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CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE | THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

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TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* Control of topic in a bilingual (Cree-English) Speech Event

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* University of Alberta

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/*GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* Ph. D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1978

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CONTROL OF TOPIC IN A BILINGUAL (CREE-ENGLISH) SPEECH EVENT

by

© CARL ARMAND URION

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1978

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Control of Topic in a Bilingual (Cree-English) Speech Event," submitted by Carl Armand Urion in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Date 16th June, 1978

ABSTRACT

This is a study of communicative interaction including speech. A descriptive framework, the components of speech use as defined in the tradition of the ethnography of speaking, is applied to a specific situation. A meeting, representative of a class of such meetings conducted in both Cree and English, forms the data base from which several issues suggest themselves as problems. The kind of event analyzed is purposely ambiguous: several assumptions which are usually held heuristically static are necessarily variable in this study.

The nature of political relationships between groups identified as "Cree" or "non-Cree" suggests those terms as socially descriptive but inadequate as stated for social scientific inquiry. They are deficient particularly insofar as they imply both a coincidence of code and etiquette in realms of cultural knowledge, and a definition of population boundaries based on such descriptors.

The notion of affiliation with a linguistic code based on ideology, rather than on individual competence in the code, motivates the retention of the descriptor "bilingual" for such meetings. "Linguistic code" then becomes one of a number of participant-manipulable resources in negotiation for control of topic.

The terms of reference of the study indicate a requirement to pose hierarchies of importance of the descriptive components of the use of speech. Those

hierarchies are based on the level of analysis which each term implies; and further, the specification of the nature of relationships between such levels. That specification of hierarchy and relationships results finally in the statement of necessity for resolution of appositive terms: "form," or observable parameters of discourse; and "meaning," or participant organization of an interactional event, which may be indicated by form.

The notion of control of topic addressed in speech use, requiring reference to both sentential and social context, demonstrates the inadequacy of the concepts of "sentence," "speech act," or "utterance;" to account for topic-control. Rather, explanation of topic-control at those levels appears to require specification of the properties of communicative interaction as a context for analysis.

PREFACE

Two complementary interests motivate this study and dictate its nature. The first interest is that imprecisely-defined area of inquiry into the human use of natural spoken language. The present era seems to be one wherein a number of scholars in various disciplines are making similar claims about the properties of language and other communicative systems. However the descriptive and analytic frameworks employed by those scholars would seem not to predict, would seem in fact to preclude, such nearly simultaneous definition of new, consistent and interdisciplinarily-comparable aspects of language use. The ethnography of communication seems to me to be a particularly fertile area of study, and has much to contribute to a discussion joined by linguists, semiologists, philosophers and cyberneticians. The imperative to describe in the terms suggested by ethnographers of communication, however, could stand as a productive new idea when it was first enunciated. Nowadays the descriptive terms require qualification which the descriptions of the intervening years have made obvious. I presume to contribute to that qualification with this study.

The kind of communicative event I chose to focus upon is the result of another life-long interest. In dealing with it I attempt to document a social context in which the field work was carried out.

I have often been party to communicative and social events shared between people identified socially as "Amerindian" and "white." Individually, those events reflect a social milieu; collectively, they constitute it. It is clear that the ethnic distinction is sometimes important, sometimes not. It seems that anthropological research in which the ethnic marker is definitive of population boundaries maintains a distinction which is trivial in some contexts. On the other hand, there can be no strong argument that, in the nation-states that claim North America; politically, economically and materially, many Amerindians have been disenfranchised on the basis of that ethnic definition.

Academicians have constituted no small contingent of the groups of social engineers, who, well-meaning and concerned that the expertise they possess is crucial to adequate definition (and thence, manipulation) of social situations, define social situations and problems. They have been, by and large, agents in the internal colony described by George Manuel and Michael Posluns in The Fourth World: An Indian Reality (1974).

In a political climate in which, for the last few years, the terms "local control" and "Indian self-determination" have become catch words, academicians and social scientists still define and refine definitions of what is going on. We must do that. We must not continue to own our definitions as the correct definitions and impose

those definitions upon policy makers. We still attempt to do so.

In meetings--a common event in native communities--those definitions are imposed upon persons, long the objects of study by anthropologists, as givens. This study addresses most immediately a single meeting between social scientists, academicians, and native persons-- some combining both roles. It is a happy event: the participants are all friendly and cordial. That accord is not across ethnic lines but is simply friendly in polite and comfortably human terms. I am pleased to have had access, for description, to an event where the descriptive category of ethnicity is demonstrably inadequate as a social science term.

It is still possible in the meeting of interest to document communicative impasses which science builds. I am intent on such documentation in this study.

It is often observed by those who study conversation that minute analysis exaggerates attributes of talk: what appear to be a suggestion of pique, a hint of disagreement, become hostility and agression when described in microanalysis. That is an important caution to readers. Labov and Fanshel (1977), in the same vein, warn the analyst not to mistake the 9-inch scale model of a fly for the insect itself.

With respect to the text which follows, the imposition of the convention of self-reference in the third person

would perhaps be appropriate were I to claim simply to have described the structural properties of a natural system. Because I have appealed to an epistemological rationale in which the observer and the acts of observation and description are necessarily, themselves, objectified, that convention would unnecessarily encumber the text with circumlocution. I have therefore used first-person reference throughout.

I am grateful for the forebearance of the participants in the meeting and for the allowance to describe such intimacies as tone of voice. I have attempted to conceal their identities, though no one, surely, could be compromised by the information contained herein.

The assistance and encouragement of the committee members whose names appear herein should not implicate them in the many shortcomings of the study. I have been fortunate in the composition of that committee. Dr. Ruth Gruhn probably does not know that she instructed my first anthropology course and defined the discipline as a vocation for me. Dr. A. D. Fisher has been a good critic of my work for ten years. This is not the first effort of mine to profit from Dr. Robert Patterson's scholarly advice. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Regna Darnell; she has taught me a great deal and has had uncommon patience with me. The external examiner, Dr. Susan Phillips, provided incisive criticism and there are many improvements in the final version of this work because of it. I am very grateful for

her interest in the work. Dr. Michael Asch and Dr. Robert Papen helped me as I designed the study, but I was so long in the completion of it they were both on leave as it was being completed. Dr. Asch has been a help to me during all of my graduate education. Though I know him only through his writing, I want to acknowledge a great respect for Professor Dell Hymes. Dr. A. L. Vanek read and commented on troublesome sections of earlier drafts and the changes incorporated because of his suggestions are good ones.

For the award of the Province of Alberta Graduate Scholarship in 1970, and the Province of Alberta Graduate Fellowship the following year, I express my thanks. I am very grateful to the Linguistic Society of America for its award, in 1972, of the Julia and Samuel Bloch Memorial Fellowship. The experience which that afforded me has influenced my academic pursuits profoundly.

Sister Nancy Leclaire and the late Mrs. Jenny Goodin encouraged me always, and translated the Cree portion of the text. I owe them both more than this text evidences.

Fredrick Ulmer drew the figures for me. Jeff Bullard and Roger Bauman helped with technical work. Greta Reimchen Urion and Gladys North Urion both gave me time and space in which to write. I owe a large debt to Dr. Michael Mair.

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I. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

A. INTRODUCTION

That field of inquiry in anthropology that is known as the "ethnography of communication" or "the ethnography of speaking" is the product of the realization of the inability of other language-focused behavioural models to account adequately for contextual variability in speech and other communicative performance. It is a framework that at the same time is complementary to other fields of inquiry addressing human language and language use; e.g., neuro-, psycho-, socio-, anthropological and unmodified linguistics; and challenges specific models, notions and assumptions upon which are formulated theories that identify those other schools.

Context-free models are challenged according to criteria of descriptive, analytic and observational adequacies, as those concepts are reviewed by Grimshaw (1974). This three-part notion specifically challenges definitions of "competence" and "performance;" the relationship between cognition and language; and the very notion of "speaker," however qualified. It does so by this expedient: the use of language takes place in a social context; it is humans in groups who speak and understand. The scholars to whom this aspect of language is most compellingly motivating do not, themselves, appeal to a

unitary theory. The ethnographers of communication attempt to describe and explain communicative systems, both appealing to and contributing to an ongoing redefinition of anthropological inquiry.

The descriptions that now exist in the literature appeal in various ways to a framework most elaborately expressed by Dell Hymes (see particularly Hymes [1974b]). This study addresses that descriptive framework explicitly. It is an attempt to evaluate the descriptive adequacy of the components of the use of speech, as those components have been defined in the literature. The context of the test of the components is limited to one specific event as representative of a class of events: a meeting conducted in both Cree and English in Edmonton, Alberta, in 1975.

In order to arrive at a more explicit statement of the problem addressed in this study, I address four introductory issues:

1. the social context of the present study;
2. a brief review of the concepts of "code" and "etiquette" in descriptions of Amerindian- and English-speaking groups, when there is an implicit contrast between the two groups, in studies where Amerindians are identified as a population of interest;
3. a review of various approaches to the analysis of language use; and
4. a suggested epistemological base for such a study.

B. THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The event described in this study is a meeting between native speakers of the Cree language and linguists. They are discussing various orthographic systems which might be used for that language. The Cree speakers are all people whose interest in such an issue is more than passing. Each has devoted a great deal of his life's work to the teaching of a language which he perceives to be endangered. The success of bilingual education programs in schools which serve a Cree-speaking clientele is of vital concern to them. There are academicians involved in the discussion and most of them are linguists and/or anthropologists. I am concerned in this study to document the protocols for the conduct of such meetings.

Two categories of participant have so far been introduced, "Cree speakers/teachers" and "academicians." Neither of the terms is a common social science definition. Neither of the terms might be said to constitute valid descriptive categories. Nonetheless, in this introductory statement I shall retain those categories as discrete and review briefly the social context which might indicate that the social system in which the specific meeting of interest took place dictates a common-usage categorization along such lines.

Cree Speakers as Members of the Fourth World

The Cree Language and Speakers of Cree

For more than three and a half centuries some sort of social intercourse has been going on between Cree speakers and English speakers (Mandelbaum 1936). First in commercial and military enterprises, and later in other spheres of social organization, the nature of the contact between these two now somewhat arbitrarily-distinguished groups has fluctuated between states typified as interdependence, exploitation, hostility and colonial domination or paternalism.

There are presently more than 40,000 speakers of Cree of all ages, distributed from the Fort Saint John area of central northeastern British Columbia, through the southern boreal forest and parkland, through the Canadian prairies (with a small group in north central Montana), eastward to central Québec (Chafe 1962).

The Cree language itself is genetically classified as Central Algonkian,[1] and is well represented in the descriptive literature[2] and ethnography.[3] There are a number of dictionaries, collections of texts and pedagogical grammars.[4] Though it has a large and important place in descriptive linguistic literature, Cree still presents many basic problems in dialectology,

morphophonemics, syntax and phonology.

A tradition of literacy in a phonetically-based orthographic system has existed among Cree populations since the 1840's, when a syllabary was developed in Norway House by the cleric James Evans.[5] Roman-orthographic representations of the Cree language are probably as old; but historically no system of writing has been as nearly representative of Cree, to Cree speakers, as the syllabary.[6] Several competing roman-orthographic systems, developed by missionaries, clerics and teachers, show various influences of French and English conventions. For example, there is general disagreement as to how to represent long vowels (phonemically distinct in Cree) and affricates.

The ways of speaking Cree have changed, of course; and nowadays a number of Cree speakers admit to only limited competence in the language. This fact suggests that in some localities the language changes presage a process of "language death" according to the criteria established by Hill (1973). Nonetheless, the social identification of the Cree people and Cree speakers as a distinct collectivity of Amerindians and Métis constitutes a legitimate descriptor. The Cree people continue to exist as a heterogeneous group, with distinctively Cree traditions. They have a pre-Euro-Canadian-contact history still orally-transmitted and a post-contact history which

informs the present demographic descriptions of both Euro-Canadians and Crees.

The Present Relationship

In my opinion, the nature of the present socio-cultural relationships is best conceptualized in Manuel and Poslun's (1974) discussion of indigenous peoples in North America; that relationship may be extended to include, globally, comparable groups in those authors' definition of indigenous minority ethnic groups within modern nation-states: these colonized "tribal" people collectively constitute what has been called the "fourth world."

The social sciences have produced an extensive recent literature which treats colonialism. Belshaw (1976:228) says of the relationships and processes involved in colonialism,

> "A colony is a territory for which final governmental and policy authority is located in another country, or (by extension, to fit the North American internal situation) in institutions whose interests are outside of, and not controlled by, the communities governed. Colonization is the operating process. Colonialism is the ideological orientation toward such action."

General discussions of the relationship (e.g., Memmi [1967] and Carnoy [1974]) have led to that term's

application to minority ethnic groups which exist in modern nation-states. They are said to be "internal colonies." Lurie (1972), Patterson (1972) and Fisher (1976), for example, make the concept central to their discussions of Indian-white relationships in North America. Adams (1969, 1975) and Asch (1977) discuss specific Canadian groups in terms explicable only with reference to the internal colony.

The concept of the fourth world extends this notion: it is very nearly unique in its demanding of social scientists to take account not only of the distribution and exchange of material goods and political power relationships defined on ethnic axes; but to consider as well those ethnic groups as sectors integral to, not simply "hosted by" nation states; and second, to consider the ideological bases articulated by or derived from the ethnic groups themselves. These ideological bases are to be explicable in social science terms, not merely as items of scientific interest; they must also be explained as motivating and defining the group itself. They dictate the terms of the group's existence and the terms for its "decolonization" (or in the case of the internal Amerindian colonies, the assumption of local and Indian control) within the nation state. Flores (1973) extends his argument, which includes ethnic-group ideology as definitive of Mexican-American groups, to include all American

internal colonies. No current discussion in social science both defines Amerindian ideologies and relates them to the process of local control in general or theoretical terms, although specific arguments respecting specific groups (e.g., Asch 1977) suggest such a discussion as necessary. To that end, Hudson et al. (1977) have discussed the notion of the fourth world as a social science concept, following Manuel and Poslun's statements respecting specific ideological precepts.[7] A beginning point for discussion of such a notion appeals to two related and complementary sources, ethnographic description and social science analyses on the one hand; and the statements of such native politcal leaders as George Manuel, on the other.

It is clear from both sources that very important ideological precepts of Amerindians include, but are surely not restricted to, specific shared meanings of and appreciation for the concepts of "language" and "land" as definitive of the group. The fourth world interpretations of such concepts are not often coincident with either the nation-state's majority population's interpretations of them, nor with those of social science. Butorac (1977), for example, has demonstrated that "our language" meant "those indigenous languages by which we define ourselves as a pan-native group," when the term was used in a Canada-wide inquiry into pipeline development. This ideological

collectivization with reference to language explains a logically-contradictory commonplace statement that some groups "no longer speak their native language."

The place of the social scientist in the process of colonization or decolonization has been the subject of a great deal of discussion in the discipline (and in Canadian Indian communities). I have chosen, in other discussions, to include them in a category of "brokers" (Urion 1974, 1975). In applied anthropological situations they often are placed in middle-hierarchy positions, and typify a state which Belshaw (1976:227) calls "the African-chief syndrome." He says

> "People who occupy middle positions in hierarchies--whether they be in nation-states, colonial governments, or private organizations--face two ways. In the simplest situation they may be concerned only with the passage of information, up and down. But in most situations they are expected to take initiatives; that is, they amend the information, give it significance, and initiate proposals and action. On whose behalf do they do this? On behalf of their superiors or those they are 'administering'?" (1976:227).

Caulfield (1974) and Sanders (1978) are typical of academics who note this double bind. Naturally, the functionaries I have called brokers are not

predominantly social scientists, but the latter are legitimately included in the ranks of civil servants, special project directors, teachers, social workers and the like, whose purpose is to address the condition of the native qua native. The very definition of the native or "colonized" population appeals to social-scientific terms--embarrassingly, often in terms which are descriptively archaic and have no further currency in social science. For example some enterprises are justified in terms of inevitable stages of cultural evolution; or "myths" in "innovative culturally relevant" curriculum projects are sometimes treated as functional equivalents of other children's fantasy stories; and there has even been a recent statement to the effect that "Indian" languages are incapable of expressing "abstractions" (see, e.g., Chalmers [1973]).

The adequacy of the colonial model has some substance when the structure of administration of Indian affairs is documented and when descriptive statistics are cited. Daniels (1973) is one of many who note that, although the federal government is charged with responsibility for the affairs of Canadian natives, its Indian Act defines less than half of the native population as Indian. Furthermore, the federal department charged with the administration of Indian affairs has the power to make regulations which have the effect of law, "subsidiary legislation" in that it is

effected pursuant to parliamentary legislation. This situation enables the bureaucracy to regulate the day-to-day affairs of treaty Indians. That power vested in the bureaucracy has been effected to remove more than half the treaty Indian population in Canada from federal schools and into provincially operated schools. Band council resolutions are reviewed by the bureaucracy, which has the power of veto.

No effective vehicle for native involvement in the operation of such institutions as schools is effected in law, though there is sometimes token representation. A movement to include "culturally relevant" curriculum has been, by and large, token. Dosman (1972) and Daniels (1973) note (along with a host of other sources) that student attrition is more than 90% betwden Grades I and XII amongst the Indian population of Canada and that agegrade retardation is grossly out of line with that of other ethnic groups. Swift et al. (1975) show that in Alberta provincially administered native peoples fare no better in the educational institutions which attempt to provide services and that no vehicle exists for local involvement in the administration of such schools. They typify the motivation for the establishment of Alberta's large Northland School Division in 1961 as improving "scattered, impoverished, feeble" schools; with "better facilities, continuous rather than haphazard operation, better teachers, order rather than semi-chaos." The

indicators they cite as documentary of 1974 and 1975 demonstrate little effective change since 1961.

The fact remains that the only avenue for Indian and Métis involvement--much less control--of such institutions as educational ones, is not through present legal or bureaucratic means. Rather, through negotiation with the bureaucracy, through political processes in native organizations, and through the manipulation of public opinion the movement toward local control of institutions and the movement to include "native" components in school curricula continue. Many social scientists apply the precepts of their disciplines in an attempt to facilitate those processes.

The following considerations are therefore assumed to be implicit in the remainder of this discussion:

1. In relation to control of Indian affairs, the difference in the distribution of power between non-Indian institutions and Indian groups is so extremely assymetrical that the relationship may be said to be, at one level of description, a colonial one.
2. Fourth-world peoples, the Cree amongst them, are stigmatized socially.[8]
3. Many social scientists, eschewing older models for manipulation of social change as "assimilationist," are hard-pressed to articulate new models which are not so oriented.

4. Many social scientists have been, and continue to see themselves, as brokers between fourth world peoples and the makers of decisions about the affairs of indigenous peoples.

The Movement Toward Self-Governance

All over North America Amerindian political leaders are assuming a public political stance which is evidence of an imperative that has been perceived as a given within viable native communities: control of the affairs of Amerindians must be vested in those communities themselves rather than in externally controlled institutions. Legislative and quasi-legislative policy decisions such as the 1975 Jackson Act, (called the Indian Self-Determination Act) in the United States and the responsible minister's endorsement of the National Indian Brotherhood's position paper on local Indian control of education appear to give governmental encouragement to a movement toward local control.

However, decision-making power is still vested in those institutional (public and service sector) structures which "serve" the Canadian population defined, legally or in common-usage terms, as native. Those latter populations, in order to achieve de facto control, must either continue a pattern of resistance which social scientists have been notably remiss in describing (see, e.g, Clemmer [1972]); and/or negotiate the change of locus of decision-making; or combining, in fact, those strategies, confront the

representatives of those who hold political and economic power. Those strategies for assumption of control are evidenced on all levels of decision-making and policy implementation, from judicial confrontations and negotiations between national political leaders to the level at which specific decisions respecting individuals are made in schools, local social agencies and band or tribal councils.

Referring to past negotiations, confrontations or resistance, a social setting defined by the use of talk may be considered to be iconic of the relationship between fourth world peoples and those who purport to serve or presume to manage them. For example, Cummings and MecKenberg (1972) discuss the meanings attached to the discussions surrounding the signing of treaties, in the transcriptions of negotiations, in the oral recapitulation of those negotiations in the native communities, and in the codified decisions--the treaties themselves. They cite, for example, a 1935 judicial decision (Dreaver v. The King) and a 1966 decision (Regina v. Johnson) as judicial recognition of admission of parol evidence in cases involving the interpretation of treaties in Canada. That evidence has been in the form of testimony from witnesses present at treaty negotiations and written accounts of discussions of intent and interpretation of the negotiators (Cummings and Meckenberg 1972:62). Such discussions provide evidence that the meanings of terms used, the meaning of events

themselves, are subject to different, sometimes contradictory interpretations.

Particularly in the area of negotiation, there is a kind of speech situation that is iconic of the present movement towards self-determination and native control. The meeting, an event where issues are discussed and decided upon, is a ritual where both pan-native accommodations and colonizer-colonized relationships are microcosmically evidenced.

Indians and Brokers in Meetings: A Microcosm

Much of the discussion which surrounds recent changes or attempts thereto in local governance involve meetings between professionals of one sort or another and native spokespersons. Proposed changes in school curricula, for example, typically initially involve members of an educational bureaucracy; and later academic specialists whose profession of expertise is associated with the nature of the proposed changes. In Holzner's (1968) terms, this latter class of individuals constitutes a "knowledge oriented work community." The native spokespersons are in that sense their "public." Holzner defines the "knowledge-oriented work community" in terms of the social organization of specialized knowledge, and says

> "Such groups provide special orientations, regulate in large measure the flow of work situations, and maintain rather elaborate controls of communication.

> Thus, they become major forces in the social constructions and elaborations of reality. Where knowledge itself becomes the focus, rather than the mere tool of work, we are dealing with knowledge oriented work communities" (Holzner 1968:127).

Members of knowledge oriented work communities create "role images" and use "power strategies" to create "simplified and stylized representations of behavior patterns, which may correspond only loosely with the overt activities of the worker" (1968:128). The management of role image is for the benefit of a "public" which evaluates the specialist in the domain of common sense. Moreover, those academicians are brokers between the native communities or spokespersons with whom they deal, and a larger public.

There is a double bind when the consultant-academician is a social scientist or linguist. For him the native "public" may constitute an object of study and thus, a source of data; as well as a client population for which specific social science or linguistics information is provided. The clients' evaluation of the academician is plainly not on the basis of the latter's command of data, but on the basis of the professional's command of valid and workable construct which organizes and interprets the data. That construct does not always organize and interpret data in congruence with natives' intuition. The very profession of expertise, the claim to special knowledge by the professional, may dictate terms of disagreement. As implied

in the foregoing discussion, the existing distribution of political and economic power has usually provided that in matters of disagreement the knowledge-oriented work community prevails. The "expert" may have more credibility with the public at large, with the decision-making bureaucracy and power-brokers than might a band, tribe or collectivity of natives. Money-granting agencies may make resources available to academicians through channels inaccessible to native communities.

