming of Christianity to the island in the fifth century, a process traditionally associated with the murky figure of St. Patrick. While the pagan Irish of the period did have a form of writing, which is called *ogam,* it appears to have been used for very limited inscriptional purposes and to have been a recent invention based on the Latin alphabet (see MacManus 1986). Therefore, the society converted in the fifth century was overwhelmingly "oral," and remained so to a greater or lesser extent down to recent times. Our evidence seems to indicate that very early on in the history of the Irish Christian church, a close connection (albeit hardly a merger) was established between the native learned orders, primarily the *filid* "poets" (sing. *fili)* and the *brithemain* "jurists," who sustained traditions of oral composition and transmission rooted in the Celtic past, and the clerical, primarily monastic proponents of the new, text-based faith, who were well versed in Latin and the literature of late classical Christianity. There is, for example, the emblematic hagiographical figure of St. Columba or Colum Cille, one of the great movers and shakers of the sixth-century Irish church, who reputedly was a trained, card-carrying *fili* (Kenney 1929:441), and who in one story told about him is said to have prevented the wholesale expulsion of all the *filid* from Ireland, a drastic move that had been proposed by the island's leaders after the poets' arrogance had become insufferable (Stokes 1899:38-39, 42-54, and elsewhere). One of our earliest surviving vernacular texts is a eulogy for Colum Cille (the *Amra Choluim Chille)* that, the scribal tradition claims, had been composed by the chief poet of Ireland as a gesture of gratitude toward a patron, as well as of homage toward a fellow professional possessor of traditional knowledge (*ibid:*148-83, 249-87, 400-19).

So far, I have presented little if anything that suggests tension, let alone disharmony, between pagan and Christian, or their respective media, oral and literary. The picture drawn so far, and the one that has caught the notice of most Celtic scholars of the past, depicts a smooth transition or even fusion of both religious and communicative authority in early Christian Ireland. But the tensions are definitely there, and they are as much a part of the picture early Irish literature presents of itself as are the icons of sweet concord, even in the traditions concerning Colum Cille, Christian patron of the pagan oral arts. For instance, in a tale about him that has been preserved in Irish of the eighth

or ninth century, or possibly even earlier (Meyer 1899; on the dating of the text, see Mac Cana 1975:37-38), the saint, in the company of his monks, meets a young man who has come from across the ocean to talk with him. The stranger's identity is uncertain; the text states that some say he was Mongán, an Ulster princeling assigned by the Irish annals roughly to Colum Cille's era, and the legendary son of the pagan god Manannán mac Lir. The mysterious traveller tells his Christian auditors that he has lived many lives, been "there and back" as it were, and speaks to the living while consorting also with the dead (Meyer 1899:315; see Mac Cana 1975:36). Colum Cille, awed by such transcendent experience and knowledge, asks the stranger to describe the transmarine lands in which he lives, realms that—we know and the original readers of the text knew—are redolent with Irish pagan concepts of the otherworld. The supernatural informant tells all to the saint, but in private. After the stranger leaves, Colum Cille's fellow clerics beg him to divulge what he has learned, but he refuses. Thus the story ends on a note of division. The young man and Colum Cille, almost like the continental Celtic druids described in classical sources, guard their shared knowledge jealously from the uninitiated[4]—who, however, in this case happen to be Colum Cille's fellow monks, readers and producers of texts! Of course, they are not the only ones left out: the text itself in which we read the story is purposely defective, and it is its reader who is most pointedly taught that there are some things that can be said to the right people, but should not be disseminated promiscuously—in this instance, meaning "written down."[5]

That this story is indeed making a fascinatingly bold point about the gap between pagan and Christian knowledge as well as about a hierarchy of media, seems to be confirmed by what happens in another version of the story, which, while it has only survived in a text written much later than the tale summarized above, may well have been a contemporaneous multiform of it (O'Kelleher and Schoepperle 1918:78-83). In this other version, which presents a diametrically opposed view of the relationships in question, the young man from across the sea is definitely identified as Mongán. Here too the traveller offers to share with Colum Cille knowledge of faraway lands, and the saint is interested. But what Mongán, a knower and oral communicator of everything un-Christian, has primarily come for is to find out from Colum Cille what heaven and hell are like. The saint generously invites Mongán to peek under the saintly cloak, where the young man is miraculously afforded a double vision of the Christian options for the afterlife. Colum Cille asks Mongán to describe what he has seen, but the instant visionary confesses that words (spoken, not written, of course) fail him. He does, however, beg Colum Cille to assure him of salvation—a request often made of, and granted by, Irish saints in their biographies. Colum Cille grants Mongán's, and so the tale ends. Here too, as in the previously discussed version of the story, the text is lacking the informational punchline: we the

