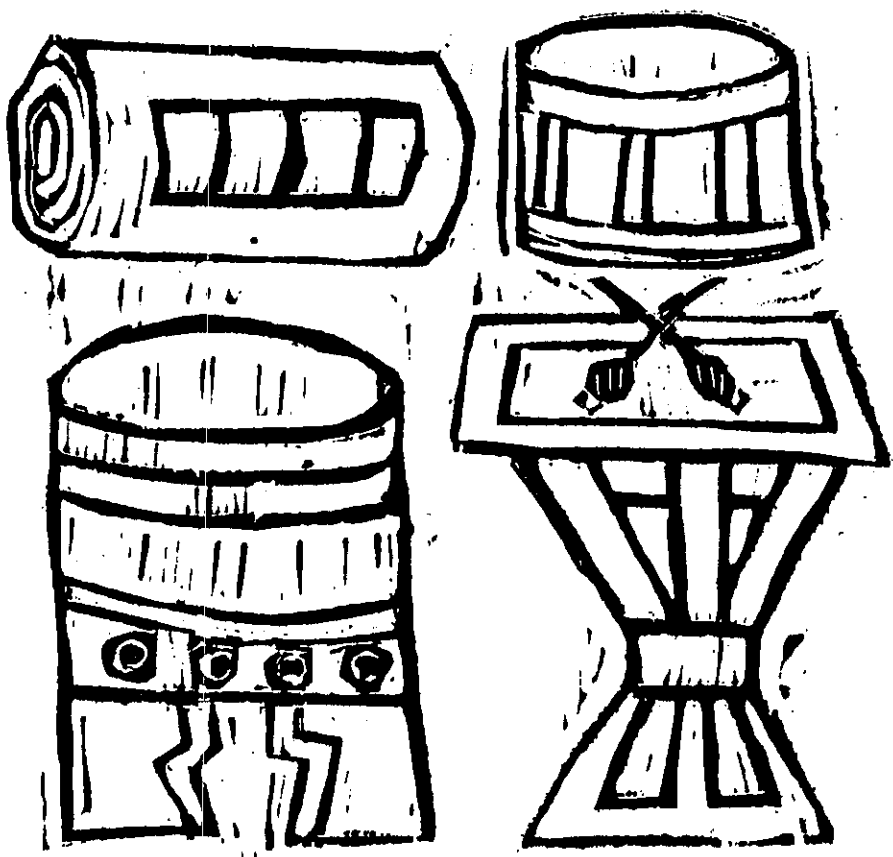


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Semanticity and Melody: Parameters of Contrast in Shavante Vocal Expression

The interrelations of three vocal styles in Shavante (Portuguese orthography: Xavante) society can be understood by contrasting them according to three parameters: (1) semanticity, that is, the degree to which each uses the phonology, morphology, and syntactics of the Shavante language; (2) the degree of melodic complexity exhibited; and (3) their correlations with Shavante cosmology and ideology of social space. A comparison of ceremonial wailing, collective singing, and political oratory illuminates how the performance of these vocal forms acoustically and physically represents a fundamental notion of Shavante ideology, the dialectic between nature and culture. The nature/culture dichotomy, characteristic of all Gê societies (see Lévi-Strauss 1967:145; Maybury-Lewis 1979; Turner 1979; Seeger 1981), is both vocally and physically represented in these three styles. It is depicted in the elaboration of the linguistic code and melodic composition, as well as in the prescribed performance locations of each style. However, rather than supporting the clear-cut binary nature/culture division, the contrasts between these three expressive forms indicate a gradual transition from "more natural" to "more cultural." In this article I shall describe the salient features of the three styles to illustrate how, using language, melodic organization, and space, instances of ceremonial wailing, collective singing, and political oratory instantiate a more general set of meaningful relations in Shavante society.¹

Characteristics of Shavante Society

The Shavante belong to the central branch of the Gê linguistic family (see Maybury-Lewis 1979:4-6). They live on six indigenous reserves in the state of Mato Grosso, Brazil. Principles of binary opposition in social organization as well as in cosmology characterize their society, and indeed Gê societies in general, hence the label "dialectical societies"

(ibid). At the level of ideology, Shavante opposes nature to culture. They conceive of the dichotomy between nature and culture as the division between an arena in which human actors have control over events (culture) and one in which events take place in a sphere that is beyond their control (nature). Shavante thought concerning the organization of social space directly reflects this distinction and is well documented for other Gê societies (Da Matta 1976:61-68, 1979:97; Lévi-Strauss 1967:144-147; Maybury-Lewis 1979:9, 234, 305; Seeger 1981:66-79; Turner 1980; Vidal 1977:65). The actual layout of the village, as conceptualized by members of Shavante society, physically represents this division between nature and culture.

All Shavante villages correspond to an ideal form, a horseshoe-shaped semicircle opening toward a river. The horseshoe-shaped ring of huts represents a boundary between social and nonsocial space. The village center plaza, *warā*, is conceived of as the epitome of social space. It is the male sphere and, in particular, the exclusive domain of adult men during the morning and evening men's council reunions. The women's domain is the domestic sphere. Shavante tend to associate women and their activities, both biological and social, with the household and nature. The nature/culture dichotomy is thus perceived as existing between men and women and is physically represented in notions of social space: the village center is associated with maleness and society, contrasting with the periphery, or femaleness and nature.

