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## Dialectic Interplay of Cultural Symbols: A Comparative Analysis of Western Apache Joking Performance and Dugri Speech

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Dialectic Interplay of Cultural Symbols:  
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Joking Performance and *Dugri* Speech

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I. Introduction

The history of ethnography of communication is replete with research that revealed the subtlety of "situated meanings" of indigenous speech in many speech communities (Bauman and Sherzer, 1989; see Philipsen and Carbaugh, 1986 for a bibliography of ethnographic fieldwork). The ethnography of communication identified culturally distinctive speech styles (Daniel and Smitherman, 1976; Hymes, 1974b; Kochman, 1981), cultural terms for talk (Carbaugh, 1989), and speech codes (Huspek, 1986; Hymes, 1967b; Philipsen, 1992). Juxtapositions of various ethnographic findings from different speech communities further illuminated cross-cultural variations and similarities in "ways of speaking" (Basso, 1970; Katriel, 1986; Philipsen, 1989b). Reflecting on the literature, this paper presents an ethnographic analysis of the interplay of cultural symbols and subsequent cultural change. To date, the ethnography of communication has helped us understand a culture by analyzing its communication system, cultures by examining communicative misunderstanding, and communication across cultures by juxtaposing cultural communication systems (Carbaugh, 1990b). A possible logical extension of this line of inquiry is to describe and explain the phenomenon of cultural change by examining the grammar of language use in human social interactions.

The study of cultural change can contribute to a firmer foundation of the ethnography of communication as a perspective of communication theory. For example, it can advance critical studies which will, through the accurate descriptions of patterns of cultural change, unravel sociocultural structures which reify and reproduce social inequalities and symbolic oppression (Bourdieu, 1984; Philipsen, 1992). In his 'foreword' dedicated to Tamar Katriel's (1986) book, *Talking Straight: Dugri Speech in Israeli Sabra Culture*, Dell Hymes advocates a similar theoretical move; he notes, "...we will be able to establish the range of 'ways of speaking' in the world, the possible types, their features and dimensions, the sequences of change among them, and their connections with modes of production and worldviews, exploitation and rebellion, oppression and accomplishment" (p. x). Because the terms, rules, and premises of a culture are inextricably woven into speaking (Philipsen, 1992, p. 131), the sequences of change among types, features, and dimensions of "speaking" will directly affect the macro social structure and organization of a speech community. For the study of situated cultural symbols and their practical implications to education, the ethnography of communication provides a particularly fruitful perspective. The principle of contrastive analysis lends itself well to the analyses of similarities and differences among multiple types of communicative enactments of cultural symbols and subsequent cultural change. Dell Hymes (1962) reminds us of some anthropological concerns regarding cultural change in principally contrastive analyses of ethnographic contexts.

[T]here is the aspect of *culture change* involving programs of fundamental education, concerned with literacy and multiculturalism. In introducing new uses for indigenous forms of speech, and in extending foreign forms of speech into local contexts, the patterns and functions of speaking on both sides need to be analyzed, so as to anticipate points of *congruence* and *conflict* (p. 21, emphasis added).

When addressing the issue of literacy and multiculturalism, one must be careful about taking into account the cultural change that takes place over time. If one can unravel forms and functions of cultural change, it will eventually lead to contextually appropriate analyses of meaning, rules, norms, and premises of educational issues. This article problematizes such cultural change so as to account for the points of congruence and conflicts in multicultural settings.

An accurate description of cultural change which is triggered by such intercultural contact will also help practitioners ease acculturation stress confronting sojourners in classrooms and workplaces. It will also shed light on cultural prejudices and facilitate a state of intercultural awareness. The practical change thematized in this paper, therefore, are far-reaching and highly important for understanding the dynamics of intercultural contacts.