readers do not find out what heaven and hell are like. But the fault lies with the inadequacy of speech, and there are no implications of the inadequacy of the written word or the unworthiness of its purveyors and surveyors. Thus, between these two different versions of the same story (or, perhaps we should say, between these two different stories), the gamut of relations between oral/pagan and literary/Christian is run from respectful coexistence to outright annexation.

The choice of Mongán here as the possible or definite participant in the dialogue is itself interesting. As I stated before, he is a figure closely connected with the otherworlds of Irish paganism and yet a far more "historical" character (or at least one more historically treated in our sources) than most of the heroes and heroines of medieval Irish literature to whom supernatural parentage is attributed. Furthermore, he seems to have been one of the first secular (to say the least) figures about whom stories were written down by the Irish *literati,* for among our earliest extant Irish narrative texts is a cycle of tales about Mongán, detailing his divine origins and supernatural talents (Meyer and Nutt 1895:42-58; see also Knott 1916). In these accounts, he is shown challenging or rivalling the authority of *filid,* to the extent that one scholar has dubbed the character of Mongán *a frithfhile, "*anti-*fili"* (Henry 1976:86-94) who represents an alternative voice of truth within the early Irish ideological schema. Indeed, it is arguable that in his defiance of the traditional purveyors of lore and his patronage of youths engaged in the study of poetry as evinced in these early tales, Mongán served the early Irish *literati* as a kind of mascot (cf. Flower 1947:1-10). Perhaps significant in this regard is the use of the terms *cléirech* "cleric" and *cléirchín* "little cleric" in a Mongán text to designate the students who join with Mongán in a scheme to embarrass a famous poet (Knott 1916:156). Borrowed from Latin *clericus,* these Irish words admittedly take on the more general, less specifically ecclesiastical meaning of "student" early on in their linguistic life, but their appearance here is provocative (compare the designation of another student in another Mongán tale by way of the native term for "poetic pupil," *éicsine* [Meyer and Nutt 1895:52]). Mongán's only absolutely explicit encounter with Christianity and its text-based culture outside the strange tale of his meeting with Colum Cille comes in a rather late medieval *märchen*-like text *(ibid.*:58-84*;* see Nagy 1987:13-24) that gives us the stories of Mongán's marvelous conception and youth, his violent accession to the throne of Ulster, and his rescue of his beloved queen after he loses her to a rival king, the lascivious Brandub of Leinster, through a bargain Mongán foolishly has struck with him. On a secret mission to rendezvous with his wife in the residence of his rival for her affections, yet still lacking a plan of action, Mongán and his sidekick the servant Mac an Daimh come across another pair of travellers (from Kuno Meyer's translation of the text, slightly revised):

> And they saw a holy cleric going past them, Tibraide, the priest of Cell Chamain, with his four gospels in his own hand, and the rest of his gear upon the back of a cleric by his side, and they reading their offices. And wonder seized Mac an Daimh as to what the cleric said, and he kept asking Mongán, "What did he say?" Mongán said it was reading, and he asked Mac an Daimh whether he understood a little of it. "I do not understand," said Mac an Daimh, "except that the man at his back says 'Amen, amen'." Thereupon Mongán shaped a large river through the midst of the plain in front of Tibraide, and a large bridge across it. And Tibraide marvelled at that and began to bless himself. "It is here," he said, "that my father was born and my grandfather, and never did I see a river here. But as the river has got there, it is well there is a bridge across it." They proceeded to the bridge, and when they had reached its middle, it fell under them, and Mongán snatched the gospels out of Tibraide's hand, and sent the clerics down the river. And he asked Mac an Daimh whether he should drown them. "Certainly, let them be drowned," said Mac an Daimh. "We will not do it," said Mongán. "We will let them down the river the length of a mile, till we have done our task in the royal residence." Mongán took on himself the shape of Tibraide, and gave Mac an Daimh the shape of the cleric, with a large tonsure on his head.... And they go onward before the King of Leinster, who welcomed Tibraide and gave him a kiss, and said, "'Tis long that I have not seen you, Tibraide; read the gospel to us and proceed before us to my residence.... And the queen, the wife of the king of Ulster [that is, Mongán's wife] would like to confess to you." And while Mongán was reading the gospel, Mac an Daimh would say, "Amen, amen." The hosts said they had never seen a priest who had but one word except that cleric; for he said nothing but "amen" (Meyer and Nutt 1895:77-78).