As in all Gê societies, Shavante social organization involves multiple and complex oppositions. It consists of a set of intersecting exogamous and agamous moieties. Moiety affiliation influences politics, marriage, and ceremonial activity. The patrilineally determined exogamous moieties, *poridza'ōno* and *ōwawē*, form the basis for political factionalism and influence mature males especially. The age-set system (Maybury-Lewis 1967:105-154) forms a second bilateral complex, which effectively cross-cuts the fundamental moiety division and creates a further set of ties and oppositions. Formal recognition of age-set membership is established at the time of collective indoctrination into the bachelors' hut (Maybury-Lewis 1967:105).

Relations of solidarity characterize members of the same age set and members of the same age-set moiety. Age-set ties exert maximum influence during the period of collective residence in the bachelors' hut and during the *'ritai'wa* (novice) period. During these social phases especially, ceremonial and ritual activities constantly remind participants of their age-set associations. Later, factional ties and individual political aspirations take precedence over age-set loyalties.

In addition to the exogamous and agamous moiety divisions, Shavante divide male society into a number of hierarchically ranked age grades.

Age-grade divisions correlate with the Shavante ontological division between nature and culture. As men mature, they progress from the domestic sphere, associated with nature, to men's society, linked to the village center and locus of social activity.²

The movement from the domestic to the social sphere in the male life cycle is mediated by a period of collective residence in the bachelors' hut, *hō*. From the time of indoctrination into the *hō* until initiation, boys in this phase are considered part of the *wapte* age grade. During their residence in the *hō*, approximately four years, they participate in a series of ceremonies in which music plays an important role (see *daño're* below). These activities serve as preparation for the initiates' reintegration into adult society. They are also subject to the teachings of their sponsoring age-set (*simñohu*—first ascending alternate age-set), which belongs to the same age-set moiety.

Having completed the series of initiation-focused ceremonies, the *wapte* undergo an elaborate ceremony in which their ears are pierced. Pierced ears mark the termination of the *wapte* phase and their new status as *'ritai'wa* (novices). Following one last ceremony (*sa'uri'wa*), they officially pass into the *'ritai'wa* age-grade. During the period of *'ritai'wa* status the group continues to be the focus of ceremonial activities in which the adolescent boys demonstrate their maturity. They are, however, not yet considered full adults. *'Ritai'wa* do not have license to attend the men's council in the *warā*.

After the birth of the first child, men are considered young adults, *īpredupte*. This event entitles a man to participate in the men's council reunions, which take place in the central plaza and social center of the village. After the birth of several children, men are classified as fully mature, *īpredu* and are considered to be fully socialized individuals. Men with many children and grandchildren are said to be "elders," *ihire*.

Having sketched the ethnographic context in which the three vocal styles are situated, we can focus more specifically on the details of each mode. In particular, I shall stress the relationship between linguistic features, melodic content, and performance locations for each style, and their correlation with Shavante ideology and the nature/culture dichotomy. In discussing the genres individually I shall point out (1) who has license to perform them; (2) situations in which performance is appropriate, or requisite; (3) how a particular genre is learned; (4) the prescribed performance location and its relation to notions of social space; and (5) the linguistic and musical features of the style.³ This analysis is limited to a discussion of only three of the expressive vocal styles used by Shavante males: *dawawa*—ritual wailing; *daño're*—singing; and political oratory. I shall devote most attention to male use of these forms of vocal expression; their performance by women can only be mentioned briefly

here, although it merits equal attention and further analysis. Other forms of vocal expression not considered here include a musical genre (Resa) associated with the Christian religion,⁴ forms of speaking used in myth telling, political verbal dueling, and other marked styles of conversational exchange used in the political arena, as well as that employed in unmarked verbal interactions.

Dawawa—Ritual Wailing

Dawawa in Shavante denotes a highly musical form of ritual wailing, or, as Seeger puts it, “songlike keening” (1981:172).⁵ Shavante do not consider *dawawa* a form of singing, but classify it as a distinct expressive type. Individuals receive and learn *dawawa* through dreams. Only fully matured individuals who have at least one child have the capability to dream wailing. An individual must have the proper means to receive *dawawa* through dreams; that is, he must wear the earplugs that not only mark his status as a mature male, but also enable him to receive *dawawa*.

Women also dream *dawawa*.⁶ Since women do not wear earplugs, they receive *dawawa* through a fiber cord (*sorebzu*) tied by their husband around the neck. Without it, women do not receive *dawawa*. Wailing is thus accessible to both men and women who possess the proper means to receive it through dreams.

As a form of expressive communication equally available to both sexes, it cannot be considered a predominantly female genre, as is the case in many societies (see Caraveli-Chaves 1980, 1982; Danforth 1983; Feld 1982; Honko 1974; Huxley 1956; Klymasz 1975; Sherzer ms.; Titiev 1949; and Tiwary 1975). On the basis of the Shavante data and that from other native South American societies, I suggest a possible implicational universal: that in societies where ceremonial keening is a male form of expression, it is also a mode of expression available to women (see Henry 1941:65–66; Seeger 1981:160, 165; Urban 1982).

