

TWO PATTERNS OF CHORUS AMONG THE EFE, FOREST HUNTER-GATHERERS IN NORTHEASTERN ZAIRE —WHY DO THEY LOVE TO SING?

Masato SAWADA

*Associé de recherche du C. R. S. N., République du Zaïre
Faculty of Science, Kyoto University*

ABSTRACT The singing and dancing of the Efe (the Efe Pygmies) are described and analyzed. The Efe prefer songs of their own origin to those of other ethnic groups. Songs of Efe origin are divided into two phases: Phase-I and Phase-II. Phase-I is a “solo and response” pattern of chorus. Phase-II is a “dense polyphony” pattern of chorus. A transition occurs from Phase-I to Phase-II. While Phase-I is an introductory phase, the singing and dancing reaches its climax in Phase-II. The evening conversation of the Efe is similarly divided into two phases. By comparing the two phases of singing with those of the evening conversation, two modes of utterance which rule the two phases in both the singing and the evening conversation are identified, i.e. “utterance-silence” mode and “simultaneous utterance” mode. In the former mode, a soloist/speaker sings/speaks while the others keep silent. In the latter mode, all participants sing/speak simultaneously. The process of reaching a climax in the performance of the Efe is described as a transition from the “utterance-silence” mode to the “simultaneous utterance” mode.

Key Words: Efe; Lese; Ituri Forest; Utterance; Chorus pattern.

INTRODUCTION

The Mbuti Pygmies, who are hunter-gatherers of the Ituri Forest, northeastern Zaire, have been studied from various anthropological points of view. For example, Japanese ecological anthropologists have regarded the studies on their hunting methods, residential groups, material culture, etc., as clues to the reconstruction of subsistence activity and social life of early man (Harako, 1976; Tanno, 1976, 1981; Ichikawa, 1978; Terashima, 1985). They also minutely described and analyzed other aspects of the life of the Mbuti Pygmies, such as the social and economic relationships between the Mbuti Pygmies and their neighboring farmers (Terashima, 1987), food restrictions (Ichikawa, 1987) and wild plant utilization (Terashima et al., 1988). Many important activities in the life of the Mbuti Pygmies, however, still remain to be studied.

Among such topics is utterance, one of their remarkable activities. The word “utterance,” in this paper, signifies audible expression including spoken words, singing voices, calls, cries, laughs, etc. There are many variations of utterance besides conversations among the Mbuti Pygmies partly because they must depend on vocal communication in the forest where visual communication is often difficult. In particular, the songs of the Mbuti Pygmies come first in their aesthetics and sociological importance, although no detailed study on the singing and dancing of the Mbuti

Pygmies has been carried out.

The music of the African Pygmies in general, including that of the Mbuti Pygmies, has been known for the beauty and the complexity of their chorus. Frisbie (1971) mentioned 14 music discs of the African Pygmies, and I can add three more including a Japanese one. This fact shows that the African Pygmy music strongly impressed musicians and musicologists of other cultures. The musicians and musicologists must have felt that the Pygmy music had an entirely different background from that of the western music. Turnbull (1955) is one of the first anthropologists who appreciated the Mbuti Pygmy music and produced several music discs. Turnbull noted that the music of the Mbuti Pygmies remained unaffected by those of their neighboring ethnic groups, while greatly influencing them (Turnbull, 1955). He also stated that all songs, those of rituals as well as those for daily entertainment, were sacred and had religious meanings (Turnbull, 1965a). Harako (1980) also stated that both the elements of religious feelings and those of entertainment coexisted in the songs of the Mbuti Pygmies.

The devotion of the Mbuti Pygmies to singing and dancing is well known to the neighboring ethnic groups. I was also impressed by their enthusiastic concentration on singing and dancing. They look most vivacious when they are singing and dancing, with the exception, perhaps, of hunting. The fact that Turnbull and Harako discerned the religious element in the Mbuti Pygmy music is indicative of the uniqueness and the importance of their music in their life.

There are also other performance with utterances. Their evening conversations have many characteristics in common with singing and dancing, such as the excitement of the participants, the musical effects, etc. (Sawada, 1987).

In this paper, I present basic data from which the importance of singing and dancing in Mbuti Pygmy life can be discussed. First, I describe the utterances in general of the Mbuti Pygmies. Second, the names and origins of their songs are described. Third, the context and the progression of singing, and the words to the songs are presented. From these data, I point out the importance of songs in the society and culture of the Mbuti Pygmies. Lastly, I examine the characteristics shared by both their songs and their evening conversations, and discuss the general and essential features of their performance with utterances.

RESEARCH AREA

I. Ethnic Groups in the Ituri Forest

I conducted an anthropological study on the Mbuti Pygmies around Andiri Village, about 80 km north of Mambasa, the administrative center of the Ituri Forest, northeastern Zaire, from July 1985 to February 1986, and from July 1987 to February 1988 (Fig. 1). The Ituri Forest is near the northeastern edge of the Afrotropical rain forest area. Grassland patches appear in the forest about 60 km north of Andiri (Terashima, 1987), where lies the ecotone between the rain forest

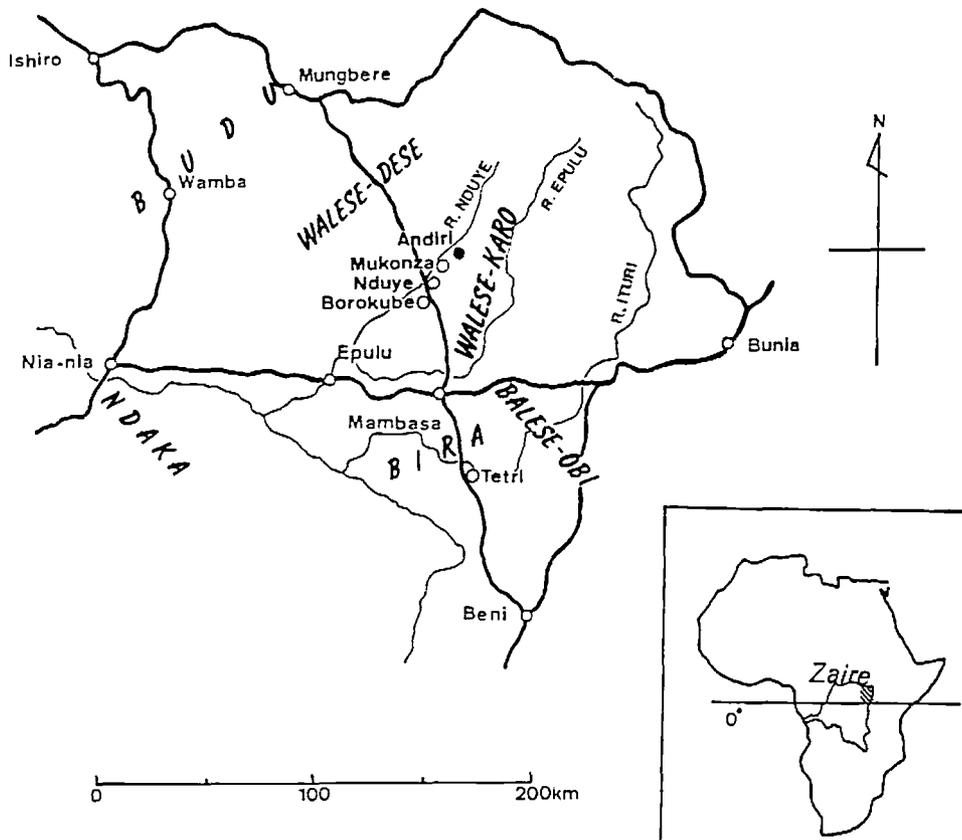


Fig. 1. The study area. Slant capital font indicate names of ethnic groups.

and the grassland. The study area, although in the tropical rain forest, has rainy and dry seasons. The dry season begins in December and ends in February. The rainy season begins in March and ends in November, the wettest of which is from August to November, although varying from year to year (Ichikawa, 1982; Bailey & DeVore, 1989). According to Bailey & DeVore (1989), the average rainfall for the dry season is 163.2 mm, while that for the rainy season is 1,870.2 mm.

In the central part of Africa, there are various Pygmy groups: Baka in western Congo and Cameroon; Aka in Central Africa, northern Congo; Twa in western Zaire and western Uganda, and Mbuti in the Ituri Forest, etc. In the Ituri, there are other ethnic groups who engage in swidden cultivation besides the Mbuti Pygmies. The Bira, who are linguistically classified in the Bantu group, live in the central and southern part of the Ituri. The Ndaka and the Budu, also of the Bantu group, live in the western part. The Lese, of the Central Sudanic group, live in the northern part, namely around the study area.

The Mbuti Pygmies have social and economic relationships with the neighboring farmers, and they use the farmers' language as their mother tongue with slightly different phonetic features. The Mbuti Pygmies neighboring the Lese use the Lese language as their mother tongue and call themselves *efe*. Probably the Mbuti Pygmies had their proper language in the past, but there is no concrete data supporting that thesis.

The Mbuti Pygmies are classified into two groups by their hunting methods: net hunters and archers. Both groups engage also in spear hunting. In general, the Mbuti Pygmies neighboring the Bira are net hunters (Tanno, 1976) and those neighboring the Lese are archers. According to Ichikawa (unpublished data), the Mbuti Pygmies in some Lese areas conduct net hunting. In the study area, all the Mbuti Pygmies are archers.

The Lese are divided into several subgroups: the Walese-Dese, north of the Nduye River; the Walese-Karo, around Nduye and northeast of Nduye; the Balese-Obi, north of Beni and west of Bunia; etc. (Vorbichler, 1965). In this paper, the word "Lese," unless otherwise specified, only signifies the Walese-Karo who live around the study area. The Mbuti Pygmies neighboring the other subgroups of the Lese, the Walese-Dese, the Balese-Obi, etc., also call themselves *efe*. However, in this paper, the word "Efe" without any specification signifies only the Mbuti Pygmies neighboring the Walese-Karo. Those neighboring the Bira, the Budu, etc., will be also called the "Mbuti." There are slight differences between the language of the Walese-Karo and those of the other subgroups of the Lese. Around the study area, the Walese-Karo do not border with the others and the Walese-Karo and the others rarely meet each other.

II. An Overview of the Efe's Life

Andiri is a Lese village. In 1985, 250 Lese people lived in the village, and 200 Efe people lived in the neighboring camps (Terashima, 1987). The Lese farmers mainly cultivate cassava, plantain bananas, sweet potatoes, kidney beans, peanuts, rice, etc. Rice is harvested only from November to February. The Lese agricultural calendar has not been studied sufficiently, but for the Walese-Dese, it has been studied in detail by Bailey & Peacock (1988). According to them, the food supply is scarce from April to June. Although some Efe people also clear land for their farms around the village, they are far from becoming self-sufficient in their own food supply with their farm products. Their farms are much smaller than the Lese's, and they rarely take care of them.

The Efe change their camps by season and the agricultural calendar of the Lese. In the rainy season, they move from the camps deep in the forest to those near the Lese's village (Fig. 2). In 1985, they moved out of the forest in late October, while in 1987, they moved in late August when I arrived at Andiri. As the explanation for the move in 1985, they mentioned the coldness in the forest because of rain as well as the beginning of the rice harvest in Andiri Village. As the explanation for the early move in 1987, they said that the season of honey, their most favorite food, was

$n_2 = 22, p > 0.2$). With 3 to 4 members per family, many of their camps have 20–40 people.

1. The Forest Camp

The Efe engage in hunting, honey collecting, and gathering wild plants, caterpillars, etc., in the forest camps. Even in the forest, however, the Efe depend on agricultural foods as Table 2 shows. For example, plantain bananas are provided by the Lese or taken from abandoned Lese farms.

