NARRATIVE AND TALK: A STUDY IN THE FOLKLORIC COMMUNICATION OF EVERYDAY CONVERSATIONAL EXCHANGE

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by

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ABSTRACT

A view of the strategic use of folklore in everyday life, and in particular, verbal folklore as it is constituted by its social occasion, implies that it is not merely the presence of a stylized and traditional item of expression that determines the folkloric character of the occasion. If we can speak of an entire situation or event as folkloric, it is because folklore is first embedded in, and second, determined by the normal flow of verbal exchange. The suggestion here is that there is a distinct continuity between a folkloric performance occasioned by conversation, and the conversation itself. This thesis focuses on the nature of this continuity, and specifically on the entire conversational event through which narrative is achieved and fashioned.

The analytical perspective involved and the diversity of issues addressed by this study necessitate a multi-disciplinary approach. While the primary theoretical and methodological framework is folkloristic, other related theories and methods are drawn from communication, cultural anthropology, the ethnography of speaking, the sociology of conversational interaction, sociology, poetics, and literary

and linguistic stylistics. In this way, various topics and themes are treated: the definition of "conversational narrative", the analysis of conversation in the "activity of stylization", the interface between folkloric speech and natural discourse, the stylistic and structural connections between narrative and conversation, and the organization of narrative communication.

In their concern with explicating the formal, performative dimension of folkloric expression, folklorists have emphasized the differences between folklore and other casual or less formal kinds of communication. Performance-oriented studies of narrative have dealt with a process of foregrounding whereby a stylized mode of communication, the communicative act itself, and the expressive skills of the narrator are all highlighted. This thesis examines the nature of the background, the conversational basis which structures and situates folkloric expression, and the relationship between the formal and informal behaviours that make up conversational exchange. Conversational narratives are situationally and thematically determined by the manner and subject of discussion, and accordingly, particular attention is paid to speech in the informal, casual interactions of everyday life. The speech event (conversation) and the speech act (narrative)

then, are viewed not only as interdependent but interdeterminate.

The sociology of conversational interaction has demonstrated that natural conversation depends on the complicated negotiation of acquired rules based in both immediate circumstances (the context of the speech event) and the larger culture. These rules are structuring or patterning principles which are analyzed as factors that serve to make speech exchange systematic. Similarly, folklore in the form of the conversational narrative is viewed as a patterning principle in conversational interaction, and conversation itself is understood as exerting a modifying or determining influence on style, content, and form of personal narrative and personal narrative performance.

Narrative operates to compose and define our perceptions of reality, and transforms these perceptions into codes for experience, into expressive forms of personal knowledge. This thesis establishes and analyzes the significance and method of this narrative function, and through three case studies and interpretations of contributing theory, develops a concept of, and manner of approach to the folkloric dimension of everyday conversational exchange.

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I INTRODUCTION: TALKING AND "STORYING" IN EVERYDAY LIFE[1]

The artful manipulation of words appears clearly distinct from casual, everyday speech, and yet is situated in, and must be congruent with that speech in critical ways. These "critical ways" point to factors and determinants in the relationship between verbal art and talk that exist both within and outside that speech event. This congruency demands a dual focus on the product and the process of verbal art, on the nature of the form and the nature of the situation, on the aesthetic dimension and the cognitive factors that give shape to performance.

A folkloristic study of narrative in conversation must proceed on this congruency premise, as both the stylized, foregrounded communication of narrative and the casual and natural discourse of the conversational background serve to reciprocally determine one another in the organization of speaking in everyday social life. The motive behind narration, its actual subject matter, its point, its style, are all consonant with the mode and structure of the conversation in which it is situated. In this regard, John Robinson has suggested, "The situated character of speech exerts important constraints on the content and form of personal narratives."[2] Narration and conversation are interdependent factors in

this communicative process, and cannot be adequately described and analyzed without reference to each other.

Conversational talk itself presents a formidable problem for analysis. "When we talk to one another," Roger Keesing maintains, "we accomplish a commonplace miracle: commonplace because we do it so effortlessly and so often; miraculous because how we do it remains largely a mystery, ..."[3] Goffman identifies a similar confusion in his concept of talk as "a structural midden, a refuse heap in which bits and oddments of all the ways of framing activity in the culture are to found."[4] Talk indicates cultural knowledge in this way, as it serves as a means by which individuals frame their experience - delimit or organize a class or set of messages or meaningful actions.[5] The "point" of talk in Goffman's sociology is tied to its role in the linking strategies between individuals in everyday life, and consequently, its role in the coordination of social activity. In essence, talk is a vehicle through which an individual "aligns" himself to what is going on around him.

Goffman emphasizes above all, the loose and arbitrary nature of conversation:

> Much of informal talk seems not to be closely geared

> into extensive social projects, but rather occurs as a means by which the actor handles himself during passing moments; and these handlings of self are very often somewhat optional, involving quite fleeting strips of activity only loosely interconnected to surrounding events.[6]

A "conversational move", or a turn at talk, Goffman acknowledges, is largely determined by a structure of preceding moves, and itself determines following moves, and yet "looseness" rather than "structure", is the prevailing characteristic - at each conversational juncture, an entire range of actions seem available to the individual.

This view differs from those sociological approaches to the organization of conversational interaction. These approaches have generally focused on the sequences of utterances that comprise conversation, and have variously characterized these sequences as "orderly", "orchestrated", "systematic".[7] Conversation is understood as a highly structured, socially organized verbal activity that depends on a complicated negotiation of two constraining or determining orders: the constraints of the "local context" and the "abstract culture".[8] Both constraints bear upon the immediate, idiosyncratic conversational environment as speakers organize their talk into conversation.

Roger Abrahams offers a perspective on conversation that adequately accommodates the salient features of both views, and resolves, to a degree, the apparent dichotomy between concepts of conversation as loose and arbitrary on the one hand, and highly patterned and systematic on the other hand.[9] It is in this resolve that folkloric expression in the form of personal narrative, finds a place as component and structuring principle of, and function in conversation.

The "loose" nature of conversation in Abrahams' argument, is related to the degree of "predictability" in the pattern of talk: "Certainly, conversation in terms of predictability is 'looser' than any other kind of interaction, for junctures occur often and at each a wide number of choices of where the exchange might proceed becomes available."[10] Conversation then, exhibits a predictable or distinct pattern, and yet the frequency and number of junctures that occur and present a range of possible directions for that interaction, define the looseness of that conversation. Conversational participants implicitly agree to operate in their interaction by an openness to these junctures, and "to regard the interaction as being essentially spontaneous."[11] The conversational frame and the conventions of speaking within this frame, however, can be broken or perhaps suspended, by the introduction of a form of speech that interrupts the conversational flow,

as it focuses attention upon itself; in other words, when an utterance becomes foregrounded, the looseness of talk is suspended. I use the word "suspended" here to emphasize the fact that the conversational frame can be re-engaged at the completion of the foregrounded utterance.

Clearly, both informal and formal behaviour make up conversational exchange. Talk is, by definition, loose, and yet there are structuring principles that serve to make speech exchange in conversation systematic. It is then, best to conceptualize these informal and formal behaviours not as dichotomous, but reciprocal. Personal narrative, for example, is situationally and thematically determined by the mode and "point" of conversational talk. In turn, conversation is directed or organized by the occurrence of narration at the instance of a juncture.

Narrative does not just occur in conversation, however, but is the consequence of a negotiation and achievement among conversational participants of an appropriate "environment" for narration. Conversations can become "deep", in Abrahams' terms, as the participants "channel ever-increasing amounts of energy into the proceedings." It follows that a conversation becomes "deep" because the participants perceive a significance or a critical dimension to their exchange - the point of the

conversation, the topic/issue/motive, is highlighted. In this process, turns at talking become extended as each participant is afforded more time to make his point; and as talk becomes more patterned, predictable, and formal through this process, the likelihood of a narration is great. A folkloristic perspective must expand beyond the parameters of the narrative text, and the traditional determinants of that text, to include the crucial contributory fact of conversation itself.

An obvious conclusion of this argument is that stylization does not begin and end with the performance of the folklore text. Rather, stylization involves all the expressive activity that serves to establish a "narrative environment", and that ultimately accounts for storytelling. Style, it would appear, cannot be reserved exclusively for non-casual discourse in this interactional sense of narrative in conversation. This perspective is a significant departure from the conventional distinction in stylistics between "casual" and "non-casual" discourse. Chatman for example, employs Voegelin's notion of a single criterion in his definition of this distinction:

> ...any discourse which is planned and executed in terms of standard modes of discourse (poems, novels, plays,

> legal briefs, sermons, etc.) is non-casual; anything else is casual. Casual utterances are extempore and completely dependent upon the immediate social context...[12]

Further, Chatman emphasizes that in regard to the individual speaker, "all the complex possibilities of artifice flourish in non-casual utterances."

It is a contention of this work that within the inter-determinate nature of the structure of conversation, "all the complex possibilities of artifice" that "flourish" in the replaying of experience in narrative form when a conversational participant becomes a raconteur, must flourish also throughout the entire casual discourse that develops a narrative environment.[13] The reciprocal determinacy between adjacent turns at talk suggests that a narrative does not simply "emerge" but is "achieved" in the accommodative pattern of conversational interaction. As well, the interposing talk of others during a narrative performance, talk which can take the various forms of encouragement, agreement, demonstrations of attentiveness or appreciation - Goffman refers to such forms as "'back channel' effects"[14] - must be viewed as first, a reflection of the conventions of the larger framing context of turn-by-turn talk, second, an actual feature of narrative in conversation, and last, evidence of a fundamental connection between conversational

structure and personal narrative.

Philip Peek has observed that "The act of verbal creation is marked off from normal speaking, but in ways congruent with each culture's ideas about human speech and artistic creativity."[15] A guiding introductory principle can be abstracted here and readily applied to the problem at hand. I refer to a "congruency" principle which runs deep in the verbal art/narrative - natural speech/conversation relationships to embrace cultural and aesthetic dimensions of speaking. Each conversational move, and each emergent and achieved narrative within the structure of moves that comprises conversational interaction, involves, to borrow a phrase from Richard Ohmann's theory of style, an "epistemic choice".[16] A speaker's linguistic knowledge is contingent on cultural premises about, and models of the world in which speech acts occur,[17] and is revealed in the dynamics, conventions, notions of appropriateness, and forms and styles of everyday speech behaviour. Stated more succinctly, there are "fundamental cognitive aspects of oral communication";[18] accordingly, stylized speech acts are in themselves epistemic choices that embody linguistic and cultural knowledge, and have immediacy, use, and consequence in the face-to-face contexts of communication in social life. The aesthetic, particularly in ways of speaking, has purpose and result outside itself,

or as Kenneth Burke noted, "there are no forms of art which are not forms of experience outside of art."[19] It is to these parallels and congruencies in the forms, functions, and structures of the situated nature of folkloric speech, in particular the personal narrative, that this work is directed.

There is an important aside to be noted at the outset of this study that concerns the development of a perspective on folklore in contemporary Western urban culture. Perhaps the most appropriate statement on this perspective is provided by Peek, who points to the inadequacies of the dichotomy drawn between literate and oral cultures:

> Too often it is forgotten that Western culture is still an oral culture. While non-oral media exert great influence, those media are built on and largely maintained by oral tradition. Our veneer of literacy has obscured the commonalities and miscast the differences between literate and oral cultures.[20]

Evidence of the dominance and priority of oral tradition and communication in the urban context is offered by the versatility and sheer commonness of the personal narrative as an expressive resource in urban life.

The urban folklorist, as Dorson pointed out, must re-

orient his view, rethink definitions and concepts, shift focus, adjust analytical categories.[21] Similarly, I have previously argued that the heterogeneous and dynamic nature of urban life demands that the researcher look for new forms of folklore which are consistent with this environment, and concentrate on the relationship between these forms and aspects of social behaviour.[22] Accordingly, the interpersonal context of communication can be treated as the ground and frame for the expression and use of folklore. This micro-social approach, a theory and method of the ethnographic heritage in social research, has been effectively adapted to, and employed in contemporary folkloristics, particularly those urban, occupational, and performance-oriented studies which focus on specific communicative occasions, and the cultural evidence and determinants, social interactional dynamics, and traditional expressions that all serve to ultimately define these occasions.

In the complexity and multitude of urban subcultural groups, folklore, and especially the personal narrative in everyday conversational interaction, becomes one of many collective systems of meaning for individuals in groups. Through narrative, each individual offers a critical contribution to the collective experience and self-definition of the

group. Herein is found the cultural significance of this form of folklore - as Ulf Hannerz has suggested in his inquiry into the cultural process in urban life, "It is through the input into shared perspective from individual experience that culture as an open system mines reality."[23] Personal narrative as an enactment of experience then, is not only a form of expressive culture, but a strategy in social life by which an individual confronts, evaluates, organizes, and controls experience by conferring meaning upon events through narrative performance.

No social scientist can grasp and analyze an individual's knowledge until that knowledge has been rendered in some external form; and most often this form is, in Hannerz's view, "talk, talk, talk."[24] The inextricable and interdependent relationship of folkloric speech and natural discourse suggests that the "conversational narrative" is an extension rather than a departure or deviation from talk. Stylized and foregrounded communication in the form of conversational narrative is treated in this study as not only "situated", but a component in the organization of speaking in everyday life - that is, in the structure of conversational interaction.

Notes for Chapter I

[1]I have borrowed the term "storying" from John A. Robinson, "Personal Narratives Reconsidered," Journal of American Folklore, 94 (1981), p. 85.

[2]Ibid., p. 58.

[3]Roger M. Keesing, Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), p. 146.

[4]Erving Goffman, Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience (New York: Harper Colophon, 1974), p. 499.

[5]See Gregory Bateson's definition of "frame" in "A Theory of Play and Fantasy," in Steps to an Ecology of Mind (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), p. 186. This concept is discussed further in the next chapter.

[6]Goffman, p. 501.

[7]See Jim Schenkein's survey of contributing theories in the study of conversation, "Sketch of an Analytic Mentality for the study of Conversational Interaction," in Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction, ed. Jim Schenkein (New York: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 1-6.

[8]Ibid., p. 6.

[9]Roger D. Abrahams, Rituals in Culture, Folklore Preprint Series, vol. 5, no. 1 (Bloomington, Indiana: Folklore Publications Group, 1977), pp. 32 - 33.

[10]Ibid., p. 32.

[11]Ibid., p. 33.

[12]Seymour Chatman, "The Semantics of Style," in Essays in Semiotics, ed. Julia Kristeva (The Hague: Mouton,

1971), p. 420; see also C.F. Voegelin, "Casual and Non-Casual Utterances within Unified Structure," in Style in Language, ed. T. Sebeok (Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press, 1960), pp. 57 - 68.

[13]I have borrowed the term "replaying" from Goffman's analysis of tales and anecdotes in conversational interaction. See Goffman, pp. 496 - 559.

[14]Ibid., p. 509.

[15]Philip M. Peek, "The Power of Words in African Verbal Arts," Journal of American Folklore, 94 (1981), p. 42.

[16]Richard Ohmann, Shaw: the Style and the Man (Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1962), quoted in Chatman, p. 414.

[17]This concept is introduced, developed, and ethnographically analyzed by Roger M. Keesing in his essay, "Linguistic Knowledge and Cultural Knowledge: Some Doubts and Speculations", American Anthropologist, 81 (1979), 14 - 36. It is discussed further in its application to the analysis of folklore in the next chapter.

[18]Peek, p. 19.

[19]Kenneth Burke, "Lexicon Rhetoricae," in Counter-Statement (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 143.

[20]Peek, p. 20.

[21]Richard M. Dorson, Folklore in the Modern World (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), p. 27.

[22]Martin Laba, "Urban Folklore: A Behavioral Approach," Western Folklore, 38 (1979), p. 169.

[23]Ulf Hannerz, Exploring the City: Inquires Toward an Urban Anthropology, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 284.

[24]Ibid.

II THE INTERFACE BETWEEN FOLKLORIC SPEECH AND NATURAL DISCOURSE

Folklore is strategic behaviour in social interactional situations, and by this function, is a highly structured and integrated form of face-to-face communication.[1] By focusing on the strategy of exchange rather than merely the presence of an item of folklore, we can both define and analyze an entire situation as folkloric. This chapter addresses two central questions concerning strategy and situation: (1) In what manner does conversational exchange structure folkloric communication? (2) If folklore is an integral form of communicative behaviour, to what extent is there a continuity (stylistic and functional) between a folkloric performance occasioned by conversation and the conversation itself?

Roger Abrahams has noted that folklorists are concerned with establishing the distinction between folklore and other casual or less formal kinds of communication. "This we commonly do," he suggests, "by emphasizing the non-casual aspects of folkloric performances, the ways in which formal and self-conscious features of communicative behavior are so foregrounded that the performer and audience are aware that a specially stylized communication is under way."[2] Abrahams further offers methods by which the relation between casual

and non-casual communications could be examined. First, the relationships between the two could be established and studied in terms of the explicit ideals of the community. Second, the formal characteristics of the casual discourse could be analyzed in relation to the more stylized characteristics of the performance forms. Finally, the relationships could be established between the participants in recurrent communicative events between casual and non-casual types.

In view of the urban perspective of this thesis, and the stated focus on the definition and analysis of the nature of folklore as it is generated by, and in response to, the complexities of urban life, Abrahams' second and third suggested methods of inquiry seem most appropriate. Both imply the major emphases of this chapter - the activity of stylization rather than the stylized item, and the background, the conversational basis, which structures and situates folkloric expression, and constitutes the activity of stylization.

"Activity of stylization" is a concept introduced and developed by the researchers of the Birmingham School of Contemporary Cultural Studies.[3] In particular, they have been concerned with the analysis of working-class youth subcultures (Teddy Boys, Mods, Skinheads, Rastas, Punks, and

others) from sociocultural and political/economic perspectives. The expressiveness and stylization of each group is considered in terms of its argot, demeanour, ritualized behaviour, and appropriation and consumption of marketplace commodities (fashion and music, for examples) to serve its identity. The process of achieving and sustaining identity in everyday life through the communicative structures of appropriation and consumption is termed "the activity of stylization" - the active organization of objects with activities and outlooks to produce a group identity in the form of a distinctive way of "being-in-the world".[4] Style in this sense, is no mere dependent or variable, or simply a quality of embellishment, but a dramaturgical strategy and a highly visible mode of group identity and constitution.

Style then, in social interactional situations serves a metacommunicative function - it is a communication about communication. Epstein suggests that we regard style in terms of "some sort of 'base', and of some sort of variation from that base."[5] In a narrative event for example, there is understood a minimum "base activity" - the activity of telling a story. Beyond this base activity, however, is a set of variations in which the narrator engages, and which bears additional information to the listeners.[6] This "set of variations" is embodied in the performance of the narrative

and involves the innovation and creativity of the individual personality (the narrator) and group conventions and imperatives (the culture). Epstein further notes that the quality of interpretation is essential to stylistic activity as the observer/listener audience member perceives two categories of communication. This audience member perceives an identificative element which establishes the nature of the activity and, simultaneously, perceives the stylistic element which demonstrates the manner in which the activity is performed.

While, for analytical purposes, there is a distinction here between what is said and how it is said, the identificative or referential base and the stylistic performance, the intent is to discover the relationship, in stylistic terms, between these two dimensions of communication. Dell Hymes, in proposing the inextricable nature of the stylistic and the referential, suggests that folklorists, by definition of their subject, emphasize the stylistic:

> Again, I think that speech is to be approached as having an esthetic, expressive, or stylistic dimension. The stylistic and referential are interwoven and interdependent in all communication. Obviously there are degrees here, both of organization and of esthetic or expressive quality, and folklorists will be most concerned with the more highly organized, more expressive end of the two continua.

The intuitive notion which extends such a relationship is that the speech event (conversation in our present concern) - defined by Hymes as "activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech"[8] - and the speech act (narrative in our present concern) - the minimal condition of a speech event - can be analyzed as these interdependent referential (conversation) and stylistic (narrative) dimensions of communication. Further, the distinctions made by Epstein (identificative base/stylistic performance), and Hymes' contention that the referential and stylistic are reciprocally related, lead to the concept developed in this chapter: that the "what" of expression and activity, the identificative-referential dimension of communication, must be defined together with stylistic expression and performance, as a whole process - the activity of stylization.

In the communication of stylized folkloric expression (narrative in the case to be examined here), the speech exchange of the conversation out of which narrative emerges, can be defined with the narrative, as the activity of stylization. The following transcription of a conversational/narrative event illustrates this activity of stylization in the interface between folkloric speech and natural discourse. Some contextual information will serve to

establish the setting.

A cavernous barroom in the working-class district of the east side of downtown Vancouver is the regular haunt of Joe, a thirty-four year old fisherman. Other regulars defer to him, likely on the basis of a respect for, and curiosity about his occupation, and his forceful and engaging personality, through which he negotiates a central role in such social situations. It should be noted here that the short season of the west coast fishery accounts for the great number of urbanite fishermen who spend seven out of twelve months off the water. Of interest in the present example is that Joe, who works at other jobs for the major part of the year, regards himself as a fisherman, and as we shall see, works through his identity in the informal flow of, and formal folkloric performance within, conversation. Present during the exchange besides Joe and myself, were Steve, an office worker from downtown Vancouver, about thirty years old, and two women, acquaintances of both Joe and Steve, and both in their mid-twenties.

Joe enters the barroom looking rather distressed. He manages a slight smile as he joins the table. It is about 4:30 in the afternoon, and the room is gradually starting to fill with the after-work crowd. Joe immediately becomes the

focus of the occasion, and he utters a few fragmented preliminaries or introductions concerning the combination of financial problems and federal fishery regulations hindering his fishing this year. Steve takes up his cue, one of a series of response-questions which punctuate the exchange and place Joe in an obvious role of central performer, and Steve in the role of responding and encouraging subordinate. The relations then, exhibited between the interactants, and their expressions, are not capricious and random, but the products of a considered management on the parts of these participants.

The Data

Steve:	You're not fishin' this year, huh?	1
Joe:	Naw, s'matter a'fact boys just came back	2
	las' night. Jim, Grant'n'them guys phoned	3
	las' night, five o'clock inna mornin'.	4
S:	Don't ya miss it?	5
J:	Yeah, I'supposed ta go down this mornin',	6
	they were down unloadin'.	7
S:	Yeah.	8
J:	Mostly I missa lifestyle, I missa money.	9
S:	Whatsa lifestyle?	10
J:	Work five months on, seven months off.	11
S:	Ever in any situations, ya know, weather?	12

J: Oh yeah, yeah, got caught comin' 'cross the Hecate Straits a coupla times from the Charlottes.

S: The where?

J: Hecate Straits.

S: Oh.

J. Hecate Straits from the Queen Charlottes, roughest stretch 'a water inna Pacific, equivalent to the Horn.
(Silence)
Left at three o'clock in the afternoon. Shoulda been inta Rupert 'bout nine o'clock that night. B'rometer dropping from sixty-five ta twenty-nine inna hour and a half. Thirty foot sea, seventy mile-an-hour wind. Took alla the windows outta the fo'c'sle, reached the capstan - right off the deck, gone, stabilizer poles, gone, drum, gone. Really, sittin' there waitin' ta die, not fun.
(Pause)

S: What happened?

J. We ma . . .made it 'round the corner. There were eight boats left, five made it, three went down.

S: Three went down.

J. Six guys.

S: Six guys?

J: Gone.

S: Gone?

J.: Gone. And the end'a herring season which is usually end'a March...well depends, eh, like it's just over now. And ah, it's really a light season. They never opened it, they never opened a lotta'it. They never did open the Fraser or the Juan de Fuca Straits this year. But ya get up on the ah, the northern end, the weather can get really weird, really weird. We followed a coupla . .we followed one boat in that was sinkin', took the one

across in ass-end. They had a, they got a, they got a hundred and eight-ton set and they already had about - one set, a hundred tons, it's big bucks, fifty-five hundred bucks a ton. They paid cash huh, they paid cash, buyers are all sittin' 'round waitin' for you like a pile of vultures. That's where the money is, is in herring, if you got the parts for it.

S. Shoo.

J: These guys they, they, they loaded it up and just plugged their scuppers and started dumpin' it on the deck, eh, dumpin' it on the decks and they were comin' back, they got caught. Took the one across the ass in and started sinkin'. We picked them up on the radio, and they were runnin' for the beach, they were under full power. Captain's on there, "Yeah we're about a hundred and fifty yards from the beach still and ah, the water's half way up the galley door." We come 'round the point about twenty minutes after they beached it and nothin' but wood and herring. They made it off eh, they ran it on the beach huh, but the boat was gone.

S: God.

J. Yeah.

S: You gonna fish this summer?

J: Oh I don't know. If I get on a highliner I wouldn't mind. Highliner, Captain Highgrinder.

S: You must be on your eighth life by now.

J: Oh it's not that bad, there's other parts that were good. You get out there, like mosta the boats I was on usually fished halibut, usually two guys. I fished with the same guy for four years, so, we got along pretty good and we had one fight the whole time. Usually twenty days out and four or five in.

S: Beatin' each other's heads in.

J: Oh yeah, over a game'a solitare, really, single solitare. We'd been blowin' in and he was on the wheel eh, he was lis'nin' ta the radio and come in for coffee, and I wasn't payin' attention. Slipped a card out on me eh. And I'm sittin' there playin' solitare and I didn't have a clue eh. Jus' kept losin' and losin' and losin' and everytime he'd come in for another coffee he'd jus' laugh. We'd been sittin' there waitin' for it to blow out for about two days so nerves were a little short ta say the least. Card been sittin' on the compass. Ha, ha, big joke.
(Long silence)

S: Some guys I know made a bundle, other guys make nothin', I mean...

J: Know the spots.

S: Yeah, yeah, and also depends on how big his operation is, I mean there's a lotta fishermen who don't make anything, they're jus' gettin' by.

J: I know a guy right now's got a gill-netter, and he wants...There's no money this year, there's not gonna be. They're not gonna open the Fraser and I sure as hell won't want to take it on the outside. No way. Thirty-two foot boat on the outside'a Vancouver Island. Not a fuckin' chance.

Before analysis of the specific case can be accomplished, and the significance of the activity of stylization can be understood in the relationship between narrative and conversation, two major areas of study must be examined: (1) The Structure of Narrative, and (2) Cultural Factors and Conventions of Social Interaction.

The Structure of Narrative

Labov has defined narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred."[9] A "clause" can be understood to refer to the minimal narrative unit in the overall narrative structure. These clauses are ordered in a temporal sequence to constitute a narrative. A change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation: " 'I punched this boy/and he punched me' instead of 'This boy punched me/and I punched him.' "[10] Labov further qualifies this defining characteristic of narrative. Clauses with "used to", "would", and the general present tense cannot support a narrative and are not narrative clauses; as well, only particular independent clauses qualify as narrative clauses - subordinate clauses do not qualify.

According to Labov's analysis, a fully-formed narrative may exhibit six components which are in essence, a series of answers to basic questions:

(1) Abstract: what was this about?

(2) Orientation: who, when, what, where?

(3) Complicating Action: then what happened?

(4) Evaluation: so what? what is the point?

(5) Result or Resolution: what finally happened?[11]

The sixth and final component, "Coda", brings both narrator and audience back to the point at which the narrative began. The coda "puts off a question" and bridges the time between the end of the narrative and the present. Labov considers the structure and process of the complete narrative in the following manner:

> A complete narrative begins with an orientation, proceeds to the complicating action, is suspended at the focus of evaluation before the resolution, concludes with the resolution, and returns the listener to the present time with the coda. The evaluation of the narrative forms a secondary structure which is concentrated in the evaluation section but may be found in various forms throughout the narrative.[12]

Labov regards the evaluation as the most critical element in narrative, together with the narrative clause - it is the point of the narrative, the reason for its telling. As we shall see, the evaluation category becomes problematic in other analyses of narrative structure.

Teun A. van Dijk treats the structure of narrative discourse in terms of a theory of action.[13] First, van Dijk

distinguishes between two narratives types: "natural narrative" and "artificial narrative" (a parallel to the distinction between natural and artificial language). Natural narratives are defined as narratives which emerge in normal everyday conversation, and which relate personal experience. Artificial narratives - "myths, folktales, short stories, novels, dramas, and like" - have a "constructed" nature because they depend on specific story-telling contexts. As well, these two types of narrative are contrasted on the basis of the act of narration, which, in the case of artificial narrative, is "conventionally valued as an 'art'." Other qualifications for the artifical narrative include: (1) a similarity between the "narrative world" and the real world; in other words, a basis or degree of truth, or parallel application of the narrative action to real life circumstances which imparts to the narrative a pragmatic function (2) no direct connection to the narrating context, but an autonomous and relatively fixed structure which does not depend on the performance occasion (3) a monologue form which proceeds with no audience interference (4) an "epistemic accessibility" or omniscient perspective of the narrator in relation to mental states and situations represented in the story.

The natural narrative (in folkloristic terms, "personal

experience narrative") is characterized by van Dijk as quite independent of the actual and current story-telling context in its reference to events of the past.[14] This central point in van Dijk's analysis of narrative structure (the semantic independence of narratives from the discourse or context) is highly contentious from an ethnography of speaking perspective, and certainly from this folkloristic perspective that emphasizes the continuities between folkloric speech and natural discourse within a unified speech event. There is a qualification provided by van Dijk: a narrative may be prompted by a topic of conversation. Still, in this view, narrative possesses an autonomy which runs counter to conclusions in the study of language and social context.

Sociological and anthropological excursions into the field of speech behaviour have suggested that since social situations have a structure of their own - often in opposition to the properties of larger social structures[15] - and since speech occurs in these social situations, there are ways in which the underlying structures of social situations determine the organization and patterns of talk. Further, as Hymes, Schegloff, Labov, and others have demonstrated,[16] conversations are patterned syntagmatically and paradigmatically. The former patterning refers to the fact that conversation is sequentially organized, and utterances therefore, are

connected in a meaningful way. The latter patterning refers to the speaker's choice from among sets of permissible speech acts, of an appropriate set. These patterning principles suggest that any speech act (narrative in this case) is both semantically and structurally a fundamental part of actual discourse (conversation) and context (the speech event).

Van Dijk defines three categories as common to all natural narratives: Exposition, Complication, and Resolution. These categories he notes, are best referred to as "macro-categories" since they determine sequences of situations rather than isolated situations. Together these macrocategories describe the "macrostructure" of the narrative. In this scheme which somewhat consolidates the six components of narrative offered by Labov, each category serves a particular function in the narrative structure. The exposition introduces and specifies time, place, conditions, preceding events and the primary agents involved. This feature is the functional equivalent of Labov's "Orientation" component. Both van Dijk and Labov note the introductory "Abstract" which van Dijk emphasizes is not part of the narrative structure itself, but serves a critical cognitive function to guide and facilitate a correct interpretation of the discourse to follow. The complication and resolution of van Dijk's

scheme correspond directly to Labov's components which basically serve the same functions.

