Language Documentation and Conservation Special Publication No. 26
Key topics in language documentation and description
ed. by Peter Jenks and Lev Michael
https://nflrc.hawaii.edu/ldc/sp26/
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/75035

DOCUMENTING SPEECH PLAY AND VERBAL ART: A TUTORIAL[1]

Patience L. Epps, Anthony K. Webster, and Anthony C. Woodbury
The University of Texas at Austin

In the context of communities undergoing radical language shift, speech play and verbal art are often the focus of feelings of linguistic and cultural uniqueness, value, and untranslatability. We define our topic broadly, as any speech activity where linguistic signs themselves gain special salience in the production and interpretation of discourse, and where language is stretched and put on display, whether in highly-valued genres or in everyday talk. Here we offer a tutorial setting out principles and methods for the recording and analysis of speech play and verbal art in the framework of community-based language documentation, integrating ethnographic and linguistic approaches to heightened language use in all its forms. We first elaborate our approach to speech play and verbal art and the theoretical and general questions it raises. We then turn to documentation: what to record and how to record it in light of how it is understood and valued, and how it may be perceived as linguistically special. From there,

[1]We thank the many Hup, Dâw, Navajo, Cup'ik/Yup'ik, and Chatino speakers who have talked with us over the years about their verbal art. We are also grateful for discussions, both long ago and recent, with Chris Beier, Tulio Bermúdez, William Bright, Hilaria Cruz, Paul Friedrich, Aimee Hosemann, Dell Hymes, Virginia Hymes, Rex Lee Jim, Lev Michael, Blackhorse Mitchell, Leo Moses, Danilo Paiva Ramos, Alan Rumsey, Joel Sherzer, Michael Silverstein, Dennis Tedlock, and Greg Urban, as well as with members of our jointly-taught Fall 2015 Speech Play and Verbal Art class at the University of Texas at Austin (including each other), out of which this tutorial grew; and with the many members of that same class when jointly taught over many years by Sherzer and Woodbury. Epps also thanks FOIRN and FUNAI, and Webster the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Office, for granting them permits to do work, respectively, in the Upper Rio Negro region and on the Navajo Nation. Finally, our thanks also go to Alan Rumsey for his very helpful comments on this paper, and to Lev Michael and Peter Jenks for the invitation to participate in this special issue.

we move into the philological and analytical aspects of the work, covering specifics of transcription, annotation, analysis, translation, exegesis, and presentation of language records. We conclude with a prospectus on further directions for documentary work on speech play and verbal art.

1 Introduction

Speech play and verbal art have received new attention in the context of language documentation and description, including new assessments of the importance of documenting speech play and verbal art for linguistic theory and for language revitalization and pedagogy (Fitzgerald, 2017), as well as the inclusion of many kinds of linguistic artistry such as oratory (Cruz, 2009, 2014), music and song (Barwick, 2005, 2012; Turpin and Henderson, 2015), and written poetry (Barrett, 2014; Webster, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2017). In the context of communities undergoing radical language shift, speech play and verbal art are often the focus of feelings of language uniqueness and untranslatability, and may include types of expression that literally depend on the specific lexico-grammatical resources of the heritage language (Friedrich, 1986; Hale, 1992; Woodbury, 1993). As with the rest of documentary linguistics, these concerns are part of a reworking and extension of Franz Boas's plan from a century earlier to establish what we have called a 'humanities of speaking', that integrates ethnographic and linguistic approaches to language use in all its forms (Epps et al., 2017).

In this paper we endeavor to support this initiative with a tutorial setting out principles and methods for the recording and analysis of speech play and verbal art in the framework of community-based language documentation and linguistic anthropology. We define speech play and verbal art broadly, as *any speech activity where linguistic signs themselves gain special salience in the production and interpretation of discourse*. Speech play and verbal art encompasses speech activity where language is stretched and put on display, from unconscious puns or children's word play, to formal narrative, prayer, and oratory. It can be manifest in highly-valued genres, but can also arise incidentally in everyday conversation.

With this notion of speech play and verbal art in mind, we outline a step-by-step approach to the recording and analysis of speech in its ethnographic context. We begin by elaborating our approach to speech play and verbal art, and some of the theoretical and general questions it raises (§2). We then turn to the investigation of speech activity of different kinds: what to record and how to record it, with attention to how it is understood and valued, and how it may be perceived as involving special salient language (§3). From there, we move into the more philological and analytical aspects of working with speech play and verbal art (§4), and delve into the specifics of transcription, annotation, analysis, translation, exegesis, and presentation of language records (§5-§8). We conclude with a prospectus on further directions for documentary work on speech play

and verbal art (§9).

2 Speech play and verbal art

In keeping with our core focus – documenting and analyzing *speech activity where linguistic signs themselves gain special salience in the production and interpretation of discourse* – we follow Sherzer (2002, 1-2) in considering SPEECH PLAY as a fundamental context where signs gain this salience:

> Speech play is the manipulation of elements and components of language in relation to one another, in relation to the social and cultural contexts of language use, and against the backdrop of other verbal possibilities in which it is not foregrounded. The elements manipulated can be at any level of language…conscious or unconscious, noticed or not noticed, humorous or serious.

Sherzer (2002, 4) further posits that "[s]peech play provides the means and resources, such as metaphor, parallelism, and narrative manipulations, out of which verbal art is created," and it is with this relationship in mind that we use SPEECH PLAY AND VERBAL ART (hereafter SPVA) as the cover term for our focus here.

Sherzer follows a strategy with origins in the work of Jakobson (1960, 356), who defines what he calls THE POETIC FUNCTION OF LANGUAGE as 'focus on the message for its own sake'. For both, terms like 'poetic function,' 'speech play,' and 'verbal art' entail neither a universal canon of genre types nor genres as they may be named and known locally in specific communities. Instead they focus on any speech activity where linguistic signs have salience: as Jakobson puts it, '[p]oetic function is not the sole function of verbal art but only its dominant, determining function, whereas in all other activities it acts as a subsidiary, accessory constituent. This function, by promoting the palpability of signs, deepens the fundamental dichotomy of signs and objects.' We take this same view, but go a step further by seeing such a 'poetic function' in speech activity not as being distinctly dominant or subsidiary, but rather as appearing in many degrees and kinds. As language documenters, this leads us to focus on a wide range of speech activities, and allows us to take a more agnostic position on whether 'verbal art'—implying art-for-art's-sake—is a universal category by concentrating, instead, on the patterns before us. And it requires us to formulate clearly and in the most general terms the kinds and characteristics of salient uses of linguistic signs that are our primary focus.

Jakobson himself devised such a formulation in that same paper (1960, 386), summarized in his well-known epigram, "[t]he poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination." That is, equivalent (or partially equivalent or opposing) paradigmatic choices at any level of sound or grammar or rhetoric are "promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence." Thus in meter,

equivalent morae, syllables, stresses, or feet can be the units of combination that form a line; in assonance, the vowel quality of successive syllabic nuclei form phrases; in syntactic parallelism, partly repeating phrases form larger rhetorical units; and so on. Analyzing a Shakespearean sonnet according to this formulation, for example, one finds the meter, rhyme schemes, and couplets and quatrains that define the sonnet as a genre; but the same formulation also allows for the identification of incidental patterning and repetition in speech not regarded as verbal art: rhyming in a jingle, parallelism in a political speech, or unintended alliteration in conversation. By introducing such a formulation, the focus turns from genre per se, to the manner in which linguistic signs are constituted and used.

Jakobson's approach—as general as it is—has nevertheless been characterized as narrow for its 'formalism' and its focus on parallelism and the projection of equivalence (e.g., Friedrich 1991). We take a more open-ended view. Again quoting Sherzer (2002, 1), we wish to focus not only on "the manipulation of elements and components of language in relation to one another," but also "in relation to the social and cultural contexts of language use, and against the background of other verbal possibilities in which it is not foregrounded." This allows for the pursuit of other tropes, or families of tropes (Friedrich, 1991), through which linguistic signs gain special salience in the production and interpretation of discourse. For example, it allows for the consideration of traditional 'figures of speech' such as metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole/litotes, imagery, or irony, belonging to a broader family of tropes based on the play between sense and context or reference. It also allows us to consider forms of 'stretching' and other play with features of grammar – such as selectional restrictions, as in some of the poetry of e. e. cummings, and pragmatic features, such as rules of use for different linguistic registers, a frequent basis for linguistic humor. It allows for play with discourse organization, such as that found in narrative and dialogic back-and-forth; as well as with expressive language, the juxtaposition of language and gesture, and much more. In short, we want to be open to all tropes that may emerge as salient within the particular cultural and discursive context at hand, while acknowledging that certain tropes, including the generalized recurrence identified by Jakobson, or metaphor, are of such general importance that it is worth looking for them specifically in any discourse.

Furthermore, within such a framework it is important to recognize—as emphasized by Jakobson himself (1966, cf. Fox 1977), as well as by Kiparsky (1973) and Friedrich (1991), that a trope may be PERVASIVE in a given text, as for example meter in a sonnet, or INCIDENTAL, a 'one-off', as when a metered line occurs in an otherwise blank-verse work, or a metaphor is offered at one moment but not continued. Pervasive tropes tend to be constitutive of whole speech activities and of people's sense of genre, while incidental tropes often acquire special meaning or salience in their particular context (Kiparsky, 1973, 232).

Finding and characterizing tropes of these kinds in specific speech activities and in

general may turn the focus away from defining SPVA or taxonomizing various kinds of SPVA; and we have already said that we take an agnostic view on whether 'verbal art' (or 'poetry' or 'speech play') are culturally universal notions. Nevertheless, understanding people's ideas about speech activity and notions of genre are critical when seeking to document SPVA in a given community. They figure importantly in almost all thought—by participants and by academics—about speech activity. They figure importantly (as we will suggest in the following section) when documenters frame their projects and choose what to document and analyze. And they provide an ethnographic context for describing and interpreting records of verbal art. They also raise questions of analysis—for example, if a particular recording is said to belong to a particular genre having certain features or criteria for evaluation, then the text can be analyzed in terms of how it does (or does not) have those features. We elaborate on these questions further in the following section.

3 Investigating SPVA in community contexts

Ethnographically informed documentation of SPVA begins with an investigation of kinds of speech activity in a community and how they are understood and valued. This investigation often takes place as part of language documentation projects, especially in speech communities confronting radical language shift and interested in preserving their knowledge and practice of ancestral lexico-grammatical systems and speaking patterns. Language documentation itself consists of "the creation, annotation, preservation, and dissemination of transparent records of a language" (Woodbury, 2011, 159) for a wide range of purposes and users. Our goal is to make SPVA a more central part of ethnographically informed language documentation, and at the same time to affect how the documentation and analysis of SPVA is carried out. Our orientation to language documentation is also rooted both in activism and in linguistic anthropology, in the sense that we understand language documenting as embedded in social action by individuals situated as community members or outsiders, as scientists, humanists, or other interested parties, and having as a focus the recording, representation, preservation, analysis, and appreciation of linguistic behavior and activity. We see our approach as situated within a larger Americanist anthropological tradition, as we have discussed at length in Epps et al. (2017).

In this section, we discuss the record-making phases of SPVA documentation, and emphasize an attention to ethnographic context in informing all stages of the process. Boiled down, our strategy has these elements:

(1) a. CONTENT: Develop an understanding of what to record and why
    b. PROCESS: Work through the ethical and practical considerations involved in recording, and develop contextually informed approaches to metadata
    c. COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES: Explore local understandings of speech activity

and genre to establish ethnographic context

3.1 What to record

Where should members of a documentation project begin if they are interested in documenting SPVA? What exactly do they record?

First—whether project members are also community members or not—we recommend as much investigation as possible about local taxonomies of speech activity and genre, asking the questions indicated at the end of §2 above, and making it a part of the decision of what to pursue, as well as a continuing part of ongoing documentation. Some common formulations of 'what to document' include focusing on:

- A specific speech event type or set of speech event types, e.g., conversation, narrative, oratory, ceremonies
- A specific genre or set of genres, as recognized and defined by speakers themselves, e.g., histories, myths, anecdotes, prayers, songs, language games, jokes, riddles, or puns
- A specific set of individuals, or classes of individuals, perhaps on the basis of their cultural knowledge or artistry
- What is most highly regarded
- What is missing from other documentations
- Whatever is available

The choices among these—which are obviously neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive—may be based on many factors: a wish to obtain a sample across speech events, genres, and individuals, sometimes referred to as a 'Noah's archive'; or they might concentrate more narrowly. There might also be kinds of speech activity that are highly regarded for their artistry but which are felt by their producers or other community members to be private.

But any approach or mix of approaches, once decided upon, can lead to a corpus of recorded materials that is suitable for further analysis. In our view, the analytic process does not require any one particular framing—nearly any choice will work. The process we favor is one that operates inductively, analyzing and interpreting each record 'on its own terms'; and then, as analyses accrue, making generalizations and connections as the corpus grows, and as ethnographic knowledge about context and ideologies of speaking grows. It is therefore possible to begin just about anywhere. Nevertheless, in our experience, documentarians with an interest in SPVA typically 'go where the action is', recording and analyzing first those speech activities that strike them as most interesting or most compelling, often guided primarily by what speakers themselves are most anxious to document.

3.2 How to record

In recording SPVA, as in any documentary endeavor, members of a documentation project should take contemporary best practices as their starting point (see e.g. Grenoble and Furbee 2010; E-MELD (Electronic Metastructure for Endangered Languages Data) 2012). But what ethical and practical considerations may be particularly relevant to the documentation of SPVA?

Ethical considerations must be taken into account at all stages of any documentary endeavor (Rice, 2006; Thieberger and Musgrave, 2006). Yet the norms that apply to documenting conversation or narrative in a particular community context do not necessarily extend to the documentation of certain forms of speech play and verbal art, which speakers and community members may find particularly sensitive. Verbal art forms are frequently associated with sacred or ritual contexts that may be restricted in ways that 'everyday' discourses are not (see also 2.3 below). These restrictions may apply to outsiders – whether for religious or other cultural reasons, or as an outcome of the denigration of traditional practices by neighboring groups or members of the national society. They may also apply to subsets of the community, such as uninitiated individuals or members of particular clans (Hale, 1971). On the other hand, some genres of verbal art may be perceived within the community as highly 'public', and of particular priority for wide dissemination, as Alan Rumsey (p.c. 2017) found in documenting sung epics in the Ku Wara area of the New Guinea highlands. However, because the ability to compose and perform these epics is rare and highly valued, Rumsey also found that their documentation required much more negotiation concerning the remuneration of performers than was necessary for other genres. Furthermore, community sensitivity may be high even in relation to everyday practices, such as when speakers are aware that scatological or sexual themes in speech play—which may be non-problematic in traditional contexts – have been treated as highly inappropriate by missionaries and other outsiders (see Webster 2015).

Navigating such sensitive contexts in documentation is often complex. Members of a documentation team should be careful to consider what informed consent really means in situations where cultural evaluations, views of community, group, or individual 'ownership', and/or sensitivity to outsiders' attitudes with respect to a given discourse form may vary among community members. In some cases, of course, highly restricted discourse forms should simply not be recorded; however, sometimes, especially where a particular discourse form is highly endangered – which is unfortunately all too often the case – community members may consider documentation a priority. Once recording takes place, access becomes another consideration: Should the recordings remain exclusively in the possession of the community, and if so, where should they be housed, and with whom? Can members of the documentation team retain a copy, even if they are not community members? Can the recordings be archived, and if so, what access restrictions are

appropriate? Can transcriptions and/or translations be published, in fragmented form or in entirety, with or without the recordings? Do different kinds of discourse or discourse context require different recording practices? For example, many Amazonian indigenous groups have a ritual complex involving sacred trumpets that may not be seen by women or children, so any visual documentation of ceremonies that involve the trumpets is out of the question, but audio recording is more likely to be unproblematic.

Recording SPVA also brings up various practical issues, beyond the usual questions of method and equipment that arise in any documentation project. One particularly important consideration is whether recording will take place in a naturalistic context or a more staged one. Most contemporary approaches to documentation greatly prefer naturalistic contexts as a source of linguistically and culturally more 'authentic' material, which best represents actual community practices. In fact, since verbal art is so often tied to specific cultural contexts, such as ritual events, recording outside the natural setting may even be impossible. Various forms of speech play, like joking or punning, are likewise often highly spontaneous and anchored to particular social and discursive contexts, such as conversational banter. Where a staged recording is possible, it may vary considerably from naturalistic counterparts in content and/or in form. For example, the first time that Epps heard the dyadic song exchanges that Hup women sing in the context of manioc beer festivals, her expression of appreciation was followed up the next day by several women's offers to record songs. While these resulted in a rich and beautiful mini-corpus of songs, they differed noticeably from the songs that Epps recorded later in naturalistic settings—they lacked the sung responses from an interlocutor, and the semi-spontaneous texts expressed the singers' thoughts about Epps herself (as representing the other side of the dyad), lists of goods that they hoped to receive in exchange for the song performance, and self-consciousness associated with singing out of the drinking context and in the presence of onlookers.

On the other hand, sometimes speakers prefer to record in a more staged situation; for example, if they value a recording with less extraneous noise, and/or a context with fewer distractions. Where the performance is not dependent on a particular social or ambient context, these considerations may in fact lead to a higher-quality recording in many respects. It is also important to keep in mind that there is no categorical division between 'staged' and 'naturalistic' discourse contexts, and that many intermediate situations can offer optimal conditions for both recording quality and speaker comfort. For example, it may be possible to record a relatively relaxed and natural conversation among interlocutors who have been invited to the researcher's work space, particularly when this is located with the community itself. However, all documentation associated with SPVA should make reference to fully naturalistic contexts, even where particular recordings may take place in less natural situations (see §3.3 below).

More naturalistic contexts in particular may offer significant challenges to recording. For example, SPVA often involves multiple participants, whose speech may be overlap-

ping or simultaneous, and/or embedded in a larger discourse context involving considerable ambient noise (as in the case of the Hup women's drinking song exchanges mentioned above). Participants may also be moving around, either separately or together, such that multiple relevant events might be going on at the same time and in different locations. Many events involving SPVA may occur at night in darkness. The challenge of multiple and/or moving participants may be addressed by using multiple individual microphones and recorders attached to each individual, or wireless mics that transmit to a recorder carried by one person. This strategy can also help to cut down on the effects of ambient noise, especially by using omnidirectional lapel-style mics. Similarly, multiple video cameras can be used to capture simultaneous events in multiple locations, which can later be synched; for example, Green's (2014) work with 'sand stories' in Australia involves two cameras, one focused on the storyteller, the other hanging from above and recording the teller's fingers drawing the features of the story in the loose sand.

The documentation of SPVA also involves specific considerations regarding metadata. Essential metadata in any documentary effort include information about the time and place of recording, who is speaking, and who is recording (Good, 2002; Bird and Simons, 2003), which can be elaborated for different levels of 'thickness' (Nathan and Austin, 2004). However, a rich documentation of SPVA may also depend crucially on metadata in the form of ethnographically oriented field notes, which provide information about the cultural and social context in which the discourse is situated (see 2.3 below). For example, the drinking songs sung by Hup and other women of the wider region make frequent reference to 'not belonging', 'mixing', and 'wandering'—themes grounded in the regional marriage practices that require/encourage women to marry outside of their natal communities (see also Chernela, 2003; Hosemann, 2017).

3.3 How to investigate community thinking about SPVA and special language

As the discussion above conveys, we stress a strongly *ethnographic* approach to the documentation of SPVA. While any documentary endeavor is enriched by an understanding of speakers' cultural, historical, and situational contexts, this is particularly true for SPVA, where genre, register, style, and content are typically intricately linked to these contexts. A rich documentation of SPVA requires a participant-observation approach, in which members of the documentation team spend significant periods of time in a community and participate in its daily life.

The fact that much of SPVA is not 'everyday' language implies that it is not available in 'everyday' settings. Many forms of verbal art and other 'special' language are explicitly associated with ritual or other culturally significant events, such as religious ceremonies, weddings, or festivals, which may take place only rarely and may be less accessible to outsiders. For language documenters who are not community members, an awareness that these special discourse forms even exist may require long-term com-

munity engagement, both in order to 'catch' these events when they occur and to be welcome at them as a participant and/or observer. Similarly, some forms of SPVA are encountered only during particular seasons of the year, such as Zuni *telapnanne* 'tales' (Tedlock, 1972, 1983), *tuuwutsi* narratives among Hopis (Wiget, 1987), or Coyote stories among Navajos (Webster, 2012), all, ideally, told only during the winter. Still others may be limited to or associated with particular locations. For example, Ramos (2018) describes his treks with Hup elders and youths of the northwest Amazon to visit sacred sites deep in the forest; these locations are intimately associated with themes in the Hup mythic canon, and particular stories are invoked by these visits.