The Efe's forest camps are scattered far from the village and the members of different camps rarely meet each other. Some adolescent women occasionally sang mainly at night but a big chorus or songs with dance never occurred. The only ex-

Table 2. The contribution of each food type to the total diet of 12 days in September and October, 1985⁽¹⁾.

	No. days procured	Weight (kg)	Edible weight(%)	kcal/ 100 g ⁽²⁾	Total kcal (%)
Animal foods					
meat of mammal	4	164.6	115.2 (27.6)	150	172,800 (29.2)
honey	6	40.4	30.3 (7.3)	311	94,233 (15.9)
larva of insect	3	12.5	10.0 (2.4)	86	8,600 (1.5)
fish	7	7.3	4.4 (1.1)	95	4,180 (0.7)
snail	9	3.3	2.1 (0.5)	107	2,247 (0.4)
crab	4	0.7	0.4 (0.1)	80	320 (0.1)
Agricultural foods					
banana	7	247.9	168.6 (40.3)	123	207,378 (35.1)
palm nut	4	11.2	2.2 (0.5)	875	19,250 (3.3)
sweet potato	1	14.7	11.6 (2.8)	121	14,036 (2.4)
avocado	2	6.1	4.3 (1.0)	191	8,213 (1.4)
pumpkin	3	9.3	7.2 (1.7)	60	4,320 (0.7)
lemon	1	5.1	3.3 (0.8)	29	957 (0.2)
cassava	1	0.3	0.2 (0.1)	149	298 (0.1)
cassava leaves	3	4.0	4.0 (1.0)	?	?
Wild plant foods					
<i>apa</i> (<i>Dioscorea smilacifolia</i>)	7	40.0	32.8 (7.9)	112	36,736 (6.2)
<i>ndatu</i> (<i>Dioscorea</i> sp.)	3	18.0	14.8 (3.5)	112	16,576 (2.8)
<i>taku</i> (<i>Anonidium mannii</i>)	4	14.8	?	?	?
<i>nduku</i> (<i>Treculia africana</i>)	2	8.2	?	?	?
<i>opi</i> (<i>Canarium schweinfurthii</i>)	6	3.6	?	?	?
<i>te'e</i> (<i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i>)	2	2.2	1.8 (0.4)	?	?
<i>inga</i> (unidentified)	1	1.2	?	?	?
<i>surusuru</i> (<i>Chytranthus mortehanii</i>)	1	0.4	?	?	?
Mushroom	8	4.9	4.9 (1.2)	32	1,568 (0.3)
Total		620.7	418.1		591,712

(1) The average number of the camp members during this period was 21.3.

(2) Caloric values are taken from Leung (1968).

ception was observed when people gathered at a site where an elephant was killed. They made a temporary camp and stayed there for three days. The Lese from Andiri Village and the Efe from the forest camps, about 70 in total, built 15 huts. In this mixed camp of two ethnic groups, the Efe men and women, about 20 in total, sat around the fire and sang the Elephant Song for more than two hours, though the Lese did not sing in chorus. However, there was no dancing, probably because of the limited space in the camp.

2. The Village Camp

Around the end of the rainy season, the Efe come out of the forest and live in camps in the primary or secondary forest 1–3 km from the village. In contrast to the life in sparsely distributed forest camps, the Efe from different village camps frequently meet each other during this time. From late October at the earliest, the Lese begin to harvest rice, then begin to clear the forest to make new fields for planting cassava and bananas. In this season the Efe women spend more time in helping the farmers harvest rice or plant other crops than in gathering wild plants. They get agricultural foods in exchange for their help and take them back to their camps.

The Efe men engage in clearing the Lese's farms or their own and they hang around in the village (Terashima, 1983). Also their hunting becomes active in this season. They frequently perform *mota*, a collective bow-and-arrow hunting by about 10 men, many of whom are from the same camp, and *musilo*, a collective bow-and-arrow hunting larger than *mota* in size, in which about 40 men from several camps participate (Terashima, 1983).

This season is the period when the camps gather around Andiri Village and the people associate on various occasions, especially in collective singing and dancing. The data in this paper were mainly obtained by direct observations and recordings of their singing and dancing, and through interviews with the Efe and the Lese. In the interviews, I used the Kingwana language, a dialect of the Swahili language which serves as the lingua franca in this area. When interviewing one who does not know Kingwana, I asked other Lese or Efe to interpret. The following words in native language without any specifications are written in the Lese language although the phonetic transcription is not accurate.

Observations and recordings were made principally for the singing and dancing which the Efe spontaneously started. But in some cases of rarely played tunes, I asked the Efe to play for a recording.

THE REPERTOIRE OF UTTERANCE AMONG THE EFE

There are many variations of utterance among the Efe partly because they must depend on the vocal communication in the forest where visual communication is often difficult. The variations of utterance, such as chattering, singing, crying, calling, etc., are rich in nuance, and can be frequently heard among the Efe. Some of them can be considered not only as means of communication but also as group per-

formance.

I. Utterance in the Camp

One of the most remarkable characteristics of utterance in the camp is the active utterance, especially conversations, which occur in the morning and in the evening. At dawn, some adolescent men shout "waa..." to the forest. From 5 a.m., when people get up, until they finish breakfast, loud conversations are heard in and outside the huts. Conversations in which people speak 10 m apart, each at the edge of the camp, are not unusual. Although the conversations in the morning are made in loud voices, the Efe are not in much excitement. These are not different from our daily conversations, besides the loudness. Overlaps between turns are usually not observed in contrast with the evening conversations which is described below.

After breakfast, the Efe go out of the camp for hunting or gathering or to the Lese village and their camp is quiet. In the daytime if some Efe come back, conversations could be heard, but only infrequently.

From about 5 p.m., when the Efe come back, conversations are again heard. Especially from about 7 p.m., when people finish their meal, the Efe men gather around the fire outside their huts and start speaking loudly. The conversations from this hour are accompanied by marked excitement that differs from the Efe conversations at other hours, i.e. the exchanges of turn occur with overlaps between turns as the Efe men become increasingly more excited (Sawada, 1987, 1988). Since the Efe men speak loudly, rhythmically, and with other musical effects in the evening conversation, it can be considered as a group performance.

The most remarkable group performance with utterance is the singing and dancing to be described in the next section, and it is performed both in and out of the camp.

There are three other kinds of utterance which frequently occur in the camp. The first is the call and answer between a parent and child. The parent calls his/her child's name and with little interval the child answers, "uo," even from the other side of the camp. The interval between the call and the answer was so little that I sometimes wondered who uttered first. This suggests that the Efe are sensitive to sounds even from their childhood.

The second is the wife's call to her husband who has not come back even at dusk or even after it starts to rain. At dusk or in the rain she stands at the edge of the camp and calls her husband's name many times in a loud, high-pitched voice. Her utterance is a "beacon" for her husband who may be lost in the forest.

The third is a sad-tuned lullaby which a nursing girl sings to a crying baby. Only one lullaby was heard during the study period. The song continues for about 15 seconds and has no words. One of the characteristics of the Efe's singing is that it contains few words. The Efe baby begins to hear such a lullaby without words from right after birth.

II. Utterance outside the Camp

Sometimes, especially among adolescent men, when they go out of camp into the forest for hunting, honey collecting, etc., or when they are walking in the forest, one suddenly shouts "uouoo" and the others shout together in the same voice. Probably they are shouting to cheer themselves up. This impressive shouting continues only for several seconds.

Women also participate in the collective bow-and-arrow hunting *musilo*. One of the women, 20–30 m apart from men, periodically sings a song to the hunting men for 10–15 seconds. This song, also called *musilo*, contains no words and is sung in a voice "aa..." Listening to this song, the men answer together in a high-pitched voice "u'u'." The woman's song and the men's voice echo beautifully among the tree-trunks and canopy. This song is not heard in the other collective bow-and-arrow hunting, *mota*. Their voices can be considered not only as bush-beating but also as a performance to cheer up the collective hunting. Moreover, the number of kills is said to depend on the singer of *musilo*. The woman's song is a prayer for a good hunt, and has a symbolic meaning rather than a practical function. *Musilo* is an interesting kind of utterance, because it is a subsistence activity, yet at the same time it is a group performance.

Besides the evening conversations among men, the singing and dancing, and *musilo*, no other form of group performance of utterance has been observed. Among those, the singing and dancing are described in this paper.

EFE'S SINGING AND DANCING

I. Characteristics of the African Pygmy Music, and Efe's Singing and Dancing

1. Characteristics of the African Pygmy Music

The music of the Pygmies in the Ituri Forest as well as other African Pygmy music, especially songs, have been studied mainly by musicologists. Most of their studies are on the characteristics of Pygmies' songs with dance. Frisbie (1971) stated that the Pygmy vocal music often took the form of an acephalous chorus in which all singers were equal.

Arom, a musicologist, recorded and produced a music disc "Cameroon—The Baka Pygmy Music" (EMI (3c) 064-18265) and discerned that the Baka Pygmy music was essentially vocal with a few instruments, e.g. drums, and excluded melodic instruments (Arom, 1977). Arom also produced a music disc "Centrafrique, Anthologie de la Musique des Pygmées Aka" (Radio France, 558-526/27/28) and stated in the notes accompanying the disc that one might define the Pygmy polyphonies as ostinatos with variations and that each vocal part was based on the repetition of a short melodic line (Arom, 1978).

Efe chorus shares the common characteristics of the other African Pygmy chorus. They are as follows: (a) Vocal music may be accompanied with rhythmic instru-

ments, e.g. drums, but not with melodic instruments. (b) Several melodic lines are woven into a dense and acephalous polyphony. (c) Each member repeats a melodic line of constant duration. Antiphonal responses and canonic imitations are prominent. (d) Few words are contained in their chorus.

2. An Outline of the Efe's Singing and Dancing, *Obe*

Efe songs can be classified into three categories. The songs which are sung without dancing are called *owa*. Among those that are sung with dancing or with certain body movements, the tunes for children are called *emu* and those for adolescents, adults and old people are called *obe*. Of these, *obe* are most frequently sung and attract the Efe most. In this paper, I describe and analyze *obe* only.

Obe, in which the Efe participate in the study area, can be classified into three by their origin: *obe* of Efe origin, *obe* of Lese origin, and *obe* of other than Efe or Lese origin. Although this classification is mine, both the Efe and the Lese know very well where a certain *obe* was from. For many of the *obe* originating in the study area, they know the name of the Lese village or of the Efe camp where the *obe* originated. They often know even the name of the person who first sang the *obe*. I use the word "originate" instead of "create" because a new *obe* is usually given unto an Efe under a supernatural circumstance, and not composed or created by one Efe. Legends about such supernatural circumstances are often told by the Efe and the Lese to each other which I call "origin legends."

Furthermore, the Efe know the origin legends of *obe* of Lese origins, and the Lese also know those of Efe origins. On the other hand, the singing and dancing of other ethnic groups (farmers other than the Walese-Karo, and their neighboring Pygmies) are also classified as *obe* because of their form of performance. In such cases, people in the study area know neither the exact names of the villages or camps of origin nor whether the origin legends of those *obe* exist. They only know the names of the ethnic groups where those *obe* originated.

Tables 3a-c show the name, origin, number of observed days, and ethnic groups who participated in the *obe* observed during 23 days between August 1987 and January 1988. The names of *obe* are shown in parentheses: < >. To unaccustomed ears, some *obe* cannot be easily distinguished from the others. To tell an *obe* by rhythm pattern is sometimes difficult because the rhythm pattern of drums often changes even in one *obe*. Each *obe* seems to have its characteristic melodic lines by which the Efe and the Lese are expected to identify it. Musicological analyses on them, however, have not been made. After observing popular *obe* many times, I could easily identify their names by melodic lines and dancing patterns. I could inquire the names of unfamiliar *obe* by asking different people to listen to the recordings of *obe*, and their answers were consistent with one another.

