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## Maniat Laments as Narratives: Forms and Norms of Entextualization

Thesis

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# MANIAT LAMENTS AS NARRATIVES:
# FORMS AND NORMS OF ENTEXTUALISATION

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.
Kyriaki (Korina) Giaxoglou


Dedicated to the daughters of Yagos Strilakos, Yanna and Nela
&
to the new-born daughter of my brother Yagos

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List of Abbreviations

| TEI | Text Encoding Initiative |
| XML | Extensible Mark-up Language |
| XPATH | XML Path Language |
| IMP | Imperfect |
| PFV | Perfective |
| VS | Verb-Subject |

Note on transliteration

The transliteration of Greek names and places follows the scheme below (a combination
of the Library of Congress bibliographic coding and IPA conventions)

| | |
|---|---|
| α | a |
| β | v |
| γ | g |
| δ | d |
| ε | e |
| ζ | z |
| η | i |
| θ | th |
| ι | i |
| κ | k |
| | c before /e/, /i/ |
| λ | l |
| μ | m |
| ν | n |
| ξ | ks |
| ο | o |
| π | p |
| ρ | r |
| σ | s |
| τ | t |
| υ | i |
| φ | ph |
| χ | h |
| ω | o |
| | |
| Dipthongs | |
| ντ | d |
| μπ | b |
| γκ | gk |

# 1. Verbal Art in Oral Poetics

## 1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the main terms that will be used throughout the study and situates them in the context of earlier approaches to verbal art and recent advances in the field of oral poetics (§1.2). This review traces the history of interest in verbal art from its 19th century romantic nationalistic underpinnings to the interest in primary or residual features of orality (Lord 1960; Ong 1982) and the performance turn (Paredes and Bauman 1972) until the recent critical perspectives on poetics and performance (Bauman and Briggs 1990).  In section §1.3, the object of study, namely the verbal art of lamentation as developed in Inner Mani (South Peloponnese, Greece) is presented against related gaps in its previous treatments in the literature that demonstrate the need for the present approach. Finally, section §1.4 reviews models of narrative in the social sciences (Mishler 1995) discussing their advantages and limitations. The chapter ends with the outline of an integrative model for the analysis of laments as narratives under the theoretical vantage point of entextualisation and narrative (§1.5).

## 1.2 Studying oral culture: terminology and presuppositions

Folklorists, philologists, linguists, ethnologists, social anthropologists, literature scholars and oral historians are among those who have taken an interest in oral culture as an object of study, devising methodological and theoretical tools for approaching it systematically. The range of terms and presuppositions employed in different studies of oral culture has emerged from the field of folklore, which has focused its attention

on oral forms since its emergence in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. [1] The appropriateness of certain of these terms and presuppositions has been heavily criticised in the context of a long-running debate begun by theoretical advances in the course of folklore studies in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. These new directions have even led to questioning the appropriateness of the term *folklore* for the designation of the re-configured field founded on interdisciplinarity.

However, before widening their scope of research scholars of folklore had first to break free from the presuppositions underlying the terms *folk spirit (volksgeist)*, *folk poetry (volkspoesie)* and *nature poetry (Naturpoesie)* that arose from the writings of Herder and the brothers Grimm in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. These terms became intextricably associated with the intellectual movement of romantic nationalism and the formulation of diachronic theories of culture that could serve the ideological purposes of modern nation-making in Europe; what they presupposed was an anonymous, naïve, pure, traditional and authentic poetry as opposed to the art of a 'corrupt' modern culture based on writing. By this opposition the world of the past was constructed as markedly divorced from the world of the present and future, a polarisation that is still evidenced in the occasional tendency to think of social structures or forms of discourse which have progressively come to lose currency as having undergone a process of *folklorisation* (Zumthor 1990: 14-15) by which they become relegated to an archivable past. It should come as no surprise that the process

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[1] The term *folklore*, meaning the people (folk) and their knowledge or set of customs (lore) was coined by William Thoms in 1846 with reference to popular antiquities.

of folklorisation predominantly came to refer to social structures and forms of discourse belonging to the peripheries, either within or outside Europe.

With regard to terminology and its presuppositions, the construction and naturalisation of such oppositions as the *rural, folkloric, traditional, oral* versus the *urban, literary, modern, written* led to a number of misconstruals, among which the identification of the *folk* or *popular* [2] with the *oral* and the *traditional*. Most unproductively, however, the definition of *orality* and *traditionality* became reliant on their over-generalised and homogenising contrast to *literacy* and *the modern*, as many scholars have recurrently pointed out. This negative approach to orality, also known as the *literacy bias* (cf. Ong 1982) was gradually overcome thanks to the work conducted in the first part of the 20th century by ethnolinguists (Marcel Jousse) and Hellenists (Parry and Lord, Havelock) (cited in Zumthor 1990: 24). The significance of such works lies in that they gave new meaning to the term *traditional oral literature* by discussing the anthropological particularities as well as the mechanics and aesthetics of oral genres.

Yet for many, *oral literature* constitutes a terminological paradox that reinforces the literacy bias by designating orally crafted forms as *literature*, a word which is etymologically associated with written forms of artistic creation. This term, some orality scholars argue, shows the persistent subjection of the study of oral forms to the notions and tools developed for the study of written literature. For his part, Albert

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[2] For different construals of the folk and their intellectual and ideological underpinnings, see Dundes (1980); Datsi (2004).

Lord (1991: 2) [3] has defended the legitimacy of the term on the grounds that literature, as carefully structured verbal expression, encompasses oral as well as written traditions. *Oral literature* comprises for Lord "the songs and stories and other sayings that people have heard and listened to, sung and told, without any intervention of writing" (1995: 1). From the vantage point of the present, it seems that the debate for or against the appropriateness of the term *oral literature* has reinforced rather than gone beyond the polarisation of the two modes by silently putting in place an orality bias. As Zumthor rightly observes (1990: 17), this line of thinking often runs on top of presuppositions regarding 'originary' orality that leads to unexpressed stereotypes of 'primitive' culture. [4]

In recent studies of oral forms, including the present one, the term *verbal art* is preferred over *oral literature* for it avoids the pitfalls of any of the aforementioned biases. In such studies a move beyond the idealist reductions of the Great Divide between the two modes (cf. Goody & Watt 1968) is observed in favour of the continuum view of orality and literacy, which allows the consideration of the manifold possibilities for their intersection (see Tannen 1982b).

In the following section, I will review a set of approaches to orality or *oralities* and draw the links of such approaches to this study's scope and aims.

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[3] The name of Albert Lord has become inextricably linked with that of his teacher Milman Parry and the Oral-Formulaic Theory; see Lord (1991), 'Words Heard and Words Seen', in *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition*, which is a reworked version of Lord's paper on 'Oral Tradition and Literacy: Changing Visions of the World' held at the University of Natal, Durban, South Africa, July 1985.

[4] Zumthor refers more specifically to discussions on primary orality in cultures untouched by any knowledge of writing in print (Ong 1982: 11); yet even though it cannot be denied that primary oral cultures have existed, the hard evidence for its in-depth understanding is lacking (Finnegan 1992: 24).

## 1.2.1 Oral Poetics

Finnegan (1992: 24) has distinguished three interrelated components of orality, each entering into different relations with literacy: i. oral communication, ii. oral composition and iii. oral transmission. Oral communication refers to the medium of verbal art communication which, even though worthy of systematic treatment in its own right, is not of direct relevance here. [5] Instead, I will briefly review the main issues of concern raised in treatments of the other two components towards an oral poetics approach.

With regard to the component of oral composition, the work of Milman Parry (1971) and Albert Lord (1960-2000) on oral traditional poetry has greatly influenced not only the understanding of Homer and Homeric poetry in the field of classics (see Nagy 1996), but also the research and scholarship on living traditions of epics and folk poetry in a range of language traditions (Foley 1988: 1), including the tradition of the Greek folk song (Beaton 1980). [6] The work of the two aforementioned scholars, widely known as *Oral-Formulaic Theory* or *Oral Theory*, has been rooted in the formalist and structuralist paradigm of the 20th century, as starkly evidenced in the concern with synchronic accounts of structure [7] and the compositional elements of traditional performances in traditional settings. [8] The main contribution of the Oral

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[5] See Zumthor (1990) for a study of vocal communication, ranging from medieval epics to African griots.

[6] For a detailed review of oral theory studies in different language traditions, see Foley (1985), *Oral Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography,* New York: Garland.

[7] Nagy (1974), however, in his *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter* has extended the synchronic study of epic structures to their diachronic depths signalling a new direction for the field (see Foley 1988: 98).

[8] Designating a performance as traditional implies, for Lord, a depth of meaning set by previous

Theory lies in its findings regarding epic composition, which can also be extended to oral poetic composition more broadly; namely, it has been suggested that epic composition relies on oral economy, whereby a repository of formulas is at the disposal of the epic poet who puts it into use accordingly when composing the epic at the time of performance. Finnegan (1994) has also provided examples of stages of oral composition prior to or after the performance, suggesting that the workings of oral composition extend beyond any specific performance setting. The recognition that oral composition is not restricted to the context of performance points to the interrelations between oral composition and oral transmission. Yet such inter-connections have been neglected in the context of Oral Theory due to its over-encompassing focus on oral composition.

### 1.2.1.1 Oral transmission

Oral transmission - the last, but not least among Finnegan's components of orality - is defined as the mouth-to-mouth dissemination of verbal art over long periods of time without seriously affecting its form. As already mentioned above, this component has been neglected by scholars of oral literature in favour of an overemphasis on oral composition. Its definition as mouth-to-mouth dissemination has not done much to attract scholarly attention either. In fact, it has made things worse, as hard evidence for tracking down the oral history of a poem presents itself as an almost impossible task. Furthermore, the definition of oral transmission is underpinned by a reductionist view that associates it with an idealised primary orality, making it that oral poems

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generations, while traditional setting refers to an ordinary, informal setting where the singer and his listeners ideally form a small and intimate group (Lord 1995: 1-2).

which have reached us through the written medium constitute a problem rather than a challenge (cf. Finnegan 1992: 20).

In orality-based cultures, where the idea of tradition is embodied in verbal art and the 'wisdom' of the past (Ben-Amos 1972: 8), the component of oral transmission goes hand in hand with the transmission of tradition. This interrelation becomes clearer in the work of the ethnolinguist Jousse (1925), who studied the verbal art of early Christians in Galilee that embodied the Aramaic tradition. Focusing on the utterance of words as a bodily movement and embodied rhythm, he set out to demonstrate how this verbal art genre functioned as a set of religious catechistic texts. In parallel to Parry, Jousse was further suggesting that such catechistic functions founded upon the transmission and reception of an authoritative genre were dependent on memory and the use of formulas, thus contributing to the crystallisation of tradition.

Viewing tradition along the transmission and composition of verbal art means that tradition is not considered as a unified set of customs, beliefs, practices, but as a process, to be reinterpreted and acted out in every new context. Crystallised tradition, therefore, is taken to refer to the creation of transmissible sets of customs, beliefs and linguistic patterns.

In later versions of the Oral Theory, Lord enlisted a set of categories of oral traditionality, which echoes some of the underlying assumptions of current, though methodologically differentiated approaches to verbal art and called for emphasis upon the first three:

    i.      The art of composing songs and stories, which is handed down from generation to generation.

ii.    The traditional content, i.e story patterns, generic types and the like.

iii.   Oral traditional poetics, which consists of sound and word patternings that come to form models of imitation, duplication, balance and proportion.

iv.    Storytelling in prose or in verse, spoken, sung or chanted as a practice in a given community.

v.     Specific songs or stories in all their multiforms (i.e. variants) which obtain a particular value in the ideal traditional community.

(Lord 1995: 3-4)

To sum up, Oral Theory, even in its recent version, has insisted on emphasising the compositional aspects of traditional storytelling as enabling of both its cross-generational transmission and the shaping of culture-specific oral poetics, while it has left aside the study of storytelling as practice and its complex histories of transmission and reception by consecutive generations of listeners.

### 1.2.1.2 New directions in folklore

As a remedy to the limitations of the aforementioned work in oral poetics that were restricted to the study of oral composition and towards an integrative approach to verbal art, anthropologists turned their attention to oral performance.  The first step towards this shift was to take into account the role of interaction between the oral poet and the audience. [9]

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[9] cf. Zumthor's definition of *performance* as "the complex action by which a poetic message is simultaneously transmitted and perceived in the here and now. […] In a performance, the two axes of social communication blend: that which joins the speaker to the author and that through which situation and tradition are united." (Zumthor 1990: 22)

Yet, it was the ethnography of speaking/communication that marked the turn of oral poetics to performance. First of all, it extended the study of orality beyond the study of verbal art to the study of speech varieties, [10] i.e. verbal behaviours which reflect speakers' attitudes to each other and to their topics (Hymes 1972a: 34). Secondly, it provided specific categories for the observation and analysis of the speech events in which such speech varieties are performed. [11] By deploying these categories, it became possible to study (i) the range of oralities within and across cultures as well as (ii) the way speakers adapt to the exigencies of the diverse speech varieties by learning to produce or interpret speech appropriate to each context (*communicative competence*) (ibid: 56). The main contribution of this subfield to oral poetics was that verbal art came under the umbrella of speech varieties performed in unique speech events.

The ethnography of communication influenced American folklorists during the 1970s, [12] when they were in a position to restate the theoretical assumptions in their field. Ben-Amos' words are indicative of this novel direction of folklore:

[10] Also known as *repertoires*, i.e. types of speech within a language or dialect used in different contexts.

[11] Speech events are analysed in terms of a set of contextual components specified in the *speaking grid,* which consists of Situation/Setting, Participants, Ends, Acts of sequence, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms of interaction and interpretation and Genres.

[12] "Much is to be hoped from the growing interest of folklorists in the analysis of verbal performance. A systematic explication of these contributions is greatly to be desired" (Hymes 1972a: 51).

…But the ever increasing emphasis on the situational background of tales, songs, and proverbs that developed from Malinowski's functionalism into Hymes' "ethnography of speaking", enables us not only to study but to define folklore in its context. And in this framework, which is the real habitat of all folklore forms, there is no dichotomy between processes and products. The telling is the tale; therefore the narrator, his story, and his audience are all related to each other as components of a single continuum, which is the communicative event (Ben-Amos 1972: 10).

In the work of Abrahams (1972) and Bauman (1972) this new perspective resulted in the view of folklore as social interaction that constitutes relationships between participants. Gradually, the antiquarian [13] view of verbal art in folklore was abandoned in favour of a communication approach where verbal art was viewed as one type of speech among the available repertoires within a language or dialect. Finally, in the influential studies of Bauman (1972, 1978, 1986, 2001) this communication-based approach became more geared towards a performance-based approach. Bauman defined performance as "a mode of communication, a way of speaking, the essence of which resides in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative skill, highlighting the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content" (Bauman 1986: 3). To sum up, the new perspectives in folklore that were reviewed in the previous section gave an impetus for broadening and systematising the study of oralities with an emphasis on performance as a mode of communication.

### 1.2.1.3 Current directions in oral poetics

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[13] The antiquarian focus of folklore refers to its conception as things - texts, items, mentifacts (Bauman 1986: 2).

By now, the ethnography of performance in cross-fertilisation with linguistic anthropology has brought about a redefinition of performance as "the enactment of the poetic function" (ibid: 73) and a further broadening of the scope of oral poetics towards the wider sociocultural and political-economical context of performance. In the words of two of its influential practitioners:

> We attempt to provide a framework that will displace reified, object-centered notions of performativity, text and context, notions that presuppose the encompassment of each performance by a single, bounded social interaction. Heeding calls for greater attention to the dialectic between performance and its wider sociocultural and political-economic context, we stress the way poetic patterning extracts discourse from particular speech events and explores its relationship to a diversity of social settings (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 61).

The widening of scope towards sociocultural and political-economic contexts constitutes an attempt to avoid descriptive accounts of context (cf. Hymes' speaking grid) towards a constructivist and interactional view of the relations between texts and contexts. In other words, Bauman and Briggs call for close attention not only to the immediate context of performance, but also to the indexical relations between texts-in-the-making and their wider contexts, echoing studies of language in/and/as culture (see Duranti 2001: 30-32). The suggested approach is theoretically guided by the notion of entextualisation, i.e. the creation of an extractable stretch of discourse through its successive decontextualisations and recontextualisations. Decontextualisation refers, more specifically, to the process of extracting a stretch of discourse from its context, while recontextualisation refers to the practices of placing

the extracted text in a new context. [14] The systematic study of these processes, practices and their manifestations contributes greatly to the exploration of the way discourse circulates across contexts and the implications of such circulation. In regard to verbal art, this approach cuts across the stereotypical view that verbal art is transmitted mouth-to-mouth with no serious changes. It rather calls for a focus on the features that enable its transmission as part of the process of traditionalisation (Bauman and Briggs 1990: 70). In this framework oral poetics and performance are not considered as the main object of study but as critical perspectives on language and social life. In other words special importance is accorded not only to the description of formal or contextual features but also to broader social and political issues, touching upon factors of access, legitimacy, competence and values, which rely on the construction and assumption of authority (ibid: 76-77).

The above review of the way verbal art has been treated in oral poetics has sought to sketch out the main developments in the field.  Such developments can be summed up in the following three types of approaches: [15]

    i.     approaches centered on oral composition (Lord 1960) which have tended to be text-centered,

    ii.    performance-based approaches, treating performance as the fundamental unit of description and analysis (Bauman 1972a; Abrahams 1982) and

    iii.   approaches that have adopted a view of verbal art as one of the range of speech varieties in a community (Sherzer 1983).

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[14] See Blommaert 2005: 251-255; Glossary.

[15] This list does not mean to oversimplify the complexity of the developments in oral poetics, but rather serve exposition purposes.

Building on the contributions and limitations of the aforementioned approaches, critical perspectives on performance and poetics have emerged as an approach towards integrative oral poetics. Under the umbrella of this new direction, the immediate and wider contexts of verbal art performances as well as the practices of transmission and composition can be studied jointly towards uncovering the textuality and pragmatics of verbal art forms. This integrative approach to verbal art forms -both written and oral- constitutes an important point of reference for this study, which focuses on Maniat laments. In what follows, the main features of the verbal art of lament are described, with specific reference to laments from Greece, before previous approaches to the genre are critically reviewed.

## 1.3 The verbal art of lament

Lament constitutes one of those remarkable verbal art genres encountered across the world and over the centuries in occasion-specific, stylised performances. In Modern Greece the popular lament is known as *mirologi* or in common usage *miroloi* which connotes "crying one's fate" (Seremetakis 1991: 3). Throughout the study, the term *miroloi* will be used interchangeably with the term *lament*. [16]

Situated at the intersection of singing and speaking, laments aim at once at the expression/display both of grief as well as of local values and attitudes towards life and death. It is, therefore, not surprising that several folkloristic, anthropological,

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[16] The synonym Greek word for *mirolo(g)i* used in the learned and religious language is *threnos*, an ancient but commonly used word (Alexiou 2002: 110). In English, two words can be used to translate *mirolo(g)i*, the words *dirge* and *lament*. The former originates in the Latin rite and is also used as a name for that service, while the latter designates both the act of lamenting, i.e. a passionate or demonstrative expression of grief as well as a set or conventional form of mourning, i.e. a song of grief (Oxford English Dictionary Online).

musical and linguistic issues have been raised concerning the lament's oral and written transmission, verbal art performance, genre gendering, genre fixation and transformation, textual history, memorisation and oral formulae (see Feld and Fox 1994: 39-43). Laments for the dead, often designated as ritual laments, are only one part of a complex tradition of ritual customs and beliefs surrounding death (Alexiou 2002[1974]: 3).

Death in anthropological studies has been conceptualised either within a polarity between culture and nature, permeated by a universal humanism (see Danforth 1982; Rosaldo 1984) or has been reduced to a mirror for local systems of social order (see Bloch and Parry 1982). Ariès (1981) in his study of death rites has instead employed death as the critical lens through which to view social order (see Seremetakis 1991: 12-15). In a similar vein Seremetakis treats death rites as "an arena of social contestation, a space where heterogeneous and antagonistic cultural codes and social interests meet and tangle" (ibid: 15). With particular reference to the region of Inner Mani, she describes mortuary rituals and the related divinatory practices in the region as the central sites where women articulate alternative discourses to the social order through the vocalisation and physical display of pain (ibid: 2-5). The lament performed in the context of these local wakes *(klama)* refers to the improvised singing of the soloist [17] that focuses on the recounting of the life (or killing) of the deceased. Compared to the fifteen-syllable folk laments widespread in different regions of

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[17] In funerary rites, lamenters make a concerted use of polyphonic and antiphonic techniques, such as chorus refrains, stylized sobbing, gestures, improvised prose monologues and screaming (see Seremetakis 1991: 106-107).

Modern Greece and Outer Mani, the Inner Maniat lament [18] stands out in two respects: i. it is composed in stressed eight-syllable lines making extensive use of the technique of improvisation and ii. it constitutes an integral part of Maniat life serving as a resource of local history, discursive forms and gender identity. The differences between the two are evident in their generic classification.

### 1.3.1 Greek laments as a genre

Following traditional classifications laments are included in lyric poetry, the genre of poetry meant to be sung in ancient times to the accompaniment of the lyre, but now used for poems directly expressing the poet's own thoughts and sentiments. In lyric poetry some small narrative genres are also included, such as the ancient dithyramb, the modern folk ballad, and laments (see Veloudis 1994: 116). Lyric laments, however, refer broadly to the fifteen-syllable laments found in continental Greece, Crete, the Dodekanese and other islands, in particular those known as *laments of Charos or the Underworld*. [19] Laments from Mani, on the other hand, which only very rarely include references to Charos or the Underworld, are simply called *Maniat laments*. This generic differentiation between the two types of laments seems to account for their different treatment in the folkloric-philological literature: for instance, in Ioannou's collection of folk songs Maniat laments occupy a separate section at the end (Ioannou 1970); in Saunier's study on Greek folk songs, the focus is placed on the laments of Charos or the Underworld (Saunier 1979). As a result, we

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[18] Throughout the study *Maniat lament* refers to the Inner Maniat type of lament.

[19] The *laments of Charos or the Underworld* constitute a special category made up of narrative texts that are performed outside death ceremonies and can be considered as mournful *paraloghes* (i.e. short narrative texts) (Saunier 1999: 10).

have been left with either very general descriptions of Maniat laments as "improvised texts in iambic octasyllable" (Saunier 1999: 18) or even with decontextualised evaluations of them as "poetically inferior" (Kyriakides 1978: 48).

Motsios (1995: 25-27), on the other hand, has treated the aforementioned difference between the two types of laments in terms of their respective types of aesthetic composition: i. laments composed in the fifteen-syllable poetic metre are designated as *lyric*, ii. laments composed in the eight-syllable poetic metre as *narrative*, [20] and iii. those that fall in between the two are designated as *epicolyric*. Yet the term lyric connotes either ancient genres (lyric as opposed to drama or epic poetry in the Poetics of Aristotle) or 19th century written poetry in Europe and its first-person accounts of personal feelings. Its application, therefore, to popular laments is rather problematic.

The ritual/narrative distinction is deemed more appropriate for the description and analysis of laments. Ritual laments refer to the laments sung at the grave. In Maniat ritual laments, the lamenter (*mirologhistra*) expresses intensely her personal grief and pain in the context of the death ceremony, making use mainly of performative devices (such as stylised sobbing, screaming) and less so of poetic ones (such as rhyming, metaphorical expressions). Narrative laments, [21] on the other hand, include songs of varied themes and length, from improvised and competitive couplets to longer narrative ballads (*epitrapezia tragoudia, laments of the Underworld and Charos)* (Alexiou 2002 [1974]: 124-125) which are sung in contexts unrelated to the different stages of the death ceremony (e.g. at weddings) (Saunier 1999: 9). Narrative laments

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[20] Eight-syllabic narrative laments are encountered not only in Mani, but also in Rethimno (Crete) and in parts of Cyprus (Motsios 1995: 27).

[21] Reference is made here to laments in general, irrespective of the metre in which they are composed.

have been primarily understood through their antithetical comparison to lyric or ritual laments; that is, as a form of expression that emphasises specific details from the past (such as the dead person's life or the manner of one's death) to a greater extent than the lyrical expression of personal feelings. As mentioned above, the observations of Seremetakis went further than that, highlighting the centrality of lament recitations outside the mourning ritual, which reconstruct the ceremony as collective oral history, creating a narrative tradition of long-standing echoing. Seremetakis' anthropological study, however, does not focus on laments as narratives, but on their performance [22] and therefore references to narrative remain theoretically ungrounded and diffuse.

Holst-Warhaft (1992: 53-67) has devoted several pages exclusively to narrative laments. She refers to Maniat laments as long narrative ballads, but she does not define what is meant by the term *narrative*. The focus is placed on the form and function of four selected lament texts drawn from Kassis' collections (1979, 1980, 1981), based on which she alludes to comparisons between the structural devices used in Maniat laments and laments from other regions of Greece, or even from other countries, such as Lorca's *Lament for Ignacio Sanchez Mejias* or the Kaluli laments of New Guinea. These devices include, for instance, verbal elements as conventional formulas (e.g. opening lines) and imagery or the lack of it, as in the case in Maniat laments. However, the claim that some of the described structural features are also

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[22] It has to be noted that Seremetakis' study is very informative about local categories of laments and additionally about the semiology of bereavement in Maniat lament performances based on a semantico-lexical analysis.

typical of the more recently composed Maniat laments is tenuous, since only a handful of texts drawn from a single published collection have been examined in a rather superficial fashion (ibid: 59). [23]

In this study, narrative lament encompasses lament performances in contexts that are not associated with the death ceremony. Their difference from ritual laments being that they cannot be performed with "proper pain", because the lamenter cannot reach the appropriate emotional intensity and reality without the support of the chorus structure (Seremetakis 1991: 100). The contextual pervasiveness of the lament is associated with the pervasiveness of death in the community:

> The death ritual in Inner Mani cannot be treated as discrete narrative, insofar as it has no clear-cut beginnings and ends or spatial-temporal locus. The ceremonialisation of death emerges gradually from the background of everyday social life and never fully fades back into it (Seremetakis 1991: 47).

In the above quote, Seremetakis refers to the embedding of death in everyday life in ritualised forms, such as dreaming and appearances, emphasising the permeation between ritual and ordinary life in the Maniat community. Such interpenetration is also characteristic of the *miroloi*: improvised by a lamenter in the context of a death ceremony it tends to become reshaped into collective oral history, creating a narrative tradition whose impact extends beyond the death ceremony (ibid: 105). Old laments are being improvised long after the death ceremony and in the process they become

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[23] Holst-Warhaft is less interested in the formal/functional description of Maniat laments and more oriented to broader issues of diachronic forms for the expression of grief, the conflict between such expressions of resistance and the State and, finally, the influence of these forms on Modern Greek literature.

subjected to alterations (depending on the lamenter and his clan allegiances and enmities) and gradually dissociated from ritual contexts. In other words, the lament genre participates in a long-standing verbal art tradition in which individual and collective poetic creations intersect in antiphonic ritual and everyday practices. An ethnographic illustration of such an everyday practice in which a lament is embedded [24] is quoted below: [25]

> In the neighbourhood ('rougha'), during a regular evening gathering, three women remembering and exchanging stories and laments discussed the killing of a young girl by accident when her father and a male relative were examining a new gun (Seremetakis 1993: 146).

Laments, therefore, constitute an ongoing social process for the construction not solely of self and sentiment (Seremetakis 1991: 3) but of a local narrative tradition as well. The constant interweaving of individual and collective voices in both ritual and non-ritual contexts points to the impossibility of tracing a lament back to an 'original' lamenter and an 'original' mourning ritual (§2.2.4.5). Yet as folkloristic studies of Maniat laments were subjected to, and arguably overshadowed by, the philological and literary methods of textual selection, presentation, and interpretation which were developed in the context of the growing scholarship on 'retrieved' folk songs in the

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[24] Cf. the following excerpt exemplifying lament reconstruction as oral history: "The subsequent events (following Vaggelio's honour killing) became a matter of lament composition and local history in various versions according to the alignments of the lineages and clans involved" (Seremetakis 1991: 144-145). Similar recontextualisation practices are ethnographically reported in Briggs (1992) with reference to *sana* (lament among the Warao, Northeastern Venezuela) retellings in subsequent discussions that focus on resolving the problems exposed by the wailers.

[25] Please refer to the original for the full-text of the laments recounted and the entire recorded interaction.

second half of the 18th century, [26] little space was left for studies of the local narrative tradition.

### 1.3.2 Approaches to Greek folk songs

A handful of studies of the Greek folk song, notably Beaton (1980) and Sifakis (1988) have shied away from the aforementioned folkloristic dead-ends. Beaton, for instance, views folk ballads as "a range of different songs […] composed out of common elements" (1980: 27), while Sifakis views them as a semiotic system analogous to that of language. In their respective analyses of the Greek songs, they have both employed the unit of formula, defined as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (Parry 1930: 80, cited in Beaton 1980: 37; in Sifakis 1988: 83). Beaton has emphasised–the flexibility and creativity of the formula as well as the verbal and thematic stylisation of the song tradition, while Sifakis has illustrated the technique of formulaic repetition and variation along i. a paradigmatic axis, where formulas or their component elements are being selected and substituted and ii. a syntagmatic axis, where units are ordered sequentially.

With regard to the genre of laments, however, noteworthy studies grounded in oral-formulaic theory or its combination with contemporary approaches to discourse are lacking. [27] This partly accounts for the tenacity of the long-standing assumption of

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[26] For a lucid account of the retrieval of folk songs in Greece, see Politis 1984.

[27] Alexiou (2002[1974]: 165-184), however, has provided the basic steps towards such a direction. For instance, she illustrates the common themes found in ancient *threnos* and *hymnos, enkomion* and *epitaphios*, attributing this thematic diachronicity to their shared ritual basis. Among these common

Maniat laments as being spontaneously improvised in performance, despite its recent challenging by Motsios' ethnographically-grounded examples of prior-to-the-performance stages of composition (Motsios 1995: 23-25). [28]

To sum up, the verbal art of lamenting in Mani was described above as a process integral to the construction of a local narrative tradition that extends beyond ceremonial contexts of death. In the context of folkloristics, however, folk song scholarship overshadowed the study of laments and subjected it to its obsession with 'original' texts (*Urtext*), rather than with its circulation and change. Later applications of the oral-formulaic theory to Greek folk songs that challenged such problematic assumptions were never extended to the study of lament composition. Finally, although in earlier studies Maniat laments have been classified into the narrative lament-type, it has been either their performative dimensions (Seremetakis 1991) or their literary-textual features (Holst-Warhaft 1992) that have been emphasised instead. In other words, there is a gap in the literature regarding: i. the practices of lament circulation beyond ritual contexts and ii.the narrativity of laments.

This thesis aims to fill in this gap by embarking on the study of Maniat laments as narratives in the light of current developments in oral poetics and the widening of narrative research to both literary and non-literary narratives (e.g. Tannen 1987; Johnstone 1990; Georgakopoulou 1997).By narrative research I refer to

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themes, more specifically, we can find the sudden realisation of death, the contrast between the living and the dead, the self-centred expression of grief for one person's death, and the praise of the dead (Alexiou 2002[1974]: 185-205).

[28] cf. Holst-Warhaft (1992: 67).

interdisciplinary approaches to narrative, which adopt a discourse analytic, a sociolinguistic, an anthropological or other perspective. In the remaining sections, the perspectives and units of analysis which have gained currency in narrative analysis are critically reviewed and the analytic framework for the analysis of Maniat laments is outlined.

## 1.4 Narrative analysis models

Elliot Mishler (1995: 89-90) offers a useful typology of narrative analysis models in the social sciences, classifying the bulk of narrative studies into three main categories according to their predominant focus on one of the three language functions as suggested by Halliday (1973): i. reference, ii. structure and iii. function. Narrative studies in the first category are concerned with the temporal correspondence between actual events and their textual representation. The second category includes the studies which investigate how narrative organisation is achieved through linguistic and narrative strategies and finally, studies in the third category privilege the stories' purposes, settings, effects, social processes, institutions and so on.

Mishler's typology will serve as the guide to the critical review of the units of analysis developed in different narrative analysis models and which are of relevance for the selected path of the present integrative analysis.

## 1.4.1 Reference: the Labovian model

Narrative models with a focus on reference define narrative as a temporally and causally sequential representation of events, as if events were 'real', objective entities and independent of their linguistic expression (Mishler 1995: 91-92). Mishler

identifies further four subclasses of this category among diverse fields of the social sciences.[29]

The focus on reference, however, has constituted a longstanding assumption for narratologists as well, evidenced in their working distinction between *story* (or *fabula*) and *discourse*, where *story* refers to the unshaped basic event skeleton and *discourse* to its particular textual representation. Michael Toolan clarifies the underlying assumptions of this distinction using the terminology of Chomsky's transformational grammar; in these terms, story is a *deep structure,* that is an underlying, chronologically ordered form of discourse which contains information about characters, events and settings, while discourse is the 'finished product' that is generated out of this abstract, but structured, representation (Toolan 1994 [1988]: 12-14).

Relying upon the formal distinction between deep and superficial structure the sociolinguists Labov and Waletzky (1997[1967]) suggested a highly influential

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[29] The other three refer to: i. researchers with large amounts of material gathered in life history or clinical interviews (e.g. oral historians, psychologists and psychiatrists, ethnographers, historians and journalists; see Mishler 1992) (Mishler 1995: 95-98), ii. studies of large samples of respondents (Veroff, Chadiha, Leber & Sutherland 1993) (ibid: 98-100) and iii. the work of historians, political scientists and sociologists for whom narrative is a mode of theorizing and interpretation (Abbott & Forrest 1986; Abbott & Hrycak 1990) (ibid: 100-102).

linguistic model of narrative for the functional analysis of oral narratives of personal experience in English with the wider aim to identify the fundamental or prototypical features of narrative, which arguably reside in the stories of unskilled tellers. Their model emerged from a broader research project in Central Harlem focusing on the functional conflicts between Standard English and the non-standard English of Black and Puerto Rican children, who showed great verbal ability in many areas, such as the construction of narratives, but could not read at all. The aim of the research on narrative in particular was to show the ways these children use language to carry out specific functions that are important in their system of values. The material used for this research on narrative was tape-recorded narratives from two social contexts: i. face-to-face interviews with the interviewer, a person outside the narrator's group and ii. the narrator speaking in part to the members of his group and in part to an outsider who provided only a part of the stimulus for the narrative. The tellers included speakers from 10 to 72 years old, from both Black and White communities, rural and urban, and none of whom had finished high school (see Labov and Waletkzky 1997 [1967]: 4-5).

The realist perspective of the model that privileges temporality is evident in the definition of narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events that actually occurred" (ibid: 12) and the more formal definition as "any sequence of clauses that contains at least one temporal juncture" (ibid: 21).

Labov and Waletzky (ibid: 4) state from the start their methodological difference from earlier structuralist work which was similarly oriented to the specification of the essential narrative structures, yet focusing on folk narratives as prototypes. In

Vladimir Propp's well-known morphology of the Russian folktale (1958), narrative is defined in transformational terms as a change from an initial to a modified state. Based on a corpus of one hundred and fifteen Russian fairytales, Propp listed thirty-one fixed functions which modify an initial state and always appear in the same sequence (the initial change of a state, for instance, is effected by the hero's departure) and seven basic character types (e.g. hero, villain etc.). [30] Despite the restrictiveness of this type of structural analysis, the significance of Propp's findings is evidenced in their appeal to different readers' intuitions regarding the basic elements of plots (Toolan 1994[1988]: 20). The assumed narrative prototypicality of fairytales, however, is highly questionable, not only because fairytales make part of a well-established and thus to a great extent stereotyped oral genre (traditional narratives), but also because they have been studied in their written form, without taking into account the textual implications of their transcription or successive re-writings (§4.2).

Labov and Waletzky's model, by looking for "the simplest and most fundamental narrative structures" (Labov and Waletzky 1967[1997]: 3) in the oral narratives of personal experience told by unskilled tellers, does away with such medium-related and ideological complexities and points to a bridge between the literary and non-literary narratives that had been kept apart in earlier studies of narrative (ibid: 5).

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[30] For a more detailed review of Propp's morphology of the Russian folktale and its application to other types of fictions, see Toolan 1994[1988]: 14-20.

## 1.4.2 Applications of the Labovian model

Four decades since the publication of the Labov & Waletzky paper, new developments in narrative analysis have cast it under a different light: on the one hand, the model has been criticised, most notably for failing to take into account the social situadness of narratives (see Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 1999: 63; Bamberg 1997). On the other hand, Labov has been continually illustrating and refining the model throughout the intervening years (Labov 1977, 1997, 2001, 2004, 2006), [31] making two foremost contributions: i. elaborating on the notion of narrative tellability/reportability and ii. articulating a concern with narrative preconstruction, in addition to narrative construction. During this time the model has been resonating in a number of studies where the model has been employed for the analysis of wide-ranging data (Maranhao 1984; Georgakopoulou 1997; Klapproth 2004), creating a platform for the comparison of different types of cross-cultural narratives (see Giaxoglou 2005).

Furthermore, the clarity of this model has incited literary scholars to engage with a linguistic approach to narrative, thus cross-fertilising other fields of study. Monika Fludernik (1996) and Suzanne Fleischmann (1990), in particular, have applied the Labovian model to traditional genres of oral narrative with long trajectories of written circulation in English and French, respectively, illustrating the model's appropriateness and usefulness for similar narrative types, among which Maniat laments can be included. Finally, the fact that it has been applied to different types of

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[31] For a summary of the narrative analysis reviewing the main methodologies outlined in the first paper of Labov and Waletzky (1967) and incorporating some of the more recent methods developed in Labov's more recent papers, see http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/Papers/FebOralNarPE.pdf.

narrative has also brought to the fore its own limitations, so that current uses need to look towards integrative adaptations of the model, allowing other approaches to narrative to fill in any gaps.

In the following two sections I will present in greater detail the analytical units that the Labovian model provides the researcher with and their limitations with reference to this study's data. Afterwards, I will suggest its supplementation with units drawn from other approaches to narrative and briefly review recent advances in the field of narrative analysis. The chapter will close with a summary of an integrative narrative model for the analysis of Maniat laments as narratives, followed by the outline of the study's analytic framework.

### 1.4.2.1 Microstructure

Labov and Waletzky's method (and its further refinements by Labov 1977, 1997, 2000, 2004) provides a sound point of entry to narrative texts by assuming two levels of analysis: a micro- and a macro-level of narrative structure.

For the micro-level, Labov and Waletzky define their unit of analysis as the smallest unit of linguistic expression, namely the clause, as opposed to Propp's "large semantic units of analysis" (ibid: 4). It is arguably this minimal unit of analysis which defines the two functions of narrative, (a) the referential and (b) the evaluative, which are identified on the basis of the distinction of temporal clauses into narrative and non-narrative. The distinction between narrative and non-narrative clauses is achieved through a step-by-step analysis of the temporal relationship between adjacent clauses that leads to the definition of the clauses' displacement sets (i.e. the set consisting of the clauses before and/or after which each clause can be placed). Based on its displacement set, each clause is then classified as *free* (a clause that can be freely

displaced within the text, without altering its semantic interpretation), *restricted* (a clause that can be displaced, though not freely) or *bound* (a clause that cannot be displaced at all).

Consider the following sequence taken from a narrative in the Black American vernacular as cited and analysed in Labov & Waletzky (ibid: 15)

Capital letters in the example symbolize the sequential clause, the subscript number on the left the number of clauses before which A, B or C can be placed, the subscript number on the right the number of clauses after which A, B or C can be placed and DS the displacement set:

$_0A_2$   and they was catchin' up to me          DS(A)={A,B, C}

$_1B_0$   and I crossed the street               DS(B)={A, B}

$_0C_0$   and I tripped, man                     DS(C)={C}

Sequence C cannot be displaced either before its current position; it is therefore a *bound* clause. Sequence B can only be displaced up to a sequence before but not after its current position; it is therefore a *restricted* clause. Finally, the clause A can cover the entire narrative and is therefore a *free* clause. It is the bound clauses which are called narrative (as opposed to non-narrative clauses) forming the core of the temporally ordered sequence of events that is the narrative.

The advantage of positing the clause as the minimal unit of narrative analysis is the close attention accorded to the syntagmatic structure of narrative, pointing to the specific ways that words and phrases are functionally organised in clauses and higher levels of organisation (Labov and Waletzky 1997[1967]: 4). It is exactly this

insistence on syntactico-grammatical aspects of linguistic structure, however, that has been intensely criticised. Paradoxically for a model that considers oral narratives as prototypical, instead of paying attention to oral features, the positing of the unit of clause indicates the influence of the analytical model of written literary narrative, where the grammatical units of clause, sentence, paragraph are used to describe the text. Linguistic, intonational or other features that mark the beginning, the closing or the transition from one clause to the other are not taken into account. As a result of this method of analysis the internal formal structure of the narrative at a micro-level is lost from sight (cf. Hymes 1996: 168-174) and this has implications for the analytical identification of plot parts as well. The syntactico-grammatical emphasis and the written bias of this unit of analysis make it inappropriate for the purposes of the present study, which seeks to underline the orality of the written lament texts. For this reason it will need to draw its micro-level units from other approaches to narrative which accommodate the oral dimensions of narrative.

### 1.4.2.2 Macrostructure

For the analysis of Maniat laments as narratives, the present study adopts and adapts the macro-categories as elaborated in Labov (1977) on the basis of the analysis of narratives from the vernacular culture of Blacks in New York, taking into account Labov's further steps in narrative analysis (1997) and Fludernik's (1996) adaptation of the model for the analysis of medieval naratives. The six categories listed below are argued to form a fully-fledged oral narrative and constitute the foundations of my analytical method, expounded in detail in §1.5:

1. *abstract*: what is the story about, briefly?

2. *orientation*: time, space, characters, initial setting

3. *complicating action*: what happened?

4. *evaluation*: so what?

5. *resolution*: and then what? how was the complicating action resolved?

6. *coda*: end of the story and return to the time of telling

Among these macro-categories, only the complicating action - which in Labov (1997: 406) includes the most reportable event - is essential to a narrative, while all the other categories are related to the effectiveness of a narrative and are optional. These six Labovian macro-categories describe the typical structures of narrative discourse and indicate the basic organisational units that are amenable to different storytellers' combinations (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 1999: 222). The main advantages of these basic units that motivated their application to the present data are summarised below:

i.     the optionality and/or recursivity of the narrative units endow the model with flexibility and generalisability across different kinds of narratives and beyond the clause-sequential unfolding of discourse.

ii.    the suggested narrative units move beyond the traditional rhetorical categories which privilege plot as the all-embracing principle of coherence in narrative (Longacre 1993), by privileging temporal sequentiality instead. [32]

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[32] In models that privilege plot, the notion of narrative progress or peak is central, denoting the fact that a well-formed narrative is leading somewhere and more specifically that it does so by developing climactically (Longacre 1996: 33).

In view of the inappropriateness of the micro-level Labovian unit of clause for the present analysis, the question that remains to be answered is how these categories are to be identified in the actual texts. The answer, at least as far as this study is concerned, lies in models of narrative that focus on structure (Mishler 1995) and whose relevant components are reviewed below.

### 1.4.3 Structure: Ethnopoetics

According to Mishler's typology of narrative models - used in this chapter as the navigator through the vast relevant literature - the defining features of approaches focusing on structure, concerned with "how different resources of language are used to create a form that carries meaning", can be classified into two sub-categories (Mishler 1995: 102). The first sub-category includes research in classic literary texts and 'grand' historical narratives by philosophers of language and history (Rimmon-Kenan 1983; White 1987, 1989), while the second sub-category encompasses discourse research by sociolinguists or discourse analysts. Unlike the reference models which privilege temporal ordering, structure models focus on textualisation, while temporality is relevant only as one of the textually-constructed meanings.

It is the second sub-class, which refers to work in oral narratives that has come out of the tradition of the ethnography of speaking/communication, that is of relevance here, in particular the work of Hymes (1982, 2003) or Tedlock (1983, 1999) [33] on the oral-poetic patterning of Native American verbal art, which arguably constitutes the much needed supplement to the Labovian model at the micro-level of structure (see Hymes

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[33] Hymes and Tedlock disagree on the analytical detail but their ethnopoetic approaches share the same theoretical assumptions.

1996: 165-166 for criticisms of Labov's method of analysis). Next, I will briefly outline Hymes' version of ethnopoetics and show its relevance for the present study.

Hymes' method is founded on the recognition that texts are made of lines and groups of lines which may enact a rhetorical art that organizes the story and shapes its meaning. Such oral-poetic art is clearly evident in the Native American verbal art studied by Hymes, which makes part of a shared tradition transmitted through retellings. Similarly to other verbal art traditions across the world, verbal art retellings cultivate as much as they require a storyteller's skill, which is expressed through the use of a culture-specific formal patterning. As Hymes suggests, this formal patterning can still be found in some communities today, if analytic attention is focused on revealing it.

His ethnopoetic method, also known as verse analysis, focuses especially on the microstructure of the narratives, regarding the verse - defined as sentence-like contour- as the building block of narrative. The method of analysis entails a careful examination of both the overt and covert marking of the constitutive units of the narrative. More specifically, in Chinookan narratives, Hymes has found that grammatical conjunctive particles denoting succession of time or place (*agha kwapt* meaning 'and then'; *qaxhba* which is a generic particle of place) and verbs that denote change of place (and hence of time), or of actor, or communicative act (speech, outer or inner) mark off units overtly (Hymes 1975: 35). Similarly, in Zuni narratives he has found that initial grammatical particles (such as *taachi* meaning 'meanwhile' or *taas* meaning 'again') mark off units overtly, while turns of speech mark off units covertly (Hymes 1996: 126). Although the verse is the core unit for ethnopoetic analysis, its constitution is based on the lowest unit of narrative, the line, that either pairs with

other lines in a patterned way into versicles [34] or groups with other lines into verses. Hymes uses this analytical insight into the internal shapes of narratives in order to emphasise and render visible the formal and aesthetic patterns which, along with their culture-specific meanings, get lost in standard, literate-based transcriptions. The underlying idea is, therefore, that narratives constitute a culture-specific way of speaking, a performance whose content emerges out of its formal patterning (cf. Jacobson 1973).

For reasons of illustration, an excerpt of one of Hymes' analysed Zuni narratives is presented below segmented and re-written so as to show off its internal rhythmic shaping:

[Coyote meets Junco]

(A)

Son 'ahchi.

    Sonti Lo::::::ng ago:

At Standing Arrows,

    Old Lady Junco had her home.

(B)

Meanwhile Coyote,

    Coyote was there at Sitting Rock with his children,

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[34] Versicles are not equivalent in the structure of the narrative to the verses of which stanzas are composed (see Hymes 1981: 192).

he was  there with his children.

(C)

Meanwhile, Old Lady Junco was winnowing,

pigweed and tumbleweed she was winoowing;

with her basket she winnowed these by tossing them in the air

she was tossing them in the air.

(D)

Meanwhile Coyote,

Coyote was going around hunting,

going around hunting for his children there,

when he came to see where Junco was winnowing.

[cited in Hymes 1996: 126-127]

In the above excerpt, the first stanza of the first scene begins with the opening, untranslatable expression *son 'ahchi* that is characteristic of myth, while all the others are marked off by the initial grammatical particle 'meanwhile'. The lines are clearly marked off one from another on the printed page, while indentation marks off the verses.

According to the elementary principles of ethnopoetic analysis, the relations between lines and groups of lines are based on the general principle of poetic organisation called equivalence (Jacobson 1973) which may involve any feature of language. Lines of whatever length may also be treated as equivalent in terms of various forms of

metrical form, tone group or intonation contour, initial particles, recurrent syntactic pattern, consistency or contrast of grammatical feature, such as tense or aspect. It is the sequences of equivalent units that commonly constitute sets in terms of patterns of twos and fours in Zuni narratives or three and fives in Chinookan narratives (Hymes 1996: 166-167).

It is true that the ethnopoetic model, briefly outlined above, lacks the clarity and replicability of the Labovian model and is hardly applicable to large corpora of narrative texts due to the text-specificity of the posited units and the need for repeated, laborious and time-consuming individual textual analyses. However, as will be outlined in the following section, the appeal of the ethnopoetic method to other researchers of discourse has led to its application to ordinary narratives and its simplification.

### 1.4.4 Combined approaches

Influenced by the ethnopoetic models of analysis as well as by the sociolinguistic model of Labov & Waletzky, Gee (1991) has applied the idea of oral-poetic patterning in ordinary oral texts, arguing for the existence of line structure. Line structure is composed by intonational or idea units called *lines* or *micro-lines* and *macro-lines*, which correspond to the grouping of two or more lines into a unit akin to a sentence (used for the analysis of adult speech) (Gee 1999: 114-115; see also Mishler 1995 for an application of Gee's model to clinical and research interviews). Two main criteria are suggested for line identification:

    i.       pausing

    ii.      syntactic and semantic parallelism

(Gee 1986: 393-396; 1999).

There is, however, a methodological problem with Gee's analysis and this has to do with the idealisation of *idea units*. Gee's identification of oral-poetic patterns is based on structures that the speaker supposedly aims at rather than on structures that the speaker actually produces, as the following excerpt indicates.

> It appears that L is aiming at a series of short clauses as her ideal idea units. Furthermore, each of these clauses is marked by an opening 'and', some other conjunction or a verb of saying (Gee 1992: 81).

This idealisation supplemented by textual editing, namely the removal of false starts and repairs and the collapsing of the few subject nouns or noun phrases into the clause they assumingly belong to makes it difficult to distinguish between a priori assumptions that guide the analysis and recurrent patterns that are being revealed.

In contrast, Chafe, who introduced the idea unit in the first place, takes into account false starts and afterthoughts as clause types in his analyses and presentation of data. More specifically, Chafe's work has provided interesting findings on the oral patterning of discourse from a cognitive point of view relating in particular to the constraints of information flow. Chafe has suggested that although our minds contain very large amounts of knowledge or information, only a very small amount of this information can be focused on at any one time while speaking. The verbalisation of such small amounts of active information is expressed in what he initially called *intonation unit* (cf. the *tone unit* of Crystal, 1975) and later *idea unit*. In English, an intonation or idea unit contains typically about five or six words and new intonation units typically begin about two seconds apart (Chafe 1987: 22).

Chafe's idea units supplement Hymes' search for oral-poetic patterns by introducing cognitive considerations relating to the constraints of human memory. Bringing these units together offers the possibility to take into account the constraints of human memory and their implications on the structured production of everyday speech as well as on the structured composition of verbal art performances.

To sum up, Hymes pays close attention to the proportions and weighting of the textual material and aims at the recovery of a cultural-specific, implicit schema for the organisation of experience through painstaking verse analysis (Hymes 1996: 121). In a somewhat similar fashion of inquiry, Gee is interested in the way speakers organise their meanings in lines demarcated by pauses or syntactic/semantic parallelism (Gee 1999: 114). Chafe (1987: 21), on the other hand, shows a concern with the linguistic devices that speakers use to wrap up content in order to present it to a listener, introducing with clarity the idea unit as the minimal unit of linguistic production.

With specific reference to the Maniat laments used in this study, which are prototypically traditional verbal art performances composed along a poetic-narrative continuum,[35] the advantages of Hymes' ethnopoetic method practically simplified by the clarity of Chafe's minimal idea units can be summed up in the following contributions to narrative analysis:

- the supplementation of the Labovian model at the level of microstructure (Hymes 1996: 165-166)

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[35] The composition of Maniat laments along a poetic-narrative continuum is evident in their normative 8-syllable poetic metre of composition and in the narrative patterning that will be outlined in chapter 3.

