

## Text and music in Bororo chanting

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### Abstract

*This short study presents a description of performance and formalization of the rules of text segmentation in Bororo chanting. The segmentation of measured and unmeasured texts is analyzed and the way in which the abstract rules of performance manifest themselves in the reality of sonic production is examined. The author sees his transcriptions as a model of the process of music making in this society that is both cognitive and normative. It is cognitive because it allows for the recognition of formal structures in the text and normative because it makes the rules for performance explicit. He also relates the different stylistic ways in which the men's group and the women's choir treat this model musically to the respective roles of men and women in society.*

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

There are about nine hundred men, women and children who call themselves Bororo living in four Indian reservations in the state of Mato Grosso, Brazil. Many of their traditional institutions, beliefs and way of life have suffered drastic changes since they came in contact with European colons more than hundred and fifty years ago. Nevertheless a core of ritual practices still exists in several villages and these are a fundamental part of the cultural identity of the Bororo. All the musical activity of the Bororo is inextricable part of ritual practice, so an analysis of Bororo musical production requires a detailed description of performance while at the same time examining the problems raised by the analysis of chant. We investigate here the relationship between text and music and examine the problems of methodology posed by musical production within Bororo ceremonies.

The integrity of Bororo society is founded on the rigorous observance of an elaborate code of reciprocity and a system of rights and duties between the two exogamic moieties of the society. The dual structure of the society is reflected in the spatial arrangement of the traditional village. This is a circular arrangement determined by an east-west axe delimiting spatially its two halves.

The huts are built around a central house which is where the men gather. Women are invited there for certain ceremonies when they constitute the choir that accompanies the singing of men. The court to the west of the central house is the main ceremonial area.

Each clan possesses its own ornaments, emblems, personal names, body paintings, chants and myths. The system of reciprocal obligations which exist between clans (mostly belonging to the opposite moiety) is the result of exchanges and transactions taking place above all during the funeral ceremonies.

As far as the chant is concerned every group zealously guards its rights of performance since they are an indissoluble part of their clanic identity. However they can be delegated for the duration of a ceremony – and they usually are – to somebody with a better knowledge of them.

Singing is an essentially collective performative activity. All sonic production takes place during rituals and is inseparable from gestures and accompanying body language. We observe a complete embedding of the performative aspects of ritual in its organisational framework: music disappears as an autonomous entity and texts serve as a means of expression, performative activity is in fact a re-enactment of mythical events.

Transmission and memorising of chants is never done in a formal way. It takes place during the celebration of rites in which all community members as well as non permanent residents of the village such as clan affiliates take part. As we shall see learning the chants in this way has consequences on the mode of performance and explains certain aspects of the role of the leader.

Texts have been classified into funeral chants and chants preliminary to collective hunting or fishing expeditions (see COLBACCHINI 1925: 120; classification adopted by ALBISETTI/ VENTURELLI 1976). This classification does not correspond to any native category but it is effectively in these contexts that all ritual activity – and hence musical production – takes place. It is a useful approach in making sense of the great number of chants which exist in this society.

We are concerned here with an analysis of the performative aspects of chant and we make a distinction between measured and non-measured texts, that is between metric verse and prose. This stems naturally, as we shall see, from the type of manipulation to which these two types of texts are subjected.

<sup>1</sup> In this study the author extends studies published elsewhere to the point of explicit analysis of the relationship between text and music as indicated in the title. For more information on ritual contexts see CANZIO (1992) and CANZIO (CD 1989).

## Performance

When recitation starts the chant leader who plays the small rattles (*bapo rogu*) stands near the central post of the men's house; surrounded by the men and the youngsters that have attained puberty, he looks towards the west the place of the mythical hero Bakororo. Other people join in gradually. Prior to that, one of the youngsters had gone to fetch him in his hut and had led him by the hand to the central hut thus indicating a formal invitation to lead the chant. Only certain men can be leaders in these ceremonies with the right to play the small rattles. They must be initiated, memorise an extensive repertoire of chants and be ready to play them at any time. This is a heavy responsibility that not many potential chant leaders are ready to assume. This is one of the reasons for the loss of part of the repertoire.