The names of *obe*, i.e., <oberochi>, <kuko>, <ima gaku>, and <kanada>, strictly speaking, do not refer to individual *obe* but to each category which contains several *obe*. In case of <oberochi>, the name is prefaced by the originator's name, e.g. Mataroru's <oberochi> and Kamara's <oberochi> in order to refer to the individual *obe*. On the other hand, though all the *obe* belonging to <kuko>, <ima gaku>, and

<kanada> are distinguished individually by the Efe and the Lese, the individual *obe* does not have any name but is simply called by the general term, <kuko>, <ima gaku>, or <kanada>.

Obe were observed mainly during the study period from August 1987 to January 1988. I stayed in the study area for 113 days, trying to record *obe* which I have not observed yet. When *obe* were performed simultaneously at several spots, I chose the one which had been observed fewer times than the other. Principally, I observed *obe* which people spontaneously started. Therefore, although the *obe* shown in Tables 3a–c do not cover all the Efe repertoire, they represent almost all kinds of *obe* which

Table 3a. *Obe*'s (of the Efe origin) names and places of origin, and ethnic groups which participated in the *obe* observed during 23 days between August 1987 and January 1988.

Name	No. days observed	Place of origin	Date of origin	Ethnic groups ⁽¹⁾
<uwara>	11	near Borokube	about 1940	Efe
Mataroru's <oberochi>	1	near Nduye	1986	Efe+Lese
Kamara's <oberochi>	2	about 10 km north of Nduye	after 1950	Efe
Bataka's <bakasa>	1	near Nduye	long ago	Efe
<iere>	1	near Nduye	after mid-1960s	Efe
<mairora>	8	unknown ⁽³⁾	probably after 1980	Efe or Efe+Lese
<kuko> ⁽²⁾	1	?	?	Efe women
?	1	?	?	Efe
?	1	?	?	Efe

?: Not studied.

(1) Unless otherwise stated, both men and women are included.

(2) Several *obe* are called by this name.

(3) Unknown even to the Efe.

Table 3b. *Obe*'s (of the Lese origin) names and places of origin, and ethnic groups which participated in the *obe* observed during 23 days between August 1987 and January 1988.

Name	No. days observed	Place of origin	Date of origin	Ethnic groups ⁽¹⁾
Matimangu's <oberochi>	1	near Nduye	1987	Efe+Lese
<ima eda>	6	the upper Epulu river	long ago	Efe+Lese
(also called <ima>)				
<ima gaku> ⁽²⁾	5	the upper Epulu river	long ago	Efe or Efe+Lese
(also called <ima>)				
<muteu>	1	unknown ⁽³⁾	long ago	Efe+Lese
<toburo>	1	unknown ⁽³⁾	long ago	Efe+Lese
<kukuru>	1	unknown ⁽³⁾	long ago	Efe+Lese
<ekporo>	1	unknown ⁽³⁾	long ago	Efe+Lese
?	1	unknown ⁽³⁾	long ago	Efe+Lese
?	1	unknown ⁽³⁾	long ago	Efe+Lese
?	1	unknown ⁽³⁾	long ago	Efe+Lese
?	1	unknown ⁽³⁾	long ago	Efe+Lese

?: Not studied.

(1) Men and women are included.

(2) Several *obe* are called by this name.

(3) Unknown even to the Lese.

Table 3c. *Obe*'s (of other ethnic group origins) names and places of origin, and ethnic groups which participated in the *obe* observed during 23 days between August 1987 and January 1988.

Name	No. days observed	Originator(s) of <i>obe</i>	Date of origin	Ethnic groups ⁽¹⁾
<kanada> ⁽²⁾	3	Balese-Obi	unknown ⁽³⁾	Efe+Lese
<daringe>	1	Budu	unknown ⁽³⁾	?
<akpambura>	1	Mbuti in Budu area	unknown ⁽³⁾	Efe+Lese
<amaye>	1	Mbuti in Bira area	unknown ⁽³⁾	Efe women
?	1	Mbuti in Bira area	unknown ⁽³⁾	Efe

?: Not studied.

(1) Unless otherwise stated, both men and women are included.

(2) Several *obe* are called by this name.

(3) Unknown to the Efe and the Lese.

the Efe actually participated in during the study period.

Each *obe* is described briefly as follows:

(1) *Obe* of Efe origin (Table 3a)

- ① <Uwara>: <Uwara> is also called "elephant song." It is the most favorite *obe* among the Efe in the study area, and performed almost every week. Its origin, the progress of the *obe*, etc., are described in detail in the following sections.
- ② Mataroru's <oberochi>: Though this *obe* was observed only once, I heard that it was performed one more time during the study period. The originator was a woman born in a camp near Andiri, and the Efe women especially like to perform it. Its origin legend will be described in the following section.
- ③ Kamara's <oberochi>: Kamara lives in the camp north of Nduye rather far from Andiri, but his mother was born in a camp near Andiri. People in Andiri said that Kamara and his mother had sometimes visited Andiri and performed his <oberochi> with the Efe of Andiri.
- ④ Bataka's <bakasa>: Only the song of this *obe* was recorded without the dance. "Bataka" is the name of a camp near Nduye where this *obe* originated. Bataka's <bakasa> originated long ago when people do not remember. Though its origin legend is unknown, an Efe man of the Bataka camp said, "Perhaps a certain person dreamed of the *obe* and taught people how to perform it." <Bakasa> means an "elephant song." At Andiri <uwara> was called <bakasa> before, now it is usually called <uwara> and old men call it <bakasa>. These seemingly confusing *obe*, Bataka's <bakasa> and <uwara>, are never confused by the Efe.
- ⑤ <Iere>: Only the song of this *obe* was observed, without the dance. <Iere> is a famous *obe* around Nduye, while not around Andiri.
- ⑥ <Mairora>: <Mairora> is also called <uwara gaku>, namely "the child of <uwara>," while <uwara> is also called <uwara eda>, "the mother of <uwara>." The relationship between these two *obe*, however, is uncertain.
- ⑦ <Kuko>: <Kuko> are sung while skipping rope, which is made from a tree vine. Their origin legends have not been studied.

(2) *Obe* of Lese origin (Table 3b)

- ① Matimangu's <oberochi>: This *obe* was dreamed of in 1987 by a Lese man named Matimangu who was 40–50 years old when I met him. In his dream, dead Lese people showed him how to perform this *obe*. The origin legends of Efe origin <oberechi> were told in the same manner as above except that dead Efe instructed them, not dead Lese.
- ② <Ima eda> and <ima gaku>: These *obe* are also called simply <ima>. <Ima eda>, “the mother of <ima>,” and <ima gaku>, “the child of <ima>,” are related to the initiation rite called *ima* or *elima*. Though called “the child of <ima>,” *obe* of <ima gaku> are not derived from <ima eda>. I think the two words, “mother” and “child,” signify the difference in importance between <ima eda> and <ima gaku>. <Ima eda> is the most important *obe* in the initiation rite of *ima* while <ima gaku> is considered as a name of category which contains many *obe*.

In the initiation rite of *ima*, a girl who has reached menarche lives in a specially built hut for several weeks to one year and cannot go out except to the lavatory. The girl is called *imakanza*. Especially for several days towards the end of *ima* and on the last day, these *obe* are performed by the Lese and the Efe together. I do not think these *obe* are performed purely as entertainment on other occasions. A legend tells that the ritual of *ima* and the *obe* of <ima eda> and <ima gaku> were begun by the ancestors of the Lese, the Walese-Karo. The ritual is managed by a Lese woman, not an Efe.

Actually, only a few Lese girls experience *ima*. It is a heavy burden for the family of the girl to build a new hut and pay money to the manager of the ritual, and few Efe girls experience *ima*.

Aside from slight differences, *ima* or *elima* resembles “*elima*” which Turnbull (1965a) observed near Epulu, and “*elima*” which Ichikawa (1982) observed around Tetri about 45 km south of Mambasa. According to their reports, both of these rituals mark the initiation of Mbuti girls, and are managed only by the Mbuti. Schebesta (1957), stated that “*elima*” was of farmers’ origin, not of Mbuti origin. Turnbull (1965a) also stated that the Mbuti might have adopted “*elima*” which had originally been a farmers’ ritual.

In my study area, people know that the initiation called “*ima*” or “*elima*” are also held among the ethnic groups other than the Walese-Karo, e.g. the Walese-Dese. The Walese-Karo, in the study area, pointed out the slight differences between their *ima* and “*ima*” of the Walese-Dese. The Walese-Karo did not admit to the propagation of “*ima*” ritual, and insisted that each ritual of the two ethnic groups were in completely different traditions and differed from each other. This statement is consistent with the legend on the origin of *ima*.

- ③ <Muteu> and others: Four *obe*, <muteu>, <toburo>, <kukuru> and <ekporo>, and the following unidentified four in Table 3b, are performed only in the ritual called *isungba* or *molimo*. According to Ichikawa (unpublished data) and Turnbull (1965b), “*isungba*” is a Kingwana word. A legend tells that the ritual of *isungba* is of Lese origin. *Isungba* is performed after a death of an important Lese, e.g. a vil-

lage chief or his wife.

Just behind a Lese village, people fence in an area where the Lese and the Efe together perform *obe* for at least one hour a day for several weeks. Inside the fence, the particular *obe* including the above eight are performed. These *obe* are never performed outside the fence. It is strictly prohibited to see or enter the dance area without a certain procedure, and people outside cannot glimpse in at all. It is also prohibited to tell those who have not been inside about what occurs inside of the fence. If a person violates these rules, he/she is said to die of illness.

To the *obe* of *isungba*, several pipes made from the bark of *zei* (unidentified) are performed, each producing a high-pitched sound and a low-pitched one. The sounds of all pipes are organized to produce a simple melody. These pipes are also called *isungba*. To those who have not seen the inside of the fences, the sounds of the pipes are explained as wails of the dead including the one for whom the *isungba* is held.

Another name of *isungba*, *molimo*, is the same name as “molimo” which Turnbull (1965a) described as a men’s religious association among the Mbuti. Ichikawa (1978) also saw “molimo” ritual in the Mbuti camp at Tetri area. However, there are many differences between *isungba* in the study area and the “molimo” they observed. The most important difference is that only the Mbuti participated in “molimo” observed by Turnbull and Ichikawa while *isungba* was started and ended only by the relatives of the deceased, the Lese people. In the latter case, the Efe only joined in performing *obe*.

(3) *Obe* of other ethnic group origin (Table 3c)

Among five *obe*, two are of other farmers origin and three are of Mbuti origin. When I went to the Bira area and made them listen to my recordings, they said that <amaye> and an unidentified one had been made by the Mbuti there. Their origin legends, however, were unknown.

Besides <kuko> and <amaye>, all the *obe* above are for men and women. As <kuko> and <amaye> were not observed enough to analyze, they are not described in this paper.

3. The Preference of *Obe* among the Efe and the Lese

Tables 3a–c show that there are two patterns in the participation in *obe*: (a) Only the Efe participate in *obe*, and (b) the Efe and the Lese together participate. As I devoted my attention to *obe* in which the Efe participate, possibly I failed to observe *obe* in which only the Lese participated. However, few *obe* with only the Lese participants were performed during the study period.

