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**Analyzing Discourse:
Text and Talk**

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HARD WORDS: A FUNCTIONAL BASIS FOR KALULI DISCOURSE

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0. Introduction. This paper is concerned with cultural constructions that frame appropriate Kaluli discourse and with some kinds of discourse that operate within that frame. We begin with ethnographic and metalinguistic materials scaffolding the Kaluli notion of 'hardness', the Kaluli conception of language and speech, and the specific idea of 'hard words'. These constructs illustrate the pervasive character of a Kaluli distinction between 'langue' and 'parole'. Based on these systematic notions of language form, socialization, and behavior we analyze some situated discourse examples that indicate both how these cultural constructions are learned and how they operate in everyday interactions.

0.1 People and place. The Kaluli people are part of a population of about 1,200 who live in several hundred square miles of tropical rain forest just north of the slopes of Mt. Bosavi, on the Great Papuan Plateau of Papua New Guinea (E. L. Schieffelin 1976). They are one of four culturally identical but dialectically different subgroups who collectively refer to themselves as *Bosavi kalu* 'Bosavi people'. The Kaluli reside in longhouse communities made up of about 15 families (60-90 people), separated by an hour or so walk over forest trails. Subsistence is organized around swidden horticulture, the processing of wild sago palm to make a staple starch, and hunting and fishing. In broad terms, Kaluli society is highly egalitarian, lacking in the 'big man' social organization characteristic of the Papua New Guinea Highlands. Men and women utilize extensive networks of obligation and reciprocity in the organization of work and sociable interaction.

Kaluli is one of four dialects of Bosavi, a non-Austronesian verb-final ergative language. Most speakers are monolingual.

While Tok Pisin (Neo Melanesian), is known by some younger men, it is almost never heard in daily discourse. Recently introduced literacy programs have affected few people.

Kaluli everyday life is overtly focused around verbal interaction. Talk is thought of and used as a means of control, manipulation, expression, assertion, and appeal. It gets you what you want, need, or feel owed. Extensive demarcation of kinds of speaking and speech acts further substantiate the observation that Kaluli are energetically verbal; talk is a primary way to be social, and a primary indicator of social competence (B. B. Schieffelin 1979; B. B. Schieffelin and Feld 1979).

More generally, the realm of sound yields the most elaborated forms of Kaluli expression. In the tropical forest and village longhouse it is difficult to find auditory privacy or quiet. Greetings, comings and goings, announcements, arguments, meetings, and all soundings are projected into aurally public space. No comparable variety, salience, or exuberance exists for Kaluli visual or choreographic modes of expressions.

1. 'Hard', 'words', 'hard words': Putting a construction on life and language

1.1 *Halaido* 'hard'. *Halaido* 'hard' is a pervasive Kaluli notion that applies broadly in three cultural-semantic domains. The first is growth and maturation, where the socializing interactions in the acquisition of language are what 'makes (it) hard' (*halaido domeki*); the development of strong teeth and bones in the uncoordinated infant who is 'without understanding' (*asugo andoma*) is a process of 'hardening' (*halaidan*). In these cases, the process of becoming 'hard' is a literal and metaphoric construct for physical and mental development and for cultural socialization. A second domain for *halaido* is the fully adult consequence of this maturation process. A *kalu halaido* or 'hard man' is one who is strong, assertive, and not a witch; a major component in this person's projection of his 'hardness' is the acquisition and command of *to halaido* 'hard words', the fully developed capacity for language.¹ The final area in which *halaido* is prominent is dramatic style. In ceremonial performance, songs are intended to be evocative and make the audience weep. The climax in the development of aesthetic tension, where the manner of singing and the textual elements coalesce, is what promotes the 'hardening' (again, *halaido domeki*) of a song. A performance that does not 'harden' will not move listeners to tears and will not be considered successful. Furthermore, the ability to 'harden' a song is an important compositional (particularly in textual craft) and performative skill.

The cultural construction and prominence of *halaido* in Kaluli growth, adulthood, and presentational style can in part be traced to an origin myth which tells how the world was once muddy and soft; a megapode and Goura pigeon together stamped

on the ground to make it hard. Like the hardening of the land which symbolizes the necessity of physical and geographical formation, the hardening of body, language, character, and dramatic style symbolizes the necessity of human socialization in order to develop cultural competence.

One term used in opposition to *halaido* is *taiyo* 'soft'. Within this oppositional frame, *taiyo* is 'soft' in the senses of: mushy foods, things which decay and rot, or debilitation. It signifies a stage in the process of decay, and all connotations with this state are unpleasant. Food taboos constrain the eating of certain soft substances (such as eggs) while young lest one not 'harden'. Children, moreover, do not eat the meat of certain birds who have 'soft' voices or redundant and otherwise strange calls, lest their language not harden and they grow up to speak unintelligible sounds. (On the topic of children's food taboos vis-à-vis hardness, see B. B. Schieffelin 1979:62-65, and Feld 1982:Chapter 2.) Similarly tabooed are all animal and vegetable foods which are yellow; like the leaves of plants, things yellow as they decay. Witches are said to have yellow soft hearts, while the hearts of 'hard men' are dark and firm (E. L. Schieffelin 1976:79, 128). In short, the passage from 'hardness' to 'softness' is undesirable, synonymous with debilitation, vulnerability, and decay, states which must be avoided. The desired progression in all things is from softness (infant) to hardness (adult); once hard in body, language, and dramatic style, Kaluli must stay that way.