- the privileging of text-specific oral-rhythmic criteria instead of temporal relations

- the emphasis on the recursivity of stylistic features

- its aim at the visual restoring of the orality of the written texts

- its close attention to textual aesthetics and cultural meaning as well as to memory and linguistic production constraints.

## 1.4.5 Function models

The final category for the classification of narrative models, following Mishler's typology, encompasses the models which are concerned with the settings, purposes and effects of narratives and which differ according to their focus on persons, cultures, social processes or institutions (Mishler 1995: 107-116). In the first sub-category, Mishler discusses two orientations of research in psychology, while in the second one he refers to the work of anthropologists on the functions of stories, folktales and myths. He cites, more specifically, the structural analysis of myth by Lévi-Strauss (1958, 1963) and its extension to the analysis of cultural rituals by Turner (1980) as well as recent critical reflections on ethnographic accounts as narratives (Fabian 1983; Clifford & Marcus 1986; Geertz 1988 cited in Mishler 1995: 110). To this subcategory, we should add the work of linguistic anthropology that focus on the pragmatic dimensions of rituals (Rosaldo 1980; Briggs 1992; Duranti 2001).

The third and fourth sub-categories encompass narrative studies that emphasise, on the one hand, the social situated-ness of storytelling focusing on conversational storytelling, research interviews, experimental settings and clinical encounters and, on the other hand, the politics of narrative. Research on situated conversational

storytelling has pointed out the pivotal role of narrative for affirming social relationships (Ochs, Smith and Taylor 1989), socialising new members in different cultural and institutional settings (Hunter 1986, 1989, 1991; quoted in Mishler 1995). Studies on the politics of narrative - such as feminist critical research (e.g. Martin 1987, 1991; Haraway 1991; quoted in Mishler 1995)- have turned to the indirect exercise of power through *master narratives* which affirm the dominant groups' values and interests, while silencing or marginalising the *counter-narratives* of the less privileged (see Mishler 1995: 112-116).

Certainly since Mishler, the reviewer must add a great deal of work on narrative to his/her long list. Although it is not my aim here to exhaustively go through the recent advances and the newly arisen issues, I would like to refer to a specific strand of research which integrates the concerns of the last subcategories in Mishler's typology, including studies with a focus on situated oral narratives in relation to:

i.      the ways in which they shape, exchange or co-construct perspectives on personal experience (Ochs and Capps 2001)

ii.     the ways in which they construct/co-construct and negotiate identities (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2006).

**1.4.6 Recent advances in narrative studies**

Ochs and Capps' dimensional approach to narrative extends the Labovian model's focus on elicited, well-formed or *canonical* [36] narratives to narratives-in-the-making, which are full of hesitations, questions, clarifications, challenges, alternative perspectives or speculations. The widening of scope of narrative analysis is achieved by the examination of narrative as a genre and activity characterised by five dimensions. This dimensional approach leaves space for a range of possibilities realised in specific narrative performances (Ochs and Capps 2001: 19-20).

- Tellership : one or multiple active co-tellers

- Tellability : high or low

- Embeddedness : detached or embedded

- Linearity : closed or open temporal and causal order

- Moral stance: certain and constant or uncertain and fluid

By conceptualising narrative as both a text and an activity unfolding along the aforementioned dimensions, narrative analysis opens up its lens to less coherent, less well-organised texts without being incompatible with narrative structure. In any case, as Georgakopoulou observes, structuralist assumptions continue to permeate the field

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[36] Interview-elicited narratives are called canonical since they have been - and in many cases still are - the object of study for folklorists, anthropologists, psychologists, historians and linguists alike, establishing a methodological orthodoxy in the field of linguistically-oriented narrative analysis (see Bamberg 2006).

of linguistics, a field which assumes that its main task is to identify the abstract structural patterns of the ways in which people communicate (Georgakopoulou 2006).

More recently, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2005; Georgakopoulou 2005) have suggested a new narrative turn that shifts the analytical lens from the 'big' biographical narratives elicited in interviews to 'small stories' (i.e. narrative activities, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared events, as well as allusions to precedent tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell). This narrative turn focuses on the co-construction of narratives and identities-in-the-making. It is suggested as an alternative to the kind of narratives privileged by Labovian and post-Labovian approaches, namely methodologically unreflected researcher-elicited narratives in the context of interviews.

In the above sections I sketched out the main trends in narrative analysis following Mishler's typology of narrative models and some of the recent advances in narrative analysis were incorporated in this non-exhaustive review. The previous discussion on different approaches suggests that the Labovian model, despite its limitations, constitutes an almost inescapable way of entry into narrative analysis, providing the researcher with flexible macro-categories to make out the basic structure of the data, taking into account their socio-affective load. Limiting its applicability to the identification of the basic patterns of narrative organisation allows its cross-fertilisation with other sociolinguistic-oriented approaches. It was suggested that Hymes' version of ethnopoetics - clarified and enriched by Chafe's intonational and cognitive specifications of the minimal unit of linguistic production - can serve as a tool to uncover the formal and aesthetic patterning of narratives. Finally, recent advances, such as the dimensional approach to narrative and 'small story' research

enable researchers to widen their analytical lens into less privileged narratives and approach their object of study not only as text but also as activity and social practice. In the following section, I will present the narrative model used for the analysis of the corpus of Maniat laments.

## 1.5 The present analytic framework

The narrative model developed for the analysis of Maniat laments relies upon the contention, justified in the previous section, that it is both desirable and possible to join together an approach to narrative structure that combines the Labovian macro-categories and the micro-categories of the ethnopoetic method (cf. Gee 1991; Georgakopoulou 1997) with the dimensional approach to narrative (Ochs and Capps 2001) that enables the exploration of the pragmatics of narrative performances. In effect this eclectic narrative model moves from structure to performance.

In this study the narrative model is applied to a corpus of laments recorded in an unpublished folklore collection (§2.1). The texts-data have been compiled into an e-database in order to allow for their processing by digital tools for textual analysis (§2.3). In this eclectic analytic approach to Maniat laments, narrative analysis is combined with ethnopoetics and the dimensional approach to narrative as well as with a corpus-based approach. Such an integrative approach to Maniat laments as narratives is deemed appropriate for reconciling their properties as: i. *display texts*, i.e. as a form of discourse crafted for drama and performance before an audience (Pratt cited in Ochs and Capps: 61) or as a form of written discourse crafted for reading by an audience and thus amenable to structural analysis and ii. as emergent, socially situated performances subject to variation (cf. Bauman cited in Ochs and Capps: 60) and as such not so easily amenable to structural analysis.

The different methodological tools are combined under the consideration of the verbal art of Maniat laments as a narrative genre subject to ongoing entextualisations. Genre is defined as a constellation of systemically related, co-occurrent formal features and structures that serves as a conventionalised orienting framework for the production and reception of discourse (Bauman 2004: 3), thus ensuring the wider circulation of discourse. In other words, Maniat laments are viewed not only as ethnopoetically-patterned narratives but also as narratives whose patterning potentiates their entextualisation and their wider circulation in different contexts through ideologically loaded practices.

### 1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter (§1.3), earlier approaches to Maniat laments were critically discussed, focusing on their recurrent characterisation as narrative (Kyriakides 1978; Motsios 1995; Holst-Warhaft 1992; Alexiou 1974; Kassis 1979). Moreover, special attention has been accorded to Seremetakis' observation that the individual mourning song constructed in *klama* (mourning ritual) is reconstructed as collective oral history, creating a narrative tradition whose impact extends beyond the *klama* (Seremetakis 1991: 105). Elaborating on this observation, it has been argued that the Maniat lament can be more effectively explored based on its distinction into the two following types: i. the ritual lament, which refers to the mourning song constructed in the context of *klama* and ii. the narrative lament, which refers to the mourning song that is being reconstructed in the narrative mode in a variety of ordinary contexts. To this genre an additional type of lament must be added: laments which have extended to the written medium, through their documentation in folklore collections, both published (such as Kassis 1979, 1980, 1981; Kallidonis 1981; Koutsilieris 1997) and unpublished (such as laments resting in archives). In examining the relevant literature from the

perspective of the above distinction, a gap has been identified concerning the adequate depiction of other types of lament, besides the ritual one.

In light of the aforementioned gaps in the relevant literature, the aim of the present study is stated as an exploration of this uncharted territory from the theoretical vantage point of narrative and entextualisation, including more specifically: i. the analysis of the narrative laments' structure based on their documentation in folklore collections and ii. the examination of folklore collections as a way of constructing tradition, i.e. as an ideologically loaded practice. In the following chapter, the data on which the formal analysis of the verbal art of Maniat lament is going to be based will be presented. In addition, the quantitative and qualititative methodology adopted in the analysis will be outlined.

# 2. From a family 'treasure' to a digital lament corpus

## 2. 1 Introduction

The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of my data and methodology. I will start by describing the manuscript lament collection used as my data in three stages: first, I will recount the way the collection came into my hands, secondly, I will report features of the appearance of the handwritten sheets and the arrangement of texts on the written page and thirdly, I will discuss the compiler's metadiscursive practices in relation to i. contexts integral to its shaping (spatio-temporal contexts, compiler's biographical information) and ii. the resulting textual products.  An outline of the methods used for compiling part of the collection into an e-corpus, encoded in XML, will follow along with a discussion of the aims of the e-corpus and the digital tools used for its processing.  Finally, the supplementary data that are going to be employed in the study will be presented. These include, more specifically, i. data that have resulted from my fieldwork in Mani at an early stage of my research project and ii. selected texts from published collections of Maniat laments.

## 2.2 Data

The data employed in the present study are drawn from a written collection of Maniat laments, estimated to have been compiled from 1930 to 1935. The data are considered as retrieved data in two respects: first of all, the collection was retrieved sixty-four years after the estimated date of its compilation and fifty years after the death of its

compiler. On the other hand, the texts making up the retrieved collection constitute retrieved texts as well, though in another sense, namely in that they have been elicited from local informants in the context of the compiler's folkloristic activities. This aspect of the data has been critical to the selected line of exploration in this study and it is for this reason that I need to briefly recount the story of their retrieval.

### 2.2.1 A family 'treasure' retrieved

Shortly after the death of Dimitra Strilakou, her youngest daughter, Gianna,[1] recalled the memory of her mother's occasional references to her husband Giagkos' personal possessions safeguarded in a suitcase since his early death in September 1949 and placed in the house-loft before they were transferred to a safe place in the home-basement.

Gianna, born in May 1949, recalled being told as a child that the suitcase contained various documents of her deceased father, such as translations of ancient texts taught at school that were ready for publication and a few *mirologia*. These were the traces of Giagkos Strilakos' life in the orphaned home that had to be treated with respect as if they were his bones.

In addition to feelings of obligation towards these documents, his youngest daughter also reportedly felt an obligation towards the products of the intellectual labour of a man of high professional repute and social status.

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[1] The references to the memories and thoughts of Gianna Strilakou-Giaxoglou are based on her own account, written as a response to a set of written questions that I sent to her through email in May 2007. The questions referred to the retrieval of her father's documents and her past and present thoughts and feelings towards these.

The documents of Giagkos Strilakos thus came to be valued both as tokens of family history and as potentially marketable objects of material culture, a hidden 'treasure' waiting to be retrieved.  The treasurisation of Yiagos' personal possessions is a process woven into webs of historicity that have shaped personal ideas and ideals of identity (cf. Stewart 2003: 484-485). In this case, treasurisation is related to emotional investing as part of family memory construction as well as to wider views on potential marketable antique value. The quick-view of the process of endowing personal possessions with values of family treasure in the context of bereavement and intense grief seems parallel to the broader process of *monumentalisation*, which involves endowing material items with a collective monumental value; this process is illustrated in practices of endowing verbal art records with authenticity and traditionality, that constitute one of the concerns of this study.

The safeguarded personal possessions of Giagkos Strilakos were finally retrieved by his daughter Gianna in 1999 and included the following:

- a few personal objects (e.g. shaving brush and razor, identity card etc.) kept separately in a box
- his private diary
- a collection of postcards sent by Giagkos to his family containing historical and archaeological information on the places or sites pictured
- official documents
- unbound sheets inscribed with *mirologia* texts
- two notebooks (one devoted to general notes on Mani, another to a glossary of the Maniat dialect)
- university course notes

- reviews and books (consisting of ancient writers, textbooks, literature, folklore, history, politics)

In the process of restoration, [2] books and reviews were placed in zipper-style re-sealable plastic bags, with the exception of a few older editions that were thought of antiquarian value, and were placed on a shelf on the main bookshelf of Gianna's house. The unbound sheets making up the manuscript collection of *mirologia* were placed in punched pockets (A4), tied together following the ascending order of the numbered texts on sheets, and put into a dossier along with the rest of documents, notebooks and other unbound sheets.

As Giagkos' and Dimitra's grand-daughter and Gianna's only daughter, I have in turn responded to the call of the family 'treasure', showing a particular interest in the retrieved collection of *mirologia*, whose general appearance I describe in the following sections.

## 2.2.2 General appearance of the manuscript

The general appearance of the manuscript is described below in relation to the compiler's textual recording practices - at least to the degree that these are indexed by the dim traces of entextualisation on the manuscript sheets (see Appendix I: 1).

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[2] The family 'treasure' had been retrieved and re-stored, so that order was now restored through paying due respect to Giagkos and the guardian of his memory, Dimitra. The history of the treasured personal possessions presented above, marked by its storage by the grieving widow and the restoration by the grieving daughter, raises interesting issues regarding the nature of *continuing bonds* through personal possessions and their functions within the complex process of bereavement and intense grief. However, this is not a matter that can be dealt with here (but see special Issue Death Studies 1996 and 2006; Lewis 2007).

In more detail, the manuscript refers to a total of thirty-four unbound sheets, the majority of which (twenty-two in total) are in very good condition, despite the unfavourable conditions of their long-term storage. Eleven of the sheets bear traces of ink blots or damage of tearing at their edges, yet such damage is so limited that it does not interfere with the intelligibility of the written text(s). The only exception is the sheet on which text No 1 has been recorded, which bears marks of tearing right in the middle of the sheet, rendering irretrievable half of the main text *(*entitled *του Θεοφάνη Μπαρμπαγιάννη*) and the entirety of its variant - save for its title *Βον μοιρολόι μετά τον θάνατον του [...]*. In addition, traces of paper folding in fours have been observed in seven sheets and traces of folding in twos in three sheets. Such folding may have been intended for flexible short-term storage of individual sheets, which could account for the loss of the sheets in-between, evidenced in the numbering of sheets and texts (outlined below and in § 2.2.3 respectively).

The compiler has used four different paper types:

a.   twenty-three double and two single white report-type sheets (295x195mm)

b.   six double striped report-type sheets (300x197mm)

c.   two single striped report-type sheets (295x195mm and 297x197mm)

d.   one single striped notebook-type sheet (195x145mm)

Type (i) is consistently used for the recording of texts numbered from 1 to 45, and type (ii) for texts numbered from 46 to 65. Types (iii) and (iv) are used for the recording of texts that have not been numbered. The numbering of the sheets is limited to the first ten double white report-type sheets - sheets from number 4 to 8 are missing - and to two single striped report-type sheets numbered 1 and 2, respectively.

The observed consistency in the relation of numbered texts and the paper type used for their recording suggests that the manuscript is the product of the initial stages of collection-making, during which the compiler organised texts in ascending numerical order as he was recording them, without proceeding to their re-organisation which would be evidenced in the application of pre-determined overarching criteria, such as theme, date or location.

Finally, in terms of the ways the sheets are written it has been observed that at least the first page of each sheet is written recto and verso (58.8%; see table 1 for a detailed recto-verso writing configuration in all sheets).

Considering that the thinness of report-type sheets renders them transparent when intense ink is applied to them, the compiler's preference to write sheets recto and verso is not the optimal practice as far as textual intelligibility is concerned. Rather, this preference shows initial stages of collection-making. Moreover, the lack of systematic pagination of sheets and the concern with flexible short-term storage suggests that the priority of the compiler was to fill in the sheets with texts, variants of texts and information about them, in order to build up a corpus before proceeding to more radical rearrangements and textual re-workings (assuming of course that the compiler had such intentions in mind).

The aforementioned physical appearance of the manuscript data suggests that its constitutive sheets are re-worked drafts, in the sense that no radical re-ordering has taken place. This suggestion, in turn, indicates that the manuscript is the product of preliminary textual recording practices involving non-finalised decisions on textual transcription and overarching organising principles.

### 2.2.3 The texts

The texts recorded in the thirty-four sheets amount to sixty-four entitled texts of 10.180 words in total, with a mean of 159 words per text (for full contents see Appendix I: 2). The texts have been numbered in ascending order from 1-65 with fifteen intermediary texts missing[3], while texts recorded as variants[4] have been numbered separately, as 1st, 2nd or 3rd.

As shown in the Table on manuscript features (Appendix I: 1), the compiler has tended to record one text per sheet (either double or single) (44.1%), although there are occasions where a sheet has been filled with two (29.4%), three (20.5%) or even four (5.8%) texts. More specifically, however, in the total seventy-three written sheet-pages, one text (59.3%) is the norm which may be continued to the next page (28.1%), while it is more rare to find two texts (10.9%) or three texts (1.5%) per sheet-page despite the eight-syllable textual representation in all but six texts[5] which allows the accommodation of more than one texts on a page (see Appendix I: 2).    This preference, coupled with the high frequency of single texts per sheet, indicates that the compiler was saving page-space for further folkloristic *metadiscursive practices,* such as editing (see Briggs 1993). In what follows, I am going to present in more detail the manifestations of such practices in the manuscript collection and show how it has impacted the appearance of the collections.

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[3] More specifically, the following numbers assumingly corresponding to texts that are missing: 2-4, 14-20, 21, 56-62.

[4] Such texts bear the title *Παραλλαγή* (Variant).

[5] These six texts have been recorded in either linear prose or in sixteen-syllable lines.

## 2.2.4 Metadiscursive practices

Metadiscursive practices refer to folkloristic methods of locating, extracting, and interpreting various forms of discourse, which in conjunction with rhetoric of justification and mobilizing strategies contribute significantly to the creation of textual authority (Briggs 1993: 388-389). The systematic study of such practices is relevant here as it constitutes a means to situate the compiler and his manuscript collection in scholarly, social, political and historical terms. I will be concerned with two sets of metadiscursive practices, in particular, which are outlined below:

a. Resetting and editing practices which involve formatting the extracted discourse forms in the new context of writing as well as editing related to dialect transcription, narrative smoothing, and addition of meta-texts guided by language ideologies.

b. Selection and extraction practices which involve extracting collectable discourse forms from a selected source.

Added meta-texts in the manuscript collection refer to superposed titles, to dates and names and to the occasional addition of comments of varied content (see §2.2.4.1 and §2.2.4.5).

Titles are predominantly names superposed on texts [6] in the nominative case (64%), with single instances of names in the genitive (*Του Θεοφάνη Μπαρμπαγιάννη*) or the accusative (*Γεώργιον Μιχελάκον ή Μαντούβαλον*). Either in nominative, genitive or accusative case, the name refers to the person for whom the lament has been

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[6] All but three texts in the collection have titles.

composed, as it does in published collections of Maniat laments [7] where the predominant case is the genitive (Kallidonis 1981; Kassis 1979, 1980, 1981; Koutsilieris 1997). Other kinds of titles, more rarely encountered, are clan names (*Σερεμετιάνικο*) or collective names (*Πόλεμος Τσαουλιάουνε και Μιχαλακιάουνε*) and thematic, either folkloristic (*Η Ανακομιδή/ Translation of relics); Ο ραγιάς επαναστατεί/Revolt of the slave*) or historico-political (*Κίνδυνος του ατμοπλοίου 'Αιγαίου'/Endangerment of the steam vessel 'Aegean'; Η δηλία* [sic] *των Κωνσταντινικών/ the cowardice of Konstantinos' supporters*). Texts recorded as variants are clearly titled as such, suggesting their subjection to the text bearing the name of the involved for its title. Finally, the different types of titles constitute individual instantiations of *Mirologia,* the hyper-arching title on top of the text numbered as one.  Titles can be thus considered as a classificatory type of meta-text serving to clearly separate texts from one another while also drawing them together into a whole as a collection of *Mirologia.*

Dates and names tend to be attached to the title, often in parentheses, while added meta-texts with informational, glossing or analytic functions are placed either following or running vertically parallel to the main text, yet clearly separated by it by the heading *Παρατηρήσεις* (Comments), *Λέξεις* (Words), *Ανάλυσις* (Analysis), *Υπόθεσις* (Plot) (see Appendix I: 3).

Basic information attached to titles (17% [8]) and brief texts under the heading of *Comments* or *Words* (39% [9]) are the most common types of meta-texts in the

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[7] Koutsilieris (1997); Kassis (1979, 1980, 1981); Kallidonis (1981)..

[8] Texts 1-4, 6-7, 20-21, 43, 48-49 (numbering here as well as in footnotes 5 and 6 refers to my

manuscript pages, their frequency of occurrence (either on their own or in co-occurrences) in the total of texts reaching 56.2%. On the contrary, the addition of brief meta-texts under the heading of *Analysis* or *Plot* is much rarer (4.7% [10]); and all of these rare occurrences co-exist with all or part of the aforementioned most common types of meta-text additions.

Based on the frequencies of occurrence of the different meta-text types which appear in 60.9% of the texts, three levels of general editing [11] can be distinguished:

a. a preliminary level of editing, which refers both to meta-textually unadorned texts and to texts minimally marked by basic information, e.g. date of recording, date of the lamentable events or the lamenter's name. It is not surprising that among such minimally edited texts, textual recording in 16-syllable lines or even in non-metrical lines can be also observed (7.8% [12]), instead of the eight-syllable line textual format that constitutes the norm in the collection.

b. the standard level of editing, which constitutes the emerging norm for meta-textual additions, as evidenced in its predominance in the midway of the collection, indicating a partly developed practice of textual recording,

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numbering of the texts, which has followed the compiler's order adjusting to the missed numbers; see Appendix I: 2).

[9] Texts: 10, 18, 23-29, 32-33, 36-38, 41-42, 44, 50-56, 58-61

[10] Texts: 24, 62, 63. Texts 62 and 63 have been recorded in a different paper type, numbered separately as 1 and 2.

[11] Editing practices also involve textual interventions, such as underlining, deleting, superscription or subscription, addition of words and lines relating to norms of writing, dialect transcription (*literisation*) and narrative smoothing (*literarisation*), discussed at length in Chapter 4.

[12] Texts 1, 4, 6, 7, 46.

probably - though not necessarily - involving a stage of rewriting.  This level of editing is typified by word and expression glosses under the heading *Words* or the addition of more specific details regarding the reported events, the lamenter, and so on headed as *Comments*.

*c.* the advanced level, which signals greater attention to meta-text additions and an evident attempt at greater systematisation by keeping the more general information under the heading *Comments,* while summarising the lament under the heading *Plot* and noting comments more oriented to interpretation under the heading *Analysis*. This level of editing marks a step further from standard editing (b), although the texts presenting this trend are too few to allow for any generalisation regarding a developmental change in textual recording practices.

Based on the above, textual recording in the manuscript collection appears to have been guided by writing practices and (meta-textual) editing norms emerging out of related contingencies, such as the methods of elicitation, the available information at the time of textual recording, time pressures and the compiler's growing familiarisation with the entire process and its requirements.

Furthermore, the different types of meta-text added, predominantly classificatory, explanatory and informative, suggest that the collection was compiled with an intended audience in mind, a Greek audience that would not have been familiar with the dialect or the oral history and culture of Mani. The aforementioned textual formatting situates the collection into the many Greek folklore collections, published or not published, which were being compiled during the 19th and early 20th century in Greece by philologists and amateur folklorists. The compilers of the time tended to

follow general guidelines for collection, while in parallel developing local practices of verbal art decontextualisation towards establishing an authentic and objectified national identity (cf. Herzfeld 1993: 280-281).

In the manuscript collection, the decontextualisation of lament verbal art is realised by the predominant recording of one text per page clearly separated from neighbouring texts by a unique number and a title and accompanied by word glosses and brief information filling in the resulting contextual gaps. Discourse decentering that is closely associated with writing norms, as in this case, is worthy of study as an integral practice of sharedness-making in modern literate societies. In this vein, analysing decentering in a folklore collection is not intended as a means to 'authenticate' verbal art performance versus verbal art written records, but as a way to examine underpinning layers of language ideologies, discussed more extensively in chapter 4.

In the following section, I discuss the selection and extraction practices central to the compiling of this collection and situate the compiler and his folklore activities in the context of the time of compilation, drawing on information provided in the added meta-texts, as well as the available notebooks and private diary of the compiler.

### 2.2.4.1 Chronological meta-texts

To start with, meta-texts including dates are found in 29.6% of texts ranging in form from more or less full dates (DD)/(MM)/(YY)YY to broad temporal references (see Table 3a-b below), which are either attached to the title or incorporated in the *Comments* section.

As shown in Table 3a, temporal references in the collection are predominantly used to ground chronologically the events that prompted the composition of the recorded

text. In this way, the recorded texts are dated in terms of their 'original' performance, erasing past re-tellings through which the lament circulated through space and time. This is evidenced more clearly in texts associated with events that took place even before the compiler was born (see for instance the lament for *Sourdakos* killed in 1882 or *Kali's* lament for her fiancée who died around 1870-72). Practices of temporally framing the texts in the distant or recent past have the advantage of endowing texts with authenticity through the construction of an unbroken and unmediated continuity from 'original' to recorded lament texts (cf. Bauman and Briggs 2003).

**Table 3a.** Chronological meta-texts referring to the lamentable event

| Temporal reference | Lamentable event |
|---|---|
| *...εκτελεσθέντα και τουφεκισθέντα  στις 6 Αυγούστου 1922...* | *Gounaris' execution* |
| *...τον καιρό που επέθανε...το Νοέμβριο του 1932...* | *Death of Kostena Psalidonifi* |
| *...όταν είχε σαραντάμερο  τον Ιούλιο του 1932...* | *Death memorial for G. Mihelakos* |
| *Το 1882 εφονεύθη...* | *Killing of Sourdakos* |
| *...τον σκότωσε  το 1905...* | *Killing of Yannis Zilakos* |
| *αποθανών το 1922* | *Natural death of Lirakos* |
| *Βον μοιρολόι μετά τον θάνατόν του...* | *Death of Fanis Mparmpagiannis* |
| *όταν ετραυματίσθη* | *Injury of Liogiannakos* |
| *...τον καιρό που πέθανε...* | *Natural Death of Dikaiou Kirimi* |
| ***...**ότε ήταν στο στρατό οι γιοι της...* | *Georgariou's sons in the army* |
| (1870-72) *περίπου* | *Death of Kali's fiancée* |
| (1926) | *Georgariou at her death-bed* |

There are, however, a few additional recorded dates that refer explicitly or implicitly to the date of elicitation, marking the text as a collected token of verbal art, that is as worthy of textual recording and preservation. More specifically, as Table 3b below shows, there is one particular instance where the compiler explicitly designates himself as the addressee of the lament's telling at a specific date (*μου το είπε το*

*Νοέμβριο του 1932/ it was said to me in November 1932*). Despite the lack of additional recorded information in other texts, it is estimated that dates recorded in three more texts also constitute evidence of framing the text in terms of the time of its collection. This is based on the fact that two of these texts bear the same date (10-5-1934), while another one bears a date about two months earlier (27-3-1934). In fact, the suggestion that the dates 27/3 and 10/5 of the year 1934 refer to the date of the elicitation of texts by the compiler is reinforced by the fact that they fit in with the date of the only explicit reference to the collection of laments in the compiler's private diary, details of which are provided in section 2.2.4.2.

**Table 3b.** Chronological meta-texts referring to the context of elicitation

| Temporal reference | Collection details |
|---|---|
| *μου το είπε το Νοέμβριο του 1932* | Elicitation by the collector |
| 10-5-1934 *Ελένη Κ. Ψαλιδάκου* | *Date of elicitation and name of informant* |
| 10-5-34 | *Date of elicitation* |
| 27/3/34 | *Date of elicitation* |

In sum, temporal references in the collection frame the recorded texts either in terms of authenticity and continuity or in terms of folkloric value (*collectability* and *entextualisability*) as shown respectively in the way in which they serve to:

a. ground *a lamentable event* [13] in the local oral history, by mapping narrated events onto the actual time when the events happened or said to have happened (in 18.7% of the texts)

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[13] A *lamentable event* is an event of great significance (eg. a death, death memorial, killing, separation of a mother from her child, injury, execution of a political person and so on), which prompts the composition of a lament, ranging in length from one or a set of distichs to a fully-fledged narrative.

b.  record a *lament as a collected token of verbal art* following guidelines for the
    collection and preservation of folkloric items, such as providing details on the
    date of (re)telling and the informant (in 10.9% of the texts).

**2.2.4.2 Chronological contexts**

Based on the available chronological evidence in one of the compiler's notebooks
dated 1930 as well as in his private diary [14] of the year 1934-35, his practice of
textually recording laments is situated to the period extending roughly from 1930 to
1935.

The notebook of 1930 [15] offers a glimpse of the range of the compiler's folkloristic
activities and its broader purposes; these are already indicated in the three titles on the
cover, which by encapsulating slightly different contents suggest their correspondence
to different stages of the notebook's composition from initial to latest, in the order
given below:

a.  cover tag: *Διάφορα ἤτοι λέξεις ποὺ ἔχουν τὸ τσ καὶ φράσεις καὶ ἄλλα
    γενικῶς τοῦ φοιτητοῦ φιλολογίας Ἰωάν. Ἀντωνίου Στριλάκου* 20/6/30
    (Various, i.e. words having *ts* and expressions and various other stuff
    generally by the student of philology Ioan. Antoniou Strilakos)

b.  lower end of the cover: *Μάνη-Λέξεις καὶ φράσεις καὶ κουβέντες
    γεροντίστικες Αὐτῆς* (Mani - Words and expressions and elder talk [of

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[14] The term *private diary* is used here following Nikos Falagkas' work-in-progress PhD dissertation on
the genre of private diary.

[15] The notebook is a 60-sheet type notebook; it is written recto-verso, covering twenty-seven pages in
total; there are only two blank pages and evidence of torn sheets at the end.

Mani]), followed by the date 20/6/30, taken to be the date of the diary's start-date.

c.  top of the cover: *Περὶ Μάνης - ὀλίγα περὶ Ναπολέοντος* (On Mani - a few notes on Napoleon)

The notebook is divided into two headed parts:

1.  *Φράσεις ἢ Παροιμίες κ. κουβέντες γεροντίστικες παραδοθεῖσαι εἰς ἐμὲ ἐκ Παραδόσεως* (Expressions or Proverbs and elder talk handed to me by Tradition): the limited contents of this part, which include the glossing of a traditional saying in terms of local values and a paragraph on the local significance of Honour are separated by five written pages containing reproductions of newspaper articles, (such as articles with *Πατρίς,* October 1929 as their referenced source). The cross-over between the pre-classified content of Part 1 and the content reproduced from published sources suggests the adaptation of note-taking to the contingent availability of relevant topics to the compiler.

2.  *Ὁ Τσιτακισμὸς εἰς τὴν Μάνην* (Tsitakismos in Mani) occupies the last seven pages of the notebook and continues in eight numbered pages prior to the official start of the section, marked by the header. Under this header, there is a sub-heading in the form of an acknowledgment to the compiler's mentor, the professor of Byzantine Philology, N. Veis (i) and a brief preface (ii) to the word-list that follows it.

    a.  *κατὰ προτροπὴν τοῦ [...] μοῦ καθηγητοῦ τῆς Β.Φ. κ. Ν. Βέη*
        *(obeying to the call of my [...] professor of B(yzantine) Ph(ilology) Mr.*

N. Bees)

b. *Εἰς τὴν ἰδιαιτέραν μου πατρίδα Μάνην ὑπάρχουν πολλαὶ λέξεις,*
*καθὼς καὶ ἐπίσημα κύρια ὀνόματα καὶ τοπωνύμια ἀκόμα εἰς τὰ*
*ὁποῖα εὑρίσκομεν τὸν τσιτακισμὸν ἐκ τούτων κατωτέρω*
*θ᾽ἀναφέρω τᾶς περισσοτέρας ἐξ αὑτῶν καὶ εἰλικρενέστερον, ὅσαι*
*ἠδυνήθην νὰ περισυλλέξω.* (In my particular homeland Mani there
are many words as well as official proper names and place names
where we can find the phenomenon of tsitakismos and I will refer
below to most of those and truly, as many as I have managed to
collect).

The preface reproduced in (ii) above constitutes the first explicit reference to the
practice of collecting verbal forms and allows us to situate the compiler's activity vis-
à-vis the call of a well-known and well-respected professor at the University of
Athens during his years as a student there. The initial interest of the young philology
student in the collection of words from his home-region is explicitly set to the
recording of dialect words intended for the study of linguistic phenomena in regional
dialects - amongst the central concerns of Greek linguistics of the time (see Chapter
4). The various additional notes are, seemingly, of peripheral importance to the
aforementioned scholarly purpose and they serve more specifically to endow the
verbal tokens with nationalistic, historical and cultural value. In fact, many of the
compiler's disparate notes on Mani recur in a more coherent form in other local,
historical and folklore texts (cf. for instance Patsourakos 1910 and Tsimpidaros 2001),
indicating a parallel concern - that is not explicitly foregrounded - with the

construction of a local history couched in ideologies of unbroken cultural continuity.

Finally, the early interest of the compiler in the collection of different kinds of verbal forms becomes evident in his occasional use of lament excerpts for the illustration of dialect lemmas in the notebook described above. Amongst such illustrations, there is an excerpt exemplifying the verb *'τσιγκλώ'* (prod) which is exactly the same as a set of three lines included in the 54th text of the collection [16] and marked as an alternative version of its immediately preceding lines. The observed correspondence can be attributed either to a recontextualisation of this particular set of lines from the notebook to the lament collection or vice versa or to the ready use from memory of a formulaic grouping that makes part of a well-known lament. In any case, what the correspondence of this particular verbal form exemplifies is the intertextual bond among the different types of verbal collectables and the interconnectedness of the compiler's textual recording practices.

### 2.2.4.3 The compiler

The compiler's more concerted engagement with the collection of Maniat laments is situated in 1934, when he returned to his family home in Yerolimenas (Mani) having just graduated from the University of Athens.

Details on his everyday life there during the first year of his return are provided in his private diary, which is briefly described below:

The diary occupies ninety pages recto-verso in a notebook of fifty sheets, numbered by the diarist up to page fifty. At the top right corner of the diary's cover the

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[16] No 52 following the manuscript numbering (see Appendix I: 2).

pseudonym of the compiler, Y. Yaliotis, appears, which reportedly[17] came out of his habit to spend time reading and writing in a small, remote house owned by his family in an area locally known as Yali, just outside his village, Yerolimenas. The centre of the cover page is occupied by the signature of Strilakos in large text-type. The first page bears the date May 1934 above the title *<<Ημερολόγιον>* [sic] *του Γιάννη Γιαλιώτη πτυχιούχου φιλολογίας* (*Diary by Yannis Yalotis, philology graduate*) followed by the specification *αρχίζει από την 1ην <πρωτομαγιά> του 1934* (starts on the 1st <May Day> 1934).

The entries, fifty-six in total, are separated from each other by dates, following the common practice in private diaries; their content often blends together the report of daily routine activities, such as details of lunch or dinner, social encounters, local (e.g. deaths) or political news (e.g. the events of March 1935) and the diarist's readings, conversations, correspondence, personal feelings and political comments. Nonetheless, the diarist has marked off ten entry sequences using the following hyper-arching or side-headers, which are indicative of the range of topics that kept the diarist's pen at work.

*pp. 5-9: Γύρω από το Δεσπότη* (On the Bishop)

*pp. 10-11: Ανέκδοτα Δεσποτάδων 1) του παπα-Στριλάκου* (Bishop Anecdotes 1) father-Strilakos)

*pp. 17-19: Ανέκδοτα διακονιαρέων: ανέκδοτο 1ον* (Beggars' Anecdotes: anecdote 1)

*pp. 28-34: Αντιγραφή λευκώματος, Γερολιμήν* (copy of an album, Gerolimenas)

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[17] According to Strilakos'daughter, Yanna.

*p. 51: Άγιος Βασίλης* (St. Basil)

*pp. 52-57: Γύρω από τον Άγγελον* (On the Angel)

*pp. 58-61: Το ταξείδι για την Πύλον* (The trip to Pylos)

*pp. 61-78: Πύλος* (Pylos)

*pp. 63-68: Φάρος Τσιχλή-Μπαμπα* (Lighthouse Ôsixli Mpampa)

*pp. 80: Γίνηκα φάντασμα* (I've become a ghost)

The diary offers a glimpse into the folklore compiler's everyday life in Gerolimenas in 1934-35 through the eyes of a young man acutely aware of the conflicts between the socially prescribed obligations towards his family and his own desires and aspirations. The former is explicitly articulated in an entry where he writes about the financial duties towards his family, which made it impossible for him to marry a woman without money, like the woman he was involved with in Athens (entry 31-7-34) especially since his unemployed status at that moment filled him with guilt and anger towards the state (entry 9-8-34). On the other hand, his passionate involvement with a girl in Yerolimenas (referred to as *Angel* throughout the diary), who was already arranged to be married to someone else, is discussed with occasional regret (entry 8-12-34) in view of his hasty return to the village, which had proved of little avail to him: both families felt strongly against the illicit affair (entry 24-1-35), while he was living a life bereft of likeable social company (entry 9-8-34) and restricted in an environment of religious superstition or sham piety and fascist ideologies (entries 15-5-34; 8-8-34;6-12-34; 4-3-35). In addition to this, he had remained unemployed during the year after his graduation in his poor home instead of being in Athens (entry 8-12-34; 5-34; 31-7-34; 9-8-34). During this time, Strilakos frequented the *kafenio*

(coffee shop) for his morning coffee and gossip (8-8-34) or standing in for his father (4-5-34). For a certain period he kept busy in the mornings tutoring ten students of the intermediate and high school level (10-8-34), while he devoted the afternoon to reading (entry 31-7-34) or teaching his younger brother grammar and syntax (entry 3-12-34), when, of course, he wasn't away (10/9-10/10-34 Athens;   25/1-10/2-34 Pylos).

Apart from the previously summarised broader context that situates the compiler as a member (an insider) as well as an observer (an outsider) of the small community of Gerolimenas, diary entries offer us more specific information about his relation to folklore collection and description.

To start with, the first paragraph of the diary-inaugurating entry headed *Μάιος* (May) and below it, *Πρωτομαγειά του 1934* (May Day 1934) is a good example of the blending of intimate diary writing with folklore 'objective' writing, in which the compiler also explicitly states his engagement with the collection of local lore. Throughout the diary there are also references to the significant local events, such as funerals, memorials and weddings, which are occasionally shed under the folklorist's descriptive light.

*1-5-34*

*Ἡ σημερινὴ μέρα ἑορτάζεται καὶ στὴ Μάνη καὶ μάλιστα μὲ τὴ συνήθεια ποὺ ἔχουν εἰς ἄλλα μέρη τὴν Πρωταπριλιὰ δηλαδὴ ʹποιὸς θὰ γελάση τὸν ἄλλονεʹ. Ἔχω ἔλθει ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀθήνα 35 μέρες τώρα ποὺ ἤμουνα καὶ ἔδινα πτυχιακὲς ἐξετάσεις στᾶς 2 τοῦ Μάρτη καὶ τελείωσα*

*μὲ ἐπιτυχίαν. Καὶ ἔτσι ἔφυγε τὸ ἀναγκαστικὸ διάβασμα καὶ τώρα ἀσχολοῦμαι μὲ συλλογὲς μοιρολογιῶν-τραγουδιῶν-τοπωνυμίων καὶ γενικὰ λέξεων καὶ ὅτι ἄλλο σχετίζεται μὲ τὴ Μάνη - καὶ μὲ μερικὰ βιβλία κοινωνικοῦ περιεχομένου. Καὶ μαζὶ μὲ τ' ἄλλα ἀποφάσισα νὰ γράφω καὶ λίγες γραμμὲς σ' αὐτὸ τὸ τετράδιο ἀπὸ τὴ ζωὴ ποὺ περνοῦ ἐδῶ.* (This day is celebrated in Mani as well and actually following the custom prevalent in other regions on May Day that is 'who is going to fool the other'. It's been 35 days now that I've come back from Athens where I successfully sat my final exams in 2 March. And so the obligatory studying is now over and at the moment, I occupy myself with collections of laments-songs-place names and in general words and anything related to Mani – and with a few books of social content. And along with all that, I have decided to write a few lines in this notebook about the life I'm leading here).

In addition to the above introductory statement, the diarist's ongoing engagement with folkloric activity is confirmed in the following entry, where he refers to superstitious stories told during the 1st - 6th August, a period called *κεφαλόμηνα* and during which children were discouraged from going to the sea, because it was believed that there were ghosts wandering out and about.

*6-8-34*

*Ἦτο κάποιος ποὺ εἶχε κοιμηθῆ τὴ νύχτα ἔξω, τοῦ πήρασι τὰ φουσάτα τὴ μιλιὰ του ἢ ἄλλη ἐτρελοπάρθη καὶ ἄλλα σχετικά, τὰ ὁποῖα ἔχω συλλέξει καὶ δεισιδαιμονίες τῶν Μανιατῶν.* (There was someone who had slept outside during

the night, they took his speech away or someone was driven crazy and several other stories of this kind , which I have collected along with superstitions of Maniats).

Furthermore, unspecified folklore writings figure among references to his various leftist readings (see entry below)[18].

*(?)-2-35*

*...χτὲς ἔκανα λίγη Γραμματικὴ τοῦ Μήτσου · ἐγὼ γαλλικὰ δὲν ἐδιάβα οὔτε καὶ τίποτα ἄλλο λαογραφικό.  μόνο ἐφημ. 'ανεξάρτητον' καὶ λίγο ἀπὸ τὸ βιβλίο τοῦ Νίτσε 'ecce homo'.* (…yesterday I helped a bit Mitsos with Grammar ☼ I didn't study French or anything else folklore-related. only newspaper 'independent' and a bit of Nietzche's book 'ecce homo').

Finally, the diarist's concern with the publication of the verbal material he was collecting, along with a good knowledge of the folklore philological 'market', becomes evident in the entry below where he reports his annoyance at the publication of some of the material he had collected in a lecture given by professor Kalonaros, with whom he was in personal and professional contact.

*(?)-5-34*

*Ἐπίσης ἔγραψα κι ἕνα γράμμα στὸν κ. Καλονάρον ποὺ τούγραφα σχετικὰ καὶ γιὰ τὴν διάλεξή του, ποὺ ὅπως εἶδα στὴν ἐφημ. 'Νέα Ἑλληνικῆ' ποὺ*

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[18] The readings he refers to are the following: the daily newspapers *Ανεξάρτητος* (Independent) and *Ακρόπολις* (Acropolis) and the books *Ecce Homo* (Nietzche), *Σοσιαλισμός: Από την Θεωρίαν στην Πράξιν* (Socialism: From Theory to Action) and *Νεοελληνική Ιστορία* Α´ (Modern Greek History A´ ) (Κορδάτος 1927).

*δημοσιεύεται ἡ διάλεξη τοῦ ἔχει πολλὲς ἀπὸ τὶς παροιμίες μου καὶ μοιρολόγια ' δὲν τούγραψα ὅμως γι'αὐτὰ γιατί θὰ τοῦ τὸ εἴπω προφορικὰ καὶ ἀπὸ λεπτότητα ἐξ ἄλλου στὸ διαφέρον πὼ 'δεῖξε στᾶς ἐξετάσεις μου.* (I also wrote a letter to Mr. Kalonaros where I was writing with regard to his talk, which as I saw in the newspaper 'Nea Ellenike' where his talk is published includes a lot of my proverbs and moirologia ' however, I didn't write to him about all that because I am going to tell him orally and out of considerateness with regard to the interest he showed in my exams).

The diary ends with an entry dated 4-3-1935 reporting the local reactions following the news of the attempted coup by Venizelist officers on the 1st March 1935 against the prospective return of the monarchy; the last entry is sealed by his disillusionment with the human race in general and his fellow villagers, in particular.

> [...] Καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπείστηκα ὅτι στὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ θηρία δειλιοῦν. Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐδῶ μάλιστα ἐμπνέονται ὅλο ἀπὸ ταπεινὰ καὶ χαμερπῆ ἐλατήρια καὶ ἐνεργοῦν ὡς ἑρπετά. (And as for me, I was convinced that faced with the ferociousness of men the beasts turn yellow. And here men are inspired by ignoble and obsequious motives and they behave like reptiles).

In retrospect, his disillusionment prophesised the entanglement of his own personal and professional life in the general turmoil of the political circumstances in Greece in a way that was not exceptional at the time, but rather ordinary. His trajectory after 1934 has been reconstructed on the basis of the records of official documents,

included in the family 'treasure'.

Strilakos finally secured a teaching job in 1939 at the 4th High School of Piraeus, and in the same year he was appointed to the high school of Sparta. However, his involvement with the board of private sector teachers and with the board of un-appointed teachers during the period 1936-1938 resulted in his accusation of communist action and led to an order of complete firing in 1940, which was finally reduced to a temporary release from his duties for a period of three months.

On the 18th January 1942, he was arrested and transferred to the prison of Special Forces in Athens, condemned to six months to exile in Ag. Efstratios; the order was finally remitted after he signed a declaration. However, on the 21st of February, 1942 he was transferred from Sparta to Molai, despite his previous objection on the grounds of his recent marriage in Sparta. Still later, in 1943 his application for promotion and transfer to Athens was rejected on account of his previous three-month release from duties. Despite his remittance from exile, on the 28th of March, 1942 he was reported to the commandant of the police at Githion and imprisoned by the Italian occupation authorities. There are no written records after 1942.

The oral story recounted by his family states that he narrowly escaped execution along with 118 others in Monodentri in 1943 thanks to the kind intervention of a German soldier. Following this incident, he went to Athens in 1949, where he died of typhoid.

### 2.2.4.4 Contexts of elicitation

The available evidence presented in the two previous sections suggests that the collection of laments began around 1930, when the compiler, prompted by Professor N. Bees, was already recording Maniat words, and continued through to 1932, a

year which is explicitly referenced in accompanying meta-texts of lament records and further to 1934-35, when the compiler returned to his home-village as a graduate philologist and engaged himself more extensively with his folkloristic activities.

In what follows, I will focus on the question of the spatial context of the lament collection, asking where the texts were collected from as well as the concomitant question of how they were collected, and thus conclude the contextualisation of the data in terms of resetting and extraction practices.

First of all, it is assumed that the recorded texts are the product of the compiler's methods of folklore elicitation, mainly practiced in the region of Gerolimenas; as the publication of some of these by Kalonaros show (see §2.2.4.5), the texts were considered 'original' at least in the terms of folklore of the time, and thus publishable.

The possibility that Strilakos could have actually written texts from memory after a funeral he participated in is highly improbable, as no recorded text corresponds to any of his diary references to funerals or memorials that he attended. Rather, in the textual records there is explicit evidence of oral elicitation in three cases (a-c), one implicit (d) and, interestingly, one case of written elicitation (e):

a. *(Text 29[19])* *Μοῦ τὸ εἶπε ἡ Π. Λυράκου ἐτῶν 55 – πῆρε τὸν Κανακάκη* (It was spoken to me by P. Lirakou, 55 years old – she married Kanakakis)

b. *(Text 30) (Στάμ. Π. Λυράκου (55 χρονῶν) μοῦ τὸ εἶπε τὸ Νοέμβριο τοῦ 1932)* (Stam. P. Lirakou (55 years old) spoke it to me in November 1932)

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[19] Here, the numbers of texts correspond to the numbering of the compiler.

c. *(Text 65)* *Μοῦ τὸ εἶπε ἡ Γεωργούλενα, ἡ Σερεμετόνυφη (Georgoulena, Seremetonifi spoke it to me)*

d. (Text 24) <10-5-1935> Ἑλένη Κ. Ψαλιδάκου *(Eleni K. Psalidakou)*

e. (Text 34) (2η παραλλαγή) (τὸ εἶχε ἄλλος γράψει) (2nd version) (someone else had written it)

The identification of P. Lirakou, a relative and neighbour of Strilakos, as an informant also confirms that folklore elicitations took place mainly in the surroundings of the compiler, be it geographical or familial. In fact, familial contexts of elicitation had the potential of rendering the geographical anchoring of the folkloric field unnecessary, as shown in the following entry from the compiler's diary, which describes a multi-participatory (literacy) event of lament extraction in Pylos (Messinia); Strilakos spent two weeks there accompanied by his sister and her husband apparently in order to be introduced to potential brides, though without any success

*6-3-45*

*Τὸ ἀπόγευμα πῆγα στὸ καφενεῖο καὶ γύρισα νωρίς. φάγαμε χόρτα-μπακαλαῖο […] καὶ κατόπι εἶπα καὶ γράψαν κανένα δυὸ μοιρολόγια.* (In the afternoon I went to the kafenio but I came back early. we had greens and cod […] and then I told them to write down a few moirologia).

As already observed, the compiler was not extracting laments from their ritual context, but rather from contexts of interaction with people he knew well. Nonetheless, the degree of informality of these contexts cannot be overstated; it can only be speculated that in such local contexts of folklore elicitation shaped by

proximal relationships between participants, the recording practice would swing along a continuum of informality-formality (see Irvine 2001), depending on the importance accorded to the written monumentalisation of the spoken word. The point I want to stress is that lament telling constituted for the compiler, and assumingly for his informants as well, an ordinary practice in some way similar to oral storytelling or singing (see entry below). However, the contextualising meta-texts of recorded laments have left out information about such variably informal contexts of elicitation, oriented instead towards the reconstruction of aspects of the 'original'/ 'authentic' ritual performance.

*8-2-35*

*Τ'ἀπογεματάκι βγῆκε ὁ Γιῶργος ἀπὸ τὸ Φανάρι καὶ πήγαμε σὲ μνια ταβέρνα ποῦναι στὸ σπίτι τῆς Ἀλίκης κοντά. Ἐπίαμε ἀρκετό, γιὰ μεζὲ εἴχαμε [...]ἀπὸ τὸ [...], τὸ κρασὶ ἤτανε φτηνὸ μνιάμιση δραμὴ τὸ κατοστάρι. Ἐγὼ ζαλίστηκα πολὺ ἀλλὰ δὲν ἐφάνηκα ἐκεῖ πῶς εἶμαι ζαλισμένος τόσο. Στὸ σπίτι ὅμως εἶπα μοιρολόγια, ἔκαμα ἐμετὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπομένην μέρα ἔβγαζα χολή.* (In the afternoon George came out of the Lighthouse and we went in a tavern close to Alikis' house. We had to drink quite a lot, for meze we had […] from […], wine was cheap one and a half drachmas the small bottle. I got very dizzy but I didn't look like it while I was there. But when I got home I said laments, I vomiting and the next day I had nothing to take out).

**2.2.4.5 Contextualising meta-texts**

The extraction of a stretch of discourse from its context and its textual insertion into a folklore collection goes hand in hand with the insertion of a set of markers which ensure its meaningful contextualisation in this new environment. In what follows, I will describe in more detail such meta-textual markers and the contextualising work they are used for in the manuscript collection.

In § 2.2.4.6 above, reference was made to one such contextualising type of meta-text, namely chronological meta-texts whose use was associated with the grounding of a lamentable event in the local oral history. This function is also fulfilled by the notation of definite (36; 36b; 48; 54; 62; 27; 26; 63; 46; 51) or indefinite (53; 25; 50) name references which are included in the Comments' section. These tend to designate the 'original' lamenter, that is the person to whom the composition and performance of the lament is attributed, and contribute thus to the presentation of the text as a faithful and authentic reproduction of an original lament performance, irrespective of the trajectories of its subsequent tellings.