When they hear the chant women come into the central house and join in the singing accompanied by their young children. They sit on mats on the floor along the eastern wall of the house. Their role though apparently secondary is of great social importance and it is capital for musical performance. According to custom they sit behind their husbands or their clan kin, as the case may be and accompany them, weeping ritually as the chants evoke the dead person. They sing the text in time with the basic pulse and they also intone the formula that marks the end of a chant. The men sing the text loosely and not in a very precise way using a characteristic deep, raucous voice interspersed with glottal stops and shakings of the diaphragm. The interaction between these two choirs creates a sound characteristic of the style Bororo chant.

We have said that there is not a formal transmission of the texts but it must be added that many texts are in fact not fixed but constitute a sort of grid in which key words (mythical hero's names, animal species, ornaments, etc. all linked to a particular clan) are put into the text according to the circumstances and to the clan of the recipient of the chant. The repetitive character of many of these texts is a factor that strongly favours their memorisation and their rhythmic accompaniment. Every performance includes something that we could call a rehearsal. If the text is in verse the generating line will be shown with its melodic contour, its textual segmentation and often, repeated or intercalary syllables as will be explained later. In the case of a text in prose the full passage will be established before being chanted. It will be then repeated, the object of this repetition is to remind the assembly of the definite form of the text that is going to be sung.

The function of the leader is to conduct the performance, to remind the assembly of the texts, to cue in the substitution elements or the text segmentation as the case may be and when necessary to correct performance errors. Besides this the leader must be able to create an atmosphere conducive to the mood and the mental state necessary for invoking the souls which is the aim of every ritual. He does it by imitating the cries of various animals and by shaking the rattle continuously at certain key moments to encourage the choir to «raise» the rhythm as they put it.

All this activity (cries, cueing, singing out of phase with the women's choir, etc.) produces an apparently chaotic but nevertheless meaningful sonic result. In the analysis that follows we shall try to show in detail the textual segmenting and we will describe the various aspects that have an incidence in the performance.

## Transcriptions

With the notation system used here our aim is to guide the listener to make a discriminating listening of the recorded examples and to give him elements of judgement to appreciate a rendering while pointing out the details of the performance and the interaction between the leader, the assembly of men and the choir of women. The usual techniques of notation change when we try to describe or explain a recording. The use of traditional notation implies a common code between author and reader but what matters here is not to try to represent graphically what the author has heard (because we now have access to a recording) but rather and above all, to highlight in the transcription the most salient features of the musical system<sup>2</sup>. The type of transcription used here is therefore normative and together with the description of the execution it intends to be a cognitive model of the process of musical production and text handling employed during Bororo rites. It is a type of transcription that allows errors of performance to be detected and to see how

<sup>2</sup> Ours is not the first to attempt at providing a transcription of Bororo chant and the examination of existing sources can allow us not only to ascertain change in ritual practices but to critically evaluate previous efforts. I would like to refer to transcriptions found in COLBACCHINI (1925: 110ff.). When I saw these notations for the first time I thought they could not possibly represent what I had heard of Bororo chant and besides the use of time signatures and tempo indications such as *movimento di valzer* or *quasi bolero o polonese* betrayed what I considered it was an extreme ethnocentric use of the tools of notation of our culture that could not possibly represent the reality of Bororo chant; so I felt inclined to dismiss it. However, some time later once I had become familiar with the system and with my personal experience could put some of Colbacchini's transcriptions into context, I found them quite intelligible. In fact I could reconstruct out of those fragmentary transcriptions how the chant might have sounded and could see how well he had translated into a traditional graphic representation a sonic language that I now knew well. Of course one should allow for the limited conceptual tools at his disposal at the time, he was not a musician or a musicologist and I doubt that anybody could have done any better seventy years ago. His transcriptions have a merit within the paradigms available to him at the beginning of the century. We cannot hold it against someone the fact of adhering to the current values of his time even if we would deplore that attitude in an anthropologist or a musicologist today.

Obviously holding different paradigms would yield different descriptions and representations of a particular social phenomenon but I contend that some kind of «cultural reality» exists which is there to be known and which transcends all hermeneutic interpretative attitudes. I assert that it is only at the operational level of this cultural reality that an ethnomusicologist can really function.

they are rectified by the leader. Finally it should allow us to evaluate what we hear using the same criteria as the producers.

We must keep in mind that a Bororo performance is a process rather than a completed work and it is precisely this process that interests us and that we are attempting to elucidate and formalise. The idea of an operational cognitive model to which the rules we are describing are applied and which are subject to the vagaries of performance is consistent with the nature of musical production in Bororo rites.