An ethnographic approach is also fundamental to understanding local categories of verbal art, particularly as regards genre. Members of a language documentation team must keep in mind that such categories are culturally grounded, and that their own cultural backgrounds are likely to encourage them to think in terms of particular categories that have little meaning in local perspective. For example, Seeger (1986) describes how the Suyá people of central Brazil distinguish between three major genres: *kaperni* 'speech', which ranges from relaxed conversation to formal address; *iaren* 'telling', which includes informal and ceremonial instruction, as well as myth; and various types of *ngere* 'song'. As the English translations reflect, features such as melody, temporal structure, timbre, and fixity of text are all relevant to different degrees among these genres and their corresponding sub-genres; however, Seeger emphasizes that his own, 'Western' understanding of genre and its relationship to these features did not match that of the Suyá, whose categories only became clear to him through careful ethnography. Members of a documentation team must be careful not to let a 'Noah's Archive' approach guide a targeted selection of discourse types corresponding to their own pre-defined ideas of genre, but rather to let these categories emerge through ethnographically grounded investigation.

A nuanced perception of local distinctions among genres, registers, and styles can also inform our understanding of how these may intersect. If documentation only covers a subset of genres or other discourse types, crucial ontological relationships among different forms of everyday speech and 'special' language may be completely overlooked, and many documented speech events may not be fully interpretable. Such intersections may be as straightforward as the 'quotation' of a particular type of song or oratory within a narrative, or may be much more subtle and complex. For example, Hup incantations make explicit reference to mythic themes, such as the travels of ancestral figures, and many specific incantations are understood to 'depart' from a particular point in a mythic series of events, which are reenacted in the shaman's metaphysical voyage. Particularly for certain elders of the community who have extensive repertoires of incantations, some tellings of myths may thus blend into incantation language. Conversation likewise may blend into myth; in the following fragment of a recorded conversation, for example, a Hup mother and grandmother respond to two Hup girls' comments that they wished they

had longer hair. The grandmother reminds them that—according to the myth—the Hup people ‘chose’ their own hair by selecting a particular kind of leaf in the distribution of goods at the time of Origin. The family briefly discusses the story, with the mother correcting the girls’ version of events. Without an understanding of the mythic context, this conversation would be virtually uninterpretable; at the same time, the conversation enriches our understanding of the role of myth in daily Hup life, and of the variety of mechanisms by which this genre is passed from one generation to the next.

(2) Mother: *ʔɨnɨ̌h pãt mæh mah yúwúh, nɔ́h!*
  ‘Well, that’s just how our little hair is, they say!’
 Grandmother: *ʔɨnɨ̌h pãt ʔɨn dóʔop mah (…)*
  ‘We took (chose) our hair, they say.’
 Mother: *ʔãhãp núp púp-g’ætǽy nih kăh d’oʔnɨ́p!*
  ‘As for me, I certainly got that paxiuba leaf too!’ (laughs)
 Daughter 1: *ʔãhãp yɨ́t cápáy nih cud kăh!*
  ‘For me it’s definitely the same too!’
 Daughter 2: *hɨdnɨ̌hɨ̃p yɨ́t cápáy nih cud poʔ báʔ, wăh-g’ǽtǽy nih cud!*
  ‘But theirs (Tukanos’) was thus though, (they got) the pataué leaf, apparently!’
 Mother: *wăh-g’æt d’oʔnɨ́h mah.*
  ‘It wasn’t the patauá leaf they got, they say.’
 Daughter 1: *nɨn’ɨ̌h ciwɨ̆b-g’æt náw!*
  ‘It was that nice bacaba leaf!’
 Mother: *ciwɨ̆b-g’æt ʔapɨ́dyɨʔɨ́y nih mah hɨd d’oʔcakg’étéh!*
  ‘And they grabbed the bacaba leaf straightaway and climbed out with it!’

As the example above suggests, there is far more to a rich documentation of SPVA than simply transcribing and translating the text. Webster was sharply reminded of this fact on one of his first attempts to discuss a Navajo poet’s work with its author: upon Webster’s producing his meticulous morphological segmentation and glossing of the poem text, the author’s only response was “Well, you’ve gotten all the *words* correct!”

Finally, an ethnographically grounded view of SPVA must include not only the ways in which community members categorize, associate, and enact discourse, but also their perspectives on how it should be discussed and explained, as grounded in the larger cultural context. For example, Webster’s early attempts to understand Navajo poetry led him to ask Navajos what they thought the poets intended to convey in particular texts—and was always met by ‘I don’t know’, or simply silence. He soon realized that, for Navajos, direct speculation about what was going on in other people’s minds was highly culturally inappropriate, and was in fact associated with “witchcraft” (see also

Rumsey and Robbins 2008). A different illustration of this point comes from the Hup practice of incantations: Incantations 'proper' are always enacted in solitude, with the ritual specialist whispering the text over some substance that the recipient will later use to convey the power of the words onto him/herself. However, incantations are passed on to learners (and language documenters) via exegeses, which involve a step-by-step procedural account of the specialist's metaphysical actions (though usually with some segment elided), together with occasional commentary.

We can begin to operationalize the inquiry into kinds of speech activity and genre with the following questions:

- Is a given speech activity recognized as belonging to a genre (whether specifically named or not), and if so, what linguistic and social characteristics define it or are associated with it?
- What illocutionary or social functions are contained within the speech activity? These might include prayer, communication with spirits, persuasion, seduction, narration, remembering, framing wisdom, humor, or entertainment.
- How is the speech activity evaluated? Is it valued as something special, and if so how, and on what criteria? Does its performance involve virtuosity and skill? Is it valued as 'art-for-art's-sake', or for its spiritual value, power, or efficacy, its profundity, its truth, its beauty? More generally, one can ask of any speech activity at all—including just ambient conversation—how is it considered special or appreciated as speech?

These questions (and other related ones) lead anyone who asks them—as community members or not, or as academics or not—to an ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1974) based around linguistic ideology; as well as a humanities of speaking based around what is salient and appreciated in speech activity (Epps et al., 2017). These questions can be asked at any point in the process of documentation and analysis and can be a part of the exegesis of individual texts. We feel that asking questions like these allows for a more nuanced engagement with the definition and typology of SPVA than would an approach that worked from the top down and concentrated on such highly contested categories as 'prose,' 'poetry,' 'oratory,' 'prayer,' 'lyric,' or even 'verbal art'; or that began with a folk taxonomy of genres, took it at face value, and then attempted to sample or illustrate each one of them.

To summarize our approach in this section to investigating SPVA in community contexts, we have emphasized the questions of how to select material to document, the ethical and practical aspects of documentation, and indicated an approach where local understandings of speech activity and genre inform the investigation of SPVA.

4 Analyzing and interpreting SPVA

We now turn to the philological analysis and interpretation of SPVA, which centrally involves transcription, annotation, translation, exegesis, and presentation of language records. For a documentation to be of use, now or in the future, it requires an APPARATUS. This may include some or all of the following:

- Metadata: the data that describes the data, or the "library catalog" for a corpus and provides information about the social and cultural context of the record and what is recorded;
- Transcription of speech in an adequate orthography;
- Transcription of other features of the recording, including prosodic features, gaze, and turn-taking;
- Translation into a language of wider communication, ideally at different levels (free translation, translations at phrase and word levels);
- Annotation: Formative glossing, categorial parsing, immediate constituent analysis/tagging;
- Poetic analysis, conversational analysis, discourse analysis;
- Exegesis, commentary, thematic analysis;
- Grammar and dictionary creation (which in turn informs further interpretation)

Some of this philological apparatus—including metadata and free translation—is minimally essential for a general-purpose documentation since it makes it possible for the records to be understood in context and to be interpreted over time by non-speakers of the original language or languages. Other parts of it—including transcription, translation at multiple levels, annotation, and grammar and dictionary creation—are essential for any documentation that has linguistic and broader humanistic aims. In this tutorial we will assume some working knowledge of those essentials (see Bowern, 2015 and Chelliah and de Reuse, 2011) and will go on to focus on aspects particularly relevant to work with SPVA, including poetic, discourse, and conversational analysis, aspects of transcription and translation intended to bring out poetic features, and exegesis and literary commentary.

Our strategy is as follows. For any record of a speech event, we recommend a certain basic level of transcription, translation, grammatical analysis, and prosodic analysis, as we will specify in each part of this tutorial. Beyond that, we suggest a search for any recurrent patterns and tropes which may attain salience in the discourse, whether occurring PERVASIVELY to give it shape or structure; or INCIDENTALLY at particular moments, as already noted in §1. These patterns or tropes can involve Jakobsonian patterned recurrence such as episodic structuring in narrative, or parallelism, or meter; or other tropes such as metaphor, expressive language, semantic or pragmatic stretching. What is crucial is that we do not presuppose the presence of any of these or other tropes, yet we consider any one (or set) of them a potential source of the linguistic salience that we see

as the hallmark of SPVA. Finally, we suggest inquiry into the relationship of the patterns to 'external' ideas about the speech record, such as may have emerged in studying its ethnographic context. For example, if the speech activity is a prayer, we can ask in what ways it conforms to articulated ideas of prayer form, what indications there may be of its virtuosity, and how its efficacy is evaluated in relation to its form. Running throughout this strategy is the idea that interpretation is built by the accretion of multiple, sometimes divergent takes and perspectives: there is no single best transcription, translation, analysis, or interpretation of a text (although some may fit the facts better than others).

One tool for transcription and retranscription that we will make use of frequently is the use of hierarchic poetic notation (lines, verses, and perhaps further divisions or groupings) to indicate aspects of syntactic structuring, or parallelism, or pausing or intonation—in short, to indicate Jakobsonian recurrence of one kind or another. The technique was widely used in linguistic anthropology by proponents of ETHNOPOETICS (Tedlock, 1983; Hymes, 1981; Bright, 1984, 1990; Sherzer and Woodbury, 1987; Kroskrity and Webster, 2015) but in much of that literature, a single 'true' hierarchic transcription was sought as a demonstration of the poetic qualities of the texts; and arguments went back and forth as to whether pausing, intonational cadences, or parallelism in syntax or thematic structure should be the basis for constituting poetically-transcribed hierarchical structure. As noted above, we are interested not in finding a single true hierarchic transcription of poetic structuring, but in bringing out the most salient patterns. By that measure, important structuring will be emergent in the given text, and not given *a priori*. Granted, certain kinds of structuring—by pausing, by pitch pattern, by clauses and sentences, and by thematic structuring—is likely to occur in all texts. But we want to be open to other features that do not occur in all texts but which in some texts may be crucial bearers of structure, such as meter, or lexical parallelism, or chanted melody.

We also fully acknowledge the limitations and inadequacies of line-and-verse transcription. The model involves a fixed number of defined, categorically distinct hierarchical levels, so that if the line is the next level down from the verse in a given hierarchical scheme, then a verse-ending is necessarily a line-ending but not the reverse; and there should be no such thing as a line ending that is more than a line ending but less than a verse ending (since in the model they are adjacent in the hierarchy—that is, the model does not accommodate the idea that there is gradation of levels between line and verse. But this model may not—on its surface at least—fit many of the Jakobsonian structuring patterns that need to be addressed in a text. For example, syntactic trees are generally not of fixed depth since constituents can be embedded in other constituents ad infinitum; and pauses do not necessarily divide discretely into long and short to distinguish (say) verse-endings vs. line-endings; rather, pause duration is scalar. Therefore there is no version of a hierarchy with a fixed number of discrete levels that directly models either syntactic hierarchy or pause duration gradience. Thus, we use the line-and-verse transcription technique heuristically, and often with further notation to bring out other

relevant characteristics. For example, when line-ends correspond to pauses, we also notate actual pause duration. If poetic analyses based on different patterns should clash (see Woodbury, 1987) we see nothing wrong with representing the clash or even offering alternative presentations if that is what it takes to show what is "going on".

In sum, the strategy we propose has these elements:

(3) a. BASICS: Do basic-level analysis: transcription and translation
b. PATTERNS AND TROPES: Find further patterns and tropes at all levels of linguistic structure and content, noting which patterns are pervasive and which are incidental, and using hierarchical ethnopoetic type notations to the extent they are perspicuous
c. ONGOING EXEGESIS: Build interpretation by the accretion of multiple, sometimes divergent takes and perspectives
d. ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT: Relate patterns to findings (discussed in §3) about how the language activity in question is understood, valued, and perceived as involving special, salient language

In the following sections, we go into the details of analyzing and interpreting SPVA. We first take up basic transcription, translation and analysis (§5), and then turn to the search for tropes and patterns, divided in two parts, one at the level of prosody and sound (§6), and the other at the level of grammar and meaning (§7), always with a view to a process of ongoing exegesis and to ethnographic context. We end by returning to translation and exegesis and its role in the study of SPVA (§8) and in integrating and extending a basic analysis and interpretation.

5 The basic analytic pass: Transcription, translation, and grammatical analysis

We begin with basic steps that apply universally or nearly universally when analyzing recorded speech activity: transcription, translation, and grammatical analysis. These steps may be carried out one at a time or concurrently. We refer here to the recorded material as the 'text'.

Make a preliminary translation into a language of wider communication.

Whether or not one is a speaker of the language of the text, it is useful to have a UN-style free translation of the text. This is done by playing back the text—with or without pausing—while a speaker of the language records an on-the-fly translation. This is then transcribed and kept for reference, especially during subsequent translation and analysis. For example, the following is a transcribed excerpt of such a free translation, made by Leo Moses of Chevak, Alaska, in 1978, while simultaneously listening to a recorded text in Cup'ik (quoted in Woodbury, 2007, 123):

(4) …When she was out, early in the morning, and the brothers of hers, were not even moving any…when she went out, …the kayak, …the old kayak! Both ends were turned up…The OLD kayak! …coming, approaching their…little village. An OLD man was in that old kayak…and each time she pulls that paddle, the kayak would…practically turn around. That's how poorly the kayak was made…and just before they…he approached them, when he was out, a little further away from the bank, they called out, how are you? How you been doing?

Record a respeaking of the text.

A speaker of the language listens to the recorded text bit by bit—pausing the playback as needed—and carefully respeaks each word as he or she hears it for an audio recorder. This can be done word by word, or in short phrases, depending on the speaker's preference or on technical issues for the language (e.g., if words in isolation show differences from words in connected contexts, it is useful to speak each word in isolation). Respeaking creates a valuable phonetic record, and it often makes it possible for non-native speakers to transcribe on their own.

Transcribe.

It is possible to accomplish transcription using a computer program that links transcriptions and other annotations—sometimes on distinct channels or tiers—to points or stretches on the audio (or audio and video) timeline of the text. The result is called an 'annotation graph'; Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2017) and ELAN (Wittenburg et al., 2006) are popular examples. It is also possible to transcribe 'by hand,' playing back the text bit by bit and entering the transcript in a word processor or spreadsheet program[2]. Transcription can also be done with pencil and paper—in that case, it is best to leave lots of room between lines of transcription for further annotation.

At minimum, transcription should be made using an orthography or phonetic alphabet that adequately captures all word-level phonemic distinctions in the language. For example, if the language has lexical tone, all tonal distinctions should be transcribed. Beyond the phonemic distinctions, there may be other features of prosody or presentation that one may wish to capture, such as rhetorical lengthening, pausing, or features of intonation. These can either be worked into the main transcription, or entered on a second line or channel of transcription if prosodic annotations create clutter or other interference.

It is also highly recommended to transcribe every detail—if the speaker begins a word but then self-corrects, transcribe the full process (using a long dash or similar symbol to indicate the break); if the speaker hesitates, notate the pause; if the speaker uses

[2]If this is done, the data should always be saved using UNICODE text encoding, and should use the comma-separated values (.csv) protocol if the data was created in a spreadsheet.

fillers like *um* or *er* or coughs or sniffs or laughs or clicks his or her tongue, transcribe it. These features may well be edited out of literary or popular presentations, but they still are an important part of the annotation record. At times during the transcription process, speakers may detect errors or suggest improvements or other edits. These should be noted and added to the record, but the speaker's actual words should still be transcribed and interpreted.

Finally, if the speech activity involves more than one speaker, be sure to transcribe (and further analyze) the contribution of each speaker, aligning the beginning and ending of each speaker turn to the overall timeline and to the contributions of the other speakers.

Translate separately at the word level and at the phrase or sentence level.

Translate the text at least two levels—the word level, and phrase or sentence level, where free translations can be made. Sometimes pauses or intonation are a good guide to where phrases or sentences end—but sometimes they are not, and it is necessary to make preliminary judgments about phrase and sentence groupings based on grammar and meaning. It is also often useful to add further levels of translation, for example, if a phrase or collocation has an idiomatic meaning (e.g., English *come off (as)* meaning 'appear (as)'). It is also useful to number the phrases or sentences. Translation can be entered on a separate tier in an annotation graph program, or it can be interspersed with transcriptions in text or paper transcriptions. If translation is done in tandem with transcription, it can help the non-speaker transcriber narrow down choices; but many find that it is quicker to do transcription and translation separately.

Parse, segment, and gloss each word.

To PARSE a word is to identify the stem and the inflectional categories (if any) that are marked by the word, e.g., English *is* is parsed as the stem 'be' in the present tense with third person singular subject. To SEGMENT a word is to break it down into its component formatives, e.g., *re-visit-ed*. And to GLOSS a word is, at minimum, to translate the word as a whole, and, very commonly, also each component formative. The following illustrates for the English word *revisited*, using Spanish as the language of translation:

(5)	*revisited*	Word
	'volvió de visitar'	Word gloss (Spanish)
	revisit, Pasado	Parse
	re-visit-ed	Segmentation
	volver.de-visitar-PASADO	Segmentation gloss (Spanish)

For detailed guidelines for notating these features of analysis, see the Leipzig Glossing Rules[3].

[3]https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php (accessed 2017-05-30)

It is important to have in place a scheme of parsing, segmenting, and glossing that is appropriate for the language in question (for example, for languages where words are not morphologically complex, parsing may be sufficient with no need for segmentation). Then, use that scheme consistently throughout the text (and beyond to other texts).

Make notes.

Throughout the process, make notes about grammar, lexicon, meaning, and alternative analyses that are aligned or footnoted to the text.

Reconsider and rework.

Once all these steps have been taken (and even while they are being taken), reconsider and rework all transcriptions and the translations at all levels, locate inconsistencies or questions, and try to iron them out.

An example

Figure 1 offers an example of a text, heard in Audio1-EWW2023.wav, that has been transcribed, segmented, glossed in the Leipzig framework, and translated according to the approach outlined here:

Once these preliminary analytic steps have been taken, we can turn to a closer analysis of the patterns and tropes that may contribute to the artistic quality of the text.

6 Finding patterns and tropes in sound

Here our goal is to chart the most important prosodic patterns in the text, as well as other patterning in sound. The alternation of speech and silence in the speech activity of each individual speaker is a basic, pervasive, anchoring feature of any text, and constitutes a virtually obligatory instance of Jakobsonian recurrence. We take up pausing first (§6.1). Likewise pitch or intonational patterns—especially patterns of pitch that mark prominence and juncture—are pervasive and virtually obligatory, and we take those up next (§6.2). We finish by discussing various other patterns and tropes of sound that are not an obligatory feature of all discourse, and which may yet be either pervasive or incidental. In that section, we highlight sound parallelism (such as meter) and expressive uses of sound (§6.3).

[4]Abbreviations: ADV Adverbial; CAUS Causative; CL Classifier; DECL Declarative; DEM.ITG Intangible demonstrative; DEP Dependent; DIST Distributive; DST.PST Distant past; DYNM Dynamic; EMPH Emphatic particularizer; EPIST Epistemic; FUT Future; HAB Habitual; INFR Inferred evidential; INTRJ Interjection; LOC Locative; MSC Masculine; NMLZ Nominalizer; OBJ Object; OBL Oblique; PERF Perfective; PL Plural; POSS Possessive; PURP Purpose; REFLX Reflexive; REP Reported evidential; SEQ Sequential; SG Singular; TEL Telic; V Thematic vowel.