In a formal meeting where academicians discuss native-related issues with natives those considerations are often evident. More than 50 such meetings constitute the field experience and field work for this study. One meeting constitutes a data base from which some descriptors of the dynamics of a specific aspect of decision-making and decision-codifying are enunciated. The use of talk, as one factor in a range of communicative modes, is the activity upon which this study is focused.

C. LANGUAGE AFFILIATION: BILINGUAL AS BICULTURAL

Code and Etiquette: Contrastive Studies

Many of the studies of Amerindian communities take into account or focus narrowly on groups where an Amerindian language and English constitute in gross terms the categories under which one might describe the varieties of codes included in the linguistic repertoires of a defined speech community. Geertz (1968) separates the notions of "code" (the language used in communication) from the notion of "etiquette" (the rules or regularities that attend the use of the code).

A legitimate study of the meeting of interest might be couched in terms of contrast of rules for speech use in two defined speech communities. With reference to some of the studies of Amerindian communities I shall attempt to justify the need to go beyond such comparison.

Darnell (1971) for example, in her elaboration of the linguistic varieties of Calling Lake, Alberta, includes "English," "English-Cree," "Cree English" and "Cree." In her definitions of those two intermediate varieties (and in her subsequent description of language use in Indian homes and the local kindergarten) the concept of the etiquette appropriate to one or the other of the "standard" varieties is both introduced as a criterion for the definition of the

variety; and cited as a source of incongruity or ambiguity where etiquette and language choice do not coincide.

Basso (1970) defines a complex of rules for the maintenance of silence in Western Apache culture. He describes the criteria for definitions of deviance in terms of those culture-specific rules: one of the Western Apache justifications for deviance is the acquistion of norms appropriate to English.

In her description of the speech economy of Warm Springs reservation, where the population of interest was almost uniformly monolingual in an English dialect, Philips (1972) deals with conflict and its resolution between rules for speech usage in the community generally, on the one hand, and on the other in the school, where non-natives attempt to control the use of speech through the definition of school-specific participant structures. Her more elaborated dissertation (1974a) is couched in terms of contrast; though her more recent treatment of language use in a meeting addresses the meeting itself, and not that meeting as compared to non-native conduct of meetings, nor non-Warm-Springs influence on the meeting (Philips (1976).

In Lurie's (1971) description of pan-Indian events, there is an implicit comparison. She focuses upon those aspects of meeting-management which are more or less unusual in Anglo terms.

Those studies have proven valuable additions to the literature; but in nearly all of them there is an appeal

made, implicitly or explicitly, to a kind of contrastive analysis of rules for speech usage, and the appositions are generally framed in terms of "Amerindian" and "other." No challenge to those studies is implied in this work. The foregoing description of the social context motivates a study of a different nature. A comparison of Cree and English, code and etiquette, may predetermine categorizations of behaviour in a speech situation where individual repertoires include all four descriptive categories. One might, in describing the protocols of the bilingual meeting, assume the same contrastive framework those scholars cited have implied: meetings conducted in Cree, structured by Cree speakers, are quite different from those conducted entirely in English and structured by non-natives. The hierarchies of importance of speech components in Cree-only meetings may be different from English-only, Anglo-controlled meetings. A comparison of the two kinds of meetings, the two attending etiquettes, might explain some of the conflict that arises in bilingual meetings over the control of topic. The categorizations "native" and "non-native;" "Cree-speaker" and "non-Cree-Speaker" are valid descriptors at one level. Appeal to those categories does explain differences in behaviour. But a long history of social interaction between the groups; the notion of an ideological--not particularistic, holistic, deterministic, cultural--definition of ethnic group boundaries; evidence

that that boundary is a negotiable one; preclude retaining the notion that a culture predicts normative behaviour of individuals in interaction in meetings.

Ideological Affiliation With Language

The problem of qualifying the meeting with an appropriate descriptor is another problem of prior descriptors. The kind of meeting dealt with in this study might be called "inter-ethnic," "intercultural" or "cross-cultural." Those terms impose a distinction between participants and are in some sense predictive of categorizations of individual participant behaviour. The terms imply that at least two cultural systems, either systems of social structure or meaning, provide the most important qualification to the meeting.

There is an apparent contradiction in maintaining on the one hand that the kind of speech event I describe represents participants from two communities; and on the other that those participants share rules for the conduct and interpretation of communicative behaviour. It is obvious that one must deal with a group of participants who negotiate public identities, who manage roles around some category; that that category is manipulated by them, but only descriptive of them insofar as they individually or collectively manage that category. In such a situation the ethnic or cultural category cannot be maintained as predictive of behaviour.

Because of the ideological appeal to language as definitive of a group, I have assumed that affiliation to be the most important descriptor for this meeting and others like it. Three factors motivate that choice. First, in all such meetings I have observed that Cree is usually translated into English for individuals who are not competent in the language, but translation is provided consistently only if those individuals are legitimately affiliated with the language. The legitimation is by claim to status as "native." In the second place, whatever language competencies are evidenced, code-switching is allowed only between an Amerindian language and English. Third, all participants in such meetings tacitly allow the claims to affiliation and code-switching. The affiliation may be described not as competence in a code <u>qua</u> a code, but by a claim, a kind of proprietary interest in an expressive system, most nearly coincident with the term "language" in its common sense usage. I have thus termed the meetings "bilingual."

D. THE ANALYSIS OF REAL SPEECH

Other Disciplinary Approaches

The problem is compounded in that there is no clear paradigm for explaining or describing communicative behaviour in any population. A number of disciplines address the issue. Those approaches which are germane to the ethnography of communication are reviewed in this section. Social context has been a concept used as a qualifier of many arguments and propositions put forward respecting language and language use. In this section I make no claim to argue for the necessity of its consideration in formal models of language, but simply attempt to document, briefly, its place in argument.

A compelling comparison between the various disciplines' and schools' approaches to real speech is in the address to an implication about cognition. Those implications vary: a claim may be no more than a statement of logical properties, and there is an implication therein that those represent some properties of cognitive function. It may be an explicit claim about the nature of cognition in language performance or a claim that language competence reflects cognitive processes (see, e.g., Chomsky [1968] and Hymes [1970c, 1971]). Such implications are not the explicit concern of this study.

The formal analysis of real speech and other communicative performance in social science appeals primarily to bodies of literature in linguistics, sociology, anthropology and philosophy. Ricouer (1973) is typical in that he begins a general address of the area with a review of current perspectives of the analysis of conversation.[9] He characterizes the distinctions made by linguists as addressing the same "correlative terms": deSaussure's and Hjelmslev's langue/parole, and Chomsky's competence/performance; and maintains the consistency of the nature of the distinction in the pairs "language systems/language event" and "code/message" (1973:92). Following that, he maintains that the "sign" is the basic unit of the language system, while the sentence is the basic unit of description in discourse. He defines discourse as "language event" or "linguistic usage." He thus provides a commonplace and problem-laden observation for linguistics.

The problems with this characterization are at least two-fold. In the first place, though for Ricouer the "linguistics of discourse" has different rules from the "linguistics of language," Gunter (1974) has demonstrated the inability of the models of linguistics enunciated so far to describe elliptical sentences adequately without appeal to a sentential environment: the "rules of language" must at least refer to discourse rules. Gunter, and Sag and Leiberman (1975) appeal as well to prosodic features such as intonation as necessary to account for the disambiguation of

syntactically well-formed sentences. The distinction to which Ricouer refers is one made only to be transcended, even if a model for a language system is to represent adequately an ordering system as abstract as syntax. The distinction is one, however, that is implicit in Grimes' (1972) development of a descriptive framework for discourse in that it is the sentential environment to which one appeals--a sentence in a population of sentences--if one is to account for structural regularities of talk. Not surprisingly, it is at the level of the sentence that the explanation seems to stay.

In formal linguistics, arguments in the late 1960's and early 1970's over the analytic locus of semantics led to the popular assignment of linguists to "schools." One group maintained that the "semantic component" of language was analytically separate from the syntactic ordering component and required explication separately from syntax, while another group assumed that the semantic component was prior to syntax--that syntax represented the ordering process of that prior semantic component. The latter group, the "generative semanticists," enunciated the goal of linguistics as the reconciliation of "form" with "meaning."[10] The latter term, for some scholars, constitutes formal relationships and structural properties of and between lexical items as feature bundles or dictionary entries. A significant subgroup of the latter group, though, has been typified by an appeal to social as well as

sentential context to explicate such properties of language as ambiguity (eg., Fillmore [1974b], G. Lakoff [1974a, 1974b] and R. Lakoff [1972]).

The concept of the speech act as it has been developed in philosophy by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) has been central to the arguments of this latter school: the concept requires the act of speaking to be considered meaningful in both a system of linguistic signs and a system of acts. The philosophers have described three properties of speech acts: locutionary, or the act of speech as speech; illocutionary, what is done in the process of speaking, or what the act represents; and perlocutionary, what is effected by speaking. For example, a locutionary act is self-definitive: it is the saying of something. The illocutionary effect of an act requires a description in other than linguistic terms: it may be describable as question, response, command, assertion and so forth. The perlocutionary effect of a speech act demands description in terms which require some knowledge of participants to an act: it must be characterized by its effect.

Searle's notion specifies another three-part notion, expressed by Fillmore (1974b:V-1) as follows:

> "Syntax. . .characterizes the grammatical forms that occur in a language, while semantics pairs these forms with their potential communicative functions. Pragmatics is concerned with the three-termed relation which unites (i) linguistic form and

(ii) the communicative functions which these forms are capable of serving, with (iii) the contexts or settings in which those linguistic forms can have those communicative functions. Diagrammatically,

Syntax [form]

Semantics [form, function]

Pragmatics [form, function, setting]."

he term "pragmatics" has thus come to be used commonly by linguists to describe social-contextual constraints on language use.

Sadock (1972) has provided a framework in which those considerations may be included in formal grammars, as those grammars constitute theories of language. The locus for analysis in his work is manifestly the sentence, and by extension of the sentence, discourse. One of the peripheral considerations of his argument is the invention of sometimes fanciful social contexts[11] to qualify the criterion of acceptability of example sentences.

The sociologists who treat conversational analysis appeal to work in the analysis of social interaction, and those whose work is referred to most consistently by linguists and anthropologists are Goffman (e.g., 1974), Sacks (e.g., 1972, 1974), and Schegloff and Sacks (e.g., 1974). Though they do not maintain the sentence as the basic unit of description, the "utterance," qualified by Searles' requirements to describe the tripartite properties of speech

acts, provides an operational equivalent. Goffman, particularly, explores a referential function of utterances in a context of other utterances and acts. Schegloff and Sacks, particularly, have described some formal properties of contiguous utterances (e.g., Sacks' "adjacency pairs," contiguous utterances, the first temporally predictive of the second) in fairly restricted kinds of social contexts. In Garfinkel's (1967) terms, the goal of description is to document "enforceable knowledge," that is, what it is that a member of society normally knows, what can be required of an individual if he is to be said to be normal. In this case, it is enforceable knowledge about the conduct of conversation that analysts attempt to document.

Anthropological Approaches

The provenance of anthropological investigation of human speech communication is complex. The history of the establishment of linguistics as a formal discipline in North America is a history of anthropology, exemplified in the work of Edward Sapir in his application of the "pattern principle" to studies of language; individual personality studies; and non-random group behaviour (see Mandelbaum [ed., 1948]). More or less discrete traditions in anthropology appeal to linguistic description and analysis as an anthropological endeavor; linguistic structure as an analog of social structure; and the "form/meaning"

relationship, as dealt with in various linguistic scientific paradigms as both selection criterion for collection of data, and organizational principle applied to data, e.g., in ethnosemantics (see, e.g., Werner et al., [1974]).

The Ethnography of Communication

Hymes' work (1962, 1964a, 1967a, 1967b, 1969, 1970c, 1972, 1974b) represents an eclectic if not synthetic appeal to all those traditions (though primarily the first and third) in an articulation of a possible descriptive framework to provide cross-culturally-comparative ethnographies of communicative systems. In all those works cited there is an explicit imperative to describe, a statement to the effect that the adequacy of the descriptive framework must be tested through field work.

The interim has provided a number of ethnographic descriptions which appeal fairly coherently to that framework (e.g., Bauman and Sherzer [eds., 1974], Darnell [1971c], Foster [1971, 1974], Philips [1974a]). Sherzer (1977) and Gumperz (1977) have provided evaluative statements of the framework itself, Sherzer in elaboration and Gumperz more succinctly.

Sherzer maintains that on several axes, the descriptions to date have not been cross-culturally comparable descriptions; and thus there is not much evidence upon which to base any argument concerning either

universality of features or typologies of linguistic communities; the literature has reflected an ethnography of "speaking," not "communication;" and there has been a preponderance of description of formal events as opposed to everyday talk. He distinguishes several methodological issues to be accounted for: the participant observation of "other" societies has been carried out by "outsiders," with a single research question, and this has precluded more nearly complete consideration of linguistic variability in communities; a focus on "speaking" has neglected the communicative systems that attend talk (e.g., Goffman's [1976] "laconicity of talk[:] the fact that most often in social life it is the unsaid that lies behind the said that must be analyzed;)" (Sherzer 1977:19); and field work has been primarily in small, "more homogeneous" and "tradition-oriented" communities; "our own" society is potentially a fertile research area.

Without questioning his categorization of the literature, or his distinction between theoretical and methodological issues I shall attempt to incorporate the issues he raises in my own address to the ethnography of communication. Though not in a systematic address to his issues, these observations subsume his own coherent evaluation. First, there is no one well-articulated theory which motivates description in the ethnography of communication: the tradition appeals, in Sherzer's terms, to "theories about language and its use in such fields as

philosophy, linguistics, anthropology and sociology. . .with the result that there is now coming to exist a dialectical relationship between theory and data, each one feeding the other, and taking from it [sic] as well." I would see the "dialectical" realtionship as a process between disciplines, not between "theory" and "data;" and I would name as a problem within the tradition of the ethnography of communication the fact that the nature of the dialectical relationship has not been specified. Its specification would conceivably allow further specification in terms of the nature of the dialectical relationship that may be said to obtain between other analytic components which social science employs to describe itself and its purview.

Second, there has been little qualification other than ad hoc and situational qualification of the descriptors used in the ethnography of communication beyond Hymes' (1974b) recapitulation of those descriptors. There are obvious hierarchical relationships between descriptors (e.g., "norms of interpretation" requires a different level of analysis, an appeal to a differently-organized corpus of data, a different basis for argument and documentary evidence, a different rationale for inference; than does "key"--(the tone or manner in which a message is given). These hierarchical relationships are not explored in the literature. The nature of dialectics is not specified in Sherzer's discussion. The term there seems to imply either a state of interrelatedness of theory and data or a process

involved in inquiry, but the unspecified nature of either dialectic seems crucial to the discussion.

Gumperz evaluates the ethnography of communication in the same arena in which he cites the framework as one of three[12] traditions in language-related inquiry which have contributed to knowledge about the way human beings conduct conversation.

> ". . .analysis has concentrated on the relatively formal named and bounded kinds of talk recognized by all concerned as distinct from everyday speaking. Furthermore, the sociological theory underlying ethnography of speaking is basically a structural-functionalist one which suggests that verbal behavior can be described in terms of discrete systems, consisting of analytically separate variables. The task of analysis, then, is to specify the interrelationship of such variables in particular cultures. The question of how cultural boundaries are to be defined is not dealt with, nor are the questions of how members themselves recognize that an event has taken place, how social inputs vary in the course of an interaction, and how the interpretation of specific messages is affected by social knowledge" (Gumperz 1977:193).

Gumperz suggests a particular problem in his specification of the "underlying theory" of the ethnography of communication as being "structural-functionalist," with

concomitant and predictably "discrete" systemic implications.

At that basic level, Varela (1975, 1976a, 1976b) has suggested an approach to the observation of natural systems--including systems of human speaking--which may imply changes in the way in which the descriptive categories of the ethnography of communication may be viewed. The meta-language he proposes for the observation of natural systems is discussed in the next section in an elaboration of Gumperz' statement.

E. OBSERVING CONVERSATION AS A NATURAL SYSTEM

Gumperz' address to the structural-functionalist basis of the ethnography of communication as an implied deficiency suggests a basic problem in social science inquiry which Murphy (1971) discusses but does not purport to resolve: how does one retain a useful mechanistic metaphor for a system of social networks, knowing that both stasis and change implied by the functional model contradict our own, even common-sense, knowledge of the system.[13] Murphy cites the rationale of those scientists who focus on the model as metaphor, imposing an "as if" into the description. This "as if" can lead to the assumption that social organization is temporally composed of a series of stable states, instead of the social scientist having imposed a "stable state" in his very act of description.

Varela (1976a:64) in his discussion of a system of dialectics which is not couched in opposing terms[14] (e.g. A vs. NOT A), forces this qualification on the description of natural systems:

> ". . .for every system there is an environment which <u>can</u> (if we so decide) be looked at as a larger whole where the initial system participates. Since it would be impractical to do this at <u>all</u> times, we often chop out our system of interest, and put all the rest in the background as 'environment'. . . .To do this on purpose is quite useful; to forget that we did so is quite dangerous.
>
> "Such hierarchies of imbricated systems give rise to the idea of increasing degrees of complexity."

Thus Varela's definition of "imbrications" (in fact, observer-imposed specification of analytic levels) must appeal to a principle which specifies analytic levels with reference to an explicit and other-than-arbitrary criterion. A level of analysis specifying a level of inquiry, Varela adds, implies stability and suggests a term: "let us agree to call a <u>level</u> any one step in this ladder [of a hierarchy of systems, naturally associated with the specification of a level of analysis] (or a similar) ladder of imbricated stabilities" (1976a:64).

Varela goes beyond the notion of symmetry in dialectical relationships. He specifies that in observing

natural systems one ought to specify instead the relationships of pairs (or "dualities of descriptors" as he names them) as being expression of "A" and "processes leading to A," (1976a:62). "A" is a closed system; "processes leading to A" an open one. Symmetrical dualities in dialectical expression (e.g., "A vs. NOT A") are specifiable only within the same analytic level. The contextualization of observation (a necessary transcendance of levels) requires a "trinity" of terms: e.g., "A," "processes leading to A," and "the contextual relationship between imbricated levels." By way of example he says

> "Pairs of <u>opposites</u> are, of necessity, in the same level, and stay at the same level for as long as they are taken in opposition and contradiction. Their effective interactions are not (cannot be) specified.
>
> "Pairs [of the kind just described] <u>bridge</u> across one level, and this crossing is operational. They mutually specify each other.
>
> "It is, of course, the case that when we look to natural systems, nowhere do we find opposition apart from our own projection of values. The pair predator/prey, say, does not <u>operate</u> as excluding opposites. Both generate a whole unity, their ecosystemic domain, where there is complementarity, mutual stabilization, and benefits in survival for both. So although we can project values to the

opposites predator/prey, the effective duality is a larger one. . . ecosystem/species interaction."

In the observation of natural systems, one selects, "chops" out of a "mesh" of perceived relationships, an ascendant descriptor. The act of description which specifies relationships produces a "tree," a static representation.[15] The hierarchy of descriptors is then artificial unless a larger context is specified, and the describer specifies the criteria for the selection of descriptive terms.

Varela is intent on demonstrating a mathematical proof for a model of self-observation as well as for the observation of natural systems. In the publication in which he presents his mathematical proofs, he says of this arbitrary identification of the prior or ascendant node, which act is called "indication" in the proof,

> "In this primordial act we separate forms which appear to us as the world itself. From this starting point, we thus assert the primacy of the role of the observer who draws distinctions wherever he pleases. Thus the distinctions made which engender our world reveal precisely that: the distinctions we make--and these distinctions pertain more to a revelation of where the observer stands than to an intrinsic constitution of the world which appears, by this very mechanism of separation between observer and observed, always elusive. In finding the world as we do, we forget all we did to find it as such, and

> when we are reminded of it in retracing our steps back to indication, we find little more than a mirror-to-mirror image of ourselves and the world. In contrast with what is commonly assumed, a description, when carefully inspected, reveals the properties of the observer. We, observers, distinguish ourselves precisely by distinguishing what we apparently are not, the world, (1975:22)."[14]

Varela provides a meta-language for the description of natural systems. In this study no attempt is made to formalize the hierarchy of components of speech usage in Varela's terms. His is not the model I address. Instead, his argument structures the study. The natural system, the "mesh" I describe, is a system of communicative acts in a meeting where participants used two languages. In that definition I have specified "nodes." The system of imbrications I address begins at the outer level with the social context described earlier. "The meeting" is one level in that system of imbrications where the boundaries of the study are most coherently drawn. Within that system, I intend to address the components for the use of speech as descriptors or "nodes."

F. SUMMARY OF THE NATURE OF THE STUDY

The foregoing discussion formulates a research problem in these terms.

Given the social context and the meeting as iconic or presentative of it, what might be inferred from observation of a "successful" meeting? That is, what model or construct might provide a more nearly adequate description of systems of reciprpcity and exchange in communication, (1) the model which presupposes distinct and given population boundaries, assuming two distinct realms of cultural knowledge (in this case, "enforceable" knowledge about the conduct of talk, attendant to Cree and English); those realms of knowledge supposed as amenable to social science definition, comparison and contrast; or (2) the model which presupposes the ethnic categorization as politically and socially defined; which assumes that the social scientific categorization of populations as "ethnic" is itself a social scientific problem; that in the system of social networks, in total, individuals negotiate the population boundary (in macrosystemic terms) politically; (in microsystemic terms) individually in interaction.

I have asserted that most microanalyses assume the first, and that that has been productive. I claim to contextualize this study in terms of the second assumption, and that such an assumption predisposes observation and description more nearly adequately. The study is at some level a test of that methodological assumption. The

evaluative measure of such a test can be stated as whether or not that provides for accurate descriptive statements which the first assumption might not have predicted.

The structural regularities that attend the conduct of communicative events are deemed, in this study, to be either (a) inferable, from observation; (b) demonstrable with appeal to evidence (some regularities are thus formally, logically describable); and (c) describable in terms of participants' statements of intuition. Evidence thus appeals to at least three different but related domains. The principle which allows the expression in common terms of severally-derived observations is an epistemological one. Namely, systems of human language use are open systems, natural systems. Description of the formal structure and function of working systems implies closed systems. The description which follows is experimentally couched in terms which posit a closed system, a language ordering system; an open system, that of language use; and the relationship between those two as the criteria by which hierarchies of descriptors can be stated.