Whether or not the Lese participate in an *obe*, depends on the origin of *obe*. Tables 3a–c show that the Efe participate in almost all the *obe* of Lese origin and of other farmer origins. The Lese, however, rarely participate in the *obe* of Efe origin and of Mbuti origin. The Lese seem to dislike performing the *obe* of the Pygmy origin because they look down on the Pygmies.

Actually the Efe and the Lese do not value each other’s *obe*. Tables 4a and 4b

Table 4a. Preferred *obe* among the Efe (number of replies in brackets).

Age class		Name of <i>obe</i>	
		The most preferred <i>obe</i>	The second in preference
Juvenile	[1]	<uwara>* [1]	<mairora>* [1]
Adolescent	[4]	<uwara>* [3]	<mairora>* [1]
		<akpambura> [1]	Kamara's <oberochi>* [1] <akpambura> [1]
Adult	[4]	<uwara>* [4]	<mairora>* [2]
Old	[4]	<uwara>* [3]	<uwara>* [1]
		<ima eda > [1]	
Total		[13]	[7] ⁽¹⁾

(1) All of six Efe who did not mention the second in preference, answered <uwara> as the most favorite *obe*.

* *Obe* of the Efe origin.

See Tables 3a and b for the basic data on *obe*.

Table 4b. Preferred *obe* among the Lese (number of replies in brackets).

Age class		Name of <i>obe</i>	
		The most preferred <i>obe</i>	The second in preference
Juvenile	[3]	<ima eda>* [1]	<kanada> [2]
		<daringe> [1]	<daringe> [1]
		church songs [1]	
Adolescent	[2]	<ima eda>* [1]	<daringe> [1]
		<kanada> [1]	
Adult	[5]	<kanada> [3]	<daringe> [2]
		<kenichu>*(⁽¹⁾) [1]	<nando>*(⁽¹⁾) [1]
		<daringe> [1]	<akpambura> [1]
Old	[2]	<ima eda>* [1]	<bayo> ⁽¹⁾ [1]
		<riku>* (⁽¹⁾) [1]	<uwara> [1]
Total		[12]	[10] ⁽²⁾

(1) Not observed. <Bayo> was said to have originated in the Bira area. Whether <bayo> was *obe* of the Mbuti origin or not, however, was not known in the study area.

(2) Both Lese who did not mention the second in preference, answered <kanada> as the most favorite *obe*.

* *Obe* of the Lese origin.

See Tables 3a–c for the basic data on *obe*.

summarize the answers to my inquiries about the preference of *obe* among the Lese and the Efe around Andiri. 25 in total. Five *obe* are mentioned by 13 Efe people while nine besides the church songs are mentioned by 12 Lese people. Thus, only one *obe* of Lese origin was mentioned by an Efe, and only one of Efe origin was mentioned by a Lese. Many Efe say that the *obe* of Lese origin are “*bure*” which means “useless” or “boring” in the Kingwana language, and many Lese deem the *obe* of Efe origin similarly.

The Efe, regardless of their age and sex, prefer the *obe* of their own origin. Probably the Efe are more devoted to inheriting their own *obe*. Although the Efe participate in the *obe* of other ethnic groups, they do not like them much and prefer the *obe* of their own. On the other hand, the Lese, aside from the old people, prefer

the *obe* of other ethnic groups origin except those of Efe origin. This is because the Lese travel farther and are more interested in the outer world than the Efe.

In the following pages, only the *obe* of Efe origin are analyzed for two reasons. First, the attitudes toward the *obe* of Efe origin, i.e. the evaluation and the choice of participation, are differ sharply between the Efe and the Lese. For the Lese, the *obe* of Efe origin are avoided more frequently than those from the other ethnic groups. The *obe* of Efe origin seem to have peculiar characteristics which those of other ethnic groups do not have. Second, many *obe* of Lese origin observed during the study period are related to the rituals, *ima* and *isungba*. The rituals like these are also found among the neighboring farmers and the Mbuti. Without analyzing their rituals by comparison with those of other ethnic groups, e.g. the Walese-Dese, the Mbuti in the Bira area, the *obe* of Lese origin could not be analyzed enough.

II. The Origin of *Obe* and Its Propagation

While the *obe* originated near Andiri spread when the people move, the *obe* originating far from Andiri can be propagated through several ethnic groups. <Akpambura> is said to have originated among the Mbuti in the Budu area about 100 km northwest of Andiri. <Akpambura> was propagated from the Mbuti in the Budu area to the Efe in the Walese-Dese. Some of the Efe of Andiri learned <akpambura> at an Efe camp in the area of the Walese-Dese, situated between the Budu and the Lese.

Many of the *obe* observed originated in the last several decades, while a few *obe*, e.g. Bataka's <bakasa>, originated long ago when people do not remember. Among the *obe* of Efe origin in Table 3a, <uwara>, two <oberochi>, <iere> and <mairora> all originated in the last several decades.

Therefore, the origin legends of the *obe* which originated in recent years are remembered, and some *obe* which had been performed before <uwara> are forgotten or not preferred now. In the long run, *obe* are born and forgotten one after another like popular songs. I present four examples of origin legends obtained through interviewing the originator himself/herself or his/her relatives.

1. The Origin of <Uwara>

<Uwara> is the most popular *obe* for the Efe around Andiri as shown in Table 4a. <Uwara>, the "elephant song," is said to be performed before and after elephant hunting. In my observation, however, it was not always performed on such occasions but performed more for daily amusement.

<Uwara> originated in a camp called Andupi near Borokube Village about 25 km south of Andiri (Fig. 1). The originator, Boroboro, an Efe man, and his son Sau have died. Sau's son Ukuniaosa was alive. I asked Ukuniaosa, then about 40 years old, on the origin legend of <uwara>.

<Uwara> originated before Ukuniaosa was born. One day early in the morning his grandfather Boroboro went hunting alone to the forest near Mt. Mugafi. He had set a foothold up in a tree of *bbarua* (*Psychotria* sp.), where he was going to shoot duikers (*Cephalophus* spp.). Duikers like to eat dropped fruits of *bbarua* early in the morning.

The forest was in thick fog early in the morning, and no sound except birds' chirping were heard. On climbing the foothold, Boroboro heard the sounds of wooden clappers of *obe* in the uninhabited forest. Moreover, he heard singing voices of many people. He immediately understood that they were *tore* and ran away to his camp. *Tore* are dead people and are said to stay in camps deep in the forest as if they were alive, in manner and appearances.

Although Boroboro did not see the *tore*, he heard their song. He told his son, Sau, about it. Sau also went to the place and heard the song again. These two Efe taught this song to the people of their camp. This is <uwara>. In general, the originator is attached to his *obe*. Sau said, "When I kill an elephant, let's perform this *obe*," because he was a famous elephant hunter. Therefore <uwara> is also called the "elephant song."

The song of <uwara> is said to have been born as above, but there is no explanation on the origin of the dance to <uwara>. The etymology and the meaning of the word "*uwara*" were unknown even to Ukuniaosa.

2. The Origin of <Iere>

<Iere> was dreamed by an Efe man, Abion, in the mid-1960s. As Abion himself died about ten years ago, I interviewed his relatives.

One night after the death of Abion's full brother, Pamukaba, Abion dreamed of Pamukaba and many people performing *obe*. All of them were dead by then. They were *tore*. Abion, upon waking, immediately taught the *obe*, <iere>, to the people of his camp. The name of this *obe*, <iere>, was given to Abion by Pamukaba in his dream and the Efe do not know its meaning.

3. The Origins of Two <Oberochi>

"*Obe*" of <oberochi> signifies *obe* which this paper is about. "*Rochi*" means "to dream." Then, <oberochi> means "dreamed *obe*." All of the dreamed *obe*, however, are not called <oberochi>. For example, though <iere> is also a dreamed *obe*, it cannot be called <oberochi> because the name, <iere>, was given in the originator's dream. I interviewed the originators themselves, Kamara and Mataroru, about their dreams.

① Kamara's <oberochi>

This *obe* was dreamed by an Efe man when he was a boy. Kamara gave a limited explanation. According to him, *tore* of men and women came into his dream and performed *obe* when he was sleeping in a camp near a village. All *tore* were unknown to him and they wore traditional bark loincloths, which are unusual now.

② Mataroru's <oberochi>

Mataroru, an Efe women, dreamed an *obe* in 1986 when she was sleeping in a camp near Nduye. In her dream, she was in a big camp deep in the forest where the dead whom she knew, an elder sister of her father, maternal relatives of her husband, etc., were performing an *obe*. As Mataroru suddenly got up at midnight to sing the song of the *obe*, her husband and people of the camp were surprised but soon understood that she had dreamed a new *obe*.

The common characteristics shared by the above four examples are: (a) A new *obe* originates by only one Efe. (b) He/she says that the *obe* was not made by their own will but the *obe* was given to them by *tore*. (c) The originator and his/her relatives are attached to the *obe* and frequently perform it.

III. The Situations for Performing *Obe*

In the Efe life, religious activities, such as rituals, are rarely observed. Although the Efe participate in *ima* and *isungba* rituals, these are of Lese origin and managed only by the Lese. Only the *musilo* hunting, a pre-hunt ritual and a few other ritualistic activities are held by women (Terashima, 1983), while men chat around and are indifferent to the women's activities. Thus, the rituals peculiar to the Efe are rarely observed, and they do not attract people's attention. Probably, even the *obe* of Efe origin which originated long ago were not performed as accompaniment for important rituals.

In what situations do they perform *obe*? During the study period, *obe* were observed seasonally. Besides one exception, *obe* were performed only when the Efe camps gathered around Andiri as shown in Table 5. *Obe* attract many people, and if there are not enough, *obe* cannot start or will cease soon. The limited population of a nearly isolated camp deep in the forest cannot support the setting for performing *obe*. For example, even a comparatively large forest camp of ten families, 27 people (Table 1), had only seven adolescent men and five adolescent women. In general, the adolescent Efe are keenest at performing *obe* among all the age classes. Even near the village, a camp does not have enough adolescents. A village camp of 13 families, 40 people in total, had only four men and two women of adolescent age, and the camp of ten families, 32 people in total, had only five men and three women of the same age class.

Table 6 shows that many of the *obe* observed were performed by more than ten people. Moreover, in the *obe* which lasted long, the participants were sometimes replaced by the onlookers to rest. A single camp does not have enough people to support a long lasting *obe*. Near the village, however, people of other camps can join in the *obe*. In the season when the Efe camps gather around Andiri Village, about 200 Efe in total live close to each other, supplying a sufficient number of people for holding *obe*.

In this season, *obe* can be performed at any time and any place that people can gather, and are observed on three or four days a week around Andiri. For example, in a moonlit night, *obe* are performed somewhere around Andiri from evening until midnight. The Efe gather in the village or in a camp near the village (Table 6). The Efe, especially adolescent men and women, sometimes walk 1–2 km to the *obe* in the forest under the moon attracted by the singing.

Obe are usually performed for amusement. The pleasure of *obe* lies primarily in

Table 5. Observation days of *obe* during the research period.

	Forest camp (1985)	Village and camp near village (1987–88)
Study period	36 days	113
Observation days of <i>obe</i>	1 ⁽¹⁾	23 ⁽²⁾

(1) The Efe only sang and did not dance. Detailed description is not given in the text.

(2) Because I did not observe some *obe*, the actual number of days *obe* were played was more than 23 days.

Table 6. Observation records of *obe*.