1. *ʔinɨ̌h cáp-át ni-n'ɨ̌h j'ãh ʔấh-ãp d'oʔ-yiʔ-kəcət-bɨ́-p.*
   1PL.POSS body-OBL be-NMLZ DST.PST 1SG-DEP take-TEL-be.first-HAB-DEP
   I first take off that which is on our bodies (the 'clothes' which attract the patoá spine, from jealousy).
2. *ʔinɨ̌h cáp-át ní-n'ɨ̌h.*
   1PL.POSS body-OBL be-NMLZ
   That which is on our bodies.
3. *Hm, hm. Wah ʔŭt tɨh key-wɔn-tég yŭd, cadáp=b'ah tɨh*
   Hm, hm. patoá spine 3SG see-follow-PURP clothes tree.sp=CL:PLANK 3SG
   key-wɔn-tég yŭd mah, ʔinɨ̌h cáp-át ʔɨn-ăn ní-ɨ̃́y.
   see-follow-PURP clothes REP 1PL.POSS body-OBL 1PL-OBJ be-DYNM
   Hm, hm. The 'clothing' that attracts the patoá-spine (owned/administered by the tree or fish), that attracts the *sadap* plank (short, flat wooden board thought to be inside body, causes great pain and fainting), it's on our bodies.
4. *(Yú–) yúp yŭd-ăn yup (ʔãh poʔ-) ʔãh poʔ-kəcə́t-ə́h.*
   DEM.ITG clothes-OBJ DEM.ITG. 1SG open- 1SG open-be.first-DECL
   Th– those clothes, (I take,) I take [them] off first.
5. *Hm. Yúp yŭd-ăn poʔ-yóʔ, j'ám-yiʔ wəhəd=d'əh (…) hɨ́d hup hə̌̃h*
   hm DEM.ITG clothes-OBJ open-SEQ past-ADV old=PL 3PL REFLX goods
   ni-ʔé-n'ɨ̌h-yiʔ ʔɨ̌̃h,
   be-PERF-NMLZ-ADV EPIST
   Hm. Taking off those clothes, the Old Ones (…) it's like the ornaments they would wear,
6. *ʔinɨ̌h cap cóʔ ʔɨ̌n-ăn tɨh ni-i-ʔĩh, ʔinɨ̌h cap cóʔ.*
   1PL.POSS body LOC 1PL-PBJ 3SG be-V-MSC 1PL.POSS body LOC
   that which is on our bodies. (i.e. we use these 'clothes' as the old ones used ritual ornaments; these bring on the jealousy of the patoá-spine).
7. *(…?) wah ʔŭt tɨh key-wɔn-nɨ́-p, wah ʔŭt tɨh key-wɔn-nɨ́-p*
   patoá spine 3SG see-follow-INFR2-DEP patoá spine 3SG see-follow-INFR2-DEP
   yŭd, yŭw-ăn ʔãh poʔ-kəcə́t-ə́h.
   clothes DEM.ITG-OBJ 1SG open-be.first-DECL
   (…) On our bodies, (that which) the patoá-spine goes looking for, the clothing that the patoá-spine goes looking for, I take that off first.

Figure 1. Beginning of an incantation in Hup (Naduhupan: Amazonas, Brazil) for removing illness-bearing shamanic 'spines', spoken as exegesis by Ponciano Salustiano on June 26, 2011, recorded by P. Epps. See Audio1-EWW2023.wav[4]

6.1 Pausing and other durational phenomena

6.1.1 Chart major durational phenomena.

These include pauses, including not only those pauses occurring at syntactic or utterance breaks, but also rhetorical pauses, micropauses, apparent hesitations, and disfluencies. These also include any other durational modulations that may be prominent such as

any extra lengthening of segments at the beginning or end of a word or phrase or at a major prominence: this can be done informally by using colons to mark the extra length, e.g., *a ve:::ry long time*. Other durational patterns that can be noted if prominent include RALLENTANDO (slowing down), and stretches where prosodic patterns becomes rhythmic such as in some chanting.[5]

6.1.2 Transcribe the text in lines based on the chunks of speech between pauses.

All or nearly all speech activity by an individual speaker unfolds as alternation between speech and silence. Prepare a version of the transcript that is formatted into lines by starting a new line after every pause of whatever kind and duration, noting the duration of each one. This is easily done by transcribing the text in an annotation graph program such as Praat or ELAN, which allows you to associate the chunks of speech between pauses with their transcriptions (and within those chunks, you can associate individual words with their transcriptions). Figure 2, an annotation graph created in Praat which also shows pitch patterns, contains the opening two sentences from a 1946 performance by T.S. Eliot (1953) of his poem *The Waste Land* (Eliot, 1922), given in Audio2-EWW2023.wav. It is broken into eight parts based on the pauses. We will return to the pitch patterns in §5.2. For now let us focus only on pausing.

(6) is an alternative representation of the same passage. There are eight pauses in the passage, breaking our transcription into eight lines of text (a-h), where pause length in seconds is given in angled brackets. We can call this pattern the passage's GROSS ACOUSTICAL FOOTPRINT.

(6)	a	*April is the cruelest month,*	<0.60>
	b	*breeding lilacs out of the dead land,*	<0.53>
	c	*mixing memory and desire,*	<0.13>
	d	*stirring dull roots*	<0.53>
	e	*with spring rain.*	<1.32>
	f	*Winter kept us warm,*	<0.41>
	g	*covering earth in forgetful snow,*	<0.42>
	h	*feeding a little life with dried tubers.*	<0.79>

6.1.3 Make generalizations about how the pauses are distributed.

In the text in (6), we find a distributional pattern that is very common, in which pauses occur at major syntactic boundaries, and the length of the pause correlates strongly with the importance or strength of the boundary. Thus the two longest pauses occur at the sentence ends, after lines (e) and (h); and shorter pauses occur at clause breaks (lines

[5] For a fuller presentation of the approach given here to prosodic elements (including durational phenomena, intonation, and more) and their arrangement and function in discourse, see Woodbury 1992.

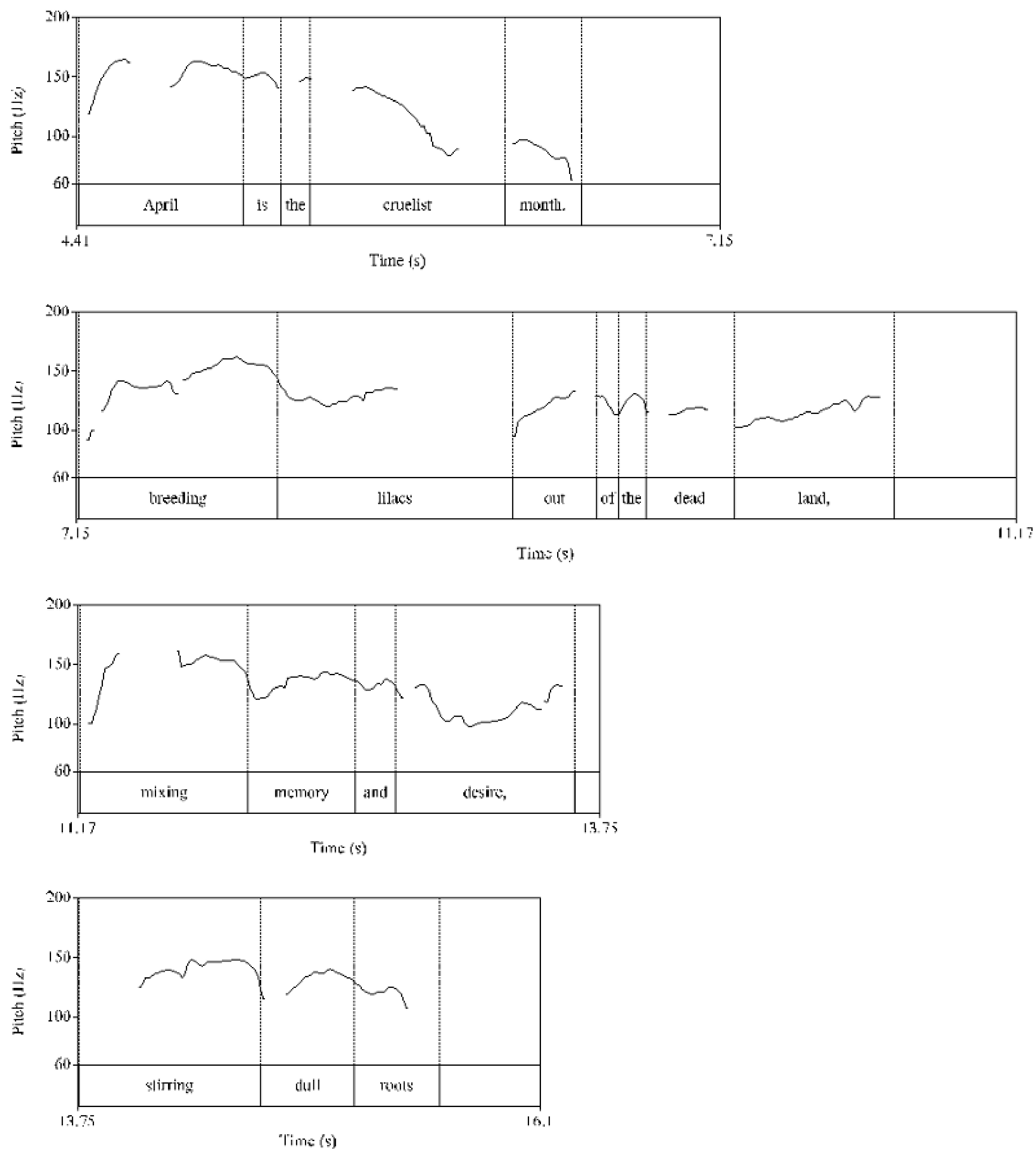
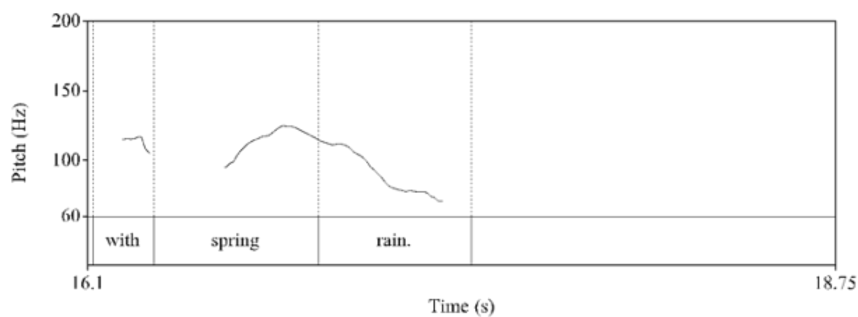
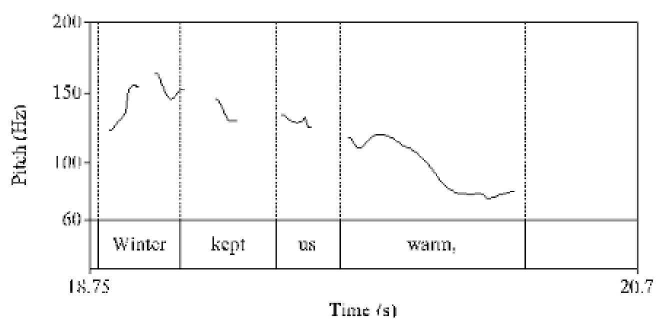
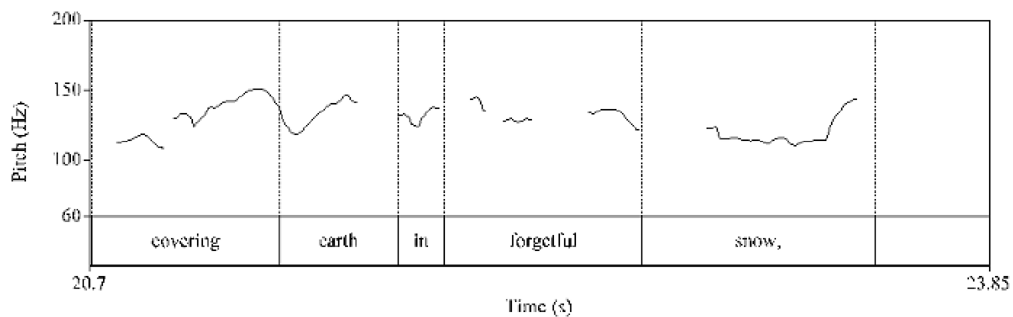
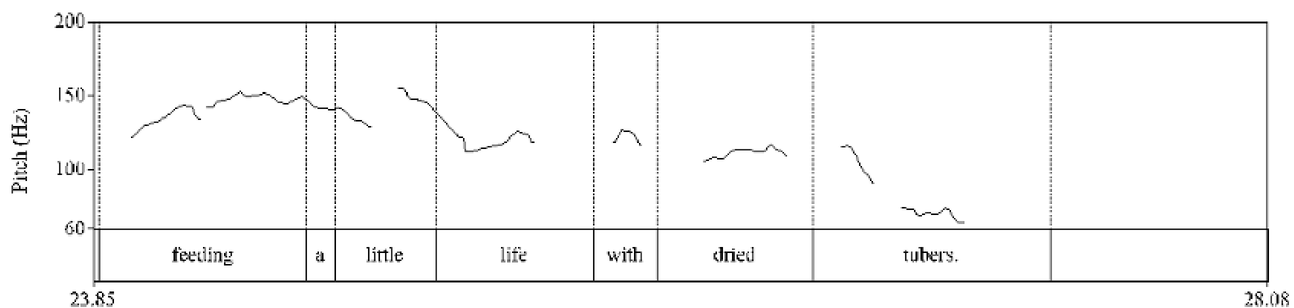


Figure 2. Aligned pitch track for Eliot's (1953) performance of *The Waste Land* given in Audio2-EWW2023.wav.









Continue Figure 2

a, b, c, f, and g), or, in one instance (line d), between an object NP and a prepositional phrase.

At the same time, syntax in this passage does not fully determine the pausing, and this too is very common. Even though lines (c) and (d) together form a participial clause that parallels the V – NP – PP pattern of the participle clauses in lines (b), (g), and (f), there is a break after the NP object in line (d) but in none of the others. Furthermore, the pause at the end of line (c) is strikingly short, just a tenth of a second, despite its coming at the end of a full participial clause. These features break rank with the otherwise-established pattern that creates unexpected changes in the flow of text and as such may constitute a trope of STRETCHING of normal, expected patterns.

Pauses often occur at points other than major syntactic boundaries, as for example in the opening to this humorous narrative recorded by a field methods student:

(7)			
	a	*Ok*	<0.18>
	b	*um so I'm going to tell you about*	<0.62>
	c	*a tradition that*	<0.23>
	d	*the people I work with in* <placename>	<1.29>
	e	*do*	<0.46>
	f	*um, during their sort of, they have this festival every summer*	
		to celebrate the founding of their village,	<0.41>
	g	*and the—*	<0.22>
	h	*this thing they do is called the* <festival name>*,*	<0.28>

In (7), some pauses occur after function words (lines b, c, g) in a way that suggests deliberation or else fishing for words, while other pauses occur at major clause endings (lines e, f, h).

Pauses also may fail to occur even at sentence boundaries, emerging instead after relatively minor constituents; in so doing they can present vivid poetic effects. Consider Figure 3, an example of Eastern Chatino oratory recorded and analyzed by Hilaria Cruz (2009) and given in Audio3-EWW2023.wav. It is formatted with a new line for each pause, except that the first, long continuous chunk is broken into indented sub-lines based on final lengthening of some words (marked with trailing colons). The speaker speaks extremely rapidly and (after the first two lines) in very long chunks. There is often no pause even at sentence breaks, many of which end with the discourse tag particle *in*^{20} ('20' indicates a mid-to-superhigh rising tone, glossed as 'hm?'). Meanwhile, some of the pauses that do occur come after minor constituents, e.g., lines (d), (h), (j), and (k).

a *Chaʔ^{3} no^{24} tʔwi:::^{24}*
May you have:::
  chaʔ^{3} tlyu^{2} riʔ^{2} ʔwan^{1}. Chaʔ^{3} no:::^{24}
  forgiveness within you. And that's:::
    ti:::^{2}
    why:::
      nsʔya^{1} wa^{42} ʔwan^{4}, ***in^{20}?*** *ke:::^{4}*
      we called on you [tonight], **hm?** As::
        sya^{0} ndya^{24} riʔ^{2} tye^{32} ʔwan^{4}, ***in^{20}?*** <0.73>
        your heart permits you, **hm?**

b *Sʔen^{4} kwan^{140} sʔen^{4} ndoon^{42},* ***in^{20}?*** <0.40>
Where we sat where we stood, **hm?**

c *nkwa^{2} wan^{1} yaʔ^{2} ʔna^{42} nkwa^{2} wan^{1} kyaʔ^{24} ʔna^{42} nkwa^{2} wan^{1}. Ya^{42} wan^{4} ska^{4}-ska^{32} ma^{4}-nda^{24} ska^{4}-ska:^{32} ynya^{3} no^{24} lon^{14},* ***in^{20}?*** <0.66>
you were our hands you were our feet you were. You went [to carry out] any task any work we ordered, **hm?**

d *Ndya^{32}-ra^{0}* <0.18>
Sometimes

e *ʔne^{42} jlaan^{21} ʔwan^{4} ndya^{32}-ra^{0} sʔwe^{3} ti^{24} ykweenʔ^{242} ndya^{32}-ra^{0} sʔi^{0} ʔa^{24} ykweenʔ^{242} ndya^{32}-ra^{0}* <0.57>
we scolded you sometimes with kindness we spoke sometimes wrongly we spoke sometimes.

f *Kwiʔ^{24} Ndyo^{14}-si^{0} janʔ^{42} kanʔ^{42} no^{4} nke^{42} ʔna^{42} kanʔ^{42} no^{4} nda:^{3} jwe^{4}-sa^{10} ʔna^{42} kanʔ^{42} nda:^{3} chaʔ^{3} tya^{20} riʔ^{2} ʔna^{42} ka::nʔ^{42}.* <0.51>
Just God was the one who was patient with us the one who gave: strength to us the one who gave wisdom to us that one::.

g *Yaan^{42}, ʔaan^{242},* ***in^{20}?*** <0.54>
We went, we traveled, **hm?**

h *chaʔ^{3} ʔin^{24} ʔya^{2} chaʔ^{3} ʔin^{24} chin^{32},* ***in^{20}?*** *Ja^{4} -la^{32} yaan^{42} chaʔ^{3} ʔna^{42} skaan^{242} chaʔ^{3} nka^{24} ʔa^{1} tyiin^{1},* ***in^{20}?*** *Kwiʔ^{24}* <0.50>
on behalf of the mountains on behalf of the community, **hm?** We did not go do this for our own selfish reasons or because we wanted to, **hm?** Just that

i *chaʔ^{3} xtya^{20} ʔya^{2} chaʔ^{3} xtya^{20} chin^{4} ʔna^{42},* ***in^{20}?*** *Kanʔ^{42}-chaʔ^{3} ykweenʔ^{142} kanʔ^{42}-chaʔ^{3} nkwaan^{21} kanʔ^{42}-chaʔ^{3} ʔeen^{242}.* <0.51>
the mountains put us here the community put us here, **hm?** That is why we spoke that is why we were [authorities] that is why we dwelled.

j *ʔan^{42} seen^{42} ndya^{4} ska^{4} ska^{32} na^{3} no^{42} ndya:^{32} no^{4}-nka^{24} ʔya^{2} no^{4}-nka^{24} chin^{1} no^{4}-nka^{24},* ***in^{20}?*** *ʔo^{1}* <0.58>
We were to care for all there is whatever there is that belongs to the mountains that belongs to the community that belongs, **hm?** And

k *kwan^{20} ti^{24} a^{1} ya:n^{42} sa^{4} ska^{32} sten^{4}-yʔaan^{1} no^{4} wa^{2} nkwa^{1} ynya^{3} no^{4} wa^{2} nkwa^{1} chin^{4},* ***in^{20}?*** *ʔo^{1} kwiʔ^{24} wan^{04} ti^{2}* <0.40>
in the same way came our fathers our mothers who have been contributors who have been community, **hm?** And may it be the same

l *tsa^{14} te^{20} lo^{14},* ***in^{20}?*** *kwiʔ^{24} janʔ^{42} ʔa^{24} tyi^{32} ʔo^{1} kwiʔ^{24} janʔ^{42} ʔa^{24} xyaʔ^{2} ni^{4} cha^{1} kwa^{32} ra^{1}* <0.60>
in the future, **hm?** may it just not be lost and may it just not be changed for all the time

m *ntʔen^{1} ʔya^{2} ntʔen^{4} kchin^{32},* ***in^{20}?*** *ʔo^{1} sya^{1} ndya^{04} riʔ^{2} tye^{32} ʔwan^{32},* ***in^{20}?*** <P>
the mountains that are here the community that is here, **hm?** And as your heart permits [you], **hm?**

Figure 3. Transcription and translation of oratory in San Juan Quiahije Eastern Chatino (Otomanguean; Oaxaca, Mexico), spoken by Ricardo Cruz Cruz at a midnight ceremony between 31 December, 2004 and 1 January 2005. In the ceremony, the speaker, an outgoing village authority, thanks those who helped him during his term in office. A new major line is started after each pause; a new minor (indented) line is started after a word ending in rhetorical vowel lengthening (marked with colons according to the amount of lengthening). Based on Cruz (2009, 229-276), who recorded, transcribed, and translated the text.