A conventional notation on a staff would not usually bring us any nearer our objective since the relevance of the different parameters of analysis in the examples in question cannot be properly explained with the customary tools of notation of our culture, which by the way strongly connote of other musical system. Consequently we have adopted a notation that correspond to the most prominent traits of the sound system we are describing. Given the close relationship between text handling and performance and taking into consideration the entity text/chant as a whole we have selected a few parameters of analysis which would allow us to describe this complex sonic system more successfully.

A trait that soon becomes evident is the regular and repetitive character of most chants. That brings us to the first parameter considered in our analysis, that of periodicity: there is a melodic line that repeats itself regularly and which will determine the basic metric framework. Textual metrics and text segmentation is another parameter of analysis; some elements of the prosody of the Bororo language such as syllabic quantity and stress appear here to be of importance. The study of melodic contours and their relationship with the text is another factor that counts in our analysis and it is closely related to prosody and stress. The rhythmic of the instrumental accompaniment is closely related to text segmentation specially in non measured texts.

### Rules for text modification in performance

We have selected fairly simple examples of chant to illustrate the application of the parameters we have chosen for analysis. They are of two types: those containing measured texts to which a single line melodic contour is applied and those consisting of non measured texts which will suffer transformations depending on the recitation formula applied to them.

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Paradigms of description evolve but it could well be that an early scholar may have properly understood a particular system and tried to describe it with conceptual tools different from ours. Thus, a comparison of descriptions may lead to the comparison of paradigms beyond which this subjacent «cultural reality» may emerge. The problematic nature of description of a sonic production and its cognitive aspects does shift the emphasis from the described object (society, event, etc.) to the examination of the particular bias of the author of a specific description and this is not without methodological implications for a critical appraisal of sources in our discipline.

### • Non measured texts (CD-11 to CD-13)

These are handled by segmenting the text at the level of the syllable.

**Example 1)** This chant is part of a ceremony of rejoicing (*oieigo*) associated in this context to the preparatory rites of a collective fishing expedition. We present here a text consisting of two sections called «establishing the oieigo rite» (*oieigo jetuiaga*) and «look here» (*nakana kaina mato*) of which the bare text has been presented below. A text has always to be adapted and modified by substituting the names of clanic emblems, animals and mythological heroes for the corresponding ones of the clan of the person who offers the rite and of the person to which it is being dedicated. - First comes a translation of the texts:

Hereby I establish the rite. Oh Bokodori [a mythical hero], we present it here to start the imposition of rattle-belt. I hereby establish it.

Look here. The red ornament made of tail feathers of the arara parrot is going to be placed at the entrance of the village where you arrive. Look here.

Once the text has been thus determined each of its parts is recited three times to remind the participants of the structure of what is to be sung. The end of the recitation is marked by sounds of approbation. - Plain text (CD-11):

[oieigo jetuiaga] oieigo eko duiaga eko bokodoriware  
iga oieigo wararere taagarua mamuiawuge eiaruru  
umugua arowe okoge ewari kiagodu birigodure  
otogudawu iragirirewu kurugugwe enogwa wuredodu  
remoduia ako umugua cegimejera bopaguduia imorio  
bakororo tuia gajewu okwabijire

[nakana kaina mato] eko naie paduregaje mato akiriarega  
akagaru utogewu meriri bakororo cegimamomo  
rukorewuge etoia urugu paduiau ekomodurewu  
bopaguduia okogedu bakororo akonaia

Once the text has been recited, the chant leader proceeds to deliver it with the corresponding text segmentation and rhythmic accompaniment. In this case (as in others but by no means always as we will see in example 2) the melodic contour is nil and so this example allows for a better isolation of the formula that will carry the text. The formula consists of five regular pulses and within this metric framework we find a rhythmic structure such as that indicated in figure 1.

To understand the procedure of segmentation better we must first say something about the prosody of Bororo language. Stress in a Bororo word always falls on the penultimate syllable with secondary stresses every second preceding syllable. Thus if a word has two syllables stress will fall on the first syllable; if it has three syllables on the second (- -); if it has four syllables on the third with a secondary stress on the first (- - -); on a five-syllable word (- - - -) the prosodic accent on the fourth and the second syllable and so on. Since the formula is applied to

every two syllables of the text, this is segmented in groups of two syllables thus (-), but in the case of words having an odd number of syllables, the first syllable is treated separately as indicated below.

A vertical bar separates the text segments to which the intonation formula is applied. A dot separates syllables. A space separates words. Notice that in a word having an odd number of syllables the first is dealt with on its own. We indicate in italics ambiguous or erroneous segmentation.