Other than these three obligatory categories, van Dijk proposes an additional optional category, "Evaluation" or "Moral". The evaluation provides the attitude of the narrator in relation to the reported actions and events, and the moral concludes the narrative with a statement concerning future courses of action in parallel or similar circumstances. "These terminating categories," states van Dijk, "express the pragmatic point of the story."[17] As noted above, this evaluation category becomes problematic in the various analyses of narrative structure, especially in terms of its function, and whether it is an obligatory or optional feature. Labov and Waletzky make it very clear that in narratives without a point (i.e. evaluation), the complicating action and result or resolution are difficult to separate and distinguish. "Therefore it is necessary for the narrator to delineate the structure of the narrative by emphasizing the point where the complication has reached a maximum: the break between the complication and the result."[18] While they acknowledge that the function of a given narrative will, to a certain extent, determine narrative structure, they contend that most narratives contain an evaluation feature. This critical component is defined as "that part of the

narrative which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others."[19]

Livia Polanyi analyzes the narrative within a tripartite system of structure/information: (1) The Narrative or Event Structure, which provides temporal context (2) The Descriptive Structure, which provides all environmental and character information (3) The Evaluative Structure, which serves to inform the audience what the narrator feels is important information in the narrative he/she is relating.[20] Polanyi suggests a function for evaluation that is consonant with the functions defined by van Dijk and Labov and Waletzky:

> Without evaluation by the narrator, the audience has only a mass of detail - temporal, situational, and characterological, and no way of understanding what the story is really about - why the narrator took up so much conversational room in reciting a collection of details.[21]

Polanyi and Labov and Waletzky clearly argue for the obligatory status of evaluation, while van Dijk maintains its optional character in the narrative structure. John A. Robinson in his excellent survey of the scholarship related to the study of personal narrative, states that the problem of assessing the status of evaluation in narrative is largely

a problem in defining what qualifies as expressing the evaluative function.[22] He notes that Labov delineates five classes of evaluative devices, Polanyi describes fifteen classes, and Karen Ann Watson in her discussion of the ambiguities and shortcomings of the term "evaluation", identifies various uses of evaluation which constitute both semantic and syntactic functions.[23] Robinson concludes that the question of evaluation in narrative is a question of degree, and that degree is determined by various factors: the urgency of the communication of the narrative, the significance of the narrative content for both speaker and listener, the nature of the story-telling occasion itself. For Robinson, the issue of evaluation in narrative, and indeed whether the components of the fully developed narrative in Labov's paradigm are obligatory, and what function each exhibits, is resolved in an understanding of the dynamics and conventions of the interaction setting. He writes, "The search for a suitable evaluative perspective becomes the focus of the narrative interaction."[24]

Insofar as evaluation establishes the pragmatic intent of the act of narration,[25] it functions in precisely the same manner as "style" (analyzed earlier in this chapter) - that is, metacommunication. It was noted that the narrative event involves a "base activity" and a set of variations of

this base. These variations include the creativity and idiosyncrasies of the individual narrator, the conventions and practices of the group attending the narrative event, and in particular, the principles of conversational exchange and appropriateness within the interaction situation. The relationship between the base activity and the set of variations establishes both the identificative element (the nature of the activity) and the stylistic element (the manner in which the activity is performed). Evaluation must involve these two elements, a concept which has been neglected by all theories of narrative structure considered here. If evaluation establishes the pragmatic intent of the act of narration, it must do so in a mode and form in keeping with the narrative itself, or in other words, in keeping with the activity of stylization (which brings together the referential/identificative and stylistic dimensions of communication). While a detailed analysis of the conversation and narrative transcribed above will follow, the evaluative phrase at the end of one section of complicating action demonstrates this point. Consider lines 22 - 30, lines 29 - 30 as the evaluation:

Left at three o'clock in the afternoon 22
Shoulda been inta Rupert 'bout nine o'clock 23
that night. B'rometer dropping from sixty-five 24
ta twenty-nine inna hour and a half. Thirty 25
foot sea, seventy mile-an-hour wind. Took 26
all the windows outta the fo'c'sle, reached 27
the capstan - right off the deck, gone 28

stabilizer poles, gone, drum, gone. Really, 29
sittin' there waitin' ta die, not fun. 30

Polanyi has argued that "anything which departs from the norm of the text can act evaluatively by drawing attention to itself, and also to the material which surrounds it."[26] But as Robinson has aptly pointed out, it is rather unclear what the "norm of the text" actually is. A more useful theory, and one that readily applies to the question of style, is developed by Labov and Waletzky. They regard as a crucial characteristic of narratives, the degree of embedding of the evaluation in the narrative framework.[27] This degree ranges from internalized - if for example, the evaluative phrase was "So I turned to my mate and said 'Sittin' here waitin' ta die, not fun.' " - to externalized - Joe's actual utterance. Whether the evaluation is more or less embedded, that is, internalized or externalized, in narrative, the very fact of embedding implies that evaluation, at least stylistically, must be in keeping with the "norm of the text", while it identifies the pragmatic intent of the narration. Joe's evaluative phrase under consideration here is a case in point.

The exchange between Joe and Steve closely follows the pattern described by Labov and Waletzky in their example of

narrative dealing with danger of death:

> When the subject is asked if he were ever in serious danger of being killed, and he says "Yes," he is then asked, "What happened?" He finds himself in a position where he must demonstrate to the listener that he really was in danger. The more vivid and real the danger appears, the more effective the narrative.[28]

Central to this demonstration of danger is an evaluation that is consonant with the events described; that is, rendered with the same dramatic quality (in particular, tonal quality) as the story itself. Joe engages his listeners with a life-and-death situation narrative, and then suspends the complicating action with the evaluative comment, "Really, sittin' there waitin' ta die, not fun." He pauses at this point, and focuses intently and silently on his listeners, a special attention to the women present. His casual posture in his seat, his "tough" style of holding his cigarette forward between his thumb and index finger, and his broad grin, suggest a function of self-aggrandizement in this evaluative comment which is delivered in a contradictory (to the actual content of the statement) matter-of-fact manner. He has successfully demonstrated the elements of danger and death, and holds his audience in suspenseful anticipation.

In this section, I have examined the numerous and

varied approaches to the analysis of narrative structure. It must be concluded that questions concerning which componential model and process theory is most representative of actual narrative structure, which components have obligatory status and which have optional status, and how this status is determined or regulated,[29] are ultimately resolved in the exigencies of interaction itself. In his survey, Robinson suggests that all narrative features, other than complication, are called into play or omitted on the basis of "such pragmatic factors as purpose, audience, and situation."[30] From the preceding analysis of the evaluation feature of narrative, however, it is evident that Robinson's suggestion must be expanded, particularly from a folkloristic perspective. Evaluation, I submit, is essential to the type of folkloric communication considered here. It is the narrator's testimony to the achievement of what Hymes terms "authentic or authoritative performance, when the standards intrinsic to the tradition in which the performance occurs are accepted and realized."[31] As a synthesis of the narrative and the narrative performance, evaluation is a critical moment in the communicative interchange in which the identificative or referential and the stylistic properties of an utterance are realized and demonstrated.

Cultural Factors and the Conventions of Social Interaction

It was proposed in the preceding section that the conventions of social interaction itself, and the factors of interpersonal dynamics and communicative interchange are the ultimate determinants of the nature and function of narrative structure. As well, and this variable was not dealt with above, there are the imperatives of culture in the narrative process. This section is devoted to the relationship between these social interactional and cultural dimensions of communication, and the manner in which conversation and narrative are moulded bythese dimensions.

Perhaps the most appropriate way to begin is with a conceptual bridge between analysis of structure and analysis of sociocultural factors, and in this regard, I begin with the purely structural/literary approach of Vladimir Propp. His seminal work on plot structure in the traditional folktale concluded that the basic units of the story were functions of the action in the plot and not the actions themselves.[32] This notion echoed a premise of Aristotelian poetics which asserts that action is primary and character entirely subordinate and secondary to action. Propp regarded function as "an act of a character, defined from the point of view of

its significance for the course of the action."[33] It follows then, that function cannot be determined without first understanding the place of that function in the entire story structure, and accordingly, its consequences on that structure. Propp, however, was unconcerned with the sociocultural aspect of narrative. French semiologist, Roland Barthes, did inject a cultural variable into the analysis of structure.

Barthes defined two sub-classes of narrative units - "cardinal functions" or "nuclei",[34] and complementary "catalysers". As he explains,

> For a function to be cardinal it is enough that the action to which it refers open (or continue, or close) an alternative that is of direct consequence for the subsequent development of the story, in short that it inaugurate or conclude an uncertainty...Between two cardinal functions however, it is always possible to set out subsidiary notations which cluster around one or other nucleus without modifying its alternative nature...[C]atalysers are... functional, insofar as they enter into correlation with a nucleus, but their functionality is attentuated, unilateral, parasitic...[35]

Cardinal functions then are defined by their temporal and logical (consecutive and consequential) relations to one another, while catalysers are purely temporal. It is the combination of cardinal functions that forms a plot sequence. A sequence is a series of cardinal functions united in a relationship of mutual implication.

While a plot becomes apparent when the reader or listener begins to place actions in sequences, this "placing" involves a series of cultural models which have been previously assimilated by the reader or listener. Barthes refers to these cultural models as "nom générique d'actions" (generic names of action).[36] Further, he suggests that bits of information are obtained by the reader under these generic names of actions, and the sequence of action is created by those names. The cultural models provide classes into which actions fit, and enable us to integrate information into a whole, interpret and make sense of it, and infer significant action from all the details presented, all on the basis of our knowledge of the fundamental categories of human experience.[37] Barthes' notion of how a reader can select certain elements from a story, order and integrate them, and refer to this whole as "plot", can be viewed as analogous to the role of the listener in a narrative performance, and the manner in which a story is interpreted, made sense of, grasped, in the active response of the listeners. Cultural models, "nom générique d'actions", are the basis of this interpretation process in that they constitute the raw materials of cognitive functions.

Cognition in this sense of the interpretation of the actual narrative text by the audience, is culture-specific,

and may be regarded in terms of performance as well. This fact of culture-specificity is treated as central to the prime objective of the ethnographic study of performance. Bauman, for example, states that "the essential task in the ethnography of performance is to determine the culture-specific constellations of communicative means that serve to key performance in particular communities."[38] The concept of performance and the methods of examining this concept, and its actuality in everyday life, serve to place the particulars of human interaction in larger and general cultural systems. Most relevant in the understanding of the cultural and social interactional significance of performance, and in the analysis of performance within the process of stylization, is the concept of "frame". Bauman has pointed out that this concept helps to define the communicative means and cultural basis of folkloric performance.[39] When it is acknowledged that current inquiries into the performance dimension of folklore are largely based on contextual approaches established in cultural anthropology, then the notion of "frame" becomes crucial; that is, if we "consider the meaning of messages as interdependent upon the actual communicative events",[40] then we must understand how the framing of that event is accomplished. Bateson's development of this theory of "frame" is the necessary introduction to a discussion of the framing process and folkloric performance.

Bateson argues that the concept of frame is a psychological one, and can be defined in terms of what it does - frame "is (or delimits) a class or set of messages (meaningful actions)."[41] This set of messages or actions has certain functions relating to its communicative potential:

(1) Exclusiveness. By the inclusion of particular messages or actions within a frame, other messages or actions are excluded. Bateson offers the analogy of a picture frame to emphasize how messages organize perception: "The frame around a picture...says, 'Attend to what is within and do not attend to what is outside.'"[42]

(2) Manner of Interpretation. The frame, by establishing the shared premises between communicators, assists the mind in both understanding and evaluating the messages contained within the frame. Messages are interpreted as mutually relevant by the communicators and interaction proceeds on this premise.

(3) Metacommunicative Function. A frame is meta-communicative in that it includes a range of implicit and/or explicit messages that instruct the receiver on how to interpret the messages

within the frame. As I referred to it earlier, this communication about communication, has important implications for performance analysis. Performance, itself a process of framing, is achieved through the establishment of a special communicative event. In essence, this event is an agreement upon a mood of receptivity, which is accomplished by the employment of mutually understood communications (verbal and nonverbal) about the actual performance communication. This notion is translated into empirical terms by Bauman:

> ...each speech community will make use of a structured set of distinctive communicative means from among its resources in culturally conventionalized and culture-specific ways to key the performance frame, such that all communication that takes place within that frame is to be understood as performance within that community. 43

(4) Consonance of the Universe Within and Outside the Frame. This specific function of frame serves as the primary rationale behind the concept introduced at the beginning of this chapter - activity of stylization. It was noted that conversation and narrative together comprise a single activity in which there is at least a consonance, and most

likely an interdependence between the referential "background" dimension of conversation and the stylized "foreground" dimension of narrative. Bateson discusses what I have here termed "consonance", as the relation between the psychological frame and perceptual gestalt. When any set of items is defined, it is also necessary to delimit the set of items which are to be excluded. This describes a double framing process in perception which, according to Bateson, is "an indication that mental processes resemble logic in needing an outer frame to delimit the ground against which the figures are to be perceived."[44] In simpler terms, messages in the background set of communications (referential, for our purposes) must be of the same "logical type", that is, consonant with messages within the frame (stylized, for our purposes).

Goffman elaborates Bateson's concept of frame with the introduction of the idea that individual response to events in everyday life calls forth "schemata of interpretation" or "frameworks".[45] These frameworks are termed "primary" in that they do not depend on a prior interpretation, and render meaningful natural or social events, or aspects of

events. Primary frameworks may be systems of rules or assumptions or may have no apparent form, "providing only a lore of understanding, and approach, a perspective." As well, Goffman offers the concept of "key", central to the analysis of frame, and especially relevant to our present concern with narrative. Key refers to a process of transformation, specifically "the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants as something quite else."[46] Framework then, explains the manner in which performance is invoked, and key explains the process of performance itself, in particular, the transformation of actual past personal experience to an expressive representation of that experience in the form of a dramatic scripting,[47] the personal experience narrative. In this sense, narrative is a "mock-up" of everyday events and experience, a scripted version of unscripted events which, in Goffman's view, reveals the nature and dynamics of social doings.

The Data: Conversation as Narrative Environment and the Activity of Stylization

Let us now turn to the conversation/narrative situation introduced earlier. This analysis will draw on several

theoretical perspectives considered so far in this chapter with the intention of demonstrating that conversational exchange is infinitely more than the background or context for folkloric narrative. Rather, if narrative is embedded in and arises out of conversation, then conversation is a "narrative environment"; it creates a mood of, and inclination toward, receptivity and while, strictly speaking, conversation itself is not stylized communication, it must be regarded as an equal (to narrative) contributing factor in the entire communicative activity, the activity of stylization. Consequently, "frame" can be understood as both the preceding and following conversational exchange as well as the individual narrative performance, and not merely the narrative itself. It follows that stylized communication does not burst suddenly into a communicative occasion, but evolves in the course of that occasion.

Lines 1 - 11

We have in this brief exchange, the two participants contributing to establish a preface for the forthcoming narrative. Minor and somewhat peripheral details are worked through in the development of the narrative environment - an inclination toward receptivity is established by the co-participants for a possible narrative performance. Steve's

role as questioner/prompter throughout this event is evident immediately. As stated earlier, Joe is the customary focus in these types of barroom/leisure occasions, and his entrance into this context visibly stirs the table of friends who defer to him, and anticipate a form of performance behaviour from him. After a series of greetings all around, Steve introduces by his initial question the obvious and usual topic of conversation when Joe is involved - that is, fishing.

Line 12

This question is of an entirely different nature than Steve's previous three questions. It is not merely an informational point, but a direct call for a narrative. In reality, Steve and Joe are running through a scripted bit of business here. Joe has related forms of this story on numerous similar occasions, and Steve has called for stories from Joe in this manner before. In this way, talk leading to narrative performance (or, as Goffman has stated, any talk) is socially organized "as a little system of mutually ratified and ritually governed face-to-face action."[48] By his question, Steve aligns himself with, and shares in the responsibility for, the forthcoming narrative.

Lines 13 - 21

The question and answer exchange (lines 13 - 18) precipitates the dramatic statement of act: "Hecate Straits from the Queen Charlottes, roughest stretch 'a water inna Pacific, equivalent to the Horn." (lines 19 - 21) This section serves the function of Abstract, and as van Dijk suggests, is not part of the narrative structure per se, but acts as a preliminary cognitive guide to shape and facilitate a correct interpretation of the narrative to follow. The silence following line 21 is perhaps the most significant feature of this section in relation to the overall performance. It operates in part to signal an end to conversational flow and a beginning of formal performance, and in part to assure all participants that a narrative is indeed forthcoming. Here in this silence, is the system of mutual ratification - all participants first acknowledge their willingness to focus upon the communication to follow, and at the same time, agree to its reception. Attention is turned toward Joe who flicks the ashes of his cigarette into an ashtray, turns his eyes downward in a thoughtful and serious expression, and waits out a silent period before beginning his story. It should be noted that while the women present say nothing during the entire exchange, they are crucial to the style of performance as they become, in the course of the narrative,

a focus for the narrator.

Lines 22 - 30

Three structural features are evident in this section: lines 22 - 24, Orientation (or Exposition, in van Dijk's terms), lines 24 - 29, Complicating Action (or Complication), and lines 29 - 30, Evaluation. Joe has engaged his listeners with the tone and brevity of his introductory statement Lines 19 - 21), and the considered silence which fundamentally begins the narrative proper. As noted before in this chapter, Joe must demonstrate to his audience that the danger he defined in the abstract was actual, and this demonstration depends on effective narrative performance. The orientation sets the scene and establishes the tone for performance as conditions are described, and an appropriate manner of reception and response is prescribed for the listener. He builds the complicating action to a climax, and suddenly suspends the narrative with the evaluative interjection (lines 29 - 30), which I have already analyzed. It should be reiterated here, however, that Joe has effectively demonstrated the situation as a life-and-death event, and accordingly, with this interjection, plays on the anticipation of his listeners. Authoritative performance has been achieved and is in progress, and this evaluation defines this achievement.

Lines 31 - 38

These responses and questions by Steve are clearly affective, and not information-bearing. Susan Kay Donaldson asserts that for a sequence of utterances by speakers to qualify as conversation, there must be a minimal exchange of information. While information-empty exchanges are not conversational exchanges in this definition, these information-empty exchanges may be affective for the participants concerned.[49] In the case of one speaker dominating a conversation, Donaldson maintains that other participants are respondents whose utterances do not contain much information. If such utterances were not information-empty, they would be considered a bid for taking away the floor from the person recognized as speaker.[50]

There is a basic problem with Donaldson's definition. The concept of "information" is restricted to only verbal communication and further, what is defined as conversation is entirely dependent upon the content of the messages, rather than, or as well as the dynamics, context, and process of face-to-face exchange. A participant/respondent may converse in a manner other than verbal. Goffman provides an example:

> ...finding himself with a conversation slot to fill, the individual will often find that all he can muster up is a grunt or nod. Timed and toned correctly, such a passing over of an opportunity for speech will be organizationally quite satisfactory, equivalent syntactically, in fact, to an extended utterance, and often gladly suffered, since it means that the other participants will wait less long between turns at bat. [51]

While the latitude of response on the part of the listeners is certainly restricted verbally, other communicative means come into play, and indeed, must come into play. Listeners are obliged to show an appreciation: "They are to be stirred not to take action but to exhibit signs that they have been stirred."[52] A "grunt", "nod", or "information-empty" word or phrase all serve this sign function.

Steve's responses are particularly significant in that the resolution of this narrative structure (lines 32 - 38) is first called for by Steve (line 31), and worked through on the basis of his responses. Clearly, the resolution of this narrative is a participatory activity involving the equal contributions of the narrator and the listener as they converse within the narrative structure itself. This feature, which I term "Internal Conversation" - the brief conversational exchanges which occur within the structure of the narrative and which constitute a contributory factor in the realization of a narrative component (in this case, the resolution) -

has not been isolated or analyzed as an integral part of narrative when it occurs. Yet the internal conversation can be central to a narrative structure and narrative performance.

Lines 39 - 57

The completion of this first narrative does not then re-engage turn-by-turn talk.[53] Instead, and with no preface, Joe launches into the abstract of another narrative. While the components delineated by Labov may be evident in a narrative structure, they do not necessarily follow one another in a prescribed order. For example, this narrative section (lines 39 - 57) moves from abstract (lines 45 - 47, "But ya get up on the ah, the northern end, the weather can get really weird, really weird."), to complicating action (lines 47 - 51), to another orientation (lines 51 - 57).

This narrative, the complicating action of which does not resume until the next section (lines 59 - 73), does follow coherently the basic theme of the entire discourse - danger and the sea. All other narrative features in this section function in total, as an exposition on the nature and economics of the west coast fishery.

Lines 59 - 73

The complicating action (lines 59 - 69) is concluded with the resolution (lines 69 - 71): "We come 'round the point about twenty minutes after they beached it and nothin' but wood and herring." As well this complication is elaborated and commented upon by the evaluative statement (lines 71 - 73).

This narrative exhibits the same demonstration-function as the first in that it follows from the same assertion on the part of the narrator, that is, the experience of life-and-death situations on the sea. Both experience stories can be considered as together, a narrative sequence which through different approaches, demonstrate the assertion as credible.

Lines 74 - 75

These two one-word utterances by the participants comprise the final section of the narrative, the coda. As in the analysis above, these utterances may be regarded as "information-empty" from a content perspective, but quite the opposite from a function perspective. Steve and Joe provide through their exchange a finality to the narrative sequence and a bridge back to the present conversational

situation.

Lines 76 - 82

If, as I suggested before, the referential base of conversation and the stylistic performance of narrative combine as the activity of stylization, then the type of narrative and the tone of that narrative are in large part, influenced by the preceding conversational base. The conversation between Steve and Joe changes the topic and tone of the discourse (especially lines 77 - 79 and line 80) and signals a completion to the previous narrative sequence. A new jocular tone is introduced and agreed upon by the participants.

Lines 82 - 88

Steve and Joe have negotiated another narrative, and Joe delivers his third story of the discourse. He follows Steve's prompting comment (line 80) with an assertion/abstract (lines 81 - 82), and an orientation (lines 82 - 87), that allows Steve a participatory response (line 88). This response is an opening for the complicating action and further develops the humorous tone of the forthcoming narrative.

Lines 89 - 101

This humourous story represents not a break in the established narrative frame but the introduction of a new "schemata of interpretation" or "framework". A performance of a nature different than the preceding narrative sequence (in terms of tone, theme, and style of delivery) is invoked. The new framework must, and does carry with it a range of implicit messages (metacommunications) that informs the participants how to regard the performance. In this case, the metacommunicative function is particularly critical because of the shift from a narrative sequence concerned with danger to a narrative concerned with a joke. The messages of the background/referential set of communications (the conversation leading to the narrative, lines 76 - 88) are consonant with the stylized communications within the performance, and must be considered as primary to the activity of stylization.

The silence following the narrative serves as an obvious marker for the end of the narrative frame and the activity of stylization. All folkloric communication in narrative form is signaled as concluded by the silence.

Lines 102 - 115

The framework employed for the performance, reception and interpretation of narrative appears suspended. Steve takes up a related topic, and Joe seems to take a cue and begin another story, but interrupts himself (line 110). Instead he offers a coda for the entire discourse, and delivers a forceful and absolute statement of synthesis and conclusion (lines 110 - 115).

Conclusions

"Style," wrote Kenneth Burke, "is an aspect of identification."[54] While the point of Burke's argument was the relationship between psychology and Marxism, and specifically, the activity of "owning" style whereby one accommodates oneself to the dominant or prevailing authoritative structure and privileged class by adopting the style or "insignia" of that structure and class, the premise of his argument can be interpreted for another purpose - the analysis of the process of stylization.

It was noted earlier that the identificative and the stylistic are inextricably related and interdependent in all communication. The stylized communication of folklore

performance then, is an aspect of the identificative/referential conversational basis out of which narrative is fashioned; in other words, the "foreground" is an aspect of the "background", style an aspect of identificative functions of communication. In this way, the conversational speech event and the narrative speech act are reciprocally related and together constitute the activity at the basis of folkloric communication, the activity of stylization.

This reciprocity demonstrates the interface between folkloric speech and natural conversational flow, and defines stylization as a communicative process that involves a distinct continuity between folklore performance occasioned by conversation, and the conversation itself. Consequently, the narrative structure, its components and functions, are dependent upon the exigencies of the conversational interaction. Narrative does not merely "arise" out of the interaction situation, but is negotiated, situated and structured by the interaction. The progress of an interaction establishes a "narrative environment", an agreement by and mood of receptivity among all participants concerning a forthcoming verbal performance. A frame is developed, a framework invoked, a performance keyed, and a narrative form of folkloric expression ordered through the speech exchange situation of conversation. In this case study of folkloric transformation of actual

past experience to an expressive representation of that experience in the form of a dramatic scripting of events and actions, it is evident that conversation can highly structure folklore, that the continuity between conversation and folklore is both stylistic and functional, and that we must re-orient our view of this type of folklore and regard the process rather than strictly the nature of the content (personal experience) by terming this form, "conversational narrative" for the purposes of folkloristic studies.[55]

Notes for Chapter II

[1]Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has suggested that folklore is "a highly structured, integrated form of interpersonal behavior" in her interactional analysis, "A Parable in Context: A Social Interactional Analysis of Storytelling Performance," in Folklore: Performance and Communication, eds. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), p. 107.

[2]Roger Abrahams, "Folklore and Communication on St. Vincent," in Ben-Amos and Goldstein, p. 287.

[3]See John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson, and Brian Roberts, "Subcultures, Cultures and Class," in Resistance Through Rituals, eds. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (London: Hutchinson, 1980).

[4]Ibid.

[5]E.L. Epstein, Language and Style (London: Methuen, 1978), pp. 4 - 5.

[6]This concept of stylistic activity is adapted from Epstein's treatment of "style as perceptive strategy," p. 5.

[7]Dell Hymes, "The Contribution of Folklore to Sociolinguistic Research," in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, eds. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), p. 50.

[8]Dell Hymes, "Studying the Interaction of Language and Social Life," in Foundations in Sociolinguistics (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), pp. 52 - 53.

[9]William Labov, "The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax," in Language in the Inner City (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), pp. 359 - 360.

[10]Ibid., p. 360.

[11]Ibid., p. 370.

[12]Ibid., p. 369.

[13]Teun A. van Dijk, "Action, Action Description, and Narrative," New Literary History, 6 (1975), 273 - 294.

[14]Ibid., p. 288.

[15]See Erving Goffman, Behavior in Public Places (New York: The Free Press, 1963), and Encounters (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961).

[16]Hymes, 1974, pp. 29 - 66; Charles O. Frake, "How to Ask for a Drink in Subanum," in Language and Social Context, ed. Pier P. Giglioli (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1972), pp. 87 - 94; Emanuel A. Schegloff, "Notes on a Conversational Practice: Formulating Place," in Giglioli, pp. 95 - 135; William Labov, "The Study of Language in its Social Context," Studium Generale, 23 (1970), 66 - 84.

[17]van Dijk, p. 291.

[18]William Labov and Joshua Waletzky, "Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience," in Essays on the Visual and Verbal Arts, ed. June Helm (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), pp. 34 - 35.

[19]Ibid., p. 37

[20]Livia Polanyi, "So What's The Point?", Semiotica, 25 (1979), p. 209.

[21]Ibid.

[22]John A. Robinson, "Personal Narratives Reconsidered," Journal of American Folklore, 94 (1981), p. 75.

[23]Karen Ann Watson, "A Rhetorical and Sociolinguistic Model for the Analysis of Narrative," American Anthropologist, 75 (1973), p. 255. Quoted in Robinson, p. 75.

[24]Robinson, p. 76.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Polanyi, pp. 209 - 210.

[27]Labov and Waletzky, p. 39.

[28]Ibid., p. 34.

[29]Similar questions are posed by Robinson, pp. 73 - 74.

[30]Ibid., p. 76.

[31]Dell Hymes, "Breakthrough Into Performance," in Ben-Amos and Goldstein, p. 18.

[32]Vladimir Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, trans. Laurence Scott (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

[33]Ibid., p. 21.

[34]Jonathan Culler translates this term as "kernels". See "Defining Narrative Units," in Style and Structure in Literature: Essays in the New Stylistics, ed Roger Fowler (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), pp. 123 - 142.

[35]Roland Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives," in Image-Music-Text, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), pp. 93 - 94.

[36]Roland Barthes, S/Z (Paris: Seuil, 1970), p. 26; trans. Rihard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974). See Also Culler's discussion, p. 137.

[37]The folkloristic parallel of this theory is developed by Lauri Honko in "Memorates and the Study of Folk Belief," Journal of the Folklore Institute, 1 (1964), 5 - 19.

[38]Richard Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," American Anthropologist, 77 (1975), pp. 295 - 296.

[39]Ibid., pp. 295 - 297.

[40]"Introduction," in Ben-Amos and Goldstein, p. 3.

[41]Gregory Bateson, "A Theory of Play and Fantasy," in Steps to an Ecology of Mind (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), p. 186.

[42]Ibid., p. 187.

[43]Bauman, p. 295.

[44]Bateson, p. 188.

[45]Erving Goffman, Frame Analysis (New York: Harper Colophon, 1974), p. 21.

[46]Ibid., p. 44.

[47]This term is borrowed from Goffman's analysis of "strips of depicted personal experience made available for vicarious participation to an audience..." He is concerned primarily with the products of popular culture in this respect. See Goffman, 1974, pp. 53 - 56.

[48]Erving Goffman, "The Neglected Situation," in Giglioli, p. 65.

[49]Susan Kay Donaldson, "One Kind of Speech Act: How Do We Know When We're Conversing?", Semiotica, 28 (1979), 263 - 268.

[50]Ibid., p. 265.

[51]Goffman, 1974, pp. 501 - 502.

[52]Ibid., p. 503.

[53]Gail Jefferson, following the work of Schegloff and Sacks, suggests that stories are sequentially implicative; that is, a story told can become the source for "topically coherent subsequent talk" and in this subsequent talk,

certain communicative techniques demonstrate why the story was told, why it was appropriate. See Gail Jefferson, "Sequential Aspects of Storytelling in Conversation," in Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction, ed. Jim Schenkein (New York: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 219 - 248; and Emanuel A. Schegloff and Harvey Sacks, "Opening Up Closings," Semiotica, 8 (1973), 289 - 327.

[54]Kenneth Burke, "Twelve Propositions on the Relation Between Economics and Psychology," in The Philosophy of Literary Form (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 309.

[55]The term has been employed in the analysis of speech events, particularly in sociolinguistic research into the relationship between narrative and natural speech. See for example, Nessa Wolfson's use of the term in distinguishing between the "interview narrative" and the "conversational narrative" in "Speech Events and Natural Speech: Some Implications for Sociolinguistic Methodology," Language in Society, 5 (1976), 189 - 209.