Date	Hour	Place	Maximum no. participants	Played <i>obe</i>
1987				
8.30	~15:40-19:40~	V	about 30	<uwara>, <mairora>, <ima eda>, <ima gaku>, <kanada>
9. 8	19:00-21:30~	C	?	<uwara>, <mairora>, <ima gaku> < kanada>
9.12	18:16-19:18~	C	?	<uwara>, <mairora>
9.16	19:00-19:30~	C	16	<uwara>
9.18	19:30-20:30	C	<10	<kuko>, <amaye>
9.23	18:05-20:30~	C	15	<ima eda>, <ima gaku>
9.24	18:00-20:30~	C	>30	<ima eda>, <ima gaku>
9.25	11:41-18:12	C	?	<ima eda>
10. 5	7:15-11:45	V	>40	<ima eda>, <ima gaku>
10.10	17:50-22:00	V	about 10	<uwara>, <mairora>, <kanada>, <daringe>
10.11	~14:50-16:05	C	25	Kamara's <oberochi>
	~16:40-17:49	V	40	<uwara>, <mairora>
10.18	~13:50-15:59~	V	23	Mataroru's <oberochi>
10.23	18:30-19:35~	V	?	<uwara>
10.24	13:20-15:37	V	15	<uwara>, <akpambura>
10.31	10:45-12:09	V	28	<uwara>
11. 1	9:15-11:00~	V	10	Matimangu's <oberochi>
12.13	9:35-11:00	C	about 10	Bataka's <bakasa>, <iere>
12.20	~12:45-14:28~	V	about 20	<muteu>, <toburo> <kukuru>, <ekporo>
12.23	~ 9:00- 9:35~	V	?	?
12.27	~14:20-15:00	V	?	?
1988				
1. 1	15:00- ?	V	>10	?
1. 2	20:45-23:27~	C	18	<uwara>, <mairora>, Kamara's <oberochi>
1.10	8:26-14:29	V	about 60	<ima eda>, <uwara>

?: not recorded; V: village; C: camp near the village.

"~" indicates that the Efe were playing *obe* before or after the observation hour.

See Tables 3a-c for the basic data on *obe*.

its esthetics, i.e. in making a beautiful chorus with other people and in dancing to the rhythm. At the climax of *obe*, not only the adolescents but also the adults often laugh heartily in each other's arms and frequently shout in a high-pitched voice out of joy. *Obe* also gives the Efe, especially bachelors, a chance to make an acquaintance with the opposite sex. A man and woman in the circle of *obe* seem to communicate silently with each other. Once, a woman of a camp near Andiri secretly ran away with a man who came to perform *obe* from a distant camp.

People sometimes fight at the scene of *obe*, as people are very emotional. Love entanglements or mutual misunderstandings, etc., provide a background for such fights, and they suddenly start fighting when the *obe* is suspended or ended. For example, I watched two denounce each other, a crying wife restraining her husband, and friends and relatives intervene between the two. All of them had been participating in *obe* together a few minutes earlier.

Obe, however, are not performed only for entertainment. Even <uwara>, which is the most popular *obe*, is sometimes performed for a religious motive. For example, when a famous elephant hunter was killed by an elephant, his son said, "I am going to perform <uwara> now," without crying like the hunter's wife. <Uwara> was not performed long after that. His son must have thought that performing <uwara>, the "elephant song," would mourn his father's death. Considering this case and the origin legends of *obe* which hold that the dead people, *tore*, were originally performing the *obe*, the motive of performing *obe* lies not only in entertainment but also in communion with the dead. Adults who experience the death of relatives may participate in *obe* to hold communion with the dead. The grief of the hunter's son over his lost father would have been expressed in his voice and dancing.

Here I present a case to show how *obe* starts. An evening of *obe* was observed on 2 January 1988. This *obe* was performed to mourn one woman who had died several months before. The atmosphere and the progress of *obe* this night, however, were not different from those of *obe* as daily entertainment.

① From the beginning to the end of <uwara>

19:51. I arrive at a camp about 1 km from Andiri when they have not yet started *obe*. As I heard *obe* would take place that night, I left Andiri with two Lese men. The moon is full. Soon someone begins to beat a drum. People, however, do not start singing and the drummer continues drumming for a while and stops.

20:45. Boys and girls around puberty, ten in total, start to sing <uwara> to the drum. The circle of participants in <uwara> is made up of two hemicircles each of which is formed by the same sex. One after another from each hemicircle, they jump inside the circle, dance for several seconds and return to their original places. They usually dance hard, taking quick turns (Fig. 3). The dance starts in moderate tempo but becomes quicker and quicker.

20:55. Three adolescent Efe men arrive from a camp more than 1 km away, walking through the forest. Two of them soon participate in <uwara>. Seven men and eleven women are performing now. People from other camps start arriving in twos and threes.

20:57. Although the song ceases, women are still dancing silently to the drum. Some men are also dancing but all would stop in 1–2 minutes.

21:00. Several women and a man start to sing <uwara> again.

21:03. As others have not joined in, <uwara> ceases again. The drum is still beaten.

21:13. <Uwara> starts again and the voices become louder. While men are dancing, women only sing sitting on the ground.

21:15. Women stand up and start dancing.

21:17. The <uwara> ceases again.

21:19. People start to sing and dance <uwara>. Their voices become louder than before. Many Efe participate, dancing quickly and smoothly. Voices become louder and louder. The *obe* is coming to a climax.

21:43. While dancing, men begin to touch women or hold them in their arms. Voices become louder, and they dance more intensely.

21:46. As a man and a woman retire from <uwara>, voices become lower. After two or three strong drum beats, <uwara> ceases all at once.

② The performing of <mairora>

21:52. The drum begins and a few men and ten women begin to perform <mairora>. Each sex forms an arc and two arcs make circle. All men and women move anti-clockwise, stamping and singing to the rhythm (Fig. 4a).

21:56. All stop to face inside of the circle. Two persons step inward from each sex group and dance, facing to the opposite sex for a while and go back to their original places

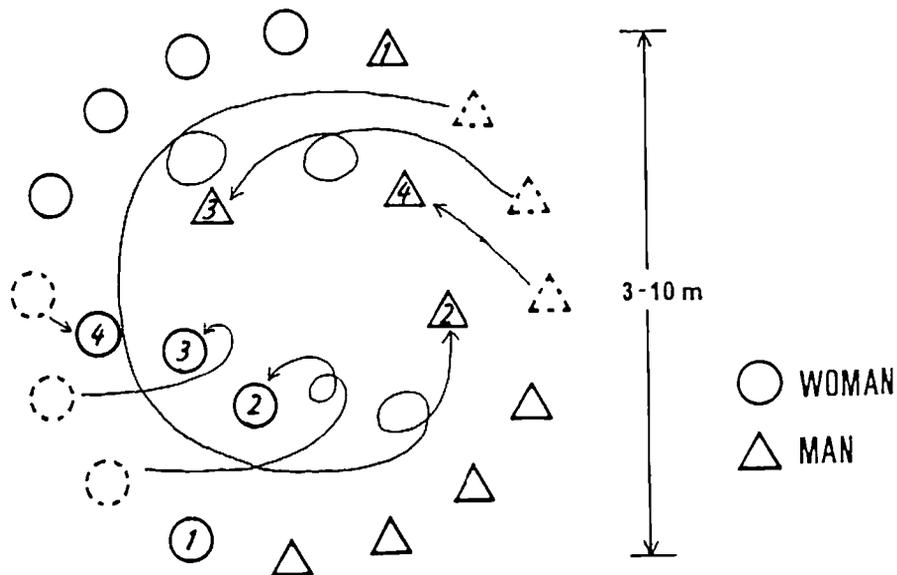


Fig. 3. A style of dancing observed in <uwarra>. Numbers indicate the order of dancers. The first dancers have returned to their original places.

(Fig. 4b). The next two step in from each sex. They dance twisting their arms and waists, slower than in <uwarra>. Those who are waiting for their turn sing but do not dance.

22:00. At the climax, young men sometimes press their bodies against women.

22:02. The <mairora> ceases.

③ The short performing of <uwarra>

22:03. Women begin to sing <uwarra>, men join them later. Soon they start dancing.

22:19. The <uwarra> ceases.

④ The performing of Kamara's <oberochi>

22:44. After a long rest, the drum begins and women start singing Kamara's <oberochi> sitting around a fire. They do not dance yet.

22:46. Kamara's <oberochi> ends without any dance.

22:51. Women start singing Kamara's <oberochi> again. They are, however, sitting and do not dance.

23:06. Again they stop singing.

23:09. A woman start singing Kamara's <oberochi>.

23:13. Eleven women and four men make a circle and move anti-clockwise, stamping and singing to the rhythm.

23:19. A woman with bells on her ankles, steps inside the circle and dances alone, sometimes raising eccentric high-pitched voices. All, including the woman, are very emotional. The *obe* is at a climax.

23:27. Kamara's <oberochi> ends. Though the *obe* continues, I leave the camp.

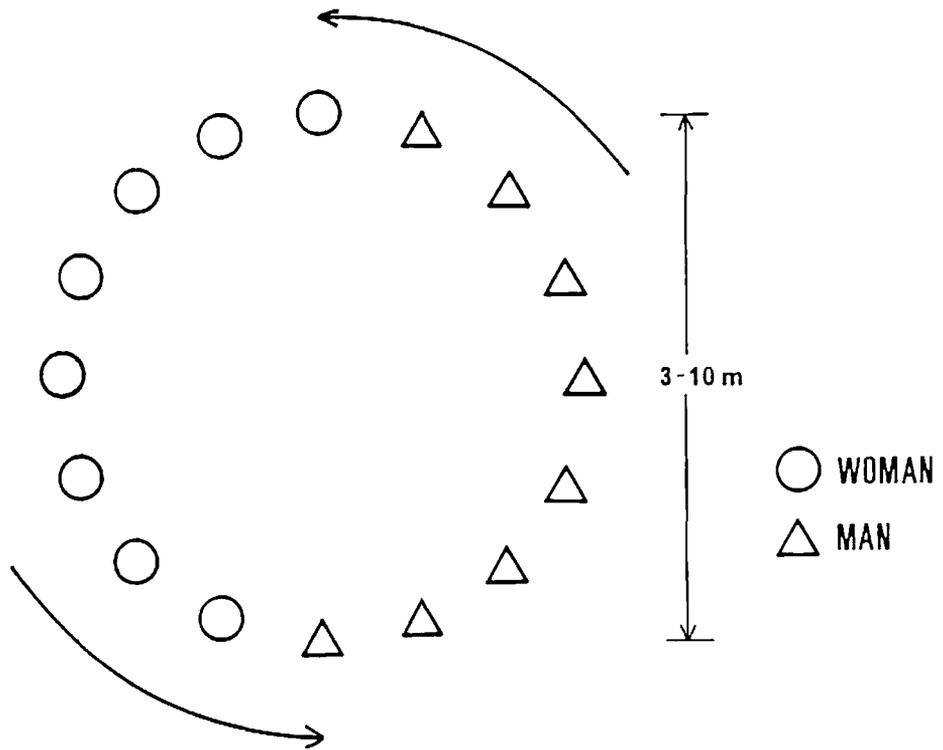


Fig. 4a. A style of dancing observed in <mairora>. Mataroru's <oberochi>, Kamara's <oberochi>, and <uwara>.