Mongán does indeed get the chance not only to hear his wife's confession but to enjoy his conjugal rights in the guise of the priest Tibraide. The "confession," however, is overheard by a duenna:

> And when that had been done, the hag who guarded the jewels, who was in the corner, began to speak; for they had not noticed her until then. And Mongán sent a swift magical breath at her, so that what she had seen was no longer clear to her. "That is sad," said the hag, "do not rob me of Heaven, o holy cleric! For the thought that I have uttered is wrong, and accept my repentance, for a lying vision has appeared to me...." "Come hither to me, hag," said Mongán, "and confess to me." The hag arose, and Mongán shaped a sharp spike in the chair, and the hag fell upon the spike, and found death. "A blessing on you, Mongán," said the queen, "it is a good thing for us to have killed the woman, for she would have told what we have done" (*ibid*.:78-79).

Mongán and Mac an Daimh escape from Brandub's lair and, although successful on this escapade, wait for another occasion to rescue the queen.

Amidst the anti-clerical and *fabliau*-esque hilarity of this account we should not lose sight of the ease with which the shapeshifting hero adapts to the role of gospel-reading priest, unlike his illiterate sidekick. But such fake

clerical text-slinging is only a hollow literary means to a genuine oral-aural end: namely, the "confession" that Mongán and his wife so terribly long for, a putatively oral act of exchange which is gravely threatened by what the inhibiting hag could say. Fortunately for Mongán, she too agrees to go to confession, though of a far less pleasant sort. (Let me, by way of a digression, state the obvious and assure you that in medieval Irish literature, as in many others, oral discourse between men and women not only can lead to but is often representative of sexual intercourse. For example, in a medieval Irish variation on the story of Potiphar's wife [the *Fingal Rónáin],* the seductress utters half of an improvised quatrain to her victim in public; when he finishes it on the spot, she claims to her husband that the young man's responsiveness demonstrates that he has had sex with her [Green 1955:6-7; see Ó Cathasaigh 1985].)

In this episode from the late Mongán tale summarized above, our wily friend proves capable of playing the communication game from either side, the Christian/literary or the pagan/oral. Perhaps that is the most consistent feature of the figure of Mongán as he appears in both early and later material: this ability, and the ability of the stories about him, to straddle almost effortlessly, and even manipulate, tense relationships between competing values and media. Let us recall that this is the same character who can be portrayed as either isolating the Christian saint Colum Cille from his monastic community in a triumph of oral elitism, or joining Colum Cille's flock by denying the power of the spoken word to communicate the truth.

In this vein, we should pay attention to one of the talents with which Mongán introduces himself, according to the earlier version of the tale of his meeting with the saint which we have already discussed. The stranger, who may be Mongán, claims that he has contact (possibly "speaks"; the language of the text is difficult here) with both the living and the dead. By implication, then, he himself is both living and dead, or alive beyond the lifespan of most living beings. Such a bold claim makes native sense in the context of the stranger's having come from lands across the sea. Among the most prominent names for these lands or otherworlds on the other side of the ocean in Irish tradition are *Tír na n-Óg* "Land of the Youthful" and *Tír na mBéo* "Land of the Living." Both of these designations, of course, highlight the immortality and rejuvenatory powers traditionally enjoyed by the residents of Irish supernatural realms. Furthermore, the assertion of freedom from the limitations imposed by the categories of life and death rings a special bell in the context of the other early stories written about Mongán. He is the only character in medieval Irish literature to be designated a reincarnation of another, particular character within the narrative repertoire. The revelation of his dual nature, interestingly enough, comes about in a story that features contention between Mongán and his perennial opponent, the traditional poet or *fili.* According to this, one of the earliest Mongán tales (Meyer and Nutt