Another term utilized in opposition to *halaido* is *halaidoma* 'unhard', 'without hardness', formed by the word 'hard' plus the negative particle *-ma*. Something which is potentially hard --or which should be, but is not--is 'unhard'. For instance, when one of us was learning the Bosavi language (SF), his verbal behavior was judged as *to halaidoma* and his mistakes greeted assuringly with *towɔ halaidesege* 'when your language has hardened'. Never was this speech ability referred to as **to taiyo* 'soft words', a construction which was laughed at when suggested. 'Soft words' is neither an appropriate nor utterable phrase; language is either 'hard' or 'unhard', i.e. in the process of hardening, or in the state of becoming unhard, as in sickness or delirium.

1.2 *To* 'words/language'. Kaluli observe a langue/parole distinction. This is marked by the distribution of the terms *to* and *tolɛma* 'words', 'language' and imperative 'talk words/language' (langue) and *sama* imperative 'speak' (parole).² *To* and *tolɛma* refer to the systematic form of language or its capacity; in contrast, *sama* refers to the manner or act of speaking. To illustrate langue we examine the items in (1).

- (1) Bosavi to Bosavi language
 bali to 'turned over words' = systematic linguistic
 irony/euphemism, metaphor, or obfuscation

malolo to 'narrated/told words' (= myths and stories)
 mugu to 'taboo words'

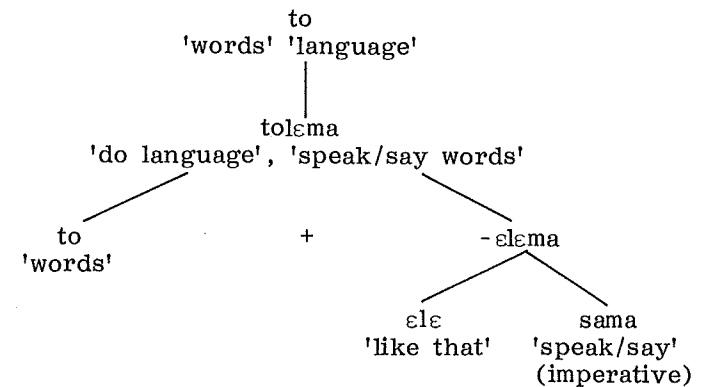
In these examples, the noun *to* refers to the system or form of talk. All of these nominal forms can be followed by the habitual verbs *salan* 'one speaks/says', *asulan* 'one understands', or *dadan* 'one hears'. These indicate that one may speak, understand, or hear any of these systems of talk or different languages. The use of *tolɛma* contrasts with constructions using *sama* ('parole'), for instance; (here with *sama* in the present habitual form *salan*).

- (2) wɔnoli-salan one speaks secretly, stealthily
 tɛde-salan one speaks in a deep voice
 hala-salan one speaks with mispronunciations

In these instances (and a multitude of similarly constructed ones), *salan* concerns the behavior of speaking, or some description of how speaking is performed.

From our analysis the Kaluli theory of language and speech is one in which *to* 'words' are the prime substance of language; *tolɛma* is the doing or speaking of words.

Figure 1.



As can be seen in Figure 1, *tolɛma* is formed by adding to *to* 'words' and *-ɛɛma*, imperative 'do/say/speak like that'. The item *ɛɛma* is the contracted form of *ɛɛ sama*, 'like that' plus the imperative 'say/speak'. Many Kaluli verbs are formed in this way, by adding a substance or onomatopoeic root to *-ɛɛma*. For instance, the verb for 'weep' is *yɛɛma*, composed by contracting the onomatopoeic representation of the sound of weeping, *yɛ*, and the imperative 'say/speak like that' (Feld 1982:Chapters 3 and 4 contain materials on these formations in

Kaluli metalinguistics; B. B. Schieffelin 1979:Chapter 3 contains materials on *elɛma* and *elɛ sama* in interaction).

Everyday interactions make clear that the contrast between these two notions is salient for Kaluli. To take a simple instance, SF was once questioning some men about the fact that certain birds are claimed to speak some Bosavi words. He asked about *bɔlo*, the friarbird in the Kaluli myth about how birds received human tongues.

- (3a) *Bɔlo-wɔ*, Bosavi to salano?
'As for *bɔlo*, does he speak Bosavi words/language?'

Two answers followed:

- (3b) Bosavi to salan.
'He speaks Bosavi words/language.'

Mugu tolan.
'He talks taboo language.'

The first response is the usual specific one ('parole'), while the second was a response from a Christian referring to the way the systematic form of *bɔlo*'s talk consists of words Christians consider taboo ('langue'). Yet in the context of listening to a tape recording of specific calls by *bɔlo*, the same man noted, *mugu to salab* 'he is speaking/saying taboo words/language', implying: in that specific instance.

In everyday talk the distribution of inflected verb forms for *sama* and *tolɛma* further exemplifies the importance of speaking as a situational act and language as a fundamental capacity. Part of the paradigm includes the items in (4).

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (4) | <i>tolɛma</i> | <i>sama</i> | imperative immediate |
| | <i>tolɛbi</i> | <i>selebi</i> | imperative future |
| | <i>tolomɛno</i> | <i>seleɛmɛno</i> | future first person |
| | <i>tolab</i> | <i>salab</i> | present third person |
| | <i>tolan</i> | <i>salan</i> | habitual third person |

but:

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------|----------------------|
| * <i>tolɔl</i> | <i>sɔlɔl</i> | present first person |
| * <i>tolɔ</i> | <i>siyɔ</i> | past |

The fact that the present first person form and past form are blocked for *tolɛma* is consistent with the general nature of *to* as 'words/language' and *tolɛma* as 'talk'. Moreover, **tolɔl* contrasts with:

- towɔ sɔlɔl* 'I speak/say words/language'
towɔ mɔtolan 'It doesn't talk words/language' (can be said only about animals whose communication is assumed

to be a system based upon a substance other than 'words'.)