With these theoretical and practical interests in mind, I will: (1) review the literature and delineate underlying assumptions and tenets of the ethnographic approach pertaining to cultural change; (2) review some key concepts used in traditional models of the ethnography of communication and tease out issues pertinent to cultural change; (3) problematize and analyze these issues in two ethnographic case studies (Basso, 1976; Katriel, 1986). My intent is to respond to two salient questions raised in the field of study by drawing our attention to the phenomena of cultural change: (1) What do comparisons and contrasts of cultural symbols across speech communities reveal about "ways of speaking" in general? (2) How can culturally distinctive "ways of speaking" be discovered, and comparatively analyzed? Through comparisons and contrasts across speech communities, I have discovered that culturally distinctive symbols enacted in indigenous "ways of speaking" are a locally designed *medium* of cultural change. Therefore, it is my contention that cultural change

is an efficacious analytical site where one can discover, describe, and comparatively analyze "ways of speaking."

## II. Ethnographic Approach to Communication Studies

The ethnographic approach to communication studies commenced with a ground-breaking study of the "ethnography of speaking" by Dell Hymes (1962) and has since been continually elaborated and modified by himself (1967a, 1972, 1974) and by his associates. The ethnography of speaking, according to Hymes, is concerned with the situations and uses and the patterns and functions of speaking as an activity in its own right (1962, p. 16). Speaking--used interchangeably with communication--is the primary and situated social process of sense-making, which occurs in particular forms and yields multiple outcomes (Carbaugh, 1990b). The ethnography of speaking studies how a local culture is played out in particular "ways of speaking." Culture, as it is conceived in this line of thinking, is a "potentially integrative and changeable system of symbols, symbolic forms, and meanings that is mutually intelligible, commonly accessible, deeply felt, and historically grounded" (Carbaugh, 1990b, p. 20). It is this malleability of culture that this paper thematizes. Cultural change is defined as a transformation of local symbols, symbolic forms, and meanings due to the contact and interaction between members of two distinct cultures. Speech event refers specifically to activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech. Whereas a speech event involves more than one person, a speech act is reserved for an individual's act. Hymes (1972) explains with the following examples: At a party (speech situation), you may have a conversation with another guest (speech event), and say a joke within the conversation (speech act). The systematicity of speech use can be found concerning speech events and

speech acts.

The preceding discussion of key terms contains imbedded theoretical and philosophical assumptions. Delineation of the implicit assumptions will help direct the future theory development, and will help establish a framework for my research.

Most importantly, the ethnography of communication is grounded in the systematicity of speech and individuals' use of speech. Analogous to studies in phonology which discovered rule-governed patterns of vernacular languages, and similar to generative-transformational linguists who delineated surface and underlying deep structures of languages, ethnographers look for the systematic relations or grammar of language use in speech communities. For example, through a study of Colombian *Madre* terms, Fitch (1991) found that people systematically organize their experience and belief into domains, and *Madre* terms are systematically coded so that they will evoke the appropriate cultural resources in a given situation. Based on this central assumption, Philipsen (1989a) points to a direction of theory development:

If communicative meaning and conduct are systematic, then they are amenable to systematic study. If the meanings and patterns of communicative activity vary cross-culturally, then they must be discovered in particular cases, and not assumed, and the fact of such variability must be accounted for, theoretically, in modeling and explaining human communication. (p. 260)

An ethnographic study of cultural speech events and subsequent change contributes to the theoretical accounts of "the fact of cross-cultural variability." A transformed culture highlights the points of *congruence* and *conflict* between two cultures and, given situated description of each constituent culture, it will in turn shed light on the accounts of cross-cultural variability. Therefore, questions of interest can be explained by

using the aforementioned examples: What happens to the systematic relations among Colombian *Madre* terms if interlocutors do not share the same cultural and communicative resources?; How does the systematic use of code transform itself in order to form a mutually manifest system of code-use when interlocutors are from different speech communities, and what does the transformation tell us about the range, types, features, and dimensions of "ways of speaking" of the original speech communities? The implicit assumption, therefore, is that transformation of "ways of speaking" creates a new system of cultural organization. This assumption is substantiated by the way Japanese Americans in Seattle created their own version of ethnicity by transforming their folk models of the "Japanese" past and the "American" present (Yanagisako, 1985). The new ethnic culture derives from American and Japanese folk models of respective traditions, and yet embodies patterns of speech which are distinctive from either folk model.

