utterances does the child begin to be addressed, inculcating in her the proper linguistic practices for these cultures, learning proper deference to superiors (Samoa) or the ability to assert one's wants (Kaluli). From an early age, children seem to be aware of gender-determined differences in norms for the use of language. At age 5, boys already clearly see language as a way to assert their dominance and needs, with little redressive action, while girls typically employ redressive strategies and exhibit a concern for the addressee's cooperation and contributions. Young children are also well attuned to differences of status and power; by age 2, they seem able to appreciate status differences among interlocutors and employ proper linguistic uses, although the full complexities of systems like T/V contrasts may elude them until much later. Linguistic socialization also plays a primary role in inculcating in the child various norms for linguistic interactions as they enact proper behavior for a competent person in the culture. Ultimately, Japanese indirectness and reticence and American assertiveness and forthrightness are valued personal characteristics in these two cultures which are primarily enacted in linguistic practices and hence learned by successful linguistic socialization.

Further Reading

On socialization in general, consult Field, Sostek, Vietze, and Leiderman (1981) and Munroe, Munroe, and Whiting (1981). For language socialization, have a look at the survey articles by Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) and Schieffelin and Ochs (1986a). Individual case studies are found in Cook-Gumperz (1973), Cook-Gumperz, Corsaro, and Streek (1986), Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan (1977), Ochs (1988), Schieffelin (1990), Schieffelin and Ochs (1986b), and Streek (1983). For more structural approaches to language learning, Bowerman (1981) is an excellent introduction, but also see textbooks on language acquisition like Eliot (1981), Goodluck (1991), or Ingram (1989).

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Genre: Poetics, Ritual Languages, and Verbal Art

Genres and Framing

In the previous three chapters, I presented differences in linguistic forms or registers as indexes or markers of various social variables centered on the personhood of the various speech event participants, their gender, class, caste, or ethnicity, etc. There is at least one other way that the personhood of a speech act participant can be indexed by a linguistic form, and this is through the concept of *genre*, the different types of speech events themselves and how they are constructed and understood linguistically. Hanks (1996) demonstrates that the social role of the shaman in curing ceremonials in Mayan culture is crucially tied to his ability to possess texts of a particular genre, curing chants, and to enact these unique texts in the ritual contexts of curing, which, to some extent at least, are in fact created by the very enaction of those texts. This indexical marking of social roles through controlling and enacting genre types is, of course, not unique to Mayan shamans; in our own culture, Catholic priests are indexed by, among other features, their enaction of the Church liturgy, and lawyers, by their mastery of legal genres. In fact, mastery of particular genre types may be a crucial defining property of many of the more highly conventionalized and prescribed roles in society.

Genre is a contentious and much written about subject, but Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) work is perhaps the most insightful in its understanding. For Bakhtin, genres consist of historically transmitted, relatively stable frameworks for orienting the production of discourse. While strongly conventionalized and grounded in the social practices of language production and understanding in the community, they are still nonetheless flexible and open to creative manipulation by performers. Thus, while *once upon a time* is a conventionalized opening formula for the production of a text belonging to the fairy-tale genre in English; this need not necessarily be so: a speaker could creatively invoke this formula, for example, to add particular folksy,

fairy-tale like or traditionalist nuances to an academic paper (for an example of an academic paper cast in a narrative framework, see Pawley (1993b)). Formulae like *once upon a time* are framing devices in Bateson's (1972) terms or markers of *footing* (Goffman 1974, 1981), that is, indexes of the genres which the speaker is producing or wishes for some reason to invoke. They can also be seen as kinds of *contextualization cues* in the sense of Gumperz (1982, 1993). Such framing/footing devices work, as clearly seen by Bakhtin, to the extent that genres are not so much inherent in the text forms themselves, but in the frameworks and interpretive procedures that verbal performers and their audiences use to produce and understand these texts. (For example, an academic paper remains an academic paper because it invokes most of the framing devices associated with that genre, for example, extensive referencing; it can, however, be related in a narrative-like "key" (Hymes 1972b) by invoking some framing devices characteristic of this genre. This demonstrates that genre classifications are not rigidly definable in terms of formal text types, but are the result of applying (sometimes conflicting) interpretive procedures.)

Intertextuality

As emphasized by Bakhtin, the orienting frameworks and interpretative procedures that constitute genres are historically transmitted, as are other language forms. And like other language forms in Bakhtin's view, genres are strongly *dialogic* in his particular sense, i.e. "a single strip of talk (utterance, text, story) can juxtapose language drawn from, and invoking, alternative cultural, social and linguistic home environments, the interpenetration of multiple voices and forms of utterance" (Duranti and Goodwin 1992:19). Other terms for the same Bakhtinian notion are *polyphony* or *heteroglossia*. The different voices in dialogic texts call up different cultural, historical and personal perspectives, "prior texts" in Becker's (1995) terminology or "intertextuality" in that of Briggs and Bauman (1992). Thus, in the academic paper example mentioned above, the framing devices that invoke the genre of academic papers call into mind the many hundreds of previous academic papers any professional academic must have read, leading her to judge the present one under discussion in terms of the historically situated and professionally transmitted canon for this genre. Whether it is a good or bad academic paper is judged in terms of this canon, and this is not absolute, but is calibrated in terms of the many previous good or bad academic papers (prior texts, intertextuality) the professional academic reader has read. The grounds for determining whether it is a narrative or not are, of course, completely different. The framing devices for this genre call into

memory the many narratives or stories that the academic reader knows; these are the prior texts, the source of intertextuality. As a result of this, the reader will have fairly clear ideas of what a narrative should be like; whether the case under discussion succeeds or not will depend on the reader's judgment of how well the author blended the demands of academic exposition with the expectations of this genre.

