

Key Terms in Language and Culture

Edited by
Alessandro Duranti



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in
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PREFACE

In the winter of 1998, I volunteered to organize an “educational” session on the state of the art in linguistic anthropology for the Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, to be held in December in Philadelphia. The session, one of a series for each of the major subfields in anthropology, was meant to inform the AAA members about contemporary research in linguistic anthropology.

I thought that the best way to accomplish this goal was to invite as many people as possible to talk about what they knew best about language matters in anthropology. As the number of contributors and topics grew, I realized that despite the three hours and forty five minutes allotted for the session, there was not going to be sufficient time for a series of fifteen-minute papers. One solution was to limit the time of each presentation to seven minutes. That is how the idea of papers structured as entries of a lexicon emerged. I asked each author to write about one thousand words on one key concept in the study of language. The result was a very original and thought-provoking series of statements that kept the audience at the AAA meetings engaged for almost four hours (the room was filled beyond capacity and many people could not get in). After the session, I decided that the papers should be collected and published. Free from the temporal constraints of the meetings, I also realized that I could include other topics and authors. As I approached more colleagues or wrote again to those who had not been able to participate in the session because of previous commitments, the list grew to include about ninety potential contributors. Of those to whom I wrote, the great majority responded with enthusiasm, despite the short notice and the close deadline I had set. The question then arose as to where to publish the papers. I thought that the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* would be the ideal place to publish the entries. Under editors Ben Blount and Judith Irvine, the journal has acquired a reputation for high quality contributions in a wide range of research topics and paradigms within our field. This book reproduces the special issue (*JLA* vol. 9) I edited under the title *Language Matters in Anthropology: A Lexicon for the Millennium*, an ambitious collective attempt to push the

boundaries of our discipline even further into realms that just a generation ago would not have been thought of as linguistic anthropology. The contributors to this collection give voice to research programs and intellectual agendas that, each in their own unique way, celebrate the complexity and the richness of language as the ever present instrument and living record of the human experience on Earth.

Most of the contributors to this volume are linguistic anthropologists, but there are also colleagues from other fields, including folklore, linguistics, philosophy of language, psychology, sociology, ethnomusicology, conversation analysis, biological anthropology, and medical anthropology. Although not everything you always wanted to know about linguistic anthropology – or language – is represented here, the entries and authors in this issue cover a vast territory of knowledge about linguistic matters. They are written to inform, suggest, provoke, and open up new horizons while looking back at our relatively short, no more than a century-long, history. If they succeed in engaging the readers with new ideas and making them reconsider or deepen their views of language matters, they will have accomplished their goal.

This project required a considerable amount of work by many people. I want to thank all the contributors for their willingness to adapt to the format of the entries and the strict deadlines without losing their creativity. The original session was made possible by the encouragement of the 1998 Annual Meetings Program Chair, Susan Greenhalgh, and the hard work of Lucille Horn at the AAA office in Arlington. In editing the volume, corresponding with the contributors, and making sure that I would not forget anything or anyone, I was fortunate to have the support of three skillful and energetic editorial assistants, Adrienne Lo, Sarah Meacham, and Vincent Barletta. Finally, this was my first collaboration with the publication staff at the AAA headquarters. Many thanks to John Neikirk, Neada Ross-Fleming, and the rest of the staff who made this at first improbable enterprise something that you can hold in your hands and read. The publication of the *JLA* special issue as *Key Terms in Language and Culture* would not have been possible without the skillful negotiation and support of Susi Skomal at AAA headquarters and Jane Huber at Blackwell, and without the expert editorial assistance of Margaret Aherne. I am also grateful to Tracy Rone for compiling the index.

In making the original collection available to a wider audience, I hope that this book will invite reflections and reactions that will widen and deepen our understanding of and commitment to the study of language as both a human capacity and a human activity.

