Diola-Fogny Funeral Songs and the Native Critic

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This paper gives a brief preliminary description of one type of Diola-Fogny funeral song called buhassap. The description is based on recordings that were made in 1960-61, and later in 1964-66, as well as on commentary given by buhassap singers responding to a number of questions about the songs. The most important inquiries concerned textual exegetics and criteria for excellence in solo singing. I want to emphasize at the outset that reliance on this informant commentary or 'ethno-criticism' was absolutely central to an adequate description of the genre; and this was as true for the seemingly obvious mechanical aspects of the songs as it was for their meaningful content.

BACKGROUND

The Fogny make up one subgroup of the Diola, a people living in the Bane-Casamance region of Senegal. The buhassap songs are restricted to one small area of the Fogny region located in the arrondissement of Sindian (to the north of Bignona). The area is bounded on the north by the village of Stoukhéne, on the west by Téloum, on the south by Kagarou and Guimel, and on the east by Otunik (where, according to some informants, the genre is said to have originated).

The overall form of the buhassap consists of an ensemble-solo alternation with the solo section being an extemporaneous verse. This form is shared by songs sung at a secular dance called biguar, a type of dance popular throughout the entire Fogny region and extending down into the so-called Buluf area to the south of Bignona. Such extemporaneous verification contrasts with songs made up of ensemble-solo alternation based on fixed verses and with songs consisting of an alternation of fixed verses between two ensembles. The latter antiphonal type of song, because of its almost pan-Diola distribution, is, in all probability, the traditional form. By contrast, extemporaneous singing seems to be a rather recent innovation. At least Diola informants would have it this way. Also, unlike antiphonal singing, it is restricted to one continuous area, the Fogny, which borders, to the north and east, extensive Manding and Fula populations. Perhaps the original stimulus for the form came from the extemporaneous praise songs of these neighbours.

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The bukansap are sung only at the funerals of elder male Diola who are traditional, i.e. who are neither Moslem nor Catholic converts. They are never sung out of context. As one singer put it:

‘If we are just here, as we are now, I would not be able to sing anything. But if there were a funeral and I began to sing, no matter what, I would be able to go through with it and sing about whomever I would like.’

The singing takes place throughout the night after death and then the following afternoon as the time of burial. If the death is abrupt, catching the family of the deceased unprepared and without immediate means to feed the funeral guests, or if it occurs at the height of the rains when agricultural work is at full pitch, the sing, as well as the rest of the funeral celebration, will be postponed.

The personnel involved in the bukansap are always men: soloists, called ‘singers’ (ejo, pl. ekjo) and an ensemble of ‘those who follow’. There are usually from two to four soloists. They stand next to each other in a row with the ensemble gathered behind. Any one singer will have several friends in the ensemble from his own village or ward who will stand directly behind him. They encourage his singing with shouts of approval, anticipate some of his lines, and sometimes help him terminate his verse.

If there is a particularly large crowd two groups will be formed. No matter how many are present, however, there will always be a crowd of bystanders who listen but do not participate in the ensemble singing. They too are men; women are otherwise occupied.

The entire group walk, while singing, with very slow, slow and rhythmic steps around a hut, usually located in the center of the compound, where the deceased, in the role of compound elder, lived his last years and under which he is to be buried.

Anyone capable and so inclined may be a soloist. Aside from sex there are no restrictions on singing determined by status, as there are, for example, with the MANDING and Wolof praise singers. Rewards come from the sheer pleasure of singing and from the prestige of being a good singer. They also come in payment of meat. The family of the deceased is required to kill a cow—or at least several goats—for the singers, who divide the meat amongst themselves, eating it at place and sharing it with members of the ensemble.

THE SONGS

Inquiries about singing excellence brought out three essential criteria which were, in order of importance: 1. mastery of song mechanics, i.e. control of the onward flow of the singing, 2. clearness of voice, and 3. correctness in verification.
SOGN MECHANICS

The buhunyong consists of an interchange between chorus and verse, with the entire ensemble (or part of it) singing the chorus and the soloist singing both the chorus and the verse. The soloists sing in turns. The chorus, which is melodious, is usually no more than a simple ... or in some songs over plus a verbal phrase such as muma mananana, 'speak as we may judge'. The verses, which are best described as 'recitative', are composed almost entirely of meaningful words. Closer hearing reveals that they terminate with a melodious cadence.