6.1.4 Based on the patterns and their distributions, interpret what pausing may mean or do in your text.

In context, the cumulative effect of the pause distribution in Figure 3 just described is one of extreme constancy and fluency, where speech is broken up not according to syntactic units or the dense phrasal parallelism of the passage, but instead seems to pause only when the speaker needs to grab a gulp of air. Cruz (2009, 50; 150) points out the importance of 'flawless fluency' in this kind of oratory and even suggests that the phrase-final lengthening at the beginning of this passage can be interpreted as the speaker feigning disfluency before getting fully launched, and in that way displaying humility.

Our consideration here has been brief, and has only considered pausing and final lengthening in monologic speech. Pausing and other durational effects take on added significance in polylogic speech activities such as conversation, where they are implicated in turn-taking, overlaps, and lulls; and in forms of ritual speech where speakers play opposing roles or where one speaker repeats after the other (Urban, 1986).

6.2 Pitch and intonation

We can define intonation as those features of pitch in discourse that are not due to lexical tone of the kind found in tone languages. All spoken languages—even tone languages—have systems of intonation (Liberman, 1975; Pierrehumbert and Beckman, 1988) and these systems can differ widely (Jun, 2007). Ideally you should have an analysis of major features of the intonational system of the speech varieties with which you are working. This includes knowing its characteristic stress patterns; knowing its characteristic pitch targets and figures and how they align with stress or other prominences in words and with edges of words; how pitch or pitch ranges are scaled, including features like pitch initialization, downstep and final lowering (Liberman and Pierrehumbert, 1984; Hirschberg and Pierrehumbert, 1986). Such knowledge makes it much easier to organize your observations about pitch in your text. Although it is well beyond the scope of this paper to suggest how to analyze an intonational system, we nevertheless still consider it worthwhile to make observations about pitch in a text by concentrating on salient or recurrent patterns.

We can break this down into several steps, illustrated by using again the passage from T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* discussed in §6.1 and presented in Figure 2, where words are aligned to each stretch between pauses.

6.2.1 Locate characteristic pitches or pitch patterns that tend to mark important junctures at the ends of words or phrases, such as a final rising, level, or falling pitch. Retranscribe the text skipping a line after each such pitch sequence.

We can observe that before each pause, the pitch is usually either low or falling, or high or rising. Using Pierrehumbert's (1980) analysis of English intonation, we can indicate those as final H% or L% BOUNDARY TONES respectively: a boundary is a tone that aligns to a word- or phrase-edge and is notated with a following '%'; H and L stand for 'high' and 'low'. If we posit that a H% boundary tone indicates a weaker juncture than a L% boundary tone—suggesting continuation rather than finality—then we might render the pattern in line-and-verse format by starting a new line with each H%, but starting a new line and then skipping a line with each L%, giving us a new verse grouping after each L%:

(8)	a	*April is the cruelest month,*	L%	<0.60>
	b	*breeding lilacs out of the dead land,*	H%	<0.53>
	c	*mixing memory and desire,*	H%	<0.13>
	de	*stirring dull roots* <0.53> *with spring rain.*	L%	<1.32>
	f	*Winter kept us warm,*	L%	<0.41>
	g	*covering earth in forgetful snow,*	H%	<0.42>
	h	*feeding a little life with dried tubers.*	L%	<0.79>

Notice further that after line (d) in Figure 2, there is a pause but no clear H% or L% boundary tone—the pitch is mid and level—then we might join (d) with (e) to form a single boundary-tone defined line (de).

6.2.2 Determine whether these junctural sequences coincide with phrase- or sentence-ends, or pauses, or final lengthening.

Doing this, we see a pattern: L% occurs at the ends of (a) and (f), each a main clause that introduces a string of participles; and it occurs at the ends of (e) and (h), the ends of the two sentences. Meanwhile H% occurs at the ends of (b), (c), and (g), each a non-final participle clause. The pattern follows the parallel syntax of each sentence in parallel fashion; in fact more so than the pause pattern, which (as noted) asymmetrically separates (d) and (e) at a minor syntactic boundary while leaving its parallel correspondent, (h), as a single chunk.

If we considered pitch scaling, we find further reinforcement of syntactic structure: the two sentence-final L%'s, in (e) and (h), are are scaled lowest, about 70 Hz at each word-end, suggesting an extra strong juncture; while the two main clause final L%'s, in (a) and (f) are scaled somewhat higher, 81 Hz and 75 Hz respectively, suggesting some-

what weakened instances of L%. The line-and-verse notation, as given, does not capture those differences.

6.2.3 Locate any pitch targets or sequences aligned to stresses or other prominences in words (or in some words).

In Figure 2, some stressed words show a distinct pitch figure—for example *April* and *cruelest* in (a) show a high pitch aligned to the main word stress; while the participles at the beginnings of lines (b), (c), (de), (g), and (h) all show a low pitch aligned to the main word stress, followed by a high pitch aligned to the word's end. Pierrehumbert terms these pitch accents; the two pitch accents just mentioned are notated as H* (where * indicates a stress-aligning pitch) and L* H, where the unmarked H is an associated PHRASE ACCENT. (In (a), *cruelest* shows not only an H* peak on the stressed syllable, but also a following L phrase accent). (9) is a re-transcription of our passage which shows, below and aligned to the words in each line, the notable pitch accents, phrase accents, and boundary tones. The stressed words to which they are aligned are boldfaced:

(9)	a	***April*** *is the* ***cruelest*** *month,*	
		H* H* L L%	
			<0.60>
	b	***breeding*** ***lilacs*** ***out*** *of the dead* ***land,***	
		L* H L* H L* H L* H%	<0.53>
	c	***mixing*** ***memory*** *and* ***desire,***	
		L* H L* H L* H%	<0.13>
	de	***stirring*** ***dull*** *roots* <0.53> *with* ***spring*** ***rain.***	
		L* H L* H L* H H* L%	<1.32>
	f	***Winter*** ***kept*** *us* ***warm,***	
		H* H* H* L%	<0.41>
	g	***covering*** ***earth*** *in forgetful* ***snow,***	
		L* H L* H L* H%	<0.42>
	h	***feeding*** *a* ***little*** ***life*** *with* ***dried*** ***tubers.***	
		L* H L* H L* H L* H H* L%	<0.79>

6.2.4 Find patterns in the tonal markings at points of prominence and (if possible) interpretations in context of these patterns.

A notable pattern in (9) is that the main clause lines (a) and (f)—ending in L%—use the H* pitch accent, while elsewhere the L* H pitch accent is used. The pattern creates an overall high-to-low trajectory for (a) and (f), while the other lines are composed of choppy, perhaps tentative seeming rises. It is quite common for more global patterns of this kind to arise.

Still, all the patterns discussed raise a range of issues: Are the ascents at the ends of the low-accented participles simply non-pre-pausal instances of H%? Are the falls at the ends of high-accented words like *cruelest* simply instances of non-pre-pausal L%? Are there just two categorically distinct tonal levels, H and L (with the rest being the *scaling* of H and L)? These are important questions, and can be given principled answers if one has a stable analysis of the intonational system of the speech variety in question. But even without that, it is possible to identify in a text patterns of pitch that are highly salient and recurrent.

6.2.5 Identify global pitch scaling patterns, for example, patterns where the pitch range is greater at the beginnings or ends of phrases or of longer chunks of discourse.

In Figure 2, it is clear that the scaling of the first H of each intonational 'line' is higher than that of subsequence H's (except in (h)), giving an overall pattern of descent within the line. Furthermore, within each sentence, the pitch of the first H of each successive line is a little bit lower than the last, giving a cascading effect that further reinforces the syntactic unit (again with (h) as a slight exception):

(10) Pitch in Hz of the first H or H* of each line in (5): (a) 165; (b) 162; (c) 158; (de) 147; (f) 156; (g) 151; (h) 152

It is notable that this intonational pattern smoothly reinforces sentential units whereas the distribution of L% boundary tones is also keyed to the ending of the sentence-internal main clauses in (a) and (f).

As a coda to our discussion of this text passage, it may come as a surprise that Eliot (1922) offered a division of this passage into lines in the printed version of the poem that follows none of those we derived from pause patterning, pitch patterning, or syntax (also noted by Chambers 2015):

(11) *APRIL is the cruelest month, breeding*
Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing
Memory and desire, stirring
Dull roots with spring rain.
Winter kept us warm, covering
Earth in forgetful snow, feeding
A little life with dried tubers.

The written line breaks occur after each participle rather than at the major syntactic breaks where Eliot paused, giving in writing a series of grammatically parallel enjambments. It is as if the written form introduces an alternative analysis of the prosody,

suppressing the clause boundaries and the attendant prosody in his own performance of the poem. At most, his reading of the poem marks his written lines only by the prominence of the rise at the end of each participle.[6]

Again, we have only scratched the surface. And while it is not uncommon for intonational patterns to establish repetition and parallelism across a stretch of talk—as we have just seen—even in a language like English that is well-known for its wide intonational repertoire (Pierrehumbert, 1980). In some texts, however, pitch and intonational patterns can be quite varied: conversational texts are often cases of this. There, intonation can mark differences in illocutionary force, or signal a range of expressive values. Without a prior analysis of patterns in a speech variety, these can be hard to keep track of.

6.3 Other patterns in sound

We now turn to other features of sound beyond pausing and intonation, including those that are pervasive such as meter in traditional English poetry as well as those that are incidental or 'one offs'. In particular we focus on parallelism in sound, and on expressive phonology. These features are often quite particular and specialized, occurring in some speech but not other; and they can be taken as emblematic of specific genres. In that respect, they differ from pausing and intonation, which show up in some form in nearly all speech.

6.3.1 Look for parallelism in sound.

Key among sound patterns that may become pervasive are those involving parallelism. Of course, parallelism in sound is sometimes also accompanied by parallelism in lexical choice, grammatical structures, and/or macro parallelism of the kind described by Greg Urban (1986), and we treat those in their own right in §4.3.2. But here we focus especially on cases where sound parallelism is notable.

To illustrate, let us examine the *tom yaya kange* (long metered narratives), recorded by Alan Rumsey (2007, 262) in Ku Waru (a language of Papua New Guinea). In *tom yaya kange* we find both lexical parallelism (or what Rumsey calls *substantive* parallelism), where words are repeated, and grammatical parallelism, where grammatical structures are repeated (we have bolded the lexical parallelism and underlined the grammatical parallelism). Here is the beginning of a *tom yaya kange* by Engel Kep:

[6] In another available performance of the poem by Eliot made in 1935—documented and analyzed in Swigg (2001) and interpreted and compared with the more widely known 1946 reading by Chambers (2015)—the poet prosodically acknowledges both analyses: he pauses at the major syntactic breaks but he also pauses at the line-endings of the printed poem; in that reading, the participles consistently have high-pitched stress followed by a L% pre-pausal boundary tone.

(12) 1. <u>*kalkala ab-a tanga a*</u> 'the woman was Kalkagla Tanga'
2. <u>*wi kupi yi tala a*</u> 'the man was Kupi Tagla'
3. *pekir* ***yaya nyirim e*** '"they all know I sleep here," she said.'
4. *molkur* ***yaya nyirim e*** '"they all know I stay here," he said.'

As Rumsey (2001, 2007) makes clear, there is also a metrical system at play here, such that the number of beats per line ranges from five to eight among different chanters. Rumsey describes the metrical system of the chanter Noma as follows:

> Like that of many (but not all) *tom yaya* performers, Noma's line has a highly regular internal rhythm, realized by a combination of stress and syllable length, which tend to co-vary. Each of his lines has six strong, evenly spaced beats. Each of these beats can be taken to establish the beginning of a foot. A *tom yaya* foot frequently consists of only one syllable, but may alternatively consist of two, three, four, or perhaps even more. Generally all feet are of equal overall length or quantity. This means that in the case of feet of two or more syllables, all syllables in the foot have to be made shorter than the one in a one-syllable foot In Noma's performance style, the first syllable in the foot is invariably the longest, and the rest are shortened to fill out the foot without increasing its overall length. (Rumsey, 2001, 210-211)

Rumsey's work is important because it shows the way that language documentation on speech play and verbal art can address larger theoretical questions concerning poetic forms cross-culturally. Rumsey's (2001) article is a direct challenge to a view that saw metered verse as only being found in literate societies. Meter, of course, is an example of phonological parallelism. Here then, in the performances of *tom yaya kange*, we find examples of lexical, musical, grammatical, and phonological parallelism all intertwined.

Typical examples of phonological parallelism involve rhyme, alliteration, and meter (whether based on syllables or, as in many poetic forms in Japanese, on moras). More subtle forms include the Welsh poetic tradition of *cynghanedd* or 'harmony' (Hopwood, 2004, 1). This example is by Alan Llwyd and is an example of *cynghanedd groes* 'Criss-cross Harmony' (see Hopwood 2004, 31, 36, 103). This line has seven syllables and that length is the most common syllable length for a line of *cynghanedd groes* (but they can be shorter or longer) (Hopwood, 2004, 32). Notice that the consonant sounds echo across the caesura (indicated with /) and are intimately connected to the placement of stress (indicated here underneath with – and on the penultimate syllable). The consonants and the stress are parallel on either side of the caesura (consonants after the final unstressed syllable need not be the same).

(13) *Roeddeira/ ar ydderwen*
r dd–r / r dd–r
There was snow on the oak tree

Here is an example of *cynghanedd lusg* 'drag harmony', which is an internal rhyme from the final word before the caesura and the penultimate (or stressed) syllable after the caesura. Here too we have a seven syllable line. This example is by Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen and from Marwnad Lleucu Llwyd 'The Death of Lleucu Llwyd', written in the latter half of the fourteenth century (Williams, 1973). Not only does Llywelyn Goch use the *cynghanedd lusg* in this line, but there is also a pun as well. As Gwyn Williams (1973, 57) notes, "'a *fynnych fedd*' can here also mean 'whether you'd like mead', an intended ambiguity." The translation is from Williams (1973, 57).

(14) *i edrych/ a fynnych fedd*
  ych/ ych
  to see whether you'd like a grave

Notice that the English translations fail to capture the play of sounds in the Welsh originals or the pun in the second example.

Related to poems which forefront the phonic shape of the utterance are "ideophone" poems (for a general overview of the relationship between ideophony and poetry see Lahtie et al. 2014; see also, specifically, Barrett 2014. Below are examples from the Gbaya and English poetry of Dogobadomo. Notice again the use of parallelism in these poems (often in the reduplication or triplication of the ideophonic form). Here is the poem by the poet Dogobadomo (we have followed the formatting from Noss):

(15) *Gidimmm*
  Fɛ́-fɛ-fɛ́ɛ́
  Kíláŋ-ki-kíláŋ
  Sélélé
  Ŋmabį̨į̨
  They were taking counsel
  (Noss, 2001, 267)

The first five lines of the poem are composed of ideophones. The first line represents the sounds of people gathering together quietly. The second line evokes the sounds of "soft consultation…like the sound of soft breezes blowing" (Noss, 2001, 267). The third line creates the impression of a more disjointed and forceful discussion. The fourth line evokes, then, silence. The last ideophone evokes the sound of people scattering in an orderly fashion. As Philip Noss (2001, 267) notes, "the poet's conclusion makes it clear that this was a solemn communal gathering for taking counsel. The ideophones portray and successively reinforce the sense of decorum and dignity that characterizes the council meeting." As Noss (2001, 267) further notes, other ideophones would have created different understandings of the council meeting.

Ideophones can also play an important role in narrative, where they create vibrant images of the events as they unfold. An example of the heavy reliance on ideophones in narrative can be seen in the following translated excerpt from a story told by the Amazonian Kalapalo people (Basso, 1985):

(16) *"Now let's go over there."*
Tiki they came into her house, tiki.
She was there.
"That's her!" "Come on!"
They untied her hammock kidik, kidik
the other side tidik, tidik.
The others were all asleep while they carried her away,
but she didn't wake up,
because they were placing a spell on her.
Titititititi a long way,
into the middle of a lake,
into the middle of one like this one here, a big one.

6.3.2 Look for expressive phonology.

To get a sense of the use of expressive phonology in verbal art, we look at a poem by the Navajo poet Rex Lee Jim. This discussion also allows us to think about the kinds of ethnoliterary analysis—that is an analysis predicated on local cultural assumptions—that can be done. The goal here, then, is not just to describe the use of the expressive feature, but also to suggest one interpretation of its use. We do not claim that this is *the* interpretation, rather it is *an* interpretation worked out between Navajo poet Blackhorse Mitchell and Webster (see Mitchell and Webster, 2011). One central feature of what we might call a Navajo ethnoliterary theory is that one should not force an interpretation on others (Mitchell and Webster, 2011; Webster, 2015). Rather, one should make one's own interpretations. This resonates with a general ethos among some Navajos of *t'áá bí bee bóholnííh* 'it's up to her/him to decide' and a disinclination to be perceived as "bossy." Here there is respect for the autonomy of the individual and their capacity to make decisions, to make their own interpretations. Likewise, we do not argue that this is what Jim meant in writing his poem. Such a claim would assume that one could read Jim's mind. And, as discussed above, this would violate a general ethos among Navajos about not speculating about the inner workings of other peoples' minds. Here, then, is the translation done by Mitchell and Webster (2011):

(17) *na'ashchxiidí*
bíchxįįh

ní’deeshchxidgo
ni’iihchxįįh
chxąą’ bee
nániichxaad

(Jim, 1995, 38)

The badger’s
nose
stretched round
shitting
with shit
is full

(Mitchell and Webster, 2011)

In its brevity and its dense use of sound, this poem is very much like the other poems in *saad*. Indeed, when I interviewed Jim about some of the poems in *saad*, Jim told me that “sounds were very important.” As mentioned above, when Webster took a morpheme-by-morpheme translation of one of Jim’s poems back to him to look at, Jim’s response that Webster had “gotten all the words correct” made Webster realize that, while he could segment Navajo words, he did not have the proper stock of knowledge or acoustic sensibilities to understand the richness of his poetic craft. He had, to invoke Sapir (1929, 109) here, missed the “full comprehension of the whole life of a community as it is mirrored in the words, or as it is suggested by their overtones.” One important aesthetic consideration, part of the life of a community, to keep in mind here is the concern with punning or as Navajos sometimes call it *saad aheełt’éego diits’a’* ‘words that resemble each other through sound.’ This is an important feature of Navajo verbal life more generally and specifically of Jim’s poetry.

The first thing to note about the poem by Jim is that each line includes the sound -*chx*- which can be described as a voiceless palatal affricate (here written <ch>) and a velar fricative (here written <x>). This is a form of consonantal rhyme. Here the rhyme is based on the “consonant cluster” at the beginning of the verb or noun stem. We should also note that the consonant cluster stem initial of *chx*- in this poem is an optional consonant cluster (both in spoken and written discourse). All of the forms in this poem that have this consonant cluster can also appear without the velar fricative [x]. As noted earlier, the insertion of the velar fricative indicates an affective stance of pejoration, depreciation, and/or augmentation.