- **elɛ tolɔ*
**elɛ tolɛma*
elɛ siyɔ 'said like that'
elɛ sama 'say like that'

Use of 'like that' is also blocked with *to* and *tolɛma* because of lack of reference to a specific situation or context.

The metalinguistic area provides further examples of the distribution and further evidence for the cohesiveness of ways of describing related modalities of soundmaking. In one example across modalities, *gese*, the root of *gesema* 'make one feel sorrow or pity' is only blocked for *tolɛma* as illustrated in (5).

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--|
| (5) | <i>gese-salan</i> | one speaks sadly (plaintively; with descending intonation) |
| | <i>gese-yɛlan</i> | one weeps sadly (plaintively; with descending intonation) |
| | <i>gese-holan</i> | one whistles sadly (plaintively; with descending intonation) |
| | <i>gese-molan</i> | one sings sadly (plaintively; with descending intonation) |

but:

- **gese-tolan* inappropriate because *gese* describes the manner of speaking and is not applicable to the system or capacity of talk

In these cases the verbs deal with modes of soundmaking while the adverbs describe the manner of performance; like other verbs of soundmaking, *sama* refers to the behavioral aspect of speech; *to* and *tolɛma* refer to its form and capacity.

A major area of metalinguistic denomination is marked by use of *sa*. By itself, *sa* means 'waterfall'; the term also prefixes all verbs of soundmaking to indicate that the sound has an 'inside' or text. This usage derives from the metaphor that texts are composed 'like a waterfall flowing into a waterpool'; the sound is 'outside' and the text, like a waterfall, is the part that flows down and inside. Verbs of soundmaking turn into musical or compositional terms when prefixed by *sa* in this way, as in (6) (with verbs all in a present habitual form).

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--|
| (6) | <i>salan</i> 'one speaks' | <i>sa-salan</i> 'one speaks inside the words/one speak poetically' |
| | <i>yɛlan</i> 'one weeps' | <i>sa-yɛlan</i> 'one weeps with text' |
| | <i>holan</i> 'one whistles' | <i>sa-holan</i> 'one whistles with words in mind' |
| | <i>molan</i> 'one sings' | <i>sa-molan</i> 'one sings inside' i.e. 'one composes' |

but:

tolan 'one talks' *sa-tolan inappropriate because
one cannot have an inner text
to language capacity

Sa-salan, *sa-sama*, and *sa-siyo* all indicate an intention to mean more than what is said. *To* and *tolɛma* do not participate in this paradigm; **sa-to* and **sa-tolɛma* are blocked because there cannot be an 'inside' or inner text to the capacity or system of language. 'Insides' are specific and contextual, related to situated performances only.

1.3 *To halaido*, 'hard words/talk/language'. Given the cultural importance and pervasiveness of 'hardness' as a construct underlying mature social process and capacity, and the role of 'hardness' in the distinction Kaluli observe between *langue* and *parole*, we turn to the specific importance of 'hard words'. In the most general sense, *to halaido* is the system of and capacity for grammatically well-formed and socially appropriate language. It is the substance of what Kaluli adults know and act upon in their verbal behaviors. It is what is normally acquired, the competence to perform, what Kaluli should 'have in mind' when they speak. The opposite of *to halaido* is not **to taiyo* 'soft words'; when language is in the process of forming, it is *to halaidoma* 'unhard words'.

Nevertheless, when asked if there is any language which is neither hard nor in the process of becoming hard, Kaluli indicate that such is the situation for the language of song.³ This is a special poetic system called *ɔbɛ gɔnɔ to* 'bird sound words'. Songs are said to be composed and sung from a bird's point of view, and not a human one. They achieve their plaintive quality and ability to move people to tears in this way because birds are the spirit reflections of Kaluli dead. Song language is thus not human and hard, but birdlike, sad, sentimental, reflective.

The contrast between *to halaido* 'hard words' and *ɔbɛ gɔnɔ to* 'bird sound words' is basic. 'Hard words' are assertive and direct language forms which engage speakers in face-to-face talk that is interactive and mutual, and are intended to get speakers what they want or need out of social situations. On the other hand, 'bird sound words' are reflective and nostalgic, and are supposed to make a listener empathize with a speaker's message without necessarily or generally responding to it verbally. 'Bird sound words' involve linguistic means that communicate affect by revealing the speaker's state of mind and moving a listener to feel sympathy for that state.

It is not the case that the difference between these two constructs is simply one of referential/expressive or ordinary/nonordinary. Certain message forms and contents can appear in either; the different way that messages are interpreted

depends on judgments about intention deriving from contextual constraints, as well as from placement in an ongoing textual chain. Consider example (7).

(7) Dowɔ ge oba hanaya?
'Father, where are you going?'

There are numerous daily contexts in which this might be uttered by a person to someone called 'father'. Depending on the intonational contour, the utterance could be a request for information, a challenge, or a rhetorical question--all of which might be benign or threatening. However, when we shift from conversation to song usage, the implications shift radically and the audience immediately knows that the message is that a father has died and left someone behind. The person asking the question is in the resultant state of abandonment and appealing to the audience for sympathy. The form of the words is 'hard' in the sense that they are well formed and could be uttered in appropriate daily situations. However, in a song context the words show their 'inside', *sa*, and this is why they are 'bird sound words'. What is implied in the saying context and manner of saying is more important than the referential equivalents of the words which are said.