- Textual segmentation (CD-12):

o-ieli-go e-ko dulia-ga e-ko bo-ko!do-ri!wa-re  
iga o-ieli-go wa-ra!re-re *tala-galru-ia* malmu-ia  
!wu-ge e-ia!ru-ru u-mulgu-ia a!ro-we olko-ge  
elwa-ri ki-ialgo-du bilri-go!du-re olto-gulda-wu  
i-ra!gi-ri!re-wu ku-ru!gu-gwe elno-gwa alki-ri  
wu-re!do-du re-moldu-ia a-ko u-mulgu-ia ce!l  
gi-me!je-ra bolpa-guldu-ia i-mo!r-io ba-ko!ro-ro  
tu-ia!ga-je!je-wu olkwa-bilji-re (awuko)

e-ko!na-ie paldu-re!ga-je ma-to a-ki!ri-ia!re-ga  
a-ka!lga-ru u-to!lge-wu me!lri-ri ba-ko!ro-ro ce!l  
gi-malmo-mo rulko-re!wu-ge e-to!lia-ga ulru-gu  
pa-du!lia-gu e-ko mo-du!re-wu bolpa-guldu-ia  
o-ko!lge-du ba-ko!ro-ro a-ko!na-ia (o toiogire)

The two sections are sung continuously; the boundary between them is marked by the expression «listen!» (*awuko*) and the end of the chant by «it's finished!» (*o toiogire*).

The phonotactic structure of the Bororo syllable comprises an optional consonant and a vowel or written in conventional phonetics notation  $S=(C)V$  where S represents a syllable, C a consonant and V a vowel. If we call the first syllable of any segment having two syllables  $S_1$  and the second syllable  $S_2$  we could represent text segmentation in this case as follows  $S_1 S_2 V_2 V_2$  where  $V_2$  will be the vowel of the second syllable of the segment. In the case of a single syllable segment the formula will be  $S_1 V_1 V_1 V_1$  where  $S_1$  is the only syllable of the segment and  $V_1$  its vowel.

Errors of performance and ambiguities in textual segmentation do occur, most often in long words (five or more syllables) but some are a result of the syllable structure: stressed syllables followed by a vowel or a diphthong tend to add a semivowel to constitute an extra syllable. Thus a word like *ta-a-ga-ru-ia* which should normatively be segmented *tala-galru-ia* is segmented as *ta-alga-rulwu-ia*. In other cases we simply have segmentation that cannot be explained other than as errors of performance, for instance *o-to-gu-da-wu* which should be segmented *olto-gulda-wu* is segmented *o-tolto-gulda-wu*.

The rhythmic accompaniment of the rattles though it can be quite complex is essentially based on three movements that produce different timbres. The left hand rattle always beats the pulse regularly and produces a clean regular attack represented in our transcriptions as (↓). The right hand rattle produces two separate timbres one is an inward swish (↖) followed by an outward flick of the wrist that produces a clearly articulated attack (↗). We find several

rhythmic formulae in the performance of this ceremony but the present is one of the most interesting.

**Example 2)** This is another section of the above mentioned ceremony of rejoicing. Here we present two other sections called «hold him there» (*apodoje tuguje toro*) and «the sound of the pipe reaches us here» (*ekorira ako butuie mato*). - English translation:

Hold him there. Tie the white down ornamented feather-crown that lies on the ceremonial court [of the village] where the men gather to the head of Bakororo. Hold him there.

The sound of the *powari* pipe reaches us here. The brave avenger Bakororo made up [for hunting] and playing the pipe is coming back with a spotted wild panther its sound reaches us here.

I have not included in the recorded example the preceding recited section which as usual is recited three times. - Plain text:

apodoje tuguje toro ecewu bataruduia arowe  
ewororo jaiobejewu tabarigogo okogerewu oiaga  
urugu paduiagu turemoduio bopaguduia Bakujatowu  
Bakororo apodoje okwa bukoriri

ekorira ako butuie mato butu cemoiajewu  
uruberirewu bopaguduia Arogia Bakororo tuwoie  
ecewu iturabo tadawuge eiedugo aregodudo tarege  
Ukigaio Bakororo ceigoia turugudodu okwabijire