Why, possibly, this consonant cluster? We would suggest, based on Webster’s conversations with Navajo consultants, that the expressive use of -*x*- in this poem resonates or echoes with the -*x*- that is normally found in expressions like *nichx’ǫ́í* ‘it is ugly, dis-

orderly, out of control' or *hóchxǫ'* 'ugly, out of control, disorderly.' Such things that lack control, according to some Navajos, are things that need to be returned to order or control or beauty or *hózhǫ́*. Briefly, among some Navajos there is an important moral distinction between *hózhǫ́* 'beauty, order, harmony, control' and *hóchxǫ'* 'ugly, disorderly, lacking control' (see Reichard, 1950; Witherspoon, 1977). Much ritual in Navajo is concerned with returning things that are *hóchxǫ'* to a status of *hózhǫ́*. In this poem, Jim not only repeats the sound -*x*- throughout, but in fact creates a consonantal rhyme by way of the repetition of the consonant cluster -*chx*-. This is the very consonant cluster found in the verb stem *–chxǫ'* 'ugly.' The velar fricative resonates across a number of lexical items, some that are more prototypically found with the velar fricative like *hóchxǫ'*. Jim highlights this sound affinity or phonological iconicity even more by repeating the consonant cluster -*chx*- throughout the poem. Jim's use of the velar fricative is a richly layered and textured poetic accomplishment in Navajo. To make this point, let us go through the poem informed by comments that Mitchell made about the various forms. This will be supplemented by comments from other Navajos about this poem. We focus on Mitchell's discussion for a number of reasons. First, like Jim, Mitchell is also a poet. Second, like Jim, Mitchell is also a medicine man (though they do not do the same chantway). Third, like Jim, Mitchell has spent a fair amount of time thinking about the Navajo language. Fourth, Jim and Mitchell have known each other for many years. Fifth, Mitchell and Webster have discussed this poem over several years.

The introduction of *na'ashchxiidí* 'badger, rodent' with the velar fricative indicates a pejorative affective stance towards this character. Mitchell and other Navajos translated this as 'badger' or 'rodent'–Jim suggested, instead, 'rough mouse.' We follow Mitchell–not because he is right and Jim is wrong–but because we are following Mitchell's interpretation here (*an* interpretation, not *the* interpretation, see Webster 2017). Jim, we should add, agrees with the interpretation of the work of the velar fricative and the consonant cluster. As Mitchell noted, without the -*x*- this might be a 'badger' from a storybook or Disney DVD, "these animal characters in those movies, there is no ugliness, it's nice and clean movies." But with the -*x*- there is a pejorative sense and, also, a sense of 'badger' being out of place, ugly and uncontrolled. First, the verb stem here is -*chid* 'to move hands and arms in a non-controlled manner'. In Navajo, there is a contrast between some verb stems indicating doing things in a controlled manner (-*níłh* 'to move hands and arms in a controlled manner') and indicating that the actor does things in a non-controlled—but not uncontrolled—manner (-*chid* 'to move hands and arms in a non-controlled manner'). Second, the addition of the -*x*- in conjunction with -*ch*- suggests, because it evokes the -*chx*- sound in *hóchxǫ'*, that not only are the hands, arms, or paws moving in a non-controlled manner, but they are moving in an "uncontrolled" manner. 'Badger' lacks control. Behaving (including speaking) in a controlled manner, as has been widely noted in the literature, is a basic tenet of Navajo philosophy (Reichard, 1950; Witherspoon, 1977).

Let us turn to the second line, *bichxį́į́h* 'its nose'. In conversations that Webster had with Mitchell he has variously tried to explain the expressive work done by *-x-* through lexicalizing it into English. Mitchell has used terms like "big nose," "fat nose," "dried and cracked," and "ugly nose" to describe the expressive quality of the line *bichxį́į́h*. Another Navajo that Webster worked with on this poem suggested "protrusion." The velar fricative expresses a pejorative stance towards 'badger's' nose, while the consonant cluster *-chx-* evokes—through phonological iconicity with the verb stem *-chxǫ'*—an out-of-control-ness or ugliness as well. The character *na'ashchxiidí* is both uncontrolled in behavior, but also uncontrolled in appearance as well.

The third line of *ní'deeshchxidgo* which Mitchell translated as "stretched round" was described by Mitchell in the following manner, "its nose is widened out," "its nostrils, horrible looking," "the rim of its nose is open wide", and "its expanding its nose, getting big." We would suggest, based on Webster's conversations with Navajo consultants, that *na'ashchxiidí*'s nostrils are flaring in a "horrible" and, hence, uncontrolled manner. That is, 'badger' is behaving in an uncontrolled manner here as well. The *-x-* in combination with *-ch-* evokes again that the actions of 'badger' are actions that are done in a manner lacking control. They are done in an "ugly" (that is, *hóchxǫ'*) manner.

The next line—*ni'iihchxįįh*—suggests that 'badger' is taking a "nasty shit." It is a "shit" that "smells awful." It might be the case that 'badger' has lost control of his bowel movement and has become incontinent. This seems suggested, anyway, in Mitchell commenting that the form had a sense of "shitting around" and another Navajo suggesting "shits all over." In either case, it is a vile shit that 'badger' is taking. This is, of course, affirmed in the fifth line. Here we find *chxąą' bee* and as noted above the use of the -x- here indicates that 'badger's' defecation is "too much," "like you filled up the toilet bowl," "dirty," "nasty," and "smells awful."

This brings us to the final line: *nániichxaad* 'to become full (bulge or swell) with food' or as Mitchell translates it 'is full.' Mitchell has described the use of the -x- here as indicating that 'badger' "over ate," "ate till it was too full," "its belly became too round," "ate till they became ugly with a round belly hanging out," and "it ate more than it needs." As Mitchell further noted, "we shouldn't over eat, we shouldn't have a round stomach." The velar fricative here suggests an affective stance of both augmentative and pejorative. Thus, the use of the *-x-* in conjunction with *-ch-* seems to indicate that 'badger' ate in an uncontrolled manner; that it ate too much, much more than it needed. The repeated use of the consonantal rhyme of *-chx-* in each line forefronts that sound and suggests—through phonological iconicity—a felt connection with the verb stem –*chxǫ'*. Note finally that the vowel that follows the velar fricative in this poem moves from a high front vowel /i/ (*na'ashchxiidí*) to a low central vowel /a/ (*nániichxaad*). In producing this vowel, the mouth physically gets more open/larger and rounder as one reads down the poem. The mouth thus replicates the very fullness of *nániichxaad*.

While Mitchell stressed to Webster that each listener of this poem would get "a dif-

ferent image, a different picture" from this poem and that Jim was "creating a descriptive picture" and "playing around with words" in this poem, Mitchell did note that, for him, the poem suggested that "we don't think about what we are doing, we don't know what we become." *Na'ashchxiidí* is not behaving in a proper manner and according to Mitchell the -*x*- seems to add to the view that 'badger' does not "think about what it is doing." 'Badger' is not paying attention to what it is doing to itself. 'Badger' is out of control: eating too much and eating its own vile shit. It is, quite literally, "full of shit." For Mitchell, this poem seems to suggest that some people are not paying attention to what they are doing to themselves.

One key in a *humanities of speaking* is to recognize the pleasure in speaking certain forms. For example, the repetition of words, sounds, or phrases can be aesthetically pleasing forms of speech play. Keith Basso (1996) discusses the ways that some Western Apaches simply repeat place-names for aesthetic reasons. One Navajo woman that Webster worked with enjoyed repeating the Navajo word *hahodínéest* 'it has been raining for a while and won't stop.' Minks (2013) has described the ways that Miskitu children enjoy repeating the same phrases over and over again. This is the pleasure of speaking beautiful words. Here too, as Isbell and Fernandez (1977, 29) describe for Quechua riddle games, even when a riddle—especially riddles based on sound rhythm—is well known, "their sounds give the listener a sense of pleasure." Here is an example of such a riddle (we reproduce the example from Isbell and Fernandez adding only a clarification in brackets for their use of dim as an indicator of a diminutive):

(18) Riddle:*Tillutillucha*
Tillutillu-cha
* * -dim [diminutive]
Answer:*Puchkatillucha*
Puchkatillu -*cha*
A spindle of whorl-dim [diminutive]

> *Tillu* does not have denotative meaning (indicated by *) but native speakers find it pleasurable and say that it brings to mind something small and delicate. The riddle is based entirely upon the rhythm of the sounds in the question and answer.
> (Isbell and Fernandez, 1977, 29-30)

Surprise is an important component of speech play—of puns, jokes, riddles and verbal duels—but so too can be the satisfaction of form, the music of languages (see Burke 1925; Friedrich 1986).

To summarize §5.3, we have taken the important examples of two kinds of tropes —parallelism and expressive phonology—to illustrate the extent that quite particular patterns of sound, either pervasive or incidental, may arise in speech activity. Any number of other tropes involving sound could have also been treated, for example, sonic

iconicity, the stretching of canonical phonological form (Hale, 1992), and phonological indexing of foreign, animal, or 'defective' speech (Sapir, 1915). No formula for analysis should expect these; rather, analysts need to be sensitive to patterns and moments where sound becomes ascendant, describe them, and build them into their exegeses and interpretations.

6.4 Summary

In this consideration of sound patterns and tropes, we began with durational phenomena including pausing, and basic intonational and prosodic features, all of which are likely to be pervasive in any speech and therefore should be attended to in any analysis, but which may show further characteristics quite special to the speech activity under consideration. We then turned to patterns and tropes of more varied kinds, turning particular attention to the many forms of sound parallelism, and to expressive uses of sound.

7 Finding patterns and tropes in lexicon, grammar, and meaning

We now turn to patterns and tropes in lexicon, grammar, and meaning. These patterns may occur pervasively to give structure to the text and may involve Jakobsonian patterned recurrence, such as the structuring of narrated events along a timeline, grouped into temporal episodes, or the use of lexical, grammatical, and thematic parallelism. Or they may involve other tropes, including various figures of speech including metaphor and other kinds of semantic or pragmatic stretching. Our ultimate goal in the analysis of any text is to discover what is linguistically and expressively most salient and important in it, and therefore we deliberately cast our net widely. Nevertheless we believe that any text can usefully be analyzed with a view to its basic discourse organization and thematic patterning (§7.1); to its use of parallelism (§7.2); and to its possible use of a range of other tropes including stretching, code shifting, contiguity, metaphor, and other 'figures of speech' (§7.3).

7.1 Discourse organization and thematic patterning

In §5 our basic analysis included breaking down a text into interactional units such as speaker turns; and into sentences or clauses. From there, it should be possible to find patterns in the organization of content for which these turns, sentences, or clauses (or groupings of them) may emerge as the building blocks. We take up two common, useful starting points, one suited to polylogic discourse including conversation and various forms of co-performance, and the other for a range of other kinds of speech events including narrative, oratory, and ritual speech.

In polylogic discourse, find patterning within and across speaker turns. For example, in the Hup conversation discussed in §3.3 above, the first four turns, by three of

the four participants, focus on characterizing and explaining the speakers' own ethnic hair quality; and the following five turns, by another set of three participants among the four, focus on characterizing and explaining the ethnic hair quality of members of a different group. Furthermore, within each turn where an explanation is offered or elaborated, the assertion is marked with a hearsay evidential marker. While this conversation involves speakers elaborating on each others' assertions, it is very frequent in conversational discourse for turns to be organized into ADJACENCY PAIRS (or sets) (Levinson, 1983) such as question-and-answer, request-and-acceptance (or rejection), and so on; and these often form the nucleus for a wide range of SPVA including riddles (Sherzer, 2002), verbal dueling (Labov, 1974a; Dubuisson, 2010; Pagliai, 2009, 2015; Tetreault, 2010), call-and-response in musical performance, and ritual myth recitations (Urban, 1991) to name just a few. Likewise, parallelism across conversational turns can be elaborate (Silverstein, 1984; DuBois, 2014).

7.1.1 Find pervasive discourse organization and thematic patterning, creating transcriptions that bring these out.

Sequences of clauses or sentences often recapitulate a sequence of events in time, or the steps in an argument, or the features of a thing or scene being described. Once identified, these can be the basis for an analysis of clause sequences and even whole texts into larger units. For example, Labov (1974b, 359-60) influentially defined NARRATIVE as 'one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred." For him a minimal narrative is 'a sequence of two clauses which are *temporally ordered*: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation." He goes on to discuss more complex narratives where sequentiality forms the backbone of a narrative text but where the temporal progression is interrupted by clauses that indicate general states of affairs that are not specifically locatable in the temporal sequence, and yet which may offer descriptions or evaluations that support the narrative arc. He discusses conventional thematic features, such as an initial summarizing abstract or a final 'coda', that give narrative sequences a beginning and an end. And his approach allows for cycles of sequences within a narrative that may define smaller episodes.

Not all recapitulations of past experience are strictly sequential. For example, Sherzer (1987, 303-5) discusses examples from Kuna oral narrative and from avant-garde fiction that 'skip around' through time. But even though non-linear, these recapitulations present their own temporal patterns that can serve as the basis of an analysis, and these can, as Sherzer shows, represent 'cultural logics' that are embodied in discourse, or conscious experiments with temporality. As such, the patterns, particularly when salient, are a valid basis for textual analysis.

Generalizing this kind of approach well beyond narrative, Carlota Smith (2003)

identifies five DISCOURSE MODES (Table 1), distinguished according to the SITUATION TYPES they involve, their TEMPORALITY or relationship to time, and the basis for PROGRESSION through the text.

Table 1. Five discourse modes (Smith, 2003)

Mode	Situation types	Temporality	Text progression
Narrative	Events, States	Dynamic, located in time	Advancement in narrative time
Report	Events, States, General statives	Dynamic, located in time	Advancement anchored to speech time
Description	Events, States, Ongoing Events	Static, located in time	Spatial advancement through scene or object
Information	General stative	Atemporal	Metaphorical motion through text domain
Argument	Facts/propositions, General statives	Atemporal	Metaphorical motion through text domain

In presenting this scheme—which Smith specifically aims toward the analysis of written, expository prose—our goal is to emphasize the general interest and importance of notions like situation type, temporality, and text progression in discerning the thematicity and logic of spoken texts without suggesting that analyses of them need be restricted to just these five modes. As we have indicated elsewhere in this tutorial, we see the patterns in individual texts as emergent and potential quite variable.

7.2 Parallelism in lexicon, grammar, and meaning

We turn now to Jakobsonian recurrence as applied to lexical, grammatical, and thematic elements. Parallelism can be pervasive or incidental; here we focus especially on parallelism that is pervasive and that gives organization to a whole text or at least stretch of text. Parallelism can also be relatively more CONCRETE or more ABSTRACT. When it is concrete, there is more outright lexical, grammatical, and thematic repetition; whereas when it is abstract, the elements of recursion may be related figuratively rather than partly or wholly identical. We give an example of each, beginning with a concrete case. But in both cases, our analytic recommendation is the same.

7.2.1 Find pervasive patterns of parallelism and retranscribe the text in a way that brings it out, for example, setting off parallel strings in separate lines, verses, or stanzas.

Even a casual reading of the San Juan Quiahije Chatino oratorical sample in Figure 3 suggests significant, quite concrete parallelism: almost every novel clause is partially repeated at least once, preserving its lexical and syntactic FRAME, as Cruz (2014) terms it,

but substituting within that frame a partially novel string—usually a constituent of some kin—that contrasts with the string for which it substitutes (she terms this the FOCUS). In Figure 4, this passage is retranscribed, starting a new line for each repeating set of clauses (or in a few cases, of clausal constituent), showing the frame in boldface and the focus in plain type.

Table 2. Retranscription of Figure. 3, Chatino oratory, showing parallelism following the subdivisions and analysis offered in Cruz 2009, 229-276.[7]

1	***Chaʔ^{3} no^{24}*** *tʔwi:::^{24} chaʔ^{3} tlyu^{2} riʔ^{2} ʔwan^{1}.*	**May you** have::: forgiveness within you.
2	***Chaʔ^{3} no:::^{24}*** *ti:::^{2} nsʔya^{1} wa^{42} ʔwan^{4}, in^{20}?*	**And that's:::** why::: we called on you [tonight], hm?
3	*ke:::^{4} sya^{0} ndya^{24} riʔ^{2} tye^{32} ʔwan^{4}, in^{20}?* <P>	As:: your heart permits you, hm? <P>
4	***Sʔen^{4}*** *kwan^{140}*	**Where we** sat
5	***sʔen^{4}*** *ndoon^{42}, in^{20}?* <P>	**where we** stood, hm? <P>
6	***nkwa^{2} wan^{1}*** *yaʔ^{2}* ***ʔna^{42}***	**you were our** hands
7	***nkwa^{2} wan^{1}*** *kyaʔ^{24}* ***ʔna^{42}***	**you were our** feet
8	***nkwa^{2} wan^{1}***.	**you were**.
9	*Ya^{42}* ***wan^{4}***	**You** went [to carry out]
10	***ska^{4}-ska^{32}*** *ma^{4}-nda^{24}*	**any** task
11	***ska^{4}-ska:^{32}*** *ynya^{3} no^{24} lon^{14}, in^{20}?* <P>	**any** work we ordered, hm? <P>
12	***Ndya^{32}-ra^{0}*** <P> *ʔne^{42} jlaan^{21} ʔwan^{4}*	**Sometimes** <P> we scolded you
13	***ndya^{32}-ra^{0}*** *sʔwe^{3} ti^{24} ykweenʔ^{242}*	**sometimes** with kindness we spoke
14	***ndya^{32}-ra^{0}*** *sʔi^{0} ʔa^{24} ykweenʔ^{242}*	**sometimes** wrongly we spoke
15	***ndya^{32}-ra^{0}*** <P>	**sometimes**. <P>
16	*Kwiʔ^{24} Ndyo^{14}-si^{0} janʔ^{42}*	Just God was
17	***kanʔ^{42} no^{4}*** *nke^{42} ʔna^{42}*	**the one who** was patient with us
18	***kanʔ^{42} no^{4} nda:^{3}*** *jwe^{4}-sa^{10} ʔna^{42}*	**the one who gave:** strength to us
19	***kanʔ^{42} nda:^{3}*** *chaʔ^{3} tya^{20} riʔ^{2} ʔna^{42}*	**the one who gave:** wisdom to us
20	***ka::nʔ^{42}***. <P>	**that one::.** <P>
21	*Ya**an**^{42}, ʔa**an**^{242}, in^{20}?* <P>	**We** went, **we** traveled, hm? <P>
22	***chaʔ^{3} ʔin^{24}*** *ʔya^{2}*	**on behalf of** the mountains
23	***chaʔ^{3} ʔin^{24}*** *chin^{32}, in^{20}?*	**on behalf of** the community, hm?
24	*Ja^{4} -la^{32} yaan^{42}*	We did not go [carry out this task]
25	***chaʔ^{3}*** *ʔna^{42} skaan^{242}*	**for** our own selfish reasons
26	***chaʔ^{3}*** *nka^{24} ʔa^{1} tyiin^{1}, in^{20}?*	**or because** we wanted to, hm?

[7] The repeating parallel frames are bolded since they are the forms we are explaining; but in a literary presentation, we might consider instead bolding the contrasting foci, which are salient pragmatically.

27	*Kwiʔ*^{24} <P>	Just that <P>
28	***chaʔ***^{3} ***xtya***^{20} *ʔya*^{2}	the mountains **put us here**
29	***chaʔ***^{3} ***xtya***^{20} *chin*^{4} *ʔna*^{42}*, in*^{20}*?*	the community **put us here**, hm?
30	***Kanʔ***^{42}***-chaʔ***^{3} *ykwe**en**ʔ*^{142}	**That is why we** spoke
31	***kanʔ***^{42}***-chaʔ***^{3} *nkwa**an***^{21}	**that is why we** were [authorities]
32	***kanʔ***^{42}***-chaʔ***^{3} *ʔ**een***^{242}. <P>	**that is why we** dwelled. <P>
33	*ʔan*^{42} *seen*^{42} ***ndya***^{4}	We were to care for all there is
34	*ndya*^{4} *ska*^{4} *ska*^{32} *na*^{3} *no*^{42} *ndya:*^{32}	whatever there is
35	***no***^{4}***-nka***^{24} *ʔya*^{2}	**that belong to** the mountains
36	***no***^{4}***-nka***^{24} *chin*^{32}	**that belong to** the community
37	***no***^{4}***-nka***^{24}*, in*^{20}*?*	**that belong**, hm?
38	*ʔo*^{1} <P> *kwan*^{20} *ti*^{24} *a*^{1} *ya:n*^{42} *sa*^{4} *ska*^{32} *sten*^{4}*-yʔaan*^{1}	And <P> in the same way came our fathers, mothers
39	***no***^{4} ***wa***^{2} ***nkwa***^{1} *ynya*^{3}	**who have been** contributors
40	***no***^{4} ***wa***^{2} ***nkwa***^{1} *chin*^{4}*, in*^{20}*?*	**who have been** community, hm?
41	*ʔO*^{1} ***kwiʔ***^{24} *wan*^{04} *ti*^{2} <P> *tsa*^{14} *te*^{20} *lo*^{14}*, in*^{20}*?*	And **may it** be the same <P> in the future?
42	***kwiʔ***^{24} ***janʔ***^{42} ***ʔa***^{24} *tyi*^{32}	**may it just not be** lost
43	*ʔo*^{1} ***kwiʔ***^{24} ***janʔ***^{42} ***ʔa***^{24} *xyaʔ*^{2} *ni*^{4} *cha*^{1} *kwa*^{32} *ra*^{1} <P>	**and may it just not be** changed for all the time
44	***Ntʔen***^{1} *ʔya*^{2}	The mountains **that are here**
45	***ntʔen***^{4} *kchin*^{32}*, in*^{20}*?*	the community **that is here**, hm?
46	*ʔO*^{1} *sya*^{1} *ndya*^{04} *riʔ*^{2} *tye*^{32} *ʔwan*^{32}*, in*^{20}*?* <P>	And as your heart permits [you], hm?