Following that, a system of descriptors, the components of the use of speech, is addressed; in order first to test the descriptive power of those terms, qualifying them with reference to a real situation; second, to concatenate those descriptors in an expression of relationships--(the problem presents itself because the components are not so qualified in the literature, ar expressions of relationships imply

either hierarchies, polarities or more nearly incisive generalizations); and further, to suggest inadequacies in the framework by demonstrating what it is that the framework purports to address, but which it might preclude or obviate in description.

In short, this study is a test of the adequacy of a descriptive framework, the ethnography of communication, in a real situation, a bilingual meeting The descriptive axes are elaborated in such a way that "code," "etiquette," and "ethnic population boundaries" do not predetermine the organization of data.

Footnotes

[1]See Bloomfield (1926, 1946), Hockett (1948), Sherzer (1973a) and Teeter (1964, 1967, 1974).

[2]See, e.g., the previous footnote, as well as Ellis (1960a, 1960b, 1961), Longacre (1957) and Wolfart (1969).

[3]See, e.g., Darnell (1971c, 1974), Hallowell (1932), Lowie (1955), Mandelbaum (1936) and Skinner (1912, 1914, 1916).

[4]See, e.g, Ahenakew (1929), Anderson (1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1971a, 1971b), Bloomfield (1930), Edwards (1954), Ellis (1962, 1970), Hives (1948), Leclaire (1975a, 1975b), Sovernan (1969) and Wolfart and Carroll (1973).

[5]The system has been adopted by various other native groups and has been used by groups as disparate as Sarcee, an Athapaskan langauage, and Inupiat, an Eskimo-Aleut language.

[6]This phenomenon is treated by Darnell and Vanek (1973) who couch their argument in terms of the "psychological reality" of the syllabary.

[7]Richard King (Hudson et al. 1977) points out that the concept of collective stigma predicts the other diagnostics of "internal colonialism" as interpreted in discussions of the fourth world. That concept, however, seems to subordinate the internally-colonized group's ideology, much the same way in which Braroe's (1975) interpretations (for which see following footnote) require its subordination.

[8]Although a speaker of Cree presently represents the Crown in Alberta as Lieutenant-Governor, and a variety of Cree speakers occupy other high status positions, Cree speakers, along with other Canadian Amerindians, are disproportionately represented in the majority group's socio-economic indicators of distress and deviance. Stigma inheres in a non-Indian stereotype which appeals to such indicators. Braroe (1975) makes the concept of stigma central to his description of Cree and Anglo-Canadian relationships in a southern Canadian prairie community. His symbolic-interactionist interpretation predicts Indian behaviour as reactive to Anglo-Canadian ideology. The model must analytically subordinate collective Cree ideology (or deal with the latter only in terms of reaction). This interpretation would probably never predict language affiliation as important, and those ideological precepts which do not appear to be reactive to perceived Anglo-Canadian notions would be treated as atavistic or

peripheral to such an analysis.

[9]He is not typical in his conclusion: that social science may redefine its methods to analyze action as "text;" a consistency with Hymes' (1977) imperative to formal "qualitative" analysis of non-random behaviour.

[10]A succinct documentary of the respective positions is provided in Maclay (1971).

[11] For example, that a pharmaceutical company has invented a wonder diuretic, "Micturex," which is administered to Grade V students (p.121).

[12]The ethnomethodologists and the pragmaticists, those generative semanticists in linguistics who appeal to social context as in some sense explanatory, are the two other traditions he evaluates as having contributed to the discussion in a fruitful way.

[13] A more piqued expression of that sentiment is to be found in the critical essays in Rossi (ed., 1974), particularly that of Anthony Wilden.

[14] Werner et al., (1974) demonstrate, in their discussion of ethnosemantics, the varieties of "apposition" that paired terms imply. That in itself seems to suggest that the nature of the relationships between terms--not the terms themselves--constitute the interesting question.

[15]The "tree" derived from the interconnected "mesh" is self-recursive in a closed system, given the interelatedness of nodes in a "mesh;" ultimately one would realize again that arbitrarily selected prior node.

[16]Lest one believe that Varela reduces social science to psychometric projective technique, the continuation of his argument is as follows:

> "We then see that we stand in relation to the world by mutual negation, and that the union of us two has therefore an autonomous structure whereby the negation engenders a distinction which leads to its own negation in a ceaseless circular process which is, in fact, the symbol which tradition has chosen to represent the creation of everything since time immemorial. Autonomy is seen in this light to engender the two stages of the form when this ceaseless process is broken into its constituents. By the introduction of a third autonomous state in the form, we do nothing but restore to our field of view that which was there at the beginning, and which we can only see now reflected as segments of the world or in language itself. Conversely, by taking self-reference and time as our filum ariadnis

through a succession of levels, we dwell upon the re-union of the constituents of these levels up to our own union with the world, and thus we find a way to retrieve the unity originally lost, (1975:23)."

II. CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

A. INTRODUCTION

The field work involved in this study took place over a three-year period from 1973 to 1976, during which time I attended more than 50 meetings properly defined as bilingual meetings (not either "Indian-" or "Anglo-" according to the more explicit definitions in Chapter IV). These meetings were primarily in Alberta, involving speakers of English and speakers of Cree. There were a few meetings in the northwestern United States and Alaska which involved speakers of other Amerindian languages. In addition I attended a number of meetings which were in no sense bilingual or bicultural, but which may have represented opposite polarities in terms of this analysis in that some were more or less "native" meetings; and in some, ethnic or cultural identity of participants was no participant-selection factor.

My attendance at these meetings had to do with my function as coordinator of a university-based intercultural education program; as consultant and then employee of an Indian educational institution; as member in local native and professional organizations; and because of personal interest or invitation. My purpose in attending the one meeting described most fully herein was not as discussant or participant, but as observer and data collector.

B. FIELD WORK AND FIELD EXPERIENCE

The first meeting selected for systematic observation was convened by an Indian educational institution to allow younger educational field workers the opportunity to discuss issues with traditional Elders, spiritual and educational leaders. The meeting allowed the use of eight Amerindian languages (Cree, Chipewyan, Blackfoot, Stoney, Slavey, Beaver, Sarcee and Saulteaux) as well as English. There was simultaneous translation between all but the last two Amerindian languages and English.

During this meeting, in addition to the notes taken and audio-recorded speech, I had the assistance of a first-time participant in Amerindian-English bilingual meetings. I attempted there to test my ability to interpret native-specific rhetorical and stylistic devices, such as metaphor and discourse-element permutation. The accuracy of my interpretation was tested against a prediction I would make concerning the direction that the ostensible topic would in fact take.[1] According to that naive collaborator he required my interpretation--not of the lexes, but of the adumbrations--to make sense of the meeting. He verified the accuracy of my predictions and assisted me in calling to my attention those aspects of discourse-meaning which he found incongruous. At one point during the meeting an Elder referred to the inability of the younger generation to remember verbal instruction, to take the words of an Elder

as experience. That was, in fact, an admonition to me to cease taking notes and I did so. My collaborator did not understand nor heed me and so was asked explicitly to leave off note-taking. This meeting was to have formed a data base for this study. The convening authority granted permission, but specific Elders made requests that the meeting not be studied or used in research.

In two subsequent recorded meetings self-testing involved more specific aspects of evaluation and description: in one large meeting a specific test was a comparison of native and non-native evaluations of specific speakers. I addressed the amenability to extrapolation, of participants' categories of speaker-evaluation, by the descriptions suggested by the ethnography of communication. In another large language-related meeting I attempted a similar exercise but asked for selected participant recapitulations of what had happened. Those meetings represent field experience, as does the range of other meetings I attended; e.g., native school committee meetings where social-service agencies sent representatives; provincial ministers' advisory meetings on native affairs; planning sessions for various educational enterprises; and service on decision-making boards involving native and non-native participants.

In this work I address one meeting specifically as representative of a kind of meeting. That narrow specification of one meeting as a meeting of interest allows

for a kind of elaboration of controls, e.g., on the range of characteristics of participants, that an appeal to a range of meetings as minutely analyzable data sources would make unmanagable.

As Hymes (1977) distinguishes these anthropological enterprises, attendance at the full range of meetings constitutes a kind of field experience upon which this study is based. Those events wherein I attempted systematic categorizations constitute field work. Ethnography appeals to both in its address to the questions of what meaning the events I describe carry for participants and in my attempt to create specific descriptive categories to account for that meaning. The further constraints imposed on analysis of recorded meetings and various other tests of the descriptive adequacy of the components of the use of speech (e.g., observation in hospital services where non-native medical personnel, using native translators, treated native patients; considerable observation in a variety of bilingual school settings) constitute additional trials of observational adequacy and contributed to field work.

C. CRITERIA FOR CHOOSING THE SPECIFIC MEETING

The choice of this meeting over others was because

1. I knew all the initial participants personally, and most of the group knew each other and were on friendly and congenial terms;
2. the various statuses of participants were of a fairly wide range, representative of a variety of roles;
3. the focus of the meeting was well-defined and even language-related: the standardization of a roman orthography for Cree;
4. there was no obvious political body convening the meeting and the information conveyed in the meeting would not compromise any individual or group; and
5. I could audio-record the meeting unobtrusively.

D. BACKGROUND TO THE MEETING OF INTEREST

The Convener of the meeting is one of a few Cree speakers in the West who are very actively engaged in the teaching of the Cree language, either under institutional auspices or privately. The audience these teachers address is very wide: non-natives, children in schools where language-retention programs are being initiated; children in schools where second-language teaching makes English the target language; native adults, either non-Cree speakers or persons minimally competent in Cree; or Cree speakers attempting to understand the formal grammar of the language. The Convener has, like nearly every other such teacher,

produced curriculum material in the Cree language. The interchangeability and wider currency of that material is often obviated by the use of different orthographies by different institutions and teachers, and is further complicated by the fact that many teachers use the Evans syllabary.

Anxious for an arena in which to discuss the standardization of the roman orthography, she approached two levels of government for money to finance a meeting. With the active assistance of an official (a native) of the provincial government, she secured that commitment from the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The meeting was held in June, 1975, in Edmonton, over a period of three days, Thursday through Saturday, in a meeting room of an urban hotel.

E. SELECTION FOR ATTENDANCE AT THE MEETING

She made explicit invitations to

1. a native Cree-speaking academic who has an appointment at a Canadian university, who teaches the Cree language and culture (hereafter referred to as "CrProf"),
2. a non-native curriculum specialist from a western province (mnemonically, "CurrSpec"),
3. a Cree-speaking political leader and educator from another western province, a former teacher (thus referred to as "CrTchr-2"),
4. her own sister, a teacher of Cree who has been

consistently recognized as having an excellent command of the language, as well as being an effective teacher of it, by the native community in Alberta ("CrTchr-1"),

5. her brother, recognized in native communities all over Western North America as an Elder--a religious and traditional teacher (hereinafter, "Elder"), and

6. unspecified-as-to-person invitations to two out-of-province Indian educational institutions where curriculum material is prepared in the Cree language; a young Cree teacher ("CrTchr-3") and a curriculum-development specialist who spoke Cree ("CrCurrSpec") attended in response to those invitations.

All those first five participants accepted her invitations as well.

In addition, she invited two linguists whose publications have been primarily in Algonkian studies, particularly with Cree, and who have experience in the preparation of pedagogical grammars; two linguists, specialists in second-language instruction; a linguist whose publications have been in Athapaskan languages, but who had instructed a course in descriptive linguistics the previous summer for a group of primarily-Cree speakers.

One of the Algonkian specialists declined, having other commitments; and one of the second language specialists declined without comment. All others attended. The Algonkian specialist who attended is referred to herein as "AlgLing"

and his counterpart in Athapaskan studies is "AthLing." The second-language specialist is identified as "TESL."

She invited the chiefs (referred to as "Chief-1" and "Chief-2") from her own reserve, and extended on-the-spot invitations to a local Indian Affairs official (non-native). A native (monolingual in English) official of the Indian Affairs Department, with national responsibilities, attended with the local official. The local official is, mnemonically, "DINA-Loc," while his national counterpart is "DINA-Nat." The chiefs and the officials sat as observers during the second day of the meeting. DINA-Loc returned for the third day.

The Convener also publicized the meeting in the native printed media, in English, and then in Cree on Cree-language programs on province-wide radio broadcasts. There was an implicit understanding that interested parties could attend the meeting in those native-specific media announcements, though no one attended because of such general invitation.

Other observers attended; one, during the Elder's address the second day ("OBS-1"), a non-native who has worked for several native agencies; and two students of the Convener ("OBS-2" and "OBS-3"). The video technician who attended the last day of the meeting is referred to as "TECH."

No explicit invitation was directed to native Cree teachers who openly expressed a preference for the use of syllabics only, and to those teachers who have publicly

advocated adoption of their own roman orthographic systems as best. Potential academic participants who have been associated with those individuals were not invited either.

Part of the group attended by reason of ethnicity and proficiency in the Cree language. The self-selection process was uniform among the native participants: they were actively involved in the preparation of written material in Cree, using roman orthography, (often along with syllabics) and all of them expressed the concern of the meeting as a compelling practical problem. The expression was in very strong terms and came to me in unsolicited comments during conversation in coffee-breaks and after a day's formal dismissal.

The academicians' comments, mediated in the same way, changed over the course of the meeting. Initially, all of them saw attendance at the meeting as a "service." I argued that just such an arena--native speakers discussing practical and pedagogical problems that attend their language--was one in which linguists might discover a great deal that the constructs of the discipline may not elicit. CurrSpec attended the meeting for only the first day, and was noncommital. AlgLing agreed with me in the most emphatic terms during the second day, leaving his seat during the formal meeting to whisper his agreement to me: observation during the meeting had demonstrated my point to him. The other linguists agreed in principle, but had not such a stake in this specific meeting, dealing, as it did, with the

Cree language.

F. THE MEETING OF INTEREST AS IMMEDIATE DATA BASE

In the description of the meeting of interest there is implicit appeal made to the total of field experience. In statements of comparison made, addressing this meeting in a range of possible meetings, explicit reference is made to the results of data analysis of other meetings.

For the meeting of interest, I secured permission from the Convener to audio-record it in its entirety and to use it specifically for the purpose of this study. Lurie (1971) notes that audio-recordings are customary as official records of pan-Indian meetings in the United States. It is, at least, not unusual in Alberta. All participants were made aware of the fact that I was not merely keeping an official record, but that I intended to study the process by which decisions are verbally made.

The audio-recording, made on a Craig 910 tape recorder in stereophonic mode at 3.75 in./sec., is supplemented by a series of notes, which include notations--not an inventory in any sense--of kinesic behaviour; and transcriptions of all information written or drawn on the blackboard.

One hour of the final day of the meeting was videotaped. The technician employed to operate the video recording equipment was told to account for as much of the group as possible and to tape individuals in various participant activities (i.e., to record the same participant

as [a] speaker; [b] involved listener; and [c] seemingly uninvolved listener).

I had intended to conduct formal interviews with all participants. Evaluations from them, however, came to me in the form of unsolicited comments. During breaks and in evening social activities, the meeting was discussed and evaluated in groups and by each participant individually.

The object of analysis of the recorded data was to provide as full an accounting of the factors which describe the progress of the meeting, to allow descriptive categories to emerge as generalizations; and to attempt description of the event in terms of the ethnography of communication.

In the process, I anticipated situational qualification and more explicit definition of those terms as they were necessarily interrelated in the description of real events. To that end the data were examined in the following manner.

The entire corpus was examined aurally and a kind of gross inventory of structural descriptors was made. For example, holding constant the concept of the definitions of genres exhibited in the meeting, an attempt was made to exhaust the data of generalizations of speech acts adequately describable as to specific genres and classes of genres. The evaluative metric for each of the more nearly statically-defined components was the power of the construct to describe more nearly adequately, more nearly economically, the progression of events. It is in such a way that the concept of control of topic emerged as ascendant in

this context.

In order to document "amount talked," gross amounts of time taken to talk were calculated for each participant for the entire corpus. For randomly selected portions, initiation of talk (self-initiated talk versus response) was calculated for each participant. It became obvious that quantification of this phenomenon was not in itself inferential of any important fact, that such an exact numerical expression speaks to no real issue.

Several axes were explored for the definition of subgroups (e.g., native versus non-native; academic versus non-academic). In order to generalize attributes of participants, as complete as possible characterizations of individual attributes were written. Those attributes that seemed salient descriptors in the accounting for talk-management were then documented as generalizations.

Then the entire corpus was examined several times to find selected bits of the meeting for transcription in order to illustrate the various means by which topic was managed.

The late Mrs. Jenny Goodin transcribed and translated almost all of the passages in Cree. Sister Nancy Leclaire and Mrs. Alice Steinhauer translated other selected bits. For verification of selected portions, particularly appeals to musical metaphors and claims about perceived physical properties of sound (e.g., harmonics and the rhythm of stress patterns), I asked two musicians individually to listen to selected passages and to describe those passges in

those terms.

Many qualitative judgements were verified by other listeners. For example, two Cree-speaking university students listened to selected bits and told me "what was going on."

The basic questions were, then, how to make generalizations about who talked about what; how; and why. In other words, I attempted to document the amount talked by individual participants; the range of topic; the ends evidenced; and thus, to make normative statements in terms of (a) participant interpretations of events; and (b) structural regularities that the categories I employed in analysis seemed to suggest.

G. CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION OF DESCRIPTIVE COMPONENTS

It is important to specify the criteria by which I observe and categorize. As participant in the meeting and in many like it I knew how to comport myself; and I have, naturally, personal distinctions to make on a number of idiosyncratic bases. I presume the other participants' idiosyncratic appreciation of the events to be in some ways similar to my own, in some ways different. I may make the further claim to have observed in the meeting with another end in mind: I constantly evaluated the amenability of what I perceived the flow of reportable events to be, to extrapolation on the descriptive axes provided for in the anthropological tradition of the ethnography of

communication. I made an audio-recording of the acoustic events, and I made notes on other axes deemed notable to me: I make the tacit claim, as participant, to be competent to observe in a specific way. I entered the meeting with a *priori* definitions of categories of speech behaviour--definitions for which specific descriptive properties are said to obtain--categories which I had pretested by previous participation in other meetings.

There must be some constraint on description that allows for more rigorous assignment of speech acts to a specific descriptive category than an appeal to intuition on the part of the participant-observer. The definitions of the components of the use of speech are not so circumscribed that categorization of events and statements of relationships between components can be simply ascertained. The criteria that must necessarily be considered are the degree to which participants must necessarily agree in order to maintain the process of the event and in order to assert that communication has or has not taken place; the variability within the group, extending to subgroups and taking account of idiosyncratic interpretation, insofar as is possible, in the interpretation of events as they progress; what is obviously consensus as to what is happening and what might happen next, or what should happen next; and what is obviously disagreement as to what is happening or what might or should happen next.

Therefore, in the description of the meeting of

interest I attempt to provide evidence for or against the assertion that the categories within which specific acts are described are legitimate either or both as (1) descriptors--that is, could other ethnographers, using the framework, establish the same system of regularities; and (2) documentary of the perceptions of the participants, based on the appeal to evidence of agreement and disagreement, and on a perception of usualness. In short, the description is a test of the adequacy of the framework to describe an event: insofar as the relationship between components is demonstrable, and insofar as it may be shown that participants in the meeting segment, categorize and interpret in some way corresponding to the description, the framework is adequate. Insofar as there are inexplicable, absolutely appositive and irreconcilable relationships established, and insofar as the regularities appeal to some other factor than those categorizable within the framework, it is not adequate.

The data thus dictate address to the conceptualization of the descriptive categories. The results are presented in the remainder of the study.

Footnotes

[1]The naive participant was plainly initially confused and was pleased to take part in the experiment. He was incredulous of my first prediction, i.e., that a long description of the raconteur's travels, ending in a statement that he had, in those travels, observed young mothers failing to breast-feed infants; in fact meant that the group would address alcoholism as a problem. The metaphor had to do with the use of bottles and the rearing of children to use them. (My collaborator maintained that the hodge-podge of topic he perceived was the fault of poor translation. When the issue of alcoholism was in fact raised and dealt with extensively almost immediately thereafter, he asked me about every inconsistency he perceived.)

III. CHAPTER THREE: THE COMPONENTS OF THE USE OF SPEECH

A. INTRODUCTION

The components of the use of speech constitute, according to Hymes (particularly 1972:58 and 1974b:53), a "schema" which "can only be an etic, heuristic input to descriptions." "Later," he projects, "it may assume the status of a theory of universal features and dimensions."

It is that schema to which I appeal in the description of the meeting of interest. In this chapter, however, the components and a concomitant concept, the speech act, are discussed in general terms and not with specific reference to the meeting. A succint description of the projected usefulness of the components is seen in Sherzer's (1977:2) statement:

> "Hymes introduced the notion of speech event, as central to the ethnography of speaking and argued that analysis of speech events requires study of the interrelationships among a number of components or factors--basically: settings, participants, purposes, verbal or textual organization in terms of constituent acts, key or manner of delivery, linguistic varieties used, norms of interaction, and genres. The careful study of these components of speaking in their own terms, with regard to both terminology and patterned organization, as well as

> of the relationship between the functions of speech and these components, leads to a description that captures each society's unique cultural organization of language and speech."

The explanation of the components is most elaborately expressed by Hymes (1972b:58-65, 1974b:53-62).[1] They are more nearly economically expressed by Sherzer and Darnell (1972:548-554).

The notion of the speech event as a descriptive term (and a prior term, the speech situation) are dealt with in this work in Chapter IV, with specific reference to the meeting of interest. The present chapter represents a discussion of the other components.

B. THE SPEECH ACT

The speech act is not identified in the literature of the ethnography of communication as a component but the concept is central to description. It has been customary to take this "minimum unit for description" (Hymes 1974) and to describe its properties in Searle's (1969) terms as "illocutionary," "perlocutionary" and "locutionary." Those terms both combine and distinguish considerations of what is said with what is effected in the saying of it.

The descriptive problem, not surprisingly, seems to originate in the definition of the kind of analysis undertaken. Weiser (1976) is documentary of the problem, distinguishing between "illocutionary force of a statement"

and the statement itself, in her discussion of the relationship between "utterance" and "purpose" on the one hand, and the concept of implicature on the other.