Discussion with singets (and with one in particular) about these mechanisms allowed a more elaborate and precise description. Informants use four terms which serve to define the song's structure; these are: hik to sing out the melody' (literally 'to resound'); hik to begin'; sangen, 'to speak, or solu, 'to praise', both referring to the soloist's verse; and hik to kill or set 'to place', both meaning in this context 'to terminate the solo section'.

Control of the on-going movement is completely in the hands of the soloist who is singing at the time, with the crucial manipulation being the hik, i.e. 'kill' or termination. It is here that the soloist, by pre-figuring the melodic line, announces that he has completed his verse. If the hik is executed correctly the ensemble will fail, i.e. sing the melody, without pause and in union; otherwise there will be confusion. It is exactly here that an inexperienced singer will fall down, and as far as the singers' judgements are concerned the hik is the acid test for correct performance:

'Now in order to kill the song he will turn and lead to where the song is (i.e. to the fat). When he is finished speaking he will kill. When he kills they (the ensemble) will know this very song, the one that he kills. But when you hear the song without precision (any old way) and the singer becomes quiet without killing (then the ensemble is lost) ... Should you speed up and force the killing it will not be good. The singer ... looks for the road by which he is to kill so that everyone in the ensemble will hear the song and remember it.'

To 'hear the song' refers to the hik passage. The singer reinforces his hik kinesically during the cadence by turning his head towards the next singer, or back towards the ensemble.

The hik signals the chorus. In some songs the chorus consists simply of the ensemble singing the melody through once (Type A song; see Appendix). In others it consists of a more complicated sequence (Type B song) involving a choral 'interjection', followed by a two-section melody with the first section being sung by the soloist and the second by the ensemble.
With either type of song, when the ensemble terminates the next singer must begin (kfi) his section; otherwise there will be complete silence. The new singer is given two major options: he may go on immediately to his verse (samshe) or he may dress up a repetition of the chorus. In Type A song he will do this by singing the melody (jesi)—usually with a certain amount of embellishment—and in Type B song he will sing a special verbal phrase. In both cases the chorus will then be restated. The entire kfi may, at the discretion of the soloist, be repeated several times.

Type A song can also kfi with a verbal phrase instead of the soloist's melodic jesi. This is subject to further elaboration in a variant popular with singers from the village of Djkoye Baaga. Here the soloist starts with a phrase that is then completed by his friends, gathered directly behind him and acting as his 'sub-ensemble'. These variants are terminated, as expected, with the ensemble singing the regular chorus.

A third song (Type C) differs significantly from both Types A and B by making the kfi the central part of the song. The kfi here consists of a two part solo-ensemble phrase that is obligatorily repeated at least ten times, with the solo verse (sambo) becoming correspondingly short. The chorus is similar to that of Type A: the melody is stated in its entirety by the ensemble.

A song may be changed by terminating (bgy) a verse with a new melody, or more precisely with a byg line that prefigures a new melody. This does not seem to happen very frequently, for it takes a particularly good singer and a very alert ensemble to perform it successfully. The more common practice is to change the melody during the kfi section. We have the following pattern: At the end of a verse the preceding singer kills the song, the ensemble follows and the next singer introduces the new song in his kfi; the ensemble immediately responds. The singer then re-cycles the kfi a number of times until he is sure that the chorus are sure of it; that they have taken it well, and are not singing zagem-jagem or gat gat gat! He then proceeds with his verse.