The only exceptions to this kind of contextualising marking are the few references to informants reported in the previous section (2.2.4.6)  and, furthermore, the case of Text 64 where the name reference is ambiguous: although the lament telling is attributed to N. Fikardos [20] and the performance to Papadia, the originality of Papadia's performance is disputed (see below).

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[20] N. Fikardos, to whom a total of five texts in the collection are attributed and many others can be found in Kassis (1981), was a well-known male lamenter in the community who was both improvising and writing laments.

*(Text 64) Το εἶπε ὁ Ν. Φικάρδος (πρόεδρος Βάθιας) ὅτι τάχα τὰ λέει ἡ μάνα τούς*
*Παππαδία ὅτε ἦσαν στὸ στρατὸ οἱ γιοί της καί στρατιωτικοί ἱατροί.* (N.Fikardos
(local mayor of Bathia) said it as supposedly told by their mother Papadia when her
sons and military doctors were in the army).

Occasionally, the names of lamenters are accompanied by further specifications, such
as their geographical origin (64) or the relationship linking them to the lamented (34;
36; 36b; 50; 54; 25; 51). Such information records genealogical information, which is
crucial for the identification of a person in the community; this locally meaningful
identification endows the recording of the lamenter's name with authenticity. At
another level, such information can also be considered as a folklore germ, accounting
for the lament telling in terms of entitlement or even obligation to mourn following
local norms for negotiating social relationships.

Variations of the aforementioned types of meta-text include the recording of the
geographical origin of the main persons involved in the lamentable event (34; 46),
which serves to provide the 'real' setting of the recounted events and a reference to
the relationship between lamenters as creating entitlement and obligation to artful
mourning; the later is illustrated in Text 27 where Lirakou states her obligation to
contribute to the lamenting of Psalidonifi, a well-known lamenter herself who had
artfully mourned Lirakou's son.

Another type of meta-text is the insertion of parenthetical comments in the present
tense[21] which either interrupt the text flow - rather similar to stage directions (36b; 51;

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[21] The use of present tense suggests a closer engagement with the text, compared to the report of
information on the lamenter and the lamentable event articulated in the past tense.

40) - or get added in the sections headed as Comments or Analysis (34; 53; 27; 26; 63; 51; 40; 64). This type of meta-text tends to be used as a way to reconstruct the general context of the lament's 'original' performance (36; 27; 25; 26)[22] or even its participant frameworks (50; 54; 51)[23].

Finally, meta-texts that could be described as a second-level brief narrative are inserted, serving to fill in the reader on information, events and persons, which sometimes are not even included in the recorded text. It is often the case that such narrative glosses forge intertextual links between different lament texts, breaking through the linearly ordered anthologising of texts (eg. cf. 4 and 26; see also Kassis' collections for a wealth of examples), but these textual relations cannot be pursued here.

To summarise, the following different types of meta-text have been set apart as contextualising markers:

a. chronologies of the recounted events, occasionally accompanied by the identification of the geographical location where they assumingly took place

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[22] a. *klama* for Yannis Aggelis, thought as dead but not dead after all (36)

b. when Kostena Psalidonifi passed away (27)

c. when Dikaiou Kirimi passed away (25)

d. when the forty-day memorial service of Giorgios Mixelakos, 10 years old, was held in July 1932(26)

[23] - sister-in-law who it is inferred is dead, although it is not specified in which context the lament is addressed to her (50)

- deceased husband (54)

- father-in-law to Kali (51)

b.  definite or indefinite references to the lamenter's name, occasionally accompanied by the geographical origin of the lamenter and genealogical information or other type of relation between lamenter and lamented

c.  glosses and further details on the reported events

d.  glosses and further details on the ritual performance context.

These meta-texts, even though relatively unsystematic, provide a wealth of information about the contexts of the recorded laments. As a rule, however, the compiler does not follow the guidelines issued to folklore collectors by the leading figure of Greek national folklore, who explicitly emphasised the importance of recording the place (village or region), the name of the informant, as well as the sex, age and the social status in the case of tales and traditions (N.G. Politis 1920: 12). Instead of systematically recording the context of elicitation focusing on the informant and the location of the retelling, he emphasises the reconstruction of aspects of the 'original'/ 'authentic' ritual performance. Although this could be deemed necessary as an aid for someone not familiar with local norms of lamentation, the result is to emphasise the assumed 'original' context and blur the mediated relationships between the ritual performances and the recorded texts. On the other hand, taking into account a local audience in addition to a wider one, the emphasis on this 'original' context rather than the context of elicitation that is manifest in meta-texts could alternatively be seen as a preliminary stage of textual recording which accords greater importance to local norms for oral history-making through the written memorialisation of important events, persons, lamenters, rituals, genealogies, clan allegiances and wars (see Giaxoglou forthcoming).

**2.3 Towards an e-corpus: digitisation practices**

Folkloristic practices of textual recording and preservation, such as the ones described above, may have been largely discounted across neighbouring disciplines, as well as within the field of folklore itself, but its pivotal concern with the safeguarding of cultural knowledge still figures prominently, albeit in the new contexts created in the digital era. To the traditional concerns of preservation, a range of interpretive and analytic concerns from different disciplines in the humanities have been added. Currently, a vast amount of written and oral material -from science manuscripts to newspapers and oral discourse data- is being transferred into electronic databases for both archival and research uses, creating a set of new challenges, such as digital long-term storage, accessibility, copyright issues, future users, and standardisation of digital encoding (in order to ensure the transferability of digitally stored information across constantly changing software platforms and epistemological disciplines).

In my digitisation project of the compilation of Strilakos' manuscript collection into an e-corpus, I have overall prioritised the research purposes of the study over archival uses. However, in order to ensure the survival of the e-corpus beyond this study and make possible its extension to other uses, I have followed current standards of textual encoding in electronic form provided by TEI (Text Encoding Initiative; see http://www.tei-c.org/). The Text Encoding Initiative grew out of a planning conference at Vassar College in November 1987, where representatives of text archives, scholarly societies, and research projects discussed the feasibility of a standard encoding scheme and agreed on a set of principles for its development. The main motivation of TEI is to provide a standard open format for the encoding of texts intended for use in interchange between individuals and research groups using different programs and computer systems over a broad range of applications. At this

moment, TEI guidelines suggest the use of the Extensible Markup Language, XML (a development of SGML language) for the encoding of text and also define a minimal set of conventions that researchers can supplement according to their specific needs (see http://www.tei-c.org/P4X/AB.html#ABTEI).

While at the start of this digitisation project, the encoding standard of XML was presented to me as the standard of the near-future, it has become by now a current standard not only for the creation of new digital resources, but also for the preservation and optimisation of older ones (see for instance the latest XML version of the British National Corpus; http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/XMLedition/URG/). Following this standard specification, the corpus has been encoded in XML language, using the set of markers provided by TEI for the marking of the text structure and other textual features of analytic interest.

### 2.3.1 Corpus-based analysis in discourse studies

Corpus linguistics owes a lot to John Sinclair (1987) who, by his inspiring project of the Collins English Language Dictionary, carved out a new path not only for the compilation of corpus-based dictionaries and lexicography but for other fields of (applied) linguistics as well, such as translation and second language teaching (see Special Issue of International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 2007). Corpus methodologies have been also applied to discourse data, notably by Biber (1988) in his multi-dimensional feature analysis of oral versus written genres, while interest in new kinds of applications over the past decade has been growing (Baker and McEnery 2005; Biber and Conrad 2001; Rey 2001; cited in YouJin 2007: 327). The same is true for corpus linguistics in critical discourse analysis, especially following Stubb's

(1996) call for the use of large corpora in order to make reliable generalisations about language use (e.g. Orpin 2005).

The aforementioned applications of corpus methodologies have addressed issues of sample representativeness, while they have capitalised on frequency techniques (such as the corpus analysis WordSmith or the dispersion plots of lexical items) and concordance analysis with an interest in semantic patterns. Analysis of discourse patterns, i.e. patterns beyond the level of the word or word collocations, however, seem to be just beginning to emerge (see Baker 2006).

At the moment, corpus linguistics is primarily used as a supplementary methodology in discourse studies, which by facilitating the search for semantic patterns and optimising frequency counts enables the grounding of textual observations. Yet calls for the broadening of corpus-based methods into more puzzling and challenging areas are being currently expressed. Toolan articulates a series of thought-provoking questions regarding potential uses of corpus analysis that could enhance the understanding of texts not only as products, but also as processes (Toolan 2007: 275). Such concerns seem to join McCarty's (2005) theorising of the broader humanities computing as an independent intellectual field of inquiry for the tackling of academic problems.

### 2.3.2 The lament e-corpus

Applying corpus methodologies in a discourse study involves primarily the following: i. the selection of a pre-existing corpus or the compilation of a new one and ii. the selection of qualitative and/or quantitative tools for the analysis, depending on the

research purposes. [24] In terms of qualitative analyses, an electronic corpus enables the process of taming the data through close textual observation in the circular process of encoding which describes linguistic items of potential importance and storing them for quantitative processing. Quantitative analysis is facilitated by corpus-based processing which produces counts and frequencies of linguistic tokens through a query platform that addresses the corpus for the extraction of queried information in the queried form (for instance in the form of a labelled table).

The compiled lament e-corpus is mainly qualitatively rather than quantitatively oriented, even though its main uses in the study involve counts and frequencies of linguistic items as a follow-up of preliminary qualitative observations. The motivation for its compilation was also related to more pragmatic concerns, as the need to work on a clearly written version of the handwritten texts as well as concerns relating to future accessibility to the collection in its entirety, which are not addressed in this study.

After a number of preliminary textual encodings, in the final, yet not finalised, e-corpus, words and groups of words, lines and groups of lines have been marked-up, that is electronically tagged with labels standing for analytic units (§1.5); this practice has allowed the retrieval of analytic units in addition to the retrieval of individual words.

The marking-up of a text is not an objective description of the text, but it constitutes an interpretation of the text. According to the TEI guidelines, any compiled corpus in

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[24] For a discussion on differences between qualitatively and quantitatively oriented corpora, see McEnery and Wilson (1996: 62-63).

digital form is considered a new electronic object whose details are specified in a separate, overarching header and whose descriptive contents (source of text, accessibility, editing notes etc.) will be filled in at a later stage. The header is followed by the text, in this case the sum of the texts to be included, taken as a single text. Since the content of the e-object is not a single, independent text, but rather a compilation of texts, its content is designated as a *group* of texts, further composed of *texts*.

The group is made up of independent texts - some of them textually different versions of the same lament, but accorded here the status of independent text- demarcated from other texts by its own header and a unique code. Each text is encoded and divided in numbered lines. Apart from the descriptive specification encoded in the headers, discourse and textual features have been encoded, using analytic units. The marking of these features has been defined in the design document of the corpus (DTD) as attribute types of an element.

More specifically, each text is segmented into narrative units, following the combination of models. Since the tags refer to text items larger than a word and larger than a phrase, the TEI element <seg> (segment) has been used, further specifying the following type attributes: abstract, orientation and embedded orientation, complicating action, episode, evaluation, resolution, coda (see Appendix I: 4). Tagging has facilitated narrative and discourse analyses of the texts, making use of the retrieval engine eXist for XML documents (http://exist.sourceforge.net/), illustrated in the analytic chapters 3-6.

## 2.4 Modern contexts: supplementary data

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Interpretations are involved in different stages of the research (selecting the research site or selecting texts, coding) that involve both quantitative and qualitative methods (Johnstone 2000: 36-37). In particular, qualitative methods in sociolinguistics often make use both of ethnography, which provides insights into cultures, and discourse analysis, which provides insights into the use of language (ibid: 80).

Following this sociolinguistic trend, I have turned to ethnographic methods in order to gain a first-hand insight into modern Mani, before setting out to analyse my data. More specifically, I conducted short-term ethnographic fieldwork which resulted in nine recording sessions of varied content (interviews, conversations, lament tellings and performances outside ritual contexts), forming a supplementary corpus which I have been consulting for cultural or contextual specifications and for widening my perspective. I will be explicitly referring to selected fieldwork samples in §4.1.2.

In the fieldwork I conducted in Mani, I made use of contemporary ethnographic practices, in that my ethnography was focused on specific topics of observation or specific research hypotheses rather than on the description of the entire culture, in the style of traditional ethnography (Johnstone 2000: 84). I have taken the "doing of ethnography" to mean first and foremost fieldwork, including observing, asking questions, participating in group activities, and testing the validity of one's perceptions against the intuitions of the natives (Saville-Troike 2002: 3). In this section, my ways of 'doing ethnography' in Mani will be outlined.

Fieldwork has focused on the geographical area known as Inner Mani, a *speech community*, in Hymes' terms of shared rules of speaking and interpretation of speech performances (Hymes 1972c quoted in Saville-Troike, 2002:2). Speech communities

refer to a heterogeneous group of people, who participate in different social and linguistic groups (Johnstone 2000: 84-86). The speech community of modern Inner Mani in particular, includes people whose constant movement between urban and rural socioeconomic and residential settings has resulted in the construction of neither a completely rural nor completely urban *third cultural continuum* (Seremetakis 1991: 6-7). Although this is in no way a new phenomenon in Mani (as the compiler's mobility between Athens and Yerolimenas reported in section 2.2.4.5 shows), Seremetakis suggests that in recent years it has involved a greater section of the population, rendering the rural into a predominantly symbolic capital through which ethnicity and regional cultural identity concerns are addressed (ibid) [25].

### 2.4.1 Ethnographic methods

The pre-organisation of my fieldwork did not correspond to a full research design, as the aims were exploratory. More specifically, I wanted to:

- gather information about the compiler

- attend to local attitudes vis-à-vis the tradition of lamenting and its textual recording
- record retellings
- gather information about the status of the tradition of lament today.

Meeting these aims was related to the way I would be accepted in the community, determining the access accorded to me by community members into their cultural and linguistic behaviours and activities. My status in the field both suffered and benefited

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[25] Local press, the bookshop and publishing house of books of local interest in Aeropolis, various associations in Mani, Piraeus and recently on the web, traditional products shops and traditional guest houses confirm the rethinking of regional cultural identity concerns in marketable terms.

from being ambiguously determined.  Upon entering the field, I introduced myself as a student interested in Maniat laments, which granted me access to two informants in Aeropolis and in Dry, a nearby village. Presenting myself as Giaxoglou, I was warmly welcomed and helped by the local library assistant who, as she told (and showed) me that she had consulted my father on the restoration of her house in Pirgos Diru. In Inner Mani, however, this way of presenting myself did not work; I was either allowed into a brief conversation full of disclaimers of any special knowledge on laments or I found myself behind closed doors. This attitude changed completely when I introduced myself as the granddaughter of I. Strilakos, which immediately opened up windows of local memory, granted me access to far more intimate discussions, including unknown details of my family history and opened the door to *emic* perspectives, i.e. local perspectives on a given act or on the difference between two different acts (Duranti 1997: 172-174).

The main method used during fieldwork, to which a variety of ethnographic techniques were accommodated, was the form of interaction provided by interviews, in the loose sense of the term; that is, in the form of a series of structured or semi-structured questions to members of a community (in a recording encounter) or in the form of informal questions (not recorded) which aimed to assist me in forming background information for the understanding of lament verbal art performances (see Duranti 1997: 102-110). These interviews took place in the informants' space, in most cases without previous arrangement and in the presence of a number of people which resulted to an informal atmosphere of past-time encounters. This interview technique was used to elicit local interpretations concerning the texts of lament verbal art collected in previous years by various collectors. In this context, I also asked the

informants to recite laments they could remember and this in some cases resulted in a *breakthrough* into performance (Hymes 1975) and counter-tellings.  This form of elicitation was enforced by a feedback procedure (Johnstone 2000: 65), which consisted in my reciting lament excerpts from Strilakos' collection and the informants commenting on various aspects of what they heard (summarizing the lament, pointing out narrative inconsistencies, explaining a word or a Maniat custom, providing their own version and so on). The general questions asked, the elicitation of performances and the feedback procedure constituted the techniques intended to complement the texts fixed in written form as well as to clarify information regarding particular aspects of them (see ibid: 107).

The informants were selected on the basic criterion of their reputation in the local community as lamenters. The second criterion was their acquiescence to be involved in the research. The interviews were recorded using a SONY mini-disc which allowed for subsequent computer processing by specifically designed computer software (Wavelab) and a SONY microphone for high-quality music recordings. It did not seem to me that the presence of the recording machine significantly influenced the informants' response, and this may be attributed to the fact that lamenters, Maniats in general are used to be recorded and interviewed by local collectors and appeared to have control over the machine (for instance guiding me as to which parts should not be recorded).

Following Finnegan's guide to documenting recordings (1989: 85), I prepared a list of elements to be filled in during or after each recording, which included a serial number (beginning from 001) assigned to each mini-disc and to each filled in list for cross-referencing, the date and time of the recording, the name of the informant (as well

as the age and place of origin, if known), the place of recording, the audience present (number and nature), a summary description of the session, comments or general observations, and finally the duration of recording.

The fieldwork resulted in the recording of nine sessions in total, containing a mix of ethnographic material from chanted or spoken laments to general discussions on their artistry or content.

At the end of fieldwork, I was certain I would go back for further ethnographic work, but I never did. My research became focused on the recorded texts, the practices, forms and ideologies involved, my analytic purposes moving away from the concern with lament performances. In retrospect, I believe that this change in the direction of my research may have had something to do with my ambiguous feelings about the region. This reluctance may have been reinforced by the realisation of specific social obligations raised by my re-acquaintance with people and family from Mani, which I felt unable to fulfil from a distance.

The outcome of my brief fieldwork proved gratifying, nonetheless. In sum, through fieldwork in Mani I became familiar with the particular environment of Mani, talked to people who still remembered my grandfather and compiler of the lament collection, and was introduced to aspects of the lament genre, which I will discuss below, that made sense to members of the community.

### 2.4.2 Ethnographic outcomes

The insights into the Maniat lament as a genre developed in the course of my fieldwork are summarised in the list below:

- Laments constitute a taboo genre in the community, whose de-taboo-isation is dependent upon contexts where participants are either insiders and locally kin-affiliated, or if non-Maniats, they should be in dense contact with Maniats and respectful of their culture.

- Maniats distinguish between improvised laments and *old* laments, which refer to the recontextualised laments, fragments of laments or narratives. One of my informants referred to those as *παραμύθια* (fairy tales)*,* wanting to discount their truth-value.

- There is a local value system for evaluating lament performances and lamenters; not anyone can be a successful lamenter. Lament composition *par excellence* is improvised, in the sense that this type of composition demands a high level of artistry and skill. However, prior composition constitutes a valid type of composition probably practised by less skilled or inexperienced lamenters, mainly for rehearsing purposes. Finally, written lament composition is a type of composition I have encountered among males.

- Locals are aware of the folkloristic tradition of lamenting. Their attitude towards the book is expressed through their respect to the written word and pride in what they see as their cultural representation. The association of the lament tradition with regional cultural identity can be taken to account for an informant's expression of her disapproval of the publication of satires of obscene content.

The above insights have enabled me to imaginatively reconstruct some of the contexts for lament performance and circulation in the everyday life of Maniats and in the

nexus of their norms for social relationships. This kind of imaginative practice has in turn helped me to make as much as possible out of the scarce evidence that has been recorded in the data with regard to lament contexts, performances and informants. More specifically, two audio samples that have emerged from two different types of interaction in the course of my fieldwork have been analysed as supplementary data where the dialogic nature of the folkloristic/ethnographic encounter becomes evident (§4.1.2).

### 2.4.3 Published collections

In the study, in addition to the manuscript collection and the two audio samples from my fieldwork, a set of texts from published collections has been also used in order to draw comparisons between lament texts and the different ways for their recording. One of the first published collections of Maniat laments appeared in 1870, when Stavroula Razelou brought together introductory verses to laments (*προοίμια)* in a booklet. [26] Yet, the collection that brought Maniat laments to a wider Greek audience was the collection of Kostas Pasayanis, published by the Historical and Folklore Library in 1928. Attesting to its dissemination and appeal to Athenican intellectual circles, part of the laments included had been published before in the review 'Parnassos' and in his published diary 'Pandora' (1923), while another part had won an award in a contest of the *Language Society of Athens*. Pasayanis' collection has been, however, criticised for the inadequate rendering of the Maniat dialect (Koutsilieris 1997: 12). Following his collection, the publication of others by philologists, linguists and local folklorists grew (Petrounias 1934; Kallidonis 1972,

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[26] Many of them have been included in Saunier (1999).

1981; Kassis 1979, 1980, 1981; Koutsilieris 1997). Their consideration is critical in situating Strilakos' practices in the context of related folkloristic practices (see chapter 5).

## 2.5 Summing up

In this chapter, the data of the study have been presented and contextualised in terms of: i. the retrieval, appearance and contents of the manuscript collection, ii. the compiler and his metadiscursive practices, iii. the compilation of the collection into an e-corpus amenable to digital textual analyses, iv. supplementary data drawn from ethnographic fieldwork and published lament collections.

To sum up, the retrieved 'family treasure' is employed as sociolinguistic data, supplemented by the outcomes and samples of a brief fieldwork in Mani and selected texts from published collections. The data are constituted of draft textual records included in the lament collection which was compiled, edited (at a preliminary, standard or advanced level) and meta-textually glossed by Yiagos Strilakos in the period 1930-1934. The compilation of the collection appears to have been shaped by a negotiation between writing practices and meta-textual editing norms of academic folklore, the contingencies of the time and place as well as the compiler's own preferences. The compiler has been described as a person shifting between his insider and outsider status in his native Yerolimenas. The resulting textual products of his folkloristic activity are fragments of lament verbal art recorded as independent texts (one text per page clearly separated from neighbouring texts by a unique number and a title) and framed as authentic specimens of 'original' ritual performances through the addition of word glosses and brief information used to fill in the resulting contextual gaps. The following chapters will discuss in more detail the ethnopoetic-

narrative patterning observed in the texts of corpus and explore to what extent it is the result of specific entextualisation practices by looking at its relation to: i. other forms of folkloric entextualisation practices, ii. the compiler's specific entextualisation practices and finally, iii. the register of lament recording in the data.

# 3. Maniat Laments as Narratives

## 3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the corpus-based analysis of the prototypical features of Maniat laments as ethnopoetic narratives in relation to a set of dimensions of narrativity, in order to: i. provide a textually-grounded description of the genre and ii. set the stage for the analyses in the following chapters. The first part of the chapter presents the analytic classification of the data and the units of analysis as they have been combined out of different approaches. These units have been digitally encoded with the texts under study, comprising the hierarchical structure of the e-corpus (see §2.3). The second part of the chapter unfolds in three main sections: the first section reports and illustrates the findings of the ethnopoetic analysis in relation to internal and external performance constraints. The second section outlines and exemplifies the patterning of the basic narrative categories, focusing separately on each level of lament construction along different dimensions of narrativity (tellability, tellership, linearity, embeddedness and moral stance). The final section sets out to relate the textual indices of contextual detachment/embeddedness to the degree of the laments' narrative crystallisation.

### 3.1.1 Data: a thematic classification

The analysis has focused on twenty-three texts in total selected from Strilakos' collection (see §2.1.1) on the basis of a thematic classification into sensational and non-sensational laments (cf. Labov 1997). Sensational laments narrate violent or highly affecting events, such as:

- Killings (revenge killings, killings in war) and
- Abductions of women by their lover or an unwanted suitor.

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Non-sensational laments relate less affecting deaths, as for instance the deaths of elderly people or the recounting of significant events not directly related to death, such as the arrest of a fugitive from justice or events of political importance. Such laments seem to belong either to the realm of the personal, making them part of a repertoire of clan-specific stories, or to the realm of the public, reporting news in the form of lament. In any case, non-sensational laments do not enjoy the popularity of sensational ones, as attested in the privileging of the latter by folklore collectors. My fieldwork (see §2.3.1-2.3.2) also suggests that certain sensational laments are still alive in the memory of modern-day Maniats, indicating their lasting popularity as highly reportable and shareable cultural texts. Due to their wide popularity, sensational laments tend to be crystallised to a great extent, that is encountered in more or less definite forms; therefore, the narrative analysis will focus on the sensational laments (23 texts in Strilakos' collection, including six variants; see Appendix I, Table 3), as this type is pivotal for the study of the varied forms and norms of lament entextualisation.

## 3.2 Units of analysis

A preliminary analysis has served to bring out the recurring features of lament narratives, combining a priori assumptions with text-specific criteria. The coding of the corpus has not been a once-and-for-all process but rather its finalisation was reached after an intense and close engagement with the texts, supplemented by an interrater reliability test.

The combined model of narrative applied to the data is founded on the following *a priori* assumptions:

- Oral narrative is patterned into lines and verses and into macro-categories [1] which embody an implicit schema for the organisation of experience (Hymes 1996: 121)

- Lines are akin to Chafe's (1980) *idea units* (see §3.2) which express a single focus of consciousness, verses are rhythmically patterned groupings of lines and macro-categories describe the basic structures of narrative.

- Lines, verses and macro-categories may be marked off overtly by discourse markers, verbs of movement or speaking or covertly by turns of speech (Hymes 1975, 1996) or by shifts in scene, time, character configuration event structure and the like (Gee 1992, Chafe 1987, Georgakopoulou 1997). For specific types of text, the particular markers are to be discovered empirically in their systematic recurrence.[2]

### 3.2.1 Lines and verses

In the Maniat lament corpus a set of recurrent features observed in a preliminary analysis has led to text-specific definitions of the units of analysis, which are presented below:

- A line is equated with an eight-syllable idea unit, based on the transcriber's recurrent segmentation practice of the collected texts in 8-syllable sequences,

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[1] The macro-categories are specified in §3.2.2.

[2] Hymes (1996) has argued for the significance of morphosyntactic criteria as criteria of identification for the oral-poetic patterning of narratives and discusses the controversies involved in Tedlock's work who privileges intonational criteria.

even in prose transcriptions; eight-syllable idea units correspond to the poetic metre typical of Maniat laments (Koutsilieris 1997: 18) which is widely attested in the segmentation practices of most transcribers/editors [3] and which was also emphasised as the compositional norm by lamenters- informants in Mani during my fieldwork there.  In addition, the audio recording of laments in the course of my fieldwork which were sung in the typical mourning melody evidence a falling intonational contour followed by a slight pause at the end of almost each eight-syllable line and before the initiation of the next one. Chafe (1980) and Gee (1986) have shown that slight pauses at the end of short spurts of discourse orally segment the flow of discourse into its component units, allowing for the expression of an idea unit. Overtly, lines tend to be demarcated by the discourse marker *ce/ci* (and) (see §3.2.1).

The first three lines of the sample text (see Appendix I, Text 2) illustrate how each sequence of eight syllables focuses on a single idea, starting with a time focus (Early on a Sunday morning), then shifting the focus to the evaluative introduction of the story-character (I, the unfortunate, got up) and finally focusing on action, signalled by the discourse marker *ci* (and I got my rifle).

- A verse is defined as a thematically unified group of lines, often coinciding with the transcriber's discourse use of punctuation marks (see §5.3.4), which signals spatial or temporal shifts, the introduction of a new character or turns

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[3] With the notable exception of Kallidonis (1981) who prefers the sixteen-syllable poetic representation (see §4.2)

of speech; overt discourse markers of verses tend to be spatial or temporal markers, verbs of movement, action, perception or saying and tense switches. [4]

In the sample text the first three lines form one verse as they provide a setting in terms of time, story character and initiating action; the start of the following verse is marked by the discourse marker *ce* (and) followed by a verb of movement, which implies a spatial shift. This second verse recounts the movement of the story character to a new setting and wraps up with a tense switch to the imperfect.

### 3.2.2 Categories of narrative structure

The preliminary analysis of texts for plot was realised in a number of steps: first, the texts were segmented into lines; lines were grouped into verses, and in turn verses were grouped into larger thematic sections. The following step was to map the sections to plot categories that captured the development of narratives, trying out their applicability. This process identified habitual plot patterns and specified appropriate macro-categories for their description.

In particular, the preliminary analysis indicated that laments tend to start with a description of setting (specifying time, space, main characters, and habitual activities), whose varied realisations are described by the Labovian unit of *orientation*.

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[4] My applied criteria agree with Hymes (1994: 332), when he observes that "sometimes intonation contours appear not to be such a mark [of verse sequences, that is], and verses are signalled by a grammatical feature, such as the quotative, or a combination of grammatical elements and patterning itself (cf. Hymes 1982 on Zuni, 1994 on Hopi)".

Descriptions of setting also tend to be interspersed throughout the narrative; analytically, such verse-long instances marked by a tense switch are designated as *embedded orientations.*

The main action of narrative, described as *complicating action* in Labovian terminology, is recurrently constituted of a series of sections that culminate in the reporting of the most reportable event. The concept of the most reportable event has emerged from Labov's elaboration of the initial Labov & Waletzky model; Labov argues that narratives are built around the most reportable event, defined as "the event that is less common than any other in the narrative and has the greatest effect upon the needs and desires of the participants in the narrative (and is evaluated more strongly)" (Labov 1997: 406-409). He further argues that narrative construction is built upon a personal theory of causality, according to which events prior to the most reportable one are selected as answering to the question "How did that happen?" while they can also assign praise or blame to the actors for the actions involved. This elaboration seems especially pertinent for the description of lament narratives where the perspectivised or affective report of death/killing constitutes the narrative centre of gravity. Therefore, a climactic model of narrative which describes the building up of one or more climaxes in an incremental and suspenseful way seems incompatible with the narrative development of laments, which are organized around *the most reportable event*, henceforth *main event* (for reasons of brevity). This description encompasses

lament *variants* (Politis 1991 [1866]: 8) and enables their redefinition as lament narratives constructed on the basis of the same main event. [5]

As already mentioned, the complicating action develops in a series of sections or *episodes* including the section that reports the main event. The preliminary analysis suggested that the first episode initiating the complicating action in the corpus texts is marked by temporal or spatial shifts or tense switches. These action-framing episodes will be termed *onset*, a category used by Hymes (1981: 190, 320) which echoes Fludernik's unit of *incipit* (1996: 66).

The unit of episode is used here as a unit of mesostructure akin to Chafe's oral paragraph (1987: 42) and Gee's section (1992) which serves analytically to link microstructure to macrostructure units. Episodes are focused on a particular theme, they are often internally cohesive through poetic features, such as rhyming and they mark major shifts in the event structure, signalled by specific morphosyntactic features. In the lament corpus, episodes tend to mark a shift either in a habitual activity or in the event structure of the narrative and they may be introduced by spatial or time markers, verbs of movement or action.

Episodes make up not only the complicating action, but also its initiation, i.e. the *onset* and its *resolution* and *coda*, that is the verses that follow the reporting of the main event. The unit of *coda* is adapted here to encompass the closing verse(s) in the

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[5] Labov's elaboration of the narrative model renders redundant the laborious temporal analysis of each text for devising the backbone of each narrative, termed *primary sequence* (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 25-26).

lines of Gee (1999: 112), since the Labovian *coda* emphasises the bridging of story-time and the present time of telling, which does not apply as straightforwardly to the case of lament texts.

In addition to the description of narrative development, the analysis also makes use of the Labovian socio-affective category of *evaluation* (see Bamberg 1997) in order to describe those parts of laments which do not necessarily move the action forward, but primarily express grief, desire for revenge and attribute praise or blame in an often stereotypical way and by so doing perspectivise the recounting of events.

The Labovian category of *evaluation* is closely linked to the point of the story, i.e. its tellability; however, the tellability of laments as traditionalised accounts of highly reportable killings and deaths is already established in the community. As such, it is not explicitly encoded as in the stories Labov studied, as for instance in "this was the most frightening experience of my life" (Labov 1967: 23), or at least there is no such evidence in written laments, perhaps only because the lamenter's metanarrative comments, before and after the lament's recitation, have been filtered out as unimportant. In any case, lament tellability is closely related to the cultural practices of the community and entextualisation practices among them, determining for instance which laments become traditionalised. But such questions move outside the focus of the Labovian category of evaluation, which is discussed here in relation to its adaptation to the lament corpus.

In Labov (1997: 403), evaluation is redefined as the information on the consequences of the event for human needs and desires. This definition foregrounds the narrator's perspective rather than the narrative's point or tellability, but delimits it to

information, failing to take into account the degree of personal involvement of the narrator to the narrative world through his/her encoding of affect (cf. Besnier 1993).

The preliminary analysis suggested that in laments, evaluation constitutes a discourse strategy for perspectivising the narrative. Such perspectivising is often built around affect-laden expressions which are to a large extent formulaic in the form of expression but can be positioned anywhere in the text. This structural pervasiveness is dealt with by using the Labovian types of evaluation, adapting them where needed:

- evaluation as a separate category that can be positioned anywhere in the narrative

- evaluative action: what people did, rather than what they said

- embedded evaluation: reconstructions of direct speech at the time of the narrated events or the quotes of a third person; embedded evaluation is coded in the corpus as one of the following types, based on thematic criteria:

    i.    invocations: direct addresses to the dead or to members of the community

    ii.   warning: revenge prompts

    iii.  affect: expression of feelings of shame, pride, grief

    iv.   curse

    v.    constructed dialogue (Tannen 1989).

The instantiation of all units of the narrative model outlined above (see list below) forms a fully-fledged narrative, yet the instantiation of all units is not a prerequisite for a text to be considered a narrative. A text is identified as narrative if a main event can be identified without excluding the possibility that more than one main event may

be recounted in a single text (cf. Labov 1997). In addition, the model is recursive, which means that its constituent units can recur more than once (for instance, in *Perotis ce Lefatzis* following the account of Lefatzis' killing, a new narrative sequence opens up where another killing prompted by the first one is reported).

As summarised below, the units of analysis that make up the model for Maniat laments as narratives have been outlined and the criteria for their identification have been specified on the grounds of a preliminary analysis:

- o  Orientation
- o  Complicating action

  - ▪  *Onset Episode(s)*
  - ▪  *Episode(s)*
  - ▪  *Main event Episode(s)*

- o  Resolution Episode(s)
- o  Evaluation
- o  Coda

  - ▪  *Evaluation*

These categories have been used to describe the corpus texts in an XML-encoded form and electronically process those according to specific research questions (see sample marked-up text). In the remaining part of the chapter, the findings of the corpus-based analysis of sensational laments will be presented and discussed in more detail.

The analysis of the corpus of laments employing the combined narrative model outlined above brought to the fore a prototypical oral-poetic narrative patterning, which can account for the wide circulation of these songs of personal grief as a collective narrative tradition (cf. §4.2) and by the late 19th cent. through the 20th cent. as a folkloristic 'treasure'.

As it will be shown in detail in what follows, a 'traditional' Maniat lament narrative is ethnopoetically constructed around a killing or an unexpected death and recounts a sequence of actions that led to it through the lens of a more or less constant moral stance.

### 3.3 Performance constraints

The oral composition of laments relies on both internal and external constraints of performance, which in the literature are often reported as features of different genres:[6]

i.  Constraints internal to the line have to do with relations within the metrical line; such constraints define the intonational contour (for sung lines) and endow the genre with prototypical poeticity.

ii. Constraints external to the line have to do with relations among patterned sequences of lines, namely verses; such constraints are typical of *poetic narratives* (cf. Hymes 1994: 331).

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[6] See for instance Hymes 1994: 330 on the compositional differences between sung epic poetry in Native American oral narratives and in the work of Foley (1992).

The poeticity of Maniat laments lies more in the existence of basic metrical constraints and less in the lyrical expression or metaphorical imagery found in laments from other parts of Greece. Instead, Maniat laments are shaped as 'news reports' (cf. Politis 1999) that are constrained by measured relations between verses. Such constraints do not refer to a fixed form requiring a constant number of parts (lines, verses or other sections); they rather refer to formal resources for lament composition, providing the teller with a variety of alternatives for shaping action, and thus enabling the ongoing entextualisation of laments (cf. Hymes 1994: 332; footnote 4). Hymes' work (1994: 331-333) suggests there is a set of principles underlying such formal resources, manifest in recurrent patterns of succession in oral narratives, which can be summed up as follows:

i.   *Interlocking:* sequences of **three** with the third unit as a pivot, completing one succession of three and beginning another, thus fulfilling the *arousal and satisfying of expectation.*[7]

ii.  *Ending point*: sequences of **two and four** found in many Native American communities (Kwakiutl, Takelma, Zuni, Hopi, Navajo) or sequences of **three and five** often found among speakers of Native American Communities at lower Columbia and Willammette Rivers and among American English speakers.

iii. An implicit rhythm of *onset, ongoing, outcome*: sequences of **three**.

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[7] Hymes (1994: 332) refers to Burke's essay entitled *Psychology and Form* (1968[1925]) as informing his understanding of the principles underlying line and verse succession.

   iv.  An implicit rhythm of *this, then that:* sequences of **two**.

The aforementioned sequences and their underlying principles are not necessarily at work in all kinds of texts. Rather, verse analysis is required for different sets of texts in order to uncover the formal resources available in culture-specific genres and genre-specific texts, by looking closely at the recurrent, though not constant, [8] sequential patterns as local preferences or tendencies (rather than absolutes).  Verse analysis is thus envisaged as an exploratory method, opening a window to prototypical conditions for lament entextualisation.

### 3.3.1 Basic ethnopoetic patterns

As noted in the previous section, the application of ethnopoetic analysis to a corpus of texts runs into difficulties in terms both of replicability and interpretability of numerical findings, since this kind of qualitative analysis resists quantification in favour of multiple revisitings of the text. Added to this problem, there is also the issue of the written form of the laments which tends to smooth out their internal patterning. In the semi-edited collection under study, however, the smoothing has not been completed, keeping intact a few traces of oral patterning - especially when compared to some of their more polished published versions (but see §4.2).

Taking into consideration these limitations, the corpus-based analysis has sought to identify patterns of verse and line sequences by:

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[8] As the 8-syllabic lines are constant, for instance.

i.   retrieving and counting the number of verses making up higher-level units, namely orientation, onset, main action and main event episodes of the complicating action, resolution episodes, evaluation and coda parts and

ii.   retrieving and counting lines within verses of orientation, onset and main event episodes of complicating action parts, those parts that is which are routinely used to frame and report the lamentable event.

The focus on retrieving lines and verses within the higher-level sections they help to build up means that their hierarchical positioning has not been lost from sight.  As Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show, there is a preference for patterns of three in verse and line sequencing, echoing Romaios' "rule of three" (1963), further confirmed by Kyriakidis (1978) and Beaton (1980: 44-51) regarding the centrality of the number three in the Greek folk song tradition as well as the findings of Georgakopoulou's study (1997: 65-88) which has revealed mainly patterns of three in Modern Greek conversational storytelling.  However, the tables below show a high frequency for patterns of two in line sequencing and for patterns of four in verse sequencing that should not be overlooked.

**Table 3.1. Sequential patterns for verses across structural segments**

| Numerical pattern | Frequency |
|---|---|
| 1 | 3.8% |
| 2 | 9.2% |
| 3 | 23.2% |
| 4 | 19.3% |

**Table 3.2. Sequential patterns for lines in orientation, onset and main event episodes of the complicating action**

| Sequential Pattern | Frequency |
|---|---|
| 1 | 0.8% |
| 2 | 40.1% |
| 3 | 51.8% |
| 4 | 7.2% |

To sum up, the corpus-based analysis suggests that there are two recurring number patterns in the corpus of Maniat laments are of two types: i. **patterns of three** and ii. **patterns of two.** These patterns are encountered more specifically in combinations of **one and three**, **three and five**, **two and four** or even **two and three** interrelating lines, verses and at an even higher level plot parts in a rhythmic way. [9]

### 3.3.2 Ethnopoetic patterns in a sample text

The sample text of *Spiros Liogiannakos* (see Appendix I: 5) will be used here to illustrate the varied employment of such combined patternings, as outlined in the previous section. The text is selected for its average length (190 words) and for its relatively complex combination of sequencing patterns, which follows norms of narrative development.   Although there are texts in the corpus where tripartite sequencing is dominant, (e.g. *Leoutsakos ce Voidis*) or texts that show local norms for

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[9] Evidence for the interplay of 3s, 5s and 4s in native narratives is also given by Hymes with regard to the Cochiti narrative: "The first is about Coyote's attempt to imitate a bird, the second about what happens after he fails. Both scenes involve interplay of relations of three and five with relations of four, but differ in internal form" (Hymes 1994: 339).

sequencing (see *Kotsaris*, Appendix II: 2), [10] most of the texts evidence similar sequencing patterns to the sample text, discussed below.

In the sample text, the lamentable event is shaped as a bipartite structure of an onset and a main event recounted in three successive episodes and framed by an opening section of two verses and a closing section of three verses.

The lament opens up with the unfolding of the introductory orientation section in two verses, each unfolding in three lines. The first verse establishes a formulaic time for the lament story (Μνια Κυριακή πολλά πρωί) and describes a set of conventional activities undertaken by Liogiannakos, the victim to be, in two steps: first his getting up (σηκώθηκα ο δυστυχής) and then his putting on the rifle (κι επήρα το ντουφέκι μου). The second verse sets the background setting in terms of place again in two steps: first denoting Liogiannakos' movement towards a place (κι εσκάρησα τα πρόβατα) and then his arrival there (στα φυλατώρια εδιάηκα), before rounding up with the reporting of the activity in which he was engaged there (και εκυνήγου τα πουλιά) prior to his death.

The consecutive couplets contained in the two three-line verses create an internal rhythm of *this, then that*. Their interconnectedness is marked by:

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[10] The latter tend to be the longer versions of laments where sometimes the string of coherent narrative development is lost.

i.    the discourse marker 'ci' positioned at the start of the closing line of the
      first verse (l.3: *κι επήρα*) and at the start of the initiating line at the second
      verse (l.4: *κι εσκάρησα*) and by

ii.   the symmetrical positioning of line-first and line-last verbs in each couplet,
      respectively: (l.2: *σηκώθηκα*) - (l. 5: *εδιάηκα*).

The encompassing of the two interlinked couplets by an initiating line at the first
verse, namely a temporal formula (l.1: Μνια Κυριακή πολλά πρωί) and a closing line,
at the end of the second verse, namely a tense switch (l.6: και εκυνήγου τα πουλιά)
shape the initial background/state in an overall rhythm of *onset-ongoing-outcome*
arousing the audience's expectation for the reporting of the unexpected. Such lines
also demarcate the boundaries of the entire orientation section, creating a recognisable
narrative shape to the recounted events (see §3.3).

The expectation for the unexpected is fulfilled by a set of two more couplets (l.7-8 &
l.9-10), which temporally anchor the arrival of a woman, Paskalia, who acts as a
messenger prompting Liogiannakos to go to the village of *Chora*. These two couplets,
each a single verse, make up the first episode of the complicating action called onset
in a *this, then that* rhythm.

The main part of the complicating action unfolds in three episodes, segmenting the
reporting of the main event (here Liogiannakos' injury) into three chunks of action: i.
Liogiannakos passes through the village of Mpoularioi on his way to Chora (l.11-19)
ii. he gets home, catches a glimpse of his attacker just before hearing the shooting
(l.20-26) and finally iii. he attempts to defend himself but fails and his son standing

close to him curses those responsible for the shooting [11] (l.27-38). The first episode unfolds in three-line verses, while the second and third episodes combine two and three-line patterns in the following sequences: 2-3-2-2 and 3-4-3, respectively (where the numbers indicate the number of lines in each verse). The third episode constitutes the pivot one where the main event is reported. This structure is a particularly flexible one, as it enables the start of a new sequence (*interlocking*), although here it is just followed by a closing set of three-verses where revenge for Liogiannakos' shooting is sought.

Throughout the unfolding of the main part of the complicating action, three-line verses tend to describe an action in three steps of micro-actions (see verse 5) or to link micro-actions together to an event-schema (see verses 7; 12) (cf. Georgakopoulou 1997: 67), often emphasised through rhyme (see verse 9). They are also used to shape an embedded orientation section (see verse 6) and report the main event in a typical direct speech structure, initiated by a verb of saying and followed by a turn of speech in a couplet (see verse 14).

On the other hand, two-line verses frame the main event by reporting mini-actions or mini-events as somehow separate and detached from it, creating a *staccato* rhythm and emphasising the unexpectedness of the lamentable event (see verses 8; 10; 11). Two-line verses are also used in this text to segment lengthier turns of speech (see coda verses 16; 17).

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[11] In fact, this was a failed attempt at killing Liogiannakos; he was only injured and later took revenge by killing the wife and the son of his attacker in their house (see lament for Georgion Mihelakon).

In the entire corpus, ethnopoetic patterns are found to be related to narrative development, as shown in Tables 3 and 4, which record the frequencies of verse and line sequential patterns across different narrative segments.  More specifically, the corpus-based analysis has shown that orientation sections and onset episodes of the complicating action tend to be brief enough to be expressed by a single verse. Main complicating action episodes, evaluation and coda sections tend to be shaped in three-verse sequences, while resolution episodes show a preference for shaping in four-verse sequences. In terms of line patterns, orientation, onset and main event sections tend to form into couplets.

The aforementioned findings suggest that patterns of one and three constitute the dominant verse patterns, serving to create an implicit rhythm of *onset, ongoing, outcome* in the description of micro-actions and event schemata or to interlock with new sequences, thus easing the elaboration of laments into lengthier versions. On the other hand, the relative frequency of two-verse sequences, as shown in the high frequency of four-verse sequences in resolution sections and in the couplet preference found in line patterns, indicates the supplementary significance of pattern numbers two and four that create an implicit rhythm of *this, then that* or serve as an ending point.

**Table 3.3. Frequencies of verse patterns in different segments**

| Sequential pattern | Orientation (18) | Onset Episode(s) (23) | Episode(s) (53) | Resolution Episode(s) (20) | Evaluation (12) | Coda (20) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 38.8% | 26% | 0 | 0 | 16.6% | 25% |
| 2 | 33.3% | 8.6% | 13.2% | 10% | 33.3% | 15% |
| 3 | 27.7% | 17.3% | 25% | 20% | 50% | 40% |
| 4 | 0 | 26% | 19.2% | 35% | 8.3% | 5% |

| 5 | 0 | 8.6% | 17.3% | 5% | 0 | 10% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

**Table 3.4. Line patterns within different segments' verses**

| Sequential Patterns | Orientation Verses (34) | Onset Episode Verses (61) | Main Event Episode Verses (94) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | - | - | 4.2% |
| 2 | 50% | 60.6% | 48.9% |
| 3 | 35.2% | 57.3% | 41.4% |
| 4 | 8.8% | 1.6% | 5.3% |

### 3.3.3 Summing up

In the corpus of Maniat laments, patterns of two and three were identified as the basic ethnopoetic patterns combined in a variety of ways. More specifically, patterns of three and two combine to shape micro-actions or micro-events as well as action sequences. Finally, lament narratives can exhibit either a bipartite patterning consisting of an *onset - main event*, mainly encountered in shorter lament versions or a tripartite patterning consisting of an *onset - main event - outcome*, echoing Hymes' *onset-ongoing-outcome* that creates a rhythmic sequencing of actions and events open to elaboration in new narrative cycles.

The interplay of the aforementioned two patterns which in the literature have been associated with narrative styles in different cultures (cf. Hymes 1994) seems to indicate the oscillation of the lament genre between a culture-specific narrative style associated with number **three** and the poetic constraints of the eight-syllable metre which makes number **two** a resource for the quick composition of a couplet.

A genre with strong ties to an oral tradition, permeating both ritual and ordinary contexts, Maniat laments make use of oral formulae for metrical (eight-syllabic) composition-in-performance, *relatively* similar to sung epic poetry. In Maniat laments the available narrative resources mean that such oral formulae are used as discourse markers, that is as a closed set of words, phrases or expressions conventionally used to describe typical actions, characters and events positioned at the boundaries of different segments marking their opening or closing (§6.3). In these poetic narratives, oral formulae are not only employed to fulfil the formal constraints of the poetic metre, but also to invoke the genre's ties to its long oral tradition.

To sum up, oral formulae/discourse markers and ethnopoetic patterns constitute conventionalised features of the Maniat lament genre which fulfil formal constraints and give shape to action and event sequences; of course, their manipulation differs from performance to performance and from teller to teller and can be indicative of the difference between well-crafted, original compositions and pedantic attempts (cf. Hymes 1994: 330; footnote 1).

### 3.4 Narrative patterning

In addition to the internal and external performance constraints, discussed in the previous section, which have to do with metrical constants and ethnopoetic patterns, the resources for the composition of lament narratives also include higher-level narrative structures which are more akin to personal experience oral narratives than to literary narratives, as will be shown in this section. More specifically, the corpus-based narrative analysis, the findings of which are presented below, suggests that entextualising a Maniat lament as a coherent narrative essentially involves constructing a skeleton of causally linked events culminating in the reporting of a

most reportable event (death/killing) and fleshing it out in various ways with overt actions, perceptions, thoughts and character of the participants and *ordinary events* (see Labov 2004).

### 3.4.1 Initiating a lamentable event

Tellers of oral experience narratives in the context of a sociolinguistic interview tend to start their recounting by a brief, often evaluative summary of what is to follow. Typical examples of such sections called *abstracts* can be found in the interview-prompted stories studied by Labov:

> An' then, three weeks ago I had a fight with this other dude outside.

> He got mad 'cause I wouldn't give him a cigarette.

> Ain't that a bitch.

> (cited in Labov 1977: 364)

The interviewer's prototypical question that prompted story-initiations similar to that above was the following: "Were you ever in a situation where you thought you were in serious danger of getting killed?" – "This is it?" or "Were you ever in a fight with a guy bigger than you?" and in the case of a "yes" answer by the informant a further question "What happened?" was posed. In the light of this interview context, initiating the above story by this brief evaluative summary allows the narrator to establish the relevance of the upcoming story for the interviewer's question and establish its reportability. The employment of an abstract section, then, is in this case indexical of a context of telling that involves people outside the immediate peer group of the speaker (Labov 1977: 354-355).

More generally, the presence or absence of an abstract section can point to different ways of foregrounding the context of telling, while in the absence of any contextual evidence it can even serve as an index to it (cf. Fleischman 1990: 136), illustrating that context is not an entity that exists independently of the text, but rather that it is part of an ongoing dialogical process between the two (see Georgakopoulou 1997: 29-30, also Duranti and Goodwin 1993).

Relating the presence of an abstract part to the notion of reportability [12] entails that in different types of interaction or more broadly in different types of cultures, in which what is thought of as reportable may differ considerably, abstracts can take a different form or be dispensed with overall. Findings from studies on narratives in different settings confirm this close association between this structural part and different kinds of interaction and cultural settings. In performance settings, for instance, such as medieval narratives which involve the presence of an audience, abstracts take the form of narrator prologues that occur in text-initial position or are integrated into the beginning of individual episodes (Fleischmann 1990: 137-138). In contrast, it has been suggested that conversational stories which are well integrated into the conversational events readily dispense with the initial and final framings of abstracts and codas, respectively (Georgakopoulou 1997: 55).

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[12] In Ochs and Capps (2001) the term *tellability* is preferred over the term *reportability*; ordinary versus least ordinary events as narratable; but Labov (1994) discusses the role of ordinary events in narrative construction.

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In the corpus of Maniat laments such framings are also dispensed with. The absence of abstracts here does not necessarily index the embeddedness of the laments in conversations, but rather it indexes one of the following:

i.      a certain degree of formulaicity which provides other resources for initial and closing framings; sometimes such formulaic openings become reportable in their own right in the context of lament prompting. Kira-Tassia, for instance, from Aeropolis (Outer Mani) in the course of our conversation during my fieldwork in Mani recited a handful of such openings (*arhes*, as she called them) which are appropriate under different circumstances.

ii.     an already established reportability of laments as items of a shared cultural tradition in the context of the folklore interviews in which they were elicited; during the interviews I conducted with locals in Mani, I often asked them directly to sing or recite a lament while my mini-disc recorder was on, thus taking their reportability for granted; many of them did in fact respond positively to this prompt, affirming the assumption of the need to preserve them which underlay the prompt.

iii.    the possibility of editing in the process of their transcription.