III CONVERSATIONAL NARRATIVES: A CASE STUDY OF THE OCCUPATIONAL FOLKLORE OF NEWFOUNDLAND BROADCASTERS [1]

Alan Ryave has suggested that "storytelling in conversation is an interactionally collaborative achievement."[2] His suggestion recalls the analysis of the preceding chapter, specifically the activity of stylization which places emphasis on the backgrounding of stylized communication, the conversational basis which structures and situates folkloric expression. The activity of stylization involves the "interactionally collaborative achievement" of a narrative in the system of speech exchange in conversation, and in this way, focuses attention equally on the utterances of the storyteller and the listeners.

The last chapter considered the definition and role of this activity of stylization in the organization of a conversation/narrative event, and in the structure of narrative itself. This chapter offers an in-depth case study of the occupational folklore of C.B.C. broadcasters in St. John's, Newfoundland, and proceeds from the premise established in Chapter II to address two central problems: (a) the nature and social function of narrative folklore in everyday situations, and (b) the ordering and evaluation of experience through the rendering of that experience in folkloric forms

of expression. These problems will be discussed under two headings: (1) The Telling of a Story in Conversation, and (2) The Enactment of Experience: Conversation, Narrative and Folklore.

The most appropriate introduction to this discussion is Kenneth Burke's statement concerning the sociological basis and import of the work of art:

> The forms of art...are not exclusively "aesthetic". They can be said to have a prior existence in the experiences of the person hearing or reading the work of art. They parallel processes which characterize his experiences outside of art. [3]

All artistic forms then, are also forms of experience outside art, and therefore these forms exhibit, and must be analyzed from the perspective of a sociology as well as an aesthetic. The verbal artistic dimension of folklore can be examined in this manner; in fact, sociolinguistic-oriented approaches to the highly marked, artistic verbal genres and performances of folklore have given prominence "to a notion of performance as creative in a sense which goes beyond simply novelty to encompass transcendent artistic achievement." [4] Various issues can be considered in this view: The relationship between folkloric verbal art and other modes of speaking within a social situation or larger cultural system, the

elucidation of the functions of verbal art forms, the nature of the socially situated use of language (in particular, the meanings carried by messages in the interaction situation), the structuring of identity through verbal art situated in social interaction - all of which point to an understanding of the features of folklore in everyday life in terms of the use of folklore in everyday life.

The data presented in this chapter represents the lunch-time and after-work leisure activity of a group of C.B.C. radio broadcast announcers, reporters, and producers in St. John's, and specifically, their work-generated expressions and conversational exchanges. This activity occurs in The Ship Inn in downtown St. John's, a restaurant-pub which has become a virtual club for the media and artistic professions, and to a lesser degree, for academics. Its proximity to the C.B.C. radio building, the Evening Telegram building (the home of the major daily newspaper in St. John's), and the LSPU Hall, (Longshoremen's Protective Union Hall, the hub of the St. John's theatre scene), has afforded these groups an important context for conversation, debate, and relaxation in surroundings adopted as and rendered a "home" and neutral ground. Folklore informs and is informed by the customary nature of these casual occasions. Above all, and as we shall see, the folklore of this group is founded on,

and is an extension of a joking relationship between the coparticipants/coworkers both within the act of expression in the context of leisure activity, and the complex of play behaviours during work which stimulate and articulate the strategies, anxieties, and skills of this occupational group.

The Telling of a Story in Conversation

The immediate problem in defining a narrative that is part of natural conversational structure, is a methodological one. As Nessa Wolfson notes,

> Sociolinguists frequently make a great effort to elicit narratives in interviews precisely in order to collect samples of "natural speech". The assumption here is that the narratives told in interviews are somehow not part of the question/answer pattern. [5]

Wolfson duly acknowledges and clearly demonstrates the erroneous nature of this assumption.

In her analysis of the salient features of the narrative elicited in an interview situation versus naturally occurring narrative in the course of conversational interaction, Wolfson notes some fundamental distinctions:

(1) Topic. The topic of the interview narrative is introduced by the interviewer, not the narrator. In the conversational narrative, it is the narrator who provides the topic and further, precipitates the occasion for narration.

(2) Changes in Topic. As the conversational narrative is related to and follows from the topic under discussion, changes in topic represent a response to some modification in the conversation itself. In the interview narrative, the interviewer impedes the natural change of topics since the entire structure of this type of exchange is based on a question/answer relationship.

(3) Nature of the Narrative. The interview narrative is told as an answer to a question or series of questions, and consequently, the narrative is told in a summary form, brief and to the point (of the question). As Wolfson contends, "there is often elaboration and emphasis on the specific part of the story which answers the question that has been asked."[6] The conversational narrative on the other hand, is not restricted in its purpose or function, and therefore offers a fully detailed

version of events. These details appear in features that are absent from the interview-generated narrative. An example of such a feature, Wolfson notes, is the historical present tense in narration for past action.[7]

As well, Wolfson considers the "spontaneous interview", an interview technique intended to overcome the constraints and artificiality of the formal interview situation. In an attempt to obtain samples of everyday speech and fully developed narratives, the spontaneous interview, in which the subject is asked a few preliminary questions, and encouraged to introduce and develop any topic of interest, has been tried as a research strategy. This approach however, is fraught with difficulties both conceptual and methodological.

The essential conceptual problem is that this type of interview is not a speech event (unlike the formal interview which is a speech event, in the strict sense of the term). Wolfson states that the spontaneous interview "goes by no name which would be recognizable to members of the speech community and it has no rules of speaking to guide the subject or interviewer."[8] The contradiction of this method is obvious: the researcher begins in a formal capacity of interviewer and, in this way, the interaction proceeds initially on the

rules of the question/answer pattern of exchange of an interview. Then the researcher attempts to introduce an entirely different event, an informal conversation, by breaking those rules established. The result, according to Wolfson, is an unnatural and rather awkward speech situation.

Clearly, obtaining natural speech and conversational narrative is a formidable problem for the researcher, particularly for the folklorist. Whether the orientation is textual, generic, functional, or performance, the folklorist is accustomed to, first an interview technique and, second a focus or concentration on an "informant". Both aspects of this method, however, are inappropriate for, and in fact hinder, the study of conversation, conversational narrative, and the activity of stylization in folkloric communication. The most successful method of studying naturally-occurring narrative in casual speech has been the sociolinguistic method of recording a group session (individuals who normally interact socially) rather than an individual in a face-to-face interview.[9] The intent is that the normal patterns and progress of group interaction will overcome the constraints produced by the presence of a researcher/observer with a tape recorder. While this assumption is reasonable, the subjects, as Wolfson suggests, are "well aware of the presence of the tape recorder and may even refer to it."[10] Consider

the following data.

During a group session recording of the C.B.C. broadcasters at The Ship Inn, a topic of conversation arose concerning the degree of nervousness and anxiety experienced by announcers on the air. One seasoned announcer stated that there is always a measure of anxiety when the mike is "live". In demonstrating his point, he drew attention to my tape recorder:

> Oh hell, I don't think announcing in any way on the radio...if now, like what we're doing here right this minute, I think we all change a little bit. The conversation is slightly different than when from before you turned that machine on.

Not only is there an awareness of the tape recorder, but it enters into the conversation itself. It should be noted that this particular session was the first one taped. Accordingly, I had some reservations about the fruitfulness of this type of method if, as implied by the announcer's comment, the presence of a tape recorder modifies the natural flow or tone of conversation. However, with subsequent sessions I learned that the tape recorder functioned, in Wolfson's terms, "as a participant in the conversation."[11] Further, as the data will reveal, while awareness of the tape recorder did not diminish, the tape recorder, over

time, became a negligible factor in the free flow of conversation.

With these methodological problems considered, a basic definitional issue arises: by what criteria do we distinguish natural or casual speech from stylized, formal speech, and in what ways are they interrelated? Sociolinguistic and ethnomethodological analyses of speech situations and conversational interaction have tended to equate natural or casual speech with everyday informal situations in which there is little or no attention directed to, or monitoring of, language. Folklorists have differentiated between natural/casual speech on the one hand, and the formal stylized nature of folkloric speech on the other. Indeed, folklore performance has been conceptualized in terms of a communicative realization of traditional knowledge,[12] rendered in a corresponding traditional expression that is both specialized and stylized. In this process of realization, performance exhibits an emergent property - not only situated within but arising out of a given context. Performance in contemporary folkloristics then, is conceived of as an organizational factor in a social event, that is, as constitutive of that event. Bauman's definition of the properties of performance as a mode of language use offers the most complete perspective:

> Fundamentally, performance as a mode of spoken verbal communication consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence. This competence rests on the knowledge and ability to speak in socially appropriate ways...Performance... calls forth special attention to and heightened awareness of the act of expression, and gives license to the audience to regard the act of expression and the performer with a special intensity.[13]

Central to this definition is the understanding that the performer's communicative competence is determined by, and depends on "the knowledge and ability to speak in socially appropriate ways." Significantly, this knowledge and ability are required not only for communication in performance situations. Natural/casual speech is guided by the same principle of appropriateness. Wolfson has demonstrated that no matter what the degree of attention to, or monitoring of, speech, if it is appropriate to a situation then it is natural in that situation;[14] in other words, the naturalness of speech is a matter of appropriateness of speech.

The criterion of the monitoring of speech in the distinction between natural and stylized speech is problematic, as is the assumption of a direct relationship between speech monitoring and speech style. Wolfson points out that in certain situations, an individual may be extremely self-conscious of his speech in an effort to be colloquial.[15] For example, when an individual interacts with others outside

his own reference group, it is reasonable to expect that individual to focus a great deal of attention on his speech in an attempt to be less formal and more casual within that group. Linguistic knowledge is not an autonomous and self-contained system. The notion of a single and independent linguistic entity called natural or casual speech is at odds with a social and cultural definition of verbal communication, and ignores the fact that language draws on cultural premises about the particular world in which speech occurs.[16] These cultural premises constitute systems of communicative knowledge which make possible the exchange of messages in a society. In his use of the term "culture" in a cognitive sense, Roger Keesing emphasizes the "cognitive economies that make linguistic communication possible" and that are based on what native speakers know about their world. These cognitive economies may or may not be encoded into utterances, but in any case, operate essentially in all social interaction. "The exchange of messages within a society," Keesing notes, "is possible...because of the knowledge shared by communicating actors - which does not, for this reason, have to be encoded in message segments, but is presupposed and evoked by them, and drawn on to embed them appropriately in social contexts."[17]

It becomes evident in Keesing's treatment of the complex

relationship between linguistic knowledge and cultural knowledge, that our linguistic faculties constitute a sub-system of our cultural knowledge, and that the crossover and interdependence is of a high degree. More important for the concerns of this chapter are two fundamental points: (1) To regard an utterance as an independent entity in terms of its degree of formality or casualness, or stylization, is to cut off speech from its cultural "takens-for granted" and models which infuse language with meaning, and (2) is to neglect a factor at the basis of all folkloric expression - the "knowledge shared by communicating actors", a knowledge of cultural premises upon which language rests and utterances become meaningful. The range, style, and function of the forms of conversational and narrative expression are situationally-based and respond to the specific places, occasions, topics, and others attending and participating in exchange. These factors comprise what Shibutani calls a "social world", defined as a "culture area" bound not by territory or group membership, but by "the limits of effective communication."[18]

With these methodological and conceptual difficulties understood, let us turn to the actual treatment of narrative in conversation. In the sociology of conversational interaction, analysts have emphasized the structural and sequential

features of narratives in conversation, and have attempted to discover the nature of the relatedness between sequentially adjacent narratives, and between a narrative and the preceding and following talk. Alan Ryave considers proximate narratives in conversation ("series of stories") that are "the products of the conversational participants' attention and careful management."[19] One of his central arguments is that conversational narrative is not just narrative told during sequentially-organized talk, but is actually constituted by and influenced by the exchange of speech. By this process, a participant constructs, on the basis of his analysis of a prior narrative, a succeeding narrative which bears observable relations to, and follows logically from that prior narrative. Accordingly, Ryave concludes, the occurrence of a series of stories as a "conversational phenomenon" depends on, and resides in "the succeeding storyteller's situated achievement."[20]

However, Ryave elaborates this problem by demonstrating the complications in procedures and motivations, the numerous variables impinging upon and modifying the succession process. A narrative may be occasioned by and derived from a preceding or succeeding utterance (a maxim, assertion, or proverb, for examples) where a narrative is organized in relation to that utterance to offer an illustration, elaboration, or substantiation. This type of narrative is "fashioned" vis-a-vis

the content of a preceding utterance. As well, turn-by-turn talk rather than a single utterance or a preceding narrative may orient a forthcoming narrative. In another instance, a story may be constructed with an attention to the narrator's own preceding utterance, rather than to the preceding story. Various expressive means and relationships between different types of utterances then, may orient a succeeding story and produce a series-of-stories structure of relations. In any case, narrative or conversation may be implicative for a subsequent narrative, thus demonstrating the appropriateness of the preceding utterance.

In her discussion of the sequential aspects of story-telling, Gail Jefferson addresses problems similar to those addressed by Ryave, but concentrates on the beginnings and endings of narrative to suggest the relationship between narrative and turn-by-turn talk.[21] Following Sacks' analysis of the contexted occurrence of narratives in conversation, and the step-by-step process by which a narrative is prefaced, presented, and commented upon/referred to by the recipient at its conclusion,[22] Jefferson defines two characteristics of the "local occasioning of a story by on-going turn-by-turn talk": a story can be "triggered" by turn-by-turn talk (a participant is reminded of a particular story by something said in conversation), or "methodically introduced" into

conversation (techniques employed to define and illustrate the coherence between a story and the prior conversation).[23] At a story's conclusion, two parallel characteristics of local occasioning can be observed, characteristics which show that story has sequentially organized implications: a story can act as a source for triggered or subsequent and coherent talk, and techniques are employed to demonstrate the relationship between the story and the subsequent conversation (the story is implicative for the subsequent conversation).[24]

Above all, the ethnomethodological approach has emphasized the organization or systematics for turn-taking in conversation in the analysis of the social and expressive dimensions of conversational interaction. The focus then, has been on the organization of turn-taking per se, rather than its consequences in particular situations, or its application for another analytical purpose.[25] For example, in their definition of a systematics of turn-taking and the analysis of the coordination of transfer and allocation of speakership in conversation, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson stress not the outcome or product of the organization and operation of turn-taking, but the organization of this system itself that leads to the outcome or product. They suggest two features as the constitutive basis of turn-taking organization: (1) Turn-Taking

Organization of Conversation as Context-Sensitive. Conversation is always "situated", dependent upon its occasion and the circumstances of its participants, and is sensitive to "the parameters of social reality in a local context."[26]

(2) Turn-Taking Organization of Conversation as Context-Free. There is a formal apparatus (turn-taking) operating in the organization of conversation which introduces an analytical approach to conversational materials beyond content and contextual factors; that is, does not require reference to the "particularities of content or context." This context-free nature of turn-taking is demonstrated since conversation is capable of accommodating a wide range of situations, and since it serves as a vehicle for interactions between persons of various identities.

While this definition of the organization of conversation points to important ethnographic and structural analytical perspectives, its stress on the systematics of turn-taking as the definitive principle of conversation radically delimits a view of particular speech acts within the structure of conversation. I refer specifically to a prime concern of the folkloristic study of speech acts - performance.

Ryave for instance, in his discussion of narrative that is structured by the exchange of speech, and influenced by

the recipients of the story, states:

> This [joint production of a story "telling"] is a distinguishing characteristic of stories told in conversation as opposed to, for example, stories told in performance situations.[27]

Ryave's distinction here between "conversational" and "performed" narratives, a distinction based merely on the organization of turns at talking, is at best simplistic. Conversation and performance situations are not mutually exclusive domains: conversation refers to an interaction of participants in a speech event through a distribution and transition of turns at speaking, while performance, with regard to speech, refers to a mode of speaking, "situated within and rendered meaningful"[28] with reference to particular contexts. Though the expectation or probability of performance may be lower in an everyday conversational occasion than in a formal circumstance (a folktale-telling event, for example) in which community and cultural expectation of performance is high, the occurrence of performance is not only possible, but frequent. Bauman's concept of performance occurring in both formal and informal contexts supports this argument:

> In the ethnography of performance as a cultural system, the investigator's attention will frequently be attracted first by those genres that are conventionally performed. These are the genres...for which there is little or no expectation on the part of members of the community that they will be rendered in any other way. He should be attentive as well, however, for those genres for which the expectation or probability of performance is lower, for which performance is felt to be more optional but which occasion no surprise if they are performed. A familiar example from contemporary American society might be the personal narrative, which is frequently rendered in a simply repertorial mode, but which may well be highlighted as performance. [29]

In this sense, narrative can be both conversational and performed, since the former refers to a structure of verbal interaction and the latter refers to a "highlighting" process that can occur within that structure. Narrative of the type considered here is generated by conversation, is particularly sensitive to the structure of conversational interaction, serves to structure that conversation, is in essence, a turn at talking, and by all definitions discussed here, is performance.

Let us now examine the interactionally collaborative achievement of narrative in the conversation system of speech exchange through an in-depth analysis of the folklore of C.B.C. radio broadcasters. Issues addressed in this first section from a theoretical point of view will be applied to the data out of which they arise. Three separate

subsections comprise the second section of this chapter: (1) Culture, Knowledge, and Group Process (2) The Series-of-Stories Relationship (3) Play and Enactive Folklore.

The Enactment of Experience: Conversation, Narrative, and Folklore

The introduction of narrative into conversation is a commonplace and effective form of communication within everyday talk, and in this way, can be regarded as a component in the pattern and structure of conversational interaction. Narrative folklore is effective communication because in some way, it stimulates what Goffman terms, "the social organization of shared current orientation",[30] and speaks centrally to the concerns, issues, anxieties, and identity of a group. I have argued that the act of speaking and the state of talk are interdependent and inextricably related. Further, the occurrence of narrative folklore in conversation contributes to structure and defines that conversation by transforming the state of talk into an act of speech, or once again in Goffman's terms, a "memorable event".[31]

Goffman maintains that in the course of natural conversation, it is rare that the best, most appropriate, or wittiest comments are made:

> Indeed, when during informal talk a reply is provided that is as good as the one that could be later thought up, then a memorable event has occurred. So the standards participants are alive to are ones they can rarely realize.[32]

Yet folklore is precisely the realization of "the standards participants are alive to", or a degree of that realization. Its occurrence marks a stylized communicative event, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, is a product of, or activity in the relationship between "talking" and "speaking", between conversation and narrative.

It is reasonable to assume that the likelihood of talk becoming a speech event, and the frequency of this occurrence, is dependent upon the nature of the participants; that is, whether they constitute a social reference group.[33] Folklore in this sense emerges as a member of the reference group tries to express, demonstrate, maintain, or enhance his standing within the group. The first subsection analyzes this process for the occupational/cultural group of broadcasters introduced earlier in this chapter.

(1) Culture, Knowledge, and Group Process

I employ here Roger Keesing's definition of "culture" which emphasizes the cognitive and epistemological rather

than the behavioural dimensions of collective existence:

> ..."a culture" is...a system of knowledge, a composite of the cognitive systems more or less shared by members of a society. It is not, in this view, a way of life; it is not a system of behaviour. [34]

By this definition, folklore can be regarded as a subsystem of knowledge which draws on and becomes manifest through, the larger system of knowledge of which it is a part - culture. Understanding verbal folklore as a group-based or social mode of communication implies a "linking factor"[35] that establishes commonality. This factor is based in the cultural "knowledge of the world"[36] that distinguishes, defines, and maintains a particular group.

In the case of the group of radio broadcasters, two separate but related systems of cultural premises are operating: knowledge relating to the occupational group and knowledge relating to Newfoundland culture. Both cognitive systems are expressed and to a certain extent, worked out in the leisure activity of conversational interaction at The Ship Inn. The following is expressed against a background of occupational pressures, skills, and standards. The participants include: Jim, a thirty-two year old veteran broadcaster with C.B.C. radio, St. John's; John, a thirty-two year

old producer with C.B.C. radio, St. John's, who spent his first years of employment as a technician; and Val, a reporter/script writer in her mid-twenties.

Val: Where are you from?

Jim: Notre Dame Bay.

Val: How about the way you used to speak?

Jim: I can't do it anymore. I think I had to work so hard to change the way I speak, that unlike most Newfoundlanders, I can't speak the way I used to. I understand the language when I go back home and I talk to Eli Rice or somebody. I can understand every word he says, I can slip back into it with him, but I can't with you because it seems that I try too hard or something, and it just doesn't sound right. It's not authentic, whereas it was. I am a genuine bayman. My father was a fisherman. I was a bayman. I didn't know there was such a thing as "h" until I was about fifteen years old. I mean, I, the classic...that part of Newfoundland where I come from, Notre Dame Bay, was drop the "h", and take it on the vowel, right, didn't know that anything else existed. I didn't know that it was not proper until I was fourteen, fifteen, sixteen years old.

John: Don't you think W. and D. [two other C.B.C. broadcast announcers] change a bit, talk a little bit "bayish" when they're announcing their broadcast.

Jim: They try to because they're talking to the fisherman and they think that's the way they talk. I think it's self-conscious though.

John: Yeah.

Jim: I don't think, you know, they said, let's be like the boys, right, around the bay. But I had to work on it. When I learned that, you know, "egg" was "egg" and not "h'egg", huh, cause my mother would say, " 'Ow many h'eggs do you want this

morning?", you know, "How many eggs?", right. When I learned it was the other way around, I said, "I think I should try and correct that, work on it a little bit." Most of the "h" problem is fixed up, but there's still a lot of other problems, "i", "e", I still have difficulty with that.

John: The question though, Jim, is now, should you have to change your accent if this is Newfoundland and that's the way any particular part of Newfoundland speaks? Should you have to change it. Why can't you go on and say " 'Ow many h'eggs." It's because it's a Canadian standard. They all want us to sound the same.

Jim: I think C.B.C. wanted a fairly Canadian norm, whatever that's supposed to be. I don't know, I started in private radio and my "h" problem was not allowed. I had to fix that. As a matter of fact, one of the first things I had to do was, my boss at the time gave me a list of about ten sentences but the first one was "Hard-hearted Harry hit his horse on the head with a heavy iron hammer." So he gave me about five minutes in the first few days to try and say that. (Slowly) "Hard-hearted Harry, na na na..." But every time I'd get down to the "heavy iron" I'd be conscious of the "i" vowel without the "h" sound, and I'd sure as hell fuck it up, right. I'd always give a "heavy h'iron", "Jesus, I did it again." And I was probably a month.

John: He's been looking for a newscaster could say "iron" ever since. He's never found one.

Jim: I mean, I think there's some justification for that. I don't think you should have...well, cause in Newfoundland there are as many accents as there are bays, even in St. John's, you've got a west and an eastend accent. So I don't know, I think you've got to get some kind of homogenized, ...I think that's understandable.

It is evident from this exchange that the investment of the participants in the conversation is great - there is

something at stake here, and the conversation reflects this significance of topic by its "deep" character; that is, the participants channel "ever-increasing amounts of energy into the proceedings",[37] and coordinate these energies in the collaborative activity leading to, and including narrative. Abrahams notes that "deeper" conversations are marked by particular patterned changes from mere talking:

> ...each interactant is given greater time to develop a point, and the talk often becomes much more regular and predictable with regard to rhythm, pitch alternations, and so on. This is approximately what happens when a conversation becomes bull-shitting or an argument, a rap-session, brain-storming, holding a dialogue, a seminar, holding negotiations, a symposium, a colloquium.[38]

Deep conversation involves longer turns at talking by reducing the rate of junctures in the conversational structure. The significance of a topic to the group of participants is implied and enacted by the deep nature of their conversation. The data presented here illustrates this point.

The group at The Ship Inn articulates its frame of reference on two fronts: occupational and cultural knowledge. Their conversational topic concerns language and speech as both are constrained by occupational and cultural factors. Clearly, what these Newfoundland broadcasters often refer to

as "C.B.C. English", a standardized Canadian speech pattern typical of C.B.C. newscasting, represents one of numerous and critical contentious issues operating within a context of regional conflict and disparity between mainland Canada and Newfoundland. As Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders have long been the object of derision in mainland Canada, so the mainland (especially Toronto and Ottawa as the seat of the federal government) has become the object of resentment for Newfoundlanders. While the development of this conflict can be traced through the political, economic, and social history of Newfoundland (confederation, unemployment insurance and welfare benefit programmes from Ottawa, resettlement, the seal hunt, and other events and factors can be cited here), it has perhaps become best articulated in the current demonstration and assertion of Newfoundland cultural identity, especially through political and artistic activities on the island (the stand of the Peckford government on off-shore oil rights in defiance of the federal government, the 1982 landslide re-election of the Peckford government, the revival of Newfoundland traditional music by young Newfoundland musicians, political, historical, social and cultural comment and satire of the various Newfoundland theatre companies, are examples of what I refer to here). This articulation and assertion of Newfoundland cultural identity is the

premise upon which the entire conversational exchange transcribed above proceeds. John asks the central and crucial question:

> The question though, Jim, is now, should you have to change your accent, if this is Newfoundland, and that's the way any part of Newfoundland speaks?

Significantly, there is an awareness in the St. John's media community of "Newfoundland-ism" or "Newfcult" as a pattern of behaviour or behavioural characteristics - common among "CFA's" ("Come From Aways", a term which designates a non-Newfoundlander who now resides on the island) and the "professional Newfoundlanders", natives, often high-profile individuals, who adopt or accentuate the traditional speech patterns and dialects, and even appearances of the "bay", the rural "outport" (small coastal fishing village) segment of Newfoundland society. Consider the following article from The Daily News, July 26, 1979.

The Daily News
July 26, 1979

TOPIX

New

The CFA in Nfld.

By DON McLEOD

ST. JOHN'S, Nfld. (CP) — Amid thriving "Newfoult," something of an English-Canadian counterpart to the cosmopolitanism of bilingual, worldly Montreal, the two most bitter epithets are "CFA" and "Professional Newfoundlander."

They are street rhetoric meaning, in the first case, people who Come From Away to study quaint lifestyle and, in the second instance, native sons and daughters who exploit Newfoult for profit, prominence or both.

Between them, they reflect the typical reaction here to a feeling that Newfoundlanders have been treated too long as subjects of anthropological research curiosity, prone for folklorists and off-beat locals.

Use of the term locals, incidentally, is a short cut to being labelled a CFA.

Not all non-Newfoundlanders here are so viewed. Visitors are generally immune and many "landed immigrants" who take up

LYNN FARLEY

only by suffering the label.

Clyde Rose, president and publisher on Breakwater Books, has been called a professional Newfoundlander. Breakwater has been operating a land office business during the wave of

SHANNIE DUFF

residence here are accepted.

Some Newfoundlanders, like Shannie Duff, reject the whole argument as defensiveness on both sides.

Mrs. Duff is a native-born, widely travelled sociologist, city councilor and "heritage pusher" in a campaign to preserve the facades of rambling, 90-year-old buildings in the core of St. John's.

And she adds: "I'm not hung up on CFAs."

CLYDE ROSE

Newfoult since it was formed about five years ago.

Rose says that he and Breakwater contributed in a major way to launching that phenomenon and is not ready to apologize for the effort.

"I apologize for nothing I have done in promoting the writers and artists of this province. I have not done it for my own personal gain. I have not done it out of any jingoism," he says.

"I have done it out of a sincere belief that what these people have written or sing, or whatever, is worthy of being communicated to the rest of the people of this country.

"I've got my critics, of course. You can't make any progress in this society without them."

In the current debate, projects like that of the St. John's Heritage Foundation to save the old architecture of the downtown area often are labelled as make-work projects for elitist CFAs, often professors at Memorial University here.

"Damn it, that gets on my nerves," says Mrs. Duff. "I think a little bit on CFA leaven in this community would do it a hell of a lot of good.

"I am sure we have had CFA's who have annoyed everybody by coming on strong and being very know-it-all. But I think it's debatable."

Maybe because CFAs generally are more widely travelled, she says, they often can see the worth of local heritage projects more quickly than those who live in the area.

They also are often more inclined to see the possibilities where "Newfoundlanders always seem to be telling you why it can't be done."

But her attitude isn't shared by Newfoundlanders in general. One wrote in The Evening Telegram that the ultimate insult was to hear CFAs, after moving here, calling themselves Newfoundlanders and other residents "locals."

"To hear an outsider, complete with holidays, etc., proclaim he is a Newfoundlander is galling to the genuine article....

"We must realize that outsiders are different from us. They can and do irritate us constantly. In short . . . they have made themselves just that, forever, outsiders," the letter writer said.

It is suggested by some that higher education levels helped build the new pride-of-place among Newfoundlanders, but the folklore department of Memorial University is a special target of CFA haters.

Founded in 1968 and one of only two places in Canada — the other is at Laval, Que. — offering a bachelor's degree in folklore, the department has seen only a handful of Newfoundlanders amid a majority of imported professors.

Canon George Earle, Anglican Provost on Queens College, a Memorial affiliate, says there will have to be more Newfoundlanders in the department. But the problem is that when it was started, there were not enough Newfoundlanders available with the required degrees.

"But that, I like a university that stretches out," says Earle.

"I'd hate, especially as an Island, to plow in-grown."

Some of the CFA folklorists at Memorial have worked extensively elsewhere and "this was virgin territory for them," says Earle.

"We didn't know we had culture. We were just living."

And what of the the "professional Newfoundlander?"

He's typified as someone who accentuates things like accents for effect, or the marketability of Newfoundlandia for undue profit or gain. Too many artificial renditions on "How'r'ya gittin'

Both Jim and John refer to the effort of some broadcasters to talk "bayish" in their on-air delivery:

John: Don't you think W. and D. change a little bit, talk a little bit "bayish" when they're announcing their broadcast.

Jim: They try to because they're talking to the fishermen, and they think that's the way they talk. I think it's self-conscious though.

Their evaluation of their colleagues cannot be construed in any way to suggest a parallel between the conscious "bayish" speech of the announcers and the phenomenon described in the article. At the same time, both point to the primacy of speech in the complex of expressive symbols that operate to define and distinguish Newfoundland cultural character.

The single narrative that emerges in this exchange represents a logical occurrence within the structure of deep conversation. Through the collaborative interaction of this conversational type, both occupational and cultural knowledge are articulated in a single folkloric narrative. The narrative is Jim's and serves immediately in its abstract and orientation, as an answer to John's question dealt with above. As Jim begins:

I think C.B.C. wanted a fairly Canadian norm, whatever

> that's supposed to be. I don't know, I started in private radio and my "h" problem was not allowed. I had to fix that.

The conversation reaches its climactic point with John's comments concerning the imposed Canadian speech standard. Jim's folkloric response offers a comprehensive and effective synthesis of the topic under discussion, while defusing the seriousness of both the issue and the tone of John's commentary. Indeed, John elaborates on the jocular tone of Jim's narrative with his joking addendum to the story,

> He's been looking for a newscaster could say "iron" ever since. He's never found one.