As has been noted, some analysts make the coherence of contiguous utterances paramount, in order to account for speech acts as sentences or collections of sentences. Others appeal to a coherence of interactional norms, not to the utterances themselves, and argue for the ascendancy of those norms, analytically. An example of the latter is Harvey Sacks (unpublished lecture notes [1971], cited in Weiser [1976]), in his discussion of such constraints as the necessity to account for "adjacency pairs"--sequences of speech acts that normatively occur together.

Discussion of the former--an attention to the sentential and extrasentential organization of the lexes--has heretofore been the province of linguists, such as Grimes (1972), Ellis (1960a), Fillmore (1974b), Gunter (1974) and Williams (1966). The goal appears to be to extend sentential analysis to include structural regularities that appear to be properties of discourse.

"Paralinguistic cues," "pragmatics," such as the study of kinesics that attend--and "influence"--speech behaviour, have necessarily been dealt with, in conversational analysis, in the context of other acts. The relationship between "paralinguistic cues" and "speech" has been a correlational one, not one that sees "cues" and "speech" as necessarily coincident. Labov and Fanshel (1977) attempt to

account for speech acts as both utterance and act in a polydimensional representation, where two parallel planes represent "what is said" (including propositions, the actual text, cues that attend, and expansion of propositions) on the one hand; and "what is done," i.e., interaction, on the other. It is an analytic statement. It does capture the commonplace, but often unobserved, fact that a speech act is always an act, always an utterance. It seems that a differential in analytic focus has obscured the properties of speech acts themselves.

Labov's and Fanshel's own claim that there seems to be no necessary coherence, beyond a temporal one, between sequential utterances belies a focus they initially (and self-admittedly artificially, in order to discuss "real" meaning) maintain upon the plane of referential speech. Focus, in fact, is a good term to introduce as necessary to explain why an analyst makes the claim that no coherence is necessary between utterances, and why we must all perceive (as analysts and surely as speakers) that we perceive a coherence.[2]

If we maintain the conceit of the polydimensional figure--two planes, joined, representing "what is said" and "what is done"-- we may consider that a movable focus exists, manipulable by participants, between the "interactional plane" and the plane of the "utterance." This attributes to participants in a communicative act the property of ability to move that focus: it specifies the

creative act of communication as causative of focus change. It allows us to discuss the properties of speech acts as both (a) interactional sequences, in a realm of other actions; and (b) temporally contiguous locutions. While it does not resolve the seeming paradox claimed by Labov and Fanshel (1977:70) that there are no connections between contiguous utterances, it allows there sometimes to be such connections on the plane of utterance, and sometimes there not to be. Whether or not there is such a connection on the plane of utterance depends upon how a participant structures the attention of another, how focus is manipulated between planes. Adequate description of the process must make reference to all sensory modalities as potential communicative channels.

Incorporation of participant-manipulated focus between planes of action and speech (allowing thus an analytic distinction that may not in fact be the most descriptively adequate) obviates the statement of two other problems which the authors of Therapeutic Discourse have enunciated. They note the "dbuble bind" of contradiction when what they term "paralinguistic cues" do not coincide, in terms of meaning, with what they term "text" (1977:46). They also claim, as a property of speech communication, the inherent need to allow the possibility of the denial of an assertion as it is being made. It seems obvious that denial may be as descriptively applicable as requisite for other interactional components, such as those paralinguistic cues, as it is for speech. Warm

smiles are not always warm smiles. It is also evident that participants recognize the "double bind" and the need for deniable assertion, and that competence in communication includes the ability to produce assertions which deny themselves, and to produce communicative signs and symbols which simultaneously contradict each other. There must, then, be an additional aspect of competence that implies some regularity, some sharedness, to those aspects of speech discourse.

The concept of manipulation of focus seems to be a useful one in explaining processes whereby interpretation of these not-so-complex communicative strategies is possible. As communicators we indicate what is denial, what is rhetorical, what is to be taken lightly, what seriously. And, of course, we dissimulate. But the implicit statement in the signal of indication is "this statement is to be regarded as information-laden, as an utterance," or "this statement is more nearly an act, made because it fits as act." Interlocutors, interactants, continuously indicate that plane to which the focus is closest.

Such a definition of the properties of speech acts in effect renames those acts "communicative acts." The definition allows "topic" and "focus" to be expressed in processual, not categorical, terms. It allows necessarily for degrees of ambiguity and misapprehension.[3]

C. OTHER SPECIFIC COMPONENTS

As introductory to the discussion of the meeting of interest, those components which constitute the descriptors posed by Hymes are restated here. Some are self-definitive, while others require explanation. Though they are nowhere named identically, those components generally are

1. setting (the time and place of a speech act; the physical circumstance);
2. scene (the cultural definition of an occasion as a certain type of scene);
3. participant (subsuming such categories as "speaker" or "sender" or "addressor;" "hearer" or "receiver;" or "audience");
4. ends (purposes, outcomes, goals);
5. act sequence (including "message form": how things are said, and "message content": what is being talked about, or "topic");
6. key (the tone, manner or spirit in which an act is done);
7. instrumentalities (including "channel": choice of oral [spoken, hummed, whistled, chanted, etc.]; written, telegraphic, semaphoric, etc.);
8. norms (including norms of interaction and norms of interpretation); and
9. genres (categories such as poem, myth, tale, proverb riddle, curse , prayer, oration. . .etc.).

The definitions of components are admittedly procrustean. They are not all germane to the description of every event or act. Sherzer and Darnell (1972:548) echo Hymes' "etic" metaphor in introducing their own definitions of components by saying

> "They are not to be used as a check list but rather as a guide to the kinds of factors which enter into the relationships of rules governing the use of speech. They stand to a complete analysis as does a phonetic grid to a phonological description; but at the present preliminary stage of work in this field the list cannot be either exhaustively specific or discrete. The items of the present list are clearly interdependent and possibly overlapping. They have been identified at a level sufficiently general to be maximally useful now."

Since the publication of that statement there has been a good deal of description of speech situations which use the components named. There has been only implicit address to redefinition or further specification of the components; there has been no positing of a hierarchy of components; and there have been few attempts to generalize beyond descriptions of specific events, except to suggest typologies of speech communities based on generalized axes.

Two major interrelated problems present themselves when one attempts to describe real events in terms of the components. The first is that a real situation forces there

to be at least a situation-specific hierarchy of importance of components. (That requirement is implied in the enunciation of the framework in Sherzer and Darnell [1972]. The question arises as to the generalizability of the hierarchy established for one descriptive situation, to a more general application. In this study that question may be addressed only by inference.) The second has to do with the establishment of criteria for making categorizations of real speech streams (or other communicative behaviour) as components. As has been suggested in Chapter I, these problems must be addressed at different levels of analysis. Dealing with them as problems, in fact, implies different kinds of anthropological endeavors.

A discussion of two of the components, topic and genre, is presented here in order to attempt to address aspects of the aforementioned problems. Of all the components, those two seem to be the least static in an event such as a meeting. I intend to argue that the most productive componential axis is that of topic, and, considering sequence, topic change. An examination of the notion of genre illustrates that the components themselves imply a differential in analytic levels.

D. THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION OF GENRE

Hymes (1974c:443) retains the notion of genre as syntagmatic: he says that genres "are not in themselves acts, events, performances" and he distinguishes between minor genres (e.g., riddles, proverbs, prayers, greetings, farewells)— elementary or minimal genres in his terms; and complex genres which incorporate more complex organizations of features, modes and structures. These distinctions seem to miss the point of the utility of the concept. Genre as a component is useful only when it is so marked by participants. In other words, not all performance is ascribable to a specific genre, and the other components may define an act as any one of a number of genres. No one term is explicable without reference to other terms in the ethnography of speaking, but the various classes of genres seem to change absolutely depending upon concatenation with other components. Just as the category, genre, is itself born of a distinction based on analytic focus,[4] in that it is a way of distinguishing the nature of a speech act (where speech act distinguishes between a range of other possible acts [e.g., kissing] or categories of speech [e.g., sentence]), the named genres should provide distinctions between kinds of genres at a more precisely defined level of analysis.

Instead, contextually, genres may become confused. An example of this confusion is presented here. Entering a large unlit office before a meeting, a guest speaker met

another meeting participant, both Métis, and both came upon a Treaty Indian seated at a typewriter in the dark, preparing a report for the meeting. The guest speaker and the man he entered with had simply nodded a greeting at the door. The first words spoken were these.

(1)

1. Entering man: (looking first at the typist, then at the guest speaker) Holy shit you look gloomy. It must have been a foggy, rainy morning when your mother got pregnant with you.
2. Typist: It was dark alright but at least she knew who was on top of her--she didn't have to try and figure it out afterwards like some of these half-breeds' mothers around here. (Pause) Hey I'm having a problem here.
3. Guest speaker: If it's with the report, this bastard here can help you; if it's your identity crisis, I can help you. If you're getting intimate with the typewriter in the dark, nobody can help you.

[redacted]ioning one's parenthood and the circumstances surrounding it, suggestions of inappropriate sexual encounters in the dark (mothers with unknown fathers, antagonists with machines) are, either in Cree or Anglo contexts, insulting. An insult is a specific genre. Those words, however, were the first spoken in this encounter. They are manifestly greetings. Adding a consideration of setting--physical and temporal constraints--and sequence, makes this series of three insults a ritual greeting, another genre. Further consideration of "end" would indicate that, quite opposite from the manifest functions of insult, this interchange was an expression of solidarity. Adding norm for interaction requires a reference to kinesic behaviour. The eye contact with the guest speaker (along

with a smile), invited him into the interchange. The typist's verbal reference to a problem could have allowed him to remain outside the insult sequence, signalling a "getting serious." Any one of the participants would have identified the speech acts as "jokes" (although laughter follows only virtuoso performances). The identification of the performance as joke has a great deal to do with key. Pause, stress, tone of voice, are crucial or such interchanges may go wrong: the non-insult may become real. There is a challenge in the initial insult to keep the genre going, to return the insult, to maintain both the absurdly sexual reference on some axis as that initially enunciated, and to surprise. In short, this interchange is describable in terms of several genres: an insult, a joke, a greeting, an expression of solidarity.

If the claim is made that speech events are rule-governed, that they are not randomly contiguous speech acts, the naming of genres as integers of rules must appeal to the participants' either tacit or explicit definition of genre. In order to reconcile the claim that participants know and abide by (or break, and thus surprise others, and so substantiate) rules; with the knowledge that participants do not continuously assess and nominalize specific speech acts as necessarily anything but that "he/she spoke" or "did not speak;" the analyst must establish the way in which that speech act was commonly or differentially assented to as having effected something. In other words, a definition of

genre must appeal to ends and outcomes, analytically, in order to establish a descriptive category that appeals, further, to the other components of speech.

In the specific analysis of the meeting of interest it is difficult to ascertain just how participants segmented more or less continuous speech activity by genre. Naturally some genres are manifestly self-definitive; e.g., "Now I am going to tell a story. . . ". The agenda for the meeting of interest is a written genre. Participants themselves will name genres (e.g., "let us begin by asking God's blessing upon our work.") But genres are distributed differentially by participant: a contextually identical speech stream uttered by an inappropriate participant becomes a different genre. It is a given that in a meeting the chairperson calls the meeting to order. A call to order by anyone else in the presence of the designated chairperson is more than an insult. A long narrative approximating the style of oratory permitted an Elder, on the part of a non-native academic, becomes mimicry.

A further definitional complication is seen in the assignment of genre to a specific speech act or set of acts, when key is considered. Key may indicate sarcasm, irony, imperative, challenge, etc. Genre becomes a component that is only more precisely defined by ends, settings, channel and topic, considered in sequential context with reference to participant. The definition of genre seems to depend entirely upon the property of communication, described

metaphorically in the preceding section, as movable focus.

The category genre, by itself, seems to have limited explanatory or descriptive power. In every instance it must be defined by a complex of other components. An adequate accounting for the use of the term requires a duality of definitions: genre is at once definitive and dependent. Because an introduction is what it is, it allows for the use of specific rhetorical and stylistic devices--it determines key, it is constrained as to topic, in a meeting it is usually oral, etc. Its definition is dependent as well. Because of manipulation of the very things which define it, it may be "insult," "joke," or what have you.

A genre, as defined by participants, may encompass an entire speech event. When it is embedded in another event, e.g. a meeting, it is not usually definable without appeal to process, and the component most immediately wedded to process, topic and topic change.

The analytic level that requires one to account for meaning for participants; categorization by participants; and definition of structural regularities that appeal to all other levels of analysis is that of interpretive frame. The locus for analysis seems most economically described by defining several dimensions of the term, topic.

B. THE ASCENDANCY OF TOPIC

The categories named as components of the use of speech in the literature of the ethnography of communication are not discrete categories. The efficacious property attributed to the categorization is descriptive: the claim is made that the speech economy of a given speech community may be described with reference to the components. Establishing a hierarchy of importance, giving a prior ascendancy to any component, would have violated the principle that motivated the enunciation of the components; namely, that speech situations vary.

The claim may be made, however, that the very use of the term "components" is misleading, because the term may imply discrete categories. When one addresses a real situation with those terms, one describes aspects of speech situations and must subsume one component under another, or incorporate components, one within the other, as the situation warrants.

The components necessarily appeal for definition to different levels of abstraction from the situation studied. For example, "speech event" and "speech act" must have different referential frames, and imply different levels of analysis, than "key." The former and remoter terms must subsume other components, such as "participant." (Though "speech event" and "speech act" are not named as "components" they certainly are not descriptively discrete: the definition of the two terms is central to the definition

of the components.) The latter term, key, must be subsumed under other components. "Ends" or "outcomes" may be considered quite apart from the act of speaking itself, while "channel" is much less interesting, much less important, when abstracted so far. Some components are integers of others: how, conceivably, might "participant" be separated from "setting"?

Had any *a priori* hierarchy been posited, however--where, for example "ends" were to be considered analytically initially or finally, depending upon the analyst's removal from description of real events--any analysis of phatic communication, where the end is by definition to talk, would be unnecessarily cumbersome and the salient feature of the description would be lost.

At least in the years that document the trial of the components as descriptors one of the most useful features of the schema must be that a hierarchy (or any set of relationships between components for which a claim might be made) is to be situationally determined. That must be the case as far as static description is concerned. When process of communication is focused upon within a given speech event, a temporal sequence of talk must be considered. Conceivably, every statement in such a case might be explicated with reference to each component. The heuristics of description as well as common sense dictate otherwise. Obviously, in any speech event, some components remain constant and finite. An axis must be selected which does not

require the recapitulation, with each utterance or bit of information, of the relationship of components.

The criteria for selection of a component as such an axis are that it be widely variable; that it be subject to specific constraints within that variability; that it subsume more of the other components than any other; that it do so with the greatest economy; and that those criteria be more nearly verifiable and demonstrable with actual data.

Considering the first criterion, with the meeting as the speech event of interest, one finds all the components to a greater or lesser degree, variable. Only "act sequence," "key," "instrumentalities" and "genre" are remarkably so, in the sense that descriptions of sequential variability in those areas is noteworthy. A description of a sequence of genres adumbrates a fuller description and constraints upon genres are so wide that they are best described _post hoc_.

A sequential treatment of "key" in the meeting, were one able to capture that sequence without consistent prior reference to message form and content, would be a contradiction in terms. I assume that, once defined, changes in setting and scene are trivial, given the definition of this event. In order to describe topic change, however, other components must be appealed to more nearly consistently, more nearly directly, and with a greater degree of verifiability, than any other component. Moreover, components such as key assume an importance that would

otherwise be lost, simply because the requirements of the interpretive frame, where topic is considered and defined, demand its consideration: it obviously is manipulated by participants to effect topic change. The documentation of changing topic must appeal to differentially-patterned complexes of components in sequence. Therefore, topic or "act sequence: message form and content" seems to be the only appropriate axis in that it meets all five selection criteria more nearly than any other component.

If one deals with topic, one is forced to appeal to the meaning of utterances: the meaning that utterances seem to have on the surface, the meaning that the utterances have by virtue of sequence, and the meaning that utterances seem to have, given stated and unstated-but-obvious ends.

The notion of topic demands explicit differentiation between an analytic statement of the situation and participant organization of the situation. It further demands that in the analytic statement the former appeal to the latter for validation: the only substance of "topic" is that which is perceived by participants to be the topic. The notion of control of that component requires inclusion of "extra-linguistic" or extra-grammatical components. Explanation of topic is thus seen to be not simply a matter of clarification of the properties of sentences or utterances, but necessarily inclusive of <u>all</u> communicative behaviour. (Unless of course, we maintain that participants focus upon the semantic and syntactic properties of language

as a pre-eminent communicative mode. Because such properties are ultimately inexplicable without reference to other communicative modes, it does not seem that such a position may be reasonably maintained.) Participants' manipulation of focus captures exactly the same process as does participants' control of topic.

Footnotes

[1]In those explanations they are tied to an unhandy acronym--SPEAKING--as a mnemonic.

[2]Vanek (1978) and Vanek and Darnell (ms., 1978) have approached the same issue and have used the term "focus" in connection with the proximate-obviative distinction, not as simply a grammatical category but as a property of the structure of human communication generally. Participants to a communicative act, in that context, shift focus in an interactional domain. This allows greater or lesser immediate reference to "speaker." In fact, the "proximate communicator," a term which necessitates appeal to process, is said to control the interaction at a given moment. They claim that "speech" in the term "speech act" is redundant--that acts and events, verbal or otherwise, are properties of interaction.

[3]Such a description allows a common-sense evaluative domain for speech acts and events. For example, I have maintained that the meeting of interest was a "successful" meeting. The measure of success of a communicative act or event is the degree to which ambiguity, misunderstanding and misapprehension (all properites of communication) are overcome.

[4]Darnell (personal communication) has maintained that the term, genre, has always been difficult to distinguish analytically from "speech event." She maintains that the term is more an artifact of the mnemonic, "SPEAKING," than a response to an imperative to describe a naturally-perceived or analytically-necessary component.

IV. CHAPTER FOUR: THE CREE-ENGLISH MEETING AS A SPEECH EVENT

A. INTRODUCTION

The selection of the the meeting as an interactional arena of interest requires justification and the term itself requires definition. Compounding the definition with the modifier "bilingual" creates another requirement for explication. Given that it is obvious that a meeting in this sense is a congregation of participants who are physically present together in order to engage in purposive communication, a first question is whether or not it represents a kind of speech situation or a kind of speech event.

B. THE SPEECH SITUATION AND THE SPEECH EVENT AS DESCRIPTORS

Hymes (1974b:52) would distinguish analytically between the two by noting the requirement that the speech situation be a "social situation" which is "in some recognizable way bounded or integral" and that it be marked by the presence (or absence) of speech. There is a caution he enumciates in the naming of a social situation as a speech situation: "It would not be profitable to convert such situations en masse into parts of a sociolinguistic description by the simple expedient of relabelling them in terms of speech."

In fact, the distinction between a speech event and a

speech situation in Hymes' terms is a difficult one, one that does not seem to be satisfactorily explained. The speech event must have recognizable boundaries as well.

It is the notion of the governance of speech by a coherent set of rules that distinguishes the speech situation from the speech event. Hymes states that "the term speech event will be restricted to activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech." By naming the meeting a speech event in his terms, I must claim that its definitive characteristic is rule-governed speech. That claim is difficult to substantiate for any social situation except by simple assertion.

The important question then becomes whether or not it makes a difference in analytic outcomes if the definition of the meeting is as speech situation or speech event. In other words, is the meeting definitive of boundaries only, best described as a social situation having a beginning and ending, and including speech events such as "argument" or "narrative" or "planning session" which may be said to be rule governed. It seems to me that the principle that must be appealed to is one of coherence of rules, given the notion that direct rule-governance of speech activities defines the speech event. The difference in analytic outcomes is this. If one considers the meeting a speech situation, one must then relate, through statement of rules or regularities, subsidiary speech events in order to

account for the meeting as a bounded whole--one would be required to posit rules for the interrelatedness and coherence of such subsumed speech events in order to define the social situation as a speech situation.

The facts that many meetings include appeal to published rules for the conduct of entire meetings; meetings are usually convened for the manifest purpose of communication of some kind, and that communication is more often than not talk; and there appears to be a complex of regularities in the conduct of that talk, which applies throughout the event; all seem to conspire to name the meeting--even a three-day meeting such as the meeting of immediate interest in this study--as a speech event. The analytic outcome of treating it as a speech situation would be unnecessarily cumbersome. Further, treating the meeting as an event, the principle of coherence of rules for the meeting is maintained in that it is axiomatic to the description by virtue of definition.

It seems to come to this: establishing that people talk in meetings, and that the talk defines the meeting as such, is not a gratuitous observation nor an expedient imposition of the consideration of speech on a primarily-social situation.

C. 'BILINGUAL' AS QUALIFIER

This speech event has been further defined in this study as "bilingual." That modifier is used to distinguish the kind of meeting focused upon here from a realm of possible meetings which include Amerindian speakers of Cree and non-natives. In order to distinguish it, the terms "Anglo-" or "non-native" meeting will be used, though those terms really have no intuitive or definitive appeal except in this context. In this context, however, those categorizations (or an equivalent set of distinctions) are necessary. The necessity is derivative, more nearly an artifact of the literature that treats language- and culture-contact than of social fact. It has been suggested previously that in the positing of descriptive categories of "linguistic code" (or "variety" or "register") and "etiquette," and in the comparison of regularities that attend specific codes and etiquettes, that (1) there is no adequate accounting for individuals' or groups' range of managed repertoires; and (2) that comparisons based on a distinction between two realms of cultural knowledge do not account as nearly adequately as observation of the bilingual situation's being more than the sum of two codes in contact, distinct--particularly in terms of etiquette--from either "Anglo-" or "Amerindian-" meetings. Some sociological literature and some of the anthropological literature that addresses social aspects of language use at least implies this approach to language contact, though most of that

literature focuses on the function of code-switching. Analyses in the ethnography of communication take account of this approach only fragmentarily.[1]

Code and Etiquette

Most studies seem to posit code and etiquette as in a realm of cultural knowledge, which is an adequate assumption if there is only one code being considered or if the situation does not require the taking into account of group boundaries. But in some social situations where two languages are used, or where the participants might be said to represent more than one cultural tradition in the etiquette that attends the situation, there is a conceptual problem in simply comparing the multiple systems.

It is obvious that people attempt to be understood; that either, in this case (1) cultural knowledge, e.g., Cree etiquette, must include knowledge of systems that prescribe protocols for dealing verbally with participants marked "non-Cree" or "non-native;" or that (2) in the speech repertoires of all participants, regardless of professed or marked culture, there is a specific complex of rules that is more or less coincident--or if the communication is to be successful will be in some way coincident--which allows for the conduct of speech activities; that those rules may appeal to either Amerindian or Anglo protocols; that they may reflect completely different protocols than either Anglo- or Amerindian.