Still, it seems that in these traditional narratives, abstracts may in fact appear in a different form than expected, namely in the form of name references that serve to distinguish laments from each other either in oral contexts or in written collections. In the course of the interviews I conducted, for instance, during the brief negotiations that sometimes followed my request for a lament telling (regarding the desired style or the kind of laments I was interested in and so on), I would prompt them to recite to me

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one of the laments included in the collection of Strilakos, by mentioning the name of the person whom the lament was about; in most cases, informants were able to recognise the lament I was talking about. Such name references figure in Strilakos' collection as well as in most published collections as titles. [13] Name references then serve to establish an often evaluative shortcut to the lament.  An example of this abstract-like function is evident in a popular lament that recurs in different collections, which is constructed around the killing of Yannis by his wife, Annio, but it has become widely known under the name of Annio rather than that of Yannis, arguably indexing a fascination of the community with the tragic figure of this young woman.

### 3.4.2 Imposing linearity in death narratives

Ochs and Capps (2001: 278-283) suggest that narrative competence resides in the ability to reconcile *coherence*, the thematic and logical continuity achieved through the temporal and causal ordering of events and *authenticity*, the microcosm of the event in all of its uncertainties, potentialities, open-endness and fragmented intimations.

As Labov has illustrated in his narrative analyses, the temporal and causal ordering of events starts as the basis of any narrative's construction, namely *a most reportable event* (1997; 2004). In lament narratives, that most reportable event is death (see Labov 2004:37), very often coming in the sensational form of a revenge killing; in

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[13] In most of the collections (Koutsilieris 1990; Kassis 1979, 1980, 1981; Kallidonis 1981), the titles are also in the genitive case. In Strilakos' collection however, the titles are all in the nominative case, which seems to mark a consistent editing practice on his part.

each lament (re)telling, the report of death relies on the teller's selection of a series of events for narration that lead up to the reporting of the main one.

### 3.4.2.1 Beginning

The imposition of a temporal and causal ordering on the narration of an event of death/killing (that it is assumed has actually occurred) requires first of all a *motivating precursor,* that is a set of events that can be accounted for. This precursor comes in the form of the narrative's *orientation*, the section describing a common state-of-affairs and answering to the narrator's essential question "Where will I begin?" (Labov 2004: 37-39).

In the corpus, orientations predominantly occupy the head of the narrative (66.6%) or in fewer cases follow brief evaluation sections; in both cases, they constitute the motivating precursor of the most reportable event, establishing the time, place, participants and their ordinary activities (Labov 1997: 402) and providing background information that contextualises and perspectivises the narrative (see Georgakopoulou 1997: 58; Labov 2004: 37-39).

Narrative research has suggested a close relationship of the category of orientation with the varied audience requirements for background information. In stories addressed to children for instance, it has been found that orientation sections tend to be longer compared to stories addressed to adults, where less background information is required (Georgakopoulou 1997: 60; Hudson et al. 1992: 129). In medieval narratives, on the other hand, where the performed stories are widely shared, orientation sections tend to be found embedded throughout a text instead of being placed at the head of a narrative. Irrespective of audience considerations or genre, orientations have been associated with imperfective aspect, which typically occurs in

backgrounded clauses expressing the continuity of habitual action (Fleischmann 1990: 139-140).

In the corpus, orientation sections tend to be brief and formulaic, indexing the ties of the lament genre with a long and shared oral tradition. The formulaic structure that recurs in the start of orientations (44.4%) consists of a day followed by a temporal adverb, as in *Μία Δευτέρα το πρωί (One Monday morning)*, which is the preferred form; the predominant aspect is the imperfective, often occurring in a tense switch at the section's boundaries, as is the case in the sample text (see Appendix I: 5). More specifically, in this text the orientation typically describes a set of ordinary activities of the male protagonist, presumably on an early Sunday morning, picturing him at the head of a sheep-herd carrying a rifle, and then hunting quail [14] while his sheep are grazing. Similar conventionalised imagery of local peasant life abounds in orientation sections, illustrating ordinary indoor and outdoor activities. Indoor activities, such as eating and drinking, sleeping, milling or just standing by the window are predominantly associated with female protagonists, while outdoor activities,[15] such as working in the field, sitting in the council or even being away from the village are predominantly associated with males, illustrating normative gender divisions across ordinary activities and spaces (see Seremetakis 1991).

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[14] The birds referred to in the lament must refer to quail, as quail hunting was very common in Mani.

[15] Noteworthy, in the two texts where women are pictured outdoors (No 7 and 13) they are pictured threshing, while in another instance (No 12) the female protagonist reports her coincidental presence in the elder's council, implying that she was not supposed to be there.

As narratives that deal with death and conflict, laments are frequently concerned with the assignment of blame in which orientation sections play a central role by their perspectivising function. The order imposed on the narrated events creates a causal chain either intended to polarise participants, by presenting the protagonist as norm-abiding and the antagonist as a norm violator, or integrates participants by minimising guilt and blame (Labov 2004: 35). In such constructions of causality the events initialising the lament carry a pivotal evaluative load. To go back to the sample text, the perspective here is readily established by the selection of the first person singular lamenter throughout the telling which grants the version of the story from the eyes of Liogiannakos, who is here the victim. The status of the lamenter as a victim is capitalised on in l.2, where the lamenter creates the expectation of an upcoming catastrophe by characterising himself as *o δυστυχής* (the ill-fated). In addition, the minute description of ordinary activities in this section, in sharp contrast with the event of Liogiannakos' unexpected shooting, has the effect of sensationalising the telling and endowing it with credibility and authenticity. In other words, this particular lament sets up an initialising frame for the construction of a typical narrative of personal experience (despite the fact that this is essentially a narrative of vicarious experience) trying to balance the requirements for imposing order with those of creating an authentic version of events.

Summing up, orientation sections in the corpus tend to occur in the form of conventionalised brief sections that function as *motivating precursors* for the most reportable event of death/killing. It has been tentatively suggested that their wider role

is to: i. embed individual laments into the collective oral narrative tradition, constructing local representations of the Maniat way of life and its codes of morality and ii. perspectivise the narrative in a polarising or integrative way. [16]

### 3.4.2.2 Establishing causality

As suggested in §3.2.1, in laments the narrative unfolds in a series of episodes; in the corpus the set of episodes [17] is always framed by one or more onset episodes which mark the entrance into the realm of the complicating action. The episodic chain of events constitutes the skeleton of the narrative lament; in other words, it is the only indispensable section (all other sections are optional) and as such it qualifies a lament as narrative. In fact, a handful of texts (No 5 & 22) dispense with orientating or evaluative parts at their head and readily enter the realm of the complicating action marked by its onset episode(s).

Onset episodes point to a disruption of either an ordinary event described in the orientation section or an assumed ordinary state-of-affairs when a preceding section is missing. In the sample text, the protagonist's activity of hunting quail, for instance, is disrupted by the appearance of Paskalia who acts as a messenger, prompting him to get to Chora for an unstated reason, where his antagonist is awaiting him; her appearance is marked by the temporal anchoring of the event (*η ώρα εγίνηκε εννιά*), signalling the boundaries of the first complicating action episode, called onset.

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[16] Other ways of perspectivising the narrative are discussed in section (see §3.3.3.5).

[17] Labov segments the narrative chain into a series of independent clauses transcribed as separate lines with all finite clauses indented below the clauses on which they are dependent (2004: 32).

In the corpus, disruption is most frequently marked by the departure of the protagonist, [18] as shown in the recurrence of such conventionalised onsets in the form of formulaic expressions akin to *σηκώθηκα κι εγδιάηκα* (I got up and I went) (64%).[19] Other ways of announcing a disruption of ordinary events is the report of suddenly hearing someone shooting or shouting (17.6%), articulated in formulaic expressions akin to *ένα ντουφέκι αγροίκησα/άκουσα μια σκληρή φωνή* (I heard a rifle/I heard a huge cry) or the report of a warning to the victim-to-be in a failed attempt to pre-empt the upcoming catastrophe (11.7%); in the lament for Mitsos Psikakos, for instance, his sister laments her failed warning to her brother of the elder council's decision to have him killed in accordance with the code of revenge. Finally, there is also the possibility for a verbal challenge to be reported as an event that disrupts an ordinary social gathering, prompting a series of killings in the name of honour (see *Perotis and Lefatzis*, Appendix II: 2).

The selection of a disruptive event is crucial for the perspectivising of the narrative, setting the terms for the attribution of blame or the integration of participants. In particular, most of the aforementioned types of disruptive events serve to minimise guilt and blame and capitalise on the sensationalism and emotional effects of the most reportable event. The lament for Perotis and Lefatzis is an exception to this tendency; in this narrative, the disruptive event clearly assigns blame to Lefatzis as having

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[18] With the exception of the lament of Sasaronifi (No 62), where the onset describes the arrival of the boat of which her husband was the captain, without him on board.

[19] This frequency has been estimated on the basis of texts narrating different stories, in order to avoid a biased result due to the recurrence of conventional onsets in different versions of the same lament.

insulted the honour of Perotis' widowed sister by suggesting he was having an affair with her, thus obliging Perotis to defend his family honour by the code of revenge.

### 3.4.2.3 Elaborating the narrative chain

According to Labov, the unfolding of narrative takes place in a set of sequential clauses, making up the complicating action, that report a next event in response to a potential question: "And what happened then?" (Labov 1997: 402). More recently, Labov has argued for the unfolding of narrative as an inverse chain of narrative clauses until the recounting of the most reportable event. The process of constructing a narrative in this latest version of the Labovian narrative model involves the establishment of credibility for the most reportable event, which is equivalent to answering to the question "How did this extraordinary event come about?", which applies recursively to every preceding event recounted in turn (cf. Labov 2004: 32-39). Either way, narrative construction relies on the selection of a most reportable event, which constitutes the core of the complicating action, and thus of the entire narrative. The latest elaborations of the Labovian model indicate the need that had emerged since the initial suggestion of the model by Labov and Waletzky to describe more adequately the internal structure of the complicating action. [20]

As illustrated in the two preceding sub-sections, the narrative chain in the corpus begins with the description of ordinary events in the *orientation* and continues with a disruption of a habitual state-of-affairs in the first episode of the complicating action

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[20] Cf. high-point analysis in Peterson and McCabe (1997) or the unit of peak in the Longacre's narrative climactic model (1996); see Georgakopoulou (1997), Fleischman (1990: 141-142).

or *onset*. Between the onset and the most reportable event, one or more episodes may intervene, but their occurrence is optional to the construction of the lament narrative, as their frequency of 52.1% across the total texts in the corpus shows. Such intervening episodes tend to announce the protagonist's departure towards or arrival at a destination (as is the case for 84% of the total of intervening episodes) or (re)construct others' speech or a dialogue (in just 16% of the episodes in question). Their function in the narrative construction is to delay the reporting of the main action either by the recounting of a set of ordinary events, leading to recursive patterns of ordinary events-disruption employed in the orientation section and onset episode, respectively, or by the dramatisation of the events through constructed speech.

To go back to the sample text, two intervening episodes recount the protagonist's itinerary from his hunting spot to Chora and a set of associated events, including ordinary and disruptive ones: the first episode (l. 11-19) reports the protagonist's departure from his hunting spot and his arrival at Makroni through the village of Mpoularii where a group of females is described as rather unexceptionally sitting together. Up to this point, the episode resembles an orientation section in its description of ordinary events which add nothing to the forwarding of the story. However, the last verse (l.17-19) where he reports the greeting event between him and the women turned sour as none of the women responded to him, provides a disruption of the ordinary and adds to the evaluative layers of the lament by implying (most probably) that the women's avoidance expresses their hostility towards him in the context of the conflict between him and his antagonist. The second episode (l. 20-26) marks the return to the ordinary by the departure of the protagonist from Makroni and his arrival home and a set of habitual actions, namely climbing the stairs and looking for the door key, further suspending the forward movement of the action but enabling

our identification with the *ill-fated* protagonist. At this point, the disruption of normality by his glimpse of his antagonist and his hearing the sound of the rifle aimed at him delays as much as anticipates the most reportable event and emphasises its affective effect.

The most reportable event in the text we are discussing here unfolds in three verses (l.27-38), culminating in the announcement of Liogiannakos' killing through the words of a third person (see verse 14).[21] More specifically, it is the words of his son, invoking his wounded father and cursing his antagonists, which endow the narrative with a highly affective load; this kind of affective load is typical of the genre as shown in the generalised tendency observed in 39.1% of the texts in the corpus to articulate main events through constructed speech, including invocations or calls for help and curses. However, the narrative analysis suggests that the preferred way of reporting the main event is through conventionalised expressions of evaluative action, which recur in 56.5% of the texts in the corpus. The most typical form of such reports of murder through evaluative action is a couplet with one line focusing on the rifle shot and the other on its successful outcome:

| 1 | **i.** του'ρριξε | μια ντουφεκιά | **ii.** τον έριξε τα πίστομα |
|---|---|---|---|
| | he aimed at him | a shot | he took him down |

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[21] It could be argued that the most reportable event is verse 11 (the hearing of the shooting); in this analysis the choice has been made for the coding as main events of clear reports of death/killing that have been found to recur in the corpus.

| 2 | **i.** του τράβηξε<br><br>   he pulled (for) him | μια γκραδιά<br><br>   he pulled (for) him | **ii.** κάτου στη σπηλιά<br><br>   down by the cave |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | **i.** τού'δωσε<br><br>   he gave him | μιά μπαταριά<br><br>   a bullet | **ii.** τού'φαε πλάτες και νεφρά<br><br>   he shot him through<br>   [lit. he ate his back and loins] |
| 4 | | | **ii.** τον ηύρε κατακέφαλα<br><br>   the bullet got him on the head |
| 5 | | | **ii.** πάει τ'Αρκάδι το μισό<br><br>   half of the Arkadi was gone |

To sum up, the elaboration of the narrative chain relies on delaying the report of the main event, while raising the audience's expectation for it by a set of intervening episodes which either recount ordinary events, to mark their subsequent disruption, or dramatise events through the use of constructed dialogue.

### 3.4.2.4 Open-ended endings

A handful of texts in the corpus include more than one reports of killing (in 17.3% of texts [22]), where one main event leads to the recounting of another. In the lament for Perotis and Lefatzis, the killing of Perotis by Lefatzis leads in turn to his killing, while in the lament for Vgeniki, the killing of her brother makes her seek revenge against a group of men, killing them all before being herself killed.

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[22] In the lament for Kyriaki, her abduction leads to her rescue by her brother which in turn leads to a killing; the latter lament though seems to constitute a fusion of two different stories into one, as it lacks persistent narrative coherence.

Reports of a second killing within a causal narrative chain are often positioned in the *resolution* section in the form of a series of episodes following the reporting of the main event, which are called resolution episodes. In Labov and Waletzky, the resolution section of a narrative was defined as "that portion of the narrative sequence that follows the evaluation, claiming that if the evaluation is the last element, then the resolution section coincides with the evaluation" (Labov & Waletzky 1967: 35). In Labov (1997: 414), its definition is simplified as "the set of complicating actions that follow the most reportable event" (cf. the post-peak episodes in Longacre 1996). In the present narrative analysis model, resolution sections are marked as a distinct category segmented into episodes, pointing to its overlap with the last part of the complicating action and into embedded evaluation types, pointing to its overlap with evaluation sections.

In the corpus, resolution sections occur in 56.5% of texts; their formation relies on three different types of conventionalised content and expression:

i.    a third person confirms the killing of close kin (26%) in an affective imagery that pictures the victim bleeding or lying dead with his intestines bare; *και να το δέσου εγδιάηκα/όξου η κοιλιά με τ' άντερα*, says the sister of Mitsos Psikakos in the homonymous lament (See Appendix II: 2) and in the same vein, *μο το βρα χάμου πίστομα/χουμένο μες στα αίμαντα*, says reportedly Lefatzis' mother (See Appendix II: 2).

ii.   a second killing is reported (17.3%) (see above)

iii.  the killing is reported to a third party in constructed dialogue (8.6%); in such sections the centre of gravity is transferred from the reportability of death/killing to that of successful revenge and honour restitution; *εγώ*

*γνοια ζου ζε δίκηωσα/κι όλους τους εφαρμάκωσα*, the woman, who killed her brothers in revenge for the killing of her husband, reports to her brother-in-law (Text 28) or *παίρνου στα χέρια μου το γκρα / του ήύρα μέσα στη σπηλιά*, says Stavriani's brother to their mother reporting how he rescued the family honour, after his sister ran away to the mountains with her lover (see Appendix I: 2).

A few of the corpus texts (8.6%) end simply with the reporting of the main event; no resolution consolidates the affective perspective of the telling, no closing section rounds it up. Most of them, however, (91.3%) commonly mark the end of the lament telling by a few lines or verses, which in the present coding system are encompassed by the category of *coda*; coda here is different from the Labovian unit defined as the clause(s) that brings the narrative back to the time of telling (Labov 1997: 414), since in laments there is no need to bridge the temporal gap between the time of telling and the time of the events, but simply to round up the recounting. In the corpus, two different conventionalised ways of rounding up the telling have been identified:

i.      codas that provide a closing to the telling (21.7%) pointing to the restitution of order through the successful carrying out of revenge. The coda in the lament of Vgeniki nicely illustrates this type of closing, by capitalising on the social importance of retribution rather than on the impact of the killings on the families involved: *κι εδόθη ο λόγος στα χωριά/τι εγδικιώθη ο Θοδωρής/ο αδερφός της Βγενικής* (Text No 34). In other cases though, codas may constitute abrupt closings of the telling, indexing the lamenter's difficulty to go on, as the coda in an anonymous text which overall lacks coherence and richness of detail

illustrates: *κι έδωσα μία κι έφυγα/κι εγδιάνκα στο σπίτι μου/και το πα του πατέρα μου* (Text No 28).

ii.     evaluative codas (78.3%) which may encode a warning against the perpetrators by prompting revenge, invoke the killed by his/her name, express affect (such as grief, shame, regret, anger) or all of the above. The coda in the sample lament of Liogiannakos illustrates the issuing of a warning articulated through a constructed dialogue between the victim and his younger son, where the former calls for revenge against his killing by his eldest son; in this way, the lamenter capitalises on revenge as a hierarchically-structured moral obligation (και του 'πα και του μίλησα/άντες να πας στο μπάρμπα ζου/το μπάρμπα ζου το Κύριακα/πες του να κάμη καταπά/για να τ'αφήσου εντολή/να πη στο πρώτο μου παιδί/ότι να με δικηώσουσι; text No3). A combination of the aforementioned different types of evaluations embedded in codas is found in a lament for Psikakos recounted in the voice of his sister (text No 4); the coda starts with an invocation to her killed brother, calling him to seek revenge by her side, thus pointing to the lack of males in the family who can be assigned with the job. In the final verse, she turns to herself and makes the painful acknowledgment of her brother's affront to honour that led to his lamentable killing (*για σήκου Δημητράκη μου/για σήκο να τσατσαριστής/και να μορφοσυγυριστής/σήκο να πάρης το σαρμά/και τη λουρίδα τη μακριά/τα ματαμαθημένα μας/να βγούμε αντάρτες στα βουνά/να κυνηγήσεις το φονηά/και για βοήθιο ζου καιγώ/ώιμε η κακοθάνατη/ντρέπομαι να φανερού/πώκαμες πόμπερη δουλειά/κι έκαμες γυναικοφονηά*).

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The closings of lament narratives in the forms of resolution or coda sections described above illustrate that the elaboration, and hence the variation of the narrative chain, is at the discretion and/or competence of the teller; tellers can opt for an ending which restores order by reporting the success of retribution, [23] an ending that reconstructs the impact of the reported events on the family of the killed or finally, an abrupt ending that saves them from the demanding task of verse composition-in-performance. Ideally, as the reporting of more than two events in one lament suggests, there is the possibility for the continuous embedding of revenge mini-stories, allowing for the stretching of the causal narrative chain to encompass the long intertwined histories of clan conflicts.

**Table 3.5. Hierarchical structure of narrative categories in the lament corpus**

| Narrative category | Position | Frequency |
|---|---|---|
| Orientation | Text-first | 52.1% |
| | After text-first evaluation | 26% |
| Evaluation | Text-first | 36.1% |
| Onset | Complicating action-first | 100% |
| Complicating Action Episodes | Between onset and main event | 51.2% |
| CA Main Event | Any | 100% |
| | Text-first | 8.6% |
| | Text-final | 8.6% |
| Resolution | Immediately after main event | 60.8% |

[23] Such endings render them structurally akin to traditional tales, where order is reinstated by other kinds of institutionally validated norms, such as the protagonist's marriage.

| Coda | Text-final | 91.3% |
|---|---|---|

### 3.4.2.5 Perspectivising the telling

Laments are continuously perspectivised through the imposition of linearity and causality on the narrated events and tend to end by evaluative codas. In other words, evaluation pervades lament narratives, cutting across the different sections instead of being concentrated into separate sections, known in the literature as *external evaluations* and associated with literacy-based ways of narrating, common among middle-class speakers (Labov 1977: 373), and written stories which favour explicitness in the expression of the story's point and emotion (Georgakopoulou 1997: 61-62). [24]

In the corpus, evaluation often figures as a separate section (43.4%), predominantly positioned at the head of the text (75%) and less frequently (25%) at the designated position for external evaluation, i.e. after the reporting of the main event and before the resolution or coda (cf. Labov 1972); the latter instances tend to come in the form of direct addresses to the killed, reconstructing the feelings of the lamenter towards the catastrophe that has befallen her, as for instance in the mother's invocation to her lost son in the lament of Lefatzis: *ε Κώτσο πού με παρατάς/εμένα και τη Κοκωνιά/στανιώς δίχως τη γνώμη μου* (hey Kotsos where are you leaving me/me and

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[24] This association of separate evaluation sections with a preference for explicitness of expression is reinforced by Fleischman's findings (1990: 144-148), which indicate a high frequency of external evaluations in medieval narratives, befitting their performers' interventionist style.

Kokonia/as you like without asking us). In laments that do not have to do with the loss of a loved one, but with the observance of the moral duty of revenge, external evaluation may come in a clearer form, namely as a first-person statement of satisfaction, directly following the reporting of the killing; a good example is found in the lament of the woman who killed her brothers in retribution for her husband's killing: *όλους τους εφαρμάκωσα/ευχαριστημένη έμεινα* (I poisoned them all/I satisfied myself).

Overall, however, lament narratives dispense with external evaluation sections that explicitly express the story's reportability or emotion, for two main reasons:

i.      unlike oral narratives of personal experience, there is no need to establish a lament's reportability; [25] laments deal with the *par excellence* reportable event of death/killing,

ii.     laments are generically characterised by conventionalised expressions of grief which form an integral part of the narrative construction; this means that the preferred form of evaluation is evaluative action (focusing on what people did), constructed speech and lexis, i.e. *internal evaluation*.

### 3.4.2.6 Embeddedness

Evaluation is a pervasive category that can be positioned anywhere, irrespective of the narrative hierarchy. Therefore, its recurrence at the head of text preceding or

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[25] Unless of course laments are embedded in a conversation, but such cases are not of concern here. Instead of reportability, we may need to talk of lamentability in this genre.

encompassing orientation sections is not to be considered a deviation from oral narrative norms, but as closely related with the category of evaluation realisations in the corpus. [26] Evaluations at the head of laments are structurally similar to the conventionalised evaluative expressions, already presented above with regard to different narrative segments: they may take the form of invocations, curses or expressions of self-pity, expressing affect (grief, anger, and regret) or emphasising the terrible impact of the catastrophe. Consider, for instance, the head evaluation in the lament of Annio recounted in the voice of the mother of Yanis, to whom Annio was married and whom she killed: in a brief three-line verse, the mourning mother curses the moment of Annio's birth (l.1-2), emphasising the hurt that she brought upon her family (l.3): *Έσκασ'η πέτρα και τ'αυγό/και ζ'έβγαλε μωρή Αννιώ/για τον κακόνε μας καιρό* (The rock and the egg had broken and you appeared, Annio, (bringing) bad luck to us all).

It is their strategic positioning at the head of the lament - a pivotal position for the perspectivisation of narrative - rather than the particular form of such external evaluation sections that begs for further discussion. First of all, a typical initialising lament segment may serve to assist the recall or affirm the sharedness of the lament in question. This became evident to me during one of my fieldwork encounters: I prompted my informant to tell me the popular lament of Annio and she came up with

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[26] Such instances resemble the abstract sections that often initiate oral stories of personal experience; here, they are coded as evaluations so as not to lose from sight their conventionalised form which is similar to the other types of evaluations encountered in the data and which constitute a pivotal feature of the genre.

the external evaluation part (see example above [27]), by way of establishing we were talking about the same lament. This instance indexes the functional significance of position which overrides any *a priori* assumptions regarding the functionality of individual narrative categories.

The significance of initial evaluation sections for the construction of laments as narratives is highlighted, when laments starting by such sections (39.1%) are considered along with laments starting by an orientation section (52.1%; see §3.4.2.1) from the point of view of *embeddedness in surrounding discourse and social activity* (Ochs and Capps 2001: 36-40). By embeddedness, Ochs and Capps refer to the degree to which a personal conversational narrative is designed as a separate entity from prior, concurrent and subsequent discourse or is thematically and rhetorically integrated with surrounding conversation. Applying this dimension of narrativity to the lament corpus and its realisations as orientation- or evaluation-headed narratives is a fruitful way of sketching out the generic resources for narrativity, variation and crystallisation.

Relatively detached laments initiated by an orientation section explicitly mark their detachment from the prototypical ritual setting, emphasising the imposition of temporal and causal order on the recounted events, as illustrated by the common orientation formula *Μια Δευτέρα το πρωί* (One Monday morning); on the other hand,

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[27] It is worth noting that the informant's recited external evaluation was exactly the same as the segment recorded in Strilakos' collection, but for one difference at the third line: instead of the first person plural personal pronoun *mas* (our), she used the singular person personal pronoun *mou* (my).

laments initiated by an external evaluation section tend to include a conventional index of their embeddedness in the prototypical ritual setting. A representative example of this kind of indexing, which reconstructs the audience dynamics of the death ceremony, is provided in the lament of Sourdis which starts with a welcoming formula inextricably linked with death ceremony rituals: *Καλώς το Μιχαλάκο μου/γέροντα του Κατωπαγκιού* (Welcome to my Mihalakos/the elder of Katopagki). Despite their indexical linking to the ritual context, such laments are, also, relatively detached narratives which impose a temporal and causal order on the reported events by the subsequent employment of narrative sections typical of oral experience narratives.

**3.5 Paths to crystallisation**

The differentiation observed in the previous sub-section with regard to the indexed detachment/embeddedness of laments in the corpus points to the different resources for crystallising laments as narratives outside ritual setting that have to do with emphasising either their narrativity or their links to 'original' ritual contexts. This observation leads to the conceptualisation of Maniat laments on a continuum of narrativity defined by its two ends, which differ both formally and rhetorically:

i.   One end is marked by temporal and causal ordering that shapes the reported events into a separate entity, easily amenable to new contexts. Laments shaped along the resources of this end are prototypically initiated by an orientation section; take as an example the lament of Dimarogonas (Text No63; Appendix I: 4).

ii.  The other end is marked by affect-laden organisation that signals its embeddedness in a prototypical ritual setting by forging intertextual links

in formulaic fashion. Laments of this type are prototypically initiated by an external evaluation section; take as an example the lament of Mitsos Psikakos (Text No32; Appendix II: 2).

iii.     In between the two ends of the continuum there is ample space for different combinations of the two resources (see Text No39, Appendix II: 2).

A closer look at the different voices of narration employed in the classified texts can shed light on the differentiation as well as the interplay between the two types of resources in the construction of laments. More specifically, in the orientation-headed lament of Dimarogonas the narration unfolds in the third person or omniscient narrator voice, while the evaluation-headed lament of Mitsos Psikakos is voiced in the first person of Mitsos' sister: in the former, the omniscient narrator perspectivisation constructs an objective and credible voice for the narration of the events and their evaluation, indexing the high degree of this lament's crystallisation. In the latter, the attribution of the words to the killed person's kin constructs a highly affective and subjective voice and forges intertextual links with the intensely affective context of the death ceremony; the manipulation of this conventionalised resource for the expression of affect creates a space for the appropriation of collectivised personal experience for the indirect expression of personal grief.

The aforementioned types constitute prototypical illustrations of the formal and rhetorical resources available at the two ends of the narrativity continuum and they are encountered in relatively well-crafted laments shaped upon a constant moral stance. Many realisations of laments as narratives, however, tend to be less well-crafted and rather midway to a constant moral stance or to crystallisation with mixes of different

narrator voices. The lament of Stavriani offers an illustration of multiple shifts in narrator voice and consequently in moral stance; to be more specific, up until the start of the second complicating action episode the orientation-headed lament is recounted in the first-person voice of Stavriani, the young woman who shamed her family by leaving with her lover. Throughout episodes two and three the voice shifts to that of an omniscient narrator, and finally from episode four and until the end the lament is narrated in the voice of Stavriani's brother, whose moral obligation it was to restore family honour by killing the two lovers. [28]

Overall in the corpus, both orientation-headed and evaluation-headed laments show a preference for first person narration over third person narration and occasional mixes of first or second person with third person narration (see Table 5). However, the qualitative analysis of these findings suggests that first person narration is not uniform, but can refer either to the reconstruction of the voice of kin or that of the victim/perpetrator, which rhetorically resemble the omniscient narrator voice. In fact, such instances have been observed in orientation-headed laments (see for instance the lament of Spiros Liogiannakos). On the other hand, in evaluation-headed laments where instances of third person narration have to do with brief, generic curses, as illustrated in the lament of Perotis and Lefatzis: *Κακοχρονάχ'η γεκλογή/κι οι*

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[28] This intermingling of narrator voices through the heavy use of constructed dialogue arguably renders the telling polyphonic (in the Bakhtinian sense); yet, this polyphony cannot be considered a conscious literary device employed by the lament composer but rather as a typical feature of its oral composition, which favours the use of dialogue and affords the composer-in-performance different voices and perspectivisation of the events thanks to conventionalised expressions.

*βουλευτάδες οι μισοί/που'τοιμάστη ο Περωτής* (Cursed may the election be/and half the politicians) or in the lament of Kosonakos: *Ανάθεμά τι την αρχή/ τον έπαρχο και το Βοϊδή/ πωβαλε λόγο στη βουλή/και μαζευτήκανε αρχηγοί* (Damn our authorities, the (provincial) governor and Voidis); the use of third person narration in these texts then is accounted for if they are considered as midway between evaluation and orientation-headed laments in that they do not emphasise the affective part of the lament but do not utterly dispense with it either. Finally, the observation of voice intermingling in the corpus indexes its semi-edited form; it can be assumed that a published version of these texts would opt for a consistent narrator voice and moral stance.

**Table 3.6. Person in orientation- and evaluation-headed laments**

| Person: | $1^{st}$ | $3^{rd}$ | $1^{st} \rightarrow 3^{rd}$ | $3^{rd} \rightarrow 1^{st}$ | $2^{nd} \rightarrow 3^{rd}$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| orientation-headed laments | 50% | 16.6% | 16.6% | 16.6% | - |
| evaluation-headed laments | 44.4% | 22.2% | - | | 33.3% |

The discussion in the above two sub-sections explored issues of laments' contextual embeddedness/detachment, the resources for the articulation of narrator voice and the establishment of a more or less consistent moral stance. These resources were summed up on a continuum of narrativity prototypically made up of orientation-headed on the one end and evaluation-headed laments on the other. The conceptualisation of laments on this continuum based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of a corpus of twenty-three texts from a written collection allows the consideration of both highly crystallised laments and midway compositions, emphasising prototypical forms and resources for the ongoing entextualisation of laments, which cuts across ritual and ordinary contexts of performance.

## 3.6 Summing up

To sum up, the corpus-based qualitative and quantitative analysis of twenty-three texts included in a manuscript collection of Maniat laments has uncovered their ethnopoetic narrative patterning which brings together the metrical constraints of the octasyllabic metre with culture-specific patterns of three on the one hand, and the expressive forms of authentic experientiality with those of collective memorialisation, on the other.

More specifically, it has been found that Maniat laments in the corpus variously combine *onset-main event* and *onset-ongoing-outcome* structures, interplaying between bipartite and tripartite rhythmic sequences of actions and events. In addition, the hierarchical and recursive patterning of the basic Labovian narrative categories in the corpus (see Table 3.5 and Figure 3.3) illustrates that Maniat laments unfold in oral experiential structures, such as line and verse patternings and basic event sequencing that construct authenticity and credibility rather than literary devices. Among these categories, the complicating action, which consists of the onset and main event episode(s), is the only indispensable category for the construction of a lament as narrative, while all the rest are optional categories. In particular, the prototypical patterning consists of an initiating orientation section that provides information on the time, space and the protagonist(s), followed by the onset episode of the complicating action serving as the temporal and spatial frame for the recounting of the most reportable event which may be preceded by a set of intervening episodes and followed by one or more resolution episodes. The lament tends to close with an evaluative coda, where invocations and curses are heard and warnings to revenge are issued (see Table 3.6).

**Table 3.7. Distribution of narrative categories** *(font graded according to frequency of distribution)*

| |
|---|
| **ORIENTATION (52.1%)** |
| Evaluation (39.1%) |
| Evaluation + Orientation (26%) |
| Complicating Action Onset Episodes (8.6%) |
| **COMPLICATING ACTION (100%)** |
| **ONSET EPISODES** |
| **Main Action Episodes (51.2%)** |
| **MAIN EVENT EPISODE** |
| Lament-Finalising Main Event Episode (8.6%) |
| **RESOLUTION EPISODE (60.8%)** |
| **CODA (91.3%)** |
| **EMBEDDED EVALUATION (78.3%)** |

The identified narrative patterning suggests that prototypically, sensational Maniat laments centre on a reportable/lamentable event which is preceded and followed by a set of temporally ordered and causally linked events, recounted in bipartite and tripartite ethnopoetic patterns. It is tentatively suggested that this prototypical narrative construction varies across a continuum of relatively detached laments which index a high degree of narrative crystallisation on the one end, and relatively detached laments which forge intertextual links with ritual contexts of lament performance, indexing an ongoing process of personal experience appropriation and narrative collectivisation, on the other.

The question that arises from the findings of the analysis presented above, however, regards the degree to which the prototypical narrative patterning brought to the fore relates to lament entextualisation as monumentalisation in the folklore collection of Strilakos.

# 4. Forms of Entextualisation

## 4.1. Introduction

The ethnopoetic and narrative analysis brought to the fore a culture-specific patterning which is deployed for shaping lamentable events into more or less crystallised narratives. In the following three chapters, I will explore the relation between this patterning and different conditions and norms for lament recording.

This chapter deals primarily with the supplementary data of the study (see § 2.3). Their analysis aims to provide insight into the various forms of laments and their entextualisation. First of all, I will outline a theoretical framework for examining practices of verbal art recording, drawing on the concept of entextualisation. Then I will point to the different conditions for lament entextualisation, as evidenced in the context of the folkloric/ethnographic encounter (see § 4.1.2). In §4.2.1, I will compare different forms of lament entextualisation, as manifest in the consecutive entextualisations of a non-sensational lament in Strilakos' manuscript collection as well as across several published collections. The comparison will focus, first, on the narrative patterning of the sample lament in relation to that of sensational laments (see §3.3). Based on this analysis, I will go on to account for their form of entextualisation into highly crystallised narratives, despite their personalised features (see §4.2.1). Finally, in §4.3 the spelling and vocabulary choices of the collectors/transcribers will be compared in relation to the *heterographies* they give rise, i.e. the deployment of

writing norms in locally emergent ways defined by each transcriber's socio-political and professional footing.

### 4.1.1 Natural Histories of Discourse

Lament narratives are being shaped through ongoing entextualisation practices that cut across ritual and ordinary contexts (see §1.3.1). One such set of practices, in particular, has to do with the transfer of laments from the oral to the written medium and is manifest in metadiscursive practices engendered by language ideologies which have to do with the folkloristic methods of locating, extracting, editing, and interpreting various forms of discourse. Such practices contribute significantly to the creation of textual authority by recontextualising laments as 'items of culture' that can stand on their own (Briggs 1993: 388-389).

In §2.2.4 the appearance of the manuscript lament collection was presented as the product of metadiscursive practices of selection, extraction, resetting and editing practices. The analysis here will focus on text-external and internal dimensions of such practices.

Tellings and retellings of laments rely on the alignment of texts to prior and potential texts in conventional ways; that is, texts are intertextually related between different temporal periods and different genealogies. This was a relation already acknowledged in the context of Western oral poetics since the 17th century, where the focus was predominantly placed on the relationships of descent between texts and their durability (Bauman 2004: 1). Recently, the focus of oral poetics has shifted to the discursive practices of the performers based on the concepts of genre and performance (Bauman 2004) and to the metadiscursive practices of the collectors (Bauman and

Briggs 2003) based on the concept of entextualisation  (§1.2.1.3).

Entextualisation refers to the processes conditioning the property of contextually embedded fragments of discourse to be transmitted, echoed, embedded, recorded or appropriated by others in different contexts of discourse. Processes of discourse mobility involve two main processes:

i.      rendering a text extractable from its co-text and context, in other words decontextualising it, and

ii.     transferring it into another co-text and context, in other words recontextualising it (Blommaert 2005).

Entextualisation is the mediator between the two: it denotes the process of objectifying a stretch of discourse into a text by bounding it off its co-text and context and endowing it with cohesion and often, but not necessarily,with coherence. The process of entextualisation, thus, enables the lifting up of the text from its 'originary' co-text and context and conditions the iterability of texts. The potential for texts to be iterated - carrying along their social, historical and political histories of use - enables in turn the production of *intertextuality*, [1] that is the relational orientation of a text to other texts. Entextualisation, then, enables the empirical analysis of intertextuality, and more specifically the examination of pragmatic, thematic and semiotic shifts associated with it. (Bauman 2004: 4-6).

The main concern here regards the textual practices manifested in actual folkloristic activity, as it can be studied in the available records, which according to Bauman

(1993: 249) bear on nationalised and internationalised folklore. By the nationalisation
and internationalisation of folklore, Bauman refers, more specifically to:

> […]the range of means and devices by which an item  of folklore is
> contextualised and recontextualised as relevant to or part of a national-
> level or international arena of discourse; how it is shaped and reshaped as
> it is lifted out of a face-to-face communicative event and addressed to a
> national or international audience; the decontextualising and
> recontextualising work that is done to relocate it from an interactional
> setting to a national or international arena, as standing for a nation or as
> part of world literature (Bauman 1993: 250).

In what follows, a closer look to consecutive layers of (re)tellings and (re)writings, as
evidenced primarily in my supplementary data will shed light on the *natural histories*
of laments.

## 4.1.2 Recovering layers of (re)tellings

In this section, I will illustrate practices of (re)tellings in the context of the
folkloric/ethnographic interaction, in order to point to different conditions for lament
entextualisation.  I will focus, more specifically, on two examples from my own
recordings in Mani (see Appendix III, Track 1; Duration 2:28) where different layers
of telling and retelling are embedded. The first one refers to an excerpt from a
recording in Kita, in the yard of Kalliopi (Tuesday, 22/07/2003; 19.00) with Marigo
as the main protagonist, as she unexpectedly starts performing the lament of
Yorgatzas, one of the *old* laments (§2.3.2), without any prior contextualising framing.

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[1] For early developments of the concept see Bakhtin 1986; Kristeva 1986.

Marigo ends her performance abruptly, explaining that she does not know any more of it. At the crucial point where the reference to the killer is expected, those present come in: Kalliopi adds a line in a low mournful singing identifying the killer as Yerakaris' sons and a man reports that his mother was saying it in another way, reciting a line from this other telling that mentions the son of Yerakarissa in a negative way.

[…]

[2:29]

1 *Marigo:*  *να κυνηγήσεις το φονηά*

        to go and hunt down the killer

2        *Άλλο δεν ξέρω. Δεν λέει [unintelligble]//*

        I know no more. It doesn't say//

3 *Kalliopi:*  *// του Γερακάρη τα παιδιά {στο βάθος, μοιρολοϊστά}*

        // the children of Gerakaris *{in the background, in mourning melody}*

4 *Marigo: Ναι… εεε…/*

        Yes…eh…/

5 *Man:*            */ Αλλιώς το 'λεγε η μάνα μου*

            */* My mother used to say it otherwise

6 *Marigo: Αλλιώς… /*

        Otherwise…/

7 *Man:*                    */* το μούλο της Γερακαριάς

                        */* the bastard of Gerakaria

[2:38]

[…]

The intervention of Kalliopi and the man embed previous tellings in Marigo's performance and co-construct the closing of the lament at the crucial point of assigning blame to the avenging killer. It is probable that Marigo was reluctant to mention the name in the presence of recording equipment. If this was indeed the case, the joining of others and their provision of the final line could be seen as a way to diffuse responsibility in other tellings. This excerpt points to successive oral reentextualisations of laments which can be used to add or even contest present tellings.

The second example is taken from an excerpt of a recording in Gerolimenas (Monday, 21/7/2003, 11.30 a.m.) at the banquette outside the house of G.Lazarakos, situated just beside Strilakos' house, on the main road of the village; (see Appendix III, Track 2, Duration 3:44).   This recording is rather different in that it involves only two participants, the lamenter-informant and myself, resulting in a greater degree of formality - at least when compared to a multi-participatory recording - and in a clearer focus on lament collection/recording. More specifically, three main differences can be observed:

i.      the lament telling is explicitly framed as a retelling

ii.     the lament is recited from memory, rather than fully performed in a

mourning voice

iii.    the lament telling is interspersed with explanatory comments addressed to me, as it is assumed that I do not share an understanding of the genre's expressions and Maniat moral codes underlying the lament.

With regard to the first difference that has to do with the explicit framing of Giannis' telling as a retelling of the lament addressed by his mother to her brother in 1918, it is observed that, similar to folklorists' practices of entextualisation (see §4.3), the lamenter-informant constructs a direct link between the present telling in 2003 and the lamentation after the death of Lirakos in 1918, erasing the multiple layers of the lament's (re)entextulisations.

[…]

[0:35]

1 *Giannis: Αυτό που θα σας πω τώρα είναι μοιρολόι της μακαρίτισσας της μητέρας μου*

What I am going to tell you now is the lament of my departed mother

2 *Το είπε στον αδερφό της το χίλια εννιακόσια χχχμμ δεκαοχτώ που πέθανε*

She said it to her sister on nineteen hundred ehmm eighteen when he died

*{ακούγεται κόρνα αυτοκινήτου}*

{a car's klaxon is heard}

3 *γειά σου παπά*

Hi priest

4 *που πέθανε ήτο στρατιωτικός*

   who died he was an army officer

5 *ήτο που έξω από τα σύνορα*

   he was somewhere out of the borders

6 *και πέθανε από σκωληκοειδίτιδα*

   and he died from appendicitis

7 *περιτονίτι τον έριξε*

   appendicitis got him

8 *αυτός ήτονε Βενιζελικός και τον ξεράνανε οι βασιλικοί έτσι λένε*

   he was a Venizelist and it was the royalists who took him down that's what they say

9 *κι εγώ δεν τον έζησα οπότε λόγια μακρινούλα μου*

   but I didn't know him so that's just words

10 *Λοιπόν τώρα το μοιρολόι της μητέρας μου που απευθύνεται στον αδερφό της, ε*

   Well now my mother's lament that's addressed to her brother, hah

11 *Me: Ναι*

   Yes

12 *Giannis: Αρχίζει*

   It starts

13 *Θα το γράφεις ή [unintelligible]*

Are you going to write it or […]

14 *Me: Θα το γράφει αυτό {δείχνοντας το mini-disc}*

   This is going to record it {pointing to the mini-disc}

15 *Giannis: Α, αυτό εκεί δε θα γράφεις*

   Ah, that one you're not going to be writing

16 *Λοιπόν λέει*

   Well it goes

17 *"Εγώ Μανιάτα φυσικιά"*

   *"A born and bred Maniat"*

19 *[…]*

*[1:23]*

His contextualising frame can be partly attributed to the context of interaction and his awareness of the potential recontextualisations of his telling to which he adapts it; it is noteworthy that following a brief negotiation between us on the content and the media of telling and recording, he marks the start of his folkloristic performance by addressing not just me in the second person singular but an imagined audience in the second person plural (l.1). Addressing this imagined audience his invocation of the past allows him to trace the 'original' composer of the lament and authenticate his telling, while also avoid taking responsibility for the assignment of blame contained in the lament (as for instance the blaming of the royalists). The provision of explanatory comments following points which he assumes that non-locals would not be able to figure out makes part of this adaptation of the telling to text-external conditions

that have to do with the recontextualisation of the lament at a supra-local arena of discourse.

There is, undoubtedly, a great complexity and range of strategies by which laments are being re-entextualised and recontextualised, acquiring in the process new meanings while marginalising or even erasing others. The two examples above illustrate such strategic variety as attributed to audience conditioning (either present or imagined, respectively). In the following sub-sections, additional strategies will be considered, in the process of the (re)writing of a sample lament in the manuscript and three published collections.

## 4.2 Recovering layers of (re)writings

The text I will be focusing on in the following sections is the lament for Lirakos, which was recounted to me by Giannis and which is widely attested in written recorded forms. In fact, Kassis reports its wide popularity in Inner Mani, noting that he found it in about one hundred variations, i.e. told by different persons, in which no significant differences were spotted (Kassis 1980: 323-329).[2] More specifically, in Strilakos' manuscript collection this lament is recorded as Text No 42 under the heading *Ο Λυράκος ο Γιατρός*. Among published collections it is attested, to my

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[2] In both Strilakos and Kassis, the reported date of Lirakos' death is situated in 1922, 18th of September more specifically according to Kassis, and not in 1918 as haltingly reported by Giannis.

knowledge, in five different tellings in Kassis (1980: 323-329), in both publications of

Kallidonis (1972: 40; 1981: 142), and in Koutsilieris (1997: 68). [3]

A long version of the lament by Giannis Lazarakos, containing 130 lines, is included

in Kassis's collection, where it is described as the most authentic one, possibly due to

the locally known skill of Giannis in lamenting but predominantly due to the fact that

the informant is the son of the 'original' lamenter (considered to be Lazaronifi, the

sister of Lirakos and a well-known lamenter herself). Another version is attributed to

the daughter of another sister of Lirakos, while the last two versions that are

characterised as deficient are attributed to non-members of the family. Finally, the

first version, which will be used here for illustrative purposes, is characterised as the

best well-known lament song *(τραγουδομοιρολόι)* where verses that personalise it

have been dispensed with (Kassis 1981: 324). From the aforementioned descriptive

information regarding the different versions, provided in brief prefaces to each text,

Kassis suggests that there is a direct association between authenticity and retellings by

close kin of the lamented or 'original' lamenter. Authenticity here seems to be related

not only to both an original ritual context and an original lamenter, but also to the

personalised experientiality of the recounted events, an issue which will be addressed

below in the analytic comparison of the different versions of the lament of Lirakos.

The collection in question is the second out of three volumes of Inner Maniat laments,

a rich material of previously unpublished texts, lament fabulae and kin genealogies.

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[3] Biographical details of the collectors and the rhetorics accompanying their collections are discussed in §4.4.1- §4.4.2, so as to move gradually from micro-textual features to macro-textual considerations.

The texts are classified into chronological [4] and thematic order across the three volumes: i. about love and revenge during the period 1864-1912 (62 laments), ii. about those who died from natural death during the period 1864-1912 (36 laments), iii. those who died at war and in national events from 1912 to 1939 (53 laments), iv. outlaws and revenge from 1912 to 1939 (13 laments), v. revenge, love, family life from 1912 to 1939 (18 laments), vi. satirical laments during the period from 1912 to 1940 (11 laments). Kassis tends to devote a number of pages to each lament, providing introductory information on the families involved along with stories surrounding the lamentable events and including different versions with accompanying comments on language variation and footnotes explaining dialect words, geographical references or lament expressions.

Kallidonis publishes the lament in question twice, once in his 1972 collection of laments and once in his 1981 compilation of historical and folkloristic writings, where reportedly a selected number of the most significant laments from the 1972 collection were republished (Kallidonis 1981: 127); the inclusion of Lirakos' lament in the second publication attests to its attainment of canonical status, although it concerns a story of natural death and not of a revenge killing. In the first collection, there are 104 laments, classified into i. historical and war, ii. revenge and iii. natural death, satirical and other; they are preceded by a brief introduction of two and a half pages stating the significance of Maniat laments for the study of Maniat idiosyncrasy and ends with a three-page account of the revenge custom. The second collection published in 1981 entitled *The Legendary Mani. History-Folklore-Laments* includes the most significant

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[4] Chronological ordering is based on the period to which the lament assumedly refers to.

laments (seventy-seven in total) from the 1972 collection, following the latter's scheme of classification; the lament collection is placed after a set of essays on Maniat wars and customs and stands as a reflection of Maniat customs and emotions (Kallidonis 1981: 126).

Republication of the same texts in the 1981 explains the lack of significant differences between the two versions: a single comma in the former, none in the latter, capitalisation of geographical names and the noun *Αρχή* (Authorities) in the first one, capitalisation also of nouns appearing on the same line with geographical names or the noun *Αρχή* (Authorities) and what seems to be a correction of the word *βαθμολόγος* (of military rank) in the first one to *βαθιμολόγος* in the second one. Finally, the abstract-like sub-heading found in the first version and which sums up the way of the protagonist's death (*που γύρισε άρρωστος από τον πόλεμο και πέθανε στην κλινική Μέρμηγκα/* who came back from war ill and died at Mermigkas' clinic*)* has been utterly eliminated in the second one.

In both Strilakos and Koutsilieris a single variant of the lament is found, respectively, and its accompanying meta-texts are limited: in the former there is just a parenthetical aside that reports the date of death of the protagonist *(αποθανών το 1922/* died in 1922*)*, while in the latter there is a sub-heading generically reporting the 'original' lamenter *(Η μάννα του στρατιωτικού γιατρού Λυράκου θρηνεί το μοναχογιό της/* The mother of the military doctor Lirakos mourns her only child*)*. Overall, though, Koutsilieris tends to provide contextual information about the lamentable events and characters.   His collection is made up of eighty-nine laments, in total, which have been classified according to the dominant lament theme into three categories: i.

private life, ii. social life and iii. revenge. The lament texts are framed by a sixteen-page introduction and a six-page conclusion referring to the linguistic significance of laments, which serves as a preface to the twenty-five page glossary that directly follows.

**Table 4.1. Texts and meta-texts [5]**

| Version | Date | No of Words | No of lines (8-syllable) | Heading | Meta-text type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strilakos | 1930-35 | 177 | 43 | *Ο Λυράκος ο Γιατρός* | Parenthetical aside: report of date of death |
| Kallidonis | 1972 | 153 | 36 | *Του Γιατρού του Λυράκου* | Sub-heading: akin to an abstract |
| Kallidonis | 1981 | 153 | 36 | *Του Γιατρού του Λυράκου* | - |
| Kassis | 1980 | 156 | 35 | *Του Γιατρού Παναγιώτη Λυράκο* | Text preface: classification of versions and reports of informants- |

[5] In terms of formal appearance, Kallidonis' 1972 and 1981 entextualisations of Lirakos' lament are markedly different from all the aforementioned in that they represent the text in sixteen, instead of eight-syllable, lines.

| | | | | | sources |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Koutsilieris | 1997 | 113 | 27 | *Του Γιατρού Λυράκου* | Sub-heading: generic report of the 'original' lamenter |

The meta-texts, summarised in Table 4.1 above, constitute rhetorical accompaniments of the lament that leave in each version a different imprint of entextualisation. In such generically shaped laments the specific choice of meta-text indicates the degree of their de-personalisation towards their construction as an item of culture that can stand on its own. More specifically:

i.    parenthetical asides that report the protagonist's date of death (e.g. Strilakos) or the way he died (e.g. Kallidonis 1972) indicate a concern with recording details regarding the lamented individual. These contribute to the establishment of a local memory in writing regarding members of community.

ii.    extended text prefaces which include the aforementioned type of information, but also information about different versions, other related stories, clans and lamenters go a step further to link the past to the present (e.g. Kassis 1980).

iii.    sub-headings that include generic references to the 'original' lamenter and the 'original' circumstance of lamentation, on the other hand, indicate a preference for overriding the personalised and the local in favour of forms that can be more easily fitted into other written contexts (cf. Koutsilieris 1997).

iv.    the complete absence of any meta-text (e.g. Kallidonis 1981), finally, suggests that laments are presented as completely detached, as items of culture that can

stand on their own.