In essence, it is the prior texts or intertextuality which constitute the dialogic sense of this text, but this text is not unusual, for language, being historically transmitted, is inherently dialogic. Our mouths are full of the words of others, which we apply to our present circumstances. A superb example is the proverb. Proverbs are passed on from generation to generation in a quite fixed form to communicate an important moral or practical truth which pertains to a new situation. They are the words of others, recontextualized in our present now, in order to provide an interesting or important viewpoint on the present situation. They derive their power both from their formal fixed rather poetic structure and from their carrying a kind of folksy received wisdom, a putatively widely shared public opinion. Proverbs like *he who hesitates is lost*; *there's no use crying over spilt milk*; or the proverb from Maninka of West Africa *the lizard and the bat do not eat the same dish* (i.e. *one man's meat is another man's poison*) (Bird and Shopen 1979:190) demonstrate both these properties. This proverb genre can be performed when a speaker finds a context in which their message seems relevant and their abbreviated forms seem to succinctly sum up the situation. So on hearing that one has missed an opportunity to make a significant profit in the stock market, one might respond: "well, you know, *there's no use crying over spilt milk*." In Maninka culture, the creative and appropriate use of proverbs is a highly valued facet of verbal interaction; one must master this genre well if one is to be a competent speaker of the language, as in the following interchange (Bird and Shopen 1979:99):

Old man: Ah, you are becoming a Maninka. You speak the language like one of us

Newcomer: No matter how long a log lies in the water, it never becomes a crocodile (i.e. "as a foreigner I still and always will have a lot to learn")

Old man: Ah, my son, a log lying in the water is still the cause of fear (i.e. "you are behaving enough like a Maninka to be respected as a member of the group")

Genres do vary to the extent that they involve dialogic expansion and richness, which can be viewed as a scale, ranging from those which are relatively monologic to those which are richly dialogic. Genres like proverbs, charms, and spells (Sebeok 1964) and some types of poetry have highly

stereotypical and constrained forms and do not easily admit the incorporation of new and multiple dialogic voices, while others like drama, the epic poem and, most importantly, the novel are formally much more open-ended and easily allow the addition of new and often conflicting voices, from whence much of the power of these genres derives. A typical way these genres accomplish just this is through the device of *reported speech* (Vološinov 1986), in which the quoted speech of one party is embedded in the talk of another (like *Jane then said "Well, I'm not going to the wedding"*), either that of the author of the work, as commonly in the novel, or of another character, for example, in drama. The presence of reported speech distinguishes genres along a dimension from more monologic to more dialogic. Highly formally constrained, stereotypical genres like proverbs tend toward the monologic side of the scale in contrast to some more openly formatted genres like the novel, which tend to be strongly dialogic. There are also some relatively more openly formatted genres which tend toward the monologic, for example, scientific writing, especially in the hard sciences. To be an exemplary member of the genre of the scientific essay, a scientific journal article must speak in one voice, be cogently argued, and present a single coherent point of analysis; in this sense it can be viewed as a monologic genre. Of course, a scientific journal article is historically situated and marked by the prolific citing of the thoughts and statements (i.e. voices) of earlier workers in the field (documented through references, a salient framing device for this genre); these are dialogic components in this genre. However, unlike the typical novel and more notably, the typical drama, these are background information for this genre, not normally part of its major rhetorical power, which is to convince the reader of the author's arguments and analysis. It is in this sense that they are monologic, like proverbs or magic spells.

The Poetic Function

Genres, then, differ along one very salient dimension in how fixed or stereotypical are the expected formats and interpretive procedures we use for producing and interpreting them. Of course, these are culturally defined and will vary, but ultimately these are questions of form, how the generic performance is formally carried out. In Jakobson's (1960) terms, what is of concern here is the *poetic function* of language, a reflexive concern with the actual form of the utterance itself. Form becomes a focus of attention in its own right, independent of meaning. A good example might be that lines in much of English poetry rhyme; this is a purely formal constraint for this type of English poetry, quite independent of other aspects of a poem's meaning. This formal constraint defines some poetic genres in English, leading speakers who spontaneously produce rhyme of this sort in their

speech to disclaim "Oh, I'm a poet and I didn't know it." This focused concern with an utterance's form is what Jakobson means by the poetic function, and while perhaps most salient in poetic genres (hence Jakobson's name for it), it is by no means limited to them. All genres have formal constraints salient to them, their own realizations of the poetic function. Narratives in English, as in other European languages, for example, have formal features which act as frames for this genre (for example, see Labov (1972a); Labov and Waletzky (1967)). Among the most noticeable are those associated with the development of the plot. The order of events in the story should be sequential, so that the order of events in the plot is iconic with the order of their narration. Flashbacks, i.e. narrated events which actually occurred earlier in the plot, and jumping ahead to narrate events which have yet to occur in the development of the plot are permissible, but they must be clearly signposted, indicated by a framing device that they are such. These constraints are in marked contrast to Becker's (1995) description of the generic format for the Javanese shadow theatre. In this genre, such linear plot development is not mandated. The plots of Javanese shadow theatre jump around, leading to coincidences of narrative events from different times and places, and it is in the nature of these coincidences that the power of the plot obtains. Coincidence rather than cumulative development is the salient formal constraint, a realization of the poetic function, in the Javanese shadow theatre. The psychological salience of such formal-framing properties is demonstrated in work by Bartlett (1932). In some pioneering experiments, Bartlett had subjects listen to various exotic stories from various cultural traditions and then asked them to recall the plot at various subsequent intervals. He found that they were not able to recall such input accurately and that the inaccuracies exhibited regular patterns. Subjects would revise the plots until they came to resemble standard stories they had heard, a prototypical wild west narrative, for example. This demonstrates the forceful constraining power of framing devices in constructing genres of diverse types; in the case of these exotic narratives, the familiar framing devices of well-known narratives were so salient as to cause the exotic narratives to be reframed in order to fit into standard cultural models of this genre.