Folklore in this interaction serves a specific strategy. Jim disagrees with John's assessment of the reasons behind, and degree of imposition of a standardized speech pattern for C.B.C. announcers in Newfoundland. The content of his narrative does not contradict John's view, nor does it couch disagreement in an acceptable covert manner. Instead, the narrative introduces a lighthearted tone which, as already stated, defuses the current serious tone. With John's response to this tone, Jim is afforded the opportunity to express his final word on the topic.

> I mean, I think there's some justification for that. I don't think you should have, ...well, cause in Newfoundland there are as many accents as there are bays, even in St. John's, you've got a west and an eastend accent. So I don't know, I think you've got to get some kind of homogenized, ... I think that's understandable.

In this case, folklore functions as an interactive strategy between individuals who share both occupational and cultural knowledge. Its tone rather than its content is the critical factor, in that this tone creates a "sphere of conviviality"[39] in which contentious opinions can be openly expressed.

(2) The Series-of-Stories Relationship

Alan Ryave has suggested that in a series-of-stories relationship between two or more stories in conversation, the relations displayed between the stories "are not capricious and happenstance, but are instead the products of the conversational participant's attention and careful management."[40] The implication is that narratives that occur in a series do so because of a reciprocity between tellers and listeners which is worked through in conversational exchange. The following data represents a lengthy sequence of conversation between the broadcasters at The Ship Inn, and will be analyzed later in terms of folklore and the series-of-stories relationship.

Each narrative is designated (A,B,C,D) for the analyses to follow.

Val: John told me this really great thing, he said something about Marystown and playing...

John: (Interrupting) That was the best one that I ever heard.

Jim: [NARRATIVE A] Marystown [a town on the Burin Peninsula in southern Newfoundland] you see, was a station that really at that time was a training ground basically for VOCM's network. However, because they take people off the street, if you lasted a couple of months, you'd be a veteran. So you know, the most senior announcer in Marystown was about two months in the business.

So, I had survived my two months, three months, whatever, and anyway, this morning we had a tape of a Memorial Day service, you know, honoring the war dead, Sunday morning. It was a Memorial Day service recorded in Burin [another town on the Burin Peninsula] a couple days before that, and played back Sunday morning, 11:00. Whoever did the recording, buddy said, "Oh, it's about twenty minutes, twenty-five minutes, something like that." So I cued it up, put it on, sat back, started reading comics. Like you would. On a Sunday morning what else is doing? You got twenty-five minutes, man, in this business you don't get too many twenty-five minutes.

So about six or seven minutes into this programme there was nothing. The golden rule of course, in private broadcasting is no dead air, right. So I wait for about three or four seconds - my God, what's going on? Let it go for another bit. It must be over. The guy who recorded it gave me the wrong information man, it's not twenty-five minutes, it's six or seven minutes. It's over.

So I'm about three months into the business - I panicked. Whipped open the microphone, turned off the tape:

Ladies and gentlemen, you've been listening to a recording of a Memorial Day service recorded a few days ago in Burin. The time check: it's a quarter past 11:00 this Sunday morning.

Flipped over the right hand to turn on the turntable, the music, there's nothing there. Oh Christ! Grabbed the first thing that's around and of course the the first thing that's around is the Top 40, which is located immediately under your right hand, underneath the turntable, right. Grab anything at all, whip it on, and it turned out this was the Beach Boys' "Help Me Rhonda". No problem.

What I didn't know what this silence was, this dead air was two minutes silence for the fallen dead, which had been cut actually to about thirty seconds for on-air radio purposes. But here I was about six seconds after it was announced. But I wasn't listening. I was reading comics, see. And it was announced that now we'll pause for two minutes silence, and everybody bow their heads and everything. And all of a sudden, the Beach Boys singing "Help Me Rhonda". I got fired.

Val: Did you?

Jim: Yeah, but there was nobody else to do the job so they hired me again twenty minutes later, yeah.

John: Didn't you swear one night down there?

Jim: I swore one morning. I got fired again that time.

Val: On the air?

Jim: Yeah. What happened was, you're a one-man operation right, especially on the weekend. There's nobody around except the one guy that's the guy on the air. Man, he's everything, he's the newsman, he's...

John: Down there, down there in Marystown.

Jim: Marystown, yeah.

Val: Up here wouldn't be the same, or would it?

Jim: No, there's at least another one, maybe two people in the station with you. [NARRATIVE B] In Marystown, in those days at least, you're a one-man operation. You're everything. You're the switchboard operator, newsman. No, there was one other girl, that's right, there was the girl who'd answer the phone. That's about it.

So anyway, I'm on doing the show, it's Saturday morning. Comin' up to newstime, the news on every five minutes before the hour. Just eight or ten minutes before newstime, one of my buddies came in. So he said, "Look, I'll do your news for you, comin' up at five-to-eleven." "Great man." So he went in, around the booth, outta the control room, right, which is where you do your programme, out the door and around another door into a news booth. So this is great because we got five minutes break, which you don't get very often. You know, you're a one-man operation so you're on the air from 6:00 in the morning until 12:00 noon, or something like that.

So Bax came in said "Okay, I'll do your news." I said, "Great." So anyway, while he was in doing the news, I decided to get out and walk around a little bit. There's a girl, sang out and said something about, I don't know I was wanted on the phone or something like that. She said it was, I don't know, President Charles De Gaulle, or whoever it was that was supposed to be calling. So I yelled out very loudly, very distinctly, "Go way you goddamn Jesus liar," you know. Whatever it was she said, I was very explicit in saying I didn't believe her. That's all I thought about it.

Anyway, I don't know what the situation was, whether I answered the phone, or what it was, but anyway I went back. Bax finished up the news. Eleven o'clock and I went back to do my show. First record was on. Right after the boss, Charlie, phoned and he said, "What happened in the five-to-eleven news?" I said, "I don't know man, I didn't do it. Bax came in and did it." He said, "I

heard you on the air, on the five-to-eleven news." I said, "Charlie man, I didn't do the news. Bax came in and did it for me." He said, "I heard somebody swear on the air." "You couldn't have Charlie, Bax did the news!" Right. "No, no Jim," he said, "I heard you calling somebody a goddamn Jesus liar very clearly, very distinctly."

What had happened was when I was out in the hall, it was right next to the door, just a little bit down the hall from where Baxter was doing his news, and he didn't close the door.

Charlie said that if the needle on the VU meter was dippin' into the plus, when Bax was reading, I pinned it right up to +3. He said, "Very clearly, no mistake about it, that it was you man, and everybody understood what you said." Yeah, I got fired again. Than he came in and I said, "Alright, do I finish the show, or what?" "No," he said, "alright, go on." Then he came in and fired me after I finished the show. Pretty nice of him.

Went back into his office. He called me in after a couple of hours. I didn't have enough money to leave the station, let alone Marystown. So didn't know what the hell I was gonna do. I sat around and he came out a couple hours later and he said, "I'll tell you what. Since it was as much Bax's fault as yours, cause he shoulda had the door closed, we'll let it go until somebody complains. If somebody complains, well, I mean the policy is that you gotta go." So everybody that worked at the station, every person that I knew in Marystown got the word out. Don't complain. So nobody complained and I got to stay.

John: [NARRATIVE C] I got one. I don't think I told this one before.

I was a technician at work. It was in the night-time. All programming was coming from Toronto, and I was in turn feeding it to all of Newfoundland, see. So I'm sitting back listening to this programme; I don't know, it was an "Ideas" show, and something catches my ear. I said, "Jesus, I can hear cross-talk, I can hear two people talking [at the same time, over one another]. I turn up my monitor,

sure enough, I can hear two feeds, right.

Jeez man, I get the telephone people on the line, said, "Look man, you got a cross-feed here, I can hear two feeds." He says, "Okay, well I'll call Toronto and find out what's on the go."

So I take the programme off the air right, put on some recorded music, which was a bit of fun then see, cause you got to play whatever you wanted. Nobody else there in the station. Next thing, I gets a call from Toronto. He said, "Man, that's the nature of the programme. It's two feeds." And I said - alright, I'm a rookie, but cocky, right - "What kind of bullshit you trying to tell me? One thing you don't have is two feeds on at the same time." Right, hung up, and playin' away at my music, right, playin' it for an hour.

Finally the executive producer of the programme calls me, said that this was an experiment that they were doing on "Ideas", to see if the listener could follow two or three conversations at one time, and they have one person talking, fade him down, and bring up the other one. And it was all promo'ed at the beginning of the programme, it was all written in the programme.

Jim: So what you do, kill it.

John: I killed it. "No, no man," I said, "you can't have two or three feeds." So I had my little "Help Me Rhonda"-series too.

Jim: [NARRATIVE D] Yeah, another one I was gonna mention is that I was training a guy, right. Again, I'm about three or four months into the business and the way you train a guy, after you tell him that this is a microphone and this is the switch that you turn the microphone on with, and that's the turntable, and that's the switch there, and this is a tape machine. After you go through that, and that takes about twenty minutes or so, then you say, "Okay, I'll be the announcer now, you be the operator, now you be the technician here for this show.

Anyway, we're on the air. It's about 11:00 at

night and we're doing a programme and the way, ...he sits behind the board, as we call it, the console, with all the buttons and switches right. Well he's operating, but I take the microphone which is a gooseneck, switch that around, and I'm sitting around the other side of the table. I'm doing the announcing and he's doing everything else.

Now it's about 11:00 at night, and we used to sign off, finish off at midnight, and it was a Saturday night, and we were gonna go to a dance. This guy D., who is now senior management with the C.B.C. in Ottawa, how he ever got to be in senior management, I don't know.

Well, we were there, and we had dates to go to the dance after we got off the air at midnight. So the girls are in the studio with us and my date is sitting alongside of me and D. I'm still young in the business so that everything I say, I always go over, rehearse in my head, sort of thing, right. So it's three minutes to 11:00 and we've got Elvis Presley, and I'm announcing and D.'s operating, and I say, "Okay, it's Elvis Presley." This has been a big song, this has been a million seller, what'll I do? Well, I mention something about it being a million seller for Presley, and then, I'll give a time check, and we'll hit another piece of music to the top of the clock, and we'll have news, whatever's next.

So everything goes fine, but I get a little mixed up, and D. opens the mike, and I'm thinking about this million seller bit for Presley, and I'm thinking about the time check, and I get it screwed up so instead of saying, "That was a million-seller," or whatever, I say, "The time is now three minutes to a million." Okay, well that's not too serious except that what happens is that I start to giggle. Three or four months experience remember. D. starts to laugh. The girls start to laugh, and then it gets completely out of control. D., who is probably on his second day of work, forgets where the microphone is right. This live, man. He falls to the floor and I say, "Oh God." I start to crawl around the console. And in the meantime, you've got four people totally hysterical.

> Anyway, the sales manager of the station was listening. He said he timed it. He said it was approximately four minutes before I got around crawling, to turn off the microphone, and turn on the record, or whatever. Four minutes, four people gone hysterical on the air.

The four narratives within this exchange inform and elaborate one another, and depend on conversational organization for their interrelatedness. This notion draws upon Alan Ryave's definition of the "significance aspect" of story organization.[41] The significance aspect - "an idealized, abstract form of an assertion, accomplishable within an utterance" - is in essence, synonymous with Labov's "evaluation" feature of narrative structure, analyzed in the previous chapter. Insofar as the significance aspect serves the function of expressing the import, relevance, point of a narrative, it must be regarded in a manner similar to the evaluation feature - as a departure from the recounting aspect of the narrative. Ryave suggests that the practice of orienting one narrative toward a preceding narrative, a practice referred to as the "same-significance procedure", depends on, and may be viewed as a reflex of the significance aspect. In a broader perspective, he addresses the problem of "meaning" in the significance feature, and concludes that meaning is not intrinsic to this feature, but rather is "a contingent, managed concern of the conversation in which it occurs." It follows then, that it is not only narrative,

but narrative structural features as well, that are determined, formed and organized by the conversational exchange.

There are crucial differences between the ethnomethodological and folkloristic approaches to narrative. Of these, the most important involves the parameters of study and analysis. The ethnomethodological perspective imparts to folklore studies an awareness of the primacy of conversation in understanding the role and organization of narrative in everyday interactional situations. Yet the almost exclusive structural concerns of the ethnomethodological analysis of conversation tends to gloss over, or not consider at all, the particulars of individual/group identity, interactional dynamics beyond the organization of verbal exchange, the role and status of expression from both cultural and aesthetic points of view, the relationship between expression and the group out of which is arises, the traditionality (or merely the recurrence) of certain expressions, and other issues which the folklorist must examine. For example, in the present case, while meaning is a "managed concern" of the conversation, conversation is a managed concern, or function of group identity and knowledge in which that conversation is situated. A series-of-stories relationship then, is conditional upon the interrelated factors of conversational structure (the significance aspect) and the complex of group

identity, tradition, and culture. In this way, the "same-significance procedure" which Ryave isolates and analyzes, is largely a reflex of shared knowledge/culture.

The topic of the conversation that unifies the four narratives can also be understood as a pattern of experience, articulated and symbolized through narrative. A single experience shared - the experience of the rookie broadcaster - can be considered as itself, a significance aspect which invokes a series of narratives. In other words, a significance aspect may be constituted by a pattern of experience and not merely, as in Ryave's concept, a feature of narrative structure.

Clearly, Narratives A and B are part of Jim's established repertoire and are referred to, or directly called for by other participants in the conversation. Employing Jefferson's definition of the characteristics of the local occasioning of a story by on-going turn-by-turn talk, it can be stated that both narratives are methodically introduced. In its concern with purely organizational factors however, this notion of methodical introduction refers only to techniques used to demonstrate the coherence between a story and prior conversation. A folkloristic view however, must consider the phenomenon of methodical introduction, not only in the

sense of organizational coherence, but also in the sense of coherence between expression and group knowledge, identity, social life, culture, and tradition. In the series-of-stories structure, a narrator orients to and incorporates resources of these group factors, as well as, in the organizational sense, of a prior narrative.

Narratives C and D are of a different order than the previous two narratives. John introduces his narrative (C) with the statement, "I got one. I don't think I told you this one before." Jim introduces his narrative (D) in a similar abrupt manner, "Yeah, another one I was gonna mention is that I was training a guy, right." Both narratives occur immediately upon the conclusion of a prior narrative, and both narrators refer to their forthcoming narration in a way more characteristic of joke-telling - "I got one." Jokes of course, need not bear any organizational coherence with the structure of the conversation, but rather only with the occasion itself - the joke-telling occasion. Yet in Narratives C and D we see narratives introduced as jokes, that is, with orientation to the occasion and the general theme under discussion. Stated differently, there is the achievement of a narrative-telling occasion by the participants in which narratives are introduced with little or no organizational coherence to the conversation. In fact, from the conclusion

of Narrative B, conversation is suspended and narratives are performed literally one after another with no orienting or intervening commentary between the narratives, other than the evaluative/concluding comments of the narrators themselves.

Still, these are conversational narratives, arising out of, responding to, and drawing resources from the larger structure of conversational exchanges that engenders them. These narratives stimulate and articulate two orders of knowledge of tradition, occupational and cultural. A series-of-stories relationship is built upon these orders of knowledge, as well as upon the actual organization of conversation so that, as Goffman notes, "an illustrative story by one participant provides a ticket another participant can use to allow the matching of that experience with a story from his own repertoire."[42] The unifying factor, and the ultimate significance and meaning of these narratives, is the single common experience of the neophyte broadcaster, an experience which informs and offers perspective on their current experience as veterans.

(3) Play and Enactive Folklore

It is clear from the narratives of the preceding section, that the experience of the rookie broadcaster, told and re-

told in conversational narrative, is highly valued (beyond its narrative performance potential as a humorous and entertaining subject) and critical to this group's definition of itself. The confusions, mistakes, embarrassments related in this folklore, I suggest, both stimulate and enact central and current strategies, concerns, beliefs, and anxieties of the group. This narrative folklore however, serves entirely more than a cathartic function. As a record of "clumsiness" and "embarrassment",[43] it describes a rite of initiation - not a formal structure of prescribed acts and procedures, but a necessarily-occurring set of circumstances involving disruptions, mistakes, and confusions. Abrahams' example of Pilgrim Christian elucidates this point:

> Why is there so little record of man's clumsiness and the delight in stumbling? Progress used to mean just that when Pilgrim Christian was on foot - the path was set so that stumbling had to occur. Faux pas were institutionalized by becoming an expected and valued expressive state.[44]

The progress of the rookie broadcaster is much like that of Pilgrim Christian. Faux pas are indeed institutionalized in this group, expected and valued as a necessary experience of of the novice, and in this way, can be construed as a rite of initiation, not prescribed but inevitable.

Abrahams warns against a traditional functionalist perspective in the interpretation of man's "constant flirtation with disorder." The conclusions of this perspective, a "steam valve" or "drive discharge" theory of disordered and confused behaviour, is too simplistic, and ultimately myopic in its accompanying premise of the strict separation of the serious and the ludic in culture. As Abrahams argues,

> It is not sufficient to say that we must enact disorders to appreciate and reiterate our orders, for we enjoy those unbalancing moves too much. We are too enamored of making fun for its own sake, of going up against the edge of order for the sake of the experience itself, because that is where power or vitality (or whatever you want to call it) resides.[45]

Abrahams is describing here a parallel process: order in every society inherently implies and commonly gives rise to expressions of disorder, both of which are basic to the ethos of the group in question.

Huizinga, in his seminal work on the play-element in culture, suggests an even greater interdependence between order and "making fun". Play, he notes, generates and demands its own order, an order based in its aesthetic quality. In turn, this aesthetic quality accounts for why we are so enamored of making fun, why it possesses power or vitality:

> Play demands order absolute and supreme...The profound affinity between play and order is perhaps the reason why play...seems to lie to such a large extent in the field of aesthetics. Play has a tendency to be beautiful. It may be that this aesthetic factor is identical with the impulse to create orderly form, which animates play in all its aspects...Play casts a spell over us; it is "enchanting", "captivating".[46]

The narratives which re-enact the experience of the rookie broadcaster embody and articulate the connection described by both Abrahams and Huizinga, and others[47] - the potential of order and the vitality of disorder, the rules of effective and appropriate interaction within the group and the degree of latitude in terms of ludicrous or licentious behaviour, afforded the individual within the group. These narratives are a stylization in performance of an awkward and confused dimension which resides at the heart of group values and constitutes an "institutionalized stumbling", a necessarily-occurring rite of initiation, and thereby, a fundamental piece of knowledge.

There are operating as well within this group, a complex of play activities which intentionally invoke chaos, and in so doing, test and parody the strict order of on-air broadcasting, and at the same time, enhance and demonstrate these orders. In the following data, the disorderly activities described by the conversational participants, and the

descriptions themselves in conversation and conversational narrative, point to the aforementioned connection - the flirtation with disorder and the reliance of this disorder on "a continuing assumed order of things."[48]

John: Every Friday when Jim would sign off Radio Noon, that's when I'd pull a little trick on him, or do something, you know.

Jim: The end of the week.

John: The end of the week, the very last show. Jim would be signing off and one day gave him the moon, full moon, whipped 'em right down, hung the drawers man. Jim never faltered, "Well, for the weekend," he says, "it should be sunny, full moon most of the weekend."

Val: I don't think...

John: One morning doing "The Morning Show", and me and A. and T. were all sitting around the table. T. was reading the sports. This was the time when the streakers were on the go, right. And this guy streaked in, not a tack on.

Jim: Pair of red socks, yeah. Pair of red socks he had on.

John: He went around the studio.

Jim: Pair of red socks.

John: He was heavily hung. That was the only...

Jim: I don't know who it was, what his connection was to the programme at the time. Was he a producer or a technician?

John: He was a technician then.

Jim: Oh, he's a producer now, in the arts department.

John: Yeah. I don't know who it was, but he was heavy hung, my son. (laughter) All there was was just a wheeze. [of laughter]

Jim: T. never missed a syllable. He went right through the sports. He chuckled right, but not a sound.

John: He never found it funny, eh? You and A. were on the floor.

Jim: Oh yeah, T. had to carry the show on for the next twenty minutes. 49

Val: I never had anything done.

John: Wasn't it M. telling us about, or was it, no it was R.

Val: About the crabs?

John: No, it was P. and he was on a summer relief announcer, and he got his news-copy all ready.

Jim: On the radio?

John: No, he was on camera. It was here in St. John's.

Jim: Oh, somebody...

John: (interrupting) Somebody stapled it, the first one was just fine, but all the rest was stapled. The first story he turns over. There's a second, he starts plucking the staples out. Now it's the next one...(laughter). Someone else lit a match to it?

Jim: That seems a familiar story. I don't know who that was, but somebody crept up, right, and just put a match under the copy, the corner of it, and that was it. It started to go man.

John: Christ!

Jim: What do you say, it was a hot news tip or something?

John: Another trick is when the newsreader has his headphones on, is if you can play things into his

headphones, you know.

Jim: Yeah.

John: Oh Jesus, I used to do it. Jim would be reading something. I'd get on the headphones and start reading an erotic story to him or something.

Jim: He sent in a very beautiful lady one day when I was doing something very serious. He was the producer of "Radio Noon", I guess, eh. Sent in P. and she started making love to me.

John: She started to undress while he was reading the marine weather.

Jim: I dragged that marine weather on for five and a half hours. (laughter)

The often-cited definition of the joking relationship offered by Radcliffe-Brown readily applies here: "A relation between two persons in which one is by custom permitted, and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offense... It is not meant seriously and must not be taken seriously."[50] The ludic performances referred to in conversation and conversational narratives by the broadcasters - "mooning", "streaking", stapling the copy together before a newscast, setting the copy on fire in the middle of a newscast, reading erotic stories into the newscaster's headphones - all represent calculated disruptions and inversions of the rules and necessities of on-air behaviour. In a sense, these ludic activities enact order and disorder in their process, making

fun of, and at the same time articulating the nature and demands of an occupation which, by their own admission, the broadcasters take "too seriously":

Jim: I think that a lot of us take this on-air bit...

Val: (interrupting) Too seriously.

Jim: Way too seriously.

John: Yeah.

Jim: Like everybody is so scared that they're gonna say something, one little syllable wrong: Jesus Christ, so what.

Val: Exactly.

John: I used to have a little unwritten policy when I was doing "The Morning Show", and that is to get all hands to have a laugh.

Jim: Yeah, a little fun.

The play/trickery of the broadcasters generates confusion, but of a distinctly controlled kind. As the ludic activities are inextricably tied to the propriety of on-air behaviour, so they are performed within, and in essence, structured by, that propriety. The announcer who is the object of the prank, if he is to demonstrate his "cool" under pressure, must never falter, never "miss a syllable", in the midst of the disruption. In total, he must respond in the highly valued "professional manner", that is, with no detectable response whatsoever. This non-response is achieved in the

set-up prank/test by an effective concentration on, in a way an exaggeration of, the rules and skills of being on-the-air. As Abrahams maintains, "The more one engages in tests, the more one must, at one and the same time, stiffen the rules and boundaries, and focus one's energies more effectively."[51]

Play intensifies, and the stylization of play behaviour is the means by which intensification is accomplished. If, as Huizinga asserts, play "has a tendency to be beautiful", it is because of its method of stylization. While play "permits a focusing on style for its own sake",[52] it also performs a gestalt - it effectively integrates the ordered "real" world with the stylized disorder of the "play" world. This is not to suggest that the distinction between these two dimensions in any way becomes ambiguous or non-critical, but only that "mooning" (or any other of the examples) intensifies the social order of the broadcast studio, the skills of the announcer, the "sacred" rules of propriety of on-air behaviour and the interpersonal relations and identities of the occupational group. Departures from the order of things in the stylization of behaviour in play are both ends in themselves as play, and intensifying moves in the social order of radio broadcasters as they play upon and with the order of things. The joking relationship is the context

within which such play can operate, and is itself enhanced and perpetuated by the play performance it generates and permits.

Conclusions

In his frame analysis of talk, Goffman employs a dramaturgical metaphor for a discussion of the motive and method of storytelling in conversation:

> For what a speaker does usually is to present for his listeners a version of what happened to him. In an important sense, even if his purpose is to present the cold facts as he sees them, the means he employs may be intrinsically theatrical, not because he necessarily exaggerates or follows a script, but because he may have to engage in something that is a dramatization - the use of such arts as he possesses to reproduce a scene, to replay it.[53]

Further, Goffman argues that a talker will present not information, but a drama, a replay of "a strip of already determined events", a re-enactment of past experience to engage the listeners. The "means employed" and the "arts possessed" in this achievement have been analyzed in this chapter as the processes and texts, the performances and expressions of folkloric communication. Narrative, then, demonstrates a potential, a potential realized in folklore and based in its method of dramatization, to re-enact

experience, and not merely report experience through performance. It is by this potentially "deep" aspect of narrative, its enactive function, that narrative achieves its significance as an expressive representation of group concerns, controversies, strategies, values, beliefs, anxieties, and identity.

The casual talk of St. John's radio broadcasters, we have seen, involves narrative junctures in which unforgettable personal experiences are re-enacted in the dramatic artistic form of conversational narrative. The nature and social function of such folklore in the everyday lives of the group members, and the organization and evaluation of experience through folkloric expression, were analyzed from a structural perspective (the organization and management of talk and narrative, and the series of stories relationship), an interactional perspective (the collaborative achievement of narrative within the speech exchange system of conversational interaction), a group/cultural process perspective (the knowledge factors), and a play perspective (ludic performance and the stimulation and definition of group concerns through enactive folklore).

It was noted that the introduction of narrative into the leisure-time conversation of this particular group is a common, frequent, and effective form of communication in

everyday talk. Accordingly, narrative was analyzed as a component in the pattern and organization of conversational interaction, and as a structuring principle of that conversation. In this way, folklore stimulates the social organization of shared current orientation as it serves to guide and structure talk, and address, synthesize, make sense of, experiences critical to the group. The occurrence of folklore marks a stylized communicative event, which is the product or activity of the relationship between talking (conversation) and speaking (narrative). Frequency of this occurrence, it was concluded, depends upon the relational nature of the participants, specifically, if they can be defined as a social reference group.

As a conversation becomes "deep", as the topic and the relations of the participants serve to engage these participants in interaction, the investment of energies in turns at talking becomes great, and a collaborative achievement of conversational narrative results. The significance of a topic, the relations between the participants, and the depth of involvement in the conversational interaction, are all interdeterminate. In this way, a narrative represents a product of the conversational participants' attention to and management of these three factors.

Finally, the joking relationship, which permits calculated inversions and disruptions of the proprieties of on-air behaviour, was analyzed as central to group cohesion and identity. In its stylized flirtation with chaos, play intensifies the social order of the broadcast studio by bringing into focus the skills, anxieties, and values at the essence of the group. Ludic activities are re-enacted through conversational narrative, a process which both highlights the aesthetic of the play event, and integrates a strict rule-ordered real world with its stylized and chaotic counterpart in the dimension of play.

Notes for Chapter III

[1]The field-research described in this chapter was carried out throughout various periods of 1980. I am indebted to the group of announcers, producers, and reporter/scriptwriters at C.B.C. Radio, St. John's Newfoundland, who graciously granted me entrée into their work and leisure worlds for the purposes of this research.

[2]Alan L. Ryave, "On the Achievement of a Series of Stories," in Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction, ed. Jim Schenkein (New York: Academic Press, 1978), p. 131, fn. 1.

[3]Kenneth Burke, "Lexicon Rhetoricae," in Counter-Statement (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 143.

[4]Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, Eds., "Introduction," to Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 10.

[5]Nessa Wolfson, "Speech Events and Natural Speech: Some Implications for Sociolinguistic Methodology," Language in Society, 5 (1976), p. 190.

[6]Ibid., p. 192.

[7]See Wolfson's study, "A Feature of Performed Narrative: The Conversational Historical Present," Language in Society, 7 (1978), pp. 215 - 237.

[8]Wolfson, 1976, p. 195.

[9]See William Labov's notes on methodology in Language in the Inner City (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), and Sociolinguistic Patterns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973).

[10]Wolfson, 1976, p. 199.

[11]Ibid., p. 200.

[12]The folkloristic notion of performance has been largely influenced by contemporary linguistic theory, specifically, transformational generative grammar in which performance, as Hymes explains, "treats overt behavior as a realization, quite likely imperfect, of an underlying knowledge on the part of a speaker." See Hymes' discussion of performance and behaviour in "Breakthrough Into Performance," in Folkore: Performance and Communication, eds. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp. 13 - 20.

[13]Richard Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," American Anthropologist, 77 (1975), p. 293.

[14]Wolfson, 1976, p. 202

[15]Ibid., p. 203.

[16]See Roger M. Keesing's analysis of the relationship between linguistic and cultural knowledge, and the manner in which a native speaker's knowledge of language is based on and proceeds from a culturally defined model of the world around him/her, in "Linguistic Knowledge and Cultural Knowledge: Some Doubts and Speculations," American Anthropologist, 81 (1979), 14 - 36. I thank John Widdowson for drawing my attention to, and discussing with me, the work of Keesing.

[17]Ibid., p. 30.

[18]Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups and Social Control," in Human Behavior and Social Processes, ed. Arnold M. Rose (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 136.

[19]Ryave, p. 121.

[20]Ibid., p. 122.

[21]Gail Jefferson, "Sequential Aspects of Storytelling in Conversation," in Schenkein, pp. 219 - 248.

[22]See Harvey Sacks, "On the Analysability of Stories By Children," in Directions in Sociolinguistics, eds. John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972).

[23]Jefferson, pp. 220 - 228.

[24]Ibid., p. 228.

[25]See Harvey Sacks, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson, "A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn Taking for Conversation," in Schenkein, pp. 7 - 55.

[26]Ibid., p. 10.

[27]Ryave, p. 131, fn. 1.

[28]Bauman, p. 298.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Erving Goffman, "The Neglected Situation," in Language and Social Context, ed. Pier P. Giglioli (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1972), p. 64.

[31]Erving Goffman, Frame Analysis (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1974), p. 501.

[32]Ibid.

[33]See Shibutani's definition and analysis of "reference group", pp. 123 - 147. The term, he notes, refers to

> that group whose presumed perspective is used by an actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field...A reference group is an audience, consisting of real or imaginary personifications, to whom certain values are imputed. It is an audience before whom a person tries to maintain or enhance his standing. (p. 132)

[34]Keesing, p. 15.

[35]The notion of the common or linking factor is part of Dundes' definition of the field of folklore. See Alan Dundes, Ed., The Study of Folklore (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 2

[36]Keesing, p. 15.

[37]Roger D. Abrahams, Rituals in Culture, Folklore Preprint Series, vol. 5, no. 1 (Bloomington, Indiana: Folklore Publications Group, 1977), pp. 33 - 34.

[38]Ibid., p. 33.