Hymes's analytical criteria shed light on the salient issues proper to such cultural transformation. In the following I will explore the forms, functions, and patterns of cultural change by examining two representative ethnographic case studies which explicitly or implicitly used the Hymes's schema.

### III. Ethnographic Analyses of Cultural Symbols

A close analysis of two ethnographic studies (Basso, 1976; Katriel, 1986) reveals some common forces for cultural change in human communicative activities. In what follows, I argue that by culturally-coded "speaking" interlocutors momentarily suspend a current state of affairs and enter into a new mode, through which they renew, for example in the case of aforementioned studies, a cultural conception of "the Whiteman" and "the Apache," or of an Israeli cultural ethos. These

communicative activities are locally designed and manifest themselves in different forms such as joking performance and *dugri speech*.

Cultural identity figures prominently in Keith Basso's (1976) study of joking performance among the Western Apache. The study lucidly demonstrates how the local conception of "the Apache" is constructed in juxtaposition to the cultural symbols of "the Whiteman," and how the symbols of cultural identities are enacted in their communicative norms of joking performances. By enacting a linguistic play of joking, the Western Apache momentarily suspends the *primary text* of Whiteman--Western Apache social relationship and enters into the *secondary text* of Apache--"the Whiteman" social relationship.

Examples of joking or imitation may illuminate this point. Sitting in a small room crowded with people at an old Apache trading post in Cibecue, Arizona, Basso reports his bewildering experience. When a man in his late forties came into the room and approached his cousin who was recovering from a bad cold, the Apache man, stepping back from his cousin, said in a sudden shift from Western Apache to sharp, high-pitched English: "I don't like it, my friend, you don't look good to me. Maybe you sick, need to eat aspirins!...You come to clinic every day, my friend. Sure I help you over there. Sure got lots of aspirins. Maybe you drink too much, that why you sick... You got to sleep. ... I know all what make you sick, *everything!* So just you don't *forget it!*" (p. 6-7). The code-switching from Western Apache to English with a distinctive style of speaking indexically signaled an appropriate social relationship and occasions for linguistic play. The shift to English rhetorically invokes a secondary text and the Apache conception of "the Whiteman" to make a social commentary on Apache experience of face-to-face encounters with Whiteman. The inversion of primary and secondary texts is "funny" not only because it is marked by animated and exaggerated



styles of English but because the joker *invented* a ludicrously inappropriate whiteman character, disembodied it from primary text and played it in secondary text. Basso's own comments seem to reinforce my points: "Joking imitation registers joker's *personal identity* (he is "fast with words," as Apaches say, and enjoys displaying his verbal skills before an audience; the joker's *social identity* (he possesses certain statuses that allow him to make temporary play-things of other people); and, most important of all, the joker's *relationship* with the person who is the object of his joke (their relationship has reached a point where its affective component can be publicly tested and affirmed through the exchange of mock insults)" (p. 9; emphases added). In the following examples these identities are transformed as the language of Apache joker shifts to English.

One sunny summer day, a nine-year old girl was playing with her dog she named Charles-Bronson. The dog nipped at her hand when she mischievously pulled the puppy by the tail. She instantly yelled at the dog in Western Apache; "You're nothing! You're nothing!" A moment later, she switched to English and turned back to the puppy again saying: "Bad! You bad boy! Why you do that--make trouble for me? All time you want make trouble, want fight. You stay here, Charles-Bronson, don't go outside, get punish what you did it" (p. 10). Her mother, being concerned with her daughter's inapt use of joking imitation, then warned: "Stop, the dog will bite you again. Be careful how you joke. It's dangerous to imitate a Whiteman" (p. 10-11).