Genres like proverbs, spells, poetry and narratives, exist first and foremost in their performance. They may be written down or memorized and thus en-textualized, i.e. turned into relatively stable re-presentable decontextualized versions of themselves as texts (Bauman and Briggs 1990), such as when an oral epic poem like the *Iliad* is offered to readers as a written text (what Hanks (1989) calls "decentering"). But clearly this is a strictly secondary, derivative version of the genre, removed from the circumstances which generated it, first and foremost as a performance with a performer and an audience. The formal constraints which frame the genre, its poetic

function, are primarily those which diagnose its performance as a competent, even better, artful one for both the performer and the audience. If the performer varies too much from the appropriate formal constraints, the audience may judge it a poor performance of the genre and may not even recognize it as a performance of the genre. Again this may be most apparent with the more formally fixed genres like proverbs; if the utterance is a completely new expression, the audience will probably not even recognize it as a proverb at all. On the other hand, in some more openly formatted genres like epic poetry, if the performer sticks too rigidly to stereotypical formal constraints, the audience may also judge it a poor performance, due to boredom from repetition and lack of imagination. By and large, a good performance should lie between extreme fixity and unconstrained creativity; skillfully navigating the range between these two poles is the essence of verbal art.

Framing Devices: Lexical Shifts

The poetic function, as realized in various genres, gives the performer and audience a number of formal framing devices for the performance of good instances of verbal art. Bauman (1977:15–24) provides a useful inventory of these different types of framing devices. One type is the use of special introductory formulae which index the genre, such as *did you hear the one about* for a joke or *once upon a time* for a fairy tale. Related to this and, in a sense a global extension of it, is the use of specialized language styles or codes to signal a particular genre. These are the ritual languages so familiar from ethnographic descriptions of cultures around the world. Quite commonly the major differences between these ritual languages and the ordinary languages of the community are found in the lexicon, but there may be grammatical differences as well, especially in relatively short, highly stereotypical genres like charms or magical spells. Thus, Sebeok's (1964) study of Cheremis charms shows them to have a syntactic structure quite divergent from ordinary conversation and narrative, as well as a highly abstruse vocabulary, largely of non-native etymology. In other cases the differences are largely lexical, as in Sherzer's (1983:26) presentation of the special lexical forms of the Kuna *ikarkana* or curing rituals:

Everyday Kuna	*Curing Ritual Kuna*	
ome	walepunkwa	"woman"
tii	wiasali	"water"
ipya	tala	"eye"
neka	posumpa	"house"
enukke	yatwe	"to wash"

A similar phenomenon obtains in the specialized language of Asmat songs, a language of Irian Jaya (Voorhoeve 1977:27):

Everyday Asmat	*Song Asmat*	
pi	sap	"cassowary"
ew	osama	"crocodile"
pir	manam	"moon"
cowuc	yuwar	"woman"
mu	okom	"water"
amas	mama	"sago"

The most extreme cases of specialized codes or ritual languages to frame a particular genre involve the use of an entirely distinct language, as with the role of Latin in the Roman Catholic ritual of the Mass throughout the world up until the 1960s.

Another typical device is the use of figurative language or literary tropes (see Burke 1941, 1969; Fernandez 1974, 1986; Friedrich 1979, 1986, 1991). These also derive their power as framing devices from their deviation from the uses of ordinary language, directing the audience to attend to the text through the semantic density and suggestiveness of the lexical items used. One of the most common types of figurative language is metaphor, describing one thing in terms of another, by at least sharing some semantic feature(s) (see chapter 9), well known in English poetry. It is also employed in Kuna *ikarkana*, where Everyday Kuna *kwalluleke* "to be born" is replaced by *akteke* "to land," *tuttu* "flower" by *kurkin* "hat," and is pervasive in Asmat songs, in which a word used in a line of a song should not be repeated in later lines, but replaced with a metaphorically related equivalent. So *yow* "sun" will be replaced by *yesir*, which in turn will be replaced by *pir* "moon." Quite long metaphorical chains can be constructed in this way: *as* "faeces" → *peke* "lump of clay" → *minuk* "hard lump of clay" → *pow* "soft mud"; and *yuwur* "dog" → *sun* "wallaby" → *foc* "possum"→ *nayir* "type of marsupial" → *yiwir* "sugar glider" → *mupir* "water rat" → *poco* "rat" → *pirow* "big mouse" → *pea* "mouse" (Voorhoeve 1977:23–6). Another type of figurative language is metonymy, the linking of words through a part–whole relationship or physical contiguity. Again, Asmat song language provides good examples; *cen* "vagina" is replaced by *men* "sharp edge" or *pim* "edge, rim" and *ser* "fish" by *makpin* "ripples on the surface of the water" (often caused by *ser* swimming close to the surface). One of the most striking types of figurative language use is antonymy, using a specific word or utterance, but actually meaning its opposite. This is a large part of irony in English genres, but plays an important role in many ritual languages, especially those of Australian Aborigines like the Warlpiri (Hale 1971). A good example is provided by specialized languages associated with curing rituals among the

Kewa of highlands New Guinea (Franklin 1975), so that *inumakua*, normally "young unmarried girl" actually means "boy" in the ritual language.