[39]I have borrowed this term from John Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1966).

[40]Ryave, p. 121.

[41]Ibid., pp. 124 - 129.

[42]Goffman, 1974, p. 510.

[43]Borrowed from Abrahams, p. 2.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid., p. 13.

[46]Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), p. 10.

[47]See for examples, Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," in The Interpretation of Culture (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 412 - 453; Max Gluckman, Custom and Conflict in Africa (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956); Victor Turner, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society (Ithaca: Cornell University

Press, 1974), and The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

[48]Abrahams, p. 13.

[49]The real humour of this particular event (if it is not clear from the telling) is that John was the "streaker" he is referring to.

[50]A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 90 - 91.

[51]Abrahams, p. 40.

[52]Ibid., p. 38.

[53]Goffman, 1974, pp. 503 - 504.

IV TOWNIES AND BAYMEN: THE IDENTITY FACTOR IN CONVERSATIONAL NARRATIVE

The norms of a group are reaffirmed in often creative ways in everyday social interaction.[1] These "creative ways" may involve folkloric communication as part of the regularized expressive activity of that group. If an individual perceives, evaluates, makes sense of his experience from the perspective or ordered view of the group in which he participates, then folklore can be seen to function as one of the means by which an individual understands and expresses his relationship to the culture of his group. This chapter is concerned specifically with this process of understanding and expressiveness in relation to the occurrence of conversational narrative within a group, as that group pursues, reinforces, perpetuates, and achieves its identity.

A complex tension that exists between the dweller in the capital port city of St. John's, Newfoundland, the "townie", and outport or outharbour dweller in the great number of tiny fishing villages scattered along the Newfoundland coastline, the "bayman", is based in the history of economic and political development of the island. Tom Philbrook notes this tension in his analysis of the relationship between industrial change and the small Newfoundland

community:

> Outport is a Newfoundland colloquialism designating all villages outside the capital port city of St. John's. Calling a person an outporter may, in some situations, imply the invidious distinction of being a "hick", yet village and villager is perhaps the more appropriate synonym. Nevertheless, the contrast between the outport and St. John's symbolized significant status differences evolving out of Newfoundland's fishing economy and political history. [2]

As Newfoundlanders "have been among the world's most prodigious producers of children", [3] the island's population growth, and the dispersion of this population along isolated and sometimes inaccessible stretches of the 6,000 miles of coastline, has constituted one of Newfoundland's fundamental socioeconomic development problems. [4] Contrary to basic principles of economic growth, Newfoundland's population has increased at a rate faster than its economic income increases. [5] Attempts to rectify the problematic economic development of Newfoundland have been numerous and, in essence, have exhibited the same strategy. In the latter part of the nineteenth century for example, the impetus toward industrial capitalism for economic modernization was the motive behind policy and legislation that produced the transinsular railroad (completed in 1898), the beginnings of mining development, and most significant, the establishment of a lumber industry to eventually replace the fishery as

the basis of the Newfoundland economy.[6] A similar impetus toward industrial capitalism can be seen in Smallwood's industrial development strategy. Both confederation and the resettlement programme were regarded by Smallwood as a movement toward economic self-sufficiency for Newfoundland through industrialization and its concomitant, urbanization/centralization.

Ralph Matthews' analysis of the structure of the Newfoundland labour force reveals that the primary producers of fishing, logging, and mining comprise less than one-quarter of the labour force. Most workers on the island are employed in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy, an irony for an economy with a particularly small manufacturing base. The result suggests Matthews, is that,

> In a sense Newfoundland has reached a "post-industrial" stage of development without ever having established an industrial component in its economy. It can only maintain this because it is a part of the larger Canadian economy and can depend on Canadian transfer payments.[7]

Further, Matthews notes, the rapid transition from a traditional rural fishing economy to a contemporary one based in urban commerce has imparted to Newfoundland some features of a dual economy in which "the traditional and modern sectors are 'worlds aparts' and operate relatively independently of

one another."[8] One of the most critical distinctions between these sectors, and central to the present argument, is in the attitude and value systems, not only with respect to business but in lifestyle as well. It is the social consequences of this dualism, a dualism historically determined through the economic development of Newfoundland, that has contributed to the townie-bayman dichotomy.

In keeping with the urban perspective of this thesis, this chapter focuses on the townie and the manner in which identity is articulated and sustained through conversation and conversational narrative. It is important to note at the outset that while a dichotomous relationship between these two sectors of Newfoundland society is suggested in the folkloric expression of the townie, a "social disorganization" of this society as a whole should not be extrapolated.[9] Louis Wirth's commentary on disorganization within a given society is helpful in understanding the Newfoundland situation: "Disorganization may...result...from the coexistence within a society of two or more independent systems of norms, each of which claims allegiance of a segment of society which in other respects is interdependent with the rest."[10] The clash of norms, attitudes, and values as represented in the dichotomous relationship of townies and baymen does not in any significant way undermine the

consensus and integration, especially of a political nature, that marks Newfoundland society as a whole. Consensus mobilizes individuals while it neutralizes opposition and apathy. It secures allegiance, involvement, a degree of conformity, and demonstrates an immediate, "natural", and customary approval of the social code by all members.[11] This process of consensus in Newfoundland was analyzed in the previous chapter in terms of cultural knowledge and the assertion of this knowledge through, for example, political action and artistic activities. I am suggesting that consensus reigns, and yet there is a measure of social disorganization that is a deep-rooted complex of historical, economic, social, and political factors, and that can be sustained only because of the larger structure and force of consensus.

A Note on Identity

Identity, suggests Ward Goodenough, is based in the social order.[12] One's self-definition and the attendant conduct is contingent upon one's place in the social order, and more particularly, is linked to the continuities and changes within the group to which one belongs. Identity, then, is largely a social phenomenon "both in the cognitive or substantive sense of who and what a person is and in the evaluative sense of how he is affectively regarded by his

fellows and how he feels about himself."[13] In this way, self-definition can be understood to derive from the regularly occurring relationships of social life.

Within the complexity of a social order, its multitude of relationships and networks of communication, identity becomes a strategy in social life whereby we align ourselves with others by sharing the same systems of categories for perceiving and evaluating experiences, events, others. These "identity discriminations" are part of the expressive equipment used by individuals to display commonality. Goodenough argues that such discriminations, in their symbolic forms, are required for individuals to display their affiliation with, or membership in a group:

> When a society is divided in subgroups...and relations between them are an important determinant of the roles their respective members play in dealing with one another, everyone may be required to display his group affiliation by observing certain food taboos, speaking in a particular dialect or style, wearing some identifying item of clothing, or displaying his passport or identity card.[14]

Folkloric expression may very well be part of this "display"-process of identification, part of the required symbolization of affiliation. Narrative in conversation for example, may serve the set of "requirements", expressive conventions of a

group to express and celebrate identity.

Folklorists have tended to regard identity only in terms of commonality. In a review of the dominant definitional themes of the folklore discipline, Richard Bauman concludes that a basic premise underlies all formulations: "folklore is a function of shared identity" in that, as it is assumed in these formulations, shared identity features lead to the development of a body of shared folklore.[15] From the earlier conceptualizations of the discipline in folklore textbooks of Brunvand and Dundes to the more recent innovations in methods of study by Toelken, the esoteric principle of folklore characterizes the definitions.[16] Toelken for example, regards the folk group in terms of its "esoteric dynamics" and asserts that a folk group can be described "as any group of people who share informal communical contacts that become the basis for expressive, culture-based communications."[17]

Bauman attributes the predominant view of folklore as a collective and in-group phenomenon to two major influences. First, the ideology of romantic nationalism which marked the beginnings of folklore study, resulted in an emphasis on the bodies of traditional lore that served "national cultures, regional subcultures, and linguistically defined ethnic

groups." Second, certain approaches in anthropological research, holism and functionalism in particular, concentrated on the internal integration of social systems, and thus folklore was regarded as serving this holistic/functional end in culture. The relation between folklore and people by this viewpoint is conceived of as a correlation of "a superorganic, collective-representationalized corpus of folklore traditions with a population which is identified as a folk group and participates in it collectively."[18] Bauman argues for a reorientation of the concept of folklore from this superorganic body of traditions which persists through time and space with the folk as "bearers of tradition" to the "doing" of folklore, folklore as action.[19] These two concepts of folklore however, need not be regarded as mutually exclusive.

In his discussion of dynamics and identity of the folk group, Toelken cites an example of traditional Japanese foodways which implies folklore as "superorganic", but in a direct and empirical sense, an "action" sense. Toelken maintains that while Marvin Opler and other researchers correctly pointed to an "intensification" of Japanese folklore during the internment of Japanese-Americans during the Second World War, they did not realize that little of Japanese-American folklore was known before the war because folk

traditions of this group were generally restricted to the home, and at customary celebrations.[20] However, the virtual armies of government-hired anthropologists and sociologists who scrutinized the Japanese-Americans to evaluate their response to internment, considered what they saw as a revival of older Japanese folk custom. Toelken's analysis of the dynamics of Japanese folklore, particularly traditional foodways, as inextricably tied to the principle of the family as the fundamental unit of stability within the culture, and eating traditional foods within the family setting as a "powerful way of reaffirming one's position within the total family system", reveals family folklore to be a central feature of Japanese-American cultural awareness. These traditions were adapted to the camp experience, and after the war, they returned to the family setting, where, as Toelken notes, they now solidly reside as they always have. In this example, folklore operates in a consistent and vital manner through time and space, as "superorganic", yet also as a critical activity in everyday group dynamics. Toelken's treatment illustrates then, that folklore can be, in Bauman's terms, both "superorganic" and "action" on the empirical level.

Still, Bauman's conceptualization of "the social base of folklore in terms of the actual place of the lore in

social relationships and its use in communicative interaction"[21] holds important implications for the criterion of identity in the study of folk groups. In this regard, Bauman poses a question that is crucial to his argument: "The question is, does the performance of folklore occur in interaction between people of parallel, shared identity, or does it figure in relationships between people of differential identity as well?"[22] Conflicts between norms involving differential identities in such factors as ethnicity, religion, region, occupation, age, and kinship are analyzed by Bauman as illustrations of the fact that the relationship between folklore and its bearers may be of a symmetrical or asymmetrical nature; that is, folklore may be exchanged on the basis of shared identity or differential identity. As Bauman concludes,

> The point is that folklore performance does not require that the lore be a collective representation of the participants, pertaining and belonging to all of them. It may be so, but it may also be differentially distributed, differentially performed, differentially perceived, and differentially understood.[23]

Accordingly, folklore may express and serve as an instrument of conflict, as well as the usually understood functions of group cohesion and commonality. Differential identity may be at the very basis, may be the motive behind, the generation

of folkloric expression, as in the case under analysis in this chapter.

As we shall see, the identity factor in the conversational narratives of a group of townies involves a self-signification process in which the townies establish who they are through a series of contrasts with who they are not, that is, baymen. While there is an exchange of folklore between these two groups, though often through anonymous means (graffiti on the washroom walls of Memorial University, for example),[24] the folklore considered here represents expression shared within a group that arises out of a differential identity and which depends on that differential identity for its value and effectiveness. It provides, I believe, an extension, and certainly a complication of the notion of differential identity and the social base of folklore.

Town and Country: Perspectives on the Folk-Urban Relationship

The comments of the two townies concerning the social strata of Newfoundland society present a view of the society as strictly ordered into three component geographical areas with different types of inhabitants:

Richard: You see, there's baymen, then there's a step up

from baymen, and there's townie. Baymen are stupid baymen, right. But as you get closer to an urban area, you get in-between bayman and townie.

Jim: Yeah, that's Harbour Grace, Carbonear, and of course Grand Falls, Gander and Corner Brook. But gettin' right out there, in there to the baymen....

Richard: (interrupting) The raw, the raw of Newfoundland, the raw.

In a sense, these two individuals see their society as a scale of gradation from bayman to townie, a scale reminiscent of a folk-urban continuum.[25] The polarity implied here between town and "around the bay" recalls the classic sociological/anthropological treatment of societies as evolving or transforming from the rural to the urban, the "traditional" to the "rational", the "organic" to the "mechanical". In Redfield's concept of a continuum, societies are seen as situated between two polar extremes, folk and urban, and exhibiting a lesser or greater number of features of each pole depending on the position of that society on the continuum. The folk-urban dichotomy is basic to the "around the bay"-town distinction in the Newfoundland situation, and as such, should be examined in depth.

Influenced by the Chicago School of urban sociology, which cultivated a negative image of the city in western civilization (the city as pathological), and which characterized the city as unnatural, a source of social and personality

disorganization, deviant behaviour, ephemeral and impersonal relations between people, alienation and "anomie" (lack of purpose and ethical values),[26] Redfield idealized the folk or traditional society.[27] He saw the members of the folk society as essentially good, involved in natural, satisfying, and spontaneous social relations. This ideal societal type, homogeneous and isolated, was, in Redfield's concept, distinguished by the familial unit and the relationships of kinship as fundamental categories of experience and activity, the prevalence of the sacred over the secular, and an economy founded on status rather than market, and all in sum, a construct and consequence of the "folk mentality".

Clearly, there is a romanticism at the basis of Redfield's celebration of traditional values and purity of isolated peasant cultures.[28] More important to this discussion of the folk-urban dichotomy is the notion of unilinear development through stages that attends this romantic conceptual scheme. Redfield's continuum, it should be noted, was based on earlier theories of the dichotomies of societal characteristics, particularly those theories of Tönnies and Durkeim.[29]

Ferdinand Tönnies conceptualized two distinct and oppositional categories of all societies.[30] "Gemeinschaft" as a societal type was represented by a communalism and

unity derived from kin-based and local types of social interaction and intimate association and contact. "Gesellschaft" was characterized as a society constituted by impersonal social interaction derived from political, economic and territorial factors and imperatives. The Gemeinschaft then, was embodied in the familial relations of peasant society while the Gesellschaft was understood as the development of civilization which encroaches upon and destroys elements of the Gemeinschaft. Durkheim postulated a similar negative effect of the "organic solidarity" on the "mechanical solidarity".[31] The solidarity of the social segment, a society in which there is a uniform set of values and attitudes shared by all, is a "mechanical" solidarity integrated by a "moral consensus", or a conformity of all individual consciences to a single common conscience. The solidarity of the social organ, a society dependent upon a complex and fluid division of labour and marked by its multitude of differing consciences, is an "organic" solidarity integrated by the rational and secular elements of inter-dependence and reciprocal usefulness.

These theoretical dichotomizations of societies appear consonant with the townies' view of the structure of Newfoundland society, and both operate to categorize by stereotype. George Foster maintains that "the definition of

folk culture and society in terms of ideal polar types, urban and non-urban, has several logical consequences which inevitably...stereo-type field research and obscure salient characteristics of the societies in which we are interested."[32] The consequences are the same in the townie perspective on Newfoundland society in terms of polar types, town and "around the bay". As we shall see from the data to follow, the view of the organization of Newfoundland society held by this group resides in a series of stereotypes expressed in narrative folklore.

This categorization by stereotype is centrally related to identity. In the conversational exchanges and narrative to be considered, it will become evident that these townies create in the severe stereotype of the bayman, their alter ego - a process which I will suggest is indicative of an underlying, but pervasive and decisive unity in the context of which dichotomies, disparities, and conflicts can be expressed. Goodenough provides an explanation of this type of identity-construction process:

> The building of identity through the process of categorization and recategorization...inevitably gives to our self-image features that are common to images we have of others. Thus we identify with others, and thus others become extensions of ourselves and can serve as symbols of our own identity or of features of it, even become our alter egos.[33]

By a strict categorization intended to demonstrate contrast and antithesis, the townie instead renders the bayman a feature of his own identity in a "combination of opposites".[34] In identifying the bayman through conversational narrative, the townie defines his alter ego, a definition which is crucial in the townie's self-definition, and as well, provides an understanding of the folk/bay-urban/town dichotomy in Newfoundland society as, in actuality, a unity.

Reference Groups and Folkloric Expression

Initially, the term "reference group" was applied in the field of social psychology, first used by Herbert Hyman in his analysis of the process of status, and specifically a person's conception of his own position relative to other individuals, or in other words, that person's frames of reference.[35] Most important for the present argument is Hyman's suggestion that status is established in some way through an individual's identification with a reference group.

Sociologists and cultural anthropologists as well have utilized the concept to understand how attitudes and values are shaped in the social process of orientation. Individuals act in a social frame of reference yielded by both the

groups of which they are a part, and groups outside this membership. In both cases, as individuals orient themselves to a group, they reflect the influences of that group to which they refer.[36]

While current folkloristics demonstrates a definite interdisciplinary theory and methodology, the concept of reference group, a concept which could address critical problems concerning motives and attitudes behind, and group dynamics of, folkloric expression, has not been employed.[37] Yet the preponderant view of folkloristics on its subject as a group-based or group-generated expressive phenomenon, logically demands an analytical tool that focuses on group process, especially in the study of the relationship between folklore and both shared and differential identity. To this end, I suggest "reference group", a notion introduced and applied to data in the previous chapter, as a viable concept for folklore analysis. For the concern of this chapter with the identity factor in conversational narrative, and the relationship of this factor to a townie-bayman, urban-rural tension, a reference-group perspective offers the most appropriate line of inquiry.

The functions of shared and differential identity within the narrative folklore of the townies can be regarded

in terms of the two functions of reference groups: the normative function and the comparison function.[38] These functions are defined by Kelley to correspond to what he points out are the two usages of the notion of "reference group".[39] The first usage has been to denote a group as the object of an individual's efforts and motivation to achieve or maintain acceptance. To promote this acceptance, notes Kelley, the individual "holds his attitudes in conformity with what he perceives to be the consensus of opinion among the group members."[40] The second usage has been to denote a group used as a point of reference by the individual to make evaluations of himself or others. This dual usage of the term leads Kelley to conclude that with respect to the establishment of an individual's attitudes and perceptions, the reference group can serve different functions. First, there is the "normative function" in which the group becomes a source of the individual's norms, and both sets and enforces those standards for the individual. Second, there is the "comparison function" in which the group acts as a standard or point of comparison for the self-evaluation of the individual, and his evaluation of others.

Shibutani expands somewhat on Kelley's definition of reference group functions. According to Shibutani, three denotations of the concept can be distinguished: "(1) groups

which serve as comparison points; (2) groups to which men aspire; and (3) groups whose perspectives are assumed by the actor."[41] The third added denotation parallels Kelley's normative function, but demands a more rigorous definition of both the situations in which the individual finds himself, and of the process whereby the group perspective operates to constitute the frame of reference of the individual. Insofar as there is "referent power"[42] in the normative group processes, that is, in the manner in which group norms, standards, and outlooks become the individual's norms, standards, and outlooks by that individual's identification with the group, it can be stated that group and individual perspectives coincide through identification. It is this process that is central to understanding the group-based dimension of expressive culture.

The conversation and folkloric expression presented in a following section of this chapter must be approached on the above premise. Accordingly, the notion of "perspective" and its implications for the study of folklore require definition and elaboration.

Shibutani postulates an equation between reference group and perspective and defines "perspective" in a way to suggest that it provides for the individual, an orderly and

predictable response to experience:

> A perspective is an ordered view of one's world - what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events, and human nature. It is an order of things remembered and expected as well as things actually perceived, an organized conception of what is plausible and what is possible; it constitutes the matrix through which one perceives his environment. [43]

The connection between perspective on the individual level and perspective on the group level is based in the concept of culture as "conventional understandings, manifest in act and artifact, that characterize societies."[44] Culture then, can be viewed as a shared perspective within a group, and shared perspectives are the consequence of shared modes of communication. One of these modes, as we shall see, is folkloric communication.

The "conventional understandings" referred to above, tantamount to Keesing's definition of culture as knowledge (analyzed in the previous chapter), are the premises upon which modes of communication are established and proceed. This point is particularly crucial in studying expression in the cultural pluralism of contemporary society, and the associations through reference groups, that become social worlds within society. Shibutani maintains that the numerous and varied cultures that are found in complex, industrial

society are in many ways parallel to those cultures that comprise stable and isolated communities.[45] In each culture/community there develops a "universe of discourse", in which relevant experiences are categorized and evaluated in specific ways, and a special set of symbols is employed to refer to these experiences. This special set of symbols may, and often does, involve the use of folklore.[46]

Methodological Strategy

In her discussion of sociolinguistic methodology in the observation and analysis of natural speech, Nessa Wolfson emphasizes that

> there can be no better research site for the observation of free conversation than the circle of one's own friends and associates. It is only from the speech of those whom we know well enough to see frequently in a large number of different situations that we can get a view in depth of how a variable is used.[47]

The variable under consideration here is identity as it operates in the natural speech event and speech act of conversation and conversational narrative. My own role as researcher in relation to the townie group studied is significant in analyzing the data presented in the next section. This role accounts for the "research site for the

observation of free conversation " referred to by Wolfson. I was considered by this group as both insider and outsider, and any comment in conversation that was directed to me reflected both status positions within the group structure. The insider status was based on an association and friendship with the individuals of this group - I was a frequent and familiar participant in their conversational exchanges, and my presence as friend and researcher was not merely accepted, but regarded as natural. The outsider status was based on the fact that I was a "mainlander" in a group of Newfoundlanders, a fact which constituted an important dynamic in many interactions. Both genres of speech and modes of conversation were determined by this dynamic. Jokes for example, became basic to conversational interaction and served not only entertainment, but didactic functions as well. As a mainlander, I was compelled to learn lessons about life and identity in Newfoundland. The following joke told by a participant on one occasion was directed toward me through definite paralinguistic cues (eye focus in particular):

Jim: Here's a popular Newfoundland joke that Newfs like to tell. I'll just ad lib it, I don't know exactly how it goes. About this Newf who's looking for a house in Toronto, and the fucking real estate company says, "Well, we got a dumb Newf here, we can sell him any fucking thing." So the boys take him out to an outhouse and say, "There it is boy, you know, and it's only $10,000.00." So the Newf says, "Great boy." So he moves in, and buddy goes

> out chuckling with the ten grand in his back pocket.
>
> And he comes back about a couple of months later and there's a fucking big Cadillac, a Cadillac parked outside the outhouse, and a colour T.V. And he says to the Newf, "Hey man, how'd you manage to get all this money?" So he says, "I got the downstairs room rented to a mainlander."
>
> They love telling it, where the Newfie outsmarts the guy, see. That's a big one, right, you know. That's the kind of jokes Newfoundlanders tell, where the boys thought they'd get one over on the Newf, but we turned the tables on them. That sort of thing.

The dynamic suggested above also served to determine "conversational modes". McGuire and Lorch define conversational modes as "aggregates of rules which guide two-person conversations."[48] These modes are held by the authors to be rules governing language apart from the concepts of grammar transformation rules and kernel sentences (concepts from Chomsky's analysis of the grammar and syntax of language). These concepts are considered independent of situational determinants and deal with universal rules of syntax. Conversation modes on the other hand, are defined as situationally determined, adaptive, and "emergent".

While the authors review numerous pertinent works on language behaviour, the theories of Fearing, and Ruesch and Bateson on the effect and use of rules in conversations,

point most decisively to the focus of this chapter, and to folkloristic investigations into language use in general.[49] The premise of these theories is that two-person communication is possible only within a matrix of reciprocal social rules. For example, McGuire and Lorch note that "it is clear that the language conduct rules for the initiation of a conversation are brought into the 'average' new situation by both participants", and that "Orientation" (see Chapter II for a discussion of Orientation as a structural feature of narrative), in its function to initiate conversation, complies with a socially learned pattern.[50]

With the completion of the orientation phase, conversation switches into "modes". McGuire and Lorch delineate four types of modes, each of which implies a different means and end in language. The third mode, "interrogation" - language used by the interrogator to obtain certain information or to perceive how the listener processes the question itself, and language used by the interrogated participant to respond, appear to respond, or evade the interrogation - and the fourth mode, "clarification" - language used by a participant to clarify what he perceives as a misunderstanding, or to change the listener's perspective, and language used by the respondent to display his knowledge, understanding, and position during the clarification - are not relevant to

the data presented in this chapter. The first mode, "associational", and the second mode, "problem-solving", do characterize the nature of the conversational data.

The "associational" mode of conversation refers to language used for "the mutual display of experiences and thoughts related to each other through association(s)."[51] This mode is one of "casual conversation" in which each participant contributes to the exchange by sharing experiences, ideas, and observations, by responding to the speaker's comments and narratives both verbally and non-verbally, and by complying with the tacit rules of a conversation structure based on associationally related topics. Most important for the analysis of folkloric expression in conversation, is the stylistic dimension of this mode:

> There is little attempt to question exaggerations or seemingly untrue statements because they are considered "style" rather than accurate reporting...Word choice is as much for emotive and for "style" reasons as it is for discursive accuracy. Measuring is less frequently noted than in any of the other modes, a point which logically follows from the less restricted uses of language.[52]

The associational mode, in this way, provides the likely context for the emergence of folkloric expression. No one function, stylistic/emotive or discursive, predominates in the

nature of communication within this mode of casual conversation. While "measuring" may certainly be less frequent with respect to discursive accuracy as McGuire and Lorch maintain, "measuring" in relation to the stylistic aspect of language use, as performance-oriented studies in folklore and sociolinguistics demonstrate, must be regarded as a necessary concomitant of stylized or performed utterances.

The "problem-solving" mode involves language "used to convey factual knowledge and/or ideas which are comprehensible to both participants and which may be logically or experientially related to the agreed upon goals of the conversation: the problem(s) to be solved."[53] In this mode, the setting of the goal (the problem to be solved) also establishes the specific language conduct used in the pursuit of that goal. Statements and the actual use of words in this mode are more carefully measured and more precise than in the associational mode. A theme is continuous and contextualizes utterances that are directed toward the issue or problem at hand. Upon agreement or resolve, there is "closure" and a new conversational mode may be inaugurated.

The data to follow will illustrate both associational and problem-solving modes of conversation, and the relationship

of these modes to folkloric expression, in particular, the conversational narrative.

The Data: Talk, Narrative, and Identity

The talk transcribed below is typical of the manner in which these townies deride their rural counterparts, the baymen. This talk must be understood as joking in nature.[54] In Chapter II it was suggested that the conversational speech event and the narrative speech act are reciprocally related, and together constitute the activity of stylization, an activity at the basis of folkloric communication in the interactional/exchange circumstance of talk. While folklorists have tended to separate spoken genres into conversational and narrative forms,[55] an alternate perspective was presented which argued that the reciprocity between talk and stories demonstrates an interface between folkloric speech and natural conversation, and establishes stylization as a communicative process that involves a distinct continuity between folkloric performance occasioned by conversation and the conversation itself. In this way, talk frames conversational narrative, and defines not only the content but the tone of that narrative. In this case, joking talk is both associational and problem-solving in its modes, is a feature of casual, leisure contexts (in the kitchen, at a bar), and

can be regarded as a demonstration of sociability within this group.

James Leary, in his analysis of "recreational talk" notes that conversational exchanges involve a rapid turn-taking between participants and are open-ended, "sustained, abandoned, or interrupted at will." These exchanges are contrasted to narrative genres which possess a plot or an extended commentary, and a separation of roles between a performer and an audience.[56] In the activity of stylization however, narrative genres can be understood to be a product of conversational exchanges which impart topic and tone to these genres.

The following represents the recreational talk of a group of townie Newfoundlanders. These conversations, narratives, and jokes take place in the most common and traditional context for social interaction in Newfoundland - the kitchen. Present besides myself, are Jim, the host, and his two best friends, Richard and Tom. (All names have been changed upon request of the participants.) It is evening, and the friends gather, as they always do, to engage in beer-drinking and "bullshitting".

Martin: Can you explain the townie versus bayman graffiti on the washroom walls in the university?

Jim: That's all written by baymen. They're bad fucking, you know. There's something. You wanna talk about townie's view of baymen. I mean, baymen are weird fucking creatures, I'm telling you, you know.

Richard: You see, there's baymen, and then there's a step up from baymen, and there's townie. Baymen are stupid baymen, right. But as you get closer to an urban area, you get in-between bayman and townie.

Jim: Yeah, that's Harbour Grace, Carbonear, and of course Grand Falls, Gander and Corner Brook. But gettin' right out there, in there to the baymen...

Richard: (interrupting) The raw, the raw of Newfoundland, the raw.

Jim: They're very, very simple people, therefore very stupid, you know, in some cases, you know.

Richard: Like I remember going down, and this was no more than four or five years ago, to this place called S. Cove. And my wife and I went over to the store to walk around. And this man we stayed with, he was the richest in the area, the richest in the area, right. His name was William D. He made his money from ships, you know. Two sank on him and he got insurance on them and then retired. The cargo vessels, you know, along the coast. And he's loaded with money, the last one to get electricity in the village, the whole bit.

Jim: He was the first one.

Richard: The last one.

Jim: Why?

Richard: He didn't want it, you know.

Jim: Oh, he was tight?

Richard: Yes, tight as anything.

Jim: Oh, alright, gotcha.

Richard: And so anyway, people knew we were staying there, the biggest house on the hill, the whole bit, you know. And so we went to the store. We had to go around the general store, had everything there, you know, everything. Everything you can imagine, I mean blankets, the whole bit. There's rubber gloves, boots, everything boy.

Jim: But there was a bayman there as well.

Richard: Well there was a bayman and his wife serving, and there was three people in the store. So we went in and the bell rang and everybody stopped and looked at us. Turned around, kept lookin' at us. Buddy behind the counter stopped doing things, you know. So we smiled. And we went on, all around the store lookin' at stuff, you know. And we turned around and they were still lookin' at us, boy. And they'd be lookin' right at us.

Jim: They don't try to hide it see cause they don't think that's bad to stare. They're baymen.

Richard: (laughing) Baymen, yeah, they're raw boy, they're raw.

Jim: I can see that too, boy, mouths open.

Richard: Oh yeah, you know, we go up to the counter, I don't know what we had, just a couple of bars. We just went out for a walk. So they moved out of the way, right, you know. Moved back, two or three paces back, you. Very little talk from them still, you know.

Jim: Very bashful people. They're very mannerly, baymen are mannerly. Now I don't mean they say "Excuse me" after they belch, right. I don't mean that kind of manherly. Because they'd probably throw up and think nothing of it. But they're very mannerly. Now you'll notice that a bayman will always call you "Sir", no matter how old he is, even if you see an old-timer about seventy years old, you know. And if you say, "Yes, good day," he'll say "Good day, sir," Always say, "Sir".

Tom: You notice that baymen have their hands in their pockets all the time?

Jim: They're whippin' themselves, you know. They're a horny bunch (laughter), baymen are horny. Yes now, baymen are stunned. There are no two ways about it.

Richard: There are no two ways about it.