1895:45-52), Forgoll, a legendary poet, is regaling Mongán with a story about the heroics of the great warrior of old, Finn mac Cumaill, and his equally heroic foster son Caílte, when Mongán interrupts the poet and disputes his version of the story. Forgoll is incensed at this challenge to his authority and threatens to satirize Mongán and his kingdom. To assuage the poet and protect himself and his people from the deadly effects of satire, Mongán agrees to surrender his queen in three days. (Note that Mongán's powers of communication are closely bound to his sex life here as in the tale discussed above.) On the third day, Mongán hears the approaching footsteps of one "who is coming to our help." A warrior appears and offers to adjudicate. Forgoll tells his version of the story about Finn. "'That was not good,' said the warrior, 'it shall be proved. We were with you, Finn [says the warrior, addressing Mongán].' 'Hush,' said Mongán, 'that is not fair' (*ibid*.:51). The warrior tells his version of the story and even shows the site where it happened, all of which vindicates Mongán and proves the poet wrong. The story ends with the statement: "It was Caílte, Finn's foster son, that had come to them. Mongán, however, was Finn, though he would not let it be told" *(ibid*.:52).

Mongán, then, knows whereof he speaks; he has actually lived it. He *is* the narrative tradition, in this case. And as such, he is not just Mongán, a sixth-century Ulsterman, nor is his conversational circle limited to his living contemporaries. He shares secrets with the revenant Caílte of the mythical pagan past as well as with the living Colum Cille of the Christian present. He reveals his timelessness, just as he reveals his powers and knowledge, through the spoken word, either his own or that of others. In so doing, Mongán is equally the conscience and the saboteur both of the oral traditional establishment and by extension also of the literary. For while the cat is let out of the bag somewhat in this text (we the readers do end up knowing, although we shouldn't, that Mongán is in fact Finn), because Mongán tells Caílte to hold his tongue, we are mostly left in the dark about what we most eagerly want to know (as in the tale of Mongán and Colum Cille), and made aware of the limitations of the reliability of conventional poets and scribes.

In this tale of the contest between Mongán and Forgoll, the oral tradition asserts itself and corrects the version of itself being promulgated by its official bearers, in the form of a revived hero who should be dead: Caílte, the foster son of Finn. This scenario constitutes a virtual *topos* , which we see operating in several medieval Irish texts that attempt to explain and justify the victory of Christianity over paganism, coupled with the transition from the spoken to the written word as the authoritative "voice" of tradition, both sacred and secular. There is, for example, the story of how the so-called epic of the *Cattle-Raid of Cooley (Táin Bó Cúailnge)* was recovered by the poets of Ireland (Carney 1955:166-70). Having been asked to recite this lengthy tale by a Connaught king of the Christian era, the assembled poets

shamefacedly are forced to admit that they have lost it. The *Cattle-Raid* was once committed to writing and then exchanged, they confess, for a copy of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae,* and since that time it has not been heard from. Honor-bound to retrieve it, the poets, aided by the saints of Ireland, launch a massive search for the story of the Cattle-Raid but have no luck in finding it. One of the poets, resting on the grave of a hero featured in the epic, Fergus mac Róig, whimsically addresses a praise poem to Fergus's memorial stone. At this oral salutation the ancient hero arises from his resting place and offers to dictate the story to the surprised poet, who has enough presence of mind to fetch the hide of St. Ciaran's cow and take dictation on it. And so the heroic doings of Fergus, Cú Chulainn, and the other warriors involved in the Cattle-Raid are preserved for posterity, in a written, ecclesiastically sanctioned form. (Fergus, I should add, returns to his grave and disturbs our Judaeo-Christian sensibilities concerning life and death no more.) The process of recovery, literary transcription, and transmission seems to work quite smoothly here, and the text of the *Cattle-Raid,* as it was to be had at the time this story of its rescue was current, is spectacularly legitimated, but there is always the danger that the text could be lost again. The pagan dead of the past are apparently the only absolutely safe repository for what the perishable text contains, and for this reason they win in this story the authority that the present Christianized generation of poets loses.

Caílte, Mongán's returned-from-the-dead savior in the story discussed previously, comes back in yet another text that much more explicitly addresses the issue of the relationship between written and oral, and Christian and pagan. This is the enormous and, in its time, very popular miscellany of Finn-lore composed in the twelfth or thirteenth century, the *Acallam na Senórach,* "Colloquy of the Ancients" (Stokes 1900). The *Colloquy* is really a frame tale, the frame being as follows. Saint Patrick, in the course of his missionary travels around Ireland, happens upon the survivors of Finn's warrior band, led by Caílte. They have stayed alive since their mythical epoch by dwelling in the *síde,* the localized otherworlds hiding in the hills and ancient man-made mounds of the island. Caílte, the leader of these heroes who should be dead but, like Rip van Winkle, are not, strikes up a friendship with Patrick, who asks him questions about the old heroes and their adventures. Caílte proves to be a more than willing source of information, but the experience bothers the saint, who is worried that his enjoyment of what Caílte has to say will distract him from the holy mission at hand. So Patrick seeks outside help:

