fulfilled by the instrumental musicians. The drum ensemble accompanies, coordinates, and synchronizes all contributions to the joint performance. The lead player in particular has specific drum patterns at his disposal for a variety of specific functions: to call for a specific rhythm that goes along with a certain song, to ornament and accompany a formation dance, and to individually provoke, focus, heat up, and cut off encounters with solo dancers. On the level of repertoire, there is a highly differentiated body of about 60 individual drumming rhythms (each of which contains several specific patterns as mentioned above). Each rhythm is more or less associated with one or several attributes of the participants' personal identities. Every age-group, ethnic or regional identity, and social status group, which is typically present at celebrations as well as some occasion-specific positions such as that of the *denbaw*, can be addressed using specific parts of the repertoire at certain stages of the celebration.

Songs and rhythms are chosen by the professionals in order to make dance a certain part of those present, or they are requested by those who want to dance. Let me give an example: When I took part in an afternoon celebration in 1997, the rhythm corresponding to "my" patronymic and status group[10] was played by my colleagues, and I was thrown a scarf. I was a bit shy then, and was happy to have the chance to stick to (and hide myself behind) the drum which I was playing at the moment. When, after a few pieces, I passed the drum on to a friend of mine who took over from me, he asked: "Why didn't you dance to your own rhythm, show yourself to the gathering, show that you belong to us?"

Guests and organizers in particular are frequently invited and expected to perform. Their dancing is more than personal recreation and entertainment; it is a social obligation to show their share of personal involvement in the gathering and attachment to the social occasion. Common participation in dance is thus absolutely indispensable; it is at the heart of the success or failure of each celebration.[11]

The social structure of performance in urban celebrations is complex. There are three levels on which participants can be assigned social positions and corresponding roles. The first concerns social status and identity in the larger societal system, defined, for example, by bearing a certain patronymic, which is associated with certain status groups, ethnic or regional identities, and kin groups. The second is the position relative to the social occasion of the celebration. On this level I have distinguished organizers, guests, professionals, and spectators as the four main categories. Each participant can be addressed and invited to dance on both of these levels by specific songs and rhythms. The third level refers to spatial positions and activity roles in the situated interaction order such as drumming, dancing, singing, and looking on from the circle. It is on this level that one can differentiate between performance and audience.

Now consider the structural relations between roles on the different levels just distinguished above. The subroles of a participant's role-set can very much cohere. This is the case with the drummers, who form a distinct group well-defined by their professional status in society, by their commercial relationship to the social occasion, and by their highly specialized performance role. Such is also the case with the singers, predominantly recruited from the traditional occupational and status group of griots, who are attached to the occasion in either well-defined client-patron relationships or, like the drummers, by way of market relationships, and perform the role of singing, with some exceptions, to the exclusion of most other participants.

But this is *not* the case with dancing. While the drumming and singing are more or less exclusively performed by groups of professionals, participants of all social statuses, professions, classes, ages, and ethnic or regional identities take on the role of dance performance. Participants of all positions as defined by relationship to the occasion, all organizers, guests, professionals, and spectators, too, may take turns dancing. As already stated, celebrations are profoundly accessible in that any passerby or bystander can fully join the gathering just by placing himself or herself in the circle of audience which bounds the situation. The point I want to make here is that they are also profoundly participatory in that every participant can claim the performance role of dancing and main focus of attention just by going for it at the right moment. Even spectators who do not have direct relations to the social occasion, and thus do not (unlike the others) have an occasioned interest and social obligation to publicly present themselves to the gathering, are by no means denied the right to do so. Everyone is invited to perform. Whoever

10 It is common practice in southern Mali to attach a certain identity to foreign researchers showing some involvement and willingness to participate in the local culture.

11 Roderick Knight (1984) first reported on the open, participatory, and inviting quality of drum/dance celebrations in contrast to the more unidirectional presentation of griots' performances in Mande societies. See also Charry (2000: 193–198).