This example is not so much a joke as a simple imitation, which, in closer analyses, proved to be quite telling about the Apache--Whiteman social relationship. The girl transposed her relationship with the dog to a schoolteacher's relationship with a trouble-causing schoolchild. The imitation of the symbol, "the Whiteman," are played out by

foregrounding the secondary text in the primary text mode of operations. It reflexively conveys the organization of face-to-face encounters and the structure and content of interpersonal relationships between Apaches and Whiteman. However, as Western Apaches are well aware of, jokes can be dangerous because secondary texts may be read as primary texts and they may break away from an appropriate text--thus, the mother's warning: "Stop! It's dangerous to imitate a Whiteman."

As these examples depict, joking imitations are a playful game about one's identification with cultural self and community. The Whiteman and the Western Apache live by distinctively different codes and ideas about what properly constitutes a person, society, and normative communicative conduct. Within secondary texts, joking imitations are a purposely misdirected identification by a member affirming his membership with the other community ("the Whiteman") instead of his own (the Western Apache). Because the conceptions of a prototypical person and society are so different, the short drama turns out to be humorous. In consequence, the joking imitations paradoxically turn everything around and claim a joker's identity with the Western Apache community, and the joker experiences membership in his community in primary texts. The joking performance gives voice to a member's distinctive notion of cultural identity framed in Western Apache value constellations. Interestingly, they allow a Western Apache to "identify" with the Apache culture by foregrounding their dissociation with "the Whiteman."

If a cultural meaning of "the Apache" is created by the symbols of what "the Whiteman" is not, the Apache creation of "the Whiteman" simultaneously creates, modifies, and changes the Apache notion of self and society. It is important to note that joking as a speech event simultaneously reaffirms and renews the Apache cultural symbols as well. The

joking imitations reaffirm the local notion of what "the Apache" is and strengthen the solidarity among the members. It also renews the cultural symbol--"the Apache"--as it is pitted against the cultural symbol of "the Whiteman," making the underlying cultural orientations always contemporary and mutable. It is in this *dialectic interplay* of symbolic forms accomplished by code-switching that cultural identities are affirmed and constantly transformed.

In summary, "the Whiteman" and "the Apache" are symbols of cultural identification which are filled with cultural meanings situated in the social relationship of the two groups. Forms of cultural identification have been aptly demonstrated by particular genre of speaking, joking performance. What is most interesting about Apache expressions of cultural identification is the way the drama is played out in discourse. Cultural identification was captured by the dialectic interplay of secondary texts and primary texts. Communicative conduct, specifically code-switching, is a medium of such dialectic interplay.

Another ethnographic communication study of cultural symbols is Katriel's (1986) study of Israeli Sabra (a native-born Israeli) "ways of speaking" and their relation to the Israeli Sabra cultural ethos. The cultural ethos in her work refers to "the affective patterning, the moral and aesthetic 'tone' of culture" (p. 1). *Dugri* is a culturally coded way of speaking in which interlocutors speak *directly* to the point, implicating Sabra cultural ethos of sincerity, assertiveness, naturalness<sup>1</sup>, solidarity<sup>2</sup>, and antistyle<sup>3</sup>. To illustrate, Katriel reports natives' views on what *dugri* speech and *dugri* speakers are all about:

He [Mr. Tulipman, a former director-general of the National Power Company] is a man of the direct approach, the *dugri* speaking style, high principles and an inner honesty which he applies both in his personal and his public life. An old friend of his defines him as a person who is sensitive--and inflexible, who ranks high on 'Sabra

toughness.'... "[H]e is a Sabra manager, with all the good qualities this implies. Simple, *dugri*." (p. 54)

He [senior military officer, Ben Eliezer] speaks *dugri*. It is easy to get him to talk. His hawkish views are well crystallized. His sentences clear, sharp... Commitment to the task at hand is for him the highest of values... His advice: in place of empty words--a lot of deeds. (p. 55)

Haim Korfu [Israel's minister of transportation] is a pragmatically oriented Sabra (*izabar bitzuisti*), who can tell the difference between the important and the trivial, between the theoretical and the practical... He speaks straight to the point. His language is clear and simple, without embellishments and ambiguities. (p. 55)

The recurring characteristics of *dugri* depicted in these commentaries are summarized in the five clusters of meaning. Together they underpin Sabra cultural ethos, which embodies many salient images of a culturally sanctioned "model person."