2. Learning and speaking 'hard words'

2.1 Imperatives. To exemplify how the process of learning the model for discourse is the learning of 'speaking' and 'hard words', we turn to some discourse examples from tape-recorded family interactions. While these examples involve much adult-child speech, the same forms are used among adults (though perhaps not as frequently or with the same concentration in an episode, since child-adult speech involves more direction and repetition). Imperatives form an important class of examples since they provide major instances of learning by instruction. In addition to indicating specific rhetorical strategies for getting what one wants, imperatives teach directness, control, speaking out, sequencing, and cohesion in the flow of talk.⁴ This is further strengthened by the unambiguous relation of speaker/addressee in imperatives, as evidenced by frequent deletion of the optional subject pronoun or a vocative. Moreover, imperatives are favored forms for requesting both actions and objects because Kaluli does not express requests indirectly with forms like 'would you, could you'. Additionally, language structure provides great flexibility, range, and specificity for imperatives. For example, Kaluli morphologically differentiates present and future imperative, marking iterative and punctual action, with various degrees of emphasis or seriousness, all of which can be indicated for single, dual, or plural subjects.

In the examples that follow, *sama*, *ɛləma*, and *to/toləma* clearly distribute according to whether specific instances of speaking or general prescriptions to talk are encouraged.

For the Kaluli infant, involvement in verbal interactions starts about a week after birth. A mother holds her infant so that it faces another child; she moves the infant as one might a ventriloquist's dummy, speaking for it in a nasalized falsetto voice. Her speech is well formed and clearly articulated, with the complexity of a 4-year-old's speech. The child to whom the baby is 'speaking' engages in conversation directed to the baby for as long as interest can be maintained. Through these verbal interactions the baby is presented as a person, an individual, and is made to appear more independent and mature than it actually is, largely through the mother's speech and her manipulation of the infant's body. These 'three-party' interactions, as well as the much less frequent direct talk between mother and infant, are said to 'give words/language understanding or meaning' (*to samiab*).

The use of language and rhetoric in interaction are the major means of social manipulation and control in Kaluli life. Thus, one of the most important achievements in childhood is to learn to speak Kaluli effectively to a variety of individuals with whom one participates in everyday activities. Kaluli say that language (*to*) has begun once the young child uses two critical words, *nɔ* 'mother' and *bo* 'breast'. Children who only name other people, animals, or objects are said to do so 'to no purpose' (*ba madali*); they are not considered to have begun to use language. This is evidence for the essentially social view of language taken by the Kaluli, a view which emphasizes not only the learning and using of words per se, but the use of specific words to express the first social relationship a person has, namely, the mother-child relationship mediated by food from the breast. This is a basic theme in Kaluli social life. The giving and receiving of food is a major way in which relationships are mediated and validated (E. L. Schieffelin 1976; Feld and B. B. Schieffelin 1980).

Once a child has begun to use the words 'mother' and 'breast', Kaluli begin to 'show language' (*to widan*). Kaluli say that children must be 'shown language' by other Kaluli speakers, principally by the mother. Kaluli use no baby talk lexicon as such, and claim that children must hear *to halaido* 'hard language', if they are to learn to speak correctly. When a Kaluli adult wants a child to say something in an ongoing interaction, a specific model is provided for what the child is to say, followed by the imperative 'say like that' *ɛləma*. The word *ɛləma* is a contraction of *ɛlə* 'like this/that' and *sama* 'say/speak' present imperative. While the adult occasionally asks the child to repeat utterances directly back to him or her, correcting the child's language or initiating a game, the vast majority of these directives to speak concern instructions

to the child to say something to someone else.⁵ An example of this type of interaction is given in (8).

- (8) Mɛli (female, 25 months) and her mother are in the house. Mother has tried to get Mɛli into an *ɛləma* routine, and Mɛli has been distracted. Finally, she settles down. Grandfather is not in sight.⁶

1. Mother → Mɛli: Sit on this. (Mɛli does)
now speak words.
ami to ɛna sama

2. Mother → Mɛli → Grandfather:

Grandfather! ɛləma

(softly)

3. Grandfather/

4. Mother → Mɛli:
speak more forcefully/loudly.
ogole sama

(louder)

5. Grandfather! /

6. Mother → Mɛli → Grandfather:
I'm hungry for meat! ɛləma

7. I'm hungry for meat! /

(This continues for 14 turns, which consist of requests to grandfather to get different foods.)

In line 1, Mɛli's mother encourages her to 'speak words/language' (*to sama*), to engage verbally with someone. She has the addressee and utterances in mind, which she will provide followed by the imperative 'say like that' *ɛləma*. The addressee is named, but Mɛli does not call out loudly enough, and in line 4 her mother tells her how to speak, using *sama*. This is followed by a specific utterance, and another directive to speak, with which Mɛli complies. Thus, *to sama* refers to the activity of speaking and saying, where a sequence of utterances are followed by *ɛləma*. While in this episode the addressee, Grandfather, is not in the vicinity and therefore does not respond to Mɛli's requests, the majority of such episodes involve responses from a third person to the child's directed utterances. These sequences often involve extensive and cohesive turns of talk. This 'showing the language' helps the language 'harden' (*halaido domɛki*) and thus is consistent with the general goals of socialization and development: the

achievement of 'hardening' which produces an individual who is in control of himself or herself, and who is capable of verbally controlling others.