Parallelism

Perhaps the most common framing device is parallelism, stated most generally as recurring patterns in successive sections of the text. Jakobson (1960:358) sees parallelism as the poetic function *par excellence* and defines it as "the poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination." Unpacking this, what he means is the kinds of choices which constitute the structure of the linguistic system at various levels, phonological (the phonemes /p/ versus /b/, /pɛt/ versus /bɛt/), grammatical (*a quicker runner* versus *one who runs more quickly*) and lexicosemantic (*big* versus *little*, *little* versus *tiny*, *state* versus *government*, *child* versus *flower*), are projected onto recurring successive bits of text, leading to similarities, parallelisms, across units of the text. This is perhaps most apparent in phonology; phonological parallelism is the basis of rhyme for line final syllables in English poetry and recurring metrical patterns in the lines of a verse, as in Shakespeare's Sonnet 29:

> When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,
> I all alone beweep my outcast state,
> And trouble deaf Heaven with my bootless cries,
> And look upon myself, and curse my fate,
> Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
> Featur'd like him, like him with friends possess'd,
> Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope,
> With what I most enjoy contented least;
> Yet in these thoughts myself almost despising,
> Haply I think on thee, – and then my state
> (Like to the lark at break of day arising
> From sullen earth) sings hymns at heaven's gate;
> For thy sweet love remember'd such wealth brings,
> That then I scorn to change my state with kings.

Note the recurring parallel pattern of final rhyme in alternate lines (line 1 /aIz/, line 2 /eIt/, and again line 3 /aIz/, line 4 /eIt/, and so on) and the common metrical pattern of each line (a unit of unstressed syllable followed by stressed syllable repeated five times, so called iambic pentameter). This is parallelism at the phonological level, and such a rigid parallelistic patterning is indexical for this genre of English poetry, for a sonnet is an alternately rhymed poem in iambic pentameter consisting of exactly 14 lines. Other

genres of English poetry may be less rigid, but still rely on phonological parallelism; for example, free verse dispenses with rhyme, but still uses meter, that is rhythmical parallelism, as well as other kinds of phonological parallelisms, as in the opening of Whitman's "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking":

> Out of the cradle endlessly rocking
> Out of the mockingbird's throat, the musical shuttle
> Out of the Ninth-month midnight

The rhythm of each line is built around the same meter, from two to four short unstressed syllables (˘) followed by a strongly stressed syllable (´). The first line is composed of two of these units:

> Oŭt ŏf thĕ crádlĕ ĕndlĕsslў róckĭng

The first line contains two of these units, the second line, three, and the third line, two. In addition each line is in parallel by starting with the words *out of the*; this is a kind of alliteration, recurring initial phonemic sequences.

The use of rhyme, alliteration, and meter are framing devices, indexicals, for English poetic genres, and we might expect that, while some other verbal traditions may also make use of these framing devices for poetry, others may not. The study of how other traditions of verbal art frame their performances of oral poetry is the study of ethnopoetics (Hymes 1981; Tedlock 1972, 1983). Tedlock argues that poetry among the Native North American traditions is not characterized by the patterns of phonological parallelism typical of European traditions, but is largely structured by the placement and durations of pauses, and other paralinguistic phenomena such as pitch and loudness, with grouping of words between pauses belonging to a single phonological unit, which is then set up in parallel array to preceding and following units. Conversely, Hymes (1981, 1987) argues that it is grammatical properties which structure Native North American poetry into units, the local equivalent of lines and verses. The use of particular sentence initial particles or adverbials is claimed to signal the beginning of new poetic units. (It is probably unnecessary to choose between Tedlock's and Hymes's views, for quite probably both are operative in these Native North American poetic genres; for a brilliant synthesis of both views plus some very original contributions of his own, see Woodbury (1985, 1987).)

Hymes's understanding of ethnopoetics introduces the idea of grammatical parallelism, recurring morphological or syntactic patterns in a text. Again these are highly noticeable in English poetry; note that each line in the snippet from Whitman's poem cited above begins in a prepositional phrase. Grammatical parallelism often mixed with phonological parallelism

as in the Whitman lines above, is highly characteristic of performances of ritual languages. In Kuna (Sherzer 1983), the suffix *-ye*, which signals an optative or vocative mood, occurs with great frequency in the ritual language performances for curing. Further, utterances in Kuna ritual language often conclude with one of a stereotypical class of words, meaning "say," "see," "hear," and "in truth." Note the extensive phonological and grammatical parallelism in the following ritual chant for curing headaches and increasing brain power (Sherzer 1983:54) (*kurkin* "hat" is used metaphorically to mean "brain power"):

kurkin ipekantinaye
Owners of *kurkin*
olopillise pupawalakan akkuekwichiye
To the level of gold your roots reach
kurkin ipekantinaye
Owners of *kurkin*
olopillise pe maliwaskakan upoekwichiye
Into the level of gold your small roots are placed
kurkin ipekantinaye
Owners of *kurkin*
olopillise pe maliwaskakana pioklekekwichiye
Into the level of gold your small roots are nailed
kurkin ipekantinaye
Owners of *kurkin*
olopillipiye apikaekwichiye kurkin ipekantinaye
Within the very level of gold you are resisting, owner of *kurkin*
olopilli aktikkimakkekwichi kurkin ipekantinaye
In the level of gold you weigh a great deal, owners of *kurkin*
olopilli kwamakkekwichi kurkin ipekantinaye
In the level of gold you are firmly placed, owners of *kurkin*
olopilli aktitimakkekwa kwichiye kurkin ipekantinaye
In the level of gold you are moving, owners of *kurkin*
olopillipiye
Within the very level of gold
kinakaekwichiye
You are accumulating