Any instance of wailing indexes a special relationship between two individuals. Wailing focuses attention on a strong bond between close kin or individuals united through ceremonial affiliation (e.g., *a'ama*).⁷ An individual expresses profound emotion toward the other through wailing. The strength of the bond and the emotional intensity are indicated by the duration of the wailing period, both by the length of each instance of wailing, and by the period of general mourning marked by wailing.

Shavante express intensely felt emotions associated with profound feelings of loss, separation, abandonment, and death through wailing.

Wailing is also used to indicate sympathy for persons experiencing difficult transitions in the life cycle. Thus, for instance, elderly women wail for their grandsons during rituals such as the *wai'a*, in which *'ritai'wa* are considered vulnerable to external spiritual forces (see Maybury-Lewis 1967:255-269).

Wailing is also used in contexts other than those associated with profound feelings of loss or abandonment. Individuals employ *dawawa* to express extreme joy, for instance, at the return of a departed kinsman (see also Wagley 1977), or to emphasize pride. The former is traditional, separation being related to death, transition, growing up, and so on. The latter use appears to be creative and is less frequent. Wailing thus appears to be a form of emotional expression that is socially prescribed in certain situations but that can also be manipulated by individuals to spontaneously express deeply felt sentiments in other contexts.

Wailing is employed to express sentiments experienced by a single individual. It is a form of emotional expression associated with the domestic sphere. Normally, individuals wail in isolation, from the sleeping mat or bed. It is not a device used to provoke others to similar expression or evoke other expressive responses, as is wailing among the Kaluli (Feld 1982). Rather, *dawawa* are messages sent out to all members of the community, who interpret the signal as the expression of one individual's experience of intense emotion. *Dawawa* convey the actual experience. The lamenting individual sends his or her message of grief from the sphere most closely associated with the natural world, far from the social center of the village. Thus, the prescribed location for *dawawa* expression reinforces the solitude and antisocial sentiments of the weeping individual.

Normally, wailing occurs at the transitional periods of the day; thus, ritual laments are most often heard at dawn and dusk. *Dawawa* may be performed immediately following death at any hour, however, although grief is not expressed through stylized wailing until the body has been laid out in a hut. In situations in which wailing takes place in the presence of others it is not a coordinated group expression. Individuals retain their separate forms and seemingly lose themselves, as if entranced, in their individual expressions of grief. Close kin weep at interment while others remain silent. Individuals may wail at any time when reminded of the deceased, such as when seeing a photograph, or visiting the grave.

Wailing texts use a minimum of sounds from Shavante phonology. Vocalizations are restricted to combinations of three vowel sounds, [a], [e], and [i]. The linguistic elements of wailing thus involve oppositions between a central vowel and higher vowels from either the mid or front range. Vocalic utterances are sometimes preceded by glottal stops, this being the only consonant to appear in Shavante keening. Similar linguistic

restrictions are reported by Salmond for Maori women's wailing (1975), and by Feld for Kaluli men's lament (1982).

Of the three vocal styles considered here, wailing texts involve the most restricted set of linguistic elements from the Shavante language. Based on its limited use of language, wailing resembles signal systems of nature more than the sociocultural system of human language (see Benveniste 1971). In this respect, Shavante wailing is similar to the most spontaneous forms of wailing found among the Kaluli (Feld 1982). According to Feld, Kaluli men's wailing (*gana-yelema*, *iligi-yelema*, and *ganagili-yelema*) is a direct response to feelings of profound emotion (1982: 32-33, 91-94). It is explicitly iconic of the *muni* bird song, an important figure in Kaluli ideology, and Kaluli men imitate the *muni* bird song when weeping. To mirror the bird song they sing melodies of three or four descending pitches with the vowel [e]. Unlike Kaluli women's weeping, men's wailing does not incorporate semantico-referential text. "The major point about Kaluli weeping . . . is that the three- or four-note melody is used as a sound metaphor for sadness, expressing the sorrow of loss and abandonment. The reduction to a state of loss becomes equivalent to the state of being a bird" (ibid.:33).

Neither Shavante wailing nor Kaluli men's weeping employs linguistic text beyond the level of vowel sounds. The lack of semantico-referential content associates wailing, as a form of human expression, with modes of communication in the realm of nature. Distinct voice-quality features further intensify the iconic image between Shavante wailing, as a conventional form of expression, and natural, universal signals of human emotion, for instance, the frequent use of creaky voice and wavering pitch. These voice-quality features are intrinsically linked to natural expressions of human emotion (see Urban 1982).

In contrast to its limited inventory of linguistic elements, the melodic composition of *dawawa* is the most elaborate of the three expressive styles considered here. The instances of wailing I recorded consist of a variable number of repetitions of two phrases. These are noted as A and B in the instance transcribed (see appendix). Each phrase is composed of three to four discrete pitches, with falsetto pitch considered as a constituent tone. The voice quality used in *dawawa* is analogous to singing voice, if considered from the Western perspective. Pitches are clearly audible and identifiable. Although A and B phrases are rhythmically identical, each alternating between either of two motifs, A/B (/ ˩ ˩ ˩ ˩ ˩ ˩ ˩ /) or A¹/B¹ (/ ˩ ˩ ˩ ˩ ˩ /),⁸ they can be distinguished on the basis of their different relative pitch levels: B phrases consistently commence between a third and a fourth higher than A phrases. In the *dawawa* examined, two B-phrase repetitions punctuate a series of between five and eleven A-phrase repetitions, typically. An A¹ phrase initiates the performance

and regularly occurs after each repetition of two B phrases (e.g., A¹ A A A A B B A¹ A A . . .).