Directives to speak, using the imperative, occur in a variety of speech situations, but are most frequent in those involving shaming, challenging, and teasing. The interactional sequence in (9) illustrates several of the rhetorical strategies used in such situations, and demonstrates the sensitivity young children develop about the consequences of what they say.

- (9) Wanu (male, 27 months), his sister Binalia (5 years), cousin Mama (3½ years), and Mother are at home. The two girls (Mama and Binalia) are eating salt belonging to another child.

1. Mother → Wanu → → ^{Mama}
Binalia :
Whose is it?! elɛma
2. Whose is it?! /
3. Is it yours?! elɛma
4. is it yours?! /
5. Who are you?! elɛma
6. who are you?! /
7. Binalia → Wanu → → Mother :
Is it yours?! elɛma
8. is it yours?! /
9. Mother → Wanu → → ^{Binalia}
Mama :
It's mine! elɛma
10. Mama → Binalia: Don't speak like that!
elɛdo selasabo!

Rhetorical questions, such as those found in lines 1, 3, 5, and 7 in example (9), are frequent in family interactions involving the use of *elɛma*. They are intended to shame the addressee so that he or she will terminate undesirable behavior. Kaluli frequently utilize teasing, shaming, and other means of verbal confrontation that focus on an addressee who cannot answer rhetorical questions without the admission of fault. These strategies of confrontation and their component rhetorical skills set the tone of many interactions, while the use of directives (such as 'put the salt away') or physical intervention is much less common. Although children may challenge adults in certain situations (and are encouraged to do so), here Mama (age 3½) tells Binalia 'don't speak like that', referring to Binalia's attempt to get Wanu to challenge his mother. When asked about that utterance, Kaluli said that Mother could get angry and take the salt away. Thus, even children evidence a sensitivity to how language is being used in interactions,

sensing the consequences of particular kinds of talk. This further serves the functional importance of directly putting the burden on the addressee.

The use of *elɛma* in these interactions is consistent with the mother's treatment of her preverbal infant, in which she puts words into his mouth. She pushes her young language-learning child into social interaction, providing the words he cannot say or may not be interested in saying. This practice provides the opportunity for the child to acquire the verbal skills that are needed later on, when mother has her next baby and the child becomes part of a peer group. It is the ability not only to repeat rhetorical questions such as 'who are you?!' 'Is it yours?!' but to use them, spontaneously in the appropriate contexts, that lead Kaluli to comment about a young child, to *halaido momada salab* 'he/she is starting to speak hard language'.

It is important to note that throughout interactions using *elɛma*, assertion prevails. In teaching language, mothers are teaching their small children assertion itself. For Kaluli this implies strength and independence. In interactional terms this means to request with imperatives, to challenge and confront, and to say something powerful so others will bend or give. Mothers never use *elɛma* to instruct their children in begging, whining, or appealing to others for sympathy. In learning the types of things one says with *elɛma*, Kaluli children are learning culturally specific ways in which to be tough, independent, and assertive, which reinforces the cultural value of acting in a direct, controlled manner.

In addition to the imperatives *sama* and *elɛma*, the imperative *tolɛma* is also used in conversations. In contrast to the act of speaking (*sama*), use of *tolɛma* calls attention to the importance of verbal interaction as an activity in which children are encouraged to participate.

- (10) Meli (female, 25 months) is with her father in the house. She is not involved in any activity. Mama is not in sight.

1. Father → Meli → → Mama :
Mama! call out.
holɛma
2. Mama/
3. Come and talk together with
me! elɛma
nɛno to tomeni meno!
4. come and talk
together with
me/

(There is no response. Seeing another child)

5. Father → Mēli: Now you and Babi go in order to talk.

ami Babi gain tome'hamana

6. (Mēli puts marble in her mouth) Take out the marble! After taking it out with your hand, you will talk!

to tolebi

In this episode, Father is trying to get Mēli established in a verbal activity, made explicit in line 3 as a directive (*elēma*) to invite Mama to come and talk (*to tomeni meno*). The word *elēma* marks what is specific to be said, and the concatenated form (*tomeni* 'in order to talk' + *meno* 'come' imperative) marks the general activity to take place. A similar concatenated form is used in line 5, this time directing Mēli to go in order to talk. And finally (line 6), *to tolebi* (future imperative) is used to indicate what Mēli should do, but not what she will say.⁷

In this situation, talking is being established as a way to engage and be social. Parents assume the importance of integrating children into adult verbal activities and additionally encourage the organization and maintenance of verbal exchanges among children themselves. This establishes talk as a topic of talk, instructions to talk as instructions to be social, and talk as a modality that promotes social cohesion.

In addition to both the desire and the necessity to develop *to halaido*, children must learn to converse, *to kudan* 'one puts language/words together'. The expression *i kuduma* 'put wood together', is used to tell someone how to build a successful fire, by taking a stick with an ember, putting another stick to it to make contact and transferring the heat. Just as putting wood and sticks together makes a successful fire, talk must also be put together to be successful. Commenting on the language of a 2-year-old who wasn't collaborating with or building on the other's utterances, a Kaluli said, *to mokudab* 'he doesn't put language together'. The same expression was used with regard to a conversation between two adults, in which they had not agreed on what they were, in fact, talking about.

(11) As father is leaving Mēli (age 25 months)
my child! as for me, I'm going to converse.

niyo to kudumeni

You stay here.

ge ya tēbi.