Note the recurring possessed plus possessor noun phrase structures ("owners of kurkin"), followed by the optative/vocative suffix *-ye*. This is followed by a case marked nominal *ollopillise* "to/into the level of gold," which is then modified by a restrictive relative clause, the verb of which is always suffixed with *-kwichi* "standing" and the optative/vocative suffix *-ye*. Lexicosemantic parallelism is also highly apparent in this Kuna chant. Lexical items are regularly repeated (e.g. *kurkin* "hat," *olopilli* "level of gold"). But lexicosemantic parallelism involves more than simple repetition

of the same lexical item(s). Typically it acts in concert with the concerns of figurative language. Thus, the principles operative in Asmat songs produce lexicosemantic parallelism through the replacement of one lexical item by another on the basis of metaphorical relationships (*as* "faeces" → *peke* "lump of clay") or metonymic ones (*ser* "fish" → *makpin* "ripples on the surface of the water").

Lexicosemantic parallelism reaches probably its greatest elaboration in the ritual languages of the eastern islands of Indonesia (Fox 1971, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1988; Kuipers 1990). These ritual languages serve a number of functions: political or marriage negotiations, narrations of clan histories, divination, communicating with spirits, etc., but they are typified by extensive parallelism in all levels. In these languages, words typically form paired sets with other words, so that one replaces a word with its pair in the following line, and the whole couplet forms a structural unit, as in the following couplet from Wanukaka from Sumba (Mitchell 1988:83):

Karei wei "ask for water"
Karei ohu "ask for cooked rice"
(meaning "to ask for a wife")

in which *wei* "water" is paired with *ohu* "cooked rice." Other pairings from Rindi, also from Sumba (Forth 1988:148) include:

hiri/aha	"polish/winnow"
ngilu/ngàmba	"blow(away)/shake out"
puri/paita	"sour/bitter"
lunga/ranga	"soul/spirit"

Quite commonly, multiple pairings are possible, as in Rindi *tana* "earth" paired to *wai* "water," *rumba* "grass, weeds," *pindu* "gate," *awangu* "sky," or *watu* "stone" among others; or Rotinese (Fox 1975:112) *ai* "plant, tree" with *batu* "stone," *boa* "fruit," *dae* "earth," *oe* "water," or *naü* "grass," again among others.

The couplets that result from these dyadic sets are highly stylized and their usage is an immediate indexical for ritual language. Ritual language performances may be very long, consisting of thousands of lines, but paired couplets are always the basic organizational principle. Some highly stylized genres like blessings consist entirely of couplets; others like those in divination rituals employ extralinguistic devices to contextualize the couplets to the immediate circumstances (Kuipers 1990). These couplets are often highly figurative, with the conventional meaning quite hidden behind the forms dictated by these constraints of the poetic function. Some examples:

Wanukaka (Mitchell 1988:71, 77):
Katikuku'dingu na penangu "Squeaking of the floor slats"
Karu'uku'dingu na wei ta pajala "Splashing of water in the water jar"
(conventional meaning: consummation of a marriage)

Angu wihi kamemi "Eating goat meat"
Angu wihi ahu "Eating dog meat"
(conventional meaning: agreement reached in a negotiation)

Korahu kataraku "The rat-tat-tat of sand"
Ladihu palibungu "The cross-legged pandanus"
(conventional meaning: the beach)

Weyewa (Kuipers 1990:76):
Ndara ndende kiku "Horse with a standing tail"
Bongga mette lomma "Dog with a black tongue"
(conventional meaning: a good orator)

Kadu nda pa-toda "Horn that cannot be clipped"
Ulle nda pa-roro "Tusk that cannot be cut"
(conventional meaning: invincible, irrepressible person)

Paralinguistic Features

The final types of framing device to be considered are those involving special paralinguistic features, such as pausing, speed of delivery, pitch, voice quality, or even musical accompaniment. We have already seen that the Asmat ritual language is typically sung, often accompanied by drums. Musical accompaniments with drums and also gongs is often true as well of performances of ritual languages in eastern Indonesia in certain contexts. In any case, whether performed with musical accompaniment or not, the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia are spoken in a markedly different style than ordinary language, with a slower speed of delivery and a heightened sense of rhythm. During Kuna curing rituals, the language is chanted. These musical properties of ritual language performances are all framing devices which key them as instantiations of particular genres. An especially interesting use of paralinguistics to frame genres is found in the Native South American community Shokleng (Urban 1985, 1991). In this culture, the origin myth can be performed in two ways, either as a narrative, told as other stories might be, or in a special paralinguistic style unique to this legend, termed *wąɲęklɛn* in the native language. This involves two men, who sit on the ground facing each other. One man begins by uttering the

first syllable of the first word of the myth and the second repeats this. The two men go on, uttering and repeating the myth, syllable by syllable, until the performance is complete. Each syllable is of the same length and is produced with the same pitch, and features extreme constriction of the pharynx and a sudden diaphragmic pulse in its production giving a kind of ballistic character to the phonation; *wąɲęklɛn* is in marked contrast to ordinary Shokleng speech and entails the obliteration of a number of phonemic distinctions found in the latter, including vowel length, intonation contours to indicate speech acts, and pauses for word and phrase boundaries. All of these losses make the language of *wąɲęklɛn* extremely difficult to understand unless one is already familiar with the origin myth as narrated in ordinary everyday language. Further, the ballistic phonetic qualities of *wąɲęklɛn* speech index the ideal qualities of Shokleng men, the performers of this genre: bold, gruff, and aggressive warriors.