*Dugri* speech is enacted in everyday communication in a form of communicative ritual. Based on her field data, Katriel found that interactions in workplaces which are highly hierarchical contain many *dugri* rituals such as the following. An engineer voiced a complaint to his boss by saying: "I want to speak to you (in a) *dugri* (way). I don't like the way this department is being run" (p. 57). Another example is drawn from a dispute between faculty members of a university and representatives from the Israeli ministry of education. In order to reconcile the faculty's interest in the betterment of regular schooling and the Ministry of Education's concern over practical constraints, one faculty member argued with blunt language in a confrontational tone that the university should become involved only with programs that called for educational issues and policies. Katriel reports: "She said that as long as children's regular schooling was allowed to be meaningless, there was no point in establishing extracurricular programs. She stressed that she had no problem helping those programs in her field of expertise and

would do so if asked, but refused to share in the pretense that anything of substance was being done for the children. She concluded by saying that she would not lend her name to something she did not believe in" (p. 58). Although neither the speaker nor the researcher recognized a *dugri* speech at the time of enactment, the speaker recounted later to her own surprise: "Well, there I gave you an example of a *dugri* ritual" (p. 58). These short skits show interpersonal and social contexts and general patterns of speaking wherein *dugri* rituals are enacted in situ. Under such seemingly mundane interactions lie culture-rich, distinctive ways of cultural identification. For a wholesome Sabra, *dugri* speech symbolically communicates one's respect to the other. The directness, aggressiveness, or even confrontational mode of *dugri* speaking means culturally that the speaker relies on the personal integrity and strength of the other in order to engage in outspoken and uninhibited *dugri* speaking rituals. Therefore, what is accomplished in a successful *dugri* ritual is not only what Goffman (1967) called "demeanor"--an individual's display of character to those present through the use of conventional means--but also what Katriel proposed as "identification" in which interactants express and affirm their integrity and sense of being true to themselves and their community (p. 44-6). Because Sabra cultural self and community is enacted in situ within emerging discursive practices, they are constantly in flux, forming and reshaping themselves extemporaneously.

The cultural meaning of the constantly changing Sabra cultural ethos is played out within the dialectic interplay of cultural symbols between social modalities comparable to Basso's primary texts and secondary texts. In *dugri* rituals, what is foregrounded is a temporal creation of *communitas*. *Dugri* speaking rituals enable interlocutors to suspend conventional societal rules, norms, and meanings of *societas* and enter

into a more malleable and temporal *communitas*<sup>4</sup>. Israeli Sabras' identification with a transitional phase of "normative *communitas*"--"a sub-culture or group which attempts to foster and maintain relationships of spontaneous *communitas* on a more or less permanent basis (Turner, 1982 cited in Katriel, 1986, p. 30)"--partly depicts Sabra cultural ethos which shapes what the moral, ethical, and aesthetic codes of Sabra community are and what it means to be a proper Sabra. Katriel describes the transitional liminal phase as follows:

In social contexts characterized by *communitas*, persons are neither related nor defined in terms of their structural positions; at the same time, they do not emerge as distinct, unique personalities, but rather as members of a class of "liminars," whose shared membership locates them outside the social structure. It is this membership that defines who they are and how they relate to each other (p. 32).

The dialectic interplay of cultural identification takes place between the symbolic forms of *societas* and *communitas*. Similar to the juxtaposition of two distinctive codes of personhood--'the Apache' and 'the Whiteman'--and subsequent transformation of persona and social network which is conspicuous in Western Apache joking performances, the *dugri* speaking ritual also transforms social relationships. The *dugri* speaking ritual inaugurates a distinct mode of social interaction where self is enmeshed with communal identity. Such a distinctive notion of communal identity also figures prominently in another communication practice, the Israeli "gripping" ritual, in which Katriel (1985) delineates the shared feeling of communal membership, common fate, and entrapment in a common community life. The renewed conception of self and community further illuminates itself when the Sabra is pitted against Diaspora Jews. Similar to Basso's study the force of transformation is also captured in the dialectic interplay of two distinct cultural texts.