Textual segmentation (CD-13):

a-pol-do-je tul-gu-je to-ro elce-wu balta-ruldu-ia  
a!ro-we e-wolro-ro jali-o-bel-je-wu talba-ri!lgo-go  
olko-ge!re-wu o!lia-ga ulru-gu pa-du!lia-gu tul  
re-moldu-io bolpa-guldu-ia balku-jal-to-wu ba-ko  
!ro-ro a-pol-do-je o-kwa bu-ko!ri-ri (awuko)

e-ko!ri-ra a-ko bul-tu-ie ma-to bu-tu celmo-ia!  
je-wu u-ru!be-ri!re-wu bolpa-guldu-ia a-ro!gi-ia  
ba-ko!ro-ro tulwo-ie elce-wu i-tulra-bo ta-da!  
!wu-ge e-ieldu-go a!re-go!du-do talre-ge u-ki!  
!ga-io ba-ko!ro-ro ce-ilgo-ia tulru-guldo-du ol  
kwa-bilji-re (o toiogire)

There are no segmentation errors in this example. It should be said that the rhythmic figure used to deliver this text is simpler than on the preceding example. On the melodic front however this example shows an interesting feature. The intonation formula has two variants: two associated melodic contours used in different contexts. The first variant, the more common, is applied to segments containing two syllables, the second variant to segments made up of only one syllable. We are thus confronted by what we could call two allophonic variants of the same formulaic melodic contour that are context sensitive. The factor determining the context of apparition of one or the other variant is syllabic stress which determines text segmentation and from there follows the usage of any of the variants.



• Measured texts (CD-14)

**Example 3)** This example is a fishing chant. Before each collective rendering of a metric verse chant, the leader accompanying the chant with the regular pulse of his left rattle exposes the normative model of what will immediately follow. This is done in two phases. First the basic structural pattern is recited. That means that the text and its particular segmentation is rhythmically recited without any intonation pattern. Although the words and the intercalated syllables may not be readily apprehended by the unaccustomed ear, one can notice the pulses of the cycle (twenty pulses with a pause on the last one).

The next phase consists of exposing the same structure that has just been delineated but this time adding its corresponding intonation pattern. Some men of the choir who already know what is being sung join in before the exposition of the first verse finishes. The pattern is then taken up by the choir and the chant leader stops singing and simply continues to accompany the assembly of men, the whole line with the substitution element corresponding to the first verse is repeated several times (see figure below) and at the end the women's choir intone the concluding formula which is sustained by a particular rhythmic pattern on the rattles. Thus the preparatory section ends.

The chant leader continues to beat a regular pulse with the left hand rattle and the whole procedure starts all over again including the appearance of non-intoned text segmentation pattern. After that the choir will go through the whole strophe and include every substitution element. Every new verse will be sung once or several times according to the wishes or decisions of the chant leader who anticipates and sings those changes.

Once the first verse is intoned, it is repeated several times. This serves as an intonation model of what follows because the texts are measured and each verse has the same metric structure save for the substitution elements. The leader will not sing every verse, he will limit himself to introduce each new verse shouting the corresponding substitution element just before the verse is intoned. This is the basic procedure concerning measured texts. In certain cases (not in the present one) some of the substitution elements may have a different number of syllables than the rest of the group thus altering the number of syllables of each verse but not the basic metric stress patterns of the melodic contour formula. The extra syllables are squeezed into this metric pattern.

The first two pulses in the musical example are not to be counted, they are part of the continuous beating of the left hand rattle. The recited model with the text segmentation is as follows:

	jurewa ko	o	o	o	o	jurewa ko	o	o	o	o	aia	gu	u	amano jeto	o	a	i	
<i>pulse</i>	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
	1			5					10				15				20	

It follows the intoned model three times ending with the characteristic rhythmic formula played by the rattles and accompanied by the women's choir.

Notice that the rattle fill-in during the pause ends with a stroke which is not to be counted as part of the cycle.

After the rhythmic finishing formula accompanied by the women's choir, the leader continues to beat with the left hand rattle and takes up again the recited model. After its recitation the left hand rattle continues to beat and all attack the intoned model with the substitutions as indicated:

	jurewa ko	ooo	o	o	ooo	jurewa ko	o	o	ooo	o	a ia	gu	u	amano je	to	a io	gi
<i>twice pulse</i>	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
	1			5					10				15				20

*Substitution elements:*

<i>twice</i>	kaiaba ko	kaiaba ko
<i>once</i>	manoba ko	manoba ko
<i>once</i>	iwoba ko	iwoba ko
<i>once</i>	roiaba ko	roiaba ko
<i>once</i>	arowa ko	arowa ko

*Rhythmic finishing formula accompanied by the women's choir.*

Just as with prose, quantity is important in metric texts. What matters is the accentual structure of the metric framework determined in the first line. It is the basic melodic contour for a line or verse that determines the length of the period and the stress structure of the metric framework.