Genres and Context

Viewing genres from a performance perspective, i.e. enacted by a performer or performers for an evaluation by an anticipated audience, both real and prospective, entails taking any representative text from any genre not as simply an abstract given, but as emergent, and hence contextualized here and now in the social situation of any particular performance. So, the actual text performed will creatively index aspects of the wider ongoing discourse, social relations between performer(s) and audience, or between performers, or within the audience itself, and, finally, wider social or cultural issues. For example, the telling of a fable may be to entertain, but it also may be used to instruct children about proper moral behavior, as in *Aesop's Fables*. The choice of which fable to relate may be prompted by a particular child's misbehavior earlier in the day, so that the performance of the fable indexes both wider sociocultural beliefs about proper moral behavior as well as a currently relevant social relationship between the performer (the father) and the audience (the naughty child). Thus, the fable has been recontextualized (or *recentered*, using another popular terminology) from ancient Greece to a modern interaction between father and child. While the fable may be understood as an idealized sub-type of narrative genres, any entextualized instantiation of it is necessarily contextualized in a given social situation and ultimately recontextualized from earlier performances of it, invoking again, Bakhtin's notion of the dialogic basis of speech.

Of course, for a text to be a recontextualized performance, it must first be decontextualized (or *decentered*) from earlier performances. Decontextualization of a performed genre entails distilling a stable and extractable version of the performed spoken discourse which can be lifted from the given

performance. In other words it means coming up with something like a "canonized" text of the performed genre, a *text*, so that, following Bauman and Briggs (1990), we may call this *entextualization*. In the case of *Aesop's Fables* this is straightforward and was done for us two millennia ago; any printed version of *Aesop's Fables* carries texts, entextualized versions of these fables, which once, of course, were just oral performances. The same is true of countless other examples of printed versions of genres of verbal art, from epic poetry to jokes. Examples of performance of verbal art seem relatively easy to entextualize and this is no doubt due to the high reflexive profile of the poetic function in such stretches of spoken discourse. The high regard for attention to the form of the utterances, which is the basis of the poetic function, as played out, for example, in figurative language, speech formulae, parallelism, etc., encourages fixation on the form of the utterances and hence the setting of its text – in a word, entextualization. Of course, entextualization in these terms is a matter of degree, correlated to the openness of format of the genre; proverbs are highly entextualized, allowing almost no formal deviation from the "canonized" text, while narratives are more weakly so, permitting much more improvisation, only, however, within a largely set, overall generic framework.

Intertextual Gaps

When any text, i.e. a decontextualized and entextualized bit of discourse, is enacted in a performance, it is necessarily recontextualized to the social circumstances of that performance. This creates what Briggs and Bauman (1992) call a *intertextual gap* between the idealized generic model that the text invokes and the actual text enacted. This gap is minimized by enacting a text form that carries framing devices prototypical for the generic model invoked, for example starting a fairy tale with *once upon a time*. But it can be maximized by independent and creative improvisation on the part of the performer; for example, an academic who chooses to cast an academic paper with appeal to framing devices characteristic of the fairy tale is maximizing the intertextual gap between the idealized model of the genre of an academic paper and his performance of it. Another way of conceiving the difference between minimizing and maximizing intertextual gaps is in terms of the flexibility of possible recontextualizations of texts. Performances in which the gap is minimal impose strong expectations on the interpretations available to the recontextualized text, so that a text starting *once upon a time*, just as it did in previous versions (earlier entextualizations), is likely to be taken as a fairy tale. On the other hand, performances with a wider gap may admit much more open-ended possibilities of interpretation. A text that begins as an academic paper, but proceeds to *once upon a time* and other framing devices of fairy tales is likely to induce amusement, confusion, or other valiant attempts at interpretation of the performer's purposes. In any case the audience has much wider latitude of interpretation in the latter than in the former. Of course, as this example shows, the choice of minimizing or maximizing the intertextual gap is a strategic one on the part of the performer(s), by which she hopes to achieve certain ends or communicate certain meanings. To see what these ends or meanings might be, it will be worthwhile investigating a few examples in some depth.

Minimizing Intertextual Gaps

As an example of a minimizing strategy, consider Basso's (1984, 1988) wonderful studies of the use of place names among the Cibecue Apache. Place names in this community are complex expressions referring to physical features ("white rocks lie above in a complex cluster"; "big wide juniper tree"), former activities ("men stand out above"), dangerous places ("a porcupine sits"), or historical events ("horse fell down into water"). All of these named places have stories associated with them, for example "big cottonwood trees stand spreading here and there" (Basso 1984:36):

> Long ago, the Pimas and Apaches were fighting. The Pimas were carrying long clubs made from mesquite wood; they were also heavy and hard. Before dawn the Pimas arrived at Cibecue and attacked the Apaches there. The Pimas attacked while the Apaches were still asleep. The Pimas killed the Apaches with their clubs. An old woman woke up; she heard the Apaches crying out. The old woman thought it was her son-in-law because he often picked on her daughter. The old woman cried out: "You pick on my child a lot. You should act pleasantly toward her." Because the old woman cried out, the Pimas learned where she was. The Pimas came running to the old woman's camp and killed her with their clubs. A young girl ran away from there and hid beneath some bushes. She alone survived.
>
> It happened at "big cottonwood trees stand spreading here and there."