That these mechanics are important to the singers was made amply clear to me when I asked my principal informant for his opinion of one particular singer whom I had felt was rather good. My informant demurred. I insisted, saying that this singer's versification was very amusing. The reply to this was "a' a, have you heard him sing?". On replaying the tapes of the uncredited singer it became immediately apparent what was wrong. He would always kfi by going directly to his verse and would seldom bother with the byg. As a result the ensemble was usually in discord and often completely confused. This kind of confusion is contrary to the whole idea of what buknasay is: basically about: the smooth and harmonious interchange between solo and ensemble, between individual and group.
FORMAL 'GRAMMAR' OF THE Bakutiwany

The following 'grammar' summarizes in formal terms the bakutiwany mechanics described above. The presentation adapted here is based on techniques developed by the 'transformational' or 'generative' school of linguistics. Anyone familiar with this school will immediately notice that the presentation is rather out of date and—what’s worse—that it is subject to one or two heretical legomena. Nevertheless, it serves our present need, which are simply to illustrate that on a general level bakutiwany song-phraseing can be subject, without much difficulty, to formal statement. Obviously, other techniques of formal representation could serve equally well.

I. Conventions:

The subscripts indicate who sings: s = soloist, c = ensemble and s-c = sub-ensemble. The superscripts 1 and 2 (as in T.4, 5 and 6) indicate respectively the first and second section of a given phrase or melody (f.b). In T.6 the expression: ... N reads: 'the operation is performed at least N times (N being equal to or greater than 10). Phrase structure rules 1 and 3 are recursive rules; thus 1 reads 'A bakutiwany consists of a sequence or a series of sequences' and 3 reads 'a kit consists of a kit or a series of kits'. The abbreviation (opt.) in T.1 and T.4 indicates that the transformation is optional. A slash (/) reads 'in the environment of'; thus in T.1 k.f optionally becomes zero in the environment of continuous singing, i.e. where there is no change of melody.

II. Phrase Structure Rules:

1. Bu → S(but)
2. S → k.f + V + f.b
3. k.f → k.f(10)
4. V → sequence + k.f

III. Transformation Rules:

T.1 (opt.) k.f = continuous singing
T.2 k.f = f.b
f.b = phrase
T.3 f.b = phrase + phrase...
T.4 (opt.) phrase, = phrase, + phrase...
T.5 f.b = interjection + phrase + phrase...
T.6 k.f = f.b + f.b, ... + N, N ≥ 10

IV. Order Rules for generating Song Types:

Type A = PS + T.1 + T.2
Type A' = PS + T.1 + T.2 + T.3 + T.4
Type B = PS + T.1 + T.2 + T.3 + T.4
Type C = PS + T.6
Explanation: The Phrase Structure Rules indicate the basic structure common to all song types. The Transformational Rules indicate the possible operations that may be performed on the basic structure. And the Order Rules indicate the steps that must be taken in order to generate any particular song type. For example, to produce a Type A song (the phrase ʃe:ɓaa, alternate of the regular Type A) we must perform, in the order indicated, the Phrase Structure Rule 1 through 4 followed by the Transformations 1 through 4. If the optional T.1 is performed, we must stop there, for it zeroes the kit. If T.1 is bypassed we must perform T.2 (which gives us the regular Type A) and then T.3. We may then optionally perform T.4 giving the Djakoye Banga variant.

CLARITY OF VOICE

The next most important criterion of good singing is for the soloist to sing with a clear full voice that is not scratchy or 'shril and hard [like unripened fruit]', i.e. that sounds papa papa. A singer should have good diction so that he can be heard clearly by all who might be present.

Although informants offer no particular commentary, all verses (asken) have prosodic features. These vary from singer to singer and, with good singers, from song to song. The exact nature of these features has yet to be determined.