Constructing laments as items of culture does not only rely on the selection of meta-texts, but on the selection of the lament-type, as well. In chapter 3 (§3.1.1) the classification of laments into sensational and non-sensational was suggested: Sensational were presented as those that narrate violent or highly affective events (i.e. killings or abductions), whereas non-sensational encompassed the laments that recounted the natural death of an individual. In my analysis I have focused on sensational laments, which are more captivating and popular. Here I discuss a sample non-sensational lament in order to bring to the fore features that indicate the move towards more generic, more crystallised forms in practices of lament recording. Such features are less visible in sensational laments whose subject (e.g. a revenge killing) is more easily amenable to narrativisation and more visible in non-sensational laments, which constitute more personalised forms of lament narratives.

### 4.2.1 Entextualising non-sensational laments

Ochs and Capps have observed the paradox lying at the heart of experiential narrative, namely that the practice of narrativising personal experience has the implication of de-personalising experience by moulding it into generic forms, social norms, moral codes, protagonists and antagonists that result in narratives of impersonal experience (Ochs and Capps 2001: 55). Their observation is particularly fitting to the shifts observed in lament variations and their complex paths to prototypical patternings (§3.4).

The lament of Lirakos which is analysed here in four different written versions differs from this type of laments in terms of its content: namely, the main event recounted

concerns a natural death (death from illness) and not a revenge killing. Nonetheless, structural differences between the two types are not that great, as it will be shown in what follows.

All the texts, apart from the text appearing in the manuscript collection start with the evaluative line articulated in the first person *Εγώ Μανιάτα φυσικιά* (A born and bred Maniat); in the manuscript collection, on the other hand, the lament starts with the couplet *Μωρή μαυρο Γαρουφαλιά για σένα αστράφτει και βροντά* (Hey you poor Garoufalia lightning and thunder are booming on you)*,* which recurs at some point in all other versions. The common initialising verses are made up of formulaic lines welcoming people supposedly entering the space of the death ceremony in order to pay their respects to the deceased; for this reason such sections will be designated simply as *welcoming*. All texts under comparison are constructed on the basis of a main event which has to do with the report of death from natural causes, in this case the death of Lirakos from appendicitis. The unfolding of the main event starts with the reference to past adventures of Lirakos out of the country's borders from which he came out unscathed and ends with his dying in a nearby private hospital, emphasising his tragic fate. Prior to the reporting of the main event the lamenter introduces the protagonist focusing on his status as a military doctor, while following the main event s/he describes the funeral in a way that further affirms the high status of the deceased; this description unfolds in the final in sequence section which may be interrupted or succeeded by an evaluative comment on the grief incurred on Lirakos' sister (the sister to whom the original lament is attributed by Kassis; Kallidonis and Koutsilieris, on the other hand, attribute it to Lirakos' mother).

In order to provide a structural description that is comparable with the description of the corpus texts, the flexible narrative categories outlined in §1.5 have been employed. The findings suggest that the different versions of Lirakos' lament, despite differences in the degree of pattern elaboration as well as in specific linguistic and dialectal choices, are all constructed along a discernible narrative structure akin to the narrative pattern found in the corpus of revenge killing laments (§3.4). In particular, the texts open with a *welcoming section* that reconstructs the participant dynamics of a ritual context, followed by an *orientation* that introduces the protagonist. The complicating action is shaped along a bipartite patterning and consists of an evaluative onset articulated in the *irrealis,* where previous occasions on which the protagonist could have been killed but wasn't, are presented to make the report of the main event, the protagonist's hospitalisation, seem even more tragic. Following the report of the main event, there is a resolution section reporting the outcome, i.e. the funeral that is either preceded or followed by a formulaic evaluative section. Finally, the lament ends either with the last line of resolution or with a more or less extended evaluative coda made up of invocations.

Differences between this type of lament whose main event concerns a natural death and the laments constructed around the report of a revenge killing have to do with the inclusion of an additional introductory section, called here *welcoming*, which does not constitute a narrative category as such, but a highly conventionalised formulaic set of lines. This section not only constructs links to the ritual context, similar to introductory evaluations, but also conventionally reconstructs part of the participant frameworks of the death ceremony. Welcoming formulas are integral for ritual lament composition, serving as a expression of thanks to those that support the mourner by

their presence, while they may also contribute to the process of improvised lamentation by inspiring associations or relations between those present and the deceased.   As far as the resources for elaboration of narrative categories are concerned, the review of texts in the corpus classified as non-sensational, because they deal with natural death, suggested that instead of adding episodes, a series of consecutive, and not necessarily coherent, evaluative micro-sections tend to be added in order to sensationalise natural death on par with revenge killing laments. Differences in the realisation of narrative categories' content are also marked in that a different set of conventionalised expressions, which do not follow the rules of temporal and causal organisation, becomes associated with lament narratives of this type, as for instance welcoming sections or the introduction of the protagonist in orientation in the form of a rhetorical question or the reporting of the main event in a structure of *irrealis - realis*. This is an effect of this type of lament dealing with cases of natural death where there is no evident cause or reason for the catastrophe, and therefore there is no-one that can be held directly responsible.For this reason in texts such as these, the lamenter tends to attribute blame to the doctors or God, or to focus on the attribution of praise to the deceased.   The narrative patterning of Lirakos' lament is summarised below:

- **[Evaluation]:** expresses grief and pain incurred on kin by the reported death
- *Welcoming:* the opening verse(s) made up of a ritual-indexing expression that sets the stage for the formulaic welcoming of those coming to pay their respects to the deceased and occasionally of additional verse(s) directly addressing them.
- **Orientation**: describes the protagonist employing the device of rhetorical

question

- **Complicating action Onset-Main Event**: the reporting of the main event in a bipartite structure

- **[Evaluation]**: expresses grief and pain incurred to kin of the deceased by the report of his death

- **Resolution**: describes the funeral emphasises through imagery the high status of the deceased.

- **[Evaluation]**: expresses grief and pain incurred to kin of the deceased by the report of his death.

- **Evaluative Coda**: expresses grief and pain incurred to kin of the deceased by the report of his death

Finally, a few more observations must be discussed regarding the version of the lament in Strilakos, as this version presents the most marked structural differences compared to the rest. First of all, as mentioned above, this version is initiated by the formulaic evaluation section which in all the published versions under comparison is situated either before or after the resolution. This opening can be said to account for the brief form of the welcoming formula employed, which lacks the initial part of setting the stage for the welcoming. Most importantly, though, from the resolution to the end the lament is elaborated in a long section of four end-of-lament micro-segments of evaluation, which could be either designated as part of the resolution section or the evaluative coda. In more detail, these micro-sections include in sequence:

i.      a couplet address to Garoufallia or self-address, if we agree with Kassis

(ref. to his footnote)

ii.  an invocation to family members (Lirogona) that emphasises the loss not only of a brother/son but also a doctor and a reference to symbols of his medical profession, the keys to his clinic and medications that are of no use anymore

iii.  an address to fellow lamenters asking them to remain silent and to support the lamenter instead, thus claiming the floor for herself and

iv.  an irrealis expression 'blaming' the protagonist for leaving this world without sending his greetings to his beloved sister.

As noted above, these kinds of brief and content-varied evaluation sections constitute the bread and butter of natural death lament narratives. In the comparison of the three published versions and the manuscript version, however, it is noteworthy that they do not appear in the former, but do in the latter. This observation suggests that either such long evaluative sections become dispreferred over the course of a lament's successive retellings by non-members of the family or over the course of their metadiscursive 'fixing' by the collectors. In both cases the dropping of long evaluative sections can be related to the lament's path to crystallisation indicating: i. a preference for coherent versions which retain the main events and are conservatively elaborated (note the relatively equal length of the three published versions) and ii. an avoidance of the over-personalised character that many of the evaluative sections tend to take, such as some of the evaluative sections found in Strilakos' version above, in favour of more generic ones.

**4.2.2 From personalised to de-personalised grief**

The comparison of four versions of Lirakos' lament by different collectors brought to the fore similarities and differences in the narrative patterning of non-sensational laments and sensational laments. Situating non-sensational laments on the continuum of narrativity (see §3.5) allows us to move beyond the listing of similarities and differences to the significance of the respective shapings and their variations for the crystallisation of laments and the metadiscursive practices that reinforce it.

Non-sensational laments can be situated on the continuum along with the relatively detached evaluation-headed sensational laments which forge intertextual links with ritual contexts of lament performance. However, their evaluation-based shaping suggests that they should be placed at the right end of the continuum, leading to its extension as follows:

**Figure 4.1. Continuum of narrativity**

Evaluation-based    ⟺         Evaluation-headed        ⟺         Orientation-headed

**Non-narrative**                                                                          **Narrative**

This continuum describes a greater range of patterns for laments than those identified in the data and it could potentially be used for the description of ritual improvised laments, for which appropriate textual evidence is lacking in this study.

The identified patterns for non-sensational laments which deal with natural death show a great degree of crystallisation of these texts, despite their assumedly reduced reportability due to their lack of the degree of sensationalism when compared to revenge narratives. The latter point raises the question of what the motivating

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force underlying the popularity of such laments might be. On a first level, such laments remain more or less popular as long as family members of the deceased keep them alive, as the example of Giannis Lazarakos above illustrated; an additional example is that among Strilakos' records a written record of the lament in his memory was also found, recorded by his eldest daughter, who elicited it from one of his sisters about twelve years or so after his death. On another level, though, the focus of many non-sensational laments on high-status male characters (educated professionals often related to the military, as in the case of Lirakos' lament) seems to have been favoured by collectors of folklore because it was considered as a record of Maniat contributions to national fights for independence and wars.

Non-sensational laments dealing with the death of high status males then oscillate more markedly between personal and impersonal experience than sensational laments dealing with revenge killings. More specifically, in the narrative process of their de-personalisation they acquire not only a generic form that retains devices of dramatisation and powerful expressions of grief but also a regionalist/nationalistic symbolic value, such as the image of a conscientious patriot who serves both his local community and his nation.  Practices of entextualisation contribute significantly to the construction of such symbolic value. In what follows, I will focus on the manifestations of such practices, by examining the metadiscursive practices of the three collectors/transcribers.

## 4.3 Heterographies

One of the big challenges for collectors of vernacular forms in Greece has been the transcription of local oral dialects into writing. This pragmatic difficulty was

aggravated by the language issue in Greece which was officially resolved in 1977, when demotic was established as the language of teaching at all levels of education (but see Fragoudaki 1999, 2001; Moschonas 2004). This resulted in different kinds of dialect representations, justified on the grounds of their faithfulness to the spoken word or on their grammatical and etymological correctness. In what follows, I focus on four different versions of the lament for Lirakos in order to examine such different forms of dialect transcription as manifest in the metadiscursive practices of the four collectors. Section §4.3.1  presents the differences that have been observed in the linguistic choices of spelling and vocabulary in the four versions (see Table 2 below). This comparison reveals specific forms of *heterographies*, that is particularistic deployments of literacy norms (cf. Blommaert 2005: 252).  Such deployments are described and discussed in relation to different types of norms (§4.3.2-§4.3.3). Finally, in §4.4 it is further argued that the linguistic choices of the collectors are related to the position of each collector, namely his socio-political status and outlook as well as the aspirations projected in the time-consuming activity of folkloristic engagement.

### 4.3.1 Linguistic choices of spelling

In the table below, variation in spelling has to do with the transcriber's choice between phonological/phonetic images of the dialect and its phonetic adaptation to Modern Greek orthographies. The former choice is more clearly manifest in the versions found in Koutsilieris and Kassis. Koutsilieris appears to represent phonetically the phonological phenomenon of *epenthesis,* which he defines as "the contraction of the sound [i] into a sonant which then, if positioned before the consonants [δ], [d], [ρ], [θ], [τ] becomes pre-emptively co-articulated with the vowel

preceding the consonant, if this vowel is accented or becomes parted before and after the consonant, if the vowel is not accented:  e.g. *χω'ρ'ά <χωρία* (villages), *χώιρα < χώρια* (separately)" (Koutsilieris 1997: 250-251; see also *Lexikographiko Deltio Akadimias Athinon* t. Θ, 1963). Based on this phonological rule of the Maniat dialect, he goes on to suggest the spelling of the first person singular verbal form of *στεριωθού* (steriothou, *lean*) as *στε'ρ'ωθού*  and the accusative form of the noun *λαγκά(ι)δ(ι)α* (lagka(i)d(i)a, *dell*) as *λαγκάιδα*. Kassis, on the other hand, does not associate the forms' transcription to the phonological rule of epenthesis, but opts for a phonetic spelling making use of diacritic marks, as illustrated in the verbal form *στεϊριωθού,* even when the presence of an accent on the first vowel of the diphthong [ai] renders them orthographically redundant, as the form *λαγκάϊδια* illustrates. Kallidonis and Strilakos, finally, do not appear as preoccupied as their fellow transcribers with the phonetic image of the dialect, as suggested by their respectively selected forms of *στεριωθού* and *λαγκάδια*, where, overall, any particular phonetic specification is avoided in favour of a Modern Greek standard-oriented transcription.

The transcription of the accusative form of the article *τη(ν)* contained in the noun phrase *τη(ν) κλινική (the clinic)* constitutes another instance which sheds light on the transcribers' transcription choices. In Kallidonis and Koutsilieris the article bears the final *-ν* (-n), while in Strilakos' version this typical feature of the accusative is omitted. In Kassis, however, not only the final *-ν* (-n) is visible but also an additional letter /γ/ (g) intervening between the two words of the noun phrase and marking the assimilation of consonants across word boundaries which results in the pronunciation /gk/. In sum, the differences observed above have to do with whether the accusative is marked or not, and if yes, whether the phonological phenomenon of the assimilation

of *-ν* (-n) and the voicing of /k/ is also marked or not. Such choices are not equivalent as metadiscursive practices, since they are variously linked to different kinds of norms, as it is suggested below.

**Table 4.1 Variation in spelling and linguistic choices**

* The number preceding the word indicates the line of its occurrence

| No | Kallidonis | Koutsilieris | Kassis | Strilakos |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 στεριωθού | 2 στεˈρˈωθού | 2 στεϊριωθού | |
| 2 | 3 εδεχτού | 3 δεχτού | 3 δεχτού | |
| 3 | 4 κατά που πρέπει | 4 καθώς παντάρει | 4 κατά που πρέπει | |
| 4 | | 9 ζαςε | 7 ζάσε | |
| 5 | 7 ίδιατε | 10 είδιατε | 8 είϊδιατε | |
| 6 | | 11 νή | | 9 ή |
| 7 | 8 βαθιμολόγος | 13 βαθιμοφόρος | | 11 βαθιμολόγος |
| 8 | | 14 λαγκάιδα | 15 λαγκάϊδια | 12 λαγκάδια |
| 9 | 14 την κλινική | 17 την κλινική | 20 την γ κλινική | 16 τη κλινική |
| 10 | 23 Ε μαύρη μου Γαρουφαλλιά | 18 Ε μαύρη μου Γαρυφαλλιά | 21 μωρή μαυροΓαρουφαλλιά | 23 μωρή μαυροΓαρουφαλλιά |
| 11 | 24 για σέν'αστράφτει | 19 για σεν'αστράφτει | 22 για σένα στράφτει | 2 για σένα αστράφτει |
| 12 | 26 τ'αστροπελέκι κόκκινο | 21 κι αστροπελέκι κόκκινο | 24 κι αστροπελέκι σύμπουτο | 4 και κοκκινόνε κεραυνό |
| 13 | | 24 ξεπίζου | | 18 ξοπίζου |

| 14 |  | 26 τονε κρατούσ'οι λοχαγοί |  | 20 τονε βαστούσι λοχαγοί |
|----|--|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| 15 |  |  |  | 21 στρατιώτες και γραμματικοί (αξιωματικοί) |
| 16 |  |  | 32 γονιάτε | 22 γονίδε (γονιάτε) |

### 4.3.2 Orientations to language norms

The linguistic choices of spelling presented in the previous section reveal the differing orientations of the collectors to norms for transcribing the oral dialect in writing, which are discussed below.

In relation to folk song collectors' metadiscursive practices, Alexis Politis observes that the tendency to avoid pronouncing the final -ν (-n) in oral speech had been noted by Fauriel with broader reference to the Greeks of his time. In the context, however,of different orthodoxies underlying his textual interventions, Fauriel finally chose to add it where missing rather than delete it (Politis 1984: 291).

However, the co-occurrence of word-final -ν (-n) - especially in the accusative forms of the personal pronoun and definite article *το(ν)*, *τη(ν)* as well as the negation particles *δε(ν)*, *μη(ν)* - and word-initial voiceless stops, i.e. /p/, /t/, /k/ often displays a phonological phenomenon which is described in Modern Greek grammars as involving the assimilation of the -ν (-n) according to the place of articulation of the following sound and the voicing of the voiceless stop, resulting in pronunciations such as [tigkliniki], [tombatera]. Such tendencies tend to be dependent on dialect and the degree of formality.

In light of the above, the inclusion of the final -ν (-n) in the article *το(ν),* as observed in the versions provided by Kallidonis and Koutsilieris, can be considered to be part of the already established metadiscursive practices in folklore since Fauriel, which represent the tendency to systematise the occurrence of the final -ν (-n) as a marker of the accusative, while indicating a level of speech formality most notably associated with standard written language.

On the other hand, the marking not only of the accusative but also of the pronunciation resulting from the assimilation of -ν (-n) and the voicing of the voiceless stop in Kassis' heterography, which is rather strange in terms of the visual effect on the reader (a letter lingering between two words) can be considered as a non-standard practice in this comparative context; it suggests, more specifically, a level of informality in pronunciation which is most readily associated with the vernacular oral language.

Finally, the complete omission of the final -ν (-n) in the accusative form of the article *το(ν)* in Strilakos' version also qualifies as a non-standard practice. It is noteworthy that such omissions are highly common across the manuscript collection of Strilakos, where in addition there are instances showing the visible signs of the deletion of the final -ν (-n) in the negative particle *δεν* (eg. ***δε το θέου;*** Antonis Lyrakos) or in the particle σαν (*like, as if*).[6] Such omissions could be taken to index speakers' tendency at the time of Strilakos to avoid the pronunciation of the final -ν (-n) in oral speech; it is, however, hard to support such a claim, based on so little evidence. Regardless, it

appears that Strilakos' practice of omitting or even erasing the final -*v* (-n) is an indication of informal ways of speaking or writing. [7]

Summing up, the comparison of heterographies observed in the four versions of Lirakos' lament suggested that the spellings of Strilakos and Kassis show an orientation to the oral vernacular; the former's orientation being rather tentative, as he strived to finalise his choices in the context of his - as yet unpublished - collection, while the latter's being very much intuitive, yet set to provide readers with 'faithful' dialect spellings, irrespective of orthographic norms of writing.  On the other hand, the spellings of Kallidonis and Koutsilieris index a commitment to writing norms, the former showing an inclination to a Modern Greek standard, while the latter to the development of a Maniat dialect standard grounded, though, in the science of Greek Linguistics.

### 4.3.3 Orientation to poetic norms

The commitment to writing norms tends to be accompanied by a commitment to poetic norms, in this case the accurate realisation of the 8-syllable metre (i.e. no more, no less than eight syllables per line). This concern is illustrated in the selected spellings of the second or third person plural personal pronoun dialect forms ζας or

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[7] Furthermore, in his private diary, written in casual language, Strilakos also tends to omit the final -*v* (-n) in the accusative forms of the article *το(ν),* but less so in the negative particle *δεν.* This observation however has not been analytically pursued.

*τους* when preceding a future verbal form, mediated by a grammatically unaccountable /e/.

In the case of line 9 in Lirakos' version *θα ζαςε κάμου ρώτηση,*(I will ask you) more specifically, Koutsilieris writes *ζαςε*, whereas Kassis in a similar co-text provides the form *ζασε*. The issue surrounding the observed variation in this form has to do with the role of the sound /e/ in the line in question: on the one hand, there is no grammatical justification for /e/ to be added to the dialect form *ζας* and on the other, it would be ungrammatical for it to be affixed to the future form of the verb *κάμου*, as it would count as an added augment, typical of past verbal formation. The additional /e/ in this line has no grammatical role, but rather it is employed to fulfil the metrical constraint of eight-syllabic line formation. Still, not affixing it to any form but leaving it to linger between the two forms would also result in an unorthodox orthographic form, as single letters cannot stand on their own unless they are part of an exclamatory phrase.

Kassis' solution for the written representation of the metrical /e/ is one of a ready adaptation of the textual environment where it is added, which involves the change of the final -*ς* (-s) into the word-internal /σ/, regardless of the orthographically unorthodox resulting form. In a similar instance involving the same kind of transcription issues that occurs in Kallidonis' version (line 3), he opts to add /e/ to the start of the verb *και όλους θα τους εδεχτού* (and I will welcome them all), also resulting in an ungrammatical form. Finally, Strilakos deals with the issue in yet another way, choosing not to add the letter /e/ in either the form of the personal pronoun or the verb but place it in between the two and adding another letter to it,

which allows it to stand grammatically on its own as a form of the second person singular personal pronoun: *θα ζας σε κάμου ρώτηση* (Text 11; *Κότσαρης*).. At the level of line, however, this choice is not justified as it follows a second person plural personal pronoun.

Koutsilieris, finally, chooses to affix the metrical /e/ to the personal pronoun, though without adjusting its environment to this addition. In his transcription, the final -ς (-s) of the personal pronoun marks the boundaries of its grammatical form, according to norms of orthography, while the sound /e/ is added though without being assigned any particular grammatical role. This choice is illustrates more strongly the intuitive practices of Kassis when compared to Strilakos' experiments in transcription, Kallidonis' orientations to the standard transcriptions, while lacking in linguistic attention and  finally, Koutsilieris' attendance to the linguistic specificities of the Maniat dialect and the oral lament genre as well as to the norms of standard grammatical orthography.

### 4.3.4 Linguistic choices of vocabulary

At the level of vocabulary choices, the amount of vernacular words included in each version differs rather markedly, as illustrated in Table 3.  The greatest disparity is observed between Kallidonis and Kassis, while the amount of vernacular words in Koutsilieris and Strilakos is on about the same level.

**Table 4.2. Amount of vernacular words per version**

| Kallidonis | Koutsilieris | Kassis | Strilakos |
|------------|--------------|--------|-----------|
| 6.5%       | 15%          | 34.5%  | 11.8%     |

In Kallidonis the restricted amount of vernacular words points to the great degree of standardisation towards a Modern Greek standard underlying his practices of linguistic editing. Other texts in his collection also bring out a similar impression of minimum inclusion of vernacular vocabulary. On the contrary, Kassis' version is rich in vernacular vocabulary and so are - even though to a much less extent - Koutsilieris' and Stilakos' versions. In addition, both of the latter point to editing interventions on wording, guided by the editors' 'expert linguistic knowledge'. Careful and time-consuming editing is evidenced in Koutsilieris' recorded laments where the range of vocabulary is akin to a standard of the vernacular, in the sense that dialect forms tend to fulfill the descriptive rules of the dialect, as described in fact in a number of works of his own.

For instance, the choice of the word *βαθμοφόρος* in Koutsilieris is markedly different from the vocabulary choice of *βαθμολόγος* found in Kallidonis and Strilakos, in that the former is more appropriate to the context of a military man's description as it refers particularly to a military rank (νέωτ. *<βαθμούχος>*: Dimitrakos Dictionary), while the latter refers primarily to the person who grades and according to more recent dictionaries it may also refer to a grading scale with particular reference to civil servants (e.g. *<βαθμολογικό κλιμάκιο>*). It is noteworthy that Kassis reports that versions from Kounos, which have not been included in his collection, employ the word *βαθμολόγος*, instead of *βαθμοφόρος* (in the included versions the latter vocabulary choice is encountered). The above observations regarding this instance indicate:

    i.       the attention paid by Koutsilieris to vocabulary choices in terms of

        dictionary meanings, i.e. standardised meanings that enhance line coherence,

ii.      the attention paid by Kassis to actual frequencies and geographical contexts of occurrence in his extended corpora of collected laments and finally,

iii.     the lack of both kinds of resources, at least to the extent encountered in the former collectors, for vocabulary intervention in Kallidonis and Strilakos.

In Strilakos, however, there is visible evidence for hybrid vocabulary interventions in the form of words in parentheses positioned next to a word considered for editing, which are seemingly aimed to enhance line coherence or record according to vernacular standards, as evidenced in the following two instances. In line 21: *στρατιώτες και γραμματικοί (αξιωματικοί)*, the consideration of the word *αξιωματικοί* (officers) in the place of *γραμματικοί* (teachers) would achieve greater line coherence, by providing a scalar description of the crowd attending Lirakos' funeral, made up of the lowest to the highest levels of the military, thus attesting to his high status. Joining soldiers and teachers would not achieve this effect. Second, in line 22: *εκεί'ναι κι οι γονίδε μας (γονιάτε μας)* (where our parents also are) suggests a variant word, which seems to be more widely attested in the Maniat dialect (to my knowledge, the word *γονίδε* (parents) is not encountered in any other recorded lament, while the word in parenthesis is also encountered in Kassis) and in this sense more akin to a vernacular standard which includes the 'correct' word variants. The two instances suggest that Strilakos was on an interventionist path similar to Koutsilieris, although the published

result of his practices could have suggested otherwise.

Finally, another noteworthy observation regarding vocabulary choices has to do with formulae making up invocation lines. In the lament of Lirakos the following formulaic invocation is encountered (similar constructions addressed to different persons by name or kin relation are frequent across recorded laments): *ε μαύρη μου Γαρουφαλιά* or *Γαρυφαλλιά* in Kallidonis and Koutsilieris, respectively and *μωρή μαυροΓαρουφαλλιά* in both Kassis and Strilakos. The two formulaic invocations differ in the way in the employed form for the expression of intimacy and grief. According to Dimitrakos dictionary, the word *μωρή* is a demotic exclamatory form used to address females, often considered to be insulting, even though the masculine form *μωρέ*, which is used to address males and females, does not suggest impertinence. Locally, the word *μωρή* is used in ordinary conversation between folk women who know each other well (for instance, as an informant noted "you never address an *arhontissa* (lady) by *μωρή*"), without any suggestion of impertinence, but rather acknowledging the misery of the addressed. The expression *ε μαύρη μου,* on the other hand, echoes folk expressions of ill-fate typically recurring in Greek folk songs (Beaton 1980: 60), without carrying any potential insulting connotations for the addressed. In the light of the above, the occurrence of *μωρή* in Kassis and Strilakos versus the occurrence of *ε μαύρη μου* in Kallidonis and Koutsilieris does not seem to be coincidental. In other words, it is suggested that the former collectors retain the local expression of intimacy and grief in their lament records, while the latter opt for a more generic and more easily recognisable expression of ill-fate, which encodes intimacy and grief in a more dramatic and formulaic way.

To sum up, the comparison of the range of vocabulary in the different versions has further specified the metadiscursive practices of each collector: Koutsilieris appears to be the most attentive to vernacular standards, while Kallidonis's orientation to the Modern Greek standard proves to be rather intuitive. Kassis' practices are intuitive to a great extent but he also shows a strong commitment to the recording of vernacular forms and their variations. Finally, Strilakos' practices are hybrid, navigating between Kassis' intuitive approach, evident in his lack of consistent choices, and Koutsilieris' scholarly care, manifest in visible interventions.

The above observations suggest that metadiscursive practices for recording laments in writing encompass a spectrum of choices and decisions that have to do with orthographic and heterographic transcriptions or standard and vernacular vocabulary ranges. As will be shown in what follows, such choices and decisions are closely related to the background of each collector, his socio-political status and outlook as well as the aspirations projected in the time-consuming activity of collecting, transcribing, editing and publishing a collection of laments.

## 4.4  Socio-political stances

In the remaining sections, I will briefly present the collectors and situate their published compilations aiming to point to possible ways in which micro-textual practices are linked to macro-contexts. I will start with the profiling of Koutsilieris, Kallidonis and Kassis (for Strilakos, see §2.2.4.3). Then, I will go on to report and discuss the collectors' own comments on metadiscursive practices in relation to the textual practices presented above, adding to the comparative study of folkloristic heterographies the consideration of rhetorics accompanying the textual practices,

### 4.4.1 Biographic information

To start with, Anargiros Koutsilieris was a graduate of the University of Athens and a contemporary and friend of Strilakos who followed a career in education (Director of the Varvakios School, Inspector in Patras, Secondary Education Superintendant to Direction of School of Training Functions of Secondary Education/ ΣΕΛΜΕ) and completed a doctoral thesis at the University of Athens, arguing that Solomos' language had been shaped by the Maniat dialect spoken by his mother. Throughout his career he has published extensively on Mani and is widely considered an authority on issues of local dialect, as attested by his inclusion among writers originating in Mani (see [www.mani.org.gr](www.mani.org.gr)). Most notable among his works are his study on the phenomenon of *epenthesis* (1963, Lexicographic Bulletin, Vol. Θ΄), his *History of Mani*, the *Essays on Mani* and the collection of *Maniat laments (Linguistic-Historic-Folkloric Monuments*; *Μοιρολόγια της Μάνης, Μνημεία Γλωσσικά-Ιστορικά-Λαογραφικά, 1997*).

Panos Kallidonis, on the other hand, does not figure among the authorities on Mani, neither does he present himself as one. Rather, he profiles himself as a reserve officer during the Greek-Italian Wars (1940-41) and as an active member of E.L.A.S. His publications include a diary from the exile Makronisos and a book about the Heroes and Traitors of National Resistance (Γίγαντες και προδότες της Εθνικής Αντιστάσεως), two collections of Maniat laments and a collection of folk songs (*Songs of Greek Levendia*). His first collection of Maniat laments, published in Piraeus in 1972 has a lengthy title, which consists of the heading *Maniat laments* and two sub-headings, the first reading *Vendettas- Chivalries-Tragedies* and the second *Homeric Rhapsodies or Pindaric epics?,* already pointing to Kallidonis' conception of

Maniat laments as the 'original' relic of ancient Greek tragedy (see Kallidonis 1972: 4). The dedication on the bottom cover to 'The Memory of those who fought disinterestedly towards the progress of Historical Mani' points to his strong interest in folk history.

Kassis, born in 1946 in Akrotainaro, is a painter, sculptor and poet with a strong commitment to Mani, its history and folklore, summarised in his own term *memory-folklore* (*μνημολαογραφία*) (Kassis 1980b: 301). He has privately published three volumes of Maniat laments (1979, 1980, 1981), a collection of satires, a study on the Maniat dialect and other works on the folklore of Mani (1980) and its history. Based on the biography provided by Enotiki Poria Sygrafeon, he has worked on projects aimed at the preservation of Byzantine murals in Mistras, Mt. Athos, Delos and elsewhere, as well as briefly working in the project of the Athens Academy Historical Dictionary during the '70s; he has received an award from Glossiki Eteria for the provision of language material (Kassis 1980: 300-302).

To sum up, the three Maniat folklorists whose texts have been compared here all come from different backgrounds which are closely related to the way they perceive the significance of their engagement with Maniat folklore and the practices they employ to entextualise Maniat laments for publication. Koutsilieris, a committed educator in close contact with specific strands in the academic establishment of his time shows a primarily academic linguistic interest in the publication of Maniat laments. Kallidonis, on the other hand, capitalising on his experiences in war takes pride in all kinds of Maniat struggle and conceptualises Maniat laments in a folk-historical frame where they stand for local struggles of national acclaim and showcase

Maniat ethos.  Finally, Kassis' strong emotional attachment to his place of origin and his artistic inclinations seem to have attuned him to the significance of folk memory which he has sought to collect and record in vast quantities. The way the collectors themselves envisage their activities will make clearer the observations based on their metadiscursive practices and their biographies, suggesting links between their rhetorics and their metadiscursive practices and their resulting heterographies.

### 4.4.2 Rhetorics

Koutsilieris is the most explicit of the three in terms of expressing the intentions underlying the publication of his collection and addressing his intended audience.  In the collection's introduction he quotes Nikolaos Politis when he refers to Maniat laments as "reflecting the graciousness of soul in the naïve and uneducated lamenters", thus underlining the acknowledgement of Maniat laments' value by a well-known figure of the Greek intelligentsia.  He then states that his collection aims to valorise the laments by rendering them 'correctly', i.e. into the language of their original telling for future generations for whom Maniat laments will be the only source of the dialect. His intended audience includes, primarily, readers who would like to be acquainted with the Maniat dialect as preserved in the laments and secondarily those who are interested in understanding the laments' content; he also expresses the hope that the collection will be of use for scholars of Solomos, whose language has been shaped to a considerable extent by the Maniat dialect, according to Koutsilieris' doctoral thesis (19-20; 247; 251). The explicitly stated aims of the collection and the addressed audience explain the provision of pragmatological and linguistic information throughout the collection and in the appended dialect glossary. The manifestation of textual interventions, especially relating to vernacular

vocabulary choices in his collection, make sense not only as part of his academic-linguistic interest but more specifically as a way to provide his readers with the 'authentic' version of the Maniat dialect, which he situates in the years of the Greek War of Independence (1997: 9). As part of this explicitly stated aim, Koutsilieris 'corrects', adds and deletes the recorded texts constructing in the way a 'pure' form, a standard for the vernacular which 'freezes' the spoken language to a period prior to its intense contact with Modern Greek and the ensuing language mixes.

Kallidonis also cites Nikolaos Politis in the introduction of the collection, selecting a quote that refers more broadly to the significance of Greek Folk Songs and which he readily adapts word by word to Maniat laments, thus presenting them as reflecting the life, customs, emotions and mentality of the "proud and lofty" Maniat people (1972: 3), while tracing their origin in ancient Greek tragedy (ibid: 4).  Kallidonis states that the Maniat lament constitutes the main path to the study of the character and idiosyncrasy of the Maniat people and their folklore; at the end of the 1972 introduction, he prompts  his fellow countrymen to explain the meaning of Maniat laments and set their harshness into music in order to accomplish "the Maniat Epic" (ibid: 5). In the second collection, he attenuates this statement to a more modest expression of his hope that his writings will be of help to experts (especially Maniats) who are going to engage with the study and valorisation of Maniat folklore riches (1981: 127). Kallidonis, being immersed in patriotic nationalism, seems particularly concerned with showcasing Mani as a crucial contributing force in the independence of the Greek nation and with presenting the Maniats under a positive light against instilled stereotypes that depict them as bloodthirsty and harsh. For this reason, he follows Nicolaos Politis in order to create a national accommodating frame for Maniat

laments and situates the revenge custom in the past, [8] attributing to it the reflection not only of Maniat harshness but also of "outbursts of chivalry" (1972: 3). In this way, he clearly separates the Maniat past or the time of 'authentic tradition' from the national present, suggesting a modern image of Maniats. Unlike Koutsilieris, Kallidonis does not clearly state the aim of his collection, but rather offers it as material in the service of 'experts', disclaiming any particular expertise on his part, which explains the lack of pragmatological or linguistic information in his collections and his intuitive inclination to norms of Modern Greek writing.

Kassis, finally, capitalises on his direct and 'authentic' experience of the Maniat way of life. He envisages his task as "a passionate endeavour which gave meaning and impetus to the study of historic, folkloric, social and artistic presence of Mani considered as the most culturally unambiguous region in Greece" (see biographical note 1980b: 302), [9] and therefore instrumental for those who would like to prove the

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[8] "Είναι όμως αναμφισβήτητο και το γεγονός ότι μέσα εις την σκληρή ψυχοσύνθεσι του Μανιάτη, που αντικατοπτρίζεται κυρίως με το έθιμο της αντεκδικήσεως (ομιλουμε δια το παρελθόν καθ'ότι σήμερον το έθιμο έχει εκφυλισθεί) περικλείονται εξάρσεις ιπποτικαί, εφαπτόμεναι της λεβεντιας και γενναιοφροσύνης".(Nonetheless, it is beyond doubt that within the harsh psyche of the Maniat, which is mainly reflected in the custom of revenge (we are talking about the past as today the custom has degenerated) outbursts of chivalry are embedded, abutting on *leventia* and bravery) (Kallidonis 1972: 3).

[9] "Με το πάθος που τον χαρακτηρίζει, έδωσε νόημα στην μελέτη της ιστορικής, λαογραφικής, κοινωνικής, καλλιτεχνικής παρουσίας της Μάνης, μιας περιοχής από τις πιο ξεκάθαρες πολιτιστικά στον Ελληνικό πνευματικό χώρο. Το παράδειγμα του ακολούθησαν κι άλλοι πιο δισταχτικοί απέναντι στην λαϊκή κουλτούρα, πιο νέοι ή πιο ηλικιωμένοι, του άμεσου ή απώτερου περίγυρού του". (With the passion that characterises him, he has given meaning to the study of the historic, folkloric, social and artistic presence of Mani, an area among the purest in terms of culture in the Greek intellectual field. Many others have followed his example, more hesitant towards folk culture, younger or elder, of his direct or wider environment) (από την ΕΝΩΤΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΩΝ, σ. 302)..

Hellenism of Modern Greeks.[10] The way he envisages the written transcription of the dialect can be glimpsed in a discussion on orthography in his book *The linguistic idiom of Mani* (1982: 10), where he considers orthography to be "a subsequent confusion" created by intellectuals for professional reasons or a product of the establishment that led to the over-stylisation of written language and its rendering into a "closed class issue". [11] This statement explains his intuitive approach to vernacular transcription which does not attend to orthographic norms but sets out to record features of the spoken language in a non-scholarly way.

To sum up, it has been suggested that the three collectors examined here (see §5.4.1-§5.4.4) position themselves differently with respect to the observance of literacy

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[10] "Αν κάποιος ήθελε να «κόπτεται» για την ελληνικότητα των νεοελλήνων κι ήθελε να το στηρίξει αυτό αναλογικά στη γλώσσα, τότε θα πετύχαινε το σκοπό του κατ'εξοχήν χρησιμοποιώντας σαν επιχείρημα του το μανιάτικο ιδίωμα". (If someone would like to be concerned about the greekness of Neohellenes and would like to ground it with regard to language, then he could achieve his aim by employing the Maniat dialect as his argument).(Kassis 1982: 23).

[11] "Η ορθογραφία είναι μεταγενέστερο μπέρδεμα που δημιούργησαν οι κατά εποχές διανοούμενοι, τάχα για να αποδώσουν την φθογγική πιστότητα (καθαρότητα) στην προφορά, στην πραγματικότητα όμως στυλιζάροντας πέρα από το αναγκαίο και το αληθινό την γραφή της γλώσσας.[…] Η ορθογραφία είναι περισσότερο δημιούργημα του κατεστημένου, παρά της λαϊκής ζωής ανά τους αιώνες. Καθορίστηκε, αναδημιουργήθηκε, προεκτάθηκε και στυλιζαρίστηκε σε 'ταξική κλειστή υπόθεση' από κείνους πούχαν συμφέρον γι'αυτό". (Orthography is a later confusion that was created by the intellectuals of different eras, supposedly with the aim to render the phonological faithfulness (purity) in pronunciation, in reality though stylising the writing of language beyond the needed and the true. The orthography is more the creation of the establishment, than of folk life throughout the centuries. It was defined, recreated, extended and stylised into a closed class issue by those who had an interest for it) (Kassis 1982: 10).

norms and the institution of folklore. More specifically, Koutsilieris has been shown to be on the conservative side, by 'correcting' and prescribing the right forms. His practices are oriented towards the  construction of a 'pure' form, a standard for the vernacular which idealises it as untouched by influences from other dialects and as such as a privilege site for the study of ancient Greek linguistic survivals. Kallidonis, on the other hand, detaches himself by disclaiming expert knowledge and constructs highly detached and standardised texts appropriate for supra-local audience. Finally, Kassis stands on the opposite end of the two, exercising a rather anarchic approach to vernacular transcription, rejecting orthographic norms and professionalised academic expertise.

## 4.5 Summing up: Acts of traditionalisation

This chapter has touched upon intertextuality as a discursive practice by which a text links to prior and potential texts in its recovering of layers of (re)tellings and (re)writings. Its main focus, however, has been entextualisation,  that is the process that enables intertextuality by bounding off stretches of discourse into discrete textual units that can circulate across different contexts (cf. Bauman 2004: 4).

The brief presentation of two audio lament recordings illustrated specific conditions for entextualisation showing the bearing of audience parameters on the forging of intertextual relations in (re)tellings: the first one involved Marigo's breakthrough into lament performance under the pressure of the presence of a group of people. It was shown how the abrupt start of a performance which lacked in situational details left the performance open to contestation by participants of the interaction and to its co-construction by other participants. On the contrary, the second instance, namely the

telling of Giannis, was presented as a prototypical instance of a folkloristic encounter with a 'tradition bearer'; Giannis explicitly framed his telling by linking it to his mother's ritual performance, rhetorically establishing its authenticity and his right to retell it. By this act of contextualisation, Giannis actively engaged in the process of traditionalisation that endowed his telling with value, authority and experientiality. As Bauman has suggested with regard to Icelandic sagas and to kraftaskáld legend, such traditionalising devices constitute stylistic devices of strong rhetorical effect and suggest that issues of veracity or conventionality are beside the point (Bauman 2004: 31-32).

Folklorists become also involved in such local acts of traditionalisation, by seeking to authenticate their collections/transcriptions of vernacular forms through their metadiscursive practices. The examination of such practices has focused on its varied products or heterographies, that is particularistic deployments of literacy norms (§4.3). Lament heterographies, as illustrated in the comparison between a lament entextualised in three published collections and in Strilakos' manuscript sheets, depend on different hierarchies of values traceable to each collector's background, linking them to institutional or local contexts.

It could be argued, more broadly, that these entextualisations aim at 'freezing' local memory as it is variously articulated in the generic form of lament following norms of written text production or even more. The collectors shape visual representations of the laments onto the written page which call for different kinds of readings. For instance, Koutsilieris prompts the reader to engage with the texts in philological method, attending to phonological detail and vocabulary idiosyncrasy, while

Kallidonis calls for an easy read of laments as folk poems presented as material objects of national pride. Kassis constructs rich intertextual maps of local memory, taking for granted his readers' interest and demanding their time and immersion in the large bulk of material and pragmatological detail. Finally, Strilakos seems closer to Koutsilieris with respect to his attempt at a concise presentation of laments that could be of use to scholars of language. However, Strilakos' metadiscursive practices are not purifying, like those of Koutsilieris, but hybrid. Written lament records become then sites of knowledge construction which acquire their authority either primarily from the author's expertise (Koutsilieris), Maniat folk (Kallidonis) or experientiality (Kassis).

In this chapter, I have outlined the theoretical framework for the analysis of practices of entextualisation as manifest in the metadiscursive practices of individual collectors. I have, more specifically, illustrated different conditions for entextualisation in the context of the folkloric/ethnographic encounter that bear on the way of marking intertextual links with prior texts. Furthermore, I have compared the entextualisation of a non-sensational lament by four different collectors, pointing to differences between sensational and non-sensational laments in terms of narrative patterning and entextualisability. I have, finally, examined lament heterographies where norms for entextualisation, as manifest in the collectors' linguistic choices (e.g. spelling and vocabulary), range from purifying, to standardising or vernacularising to hybridising depending on the collector's socio-political positions.

More broadly, norms for entextualisation rely on 'canonical' shapes of texts which are associated with specific ideologies of language and culture, which differ cross-

culturally and cross-temporally. In chapter 5, I will focus on regional and national ideologies of language and culture, as evidenced in orthodox models of text and textuality. I will, more specifically, examine the manifestations of an interplay between regional and national orthodoxies in Strilakos' metadiscursive practices, by extending the discussion to relevant aspects of the discursive project of modernisation. Finally, in chapter 6 I will turn to text-internal dimensions of metadiscursive practices with a close analysis of orality and literacy norms as manifest in the deployment of markers of entextualisation in my data.

# 5. Norms of Entextualisation

## 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter analysed the metadiscursive practices of four different collectors/transcribers, bringing to the fore different types of heterographies in their respective entextualisations of a non-sensational lament. Strilakos' heterography, in particular, was described as a hybrid form of entextualisation compared to the others' purifying, standardising or vernacularising forms. In this chapter, I will examine Strilakos' metadiscursive practices in more detail in relation to orthodox models of text and textuality, namely norms of institutional and regional folklore.

I will first outline the theoretical concepts drawn from the study of ideologies (Bauman and Briggs 2003; Blommaert 2005) that will be employed in the analysis. Then I will review the role that the work of N. Politis (Professor of Comparative Mythology at the University of Athens) and G. Chatzidakis (1848-1941) has played in the institutionalisation of Greek folklore, as their influences can be felt in the metadiscursive practices of the local collectors/transcribers. This review will suggest a conceptualisation of local folkloristic activity as interacting with the process of vernacularisation, i.e. the refiguration of the domestic Other through the processes of literisation and literarisation (§5.2.1-§5.2.2).  Local folkloristic activity will be presented as interacting with this process of vernacularisation (§5.2). Section (§5.4) will analyse in more detail Strilakos' metadiscursive practices in order to bring to the fore specific manifestations of such interaction. The analysis will focus on four levels:

i. selection and organisation of the collected material, ii. extraction practices,  iii. editing practices (e.g. additions and deletions of words, lines or verses), and iv. resetting practices.

### 5.1.1 Layered ideologies

In this section, I will outline the relation of entextualisation to ideologies of language and culture, adopting Blommaert's view of them as layered (Blommaert 2005: 158-184).

Entextualisation was said to condition, in certain cases, the objectification of a stretch of discourse, potentiating generic intertextuality (§1.2.1.3). In addition to discourse circulation, however, entextualisation also enables discourse 'freezing' into textual-material forms (*monumentalisation*) by conditioning the canonisation of cultural texts. Such conditioning is achieved within cultural orders through ongoing entextualisation practices in cases where the objectification of stretches of discourse into texts serves to participants of a culture as an image of a durable and shared culture, to which future texts should orient. Such ongoing cultural practices involve the 'freezing' or framing of past and future providing a potential template, a model or a "canonical textual exemplar" (Silverstein and Urban 1996: 1-2).

The creation of canonical textual exemplars through processes and practices of entextualisation means that these regimented 'shapes' of textuality may come to dominate a particular cultural order, often accompanying hegemonic ideologies. In this sense then, such textual canons constitute orthodox models of text and textuality.

Scott (1990) has pointed out that even though such orthodox models may appear hegemonic at surface level, they can encompass "hidden transcripts", that is dissident

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and anti-hegemonic voices. Elaborating on Scott's observation, Blommaert has drawn attention to how hidden transcripts become embedded in hegemonic ideologies through the semiotic, functional and evaluative shifts entailed by the mobility of texts or genres across contexts. He then goes on to suggest a conceptualisation of ideological processes as layered, that is as operating in and through polycentric and stratified systems in which different ideologies are at play at different levels and in different ways (Blommaert 2005: 166-175).

The layering of ideologies is to a great extent due to the dissemination and uptake of hegemonic ideologies. More specifically, it can be considered as the outcome of the adoption of orthodox models of text and textuality which strips them of their accompanying conventional ideologies and adapts them, supplementing them with new sign systems or meanings. Such unorthodox adaptations are called *orthopractic*, in the sense that although they appear guided by the orthodox model (for reasons of prestige or in the lack of an alternative option), they tend to be lodged in acts of identity, either expressing resistance to hegemonic ideologies or revealing inequality in the distribution of resources (see Blommaert 2003).

Based on the above, we can conceptualise orthodox entextualisation as a set of ongoing ideologically loaded processes and practices within specific cultural orders that become crystallised into canons, conditioning future entextualisations. However, the mobility of orthodox canons of entextualisation in different contexts often results in orthopractic entextualisations, which tend to differ in semiotic, functional and evaluative terms. This kind of conditioning entextualisation practices is instrumental in the development of national folklore, which is founded on the entextualisation of cultural texts in the process of shaping a canon showcasing regional variety under the

unifying nationalising frame. In other words, national folklore tends to ascribe status to orthodox practices, rather than orthopractic ones. Yet, orthodox or orthopractic features cannot be *a priori* ascribed to specific practices, but rather in each case the dynamics between orthodoxy and orthopraxy are under analytic scrutiny. In other words, these concepts provide analysts with the theoretical tools to link micro-textual practices with wider discursive practices.

In what follows, I will sketch out the institutionalisation of Greek folklore, by reviewing the work of the two figures that have been inextricably associated with this process. The aim of the discussion is to point to the ideologies of language and culture on which folklorists, like Strilakos, were drawing.

### 5.1.2 Institutionalising Greek folklore

As mentioned in §4.4.2, Maniat collectors, Koutsilieris and Kallidonis in particular, employ Nikolaos Politis' quotes in the opening of their respective collections in order to provide an authoritative frame for their own work and explicitly suggest their embeddedness in the national folklore canon.  Strilakos, on the other hand, kept notes from Chatzidakis' work, while Kassis cites (1980b) others' work or mere references on Mani by Maniats and non-Maniats, as he says, laying claim to his entitlement as a Maniat to write about Mani and endowing his work with authority based on authenticity. Before looking more closely into such expressed views on entitlement to folklore writing and claims of authority, it is necessary to review the work of two highly influential figures in the establishment of Greek Folklore and Linguistics as academic fields, namely Nikolaos Politis and Georgios Chatzidakis; their influence can be felt in Strilakos' practices, as well.

A useful starting point is the critical review of Greek Folklore by Kiriakidou - Nestoros, where she refers to Nikolaos Politis (1852-1921), Professor of Comparative Mythology at the University of Athens as the "father of Greek Folklore". In a similar vein, D.Vagiakakos refers to Georgios Chatzidakis (1848-1941), who was the first Professor of Linguistics at the University of Athens from 1890 until 1923, as the "father of Greek Linguistics". The positioning of these two men at the forefront of Greek scholars of this period attests to the historical importance accorded to the establishment of Greek Folklore and Linguistics as academic fields; their establishment had its foundations on the project for the collection and publication of vernacular forms.

This project was motivated by the pressing task to bring together fragments of history and traditional customs into a unified and meaningful narrative of Greek culture on the one hand, and different dialects into a standard language, on the other, in order to shape a collective, national imaginary able to justify and sustain the newly established state and its aspirations for territorial, economical and socio-political growth. Hence, the growing interest for the study of regional dialects, eloquently articulated and developed by Georgios Hatzidakis, the interest for the recording and comparative study of local traditions, systematically pursued by Nikolaos Politis and the interest for the historical continuity of the Greek people, put forward by Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. All three scholars have left their defining mark on the teleological narrative of the establishment of the Greek state, which shaped the articulation of the Modern Greek national identity during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The close connections between their works lie in their respective foregrounding of the historical development of language and culture, as this had already been inaugurated in Germany by the Brothers Grimms' *Deutsche*

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*Grammatik* (1819-37) and *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835) (Herzfeld 1982: 172-212, Mackridge 2004: 71).