The parallelism in this passage is pervasive in the sense that it occurs regularly and reliably from clauses to clause. And the amount of verbatim repetition at lexical and grammatical levels, as well as the lexical and grammatical opposability of the focused (black, plain type) portions, suggest it is parallelism at the concrete end of the scale. And these observations are only an analytic starting point. As Cruz points out, there are specific patterns worth noting. For example, several sets of parallel clauses end with a clause where the beginning part of the frame is repeated but where there is no focus, as in lines 6-8, where 'you were' repeats as a sort of tag in line 8 without a focus complement, literally: '**you were** hands **our**; **you were** feet **our**; **you were**'. This pattern also occurs in lines 12-15, 17-20, and 35-37; Cruz terms it the FRAME TAG construction. In context, as she argues, the absence of a focus in the last lines implies a generalization of the category established by the preceding focuses. For line 8, 'you were' implies in context 'you were all sorts of things (for us)'.

Furthermore, there are issues of structure and performance that arise. As Cruz points out, the Chatino orator is performing extemporaneously, on the fly, and she indicates

that each new clause or 'line' can be improvised on the basis of the previous clause or line (compare this to a classic sonnet, whose 14 lines, stanzas, and couplets must be counted out globally).

Finally, it is interesting that the parallelism in this passage—as concrete as it is—is not mirrored by pausing and final lengthening, which, as we saw in Figure 3, imply quite a different parsing of the material. This further supports our point that SPVA should be analyzed—and even transcribed—in multiple takes.

To give an example of Hymesian ethnopoetics and to highlight the interpretive possibilities of such representations of a text, in the ways it "slows down and guides the eye" (Hymes, 1996, 122), we present a narrative excerpt by John Watchman and from Sapir and Hoijer's (1942) *Navaho Texts* (for a more complete analysis of this text see Webster 2012). In Image 1, we have reproduced the first page of the text from Sapir and Hoijer (1942, 20-12). The Navajo appears on the left side and the English translation on the right side. Notes to the Navajo text are for comments concerning various Navajo forms. Notes on the English language translation provide contextual and cultural information. The narrative is represented as block prose. Webster and Blackhorse Mitchell retranslated the narrative together and retitled the narrative *Ma'ii dóó Gólízhii* to align with the way the story is often referenced (see Webster 2012 for a discussion of the process of retranslation). Webster then analyzed the narrative into an ethnopoetic format. Below we present the opening scene of the narrative in that ethnopoetic format which highlights the use of parallelism in the scene, the use of the quotative *jiní* 'they say,' and the use of the particle *t'áá'áko* 'just so.' Unlike earlier translation practices, here the quotative *jiní* is consistently translated to highlight its abundance (see Hymes 1987). Watchman begins the narrative with a common opening framing device *'Ałk'idą́ą́' Ma'ii jooldlosh, jiní* 'Long ago, Coyote was trotting along, they say' (Webster, 2009).

I.
'Ałk'idą́ą́' Ma'ii jooldlosh, jiní.

H^{w}eehoniigaigo, jiní,
"K'os hóle'!" ní, jiní.
        K'os beehazlį́į́', jiní.
"N'dózhoł!" ní, jiní.
        Been'deezhoł, jiní.

"Shikégizhdę́ę́' tó hada'nłxoshle'!"
        T'áá'áko bik'egizhdę́ę́', hada'nłxosh, jiní.
"Shibid bíighahgo tó neel'ą́ąle'!"
        T'áá'áko bibid tó bíneelą́', silį́į́'.
"Shíígháán t'ééidasitą́ągo yishdloshle'!" ní, jiní.

T'áá'áko bíígháán t'éidasitą́, jiní.
"Shijaa' t'ééyá háát'i'le'!" ní, jiní.
T'áá'áko bijaa' t'ééyá háát'i', jiní.

"Shiłdó'eeł!" ní, jiní.
T'áá'áko biłdeez'ééł, jiní.
"Dl'ótahjį' shiłch'óó'eeł!" ní, jiní.
T'áá'áko dl'ótahjį' biłch'íní'ééł, jiní.

I.
Long ago, Coyote was trotting along, they say.

It got very hot for him, they say.
"Let there be clouds!" he said, they say.
There were clouds, they say.
"A gentle rain!" he said, they say.
There was a gentle rain, they say.

"My toes, I wish that water would come bubbling between!"
Just so, between his toes, it came bubbling up, they say.
"My belly, I wish water would come to that level!"
Just so, it reached the level of his belly.
"My back, I wish I could trot along with it at that level!" he said, they say.
Just so, his back, it reached that level, they say.
"My ears, I wish only that they stuck out!" he said, they say.
Just so, his ears, only they stuck out, they say.

"Let me flow in the current!" he said, they say.
Just so, he flowed with it, they say.
"To the Prairie Dog Town, let it flow me there!" he said, they say.
Just so, he flowed to the Prairie Dog Town, they say.

Figure 4. *Ma'ii dóó Gólízhii*'Coyote and Skunk' as told by John Watchman, translated by Blackhorse Mitchell and Anthony K. Webster

Central to discussions of Hymesian ethnopoetics is the notion of the "line" (Hymes, 1981, 2003):

> Presentation in terms of lines and verses makes visible the shaping artistry of narrators, "all that complex wealth of minutiae which in their line-for-line aspect we call style and in their broader outlines we call form" (Burke, 1968,

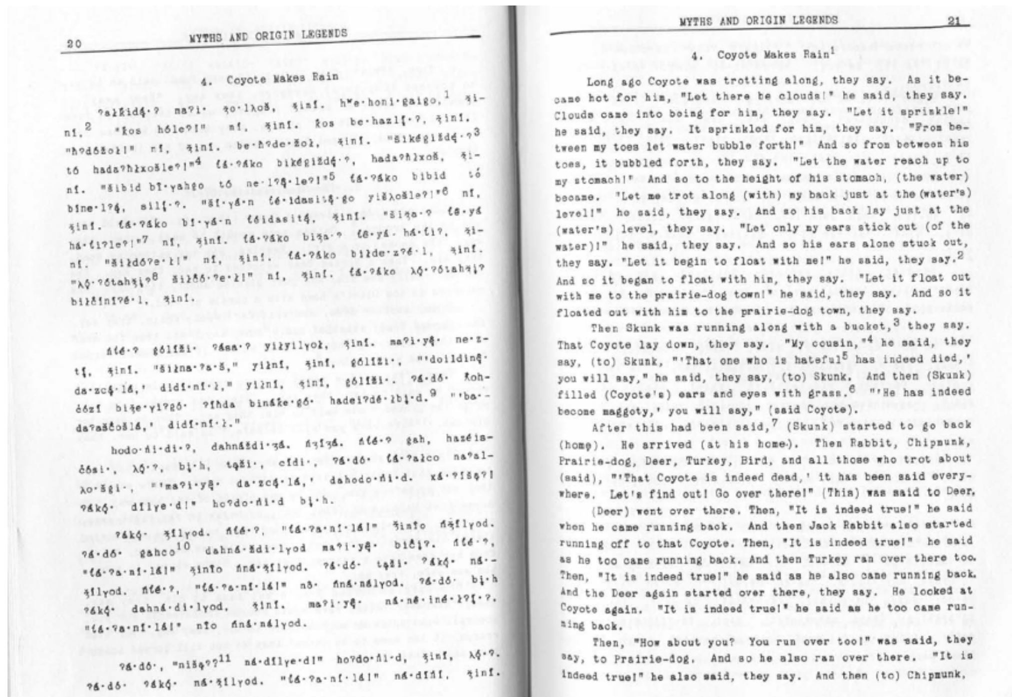
> 38). The reading is slowed, which makes it far more possible to perceive repetition, parallelism, and succession in the particular text, and what is constant and variable among texts. (Hymes, 2003, 311)

In the above example, lines have been segmented based on the use of: 1) the quotative *jiní*; 2) parallelism (thus if two utterances are identical or near identical, we take that as an indication that each is a line); 3) the use of initial particles (*t'áá'áko* 'just so'); 4) the use of quotations (a quote equals a line); and 5) form and content alignment. Larger narrative units are principally determined by form and content alignment. Scenes have been indicated by Roman numerals (there are four scenes in the narrative [Webster 2012]). Stanzas are indicated by a space between lines. Verses are indicated by indentation. This terminology is based on Hymes (1981, 2003).

Most of the versions of Coyote and Skunk that Webster is aware of begin with Coyote alone. This opening scene represents a "lyrical" moment (Hymes, 1998, ix) or a "providential world" (Hymes, 1984, 195). Such lyrical moments are common in other Native North American traditions. Here the lyrical moment concerns a world of wish fulfillment. All seems right with the world. In the second stanza, Coyote wishes aloud for a gentle rain and a gentle rain begins to fall. Watchman develops this scene with very tight parallelism (or repetition with variation) and pairing.

In the next stanza, each line begins here with Coyote mentioning a body part and then his desire. Not only is there the repetition of the initial possessed body part (in Navajo body parts need a possessive pronoun, here *shi-* 'my'), but each pair is resolved through the use of *t'áá'áko* which Webster translates as 'just so.' There is more. Watchman also ends each of Coyote's "wishes" with the optative enclitic *–le'* 'wish.' This is a form of grammatical parallelism and it lends an internal coherence to this section as well. Finally, Watchman ends fifteen of the lines in this example with the quotative *jiní* 'they say.' This device is used at the end or near the end of thirty-eight lines in the narrative (there are eighty-eight total lines). It is one of the primary poetic structuring devices in this narrative. It occurs nineteen times in the first twenty-four lines, and then occurs only nineteen more times in the next sixty-four lines. Its use at the beginning of narratives indicates that this narrative is outside the personal firsthand knowledge of the narrator and places the narrative in the voice of tradition (this is what others have said). Indeed, according to some of Webster's consultants, the use of *jiní* was most important at the beginning and endings of such narratives (in this way, the narrative was framed as coming from outside personal firsthand knowledge of the narrator). The above representation highlights Watchman's use of parallelism, which seems utterly obscured in the Sapir and Hoijer (1942, 20-21) presentation.

One nevertheless might ask, is the ethnopoetic line (or even the poetic line, as defended by Fabb and Halle 2008) a reliable, transcendent "thing", a unit of sound or grammar or discourse, independent of and beyond whatever patterns of parallelism might



20 MYTHS AND ORIGIN LEGENDS

4. Coyote Makes Rain

MYTHS AND ORIGIN LEGENDS 21

4. Coyote Makes Rain[1]

Long ago Coyote was trotting along, they say. As it became hot for him, "Let there be clouds!" he said, they say. Clouds came into being for him, they say. "Let it sprinkle!" he said, they say. It sprinkled for him, they say. "From between my toes let water bubble forth!" And so from between his toes, it bubbled forth, they say. "Let the water reach up to my stomach!" And so to the height of his stomach, (the water) became. "Let me trot along (with) my back just at the (water's) level!" he said, they say. And so his back lay just at the (water's) level, they say. "Let only my ears stick out (of the water)!" he said, they say. And so his ears alone stuck out, they say. "Let it begin to float with me!" he said, they say.[2] And so it began to float with him, they say. "Let it float out with me to the prairie-dog town!" he said, they say. And so it floated out with him to the prairie-dog town, they say.

Then Skunk was running along with a bucket,[3] they say. That Coyote lay down, they say. "My cousin,"[4] he said, they say, (to) Skunk, "'That one who is hateful[5] has indeed died,' you will say," he said, they say, (to) Skunk. And then (Skunk) filled (Coyote's) ears and eyes with grass.[6] "'He has indeed become maggoty,' you will say," (said Coyote).

After this had been said,[7] (Skunk) started to go back (home). He arrived (at his home). Then Rabbit, Chipmunk, Prairie-dog, Deer, Turkey, Bird, and all those who trot about (said), "'That Coyote is indeed dead,' it has been said everywhere. Let's find out! Go over there!" (This) was said to Deer.

(Deer) went over there. Then, "It is indeed true!" he said when he came running back. And then Jack Rabbit also started running off to that Coyote. Then, "It is indeed true!" he said as he too came running back. And then Turkey ran over there too. Then, "It is indeed true!" he said as he also came running back. And the Deer again started over there, they say. He looked at Coyote again. "It is indeed true!" he said as he too came running back.

Then, "How about you? You run over too!" was said, they say, to Prairie-dog. And so he also ran over there. "It is indeed true!" he also said, they say. And then (to) Chipmunk,

Figure 5. Page from Sapir and Hoijer (1942) Navaho Texts

prompt an analyst to isolate it in a written presentation or reproduce it in a translation? As we have shown in this and the previous section, patterns in sound, grammar, and content may land on and reinforce the same divisions and units, but they may also offer, in counterpoint, competing and clashing divisions and annotations of the form and content of a text, each contributing in different ways to the whole text. It follows then that presenting a text as discrete lines and sets of lines is a decision that must be weighed carefully in light of its actual fit to all the major patterns that can be discerned in a speaker's text.

7.3 Other grammar, content, and meaning tropes: stretching, code shifting, contiguity, metaphor, and 'figures of speech'

Here we consider other kinds of tropes that may play a role in SPVA, and the wide range of possible forms these may take, often moving well beyond such formal tropes as repetition and parallelism considered earlier. Friedrich's (1991) broadly defined categories of tropes provide an excellent starting point to guide an investigation, but we emphasize that even his list is not necessarily exhaustive, nor are the kinds of exemplars one might find in the SPVA of one part of the world (cf. Friedrich's emphasis on European-American poetic traditions) necessarily representative of those elsewhere. We urge researchers to attend to the patterns present in the texts they document, and consider what sorts of figures are pervasive, as well as what may be vivid but not necessarily pervasive (see,

for example, Bunte 2002; Kroskrity 2010). It is important to be open to many different possibilities in considering tropes, rather than simply applying a checklist.

One area of investigation involves the stretching and manipulating of linguistic form (see Friedrich's 'formal tropes')—which can make use of addition, deletion, reordering, and many other ways of playing with canonicality in lexicon or grammar. The formal dimension is likely to be of particular interest to linguists—as well as to speakers—in that it often highlights language-specific resources. The poetry of e.e. cummings provides many examples of play with grammar, particularly involving the association of elements with different word classes—as can be seen for example in this excerpt from 'anyone lived in a pretty how town' (cummings, 1940):

(19) *anyone lived in a pretty how town*
(with up so floating many bells down)
spring summer autumn winter
he sang his didn't he danced his did

Cummings' poetry also manipulates lexicon, as when he creates novel compounds such as *mud-luscious* or *puddle-wonderful*. Lewis Carroll's (1871) 'Jabberwocky' provides another classic example of lexical play in its many nonsense words—which nevertheless make use of context, sound symbolism (e.g. *slithy*, *mimsy*), and other semi-productive sound patterns (e.g. the reflection of an English strong verb past tense form in *outgrabe*) to evoke meaning:

(20) *'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves*
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe:
All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the mome raths outgrabe.

Other linguistic traditions may find different ways to manipulate form. One strategy involves the use of alternate languages (see Sherzer 2002, 93); in the multilingual Vaupés region of the northwest Amazon, for example, narratives often make use of code-switches to represent the speech of spirits and other outsiders. In this example from a Hup myth, a deer spirit comes to visit a woman at night; his speech is represented in Tukano (the language of a neighboring group):

(21) *Yɨnɨh-yóʔ=mah* *yúp,* « ***Marĩ*** ***põ'ra,*** ***marĩ*** ***põ'ra***
thus-SEQ=REP DEM 1PL(T) children(T) 1PL(T) children(T)
karĩrã*?* » *nɔ́-ɔ̃y=mah.*
sleep(T) say-DYNM-REP
'So then, it's said, "Our children, are our children asleep?" he asked.'

In Amazonia, song repertoires are particularly likely to be multilingual, incorporating songs from neighboring languages; this is also true in aboriginal Australia (see

Marett 2005). Similarly, ritual and shamanic speech may include archaic lexical and grammatical forms (see e.g. Overall 2017, Epps forthcoming).

Another common manipulation of form is found in puns, where a word or phrase "unexpectedly and simultaneously combines two unrelated meanings" (Sherzer, 2002, 29). Puns are widely encountered in speech play, across traditions. In the following Hup interaction, Speaker 2 teases her interlocutor by punning on his use of the first person singular pronoun, which is homonymous with the verb 'to have sex':

(22) Speaker 1: *Isabel ʔan yǣ̃h-ǣ̃y.*
Isabel 1SG.OBJ call-DYNM
'Isabel is calling me.'

Speaker 2: *ʔAm-an ʔan-yǣ̃h-ǣ̃y tɨh?*
2SG-OBJ make.love-call-DYNM 3SG
'She's calling you to have sex?'

In Webster's experiences working with Navajo, puns often arose in conversations that were not being recorded. In such instances, Webster would jot down the pun as quickly as he could and later ask Navajo consultants about the pun. One Navajo consultant told Webster that she was pleased that he was documenting the puns because they were a particularly enjoyable feature of the Navajo language. Webster was also constantly reminded by Navajos that puns were one reason why the Navajo language was "dangerous" and some of Webster's mispronunciations of Navajo words became grist for Navajo punsters (see Webster 2009).

Other tropes rely on expression of mood or irony, as in Shakespeare's lines *When my love swears that she is made of truth, / I do believe her though I know she lies* (Sonnet 138) and still others create perceptual images, as can be seen for example in the poetry of William Carlos Williams (see Friedrich's 1991 discussion of 'modal' and 'image tropes'). Still others rely on the juxtaposition of conceptually associated elements (see Friedrich's 'contiguity tropes')—a strategy that may also be combined with the juxtaposition of formal elements (parallelism). Such aesthetic juxtaposition is evident, for example, in Walt Whitman's lines: *And twigs of maple, and a bunch of wild orange, and chestnut, / And stems of currants, and plum-blows, and the aromatic cedar* (from 'These, I, singing in spring'). Amazonian verbal art makes heavy use of a different sort of juxtaposition—the dialogic exchange of utterances between interlocutors, which is prevalent across Amazonian verbal traditions, in greetings, songs, narratives, and other discourse forms (see Urban 1986). This dialogic discourse often involves considerable parallelism, as interlocutors echo each other (and themselves). The following excerpt from an Achuar ceremonial visiting dialog illustrates (Gnerre, 1986, 315-316):

(23) **Nayásh** **Chiriáp**

1	*Yatsúru winyámek* my brother did you come?	
1a		*jm*
2	*tse warí ántsarik pujákrisha* even what without doing anything we stay too	
2a		*jai*
3	*tse warí jiímkyachu kétkursha* even what without visiting stays at home	*ántsarik pujákrisha aushá* without doing anything we stay too
4	*warí jiímtsuk keémtaka keémtainkya* what without visiting staying at home staying at home	*jiímkyachu kétkursha* without visiting stays at home
5	*ya warí áush tímya juyá* who what like this	*kémtaka kémtainkya aushá* staying at home staying at home
6	*yá tímya júsh tímya jauyá* who like this like this	*warí jiímtsuka ekémtainkyaitya* what without visiting staying at home
7	*warí ekétsuk áusha yá* what without staying at home who…	*tú tukin wekájai* so saying I go…

One of the most pervasive tropes in verbal art, across traditions, is metaphor (together with other related forms of analogical comparison, such as metonymy). However, while metaphor itself may be nearly ubiquitous, the particularities of its expression, discursive function, and interpretation may vary significantly across cultural and linguistic contexts, as well as among genres, registers, and styles. In European artistic tradition, metaphor is most heavily exercised in poetry, where its principal function is typically an evocative one—as can be seen for example in the opening lines of Emily Dickinson's poem 'Hope': *Hope is the thing with feathers / That perches in the soul.* In Western

Apache, on the other hand, metaphor forms the basis of proverbial ‘wise words’—the interpretation of which necessarily relates to behavior (rather than appearance or other qualities), and tends to be admonitory (Basso, 1990). For example, the expression *doolé ‘ichi’kíí ‘at’éé* ‘butterflies are girls’ was explained to Basso as based in the observation that “sometimes they act crazy, just chasing around after each other having a good time when they should be working” (Basso, 1990, 65). A similar use of metaphorical animal idioms to describe human behavior occurs in Upper Tanana Athabaskan, which has a lengthy repertoire of expressions such as *shushyiidn įįłįį* ‘you are a boreal owl’, meaning ‘you are stupid’ (Lovick, 2012, 1).