*Right hand rattle*  
*Left hand rattle*

S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub> V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>2</sub>  
 a po o o

S<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>  
 je e e e

a po o o    tu gu u u    je e e e    to ro o o    e e e e  
 ce wu u u    ta ru u u    du ia a a    a a a a    ro we e e  
 e wo o o    ja a a a    io be e e    je wu u u    ma a a a  
 ba ri i i    o o o o    ko ge e e    re wu u u    o o a a  
 ia ga a a    ru gu u u    pa du u u    ia gu u u    tu u u u  
 re mo o o    bo o o o    pa gu u u    du ia a a    ba a a a  
 ku ja a a    ba ko o o    to wu u u    a po o o    do je e e  
 o kwa a a    ri ri i i    bu ko o o    etc.

Figure 2. (Noten zu Tonbsp. CD-13)

### Concluding Remarks

This detailed description of the performance and the analysis that has ensued have been necessary in order to understand the process of production of a chant and to understand the way in which the rules of performance manifest themselves in the reality of sonic production. The errors of performance pointed out here are of emic importance because they tend to confirm that the «grammar» or rather the phonemics of textual manipulation of a melodic formula may not have been fully assimilated by certain members of the choir. This proves that we are confronted with an unconscious process of textual segmentation that shows the allophonic character of the two variants of the intonation formula illustrated in figure 2.

As far as pitch is concerned we seem to find two basic opposing pitches separated by an interval of approximately a minor third. The exact size of the interval does not appear to be a relevant consideration for the Bororo though it tends to remain fairly constant. What matters here is that there should be a clear opposition of pitches. It may be noticed the existence of an intermediate pitch not always clearly intoned functioning as a passing note between the two main opposing pitches.

Our transcriptions thus intend to be a model of the process of music making that is both cognitive and

normative. It is cognitive because it allows to recognise formal structures and to observe the application of generating rules to the sonic production. Besides, it is normative because it formalises the rules of performance.

How this model is treated by the different groups participating in the performance: the women's choir, the assembly of men, the cries and the oral cues of the leader is what determines the particular stylistic character of Bororo chant. Women sing the text following the model regularly on a clearly marked pulse and they also sing the final formula that mark the end of a chant. Men for their part sing the text in a much freer way and with a deep timbre. The interaction of the two groups creates thus an apparent polyphony by a slight de-phasing in the treatment of the normative model. The chant leader is there to conduct, to encourage and to rectify errors of performance; he is the regulating factor in the dynamics established within the group. Each group deals differently with the model. While men take certain liberties with the phrasing, tempo and the voice timbre, women seem to keep nearer the normative model. All this is in accord with the supporting role of women during rituals; they accompany and encourage men when they sing and fan them and aid them while they dance. Men take a more forward attitude.

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### Résumé

Cet article tente une description de la performance dans le chant bororo et la formalisation des règles de segmentation textuelle des chants. L'auteur analyse la segmentation de textes cadencés et non cadencés et explique comment les règles abstraites de la performance se manifestent dans la réalité de la production sonore. Il voit ses transcriptions comme un modèle à la fois cognitif et normatif du processus de création musicale bororo. Cognitif parce qu'il permet d'appréhender les structures formelles du texte, et normatif dans la mesure où il explicite les règles de la performance. Les différences stylistiques du traitement musical de ce modèle qui apparaissent dans sa réalisation par le groupe des hommes et le chœur des femmes sont mises en rapport avec les rôles respectifs des hommes et des femmes dans la société.

### Resumo

Este artigo descreve a performance do canto bororo e formaliza as regras de segmentação dos seus textos. Analisa-se a segmentação de textos métricos e não métricos e explica-se de que maneira as regras abstratas da performance se manifestam na realidade da produção sonora. O autor considera as suas transcrições como um modelo ao mesmo tempo cognitivo e normativo da prática musical bororo. Cognitivo enquanto permite reconhecer estruturas formais no texto, e normativo enquanto explicita as regras vigentes na performance. O autor relaciona os diferentes estilos de tratamento musical deste modelo pelo grupo dos homens e o coro das mulheres com as funções respectivas de homens e mulheres na sociedade.