The most salient musical characteristic of *dawawa* is the gradual pitch ascension that takes place throughout the entire performance. This melodic movement is achieved through upward microtonal changes or intervals approximating Western semitones. These changes occur in different “paradigmatic slots” of the A phrase. Phrases, viewed as syntagmatic wholes, maintain a consistent melodic integrity while continually adjusting to the upward microtonal or semitonal changes that take place in variable paradigmatic slots.⁹ The pitch of B phrases moves upward in similar fashion, following changes in A phrases; however, there is less initiation of pitch-level changes in B phrases, in contrast to the continuous upward rising of A phrases. In the instance of *dawawa* transcribed, for example, the initial pitch of phrase A has moved up a fourth, from middle C to the F above, between the first and last repetitions. This is achieved by the cumulative effect of the microtonal or semitonal rising that takes place throughout the entire performance (compare pitch of initial phrase [A-1] with that of the final phrase [A-14] in *dawawa*, appendix). This instance of wailing contains a total of eighteen pitches: C D \hat{D} $\hat{D}\#$ D# $\hat{D}\#$ \hat{E} E \hat{E} F \hat{F} $\hat{F}\#$ F# $\hat{F}\#$ \hat{G} G \hat{G} $\hat{G}\#$ A. This range of pitches is best conceived of as a continuum between middle C and A.

We can thus conclude that the pitch inventory of *dawawa* is quite extensive and the mechanism of upward motion extremely complex. Indeed, the musical action and expressive communication in wailing occur through the manipulation of pitch and the melodic structure, rather than through rhythmic motifs, as in the case of *daño're*.

Daño're—Collective Singing

Daño're, in Shavante, refers to a collectively performed combination of song and dance. Participants sing and move in unison, forming a circle with clasped hands. Shavante classify three distinct performance types under the generic term “*daño're*.” *Dapra*, *dasi'rene*, and *dahipopo* are differentiated on the basis of the accompanying physical movements of the dance steps and the time of day suitable for performance of the particular genre.

Dapra are performed in the morning. The singing dancers mark time by stepping one foot to the side on one beat and bringing the other to join it on the next stressed beat. In this fashion the entire circle rotates in one direction. At transitional pauses in the song, the movements are reversed and the circle doubles back in the opposite direction. Sha-

vante call songs sung at noon *dasi'rene* or *dazarono*. Dancers performing *dasi'rene* remain in a fixed spot while stomping one foot slightly forward and to the side. *Dahipopo* are performed at night. When dancing *dahipopo*, men stand in one place bending their knees outward in time with the metric pulse of the music. The deep knee bends cause the dancers' feet to shuffle back and forth.

Like *dawawa*, individuals receive *daño're* through dreams. Shavante explain that, when dreaming *daño're*, one first perceives the movements of the dance (that is, the *daño're* type), then the melody and text. *Daño're* are transmitted to receiving individuals through the earplugs worn by all initiated males. Hence, initiate status and its concomitant indexical sign, the earplugs, are prerequisites to receiving *daño're*. Moreover, dreaming and subsequently recalling a *daño're* definitively mark the completion of the *wapte* phase and signal a successful transition to *'ritai'wa* status. In short, earplugs and *daño're* together index adult-male status in Shavante society.

Daño're singing is especially important for young males, particularly for *'ritai'wa* novices. They associate the performance of *daño're* with male prowess and virility. Shavante consider both *'ritai'wa* and young men (*ipredupte*) prolific dreamers of *daño're*. *'Ritai'wa*, deemed especially vital, are expected to demonstrate their prowess by singing their *daño're* around the village at night. These performances highlight their exceptional strength and their ability to stay up while others sleep (Maybury-Lewis 1967:140).

In addition to these nocturnal performances, *daño're* are performed in connection with many ceremonial events: in conjunction with the *wapte* festival (collective indoctrination of *ai'repudu* into the bachelors' hut); after log races; and during the *wai'a*.¹⁰ *Daño're* can also be performed prior to the departure of hunting groups embarking to collect meat for ceremonial exchange at the *'adaba* wedding ceremony. They may also be performed collectively by all males as part of the expressive complex of mourning behavior after the death of important persons.

Daño're are expressions of both individuality and collective solidarity. They mark an individual's social maturity and also his membership in an age set. The process by which *daño're* become part of an age set's expressive repertoire underscores the relationship between individual expression and collective solidarity. *Daño're* evolve through four distinct phases, progressing from comprehension of *daño're* structure to actual public performance. Each stage directly reflects the processes of the other stages. Thus, similar processes operate in the following ways: (1) the actual pattern of *daño're* singing is learned by the *wapte*; (2) a given individual receives *daño're* through dreams and commits them to memory;

(3) an age set learns the *daño're* of its constituent members; and (4) *daño're* are publicly presented in singing performances around the village.