Jim: Now my brother Ed called in the other day. He has a little grocery and confection store, right, in S.Cove. And that's what's gonna bring him back to town, is the baymen. They're drivin' him fuckin' crazy, that's why he wants to come back. He can't take the baymen anymore. The last straw was the other day. He said this old-timer came in, he said, he just came back from [?]. And he gets into the store. Ed is freakin' the people out cause he has carpet on the floor, you know. And he even did the inside all in wood, and he keeps his radio around on C.B.C., and he has an eight-track, and he's freakin' them out. The baymen never heard that, you know. But Ed is from town. And he sits in a rocking chair and plays the guitar like, see, you know, while there's no one there. He freaks the baymen out altogether. They can't fathom that, you know. (laughs)

So in came this old-timer just back from [?], and he walked inside and the first thing he did when he got inside, he closed the door, then he stamped his feet, eh, to get the snow and muck off. And this went on Ed's carpet, you know. So then buddy comes over and he asks Ed if he wants to buy some turrs. Ed could just smell turrs, like he'd been out shootin' all day. So Ed says, "Nope."

So then he looks at him and says, (Jim imitates a bayman accent) "I wants one of them cister cones." Like custard cones, right. And you know the bottom of the cone, comes to a point, right. So he wouldn't eat it normally, you see. He put it up in the air, right, and nipped the bottom of the cone, you know, bit that off, right, and sucked the entire contents of the cone down through. And Ed said, there he was tryin' to serve other people

and all he could hear was (Jim makes a sucking noise). He said the man ate the cone down through. So he called here, you know, called and said, "Please man, please come and get me, I can't hack these baymen anymore."

And they calls him "Mr. D., kin I haves a cistir cone." And Ed goes over, he says to them now as he grits the machine, "Here's your cistir' cone," he says. (laughter)

You realize what's happened? We've gotten modernized, see, we've gotten modernized. Like now we're cool, right. But I can remember that I wouldn't laugh at a bayman while I was growing up, you know. Well I mean my parents were baymen, right. All my relatives, all these bay relatives would come to visit.

And okay, let me tell you something. The St. John's that I grew up in is different than the St. John's now, because this city is after growing in the past ten years.

Richard: Past five to eight years.

Jim: Yeah, but especially the past ten to fifteen years, and we've moved up from a Halifax to a Toronto.

Richard: As far as we're concerned, as far as this city's concerned.

Jim: Like there was no crime right, no murders, you know. Like I remember hearing about my first murder when I was 14. Some woman on Patrick Street murdered. And why, the whole fucking town was freaked out, you know. So there was very little crime that we heard about, right. I mean murders and such. There was always poundings-out, and robberies and stuff. I always lived in the west end. Now there's something you can talk about, different ends of the city. You grew up in the east end, didn't you?

Richard: No boy, I'm from the south side.

John: Well, you're west.

Richard: South side, south side.

Jim: That's a toughy too.

Richard: Yeah. South side was just like the south side of the Bronx, you know, the waterfront.

Jim: You came from a tough neighbourhood. (Looking out the window) Can you see it from here?

Richard: Where the big hole is down behind Sears warehouse.

Jim: Did I ever tell you that big white house was where I was born. I was born on the south side. Hey compadre.

Richard: Hey.

Jim: I don't know. I lay it on the line. I think they're the most honest people, there's no crime. I mean, my fuck, you go out there and your car breaks down, and they'll rebuild you an engine. Boy, they're so practical. They're hospitable and hardworking and stuff, but they got their different ways about them, you know, they've got their different ways.

Richard: Just like backwoods people, boy. And you associate that word, "bayman" with someone who makes a stupid move, or stupid act, or acts stupid, right. What was the word they would use in another city?

Jim: Schmuck.

Richard: Yeah, schmuck.

Jim: Richard and I would play for baymen, play for baymen when we had our band. Well, the first thing you do is set up your gear, right. A bayman will come up and look at you. (Jim imitates a bayman. He gets up from the kitchen table and stands with a slouch and his hands shoved deep in his pockets.) I'm settin' up my drums and he's sayin', "Play us a tune on those drums." Well what the fuck do you say? I says, "I can't play anything without other instruments." "Oh," he says, "Play us something, play us some sort of tune," he says. What can you do. Fuck.

Richard: When we think of Newfie jokes we think of laughin' at the baymen, it's funny boy.

Jim: You hear of the Newfoundland ballerina who did the splits and stuck to the floor? I'd say she hadn't washed in a while. (Laughter) Why did two Newfs push their house down over a hill? They wanted to jump start the furnace. (Laughter) When the townies elected Dorothy Wyatt as a mayor, that took away from our credibility man, we suffered from that one, you know. It's gonna take us a long while to get over that one, you know. The baymen definitely pulled ahead on that one.

Richard: Yeah.

Jim: Wanna hear the latest Newfie joke I heard? It's about this Newf who was taking lessons to parachute.

So he went through his training, jumped out. They had springs to get the feeling of jumping off a tower. Did all that, so finally it came time boy, goin' up in the sky, eh.

So he gets up there, the Sarge says, "Alright, next." The Newf struts forward, you know. The Sarge says, "Get all ready now." Buddy says, "No sir, I've changed my mind," he says, "I'm not goin' out there, you know, not fucking likely," he says, "Look how far down it is, you know." The Sarge says, "Boy, look," he says, "man, you've done all your lessons, you've done really well, you got to go now," he says, "I'll help you through the door," he says. "As soon as you get out, just yell 'Geronimo' and pull that fuckin' cord, that's all you gotta do."

He kept edging the Newf up to the fuckin' door, and all the while the Newf kept saying, "No", he wasn't going. So the Sarge gets him right up by the doors and he says, "Don't forget, I'll help you out. Just say 'Geronimo' pull the cord." While buddy is shaking his head, the fucking Sarge gives it to him, slogged him out through the door, right. Closed the door. He says, "That's fucking great now, he's out."

He walks on up near the cockpit. He hears a

knock on the airplane door. (Jim knocks on a cupboard door.) He says, "There's no way, you know." Sure enough... (Jim knocks again). So he goes back and opens up the big fucking door of the jet, and there's the Newf flappin' his arms, flyin' alongside, sayin', "What the fuck was the name of that Indian?"

Richard: We went out ice-fishing two weekends ago. And we never went prepared. All we took was an auger, bob-worms, and a little bit of string and the hooks, right. 'Cause usually when you go fishing, you should have the house, the whole bit, right, a little bit of a fire and everything. We went off and had some stick ("stick-weed" marijuana), that was fine for us. So we had the stick and we had the van, and we walked about a mile and a half across the pond, ffeezing you know, just with that auger and a little thing of worms, right.

And we got out there in the middle of the pond, and going around and around with auger, and the auger wouldn't work, couldn't get it to work. So we tried again and we came so far, and we try again, and the blades were no good see, on the auger. It down about that much (shows about 6 inches with his hands), and the ice was about 2 feet thick. And the two of us just lookin' down at the hole, not goin' nowhere.

And we were out of it, yeah. We couldn't get the auger to work. So we said to each other, "Here we are now look, two stupid Newfoundlanders, can't even get a hole in the ice."

So we seen a couple of other guys about a half mile down the pond, you know, smoke comin' up and everything. So we beat it down and got their auger, see. (laughing) You're goin' ice-fishing and have to ask to borrow an auger. Go back and bored the hole. The boys come and get their auger as they were goin', you know. Just bored one hole, about two feet, and we put the worm on the hook and everything, you know, and put it down. And we hadn't got through the ice completely. There was a little ring of ice at the bottom of the hole, and then there was a small hole in the middle that let the water up, see. So we dropped

our lines, we figured, well, two feet and we got past the ice and another foot and a half down the hole, right.

So we were there about 30 minutes, you know, every now and then you'd get the jig, you'd get the jig every now and then. And finally we were scooping up the ice that used to form in the hole there, and we looked down and our lines were resting on that edge of ice down at the bottom of the hole. Worms and the hook, it wasn't even in the water. And we were waitin' there for a bite for about half an hour. (laughing)

We immediately took the auger, threw the worms, everything in the hole. That was the end of it. Two stupid Newfoundlanders. That's another Newfie joke.

Jim: Well Newfie jokes, when somebody refers to a Newfie joke, it's a bayman that they're talkin' about, not a townie. See, that's why I don't mind Newfie jokes, cause they're not about me.

Richard: Sometimes you even say it's a Newfie joke, just to spice it up a bit. You stick a Newfoundlander into it.

Jim: Yeah, you say, "There was this fuckin' big bayman." You know why you never tell a Newfie joke to a bayman? 'Cause he wouldn't understand it.

Richard: When I tell a Newfie joke, I don't picture me. It's the bayman.

Tom: Boys, did you hear the one about the bayman in the sawmill. There was this really stupid bayman went to work in a sawmill, and it was his first day there, and he's tryin' to impress his boss, you know. And his job was to take a sledge off the side of the logs as they went through to make them sort of square, right.

So he was down boy, had eye down, see, drew a line, you know. Had her down there perfect, boy. And the circular saw lopped his ear off, eh. And it got whisked off up the conveyor belt, and went into this great pile of shavings.

So buddy went right off his head, eh, I mean he wanted to get it back figuring it could be sewed on. So he called all his buddies over to help him look, and they're goin' through the shavings. And one guy picked it up and said, "Here man, here, is this it?" Buddy said, "No," he said, "that's not it. Mine had a pencil behind it." (laughter) "Looks like it," he said, "but mine had a pencil behind it."

Jim: Excellent, that's a really good one. That's a fucking dandy.

Tom: "Looks like it," he said, "but mine had a pencil behind it."

Jim: You see man, this is the whole fucking thing. Being a townie Newfoundlander means that you have all the cool of St. John's, okay, dope, entertainment, I mean this town is fine for me. Okay, I know that Toronto's a hell of a lot more, but it's still enough. But I still have the character of a Newf. So I consider townies to be the perfect middle of the road. In five minutes I can be in a fishing village, you know, and in five minutes I can be in a wild disco. St. John's to me is the best of both worlds.

The commentary of Brunton, Overton and Sacouman on the social and historical basis of folk song as cultural expression, is appropriate to the case of narrative folklore presented here. They write:

> Song parallels the structures of feeling and the concerns of particular groups within society. Song is shaped within this framework and in turn shapes it. But cultural creation always proceeds on the foundations of past structures (class, ethnicity, locality) incorporating and modifying them. It is important therefore that, 'we should start any analysis by looking for contradictions, taboos, displacements in a culture, as

well as unities. [57]

The narrative folklore of this group of townies "proceeds on the foundations of past structures", in particular, those determining structures of a dual economy, described at the beginning of this chapter, which contributed to establish a degree of "displacement" in Newfoundland culture. This displacement is understood here to have its consequences in the dichotomous relationship of townies and baymen. Conversational narratives and jokes not only parallel "the structures of feeling and the concerns" of the townies, but articulate and document those structures, and order cultural experience in the service of identity.

It must be understood that this talk is of a joking nature as evidenced by the humorous tone of the conversational narratives, and the eventual and natural transition into a series of jokes. There are however, a number of junctures in the conversation, evaluative commentaries, in which joking talk is suspended to provide an appropriate environment for a point which is to be taken seriously, and without the undercurrent of humour that pervades the rest of the conversation. This dynamic in the conversation is apparent in the exchanges between Jim and Richard following the completion of Jim's narrative about his brother Ed in S. Cove and

before his next narrative concerning his encounter with a bayman while playing in a band with Richard. Jim offers an exposition, serious in tone, on the virtuous bayman. He feels the need to interrupt the convention of the conversational flow, that is, its joking tone, to provide a serious perspective on the topic under discussion. It is at these serious points that the conversation, which is generally in the associational mode, undergoes a transition into a problem solving mode. The jocular tone, consonant with the casual conversation of the associational mode, gives way to the concerns and language of a problem solving mode. Jim initiates the evaluative problem mode and Richard offers assenting participation in this mode.

Significantly, Jim's introduction of a problem-solving mode is ultimately frustrated by the already established and prevailing associational mode. The tacit understanding of the participants involves an agreement to maintain joking talk, and accordingly, the serious dimensions of expression appear as interjections in an overall casual structure of conversational exchange where stylized expression is more appropriate and frequent. Insofar as this event is recurrent and typical - for indeed, as noted earlier, this group gathers often to talk, joke and drink beer, to engage in an activity of sociability essential to the definition and

maintenance of the group - the participants have established a customary pattern and style of interactive behaviour. This pattern and style is constituted by the unstated agreement to engage in joking talk.

The dominance of joking talk in the communicative conventions of this group is evident at almost all stages of this conversational/narrative event. The joking tone can be regarded in terms of what Georges refers to as the "social use" of every storytelling event: "Social uses are the actual uses the participants conceive the whole storytelling event or any one or more of its aspects to have for themselves and for other participants in the storytelling event (for example, to pass the time, to teach a lesson, to explain or describe some social or physical phenomenon)."[58] The key to understanding the social use of the event under consideration is the tone of that event, a tone established as a convention of interaction, facilitated by, and a consequence of the intimate relationships of the participants, and articulated through narrative folklore. Social uses of the storytelling event (which, in this thesis, is the conversational event), are reflected in the tone of communication between the participants in that event.

The completeness of the joking tone is evident in the direction of the entire conversation. Clearly, the exchange of conversational narratives to address the subject of townie-bayman distinctions becomes an exchange of jokes at the end of the conversation to address the same subject. The transition from the analytical categories of narrative to joke is both natural and unselfconscious. Jim initiates a joke-telling sequence with his "one-liner" - "You hear of the Newfoundland Ballerina who did the splits and stuck to the floor?" - prompted by Richard's leading comment, "When we think of Newfie jokes we think of laughin' at the baymen, it's funny boy." Jim's first extended joke about "this Newf who was taking lessons to parachute" is responded to by what can be termed a "conversational narrative-told-as-joke". This genre/use of folkloric expression arises out of the pattern and style, and complies with the tacit rules of this joking talk. Richard's narrative of personal experience is, according to his concluding comment, "another Newfie joke", and as such, can be regarded as appropriate to the demands of this conversational event. There is then, a comprehensive and orienting joking tone to the conversational exchange. This tone provides context and meaning for both the social uses and genres of folklore within the event, whether conversational narrative, joke, or narrative-told-as-joke.

The folkloric expression of this conversation utilizes and indeed, depends upon the symbolic value of the bayman image. This image serves the dual function of providing a stereotypical character for a predictable, almost standardized joke and narrative theme, and at the same time, defines and sustains the superior townie image cultivated by the participants. It was suggested earlier in this chapter that the culture of any group is constituted by conventional understandings upon which modes of communication are established and proceed. In this way, a "universe of discourse" develops within a group, a manner of categorizing and evaluating relevant experience through the utilization of a particular set of symbols. Joking talk, and a predominant associational mode of this talk, characterizes the way in which these townies make sense of their experience by expressive means. The primary symbol employed in the conversational folklore of this group is the bayman stereotype. It is through this stereotype that the townies define and reinforce their own identity, or in other words, the bayman stereotype is one of the "identity discriminations" (a concept introduced earlier in this chapter) used by these individuals to display their commonality and affiliation to the townie segment of Newfoundland society. Further, the folklore generated by this identity discrimination elaborates the relationship between differential identities within

Newfoundland, that is, between townies and baymen.

Yet there is a distinct ambivalence in the derisory treatment of the bayman by these townies. At the basis of this ambivalence is an understanding that these apparently dichotomous domains in Newfoundland society in fact function in a symbiotic relationship. While remaining grounded in a standard image of North American urban society, these townies acknowledge "the bay", the culture of tradition in the Newfoundland outport community, as fundamental to Newfoundland character and identity. As Jim states,

> You realize what's happened? We've gotten modernized, see, we've gotten modernized. Like now we're cool, right. But I can remember that I wouldn't laugh at a bayman while I was growing up, you know. Well I mean my parents were baymen, right. All my relatives, all these bay relatives would come to visit.

The "character of a Newf", Jim suggests later in the conversation, is having access to both worlds --St. John's and "around the bay".

A degree of social disorganization is unquestionably expressed in the narrative folklore of the townies. "In town" and "around the bay" represent independent systems of norms, and there is a definite clash of the values embodied

by these norms. While this disorganization, as evidenced by the dichotomous relationship of townies and baymen, is deep-rooted in previously analyzed economic, historical, social and political factors, it exists within a larger structure that integrates these factions without diminishing their vital differences - that is, the structure of identity, specifically the identity of being a Newfoundlander.

Concluding Note

Watson and Potter have pointed to the image or identity exploration process involved in "sociable interaction". They argue that "sociable interaction gives form to the image of self and the image of the other; it gives validity and continuity to the individual's self-esteem."[59] Through various styles of conversation in these activities of sociability, conversational interactants will affirm, assert, or reinforce personal identities, or stimulate a basis for commonality upon which identities coincide, and to a degree, are shared. The narratives considered in this chapter are conversational resources that establish, develop, and validate both self and group identity in the context of sociable interaction. Conversational narratives then, are vehicles through which group solidarity is both defined and validated, while individual "self-esteem" is enhanced.

At the beginning of this chapter, it was noted that within the complexity of a social order, identity may serve as a strategy in social life whereby individuals achieve commonality by sharing the same systems of categories for perceiving and evaluating experiences, events, and others. Similarly, identity may serve as a strategy in cultural life, unifying apparently antagonistic segments of society, those differential identities, into a greater common cultural system. In the Newfoundland example we see that identity, as Goodenough suggests, is based in the social order, but it may have consequences in the encompassing cultural realm. Szwed, building on Wallace's theory of culture, offers the same argument, though stated in a somewhat different manner.[60] He maintains that the participants in a cultural system need not understand correctly, or share the motives underlying each other's behaviour. "Instead," notes Szwed, "they need only hold cognitive models of social behavior which are complementary to the point of producing predictable and equivalent results, i.e. working sustaining social relationships."[61] In this sense, culture structures the differences within society, provides a context, a framework for those differences, or in Wallace's terms, "makes possible the maximal organization of diversity."[62] The ambivalence in the townies' treatment of the bayman is,then an expression of the viability of Newfoundland culture in organizing the

diversity of its society, and in ordering and sustaining the relationship between the differential identities within that society.

Notes for Chapter IV

[1]Adapted from Shibutani's definitional analysis of "reference group". See Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," in Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research, eds. Herbert H. Hyman and Eleanor Singer (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 107.

[2]Tom Philbrook, Fisherman, Logger, Merchant, Miner: Social Change and Industrialism in Three Newfoundland Communities (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), p. 1, fn. 1.

[3]Ralph Matthews, "There's No Better Place Than Here": Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1976), p. 13.

[4]Ibid., p. 14.

[5]See Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic State and Prospects of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's, 1977.

[6]I have relied on Philbrook's survey of Newfoundland political and economic history, pp. 7 - 10. See also G.O. Rothney, Newfoundland: From International Fishery to Canadian Province (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Society, 1959).

[7]Matthews, p. 21.

[8]Ibid.

[9]See Louis Wirth's definition and treatment of the phenomenon of "social disorganization" in his essay "Ideological Aspects of Social Disorganization," in Louis Wirth: On Cities and Social Life, ed. Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 44 - 59.

[10]Ibid., pp. 47 - 48.

[11]Ibid., p. 231.

[12]Ward H. Goodenough, Cooperation in Change (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963), p. 177. For parallel theories, see George H. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), and Anselm L. Strauss, Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959).

[13]Goodenough, p. 177.

[14]Ibid., p. 187.

[15]Richard Bauman, "Differential Identity and the Social Base of Folklore," in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, eds. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), p. 32.

[16]Jan Brunvand, The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction (New York: Norton, 1968; rev. ed. 1978); Alan Dundes, Ed., The Study of Folklore (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965); Barre Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979).

[17]Toelken, p. 51.

[18]Bauman, p. 33.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Toelken, pp. 80 - 82; see Marvin Opler, "Japanese Folk Beliefs and Practices, Tule Lake, California," Journal of American Folklore, 63 (1950), 385 - 397.

[21]Bauman, p. 33.

[22]Ibid., p. 34.

[23]Ibid., p. 38.

[24]See my article "'The Bayman Food Market is in the Townie Dump': Identity and the Townie Newfoundlander," Culture & Tradition, 3 (1978), pp. 7 - 16.

[25]Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," The American Journal of Sociology, 52 (1947), 293 - 308, and "The Natural History of the Folk Society," Social Forces, 31 (1953), 224 - 228.

[26]In particular, see Robert Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, The City (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

[27]Redfield, 1947.

[28]The primitive romantic impulse, especially in folklore studies, is noted in this way in their Marxist analysis of folksong by R. Brunton, J. Overton, and J. Sacouman, "Uneven Underdevelopment and Song: Culture and Development in the Maritimes," in Communication Studies in Canada, ed. Liora Salter (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), p. 108. The authors discuss romantic idealized notions of folk culture in part to answer questions posed:

> First, why is folklore in the English language characterized by strong anti-modernist tendencies and guilty of what A.L. Lloyd calls "primitive romanticism with a vengeance"? Second, and linked with the romantic tendencies, why is the main approach to the music of the folk (in the English language) idealistic and anti-materialist and hence antithetical to Marxism?

[29]See Redfield's review of the theories contributing to this dualistic view of societies, including the works of Lewis, Bourne, Maine, De Coulanges, Morgan, Tönnies, Durkheim, and the Chicago School, in The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 132 - 148.

[30]Ferdinand Tönnies, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft (Leipzig: H. Buske, 1935); trans. Charles P. Loomis as Community and Society (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1957).

[31]Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947).

[32]George M. Foster, "What is Folk Culture?", American Anthropologist, 55 (1953), p. 162.

[33]Goodenough, p. 204.

[34]This phrase is borrowed from Redfield, 1955, the title of Chapter IX.

[35]Herbert H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," Archives of Psychology, 269 (1942), pp. 5 - 38, 80 - 86.

[36]A restatement of an argument by Robert K. Merton and Alice Kitt Rossi, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Hyman and Singer, p. 35.

[37]Bauman does make note of Merton's concept of "role set" to state a basic principle of reference group theory; that is, "interaction may take place between people playing different, complementary roles as well as parallel roles." See Bauman, 1972, pp. 33 - 34.

[38]These functions are named and defined by Harold H. Kelley, "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in Hyman and Singer, pp. 77 - 83.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., p. 78.

[41]Shibutani, p. 105.

[42]I have borrowed and adapted this term from John R.P. French and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," in Studies in Social Power, ed. Dorwin Cartwright (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), pp. 150 - 167.

[43]Shibutani, p. 105.

[44]Robert Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 132; quoted by Shibutani, p. 106.

[45]Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups and Social Control," in Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach, ed. Arnold M. Rose (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 136.

[46]Shibutani suggests the linguistic examples of argot and dialect.

[47]Nessa Wolfson, "Speech Events and Natural Speech: Some Implications for Sociolinguistic Methodology," Language in Society, 5 (1976), p. 205.

[48]Michael T. McGuire and Stephen Lorch, "Natural Language Conversation Modes," Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 146 (1968), p. 239.

[49]F. Fearing, "Toward a Psychological Theory of Human Communication," Journal of Personality, 22 (1953), 71 - 78; J. Ruesch and Gregory Bateson, Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry (New York: Norton, 1951); discussed by McGuire and Lorch, pp. 240 - 241.

[50]McGuire and Lorch, p. 241.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid., p. 242.

[53]Ibid.

[54]For an in-depth treatment of joking talk, its genres and its role in group dynamics, see James P. Leary, "Recreational Talk Among White Adolescents," Western Folklore, 39 (1980), 284 - 299.

[55]Ibid., p. 288. See also Roger D. Abrahams, "A Rhetoric of Everyday Life: Traditional Conversational Genres," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 32 (1968), 44 - 59, and "The Complex Relations of Simple Forms," Genre, 2 (1969), 104 - 128.

[56]Leary, p. 288.

[57]Brunton, Overton and Sacouman, p. 112.

[58]Robert A. Georges, "Toward an Understanding of Storytelling Events," Journal of American Folklore, 82 (1969), p. 319.

[59]Jeanne Watson and Robert J. Potter, "An Analytic Unit for the Study of Interaction," Human Relations, 15 (1962), p. 246.

[60]John Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations In a Newfoundland Peasant Society (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), and Anthony F.C. Wallace, Culture and Personality (New York: Random House, 1961).

[61]Szwed, p. 7.

[62]Wallace, p. 41; quoted in Szwed, p. 7.

V FOLKLORISTICS, CONVERSATION AND LANGUAGE: A SURVEY AND EXAMINATION OF CONTROVERSIES

At the basis of any analysis of the relationship between narrative and talk, between a mode of folkloric speech and natural discourse, is the larger issue of the relationship between the referential function of language ("standard" language) and the aesthetic function of language ("poetic" language).[1] This standard language-poetic language distinction, defined and treated in folkloristic, anthropological, linguistic, and literary theories on the nature of verbal art, is central to the thesis postulated here that suggests a distinct continuity between the folkloric performance of narrative occasioned by, and situated in conversation, and the conversation itself (a continuity referred to as the "activity of stylization"). A survey of these theories as they relate to conversational narrative in folklore however, must be founded on certain primary and precedent theories, problems, and treatments in folkloristics. Accordingly, the overall survey of this chapter is comprised of three separate but interrelated surveys which inform one another, and which ultimately focus on the essential problem of the relationship between talk and storytelling in everyday life: (1) Personal Experience and Narrative Form in Folklore (2) Conversation in Folkloristics (3) The Relationship

Between Standard Language and Poetic Language.

(1) Personal Experience and Narrative Form in Folklore

The recognition of "the informal and spontaneous stories growing out of everyday experiences",[2] emerged from early genre-based studies in which certain narrative materials were viewed as difficult to classify into traditional folk narrative types, and were often regarded as transition or combination forms involving two genres. Von Sydow's definition of narrative based on personal experience, the "Memorat", emphasized the interrelation of this form with others, and particularly with the legend. The "Erinnerungssage" evolves as a "Memorat" is retold by others, and "Personenfabulat" embodies characteristics of both the "Erinnerungssage" and the jest.[3] Jolles' "einfache Formen", those genres which are the foundation of the more complex "Gattungen" of written literature, include two forms which point to the concept of everyday experience in narrative - "Kasus" and "Memorabile".[4] "Kasus", as Utley notes, "relate to exempla and the cases of moral casuistry (the German means merely 'incident')", while "Memorabile" refer to factual reports which lack a super-natural element.[5] Clearly, the "Memorabile" closely coincides with von Sydow's "Memorat".

The transmutability of oral genres into literary genres, or the transformation of the simple to the complex, is a basic element of Jolles' theory of genres. An essential mental activity, Jolles reasoned, was the transformation of words into forms under given conditions and around distinct fields of meaning. As Ben-Amos explains, "'einfache Formen' are the primary, most elemental manifestations of these fields of meaning; 'kunst Formen', artistic genres, are more complex and historically more recent representations of the same fields of meaning."[6] Wesselski, who defined an informal narrative form in the "Geschichte", regarded it in a parallel manner to Jolles' concept of the transmutation of forms, and specifically as an initial stage of epic genres of literature.[7]

Kurt Ranke's modification of Jolles' theory, and his observations on the blending of forms of folk narrative, address the problems of studying tales in the contemporary context.[8] "Einfache Formen", according to Ranke, are folklore forms that represent psychological human needs, and which have maintained their primary nature - in other words, have not necessarily transformed into complex forms - because of their functional and fundamental psychological dimension. In this way, the analytical focus shifts from the transformation of genres themselves to the "transformation of themes and motifs as they adjust to the respective narrative

frameworks of particular forms."[9] The transformation process occurs then, as themes and motifs conform to the conventions and structure of a particular kind of folklore. In this process, the "narrative framework" of primary forms can be viewed as extremely flexible and easily combined, especially in the contemporary urban situation.

In essence, Ranke's theories follow and re-work the "twin ideas" at the basis of the traditional literary/genre-oriented comparativist perspective: the universality of folklore and the variability of texts.[10] Numerous other studies of experience narratives have demonstrated a similar set of premises and orientation as they analyze content for traditional folktale elements, and search for a classification scheme according to correspondent themes to older narrative forms. Dégh's characterization of "true experience stories" for example, suggests that these stories function as parallels, even replacements for older folktale forms:

> No matter how loose the structure and how flexible the framework of these everyday stories, they tend to follow the trend of the more established genres. They use such devices as threefold repetition, dramatized dialogues, and endings signaled with a bang....In examining their contents one can see why the true story easily assumes the role of traditional narration.[11]

Further, Dégh notes, experience stories can be classified according to topic.[11] Her preliminary system includes labour reminiscences, autobiographical stories, and emigrant and immigrant stories.

Ilona Dobos draws a more detailed categorization of "true stories" in a definition of this genre in terms of narratives based on "biographical notes" and "memories".[12] "True-Story Categories" in Dobos' view, are comprised of stories about childhood (often memories of great fears, frights and sufferings experienced in youth), stories of women (experiences often centered around first love and family life), stories of men (hero or "I-really-gave-it-to-him" stories), war adventure stories, family stories, erotic and obscene stories, entertainment stories, horror stories, robber stories, love dramas, and educational stories. This mélange of categories, while certainly comprehensive, is a confusion of uses, functions, purposes, and themes, and points to the futility of attempting to treat experience narratives in the manner in which Märchen and legend have been studied from a comparativist perspective.

It should be noted that Dobos is concerned with experience narratives in the rural and traditional folk community, but

does offer some unfortunate remarks on the relationship between these narratives and the nature of urban life:

> City life does not lend occasion for the telling of this kind of long story, and the ample opportunities for entertainment draw their potential audience away. The stories are still most popular in those places where reading has not become a popular pastime. [13]

This thesis of course, suggests an antithetical notion - the experience narrative, long or brief, is particularly compatible with, is generated by, and responds to urban life. As a form of folkloric expression, the experience story functions as an analogue to experience, and demonstrates the pluralistic nature of social and cultural life in cities.

While the urban perspective was dealt with in the introductory chapter, it should be reiterated here that a substantial number of folklore studies, often of diverse approach methods, theoretical bases, and subject matter concerns, have defined the crucial connections between folkloric expression and the urban context.[14] A survey of these works as they relate to narrative forms, reveals a definite emphasis on legend materials in the urban settings, and in particular, the relationship of these materials to the mass media.[15] The most pertinent and insightful treatments of the experience narrative however, have come from

recent studies in the field of occupational folklore, and it is this field that provides the most thorough and critical statement on the role and import of the experience narrative form in urban life.

Most notable of these treatments is Robert S. McCarl's discussion of the "occupational personal experience story", and its tendency to subserve both cognitive and interactional functions.[16] McCarl interprets Siegfried Neumann's concept of "mittlepunkt",[17] a concept which pointed to the fact that "oral expressions cluster around a middle point (when viewed by the ethnographer) between the day to day concerns of group members on the one hand and unusual occurrences or dramatic events or accident accounts on the other."[18] The middle point concept, according to McCarl, enables the researcher to conceptualize the expressions of a given occupational group as situated along a continuum between the polar extremes of mundane conversational modes and descriptions of unusual or supernatural occurrences. In no way is the continuum meant to categorize narratives, but rather is meant to gauge the recurrence of "middle point" expressions as these expressions serve to order work experience and articulate the central concerns (usually centered around disruptive incidents to the work process) held by the group.