> Patrick's two guardian angels came to him there, and he asked them whether it was alright with the King of Heaven and Earth that he, Patrick, was listening to stories of the *fian* [Finn's warrior band]. The angels responded with equal vehemence: "Dear holy cleric! No more than a third

> of their stories are these old warriors able to tell you, because of their forgetfulness and senility. Record them on the tablets of poets and in the words of arch-poets, for listening to these stories will gladden throngs and nobles for the rest of time" (Stokes 1900:9).

Thus the tales told by Caílte are recorded by Patrick's scribes (though clearly they are not so much to be read as listened to), and the text known as the *Colloquy,* supposedly an attempt to document what the old heroes said, comes into being with blessing and approval from on high. Yet here as elsewhere in the text, the justification for writing down the orally delivered tradition is coupled with the warning that the text is by no means the same thing as the performance—particularly the performance as it *would* have been performed in "the good old days," before Christianity, when memories were still intact, and the oral tradition functioned unencumbered by competition from the literary. There is here once again a mixed message about the efficiency of the oral-to-literary shift: a sense of loss, and of the text as almost by definition shutting out the reader (or the second-hand listener) from a treasure trove of oral communication which is as good as gone with the pagan past.

This conceit of oral tradition's emanating from the dead or the should-be-dead poses a paradox. After all, the dead are not at all behaving like the dead here: they, like Mongán, seem to exist apart from the rules of life and death that dictate termination dates to their latter-day audiences. Patrick, Colum Cille, the many other saintly amanuenses, and the readership of this body of literature ultimately win their eternal rewards, but they do experience death and do not come back to life on this earth, unlike these oral traditional revenants and immortals. So who is really living, and who is really dead? The bearers of the oral tradition or the writers and readers of the written word? Utterance or text? In an article originally published in 1940 (see now 1981), the great Indo-Europeanist Georges Dumézil discussed this very question in regard to Celtic conceptualizations of oral and literary tradition, and brought attention to a remarkably "Ongian" statement in an eleventh- or twelfth-century text, indisputably literary in origin and even fussily pedantic (Stokes 1891). It describes in a series of episodes the wondrous objects used to determine the truth or falsehood of statements made during the reign of the "ideal" mythical king of Ireland, Cormac mac Airt. The final object discussed, Cormac's sword, is not so much a device for determining the truth as a treasure that was subjected to a particularly tortuous process of determination. At the beginning of the episode, we are told that the sword was owned by Socht ("Silence"—an ironic name, as we shall see), the son of the poet Fithel, who had helped Cormac write down the legendary lore of Ireland in the fictitious *Saltair Cormaic* "Psalter of Cormac." (Cormac's reign supposedly occurred well before the coming of Christianity and the development of a literature, so this is grossly anachronistic, even by medieval

Irish scribal standards; but then this text represents an almost outrageous attempt to project the current *status quo* back into the past!) Socht's sword, which once belonged to the ancient hero Cú Chulainn of *Cattle-Raid* fame, is coveted by Cormac's steward, Dubdrenn. He makes Socht many offers for the sword, but Socht refuses, saying that it is really Fíthel his father's possession, and that he cannot give away his father's property while he is still alive. Dubdrenn finally resorts to subterfuge. He plies Socht with drink until he falls asleep, takes the sword to Cormac's smith, has the smith inscribe his, Dubdrenn's, name inside the hilt, and then returns the sword to the still-sleeping Socht. The two disputants then go before Cormac. Socht pleads his case, but Dubdrenn succeeds in winning the sword from Socht by pointing out that his name is written inside the hilt. At this point a remarkable statement is made, which is what caught Dumézil's attention: "Thus a dead thing testified successfully against a living thing, in that the dead was deemed correct" (*ibid*.:201). In other words, the (false) written inscription is a "dead thing," but it has the power to overcome the "living" phenomenon of the (truthfully) spoken word, that is, Socht's verbal plea.[6] Here, the categories living/dead have seemingly switched sides in the conflict between oral and literary—and, curiously enough, in a text that, perhaps more than any other we have examined, seems to ignore this tension in most respects.