Alessandro Duranti

CONTENTS

List of Contributors	ix
Preface	
<i>Alessandro Duranti</i>	xv
Acquisition	
<i>Susan Ervin-Tripp</i>	1
Act	
<i>Marina Sbisà</i>	4
Agency	
<i>Laura M. Ahearn</i>	7
Body	
<i>Mariella Pandolfi</i>	11
Brain	
<i>John H. Schumann</i>	15
Category	
<i>Ward H. Goodenough</i>	19
Codes	
<i>Celso Alvarez-Cáccamo</i>	23
Color	
<i>Paul Kay</i>	27
Community	
<i>Marcyliena M. Morgan</i>	31
Competence	
<i>Jack Sidnell</i>	34
Conflict	
<i>Marco Jacquemet</i>	37
Contact	
<i>Christine Jourdan</i>	41
Control	
<i>Allen D. Grimshaw</i>	45
Crossing	
<i>Ben Rampton</i>	49

Deaf	
<i>Carol Padden</i>	52
Dreams	
<i>Laura R. Graham</i>	56
Endangered	
<i>Robert E. Moore</i>	60
Evolution	
<i>Kathleen R. Gibson</i>	64
Expert	
<i>Aaron V. Cicourel</i>	67
Functions	
<i>Michael Silverstein</i>	71
Gender	
<i>Mary Bucholtz</i>	75
Genre	
<i>Richard Bauman</i>	79
Gesture	
<i>John B. Haviland</i>	83
Grammar	
<i>John W. Du Bois</i>	87
Healing	
<i>James Wilce</i>	91
Heteroglossia	
<i>Vyacheslav Ivanov</i>	95
Humor	
<i>William O. Beeman</i>	98
Iconicity	
<i>Bruce Mannheim</i>	102
Identity	
<i>Paul V. Kroskrity</i>	106
Ideology	
<i>Joseph Errington</i>	110
Ideophone	
<i>Dennis Tedlock</i>	113
Improvisation	
<i>R. Keith Sawyer</i>	116
Indexicality	
<i>William F. Hanks</i>	119
Individual	
<i>Barbara Johnstone</i>	122
Inference	
<i>John J. Gumperz</i>	126
Intentionality	
<i>Alessandro Duranti</i>	129
Interview	
<i>Charles L. Briggs</i>	132

Literacy	
<i>Niko Besnier</i>	136
Maxim	
<i>Stephen C. Levinson</i>	139
Media	
<i>Debra Spitulnik</i>	143
Metaphor	
<i>Dan Ben-Amos</i>	147
Meter	
<i>Giorgio Banti</i>	150
Music	
<i>Steven Feld and Aaron Fox</i>	154
Names	
<i>Betsy Rymes</i>	158
Narrative	
<i>Harriet E. Manelis Klein</i>	162
Orality	
<i>Alan Rumsey</i>	165
Oratory	
<i>Joel Kuipers</i>	168
Participation	
<i>Marjorie H. Goodwin</i>	172
Particles	
<i>Haruko M. Cook</i>	176
Performativity	
<i>Kira Hall</i>	180
Plagiarism	
<i>Ron Scollon</i>	184
Poetry	
<i>Dell Hymes</i>	187
Power	
<i>Susan U. Philips</i>	190
Prayer	
<i>Patricia Baquedano-López</i>	193
Prophecy	
<i>John Leavitt</i>	197
Proverb	
<i>Kwesi Yankah</i>	201
Reconstruction	
<i>Victor Golla</i>	204
Reflexivity	
<i>John A. Lucy</i>	208
Register	
<i>Asif Agha</i>	212
Relativity	
<i>Alessandro Duranti</i>	216

Repetition	
<i>Penelope Brown</i>	219
Signing	
<i>Leila Monaghan</i>	223
Socialization	
<i>Elinor Ochs</i>	227
Space	
<i>Elizabeth Keating</i>	231
Style	
<i>Norma Mendoza-Denton</i>	235
Switching	
<i>Benjamin Bailey</i>	238
Syncretism	
<i>Jane H. Hill</i>	241
Theater	
<i>Ingjerd Hoëm</i>	244
Translation	
<i>Regna Darnell</i>	248
Truth	
<i>Susan D. Blum</i>	252
Turn	
<i>Sally Jacoby</i>	256
Variation	
<i>John Baugh</i>	260
Vision	
<i>Charles Goodwin</i>	264
Voice	
<i>Webb Keane</i>	268
Writing	
<i>Antonio Perri</i>	272
Index	275

Acquisition

Acquisition of a language refers to learning enough about it to understand what speakers mean. A language used in late childhood for inner speech and abstraction can survive in memory the rest of life, as we see in the last speakers of dying languages. What's acquired is knowledge of the sound system of an oral language, syntax, vocabulary or lexical system, semantics underlying both, and the pragmatic or sociolinguistic system that relates language to conditions of use.