VERIFICATION

The ability to 'speak' well, though second to control of mechanics and clarity of voice, remains central to 'good' singing. On exploring this topic informants made clear two points: First, the songs call people, individuals, groups, character types, etc. Further, those who are called must be outstanding; they must be noticeable people who get talked about. This may include not only warriors and rich men but also thieves, drunkards, scandal-mongers and fools. Natural forces may also be included, especially death. Secondly, if someone is named, something must be said about him. A minimal statement must therefore have a subject and a predicate, with the subject naming and (optionally) 'placing' someone and the predicate describing him and/or his actions. A statement like 'Alasan (who is) tall' would be acceptable (though hardly exciting) while 'I go to Sindian and I call Alasane' would be unacceptable, because nothing is said about Alasane. Mediocre singers excel atlengthy subjects with minimal predicates. They will name a locality, such as a particular compound, list off its head and principal occupants and then terminate with a rather uninformative predicate such as 'why do I call them?'.
rely heavily on stock words, phrases, formulae and the like, combining, enlarging and altering them to suit their immediate needs. The *kusasup* offers three general types: Firstly, there are interjections and *fillers* such as *kan* 'my mother!', *boko* 'that's why', *digo* 'de Gaulle', *asik* 'see and you'll say' or simply *oo-ee*, these serving primarily as prosodic devices that separate, round out and punctuate calls. Secondly, there are subject *praise* terms that permit disguise and variety. They are not necessarily complimentary: *jiringa* 'noise maker', *jihemukon* 'finisher of people (death!)', *kenen-kasa* 'bat-butocked one'. And finally, there are predicate phrases which are often complex in shape and elaborate in their meaningful allusions. Thus the phrase *bakele bale ro leleri* 'if there are no condiments he won't eat' indicates that the person referred to is a great thief. Dola thieves, or at least the ones who are sung about, only steal livestock and do so solely for the meat. Thus a thief is accustomed to having meat sauces with his rice (the staple food) at every meal, something normally unheard of. The phrase *indu jun kifasi ni yo, ban le kaseko* 'the Dane gun which they are dragging, and it is not a vine' would apply to a great warrior or fighter, i.e. his gun is so big and heavy that others must drag it along the ground.

Any one verse will consist of a series of calls. They might all be addressed to one subject or, at the other extreme, each to a different subject. As a general rule most, though by no means all, verses of worth focus on one subject. For example, such a verse might start with a short introductory call referring perhaps to the bystanders, the ensemble, or the preceding singer (*nungunum jiringa* 'what you say is good'). This is followed by the main section made up of several calls addressed to the central subject. The verse is then terminated via a number of stock phrases leading to the final *baj*. These may or may not refer to the main subject.

A *baj* should, in order to be clearly made and properly understood, coincide exactly with a common predicate phrase. This permits the spoken words to reinforce the musical line. For instance, in the musical illustration given at the end of this paper the first singer accomplished this perfectly with: *atiseri chok chuj*, 'the elephant killed his enemy' (enemy-his elephant killed). The subject which precedes the *baj* is *Jene Masa*, a man's name: 'If it is only an elephant that can kill your enemy, then it is only an elephant that can kill you. A man is always equal to his enemy'. The second singer was not so successful, for the terminal predicate started before the *baj*: *buleko spat rhudzidzwa*, with the *baj* starting at *spat*. This translates 'poverty rots on the shoulders' (*A poor man wears his shirt until it rots*). The subject, in this case the addressee, is *ungw* 'the difficult one', and is separated from the predicate by the filler *mushum* 'that's why'. A free translation would be: 'My difficult friend, it is for that reason that poverty rots on the shoulders'.
TEXTUAL EXAMPLES

The following are the texts of three complete verses. Each one is accompanied by an explication derived from informant commentary.

I. (Sing by Sitita Djejio [chef du village] of Niania; at Niaakite, August 7, 1961.)

1. Kaa'ma manawum ngi:ngi, bahouns bari kwéé bi niya, re 'teacher what you say is good " of elders I look and 40-jet, makwéi nyambyeom. it that's why you help me.

Teacher, what you said is good, it is the elder's bahouns that I am always looking for, and that is why you help me.

2. Wemelo, eke? biam. W. we cry him last time. Wemelo, we cry for him for the last time.


Jikango, where have his mothers gone? They have gone off to Manding country.

4. sya ngui bat dam, iis? simama J. and mothers his where? they go they left for.

They arrive here and the burial is over.

5. kajok kap kajok, Taap, eegum iis? simama. they dance dist shes big man vulture see smiles.

They dance and the dust rises, big man, the vulture see this and smiles.