While Politis systematised the text-based study of survivals of ancient Greek mythology in Modern Greek folklore (applying Tylor's anthropological theory) with an additional concern for historical reconstruction (inherited by classical philology), Chatzidakis systematised the study of the historical development of the medieval and Modern Greek language. That the two academic fields developed closely together is evidenced in the close interpersonal relations between Chatzidakis and Politis, who were both participating members of the Hellenic Folklore Society, founded in 1908; both were seeking to ground present and future in a discursively constructed past of unbroken historical continuity aimed at uniting the Greeks within and beyond the geographical boundaries of Greece. To this end, the process of *vernacularisation* (§5.2) proved particularly useful. As will be suggested, Strilakos' folkloristic activity and practices can be viewed as part of this process (§5.4).

## 5.2 Vernacularisation

According to Pollock, *vernacularisation* involves a refiguration of the domestic Other through the dual processes termed *literisation*, in which local languages are admitted to literacy, and *literarisation*, in which the oral, traditional forms of vernacular expression are accommodated to literature as worthy of being cultivated, read and preserved (Pollock 1998a, 1998b, 2000 quoted in Bauman and Briggs 2003: 15)'. Vernacularisation foregrounds the provincial – dispersed, peripheral, local – but always in dialogue with the cosmopolitan and the universal (Bauman and Briggs 2004: 15). It involves the selection of particular forms of vernacular expression as

valuable for reading and preserving. Such forms were those that related to the past and which were framed as traditional. Literisation and literarisation are closely linked – and this has been noted with regard to other contexts of modernity construction, such as eighteenth century England or nineteenth century Germany – as the former conditions the latter.

Strilakos' folkloristic activity - as well as the great bulk of similar activities undertaken during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century - is explicitly framed as a response to the call for refiguring the Maniats as the domestic Other by appealing to their 'traditional' forms. [1] As already mentioned (§2.2.4.2), in his notebook of 1930 he acknowledges N. Veis, Professor of Byzantine Philology at the University of Athens, as the one who incited him to engage with the activity of collecting vernacular forms and he expresses his commitment to the task in a brief preface to a list of Maniat words which illustrate the phonological phenomenon of palatisation (*τσιτακισμός*). The linguistic focus of his commitment is reaffirmed in a second notebook entitled *Λέξεις Μάνης* (Words of Mani), [2] where he enlists, in the order cited below, three works related to the Maniat dialect and a basic work on Greek language as a unified whole:

[1] Other local folklorists' comments on the importance of the recording and accurate transcription of the vernacular.

[2] On top of the cover title reads *Μάνη* (Mani) and immediately below *I. Στριλάκος, φοιτητής φιλολογίας (I. Strilakos, student of philology)*, indicating that similarly to the notebook dated as 1930 this notebook as well dates from around the same time, that is when Strilakos was a still a student at the University of Athens.

- Nestoridis, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν* (Historical dictionary) [3] from which lemmas starting with the letters: *α, π, ρ σ, τ* are replicated over seventy-four pages.

- Mirambel, *Ιστορία της Μάνης* (History of Mani) [4] of which no further references are provided.

- Chatzidakis, *Νόμοι της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (Rules of Modern Greek Language),* [5] summarised in the form of notes on phonological rules over three pages.

- Antonakos, *Σύναξις λέξεων εκ της Μάνης*, δ. Μέσσης και Οιτύλου (Collection of words from Mani, Messi and Itilo municipality), from which lemmas starting with the letters: *α* (a)*, κ* (k)*, μ* (m)*, π* (p) are replicated over five pages.

The aforementioned explicit references to the project of vernacular form collection and the specific content choices of the collector point to the institutional climate dominating his student years at the University of Athens, on the one hand, which prompted direct action on the part of regional students, and on the other hand affirms the collector's own scholarly commitment to the project with a particular interest in the field of linguistics; his interest focused on the accumulation of Maniat words from

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[3] Most probably reference is made to K. Nestoridis (headmaster in Githio towards the end of the 19th century) *Maniatikon glossarion* (Patsourakos 1910: 10).

[4] Most probably reference is made to A. Mirambel's study of the Maniat dialect in his monograph *Etude Descriptive du Parler Maniote Meridional* (Paris, 1929), but no further references that can confirm this are made in the notebook.

[5] *Νόμοι της Νέας Ελληνικής, Συμβολή εις την Ιστορία της Ελληνικής γλώσσης, Α', εκ του Αθηναίου, Τόμ. Ι', σελ. 3 κεξ.,* 1881 (*Contribution to the History of the Greek Language, Volume A')*. In his first contribution to the study of Greek language, Chatzidakis draws attention to the importance of phonological and inflectional rules over the study of the lexicon [5], citing Kretschmer's description of rules of assimilation-dissimilation of vowels *(ανομοίωσις – συνομοίωσις)* and a description of the rules of crasis *(κράση)*.

different collectors as a starting point for his own collection, also reaching out for guidance to the history of Modern Greek language and of Greek language as a unified whole. Studying Chatzidakis, and in particular his descriptions of phonological rules, seems to have had something to do with the difficulties involved  in rendering the Maniat oral dialect in writing, as will become clearer in what follows.

### 5.2.1 Literisation

Chatzidakis became involved with the *literisation* process by initiating in 1908 the *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Greek Language*, which was in fact predominantly a dialect dictionary. The emphasis on the historical development of languages drawing on the pool of dialects had already led to similar works in England (*English dialect dictionary*, 1896-1905, by Joseph Wright, 1855-1930) (Mackridge 2004: 72-73), originating in the interest of elite intellectuals in folklore throughout the 18th century, which was manifested in the work of British philologists (Wood, Lowth, Blackwell, Blair) and in the nationalist project put forward by the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, who had been influenced by the predecessors mentioned above (see Bauman and Briggs 2003).

Notably, Chatzidakis's work (1883) on the phonological rules of Modern Greek, referring to cross-dialectally valid phonological rules, brought to the fore the commonality of the Greek dialects. It should also be added that the phonological rules he arguably discovered were presented in a prescriptive fashion, such that they could easily serve as guides to dialect transcribers across Greece, resulting in standardised literisations towards the standard of cross-dialectal Modern Greek.

The process of literisation took place in the context of the language issue in Greece (that is the co-existence and tension between two varieties, known as *katharevousa* [6]and *demotiki*). Even though the spoken language (*η λαλουμένη γλώσσα*) figures recurrently in his writings, Chatzidakis was a proponent of the written language of *katharevousa* regarding the construction of a unified language, both synchronically and diachronically. The synchronic unified language constituted for Chatzidakis the language that "we" *pronounce* or the language with some of its elements inherited from the past (1927: 6) (the reference to the past constructs the diachronicity of the language). The inclusive "we" used by Chatzidakis designates speakers like himself who speak the "common spoken language" which is the most appropriate for the modern nation and which was none other than the urban elite's language, very close to the written language (see Mackridge 2004: 85).

Furthermore, the different regional dialects are often conceptualised in his work as repositories of the past, whose heterogeneity (both within and across dialects) placed them in the margins of the modern (cf. Chatzidakis *Γλωσσολογικαί Έρευναι*, 1977: 363). The dialects were made part of the "mother-taught tradition" (*Περί του γλωσσικού ζητήματος εν Ελλάδι*, Part 1, 1890), the pre-modern which had to give way to the modern, father-led written tradition (see Mackridge 2004: 85-86).

It seems then that the process of vernacularisation did not need or even want the vernacular (cf. the case of Ossian discussed in Bauman and Briggs 2003), but it constituted a step towards de-vernacularisation and the establishment of a unified

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[6] *Katharevousa* refers to the form of Greek language used in formal and official contexts, while *dimotiki* refers to the form used in daily contexts, creating a long-standing diglossic situation in Greece.

(centralised) language. The importance of the literisation of vernaculars lay more on the evidence it could offer of survivals of the past in the confines of the pre-modern, rather than in their inclusion in modernity (cf. Tziovas 1994).

### 5.2.2 Literarisation

Literisation goes hand in hand with literarisation and it is with the latter that Nikolaos Politis was mainly concerned; he put forth a set of metadiscursive practices for the collection and publication of 'traditional' vernacular forms, involving their entextualisation, circulation and preservation in writing and addressed to a literate, modern audience.

The review Folklore *(Λαογραφία)* published by the Hellenic Folklore Society constituted a prominent forum for the articulation of Politis' work. The various articles published in this review were later edited in four volumes by the Committee of Folkloric Archives (the first three consecutively from 1920-1931 and the fourth in 1980), with an introductory note in the first volume designating the included articles as "papers written for the sake of the many" (*διατριβάς γραφείσας χάριν των πολλών*). This introductory note is indicative of the division of labour underlying Politis's theory of folklore, which is also manifest in the way his metadiscursive and entextualisation practices are differentiated in content as well as in the implied addressees. Namely, his metadiscursive practices in Folklore (*Λαογραφία*) and in Folklore Miscellany (*Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα*) are addressed to the many, those who are motivated to extract selected vernacular forms from their regional sites, while the entextualisation practices outlined in the Introduction of the *Selections from the Songs of the Greek folk* (Εκλογαί από τα τραγούδια του ελληνικού λαού), anthologised by himself, reflect his own practices, namely the practice of an expert addressed to other

experts, that is those who have the skills required to make use of the collected material. This distinction fosters a sharp differentiation between amateur and professional folklorists.

In the metadiscursive practices of Nikolaos Politis, that is the explicitly stated methods of selecting and extracting, resetting and editing folkloric material, the entextualisable material as well as the methods to be followed for their entextualisation were defined. The entextualisable material, i.e. the vernacular forms which were to be selected, were predefined in Politis according to their binary distinction [7] into *monuments of speech* (μνημεία του λόγου) and *traditional practices* (τας κατά παράδοσιν πράξεις ή ενεργείας). Monuments of speech were described in a diagram which included 1) songs, 2) epodes, 3) enigmas, 4) wishes, greetings, oaths, curses etc., 5) proverbs, 6) myths, 7) humorous stories, 8) tales, 9) traditions, 10) words and phrases drawn from the language thesaurus. Traditional practices were also described in a diagram including 1) the house, 2) nutrition, 3) apparel, 4) social organisation, 5) the child, 6) bridal customs, 7) mortuary customs, 8) ways of life, 9)

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[7] "Ἔκ τῶν εἰρημένων συνάγεται, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ κατὰ δυὸ τρόπους, διὰ λόγου καὶ διὰ πράξεων ἢ ἐνεργειῶν γίνονται αἲ ἐκδηλώσεις τοῦ ψυχικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τοῦ λαοῦ, διττὴ εἶναι καὶ ἡ ἐργασία τοῦ λαογράφου, συνισταμένη εἰς καταγραφὴν καὶ εἰς περιγραφὴν Καὶ καταγράφει μὲν τὴν προφορικὴν παράδοσιν, τὰ μνημεῖα τοῦ λόγου, περιγράφει δὲ τᾶς κατὰ παράδοσιν πράξεις ἢ ἐνεργείας[…]". (From the above it is concluded that as the psychological and social life of the folk are expressed in two ways, namely through language or through practices or actions, the task of the folklorist is equally double, consisting in recording and describing. And the folklorist records the oral tradition, the monuments of speech, on the one hand and describes, on the other, the traditional practices or actions) (Politis, N.G., 1920: 6).

law, 10) religion, 11) folk philosophy, 12) folk medicine, 13) divination, 14) astrology, 15) magic, 16) superstitions, 17) agonistic events, 18) dance, 19) music, 20) arts.

Extraction practices were defined according to this distinction between *monuments of speech* and *traditional practices*. Politis suggested that the collector should either record memorials of speech directly from the mouth of the people or in the case of a traditional practice, record it based on his own direct or participant observation. However, the relationship between the interactants in the extraction site where the local folklorists were meant to lift 'traditional' forms from was not explicitly theorised by Politis. This lack of theorising suggests that the roles of the interactants were thought of as clearly delineated: on the one hand, the collector's role was that of the silent transcriber. In fact, though, the practice of writing accorded the collector with a privileged position and added prestige to the activity, especially in the case of illiterate informants. On the other hand, the role of the informant was to speak the 'authentic' voice of tradition. This practice also took on a special value, as its performance was meant to be preserved for (future or outsider) others. Furthermore, the underlying assumption of the lack of theorising on the extraction site suggests that it was conceptualised as an one-to-one encounter, fostering a monologic and authoritative process of extraction, recording and indexing the social distance between the parties involved in the extraction, something which might have been the case for 'armchair' folklorists, but not necessarily so for the local ones.

The final stages of the vernacular forms' entextualisation, that is practices of resetting and editing, were the site where expertise was demonstrated. More specifically, Politis stated that in order for a collection to be useful to science the collector of monuments

of speech would have to be accurate in the process of their transfer from the oral to the written word, since slight changes were bound to happen because of the lack of the collector's training, out of the influence of the written language, or simply out of carelessness. Furthermore, collectors were advised to note down the place (village or region) and in some cases the name of the informant, even though for some kinds of memorials of speech such as tales and traditions the sex, the age and the social status of the informant would also need to be recorded. Finally, the collector of traditional practices would need to be clear in the description and where possible supplement it with photographs.[8] These were the editing practices defined for the (amateur/local)

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[8] "Αἵ ἀρεταί, τὰς ὁποίας ἀπαραιτήτως πρέπει νὰ ἔχη πᾶσα ἐπιστημονικὴ λαογραφικὴ συλλογή, εἶναι ἡ ἀκρίβεια καὶ ἡ σαφήνεια. Τὰ μνημεῖα τοῦ λόγου εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον νὰ γράφωνται ἀπαραλλάκτως, ὡς φέρονται εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ λαοῦ, ἄνευ τῆς ἐλαχίστης μεταβολῆς. Ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀκουσίως καὶ ἀσυνειδήτως μεταβάλλει ὁ συλλογεὺς τὸ ἀκουόμενον, εἴτε ἐξ ἐλλείψεως ἀσκήσεως, εἴτε ἐξ ἐπηρείας τῆς γραφομένης γλώσσης, εἴτε ἐξ ἀπροσεξίας. Πρέπει δὲ νὰ σημειώνεται προσέτι ἀκριβῶς ὁ τόπος (τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἡ ἐπαρχία), καὶ ἐνίοτε ὁ εἰπὼν ἢ ὑπαγορεύσας ἢ τραγουδήσας (προκειμένου δὲ περὶ τίνων μνημείων, οἷον παραμυθίων ἢ παραδόσεων, καὶ τὸ γένος, καὶ ἡ ἡλικία, καὶ ἡ κοινωνικὴ κατάστασις τοῦ εἰπόντος. Διὰ τὴν περιγραφὴν δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν ἀπαιτεῖται ἰδιαιτέρως ὀξεία καὶ ἀσφαλὴς παρατήρησις, ἡ δ᾽ἔκθεσις πρέπει νὰ εἶναι σαφὴς καὶ λεπτομερής. Πρὸς μείζονα σαφήνειαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, ὅταν τοῦτο εἶναι δυνατόν, νὰ ἐπεξηγεῖται ἡ περιγραφὴ πραγμάτων, κινήσεων κτλ. δι᾽ εἰκόνων. Ἡ μεγάλη διάδοσις τῆς φωτογραφικῆς τέχνης ἀποδεικνύει τὸ πρᾶγμα ὄχι δύσκολον. Καὶ τῆς ἀρίστης δὲ περιγραφῆς σαφεστέρα καὶ διδακτικωτέρα εἶναι ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ περιγραφομένου [...]". (The virtues which every scientific folklore collection must necessarily be endowed with is accuracy and clarity. The monuments of speech should be written exactly as pronounced in the mouth of the folk, without any change. Most of the times involuntarily and unconsciously the collector alters what he hears, either by a lack of training, or by the influence of the written language, or by carelessness. In addition, the place (village and administrative region) should be recorded and in some cases the reciter or singer; with regard to the monuments of speech, such as tales or traditions, also the gender, the age and the social state of the

collectors.

A different set of practices was articulated for the expert scholars, like Politis himself, and all those with the time and the resources to devote themselves to the expert study of the collected material. Such practices involved a set of interventions on the language and narrative of the verbal material through the philological method of *recensio* and *emendatio* (Politis 1969: 7).

The outlining of detailed diagrams defining the entextualisable material and the specific guidelines for the compilation and editing of selected and collected vernacular forms indicate the main methods used by Politis for the scientisation of folklore. The process of scientising was coupled with the assignment of the extraction of vernacular forms to teachers or folklorists located in or visiting different regions of Greece.

The scientised field of folklore, imbued with prestige and authority enabled the literarisation of vernacular forms and in particular of folk songs. The process of literarisation is manifested more clearly in Politis' collection of folk songs, first published in 1914, where folk songs are designated as outstanding monuments of

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teller should be recorded. As for the description of the practices and activities a particularly sound observation is required, while the report must be clear and detailed. Towards greater clarity it is necessary that, when this is possible, to explain the description of things, gestures etc. through the use of images. The great dissemination of the photographic art proves this not a difficult task.  Even compared to an excellent description, the image of the described proves clearer and more instructive) (Politis, N.G. 1920: 12).

speech thanks to their simplicity, naturalness, originality, verbal power and vividness and notably as reflecting the particularity of the nation (1914: 1). The significance of folk songs for the construction of national unity is evidenced in the organisation of the cross-regional material along a thematic classification and their encompassing designation as *the songs of the Greek folk*. Culture, then, is vernacularised through the process of literarisation, only so as to be de-vernacularised within the exigencies of the unifying cultural frame of nationalist ideologies.

In this section, I have sketched out the institutionalisation of folklore and the ideologies of language and culture that have become linked with it. In the following section I will discuss the uptake of such ideologies in regional contexts of Maniat folkloristic activity in order to bring regional folklore under the spotlight.

## 5.3 Regional folklore

This section discusses the metadiscursive practices of Maniat folklorists that articulate views on the ways that local folklore should or should not be practiced, leading to the emergence of local orthodoxies.

As a philology graduate of the University of Athens, prompted by his professors to collect vernacular forms from his region, while waiting for his appointment to a teaching post, Strilakos and his folklore practices can be considered as embedded in the processes of vernacularisation outlined in the previous section. More specifically, Strilakos appears to be positioned at the level of local and amateur folklorists. His folklore practice, then, can be envisaged as regional, whose relation to national folklore cannot be pre-defined, either as completely conforming to its guiding principles and methods or as unambiguously opposed to it. Rather, regional folklore

practice, beset by tendencies towards regionalism (cf. the patriotic foregrounding of Mani), which tend to vary in each region and epoch, should be studied in its own terms, and not as the unsuccessful version of the orthodox model of national folklore or as part of the primordial phase of scientific folklore.

The former conceptualisation of regional folklore, i.e. its conceptualisation as the unsuccessful version of the orthodox folklore model, becomes evident in the absence of discussions about it, even in critical studies referring to the scientisation (Kiriakidou -Nestoros 1978, Herzfeld 1982) and the nationalisation of Greek folklore which rendered heterogeneity obsolete (Tziovas 1994). This conspicuous absence of regional folklore practice and practitioners due to the focus on the description of centralising tendencies through the privileging of elite sources (e.g. the appropriation of folk songs by the generation of the 1930s in the context of Hellenisation) and authoritative figures (notably Politis) confirms the lasting success of the orthodoxy, attested by the uncritical reproduction of its pre-defined spaces of entextualisation and metadiscourse.

The implication of the noted absence is that one of the main ideological framings of national folklore, namely the 'exoticisation' of local cultures (see Herzfeld 1982: 65-67), enabling and enabled by their social, political and cultural marginalisation, is yet to be dismantled. Since it is only through giving voice to local cultures that these would be allowed into the hegemonic space occupied by national, homogenising discourses, the absence of the local voices inscribed in regional folklore practices suggests that they have not yet been allowed into that space.

The conceptualisation of regional folklore practice as part of an earlier, pre-scientific or proto-scientific -as it has been termed- stage of scientific folklore can be found in

Kiriakidou -Nestoros' critical analysis of Greek folklore (1978: 49-85). According to her analysis, this stage was developed in the years of the Greek Enlightenment (seventeenth century-1821) preceding by almost a century the stage of scientisation of folklore, which was inaugurated in 1871 (the date of publication of Politis'*Modern Greek Mythology*) and officially established in 1908 (when folklore became officially recognised as an academic field under the name of *Λαογραφία/Folklore*). Its development was closely related to the regional tendencies *(κοινοτισμός)* that represented the traditional organisation of Greeks in self-governed communities and to the manifestation of a local patriotism oriented towards the learning about one's locality as an organised settlement of people with a specifically developed way of life.

The most well-known product of the proto-scientific stage, also considered as the best of its kind, is *Modern Geography (Νεωτερική Γεωγραφία)*, published in 1791 by Daniel Philippidis and Grigorios Konstantas (together known as Dimitriis) from Milies of Pilio. The publication of similar kinds of regional collections *(τοπογραφίες)* was further motivated in late nineteenth century by awards offered by the Philological Society of Constantinople (1870), but were soon thereafter succeeded by national collections (ibid: 76-79). Kiriakidou-Nestoros seems to suggest that the publication of pan-Hellenic, national collections of folklore led regional ones [9] to extinction. In her

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[9] *"Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι οι συλλογές των ελληνικών δημοτικών τραγουδιών που εκδίδονται στην Ελλάδα μετά τον Φωριέλ και τον Τομάσεο δεν είναι τοπικές (δεν έχουν δηλαδή ως επίκεντρο τον τόπο, όπως οι μελέτες της προεπιστημονικής λαογραφίας που είδαμε, και όπως οι συλλογές που βραβεύει αργότερα, το 1870, ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως) αλλά είναι πανελλήνιες.".* (It is characteristic that the collections of Greek folk songs which are published in Greece after Fauriel and Tommaseo are not local (they do not, that is, center on the locale, as the studies of pre-scientific folklore we saw above, and as the collections awarded later, in 1870, by the Greek Philological Society of Constantinople) (Kiriakidou-Nestoros 1978: 79).

evolutionary interpretative framework, which teleologically culminates in the scientisation of Folklore, this is considered a natural development. Nonetheless, regional folklore continued to exist alongside national folklore, as numerous publications attest (often independent or locally published), even today. Such practices may have lost their value in the new context engendered by national ideologies, but have not necessarily lost their appeal for locals.

The interest in revisiting these practices lies in the local meanings residing in them, which may express resistance to the state's centralising tendencies, indicate inequalities or index features of the wider conflict between traditionalism and modernisation (Tziovas 1994: 115). Informed by the above perspective, I will analyse in more detail Strilakos' metadiscursive practices in relation to orthodox principles.

### 5.3.1 Regional orthodoxies

As shown in chapter 4, Strilakos' folkloristic activity is embedded in local contexts of such regional activity which point to localised reproductions of orthodox principles. More specifically, in the metadiscursive practices of Maniat folklorists, the adoption of the 'division of labour' between professional, expert folklorists and amateur, non-expert ones is applied locally, in order to distinguish the experts from the locals. Consider the excerpt below, in which a local folklorist, Kallidonis (1981: 127) explicitly casts himself as a non-expert, viewing his work as an aid to the research and valorisation of the richness of Maniat folklore, a task assigned to expert scholars of folklore, and in particular Maniat scholars:

> 1. Με τα μοιρολόγια της Μάνης ασχολήθηκαν κατά καιρούς πολλοί
> αξιόλογοι Μανιάτες και μη επιστήμονες (ακόμη και ο Γάλλος καθηγητής
> Αντρέ Μιραμπέλ είχε δημοσιεύσει Μανιάτικα μοιρολόγια σε Γαλλικά

επιστημονικά περιοδικά) κι εγράψαμε κι εμείς – το 1972 – το βιβλίο ΜΑΝΙΑΤΙΚΑ ΜΟΙΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ, στο οποίο περιλαμβάνονται πολλά ανέκδοτα Μανιάτικα μοιρολόγια (Ιστορικά – Εκδικήσεως – φυσικού θανάτου) και από το οποίο θα μεταφέρουμε τα σημαντικώτερα σε τούτη τη συγγραφή μας. Πιστεύουμε πως με τα γραφόμενά μας θα βοηθήσουμε τους ειδικούς επιστήμονες **(ιδιαίτερα δε τους συμπατριώτες μας)** [my emphasis] που θα ασχοληθούν με την έρευνα και αξιοποίηση του Μανιάτικου Λαογραφικού πλούτου. (A great number of Maniat and non-Maniat scientists (even the French professor Andre Mirambel had published Maniat laments in French scholarly reviews) concerned themselves from time to time with the laments of Mani and we also wrote -in 1972- the book MANIAT LAMENTS, where a great many unpublished Maniat laments (Historical – Revenge – natural death) are included and from which we will transfer in this treatise the most significant ones. We believe that with our writings we will assist expert scholars **(and in particular our compatriots)** [my emphasis] who will undertake the research and valorisation of the Maniat Folkloric riches). (Kallidonis 1981: 127)

Koutsilieris (1997) further attests to the localisation of the division of labour, by identifying (competent) philologists - notably Maniats - as the most appropriate scholars-experts of Maniat folklore. As a philologist himself, he criticises the editing practices applied to the rendering of the Maniat dialect in published laments. According to him, such problematic dialect renderings constitute the result of the lack of local knowledge on the part of the collectors (see excerpt 2) or the inadequate philological training for the successful editing of laments (see excerpt 3). In the two excerpts quoted below, Koutsilieris suggests that infringing the 'division of labour' (that is a local collector proceeding to editing without appropriate training or an 'expert' collecting verbal material without the appropriate local knowledge) gives rise

to unsatisfactory editing practices and consequently to inadequate representations of the dialect[10]:

> 2. Η απροθυμία των ικανών φιλολόγων να ασχοληθούν με τη Μάνη άφησε περιθώρια για εμφάνιση δημοσιευμάτων, που δεν μπορούν να θεωρηθούν ικανοποιητικά και ήταν επόμενο, αφού **εγράφησαν από ανθρώπους ξένους προς την περιοχή**, την οποίαν επεχείρησαν να μελετήσουν χωρίς να την γνωρίζουν.(The reluctance of competent philologists to concern themselves with Mani allowed the appearance of publications, which could not be considered satisfactory and this was to be expected, since they were written by people, foreign to the area, which they attempted to study without knowing it [my emphasis]). (Koutsilieris 1997: 13).

> 3. […]Τα δημοσιευμένα [μοιρολόγια] στα παλαιότερα περιοδικά 'Πανδώρα', 'Χρυσαλλίς', 'Παρνασσός' κ.λ.π. αν και γραμμένα από ανθρώπους του περασμένου αιώνος, σπανίως αποδίδουν το ιδίωμα.(The published [laments] in the older reviews 'Pandora', 'Chrysallis', 'Parnassos' etc. even if written from people of the previous century, rarely render the idiom) (Koutsilieris 1997: 20).

Kassis extends local competence to the description of folklore as a way of life which requires direct experience.

> 4. Προσπαθώ να δώσω πρωτότυπα αναλυτικά και σε έκταση, χωρίς να παραπέμπω για επιβεβαίωση σε διάφορες μελέτες Μανιατών ή ξένων γιατί, τα όσα θα γράψω, τα θεωρώ άμεσα, βιωμένα από μένα τον ίδιο περισσότερο ή το ίδιο με οποιονδήποτε από τους μέχρι τώρα γράψαντες. Γιατί τα έχω ζήσει άμεσα σαν ζωή ο ίδιος. (I am trying to provide originals in detail, without citing for confirmation various other studies of

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[10] In this way, Koutsilieris as having both local knowledge and expert training constructs himself as an expert and his work as authoritative.

Maniats or foreigners, because, what I am going to write, I consider them to be direct, experienced by me (Kassis 1980b: 7).

5. Από τους Έλληνες μη Μανιάτες δεν αναφέρω κανένα γιατί όλοι τους μόνο   έμμεσα (μέσω τρίτων) γνωρίζουν τη Μάνη. Π.χ. οι σπουδαίοι λαογράφοι Στίλπων Κυριακίδης και Φαιδων Κουκουλές περιστασιακά αναφέρονται σε μανιάτικη λαογραφία μέσα στις εργασίες τους. (Among non-Maniat Greeks I do not mention anyone because they all know Mani indirectly (through others). For instance the great folklorists Stilpon Kiriakides and Fedon Koukoules only circumstantially refer to Maniat folklore in their works) (Kassis 1980b: 8).

The principle of the 'division of labour' is adopted from the orthodox model, and localised, i.e. supplemented with local economies of meaning in two respects: a. the centrality of local origin not only for the collector but also for the expert is foregrounded (Kallidonis; excerpt 1; Koutsilieris: excerpt 6) or alternatively the identification of the local collector with the expert is put forward (Kassis; excerpts 4 and 5). and is further foregrounded in Koutsilieris:

6. Για τη δημοσίευση των μοιρολογιών με τα αναγκαία σχόλια υπήρχαν σοβαρές δυσκολίες, οι οποίες υπεχρέωσαν τους παλαιότερους Μανιάτες φιλολόγους να αποφύγουν την εργασία, **για την οποία ήσαν οι μόνοι κατάλληλοι.** (For the publication of laments with the necessary commentary there were serious difficulties, which obliged earlier Maniat philologists to avoid the task, **for which they were the only competent**. (Koutsilieris 1990: 11) [my emphasis]).

The identification of (local) competent philologists as experts indicates the concern of local folklorists, in particular Koutsilieris, with the literisation process. Taking this local concern with literisation into consideration, its manifestation in Strilakos' practice, which I am going to look at in more detail in the immediately following

section, obtains a better-grounded interpretative footing, embedding it in both local and national discourses and practices.

## 5.4 Metadiscursive practices

Following the outline of the layered ideologies implicated in regional-national folkloristic practices, this section focuses on the metadiscursive practices of Strilakos, analysing them along four levels: i. selection and organisation of the collected material, ii. extraction practices, iii. editing practices (e.g. additions and deletions of words, lines or verses), and iv. resetting practices. The aim is to relate his practices to norms of text and textuality and their underlying ideologies (see Giaxoglou forthcoming).

### 5.4.1 Selection and organization of collectables

At the level of selection and organization, Strilakos' (intended) practice as manifested in his notebooks and unbound paper sheets involves the entextualisation of the following types of language material: i. words, ii. phrases or proverbs and iii. verbal art texts.

Words are included as lemmas in a notebook (numbered 1st for reference purposes) entitled *Λέξεις Μάνης* (Words of Mani). Strilakos' headings suggest that the lemmas have been replicated from a Maniat glossary compiled by K. Nestoridis [11], while a handful of others (85) have been drawn from a Collection of Words from Mani –

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[11] K. Nestoridis, Headmaster, received one of the six awards of the linguistic contest of the Society *Korais* for a collection of proverbs in 1892. Reference to his intention to publish a Maniat glossary is made in Patsourakos (1910: 10) in relation to the difficulties he faced at the initial stages of his project, due to his status as a non-Maniat. However, in Vagiakakos' Laconic Bibliography (Athens, MCMLXXXVIII) no such glossary is recorded.

Municipalities of Messi and Itilo, presumably compiled by A. Antonakos. An additional set of lemmas (102 in total) where the phonological phenomenon of tsitakismos can be observed has been included in the second part of another notebook (numbered 2nd) entitled *A few notes on Mani*. The listing of this additional set of lemmas has been prefaced by an acknowledgement of N.Veis (Professor of Byzantine Philology, University of Athens) prompt to Strilakos to engage in this activity. Following this activity, Strilakos provides a statement of 'good faith' where he announces his intention to mention most of the words that he has managed to collect and which are relevant to the phonological phenomenon. The lemmas provide a blended use of glosses and examples drawn from phrases and songs.

Selecting collectables which span from lower to higher level items of language (words - phrases - texts) and from oral to written sources, Strilakos interrelates different types of *monuments of speech*, encoded in Politis' grid as "songs" and "words and phrases from the language repository" (Politis 1910: 10-11). His selections are linked in manifold and circular ways: copying from compilations of words serves as a platform for bringing together glosses compiled by different people; phrases or proverbs provide evidence for the meaning and usage of a word or offer descriptions of a custom or belief, which may prove useful in rendering intelligible lament texts or Maniat ways of life, more broadly; lament texts can point to unglossed words to be identified and glossed or can serve as examples for making a gloss.

The collection of the aforementioned linguistic items indicates the intention to create artefacts of language and culture that can transfer across different contexts within Strilakos' own philological-folklore writings, but also across to more prestigious

national contexts of literacy, such as folklore reviews, newspapers, linguistic and folklore contests.

The transferability of such artefacts seemed feasible, due to the interest in the Greek dialects expressed by Georgios Chatzidakis (see §5.2.1) and reinforced by Nikolaos Politis (§5.2.2). Transferability of the collected seems to have been envisaged by Strilakos within the calls of national orthodoxy regarding the literisation of the Maniat dialect. Not only does he acknowledge his Professor's prompting, but he also selects and organises collectables in ways that would potentially allow him the compilation of a separate Maniat glossary or one accompanying the collection of laments, seemingly sharing this concern with Koutsilieris, who explicitly defined the political economy of folklore practices, i.e. who is entitled to do what within local spaces of folklore and linguistics. I am suggesting, therefore, that in the Maniat case, as the call for dialect literisation moves from national to local spaces of practice, a shift from orthodoxy to orthopraxy is signalled in that the call becomes supplemented with local economies of meaning that seek to reinforce local expertise, and reserve the transfer of linguistic and cultural artefacts and the potentially entailed professional mobility to local practitioners.

### 5.4.2 Extraction practices: features of orthopraxy

The description of literisation within orthodox and orthopractic metadiscourse presented it as a practice which relies solely on the careful perception as well as on the faithful and skilled recording in writing of the sounds of a dialect. This conceptualisation rests on specific assumptions articulated in orthodox metadiscourses, in particular with regard to the suggested way of recording folk songs.

Based on an entry in Strilakos' diary already mentioned in §2.2.4.4 and re-cited below, an extraction encounter can be reconstructed as it may have taken place in local practice, presenting important differences from what would arguably make an orthodox encounter and thus shedding light on the complexities involved in practices of literisation and practices of extraction in a local context. The entry (dated 6th February 1935) is part of a sequence of entries framed in the context of Strilakos' trip to Pylos from the 25th of January 1935 until the 10th of February 1935, where he was hosted by a colleague, together with his sister, her husband and two other persons, probably friends. The entry reads as follows:

> Τὸ ἀπόγευμα πῆγα στὸ καφενεῖο καὶ γύρισα νωρίς. Φάγαμε χόρτα-μπακαλιάρο [unintelligible word] καὶ κατόπι εἶπα καὶ γράψαν κανένα δυὸ μοιρολόγια] και κατόπι είπα και γράψαν κανένα δυο μοιρολόγια
> (In the afternoon I went to the kafenio and came back early. We had greens and cod [unintelligible word] and then I told them to write down a few laments).

The context of extraction suggested involves a multi-participatory literacy event, in the sense that the event constitutes "an occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretative processes" (Heath 1982, quoted in Street 1995: 2). In this context, Strilakos, apart from prompting the literacy event, does not appear to have actually played a central role in the practice of recording.

The reconstructed context suggests a shift in orthodoxy, which insists on the collector recording and the informant reciting. More specifically, we observe a shift in the configuration of power in the extraction encounter, as the participants are embedded in social relationships of proximity. Instead of the collector taking the lead in

recording, the informants are asked to write down, not just to perform, verbal art material. This kind of extraction practice suggests that proximity between the collector and the interactants may lead to an overall different configuration of entitlement to rights and appropriations of power (cf. Shuman 1993: 247). Extracting vernacular forms within a multi-participatory context, such as the one suggested here, suggests the localisation of orthodox principles, as it forges spaces where the qualities of the authentic and the traditional can be locally enacted and orally negotiated, before they become affirmed in writing through final practices of resetting and editing.

Unfortunately, the lack of direct evidence of collaborative writing in the collection leaves the graphic-visual composition of the verbal artefact and the kind of writing used (standard or non-standard) an issue of speculation. This form of encounter may have given rise to non-privileged practices of writing, pointing to multiple layers of entextualisation and involving the literisation of dialect by different hands which have not been acknowledged by the collector. Therefore, dialect literisation cannot be considered as the product of an unmediated practice of faithful and accurate recording. Rather, the mediation of different hands and their ideologies needs to be acknowledged. However, the final decisions on the entextualisation of the recorded forms rested upon the locally acknowledged 'expert', in this case Strilakos, and his editing practices, which entailed distancing himself from the context of multi-participatory or other local extraction sites.

### 5.4.3 Editing practices

From the moment he distanced himself from the contexts of extraction, Strilakos was confronted with the problem of rendering the oral features of the dialect in writing.

The degree of the problem becomes apparent in the considerable amount of interventions on the texts.

Strilakos' editing practices, which are visible thanks to the manuscript and semi-edited form of the collection, mainly involve additions and deletions of letters, words, lines or verses. In his attempt to literise competently the Maniat dialect and be faithful to its way of pronunciation, Strilakos alters features of Modern Greek orthography into vernacular forms that are supposed to represent more accurately certain phonological particularities.

Let us consider a few examples. As already observed in section (§4.3), Strilakos tends to delete the final -ν (n), as for instance at the end of the particle *δεν* (not) (e.g. ***δε το θέου το τσαρουχα***; Text 6: Antonis Lirakos) or the particle *σαν* (like). In addition, following a phonological rule of the Maniat dialect, whereby the final -ς (s) is suppressed in the accusative plural when the following word starts with a consonant (Mirambel [1929] 1992: 22), Strilakos proceeds in one case to the deletion of the final -ς (*s*) in the article *τους* (them): *του λαγούς* (tou lagous, the hare) (Text 8: *Σφάλαγκας και Αντωνού*).

In other instances, he adapts words in such a way so as to represent the phenomenon of epenthesis (i.e. the addition of an item), also considered typical of the Maniat dialect (Koutsilieris 1963). Examples of this practice are provided below:

- εδιάηκε → εγδιάηκε (Text 17:*Κατσής*)

  ediaike → e**g**diaike (3rd person singular, past tense, verb *to go*)

- εδιάη → εγδιάη (Text 34: *Βγενική*)

ediai → e**g**diai (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, past tense, verb *to go*)

- μιά → μ**ν**ιά (Text 18: *Αννιώ*)

  mia → m**n**ia (indefinite article, feminine)

- είδα → εί(**γ**)δα (Text 62: *Σασαρόνυφη*).

  ida → i(**g**)da  (1<sup>st</sup> person singular, past tense, verb *to see*)

Strilakos also intervenes in words in order to represent the 'authentic', oral representation of the dialect's sonority. So, /λ/ (l) changes into /ρ/ (r) as in the examples 1-2 and /σ/ (s) changes into /ζ/ (z) as in example 3.

1. *ξεβγαλτής → ξεβγα**ρ**τής*

   *ksevgaltis → ksevga**r**tis* (companion of someone threatened by revenge action)

2. *αδελφοί → αδε**ρ**φοί*

   ade**l**fi → ade**r**fi (brothers)

(Text 34, *Βγενική*)

3. *σταρο**σ**μίγαδα → σταρο**ζ**μίγαδα*

   staro**s**migada → staro**z**migada (wheat)

(Text 22, *Σερεμετάκη*)

The initial /ν/ (n) is placed before /τ/ (t) (see e.g. 4) or the initial /μ/ (m) is placed before /π/ (p) (see e.g. 5)

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4. *τουφεκιά* → *ντουφεκιά*

   toufekia → ntoufekia (gunshot)

5. *πιστόλι* → *μπιστόλι*

   pistoli → mbistoli (gun)

   (Text 10, *Περωτής και Λεφατζής*; Appendix II: 2*)*

Similar changes towards a more authentic oral representation involve the change of /ψ/ (ps) into /πχ/ (p+h), as exemplified in *μυζαροψιάσματα* → *μυζαροπχιάσματα* (Text 30: Kiriaki), the change of /τσ/ (ts) into /κχ/ (kh) as in *παπούτσια* → *παπούκχια* (Text 6: Lirakos) or finally the change of /χ/ (h) into /κ/ (k), as in *μοσχοσάπουνο* → *μο**σκ**οσάπουνο* (Text 8: *Σφάλαγκας και Αντωνού*).

Often also, he superimposes over the sonorous diphthongs /μπ/ (mp), /γκ/ (gk) their corresponding phonological symbol, namely /b/ or /g/ in order to point in a scholarly accepted way the pronunciation of the dialect. Examples of this representation are the superposition of:

- the phoneme /g/ on top of /γκ/ in στρο**γκ**υλοανασκουμπώνωμου and Λά**γκ**ου (Text 8: *Σφάλαγκας και Αντωνού*)
- the phoneme /b/ on top of /μπ/ in κα**μπ**ί and φουρνο**μπ**αλούματα (Text 10: *Περωτής και Λεφατζής*)

Finally, Strilakos tends to intervene in the case of words recorded in the Modern Greek standard by adding in parentheses next to them a more dialectal variant. An example of such an addition is that of *είτε* (or) in cases where the more standard *ούτε*

is encountered. An additional example is the change of the standard verbal inflection –εί of βαστεί into the more dialectal –ά of βαστά (Text 17: Κατσής).

Those interventions suggest that the localisation of purifying practices used to construct the Modern Greek language towards the construction of the vernacular as 'authentic' and pure aimed at erasing features displaying contact with the Modern Greek language (observed in Mirambel, 1929). In contrast to the construction of the Modern Greek language as the common language of the present, practices of vernacularisation and de-standardisation were oriented towards objectifying local languages as repositories of the past. In this way, Strilakos participates in the authentication and traditionalisation of his 'particular homeland', aligning himself to orthodox conditions.

### 5.4.4 Resetting practices

Orthodox practices of hybridisation finally involve resetting practices, which constitute an integral part of the process of *literarisation* (Pollock 1998; quoted in Bauman & Briggs 2003: 15), i.e. of rendering vernacular forms as a form of literature for a literate audience. This process goes hand in hand with the process of *literisation* discussed above, which also aims to render the vernacular communicable to literate audiences.

In Strilakos' manuscript collection, resetting practices appear to gain consistency as the level of editing increases. More specifically, three texts [12] which appear to be at the stage of preliminary editing and one text seemingly in the process of editing with

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[12] i. *ο Σπύρος ο Λιογιαννάκος ή Μαντούβαλος* (No 3), ii. *Ελένη και Διάκος* (No 5), iii. *Αντώνης Λυράκος* (No 6), iv. *ο Σουρδάκος* (No 4).

visible rearrangement of text, additions, deletions and supplementation with brief comments, all four placed at the beginning of the collection, differ from the rest of the texts with regard to their graphic representation. Whereas Strilakos makes a consistent choice to represent the oral texts in writing by placing line breaks after eight-syllable word strings, in texts No 4 and No 5 line breaks coincide with the end of available space on the page, whereas in the texts No 6 and No 7 line-breaks are placed after 16-syllable word strings (see Appendix I: 3).

In these texts, Strilakos experiments with the written representation of the oral texts in a way that arguably indicates his own listening engagement with the texts: a conception of the oral text as continuous speech flow perhaps emanating from the usual practice of reciting rather than singing the laments and a sense of laments' being composed in couplets.

The perception of the laments' oral-textual organisation in couplets is reinforced by the use of punctuation, where it is found that commas (46%) are more often placed at the end of two consecutive lines. In such cases, punctuation markers serve as discourse punctuation markers (DPM) which indicate a change in the topic, signalling either continuity or discontinuity to what has come before and marking a unit's closure. Punctuation in Strilakos is not used as a standardising medium intended to mark grammatical relations between phrases and sentences and create texts readable for a highly literate audience, but rather serves as a text-organising device, which also points to the transcriber's perception of the lament as oral .

Such experimentation with textual representation gives rise to orthopraxy, revealing the way the collector perceives the local verbal art and the difficulties he faced with the task of representing them and adapting them into regimented shapings of text.

However, Strilakos attempts systematically to shift these orthopraxies to a more orthodox form, in order to assign value to the texts and render them transferable. Following the first four texts, the consistent choice of eight-syllable word strings representing the acknowledged eight-syllable metre of Maniat laments prevails and it also becomes a feature of his editing practice manifested in the indication of the poetic metre through dashes. Furthermore, in the texts that appear to be most edited we can see that the texts appear on the page as individual artefacts, accompanied by brief explanatory comments and a separate section of vocabulary.

Finally, the fact that there are only three explicit references to informants' names in the collection amounts to the expropriation of their voices, which renders the natural history of verbal art transparent. In this way, Strilakos achieves the decontextualisation of the vernacular forms and their contextualisation as cultural artefacts, suggesting that his intended audience is first an imagined national audience and secondly a local one.

**5.5 Conclusions**

The analysis of the entextualisation practices of a local graduate student of philology at the interrelated levels of i. selection and organisation of collectables, ii. extraction, iii. editing and finally, iv. resetting have pointed to the specific features of reproduction of orthodox practices of the entextualisation of vernacular forms. These practices, outlined by leading figures in the fields of Greek linguistics (G. Hatzidakis) and folklore (N.G. Politis), were aimed at objectifying vernacular forms as dialectal and literary forms that could be communicated to a literate, national audience.

It is argued that such orthodox reproduction was not an option, but a condition for the transferability of vernacular forms and professional mobility. However, the

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reproduction of orthodoxy was effected through its localisation that inevitably gives rise to orthopraxies, whereby local meanings become added to orthodox practices. Such features were pointed out at the level of extraction, where entextualisation is not dependent on the manipulation of written sources only (as in the practice of 'expert' folklorists) but also on multi-participatory oral contexts within relations of social proximity, whereby members of the community can define both the material to be entextualised and the manner of their entextualisation. It was observed, however, that through the practices of editing and resetting, Strilakos signals a shift from orthopraxy to orthodoxy, engaging in the processes for the creation of scholarly defined traditional texts, namely that they are represented in the poetic metre, glossed and rendered in a purified vernacular. Yet even in these practices features of orthopraxy relating to the use of punctuation for the representation of discourse instead of grammatical units were identified and linked to the local collector's internalisation of the oral features of verbal art. Further insight to localised practices of entextualisation that signal shifts between orthodoxy and orthopraxy will be discussed in the following chapter, where the analytic lens will focus on the different ways of attending to oral and literate norms in the process of lament recording.

Strilakos' localised practices and the signalled shifts from the orthopraxies to the orthodoxies of folklore and linguistics create spaces for the negotiation of local identities in relation to national ones. Such shifts tend to foreground regional idiosyncracies by providing an authoritative descriptive definition of local identity as nationally accountable. Orthodox models of folklore appear to serve as the means to configure such a localised and relational identity in culturally recognised and recognisable ways. In this respect, it is telling that Strilakos also collects references of authoritative figures such as Fallmerayer and Korais (2nd notebook) that can serve as

evidence for the racial purity of Maniats and their organic links to the ancient Greeks. It is suggested that this practice indicates the supplementation of orthodox models with local meanings, consisting in the intention to ground and articulate greater claims to what was conceived of as Greekness at the time, a supplementation which could potentially create a more privileged position of Mani in the national imaginary.

# 6. Orality and literacy markers of entextualisation

## 6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 examined the metadiscursive practices manifest in the data in relation to their links to orthodox models of text and textuality and pointed to the interplay between orthodoxies and orthopraxies. In this chapter, attention will be paid to the oral and literate markers deployed by the collector. The study of these markers aims to specify the register in which laments have been recorded in the data and point to its implications for folkloristic entextualisation.

First of all, I will outline the theoretical and methodological framework for the analysis drawing on discourse analysis (Bamberg and Marchmann 1991) and then, I will present the coding applied to the data (§6.2). In the following sections (§6.3-§6.6) I explore the local links in the corpus, namely adjoining and conjoining pointing to the distribution and functions of coordinating, adjoining and conjoining links. The final sections (§6.7) examine the relation between the identified local links and the compiler's metadiscursive practices, namely practices of editing interventions (such as the addition of the conjunction *ce* (and)) and practices of resetting (such as poetic or prose representation and use of punctuation marks). The findings of the analysis point to synergies between orality and literacy in the register in which the laments have been recorded.

**6.2 Oral text-making**

The structures of thought and expression in primary oral cultures have been described as *additive* and *aggregative,* compared to literate structures which are considered to be predominantly *subordinate*, *analytic* and *copious,* among other characteristics (Fleischmann 1990). This differentiation lies, arguably, in the different requirements between oral and written production of speech (cf. §1.2). On the one hand, oral production takes place in the presence of an audience and requires an uninterrupted speech flow which is condemned to immediate evanescence. This entails that, in addition to the quick pace and the need to ensure that the audience gets the message or merely continues to listen, oral conditions also necessitate ways of memorising what is said (Ong 1995 [1982]: 47-93). The additive and aggregative characteristics of oral speech have been recurrently found in a variety of oral poetry and oral narrative genres (such as epic, narrative poetry, folktales etc.) in the context of different cultures across time (Thoma 2006; Fleischman 1990: 185; Zumthor 1984b: 86; Ong 1995[1982]). They have been also found in ordinary oral narratives, where they have been associated with minimal coordinators, such as 'and' or 'then' and juxtaposition (Georgakopoulou 1997; Tannen 1982).

Linguistic items like coordinators contribute to rendering strings of words, clauses or sentences as a meaningful whole, i.e. a text. Such successive textual links have constituted the focus of analysis in cohesion and coherence studies (Halliday and Hasan 1976). However, the emphasis of such studies on local - rather than global - relations of connectivity has been regarded as their main pitfall (Georgakopoulou 1997: 89). Yet it was exactly this emphasis which proved useful for later studies, as it led to a systematic classification of connectivity relations and their linguistic markers. The study of such relations and their markers (in particular markers of time, space,

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participants and action) has been enriched in discourse studies by a concern with the organisation of narrative. More broadly, discourse studies have emphasised the importance of studying connectivity relations with reference to the specific mode (i.e. narrative or non-narrative) in which they are articulated (ibid). With regard to the narrative mode, in particular, the framework of *binding and unfolding* (Bamberg and Marchman 1991) integrates the concerns of coherence-cohesion studies with those of later discourse studies. To be more specific, this framework emphasises the relations of connectivity at both the local (*binding,* i.e. the organisation of linguistic units in a hierarchical order) and the global (*unfolding,* i.e. the ordering of linguistic units in a sequence of unfolding events) levels of narrative organisation.

In the present study, the analysis of relations of connectivity at the local level is founded on the units of line and verse. At the global level it focuses on the units of episode and narrative category (see §3.2). By means of this analytic approach, the specific genre's linguistic items, which tie together and tease off lines, verses, episodes and narrative segments, are brought to the fore. It has to be noted that the distinction between local and global levels of narrative organisation is understood as an analytic one. In fact, linguistic items designated under a variety of terms (*pragmatic cues, discourse operators* etc.) mark relations between text-units both locally and globally. Schiffrin (1987: 31) has designated such linguistic items as *discourse markers,* defined as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk". Descriptions of what discourse markers look like, which have also served as criteria for their identification, abound in the literature. Despite their variety, some of the features tend to recur in descriptions, namely their short and phonologically reduced form, their loss of semantic meaning, their multi-functionality and their occurrence at intonation-unit initial position (see Brinton 1996; Jucker 1998).

However, these features of discourse markers cannot be taken as unambiguous criteria for their identification in different types of data, since these features constitute a classic finding with regard to the study of conversational data. Rather, the analysis of text-building mechanisms across registers has foregrounded the criterion of position as the essential criterion for the identification of discourse markers and its differentiation from inter-clausal connectives or linguistic items with no discourse function. The starting hypothesis for such identification is that discourse markers are positioned at the boundaries or endpoints of higher-level units where they signal shifts in the sequentiality of discourse (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 1998: 890).

### 6.2.1 Coding for linking devices

The first step towards uncovering text-making devices is to examine the connectivity relations that exist between successive lines. Such relations can either be:

i.      explicitly marked by means of conjoining, that is joined by a syntactic, coordinating or a subordinating marker or a set of other markers or

ii.     implicitly marked by means of adjoining, occasionally through reiteration devices (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 274-288; cf. Georgakopoulou 1997) as illustrated in: *τοὔρριξε μία ντουφεκιὰ/τὸν ἔρριξε τὰ πίστομα* (and he shot him once/and he shot him dead ) [Text 10, l. 31-32, Appendix II: 2].