The use of *to kudan* in these contexts indicates the importance Kaluli attach to verbal interactions which are mutual, collaborative, and cohesive.

As has been seen, utterances directing a child to use language (*tolema*) and specifying what to say (*elēma*) and how to say it (*sama*) are used to promote and support young children's involvement with others in a variety of everyday interactions. The Kaluli say that without this kind of direction children would not learn what to say and how to say it. The idea is that after a child is 'shown' what to say, he or she will spontaneously use language to respond, to initiate, sustain, and control verbal interactions. However, children themselves initiate and participate in language interactions that are unlike any that their parents have shown them. Many of these exchanges are terminated by Kaluli mothers when they feel that these could impede language development or promote an undesirable effect. These situations provide an opportunity to examine what is and is not acceptable language behavior for small children, and the cultural reasons for these differences.

(12) Mēli (30½ months) and her cousin Mama (45 months) are at home with Mēli's mother, who is cooking and talking to several adults. Mama initiates a sequence of word play involving Mēli which is marked by repetition, high pitch, staccato delivery, and exaggerated prosodic contours. After 10 turns this dissolves into sound play marked by overlap within turn pairs, higher pitch, vowel lengthening and shifting, and repetition. This continues for 15 more turns, at which point Mēli's mother suddenly turns to the girls and says in a loud, authoritative voice:

Wai! Try to speak good talk! This is bird talk!

Wai! to nafa se seleiba! obe towo we!

The girls suddenly become quiet.

The mother's abrupt termination of the children's verbal/vocal interaction was not due to mild irritation caused by the noise these girls were making, since similar sound levels caused by other kinds of verbal activity would never have prompted this reaction. Her response, which was consistent with that of other Kaluli mothers in similar situations, grows out of Kaluli ideas about language development and the broader notion of taboo.

As mentioned earlier, Kaluli have very definite ideas about appropriate verbal behavior for language learning children. When asked about this word/sound play, Kaluli said it had no name and was 'to no purpose'. Purposive language is encouraged in interactions and the vocalizations between Mēli and Mama violated these cultural expectations.

However, in addition to their ideas about how a young child's language should sound, Kaluli say that children and birds are

connected in a number of complex ways (Feld 1982:Chapter 2). In addition to prohibiting young children from eating certain birds lest they, too, only 'coo' and never develop hard language, children must not sound like birds, even in play. Thus, in order to insure that 'hard language' develops, the mother prevents a dangerous association by terminating this vocal activity. Furthermore, she makes it explicit to the children and to the others around them, that children are to speak 'good talk', not 'bird talk'. It is important to emphasize that Mother does not want them to stop speaking, but to speak properly.

Another form of verbal behavior that is not tolerated by Kaluli mothers is the imitation and distortion of a younger child's speech by an older child. It is important that older children do not engage in language interactions with younger children that are contradictory to the efforts made by adults to ensure 'good talk' and 'hard talk'. Consider example (13).

- (13) Abi (27½ months) and his sister Yogodo (5½ years) are alone in the house, as Mother has gone out to get wood. Following Abi's utterances, Yogodo repeats what he says, phonologically distorting his words to tease him. When mother returns, Yogodo continues to repeat everything Abi says to her, leaving him very confused and frustrated. After hearing eight turns of this, mother turns to Yogodo and says:

speak words/language!
to sama

Mothers see this type of activity as not only mocking or teasing the young child's not as yet well-formed language, but as confusing the younger child about language, its correct form and appropriate use. Thus, an undesirable language interaction is terminated with the explicit directive to 'speak language' (*to sama*). By focusing on the form of talk rather than its specific content, the children are not discouraged from speaking to one another but encouraged to do it properly, on the model of 'hard words'.

By the time a child is about 3½ years old, and *elēma* directives have stopped, that child's language is considered sufficiently hard so that the playing of word and sound games with peers is acceptable. While closely timed, repetitive, formulaic utterances involving teasing and challenging are appropriate for older children, mothers do not want these children negatively influencing younger ones whose speech is not yet well developed.

- (14) A mother, her son (28 months), and three siblings (ages 5-8), are sitting around a fire cooking bits of food. The three siblings are playing a teasing game

about who will and will not eat, which involves speaking rapidly and distorting words. After watching this for 16 turns, the little boy attempts to join the interaction by interjecting nonsense syllables. The mother turns to the older children saying:

speak hard!!
halaido sama!

to which one of the older children responds (teasing): huh?, followed by the mother's repetition with emphasis:

speak hard!!
halaido same!!

'Speak hard' implies that until this point, speech has been 'unhard'. Such a reference is always to speech in an ongoing context. In this situation, as in many others like it, mothers are careful that their young children do not sound less mature than they actually are in their speaking. This is consistent with the goals of language socialization: to enable children to be independent and assertive by the time that they are 3-3½ years old. Independence and assertion in speech and action are functionally valued in this egalitarian society; ability to speak out is one important way to get what one needs.

Next, we examine situations with negative imperatives, where *selesabo* (*sama*) and *tolesabo* (*tolema*) are used. The use of *selesabo* 'don't say (that/it)' (*parole*) implies that one knows or suspects what is about to be said, and is telling another not to say that thing. It is also used with reference to a specific body of knowledge or secrets. One may say 'don't say that' or 'don't tell them' with reference to specific information. Note example (15).