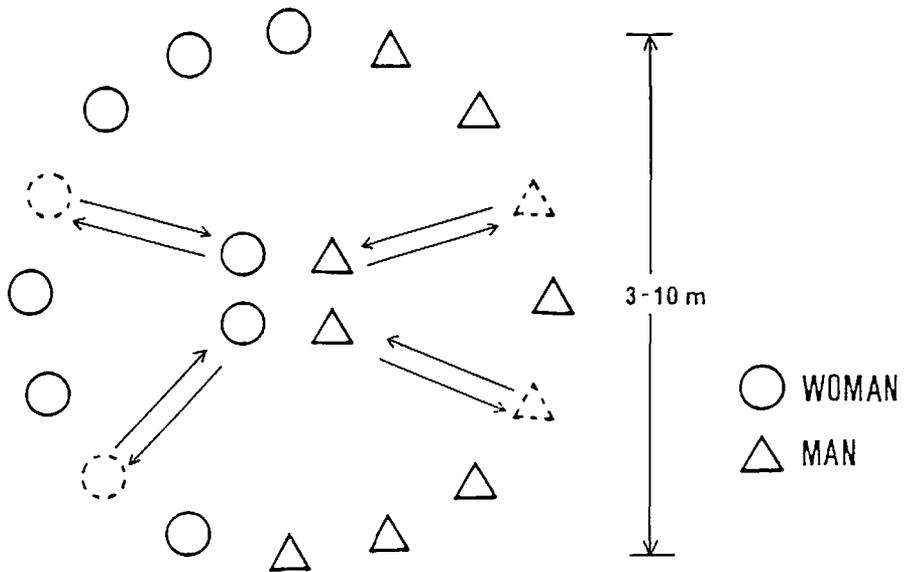


Fig. 4b. A style of dancing observed in <mairora>.

Usually as shown in Table 6, several *obe* are performed on one occasion. Although in this case, <uwara>, <mairora>, <uwara> and Kamara's <oberochi> were performed in this order, the order of *obe* is not determined in advance. In this case, a man who participated in *obe* told me that they performed <uwara> again after I left. I think if the same *obe* lasts too long, people become tired. People perform *obe* one after another for a long time. In this case, they performed *obe* almost until dawn.

People usually try to develop *obe* several times in vain before the first climax of the day is reached. Examining the case in more detail, about one hour passed between 19:51, when the drum started, and 20:45, when they started performing <uwara>. From 20:45 to 20:57, from 21:00 to 21:03 and from 21:13 to 21:17, three times in total, <uwara> was performed and ended without reaching a climax. In other words, <uwara> could not be developed fully. On other occasions, *obe* were sometimes observed to end without reaching a climax.

Much passion and effort are needed to continue *obe* for a long time after several trials. *Obe*, however, starts with an Efe's will and not by the order or at the request of others. The only exception is the chief of Andiri, who makes the Efe perform *obe* so that he can watch.

When the participants come to a climax in each *obe*, they sometimes continue to perform for hours. The biggest and the longest *obe* which I observed, was held on the Christmas Day at Andiri in a festive mood. Though the Efe do not go to church and are not Christians, on this day they started performing *obe* at about 3 p.m. and ended around 11 a.m. of the next day with several 20–30 minute rest. The maximum number of participants was about 60. The participants were frequently replaced by the onlookers to rest. A few young Efe men, however, continued to dance almost without rest from the beginning to the end.

IV. The Progression of *Obe* and the Words

There is a certain procedure in *obe* the participants are supposed to keep in order to achieve the climax cooperatively. The procedure is found in the transition from one pattern of chorus to another.

Although each *obe* has a wide variety of voices according to the number and the sex ratio of participants, there are two basic choral patterns, "solo and response" pattern and "dense polyphony" pattern, by which the participants organize their voices into a chorus.

In the "solo and response" pattern, a soloist sings for several seconds and the others start singing for 3 to 20 seconds in unison or polyphony, in response to the solo (Ex. 1a in Appendix 2 for <uwara>). During the response, the soloist may continue to sing. This pattern is one of the variations of "antiphony and response," which is a widespread choral pattern in central Africa (Brandel, 1961).

The pattern of "dense polyphony" with many parts, is one of the characteristics among the African Pygmy music (Ex. 1b in Appendix 2 for <uwara>). In this pattern, the distinction between solo and response is lost and many parts are heard. Usually, a single person sings each part which lasts only for several seconds and is

repeated indefinitely. Parts do not start simultaneously and the whole polyphony is heard continuously. It resembles an uproar to unaccustomed ears. In other words, there is no leader in the singing. This pattern is called “multi-melody” by Brandel (1961).

The Efe recognize the difference between the “solo and response” pattern and the “dense polyphony” pattern, though I could not collect the Lese words signifying these two patterns.

Note that both patterns are not always found in all *obe*. Here *obe* are classified into three groups by the use of the two choral patterns: *obe* with “solo and response” pattern only, *obe* with both patterns, and *obe* with “dense polyphony” pattern only.

1. The Progression of <Mairora>, *Obe* with “Solo and Response” Choral Pattern Only

<Mairora> is the most popular among the *obe* with “solo and response” pattern only. The name of <mairora> is derived from “*abachere mairora*.” “*Abachere*” means “a drummer” and “*mairora*” means “is tired.” “*Abachere mairora*” means “a drummer is tired.” This name probably has the implication that people want to perform this *obe* so long that the drummer gets tired. Neither the camp where <mairora> originated, nor the originator’s name is known to the Efe.

In this *obe*, men and women sing “*ide mere ide*,” or “*Abunju kapa esa*” in response to a woman’s solos (Ex. 2 in Appendix 2). This pattern of “solo and response” is repeated many times from the beginning to the end. Thus, there are only two kinds of words in <mairora>. Either is chosen to be sung throughout the whole *obe*. “*Ide*” of “*ide mere ide*” is derived from a French word, “*idée*,” and “*mere*” means “is coming.” Therefore, this sentence means “an idea is coming,” or “I am possessed by an idea.” I was told that “an idea” here is about the opposite sex. “*Abunju*” of “*Abunju kapa esa*” is the name of a Lese village, though originally the peculiar name of a mountain near the village. “*Kapa*” means “a mountain,” and “*esa*” means “black.” These words mean “*Abunju*, a black mountain,” and probably have no other implications.

<Mairora> is primarily for young men and women as “*ide mere ide*” implies. There are two styles of dance in <mairora> as described above and shown in Figs. 4a and 4b. The Efe perform two styles of dance one after the other while all the participants keep singing. <Mairora>, however, rarely continue for more than half an hour.

In general, *obe*, including <mairora>, have no definite procedure to end them. When the participants are tired of the *obe*, one could tell that the concentration slackens from their occasional conversations in the circle of *obe*. Sometimes the drummer brings on the end by beating 2–3 times strongly. Sometimes, tired people step out of the *obe* circle and the rest stop performing at once.

2. The Progression of <Uwara>, *Obe* with Both Choral Patterns of “Solo and Response” and “Dense Polyphony”

<Uwara>, Kamara’s <oberochi>, and Mataroru’s <oberochi> include both “solo

and response” and “dense polyphony.” <Iere> and <akpambura> are also expected to have both patterns.

<Uwara> begins with either pattern. First, I describe <uwara> which begins with the “solo and response” pattern. A man or a woman sings the solo of <uwara>, and sometimes several persons sing one after another. Each period of a solo and response continues for 5–20 seconds, and the chorus of this pattern continues for 5–10 minutes. Responding to the solos, the participants become emotional and concentrate their attention on the *obe* (Ex. 1a in Appendix 2).

In the <uwara> choral pattern, the solo usually contains words, but people respond only in voices such as “uoo,” or “ouoo” without any words. Some of the words recorded are listed below (Words 1 in Appendix 1). The words in the “solo and response” pattern are probably improvisational. For example, in the *obe* recorded on 8 September 1987, some of the words were sung to me.

In the “solo and response” choral pattern of <uwara>, the people do not dance but sing in a circle made of two hemicircles, each of which is made by each sex.

They change their pattern of singing at once from “solo and response” to “dense polyphony.” The transition takes place so rapidly and naturally that no leader could be identified in the transition. There is no transition in the opposite direction, from “dense polyphony” to “solo and response.”

In the “dense polyphony” choral pattern of <uwara>, the distinction between a solo and a response is lost, and they all utter non-verbal sounds heavily overlapping each other (Ex. 1b in Appendix 2). The participants start dancing <uwara> simultaneously with the beginning of the “dense polyphony” chorus pattern. Though there are some known local variations in the dancing style of <uwara>, only one style was observed around Andiri (Fig. 3).

Another style of dancing was observed at Borokube Village, the birthplace of <uwara>. People move in a circle anti-clockwise, stamping and singing to the rhythm, i.e. the same style as in <mairora> (Fig. 4a). This dancing style starts concurrently with the beginning of the “dense polyphony” chorus pattern. Then people stop to change their dancing style into that of Fig. 3. They dance two styles one after the other, each turn continuing for 3–10 minutes. In the case of Borokube, during 30 minutes, the style of Fig. 4a was danced four times and that of Fig. 3 three times, while the “dense polyphony” chorus was sung throughout.

As shown above, in <uwara>, a transition occurs from the choral pattern of “solo and response” to that of “dense polyphony.” This kind of transition also occurs in two famous <oberochi> and probably exists in <iere> and <akpambura>. These *obe* can be divided into two phases, Phase-I in which the “solo and response” pattern is repeated, and Phase-II in which the “dense polyphony” pattern is repeated.

3. The Progression of Two <Oberochi>, *Obe* with Both Choral Patterns of “Solo and Response” and “Dense Polyphony”

Both Kamara’s <oberochi> and Mataroru’s <oberochi> also have two patterns of chorus: “solo and response” and “dense polyphony” (Exs. 3a and 3b in Appendix 2 for Mataroru’s <oberochi>). One-way transitions occur only from the former to the

latter as in <uwara>.

In the Phase-I of both *obe*, a woman sings a solo and other men and women respond to it. Just as in <uwara>, there are words only in the Phase-I solo, and only nonverbal sounds which overlap each other in Phase-II. Some of the words in Phase-I of Kamara's <oberochi> are presented in the Appendix 1 (Words 2).

In the two <oberochi>, people start dancing simultaneously with the beginning of Phase-II as in <uwara>. The two <oberochi> have a similar dancing style. Only one style, shown in Fig. 4a, is found in both *obe*. In the two <oberochi>, however, the leading woman sometimes stops to stamp at one spot for a moment or goes slowly backward during the dance. Other participants move in concert with her and give variations to their dancing. On 11 October 1987, at the climax of Kamara's <oberochi>, all the participants broke the circle and marched around the whole camp after the leading woman.

In the case of the preceding section, they performed Phase-I of Kamara's <oberochi> from 22:44 to 22:46, and from 22:51 to 23:06. The Phase-I was also performed from 23:09 to 23:13, and changed into Phase-II which ended at 23:27.

4. The Progression of <Uwara> with "Dense Polyphony" Choral Pattern Only, and the Importance of Phase-II

<Uwara> starts more frequently with the "dense polyphony" than the "solo and response." Then, the Efe dance <uwara> from the beginning. When starting Phase-II, Phase-I is never performed. <Uwara> which starts with Phase-II is performed in the same manner as in Phase-II of <uwara> with both phases.

In the case of the preceding section, between 20:45 and 21:46, while <uwara> was performed four times intermittently, all of them lacked Phase-I. Even at Borokube, where <uwara> originated, they sometimes performed <uwara> without Phase-I. However, I think that <uwara> originally had both Phases-I and II, and <uwara> without Phase-I can be considered a shortened version of the original <uwara>. The reasons are as follows.

<Uwara> without Phase-I is the exception in my classification. <Uwara> has such a variation probably because it is popular and frequently performed. All the famous *obe* of Efe origin besides <uwara> do not lack Phase-I. There is no variation of <uwara> which lacks Phase-II.

In general, Phase-II is an essential element of *obe*. Phase-I is an introductory stage for Phase-II in <uwara> and also in two <oberochi>. During Phase-I, the voices of the participants become larger and larger in response to the solo. When the participants become excited enough, the transition occurs from Phase-I to Phase-II and the "dense polyphony" is heard. The Efe themselves admit that the climax of *obe* is reached in Phase-II.