Three conditions are necessary for acquisition: capacity, access, and motive. Language requires the capacity to form classes of classes, an ability only humans have. There must also be a peripheral system – touch, vision, or sound. Both cognitive and social development in children affect the order of acquisition. The increase in capacity, as well as transfer from first language, explains why second languages are acquired so fast in late childhood. On the other hand, after puberty, a first language has never been learned successfully, and attaining the skill of a native speaker of a second language is variable.

Second, there must be access to exchanges with others in which language forms co-occur with information about meanings. This is necessary for semantic mapping to forms. What is learned about forms from access includes what forms occur together, what is happening physically and socially at the time, who is speaking, and so on. Where there is a regular, distinctive co-occurrence of any of these events with linguistic form, the information may be stored. Language is acquired readily from siblings and older play partners because they are likely to provide frequent and easy conditions for mapping.

Third, there has to be a motive to attend to or to speak a language. While not an issue for dependent infants, if speakers of a variety aren't valued, listeners may not get enough access to come to understand new vocabulary, styles, dialects, or languages, and they may be even more unwilling to be heard speaking in other varieties. This is a place where social ideology has an impact on acquisition. In relaxed informal speech, phonetic choices, vocabulary, and other aspects of style reflect the speech of valued others, usually of

childhood peers. However, we know that children have heard and stored a great variety of detailed information about who talks, and how, because we see it if four-year-olds do role-playing, as demonstrated by Elaine Andersen.

All the components of language are being developed simultaneously, but those aspects that reach their relatively mature state first are the phonological system, core syntax, and probably some basic aspects of the semantic system for the first language. Vocabulary growth is very sensitive to the physical and social environment, since it is a form of mapping of objects and concepts, as well as changes throughout life. It has three facets: the representation of the form of the word, its grammatical properties, and its denotation, connotations, and social implications. Taboo words and insults provide a clear case where the child often acquires these features separately.

Vocabulary development is both affected by and affects the semantic and cognitive organization of the child, so it can be a focus for socialization. The semantic system reflects those features that the syntax and vocabulary single out for marking, so it varies for different languages – for instance, differentiating tight and loose fit for some Korean prepositions, identifying shapes of objects for Navajo verbs, identifying sources of information for Turkish (which has evidential markers), and identifying age and status in Korean.

The structure of first sentences is sensitive to the context of language used for and by children. Two-year-olds' speech is usually brief – telegraphic – and often includes only the core information. In one language there may at first be much more naming of things, in another more naming of actions, or of changes of location or state. As children's capacity increases, they complicate syntax by including several types of information at once, such as place and action. They start to add formal features demanded by their particular language. If they speak a language that requires coding the gender of a speaker or the relative time an event occurred in every utterance, they begin adding that, though they may still have omissions at the age of three or four. Both complexity and ease of marking affect order; markers that are at the ends of turns are acquired earlier than those in the middle, just because of salience.

Traditionally, studies of acquisition focused most on the development of reference and ideational communication, but speech is also organized as to turn participation, speech actions, social relations marking, register or variety, speech genres like joking or narration, and speech events like weddings or trials. Children mark turn organization very early; by three they have replies with linguistic features showing dialog skill. In English we find "I can too" or "Because he does," and some topical coherence across turns. Infants first learn the speech acts, such as greeting rituals, that have similar turns to mimic. They use an increasing variety of kinds of acts during childhood – requesting, challenging, justifying, apologies, and so on. Linguistic forms that mark important or salient social acts are candidates for early acquisition, so they vary culturally. Complex genres and their situating in larger speech events can continue acquisition throughout life.

Social indices in speech range from address terms, to mitigating or aggravating of speech acts by tone of voice or explicit formal choices, to selection