This story like other stories attached to place names in Cibecue Apache has a moral: the harmful consequences that come to those who overstep traditional role boundaries. In this it is rather close to our notion of fable. In any case place names are used as a powerful genre in Cibecue Apache to provide moral instruction. The performance of this moral instruction can be done through the mere mention of the relevant place name; it will call up in the mind of the audience the relevant story and its moral. In this way place names in Cibecue Apache function a bit like our genre of proverbs as well. Thus, in one conversation recorded by Basso (1988), a distraught Apache

woman is comforted simply by the citation of three place names over a period of some two minutes, each bringing into mind a story which relates to some facet of the worry at hand and its resolution. This "speaking with names" is a genre in Cibecue Apache and one with a minimizing strategy at that. The mere mention of the place name on its own is a performance of this genre that necessarily calls to mind a particular story with a moral message. The performance of this genre is fixed, unambiguously framed, and the audience is in no doubt as to how to interpret the performance.

Another example of a minimizing strategy is provided by Weyewa ritual language, as discussed by Kuipers (1990). Ritual language specialists endeavor to stick close to what they believe is a received version of their texts, "the words of the ancestors" in their performances. Thus, the most highly formalized ritual events that involve ritual language, what Kuipers calls "rites of fulfilment" involve a wholesale reduction in the use of shifters, of those indexical features of language which would tie the performance of the ritual language to the here and now particulars of the social occasion, for example deictics and personal pronouns. Taking blessings as the most highly entextualized performances of ritual language, it is to be noted that per hundred words of text, their frequency of independent personal pronouns is 0.0, and demonstratives, 2.9 (Kuipers 1990:64–5). Being highly entextualized, the ritual language of blessings is also highly parallelistic; the average number of unpaired words per hundred words of text is only 0.12 (Kuipers 1990:72). All of this is strongly diagnostic of a minimizing strategy on the part of the performer(s), tying the actual performance very closely to the idealized generic model, as befits "the words of the ancestors." This is all in marked contrast to the ritual language of divinations, which are employed to ascertain the source of personal or community misfortune and are much less formalized and therefore entextualized. The frequency of personal pronouns and demonstratives per hundred words of text is 5.7 and 7.33 respectively, and the number of unpaired words, 4.2. In other words, in divinations there is more of the individual performer's speech than in blessings. Also, necessarily, any divination ceremony is tied to the particulars of the social occasion that gave rise to the ceremony in the first place, leading to indexical markers of current social circumstances in the performance. Divination, then, permits a greater gap between the text performed and the generic model than do the more traditional ancestor-ordained blessings. Weyewa blessings and Cibecue Apache "speaking with names" also illustrate another point about minimizing strategies: their appeal to traditionalism. A close fit between the performed text and the idealized generic model entails a powerful preordained authority given to those texts (and their holder), indexing their hegemony, and this can be used to buttress traditional social arrangements and ways of acting (this is demonstrated most transparently by the fact that the mere mention of a Cibecue Apache place name can be used to censure a person's inappropriate or non-traditional behavior).

Maximizing Intertextual Gaps

For an example of a more maximizing strategy consider Duranti's (1983, 1994) study of the function of the *lāuga* genre in Samoa. This is an oratorical genre of formal speech making used in a number of different social contexts. As a generic model it is most closely associated with formal ceremonies like the investiture of a new nobility title (*saofa'i*). In these contexts the *lāuga* is subject to strong constraints of the idealized generic model, causing the gap between the performance and the generic model to be minimized. For example, the performer raises his voice so that the *lāuga* can be heard clearly by the large audience present. Further, the speech used is highly stylized, and this highlights its continuities with performances of this genre in previous investitures and other formal ceremonies. In contrast, the use of *lāuga* in village political meetings (*fono*) is quite different. In this situation it is much less a ceremonial, relatively fixed language than it is a strategic use of the formulae of this genre to achieve desired political ends. The first *lāuga* in a *fono* creates the background for the meeting, which the following develop. Such *lāuga* in a *fono* are not necessarily delivered in a louder voice. Further, *lāuga* in a *fono* are used strategically to channel the ensuing discussion; they do not highlight continuities with previous performances of the generic model, but are tied to social and political conditions that gave rise to this particular *fono*. These strategic ends of the performers of *lāuga* in a *fono* sanction a much greater departure from the generic model of a *lāuga* than is found in an investiture ceremony. In investiture ceremonies, the gap between performance and generic model is minimal; the performances of *lāuga* in these ceremonies are examples of *lāuga par excellence*. But in *fono* meetings, the gap is much wider, as the genre is used and manipulated strategically for perceived political ends.

The difference between Samoan *lāuga* in investiture ceremonies and *fono* illustrates recontextualization of a genre in different speech events, but the ideal model of this genre remains the same, that of formal ceremonies like investitures. A more radical example of recontextualization in which the gap between an established genre and performance is widened would be one in which the actual model for the genre shifted, so that what is taken as an ideal exemplar of the genre between two different performance contexts actually changes. Such a process has occurred among the Gayo of Sumatra in their genre of poetic duelling (*didong*) (Bowen 1989). In traditional egalitarian Gayo society these poetic duels are mainly individualized; they resemble formal oratory which involves turn taking between two virtuoso