Probably because of the importance of the choral pattern of "dense polyphony," <mairora>, which lacks this pattern, is also called <uwara gaku>, "the child of <uwara>." The difference between <ima eda>, "the mother of <ima>," and <ima gaku>, "the child of <ima>" probably lies in their importance in the initiation rite of *ima*. Several *obe* called <ima gaku> are not so important *obe* in the rite as <ima

eda>. Although <uwara> and <mairora> or <uwara gaku> originally have no relation to the ritualistic activities, the word “gaku” may indicate the lesser importance of <uwara gaku> than <uwara> for the Efe because <uwara gaku> lacks the “dense polyphony” pattern.

Besides *obe* of the Efe, the transition between the choral patterns is recognized among other African Pygmies. Arom (1978) noted a similar transition among the Aka Pygmies in Central African Republic. He described the introductory phase in which a soloist is a man, and the main phase as follows: “His role is to begin the singing and keep it going, to ‘revive’ it when it flags,...., he is ‘the one who animates.’ But once under way, the singing becomes a collective affair, the voice of the leader dissolves into the mass...., all members of the community—men, women and children—take an equal part.”

Apparently, he also considered the latter phase as more important. Because the “dense polyphony” pattern is the more important element in *obe* than “solo and response” pattern, <uwara> may lack Phase-I but never Phase-II.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

I. The Importance of *Obe* in the Efe Culture

At present, the Efe largely depend on products of the swidden cultivation of the Lese, even in the camps deep in the forest. In the paper on the economic relationship between the Efe and the Walese-Dese, one of the neighboring ethnic groups of the Walese-Karo, Bailey and Peacock (1988) concluded that the Efe cannot survive without the agricultural products of the Walese-Dese. Terashima (1987) also pointed out the dependence of the Efe in Andiri on the agricultural foods of the Lese.

Besides the economic relationship, there are various social relationships between the Efe and the Lese. For example, Terashima (1987) reported that intermarriage could take place only between Efe women and Lese men, and their children were classified as Lese. According to Terashima, about 28% of the wives of the Lese men at Andiri were from the Efe. His data suggest that the degree of intermarriage is as large in the parental generation. At Andiri, 30-40% of the Lese were children of such mixed marriages, and some were difficult to tell apart from the Efe by their physical characteristics (Terashima, 1987).

Intermarriage has a close connection with the *e-fe-maia* (my Efe) *muto-maia* (my villager) relationship (Terashima, 1987). The *e-fe-maia muto-maia* relationship is like a patron-client relationship which is inherited from father to son on both sides. A Lese usually gives food to his/her *e-fe-maia* and an Efe usually works for his/her *muto-maia*. Efe girls often stay at the house of their *muto-maia* and get acquainted with Lese men.

In this economic and social environment, the Lese frequently scorn the Efe as subhuman beings. Waehle (1986) described the relationship between the Efe and the Walese-Dese (Waehle called the Walese-Dese “Lese Dese”) as follows: “Lese Dese

attitudes towards their Efe include discriminatory and depreciatory elements: the Efe are savages and sub-humans (likened to chimpanzees or forest hogs): they are thieves; the forest is the contradiction to the village (almost as nature to culture) and is seen as less hospitable and comfortable. The Efe are said to follow their own whims and intuitions and are consequently not to be trusted; the Efe do not possess the proper ritual and magical knowledge. etc. Although some Lese Dese men take Efe wives, the Lese may laugh when it is mentioned that somebody is not a 'proper' villager, as he or she is of Efe descent" (Waehle, 1986: 392).

This situation is almost the same as above around Andiri. Around Andiri, moreover, the Lese sometimes say that the Efe commit incest between parents and children. The Efe rarely protest against these discrimination and prejudice shown by the Lese.

In general, the Efe live on the economic, social, and religious initiative of the Lese and are almost ignored by the government administration. The Efe may depend for foods on the Lese but are almost free from the control of the local administration. Tax collectors do not come all the way to their camps.

Obe is one of the limited opportunities for the Efe to take their own initiative in expressing their cultural value. The fact that the Efe are deeply attached to the *obe* of their own origin should be understood in the context above. Performing *obe* is a collective expression of their values and of their identity. Hence, *obe* of Efe origin are preferred to those of other ethnic groups. In other words, the Efe revel not only in singing and dancing but also expressing their own identity.

II. Modes of Utterance and Reaching a Climax

1. The Transition between the Two Phases in *Obe*, and the Climax of *Obe*

Here, I formulate the process leading to the climax of *obe*, and clarify the characteristics of *obe* performance.

There are two ways of participation in *obe*. In other words, there are two ways in which the participants organize their utterance into a chorus: the pattern of "solo and response" in Phase-I, and that of "dense polyphony" in Phase-II.

One of the important differences between these two patterns lies in whether or not the participants can be divided into two complementary roles. The two complementary roles mentioned here are the result of the differentiation of roles: during the utterance of certain participants, others inhibit their utterance. A soloist can be called "soloist" because others remain silent during his/her singing, and the voices of the others can be called "response" because they start singing after the solo.

In Phase-II, the differentiation of roles between "solo" and "response" is almost entirely lost. The solo dissolves into the chorus as a whole while the voices of all participants largely overlap with one another. As shown in Exs. 1b and 3b in Appendix 2, there is no one leader nor a soloist. Participants decide when to start singing by observing one another's singing.

Obe reaches its climax in Phase-II. In this phase, some participants are seen tottering out of the circle as if intoxicated. Some dance and stick knives into the air,

and at night, some often fall down into the fire. Such transformations of behavior and excitement are observed only in Phase-II, and cannot be seen in Phase-I nor in *obe* with only the "solo and response" pattern. The difference between Phase-I and II lies in the excitement of participants as well as whether or not complementary roles mentioned above are found.

2. The Transition between the Two Phases in the Efe's Evening Conversations and the Climax

In Efe life, there is another kind of collective utterance which can be divided into two phases. It is the conversation which is often observed at the camp in the evening (Sawada, 1987, 1988). After dinner, adult men sit around a fire outside and start talking. Loud and lively conversations can be heard. A large amount of conversation time is occupied by calm conversation phase (C-phase). When one talks, others listen to him in silence, just like the daily conversations in Japan. However, the evening conversation sometimes reaches its climax when the Efe men speak loudly in excitement (E-phase).

The transition from C-phase to E-phase is not caused by any change of topic in the conversation. In E-phase, there are paralinguistic and prosodic features which are not found in C-phase. (a) Men speak more rapidly in louder voices and in a higher pitch. (b) There is almost no interval between turns, and rapid exchanges of turns may occur with overlaps while they seem to speak simultaneously. (c) Speakers often make musical effects such as the refrains of the preceding utterance's intonation contour, and clapping his hands to the rhythm of his utterance.

Analyzing the meanings of their speech in E-phase shows that far from contradicting each other, they support each other's opinions. In E-phase, a conversation which lacks new information for both speakers and listeners continues in loud voices and with musical effects (Sawada, 1987, 1988).

The paralinguistic and prosodic features of E-phase are more impressive than that of C-phase. Their loud voices echo throughout the whole camp. Thus, E-phase of the evening conversation can be called a performance with utterance by the adult men. C-phase can be considered an introductory phase leading into E-phase, the climax of the evening conversation.

As no overlap between turns occurs in C-phase, there is clear distinction between two complementary roles, "speaker" and "listener." In contrast, in E-phase, overlaps between turns are so often heard that the distinction between "speaker" and "listener" is sometimes lost.

3. Two Modes of Utterance and Their Characteristics

Although apparently *obe* and the evening conversation are two different kinds of group performances with utterance, they share certain common features. In both *obe* and the evening conversation, a transition occurs between Phase-I or C-phase, and Phase-II or E-phase. In Phase-I of *obe* and in C-phase of the evening conversation, the participants are divided into two complementary roles as to the timing of utterance. In Phase-I when the soloist sings, other participants keep silent. When the

solo ends, they start singing in response to the solo. Similarly, in C-phase, others listen in silence during one's speech, there is no overlap between turns.

A generalized pattern in both of the utterances in Phase-I and C-phase, can be described as follows: It is a mode of utterance that divides participants into two groups at any moment, and prohibits the utterance of one group during that of the other. In *obe*, two groups consist of a soloist and responders, and in the evening conversation, a speaker and listeners. Especially in the evening conversation, any participant can alternate membership between both groups, as a speaker and a listener. Although the members of two groups change moment by moment, the mode of utterance above rules C-phase in the evening conversation. I call this mode of utterance, which allows one group to utter while another keeps silent. "utterance-silence" mode.

In contrast, in Phase-II of *obe* and in E-phase of the evening conversation, overlaps between the utterance of participants are heard. As shown in Exs. 1b and 3b in the Appendix 2, in Phase-II of *obe*, each utterance entirely overlaps with one another. Overlaps between turns are often observed in E-phase of the evening conversation. In both cases, the rule of the "utterance-silence" mode is broken at least partially, and the participants' utterances tend to overlap with each other. If this tendency is strengthened, all the utterances will share a beginning and an end. I call such an ideal mode of utterance, "simultaneous utterance" mode. In *obe*, "simultaneous utterance" mode rules the dense polyphony made up of many parts. In the evening conversation, this mode influences the exchange of turns and makes occasional overlaps between the turns. Though a song in unison should be one of the utterance completely ruled by the "simultaneous utterance" mode. I did not observe such a case.

The emotional excitement or the climax in both *obe* and the evening conversation are observed in the phase in which the "utterance-silence" mode loses its influence and the "simultaneous utterance" mode has a greater influence.

Not only in the utterance of the Efe, but also at a Japanese feast, the participants in the "simultaneous utterance" mode are extraordinarily excited. This also seems to be the case for the Hungarian gypsy called "Rom." Stewart (1989) described the men's singing and drinking feast, "*mulatsago*," which could be held more or less any time in the Rom community: "Indeed, *mulatsago* is an attempt to create an ideal communal world where men can respect each other in contrast to the daily one of rivalry, squabbles, divisive specificities and particularities.... Such a strong sense of brotherhood is rarely if ever felt at other times in settlement life" (Stewart, 1989: 84).

"The creation of this communal world demands the participation of all, the submission of every individual to a series of collective gestures, to the rhythm of the group. So just as men eat and drink together, in unison, the aim of singing in *mulatsago* is for all male Rom to sing at once, in one voice" (Stewart, 1989: 94).

"In singing them the men experience the submission of each individual voice into a homogeneous whole as each man comes to stand homologously to the song" (Stewart, 1989: 95).

Stewart described such a social situation achieved by singing as "communitas"

(Stewart, 1989: 96), which Turner phrased "as an undifferentiated, homogeneous whole, in which individuals confront one another integrally, and not as 'segmentalized' into statuses and roles" (Turner, 1969:177).

These descriptions by Stewart and Turner also fit the climax in *obe* and in the evening conversation. Though the song in *mulatsago* is sung in unison and is different from the dense polyphony of the Efe, both forms of singing are ruled by the "simultaneous utterance" mode. The "simultaneous utterance" mode in performance is considered a mode for achieving "communitas."

4. The Process of Reaching Climax

As the "utterance-silence" mode rules the daily, common conversations, the utterance of this mode occupies most of the time in the Efe's life. Besides common conversations, this mode also rules the exchange of greetings, a call and response, etc. The "simultaneous utterance" mode rules Phase-II of *obe* and E-phase of the evening conversation. The utterance of this mode occupies a rather short time in Efe life. In this mode, the Efe often become excited and "communitas" is achieved. The words of the utterance become less important and the musical effect of the utterance becomes more important.