After observation of all kinds of meetings including natives and non-natives, it appears to me that the conceptual problem involved in contrasting systems of cultural knowledge seems to reflect a real problem. That categorical and comparative approach seems not nearly as descriptively adequate as the approach dictated in the assumption in (2), above.

The meetings that form the data base here, the aspect of field work most nearly systematically constrained in this work, are neither Anglo-meetings nor Amerindian meetings, nor simply the results of a kind of combination of elements of each. A facile diagnostic for this kind of meeting may be that the naive non-native may believe he has attended an "Indian" meeting, while his Amerindian counterpart may profess to have attended a "white" meeting. The "facile diagnostic" is suggested by several observed cases.

Definition

The first consideration for definition of what I term bilingual meetings is that some participants attend by virtue of ethnicity or claim to ethnicity; and subsidiarily, a linguistic code or speech etiquette. By way of example of the validity of this consideration, I have observed every Amerindian participant in the meeting of interest in this study, in some other kind of meeting which they attended by virtue of some other reason than their Amerindian identity (e.g., professional and partisan political meetings). It is

obvious that their speech and etiquette repertoires include unremarkable conduct at such meetings, consistent with the role assumed in attendance.

The second definitive consideration of bilingual meetings is that that ethnic role is managed for the benefit of other participants who attend by virtue of some reason other than ethnicity. The bilingual meeting, then, is one where a managed participant role which reflects a marked ethnicity, either self-professed or ascribed by others, is the salient descriptive feature. The term "bilingual" implies that the concept of linguistic code captures that salience of description. For the participants that seems to be the case. "The language" is conceived of as a total communicative system. If an individual is socially known as "native" or makes a claim to that status, that person seems to be ideologically affiliated with the local code--in this case, Cree.

Examples

I have categorized some meetings as Anglo-, others as Amerindian-, and have stated that this discussion creates those categories as meaningful only in the context of this discussion. By way of example, some such categorized meetings are briefly discussed here.

Within the past few years a provincial organization of certificated native teachers has been formed. The organizational meetings included only persons socially known

to be native, i.e., Métis or Amerindian. None of the meetings had a recognizable chairperson, no formal vote was taken on any issue, and as a matter of course Amerindian-specific ceremonies were included--not because of their "native" nature, but simply because it was the thing to be done. Attendance was by virtue of ethnicity, but role-management along those lines was not noteworthy. The meetings were "Amerindian" meetings to the analyst, "meetings" to the participants. The linguistic code used was mostly English, except for side remarks and joking, which were all subsequently translated for the benefit of those (native) participants who did not speak Cree.

All the participants in those meetings have attended, as well, the provincial professional teachers' organization's specialist council on intercultural education. In those meetings, though they attend as teachers, they attend specifically as native teachers. The management of roles is socially negotiable in that context: they may speak as "teachers" or as "native persons" to non-native participants. Such meetings are manifestly bilingual and bicultural.

In other contexts, those teachers attend meetings where ethnicity is considered formally not at all, simply meetings where professional activities are discussed. While those meetings are considered "Anglo-" meetings in this context, they, too, are simply "meetings" to the participants. Individual conduct is as teacher.

Categories of Meetings

Some meetings, though attended exclusively by natives, must be considered to be bilingual or bicultural meetings because some participants, though native, attend by virtue of some reason other than ethnicity; e.g., employment with or representative of governmental, social service or educational institutions or agencies. Instead of simple tripartite categorization, a more nearly accurate typology of even bilingual meetings might be expressed in terms of a continuum. On the one hand, the more nearly Amerindian meeting might be organized by natives; defined, with respect to purpose, by natives; and structured, in terms of the progression of events, by natives. Non-native participants at such meetings are often called "observers" as are natives who attend by some other reason than ethnicity. On the other hand are the meetings including both natives and non-natives, but conducted, structured and goal-directed by non-natives, who may invite participants to attend. If they are so invited because of their status as native, they may be called "resource persons."[2]

The meeting of interest is a manifestly bilingual meeting. The next three chapters of this work constitute a description of it.

Footnotes

[1]Philips (1974) certainly deals with the issue, as does Basso (1970). The population boundaries in those studies are heuristically-imposed and imply a prior definition of culture as a population boundary.

[2]Those categorizations, "observer" and "resource person" obviously imply some expectation as to the amount of verbal activity expected of individuals so designated. It seems, however, that "observers" are usually quite willing to talk in meetings, while "resource persons" are quite often reticent.

V. CHAPTER FIVE: THE MEETING OF INTEREST

A. INTRODUCTION

After definition of the meeting as a bounded, rule-governed event wherein social constraints limit talk to a kind of formal performance; and after attendance at more than 50 such bilingual meetings and the entire audio-recording of four of them; I chose one meeting as a specific meeting of interest. In describing it I will appeal to a range of other meetings. By addressing the event, the meeting, in general terms; by appealing to Anglo-meetings and Amerindian meetings, by further focus on dual-category meetings (bilingual and/or bicultural) and even more specific focus on dual-category meetings that have been organized by natives, compared to those that have been organized by Anglos; and finally, by describing on the one hand one meeting, dealing with regularities that attend that kind of meeting; and on the other hand, describing the uniqueness of that one meeting; I shall claim to provide evidence and support for the argument that the bilingual meeting is a legitimate generic term for a kind of speech event that has a peculiar and complex set of rules.

I intend to provide a description of the meeting in the terms enunciated in the ethnography of communication. There follows first a description of events in broad terms, using the written agenda as a basis for description. Second,

specific speech components are described.

B. THE WRITTEN AGENDA AND THE OFFICIAL RECORD

The agenda for the meeting shows a first day of planning for the subsequent two days. Appendix A is a transcription of that agenda. Appendix B allows a comparison of that agenda with an agenda which might have been written--a "post hoc" agenda--describing, in agenda-like terms, what actually happened.

The Written Agenda

The first morning's agenda charges six participants with "organization and planning" and the afternoon is slated for "discussion of the roman orthography for Cree." The rationale for a pre-planning session and the composition of the group selected to attend the "pre-meeting" has its logic. The Convener recognized a necessity for validation of the writing system by professional linguists, some of whom have suggested orthographic systems. She knew the adequacy of the constructs of descriptive linguistics at the phonological level. She also perceived its inadequacy to account for Cree speakers' perceptions of what they consider to be important phonological considerations. The session was intended as such to acquaint the linguists with such problems as pre-aspiration of stops and stylistic devices she terms necessary for "euphony"--which she maintains as an overriding and paramount constraint on phonology. She was

aware that CrProf would make these points to the other linguists in the strong terms he uses, and that CrTóhr-1 would do the same with humour and tact.

The first day provides for no formalities in the way of reports, official openings or formal presentations, while the second and third days of the meeting are to be opened with a prayer by an Elder. The second and third days were to have included an additional nine participants. The entire morning of the second day, presumably the result of the previous day's organization and planning, was to be taken up by first a report on the present status of the orthographic systems used, followed by a report justifying the need for a standard orthography. After lunch there was provision to justify the division of the large group into committees, to discuss orthographic systems in committees, and to hear committee reports. The formation of small groups reflected a constraint on the conduct of meetings: the Convener could not have predicted that the non-native participants would understand the circumlocutions necessary in polite disagreement. Small groups would have allowed dissidents to come to a consensus of their own, to be dealt with in the large group.

An evening session was to have been devoted to a review of the day's events, though the parameters of the review were not made explicit.

After prayer the third morning, there was provision for the creation of a permanent committee to sponsor the new

orthography, to discuss organizational considerations surrounding that committee, and to discuss the development of a resource centre for the Cree language in cooperation with provincial universities. There was to have been a 2.5-hour report after lunch.

The six "organizers" and "planners" scheduled to take part in the pre-meeting of the first day included CrProf, CrTchr-1 and the Convener as Cree-speakers and TESL, AlgLing and AthLing as linguists. (CrProf's position included him in both categories.) The linguists were distinguished twice subsequently on the written agenda: they were to assist the Convener in justifying the need for the roman orthography on the second day, and were to make a final report, separate from the reports of the committees.

The Function of the Written Agenda

The agenda cannot be said to reflect exactly the behavioural expectations of the Convener. In an application to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs for money with which to conduct a meeting, an agenda must be included--one must show that a suitable sequence of events is planned. The allowance for the first day's group to organize and plan the meeting provides for a great deal of flexibility in departure from the agenda on the second and third days. The agenda does reflect an attempt at the management of participant involvement. The first day was to allow the group identified as the linguists to speak to the

issues involved, in the company of a Cree-speaking linguist and the two teachers of Cree, both of whom have had some training in linguistcs. The linguists were to contribute to the argument for the need for a standard orthography when the larger group convened the second day, and were to take part in the final day's report. The agenda thus implicitly establishes them as "resource persons" in that it specifies the times and topics where they are expected to talk.[1]

The agenda does not reflect the expectation of a mass conversion, either on the part of the Cree-speaking population or even meeting participants, to the new orthography expected to be presented. It suggests a permanent committee to continue to discuss and promulgate the system, and suggests a further move to establish a permanent Cree-language resource centre, or centres, at universities or with the cooperation of those institutions.

The 'Post Hoc' Agenda

Day 1

In fact on the first day of the meeting the morning's topics ranged over a number of organizational matters: should the group discuss the issues in committees the following day, or should it remain as a large discussion group. This question involved verbal excursions in the areas of whether or not specific

individuals would be in attendance; the concomitant use of the syllabic system of writing with roman orthography; and often the nature of the Cree language generally. There were in fact eight participants in the meeting the first day: CurrSpec, invited to attend beginning the second day, came only for the first; and I came to record the meeting.

Subsequently, that first day, it was decided not to divide the group into committees, though that was not made explicit. Then the planning group discussed specific orthographic symbols and motivations for the selection of one symbol over the other. The discussion ranged over a number of other topics, a matter of concern to any analysis of the meeting, and a matter discussed at length in the following chapters. The discussion that involved the roman symbols was usually introduced or carried by AlgLing, questioned by AlgLing himself or by other participants, and then justified by him with an appeal to this substantive constraint, though he never couched his argument in these terms: dialectal variation in Cree, reflecting variations of Proto-Algonkian */l/, include more or less predictable variation in vowels, particularly on high/front axes. The discussion usually centred on the selection of "type" words that would apply pan-dialectally, insofar as the linguists were concerned. The CrProf's protestations were supported generally by CrTchr-1 and

the Convener, that other phonological and morphophonemic considerations--less easily explicable by linguists, presently-- must be accounted for.

Days 2 and 3

The second day of discussion, the first day of the "real" meeting in a sense, involved only three new participants who were to be involved as discussants of the substantive issues of the meeting. The three new discussants were CrTchr-2, CrTchr-3 and CrCurrSpec. The latter is a young man fluent in both Cree and English who works in curriculus development in Cree-language materials for a native educational institution in another province. The former administers Cree-English bilingual programs at the elementary school level in yet another province.

All other new participants had some other manifest function than discussion of orthographic issues. The two chiefs from the Convener's reserve were silent particpants, lending the meeting some authority because of their presence. The Elder was to speak in general terms, or any terms he chose. A Cree-English bilingual secretary ("Secty") was to take notes on the meeting, and while she could have taken part in the discussion without having been considered out of place, she did not. DINA-Loc spoke briefly the second day, more the third. DINA-Nat spoke to general issues and was emphatic in her evaluation of the meeting as important and

productive. OBS-1, OBS-2 and OBS-3 spoke not at all.

On the third day the two chiefs attended only for the formal opening. The Elder was summoned out of the room several times to confer with native persons who had heard he was in attendance. The other casual observers did not attend, except as noted later.

The progress of events during the two days is not reflected in the official record. The entire morning of the second day of the meeting was taken up by

1. a ceremonial opening in prayer by the Elder;
2. a welcome by the Convener;
3. self-introductions, which, for the Cree-speaking participants usually included a response to the Elder's remarks;
4. a formal address by the Elder;
5. a series of questions and responses about specific ideas and words in the Elder's address--a pedagogical discourse, in that the Elder ended his responses with a formulaic kinatohtin-ci ('do you understand?'), and was asked to continue or elaborate by his interlocutor with namoya ('no');

and finally,

6. approximately 45 minutes of discussion of the roman orthographic system formulated the previous day. The afternoon was generally given to the discussion of the announced topic. Major subsidiary issues discussed were the mechanisms for promulgation of

the system and the continued restatement of the need for uniformity.

The last morning of the meeting was devoted to a short summary, initially; and then to the formalization of the committee as a permanent and enlarging body, planning for subsequent meetings and activities.

The agenda and the unofficial record bear some superficial resemblance, but what was accomplished was not accomplished because of an appeal to the agenda, and most of what was accomplished is not reflected in the official record. The process by which the participants conducted the meeting is seen in neither. The Convener, of course, had potentially considerable influence on the structure of events. She dictated the structure overtly very little--certainly to less an extent than in any usual Anglo-convened meeting. The meeting progressed and accomplished according to its participants' willingness to participate, and that participation was structured along lines not usually made explicit.

C. COMPONENTS OF SPEECH USAGE AND THE MEETING OF INTEREST

The next level of description, adressing this gross temporal sequential description, segments the meeting into considerations of speech components.

The Participants as Members of Speech Communities

The initial question in the description of the meeting is whether or not "speech community" is an appropriate category in which to describe a collectivity of linguistic and communicative competences represented at this or other bilingual meetings. The common definition includes the necessity of the participant's sharing of at least one code. The meeting, like many dual-category meetings, was conducted primarily in English and it was assumed, most of the time, that most participants understood most of what was going on. If, in fact, the "sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech" (Hymes 1972) is definitive of the speech community, the affirmative response to that question must be qualified. In some sense the concepts of sprachbunde (a language or code area--in this case, collectivities of English speakers and Cree speakers) and sprachbunde or "speech area," "speaking rules being shared among contiguous languages" [Hymes 1972:54, after Neustupny]) introduces the distinction of a differentially-based distribution of codes and etiquettes in a population.

In order to remove the difficulty of definition of boundaries of code and etiquette collectivities, I assume

this meeting to represent an aspect of a speech network ("the specific linkages of persons through shared varieties and speaking rules across communities" [Hymes 1972:55]). It is demonstrable, however, that rules are imperfectly shared in this meeting--yet that the meeting was created and was a success. The relationship of individuals to group in a dialectical relationship is problematic in these definitions. Wallace's (1961) notion of "partial equivalence structures" is helpful here. One must acknowledge that despite structural regularities which attend human interaction, expressed inferentially as "rules," it cannot be maintained that each participant's command of, or appreciation for such rules is identical. There is evidence that the coincidence of equivalence structures may have changed during the meeting of interest as participants approximated to what they perceived other participants' expectations for speech behaviour to be.

Code and Etiquette

Distinction between code and etiquette is crucial to this discussion. An example of such a distinction appeals to as simple and basic a level as lexical choice and prosodic features. It is perfectly appropriate to ask politely for a cigarette in Cree with the stream

$\underline{n^{2}\grave{a}ht^{3}\acute{a}s^{2}a\ n^{2}[toh^{3}]^{2}n}$

A direct translation into English with the accompanying intonation and stress is plainly rude.

l^{2}èttmets^{3}ée^{2}ta c^{3}le^{2}arètte^{2}

Other protocols, or etiquette, e.g., of whom might this question be asked, pose even more problems. In a Cree context that establishes a friendly relationship; an English-speaking context might make the stream rude.

I assume that etiquette is as much of a problem in this study as code; that the two are not consonant; that the description will demonstrate a distinctive attempt to approximate a communicative system on the part of specific participants. Assuming mutual intelligibility in English and mutual intelligibility amongst a subgroup in Cree, I initially define the two as the languages, or codes, of the meeting. Concerning varieties of code, there were four Cree dialects represented at the meeting;[2] but there was as little problem with intelligibility between varieties of Cree as there was with varieties of English.[3] Intelligibility may certainly be managed in a bilingual meeting, but besides the obvious ability to switch codes, it is a much more subtle management of intelligibility by register within a code that seems to speak as loudly as code-switching. Those registers are discussed with respect to individual participants, along with a number of other considerations, in the following sections.

Participant

This component is probably the most important in the description. This description is one of people talking. The other components are predicate, then, to this. Were personality a necessary consideration, a more or less complete biography of each participant would have to be included. It must be maintained that there is never sufficient information for complete description, an obvious limiting statement (Garfinkel 1967). It must also be maintained that specific information about people involved in speech or other communicative acts is sufficient to establish whether or not a speech act is adequately accounted for in terms of either (a) other interactants, or (b) an analyst's description of the patterning of speech behaviour.

For example, most of the participants in the meeting of interest are friends and colleagues of each other. Before the meeting began, some could have predicted that one participant, CrTchr-1, would have made the other participants laugh. By the time the meeting had progressed very far, all participants, given no prior knowledge of her, could have predicted that. The kind of knowledge about her that people brought to the discussion is not really germane to this study. The categories that new participants used to predict her verbal input and the nature of it are important.

One participant, the Elder, was permitted a range of

topic that is almost infinite and could have ranged to vocalizations undecipherable by any other participant without being thought of by most native participants as unusual. One need not command his biography to have predicted that. The complex of ascriptions made by the participants concerning the Elder that allows him that latitude are finite and sufficient in terms of the description to account for that latitude.

The kind of information one must control in order to predict the usual will vary with the definition of the event. The speech event recognized as a meeting is by nature purposive. Given that there is a shared, usually explicit, definition of goals, participants in meetings are selected or select themselves along axes that appeal in some way to the stated purpose. (Non-attendance of potential participants may appeal to the same axes; and attendance may be, of course, to interfere or to attempt to ensure that the meeting does not realize manifest goals.)

Potential participants in dual-category meetings are possibly any persons with a command of either or both English and Cree. In fact, of course, people attend meetings for reasons, and persons without perceived reasons are sometimes asked to leave. By definition, the bilingual meetings I address require one to be categorized by ethnicity, either native or non-native. Those categories may be manipulated and are contextually defined.[4]

There are behavioural expectations that attend

definitions of ethnicity. Those definitions provide a means of control, either exerted by self or others. Though the categories are dual and mutually exclusive, and an initial definition into a specific category, native or non-native, will not usually vary, individual participants can manipulate the behavioural expectations that attend those categories by appealing to other axes in speaking: a "native teacher" can speak as "native," then as "teacher," then as "woman," and so forth.

Sex and age have concomitant expectations attached. Both may be overshadowed by other ascriptive categories. The complexes of attributes will vary according to other components and the kinds of speech events in which they take place. The concatenation of categories in the definition of "old man" for example, is definitive of a role that demands respect and deference. But the degree of respect and deference will vary with the additional categories of "drunken" or "wise." Sex is a category that is a biological given: the behavioural expectations will vary by sex. It is in the ascription of the categories that define sex and age that socially-determined ethnicity may be most evident in bilingual meetings. Native definitions of both categories are likely to correspond less with biological reality; behavioural expectations are likely to be more nearly constrained in native terms (i.e., those terms, sex and age, determine more nearly coherent differences compared to non-native society); and seemingly paradoxically, those

constraints are more easily broken by individuals without censure or surprise than in non-native events generally. The importance of the relationship between sex and age may vary by individual: in native terms (and perhaps situationally in non-native terms) an old woman may be more "old" than "woman."

In addition to those native-defined role expectations native participants may appeal to roles that are independent of native status (e.g., teacher). This would seem to allow for a great deal of role flexibility in talk for native participants in bilingual meetings. In fact, in native terms, one of the attributes of a good speaker is an individual's manipulation of those roles into a coherent and effective performance.

Non-native participants in bilingual meetings probably appeal more to status; assuming sex and age to be biological givens they are probably less apt to think of the behavioural expectations that attend those categories to be artfully manipulated. They will wear the status that attends sex and age as permanent attributes.

An example of virtuoso performance in this area might be that of a woman, an elected chief. That latter status is, in Alberta, usually a male one. The taking on of the status "chief" means that the woman assumes a somewhat "older" status than her biological age might indicate. Without the status of chief she might be considered to be a young woman, and actually was usually so treated, except formally. In

chairing one bilingual meeting she could speak alternately as chief, marking her statement emphatically, initially, with "As chief of the ---- Band, I. . .". But as a woman she could joke publicly with topics that are sex-specific. She could also speak as a professional teacher: "Those of you who work with natives should have some appreciation of the obligations of members of the extended family. . . ".

The chairperson and Convener in the meeting of interest was a native woman of sufficient age to have retired from a profession requiring a university degree.[5] She was not, at the time of the meeting, thought of as an "old woman" amongst her own people, except that she was beyond child-bearing years. It was obvious that she was approaching that status of age and wisdom that would mark her for special respect in her reserve.[6]

In other bilingual meetings, a grandfather of adults assumes consistently the social role of a young man in public speech performance in both native and bilingual meetings (confusing, in the process, non-native participants attempting to effect some categorization along the axis of age). One young man, about 30 years old, is an honoured man in most Indian meetings, sometimes as though he were old, because of his command of traditional ways. He is also a professional, and may assume that role in bilingual meetings, but dual-category meetings are more nearly anomolous for him because non-native participants normally fail to perceive his position and he is permitted to make no

explicit public claim to it.

Thus, sex and age, with attendant role expectations, may mark native/non-native subgroups in bilingual meetings, because the statuses are differentially defined. Following that, native participants are aware of that ethnic difference in definition; and recognize that skillful assumption of different role attributes, to which one might make a legitimate claim during the course of talk, means something besides being a demonstration of skill at talk; and therefore native participants in bilingual meetings might use that non-native unawareness of the difference in ascriptive dimensions of sex, age and ethnicity to communicate among themselves. Descriptively, for both groups, sex and age allow primarily for different keys and different topics.

Outside sustained contact in an event, competence in register is a manipulable attribute. Most native persons who have more than conversational competence in English can recount instances of having been addressed (and so having responded) inappropriately, (e.g., the physician collecting blood-sample data in the band office, who addresses native university students in terms appropriate to children or persons minimally competent in English). In a meeting, however, and particularly a long one, competence in register is usually difficult to misrepresent over a very long period.

In the meeting of interest, given that contextually

manipulated behavioural expectations attending sex, age and ethnicity are recognized, I believe the following categorizations approach adequacy in description of the topic range permitted; the amount of talk permitted; and genre permitted, insofar as that term is useful in analysis.