However, unlike Western Apache reaffirmation of their own self and

communal identities through symbolic performance of joking imitations, *dugri* rituals do not reaffirm any existing cultural form but emergent liminal *communitas*. The sacred object which the communicative ritual pays homage to is a communicatively constructed cultural symbol in the normative *communitas*. The emergent nature of *communitas* gives support to the informants' comment that Israeli culture is a "culture in the making" (p. 118). My analysis shows that Sabra cultural identity is also in constant flux, and the *dugri* ways of speaking serve as a medium to affirm and recreate this evolving liminal cultural identity. In other words, the *dugri* ways of speaking is a medium for culture as well as identity change.

In sum, the *dugri* speaking ritual depicts an impetus toward cultural transformation by which systems of symbols, meanings, norms and premises are all turned around to better serve social functions of speaking. Israeli Sabra ethos were expressed by the clusters of *cultural meaning*; that is, sincerity, assertiveness, naturalness, solidarity, and antistyle which are conceived in the *societas-communitas* interplay. It depicts a conception of self and person which is "in the making" and something akin to a Nacirema notion of self which prioritizes the moral importance of individuals' uniqueness and inner qualities over ascribed social roles (see Philipsen, 1992). The speech event, the *dugri* speaking ritual, is a distinctive cultural *form* of this cultural identification. Ritual enactment of *dugri* speech invokes a departure from *societas* and transforms into a liminal phase of *communitas* where members identify themselves as a cultural group of liminars.

What is different from Basso's work is the paradox of *dugri* speech and elasticity of *dugri* as a cultural symbol. As her description of the novel, *1948--Between Calendars*, depicts, the normative force of *dugri* speech (assertiveness) may collide against Sabra identity (sincerity).

However, such a paradox oftentimes illuminates a *breach* in social drama, which may transform into a newly integrated social group. Calling attention to a *breach* in social drama is another way *dugri* speech can *activate* a cultural change. Similarly, the softening and roughening of *dugri* speech illustrate the interwoven nature of “ways of speaking” and cultural change; changes in *dugri* speech are an index of cultural change. The two ethnographic studies demonstrate that culturally distinctive speech events (code-switching and the *dugri* speaking ritual) enact cultural change through the dialectic interplay of cultural symbols and forms of human interaction.

This theoretical contention leads me to the second thesis of this paper: namely, a specific instance of cultural change is an efficacious analytical site where one can find, describe, and comparatively analyze locally designed “ways of speaking.” A specific instance of cultural change manifests itself in changes of symbols, rules, premises and meanings. As Sabra *dugri* speech changed its meaning from original Arabic (“truthful to the fact”) to Hebrew (“truthful to oneself”), the shift in meanings of the term embodied a plentiful web of significance, and the change in symbolic systems can potentially carry deeply cultured meanings. The two studies reviewed here demonstrated this point clearly.

Therefore, in order to first discover distinctive “ways of speaking,” researchers can look at the changes in symbols, rules, premises and meanings. Historical descriptive studies provide insight to this end. Hymes's analytical schema as well as conversation analysis prove to be very effective in describing locally designed “ways of speaking.” As I have briefly demonstrated in this paper, general themes of cultural change, including code-switching and transformations of symbols and structures, help identify cross-cultural variations in types, features, and dimensions of “ways of speaking.” Yet, the initial task is to discover



distinctive "ways of speaking," and the phenomena of change in general provide an efficacious *analytical site* for ethnographic studies.