The performance with utterance among the Efe is considered a transition between two modes of utterance. In the performance, a group of the Efe try to step out of the "utterance-silence" mode, and to rise to the "simultaneous utterance" mode.

Especially in *obe*, several stages are observed in the transition. At the beginning of *obe*, people stop their conversation and start singing a song in Phase-I. Phase-I is a transitional stage from daily conversation to Phase-II. In Phase-I, as well as in daily conversations, the "utterance-silence" mode has a great influence. Though words are heard in Phase-I, they are found only in the solo, not in the response. Some words are improvisational and not clear in meaning. While Phase-I shares the same mode of utterance with daily conversations, Phase-I and II share the reduced importance attached to the meaning of words.

The Efe try several times in vain to continue Phase-I. In the interval between tries, daily conversation is again heard among the participants and denotes a step backward in the course toward Phase-II.

When singing emotionally involves the participants after several tries, Phase-I changes into Phase-II at once. Phase-II is the ultimate goal of *obe* because of its unusual and extraordinary state of consciousness, quite different from the daily one. However, as the Efe become tired after performing long in Phase-II, the daily conversation is again heard in the circle of *obe*. Now the scene in the "simultaneous utterance" mode is changing back into that of the "utterance-silence" mode.

The fact that Phase-II can breed an unusual and extraordinary state of consciousness among the participants supports the origin legends in which *obe* were said to be originally performed by the supernatural beings, *tore*, in the dream of the originators. The extraordinary experience has two kinds of influence on the minds of the participants. First, it can arouse love among some of the participants for the opposite sex. Second, it can also remind the participants of the life beyond. Because of

this, *obe* can be performed in mourning for the dead people.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS I am grateful to le Département de la Recherche Scientifique, C. R. S. N. (Centre de Recherche en Sciences Naturelles), and Dr. Zana-Ndontoni, Directeur Général du C. R. S. N., for permission to conduct this study; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Japan (Grant-in-Aid for Overseas Scientific Research No. 60041006, No. 62041056, Grant-in-Aid for Data Compilation No. 61043004, and Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research No. 01790352), for financial support and facilities; Professors J. Itani, T. Nishida, and Y. Tani, Drs. M. Ichikawa, H. Terashima, and Y. Takahata for their encouragement and advice; Mr. T. Fujita for his help in transcribing and analyzing scores; the members of the Laboratory of Human Evolution Studies, and those of the Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University, for their valuable comments; and the people of the Ituri Forest for their hospitality. Lastly, I would like to present my profound respect to Efe life and the art of *obe*.

REFERENCES

- Arom, S. 1977. Liner notes to the music disc, "Cameroon—The Baka Pygmy Music." (EMI, (3C)064-18265).
- 1978. Liner notes to the music disc, "Centrafrique, Anthologie de la Musique des Pygmées Aka." (Radio France, 558-526/27/28).
- Bailey, R. C. & N. R. Peacock 1988. Efe Pygmies of northeast Zaire: Subsistence strategies in the Ituri Forest. In (I. deGariné & G. A. Harrison, eds.) *Coping with Uncertainty in Food Supply*, pp. 88–117, Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford.
- & I. DeVore 1989. Research on the Efe and Lese populations of the Ituri Forest, Zaire. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 78(4): 459–471.
- Brandel, R. 1961. *The Music of Central Africa: An Ethnomusicological Study*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague.
- Frisbie, C. J. 1971. Anthropological and ethnomusicological implications of a comparative analysis of Bushman and African Pygmy music. *Ethnology*, 10(3): 265–290.
- Harako, R. 1976. The Mbuti as hunters. *Kyoto University African Studies*, 10: 37–99.
- 1980. The developmental stages and the play among hunter-gatherers: A case of the Mbuti Pygmies. *Bulletin of Meiji University*, 137: 1–44 (in Japanese).
- Ichikawa, M. 1978. The Residential groups of the Mbuti Pygmies. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, 1: 131–188.
- 1982. *Hunters in the Forest*. Jibun Shoin, Kyoto (in Japanese).
- 1987. Food restrictions of the Mbuti Pygmies, eastern Zaire. *African Study Monographs*, Supplementary Issue, 6: 97–121.
- Leung, W. W. 1968. *Food Composition Table for Use in Africa*. FAO of the United Nations, Rome.
- Sawada, M. 1987. The evening conversation of the Efe Pygmy men and its social implication. *African Study Monographs*, Supplementary Issue, 6: 85–96.
- 1988. Social implications of the evening conversation among the Efe Pygmies. *Kikanjinruigaku*, 19(1): 49–59 (in Japanese).
- Schebesta, P. 1957. Pygmy music and ceremonial. *Man*, 57: 62–63.
- Stewart, M. 1989. "True speech": Song and moral order of a Hungarian Vlach Gypsy community. *Man*, 24(1): 79–102.
- Tanno, T. 1976. The Mbuti net-hunters in the Ituri Forest, eastern Zaire. *Kyoto University African Studies*, 10: 101–135.
- 1981. Plant utilization of the Mbuti Pygmies. *African Study Monographs*, 1: 1–53.
- Terashima, H. 1983. *Mota* and other hunting activities of the Mbuti archers. *African Study*

- Monographs*, 3: 71–85.
- 1985. Variation and composition principles of the residence group (band) of the Mbuti Pygmies. *African Study Monographs*, Supplementary Issue, 4: 103–120.
- 1987. Why Efe girls marry farmers? *African Study Monographs*, Supplementary Issue, 6: 65–83.
- , M. Ichikawa, & M. Sawada 1988. Wild plant utilization of the Balese and the Efe of the Ituri Forest, the Republic of Zaire. *African Study Monographs*, Supplementary Issue, 8: 1–78.
- Turnbull, C. 1955. Pygmy music and ceremonial. *Man*, 55: 23–24.
- 1965a. The Mbuti Pygmies: An ethnographic survey. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, 50(3) : 139–282.
- 1965b. *Wayward Servants*. The Natural History Press, New York.
- Turner, V. 1969. *The Ritual Process*. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.
- Vorbichler, A. 1965. *Die Phonologie und Morphologie des Balese*. Verlag J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt.
- Waehe, E. 1986. Efe (Mbuti pygmy) relations to Lese Dese villagers in the Ituri Forest, Zaire. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika*, 7(2): 375–411.

— Received November 22, 1989

Author's Name and Address: Masato SAWADA, *Laboratory of Human Evolution Studies, Faculty of Science, Kyoto University, Oiwake-cho, Kitashirakawa, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606, Japan.*

Appendix 1. Words sung in the “solo and response” chorus pattern.

Words 1. Words of <uwara>

Words recorded on 8 September, 1987.

(1) *Ale muteni mario merini obe Dase.*

English: Who will tell Mr. Dase in the forest about my (beautiful) voice?

Note: “Dase” is the name of an Efe man who is famous for his enthusiasm for playing *obe*. He went hunting in the forest and was absent from *obe* on this day.

(2) *Ere moboni mugumugu obe Dase.*

E.: Mr. Dase, come here immediately.

N.: The soloist would have been happier if Mr. Dase had participated in *obe*.

(3) *Bo gabubo amuboni Sawada.*

E.: Sawada, we will not go to bed tonight.

N.: The soloist meant that they would dance all night.

Words recorded on 31 October, 1987.

(1) *Mugafi mameri nigoto ura.*

E.: You did not see animals in my forest. Mugafi.

N.: “Mugafi” is the name of a mountain around which Boroboro heard <uwara> sung by *tore*. The Efe usually call an area where they are used to hunt and gather, “my/our forest”.

(2) *Efe uboti mugada ima ima merini efe uboba.*

E.: I do not know Efe people of a village.

N.: The meaning of this sentence cannot be understood well probably because a soloist often uses improper words to make a rhyme. “*Uboti*,” “*mugada*,” “*ima*,” “*merini*,” and “*uboba*” mean “near a village,” “I do not know,” “mother,” “in the forest,” and “of a village,” respectively. “*Ima*” is used as an exclamation.

Words 2. Words of Kamara’s <oberochi>

Words recorded on 2 January, 1988.

(1) *Obe lio afidei.*

E.: Voices of *tore*’s *obe*.

N.: “*Afidei*” means “people in the forest,” namely *tore*.

(2) *Afi meri.*

E.: *Tore*.

N.: “*Afi meri*” also means “people in the forest,” namely *tore*.

(3) *Ale matuwa malio.*

E.: Who sings in response to my voice?

N.: This kind of sentence often appears in the solo. The soloist invites people to playing Phase-I of the *obe* together.

(4) *Madu madu*

E.: I call people.

N.: See note of (3).

(5) *Obepu amukere merini.*

E.: We come to the place of *obe* in the forest.

(6) *Obe matu oru tai merini.*

E.: *Tore's obe* reaches its climax in the forest.

N.: "*Matu*" is another name of *tore*.

Appendix 2. Scores of two chorus patterns in *obe*.

(All transcriptions are shown in actual pitches and transcribed by Mr. T. Fujita.)

Ex. 1a. The "solo and response" pattern in Phase-I of <uwara>.

The musical score for Ex. 1a is presented in two systems. The first system consists of four staves labeled SOLO, WOMAN, MAN, and MAN. The SOLO part is a melodic line in 4/4 time, marked with a tempo of 120. It features a triplet of eighth notes. The WOMAN and MAN parts are responses, with the second MAN part featuring a triplet of eighth notes. The second system continues the musical notation for the WOMAN and MAN parts, with the second MAN part featuring a triplet of eighth notes. The tempo is marked as 120.

Ex. 1b. The "dense polyphony" pattern in Phase-II of <uwara>.

♩ = 150

WOMAN

WOMAN

WOMAN

MAN

MAN

MAN

MAN

Detailed description: This musical score illustrates a 'dense polyphony' pattern. It consists of eight staves. The top three staves are labeled 'WOMAN' and the bottom four are labeled 'MAN'. The tempo is marked as ♩ = 150. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music is written in a complex, overlapping fashion, with multiple voices of the same gender singing different parts simultaneously. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *ff*. There are also some specific markings like '3' above notes in the lower staves, possibly indicating triplets or specific rhythmic patterns.

Ex. 2. The "solo and response" pattern in <mairora>.

♩ = 150

RESPONSE

SOLO

Detailed description: This musical score illustrates a 'solo and response' pattern. It consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'RESPONSE' and the bottom staff is labeled 'SOLO'. The tempo is marked as ♩ = 150. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The 'RESPONSE' part features a melodic line with various note values and rests. The 'SOLO' part consists of a series of rhythmic patterns, represented by small black dots on the staff, which correspond to the 'response' part above. The overall structure suggests a call-and-response or solo-and-response format.

Ex. 3a. The “solo and response” pattern in Phase-I of Mataroru’s <oberochi>.

Musical score for Ex. 3a. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 200. The score consists of two systems of three staves each. The first system is labeled SOLO, WOMAN, and MAN. The SOLO part is on the top staff, the WOMAN part is on the middle staff, and the MAN part is on the bottom staff. The second system continues the same three parts. The SOLO part features a melodic line with various rhythmic values, while the WOMAN and MAN parts provide a rhythmic accompaniment.

Ex. 3b. The “dense polyphony” pattern in Phase-II of Mataroru’s <oberochi>.

Musical score for Ex. 3b. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 150. The score consists of a single system of four staves. The top three staves are labeled WOMAN and the bottom staff is labeled MAN. The three WOMAN parts are highly rhythmic and overlapping, creating a dense polyphonic texture. The MAN part provides a rhythmic accompaniment.