1. Competence in Cree, by register. (Variety, i.e., dialect, is an important personal attribute: because the dialects of Cree are in fact mutually intelligible in the West for the most part, register is much more important in determining who will talk about what, and how much, and who will understand.) An individual may be recognized as more or less conversationally competent in Cree; there may be some judgement that, in addition to being able to speak and understand Cree in everyday conversation, the individual is a good, very good, or exceptionally good speaker of Cree; the individual may be considered to be a good analyst of the language in native terms; and the individual may be deemed competent to speak High Cree, a special register. (Public performance in High Cree constitutes a special claim: competence to understand High Cree is another matter.)

   Though there is some implication of ranking in this categorization of competencies, such a ranking cannot be maintained. The categories are simply nominalizations. The categories are ranked only insofar as they are mutually incompatable.

2. Competence in English, by register. The registers

distinguished here for purposes of description of the meeting of interest are

a. conversational adequacy;

b. rhetorical or oratorical adequacy; and

c. academic adequacy. Within this category, because of the nature of the meeting, one must consider competence in the formal discipline of linguistics:

   1) some knowledge of terms,

   2) competence in the use or comprehension of terms specific to linguistic concepts used in applied linguistics in the study of Cree (e.g., the use of the term "syllabics," references to "/-čIk/ and /-twaw/ dialects"); and

   3) differences in professional competence in linguistic argument.

3. Relative status in the social structure of the pan-Canadian native community, or in provincial or local native communities; which may or may not be related to

4. Relative status and power in native politics at the local, provincial or national level;

5. Work in native-related affairs. Because persons whose positions involve employment in native-related affairs may consider themselves to have more of a vested interest in the decisions made at both the meeting of interest and many like it, the work role may determine who involves himself or herself more intently in the meeting.

I have attempted to present these categories schematically with respect to the participants of the meeting of interest, along with a ranking of the amount talked during the meeting, relative to periods of attendance; and the topic range permitted the participants. That information is presented in the Table of Participant Attributes at the end of the last chapter.

Setting

The range of possible settings for bilingual meetings is very great. Particularly for Indian-organized meetings such meetings may be held in a greater variety of physical arenas before they are deemed to be unusual. Hymes (1972), and Sherzer and Darnell (1972) set temporal and spatial critera for the contextual definition of setting, yet it is difficult to name the boundaries for description. (For example, there must be point at which other persons are objectified to the point that they constitute part of the setting, physically present, but not expected to attend or to interact. In such cases they may be deemed to be incidental to the culturally defined "scene," in Hymes' terms.)

How complete a description of artifacts is necessary for adequate description? Does extra-meeting talk by the same group of participants, in some different physical arrangement, constitute a legitimate extension of description respecting setting? The reasonable criteria seem

to be that one must include in description

1. those physical aspects that define the situation for the group or for sub-groups;
2. those physical and temporal aspects that relate to other components, without which those components are inadequately described; and
3. those physical and temporal aspects of a situation that reflect participant expectation about talking, writing, signing or symbolizing.

Seating or placement arrangements--where people are expected to situate themselves--usually indicate on the one hand aspects of what participants are expected to talk most; and, on the other, a physical focus for talk. In all of the meetings I have attended during the course of this study, where talk is expected from more than a minority of participants, the arrangements for seating approximate a circle. (Exceptions to this general rule might be where talk is countenanced from "audience" or "congregation" in such meetings as religious ones.) An examination of rooms set aside in most new buildings would tend to show that "meeting rooms" retain this circle for small groups: the focus is the ephemeral centre of the group, and there is a provision made for a "head," at some point in the circle. Even in rooms designed for larger groups, where the expectation is that participants other than "the chair" or his lieutenants will do considerable talking, the circle is often approximated. A difference here is that in Anglo groups, if the circle is

approximated, the large audience may well be banked, and the focus on chair becomes more distinct.

In native-organized bilingual meetings and in most native meetings the single-bank structure with ill-defined chair will be retained for much larger groups--up to 300 participants. (I have never attended such a meeting, except for mass gatherings, with more than one banked row outside the circle, and the outer bank was reserved for "observers.")

While the chair, the participant charged in some sense with the maintenance of meeting-flow, might be ill-defined, in most native-organized bilingual meetings that individual sits off-centre to the right, particularly if there is some individual who is to be honoured, or some individual of unusual stature: that individual may sit off-centre to the left.

Figure 1 is a schematic representation of the room in which the meeting of interest was held.[7] It was a small meeting room, suitable to accomodate upwards of 30 people, in an urban hotel. The meeting was scheduled to take place over three days, generally from 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., with suitable breaks for lunch and stretching. Four 8' x 3.5' tables, covered with cloth, when put together to form a large table, defined a physical focus for talk. Chairs could accomodate 16 people comfortably at the table. A small table was set up for recording equipment, and yet another, a coffee service, was continuously maintained by hotel staff.

A portable blackboard in one end of the room defined another area of potential focus. Access to the room from the hotel hall was by a door near the blackboard. There was a sliding glass door that provided ground-level access to outdoors, but no one was observed to use it except during formally announced coffee breaks, and then just to step outside. Ice water and drinking glasses were set at the table. There was nothing that defined "head of table" except that the narrower ends were obviously potential. The blackboard could have defined head. The chairperson selected the opposite narrow end.

The recording equipment consisted, during the first day, of a fairly large recording console and two microphones set up on the table. There was a large set of earphones with which the recording could be monitored. There was every possibility that the equipment might be perceived as obtrusive.[8] It was not. During subsequent days I moved the recorder console to a small table and suspended the microphones from the ceiling. Everyone was made aware of them. During one hour of the last day, video-recording equipment was set up near the head of the table, and its use was probably obtrusive initially; but it seemed to be immediately ignored. (See Figure 4 for a representation of the room during the VTR session.)

The use of recording equipment might be said to have been more obtrusive in Anglo meetings. Lurie (1971) points out that a number of pan-Indian meetings use such a method

to retain official records: the way things are said are as legitimate an aspect of the record as what is said and what is decided. Thus, the more important a meeting is perceived to be, the more likely it is to be recorded. The recording equipment may have had the effect of establishing the meeting's importance. A member of the Southern Alberta native news media (who is often teased because of the fact that she seems never to be anywhere without her tape-recorder) must record two or three meetings a week: she was scheduled to have recorded the meeting of interest. The secretary used a small cassette tape-recorder. My place on the agenda was listed as "recorder from the University of Alberta." Darnell (pers. comm.) has also noted the omnipresence of recording equipment and that it serves a kind of validating function. She notes that translation of a meeting serves a similar function.

Channel

Oral and Written Speech

The manifest communicative channel for a meeting is oral speech and written words. There is a channel that is oral but not lexical. A major example of this channel is in "reactives" that appear during another's command of the floor, (/^{2}ə^{3}ə:^{2}/, /^{2}mmm^{3}/, /^{3}mmm^{2}/, etc., where meaning is context-dependent. The meaning of identical

non-lexical speech acts may be exactly appositive, given context. I contend that native participants use these (in reaction and in attendance to them, while speaking) more nearly explicitly in the exchange of information than do non-natives: they seem incidental to many non-natives, though I suggest that non-natives are simply not as nearly aware of their effect. Native participants notice them, look for them, use them consciously to manage.

Just before the meeting of interest was called to order, CrProf and CrTchr (performing, it seems, for the benefit of non-native participants) said

(2)

1. CrProf: The gap that exists between the, the non-Indian and the Indian, when you talk to an Indian and he gives /²əh³˝əə²/, it doesn't mean he's agreeing, he is just saying 'Yes, I'm listening' you know (general laughter)...the non-Indian says 'Oh, they're very agreeable (general laugher again).
2. CrTchr-1: He can give you something the other way, /²ə³˝əh² ə/.
3. CrProf: /²ə³˝əh² ə/
4. CrTchr-1: /²ə³˝əh² ə/
5. CrProf: /²ə³˝əh² ə/, and sometimes it's automatic, they don't listen, you know, they just turn off and it's /ʔh² ə/.

Besides the audio-recording often made at native and native-organized bilingual meetings, one participant is often designated as responsible for summarizing, in written form, the events of the meeting. That written record usually includes only oral speech as legitimately recordable.[9] Thus written language that consitutes meeting content may be included in official records, but

it is usually orally-mediated into such official record of the meeting, as it was in the meeting of interest. (More often than not, if a participant is designated to record the meeting in writing, that person, in an Anglo-meeting, is not expected to participate in discussion. That constraint may obtain in a bilingual meeting, but is more likely to be contravened than not.)

A written agenda was distributed both before the meeting of interest and at the initial gathering of participants. Appended to it was a written justification for a particular system of Cree orthography, manifestly as a suggestion. It had been prepared by the Convener, who had also sent each participant a kind of questionnaire with items such as "How do you spell the following words in Cree?". In addition, each participant was given a copy of Maat Cree: A Practical Guide to the Cree Language (Wolfart and Carroll 1973).

In this meeting the blackboard allowed for mediation of information in writing in both Cree and English. Its use, certainly differentially established during the meeting by various participants, is discussed as a means of topic control in Chapter VII.

Kinesics

Besides oral and written words, meetings involve bodies. Information is shared kinesically, and not in a random fashion. One might distinguish loci of importance of conventional signal-sites on the body. Certainly, aside from general posture, the face is the most important. Facial gesture, particularly eye and mouth movement, give conventional signals. Hands may accompany the spoken word in communication or may give conventional signs. Posture communicates.

In a discussion of kinesic behaviour it is important to distinguish those kinds of kinesic signs that are calculated and specifically other-directed: information is asserted; from another kind of kinesic information that, while not unconscious, is not calculated: it may be interpreted as evidence of a particular inner state. Those who attend to the faces of others during communication may not be entirely aware of explicit signals that seem to be the product of the autonomous nervous system, but response to communication may be at least influenced, and probably managed to a much greater degree than thought heretofore, by such signals (see particularly Mair [1977] and Givens [1977]).

Silence

Silence is channel. Depending upon sequential context, it may be silence that asserts that "the previous statement was a question;" "something else is going to follow;" or a variety of other contextually-dependent things. Or it may mean something like "you are now all to collect your thoughts on the matter."

In Chapter VII there is reference to differing interpretations of silence evidenced in the meeting of interest.

The Interdependence of Channels

One must appeal to other components to account adequately for channel. It has been asserted that silence is channel. Considered alone, silence is nothing. Considered with interpretative frame, participant, topic and genre, silence is as imbued with meaning as words.

Channel, considered along with code, allows for the discussion of a specific kinesic system that was developed by students in times past in federally-sponsored and church-operated boarding schools for native people. Former students in those schools remember the tilt of the head, the movement of hand or foot, the eye gesture that conveyed a specific covert message beyond the ken of the school supervisors. The use of these signals in meetings has been reported to me

(by those who use them) but I have never observed them.

Genre

The complexity of the definition of genre has been discussed and its descriptive adequacy challenged. In this discussion the concept of genre is removed from its participant-defined base and is used only as a descriptive expedient. By simply addressing the putative or obvious ends or goals of specific speech acts, genre is used here simply to classify kinds of communicative acts.

Therefore in the naming of genres of the meeting of interest and in the universe of bilingual meetings, I make no claim that participants would name the genres as I do. I do claim that, if pressed to tell what happened when Participant-1 said Utterance-1, and why, most of the group, or different subgroups, would agree on the kind of effect perceived to have been desired by the speaker (or would, perhaps, express the same kind of confusion).

Written genres are physically artifactual. The written agenda, the book, the lessons, the written suggestions for a specific orthography, all represent written genres. Blackboard communication in the meeting consisted of examples around which oral discussion revolved (used more or less continuously in the meeting by AlgLing, except when other genres, e.g., the Elder's address, precluded AlgLing's talking); lists of potential participants at subsequent meetings (used on the last day of the meeting); and a trial

written text, written by Atgling, which was read aloud at his request by CrTchr-1.

Genre, considered with channel, distinguishes between kinds of kinesically transmitted information: native boarding-school-specific kinesic signals; conventional obtrusive other-directed signals, such as those of demonstration (lip-pointing; appeals for attention with eyes; particularization of addressee with body orientation); and the unobtrusive kinesic information that is transmitted by virtue of the fact that bodies occupy and move in space, and that the way bodies move provides information. There is no claim made that the latter is less calculated, less conscious, less ethnic-group specific, or less effective in communication, than "conventional" signals.

Manifest and discrete speech genres that attend the bilingual meeting (and most others) include a class of performatives, such as formal openings and closings. By virtue of having said the meeting begins or closes, it begins or closes. The performative explicitly establishes frame in Goffman's (1974) sense. Because of the performative of calling the meeting to order, talk which may have been attended or joined by other participants before the meeting began might be considered to be side-talk. Calling the meeting to order constrains topic.

There is usually a pre-meeting ritual that involves greetings, self-introduction and self-identification, when appropriate. After the formal opening, a formal greeting may

be offered by the chair. Very close, temporally, to the beginning of the meeting beween natives and non-natives, there may be a prayer, even though the meeting is considered "secular." While this is an oral speech activity, it is considered by the native participants to be a group activity. Participation may be silent; but the participation is considered to be by group, not simply by the one who makes the prayer.

Formal introductions of others or formal self-introductions may also take place. In the Cree-English meeting there are usually ritualistic (a) disclaimers, paraphrases of "I am simply who I am;" and (b) claims to expertise, "I am here because, being who I am, I have reason to be here." In these self introductions in the bilingual meeting, naive non-natives may either (a) be perplexed that "extraneous," "irrelevant," or "too personal" information is put before the group; or they may, as happened in this meeting of interest, universally, (b) adopt the formula themselves. (None of the non-native academics would make such disclaimers in most other contexts in my experience. Perhaps because they were the last to introduce themselves, they may have perceived that the omission of the disclaimer would have been presumptuous.)

The business of the meeting itself involves discussion as definitive of the meeting as a speech event. In the native meeting and native-organized bilingual meetings, that business is rarely initially formally restated: it is

obvious. (Though there was provision on the written agenda for the meeting of interest, for formal codification of the purpose of the meeting, that in fact never occurred.) In Anglo-controlled bilingual meetings or in Anglo meetings generally, the chair often codifies and documents the business at hand. This may be seen as another kind of performative in that in such a statement the meeting becomes formally focused.

If all speech acts are categorizable according to genre, there is a class of statements that must be considered to be genres, but may be embedded in other genres, such as questions, directives, arguments and challenges. Alone, the minimal genre is the assertion. Another embedded genre which influences the structure of the larger descriptive unit is the non-lexical speech act. Its absence usually means either (a) great respect; or (b) that the speaker should cease.

The difficulty of establishing a definition of genre is again demonstrated in the foregoing paragraph, but the requirement that some such category be maintained is exemplified in the way in which a participant-defined genre may determine lexical choice. At several bilingual meetings, when those meetings are opened by prayer by an Elder, and when the participants or the Elder sits on the floor for the ceremony, the floor is usually referred to in English as "the ground" during the entire ceremony. It becomes "the floor" again, afterwards. Some genres may not be recorded.

Of the two classes of Cree story-narrative (for which, see the discussion in Darnell [1974]), the more nearly sacred story is less likely to be recorded. Some Elders demand that their pedagogical sessions not be recorded. In order to account for the restriction, the interaction of setting, topic and channel require another category; and that does seem to be genre.

All the genres considered to this point are obtrusively group-focused. There is a class of genres that are obtrusively sub-group focused, but which groups are expected to take account of: side conversations, dyads or triads that are established, to which the group is expected to pay greater or lesser heed, depending upon (a) size; (b) volume; (c) sequence; and probably (d) relative social status of participants.

No component addressed to the meeting of interest thus far, nor any complex of components, can describe the process of meeting conduct. It has been argued that topic and interpretive frame are the components to which one must appeal to account for process. Those concepts are appealed to now as integrative of all the other components.

Footnotes

[1]In fact, a meeting the following year, convened for the same purpose, included no "linguists" as invited participants, but the category of "Elder" was enlarged, and included Alberta representation from a much wider geographic area, and several older participants who, while not Elders in the traditional sense, are reputed to have an excellent command of Cree.

[2]Namely, a "y"-dialect from Saskatchewan; a "y"-dialect from Central Alberta, sometimes called the /čIk/-dialect because of a third-person plural verb affix; a "θ"-dialect from Saskatchewan; and a dialect that in fact incorporates /l/ and /r/-dialects, varying by social context.

[3]Only three participants were native speakers of English only.

[4]I have attended meetings as "a teacher" and have been ascribed the status "native teacher" with concomitant behavioural expectations. I have attended meetings delegated to be "the Métis spokesperson," and have, instead, been "the representative from the university." This is of course a kind of tokenism which, while best ignored personally, is interesting in terms of any analysis of behavioural expectations that attend the ascription of ethnicity.

[5]She has, in fact, two baccalaureate degrees.

[6]Two years after the meeting at a dance honouring the Elders of her band, and where the only women amongst the group so honoured were certain wives of male Elders, she was asked to dance with the male Elders in an honoured position "due to her great contribution to Indian education." The invitation came from the Elders themselves, and probably is indicative of a change of status reflecting age and wisdom.

[7]The Convener sat in Seat 1, and when the Elder was in attendance, he sat at Seat 2. OBS-2 and OBS-3, who visited the meeting for an hour on the third day, happened to arrive while the Elder was temporarily absent. They used seats 19 and 2, and occupying Seat 2 made the native participants quite uneasy, and brought nervous glances from AlgLing, though nothing was said.

[8]In fact, the equipment picked up and broadcast communication from the hotel intercom system. Initially everyone laughed at the incongruity (and offers to remove the equipment were rejected). Even that obtrusiveness was then ignored.

[9]The secretary's submission after this meeting consisted of three pages of typewritten record of the decisions, and a long proposal for the new orthography which AlgLing completed after the first day of the meeting, at the request of the Convener and CrProf.

VI. CHAPTER SIX: CONTROL OF TOPIC--DEFINITIONS

A. THE CONTRACT TO TALK

The meeting of interest represents an interactional arena where both the collectivity of purpose in the creation of an event and the ingenuity of individuals in event management can be exemplified. Both categorical polarities, invidual and group, must be accounted for and reconciled in the description of topic management. There is evidence that individuals attempted to dictate topical parameters, topic elaboration and breadth (distinctions to be dealt with in this chapter), and that individuals adumbrated obliquely concerns that would be manipulated, by themselves or by the group or part of the group, into the overt discussion. It is obvious that alliances to effect these ends were formed, signalled and symbolized in the meeting: that there was therefore collaboration between subgroups in the meeting to effect the end of topic control, that the boundaries of those subgroups were not static (i.e., that different sets of collaborators in the meeting participated to different ends at different times); and that the meeting group as a whole was perceived by the participants as a collectivity to which immediate appeal was made for validation--the total group of participants was both object for manipulation and audience for validation.

Implicit in that claim, of course, is an ascription to individuals of strategy and planning. While not all recorded events in the meeting can be said to be purposive (e.g., one participant, CrTchr-1, drowsed off to sleep at one point), the focus of the study is on the complex of plans, the complementarity of plans, and the reconciliation of contradictory plans for what would become public group focus. (And purpose or end may be ascribed to the speech stream of the waking CrTchr-1--"It's Monday, isn't it?"--in that she excused herself for sleeping, more cleverly and effectively than with an outright apology).

A necessary consideration for this kind of analysis is to posit a major shared plan of the participants, a tacit agreement to participate: the group must necessarily agree to keep on interacting. When that agreement does not obtain, the public arena, the shared focus, the creative unit does not exist.[1] In short, there exists in the group a (breachable) contract to talk and/or to attend.

B. DEFINITION OF TOPIC

Broad Categories of Topic

The nature of topic, topic change, and control (or attempts to control) topic in the meeting of interest will be discussed in some detail in order to demonstrate conceptual and heuristic problems that attend the discussion of topic and management of discourse generally. In this discussion only speech activity addressed to the public arena of the meeting (or allowed to be taken account of by all participants) will be dealt with. Naturally, extra-meeting activity influences, and sometimes controls, topic and topic change in formal meetings. However, one of the constraints imposed in this study has to do with the sharedness of purpose in the creation of a formal event. The consideration of even contingent extra-meeting influence would enlarge the corpus and concomitant necessary constraints to unmanageable proportions.

The topics addressed in the meeting ranged from explicit statements about the manifest purpose of the meeting (the standardization of roman orthography for Cree) to the question as to whether or not there were in fact crayfish in Saskatchewan. The latter question was no less important in accounting for what went on in the meeting than was the statement that documented the meeting's purpose.

Attending to all topics addressed in the meeting I have

categorized them with four headings:

1. those that addressed the stated purpose of the meeting;
2. those that incorporated much more inclusive concerns, far beyond any consideration of writing systems;
3. those topics addressed to the carrying on of the meeting; and
4. those topics which represent meeting management.

In some ways the categories are definitive of "frame" in Goffman's (1974) sense, but that concept seems to rely very heavily on the referential properties of speech acts. The concept of frame is further obviated here because these categories are not discrete. They are arrived at by attempting to define what end or purpose of topic-raising by a participant is indicated by the context. The definition of participant subsumes so many variables; the attribution of purpose to a participant is necessarily done tentatively. One must look to the inner logic of the sequence to justify ascription of a particular topic heading; and naturally a statement made to (1) the manifest topic, represents a kind (4) meeting-management statement. Therefore I have attempted to describe topics according to what the logic of the sequence seems to indicate as the primary function of a statement.

I have no category for "extraneous topics." That is not to say that some participants did not perceive others to be "off topic." If a participant said something to other participants, however, it must be considered as part of the

speech event in that it was allowed: the differential in evaluation of statements as more or less on topic may be examined. Why, after all, ask about crayfish; why did some partipants think it "off-topic" but not "out of order." As a matter of information, the question came when the Cree word, *esa*, glossed as "clam" or "crayfish," was suggested as an example. TESL asked CrProf if there were crayfish in Saskatchewan. The response was a quick "oh yeah." During the previous hour there had been both an implicit challenge to CrProf's ability to describe Cree in linguistic terms; and an attempt on TESL's part to summarize discussion and to make explicit some organizational plans--functions which he might be said to have usurped from the chairperson. Given that, the question about crayfish was a manifestly friendly one. It repaired the nature of discourse: it said "I pose a question to you as native expert," and "I am here as a learner." It is the kind of topic I would categorize under (4), a topic which in fact represents meeting-management.

The four broad topic areas are further defined here.

Topics Which Address the Stated Purpose

Included in this category are those statements and complexes of statements that address the justification of the enterprise in which the group is engaged; identify the audience for whom the meeting itself is addressed; propose mechanisms for dissemination of meeting results; and identify problems or potential problems in language interna which dictate choices of

particular orthographic symbols; and the dissemination of results--the speculation as to community acceptance of proposed systems. These topics are predictable, given the written agenda and the name of the meeting; they are its manifest purpose. Official written records of the meeting include reference only to this area.