1. Repees to the previous singer, who was an elder. The word kawem is a term of respect borrowed from Manding (cf. kawem, 'one who can read, who knows the Koran, by heart'). The phrase kaawem manawum ngi:jir is very frequently used as an initial call.

2. Wemelo was the deceased for whom she was being performed. She has the meaning 'to cry out (in full voice), wail' and here connotes singing (cf. also Kasa-Diola: gwa 'moan').

3. Jikango is a general peaceful term and probably refers to the deceased. 'His mothers/mother's sisters', that is all female sages of his mother (regardless of age) as well as his mother's brothers' wives. This group of kin have string obligations to care for a sick, especially dying, sister's or husband's sister's child. They are also expected to attend his funeral.

4. The suffix -ay in kajokkay is an abstract marker and refers not only to the region and population of the Manding, but also to their way of life. This implies that they have become expert in fulfilling their traditional Delta obligations: they arrive after the burial, and she represents a general cription of modern women and their mobility (cf. sec. III, below).

5. Resembia shifts, for here they have arrived for the woman's funeral dance, balises, or ajéptr. They have come in great numbers, hence all the dust.
6. The valour is associated with the feasting singer, for valours are considered to be the original singers of the following, from whom the inside frenzy of the song. Great singers are said to transform themselves directly into valours in order to perfect their singing abilities. The valour and the singer becomes, for the dirge tangling its large crowd and honor the large number of praise that are to be killed and eaten.

II. (Sung by Abdoulay Dioneouye Djeum, Kagnya; at Niakite, August 7, 1961.)

1. gam mamadu, judge so you may run, judge so that you may go.

2. Landji sawu maawanaa, fonomat napsar czamby any.
   This axe he did me silly act he took A's apple of his.
   This he went to hell cows.
   This Landji here did me a silly thing, he took the Adam's apple of a crocodile and went off to hell cows.

   he depend on whom?
   On whom does nyames depend?

4. eyep baawo, kepi yami.
   They kill him, they have greedy hands they take walk hit.
   They killed him, their hands became greedy, they took his walk.

5. Gangana, kpi(k) bolamou nagsou.
   Good man leave back be he is able.

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1. You, the deceased, judge, give an opinion, sit on the cause of your death; then you may leave, run (from this life). The crying lies, if the cause of their illness is witchcraft, reveal the unseen cause of death. The Dirab thus, though infrequently in the Fula, question a corpse before it is buried.

2. Landji is the deceased, 'If you die and you live you are crying, you have done a silly thing'. (cf. 1 above): The translation of the rest of this call follows the text with the 'be' of napsar returning back to Landji. The explanation (given by the singer) has it otherwise: 'If you die, I will say that your father's father has come and taken you, a crocodile (strong man), by the Adam's apple and has lead you off to lead his cattle'. Death is said, a stained in the Adam's apple. The dead (that bear 'three of below') live as people do in earth and like the living they have cattle. When they are in a deed of a heaven man they will take one of their living agnus. When a man dies he becomes a young boy in the "underworld" where, as in the case of the living, it is usually the youths who do the binding. With the explanation (often in the Fula's notion of death) the 'be' becomes an deceased ancestor and the 'cows/cattle' refers to Landji.

3. Jip you refer back to Landji. The call is rhetorical and implies that Landji having no need to depend on anyone (cf. 4) for he has a strong and rich man.

4. Thus, Landji's lie, kill him in order to take his goods, wines, cattle, etc. As it was explained-'If you happen to have a wife, or wives, we will look at you and have done for them. We will kill you and people will say that perhaps we took your wives, and if we did, we'tn we take your manner of walking (of going), the way you was? The verb boowya may be translated 'to get hands greedy, stained with grease'. The grease is wanted for once it has been secured on the hands or split into the fire it cannot be eaten. The person killed is likened to this stained grease. Thus to pick a rich man is wasteful, for if he is dead, on whom is to depend? (cf. 5). The allusion here is not very different from that of the Western proverb about the Goose and the Golden Egg.)
III. [Song by Souleymane Aghara Djeumé of Djilakunda; at Djireme, July 26, 1965.]