Metaphor also plays an important role in shamanic discourse, and here again it may manifest distinct functions and interpretations from those found in other discourse forms and traditions. In Hup incantations, for example, metaphor is pervasive, but rather than simply evoking comparisons among entities, it is understood to *bring about* their metaphysical manipulation as relevant to the goals of the incantation (a wider feature of magical transformation). In the following excerpt from an incantation text, for example, the shaman encloses the length of the path within an ancestral canoe that is simultaneously a mussurana snake, a type of snake that is resistant to the venom of other snakes. This metaphorical association is understood in the context of shamanic *action*, with the goal of ensuring physical protection for the travelers (Epps and Ramos, 2020).

(24)	*Dög m’èh nɨ̀h hohtɛ̀gɛ̃́t ãh sum bɨ’ bɨ̃́h…*	I always begin with the canoe of the mussurana snake (*Clelia clelia*)…
	Dög m’èh nɨ̀h hohtɛ̀gɛ̃́t.	With the canoe of the mussurana snake.
	Yúp hohtɛ̀g yɨ’ ãh yet ham d’ɑ̃́hɑ̃́h, të! tɨ̀w m’é yɨ’.	I go laying down this canoe, as far as the path goes.

Finally, we can briefly mention chiasmus, a form of parallelism and a figure of speech, where there is an inversion of the ordering of constituents (not of words, but of structure). Much has been made of chiasmus in Homeric tradition, but it can be found in other verbally artistic traditions as well (Christenson, 2012; Hofling, 2012; Langen, 1989-90). Chiasmus can be brief, a few lines, or it can be more global, encompassing several lines (see Christenson 2012, 312-313). As Christenson (2012, 323) writes, “within the *Popol Vuh*, entire sections appear in chiastic form. The account of the first creation is arranged in a single, large chiasm.” Here is an example from an Itzaj Mayan story told by Fernando Tesucún to C. Andrew Hofling in 1988 (line numbering is from Hofling 2012, 410-411):

(25)	15	*"Wa tech kakimil taanilej…*	"If you die first,
	16	*inten kimb'el…*	I am going
	17	*ti mukb'ul ket tawetel…*	to be buried together with you.
	18	*Pero wa ten kinkimil taanilej…*	But if I die first,
	19	*intech yan amukb'ul tinwete…*	you have to be buried with me."

As Hofling 2012, 410 explains, "note the chiasmus between lines 15-17, where the wife is the subject of the conditional clause, and lines 18-19, where the husband is the subject of the conditional clause."

To summarize, in this section we have considered other kinds of lexicon, grammar, and meaning based tropes that may play a role in SPVA, and the wide range of possible forms these may take, moving well beyond the more basic thematic patterning and formal parallelism considered earlier. These included the stretching and manipulating of linguistic form, code switching and the use of alternate registers or varieties or languages, punning, irony, contiguity tropes, and metaphor. Here, just as for sound-based tropes (§5), this is not a checklist to be performed for each piece of documented speech activity, nor is it anywhere near exhaustive. Rather we ask the analyst to notice and describe all forms of pervasive, or especially salient, heightened, manipulation of lexicon, grammar, and meaning.

7.4 Summary

In this consideration of tropes of lexicon, grammar, and meaning, we began with features likely to be central and pervasive in almost any speech activity, including discourse and thematic patterning. We then turned to parallelism in lexicon, grammar and meaning, which takes many different forms, displays different kinds of patterns, may be more or less pervasive, and which may act apart from patterns in sound, or be reinforced by them. We then considered a broad and varied range of more specialized tropes.

8 Retranslation and exegesis

Translation, retranslation, and continual exegesis are powerful tools for reaching deeper into textual meaning and artistry in its many dimensions (see, for example, Evans and Sasse 2007). Even mistranslations, unintentional or humorous, give insight.

As an example of the value of multiple translations and mistranslations, we turn to another poem by Rex Lee Jim. This poem seems to seduce Navajo consultants Webster has worked with into interpreting it as an ideophone poem:

(26) *éh*

tsidił ga’
da’diłdił
yiits’a’

(Jim, 1995, dízdiin dóó bi’ąą tseebíí [48])

The poem can be morphologically analyzed as follows:

(27) *éh*
INTRJ

tsi(n)-	*dił*	*ga’*
wood	shake.by.concussion	EMPH

da’-	*di-*	*ł-*	*dił*
DIST-	thematic.prefix:elongated.object-	CAUS-	slender.object.moves

yii-	*ts’a’*	
thematic.prefix:sounds.existing-	to	sound

One Navajo consultant, Blackhorse Mitchell, translated the poem as (Webster, 2017, 178):

(28) *wow*
the stick game
are stomping
I hear

And Webster has translated the poem as follows (Webster, 2017, 178):

(29) *oh*
these stick dice
rebounding, rebounding
it sounds

But one Navajo consultant Webster has worked with translated the poem as (Webster, 2017, 178):

(30) *oh*
bang
bang, bang
it sounds

How did this happen? And what might we make of such a translation? First, Webster’s consultant was quite literate in Navajo and so what happens here should not be seen as a reflection of some lack of familiarity with written Navajo. Instead, we would

suggest that the verb of sounding *yiits'a'* which often follows ideophonic expressions seduced Webster's consultant into hearing the poem as a poem composed of ideophones. When Webster's consultant first read the poem aloud he pronounced the key forms as follows: *tsidił ga'* and *da'diłdił*. However, after he read the final line, he went back and pronounced those forms as *ts'idil ga'* and *da' dil dil*. The consultant read line two as *ts'idil* and as *tsidił*. He settled on reading it as the first form. That form is analyzable as *ts'i-* a thematic prefix having to do with sounds and the ideophone *dil* 'rumble, stomp, bang.' The third line he translates dil dil as 'bang, bang'—again treating this as the sound symbolic form *dil* and here reduplicated. It appears that the consultant went back and reread these forms the way he did because he had been seduced by *yiits'a'* into hearing this poem as full of ideophones. The verb of sounding *yiits'a'* reframed this poem as an ideophone poem for the consultant. Our point here is that *ts'idil* and *tsidił* and *da'diłdił* and *da' dil dil* are potential puns in Navajo and that the final line (*yiits'a'*) encourages or seduces the listener or reader to hear or understand the poem as composed of ideophones. So, while it could be argued that there are no ideophones in this poem, *yiits'a'* seduced Webster's consultant into hearing ideophones. The consultant's translation, really a translation predicated on a series of mondegreens, makes sense based on the way the poem is framed and the sonic resonances across forms in Navajo.

Mitchell, too, in conversation, recognizes the seductive power of the verb of sounding to rehear the poem as full of ideophones. Below are excerpts from a transcript of a conversation that Mitchell and Webster had about the translation of this poem July 18, 2008. Webster and Mitchell were seated in the dining room of Mitchell's home outside of Shiprock, NM on the Navajo Nation. Lines have been organized according to breath pause and attempt to reveal the cadence of the conversation. After first disagreeing with Webster's question about whether or not the form evokes the sound of the stick dice game being played (lines 24-26), Mitchell then begins to work through the implications of the form in the following excerpt (Colon (:) marks phonetic lengthening; brackets indicate contextual information; lines are preceded by their original line numbers, 24-35):

(31)	24	AW:	and that's the sound it's making
	25	BM:	no
	26	AW:	no
	27	BM:	I would, I would
	28		yeah *da'dił diłdił yiits'a'*
	29		if you say *dil dil yiits'a'* would be like somebody [stomps feet repeatedly]
	30	AW:	mhm
	31	BM:	that's making *dil dil dil dil yiits'a'*
	32		not *diłdił*
	33		he's making it similar too here

	34		*da'diłdił* would be:
	35		the stick game itself is playing the game

Having worked through a number of Jim's poems and recognized a poetic device, Mitchell, in line 33, notes that "he's making it similar too here." The poetic device that Mitchell has recognized is, as noted above, what is sometimes called *saad aheełt'éego diits'a'* 'words that resemble each other through sound' or, what we might call, punning (see Webster 2013). The poetic work of the use of punning in Jim's poetry was best encapsulated by a Navajo who had been listening to Jim read his poetry in December 2000 and remarked, "when you think about it [the sounds in the poem], the whole meaning changes" (see Mitchell and Webster 2011).

The seductiveness of this poem becomes most apparent in the next excerpt:

(32)	38	AW:	what does *da'diłdił* mean
	39	BM:	*da'diłdił* is like throwing the stick repeatedly
	40	AW:	throwing the stick repeatedly
	41	BM:	*yiits'a'* is its sound
			[5 sec pause]
	42	AW:	but then *yiits'a'* doesn't change that into the sound it's making
	43	BM:	it could be both
	44		it could be *dil dil*
	45		or *da'diłdił*
	46	AW:	okay
	47	BM:	see *diłdił*
	48		*dił* by itself is blood
	49		you could say blood, blood
	50	AW:	right
	51	BM:	but in this case it's not blood, blood
	52	AW:	right
	53	BM:	it's a:
	54		*da'diłdił* would be just like leaping or prancing higher than the leap that would be *diłdił*
	55		so it's got three meanings *dil dil*
	56		it could be the sound
	57		it could be the leaping motion whatever that is
	58		*yiits'a'* makes it its sound

In line 41, Mitchell states that, "yiits'a' is its sound" and then there is a five-second pause. Webster's distinct impression is that Mitchell was beginning to enjoy the realization that there was something going on in this poem. In line 42, Webster then makes a statement—not a question here—that the verb of sounding does not change the mean-

ing (Webster's intonation contour is flat for this statement). Mitchell then indirectly corrects Webster with, "it could be both." Indeed, after finding two possible ways to think about this line, Mitchell then adds a third way of thinking about it ("you could say blood, blood"). However, he quickly discards that view ("but in this case it's not blood, blood"). Yet in line 55, he then uses the resultative "so" and states, "so it's got three meanings dil dil" (interestingly enough he pronounces the form with the voiced lateral and not the voiceless lateral). Webster's understanding from the conversation was that the three meanings were: 1) "the sound" of the dice, 2) "the leaping motion" of the dice, and 3) "blood." Finally, Mitchell's translation of third line of the poem as "are stomping" suggests his own sensitivity to the sound evoked by this form (whether or not it is an ideophone or just sounds like one).

The mondegreen translation and Mitchell's comments also reveal certain understandings about the stick dice game and its association with thunder and lightning and with women and the important mythic figure Changing Woman. Here we make two relevant points. First, the stick game is largely thought of as a women's game, though both men and women can play the game. The association with women is related to an origin story that recognizes women as the first players of the game (Aberle, 1942, 152) and/or that the important mythic figure Changing Woman took a hand in creating the game (Aberle, 1942, 146-147). Young females at the time of their first period go through a rite-of-passage called Kinaaldá where they embody Changing Woman. This is one of the major rituals in Navajo society (see Frisbie 1993; Schwarz 1997).

Second, Aberle (1942) notes at numerous points that Navajos associate the stick game with lightning, rainbows and rain. For example, Aberle (1942, 154) writes that, "throwing stick-dice is called 'like lightning,' or 'means a rainbow.'" Earlier, Aberle (1942, 148) notes that, "DS identifies the sticks with a different natural force: that of lightning." This contrasted with, "WH identifies the game with the world, and the sticks with rain" (Aberle, 1942, 147). Finally, Aberle (1942, 154) notes Navajos in the community of Ramah suggested "that playing the old games will bring rain and good crops."

To add one final bit to this picture, below is the poem in *saad* (Jim, 1995, dízdiin dóó bi'ąą náhást'éí [49]) that directly follows:

(33) *atsiniltł'ish*
yidloh
nááts'íílid
yicha

And here is a translation that Webster did in consultation with Mitchell:

(34) *lightning*
is laughing
rainbow

is crying

Much could be said about this poem, but here we merely note that this poem makes explicit *lightning* and *rainbow* that seem to be hinted at in the previous poem and suggested as well in the mondegreen translation. In analyzing the form *da'diłdił* from the previous poem, while it appears to have a reduplicated form here, that form is analyzable as *di-* a classifier that Young and Morgan (1987, 25) suggest is associated with an "elongated object" and *–łdił* "to cause it or them to move independently—a slender flexible object, as a rope or pair of objects, as shoes, stick dice" (Young and Morgan, 1987, 25). This is the verb stem *–déél* which Young and Morgan (1987, 129, 134)separate into two forms (though they leave open the possibility that the forms are related): *–déél*$_1$ 'abrupt movement of a ropelike object' and *–déél*$_2$ 'jar, shake by concussion.' The *–ł-* is a transitivity marker (causative transitive). Young and Morgan (1992, 135) consider *tsidił* a noun derivative of *–déél*$_2$. Though, at other times (see Young and Morgan 1987, 25), they seem to link it with *–déél*$_1$. In thinking about the throwing of stick dice (long objects thrown against a rock), they do seem to partake of both senses of *–déél*. In looking at the many ways in which *–déél*$_1$ is used, note the following two examples from Young and Morgan (1992, 131):

(35) *Atsinilt'ish P-ił dah yizdéél*
P was transported by lightning
Nááts'íílid P-ił dah yizdéel
P was transported by a rainbow

The verb stem is potentially evocative of the movement of lightning and of rainbows (both of which the stick game is likened to). The "leaping motion," as described by Mitchell, of the dice can evoke the movement of lightning and rainbows, which appear in the very next poem.

The mondegreen translation and Webster's discussions with Mitchell allowed Webster to begin to think about how one might say that the stick game, as locally recognized traditional Navajos sometimes do say, is "like lightning," in the ways that *tsidił* can be heard as *ts'idil*—the sound of thunder. There is something deeply "right" about his translation in that respect. Solving the "mistake" or "misunderstanding" ignores then, both the potential pun and the knowledge that comes from thinking through that pun. Judith Berman (1992) rightly chastised Claude Levi-Strauss for suggesting that the meaning of myths survives even the worst translation, she too was dealing with puns, and following that line of thinking, we would like to take up a point made by James Fernandez (1989, 470), in commenting on a piece by Roger Keesing (1989) on "exotic readings of cultural texts." Fernandez (1989, 470) suggested that, "rightness and wrongness should be replaced with nearness or farness, relevance or irrelevance, being more or less in touch with local meanings" (see also Fabian 1995). We would argue that Webster's consultant's

translation was quite in touch with local meanings and was, indeed, quite relevant. The trick then, for the researcher of the humanities of speaking, is to figure out how and in what ways the mistranslation, the *mondegreen*, is near to local frameworks of meaning, that is, to understand the relevance of the mistranslation to local frameworks of meaning. Here it was Webster's understanding of the use of *yiits'a'* as a verb of sounding that often followed ideophones in Navajo, the phonological iconicity of the forms in the poem, and a recognition of Jim's penchant for punning in his poetry.

In summary, as these examples illustrate, a continual process of translation, retranslation, and ethnographically-tuned exegesis allows deeper and deeper understandings to emerge of verbal material and its value.

9 Summary and prospectus

To summarize our tutorial, we began by defining SPVA as any speech activity where linguistic signs themselves gain special salience in the production and interpretation of discourse, and where language is stretched and put on display, whether in highly-valued genres or in everyday talk (§2). We then outlined strategies for determining what material to document, and how to navigate ethical and practical aspects of the process, always with an eye to both etic and emic understandings of SPVA (§3). We laid out a step-by-step approach to the philological analysis and interpretation of SPVA, as it is encountered in recorded material. These stages of the documentary process centered around the annotation, exegesis, and presentation of language records, informed by the continued exploration of community perspectives relating to speech activity (§4). In the next series of sections (§§5-8) we focused first on features germane to nearly all speech activity, and then moved on to more specialized patterns and tropes. Accordingly we began (§5) with a first analytic pass of transcription, translation, and preliminary annotation, followed (§§6–8) by several more in-depth investigations of tropes and patterns where verbal artistry and playfulness are likely to be manifested at multiple levels. The first of these investigations addressed sound, encompassing pausing and intonation (as part of all speech activity), as well as sound parallelism and expressive uses of sound (§6). We then considered lexicon, grammar, and meaning as they are involved in parallelism, metaphor, irony, punning, and other ways of stretching and manipulating linguistic content and form (§7). Finally, we discussed the importance of an ongoing process of translation, retranslation, and ethnographically-tuned exegesis (§8), through which deeper and more intricate understandings of verbal material and its social, cultural, and linguistic value may emerge. In all of this, we have stressed that tropes and patterns should be understood not just as analytic objects, but in terms of their contribution to textual interpretation.

Throughout this tutorial, we have emphasized an engagement with language in its cultural context. As Boas and many who followed him have observed, attention to dis-

course creates not only a *record* of language and culture, but also highlights their intimate connection (Sherzer, 1987). It is through the documentation of SPVA that we may most fully appreciate Hale's (1992, 36) observation that "a language and the intellectual productions of its speakers are often inseparable". Accordingly, the investigation of speech activity must attend closely to local understandings of genre, register, and style, how these are linguistically and socially defined, and what illocutionary or social functions may be involved. Particular categories of speech activity are unlikely to be rigidly defined or watertight; elements associated with SPVA may cross-cut many different kinds of discourse, and even the most mundane forms of discourse may engage with SPVA in some way. As Friedrich (1979, 441) has put it, "language significantly organizes the individual imagination and provides it with some of its greatest energies… there is no sharp line between 'poetic' and 'non-poetic'". Similarly, a robust documentation of SPVA also involves building an understanding of how artistic forms are evaluated from the cultural perspective of those who shape them, and how they are seen as linguistically and socially 'special' or salient. Just as perceptions of aesthetic value may vary cross-culturally, they may also coexist with or be subordinate to other goals, such that 'art for art's sake' may be only one of many possibilities.

The steps we outline here represent only a preliminary foray into the rich domain of SPVA, which we hope will help establish a solid foundation for wider and more extensive explorations. Further areas to investigate include the documentation of music, particularly involving the interaction of text, melody, and rhythm (e.g. Turpin and Henderson 2015); work with gesture and multiple tracks of expression (e.g. Green 2014); ways to bring SPVA and its documentation into play in language maintenance and revitalization (e.g., Bermúdez 2018); and new approaches to understanding the artistry in SPVA in the context of particular community approaches to interaction, humor, religious practice, etc. There is also much more to explore concerning verbal art's contributions to our understanding of grammar, and vice versa; not only in testing categories (e.g. Fitzgerald 2017), but also in investigating how idioms, 'ways of speaking,' and coinages intersect with speech play or verbal artistry – as seen for example in the Yup'ik terms (Jacobson 2012, 134, 635) *arenqiallugcugyailkutaq* 'insurance,' literally 'means to prevent a tendency to be distressed' (*arenquiallugte-yug-yailkutaq*, be.distressed-tend.to-means.to.prevent), or the punning *terruayagaq* 'doughnut', literally 'baby pretend sea anemone or anus' (*eter-nguar-yagaq*, sea.anemone.or.anus-pretend-baby; the polysemy of *eter-* introduces a third punning layer). Additionally, while we have taken a text-by-text approach in this tutorial, a large number of texts sampled across languages will offer the possibility of identifying typological patterns in SPVA, involving for example how we might define canonical types of genre, and how these might be associated with certain categories of tropes.