orators (*cêh*) representing different villages or sub-village units. For example, negotiations for marriage partners are carried out using these poetic duels, emphasizing the idea of marriage as a balanced complementary exchange among equal parties. The text of these duels is highly formulaic and parallelistic, recalling the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia. Turns during the duel consist of fixed two-line proverbs of high parallelism, which the other speaker ratifies with words like "true," "like that," "like this." He begins his own turn by acknowledging "you said X; you said Y and it is true," before providing his own contribution. Since the late 1940s the Gayo have been part of the Indonesian nation-state, a large centralizing and modernizing political entity. In order to propagate its nationalist and modernist ideology, the local government administration has off and on encouraged a new type of performance of poetic duels. Unlike the traditional individualist approach, these performances involve teams, consisting of between ten and twenty men and boys, each led by two to four head orators (*cêh*). Each team composes songs, many of which provide religious advice or commentary on economic development or current politics, while others attack the moral character or other noteworthy features of the members of the opposing team (team members consist exclusively of persons drawn from one or the other of the two main Gayo social groups). These performances are staged in Takèngën, the main town in Gayo country, merely for local entertainment. Each team takes strictly timed half-hour turns, from about nine in the evening until dawn. These team-based poetic duels are highly prestigious and viewed as more "modern" than traditional individualized duels throughout the Gayo area; one can even buy cassette tapes of these live performances. This is an excellent example of a modern recontextualization of an old and traditional genre. While in traditional times and perhaps in some highly traditional areas even today, the individualized poetic duels, as found in marriage negotiations, were the ideal model of this genre, this has altered with social and cultural changes among the Gayo. Today it is the team-based poetic duels which seem to be the ideal example of *didong* for most Gayo. The genre of poetic duelling and the entextualized forms prototypically linked to it have been radically recontextualized due to the social and ideological forces at work in Gayo country today, as part of the modern Indonesian nation-state. The gap between the texts of traditional individualized poetic duelling and the modern team based ones could hardly be wider and are still seen to be continued instantiations of the same genre.

These studies of recontextualizations and of intertextual gaps of varying widths demonstrate that a genre is not a closed invariant linguistic object like a grammatical sentence, but a set of discoursal practices that link a particular performance or entextualization to previous performances and other bits of discourse; it is a Bakhtinian dialogic exercise in its clearest form. Texts can be linked to genres in multiple ways, leading to a blurring of any

proposed sharp distinctions among genres (remember the academic essay cast as a fairy tale), and their recontextualization can be highly innovative (maximizing the intertextual gap) or strongly conservative (minimizing the gap). The choices made are strategic, reflecting ideological and political goals. Genres are not created equally; some, like academic essays or legal drafting carry more social value than others, conferring greater social power and prestige on those who control them. It is no accident that Western schooling is largely about mastering the discursive patterns which prototypically frame and entextualize particularly favored genres. He who masters these skills is rewarded (see chapter 21). Genres, then, reflect a kind of lived history of the discursive patterns of the speech community. As speakers engage each other in mutual linguallaxis, they carry traces and memories of prior texts, prior entextualizations of performances. These are decontextualized and recontextualized through performances in new social conditions for new strategic ends (for example Gayo *didongs*), extending the lived history of these genres and creating still new opportunities for further recontextualizations. Thus, genres exist not as abstract linguistic categories but as lived, remembered, and ultimately embodied (note the importance of music in the performances of various genres) practices of human structural coupling through language, perhaps the paradigmatic example of linguallaxis.

Summary

Genres are historically situated ways for constructing and interpreting texts, an interpretive set of principles linking historically transmitted schemes for framing linguistic performances. These frames for interpreting or framing devices are typically dialogic, juxtaposing language drawn from various historical sources, and it is from this intertextuality that much of the power of individual genres derives. Framing devices are features of the poetic function of language, formal linguistic principles for the enaction of diverse genre types, such as line final rhyme for certain genres of English poetry, like sonnets. Various types of framing devices include special formulae or lexical items, tropes like metaphor or metonymy, paralinguistic features, like drums or singing, and, most importantly, parallelism. This last is recurring patterns in successive sections of text and can be found at all levels of the linguistic system, phonology (rhyme and rhythm), grammatical (repeated phrases or clauses), and lexical (e.g. paired words in the couplets of eastern Indonesia). Genres do not exist as abstract categories, but only as schemes of interpretation which are enacted in particular performances. Thus, genres can be recontextualized from earlier contexts to new ones with a greater or lesser shift in their interpretation. This is called an intertextual gap between the actual performance and the abstract idealized generic model

we might have of it from earlier performances. This intertextual gap can be strategically manipulated by performers to minimize the break with earlier performances or maximize it, the point being to communicate certain meanings by such choices, such as adherence to tradition and the importance of the ways of the ancestors (minimizing) or the value of the new in a rapidly modernizing nation-state (maximizing).

Further Reading

The topic of genre (Dubrow 1982) is vast and has obvious overlaps with the field of literary criticism. Bakhtin (1981, 1986) are the basic sources for his important ideas. Bauman (1977) gives a more anthropological slant to the problem, as do the important survey articles by Bauman and Briggs (1990) and Briggs and Bauman (1992), and the anthology of classic articles by Becker (1995). Jakobson (1960) is his most famous statement of the poetic function, and Hymes (1981), Tedlock (1983), and Woodbury (1987) are important milestones in the development of a theory of ethnopoetics. Valuable case studies of genre framing, illustrating minimal and maximal intertextuality, include Abu-Lughod (1986), Bauman (1986), Briggs (1988, 1992), Caton (1990), Duranti (1994), Fox (1988), Gossen (1972), Kuipers (1990), O'Barr (1982), Sherzer (1983), and Urban (1991).

Part VI

Culture and Language Change