1. manjulé

nen jikifikulé,

and you take as you afraid.

And you sing the chorus as if you were afraid.

2. mayirjimajú

kunukó kóti sót, halalat siganar

you you know not women the if of now they become crows

sic kumalal ke tóbb,

now they left for to 'eat'.

3. dem

dárol bhu kipiliphon

us-ar-us gáos sengel,

other little there old women the go S.

[k]aramba ke kara

yemmyógojú,

why? to put on brassieres.

The old women, w-o-o-o!, have gone off to Sénégal. Why? In order to put on brassieres.

4. imajui

gyrpíyáyí

úgy káyó

I don't know one with little hair runs hairdressing.

I don't know, but the one with hardly any hair goes for hair-

dressing.

5. gyanen

nen kasuró éba.

he made known as call cow his.

He, like his cow's call, is heard about.

6. jirjigwó

Fanding kunakó ná di ko.

noise maker this F.

enter he is and it.

This noise maker, Fanding, is entering.

7. ko ná

gyanén.

how? he stop there who is known.

How is it that he is so well known?

1. Refers to the ensemble. 'So you sing as if you were afraid. When you are singing and you are afraid of something you won't sing clearly. But if you sing without fear then you'll people will well.

2. General comment on the mobility of women (cf. 1. above). This saying is a white-

necked girdle that, according to the Dicka, leaves the Casamance for the north during the rains in order 'to eat fish' in the St. Louis area. It then returns south in November, for the pears. Thus the insult is addressed to the women who go away during the work period to eat and live better and who come back only when times are easy.

Although things do not actually happen in quite this way, the saying metaphor does express the common belief (especially among men) that the 'women of today' (the young women in particular) avoid many of their traditional obligations by migrating out for long periods of time. The actual reality is for young unmarried girls to go couscous to the large cities of Bathurst, Kano and Dakar to seek work as maids, etc., returning home only
when absolutely necessary, as for freight of kin and during the busy part of the work cycle. At marriage this 'going and coming' usually stops, when the girls settle down. There are, however, notable and nice exceptions. For instance of MUVULU (who 'run out') (Delafosse, 1953).

3. The attack on women's mobility becomes particularly pointed with the inconspicuous and very humorous shift from usual 'moo!' to 'hihihihihihihihihihihihi' (the sound of birds flying in a flock) to the lag cities to put on one of the prime symbols of modern femininity: transparencies (Mafungo here refers to the region north of the Gambela). The phrase here becomes 'there's little thing there' which emphasizes this humorous shift from the very start. The dh class (restricted to a small circle of villagers centered on Nkutikye) is an 'augmenting' situation and contrasts with the mandated diminutive kp (pl. kps) class (contrast jihle 'bush' with dahe 'penknife'). When it is applied to persons it becomes, as it is here, strong affective, translating as something like 'puppy', whereas the standard diminutive trend is to be compulsory. (Contrast domu 'woman with jihle' good 'little woman'.)

4. Though Athara uses this text in other contexts as a general comment it does, by its very placement, refer to 'old women'. They, among women, are most likely to have lost their hair. Further, jihle is a pan-Mafungo hat-style popular with 'modern women'. Thus the metaphor of old women acting like the young cows: they run off to be 'modern'.

5. (The calls 5-7 are general and do not refer to the main subject.) Each Dikhic cow has a name and (like each Dikhic) a whole-cow (kachiek). The latter can be heard and recognized at a considerable distance. Like his cow's call the subject here is not identified. It is heard (i.e. known) about a distance. He is a troubadour who roams group to spread beyond his immediate surroundings. Giving is likened to the remaining of a cow's call, since both spread out in all directions. This call is a condemnation of excessive jihls (the cow's) which are not listened to 'short legged one time (klo klo in his cow's call). The metaphor becomes complete, for the verb 'pune' to test, make kachiek has a precise meaning of 'trying on' by taking up and down (in one would toss up and upon a small bag of something to judge in weight). He now has a symbolic parallel (it being the cow's call) as the up and down melody of the cow's call. And both, one through gosip and the other through sound, are heard (above). Such a 'short legged one' fits a type of person who is both involved in his kin. He is small and cowardly (he is not a complete person) but he nevertheless likes to pick fights with people, thereby facing his klo (the 'true men') to come to his aid, for he--when the ships are down—are unable to defend himself. One informant summed up the entire metaphor in a little differently, but in the same vein: 'they talk of him the way he talks about his cow, they consider him no better than a cow.'