Yet, as Françoise Le Roux and Jean Guyonvarc'h have pointed out (1986:263-69), the dishonest steward does not get away with his "conceit," and literary death does not gain the upper hand on oral life. As soon as Dubdrenn obtains the sword, Socht, having a trick or two up his sleeve as well, declares that his grandfather had been killed with the sword, and sues for damages from the current owner, which amount to more than the worth of the sword. Hence Dubdrenn hands the sword back. But the musical sword-game does not end here. Cormac recalls that *his* grandfather was also slain with the same sword, and demands the sword from Socht as recompense. Socht relents, and Cormac becomes the owner of the much-desired heirloom with the checkered past. I would suggest that in this surprisingly shifting conclusion to the story we see the re-emergence of oral liveliness, which cancels out the authority of the written word and paradoxically works through the dead and/or the recollection of the dead. The sword, originally represented as a token of a very much alive ancestor (Socht's father), suddenly becomes the bringer of death to dead ancestors. He who can recall and proclaim the deadly side to this truly two-edged sword owns it. That this object connotes the oral tradition is further indicated by the highly unusual description of it, at the point it is introduced, as an *"audacht* of the family, fathers, and grandfathers" (Stokes 1891:199) of Socht. The word *audacht,* usually translated "testament," almost always refers to some kind of utterance. Its most famous appearance is in the title of the text *Audacht Morainn,* "Testament of Morann" (Kelly 1976:2), in which the mythical sage Morann

on his deathbed addresses a series of proverbs to his student, the future king of Ireland—words that the dying Morann declares will be *búana* "everlasting" *(ibid.)*. The most plausible etymology proposed for *audacht* is that it is from the same Indo-European root as Latin *vox* "voice" and means "that which has been said" *(ibid.*:22). Just as Morann's *audacht* survives beyond death, gathering force and power from the dead or dying, so the *audacht* of the sword, which originally belonged to the hero Cú Chulainn, lives on from epoch to epoch, inducing profitable reminiscences of the dead (see Nagy 1989).

And so with this remarkable sword I cut off this paper, hoping that I have presented sufficient evidence to indicate that medieval Irish literature has much to offer those of us seeking to understand the nature of transitional traditions, caught between literary and oral worlds, in terms devised and used by the traditions themselves.

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Notes

[1] This paper was given as the Milman Parry Lecture at the University of Missouri, Columbia, in April of 1988. I thank Professor John Miles Foley of the University of Missouri, his colleagues, and his students for their insightful comments on its contents.

[2] I dedicate this paper to the late Dr. O'Nolan, in memory of his numerous contributions to the study of Irish narrative tradition.

[3] A survey of scholarly opinions concerning the relationship between oral and literary elements in medieval Irish literature can be found in Nagy 1986.

[4] In his *De Bello Gallico* (VI.14), Caesar reports on how the druids of the Gaulish Celts refused to put their knowledge into a written form, for fear of its becoming available to common folk. Interestingly, within this druidic ideology, to write is to make available, possibly to the wrong sort of reader.

[5] In the seventh-century *Vita Columbae* by Adomnán, the saint is perennially withholding sacred information from his fellow monks, or forbidding them to reveal what he has told them until after his death (e.g., Anderson and Anderson 1961:322, 478-80).

[6] On the concept of the text as dead and inert, see Ong 1977:230-71.

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Chair of the Folklore and Mythology Program at UCLA, *Joseph Falaky Nagy* has written widely on medieval Irish literature and Celtic mythology and its relationship to other Indo-European mythologies. His numerous publications include articles in *Ériu, Arethusa, Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*; a survey essay in *Oral Tradition* (1:272-301); and *The Wisdom of the Outlaw* (1985).

Walter J. Ong needs little introduction here. His many books and myriad shorter works—among them *The Presence of the Word* (1967), *Interfaces of the Word* (1977), and *Orality and Literacy* (1982)—have established whole new areas of investigation in the cultural and psychological aspects of comparative studies in oral tradition. His *Festschrift* was published as volume 2, number 1 of *Oral Tradition*.

Like three other authors in this issue, *Jeff Opland* has put his fieldwork, in this case principally among the Xhosa-speaking peoples of South Africa, to excellent use in his writings on oral tradition. As an Africanist and an Anglo-Saxonist, he has contributed important studies in both fields, particularly *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry* (1980) and *Xhosa Oral Poetry* (1983).