Further, McCarl's argument suggests that the actual structure and function of the work experience narrative alters with context and audience, a fact related to the esoteric dimension of such expression. A narrative related within the group will likely be told in "the verbal shorthand of jargon or in fragmented form". When told to an outsider however, the same narrative will be elaborated, and extended with explanation that modifies or radically changes the form and function. As McCarl notes,

> For example, a fire account or fully elaborated occupational experience narrative told by an urban fire fighter to a fellow fireman might take two minutes to recount with such compacted terms as "we had a roast on our hands - the Loo told Lewis to take the nob." The same story told to an audience of outsiders demands the explanation of these terms which not only extends the narrative, but also refocuses its function from specific to general education and entertainment.[19]

Jack Santino's observations concerning various features of "occupational narrative" provide further insight into the nature and function of experience narratives in the cultural lives of urban occupational groups.[20] Like McCarl, Santino stresses that narratives which offer evaluation and provide a commentary about work, are most often related during non-work periods, and particularly in leisure contexts of exchange. In this regard, Santino maintains that, "When workers come together for more or less purely social reasons

- after work in a bar, or at a meeting of a club, for example - they engage in the more expressive verbal aspects of their work culture." The study of St. John's radio broadcasters in Chapter III is a further demonstration of this point.

While Santino does note a number of "thematic groupings" to serve as a "descriptive introduction" to the numerous and varied bodies of occupational narratives, he warns against regarding these common subjects as "classificatory categorizations". His broad groupings include:

(1) Cautionary Tales. This group is comprised of stories of accidents that persist in time, and in their presence and frequency in all occupations, can be considered as a consistent theme across occupations. Santino notes a parallel in structure of these stories to occupational ballads, while their function appears to be pedagogical. These stories do not merely document accidents or disruptions, but outline "a system wherein the reason for the accident can be determined, and, if the lesson is properly learned, similar accidents can be avoided in the future."[21]

(2) "The First Day On the Job" Stories. These narratives are based on the experiences of the rookie, and tend to

revolve around the themes of the novice's orientation to a new job ("how I got started") and initiation pranks played on the novice. This area of experience is acknowledged by many folklorists as especially critical in gaining insight into the sociology and psychology of a given occupational group - that is, its social structure and status system, and fundamental attitudes, beliefs, and anxieties.[22] Santino's mere mention of this complex and central experience in occupational narrative lore points once again to an earlier stated confusion of uses, functions, purposes, and themes that inevitably attend any study of this narrative form that tends to categorize. Indeed, Santino glosses over narratives concerning the induction of the rookie through initiation activities. Both the narratives and the activities themselves serve to dramatize basic group concerns, and as such, must be understood as entirely more than "a spare time exercise in fun and games."[23]

(3) "The Good Old Days" Stories. These narratives are based on what Santino suggests is every industry worker's "conception of a golden age, a time before the present when things were different and somehow better."

(4) Pranks. This group of stories concerns pranks and tricks played on bosses, management, and co-workers, and may

focus on the prank itself, on the fact that the narrator was a novice when the trick occurred, or on an individual, a trickster or practical joker, who commits the prank.

(5) Characters and Heroes. Here Santino invokes Dorson's description of a folk hero - "a local character, a wag, an eccentric, talked about in close-knit circles for feats of strength or of eating or drinking, or for knavish tricks and clever sayings."[24] The contemporary hero of occupational narrative, in Santino's view, corresponds to Dorson's definition of the folk hero as evidenced by the number and frequency of stories of "knavish tricks", and of knaves and tricksters.

Though Santino warns that these thematic groupings are not to be construed as classificatory but rather descriptive, he is only partially successful in following his own admonition. His groupings do illustrate use, function, and subject matter possibilities for the occupational narrative, but the resulting scheme implies a categorization system based on the time-worn folkloristic tenets of persistence (over time) and diffusion.[25] Santino's more insightful conclusions focus on the function of occupational narratives as an index of certain types of problems that arise on a job: first, problems relating to the physical demands and challenges

that require a worker's skill and competence in the performance of a task, and second, problems defined as "sociological" - problems of responsibility, status, and authority.[26]

Sandra Stahl's analysis of the "traditionality" of personal narrative offers a comprehensive and certainly contentious statement on the folkloric nature of this form, and accordingly, deserves some detailed attention here.[27] Stahl defines a "tradition-innovation" dichotomy and postulates that "there is much more that is traditional than innovative about the personal narrative."[28] Her conceptualization of "tradition" in this regard is central.

Stahl calls for an expanded concept in which tradition refers to all aspects of the communicative act; that is, "the performer's competence, the actual performance, the reactions of the audience, as well as the content and stylization of 'texts' or items as usually recognized by the folklorist." At the basis of Stahl's concept is a notion of tradition as the relatively high degree of equivalency between a form and its antecedent. While the personal narrative appears distinctly non-traditional in its content, Stahl argues that certain features in this form exhibit a high degree of equivalency with corresponding features in various traditional models. This traditionality in Stahl's

view, is fundamental to the acceptance of the personal narrative as folklore by the discipline, and consequently, she proposes ways in which narrative elements can be considered as traditional, or in the process of becoming traditional:

> We could say that some elements are traditional the first time the story is told. Other elements become increasingly traditional as the story is repeated by the teller, and still others may become traditional in the more conventional folkloric sense if the story is adopted as a whole item by another teller and circulated "in oral tradition." If enough elements can be shown to be "more traditional than innovative" perhaps the discipline will feel safe in accepting the personal narrative "as folklore."[29]

This traditionality is described in four interrelated areas of folkoristic analysis: the personal narrative as folkloric performance, the personal narrative as part of oral storytelling tradition, traditional attitudes as story cores, and the story as an item in the teller's repertoire. In the first area of analysis, Stahl offers a questionable interpretation of Ben-Amos' definition of folklore as "artistic communication in small groups",[30] when she maintains that the underlying assumption of this definition is "that the frame of reference shared by the small group will likely contribute to the use of resources exhibiting a high level of traditionality."[31] Clearly, this is not Ben-Amos' assumption. He is most emphatic that the traditional character

of folklore is an "accidental quality" that may well be an aspect of it in some instances, but not an "objectively intrinsic feature of it." Tradition may not be dependent upon historical fact, and further, is often "merely a rhetorical device or a socially instrumental convention." Ben-Amos concludes that the traditionality of folklore is an analytical construct and not necessarily a cultural fact. His statement is unequivocal: "some traditions are folklore, but not all folklore is traditional."[32]

Central to Stahl's argument is the notion that while the personal narrative does not involve traditional resources of the class of "tale types" or "motifs", its plot formation does depend upon a model from traditional narratives. As well, the performance of personal narrative itself demonstrates a similar dependency on traditional models. Stahl acknowledges that this narrative form relies on individual resources, but she stresses that most of these resources are modified or influenced in some way by collective, traditional models in both plot and performance.

In her second area of analysis - the personal narrative as part of oral storytelling tradition - Stahl elaborates on Georges' contention that in the cases of certain groups "there may be less of a preoccupation with stories <u>per se</u>

and more with the process of telling stories."[33] Georges' discussion of the tradition among Balkan storytellers which involves a selection of traditional elements and a reordering of these elements into a new structure, demonstrates how improvisation constitutes a defining principle of this narrative tradition. In this way, "continuity" and "improvisation" are recognized and utilized modes within the storytelling tradition of the culture. Personal narratives, Stahl notes, represent the same continuity and improvisation, but of a somewhat different nature. The improvisational dimension of personal narrative performance is a reflex of the genre itself, rather than a method of performance sanctioned by the tradition of storytelling. Continuity is understood in the relationship between personal narratives and other traditional narrative genres (tall tales, jokes, for examples) which "rely upon collective knowledge of the personal narrative tradition for their effectiveness."[34]

The implication here is that the telling of personal narratives can be viewed as part of a whole tradition of storytelling for a given cultural group. Most significant in this implication is the relationship between the personal narrative and other genres, particularly the joke. As it was demonstrated in previous chapters of this thesis, there is a natural exchange between these genres which are more

appropriately regarded in their totality as a mode of discourse, rather than as indvidual and separate speech categories. Stahl's suggestion is valuable, but is rather narrow in its stress on the reliance of other more traditional narrative genres on the collective knowledge-basis of the personal narrative tradition. Yet the personal narrative is not merely a cognitive frame of reference, but a mode of discourse in the effective performance and exchange of ways of speaking.

In her third area for personal narrative analysis, Stahl defines a somewhat problematic concept of "traditional attitudes", which can also be construed as "cultural evaluations". Her approach, it is implied, is an alternative to the obligatory structural component in narrative - "evaluation" - defined by Labov and Waletzky, and conceptualized by them as overt and conscious expression.[35] Instead, Stahl points to the shared, but covert and unarticulated "belief" that constitutes the core, the ultimate "meaning" and traditional basis of the memorate form of narrative, and postulates a similar component of "embedded belief" in the personal narrative. This component is the "traditional attitude" which defines the traditionality of personal narratives as "the regenerative core that creates ever new stories out of its own constancy."[36] Stahl's treatment of the traditional

attitude as an embedded "item" of covert culture to be abstracted by the folklorist is a means of viewing an amorphous psychological phenomenon, an "unverbalized segment of a group's world view", as a parallel to the traditional elements of motifs and structural functions addressed in the classic literary approaches to the folktale. As Stahl argues,

> By definition, there cannot be a theme or motif or "function" that is not traditional; similarly, if something is identified as an "attitude", the assumption is that it is traditional. If a personal narrative did not incorporate an attitude, it would have no meaning... it would be in Labov and Waletzky's words, "not a complete narrative." We would have to conclude, then, that any "complete" personal narrative will have as its core a traditional attitude. And like motifs and themes, these attitudes could be identified and indexed. 37

The communicative potential of covert culture, a potential analyzed in Chapter III in terms of cultural premises which constitute systems of communicative knowledge and which make possible the exchange of messages in a society, is clearly not an issue for Stahl. Her methods and concepts are admittedly "an exercise in literary criticism similar to the identification of themes in literary works." Further, there is no emic value in the concept of traditional attitude - it is a scholarly construct for classificatory purposes. A communications perspective however, draws other significances from

the cultural dimension of this narrative form. As noted earlier in this chapter, McCarl has demonstrated that the personal narrative has a tendency to subserve both cognitive and social interactional functions. The same notion is provided by Keesing and discussed in Chapter III - knowledge shared (or attitudes shared) by communicating group members need not be encoded in message segments, but "is presupposed and evoked by them, and drawn on to embed them appropriately in social contexts."[38] To attempt to understand the cultural process in folkloric expression from a literary/comparativist perspective is, as Bauman has stated, not very useful "beyond a certain low-level pedagogical utility."[39] In this respect, Stahl's proposed method seems inconsonant with the complex cultural process of communication that she wishes to analyze. Folklore, above all in the cultural dimension, communicates, and it is this communicative function that is most critical in the group-based existence of the personal narrative.

In her final area for analysis, Stahl considers the personal narrative as an item in the repertoire of a teller. Her observations on the "repeatable" nature of the personal narrative are particularly valuable. While the reason for telling a narrative may be referential in the sense that the telling represents an effort to maintain topical continuity, Stahl contends that a narrative is retained in a teller's

repertoire because it makes a point that is not merely referential. This point of course, is inextricably tied to the traditional attitude expressed.

One issue raised by Stahl is notably contentious, and contrary to the findings reported in previous chapters of this thesis. She states that,

> personal narratives are not regarded by the performer as items to be repeated consciously before a stable audience. Like the joke, the personal narrative may be spoiled if it has been heard before. So the teller of personal narratives is usually careful to present his stories only to new audiences or at least to ones that contain a few members that have not heard the story before. [40]

Stahl provides some qualification here noting that a certain story may be a "classic", "a gem in the teller's repertoire", and may even be requested in the context of a stable audience. Like the joke, a personal narrative may be requested on numerous and similar occasions by the same audience members if it is deemed appropriate to the topic of conversation, and to the conversational interaction itself. The Newfoundland broadcasters discussed earlier for example, involve themselves in a repeatable leisure activity of conversation in which the same narrative may be requested and performed numerous times. This "repeatable" quality of personal narrative is, according to Labov and Waletzky, van Dijk, Bauman, and

others, a reflex of the remarkableness of the incidents, events, and experiences related in the narrative.[41] The concept of "remarkable" requires elaboration.

In his analysis of social interaction and the aesthetic of speaking in the context of a gathering of a group of men at a general store on Bell's Island (part of the La Have Islands, located off the shore of Lunenburg County), Nova Scotia, Bauman observes that the "yarn" as a genre, is grounded in, but also transcends community definitions of the usual, expected and normal:

> In La Have Island parlance, a yarn was a narrative, told and accepted as true, about something that transcended common knowledge, experience or expectation. The principal feature of a yarn was that it dealt with personal experience...A second requirement, however, was that the experience be in some way special in order to be foregrounded into narrative. Although the realms of experience from which yarns were drawn were common ones, the routine experiences of one's everyday life were not recounted as yarns.[42]

These narratives then, were based in shared knowledge and experience of La Have Island society, yet at the same time, featured incidents that in some way deviated from the usual and expected happenings. For example, Bauman notes, fishing constituted a primary topic of conversation and the basis upon which a narrative of personal experience is founded,

"but always with emphasis upon an uncommonly heavy catch or an especially big fish,...or an especially risky venture, like harpooning tuna."[43]

It is evident that a disruptive or deviant occurrence will likely first, make a story, and second, make a good story because a sense of the expected is subverted, or as John Robinson suggests, these occurrences disrupt "the fluent accommodation of individual action to anticipated states of the world."[44] The fact that such narratives codify experience, provide a frame of reference and guide for conduct in the future, is attributed by Robinson to "mankind's propensity for inductive generalization". In this way, memorable experiences become the "empirical basis for rules of thumb". Through this process of codification, the unexpected is made expected, the remarkable is rendered graspable, and therefore manageable.

Yet Robinson takes issue with the assumptions implicit in the view that only remarkable incidents constitute the subject of personal narratives. The first of these assumptions, that events have a fixed or final significance, is countered by Robinson through a notion of the developmental perspective of the participants in the narrative act. "How any particular event in one's past is appraised," argues Robinson, "depends

upon the current psychosocial stance of the individual."[45] An incident which is clearly remarkable by community standards of normalcy, may be deemed no longer relevant or worth telling about by the individual. There is, then in Robinson's view, "a conjunction of perspectives entailed in the choice of events for narration": a synchronic perspective which embraces the participants, and a diachronic perspective which relates to and reflects the individual's attitude toward his personal past. A congruency between these perspectives will result in a "rewarding interaction" and an effective narrative event.

The second implicit assumption is evident from Labov and Waletzky's observation that there is a basic element or tendency toward "self-aggrandizement" in the narratives which they analyzed. This observation implies that narratives are told to demonstrate the storyteller's meritorious qualities. Two motives behind, and functions of narrative however, point to the fact that self-aggrandizement is not the only objective which prompts the act of narration. The motives/functions can be defined as "pedagogical" - stories that are told to instruct, advise, warn, inform, in other words, in some way offer a lesson - and "self-deprecatory" - stories which place the narrator "in a less than favorable light, for example, an embarrassing or foolish incident.

because this will make the speaker's point more effectively than other strategies might."[46] Bauman's La Have Island study offers a thorough substantiation of the former motive/function.

He notes that the sociable interactions at the store were, in essence, a "forum in which wisdom would be shared, and safe, proper, and productive reactions to situations and forces that any member of the group might potentially encounter could be shared." This type of wisdom was crucial to the harsh life of the islanders as it provided a means to confront and manage the impending forces and threats of their natural environment. Consequently, while a degree of exaggeration for self-aggrandizement was tolerated in experience narrative, "the community had much to gain by sanctioning relative accuracy as well, in order that each man's experience might contribute to the communal wisdom." There is in this example, an overriding pragmatic, pedagogical function which works against narrative for the mere motive of self-aggrandizement, as wisdom molded through experience is shared in narrative, and rendered by the participants who benefit, an "adaptive mechanism", a strategy for survival.

For an experience to be foregrounded in a narrative form, that is, to be "tellable", and therefore effective in

performance as a personal narrative, it must be interesting and ultimately meaningful to all participants. This interest and meaning depend upon the knowledge that the speaker and listeners have of one another, their experience of the event related in the narrative, of the actual performance, and of the immediate narrative situation itself. In this way, the communicative potential of this genre is tied decisively to the body of learned traditions that informs our experiences and expressions. "Tradition" here can be understood in an epistemological sense as that knowledge that has become impressed upon our experience in everyday life, and that provides a guide for responsible and appropriate expression of that experience.

Colin Cherry's notion of how human communication "works" is readily applicable to the present discussion of "tellability" in personal narrative:

> The fact that [human communication works]...depends principally upon the vast store of habits which we each one of us possesses, the imprints of all our past experiences. With this, we can hear snatches of speech, see vague gestures, and grimaces, and from such thin shreds of evidence we are able to make a continual series of inferences, guesses, with extraordinary effectiveness.[47]

The personal narrative is not moulded by a single event - the

subject of the narrative - but by the interaction and consonance between that "vast store of habits", the "imprints" of past experience (the diachronic perspective), and by the specific group/culture instantiated at the point of performance (the synchronic perspective).

(2) Conversation in Folkloristics

There has been a singular neglect of the conversation as an object of analysis in folklore studies. When it is addressed by folklorists, conversation is not treated as integral to the process of speaking folklore, but rather as a designation or adjective for the numerous and varied casual speech genres. Abrahams has pointed to a "failure of concern" amongst folklorists, with the relationships between "casual and non-casual communications". He notes that "In spite of the folklorist's recognition that folklore is a stylization of communicative devices, there has been little indication from our publications of much interest in describing the features common to casual communications and folkloric performances within individual communities."[48] By "casual communications", Abrahams is not necessarily referring to conversation itself, but to conversational resources that can be regarded as folkloric.

The analysis of folklore genres of casual speech in terms of conversational resources, fails on the one hand to deal adequately with the stylization of conversation itself (defined in Chapter II), and with folklore as it is situated within such speech behaviour, and on the other hand, points directly to the potential of stylization of the conversation itself in which folklore emerges. Still, as we shall see from this survey, conversation has been regarded primarily as a speech context out of which the casual, less formal genres of folklore arise.

Abrahams' early work on traditional conversational genres defines this category as "traditional utterances[that] commonly arise in the course of everyday interpersonal communication."[49] Under the rubric of "conversational genres", Abrahams focuses on proverbs and superstitions, but includes the more amorphous genres of taunts, boasts, charms, spells, curses, and prayers. These conversational genres, in Abrahams' view, are not "performed" genres in that they employ the turn-by-turn pattern of converse, and therefore require no special role, license, or a profound sense of distance relationship between speaker and participants.

Abrahams' most valuable insight into the conversational nature of particular folkloric expressions stresses the

function of these expressions as strategies for the contingencies of interactional situations. At the basis of this interactional perspeetive is the fact that folklore is a social phenomenon. By its role as an element in the social process, folklore

> articulates relationships between individuals as they group themselves institutionally; it allows a definition of group; it points out places at which the members of the group habitually conflict with each other and represents techniques by which the conflicting factors can be regulated; it establishes the confines of the group and proposes methods for handling forces external to the community....[50]

The types and nature of expression in everyday social interaction is, in Abrahams' treatment, inextricably related to the sense of "community".

Exchanges within a social relationship become less formal as that relationship becomes more interpersonal, or, as a "community of interest is established." In this process, a body of "in-group" expressions is cultivated which functions to define the group, its parameters and identity concerns, and demonstrates the esoteric dimension of community sense. Toelken isolates precisely this function of "esoteric dynamics" when he notes that "One of the key features of a folk group will always be the extent to which its own dynamics

continue to inform and educate its members and stabilize the group."[51] The significance of Abrahams' observations on the nature of these dynamics is the recognition that the cultivation of in-group expression is situated within the acts of conversational exchange in everyday life. In this way, Abrahams' concepts of the function of "the small genres" in normal and casual interactional situations involves an understanding of the relationship between standard and poetic language - "the rhetoric of everyday discourse" - a relationship which will be discussed in detail in the next section of this chapter.

Abrahams expands on the definition of "conversational genres" and the attendant notions of social interaction and rhetorical strategy in his analysis of the interrelationships between the "simple forms" of folklore.[52] He characterizes the expression of conversational genres as commonplace, spontaneous, and dependent upon interpersonal involvement:

> In the conversational genres, one person directs his expression in an interpersonal fashion to a limited number of others as part of everyday discourse. The speaker does not need to assume any involved character role to make his point. He, rather, is engaged in a spontaneous communicative relationship in which opportunities to introduce traditional devices of persuasion commonly arise. Nearly everyone in a group avails himself of these forms.[53]

The critical point here is that conversational folklore is distinguished by an interaction and involvement between participants that is active and immediate; in other words, there is minimal or no distance required between a speaker of such folklore and the "hearers". (In this sense of immediate involvement, "audience" would not be an apt designation.)

Between the poles of "total interpersonal involvement" and "total removal", conversational genres are of course, situated with the former. In contrast to the treatment in this thesis, of personal experience narrative as "conversational", Abrahams' model places this "fictive" genre toward the pole of "total removal", and suggests that this form is invoked not as part of the direct and rather spontaneous discourse of conversational exchange, but rather as an aspect of the "psychic distance" between audience and performer. Abrahams' distinction is clear: conversational genres are characterized by an immediate and active involvement of participants, while fictive genres are characterized by an "involvement primarily through vicarious identification." The case studies of previous chapters have shown however, that a conversation may turn into a narrative occasion, a speech event into a speech act, which does not necessarily suspend the conventions of conversation, but

rather incorporates them into the emergent stylized act of narration. A strict separation of conversational genres from fictive genres, of conversation from personal narrative, further aggravates the lack of understanding in folkloristics of the relationship between conversational dynamics and folkloric form.

Abrahams does discuss this transformation of conversation to "more intensive interaction like joking or arguing" in his sociological analysis of folklore in the occupation context.[54] This notion of intensity recalls the earlier analysis (Chapter II) of the manner in which a conversation becomes "deep"; that is, as participants invest ever-increasing amounts of attention and energy into an interaction, the turns at talking become longer, more patterned, and talk exhibits a tendency to transform into more formal types of speech behaviour. This transformation, it must be stressed, draws upon the established mode, structure, and dynamic of the on-going conversation.

Clearly, "conversation" refers to a broad and diverse range of speech interactions and activities, and accordingly, the need for a concept of conversation in terms of common and salient characteristics is obvious. To this end, Abrahams

offers a concise statement of these characteristics:

> (1) theoretically there is equal access to the state-of-talk for everyone involved; (2) all will listen to what the speaker is saying; (3) all are expected to impart significant information, i.e., have a point and make it during a turn; and (4) no one should deliver prepared speeches in such engagements, but rather interact spontaneously and responsibly.[55]

Above all, these characteristics are evidence of the egalitarian nature and style of conversational interaction and speech behaviour. Conversation is an open state-of-talk which proceeds in a spontaneous manner, and which is structured by the "point" addressed or responded to by each participant at each turn at talk. Narrative (or other forms of formal speech) will likely emerge if the point is, or becomes critical, and as the participants negotiate longer turns at talking.

One of the most comprehensive and insightful analyses of the conversational basis of folkloric expression is Bauman's study of verbal art in the interactions of a gathering of men at the La Have Island General Store (referred to in the previous section of this chapter).

Bauman observed that the raison d'être of this gathering was the activity of talking. Further, the conversation that

occurred was organized into three basic native categories: "news", "yarns" or "stories", and "arguments." Since "the gatherings at the store represented an occasion in which the display, maintenance, and development of personal identity was of paramount importance", each category, to a greater or lesser degree, was a "conversational resource"[56] which served these identity functions.[57] In this sense, "news" represented matters and topics of interest which, by definition, occupied a prominent position in conversation, but only for a brief period of time. Consequently, the role of news as a conversational resource was limited insofar as these matters and topics pass on before they become adequately integrated into the individual experience of the participants; that is, news did not fully serve as a vehicle for personal expressions. Yarns and arguments on the other hand, operated in precisely this manner, and accordingly, constituted unlimited and critical conversational resources.

In Bauman's analysis, yarns are fundamentally personal narratives which operate to organize and make manageable personal experience for presentation to others. These presentations were situated in the conversational exchanges of "sociable interaction."[58] Turn-by-turn narrative, though not systematic in the manner of turn-by-turn talk, was clearly a conversational convention and a contributing

mechanism in the identity function of sociable interaction. These exchanges, Bauman notes, "afforded the participants a continuous opportunity to engage in personal and social identity-building by presenting the self in personal narrative and receiving like accounts about others in the same form."[59] Conversation in the sense of sociability functions, as in this La Have Island example, to demonstrate the bases for commonality amongst the individuals of a given group as a speaker shows evidence of his involvement in activities that are in some way significant to his listeners. In this way, personal experiences are not simply topics for narratives, but conversational resources in the definition and articulation of identity in relation to group.

Perhaps Bauman's most critical observation for understanding the relationship between conversation and personal narrative is that talk at the general store constitutes a special event within the varied speech situations that comprise the speech economy of the La Have Islanders. Talking in this context is distinguished from talking in other contexts, and is enjoyed "for its own sake and not as part of another activity or for some instrumental purpose." It can be stated, then, that this entire speech situation is a foregrounded activity, reserved for the express purpose of sociability. By this foregrounding, the activity achieves

its "aesthetic function" - a maximum attention is focused on it and it is a pleasurable involvement for the participants.[60] Bauman develops this notion of aesthetic function in reference to Simmel's identification of sociability as characterized by talk - "talk becomes its own purpose".[61] As Bauman notes, "The interesting thing is that his understanding of sociability...led Simmel to speak of 'the sociological art form of sociability,' thus identifying sociability as an esthetically marked form of social interaction."[62]

If talk is an end in itself in the "esthetically marked" social interaction, then a proposition introduced at the beginning of this thesis is further substantiated: in the interface of folkloric speech and natural discourse, the conversational speech event and the narrative speech act are reciprocally related, and together constitute the activity of stylization (which is at the basis of folkloric communication). It follows that if sociability, namely conversation, can be understood as aesthetic, so the speech behaviour of sociability, namely conversation, can be understood as similarly aesthetic. The survey in the next section of this chapter will further examine this issue of verbal art and its situation in "standard" language.

As demonstrated throughout this work, personal narratives

typically occur in, and depend upon conversational settings, to the extent that I suggested the term "conversational narrative" as a generic designation in folkloristics (see Chapter II). While other disciplines have acknowledged that narratives are situated communications, and have attempted to develop models of conversational interaction to analyze the nature and significance of this situated quality of narrative, folklorists have not pursued a similar inquiry.[63] Yet as John Robinson maintains, conversational mode is a central determining factor in the content, objective, and style of narration:

> the story told - its subject matter, its point, its purpose, as well as the expressive style employed - must be congruent with the modal qualities of the conversation in which it is embedded. If a person wishes to tell a different kind of story than the interaction permits he must try to change the mode before beginning narration.[64]

In this regard, Robinson proposes a "provisional and simplistic", yet valuable scheme as a research strategy for the analysis of corresponding conversation and narration modes.[65]

Robinson's model draws its categories of conversation modes from James Britton's contrast of "participant" and "spectator" modes of language use.[66] The participant mode refers to a style of interaction and language that is

indicative of a situation in which individuals are involved in goal-oriented action. This goal-orientation is often pedagogical, as personal experiences are presented to instruct, to warn, to establish a plan of action. Robinson notes that "a highly focused state of mind" is induced by this orientation and "the knowledge or experience selected for use will be limited to object and action characteristics directly related to the goal of the episode." The qualitative characteristics of talk embody and reflect the functions of instruction, warning, planning, decision-making, persuasion.

The spectator mode involves a style of interaction and language in which "talk becomes its own purpose"; in other words, "the forms of reflection upon knowledge and experience... undertaken for their own rewards."[67] In this spectator mode then, sociability is foregrounded as talking is enjoyed for its own sake, and participants focus on, and take pleasure in, this activity.

Robinson utilizes Britton's contrast of language use in his classification of the varieties of everyday narrative and the congruent modes of conversation. Here is Robinson's schema:

Conversation Modes	Narrative Modes
Participant: Problem Solving	Adjudication Heuristic I
Spectator: Sociable	Exploits and Amusements Heuristic II [68]

This schema recognizes a point that is critical to the thesis presented in this work - the style or mode of interaction constrains the roles, privileges, and expressive strategies of both speakers and listeners, and as well, constrains the actual form and content of the narrative.

Four basic conclusions are evident from Robinson's classification. First, narratives about "exploits and amusements", the only type considered in this thesis, can be told only in the spectator mode of interaction and language use. Second, another mode of storytelling, Heuristic II, a mode that by definition deals with a process of problem-solving and discovery, involves cognitive-linguistic resources for structuring and expressing the "larger segments of one's life span." Third, the participant-adjudication set of conversational narrative modes is, in Robinson's view, "qualitatively orthogonal" to the spectator-exploit/amusement set.[69]

The fundamental point of this section of the survey is that personal experience narratives are determined by the conventions, norms, and structure of conversation interaction, and by the objectives, motives and pragmatic functions that lead to the act of storytelling. While few folklorists have addressed this complex of relationships, those who have followed this line of investigation have shown that conversation is not merely a speech context out of which the casual genres of folklore arise, but rather that narratives are situated in, and largely structured by conversation. Conversations of sociability then, can be understood as speech activities that are foregrounded and focused, and sharing in the same aesthetic function of narrative itself.

(3) The Relationship Between Standard Language and Poetic Language

The problem of understanding the relationship between natural discourse and folkloric speech, or in broader terms, the relationship between standard language and poetic language, is largely a problem of perspective. As Jan Mukařovský has pointed out, "the theory of poetic language is primarily interested in the differences between the standard and poetic language, whereas the theory of the standard language is mainly interested in the similarities

between them."[70] Insofar as folkloric performance has been defined and analyzed as a process of "foregrounding" in the use of specialized forms of speech, this relationhip between the standard and the poetic in language and language use is central to the theory of folkloristics.

While folklorists and ethnographers of speaking have isolated cases of cultures and subcultures where everyday communicative behaviour is evaluated on the same terms as stylized performances,[71] that is, where there is little distinction between structured expressive performances and ordinary expressive interactions, such is not the case in ways of speaking in the complex, contemporary urban environment. Yet it has been suggested throughout this analysis, that the relationship of the stylized to the standard is one of dependence. This survey is intended to elucidate the character and function of this dependence.