#### IV. Conclusion

By responding to the questions raised in the beginning, I would like to close this analytical exploration. (1) Comparisons and contrasts across speech communities reveal that cultural change is triggered and sustained by distinctive "ways of speaking." By switching codes and engaging in communicative rituals, interlocutors dialectically transform the cultural symbols and forms of personal and social identities. This transformation in the long run reshapes the culture by re-figuring the constellations of cultural symbols. A change in a symbolic system will thus help us explore in more details the historically grounded and deeply felt system of symbols, symbolic forms, and meanings. (2) Culturally distinctive "ways of speaking" can be discovered by thematizing a universal phenomenon such as cultural change. Specific observable changes in communicative rules, speaking codes, and speaking modalities, as this study shows, provide analytical sites in which researchers can probe the distinctiveness of "ways of speaking." These specific speech events provide efficacious research sites to exemplify Hymes's (1986) three-fold proposal for theory development: (1) establishing a descriptive framework, (2) doing close analyses of particular cases, and (3) extending and revising the comparative framework that ultimately will constitute the theory of "ways of speaking" (p. x).

However, this paper is limited in its scope because it considers cultural change primarily as an outcome of intercultural *encounters*. A possible task for ethnography of speaking scholars is a further exploration of the process of cultural change as manifested in "ways of speaking" as an ongoing process of intercultural interactions; its phases, functions,

and dynamics. This theoretical move is feasible only if we have a large corpus of literature dealing with "ways of speaking" in cultures of interest. This paper points to the direction of the ethnography of intercultural communication.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Katriel notes that the preference of naturalness is similar to the value of sincerity and contrasted with corruptive force of culture such as the decadence of urban culture. She explains that the ethos of naturalness derives from European back-to-nature philosophies and Jean Jacques Rousseau's advocacy of noble savage. Thus sincerity and strength are qualities of *natural* man (p. 28-9).

<sup>2</sup>*Dugri* speech initiates a state of liminality in which conventional social structures, rules, and roles are suspended and alternative ones are sought. Solidarity encoded in *dugri* speech pertains to the camaraderie of *liminars* who are united within an emerging code of normative *communitas* within Sabra culture--a form of social life characterized by liminality (p. 29-33).

<sup>3</sup>Sabra's preferred mode of speaking is expressed by the attitude of antistyle. Besides few occasions where "plain" talk is appropriate, Sabras opt for literalness, terseness, and matter-of-factness and are skeptical of wordiness, eloquence, and a glib tongue (p. 24-8).

<sup>4</sup>Katriel, building on Turner's (1980) account of social drama, explains that *societas* is "characterized by a human order held together and differentiated by a configuration of roles and statuses, a web of conventionalized, formal relations." *Communitas*, on the other hand, is "a state of existence outside social time and place, characterized by the suspension of the roles and rules that hold in the realm of *societas* and involving the creation of egalitarian, undifferentiated, individuating, person-to-person relationships" (p. 29-30).

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言語行動にみられる文化的シンボルの相互作用  
—ウエスタン・アパッチの模倣言動とドゥググリ・スピーチの比較分析—

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民族誌学によるコミュニケーション研究に基づいて、本稿では言語行動にあらわれる文化的シンボルがどのような働きをするのかを考察する。特に、言語行動がどのように社会変化もしくは文化変容を促すのか、事例研究の比較分析を通して変化構造の一端を解明することが本論の目的である。

ウエスタン・アパッチ（米国）とサブラ（イスラエル）の言語行動を事例として挙げ、奥深い意味を持つ文化的シンボルが深層で複雑に相互作用する過程を詳しく調べてみた結果、言語共同体に特有な「話しことば」は社会変化あるいは文化変容の重要な媒体であることがわかった。社会の変化は言語共同体に特有なコミュニケーション行動による第一次テキストと代替テキストの相互作用や、それに基づくアイデンティティの再認識と創出の繰り返しの中で遂行される。

こうしたコミュニケーション行動の具体例としては、コードの切り替え（Code-Switching）や話しことばの儀式（Communicative Rituals）が挙げられる。従って、コードの切り替えや話しことばの儀式に注目してコミュニケーション行動を分析すれば、特定の言語共同体における話しことばの文化的意味を発見する大きな手がかりが得られることを本稿では論証する。