Broader Topics

Necessary considerations to the discussion of symbol choice include discussion with two major foci. One is the nature of the Cree language itself, from both a native speaker's point of view and from the linguists' point of view. (Those categories are not dichotomous, but the importance of the differential in perception became a problem in the meeting, a matter to be dealt with at greater length further on in this discussion). Another is the credentials of the participants, with statements of justification for the validity of the knowledge-base from which statements were made.[2]

Topics addressed to the carrying on of the meeting

Included in this category of topical statements are overt changes: dismissals, announcements that topics would change; introductions; and the class of statements which codify decisions.

Topics which represent meeting management

The statements which are the result of the necessity to order discussion; to allow talk to continue; to attempt to regulate talk; and finally, to enjoy, to make a tolerable event of the meeting; are treated under this heading, when that seems to be the primary reason for introduction or maintenance of a topic. This is the class of topical statements that, while they do not overtly structure the meeting, in fact create the meeting, giving it continuity.

Summary of Broad Categories

Given a manifest topic, a prediction of the relative amount of topic balance might reasonably favour the first category, actual address to the manifest topic of the meeting. In fact, there is a very nearly equal balance between four topic areas which represent specific aspects of the four broad categories. The four actual topics dealt with in equal measure are listed below.

1. A specific aspect of the manifest topic: the language interna which support orthographic symbol choice.
2. The nature of the Cree language generally; and particularly prosodic, rhetorical and stylistic considerations in oral Cree performance--precisely the area which native speakers consistently say cannot be dealt with by constructs in formal linguistics.
3. Statements that reiterate credentials of participants.

4. The topics which represent meeting management.

How is it then that a meeting convened for a stated purpose may be said to have been oriented only one quarter of the time directly to that purpose; that talk, logically extraneous to that purpose, was not generally perceived so to be; that at least a quarter of the time was taken up by participants reiterating their own credentials; and a quarter of the talk was devoted to efforts to manage the meeting. And yet the perception of all participants was that the meeting had been a success, that a great deal of "work" had been done; and that this meeting had been efficiently run, for the most part; and that it had been a "good" meeting: people had had a good time.

C. OBLIQUE AND OSTENSIBLE TOPIC PROJECTION

Discussion

In order to approach an answer to those questions; and in order to explain the process of topic change between the four areas; and further, in order to suggest ends and goals of topic maintenance and change; four concomitant perspectives of the concept of topic are elaborated. In order to categorize statements as to topic I have distinguished between the social context of the statement and the temporal, sequential context; that distinction provides a further distinction: that which is manifest by

the statement itself, and that which the statement must necessarily mean. Because those are not always coincident, I have called the latter, in cases where there is no coincidence between the two, "oblique" topic; and the former, when the import and meaning are what the words describe and nothing more, "ostensible" topic.

Until that distinction has been made, the concept of topic remains self-definitive. It is what is talked about. Topic is more complex than that. At least two kinds of contexts must be considered in order to define it. The other components of speech describe a kind of social context. That kind of definition is sufficient if one deals only with a topic, or severally with topics. If the dynamics of topic change are examined, one must deal with a temporal sequential context which concatenates the notion of topic with the other components in an elaboration of social context which can be seen to change. There is, as well, a distinction similar to the distinction made between connotation and denotation. There is first the topic that the lexes describe, which is more or less evident to anyone competent in the language. Second, there is a topic that is tacit, and can be stated in descriptive terms only because of experiential knowledge.

In that first case, a textual record of discourse or conversation may describe a kind of surface sequence of topic. One might refer to a kind of analytic logic of statement sequence whereby a speech stream following another

speech stream may be said to refer, or not to refer, to any preceding speech stream, simply given the logic of the lexes.

For example, the following sequence appears to be a simple request for information on CrProf's part. (It is taken from the first ten minutes of the meeting, a time which includes a provision on the written agenda for organization and planning.)

(3)

1. Convener: And then we will be (pause) organizing commi-, groups. I think what do you think of, of this part here in the afternoon (referring to the agenda), discussion of the development of the orthography by committees? Do you think it's better to be in little groups to talk about it?
2. CrProf: I think it would be good--it gives everybody a chance to talk. Uh, how about, uh, how many are coming?
3. Convener: You have the, uh, thirteen.
4. CrProf: Thirteen.
5. Convener: Yeah (pause), we have thirteen in all. I hear that, uh, Mrs. W-, uh, uh
6. CrTchr-1: (names the name)
7. Convener: won't be able to come; she didn't say to me yet, although she may pop in just the same. I heard that from (CrTchr-1).
8. CrTchr-1: Well it was (name) that told me yesterday; he phoned me and he said, uh, Mrs. (full name) phoned him and said she wouldn't be able to make it.
9. (silence)

An analysis of the text shows CrProf asking for a response from the Convener, a simple question as to how many people to expect. That is what the words tell us. An analysis of discourse may stop there: the progression of topic is more or less explicable with reference to the logic of the lexes, to the surface topic, to a straightforward explication, given common-sense referential terms. That kind

of progression of topic I define operationally as ostensible topic. Because of the contract to talk, because of the collaborative nature of interaction, because talk is usually purposive and in some sense planned (the purpose and plan being attributed here to the participants), I use the term "ostensible topic projection" to subsume those concepts with that of process.

The projection in the example above imputes to CrProf a request for information and his addressee provides that information. But the social context of the above artifact of verbal performance, described more nearly adequately, must include consideration of the fact that in front of every participant was a short list of all participants expected for the next day, plainly demonstrative of the answer to exactly the ostensible question; and moreover, the information that the questioner had examined the list and knew the expected participants personally.

The sequence immediately following the above example, following a short silence, is as follows.

(4)

1. CrProf: hm. (falling intonation)
2. AthLing: Thirteen, small enough to be in one room.
3. Convener: hm?
4. AthLing: Thirteen, small enough to be in one room.
5. AthLing: •---Altogether might be a good idea I suppose.
6. CrTchr-1: •Altogether, like.
7. Convener: Hm (falling intonation). Yes, and would you prefer that you meet together by province or in this, when we make up committees?

In order to understand, then, the end in mind of CrProf when he made the initial inquiry into how many were coming, one

s st address other factors. CrProf shows evidence of agreement in principle into the division into small groups. His question, and the statement by the convener that total participation will be 13 people, allows AthLing and CrTchr-1 to suggest no division into small groups. I suggest that that is obviously CrProf's plan--that the question is only an ostensible question, and that what he in fact means is to allow the assertion to be made, in response to the documentation in the ostensible topic projection, that division into small groups is not necessary because so few people will be in attendance.

But of course in order to suggest such a thing one must attribute to the participants a shared knowledge of an unstated topical sequence, and the logic of its progression as internal to the discourse itself. I use the term, "oblique topic projection" to subsume the concepts of tacitness, process, purposiveness, sharedness and collaboration in the contract to talk.

Examples

By way of example, a synopsis of the 22 minutes which follow the already-cited passages is presented. (I have adopted the convention of numbering locutions for reference, in the text which follows the discussion. In the notation, a series of periods [...] is not an ellipsis, but, following a convention sometimes used in scripts for dramatic production, indicates "beats" of silence. Relatively longer

periods of silence are so marked. Stress is marked by either unusual capitalization or by underlining. This symbol [•], initially in speech streams indicates that two speakers began speaking at the same time. It indicates--and approximates the timing of--interruption by the next indicated speaker if it occurs during a speech stream. Cree words may be spelled phonetically, and if so are enclosed by parallels [/ /], thus; or may be spelled using the orthography developed in the meeting.)

(5)

1. TESL: If you're trying to develop a one orthography, I would think that that's probably a dangerous thing to do, it would be easier to work on the differences •
2. Convener: I'll fix up
3. TESL: if you're working together than to be three separate groups and when you come together you have three separate ideas; compromising on issues might be more difficult that way.
4. Convener: mhm.
5. TESL: That's only a suggestion.
6. Convener: Yes....and uh, if we get into groups we'll have to work on the same things, like..agree on to do the....you mean it's better for us to stay all together?
7. TESL: Well this is what (first name of AthLing) had suggested, that since we're only talking about twelve people •
8. Convener: yes
9. TESL: I'm, I'm not sure that there's anyone going to be strongly intimidating at any point here....But perhaps you could..you could divide up smaller •
10. Convener: yes, yes, well that's what...
11. TESL: (first name of CrProf) was suggesting maybe..more people would have an opportunity to •speak
12. Convener: speak, yes.
13. TESL: (starts a stream but is overriden by)
14. Convener: We could uh, go into our rooms
15. CrProf: Well, it's just a..to take a look at the whole..
16. Convener: And uh, since we are going to be twelve or thirteen, into how many groups would that..comprise...
17. CrProf: How many people? Total?
18. TESL: Twelve.
19. Convener: Three? Or four? Three groups would be enough?
20. TESL: Two or three.
21. CrProf: Two or three, yeah?

22. Convenor: Three..three of us make four groups...and uh
23. TESL: I think that that's cutting it a little..
24. CrProf: It's true it's a little, yeah, it is.....How about two groups.....
25. Convenor: Hm?
26. CrProf: Two groups. Would be better.
27. Convenor: M? Two groups? Only in two?
28. TESL: If you could divide it into six..
29. Convenor: Six of each?
30. CrProf: YEAH
31. Convenor: Six or seven, if there are..will be there, I hear Mr. (Name[1]) wants to come.
32. CrProf: Who?
33. Convenor: He's been, (Name[1]), he's been learning Cree, and also, he's an anthropologist.
34. CrProf: oh yeah?
35. Convenor: ((to CrTchr-1) He is, uh? going to be.
36. CrProf: /ɓwə:/ There's somebody else coming too-
37. Convenor: Are they Cree?
38. CrProf: From (native run school)
39. Convenor: Yes.
40. CrProf: (Name[2]) is coming from (native-run school).
41. Convenor: Yes? Well they're all welcome...
42. CrProf: And then (name[3]) from (another native-run school in another province) is coming.
43. Convenor: Mhm.
44. CrProf: He's on his way by car, today; and then another person. They're coming as observers.
45. Convenor: mhm?
46. CrProf: Yeah.
47. CrTchr-1: That's what (name[1]) wants to come in
48. Convenor: mhm
49. CrTchr-1: as an observer.
50. CrProf: m.
51. .....
52. Convenor: I'm going to put here, six or seven,....
53. CrProf: because the materials used in (Province), they're all, they don't agree.
54. Convenor: m.
55. CrProf: It confuses the schoolchildren, you know.
56. Convenor: mhm.....So if you want to, I'll go back to Part III there, if you want to prepare something to say tomorrow morning...in the forenoon. And I didn't put the coffee anywhere, you can have coffee whenever you like and we'll see if we're tired, when we feel tired we can have a break for half an hour or a few minutes.....
57. CrProf: I doubt if they will stick with the roman orthography right through.
58. Convenor: .....why?
59. CrProf: Can we take up other...
60. Convenor: /wa::ʃaka-/.
61. CrProf: Other things.
62. Convenor: That's the English language .

63. CrProf: come •
64. Convenor: /aka+asimoyin/ (glossed 'That is English.')
65. CrProf: Yeah. I think I'll have a problem with some of the cultural colleges, they have their own system--And they've already produced materials. That's where we're gonna have problems.
66. Convenor: With syllabics?
67. CrProf: No-
68. Convenor: No?
69. CrProf: No..roman orthography...syllabics is no problem.
70. Convenor: mhm? There'll be no question of syllabics here, anyway.
71. CrProf: No, it's roman orthography.
72. Convenor: Just secondary.
73. CrProf: Yeah.
74. Convenor: Related.
75. (long silence)
76. Convenor: and in the afternoon there the meeting will break up into committees.
77. CrProf: (long and loud) ha::::::::
78. Convenor: from 3:30 to 4:30. Will that be enough then, or do you want to have two periods? Will that be enough, on Friday?
79. CrProf: What day is that, Friday?
80. Convenor: Yes.
81. CrProf: Three-thirty to four-thirty.
82. Convenor: Will that be too long or it's better staying to two.. That will be exactly one hour discussion, study on the.....
83. AlgLing: Couldn't one just leave that until tomorrow and see how long the committee's take?
84. Convenor: Yes.
85. AlgLing: and say that they shouldn't come back later than three-thirty, but possibly break into committees earlier--just to see what happens?
86. Convenor: Yes, I see--I'm just looking over this review to see if you agree to the timetable.
87. CrProf: You know there's that little, Saturday, towards the end of the day we have this development of a resource centre for the Cree language.
88. Convenor: mhm.
89. CrProf: That's one of the, uh, that might take more time.
90. Convenor: mhm.....
91. CrProf: What the possibilities are, you know..... and what do you mean by it, you know, we'll have to spell it out, I suppose.
92. (very long silence)
93. AthLing: By the way, how are you going to divide the groups into two, are you going to decide that...
94. Convenor: We'll decide it among our..together, I think.
95. AthLing: When they come? Or What?
96. Convenor: Together.
97. AlgLing: Well what exactly will be the task of the two

committees? What, precisely, will they do? Will they review existing proposals for Cree orthography?

98. Convenor: Yes.

99. AlgLing: Or will they take one of these, let's say, if we spend the morning talking about them, or the early afternoon, and find that one of them, is, for some reason, preferable to the other, then see if that is really the one, in other words look at it in more detail,

100. Convenor: Yes, that's what I

101. AlgLing: What exactly...will the committees do?

102. Convenor: That's what I wanted to to... to all work on the same thing in the two groups for..uh..like for instance, if we work on the vowels, we'll decide on the, what we want to use for the 'i'--for the long 'i'--like what I have put on the tentative outline for the study of roman orthography for Cree spelling...Has that answered your question?

103. AlgLing: m:::::::::.....I'm still not quite sure, uh, whether these committees will look at several possibilities for Cree orthography or whether there will first be a general discussion of what general rules to follow and then the committees look at

104. Convenor: Yes, that's what I..

105. AlgLing: Isn't that the, the

106. Convenor: wanted.

107. AlgLing: The second way.

108. Convenor: The second way...You see, you have the discussion on the development of the spelling.

109. AlgLing: hm.

110. Convenor: I have 'by committees,' but there will be first a general meeting to decide on that, and then the,...I have asked for a blackboard in here.

111. TESL: There. Is that one in back of that?

112. PartOb: That one.

113. AthLing: Good.

114. Convenor: Oh yes, you can open it.

115. TESL: Is there chalk in there?

116. PartOb: yeah.

117. TESL: mm.

118. Convenor: On this outline I made out, I went according to this book because it is the most recent, and then we can--uh, the Cree--can put in their..their opinion on that.....Will that consist of the organization and the planning, here, linguists?..... We'll have to plan for the others, I think, and then have them approve...tomorrow..on what we're gonna study. I've put in here, it's very...

119. AthLing: I think if the present group discuss some major issues together, and if we reach on certain consensus, and tomorrow in the larger group where representatives of other communities join, perhaps it's desirable to, to get their support for, for certain consensus we reached here today.

120. Convenor: mm
121. AthLing: Perhaps we can accomplish something.
122. Convenor: yes.
123. AthLing: When the conference is over.
124. Convenor: Mm. You see, I have put here one day. We can go into the next day if we have, if we need to.
125. .....
126. AthLing: Well I guess we got done very quickly with organization and planning so we can go right into (Convener laughs) the hard work now.
127. Convenor: Yes, mhm. If you agree, if we have no other things to say on what I wrote for the agenda....
128. AthLing: So if I understand correctly for tomorrow morning then we're gonna come here at 9 o'clock uh,...we're going to have general discussion all together and split into committees.
129. Convenor: mm. yes.
130. AthLing: and then two different committees then discuss the same problems you identified here, or topics you identified here?
131. .....
132. Convenor: There will be just a brief report at the beginning so it won't take long....
133. AthLing: I don't know how, uh, I'm just not too clear how we are going to proceed after the two different groups' meeting. Come back into one room and then discuss what the •
134. Convenor: They will come back and say what they have decided from what we have given them from today's planning.
135. CrProf: And then they, they will report what they have agreed on or disagreed.
136. Convenor: mm.
137. CrProf: On what the problems are.
138. AthLing: I think we can devote some time then this morning then to pin down perhaps on what the problems are.
139. CrProf: There is another problem connected, not just with roman orthography but the Cree has been lost so much you know. We have to say, 'How do you spell /ne+yi+wo/,' you know; are we going to agree is it 'n' 'e' 'w' 'o' or 'n' 'e' 'y' 'o', /neyiwɔ#neyiwɔ/.
140. CrTchr-1: Both the syllables are there, too.
141. CrProf: Yeah, /neyiwɔ#neɔ/, so this is, these are some of the things that, there's some words that we have to •
142. Convenor: Yes, I brought my•
143. CrProf: what is exactly the sound, /neyiwɔ#neyɔ/, and, uh, (named school) have come to the conclusion that it should be /newɔ/.
144. CrTchr-1: /wɔ/?
145. Convenor: /wɔ/?
146. CrTchr-1: Well there's a definite 'w' sound in there.
147. CrProf: Yeah, that's like /newɔ/.
148. AthLing: Is there...•

149. CrProf: There are other things that, uh, we'll all have to agree. If the language is gonna be used in schools we'll have to agree on, that we, the sound system.

Discussion of Examples: Oblique and Ostensible Topic Projection

CrProf has demonstrated in the oblique topic projection his negative response to the suggestion that small groups be adopted the following day, and his co-conspirators, AthLing and CrTchr-1, have brought that into the ostensible projection. In locution 5.1 TESL states the obvious ("If you're trying to develop a one orthography, I would think that that's probably a dangerous thing to do--") and in so doing forces the Convener to defend and keep alive the plan to break into groups. (Though it is her suggestion, she is amenable to group opinion: there must be consensus and the appearance of consensus, and to that point she has offered the group-discussion plan only as suggestion.) Reiteration of the small group idea reimposes upon her the necessity to defend it. TESL complicates the issue in locution 5.11 by offering positive comment on the small-group idea.

The assumption that the next day will see small-group discussion then is alive (Convener's locution 5.16) and the group in concert (specifically CrProf and TESL) brings the number of groups down to a total of two, which diminution is vehemently validated by CrProf's "YEAH" (locution 5.30). The Convener changes topic at 5.31 to suggest that someone else is coming, with the additional remark (in locution 5.33)

that the newcomer is an anthropologist.[3] CrProf adds to the list of expected participants: the oblique statements in his addition are that there will be issues raised that are not on the agenda; and that the decision as to division into small groups is best left until the next day. He ignores Convener's reference to composition of the group by number (locutions 5.52-53) to justify the attendance of others and to begin discussion of substantive issues; the convener's announcement that coffee can be had at any time drops the small group issue. After the ostensible discussion of syllabics (a reiteration that we should wait and let the next day's group compose itself, and a really quite emphatic statement that syllabics will not be discussed during the meeting), the Convener raises again the spectre of breaking into small groups to a very loud negative vote: a loud exclamation from CrProf (5.77). The votes are in, the issue is dead.

The linguists are plainly bewildered: neither the timing nor the function of small groups has been codified, and AlgLing (locutions 5.83 and 85) introduces a conspiracy to force explicitness. When the Convener answers his request for explicitness of function and timing with "I'm just looking over this review to see if you agree to the timetable," (locution 5.86), the words "you agree" form the significant component of the sentence.

But the two linguists conspire to raise the issue again: the requests for clarification and codification in

the ostensible topic are dealt with by the Convener's agreeing to two different proposals from each of the linguists. She deflects the conspiracy, the end of which is to make all but explicit that which cannot be made explicit, by looking around the room anxiously and saying that she had asked for a blackboard (locution 5.110). TESL, part of her conspiracy now, happily discovers the largest, most obtrusive object in the room aside from the table, at locution 5.111; and the convener can signal the beginning of substantive discussion in locution 5.118 by noting that it is the Cree speakers who now must answer the substantive issues raised by the linguists. AthLing, in another recapitulation of the obvious and in what seems to be a paraphrase of the Convener because of the nature of his paraphrase, insults the Convener ("Perhaps we can accomplish something," "When the conference is over," (locutions 5.121 and 123). Her quick assertion that the group will accomplish something is made by saying "You see I have put here one day. We can go into the next day if we have, if we need to," (locution 5.124).

AlgLing codifies properly in locution 5.126, with "We I guess we got done very quickly with organization and planning so we can go right into the hard work now," (5.126), and consensus seems complete. But AthLing, s ll bewildering, resurrects the small group issue at 5.12s. A conspiracy settles the issue with the maintenance of fiction, and the conspiracy involves CrProf and Convener.

The latter simply makes a non-sequitor response, "There will just be a brief report at the beginning so it won't take long," (5.132) and CrProf joins with a noncommital, nonspecific assertion as to what the small groups will do (5.135). AthLing then can codify, with what the other conspirators must perceive to be a nadir of gratuitousness, "I think we can devote some time then this morning then to pin down perhaps on what the problems are," (5.138), and CrProf interrupts Convener to introduce a phonological question very quickly.

Not once has CrProf used the ostensible topic projection to vote his vehement no to the small group issue. As participant and observer, however, at locution 5.56, I knew, CrProf knew and CrTchr-1 knew that the decision would be left until the next day and would hinge upon whether or not the next day's participants would speak back in contradiction to the linguists; or would require a kind of caucus in which to disagree with the decisions of the first day's participants.

The issue of small groups was never raised again during the entire meeting, and, of course, there was no subsequent division.

D. TOPIC RANGE AND ELABORATION

Topic range is the term used to describe the varieties of topics raised, and topic elaboration describes the extent to which a topic may be carried. While the terms on the face of the definition might appear to identify something the same, that is, the extent to which a group or an individual is permitted to "roam," it is important to distinguish between the two. The data dictate that distinction in order to explain that some participants consistently employed a wider range of topic in the process of topic elaboration. In a discussion of stress and intonation there was a distinct difference of opinion between Cree speakers and linguists. The linguists seemed to be saying that the two are not predictable, one from the other, in Cree, and that both seemed to be simply stylistic and rhetorical devices. The Cree speakers were emphatic that stress and intonation changed meanings, and often pointed out that writing systems and conventions should deal in some way with that aspect of language.

CrProf consistenly used a wider topic range than the other linguists, addressing the point made in the previous paragraph by including reference to personal experience:

(6)

1. (respecting intonation on questions:)
2. CrTchr-1: And then in Cree you don't elevate your voice at the end. Instead you tend to come down.
3. CrProf: Well this is where, where when I was learning English, this is where it wasn't taught .
4. TESL: mhm
5. CrProf: where the stress is.
6. TESL: mm.