Coding for explicitness/implicitness has been based on a preliminary analysis of relations between lines akin to clauses - i.e. lines which contain one or more verbs - and the linguistic items used to mark them. Lines are coded for implicitness, either when "two or more successive utterances of situations or actions are expressed through verbs, without any relation between the line-clauses being marked explicitly"

(Mirambel 1988: 258) or when an utterance is repeated or paraphrased (cf. Georgakopoulou 1997: 203). Lines are coded for explicitness, when introduced by one (or more) of the following markers:

i.      Coordinating markers

- The multi-functional conjunction ***ce/ci/c'*** **(and)** [1]

ii.     Subordinating markers

- The conjunctions ***giati*** **(because)*, *tigaris*** **(because),** ***ti*** **(because ||**
  **that ||   why)*, *pou* *(**who/which/that)*, *pos*** **(how || that),** ***na*** **(to)*,*
  ***gia na*** **(so as to),** ***a(n)*** **(if),** ***mi(n)*** **(negative particle)** which express
  a range of circumstantial relations (causative, interrogative e.t.c.). [2]
- Past participles [3]

iii.    Other conjoining markers [4]

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[1] In the analysis, coordination refers only to the use of the conjunction *ce* (and) and for this reason, it will be referred to interchangeably with the term *parataxis.*

[2] The subordinator ***na*** does not always introduce subordinate clauses but can also mark other kinds of conjoining relations. Furthermore, the literature which has associated subordinate restrictive relative clauses with a more involved, oral way of speaking (Biber 1992 as quoted in Georgakopoulou 1997; Fleischman 1990: 185) has not been of particular relevance here, since restrictive relative clauses are too few to make a case for distinctive treatment from non-restrictive relative clauses. Finally, subordinators have been marked as cases of line-adjoining, when they repeat or paraphrase the form of the previous line.

[3] Present participles do not figure in the coding set, due its unique occurrence in the corpus.

[4] Conjoining markers are analysed separately in order to distinguish on the one hand between subordinating and coordinating, and markers which tend to serve discourse functions on the other.

- Time adverbials, such as *otan, abotes* (**when**)**,** *oso na, ospou* (**until**)**,** *tote(s)* (**then**)**,** *aprede* (**immediately**)  and expressions of time, such as *mia Kiriaki proi* (**one Sunday morning**)**,** *se dio meres ce se tris* (**in two and three days**)**,** *sto evgarma* (**at the moment of exit**) which mark relations of time.

- Place adverbials, such as *eki* (**there**)**,** *pou, opou* (**where**) and prepositional phrases, such as *apo makria* (**from faraway**)**,** *stin Keracia* (**to {*place name*}**) which mark spatial relations.

- Verse-initial *eci* (**then**)**,** the conjunction *ala* (**but**)**,** *aliotika* (**differently**) and the particles *sa(n)* (**as soon as**)**,** *ma* (**but**)**,** *mo(no)* (**only, just**) which explicitly mark the forwarding of plot and can be for this reason considered as *continuatives* (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Georgakopoulou 1997: 92).

- Interjections, such as *oime* (**alas**) and *a* (**ah**)**,** exclamatory expressions, such as *ego i kseri fragkosikia* (**the dried prickly pear that I've become**)**,** *eskase i petra ce t'avgo* (**the stone and the egg burst**)**,** and the subordinators *na* (**to**)**,** *a(n)* (**if**) when used to perform an orientating linguistic act, expressing order, volition or desire, as for instance in**:** *νὰ πῆ στὸ πρῶτο μου παιδὶ/ὅτι νὰ μὲ δικηώσουσι* (he shall tell my eldest son/to take revenge on my behalf) [Text 3, l: 44-45, Appendix I: 5]. All the aforementioned linguistic forms encode affect and mark relations of expressivity.

- Interjections, such as *ade(s)* (**go on**)**,** *e* (**hey**) followed by vocatives or imperatives (or both), greeting formulæ, such as *jia sou* (**hello**)**,** *kalos tone* (**welcome**) or when they introduce turns of speech, e.g.

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> *Ἔ! Λουστροκάπα Σταυριανὴ/ποῦ μὰς ἐγιόμισες ντροπὴ*
> (eh!Beautiful (lit. with the lustrous cape) Stavriani/you who
> filled us with shame) [Text 39; l. 30-31, Appendix II: 2]

- Interrogative particles, such as *abos* **(how)** and *ti* **(what),**
  expressions of doubt, such as *alithia leis?, to les me tin alithia*
  *sou?* **(are you telling me the truth?),** and adverbials of denial
  *adinaton* **(impossible)** *katholou* **(not at all)** *den ine alithia* **(it is**
  **not true)** (see Mirambel 1968: 253) which are used to confirm or
  discount reported information, momentarily suspending the
  narrative action. Such markers are also known as *markers of*
  *evidentiality* (Georgakopoulou 1997), e.g.: *ἀμπῶς τὸ ξέρεις ἔ!*
  *καφῆ/τί θὲ νὰ μὲ σκοτώσουσι* (how come you know that,
  sister/ that they want to kill me) [Text 33]

The aforementioned linguistic items have been coded for the analysis of their
discourse-narrative functions in my data. Discourse markers are studied here for their
relation to processes and practices of entextualisation. Entextualisation assigns
cohesion to a stretch of discourse potentially, but not necessarily, endowing it with
internal coherence in order to render it detachable from its co-text (Barber 1999;
Bauman 2004: 4). Discourse markers are integral to this process, as they contribute to
the establishment of cohesion and coherence and therefore to the creation of text. In
this sense, discourse markers can be considered as the textual devices which mark the
relations between stretches of discourse put together in successive order and rendered
into a form that can be transferred across contexts. In the light of the aforementioned

entextualising functions of discourse markers, the present analysis will study them as a manifestation of entextualisation practices.

## 6.3 Local links

It has to be noted from the outset of the analysis that in the present study, oral structures are not viewed as starkly opposed to literate structures of thought and expression. Such polarisation has been extensively problematised in the literature (see Finnegan 1992[1977]; Besnier 1990; cf.§1.2). Still, the classification of oral and literate structures remains useful for analytic purposes, as long as these are not taken for granted as cognitive attributes. Rather they can be fruitfully applied to cross-generic linguistic data, if they are considered as resources available to the producers of texts which tend to be prototypically associated with certain genres (as for instance the association of additive structures with epics or fairy tales).

Focusing in particular on the structures of adjoining and conjoining, my main aim here is to discuss their multiform and multifunctional uses in the corpus which signal entextualisation in association with oral and written norms of narrative. The findings on the frequency and distribution of conjoining and adjoining will indicate the register type of the texts, i.e. "the language variety associated with a particular domain of language use" (Halliday 1978: 31 quoted in Thoma 2006: 33).

The findings of the quantitative analysis of line-linking modes in the corpus suggest, more specifically, that lines [5] tend to be coordinated (33%), juxtaposed (32.6%) or

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[5] Only the links between lines containing a verbal phrase have been coded (1024 in total), so that the unit of line is akin to the unit of clause.

conjoined through other types of markers (e.g. spatial, temporal etc.) (25.4%), rather than subordinated (12.1%) (see Table 6.1).

**Table 6.1.  Line-linking modes: frequency of occurrence**

*Percentages have been rounded to one decimal number*

| Conjoining | | | Adjoining |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Coordinating** | **Subordinating** | **Other Markers** | **No marker** |
| 338 | **124** | **261** | **334** |
| **33%** | **12.1%** | **25.4%** | **32.6%** |
| 686 | | | 334 |
| **66.9%** | | | **32.6%** |

The findings index the prominence of oral structures of expression (see §6.2), i.e. coordination and adjoining, and suggest a spoken register in the written recording of Maniat laments.   In Table 6.2 the distribution across narrative segments of two predominant structures of expression is summarised.

**Table 6.2. Line-linking modes: narrative distribution**

| | Orientation | Complicating action episodes | | | Resolution | Evaluation | Coda |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Onset | Plotline | Main Event | | | |
| Coordination (338) | 7.3% (25) | 16.2%(55) | 24.8%(83) | 18.8%(63) | 15.6%(53) | 5.6%(19) | 11.8%(40) |

| Adjoining (334) | 3.5% (12) | 14.7%(47) | 26.6%(89) | 22.7%(76) | 19.7%(66) | 1.4%(5) | 11.9%(40) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

As Table 6.2 above shows, both coordination and adjoining tend to be mainly used as local links at the backbone of the narrative i.e. in plot-line episodes and in main event episodes of the complicating action. Despite their similarity, however, the two linking modes differ in that coordination, in comparison to adjoining, is more widely distributed across narrative sections. It will be argued that the multi-functionality of coordination in oral discourse vis-à-vis the association of adjoining with specific functions in oral and quasi-oral narratives accounts for the observed difference.

## 6.4 Coordinating links

### 6.4.1 Parataxis in oral narratives

Cross-cultural research has consistently pointed to the predominance of paratactic or adding style in both literary [6] and non-literary oral narratives. In Greek conversational narratives, for instance, the coordinator *ce* [7] (and) has been found to function as a filler and as a marker of sequentiality when used to join clauses. As a filler, *ce* (and) earns time for the narrator, without interrupting the flow of narration; as a marker of sequentiality, *ce* (and) contributes to the establishment of discourse continuity and narrative progression, ensuring the guidance of the interactants during the production of discourse (Georgakopoulou 1997: 97).

[6] Oral poetry is also widely recognised as paratactic according to the Princeton encyclopedia of poetry and poetics (1993: 864)

[7]  In front of vowels, *ce* (and) can take the variant form of *ci* or *c'*.

Therefore, the coordinator *ce* (and) is systematically associated with local and global discourse functions. This association is similar to the functions of the coordinator *and* in English, which constitutes the most frequently used mode of connection at a local level of idea structures, while it may simultaneously serve global functions (Schiffrin 1987: 128-129). According to Schiffrin, its main functions are the following:

  i.      the coordination of idea units locally or globally (or both) and

  ii.     the continuation of a speaker's action either by signalling discontinuity (i.e. topic shift) or by tracing difficulties in the production of discourse.

In the following two sections, a qualitative analysis of parataxis as both a local and global link is provided, which will illustrate the multiplicity of forms and functions it assumes in the corpus.

### 6.4.2 Parataxis and narrative sequentiality

As shown in Table 6.2, even though the mode of paratactic line-linking is widely distributed across narrative segments, it tends to concentrate in plotline and main event episodes of the complicating action, similarly to the adjoining mode.  As Table 6.3 below shows, in plotline episodes parataxis tends to be situated either at the start of the verse or at its endpoint, i.e. it is used to initiate the final line within a verse.

**Table 6.3. Distribution of parataxis in plotline episodes**

| *Parataxis* | verse initial | verse medial | verse endpoint |
|---|---|---|---|
| *in* *plotline episodes* | **43%** | **7.6%** | **49%** |

The occurrences of *ce* (and) at the endpoint of verse which signals the closure of action is of particular interest; namely, verse-final lines initiated by *ce* (and) tend to co-occur with verbs of movement, verbs of reporting and other verbs, as illustrated respectively by examples 1, 2 and 3 below (see *italicised* text). Furthermore, as the examples show, lines at verse endpoints within plotline episodes are preceded by lines containing an ingressive auxiliary [8] (see underlined text).

**1.**

**i.** σηκώθηκα καὶ ἔφυγα/<u>κι  ἐγδιάηκα</u> στὸ σπίτι μου/*κι ἔπεσα για να κοιμηθοῦ*

I set off and I left/<u>and I went</u> to my house/*and I lay down to sleep*

[Text 33: Episode 1, Verse 1]

**ii.** ἦρθε κι ὁ Μούρμουρας κοντὰ/<u>βάζουσι δρόμο</u> στὰ μπροστὰ/*κι ἤρθασι στὸ σπίτι μας*

there came Mourmouras/<u>they set off</u> ahead/*and they came to our house*

[Text 12: Episode 6, Verse 8]

**iii.** <u>ἔδωκε μία</u> κι ἔφυγε/*κι ἐγδιάηκε στὴ Τζίμοβα.*

she set off and she left/she went to Tzimova.

[Text 34, Episode 3, Verse1]

**2.**

- <u>Ἐγδιάημα</u> στὸ σπίτι τους/*καὶ μίλησε τὴ μάνα τούς*

---

[8] Verbs which modify atelic into telic situations (achievements) are also termed *inchoative* or *perfectivising* auxiliaries (Fleischman 1990: 175).

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We <u>went to</u> their house/*and he spoke to their mother*

[Text 30, Episode 4, Verse 1]

**3.**

- <u>κι ἔβγαλε</u> τὸ καθρέφτη του/*κι ἔφτιαχνε τὴ χωρίστρα του*

<u>and he took out</u> his mirror/*and he was parting his hair*

[Text 12, Episode 3, Verse 1]

Ingressive auxiliaries are verbs with an organising and interpersonal function whose semantics and function are limited to the conversion of a verb into an achievement (Georgakopoulou 1997:128; Thoma 2006: 198). In her Greek-Cypriot corpus of folktales, Thoma has identified the following ingressive auxiliaries: [9] *arhizo (start), pao (go), kathome (sit), piano (catch),* pointing out their association with the narrative present and their linkage to the main verb through the additive conjunction *ce* (and). In my corpus, the analysis suggests that a number of additional verbs and their semantic variants also tend to prompt the occurrence of *ce* (and) as a linkage between themselves and the main verb, and more specifically the verbs: *ime (to be), sikonome (get up), dino mia (set off), vano dromo sta mprosta (set out ahead), voutao (take), vazo (put on), travao (go), girnao (turn).* Similar functions are also served by verbs of reporting, such as *leo (say)* and verbs of perception, such as *vlepo (see),* and *akouo (listen).*

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[9] The following verbs have been characterised as ingressive auxiliaries in the studies of Thoma, Georgakopoulou, Thoma and Fleischman: *arhizo ce/*start to (English, French, Greek, Greek-Cypriot), *pao ce/*go (Greek-Cypriot, Old & Middle English), *kathomai ce/*keep on (Greek-Cypriot), *piano ce/*get to (Greek-Cypriot, Old & Middle English).

The co-occurrence of parataxis with ingressive auxiliaries in systematic association with its positioning at verse endpoints within plot-line episodes points to the conventionalisation of this form of expression (henceforth referred to as the *ingressive construction*). This observed conventionalisation will be further explored in the remainder of this section in terms of specific discourse-narrative functions.

Ingressive auxiliaries convert the main verb into an achievement, giving to it a starting point or shifting the focus onto the initial endpoint of a situation or action. Therefore, they focus the line's reference on a temporal point, rather than a time-span. At verse-endpoints within plotline episodes, in particular, the ingressive construction focuses on the endpoint of a situation or action, promoting for the audience the impression that narrative time is moving (see Dry 1983; Thoma 2005: 199; Fleischman 1990: 175). It is suggested that the ingressive construction signals performance by: i. propelling narrative time (eg. 1), ii. involving the audience in the unfolding of narrative time through dialogue (eg. 2) or iii. creating mini-scenes of ordinary actions appealing to a sense of narrative realism (eg. 3).

The analysis of parataxis at verse endpoints within plotline episodes shows that the conjunction *ce* (and) fulfils both local and global functions. Locally, it links the auxiliary to the main verb. It simultaneously establishes narrative sequentiality at the global level by marking the endpoint of a situation or action. Furthermore, the conjunction *ce* (and) as employed in the ingressive construction highlights the performativity of the narrative sequencing of events by encompassing the audience in the movement of narrative time.

The ingressive construction is not only associated with plotline episodes, but also with orientation (eg. 4) and resolution sections (eg. 5). In these sections, it tends to occupy

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line-initial positions, showing no special preference for either verse-initial or verse endpoint positions.

**4.**

**i.** Μνιὰ Κυριακὴ πολλὰ πρωὶ/*σηκώθηκα* ὁ δυστυχὴς/κι ἐπῆρα τὸ ντουφέκι μου

  Early one Sunday morning/*I got up,* the unfortunate/and I got my rifle

  [Text 3, Orientation, l. 1-3]

**ii.** ποῦ '*τοιμάστη* ὁ Περωτῆς/κι ἔβαλ' ἀπάνου τὸ σπαθὶ

  when Petoris *got ready*/and put on his sword

  [Text 12, Orientation]

**iii.** *σηκώθ* ὁ Δημαρόγγονας/κι ἐγδιάηκε στὸν Καρβουνᾶ

  *Dimarogonas got up/and went to Karvounas*

  [Text 63, Orientation, l. 2-3]

**5.**

**i.** Ἔσκουξα μιὰ σκληρὴ φωνὴ/*κι ἀναταράχτη* χάμου ἡ γῆ

  I let out a horrible cry /*and the earth beneath was shaken*

  [Text 32, l.22-23]

**ii.** ἐδιάηκα και'γὼ κοντὰ/*κι ἔπεσα* μὲ τὰ γόνατα

  I got close there, too/*and I fell* on my knees

  [Text 33, Resolution]

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**iii.** Ἔδωσε μία ντουφεκιὰ/*κι ἔκαμε* δύο φονικὰ

   She gave a shot/*and she did* two killings

   [Text 35, Resolution]

In orientation sections, where action is set, the ingressive construction mainly selects verbs of movement marking the start-point of a situation or action and inaugurating narrative sequentiality. In resolution sections, where action is resolved, the ingressive construction is resultative, selecting mainly verbs of achievement. The narrative section-specific forms of the aforementioned occurrences suggest that the form and function of this construction are closely associated with its position in the discourse-narrative hierarchy.

Based on the above, it seems that paratactic line-linking fulfils local functions when prompted by a preceding ingressive auxiliary. The ingressive construction formed in association with verbs of movement, verbs of reporting or verbs of achievement assumes, respectively, a different global function depending on the narrative section in which it occurs:

- within orientation sections, it inaugurates narrative sequentiality

- within plotline episodes of the complicating action, it establishes narrative sequentiality

- within resolution sections, its function is resultative, marking the closure of narrative action

All the aforementioned functions fulfilled by the ingressive construction appear to signal performance, as they share the function of propelling narrative time, even if each focuses on a different stage of a situation or action.

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### 6.4.3 Parataxis and narrative peaks

While in the previous section it was suggested that in plotline episodes parataxis is associated with the endpoint of verses, in main event episodes parataxis shows a preference for initiating verses, as Table 6.4 below shows.

**Table 6.4. Distribution of parataxis in main event episodes**

|  | verse initial | verse medial | verse endpoint |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Parataxis*  *in*  *Main event episodes* | **52.9%** | **7.8%** | **39.2%** |

More specifically, the qualitative analysis indicates that the conjunction *ce* (and) tends to initiate verses at the endpoint of the episode, rather than at its start. At this position, it co-occurs mostly with ingressive auxiliaries (eg. 1), with time markers (eg. 2) or noun phrases denoting a story-character (eg. 3).

**1**. *κι ἐγδιάη* κι ὁ ἀξιωματικὸς/καὶ παραδόθη ὁ Δαμιανὸς

  *and the (police) officer came too/and Damianos surrendered*

  [Text 44, Episode 1, Verse 4, l.31-32]

**2**. *καὶ κεὶ* [10] πωζίγωσε κοντὰ/τοὕρριξε μία ντουφεκιὰ/τὸν ἔρριξε τὰ πίστομα

  *and there he approached him [from behind]/and he shot him once/and he shot him dead*

  [Text 10, Episode 2, Verse 5, l. 30-32]

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[10] Here *ki* (there) has a temporal rather than a spatial meaning.

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**3**. κι ὁ Τσόκος χρυσογαλουνᾶς/κι ἔφτασε ἡ λάψη τοῦ ἐπᾶ

*and Tsokos (covered) with gold braid/ and his shining has reached us here*

[Text 41, Episode 1, Verse 3, l. 15-16]

At verse initial position, the conjunction *ce* (and) precedes and marks the use of the ingressive auxiliary, instead of being preceded by an ingressive auxiliary, as in plotline episodes (see §6.4.2). More importantly, *ce* functions as a global discourse marker in association with the episode's endpoint, where the main event is reported (see eg. **1**: the surrender of Damianos; eg. **2**: the shooting of Lefatzis; eg. **3**: the heroic killing of Mpourdakos). Its function is to signal the peak of the narrative with a varied degree of heightened involvement; the use of a noun phrase or a time marker, in particular, contributes to a heightening of involvement, by drawing attention to the story's main character or to the temporal point, respectively.

Based on the above observations, at the start-point of the main event episode where *ce* (and) mostly co-occurs with time and space markers (eg. **4-6**) and secondarily with ingressive auxiliaries (eg. **7**), there is a higher degree of involvement, compared to the episode's endpoint which signals the suspension of narrative sequentiality for the reporting of the main event (cf. Longacre 1996 [1983]).

**4.** *Κι ἐκεῖνο τὸ λιγόμερο*/ἐγδιάη ψευτομάρτυρας/στοῦ Νικολοβρετιόνουνε

   *And on that day*/he goes as a [defaulting] witness/to the Nikolovretianous

   [Text 12, Episode 1, Verse 1]

**5.** *κι ἀμπότε ἀσκολάσαμε*/σηκώθηκε ὁ Κῶτσο μου/νὰ τόνε πάῃ σπίτι του

   *and when we finished*/ my Kotsos rose/to take him home

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[Text 12, Episode 1, Verse 1]

**6**. *κι ὄξου ἐξαπετάχτηκα*/κι ἀπᾶ στὸ χτάρι τοῦ Λιακοῦ

*and out I got right away*/and up to the land of Liakos

[Text 33, Episode 1, Verse 1]

**7.** *κι ἐγδιάησα στὸ παληόμυλο*/τοὺς ἐπολιορκήσασι

*and they went to the old mill*/they were surrounded

[Text 44, Episode 1, verse 1, l. 24-25]

The aforementioned findings of the qualitative analysis suggest that parataxis is associated with narrative peaks, when used to initiate verses in the span of main event episodes of the complicating action. In such uses, parataxis serves to heighten the involvement at the critical point of the main event reporting. Finally, it was suggested that narrative involvement is also heightened at the episode's start-point. At this position, spatio-temporal markers are used to suspend narrative sequentiality.

The global function of the conjunction *ce* (and) in the corpus echoes Thoma's finding that *ce* (and) functions as a powerful discourse marker in Greek-Cypriot folktales (Thoma 2006: 168, 208).

### 6.4.4 Parataxis and tense switching

Within main event episodes, *ce* (and) has been found to be associated with tense change, involving a switch from the PFV PAST (the unmarked tense of narrative) to the IMP PAST. In the corpus, associations of *ce* (and) with tense switches have been found to occur at the endpoint of verses which mediate between the start-point and endpoint of main event episodes. At this position, verses are frequently initiated by

the conjunction *ce* (and) in co-occurrence with: i. ingressive auxiliaries (eg. **1, 2**), ii. spatio-temporal markers (eg. **3, 4**) or iii. noun phrases that denote story characters (eg. **5**).

**1.** καὶ βάνει δρόμο στὰ μπροστὰ/καὶ πάει στοῦ Λεύκτρου τὴ Σπηλιᾶ/κι ἐπερίμενε μπροστὰ

and he takes his way forward/and he goes to the Cave of Lefktron/and he was

waiting ahead

[Text 10, Episode 1, Verse 4, l.25-27]

**2.** καὶ τὅμαθε κι ὁ Περωτῆς/κι ἐγδιάη καὶ κράτησε μπροστὰ

and Perotis found out about it/and he went and was waiting ahead

[Text 12, Episode 1, Verse 2]

**3.** κι ἔπειτα τὸ νεκοίνωσα/κι επίπισα το σουλιμά

and afterwards I divided (the hominy)/and put in the poison

[Text 57, Episode 1, Verse 2]

**4.** καὶ στὸ στενὸ πωβγήκασι/ἄκουσα μία ντουφεκιὰ

and when they came out to the pass/I heard a rifle

[Text 12, Episode 1, Verse 2]

**5.** Κι ἐκεῖνος μόλις μ'εἴδεκε/ἀπὸ μακριὰ μ'ἐμίλησε/τὰ συχαρήκια μ'ἔπαρε

And when he saw me/he talked to me from afar/I told him well done

[Text 12, Episode 1, Verse 5]

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The association of tense switches and parataxis is not restricted to their formal co-occurrence, but also to their function; similar to parataxis, tense switches serve to convey logical and temporal relationships between events, analogous to the explicitness of the elaborate syntax of writing (Fleischman 1990: 186-188).

Fleischman remarks that the recognition of the association between tense switching and parataxis goes back to a monograph on coordination in French by Antoine (1959), which was further elaborated in the study of Blanc on Old French epic (1964). Blanc suggested that due to the syntactic constraints set by the decasyllabic meter of the genre other means, such as intonation, gesture and shifts in verbal categories, were used for the expression of logical subordination. According to Blanc, tense switching constitutes "both a result of and a corrective to parataxis" (Blanc 1964: 110; quoted in Fleischman 1990: 193) or in Fleischman's more recent reformulation "a textual strategy for creating cohesion and signalling grounding relationships, necessitated by epic parataxis" (Fleischman 1990: 193).

Similarly, in lament narratives the constraints posed on complex structural constructions by the octasyllabic metre render the use of parataxis a useful alternative whose functions relating to temporal and logical event linking can be supported by tense switches. In what follows, the positions associated with parataxis and tense switching are specified and discussed in relation to their narrative functions.

### 6.4.4.1 Tense switching and narrative turns

The IMP past tense has been associated in the relevant literature with backgrounded non-event clauses. It has been found to occur at (embedded) orientation sections of the narrative. Underlying this association, however, lies the assumption that markedness/unmarkedness and foregrounding/backgrounding constitute inherent tense

properties. This is a highly debatable assumption, as the association of the aforementioned features with tenses is co-textual and contextual matter, rather than an *a priori* determination (see Fludernik 1991: 369).

Although analysis of tense alternations between PAST and PRESENT has been at the centre of oral narrative research, tense alternations between PFV PAST to IMP PAST have not received an analogous amount of attention; this is mainly due to their widely held correspondence to the foreground/background dichotomy (cf. Fludernik 1991: 367). The limitations of essentialist, isomorphic mappings of tenses with markedness/unmarkedness or foregrounding/ backgrounding become clear in the case of tense switches observed in our corpus, which occur in orientation lines in the span of the episodes dealing with the reporting of the main event (see examples below).

**1**. ἐπάενε κι ὁ Λεφαντζῆς/**καὶ ἀχνογέλα** ἀπὸ μακρὰ

  *and Lefatzis was walking/**and was faintly smiling** from far away*

  [Text 10, Episode 1, Verse 5, l.28-29]

**2**. κι ηὕρα τὸ Δημητράκη μου/**κι ἐκυλιότα** σὰ σφαχτὸ

  *and I found [my] Dimitraki/**[and he was] rolling** like a slaughtered animal*

  [Text 34, Episode 1, Verse 1. l.13-14]

**3.** Κι ἔβαλε δρόμο στὰ μπροστὰ/**κι ἐπάενε** γιὰ τὸ Σταυρὶ

  And he  walked forward/**and he was going** towards Stavri

  [Text 15, Episode 1, Verse 1]

**4.** καὶ πεσα στὴ ριζαμπαριὰ/**καὶ ἐκυλιόμου** σὰ σφαχτὸ

*and then I landed on the rooted rocks/**and I was rolling** like a slaughtered animal*

[Text 3, Episode 1, Verse 2, l.32-33]

The structural association of past IMP with (embedded) orientation sections of narrative is not adequate as an explanatory account for their occurrence, but merely as a descriptive account of positional patterning. A move beyond the essentialist implications of this distinction is suggested by Fludernik's re-adaptation of the foreground/background distinction as *plotline* and *off-plotline levels* [11] marked off by intonational features (e.g. pauses, hesitations, volume, and pitch). Based on this distinction, Fludernik has observed the occurrence of high-tone instead of low-tone background clauses (i.e. non-event clauses within the plotline tone units, which function as a setting for the occurrence of incidences). High-tone clauses are termed *narrative turns*. Fludernik suggests that in the example recontextualised below as **(5)** there is an indissoluble unity of "action/state in progress" interrupted by an incidence. The incidence is underlined by the intonational contours clearly pointing towards the functioning of **(5a)** as a narrative clause (Fludernik 1991: 371).

**5.**

    a. We was standing on 6$^{th}$ street.

    b. When suddenly a cop shows up.

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[11] In Fludernik's model of oral narrative, foregrounding corresponds to *plotline,* which includes the initial abstract and orientation sections, the incipit, i.e. the clause defining the onset of action by means of a temporal specifier, the narrative clauses which are temporally ordered, high-tone background units within the complicating action span, and the sections entitled *resolution, final evaluation* and *coda* and is associated with high tone. Backgrounding corresponds to the *off*-plotline, which includes all parenthetical remarks, namely embedded orientation and commentary and is associated with pauses, lower volume and pitch as well as by increased or decreased tempo (Fludernik 1991: 370-1).

Fludernik's concept of *narrative turn* is an important concept which can be easily taken out of the context of her *online/off-plot line* model and its intonational criteria and applied to the account for the tense switches in the examples **1-4** above.

Tense alternations between the PFV past (or present) and the IMP past in the corpus appear to be positionally associated with the verse that immediately precedes the reporting of the main event. The main event is where an incidence occurs; it can, thus, be considered as a narrative turn, which marks an episode's peak (see examples below).

**6**.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ἐπάενε* κι ὁ Λεφαντζῆς | *and Lefatzis was walking* |
| **καὶ ἀχνογέλα** ἀπὸ μακρὰ | ***and was faintly smiling*** *from far away* |
| *καὶ κεὶ* πωζίγωσε κοντὰ | *and there he approached him [from behind]* |
| τοὔρριξε μία ντουφεκιὰ | *and he shot him once* |
| τὸν ἔρριξε τὰ πίστομα | *and he shot him dead* |

[Text 10, Episode 2, l. 28-32]

**7.**

| | |
|---|---|
| κι ηὖρα τὸ Δημητράκη μου | *and I found [my] Dimitraki* |
| **κι ἐκυλιότα** σὰ σφαχτὸ | ***[and he was] rolling*** *like a slaughtered animal* |
| Ἔλα κοντά, μωρὴ καφὴ | *Come closer, sister* |

| καὶ βγάλε τὸ τσεμπέρι ζου | *and take off your kerchief* |
| καὶ δέσε μου τὴ μέση μου | *and tie it around my waist* |
| καὶ δέσε μου ἀλαφρὰ ἀλαφρὰ | *and tie it rather loosely* |
| μ'ἔφαε τή Γιαννοῦς ὁ γκρᾶς | *[it was] Yanniou's rifle [that] shot me down* |

[Text 34, Episode 1,l.13-19]

**8.**

| Κι ἔβαλε δρόμο στὰ μπροστὰ | And he walked forward |
| **κι ἐπάενε** γιὰ τὸ Σταυρὶ | **and he was going** towards Stavri |
| στὴ Δεμοχιά πω ζύγωσε | when he came close to Demohia |
| μον'ἡ χωσία ἦτα μπροστὰ | the ambush, alas, was waiting for him |
| καὶ δὲν ἐπαίρνα ξέβγαρμα | and he was not accompanied |
| ἄκουσα μνιὰ σκληρὴ φωνὴ | I heard a loud voice |
| ἔ! Κυριμάκο Παναγῆ | hey! Kirimako Panagi |
| ἔλα τὶ μὲ σκοτώσασι | come here 'cause they have killed me |

[Text 15, Episode 1]

**9.**

| καὶ πεσα στὴ ῥιζαμπαριὰ | *and then I landed on the rooted rocks* |

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| καὶ ἐκυλιόμου σὰ σφαχτό | *and I was rolling like a slaughtered animal* |
| νέτα καὶ καταμόναχος | *completely on my own* |
| μὲ τὸ μικρούλη μου παιδὶ | *with my youngest son* |
| καὶ μ'εῖπε καὶ μὲ μίλησε | *and he spoke to me and he told me* |
| πατέρα ζὲ σκοτώσασι | *Father they killed you* |
| ποῦ ὅλοι να πεθάνουσι | *may they all die* |

[Text 3, Episode 1, l.32-38]

The above examples point to similarities in the use of the tense switches to the present discussed in Fludernik.  In my data, tense switching to the IMP suggests that parataxis may convey logical and temporal relations.

**6.4.4.2 Tense switching as a performance device**

The functions related to parataxis with respect to the switches in and out of the IMP past tense are further evidenced in other narrative turns.  Namely, they have been observed at the boundaries of orientation and onset sections, i.e. at the start-point of the complicating action.

At the endpoint of orientation sections, which provide a setting for the intrusion of an incidence upon it and tend to be structurally associated with the IMP, tense switches to the PFV past or present tense signal narrative boundaries (the endpoint of the orientation section and the start-point of the onset episode) (see eg.**1-3**).

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**1**.

*Orientation*

| | |
|---|---|
| Μία δευτέρα τὸ πρωΐ | One Monday morning |
| ἤμανε κὰ σ' τὴ Νέασα | I was down at Neasa |
| <u>καὶ γέννημα ἐθέριζα</u> | <u>and I was harvesting the crop</u> |

*Onset episode*

| | |
|---|---|
| **κι ἦρθε** κι ὁ Κώτσος ἐκεῖ δὰ | **and Kotsos** came right there |

[Text 14]

**2**.

*Orientation*

| | |
|---|---|
| Ὁ Κῶτσος ἤτανε ψαρᾶς | Kotsos was a fisherman |
| <u>κι ἐπάενε στὴ θάλασσα</u> | <u>and he was going to the sea</u> |

*Onset episode*

| | |
|---|---|
| **Σηκώθηκε** μνιὰ πρωϊνὴ | **He got up** one morning |
| κι ἐπῆρε τὸ κοφίνι του | he took his basket |
| κι ἐγδιάη νὰ βρὴ τὸ Παναγή | and he set out to find Panagis |

[Text 13]

**3**.

*Orientation*

| | |
|---|---|
| Μία δευτέρα τὸ πρωΐ | *One Monday morning* |
| ἐκάθοντο στὸ μαγαζὶ | *they were sitting in the shop* |
| καὶ κάνασι γεροντικὴ | *and they were holding the elders' council* |
| στοῦ Μπαλασίδα τὴν αὐλή | *in Balasida´s yard.* |
| ἐκεῖ ἤτανε ὁ Περωτὴς | *There was Perotis* |
| ἤτανε καὶ ὁ Λεφαντζῆς | *and there was Lefatzis* |
| <u>καὶ λεε καὶ παινεύοτα</u> | <u>*and he was saying and boasting*</u> |

*Onset episode*

| | |
|---|---|
| **τ'ἔχει** γυναῖκα μυστικιὰ | ***that he's got*** *a secret lover* |
| καὶ τηνε τρώει μὲ τὰ λιμὰ | *and he is courting her intensely* |

[Text 10]

Even in cases where it is not the IMP but the PFV that is the unmarked tense associated with orientation sections, there is an alternation between the two at the boundaries of orientation and onset tense. There are also occasions where a tense switch from PFV to the IMP past is followed by another switch from past to present, marking the complicating action's onset (see eg. **4**).

**4**.

| **κι ἐγδιάηκε** στὴν ἐκλογή. | **and he went** to the election. |
|---|---|
| Στου Μπαλασίδα τὸ Ταβλὶ | At Balasida's place |
| **ἐκεῖ 'βρεκε** τὸ Λεφαντζῆ | **there he found** Lefatzi |
| <u>καὶ 'λεε καὶ 'παινεύοτα·</u> | <u>and he was saying and he was boasting</u> |

*Onset episode*

| **τ' ἔχει** γελάδα στὴν αὐλὴ | that he's got a cow in his yard |
|---|---|
| **καὶ μουγκανιέται** νηστική, | and she's groaning for food |
| τηνὲ κρατᾶ μὲ τὴ ταΐ | he's hardly holding her back |

[Text 12]

As shown in the examples, the occurrences of tense switching discussed in this section mark narrative turns at the intersection of narrative segments. Similar to tense switching in the span of complicating action, tense switching in association with the boundaries of orientation-onset sections constitutes a textual device for marking logical and temporal relationships between events, analogous to subordination in written narratives.

Following Fludernik (1991: 374-77)[12], tense switches between past and present occurring at narrative turns constitute an evaluative, subjective strategy for creating suspense. Therefore, tense switches either in the span of complicating action or at its

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[12] Switches in and out past IMP occur at other turns as well, such as the boundaries of orientation and the onset of complicating action or peaks within episodes of the resolution.

start are associated with oral narrative performativity, in addition to constituting an oral device for conveying temporal and logical relations.

### 6.4.5 The *and* construction

Parataxis is frequently positioned at the endpoint of lines in an additive construction that Thoma has mainly associated with VS word order and termed the *and construction* (Thoma 2006: 167-169). Thoma suggests that in her corpus of Cypriot folktales the 'and' construction tends to precede:

i.      the object of the clause (eg. **1a**) with an unmarked additive function (corresponding to *also* in English) or

ii.     the subject of the clause (eg. **1b**) within the boundaries of episodes of complicating action (corresponding to *so*, *finally*, *in his/her turn* in English).

**1.**

   a. Πιάνει τζαι το ψωμί (She also takes the bread)

   b. Πάει τζαι εκείνη (So she goes)

   (from Thoma 2006: 167)

According to Thoma, the *and* construction preceding the subject is mostly found at the conclusion of action, where it co-occurs with referent continuity and markers of involvement; its function is to reinforce referent continuity cohesion and to mark narrative peaks by adding emphasis on the culmination of action within a thematic unit. In addition to *and*, analogous markers of closing off a thematic unit in British folktales are the causal *so* and the continuative conjunction *well*.

In our corpus the *and* construction is more closely associated with the closure of idea units within orientation, resolution and coda sections. When preceding the object of the clause (see e.g. **2**), that is in most of its occurrences, the construction is an unmarked additive, echoing Thoma's findings. The same also holds in those cases when the *and* construction is associated with terms of address (see e.g. **3**) or with adjectival phrases at the start-point of an idea unit (see e.g. **4**).

**2.**

a. *Orientation sections*

- κι ἔφερνε ἀλάφια καὶ λαγοὺς (and he was getting us deer and rabbits) [Text 14]

- τὸν ἔπαρχο καὶ τὸ Βοϊδῆ (*the (provincial) governor and Voidis*) [Text 31]

b. *Resolution sections*

- τοῦ φάε πλάτες καὶ νεφρὰ (he shot him through) [Text 30]

- τοῦ δώνει κι ἄλλη ντουφεκιὰ (he gives him another shot) [Text 30]

c. *Coda sections*

- λέου καὶ τὰ σημάδια του·(*I'm telling you his characteristics*) [Text 13]

- ἐμένα καὶ τὴ Κοκωνιὰ (me and Kokonia) [Text 15]

**3.**

*Orientation section*

- Ἔ! Δήμαρχε καὶ κὺρ γιατρὲ (*Eh! (You) Lord Mayor and Doctor)* [Text 44]

**4.**

a. *orientation sections*

- μὲ σύγκλημα καὶ μὲ τυρὶ/καὶ μ'ἐφτακρίσαρο ψωμί (with salt beef and cheese/and with barleycorn bread) [Text 20]

- (Ἐ)γὼ ἡ ξερὴ φραγκοσυκιὰ*/πὄκαμα μιά ζευγαριά (Me the dry prickly-pear/who gave birth to a pair) [Text 14]

b. *coda sections*

- τὰ μάτια του καμαρωτὰ/καὶ λεύτερη περπατησά (proud eyes/and the walking style of a free man) [Text 13]

When preceding the subject of the clause in the VS word order at orientation sections (see e.g. **5**) the *and construction* serves to mark reference discontinuity, i.e. participant shifts at narrative turns, while at coda sections (see e.g. **6**) it serves to enhance reference continuity. At resolution sections (see e.g. **7**), on the other hand, marking reference discontinuity is associated with marking narrative peaks, echoing Thoma's findings on the construction's function within complicating action sections.

**5.** *Orientation*

- ἤτανε καὶ ὁ Λεφαντζῆς (and there was Lefatzis) [Text 10]

**6**. *Coda*

- να'γδιῆ κι ἡ μαυρομάνα του (and for his mother to see)[Text 14]

**7**. *Resolution*

- σηκώθηκε κι ὁ Περωτῆς (Perotis got up) [Text 12]

Finally, the *and* construction can also be associated with certain verbs, such as λέω (to say)[13] , marking narrative turns (see e.g. **8**) or with variants of the main verb with clearly additive functions (see e.g. **9**).

**8.**

- καὶ λεε καὶ παινεύοτα (*and he was saying and boasting*) [Text 10]

**9.**

- γιὰ σῆκο νὰ τσατσαριστῆς/καὶ νὰ μορφοσυγυριστῆς (*get up now and brush your hair/and tidy yourself up* [Text 32]

**6.4.6 Summing up: Forms and Functions of Parataxis**

The findings of quantitative and qualitative analysis of parataxis in the corpus, which indicate the anisomorphism between their form and function, are recapitulated below as well as in **Table 5**.

i.     When initialising verses within the main event episode, *ce* tends to co-occur with ingressive verbs (or verbs denoting achievement or movement), with spatio-temporal markers or noun phrases denoting story characters; its functions are associated with the marking of narrative peaks and narrative performativity.

ii.    When closing off verses within plotline episodes, *ce* tends to co-occur with verbs of movement, reporting, activity or perception preceded by an ingressive auxiliary (*ingressive construction*); its functions are associated

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[13] In Thoma's corpus the analogous Greek-Cypriot verb associated with this structure is the verb 'lalo' (to say).

with narrative sequentiality (i.e. propelling narrative time) and performativity (i.e. heightening narrative involvement).

iii.    When closing off verses within orientation sections, *ce* tends to co-occur with verbs of movement, preceded by an ingressive auxiliary (*ingressive construction*); its functions are associated with narrative sequentiality (i.e. marking the inauguration of narrative action).

iv.    When closing off verses within resolution sections, *ce* tends to co-occur with verbs of achievement, preceded by an ingressive auxiliary (*ingressive construction*); its functions are associated with narrative sequentiality (i.e. marking the closure of narrative action).

v.    When closing off orientation sections or immediately preceding the final verse of the main event episode, *ce* tends to co-occur with a tense switch from IMP to PFV (past or present); its functions are associated with narrative sequentiality (i.e. marking narrative turns) and performativity.

vi.    At the endpoint of a line (and only occasionally at the start-point) within orientation, resolution and coda sections, *ce* may precede the object of the clause; its function is clearly additive.

vii.    At the endpoint of a line (and only occasionally at the start-point) within orientation, resolution and coda sections, *ce* may precede the subject of the clause [14]; its functions are associated with narrative sequentiality, namely with the marking of referent continuity in coda sections or referent

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[14] Also a few instances have been noted in which *ce* is associated with local discourse functions introducing subordinate lines or used pleonastically for reasons of emphasis.

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discontinuity in orientation sections and with the marking of narrative peaks in resolution sections.

To sum up, local discourse functions of parataxis in the corpus either fulfil metrical functions related to the joining together of hemistichs or lines, forming respectively octasyllabic lines or distichs, or additive/emphatic functions.

Global discourse functions of parataxis, on the other hand, are related to event linkage, either establishing narrative sequentiality or marking narrative turns and peaks, all of which signal performance.

### 6.5 Adjoining Links

Adjoining constitutes a mode of line-linking which, similar to its alternative mode of parataxis, mostly concentrates in plotline and main event episodes of the complicating action (32.6%; see **Table 2**), though without paralleling parataxis in its multi-functionality and wide distribution.

Plotline episodes tend to be adjoined to the preceding lines by verbs of movement or an ingressive auxiliary (see e.g. **1-2**), signalling the boundaries of narrative sections. Therefore, adjoining can be considered to have discourse functions, signalling the start of a narrative section, even though it lacks explicit markers. As illustrated in the examples below, adjoining marks the start of the plotline in close association with narrative progression, echoing Georgakopoulou's finding (1997: 97) that in Modern Greek conversational stories for adults adjoining serves to induce a sense of rapid movement in narration.

**1.** ἔδωσα μία κι ἔφυγα/στου Μπουλαριοὺς ἐδιάηκα/καὶ στο Μακρόνι ἐπέρασα

*I set off and I left/I went to Mpoularious|and I got to Makroni*

[Text 3]

**2.** Ἦρθε ἡ παριάλλη Κυριακὴ/ἔφτασε ὁ Πέτρος στὴν αὐλὴ

*The following Sunday came/Petros arrived to the yard*

[Text 39]

Furthermore, by the selection of verbs of movement or ingressive auxiliaries, the adjoined construction serves to bracket discourse stretches as detachable bits, analytically termed episodes, which serve to: i. establish narrative sequentiality (e.g. **1**,) or ii. provide a setting for the intrusion of an incidence, i.e. a narrative turn (e.g. **2**). The latter is more clearly illustrated at the crucial point of closing in at the reporting of the main event, i.e. at the initiation of verses immediately preceding the introduction of the main event episode, where adjoining by ingressives and verbs of motion suggests rapid movement, increasing narrative tension (e.g. **3- 4**)[15].

**3.** ἦρθε κι ὁ Μούρμουρας κοντὰ/<u>βάζουσι δρόμο</u> στὰ μπροστὰ/*κι ἤρθασι στὸ σπίτι μας*

there came Mourmouras/<u>they set off</u> ahead/*and they came to our house*

[Text 12]

**4.** νάτος καὶ ἔρχεται ἀπὸ κεῖ/ βάζει στα χέρια του το γκρα/στὸ τόπο γαϊδιουρεκλὰ

*there he is and he is coming back from up there|he takes his rifle to this*

---

[15] This often happens in lengthier texts with more than one plot-line episodes.

*hands|drop dead, you asshole*

  [Text 39]

In the span of plotline episodes more generally, when adjoining is used to link verbs of reporting and constructed dialogue or lines of monologue to preceding lines (e.g. **5**), the effect is the suspension of narrative action with a concomitant heightening of narrative involvement, enhancing the audience's identification with the narrated world's characters.

**5.** Μὲ μίλησε κι ὁ Γιάννακας/Ἔλα γυναῖκα στὸ σουφρᾶ/ τὶ θὰ ζὲ σπάσου τὰ νεφρά.

  *And Yannakas told me too/Come woman to the table/or I'll break your neck.*

  [Text 30]

At the start-point of main event episodes, adjoining also fulfils discourse functions, either directly marking the narrative peaks by ingressives, verbs of movement or verbs of perception (see e.g. **6i-ii**) or suspending narrative action through constructed dialogue, gaining involved time just prior to the peak (see e.g. **6iii-iv**).

**6.**

i. ἐβούτηξα καιγὼ τὸ γκρᾶ/χωρὶς λουρίδα τίποτα

  *and so I grabbed the rifle/without a bullet belt or anything*

  [Text 3]

ii. Φεύγομε ἀπ'ἀναγυριτὰ/τὰ περιβόλια μπαίνομε/Μον'ἦτα οἱ γ'όχτροὶ μπροστὰ

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*Let's take (lit. leave) the side road/and go through the gardens/But there were the enemies ahead*

   [Text 21]

iii. τοῦ μίλησε ἀπὸ μακρὰ/στάσου γκιαοῦρι ἐφτου δὰ/τ'ἔχωμε δικαιώματα

   he talked to him from far away/stay exactly where you are/'cause we have issues

   [Text 12]

iv. Μὲ μίλησε ἡ Γι<u>ώ</u>ργενα/Κυριάκο κάτσε νὰ ζε ποῦ.

   *I went with my brother/Yorgena (Yorgis' wife) spoke to me*

   [Text 30]

Finally, at the endpoints of main event episodes adjoining marks evaluative action deployed to articulate the event of killing in a conventional imagery of raw violence, consisting of the act of shooting and its physical outcome (see e.g. **7**). The imagery is often framed by spatio-temporal markers or the conjunction *ce* (see e.g. **8**).

**7.** τῆς ἔδωσε μία γκραδιὰ/τῆς ἔφαε ὅλη τὴ κοιλιά

   *he shot her once/and got her in the stomach*

   [Text 39]

**8.** Σὰ ντὸ νεβάλασι μπροστὰ/τούρρίξασι μνιὰ ντουφεκιὰ/τοῦ φᾶσι πλάτες καὶ νεφρά

   As they let him go first/they gave him a shot/they shot him through

   [Text 35]

## 6.5.1 Forms and functions of adjoining

To sum up, the line-adjoining mode can be used to:

i.   signal a narrative turn or establish narrative sequentiality with increased involvement when initialising a plotline episode

ii.  mark the suspension of action enhancing the identification of the audience with the narrated world's characters when in the span of plotline episodes

iii. mark narrative peaks when initialising main event episodes

iv.  signal the narrative turn of heightened involvement when initialising the verse immediately preceding the reporting of the main event verse(s)

v.   mark evaluative action articulating the event of killing in a raw imagery of violence when at the endpoint of main event episodes

In terms of formal expression, depending on its positioning in the narrative, adjoining is closely associated with ingressive auxiliaries, verbs of movement, verbs of reporting and verbs of perception or with conventional imagery of the act of killing and its physical outcome.

As Fleischman has observed with respect to 12th century French texts, the *asyndeton* structure marks logical and chronological relationships between events through means other than syntax, such as tense change (Fleischman 1990: 186). In the corpus, tense changes tend to be associated with parataxis, and adjoining not only conveys but also emphasises event relationships through:

i. its patterned discourse-narrative positioning in the span of complicating action and

ii. its patterned association with specific forms of expression.

Furthermore, adjoining has been recognised as a crucial element in the poetic technique of medieval French narratives (e.g. Alexis or Roland) where, as Erich Auerbach (1953: 115) has observed, the establishment of connections and the pursuit of developments give way to a loose connection of events as pictures in a manner resembling the stringing together of beads. The juxtaposition of independent events as pictures echoes, according to Fleischman, children's narratives. These comparative associations do not imply verbal primitivism or naïveté, but rather suggest the use of adjoining for the establishment of narrative relations (Fleischman 1990: 191). In this sense, adjoining and parataxis as well as conjoining (§ 5.6) are functionally equivalent to literate structures, such as structural elaboration through subordination and structural demarcation through punctuation.

**Table 6.5. Parataxis and Adjoining [16]**

| High-level | Low-level | Linking mode - Forms | Discourse functions |
|---|---|---|---|
| Orientation | verse endpoint | Parataxis<br><br>*ingressive construction* | narrative sequentiality<br><br>action inauguration |
|  | final verse endpoint | Parataxis<br><br>tense switch | narrative turns<br><br>performance |

[16] The evaluation section has not been considered here due to the few occurrences of the conjunction *ce*, while occurrences of *ce* in embedded evaluation sections are considered in the context of their overarching section. Furthermore, the start-point of the complicating action called onset is absent since, it is mostly associated with conjoined modes of line-linking.

| | line endpoint | *and construction* | narrative turns<br><br>referent discontinuity |
|---|---|---|---|
| Plotline episodes | verse-initial | adjoining<br><br>verbs of movement<br>ingressive auxiliaries | narrative turns<br><br>narrative sequentiality<br><br>heightened involvement |
| | in-between verses | adjoining<br>dialogue/monologue | narrative suspension<br><br>audience involvement |
| | verse endpoint | parataxis<br><br>*ingressive construction* | narrative sequentiality<br><br>performance |
| Main event episode endpoint | verse-initial | adjoining<br><br>verbs of movement<br><br>verbs of perception<br><br>constructed dialogue | narrative peaks<br><br>narrative action<br><br>performance |
| | verse-initial | ce + verb<br><br>ce + place/time markers<br><br>ce + character reference | narrative peaks<br><br>performance |
| | verse endpoint | adjoining<br><br>imagery of violence<br><br>(act of killing + outcome) | evaluative action |

| Resolution | verse endpoint | *ingressive construction* | narrative sequentiality |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | narrative action closure |
| | line endpoint | *and construction* | additive |
| | | | narrative peaks |
| Coda | line endpoint | and construction | additive |
| | | | narrative sequentiality |
| | | | reference continuity |

## 6.6 Conjoining Links

In terms of the coded conjoining links in the corpus (see §5.1.2), the quantitative analysis indicates that spatio-temporal expressions and expressions of affect occur with the highest frequency at the boundaries of verses, episodes and narrative segments.