Wapte learn the pattern of *daño're* singing by imitating and learning the *daño're* of their age-set sponsor (*simñohu*). They are taught *daño're* by the *simñohu* in a fashion that primes them for the process of receiving personal *daño're* through dreams, for the technique of incorporating individual *daño're* into the age-set repertoire, and finally for the correct method of performing *daño're* publicly. The process begins the very day the boys are formally indoctrinated into the bachelors' hut, after the *wapte* ceremony. It is the first activity the *wapte* engage in collectively as an official age-set.

Learning the *daño're* of the *simñohu* continues throughout the period of collective residence in the *hō*. The teaching process proceeds as follows. Immediately after the ceremonial induction of the *wapte* into the bachelors' hut, the *simñohu* visit them and begin teaching one of their *daño're*. The *simñohu* sing one song twice through. First they sing softly, then repeat the performance at full volume. The *wapte* join in as they begin to perceive the pattern. After singing the song through twice in this fashion, the boys file out of the *hō* and make their way to the patio of the first house where they will sing in public. The *simñohu* join them shortly and together they perform the song in front of predetermined huts around the village.

The same song is sung once in front of each hut. The *wapte* and their *simñohu* then make their way back to the bachelors' hut, where they learn another song. This process is repeated all day, and periodically during the *wapte* phase. Thus the *wapte* learn the pattern of *daño're*: they imitate those of their sponsor group, sung softly at first, then loudly; and finally they perform around the village. This is the basic two-step pattern by which individuals and groups learn *daño're*. Actual public performance marks a third step in the acquisition of *daño're* communicative competence (Hymes 1974).

Once the boys' ears have been pierced and they have been reintegrated into society, they are eligible (in fact, obliged) to receive their own *daño're* through dreams. While dreaming, an individual hears the *daño're*, wakes, and sings the song through softly one time. Shavante say a man "sings quietly so as not to forget ("te tiño're sirudi tete waihu'u da"). He then repeats the song loudly to etch it indelibly in his memory. At this point Shavante consider the dreamer the owner of the song. That evening he calls the members of his age set together and teaches them the song.

The process of imparting the individual's song to the group mirrors the individual's reception of the song and the process by which *wapte*

learn those of their *simñohu*. Members of the *'ritai'wa* age-grade assemble in the *warā* at night, after the elders have returned to their huts, to learn the new song. The individual sings his new song through once quietly, then loudly a second time. Others join as they pick up the pattern. At this point the song becomes the property of the age set; it no longer belongs exclusively to the individual who dreamed it. Having thus incorporated the song into its repertoire, the age set is able to perform it publicly around the village in front of the huts. The singing binds the adolescent boys together as a group. It also signals their maturity and group identity to those listening in the huts.

The pattern for performing *daño're* around the village again resembles the earlier phases of learning, receiving, and transmitting individual *daño're* to the group. Prior to singing in front of the huts the *'ritai'wa* meet in the *warā* to rehearse. They sing a song through one time softly, then again at full volume. Having thus "practiced" the song, they sing in front of the designated houses, beginning with the last hut of the village arc opposite the location of their *hō*. After singing around the village, the *'ritai'wa* return to the central plaza to converse into the wee hours of the morning before slipping into the huts of their new brides.

'Ritai'wa, who perform *daño're* in this manner, are at an intermediate stage in the Shavante life cycle. They are no longer children, linked with the domestic sphere, yet they are not considered fully socialized adults associated with the mature men's social sphere, the *warā*. The locations for *'ritai'wa* *daño're* performance represent the intersection of these two spheres. *'Ritai'wa* sing *daño're* both in the village center and close to the domestic sphere. They assemble in the *warā* prior to performances around the village that are "for the elders," as they say.

Daño're melodies are accompanied by vocables, either syllables or words from the Shavante language. These syllables and words are not arranged systematically into organized syntagmatic relations; hence, they do not combine in any meaningful way to produce higher levels of signification. *Daño're* texts do not carry any propositional content or semantico-referential meaning. The vocables do, however, use the full complement of sounds in the Shavante linguistic inventory. Furthermore, the sounds combine according to the phonological rules of the language. Thus, *daño're* texts employ "linguistic structure" in greater measure than do *dawawa* texts. Yet the texts do not take the next step, of combining and contrasting groups of sound into meaningful semantico-referential units or utterances that convey propositional messages.

Although *daño're* texts do not communicate any semantico-referential meaning, they do evidence the beginnings of formal language structure by conforming to elementary phonological rules. They represent the initial stage in the social manipulation of sounds.

The linguistic structures of *daño're*, like the group associated with them, are halfway between the domains of nature and socialization. *'Ritai'wa* who sing *daño're*, like the texts, are in a transitional phase between childhood; they are residing in the domestic sphere associated with nature, and in the social world of adult men. *Daño're* texts, through language, metaphorically represent the transitional nature of the *ritai'wa* phase.

Daño're group performances conform to a leader/chorus ensemble organization. The leader initiates new phrases and is joined by the chorus after a single or partial repetition of the introduced phrase. Marked pharyngeal constriction together with loud, forced voice characterize *daño're* delivery. The acoustic timbre thus produced lies somewhere between singing voice, as we conceive it, and shouting-chanting. This style of delivery often effectively obscures the identity of well-defined musical pitches. Indeed, a continuum seems to exist between song and speech voice in *daño're* singing; at some points all semblance of identifiable music pitch seems to disappear. The ambiguous nature of *daño're* pitch is thus represented accordingly in the musical transcription: where approximate pitch is identifiable, it is notated by x' on the staff; greater ambiguity in musical pitch (that is, beyond the point where I and several colleagues were able to identify acoustic pitch) is correspondingly indicated by x' located off the musical staff.