- (15) A number of people are socializing and eating in the longhouse. A guest enters, having walked through the muddy jungle paths; leeches have attached themselves to his ankles. A child runs up to alert the guest to this fact, and an adult intervenes, saying: selesabo! 'don't say it!', thus directing the child not to say the speech specific word 'leech' while others are enjoying their meal. Kaluli etiquette strongly prohibits the saying of this word while people are eating.

The use of *selesabo* contrasts with the use of *tolesabo*. *Tolesabo* means 'don't talk' in the sense, 'be quiet', 'shut up', or 'don't engage in language' (*langue*). The meaning is 'stop talking' or 'do something else besides engage in language'.

(16) Isa (age 8) is teasing her brother Wanu (32 months) about who will be his wife. Father tells him to counter her teasing with:

1. Father → Wanu → Isa:
no! elɛma
2. no! /
3. that's mother! elɛma
4. that's mother! /
5. One doesn't speak/say like that!
elɛma
elɛdo mɔsalano!
6. One doesn't speak/say like that! /
7. Father → Isa: girl, Isa, you ...
that's being bad.
Shut up! Shut up!
tolesabowo!

In this sequence, an adult uses *elɛma* to instruct a young child in how to provide an appropriate response to his sister's teasing. In addition, in line 5 the child is directed to say 'one doesn't say that', calling attention to the inappropriateness of what is being said. This response is yet another way to counter teasing. In such interactions the conventions of language use are made explicit to younger members who may not as yet know them or may need to be reminded of them. This sequence ends when the father, being angry at his daughter, tells her to 'stop talking'. This instructs the children as to what is and is not out of bounds and further draws attention to the social need to control the flow of talk by forcefully ending undesirable speech.

A final example completes the point that in some interactions the issue is not to say what you want to say better, but to stop talking completely.

(17) A group of children are loudly talking and playing, and mother turns to them:

Sosas, shut up!
tolesabo!

Sosas is the name of a very noisy bird, one whose sounds are considered unpleasant. By comparing the children to *sosas* birds, the mother emphasizes the irritating nature of the group noise, further marking the general injunction to stop the annoying verbal activity and do something else. *Tolesabo* is used here quite in contrast to *selesabo*; the children are being told

to stop the activity of talking, not to stop saying specific things.

In these examples of learning and speaking 'hard words', children are provided both with an explicit cultural model of the importance of verbal activity, and with the importance of saying or not saying the right thing. Functionally, such a model promotes social integration into a coherent world constructed upon the importance of direct, controlled, forceful face-to-face communication. Kaluli children learn to focus upon what they want and need, even when this requires challenge or confrontation. They learn that discourse is a means to social ends, and they openly utilize sequential talk following that model. Imperatives are often heard in the language of adults to children and adults to each other, and the ability to utilize language in interaction requires an understanding of when to demand specific speech and when to demand verbal closure.

When something has been said or done, or might be said or done, the ability to refer appropriately, report, or challenge is one consequence of the way Kaluli learn 'hard words'. Such situations continually reflect the choice of formulations about what has been said in order to focus the specifics of the situation. If one reports benignly to another that 'someone said something to me ...', and the listener immediately wants to challenge the substance of the remarks, a common interruption at this point would be *ba madali siyo* 'it was said for no reason'. Remarks on the truth or intentions of what was said are very commonly the subject of initial interruptions in conversation, immediately letting the speaker know the listener's point of view on the reported speech. Remarks about the circumstances of what has been said must be formulated with *siyo* 'said', or *elɛ siyo*, 'said like that'; these refer to a specific instance of speech or the 'said' of a report in a certain context. **Tolɔ* can never appear in these situations because one cannot have the capacity or system of language in the past; in fact, the construction is inappropriate in any utterance about the language of deceased persons.

More pointed rhetorical strategies for dealing with the reports or references of speakers are formulated with two common phrases: *ge siyo wɔ dadaye?! 'Did you hear what I said?!'* and *ge oba siyo wɔ? 'What did you say?'* While these can be requests for information, confirmation, or acknowledgment, they are often found breaking into or responding to the stream of discourse in order to focus reaction and challenge what is being said. Neither construction can be formulated with *to* and *tolɛma*, as both exemplify the necessity of controlling a specific instance of speaking.

Rhetorical challenge can be pushed a degree farther; escalation to threat is an important way not just to register response but to prohibit or shame someone who is doing something that is inappropriate or not approved of. In such cases

the threat is registered simply with: *sameib!* 'someone will say (something)!'. The implicit threat is that someone will say 'who are you?!', 'is it yours?!', or other pointed rhetorical questions that shame the addressee. Use of *sameib!* to control interactions that may get out of hand, rather than use of physical control, emphasizes the concern Kaluli exhibit about speaking as an instrument of social action and accomplishment. Such a threat cannot be formulated with **tolomeib!* because it is the implied 'something' that will be said that is so important to shaming as a regulatory action.

In these examples of learning, speaking, and controlling 'hard words', it is clear that Kaluli must understand when it is appropriate to talk about language, and when it is appropriate to talk about speaking. Kaluli discourse then is taught and utilized as an integration of linguistic and metalinguistic practice which is shaped and scaffolded by having a place in a culturally coherent world of beliefs about 'hardness', control, direct action, and assertion. Kaluli discourse must be analyzed in relation to the belief system that constructs its organization and goals, as well as the social ends which it accomplishes for participants. Cultural analysis then is an explicit manner of connecting form and function. We have found that constructing an analysis from the bottom up satisfies both the demands of ethnographically situated explications and the demands of explaining the ordinary and routine ways that Kaluli interactions actualize cultural expectations about language use and meaningful social behavior.