As Table 6.6 indicates, place markers are the most frequently occurring conjoining markers (36%), closely paralleled by markers of affect (30.2%), and followed by time markers (13%).

**Table 6.6. Frequency of occurrence of conjoining markers** [17]

|  | Place Markers | Time Markers | Markers of Affect |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | **94** | **79** | **34** |
|  | **36%** | **30.2%** | **13%** |
| clusters with *ce* | *19* | *0* | *24* |
| Total | *113* | *79* | *58* |

*\*Total of lines conjoined (by the following and other markers): 26*

The results of the quantitative distribution analysis (which has included the clustered instances with the discourse marker *ce*) are visualised in the **Graph 1** below which

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[17] The frequency percentages of markers' occurrences in the corpus reported in this table include only the occurrences of spatio-temporal markers and markers of affect found in absolute line-initial position and its co-occurrences with the conjunction *ce* only. The discourse marker *ce/ci/c'* (and) predominantly clusters around various types of verbs, i.e. verbs of reporting, verbs of movement and other verbs and does not co-occur with markers of affect. In its co-occurrences with spatio-temporal markers reported in the table, it is argued that the initialising discourse marker *ce/ci/c'* functionally supports rather than supersedes the conjoining markers which it tends to precede, by functioning as a marker of plot progression or *continuative*, as a metrical filler or as a discourse marker signalling initiation or closure of a mini-scene.

shows all three markers as three differently coloured lines which cut through the units

of the prototypical, fully-fledged narrative[18].

**Graph 6.1.** Conjoining markers' narrative distribution
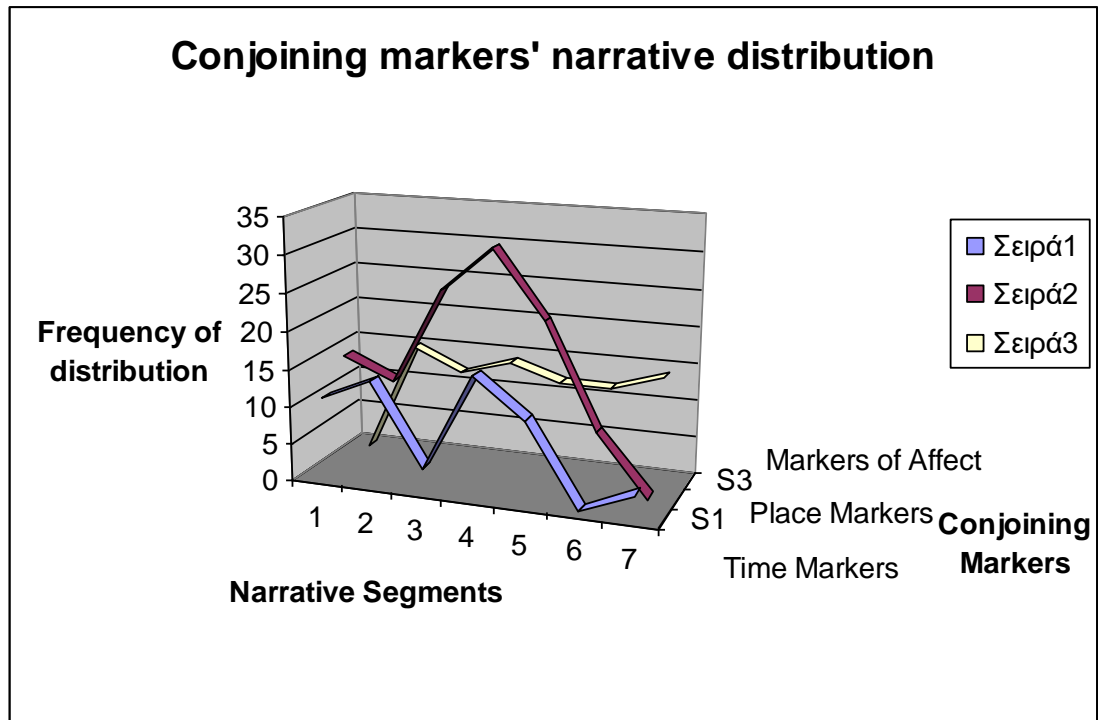


As we can observe in the graph, place markers are the most widely distributed

markers across all narrative segments, apart from the closing part of coda. The pink

line shows that their distribution is associated with the progression of the narrative,

with most place markers occurring at the peak (in the main event episodes of

Complicating Action) and the rest distributed in the segments before and after the

peak.

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[18] This graph also visualises the view of narrative as a linear progression of interrelated parts which reaches its peak in the complicating action, at the point of the reporting of the main event and then heads for a closure, by gradually dissolving the narrative tension.

Markers of affect [19] (yellow line in the graph) are distributed in a relatively even way across the narrative from the onset episodes of the complicating action and afterwards showing a slight fall in occurrences in the plotline episodes of the Complicating Action and a rise in main event episodes. Markers of affect tend to concentrate in coda parts.

Time markers' positions of occurrence also appear to be associated with the progression of narrative, as suggested by the blue line which represents them in the graph reaching a peak in main event episodes. Looking at the graph, we can also observe that time markers tend to concentrate in onset and orientation parts.

The analysis of the markers' distribution suggests the affinities of Maniat laments with prototypical narratives as described in Labov & Waletzky (1967), in the sense that temporal references tend to cluster at the start, place markers tend to cluster in Complicating Action episodes and markers of affect (corresponding to the Labovian evaluation) in the closing parts (see **Table 6.7**).

**Table 6.7. Conjoining markers' narrative distribution**

| Orientation | Complicating Action | Coda |
|---|---|---|
|  | SPACE* |  |
|  |  | AFFECT |
| TIME |  |  |

---

[19] The graph represents only the prototypical narrative and not the deviations of it in Maniat laments, such as the texts starting with an evaluation rather than an orientation.

### 6.6.1 Place Markers

The quantitative analysis has been supplemented by a qualitative analysis [20] focusing on the forms and functions of spatio-temporal markers.

Place markers are the most frequently occurring conjoining markers (36%) **(see Table 6)**, widely distributed in the narrative, but mainly concentrating in the complicating action (and in particular in main event episodes). Their occurrences are predominantly associated with the start-points or endpoints of verses. More specifically, place markers are mostly found at the endpoints of verses, i.e. introducing the last line of verse (see Table 6.8).

**Table 6.8. Conjoining markers in association with levels of narrative organisation**

| Level | Higher & Intermediate | Lower | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Verse-initial verse-medial | Verse endpoint |
| Time Markers | 22 | 9 | 34 |
| Place Markers | 16 | 24 | 34 |

---

[20] For the qualitative analysis, I have made use of an Xquery result returning the XML-encoded mark-up for each text (which indicates each text's analysed hierarchical structure) which eased the study of each marker's specific positions. The analysis was qualitative in that the structural tags presented in the result table were studied against a printed version of the corpus of texts.

Therefore, in addition to the association of place markers with narrative progression, their recurrence at the endpoints of verses also suggests their use for the closure of a mini-scene by grounding it in a specific location. The addition of topographical detail has the effect of either backgrounding action or adding dramaticality and narrative realism.

The association of place markers with narrative progression, backgrounding and dramaticality are in line with relevant findings suggesting the deployment of place markers as *devices of emplotment*, *devices of embellishment* or *evaluation* (see Tannen 1989 as quoted in Georgakopoulou 2003: 414) or as *orientation devices* which function as stylistic choices aimed at involving the addressee (but see De Fina 2003 for a critical discussion; Georgakopoulou 2003: 414).

The formal expression of place markers shows a preference for the flexible construction of prepositional phrases (78.5%), rather than for adverbials of space (21.4%). Such prepositional phrases refer to private or public spaces, associated with ordinary activities unfolding in gendered spaces, for instance sitting in the coffee-shop (predominantly with reference to males) or heading to the house (predominantly with reference to females) (cf. Georgakopoulou  2003: 425). Prepositional phrases are also used to denote specific geographical locations, creating a mental map of the regional landscape where the narrated events unfold.

Place markers constitute *deictic shifters*, carrying shared socio-symbolic meanings and expectations that are associated with them (Silverstein 1976; Georgakopoulou 2003: 416), come to refer to shared social worlds, representing given, stereotypical and socially accepted gendered and community roles (Spitulnik 2001).

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Place markers then, also function as devices of intertextuality which signal specific generic conventions, relating to the creation of shared physical and social spaces that allude to shared local values or at least to their recontextualisable representations[21].

### 6.6.2 Time Markers

Time markers have been found to operate at the boundaries of higher-level units, and in particular at the start of orientations, which are prototypically positioned at the start of the narrative.

At this preferred position, where the stage is set for the entire narrative, the expressions of time that are employed occupy an entire octasyllabic line and are conventionally structured into two parts: the first one referring to the day of the week, e.g. *μνιά Κυριακή* (on a Sunday)*, μία Δευτέρα* (on a Monday) or a day of a religious, e.g. *τ' Άι-Σαράντου* (on St. Forty Martyrs' Day) or social importance, e.g. *η εκλογή...που* (the election day…when) and the second one specifying the time of day, e.g. *το πρωί* (in the morning).

Such references, although potentially pointing to the day and time when the reported events took place, constitute in fact conventional or formulaic expressions, as it is predominantly the tri-syllabic days of the week, such as *Σάββατο* (Saturday), *Κυριακή* (Sunday), *Δευτέρα* (Monday) which systematically recur in the corpus. The insignificance of time-specific references is also evident in the expression *μνια Τεταρτοπαρασκευή* (on a Wednesday-Friday) (found only once in the corpus), which

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[21] Place markers also function as entextualisation markers in the sense of metacomments provided regarding the locations denoted in prepositional phrases, which suggests that the texts' editors don't assume anymore the sharedness of physical and social spaces with their readers.

joins two day-references in single word, playing with the temporal formula in an imaginative way and emphasising the irrelevance of such time-specific expressions.

Time markers in their patterned association with orientation parts, serve the global function of temporally framing the narrative. Their conventionalised form, however, suggests that time markers in the corpus function mainly as *intertextual markers*, that is as generic devices which typify laments as ordinary narratives, that is as texts detached from the ritual context.

Apart from signalling contextual conditions, time markers also signal entextualisation practices. Texts initiated by time markers tend to be more readily selected by transcribers, as they agree with written norms of narrative (i.e. narratives consisting of a beginning-middle-end) rendering thus possible their grouping into a literary canon of lament.

## 6.7 Oral structures and entextualisation practices

The texts of the manuscript collection analysed above have undergone multiple - although not final - interventions at different textual levels. Their textual shaping is manifested in the entextualisation practices of the transcriber(s) involving more specifically:

i.  practices of editing interventions, such as line/word additions or deletions, use of graphic symbols and parentheses.

ii. practices of resetting, such as poetic or prose representation and use of punctuation marks.

The above entextualisation practices indicate a set of underlying narrative and literate norms guiding the shaping of the recorded texts into cultural artefacts and can be said to partly account for the patterned positions and functions of the modes of line-linking presented in the previous sections.

For the qualitative analysis of entextualisation practices, all the texts contained in the collection have been analysed, i.e. including those not analysed for ethnopoetic and narrative structure.

### 6.7.1 Adding the conjunction *ce*

Among the multiple functions of parataxis in the corpus (see Table 6.5),  the analysis of entextualisation practices shows a tendency for adding lines introduced by *ce* at verse endpoints (9/11), which may coincide with narrative turns (3/9), as the examples[22] **1**(a) and (b) below respectively  demonstrate:

**1**a.

    Ἐλ<u>ηὰ</u> εἶχε στὸ μαγουλο        He had a beauty spot on his cheek

    μαῦρα ἦτα τὰ μάτια του        his eyes were black

    ξανθὸ῾τὰ τὸ μουστάκι του       blond was his moustache

    ξανθιὰ ἦτα <u>κι ἡ</u> κάπα του      and blond was his cape

    [Text 12]

*Position:* verse endpoint, coda endpoint

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[22] Bold typeface indicates the added line.

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**1b**.

| | |
|---|---|
| γιατὶ ἀναστήνομε παιδὶ | *because we are raising a son* |
| να μεγαλούση να ἀκχιωθῆ | *he shall grow up and may he be fortunate* |
| να πάη εἴκοσι χρονοῦ | *to become twenty years old* |
| καὶ νὰ τοῦ δώσου τὸ σαρμᾶ | *and I shall give him the gun* |
| ὁπόχου στὸ κρεμανταλᾶ | *that hangs on the wall* |
| καὶ τόνε τρώει ἡ σγουριὰ | *and gets rusty* |
| να κυνηγήση τὸ φονιᾶ, | *to hunt the killer,* |
| τὸ Μούρμουρα καὶ τὸ Καρκὴ | *Mourmoura and Karki* |
| καὶ τὴ Πουτάνας τὸ παιδί. | *and the son of a bitch.* |

[Text 4]

*Position*: verse endpoint, plotline endpoint, narrative turn

In the first example, the addition of a line in the form of a *ce*-construction shapes a three-line verse at the closing of the lament narrative; the tripartite repetition of Lefatzis' blondness (*ξανθό*) establishes an echoing effect as the text's finalising tone[23].

In the second example, the added line involves an initialising *ce* followed by the direct object in its pronoun form; the line-addition forms a verse pattern which is

[23] This emphatic description combined with the description of Lefatzis' dark facial features in the preceding two-line verse, constitutes an index of his physical attractiveness and praise to the victim.

symmetrical to the immediately preceding and following three-line verses, formally linking the plotline episode to the main event.

The two examples suggest that the addition of *ce*-initiated lines is associated with resultative or conclusive functions as well as with verse formations; such additions can mark emphasis or narrative turns either by deviating from or adapting to local verse patterns, respectively. In either case, the creation of a sense of formal symmetry seems to be the desired effect.

On the other hand, the addition of *ce* at verse-initial position, although limited in occurrences (2/11), allows some interesting, though speculative, observations. Consider examples **2** (a)[24] and (b) below:

**2a**.

| Κι ἐγδιάη ὁ Κῶτσος στὴν Ὀχιὰ | And Kotsos went to Ohia |
|---|---|
| κι ἐκεῖ στὰ Μουρμουριάνικα | and there at Mourmourianika |
| κι ἀπόξου τοῦ νεμίλησε | and he spoke to him |
| κι ἔνα παιδάκι ἀγνιάντιαξε | and a child leaned over |
| ἀπὸ τὸ πανωθύρι τους. | from their window. |
| **καὶ τοῦπε καὶ τοῦ μίλησε** | **and he told him and he talked to him** |

---

[24] Square brackets indicate erased words.

| Ἔ! Λία πῶν' ὁ μπάρμπα ζου | Hey! Lia where's your uncle |
|---|---|
| ἔναι καὶ πουλοκυνηγᾶ | he's out chasing quail |
| ἐφτοῦ χιακάτου στὰ γκρεμά. | down there by the cliffs. |
| κι ἔβγαλε τὴ σπυρίκτρα μου | and he took my whistle off |
| τοῦ σπύριζε μνιὰ σπυριξιὰ | and he whistled a whistle |
| τι ἔκαμε νόημα κι αὐτὸς | and he waved as well |
| τοῦπε νὰ τὸ νέκαρτερᾶ | he told him to wait for him |

[Text 14]

*Position:* verse initial, plotline episode

**b.**

| Μία Δευτέρα τὸ πρωΐ | *One Monday morning* |
|---|---|
| σηκώθηκε ὁ Κότσαρης | *Kotsaris got up,* |
| ἐχτένισε τὴ κάπα του | *brushed his (sur)coat* |
| κι ἔστριψε τὴ μουστάκα του | *and curled up his moustache* |
| **καὶ [ε]**γδιάη στὸ Ρουφουνιάνικο | *then **(lit. and)** he went to Roufounianiko* |
| ποῦ θέριζε ἡ μάνα του | *where his mother was reaping.* |

[Text 13]

*Position*: verse-initial, orientation endpoint

In **2(a),** the added line constitutes an expression of reporting speech within a plotline episode, used to initiate constructed speech in a conventional way. The added line here contributes to the creation of a symmetrical form within the episode, as verse structure is adapted to the patterning of local distichs initiated by *ce*[25].  In **2(b),** on the other hand, the addition of the conjunction *ce* constitutes a substitution of adjoining at the point of a narrative turn, namely at the endpoint of orientation.

This observation agrees in fact with the observation in §5.4-5.5, which suggested, among others, the association of adjoining with complicating action episodes and parataxis with the marking of narrative turns. Both occurrences of *ce* added at verse-initial position take the form of an *ingressive* construction, either a conventionalised expression of reporting (**2a**) or a conventionalised expression for marking narrative progression (**2b**).

Based on the above, it is suggested that textual interventions involving the addition of the conjunction *ce* tend to be associated with the following underlying entextualisation practices:

a. the creation of a sense of verse symmetry in the texts

b. the addition of conventionalised expressions

c. the privileging of the association of parataxis with resultative/conclusive functions and secondarily with the marking of narrative turns

[25] With the exception of the second verse of constructed speech.

The above findings are associated with narrative norms, i.e. guiding principles for the formal shaping of the narrative shaped by orality and literacy, which determine the register of recording. However, in these quasi-oral texts orality and literacy are not in stark opposition (cf. §5.3) but constitute two complementary modes whose prototypical features become adapted to the conditions of recording and the audience addressed. In order to further specify the complementarities of the two modes in the register of the texts in the corpus, we are going to examine the relation of parataxis with subordination, supposed to be structural equivalents and the relation of parataxis with punctuation, a defining feature of literacy.

### 6.7.2 Oral and written registers: variability and complementarities

Studies investigating spoken and written language have tended to rely on polarised comparisons between spoken and written texts, selecting data on the assumption of their difference along the oral-literate poles rather than making use of other variables, such as genre or audience in order to explore both their differences and their similarities. Furthermore, the method of analysis predominant in such studies has been quantitative comparisons (such as type/token ratio of lexical features; frequencies of adjectives; frequencies of clause types; nominalisations and other) (see Atkinson and Biber 1994: 360).

Despite their problematic underlying assumptions, selection of data and reductive methods, these studies have provided us with a number of significant insights regarding dimensions of orality and literacy that can be thought to be prototypical of the two modes and be put to different analytical uses. According to **Table 9** below, speech and writing tend to differ more markedly along the dimensions of structural

and lexical elaboration, with conversations and expository written language inclined towards the pole of prototypical orality and prototypical literacy, respectively.

**Table 6.9**. Dimensions of orality and literacy

*(Adapted from Biber (1988) and Biber and Finegan (1989))*

| Dimensions | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Structural elaboration | involvement | exposition |
| 2 Lexical elaboration | On-line | planned |
| | | integrated |
| | | production |

Kim and Biber (1994) have rightly noted the considerable overlap among spoken and written registers with respect to the dimension of structural elaboration, taking into consideration differences in genre, purpose and audience. The examples of the written registers of personal letters and folk stories which may be relatively structurally elaborated even though they show features of involvement compared to the oral registers of lectures and formal meetings, which although informational in purpose may have a limited structural elaboration, are highly relevant for the present discussion.

Equally important are their observations on the relation of the dimension of lexical elaboration to the conditions of speech production which suggests that spoken registers tend to lack lexical density and richness, while written registers can range from lexical diversity to the relatively restricted range of vocabulary (e.g. academic essays; press reporting).

The significance of Kim and Biber's observations is summed up in their acknowledgment of the complementarities between the two modes resting upon a set

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of conditions which add greater variability, such as the historical generic addition of written registers involving differing degrees of personal involvement and differing production demands of typical speech versus typical writing.

The texts comprised in the corpus oscillate between orality and literacy, as a result of the addition of the written register of transcription. The register of these texts can be described as being shaped by narrative norms, conditioned by oral performance and re-writing as well as by the adjustment of involvement to its scholarly (folklore-philological) and socio-cultural purposes.

### 6.7.3 Norms of narrative and structural complexity

Complementarities rather than absolute differences between orality and literacy have also been underlined with regard to the tenuousness of the distinction between coordination and subordination, founded on their assumed association with simple, oral structures and complex, written structures, respectively.

The tenuousness of the two linking modes is manifested in the corpus in a few instances where interchangeability between the relative pronoun *pou* - grammatically speaking, a marker of subordination - and the coordinator *ce* is observed (see eg. **1-3** below).

**1.**

κι εἴδα τὸ κλεφτογιάννακα

[που] καὶ μὲ μακροσημάδεψε

*and I got a glimpse of Yannis the thief*

[who/that] *and he aimed at me*

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[Text 3]

*Position:* narrative turn, plotline episode endpoint

**2.**

| Τώρα ἂς ανηφορήσωμε | Now let's move higher |
|---|---|
| κι ἀλλοῦ ἂς τ'ἀκουμπήσωμε | and let us rest somewhere else |
| ἂς πᾶμε στὸ Κολοπύργο | let's go to Kolopirgos |
| **[πων]** καὶ τή Σιμόνυφης ὁ γιὸς | **[where is]** and to the son of Simonifi |
| ποῦ ἔναι μοναχὸ παιδὶ | who is a single child |
| ὡραῖος καὶ στὴ θεωρὴ | and good-looking |

[Text 7]

*Position:* Third section with reference shift (narrative categories do not apply to this text)

**3.**

Τ'ἐμένα μ'ἐτιμώρησε

δώδεκα-μέρες-δεκατρεῖς

**[και]** ποῦ μ'ἔκλεισε μὲ τὸ κλειδὶ

Because I got punished by him

twelve days thirteen days

**[and]** when he locked me with the key

[Text 5]

*Position:* coda endpoint

The above instances echo the observations of early Romance scholars (Stempel 1964; Ageno 1971; Cerquiglini et al. 1976) regarding the interchangeability between the Old French particle *que*, a marker of subordination (grammatically speaking) and the coordination markers *and* and *si,* suggesting its function as a marker of clause-initial position (Fleischman 1990: 189) .

As the reported instances above suggest, *pu* can bear similar functions to the conjunction *ce,* as a marker of line-initial position or a marker of a narrative turn (eg.**1**). More specifically, in terms of the underlying narrative norms that determine their interchangeability in entextualisation practices, the available evidence suggests the following:

    i.    *ce* constitutes a marker of higher involvement than *pou* and for this it is preferred at narrative turns (consider e.g. **1**).

    ii.    *ce* constitutes a more emphatic marker of reference shifts (consider e.g. **2**)

    iii.    the repetition of *pou* does not have the same functions with the repetition of *ce* which marks narrative sequentiality (consider e.g. **2**)

    *iv.*    *pou* constitutes a more appropriate marker for the expression of temporal duration[26] (consider e.g. **3**).

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[26] The conjunction *ce* on the other hand, which also tends to be associated with the expression of time seems to be more appropriate for the marking of temporal points.

**6.7.4 Norms of narrative and lexical elaboration**

The findings in §5.7.1 can now be discussed in more depth in view of the dimension of lexical elaboration.

The entextualisation practices underlying the addition of lines introduced by *ce* in the corpus in its various forms and functions seem to be guided by writing norms for narrative organisation.

More specifically, the observed tendency is to 'correct' the linguistic results of the on-line production with interventions which present a better planned and integrated text. This tendency is evidenced in the following editing and resetting practices:

    i.     the creation of verse distichs or tripartite structures, depending on the surrounding text.

    ii.    substitutions of *ce* with *ci* - through erasure and addition or correction - when the conjunction is directly followed by a vowel (10 instances in total).

    iii.   additions of a graphic symbol marking the co-pronunciation of the last vowel sound in *ci* with the start-sound of the immediately following word, thus marking metrical isosyllabism (236 instances in total).

The emphasis on the association of parataxis with resultative functions also suggests links to writing norms for two reasons:

    i.     the addition of lines introduced by *ce* at the endpoint of verses often results in the creation of symmetrical verses and the rounding off of a

> mini-scene, in agreement with the shaping of a better planned and integrated text (although see also §5.7.5) and
>
> ii.    the resultative function of the conjunction *ce* constitutes the only discourse function, apart from its purely coordinating ones, which is widely recognised in traditional grammars.

Finally, the addition of conventionalised expressions, although echoing oral structures of formulaicity, is associated with narrative norms inclined to the mode of literacy, because in this case conventionalised expressions are not used as fillers or as oral discourse markers, but as written markers of systematic repetition which enhances the structure as well as the 'oral feel' of the text, while at the same time establishing or 'canonising' its generic recognisability.

### 6.7.5 Oral-poetic norms of narrative

In the previous section, it was suggested that the marking of isosyllabic lines through graphic symbols, the symmetrical shaping of verses through the addition of lines introduced by *ce* and the addition of conventionalised expressions are associated with writing norms of narrative. Nonetheless, line and verse patterning as well as formulaic expression constitute prototypical features of oral verse narration.

Line and verse patterning rely on meter norms, such as the ideational completeness of each line and the virtual absence of enjambment (Fleischman 1990: 207). In Maniat laments, metrical composition is realised in eight syllable blocks, often used in oral verse composition of narratives; Greek folk songs are composed in 15-syllable lines marked by a caesura dividing the line into seven and eight syllables; the chansons de geste and Alexis are composed in ten-syllable lines marked by a caesura dividing the

line into four and six syllables; the romancero uses a 16-syllable line divided into two eight-syllable hemistichs (Fleischman 1990).

Metrical constraints are associated with the constraints of oral discourse production and reception, conditioned by the amount of information that can be reasonably composed and processed.

Formulaic expressions are also closely related to the information structure of orally composed texts, serving as fillers within hemistichs or lines and as markers of cohesion (both within and across texts) through their patterned repetition.

Oral verse narratives rely on specific compositional techniques which regulate the length of information blocks (i.e. the use of metrical units), the pace of information provision (e.g. slowing down using formulaic expressions) and the performance by the use of intonation (e.g.  using pauses to mark new sections) or musical tunes (e.g. in laments the use of a set mourning melody)

An additional set of features, summarised below, have been associated with oral narrative in the abundant relevant literature:

- Parataxis

- Formulaic repetition

- Tense switches

- Dialogue

- Oral discourse markers

- Colloquial language

- Introductory and closing formulas

Yet, such linguistic and stylistic patterns tend to be reproduced by editors and translators of oral verse narratives to a relative extent, in order to emphasise the texts' orality (Thoma 2006: 80).

### 6.7.6 From oral to written textualities

The context of recording involves the overlaying of an additional set of narrative norms associated with the medium of literacy in which the texts get inserted. In this context, the techniques used for composing oral verse narratives take on another role, that of features enabling or even enhancing the recognisability of texts as a genre.

In this sense then, oral compositional techniques become *markers of entextualisation*. The transriber(s)' entextualisation practices more specifically tend to place emphasis on such markers in order to:

    i.      create 'authentic', 'traditional' cultural artefacts emphasising their primary orality

    ii.     accommodate the vernacular oral texts to literacy and its audience by putting the markers of entextualisation to the task of narrative canonising.

Examples of the former type of shifts abound in cultures where written traditions have developed hand in hand with oral ones for a long time before the intellectualisation of literacy led to literacy-biased approaches to oral discourse and the predominance of the latter type of shifts.

Well-known examples of *entextualisation poetics* are provided in the multiple editions and translations of the biblical narrative of Genesis. Ong (1997[1982]:47-50) compares two contrasting versions of the episode of Creation in Genesis 1:15 in

Douay's version (1610), translated in the context of a residually oral culture and the New American Bible (1970), created much later in the context of fully developed norms of literacy.

In Douay's version, the multiple discourse functions of parataxis are retained in the translation, attested in the nine introductory *and* as well as in the rendering of the Jewish *we* or *wa* (and) as *and*. In the New American Bible, on the other hand, it is mostly the grammatical functions of *and* which receive acknowledgment in the translation as shown by the limiting of the introductory *and* to two, which are embedded in a complex sentence and by the variable rendering of *and* as *when, thus,* or *while*. The linguistic choices in the New American Bible emphasise a 20th century prototypical written representation, where clause relations are marked by subordinating, causal, temporal etc. relations (see Chafe 1982).

Fleischman has also noted similar shifts in French written verse narratives. She has observed in particular a gradual shift from a multiform use of verb categories and a paratactic style until the 13th century, to an increased use of subordinating markers substituting for the functions served by verb manipulation (i.e. tense-aspect switching) taking place from the 14th to 17th century. The shift from parataxis and tense switching to subordination suggests the increasing decline of oral textuality in favour of writing norms.

The shifts in the narrative deployment of linguistic features observed by Ong and Fleischman refer, however, to a long period of development of writing norms. This gradualness is not universal, however, as there are cultures characterised by belated literacy and residual orality, as Tziovas (1989) has pointed out with regard to Greece.

A similar process to that suggested by Tziovas has taken place in Cyprus according to Thoma who has studied the ongoing transformation of Cypriot-Greek folktales from an oral to a literary genre. Looking at a recent anthology of Greek Cypriot folktales drawn from a previous collection (edited by Niki Marangou 1994), Thoma (2006: 79) has identified a set of typical features of the published texts which she associates with their literarisation (and literisation).

As Thoma's study suggests, in cases of belated literacy and residual orality the imposition of writing norms in oral texts is manifest in a different form than in cases of a gradual development of literacy. In particular, there is no marked shift from parataxis to hypotaxis but instead a shift to clause juxtaposition; tense switches are replaced by the predominance of narrative present, while a few oral features (such as dialogue, formulas) are retained or even reinforced.  Interestingly, character names are added while the Cypriot vernacular is represented in standard Greek, suggesting that the folktales are addressed to a wider audience (through the choice of standard Greek) while reinforcing a local colouring to the texts (through the addition of character names).

## 6.8 Concluding: From markers of narrative performance to entextualisation markers

The register in which my data have been recorded indexes residual orality. Parataxis is highly frequent in the corpus, similarly to the Greek-Cypriot corpus and contrary to the British corpus where the occurrence of parataxis is reduced, indexing its deletion in editing practices (Thoma 2006: 211). In fact, if anything, *ce* seems to be added (even if these additions seem to conform to writing norms). The oral register of the corpus is better manifested in the multifunctionality of parataxis. Considering the evident lack of temporal markers such as *when, while* etc. and the interchangeability

of *ce* with the subordinator *pu*, *ce* is allowed to convey temporal and logical relations, while its association with narrative sequentiality and narrative peaks indicates that it also functions as a discourse marker. Its discourse function is further underlined in its relation to punctuation (despite its limited occurrence in the corpus). More specifically, it has been observed that *ce* is capitalised following commas at the intersection of verses (4) or semicolons at narrative turns (1) and in addition, that capitalised line-initial *ce* occur following full stops, which coincides with the intersection of verses (16) or narrative turns (23).

Further manifestations of the oral register of the corpus are evident in the high frequency of ingressive auxiliaries marking the beginning of verses and episodes, effecting rapid narrative movement and allowing many redundant uses of them as fillers, features conforming to oral poetic norms.

On the other hand, shifts to written norms of narrative are suggested by the use of time markers as opening formulas which provide texts with a clear beginning while also enabling a certain detachment from the events narrated (even if narrated in the first person). The detachment becomes more evident when compared to texts initiated by markers of affect indexing the ritual context and their high degree of encoded involvement.

Interestingly, there is no evidence of deleting names of characters, as in Thoma's Greek-Cypriot corpus, or even place names. In fact, both character and place names are integral to the texts' organisation, as evidenced by the texts' titles which bear the name of the main character and the central role of place markers in the form of prepositional phrase in the organisation of the narrative. The awareness, though, of the transcriber regarding the change of the audience and the potential lack of shared local

knowledge becomes evident in the meta-comments providing biographical details about the named characters and specifying which words stand for location names.

To conclude, in this chapter the forms and functions of line-linking modes (parataxis, adjoining and conjoining) in lament texts have been presented based on their qualitative and quantitative analysis. I have argued that their discourse functions in the narrative organisation of texts are closely associated with the entextualisation of the texts. The examination of entextualisation practices in the corpus against the research in other relevant literature has further indicated the interplay between oral and written norms of narrative, which have guided text-shaping in this folklore collection under conditions of residual orality.

# 7. Conclusions

## 7.1 Summary of findings

This study of Maniat laments as narratives is added to the burgeoning work on narrative that has been accumulating ever since the narrative turn in the social sciences. It aims to be welcomed by narrative researchers not as just another particularistic study on yet another different type of narrative or as a study that salvages peripheral voices from obscurity, but as a study that criss-crosses different levels of analysis in its attempt to engage with the complex textualising dynamics of narrative discourse as articulated in the lament genre and its (con)textual transformations.

In the study, genre has been adopted from Bauman, who defines it as a constellation of systemically related, co-occurrent formal features and structures that serves as a conventionalised orienting framework for the production and reception of discourse (Bauman 2004: 3). This definition applies well to the Maniat lament, as it can encompass its ongoing production and reception in various forms and modes that extend beyond the ritual contexts of death ceremonies. More specifically, the Maniat lament genre has been considered as emergent in ongoing practices of entextualisation and contextualisation, i.e. practices that involve the lifting of discourse stretches out of their context in the form of texts and their resetting in new contexts (Silverstein and Urban 1996).

The suggested approach provides an impetus for revisiting the texts included in accumulating folkloristic material in public and private archives from the viewpoint of their natural histories of discourse. The lens of this particular viewpoint allows the exploration of the complex processes involved in text and context-making, while avoiding reified accounts that result from the description of uniform connections between the forms and functions of texts in specific contexts.

In this study in particular, this lens has allowed me to look at Maniat laments as narratives beyond exclusively ritual contexts and point to the generic forms that serve as norms for their recording in folklore collections. The study of a folklorised genre contributes directly to the challenging of reductionist approaches to Maniat laments as:

    i.     'authentic' relics of the past linked to ancient Greek culture (See Koutsilieris 1990: 29, 161; cf. Danforth 1984)

    ii.     'faithful' reflections of the Maniat way of life and moral conduct, serving as a nostalgically coloured background against which the modern way of life can be effectively contrasted (Koutsilieris 1990: 9, 13, 19) or finally

    iii.     an integral part of the pan-Hellenic folk song creation, entailing the subjection of Maniat laments to the latter's norms of entextualisation (see Pasayannis 1928, Politis 1914, Ioannou 1977) as well as to norms of urban literary aesthetics contemptuous of their prosaic style (cf. Kiriakidis 1978: 48).

On the other hand, this thesis is considered as a supplement to Seremetakis' research on performance, grief and gender dynamics in Inner Maniat death rituals with a

micro-textual lens that reveals relevant macro-contexts of social and ideological tensions.

The data of the study have been drawn from a set of thirty-four manuscript sheets, the written records of Maniat laments retrieved amidst the family memorabilia of Yagos Strilakos (1911-1949), a philologist trained at the University of Athens and originally from Yerolimenas (a small port in Mani). The retrieved texts amount to sixty-four (64) texts of 10.180 words in total, with a mean of 159 words per text (see Appendix I: 2). Marks of different degrees of editing (preliminary, standard, advanced) are visible on the sheets, including linguistic/narrative interventions and the addition of meta-texts, i.e. information or commentary about the recorded texts (see Appendix I: 4). The different types of meta-texts encountered which serve as contextualising markers (e.g. dates of the recounted events, lamenters' names, glosses and further information on the reported events or on the 'original' ritual performance context), suggest that the collection was compiled with an intended audience in mind, namely one that would not have been familiar with the dialect or the oral history and culture of Mani (see §2.2.4.5).

As opposed to earlier approaches which have focused either on texts drawn from published collections (Skopetea 1972, Holst-Warhaft 1992, Saunier 1999) or on unique ritual performances (Seremetakis 1991), this study focuses on written texts as they appear in an unpublished manuscript where stages of the editing process can be recovered. As a supplement, it also draws on the audio recordings from my fieldwork in Mani and on selected texts from published collections (see chapter 4). Neither of these two types of text is considered as the pristine form of the lament genre, but are

instead viewed as products of the ongoing circulation of laments and the practices of their recording into writing.

The methodology employed in this thesis is eclectic, drawing from narrative analysis, ethnopoetics and corpus linguistics towards a corpus-based analysis of Maniat laments as narratives which has not been applied to the genre in question until now. The corpus-based analysis involves, more specifically, the digital processing of the e-corpus (e.g. information retrieval, quantification of encoded categories) that has been compiled for this study and which includes part of the retrieved texts [1] following the latest standards in textual encoding (TEI for the categories and XML for the type of encoding, §2.4.2).

### 7.1.1 Maniat laments as narratives

Chapter 3, assisted by the processing of the data encoded in XML, has examined the narrative and ethnopoetic patterns which recur systematically in the corpus. Narrative analysis has combined Labov and Waletzky's set of basic structural units for the production of oral narratives of personal experience with Hymes' units for oral-poetic patterns and Ochs and Capps's dimensions of narrativity (see §1.5).

The findings have brought to the fore: **a.** a micro-structure and macro-structure argued to be prototypical for Maniat laments and **b.** a set of dimensions of narrativity that determines the way in which such structures are being deployed for lament (re)performances. At the level of microstructure, it has been found that Maniat lament narratives are recounted in tripartite and bipartite ethnopoetic patterns that interrelate

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[1] More specifically, those that were intelligible enough and that were not satires or political songs formally styled as laments.

lines, verses and plot parts in a rhythmic way (§3.3). The predominant patterns of **one and three** either:

i.      create an implicit rhythm of *onset, ongoing, outcome* in the description of micro-actions/events,

ii.     shape episodes in sequences of *onset - main event - outcome* or

iii.    interlock with new sequences, easing the elaboration of laments into lengthier versions.

Patterns of **two and four** are relatively frequent and either:

i.      form couplets, serving as a fast way of composition in an implicit rhythm of *this, then that*,

ii.     shape episodes in sequences of *onset - main event* or

iii.    serve to mark the ending point (as evidenced in the high frequency of four-verse sequences in resolution sections).

The combination of bipartite and tripartite patterns in Maniat laments (§3.3.2) points, respectively, to the observance of internal constraints of performance, namely the metrical constraints of the 8-sylable metre, and external constraints that have to do with measured verses. The predominance of tripartite patterns echo the typical patterns of *three* encountered in Greek folk songs (Beaton 1980) and Greek conversational narratives (Georgakopoulou 1997). Sequences of **three and five** are also often found among speakers of Native American Communities at the lower Columbia and Willammette Rivers and among American English speakers, whereas sequences of **two and four** are found in many Native American communities (Kwakiutl, Takelma, Zuni, Hopi, Navajo) (Hymes 1994: 331-333).

At the level of macrostructure, it has been suggested that the prototypical patterning for Maniat laments consists of the following sequential categories:

a. *an initiating orientation section* that provides information on the time, space and the protagonist(s),

b. *an onset episode of the complicating action* that frames temporally and spatially the recounting of the most reportable event,

c. *one or more episodes* that report the main event, often preceded by a set of intervening episodes and followed by one or more resolution episodes,

d. *an evaluative coda*, where invocations and curses are heard and warnings to revenge are issued.

This identified patterning shows the speech style of sensational Maniat laments to be akin to the prototypical patterning of oral narratives of personal experience which are centred on a reportable event, preceded and followed by a set of temporally ordered and causally linked events (cf. Labov 1997).

In terms of the positioning, distribution and articulation of the basic narrative units, it has been found that:

a. **Abstracts** are dispensed with, at least in the form described by Labov. Rather, it has been suggested that they instantiate in the form of name references that serve to distinguish laments from each other either in oral contexts or in written collections (§3.4.2.1).

b. **Orientations** in the corpus tend to occur in the form of conventionalised brief sections that function as *motivating precursors* for the most reportable event of death/killing. Narrative research has suggested a close relationship of the

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category of orientation with the varied audience requirements for background information (for instance Georgakopoulou 1997: 60, Hudson et al. 1992: 129) (§3.4.2.2). The formulaicity of orientation sections in the corpus indicates an audience of readers rather listeners, rather similar to the audience of recorded fairytales introduced by opening formulas, such as once upon a time/ *μνια φορά κι έναν καιρό*; cf. Briggs 1993), which were often the product of the editors' insertions.

c.  **The most reportable event/main event** is framed by one or more onset episodes which mark the entrance into the realm of the complicating action (§3.4.2.4). *Onset episodes* resonate with Fludernik's unit of *incipit* (1996: 66), which captures the building up of suspense prior to the reporting of the main event.  In the corpus, onset episodes point to a disruption in conventionalised forms, which in most of the cases (64%) is expressed in the protagonist's departure, echoing one of the basic conventions in Western fairy tales (cf. Klapproth 2005). The report of the main event may be delayed by a sequence of intervening episodes and followed by another sequence of resolution episodes. *Resolution episodes* are also expressed conventionally in the form of the reporting of a second killing, the reporting of the killing to a third party in constructed dialogue or affective imagery of the slain. In this respect, Maniat laments differ markedly from laments from other regions of Greece, where such imagery is lacking in favour of lyric imagery of the Underworld.

d.  Most of the times, laments end by a few lines or verses, often evaluative, categorised as **codas** (91.3%), which provide a more or less abrupt closing to the telling, point to successful revenge retribution or prompt revenge (§3.4.2.4). Codas arguably constitute an important site for the articulation of

judicial discourse in the ritual ceremonies (cf. Seremetakis 1991), while in the narrative texts they become a vehicle for the expression of aspects of the local code of revenge and attitudes towards it (e.g. who has the obligation to revenge, whether such retribution is socially validated, etc.). Such differences, however, require further exploration.

e.  **Evaluation,** finally, often figures as a separate section (43.4%), predominantly positioned at the start of the text (75%) and less frequently (25%) at the designated position for external evaluation, i.e. after the reporting of the main event and before the resolution or coda (cf. Labov 1972).

To sum up, the analysis of sequential positioning and distribution of basic narrative categories in the corpus has brought to the fore a prototypically narrative pattern, akin to oral experiential narratives. The conventionalised articulation of many of the examined categories has also tentatively suggested differences between my data from laments from other regions of Greece and the data from ritual laments in Mani, suggesting links to certain typical features of Western fairy tales. Such comparisons, however, should be further explored in the light of more data and the relevant literature.

The final sections of chapter 3 discussed the different ways that the ritual context is textually indexed in the corpus, leading to the conceptualisation of Maniat laments on a continuum of narrativity defined by its two ends:

a.  One end is marked by temporal and causal ordering that shapes the reported events into a separate entity, easily amenable to new contexts and in particular the context of a folklore collection. Laments shaped along the

resources of this end are prototypically initiated by an orientation section; (see Dimarogonas, Text 63, Appendix I: 4).

b.  The other end is marked by affect-laden organisation that suggests its embeddedness to a prototypical ritual setting by forging intertextual links with it in formulaic fashion. Laments of this type are prototypically initiated by an external evaluation section (see Mitsos Psikakos Text 32, Appendix II: 2).

c.  Between the two ends of the continuum there is ample space for different combinations of the two resources (see Loustrokapa Stavriani; Text 39, Appendix II: 2).

It has to be emphasised, at this point, that the 'origins' of the laments in the corpus have been lost in the course of their circulation; the texts have been lifted from an interactional encounter (often a formal context that involves the folklorist and the informant) and reset in a collection. The identified patterning can be viewed in light of this lifting and concomitant resetting  with a view towards more recent studies of narrative in sociolinguistics which have pointed out the relation between the Labovian prototypical patterning of personal experience narratives and formal contexts (such as interview contexts) (see papers in Bamberg 1997); such critical observations have led to the consideration of narratives that present such patterning as crystallised or canonical narratives as opposed to the more fluid and interactional 'small stories' (Georgakopoulou 2007). In this sense, then, Maniat laments can be considered as crystallised narratives whose association with processes of collective memorisation and traditionalisation constitutes a direction for further research.

### 7.1.2 Narrative and entextualisation

Chapters 4, 5 & 6 explored the relations between the narrative patterning (and its variations) identified in chapter 3 and the different conditions and norms for lament entextualisation.

Chapter 4 primarily dealt with supplementary data (§2.3) in order to provide insight on the various forms of laments and their entextualisation. More specifically, the (re)telling and consecutive (re)writings of a non-sensational lament have been examined (§4.1.2-§4.2), focusing on the comparison of its entextualisation as manifest in the metadiscursive practices of four collectors/transcribers at the levels of i. narrative patterning, ii. meta-texts and iii. linguistic choices of spelling and vocabulary (§4.3).

At the level of narrative patterning, the comparison did not indicate significant differences among the different entextualisations, but rather pointed to the high degree of crystallisation of the lament. It was suggested, in particular, that this crystallised form is indicative i. of the prototypical patterning of non-sensational laments and ii. of practices of depersonalising laments (§4.2.1-§4.2.2). At the level of meta-texts, it was suggested that the specific choices of meta-texts indicate the degree of their de-personalisation which is aimed at their construction as textual items of culture that can stand on their own. Finally, at the level of the collectors/transcribers' linguistic choices of spelling and vocabulary, it was shown that such choices involve orthographic and heterographic transcriptions, standard and vernacular vocabulary or hybrid forms, depending on the socio-political stance and professional identities of each collector (§4.3).

Chapter 5 discussed the broader influences bearing on the collectors/transcribers' entextualisation choices.    First of all, the ideologies of language and culture underlying the institutionalisation of Greek folklore have been sketched out, pointing to the central role in it of the process of vernacularisation, i.e. the reconfiguration of the domestic Other through the processes of literisation and literarisation (§5.1.1-§5.2.2). Along these lines, regional folkloristic activity has been presented as interacting with such processes (§5.3). In order to bring to the fore specific manifestations of such interaction, Strilakos' metadiscursive practices have been analysed in more detail, focusing on four levels: i. selection and organisation of the collected material, ii. extraction practices,   iii. editing practices (e.g. additions and deletions of words, lines or verses), and iv. resetting practices . It has been suggested that Strilakos' metadiscursive practices, although orthodoxically inscribed in broader processes of vernacularisation, indicate the supplementation of orthodox practices with local meanings, termed *orthopraxies* (Blommaert 2003). Such additions have been observed i. at the level of extraction practices and ii. at the level of editing (use of punctuation) (§5.4). Regarding the first level, more specifically, the reconstructed context for the extraction of vernacular forms in the case of Strilakos indicates a shift in the configuration of power in the extraction encounter, as the participants are embedded in social relationships of proximity. Instead of the collector taking the lead in recording, the informants are asked to write down, not just perform, verbal art material. This kind of extraction practice suggests that proximity between the collector and the interactants may lead to an overall different configuration of entitlement to rights and appropriations of power (cf. Shuman 1993: 247).   At the level of editing, finally, it was found in Strilakos punctuation markers serve as discourse punctuation markers (DPM) which indicate a change in the topic, signalling

either continuity or discontinuity to what has come before and marking a unit's closure. Punctuation in Strilakos is, thus, not used as a standardising medium intending to mark grammatical relations between phrases and sentences and create texts readable for a highly literate audience, but rather serves as a text-organising device, pointing to the transcriber's perception of the lament as oral performance

The orthopraxies observed in chapter 5 emphasise the hybridity of lament entextualisation in my data, extending the findings of chapter 4. This hybridity becomes even clearer in the register in which the texts have been recorded, as shown in chapter 6. To be more specific, chapter 6 has specified the register of the data in relation to different norms at play (e.g. narrative, orality and writing), by examining the collector/transcriber's choices at the micro-level of textual-narrative organisation. In my data, the register indexes residual orality, as manifest in the multifunctionality of *ce/ci* and the high frequency of ingressive auxiliaries marking the beginning of verses and episodes. On the other hand, a handful of features of a register conforming to written norms have been observed: i. in the use of time markers as opening formulas which provide texts with a clear beginning, while also enabling a certain detachment from the events narrated and ii. in the addition of meta-texts in the form of exploratory glosses addressed to an audience not acquainted with the lament tradition. The findings of this chapter regarding this type of mixed register have suggested, in sum, the synergy between orality and literacy norms in the entextualisation of laments in my data. Such synergies indicate the complexity that characterises the natural histories of recorded verbal art, especially in the Maniat and Greek case, more broadly, where the relationship between orality and literacy has been an intricate and enfolding one in the last two centuries (Tziovas 1989: 321). With regard to the Greek Cypriot folktale, Thoma has argued that "their language

reflects the dialect spoken in Cyprus at the time of their recording, and the influence of written language is only sometimes evident in the recording methods used by the collectors" (Thoma 2005: 263). The findings of this study, however, have suggested that the idea of recorded verbal art as reflecting the language (spoken or written) is untenable. Rather, in my data I have suggested that features of orality and literacy in the texts constitute markers of entextualisation; such markers index the metadiscursive practices deployed by the collectors/transcribers depending on their particular socio-political and professional standing and the aspirations projected on the compiled collection.

The perspective on regional and national folklore offered here does not claim to tell the whole story of the nationalising project or even of the multiplicity and complexity of the 'treasurising' folkloristic endeavour. It rather suggests revisiting the story of folklore which has by now crystallised into a truism largely based on evolutionary forms of analysis.[2] More specifically, the usefulness of analytic observations on the practices of the 'labourers of folklore' has been emphasised, namely on the teachers or passionate individuals who engaged in the project of collecting vernacular forms in their places of origin and invested in it time, effort and most importantly meaning.

### 7.1.3 Suggestions for further research

The e-corpus compiled for the analytic purposes of this thesis has been encoded following current standards for textual digitisation (XML, TEI) in order to ensure its digital survival and the potential for its future development into: i. a more comprehensive form, incorporating all the texts of the manuscript collection, ii. an

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[2] With the notable exception of Alexis Politis (1980).

easily extendible form for other texts to be included both from published and archived material, iii. an open-access corpus with links to related digitisation projects in Greece and iv. a user-friendly interface facilitating review-surfing as well as specific searches and textual processing at different levels of structure and complexity. Such a line of development is well-inscribed in the current trend for digitisation projects in Greece for online research, teaching and preservation. [3] At the moment, the majority of the digital projects are primarily concerned with standard metadata designs that can function effectively in the contexts of informational systems of classification and that can ensure ease of access and retrieval of the digitised material (see Lourdi and Papatheodorou 2003). In this thesis, the use of XML and TEI rich mark-up has been employed and suggested as a fruitful, though challenging, way to digitise not only for archiving purposes, but also for textual processing ones. The future life of the small corpus compiled in the context of this thesis aspires to be with the AHDS, the Arts and Humanities Data Service, which is a UK national service that promotes the discovery, creation and preservation of digital resources in and for research, teaching and learning across five subject areas, among which are Literature, Languages and Linguistics. Further directions for interdisciplinary work could lie in the exploration of the potential usefulness of digital corpora of folkloristic material in heritage/museum contexts.

Current advances in poetics and performance as critical perspectives in language and social life (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Bauman 2005) could cross-fertilise with the

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[3] See for instance the *Anthemousa* project realised under the aegis of the Institute of Technology and Research, The Institute of Mediterranean Studies, the University of Patras and the University of Athens the E.R.A. (Greek radio) digitisation project of archived material; the Lilian Voudouris Music Library digitisation project; the Folk Song Digital Archive Project at the Ionion University.

work of Hellenists, in particular Roilos' and Yatromanolakis' (2005[2003]) anthropologically-inspired model of ritual poetics. In this model, ritual is conceptualised as a *habitus*, a culture-specific and encompassing form of communication receptive to a range of meanings and poetically interactive with other forms of social and cultural systems of expressions. Their cross-fertilisation regards the exploration of the dimension of interdiscursivity, i.e. the interaction between different modes of expressions that would in turn expand our understanding of processes of discourse entextualisation and intertextuality. Along these lines, for instance, the broader discursive practices of de-ritualising laments could be further explored in order to describe their entrance into the realm of ordinary storytelling and local memory-making.

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