In contrast to *dawawa*, the melodic pitch inventory of *daño're* is extremely limited. Within the performance transcribed here, we identified $G^b - A^b - A^s$ as the entire melodic content (this does not include changes in intonation in the speechlike sections). Thus the melodic range lies within an augmented second, and the pitch level remains constant throughout the entire performance. In *daño're* the manipulation of rhythmic motifs, rather than melodic variation, is the salient variable. This occurs within a strict binary metric structure. *Daño're* are performed with a fast-driving tempo, which offers further contrast to the slower and essentially nonmetered *dawawa*.

Political Oratory/Plaza Speech

Elderly Shavante males have the ability to speak in a formally structured, stylized manner, which is not part of the verbal repertoire of other Shavante, either male or female. This style is used in political oratory. Not all elders develop oratorical skills; only those who have accumulated a large amount of prestige, authority, and respect as faction leaders speak in this fashion. Speeches delivered in this rhetorical style take place exclusively in the men's council—the most social arena of

the Shavante domain, and only in evening reunions, never in the morning gatherings.¹¹

Speakers use the oratorical style to attract the attention of those attending the council meeting. By manipulating his speech the orator manipulates the audience as well, causing it to focus on the message delivery itself as well as on the content (Jakobson 1960).

Messages delivered by means of political oratory in the men's council often extend beyond the boundaries of the men's domain. Any messages relevant to female members of the community are transmitted by the male members of each household to the periphery and women's sphere. Thus a speaker's message is directed first to the men in the *warā* and then, in a mediated fashion, to the women.

Unlike the other expressive styles, political oratory uses the complete system of language, which is distinct due to the presence of syntagmatic relations. Phonological and morphological units are systematically combined to form higher levels of meaning according to syntactic principles of the Shavante language. Texts actually combine strings of propositions into a coherent argument. Political oratory is therefore distinct from the other two forms of vocal behavior considered here in that it alone involves the transmission of true propositional content.

In plaza speech orators manipulate linguistic texts to achieve systematic, indeed music-like, sound patterns. Speech in this style is marked by explicit repetition of phrases and semantic parallelism (see appendix). The unique combination of words in each phrase produces a distinct intonation pattern for each utterance. A music-like quality thus results from the repetition of phrases and clauses with parallel intonation contours. Although it is impossible to identify acoustic pitch in rhetorical speech, the parallel structure of intonation contours in adjacent phrases produces an aural quality that is indeed "music-like" (see List 1963).

Other paralinguistic devices further underscore the acoustic effect of parallel intonation contours in rhetorical speech. In plaza speech each phrase is marked by a slight rise rather than a decline in pitch phrase finally. Additionally, phrase-final glottal stops and distinct pharyngeal constriction, especially in phrase-final syllables, effectively establish phrase boundaries. These features produce a regular staccato rhythmical effect, which frames the music-like intonation patterns and highlights the variation between juxtaposed parallel sets. Orators speak relatively softly, forcing members of the audience to focus directly on the speaker, his style of delivery, and the message.

Phrases can be grouped based on two organizational principles: first, they fit together in terms of thematic or message content; second, they are formally marked by the speaker into segments that are separated by

exaggerated glottal stops (noted ‘^’ in appendix). This sound, accompanied by a brief pause, marks transitions in semantico-referential message content. The poetic structure of the narrative is thus based on formal grammatical features as well as on expressive features of the presentation itself (see Hymes 1977; also Tedlock 1977, 1978). These two combine to define the underlying rhetorical and musiclike structure of the discourse as it is marked into verses through the use of pauses and exaggerated glottal stops.

Ideology, Social Space, Language, and Melody

The three modes of expression can be juxtaposed against the Shavante divisions of social space to illustrate the relationship between social space and expressive forms. Wailing, the individual expression of individually experienced emotions, takes place in the domestic sphere, in isolation and far from the social center of the Shavante village. *Daño're*, performed by groups in transition from childhood, in the domestic sphere and to mature male society and the village center, are practiced both in the village center and close to, but not inside of, the domestic huts. The prescribed performance locations for *daño're*, midway between the social center and village periphery, underscore the transitional nature of the group. Oratory, the form of expression linked with the most “socialized” group of Shavante males, occurs in the most “socialized” area of Shavante space, the *warā*.

The three expressive forms discussed here make differential use of the components of the Shavante language. The linguistic texts, that is, make differential use of phonology, morphology, and syntax.¹² Indeed, the three forms of vocal expression can be ordered hierarchically to illustrate how each builds on the linguistic elements present in preceding ones.

Dawawa texts contain only vowel sounds. They are used to express directly the emotion experienced by grieving individuals. Repeated sound patterns together with the absence of linguistic organization enable the individual to suspend thoughts and focus on emotion. Stripped of any semantic content, *dawawa* represents pure emotional expression.

Daño're texts augment the sounds of *dawawa* with the full complement of consonants and vowels of the Shavante language. They also apply the first rule of linguistic combination by forming phonologically correct syllables and words. These sound groups do not combine further to form higher levels of meaning or communicate propositional content.