Mukařovský's approach to this relationship reflects a theory of poetic language-orientation. His approach considers the differences rather than the interface between poetic language and standard language.[72] He insists that poetic language cannot be regarded as a mere category of standard language. Yet it is in pointing out the connections between the poetic and standard, that Mukařovský provides the most

valuable insights for folkloristics, and in particular, for the study of conversational narrative. He argues that for poetry, "standard language is the background against which is reflected the esthetically intentional distortion of the linguistic components of the work."[73] In this sense, standard language has a contrastive function in its role as "background" for the "esthetically intentional distortion" of the poetic. It follows then, that this contrastive function works because standard language is also the norm by which the poetic "distorts". Obviously, standard language is not merely the background, but also the basis, context and frame for the emergence of poetic language.

Mukařovský further argues that the poetic use of language is possible only because of the systematic violation of the norm of the standard. A folkloristic interpretation of this point must focus on the notion of "systematic". If a norm is violated systematically in the use of poetic language, two fundamental assumptions may be drawn. First, since, as Mukařovský maintains, "the weaker the awareness of this norm, the fewer the possibilities of violation", a systematic violation depends on the thorough knowledge of the norm of expression, its conventions, its possibilities, its traditions. Second, the concept of the poetic as a systematic violation implies an aesthetic expression that is recurrent, that is

called into play when certain typical circumstances are perceived to demand a particular expressive response. This response is sytematic, and therefore strategic. Kenneth Burke makes precisely this point in his treatment of proverbs as a form of expression which applies "beyond literature to life in general (thus helping to take literature out of its separate bin and give it a place in a general 'sociological' picture)."[74]

Proverbs, Burke contends, are strategies for dealing with situations. Situations in a given social structure are recurrent, and therefore, individuals develop strategies for managing them. If a violation of the norm is systematic, that act of expression then represents a strategy.

Mukařovský addresses the question of function by a similar contrastive framework. "Function," he emphasizes, is the crucial issue in the distinction between the two forms of language. Most important here is his conceptualization of the poetic language function: "The function of poetic language consists in the maximum of foregrounding of the utterance."[75] Poetic language is language used for its own sake, which in Mukařovský's perspective, means that it is used not in the service of communication, but "in order to place in the foreground the act of expression, the act of

speech itself." The implication, of course, is that the communication function as the object of expression in standard language is distinct from the foregrounding function as the object of expression in poetic language. Stated in a somewhat different manner, poetic language does not primarily communicate, but rather foregrounds.[76]

What is missing in this theoretical assessment is that the patterning of language into different forms and functions involves the use of language, or more precisely, speaking, as an "instrument for the conduct of social life",[77] that is above all, communicative. As Bauman and Sherzer have pointed out, this social use of language "brings to the fore the emergent nature of social structures, not rigidly determined by the institutional structure of society, but rather largely created in performance by the strategic and goal-directed manipulation of resources for speaking."[78] To the extent that they conceive of performance as structured by the "creative exercise of competence", they offer a perspective on the poetic use of language that is clearly contrary to Mukařovský's concept. Verbal art is understood in communicative terms, and accordingly, the poetic language of this "creative exercise of competence" embodies both functions contrasted by Mukařovský; that is, it is language that places the act of expression in the foreground and as

such, it is language used in the service of communication. It is language, as Bauman and Sherzer state, that is goal-directed, instrumental, strategic, by virtue of its aesthetic quality. Poetic language may be language used for its own sake, but a sociocultural approach demonstrates that this function has significant communicative potential.

The most pertinent of Mukařovský's observations in the understanding of the foregrounding process, and the status of conversation in the narrative discourse, concerns foregrounded and unforegrounded components in the work of poetry. Mukařovský emphasizes the mutual relationship of these components: both foregrounded and unforegrounded components constitute the structure of the work, a structure that is "an undissociable artistic whole, since each of its components has its value precisely in terms of its relation to the totality."[79] Seymour Chatman proposes a parallel distinction in his discussion of narrative elements. In concurrence with the formalist-structuralist theory of narrative, Chatman notes that,

> Each narrative has two parts: a "story" ("histoire"), consisting of the content, the chain of events (actions and happenings), and what may be called the existents (characters and settings), the objects and persons performing, undergoing, or acting as a background for them; and a "discourse" ("discours"), that is, the expression, the means by which the content is communicated, the set of actual narrative "statements".[80]

In the tradition of Aristotelian dualism, Chatman concludes that the story is the "what" that is depicted, and the discourse is the "how" of this depiction.

Chatman's division of the story/"what" and discourse/"how" lends itself to an interpretation of a correspondence between the story or content foreground and the unforegrounded discourse or means of expression. Since the mutual relationships of these components define the entire structure of a story, and since, as argued above, standard language in the form of conversational communication is not a mere background, but a basis, context, and frame for the emergence of poetic language in the form of narrative communication, an important conclusion concerning the conversational element of narrative can be stated: conversation is first, part of that total structure of the "poetic" work and language of narrative, and second, is a critical basis for, and component of the narrative discourse.

Conversation is more commonly regarded as possessing a potential for foregrounding in terms of the use of linguistic devices that are uncommon in everyday speech, rather than as a foregrounding process in and of itself. Bohuslav Havránek's examination of the "automatization" and "foregrounding" of the devices of language to meet the functions of language,

illustrates this treatment of conversation.[81]

"Automatization" is defined by Havránek as "a use of the devices of the language, in isolation or in combination with each other, as is usual for a certain expressive purpose, that is, such a use that the expression itself does not attract any attention."[82] An understanding of such devices of language depends only on the linguistic system itself, and not on any "supplemental" situational or contextual information. "Foregrounding" is regarded as "the use of devices of the language in such a way that this use itself attracts attention and is perceived as uncommon, as deprived of automatization".[83] Havránek maintains that all conventional conversational devices are automatized, but that certain linguistic devices uncommon to everyday speech are used to "liven up a conversation and to achieve surprise". Folkloric expression by this differentiation would be considered as a linguistic device which, in its performative dimension, "livens up a conversation" by its "distortion" or deviation from the standard language convention of conversation. At the same time, conversation itself, in its entirety, could not be understood as a foregrounded expressive behaviour, as a type of talk that becomes its own purpose.

Edward Stankiewicz's semiotic approach to poetics and

verbal art provides perhaps the most effective synthesis of the various controversies raised in this section, and in particular, of the "function of language" premise.[84] Poetic discourse, Stankiewicz argues, "does not preclude the other functions of language but incorporates them, and transcends them."[85] Two implications become apparent: poetic language is multi-functional, and the "poetic" cannot be strictly interpreted as a function of language in the same manner as other linguistic functions.

With regard to the multi-functional dimension of poetic language, Stankiewicz calls into question the validity of the strict separation of the artistic from other linguistic functions. He notes that this separation contradicts "the existence of long traditions of realistic and didactic art and by our experience with minor or larger forms of literature that convey - to one extent or another - referential, expressive, appellative, and socializing (phatic) functions."[86] The poetic use of language then, exhibits a multi-functional capacity, and can both "instruct" and "delight", can be both communicative and aesthetic.

With regard to the treatment of the "poetic" as something other than a linguistic function, Stankiewicz focuses on the

relation of functional differentiation to linguistic code; that is, "the referential function depends for its implementation on the use of a predicate..., while the appellative, expressive, and phatic functions are rendered by special linguistic forms and constructions."[87] The so-called "poetic function" however, is not dependent upon special elements of the linguistic code - indeed, the linguistic elements of the poetic message may be, but need not be, different from those of non-poetic speech. Further, Stankiewicz characterizes certain types of communicative activity as "closer to the poetic pole". These are messages in which "practical expediency is relaxed", as in the example of leisurely conversation. Stankiewicz's conclusion, I believe, is implicit in the numerous performance-oriented folklore studies examined in this survey: the "poetic" does not constitute a separate linguistic function, but rather, is a matter of the structuring or organization of the message. A contrast between standard language and poetic language based on a functional differentiation is therefore questionable. The contribution of this conclusion to the concept of conversational narrative is significant.

Personal narrative in conversation involves a language use that organizes the message of the communication. Narrative as an aesthetic display of competence, can variously serve

the referential, appellative, expressive or phatic functions which depend on the goal-orientation and focus of the conversational interaction. Conversation and narrative have a mutual relationship which defines the entire communicative event. Both serve a reciprocal ordering principle in which narrative directs conversation and reflects the modal qualities of that conversation in its content, purpose, point, and expressive style. The "standard" and "poetic" uses of language are truly interdependent in this reciprocal process.

Notes for Chapter V

[1]The terms "standard" and "poetic" are drawn from Jan Mukařovský's analysis of the relationship between the nature and function of each type of language. See "Standard Language and Poetic Language," in A Prague School Reader On Esthetics, Literary Structure, and Style, ed. and trans. Paul Garvin (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1964), pp. 17 - 30.

[2]Linda Dégh, "Folk Narrative," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 78.

[3]C.W. von Sydow, Selected Papers on Folklore (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1948).

[4]André Jolles, Einfache Formen. Legende, Sage, Mythe, Rätsel, Spruch, Kasus, Memorabile, Märchen, Witz, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1965). See Francis Lee Utley's discussion of Jolles' concept of "einfache Formen" in "Oral Genres as a Bridge to Written Literature," in Folklore Genres, ed. Dan Ben-Amos (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), pp. 4 - 5.

[5]Utley, p. 4.

[6]Introduction," in Ben-Amos, p. xxviii.

[7]Albert Wesselski, "Die Formen des volkstümlichen Erzählguts," in Die deutsche Volkskunde, vol 2 (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1934), pp. 216 - 248.

[8]See "Einfache Formen," in Internationaler Kongress der Volkserzählungsforscher in Kiel und Kopenhagen. Vorträge und Referate (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1961), pp. 1 - 11; trans. William Templer and Eberhard Alsen, Journal of the Folklore Institute, 4 (1967), 17 - 31. See also Ranke's "Kategorienprobleme der Volksprosa," Fabula, 9 (1967), 4 - 12.

[9]Ben-Amos, p. xxx.

[10]See Richard Bauman's critique of this "old comparativist perspective" in the introductory paragraph to his essay, "Quaker Folk-Linguistics and Folklore," in Folklore: Performance and Communication, eds. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), p. 255.

[11]Dégh, p. 78.

[12]Ilona Dobos, "True Stories," trans. Peter Vári, in Studies In East European Folk Narrative, ed. Linda Dégh (Bloomington: Indiana University Folklore Monograph Series, No. 25, 1978), pp. 167 - 205.

[13]Ibid., p. 198.

[14]For a sampling of these studies, see Camilla Collins' comprehensive annotated bibliography, "Bibliography of Urban Folklore," Folklore Forum, 8 (1975), 57 - 125.

[15]See for examples, Linda Dégh, in Dorson, ed., 1972, pp. 53 - 83; and "The "Belief Legend' in Modern Society: Form, Function and Relationship to Other Genres," in American Folk Legend: A Symposium, ed. Wayland D. Hand (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 55 - 68; Linda Dégh and Andrew Vázsonyi, "Legend and Belief," Genre, 4 (1971), 281 - 304, The Dialectics of the Legend, Folklore Preprint Series, vol. 1, no. 6 (Bloomington, Indiana: Folklore Publications Group, 1973), "The Memorat and the Proto-Memorat," Journal of American Folklore, 87 (1974), 225 - 239; Richard M. Dorson, America in Legend (New York: Pantheon, 1973); Patrick B. Mullen, "Modern Legend and Rumor Theory," Journal of the Folklore Institute, 9 (1972), 95 - 109; Juha Pentikäinen, "Belief, Memorate and Legend," Folklore Forum, 6 (1973), 217 - 241. Numerous other works are cited in Collins' bibliography.

[16]Robert S. McCarl, Jr., "Occupational Folklife: A Theoretical Hypothesis," in Working Americans: Contemporary Approaches to Occupational Folklife, ed. Robert H. Byington, Smithsonian Folklife Studies, no. 3 (Los Angeles: California Folklore Society, 1978), pp. 3 - 18.

[17]Sigfried Neumann, "Arbeitserrincrungen als Erzählungshalt," in Arbeit und Volksleben, ed. Gerhard Heilfurth and Ingeborg Weber-Kellerman Göttingen, 1967), pp. 274 - 284.

[18]McCarl, p. 13.

[19]Ibid., p. 14.

[20]Jack Santino, "Characteristics of Occupational Narratives," in Byington, pp. 57 - 70.

[21]Ibid., p. 61.

[22]See for examples, Horace Beck, "Sea Lore," Northwest Folklore, 2 (1967), 1 - 13; Robert S. McCarl, Jr., "Smokejumper Initiation: Ritualized Communication in a Modern Occupation," Journal of American Folklore, 89 (1976), 49 - 66; Barre Toelken's discussion of loggers of the Pacific Northest in The Dynamics of Folklore (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), pp. 52 - 72.

[23]Toelken, p. 88.

[24]Dorson, 1973, p. 170; quoted in Santino, p. 63.

[25]See for example, Santino's discussion of accident stories ("cautionary tales"), p. 60.

[26]Ibid., p. 70.

[27]Sandra K. D. Stahl, "The Personal Narrative as Folklore," Journal of the Folklore Institute, 14 (1977), 9 - 30.

[28]Ibid., p. 11.

[29]Ibid., p. 12.

[30]Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, eds. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), pp. 3 - 15.

[31]Stahl, p. 13.

[32]Ben-Amos, p. 14.

[33]Robert A. Georges, "Process and Structure in Traditional Storytelling in the Balkans: Some Preliminary Remarks," in Aspects of the Balkans, eds. Henrik Birnbaum and Spiros Vryonis, Jr. (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), p. 329; quoted in Stahl, p. 16.

[34]Stahl, p. 18.

[35]See the review of the Labov and Waletzky approach to this aspect of narrative structure in Chapter II, as well as parallel concepts developed by van Dijk and Polanyi.

[36]Stahl, p. 21.

[37]Ibid., p. 23.

[38]Roger M. Keesing, "Linguistic Knowledge and Cultural Knowledge: Some Doubts and Speculations," American Anthropologist, 81 (1979), p. 30.

[39]Bauman, 1975, p. 255.

[40]Stahl, p. 25.

[41]See William Labov and Joshua Waletzky, "Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience," in Essays on the Visual and Verbal Arts, ed. June Helm (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), pp. 12 - 44; Teun A. van Dijk, "Action, Action Description, and Narrative," New Literary History, 6 (1975), 273 - 294; Richard Bauman, "The La Have Island General Store: Sociability and Verbal Art in a Nova Scotia Community," Journal of American Folklore, 85 (1972), 330 - 343.

[42]Bauman, 1972, p. 334.

[43]Ibid.

[44]John A. Robinson, "Personal Narratives Reconsidered," Journal of American Folklore, 94 (1981), p. 60.

[45]Ibid., p. 61.

[46]"Pedagogical" and "self-deprecatory" are my own designations for the functions and motives described by Robinson.

[47]Colin Cherry, On Human Communication, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), p. 12.

[48]Roger D. Abrahams, "Folklore and Communication On St. Vincent," in Ben-Amos and Goldstein, p. 287.

[49]Roger D. Abrahams, "A Rhetoric of Everyday Life: Traditional Conversational Genres," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 32 (1968), p. 51.

[50]Ibid., p. 58.

[51]Toelken, p. 51.

[52]Abrahams, in Ben-Amos, 1976, pp. 193 - 214.

[53]Ibid., p. 200.

[54]"Towards a Sociological Theory of Folklore: Performing Services," in Byington, pp. 19 - 42.

[55]Ibid., p. 35.

[56]The term and concept of "conversational resource" is borrowed by Bauman from Jeanne Watson and Robert J. Potter; "An Analytical Unit for the Study of Interaction," Human Relations, 15 (1962), 245 - 263.

[57]See Chapter IV for an in-depth treatment of the "identity factor" in conversational narrative.

[58]Bauman borrows this concept from Watson and Potter; in particular, he utilizes their analysis of the development and demonstration of personal identity through activities of sociability.

[59]Bauman, p. 336.

[60]Bauman employs Mukařovský's concept of "aesthetic function" to define talk as the "art form of speech situations" on the La Have Islands. See p. 341.

[61]Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, ed. and trans. Kurt Wolff (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950), p. 52.

[62]Bauman, p. 341.

[63]There have been numerous studies of the role of folkloric expression in social interactional contexts. Most notable is Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's application of Goffman's theories of interaction ritual in her study of a parable performance. See "A Parable in Context: A Social Interactional Analysis of Storytelling Performance," in Ben-Amos and Goldstein, pp. 105 - 130.

[64]Robinson, p. 82.

[65]Robinson has gleaned various aspects of his schema from premises and models developed in four separate studies: Malcolm Coulthard, An Introduction to Discourse Analysis (London: Longmans, 1979); Michael T. McGuire and Stephen Lorch, "Natural Language Conversational Modes," Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 146 (1968), 239 - 248; James Britton, Language and Learning (London: Allen Lane, 1970); and Watson and Potter, 1962.

[66]Britton, Chapter Three. See the section in Robinson's article entitled, "Modes of Conversation," pp. 77 - 84.

[67]Robinson, p. 80.

[68]Ibid., p. 83.

[69]My interpretation of this rather abstruse characteristic is that while each set of conversation-narrative modes may have the same base experience for their generation (the common point of the right angle), how each proceeds and the qualities each exhibits, reflects the different objectives (problem-solving versus sociability) of each mode.

[70]Mukařovský, in Garvin, p. 17.

[71]See for examples, Roger D. Abrahams, "A Performance-Centered Approach to Gossip," Man, 5 (1970), 290 - 301, "Black Talking on the Streets," in Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking, eds. Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 240 - 262, and "Folklore and Communication on St. Vincent," in Ben-Amos and Goldstein, pp. 287 - 299; Elinor Keenan, "Norm-Makers, Norm-Breakers: Uses of Speech by Men and Women in a Malagasy Community," in Bauman and Sherzer, pp. 125-143; Philip M. Peek, "The Power of Words in African Verbal Arts," Journal of American Folklore, 94 (1981), 19 -43; Karl Reisman, "Contrapuntal Conversations in an Antiguan Village," in Bauman and Sherzer, pp. 110 - 124.

[72]Mukařovský, in Garvin, pp. 17 -30.

[73]Ibid., p. 18.

[74]Kenneth Burke, "Literature as Equipment for Living," in The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 296.

[75]Mukařovský's notion of "foregrounding" has been influential in performance-oriented folkloristics; see for example, Richard Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," American Anthropologist, 77 (1975), 290 - 311.

[76]In his work on verbal art, Bascom offered a similar theory for folklore. According to Bascom, verbal art exhibited a "concern with the form of expression, over and above the needs of communication". See "Verbal Art," Journal of American Folklore, 68 (1955), 245 - 252.

[77]Bauman and Sherzer, 1974, "Introduction," p. 8.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Mukařovský, in Garvin, p. 22.

[80]Seymour Chatman. "Towards A Theory of Narrative," New Literary History, 6 (1975), p. 295.

[81]Bohuslav Havránek, "The Functional Differentiation of the Standard Language," in Garvin, pp. 9 - 15.

[82]Ibid., p. 9.

[83]Ibid., p. 10

[84]Edward Stankiewicz, "Poetics and Verbal Art," in A Perfusion of Signs, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), pp. 54 - 76.

[85]Ibid., p. 63.

[86]Ibid., p. 60.

[87]Ibid., p. 61.

VI CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARIES: STYLIZATION AND A SOCIOLOGY OF TRADITION

Stylization and tradition, two recurrent issues in the varied definitions and analyses of verbal folklore, provide particularly relevant concluding statements for this work. A number of innovations and reorientations have been developed in these chapters concerning the concept of the personal narrative as it is situated in conversation. These innovations and reorientations have extended, elaborated, or departed from the usual folkloristic treatments of the nature of the content, structure, and performance of this form, and its sociocultural significance. An understanding of stylization and tradition apart from inherent characteristics of text, leads to new definitional criteria and methods of approach; that is, cognition and the sociology of interaction.

Stylization

"Style," suggests Susan Sontag, "embodies an epistemological decision, an interpretation of how and what we perceive."[1] In this way, style as a concept points to the totality of an artistic expression - both its form and

content, its aesthetic and referential dimensions, and the execution or performance of the expression and the pattern of experience which molds that expression. This pattern of experience must be understood as two-fold in the conversational narrative process: the past experience that is transformed into, and represented by its oral narrative version, and the immediate experience of involvement in the interactions of conversation. It follows that stylization - the predominant feature of current discussions of folklore as performance - involves those patterns of experience that both engender and situate narrative. The implication here has been demonstrated throughout this study: there are fundamental cognitive aspects of the communication of verbal art which are evidenced and realized in both the folkloric expression itself, and the casual or natural speech behaviours which situate that expression. The "situation" of narrative therefore, the actual structure of talk surrounding a given narration, imparts definition and order to both the form and content of the story - hence, the "activity of stylization".

At the basis of this concept is the notion that narrative structure, its components and functions, and the occurrence of narrative itself within a speech event, are dependent upon the exigencies of conversational interaction. Narrative

in this sense, does not simply "emerge" out of the interaction occasion, but is "situated", that is, negotiated, organized, fashioned, and achieved in the interaction. The activity of stylization is constituted by the narrative foreground and the conversational background, and comprehends talk as a stylistic factor in the progress toward narration, and in the actual narrative form, content, and performance.

As emphasized at the beginning of this study, style is not delimited by the folklore text or the performance of that text, but is determined as well in all the expressive activity that establishes the "narrative environment", or the mood of receptivity and inclination toward narration. Style then, is interpreted not only in an aesthetic sense, but also in a sociological sense as a product of the interactional dynamics of conversation. The complex of relationships, roles, and identities between the participants in a conversational exchange, and the manner in which this complex is enacted through interaction, are the bases upon which narrative is fashioned in the immediate conversation. The collaborative achievement of narrative in conversation is in essence, the sum of various determining relationships: narrator and listeners, narrative and conversation, performance and interaction, form and content, the aesthetic and

the referential dimensions of speech behaviour. Style, as it is conceptualized here, unifies and underlies these relationships.

This view of style is indebted to a method of "sociological criticism" in literary analysis which, as Kenneth Burke tells us, seeks "to codify the various strategies which artists have developed in relation to the naming of situations."[2] When literature is treated from the standpoint of situations and strategies, style becomes "concrete" and is easily defined as part of the social process. Further, forms of artistic expression are, in Burke's terms, "'equipments for living' that size up situations in various ways and in keeping with correspondingly various attitudes."[3] As an analytical approach to the conversational narrative form of folklore, this type of sociological criticism clearly defines the cognitive dimension of foregrounded stylized expression, and demonstrates the "strategy" function of folklore in the social situations of everyday life; that is, with sociable interaction, casual talk and situated conversational narrative are expressive means, strategically employed, which stimulate or articulate both immediate social interaction and broader cultural concerns for a given group.

The Newfoundland case studies, for examples analyzed the process by which the modes of conversation in activities of sociability, and the narrative resources that emerge through these modes, serve in the affirmation, assertion, or reinforcement of personal and group identities. Conversational narratives did not merely recapitulate, but organized experience, and by this function, imparted validity and continuity to the self-esteem and self-image of the individual, while promoting a group solidarity for both the social reference group in the act of sociability, and to the encompassing cultural group. Folklore then, helped to articulate the social organization of the shared, current orientation of conversation by its capacity to guide and structure talk. At the same time, folklore served to address and make sense out of experiences that were critical to the cultural life of the group. Talking and narration in these case studies were ultimately defined as interdeterminate activities which together, intensified the social order of the group - social identities, skills, strategies, relationships - while bringing into focus the cultural values and collective identity as the essence of the group.

Stylistic value in folkloric expression is acquired from the situational environment as well as from the text, from

the sociology as well as from the aesthetics of a given item. The analysis of stylization in this form of folklore therefore, must describe and ultimately account for the complex of factors that comprise this environment.

A Sociology of Tradition

The folkloristic tenet of tradition is as problematic as it is crucial to a concept of conversational narrative. Numerous and diverse theories which were reviewed in the previous chapter pointed to a wide range of priorities and factors in the determination of the traditional character of an apparently nontraditional genre. This range included: the nature of performance, traditional attitude as a narrative core, the itemization of a narrative and the formation of repertoire, the process of transmission (repetition and circulation), the use of models from other traditional narrative genres, "embedded belief" as an indicator of tradition, and the cognitive element of narrative as a cumulation of various types of knowledge. It is this last factor that is perhaps the most viable in defining traditionality of the conversational narrative. A number of qualifying remarks concerning the relationships between folklore, tradition, and group process are required first.

Abrahams has stressed some "ironic inconsistencies" in the established conception of folklore as traditional lore of the homogeneous community. He notes,

> To be sure, our ongoing interest in traditions of expression (and traditional expressivity) takes for granted that lore arises and persists in communities, groups with a deep sense of common purposes and values, and which share a vocabulary of reasons and motives by which a deep sense of commonality may be acted on. What we find on close perusal, however, is that these very expressions and events ostensibly most expressive of community are to be found (and sometimes in just as great abundance) in more casual kinds of groupings.[4]

Abrahams' argument accomplishes an important shift in focus and perspective from the equation of lore with the traditional, homogeneous community, to the possibility of lore in the commonplace and casual interactions in the heterogeneous and complex social organization of contemporary urban life. The notion of "tradition" then, must take on a broader meaning and application to come to terms with these "more casual kinds of groupings."

The term "casual" however, can be somewhat misleading. It is better understood in its reference to intent and motive, rather than the nature of co-mingling in everyday life. Goffman, who provides the summative statement on the

organization of face-to-face interaction, suggests that "When persons engage in regulated dealings with each other, they come to employ social routines or practices, namely, patterned adaptations to the rules" - that is, the "ground rules" for self-expression in contact with others.[5] Abrahams offers a similar view of the rule-ordered basis of casual exchanges: "In such situations, the participants share expectations and existential state, and bring with them rules more or less in common with regard to how to handle the situation and encounters that grow out of the situation."[6] Anthony F.C. Wallace emphasizes "predictability" rather than "rules" per se as the basis for meaningful exchanges in social interaction. He maintains that interaction is founded on "the recognition that - as a result of learning - the behavior of other people under various circumstances is predictable, irrespective of knowledge of their motivations, and thus is capable of being predictably related to one's own actions."[7]

Clearly, these three perspectives suggest that our casual dealings with others in everyday life are, in fact, regulated dealings which are structured by tacit rules. Adaptive patterns of action to these rules are based on learned principles of expectation and predictability. A

narrative of personal experience may, as Abrahams notes, "arise spontaneously",[8] and yet it must comply with, reflect, and in a sense, embody the rule-ordered system of interaction. Here is one approach to the nature of traditionality in the conversational narrative. Narrative arises as an expressive resource and interactional strategy in the structure of conversation. It represents a continuity of knowledge, not necessarily in its content - the text of the conversational narrative is generally of a nontraditional character - but in its practice. A social reference group will demand or evolve its own adaptive patterns of response for usual interactional situations encountered. There are rules governing interpersonal decorum and coordinated practices by which a participant is afforded license to perform;[9] narrative is the achievement of these social rituals, and accordingly, must demonstrate in its very occurrence, as well as in the "point" of its telling, a continuity of learned social and group/cultural knowledge. The concept of "narrative image", gleaned and adapted from Harold Scheub's discussion of the components of oral narrative process, effectively brings together this sociology of the occasion and performance of conversational narrative, with the nature of the "meaning" of its content, as determinants of traditionality.[10]

Scheub defines "image" as "a visualized action or set of actions evoked in the minds of the audience by verbal and nonverbal elements arranged by the performer, requiring a common experience of images held by both artist and audience, the artist seeking by a judicious and artistic use of images to shape that experience and to give it meaning."[11] In this way, images are evoked rather than created, and are meaningful because they call upon common and enduring "image experiences". "Image" in narrative process then, can be understood more precisely as "traditional image", informed by and rendered meaningful in these common image experiences which constitute the raw material of communication between narrator and listener. This aspect of commonality places great emphasis on the active and collaborative role of the audience in the narrative process.

Goffman argues for the same emphasis in his analysis of the manner in which listeners become implicated in narration:

> A tale or anecdote, that is, a replying, is not merely any reporting of a past event. In the fullest sense, it is such a statement couched from the personal perspective of an actual or potential participant who is located so that some temporal, dramatic development of the reported event proceeds from that starting point. A replying will therefore,...be something that listeners can emphatically insert themselves into, vicariously reexperiencing what took place.[12]

A fundamental research strategy can be abstracted from these two statements: Scheub's literary approach and Goffman's sociological treatment direct us to similar conclusions concerning the conceptualization and analysis of narrative process, and the nature of traditionality in the conversational narrative form of folklore. "Tradition" is not strictly a characteristic inherent in the folklore text. It can be regarded as a communicative device, stimulated and articulated in the acts of sociability, through which conversational participants develop, demonstrate, and validate a commonality, even in the most casual and diverse of groupings.

The significance of verbal folklore as communication in everyday life is that it serves not merely as an expressive resource, but as a strategy in social life to make sense out of, and confer meaning upon human experience. By this function, and by its stylized and foregrounded nature, folkloric speech functions as an ordering principle for the natural discourse within which it must be situated. But this influence is reciprocal. Talk "grounds" folkloric speech - it situates, and to a greater or lesser degree, organizes that speech. Conversation itself therefore, has

been treated here as a critical feature of the stylization process of folkloric communication, and in this way, the structure of conversational interaction has been rigorously analyzed as a fundamental concept in the study of narrative. Similarly, narrative has been understood as a central component in the organization of speaking in everyday life. As the folklorist moves more and more into contemporary, urban research situations, and focuses on the nature of human communication in the complex and dynamic social life within this context, the concepts of conversation and conversational narrative developed here will, it is hoped, become increasingly important in the understanding of new and emergent forms of folklore as human expression responds to its changing environment.

Notes for Chapter VI

[1]Susan Sontag, "On Style," in Against Interpretation (New York: Delta, 1964), p. 35.

[2]Kenneth Burke, "Literature As Equipment For Living," in The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 301.

[3]Ibid., p. 304.

[4]Roger D. Abrahams, "Towards a Sociological Theory of Folklore: Performing Services," in Working Americans: Contemporary Approaches to Occupational Folklife, ed. Robert H. Byington. Smithsonian Folklife Studies, no. 3 (Los Angeles: California Folklore Society, 1978), p. 22.

[5]Erving Goffman, Relations In Public: Microstudies of the Public Order (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. x.

[6]Abrahams, p. 22.

[7]Anthony F.C. Wallace, Culture and Personality (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 40.

[8]Abrahams, pp. 22-23.

[9]This notion is borrowed from Abrahams, "A Performance-Centred Approach to Gossip," Man, 5 (1970), p. 300.

[10]Harold Scheub, "Oral Narrative Process and the Use of Models," New Literary History, 6 (1975), 353-377; see also Scheub's "Body and Image in Oral Narrative Performance," New Literary History, 8 (1977), 345-367.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Erving Goffman, Frame Analysis (New York: Harper Colophon, 1974), p. 504.

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