The approach we outline here is envisioned with the goal of producing lasting records of SPVA that can be understood and appreciated in terms of their original con-

text. Just as Friedrich (2006, 228) has pointed out that a broadly conceived ethnopoetic approach “tends to relativize knowledge, to recognize its subtlety,” a focus on SPVA in language documentation promotes an attention to the subtleties of the languages concerned, and to the knowledge of its speakers as they engage with and through those languages to express and reflect on those subtleties.

Bibliography

Aberle, David. 1942. Mythology of the Navaho game stick-dice. *Journal of American Folklore* 55:144–154.

Barrett, Rusty. 2014. Ideophones and (non-)arbitrariness in the K’iche’ poetry of Humberto Ak’abal. *Pragmatics and Society* 5(3):406–418.

Barwick, Linda. 2005. A musicologist’s wishlist: some issues, practices and practicalities in musical aspects of language documentation. In *Language documentation and description 3*, ed. Peter K. Austin, 53–62. London: School of Oriental and African Studies. (http://www.elpublishing.org/PID/035). (Accessed 2017-07-01).

Barwick, Linda. 2012. Including music and the temporal arts in language documentation. In *The Oxford handbook of linguistic fieldwork*, ed. Nicholas Thieberger, 166–179.

Basso, Ellen. 1985. *A musical view of the universe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Basso, Keith. 1990. *Western Apache language and culture: Essays in linguistic anthropology*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Basso, Keith. 1996. *Wisdom sits in places*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Berman, Judith. 1992. Oolachan-Woman’s robe: Fish, blankets, masks, and meaning in Boas’s Kwakw’ala texts. In *On the translation of Native American literatures*, ed. Brian Swann, 125–62. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Bermúdez, Natalia. 2018. *A description of Naso verbal art*. Austin: University of Texas at Austin. (Doctoral dissertation).

Bird, Steven, and Gary Simons. 2003. Seven dimensions of portability for language documentation and description. *Language* 79(2):557–582.

Boersma, Paul, and David Weenink. 2017. Praat: doing phonetics by computer, version 6.0.29. (Computer program). (http://www.praat.org/). (Accessed 2017-05-24).

Bowern, Claire. 2015. *Linguistic fieldwork: A practical guide* 2nd edn. New York: Palgrave McMillan.

Bright, William. 1984. *American Indian linguistics and literature*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Bright, William. 1990. 'With one lip, with two lips': Parallelism in Nahuatl. *Language* 66(3):437–452.

Bunte, Pamela. 2002. Verbal artistry in Southern Paiute narratives: Reduplication as a stylistic process. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12(1):3–33.

Burke, Kenneth. 1925. Psychology and form. *The Dial* 79:34–46.

Burke, Kenneth. 1968. *Counter-statements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Carroll, Lewis. 1871. *Through the looking glass, and what Alice found there*. London: Macmillan.

Chambers, Luke. 2015. The peace of *The Waste Land* and understanding Eliot's two readings. In *The Hilltop Review*, volume 7(2), Article 9. Smithsonian Institution. (http://http://scholarworks.wmich.edu/hilltopreview/vol7/iss2/9/). (Accessed 2017-07-06).

Chelliah, Shobhana, and Willem de Reuse. 2011. *Handbook of descriptive linguistic fieldwork*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Chernela, Janet. 2003. Language ideology and women's speech: Talking community in the northwest Amazon. *American Anthropologist* 105(4):794–806.

Christenson, Allen. 2012. The uses of chiasmus by the ancient K'iche' Maya. In *Parallel Worlds: Genre, Discourse, and Poetics in Contemporary, Colonial, and Classic Maya Literature*, ed. Kerry Hull and Michael Carrasco, 311–336. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

Cruz, Hilaria. 2009. *Persuasive speech of San Juan Quiahije governmental authorities: A comprehensive analysis of poetic, rhetorical, and linguistic structure of traditional Chatino oratory*. Austin: University of Texas at Austin. (Master's thesis). (https://sites.google.com/site/lenguachatino/recursos-academicos/CruzH2009-MastersThesis.pdf). (Accessed 2017-07-01).

Cruz, Hilaria. 2014. *Linguistic poetics and rhetoric of Eastern Chatino of San Juan Quiahije*. Austin: University of Texas at Austin. (Doctoral Dissertation.) (https://drive.google.com/uc?export=downloadandid=0B4aXv2amWeZ4Ykxpdk1LMEN0WEE). (Accessed 2017-07-01).

cummings, e. e. 1940. anyone lived in a pretty how town. *Poetry: A magazine of verse* LVI(V):233–235. (https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poetrymagazine/browse?volume=56andissue=5andpage=1). (Accessed 2017-07-06).

DuBois, John. 2014. Towards a dialogic syntax. *Cognitive Linguistics* 25(3):359–410.

Dubuisson, Eva-Marie. 2010. Confrontation in and through the nation in Kazakh Aitys poetry. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 20(1):101–115.

E-MELD (Electronic Metastructure for Endangered Languages Data). 2012. School of best practices in language documentation. (http://emeld.org/school/index.html). (Accessed 2017-07-01).

Eliot, Thomas Stearns. 1922. *The waste land*. New York: Horace Liveright.

Eliot, Thomas Stearns. 1953. T.S. Eliot reading his own poems. Library of Congress Recording Laboratory, PL 3, LC 1886-1887. (Sound recording recorded in 1946). (http://town.hall.org/Archives/radio/IMS/HarperAudio/011894_harp_ITH.html). (Accessed 2017-05-30).

Epps, Patience. Forthcoming. Diversifying multilingualism: Languages and lects in Amazonia. *International Journal of Bilingualism*.

Epps, Patience, and Danilo P. Ramos. 2020. Enactive aesthetics: The poetics of Hup incantation. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 29(2):205–212.

Epps, Patience L., Anthony K. Webster, and Anthony C. Woodbury. 2017. A humanities of speaking: Franz Boas and the continuing centrality of texts. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 83(1):41–78.

Evans, Nicholas, and Hans-Jürgen Sasse. 2007. Searching for meaning in the library of Babel: Field semantics and problems of digital archiving. In *Language documentation and description 4*, ed. Peter K. Austin, 58–99. London: School of Oriental and African Studies. (http://www.elpublishing.org/itempage/50). (Accessed 2017-07-01).

Fabb, Nigel, and Morris Halle. 2008. *Meter in poetry: A new theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fabian, Johannes. 1995. Ethnographic misunderstanding and the perils of context. *American Anthropologist* 97(1):41–50.

Fernandez, James W. 1989. Comment. *Current Anthropology* 30(4):470–471.

Fitzgerald, Colleen. 2017. Motivating the documentation of the verbal arts: Arguments from theory and practice. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 11:114–132.

Fox, James. 1977. Roman Jakobson and the comparative study of parallelism. In *Roman Jakobson: Echos of his scholarship*, ed. David Armstrong and C. H. van Schooneveld, 59–90. Lisse, Belgium: The Peter de Ridder Press.

Friedrich, Paul. 1979. Poetic language and the imagination: A reformulation of the Sapir hypothesis. In *Language, context, and the imagination*, 441–512. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Friedrich, Paul. 1986. *The language parallax*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Friedrich, Paul. 1991. Polytropy. In *Beyond metaphor: The theory of tropes in anthropology*, ed. James W. Fernandez, 17–55. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Friedrich, Paul. 2006. Maximizing ethnopoetics: Fine-tuning anthropological experience. In *Language, culture, and society*, ed. Christine Jourdan and Kevin Tuite, 207–228. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Frisbie, Charlotte. 1993. *Kinaaldá: A study of the Navaho girl's puberty ceremony*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Gnerre, Mauricio. 1986. The decline of dialogue: Ceremonial and mythological discourse among the Shuar and Achuar. In *Native South American Discourse*, ed. Joel Sherzer and Greg Urban, 307–342. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Good, Jeff. 2002. A gentle introduction to metadata. (http://www.language-archives.org/documents/gentle-intro.html). (Accessed 2017-07-01).

Green, Jenny. 2014. *Drawn from the ground: Sound, sign and inscription in Central Australian sand stories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grenoble, Lenore, and Louanna Furbee, ed. 2010. *Language documentation: Practice and values*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hale, Kenneth. 1971. A note on a Walbiri tradition of antonymy. In *Semantics*, ed. Danny Steinberg and Leon Jakobovits, 472–482. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hale, Kenneth. 1992. Language endangerment and the human value of linguistic diversity. *Language* 68(1):35–42.

Hirschberg, Julia, and Janet Pierrehumbert. 1986. The intonational structuring of discourse. In *Proceedings of the 24th annual meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, 136–144. Morristown, NJ: Association for Computational Linguistics.

Hofling, Charles Andrew. 2012. A Comparison of Narrative Style in Mopan and Itzaj Mayan. In *Parallel worlds: Genre, discourse, and poetics in contemporary, colonial, and classic Maya literature*, ed. Kerry Hull and Michael Carrasco, 401–448. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

Hopwood, Mererid. 2004. *Singing in chains: Listening to Welsh verse*. Llandysul, Ceredigion, Wales: Gomer Press.

Hosemann, Aimee J. 2017. *Public, private, past, and present: An Exploration of the language and musical structures of Kotiria/Wanano women's kaya basa 'sad songs'*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University. (Doctoral dissertation).

Hymes, Dell. 1974. *Foundations in sociolinguistics*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP.

Hymes, Dell. 1981. *In vain I tried to tell you: Essays in Native American ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hymes, Dell. 1984. Bungling host, benevolent host: Louis Simpson's 'Deer and coyote'. *American Indian Quarterly* Summer:171–198.

Hymes, Dell. 1987. Tonkawa poetics: John Rush Buffalo's 'Coyote and Eagle's Daughter'. In *Native American discourse: Poetics and rhetoric*, ed. Joel Sherzer and Anthony C. Woodbury, 17–61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, Dell. 1996. *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: Toward an understanding of voice*. Bristol, Pennsylvania: Taylor and Francis.

Hymes, Dell. 1998. *Reading Takelma texts*. Bloomington, Indiana: Trickster Press.

Hymes, Dell. 2003. *Now i know only that far: Essays in ethnopoetics*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Isbell, Billie Jean, and Fredy Amilcar Roncalla Fernandez. 1977. The Ontogenesis of metaphor: Riddle games among the Quechua speakers seen as cognitive discovery procedures. *Journal of Latin American Lore* 3(1):19–49.

Jacobson, Steven A. 2012. *Yup'ik Eskimo dictionary, vol 1, Introduction and bases.* 2nd edn. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Jakobson, Roman. 1960. Closing statement: Linguistics and poetics. In *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok, 350–377. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Jakobson, Roman. 1966. Grammatical parallelism and its Russian facet. *Language* 42:398–427.

Jim, Rex Lee. 1995. *saad.* Princeton: Princeton Collections of Western Americana.

Jun, Sun-Ah. 2007. *Prosodic typology: The phonology of intonation and phrasing*. Oxford University Press.

Keesing, Roger. 1989. Exotic readings of cultural texts. *Current Anthropology* 30(4):459–478.

Kiparsky, Paul. 1973. The role of linguistics in a theory of poetry. *Daedalus* 102:231–244.

Kroskrity, Paul. 2010. The Art of Voice: Understanding the Arizona Tewa Inverse in Its Grammatical, Narrative, and Language-Ideological Contexts. *Anthropological Linguistics* 52(1):49–79.

Kroskrity, Paul, and Anthony K. Webster, ed. 2015. *The legacy of Dell Hymes: Ethnopoetics, narrative inequality, and voice*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Labov, William. 1974a. Rules for ritual insults. In *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English Vernacular,* Ch. 8. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, William. 1974b. The transformation of experience in narrative syntax. In *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English Vernacular,* Ch. 9. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lahtie, Katherine; Barrett, Rusty, and Anthony K. (eds) Webster. 2014. Ideophones: Between grammar and poetry. *Pragmatics and society* 5(3):335–340.

Langen, T.C.S. 1989-90. The Organization of Thought in Lushootseed (Puget Salish) Literature: Martha Lamont's 'Mink and Changer'. *MELUS* 16(1):77–93.

Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Liberman, Mark. 1975. *The intonational system of English*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Doctoral dissertation). (http://www.ai.mit.edu/projects/dm/theses/liberman75.pdf). (Accessed 2017-07-02).

Liberman, Mark, and Janet Pierrehumbert. 1984. Intonational invariance under changes in pitch range and length. In *Language sound structure*, ed. Mark M. Aronoff and Richard Oehrle, 157–233. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Lovick, Olga. 2012. Walking like a porcupine, talking like a raven: Figurative language in Upper Tanana Athabaskan. In *Endangered metaphors (Cognitive Linguistic Studies in Cultural Contexts 2)*, ed. Anna Idström and Elisabeth Piirainen, 103–122. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Marett, Allan. 2005. *Songs, dreamings, and ghosts: The Wangga of North Australia*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.

Minks, Amanda. 2013. *Voices of play: Miskitu children's speech and song on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press.

Mitchell, Blackhorse, and Anthony K. Webster. 2011. 'We don't know what we become': Navajo ethnopoetics and an expressive feature in a poem by Rex Lee Jim. *Anthropological Linguistics* 53(3):259–286.

Nathan, David, and Peter K. Austin. 2004. Reconceiving metadata: Language documentation through thick and thin. In *Language documentation and description 2*, ed. Peter K. Austin, 179–187. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

Noss, Philip K. 2001. Ideas, phones and Gbaya verbal art. In *Ideophones*, ed. F. K. Erhard Voeltz and Christa Kilian-Hatz, 259–270. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Overall, Simon. 2017. *A grammar of Aguaruna (Iiniá Chicham)* (Mouton grammar library). Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Pagliai, Valentina. 2009. The art of dueling with words: Toward a new understanding of verbal duels across the World. *Oral tradition* 24(1):61–88.

Pagliai, Valentina. 2015. *Through veils of words: Performing politics, gender and identity in the Tuscan Contrasto*. North Plainfield, NJ: Hudson Writers.

Pierrehumbert, Janet. 1980. *The phonology and phonetics of English intonation*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Doctoral dissertation). (https://dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.1/16065/07492108-MIT.pdf). (Accessed 2017-07-02).

Pierrehumbert, Janet, and Mary Beckman. 1988. *Japanese tone structure* (Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 15). Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Ramos, Danilo P. 2018. *Círculos de coca e fumaça: Encontros noturnos e caminhos vividos pelos Hupd'äh*. São Paulo: Hedra.

Reichard, Gladys. 1950. *Navaho Religion: A study of symbolism*. New York: Bollingen Foundation.

Rice, Keren. 2006. Ethical issues in linguistic fieldwork: An overview. *Journal of Academic Ethics* 4:123–155.

Rumsey, Alan. 2001. Tom Yaya Kange: A metrical narrative genre from the New Guinea Highlands. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 11(2):193–239.

Rumsey, Alan. 2007. Musical, poetic, and linguistic form in *Tom Yaya* sung narratives from Papua New Guinea. *Anthropological linguistics* 49(3&4):235–282.

Rumsey, Alan, and Joel Robbins (eds.). 2008. Anthropology and the opacity of other minds (Special Issue). *Anthropological Quarterly* 81(2).

Sapir, Edward. 1915. *Abnormal types of speech in Nootka*. Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Anthropological Series, no. 5, Memoir 62. Ottawa: Government Printing Office.

Sapir, Edward. 1929. The status of linguistics as a science. *Language* 5(4):207–214.

Sapir, Edward, and Harry Hoijer. 1942. *Navaho texts*. Iowa City: Linguistic Society of America.

Schwarz, Maureen Trudelle. 1997. *Modeled in the image of Changing Woman*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Seeger, Anthony. 1986. Oratory is spoken, myth is told, and song is sung, but they are all music to my ears. In *Native South American discourse*, ed. Joel Sherzer and Gred Urban, 59–82. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Sherzer, Joel. 1987. A discourse-centered approach to language and culture. *American Anthropologist* 89:295–309.

Sherzer, Joel. 2002. *Speech play and verbal art*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Sherzer, Joel, and Anthony C. Woodbury, ed. 1987. *Native American discourse: Poetics and rhetoric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Silverstein, Michael. 1984. On the pragmatic 'poetry' of prose: Parallelism, repetition, and cohesive structure in the time course of dyadic conversation. In *Meaning, form, and use in context: Linguistic applications*, ed. Deborah Schiffrin, 181–199. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Smith, Carlota. 2003. *Modes of discourse: The local structure of texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Swigg, Richard. 2001. Sounding *The Waste Land*: T.S. Eliot's 1935 recording. *PN Review* 28(1):54–61. (Recording available at http://www.poetryarchive.org/poem/waste-land-part-i-burial-dead). (Accessed 2017-07-06).

Tedlock, Dennis. 1972. *Finding the center*. New York: The Dial Press.

Tedlock, Dennis. 1983. *The spoken word and the work of interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Tetreault, Chantal. 2010. Collaborative conflicts: Teens performing aggression and intimacy in a French Cité. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 20(1):72–86.

Thieberger, Nicholas, and Simon Musgrave. 2006. Documentary linguistics and ethical issues. In *Language documentation and description 4*, ed. Peter K. Austin, 26–37. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

Turpin, Myfany, and Lana Henderson. 2015. Tools for analyzing verbal art in the field. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 9:89–109.

Urban, Greg. 1986. Ceremonial dialogues in South America. *American Anthropologist* 88:371–386.

Urban, Greg. 1991. *A discourse-centered approach to culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Webster, Anthony K. 2009. *Explorations in Navajo poetry and poetics*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Webster, Anthony K. 2012. John Watchman's Ma'ii dóó Gólízhii. In *Inside dazzling mountains: Southwest native verbal art*, ed. David Kozak, 150–172. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Webster, Anthony K. 2013. "The validity of Navajo is in its sounds": On Hymes, Navajo poetry, punning, and the recognition of voice. *Journal of Folklore Research* 50(1-3):117–144.

Webster, Anthony K. 2015. "Everything got kind of strange after a while": Some reflections on translating Navajo Poetry that should not be translated. *Anthropology and Humanism* 40(1):72–93.

Webster, Anthony K. 2016. The art of failure in translating a Navajo poem. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 102(1):9–41.

Webster, Anthony K. 2017. "So it's got three meanings *dil dil*:" Seductive ideophony and the sounds of Navajo poetry. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 62(2):173–195.

Wiget, Andrew. 1987. Telling the tale: A performance analysis of a Hopi Coyote story. In *Recovering the word*, ed. Brian Swan and Arnold Krupat, 297–338. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Williams, Gwyn, ed. 1973. *Welsh poems: Sixth century to 1600*. London: Faber and Faber.

Witherspoon, Gary. 1977. *Language and art in the Navajo universe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wittenburg, Peter, Hennie Brugman, Albert Russel, Alex Klassmann, and Han Sloetjes. 2006. ELAN: A professional framework for multimodality research. *Proceedings of the fifth international conference on language resources and evaluation* (http://www.lrec-conf.org/proceedings/lrec2006/pdf/153_pdf.pdf). (Accessed 2017-07-03). (ELAN software: The Language Archive, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/). (Accessed 2017-05-30).).

Woodbury, Anthony C. 1987. Rhetorical structure in a Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo traditional narrative. In *Native American discourse: Poetics and rhetoric*, ed. Joel Sherzer and Anthony C. Woodbury, 176–239. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woodbury, Anthony C. 1992. Prosodic elements and prosodic structures in natural discourse. In *Proceedings of the IRCS Workshop on Prosody in Natural Speech*, ed. Mark Liberman and McLemore Cynthia. Institute for Research in Cognitive Science Technical Report No. 92–37, Philadelphia: Institute for Research in Cognitive Science, University of Pennsylvania.

Woodbury, Anthony C. 1993. A defense of the proposition, "When a language dies, a culture dies". *Proceedings of the First Annual Symposium about Language and Society—Austin (SALSA). Texas Linguistic Forum* 33:101–129.

Woodbury, Anthony C. 2007. On thick translation in linguistic documentation. In *Language documentation and description 4*, ed. Peter K. Austin, 120–135. London: School of Oriental and African Studies. (http://www.elpublishing.org/PID/052). (Accessed 2017-05-30).

Woodbury, Anthony C. 2011. Language documentation. In *Handbook of endangered languages*, ed. Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank, 159–186. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Young, Robert, and William Morgan. 1987. *The Navajo language*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Young, Robert, and William Morgan. 1992. *Analytic lexicon of Navajo*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.