6. The extended version of 7 implies it, 'Listening here mean being boused'. As Athara describes it: 'Fancing of Tibetans was killed with knives by the people of Tibetans. He was a man, but he went to the wad which they call Rumma-Fane. They then followed (the sanctuary) with anger and they chopped him up till they killed him. 'Our is this the singers told: "you who were quick to get angry, now what? Today you are entering".'

7. A common rhetorical by.

CONCLUSION

Let me conclude by reiterating my initial remark about ethno-criticism. This preliminary description of the kachiek is based on informant commentary. Although the 'grammatical' analysis of the rechani goes considerably beyond what any informant suggested, it is nevertheless entirely dependent upon the Diola terms: kih, zalen, bej and fis. Further, and perhaps more importantly, the informants' insistence that the success of the songs rests primarily on the soloist's ability to control the 'forward flow of the singing' provides a criterion for evaluating the entire corpus of recordings,
something that would have otherwise been rather risky. There is
good singing, and there is bad singing, and the native critic has
indicated how the choices are to be made. This is equally true for
voice clarity and verisimilitude, especially the latter, Veres call and
describe people. Knowledge of this simple fact, a fact that is not at all
immediately obvious to the outsider, makes a possible to unravel
and to evaluate the structure of particular venes. As far as the
sexual exegesis is concerned, little can be said other than that
without adequate native commentary all explication would have
been, at best, trivial.

More generally, and as a final point, all ventures of this nature
that endeavour to penetrate folklore material, especially 'oral art',
must actively create a dialogue between informant and investigator.
This is not to say that any informant will do. Quite the contrary.
The average Diola can no more explicate the nuances of the following
than can the average college student the nuances of English poetry
(cf. I. A. Richards' Practical Criticism for that!). However, there are
those who can, and in the case of the Diola it proved to be the
performers themselves. With other peoples and with other genres,
the 'native critic' might not be among the performers but instead
among interested bystanders, patrons or religious priest. Whoever
he may be, it is the investigator's task to find him.

NOTES
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continuous support is deeply appreciated.
2. Especially true for the following and generally true for almost all other genres of Diola
singing. For example, I completely failed to persuade Diola youth to sing wrestling
songs out of season. The songs belong in context and to sing them at other times does
not make sense.
Transformational Grammar, New York, 1967; and A. Kratzer, Learning Transforma-
4. For a description of Diola-Fogo grammar see phonology of J. D. Sarith, A Grammar
of Diola-Fogo, Cambridge, 1960 and 'Empire and Language' (notes linguistiques par J. D.
Sariri) in L. T. Tanzania, Le Diola et le temps, Rev. de L.F.A.N., série B, no. 1-5,
1972, pp. 50-78.
Basic phrase structure:

```
S  Buē
   ∕
  ∕   \ etc.
S   V
   ∕     
 ∕       
-kit  sunken  buj  fnē
```

Type A:

```
T.2
P.S  →
   ∕
 ∕
-kit  fnē  fnē  sunken  buj  fnē
```

Type A' :

```
T.3
Type A  →
   ∕
 ∕
-phrases  fnē  sunken  buj  fnē
```

Type A' (Djakotu Bantu variety):

```
T.4
Type A'  →
   ∕
 ∕
-phrases  ∕   ∕
 ∕       
-kit  V  phrases  phrases  fnē  sunken  buj  fnē
```
Type B:

Type A' →

T.5

Type C:

T.6

PS →

Type A, A' (Dj.B. variant)—T.1 performed:

T.1

PS →

Type B—T.1 performed:

T.1, T.5

PS →