Finally, political oratory stands linguistically at the highest hierarchical level and utilizes the full inventory of Shavante phonology, morphology,

and syntax. Political oratory thus employs the linguistic elements present in the other two expressive forms and combines them into systematic, syntagmatic relations that communicate propositional meaning.

If position in social space and degree of linguisticity are seen as the first two axes of comparison, a third comparative axis is that of melodic content. The melodic relationships between the three expressive styles are exactly the inverse of their linguistic relationships. Whereas *dawawa* texts employ few linguistic elements, as musical structures they involve the most elaborate pitch inventory and complex principles of melodic organization. Further, melodic action in *dawawa* is not constrained by the linguistic text; microtonal pitch changes can occur in any paradigmatic slot of a given phrase. Melody thus moves independently of the text.

As melodic entities, *daño're* occupy an intermediate position between wailing and oratory: in terms of melodic complexity, they are relatively unsophisticated; however, they are melodically more complex than speech in the oratorical style. Furthermore, the vocal style used to perform *daño're* falls between what we might consider "speaking voice" and "singing voice." They are distinctly unlike speech, however, in that the melodic contour moves independent of the linguistic text. For example, in the transcribed piece, the phrase "höi wa nem hö za" can be accompanied by a variety of melodic contours (see appendix).

Political oratory, although most sophisticated with regard to semantic content, lies at the lowest end of the melodic hierarchy. Indeed, the "music-like" quality of political oratory derives from the repetition of linguistically similar (or identical) phrases. Consequently, there is no melody independent of linguistically produced intonation patterns. The intonation patterns that render speech in this style "music-like" depend totally on the voice modulations of spoken utterances and the repetition of linguistic text. Thus, in plaza speech, the musical effects of language use are directly tied to propositional parallelism.¹³

The present analysis has focused on three parameters relevant to three expressive forms of communication from the Shavante vocal repertoire: (1) semanticity, or linguisticity; (2) melodic complexity; and (3) performance location and social space ideology. I have attempted to show that *dawawa* wailing, *daño're* singing, and political oratory can be ranged along a continuum. The poles of this continuum are, to use structuralist terminology, "nature" and "culture." On the side of nature is languageless wailing, highly musical (in terms of pitch manipulation) and located in the domestic sphere. On the side of culture is political oratory, linguistically sophisticated and located in the village center, yet melodically impoverished. Between these two is *daño're* singing, less musical (in terms of pitch content) and yet more linguistic than wailing, less lin-

guistic and yet more musical than oratory. Fittingly, it is located between village center and periphery.

Dawawa

x^j = falsetto of indistinct pitch

p = denotes short pause of indefinite length, varying up to 2 seconds

 marks phrase units, not a barline



The musical score consists of six systems of notation, each on a single treble clef staff. The lyrics are written below the notes. Performance markings are placed above the staff.

- System 1:** Markings: A-1', A-1'', A-1. Lyrics: a e i e e a e i e e e e e i a e e e.
- System 2:** Markings: A-1, A-1. Lyrics: a e i e e e e a e i e e e e e.
- System 3:** Markings: B-1'', B-1. Lyrics: a e i e e e.
- System 4:** Markings: A-2', A-2, A-2 p, A-2 p, A-2 p, A-2 p. Lyrics: a e i e e a e i e e e e e.
- System 5:** Markings: B-1'', B-1. Lyrics: a e i e e e.
- System 6:** Markings: A-3', A-3 p, A-3 p, A-3 p, A-3 p, A-3 p. Lyrics: a e i e e e.

B-2

B-2 P

A-5'

A-5 P A-5 P A-5 P

B-3

B-3 P

A-6'

A-5''

A-5 P A-5 P A-5 P A-5 P A-5 P A-5 P A-5 P A-5 P
A-5 P A-5 P A-5 P

B-3'

B-3 P

A-7'

A-8'

A-9

a e i e e a e i e e a e i e e e e

A-10

A-11

a e i e e e e a e i e e e e

A-12
↓

a e i e e e e

A-12 ♯ A-12 ♯ A-12 ♯

B-4

a e i e e e e a e i e e e e

A-13' A-12

a e i e e e a e i e e e e

A-12 ♯ A-12 ♯
A-12 ♯

A-13

a e i e e e e

A-13 ♯ A-13 ♯

B-5

a e i e e e e

B-5 ♯

A-13'

a e i e e

A-12 ♯ A-13 ♯ A-13 ♯ A-13 ♯

A-14

a e i e e e e e e

Note: the main rhythmic motif may vary between

and

B-1 *p*

B-1 *p*

a e i e e e

A-3 ↓ A-4 ↑

A-4 *p* A-4 *p* A-4 *p* A-4 *p*
A-4 *p* A-4 *p*

a e i e e a e i e e

B-2' *p*

B-2 *p*

a e i e e e

A-3' ↓

A-3' *p*

a e i e e

A-4'' ↑

A-4 *p* A-4 *p* A-4 *p* A-4 *p* A-4 *p* A-4 *p* A-4 *p* A-4 *p* A-4 *p*

a e i e e e

B-2

B-2 *p*

a e i e e e e

A-5' ↓

A-5 *p* A-5 *p* A-5 *p* A-5 *p* A-5 *p* A-5 *p*

a e i e e

Daño're

leader
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

chorus
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

chorus
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

leader chorus
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

chorus
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

chorus
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

chorus
 hũ hũ wẽ wẽ wẽ wẽ

leader chorus
 a sa na be he he hi be he be hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi

chorus
 a sa na he he he hi he he be hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi

chorus
 hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi hi wa wa

chorus
 hi hi hi hi wẽ wẽ wẽ wẽ wẽ wẽ

chorus
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

chorus
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

chorus
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

chorus
 hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa hoi wa nam hũ sa

Political oratory

te mari
 te mari ma īno hoiwi
 ma īno hoiwi
 mato uprosi te
 te mari ma īno hoiwi mato uprosi te
 ‘^’

rowena
 rowena
 rowena tama
 tama hōsu ba mono ne za hā
 tama ī’a hā
 ī’a wa’rori hā
 ī’a wa’rori hā
 tete riba upse ba mono pari
 rowena tama hōsu ba mono ne za hā
 ‘^’

mari te poto uprosi wamhā
 mari te poto uprosi wamhā
 tama waihu’u aba
 tama waihu’u aba
 to neme
 to neme
 ane mato
 ane mato
 ame te toibō
 ame te toibō ma
 sorō hā
 sorō hā
 tiwi ma hō ō
 tiwi ma hō ō
 ‘^’

Although a detailed translation of this text is not necessary, it can be paraphrased as follows:

what filled the child
 what caused its death
 he was sick with fever in his throat
 what caused him to die
 you all shall know
 it died from a serum

Note: parallel sets are graphically set off in the transcription to highlight the parallel structure of verse (see Hymes 1977; Tedlock 1977, 1978; also page 173 above).

Notes

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2. In order of seniority, the age-grade classifications are *airepudu* (young boys), *wapte* (preinitiates, residents of the bachelors' hut), *'ritai'wa* (novices), *ĩpredu* (mature men). Shavante further divide the mature men's age grade into *ĩpredupte* (young men; those with one child), *ĩpredu* (mature men with many children), *ĩpredu uptabi* or *ihire* (very old men).
3. Musical transcriptions are located in the appendix. Numerous performances of *daño're* were recorded; a representative composition is transcribed for the purpose of illustrating the argument presented here (but see Aytai [1976] for further musical description). Wailing understandably proved more difficult to record. The instance transcribed and analyzed offers a representative sample of numerous expressions I heard by the same individual. A second individual's wailing, which was also recorded and examined, conforms to the same melodic principles discussed below. I also heard, but did not record, at least five other wailing laments from other individuals. It should be noted, however, that all statements regarding musical organization made here are based on etic criteria.
4. The extent to which this genre corresponds to traditional musical patterns has not been established at this time.
5. Others describe similar forms of melodic laments as "weeping" (Feld 1982) or "tuneful weeping" (Sherzer ms.; and Tiwary 1975); however, I shall refer to such expressive behavior as "ritual wailing," or "keening," in keeping with the terminology established in the South American literature concerning ritual lament where both women and men wail (see Carneiro da Cunha 1978:24; Henry 1941: 65–66, 188; Maybury-Lewis 1967:279–280; Seeger 1981:172; Urban 1982; Wagley 1977).
6. Women in the eastern Shavante village of Pimentel Barbosa, the most traditional of all Shavante communities, dream both *dawawa* and *daño're*. Those of the eastern Shavante villages in the Kuluene Reserve claim they do not. They explain that their husbands or fathers dream and give *dawawa* to them. It is possible that this difference is the result of missionary influences on the Shavante of Kuluene, or

perhaps an expressive difference between the eastern and western Shavante generally. However, at the present time, this hypothesis remains at a purely conjectural level.

7. 'A'āma are chosen from the mature men's age-grade to represent the boys residing in the bachelors' hut. Ideally there should be at least two, one from each patrilineal moiety. They should also be from the opposite age-set moiety relative to the sponsored set. The role is analogous to that of a ceremonial father associated with the boys during the liminal phase of residency in the bachelors' hut. 'A'āma have rights to favors and labor services from the *wapte*. They wait for the *wapte* when the boys render their services.
8. A third rhythm motif, A' ' / B' ' / ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ /, appears irregularly, perhaps as a variant of the A/B motif.
9. In the *dawawa* transcription, phrases are marked with numbers to indicate pitch changes, e.g., phrase A-1 goes to A-2 according to a corresponding change in pitch.
10. For a description of the *wai'a*, see Maybury-Lewis (1967:255-269).
11. Incumbents of the ceremonial role *wamari tede'wa* (owner of the *wamari*, a "dreaming stick" similar in shape to Shavante earplugs but much larger) give counsel to the entire village after dreaming using the *wamari*. *Wamari tede'wa* receive messages in the same way individuals dream *daño're* and *dawawa*. However, counsel is transmitted through the "more powerful *wamari* stick" rather than through the earplugs. I did not observe *wamari tede'wa* haranguing Shavante communities in either village I visited and am therefore unable to comment on the speech style used in this situation.
12. Suya song texts perform the same operation, isolating the principles of linguistic organization such that songs evolve from a natural state to a social state through language (see Sceger 1979).
13. I would like to thank Greg Urban for suggesting the differential correlation between text and tune in the three vocal forms.

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