3. Closure. To close a story, a speech (or, in a recent adaptation among the few literate Kaluli, a letter), Kaluli utilize the phrase *ni towo kom* 'my talk/words/language are finished'. It is fitting that we close this paper by explicating why this phrase is appropriate and why the contrasting **ni siyowo kom* 'what I have said is finished' is inappropriate and not utterable.

For Kaluli, verbal closure implies directly that there is nothing left to talk about, at least for the moment. What is finished is the action of language, the invocation of words, the activity of talk. No such boundary is appropriately imposed upon the 'said' of speaking in a specific setting, which is always open-ended and ongoing. Verbal activities are closed by a boundary on talk, not a boundary on what has been said. The function of reaching closure, again, underscores the direct manner in which Kaluli control situations and behaviors by viewing talk as a socially organized and goal-directed actualization of the capacity for language, 'hard words'. *Ni towo kom*.

NOTES

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and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. We gratefully acknowledge their assistance. Detailed reports of our separate work are Feld (1982) and B. B. Schieffelin (1979). The order of author's names was determined by geomancy.

1. *Kalu* specifically means 'man' (opposing *kesale* 'women') but can generally refer to 'person' or 'people'. Kaluli see the ideal form of 'hardness' modelled on maleness; women, however, are clearly supposed to be competent language users. Sex role socialization is clear in the speech of mothers to children; little boys are encouraged to use language to be demanding, while little girls are encouraged to use language to be more complacent. These issues are addressed in detail in B. B. Schieffelin (1979:Chapter 2).

2. It is worth noting that, in contrast to some aspects of metalinguistics, Kaluli do not directly verbalize about the importance of a distinction between *to* and *sama*. The clear *langue/parole* distinction is consistent, however, in all of our elicited or tape-recorded naturally occurring data. Further discussion of how this distinction affects Kaluli poetic concepts can be found in Feld (1982:Chapter 4).

3. There is one additional context where the term *to halaido* or *halaido to* is found. This is in the talk of debate, heated discourse, anger, dispute, or confrontation (as, for example, in a bridewealth negotiation). This sense of *to halaido* is far less prominent than the broader usage. The morphological marking *-ait* is used only to indicate anger; it is not prominent in our sample of recorded speech (83 hours of family interactions, 50 hours of song, myth, texted weeping, and more formal modes).

4. We are speaking here about interactions in an assertive frame. These characterizations do not apply equally to frames of appeal. On Kaluli assertion and appeal, see E. L. Schieffelin (1976:117-134) and B. B. Schieffelin (1979:Chapters 3 and 4).

5. In casual adult interactions, *elena* may be used to direct a response to a speaker who is slow to respond to teasing or joking. A more marked and deliberate adult usage occurs in funerary weeping, where women improvise sung-wept texts to a deceased person lying before them. Often these texts contain lines like, 'Look up to the treetops, *elena* ...', indicating that the weeper is telling the deceased to say these words back to her. The grammaticality and pragmatics here rest on the notion that while the deceased is next to the woman in body, he or she is going elsewhere in spirit, in the form of a bird. The commanded words marked with *elena* must therefore be in the form of an appropriate utterance to a living person from one who is now a bird. 'Look up to the treetops' is such a line because it indicates that from then on the weeper will only see the deceased as a bird in the treetops. Feld (1982:Chapter 3) contains an analysis of *elena* in sung-texted-weeping.

6. Transcription conventions are described in B. B. Schieffelin (1979). Child speech is on the right and the speech of

others plus contextual notes are on the left. Single arrow indicates speaker to addressee; double arrow indicates speaker to addressee who is to address a third party. Kaluli glosses are provided only where *to*, *tolema*, *elēma*, and *sama*, or other forms of these verbs, are used. Full transcripts of all examples with morpheme by morpheme glosses can be obtained by writing to the authors.

7. The use of concatenated forms also appears with *sama*, particularly in interactions with *elēma*, where the child is too far from the intended addressee and is told to 'go in order to speak', *semeni hamana*.

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THE MEDICINE AND SIDESHOW PITCHES

Fred 'Doc' Bloodgood

Editor's Introduction. One of the highlights of the 1981 Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics preconference sessions was a presentation by Fred 'Doc' Bloodgood, the last known living medicine show pitchman. A transcript of Mr. Bloodgood's presentation is included here in order to preserve an example of a once flourishing, now extinct American folk discourse genre which is not otherwise available. No medicine show or sideshow pitch of the twenties or thirties was ever tape recorded or written down. As Doc Bloodgood put it in a letter to me, until now the pitch

was not printed, stamped, stained, marked or engraved ... on anything movable or immovable, capable of receiving the least impression of a word, letter, syllable, or character, which might have become legible or intelligible, to any person or persons under the blue canopy of heaven.

A tape recording of Mr. Bloodgood's introductory remarks and demonstration pitches is also available from Georgetown University Press.

Although the transcript fails to give an adequate sense of the oral presentation, it shows dramatically that the medicine show and sideshow pitches were constructed in ways similar to those identified by Lord (1960) for oral epics: formulaic phrases woven together in a flexible but structured sequence to yield a text that sounds memorized because it is astoundingly fluent. Mr. Bloodgood produced only a few false starts and only three instances of fillers ('uh') in more than a half-hour of talk. The pitches make use of repeated rhythmic patterns, sound play, and specific details to create immediacy and vivid imagery--features found in poetry, both oral and written.

What follows is a verbatim transcript of Doc Bloodgood's introductory remarks and sample pitches. Mr. Bloodgood did have