7. CrProf: 'I see a RED house,' you know. I tend to speak, uh, English the way I spoke, uh, Cree.
8. TESL: mhm, intonation patterns.
9. CrProf: And we were never taught the sound, the 'g' sound, which was foreign to us.
10. TESL: mhm
11. CrProf: It's very, very confusing.
12. AthLing: Shall we go back to the main issue now?
13. CrTchr-1: (explodes in laughter)
14. CrProf: Well, that's what I say--this is profitable, this is what's going to happen you know.
15. CrTchr-1: mhm
16. CrProf: That we're going to stray away. But they are problems though.
17. TESL: This last session was very profitable for me. I know nothing about Cree.

Though CrProf's range included personal experience and a lengthy discussion of stress and intonation, AthLing perceived it to be "off the issue." TESL obviously joined in the validation of the "digressions"--he had in fact participated in the assembly of a test instrument for competence in Plains Cree and has worked with another Central Algonkian language.

The Elder was permitted the widest range. In English he told a great deal about his travels, including something of his career in rodeo; and in Cree he referred often to Indian-White relations in general as a solvable problem; he told everyone to sleep well at night and to work hard by day. It was not out of place.

As a general principle, the ostensible topic projection may exhibit an extremely wide range of referents. One might have to reach far afield, referentially, to manipulate that topic projection in order to get at what it is that one wants realized in one's hearers.

Operating within a set of arbitrary and differentially distributed set of expectations as to who might talk about what, there is a great deal of latitude as to who, in fact, addresses what topic. Individuals, the group and subgroups of conspirators manage and attempt to manage the progression of events; or react to those efforts in others. In so doing, the participants create the event. The concept of creativity used here is simply a restatement of the obvious consideration that the participants create topical projections, unique configurations.

Footnotes

[1]A good example of the breaking of that contract is in a meeting which included a number of natives and non-natives, drawn from the Western Provinces and Alaska. The focus of the meeting was upon education, and informal evaluation of sessions showed a marked difference between participants in response to evaluation, generally but not entirely upon native/non-native lines. When the official evaluator of the meeting, a non-native, outlined the procedures for evaluation, it was perceived by the generally native group, a majority, that favourably-evaluated sessions would be negatively evaluated simply because of the evaluation instruments. This was never made explicit. A native spokesperson suggested a different method of evaluation--group talk and consensus. When the official evaluator implicitly rejected that suggestion in her response, and continued to hold the floor by keeping talking, upon her closure there was no verbal response. After a period of silence the spokesperson simply left the meeting area, and by twos and threes a succession of participants simply left, without rancor. The contract to talk had been breached. The meeting was over.

[2]Written accounts of a meeting, a year later, where no linguists were in attendance, included recapitulations of individual speaker's addresses to this topic area.

[3]He is not.

VII. CHAPTER SEVEN: CONTROL OF TOPIC

A. CONTROL OF TOPIC WITH TALK

Amount

An obvious control measure is to talk, to take the floor. In the meeting of interest AlgLing controlled topic a great deal of the time by talking the most. During the entire meeting there were two time periods when he did not use at least a quarter of the time talking. Those periods were during the introduction and addresses on the secon day and during the discussion on formation of a permanent committee--the last agenda item. In terms of topic breadth and elaboration, he consistently addressed Cree language interna and argued for adoption of specific orthographic conventions. Thus he elaborated upon a fairly narrow topic range. CrProf followed him in amount talked, followed by AthLing, TESL and Convener.

During the final two days, with more participants, the same participant pattern emerged of control by amount talked; but CrTchr-2, CrTchr-3 and CrCurrSpec all talked more than CrTchr-1. The Elder was the main speaker the second morning. He was usually otherwise silent, except during his prayer the final morning and when he joined in verbally during the last hour of the meeting in order to

effect repair. (This sequence is discussed in examples 25 through 28 in Chapter VIII.)

Overt claims to the floor were made by keeping talking, primarily by the non-native linguists and by CrProf, but CrProf's topic range in such overt claims was broader than the non-native linguists'. He made what the latter considered to be digressions, and at one point announced that he would tell a story and did so, telling the last sentence in Cree.

Turn At Talk

Claims to control by amount talked were not unchallenged: no one in a meeting can talk all of the time. The manipulation of turn at talk includes overt request and denials of turn. That turn at talk was manipulated by the participants within the general announcement made by the Convener, who, with the agenda, set aside particular places where linguists were to speak. There were explicit announcements made about who was expected to talk, and when. In her introductory remarks in English the first day, she noted that she had marked a section of the agenda as the responsibility of "the linguists," and said

(7)

> We have the introduction, part one, and then the report on the need for a standard orthography for the Cree language. I put down 'linguists.'--It's just as well by the Cree as well as, uh, the whites who want to bring whatever you want to say on this. Anybody is welcome to speak at that point.

In a comparable slot, the next day during her opening remarks to the larger group she said

(8)

Kiyawaw nitotamitik, nimiy weitan a pa takohtayak ota, kakiyaw ni kacinahuni kikwayki natanawaw kikway ona ota tanikiskwatamak.
('My dear friends, I appreciate the fact that you all turned up. I am sure that each of you has brought something to talk about.')

She ended her address, during which she made it explicit that it is "we, the Plains Cree Indians who are the ones who are going to use this roman orthography," by saying

(9)

Ekwa moniayak oki ota a ki natomakik nehiyawewin sh'atoskatakihk a wi kakway kiskeyihtakik, namoya wiya wiyawaw tanis'nayatacik ona kamamopiyak, taniak ta wicihikoyahkik. Ekaya nantaw tatyitamak ona.
('The white people you see here at this meeting are here by invitation as they are all linguists and are interested in our language, but they are not here to run or arrange this meeting, they are here to try and help us. I'm telling you this so you won't mind.')

Turn at Talk by Address and Reciprocation

Turn at talk may be manipulated by requiring response. This may be in the addressing of questions or reaction to a participant's statement, which itself requires reaction from a specific participant. Most questions, however, were put to the group at large. Insofar as individuals made demands upon specific others to respond, there was a remarkable difference. Some participants were asked more questions than others;

verbal response was solicited to propositions differentially.

Over the three-day period certain participant patterns emerged in terms of who asked whom for response. When a participant was asked for response by another participant in approximately an equal measure as he asked that participant to respond, there is a situation of reciprocity in discourse which emerges.

Figure 2 indicates the reciprocal relationships involved in this meeting. AlgLing, though talking the most, has reciprocal relationships with only the convener and AthLing. A great deal of his talk, then, was self-initiated, or was in response to statements by CrProf (with whom it cannot be maintained he had a symmetrical question-response relationship, because AlgLing asked CrProf very few direct questions.) AlgLing also initiated response to a number of questions that were put before the group as a whole.

Figure 3 is an attempt to represent assymmetrical patterns of question and response. The noteworthy aspect of that pattern is that the asymmetry shows more direct questions from the non-natives to the natives. As a matter of record, the direct questions to natives were usually requests to pronounce a specific word or to validate a description; it was at times typical field-work discourse.

Non-negotiable Turn

There were periods in the meeting when turn at talk was not negotiable, when command of the floor was inviolate. Turn at talk was directly regulated by genre in the Convener's opening prayer the first day; the Elder's prayers, second and third days; individual self-introductions, when each person had a specified turn at talk; the Convener's welcome; the Elder's formal address; and the Elder/Cree-speaker's question and answer period in Cree following the formal address.

Denials at turn were never explicit, except for CrProf's and AlgLing's, twice each, "let me finish," when interrupted. Many denials came in the form of successful or unsuccessful interruption.

Interruption

There were observed two kinds of interruptions, intentional and unintentional. Intentional interruptions which took place during someone else's speech stream, manifestly during a turn, were usually not successful. The Convener's "I'll fix up. . . " during TESL's admonition to her about the danger of small groups (locution 5.2) is an example of such unsuccessful interruption. In locution 5.104, however, Convener successfully interrupts AlgLing in his query about the function of small groups. He fumbles and she parries him to a "hm" by locution 5.109.

Unintentional interruptions are most obvious in misinterpretations of the qualities of silence, and most of the breaches of that silence were by non-natives. There is a kind of juncture, signalled by preceding complexes of intonation, stress and vowel length, that indicates that something is about to follow. (A common orthographic convention in English for such juncture is a dash [--].) Cree speakers, whose intonation pattern is more apt to fall at the end of a stream, signal this juncture by not allowing the intonation curve to fall as low as the preceding part of the curve indicates that it otherwise might; establishing a beat, in the rhythm of stress patterns, and allowing the juncture to occur on the expectation of stress, a device that suggests the name "drum-beat juncture"; kinesic symbols: eyes and mouth remain in a ready position to resume speech. Locution 5.65 by CrProf is an example of the use of such juncture, though he was not interrupted therein. In so much of formal discourse in Cree the assumption that one has the floor until one relinquishes it is so pervasive that a particular lexical device is often used to indicate it: <u>skosa</u> or <u>skosa maka</u>, both glossed "enough," signal the end of a speech stream and the speaker's relinquishing command of the floor.[1]

A number of times two or more participants began speaking at very nearly the same time. It seems that if the topics are the same (something usually signalled by

the use of similar lexical items); and if the streams are short, the group sustains both streams to completion. That does not seem to be true when more than two people begin at the same time.

Locutions 4.5 and 4.6 were uttered approximately simultaneously by AthLing and CrTchr-1

(10)

AthLing: •---Altogether might be a good idea I suppose.
CrTchr-1: •Altogether, like.

Convener and TESL, at locutions 5.27 and 5.28, project to the same end with

(11)

CrProf: Two groups. Would be better.
Convener: M? Two gr•oups? Only in two?
TESL: If you could divide it into six..

Later on, during the first day, several Cree speakers were simultaneously, or nearly so, producing minimal pairs for the linguists to compare. There was a period of silence after a kind of managed chaos, and four participants began at once,

(12)

1. AlgLing: • And..so..
2. Convener: • I..
3. CrTchr-1: • And..
4. CrProf: • Then..
5. AlgLing: in essence you're making the beginning of a word here, but, long 'a', blank, but I'll just use this pound sign instead.

In fact there was an open floor which the four claimed at the same time. AlgLing made a second claim with "so," was not challenged, and so went on.

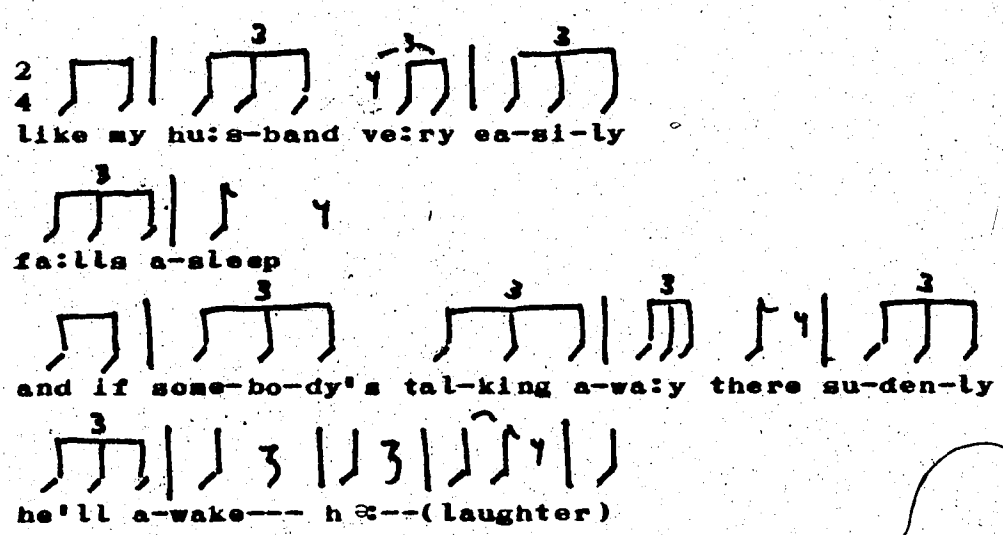
Quality of Talk

The most effective command of the floor, and hence, topic, is not so much dependent upon sequence or amount of talking allowed as it is upon a kind of seduction to attend. In the analysis of real conversation the judgement is inescapable that skill in the use of prosodic features is differentially exhibited. Judgements as to what constitutes skill may differ in various groups; but the properties that describe the skill are physical properties, and may be described with reference to physical parameters. In this meeting two participants, specifically, commanded attention by virtue of such skill: CrTchr-1 and Elder.

The qualities that define this skill have to do with timbre, volume, intonation, stress. The noun command is an apt descriptor. When CrTchr-1 simply interrupts, she does not make an emphatic claim to the floor. When she does claim the floor it is hers, emphatically. In terms of description of this command it is most appealing to refer to music, because there is a rhythm to discourse of which she is obviously aware: she manipulates with the consciousness that she can establish that rhythm in her hearers. She typically begins at a low volume; stressed syllabic nuclei realize a great deal of the intonation curve. There is an appeal made

to timbre change on the same vowel; harmonics vary on the same tone, and it has some of the qualities of singing. She typically manipulates speed of delivery; stress is calculated to establish a beat. The beat is so distinct that, after a joke she told at the beginning of the meeting, the entire group joined in laughter that peaked in volume, twice, in a restatement of that beat. It is artistry in talk. Her brother, the Elder, is so skilled that even when he addresses a group in Cree, non-Cree speakers are often rapt. The joke referred to, and the pattern of laughter which followed it, are presented in Example 13.

(13)



Other participants in this meeting exhibited various degrees of control with prosodic features. TESL, for example, was carefully modulated in delivery; so careful, however, that, combined with an overcompensated articulation and steadiness of stress patterns, the intonation contours

were lost to a perception of monotonousness. There was too carefully stated a range of tone, inappropriate change in tone; and his delivery seemed calculated enough to be either insincere or patronizing.

AthLing commanded attention with his own intonation and timbre, and was attendable, even given steadily irregular stress patterns. AlgLing's command betrayed itself in his speed of delivery and failure to use lower tones at times when he "wound up" to control by keeping talking. (His most effective communication, consistently reinforced by the group at large, was delivery of a category of speech he must have considered to be "aside.") The Convener showed a great deal of versatility, and changes seemed to be contextual: she spoke like the non-native linguists at times; and, at others, like a good Cree raconteur.

CurrSpec was inarticulate in this medium. He spoke very little. His speech began, invariably fast, to juncture and niche in mid-sentence--not even before embeddings--speed, again, at points where juncture or conjunction might be predicted--and then on to niche and juncture. The delivery obscured whatever import his contribution might have been. Group attention to his seduction to listen was negative.

In the following example of his speech, one might note that he embraces topics that have been dealt with by others. His references, coming as they do immediately following an argument over vowel length in /o:te/ and /ɔte/, are only as discontinous of topic as CrProf's insertion, in the long

example presented before, of other localities' practices and other issues attendant. But CurrSpec's comments have no place in the ostensible topic here, and there is no signal that makes them oblique: they suppose no plan and focus is blurred.

(14)

1. CurrSpec: Excuse me, uh, I think that the kind of, uh, problem that (AlgLing) in the short 'u', the long 'u',[2] and so forth, I think with the uh, with the type of program we have in (province), the native literacy..
2. CrProf: Yeah
3. CurrSpec: where they start the, where they start school in the Cree, I think that wouldn't be much of a problem because once they shift into the English, of course,..then the.. the differences can be pointed out however if you have a...a..Cree speaking person who comes to school using the English language without properly learning the Cree I think, then, later on it could..really..you know..really be a hassle for the person because he's forever associating the..the..you know.. the Cree language with the English and, and, the, I think that's a, that's a.. a real good argument for, for that particular program that we have a real good one in terms of..you know..starting the student off in the native language for the first two or three years and shifting into English.
4. Convenor: mhm
5. AlgLing: I think we're rapidly moving from technical issues to fairly far-reaching policy issues (laughs)--I don't know how much influence you have with the three prairie governments.
6. Convenor: Quite a bit.
7. AlgLing: Okay, then let's make a case.
8. Convenor: I have no problem.
9. AthLing: Cree is fortunate, I think, to have very few consonants and vowels and uh, it shouldn't take too long to teach the relationships between sound and symbol.

If we have in CrTchr-1 an expert at getting attention, and getting the group involved to the point that it waits collectively to laugh until the beginning of a measure she has established; we have in CurrSpec the very opposite. The

group must repair itself. It takes a piece of documentation from AlgLing, a little joke from the convener, and a gratuitous nonsequitor from AthLing to collect the group again.

The kind of expertise in speech that the artist shows is one that hypnotists, comics and actors are well aware of. It is very difficult to document without reference to the acoustic and physical properties of speech production. I include it not as corollary remark respecting the aesthetics of speech, but because an attempt to describe how topic is managed in the meeting of interest would be most inadequately described without reference to it.

Code, Variety and Register Shifting

Code Switching

Code switching was exclusively between Cree and English, though language code competence could possibly have permitted four participants to speak at least some German; at least four, French; and two, Chinese. Code-switching to other languges could not have been sustained for very long, as it would have been perceived as impolite. If code-switching to Cree was not impolite even though several participants could not understand it, the question is why. It seemed to be recognized as functional, and the function, beyond the reason of

somewhat easier fluency the older participants had in Cree, was that it was one of the means the Cree-speaking subgroup had of saying "this is our meeting." The non-Cree speakers tacitly allowed that claim.

The most extensive use of untranslated Cree (and most of the Cree used was in fact untranslated) was during the second morning when the convener and Elder made their addresses in Cree. Information was controlled in those addresses. In English the Elder had told a great deal about his travels: it was a device used to demonstrate the manner in which he had been educated. When he began to speak in Cree he said

(15) [illegible] oma kanahiyawawak ota matwanci [illegible]ohtinawaw tanai a wi kakway isi n'atohtaman [illegible] moniyawewin.
('Those of you that talk Cree, I hope you understand what I was trying to convey in the English language.')

He told the group that he saw what they were doing as an attempt to keep the culture alive and he expressed his pleasure at "hearing you speak as though you were inspired, as indeed you are." As for the obstacles in the way of such an endeavor, paramount were "the white people who run the affairs of the Indian."

In the address he discussed ways of coming to know things in the Cree tradition; expressed a great deal of confidence in the Cree speakers in attendance to do what it was they had come to do; and defined that task as

ultimately, through language retention, the keeping of the children of the Cree tradition away from the white man's material pleasures; a spiritual task. He challenged them to work together, to "think mutually."

The Cree-speaker's validation of his address was unqualified. CrProf said

(16)

Ekwa mina awa kanapikiskwat kanahiyowat anoc nita takahkitamaw niwahwanahkak nahnahkita macika ona ocestatay sokwanima namoya ninatohtan ta 'ocestahk' ci anima kakway tapiskoc. Takih kiskonatamawiyak tocestiyin.
('And also this man who spoke in Cree, I surely was glad to hear him, but he talked in such a high, fluent technical Cree, like the word 'ocestotahk' that I don't understand. I wish you'd tell us what its meaning is.')

To which the Elder replied

(17)

Kwayask tasocestatamihk=ci.
('To be eager to work?')

CrTchr-1 noted, in Cree, her delight at hearing Cree spoken by the Elders, but her dismay that even when such is the case in a given community, children seem to speak English. The Elder told the group that he had not achieved the fluency he had in Cree by a schooling process. After discussing specific problems in translation, he made his most emphatic statement:

(18)

Takakwa a'atohtamak ona ita koh kayayak sokoma

moniyaw wiyasowewein takihtwani kihci ahci kihcoyawiwewsinisiyinikihcatak--- namoyawiyak nistohtam kikway esickwanima. egwa tacimasihitak ewoko noniyanahkoyah itwaniwiw--to reinstate--kawi ta tapastahktahto kikway kane maskahcihikoyak moniawi aoko anima nahki nahiyowewein: akwa kutak kihpe ispayiw kayahte ayisiyiniwoki namoya wihkac ohci kwayatastew taniskoc oma kiyawow anohc omah oskayak nikatwan. Itah e wi sipwa waskawitotahk okiskikam asiyiniw nitamah kihnanatawaniw maywes ta ni cipakwatotahk omaskawiwin atiskwakutah atihtihkwamit. Kistohtenawaw-ci aoko.

('You are here to try and understand the rules you hereby are supposed to follow and to try and reinstate whatever the white people have taken from us. This is what I have tried to put through to you. Years ago the Indians had to think and try and put things right for themselves. Things were not put before them already made up. They had to solve their problems. No one was there to solve any difficulties or problems for them. When an Indian arose at dawn he would get out and look around him. Do you understand?')

2. CrProf: 'Eh cipahkwatotahk'--what's that?
3. Elder: Eh cipahkwatotahk ketwahk oyah niyanan itah kapacihtayahk: Kikway oma eh ihtakuhk ota tamiciy ahk eh itwahk anima.

('Eh cipahkwatotahk, we use that word to stop and think: what am I going to do to feed my people. That's what it means.')

With this discourse the elder emphatically established the locus for decision making in the meeting. The metaphor he used is reminiscent of a similar metaphor Christ used with a disciple: "feed my sheep." There is no question that the Elder's address defined the meeting for Cree-speakers, legitimated it and gave it an impetus which, normally, a discussion of technical or quasi-technical issues would not have. The definition he gave of it was that it was "our" meeting. It was an

emphatic establishment of subgroup collectivity of purpose, the origin of which was not accessible to non-Cree speakers. Previous examples (locutions 5.37 and 118; examples 7, 8 and 9) have demonstrated that the Convener had attempted, in Cree, to establish the same spirit in the meeting, with explicit reference as to expectations of talk.

There were sometimes bits of Cree interspersed in otherwise English discourse. The following example shows both an impatience to allow English-only speakers access to topic; and what appears to be a use of Cree for Cree's sake.

There had been a discussion of whether or not "crayfish" is more properly called asa or tansaaney. That discussion subsides without resolution except for acknowledgement of dialectal difference; and the convener begins, asking CrProf

(19)

1. Convener: Tansi, tansi kihtwan kiya 'Great Spirit'?
2. CrProf: Kicimanito.
3. CrTchr-1: Kicimanito asa.
4. CrProf: That's the way I translate it.
5. Convener: kicimanito, kicimanito
6. CrTchr-1: kicimanito
7. CrProf: kihcih-okimaw-
8. CrTchr-1: The great, the great person, like, higher.
9. CrProf: is the king. And kiciokimaw'skwew, the manageress, or the great boss.
10. Convener: (to CrProf) How would you write that, kici-
11. CrProf: Bkaviy.
12. Convener: 'k', 'i'
13. CrProf: 'k', 'i', 'h', /čl/
14. CrTchr-1: I, I think the one, the most important letter in the Cree language, the roman written language, is the 'h'; you hear it in pretty near

every single Cree word.

15. CrProf: What's that, the 'h'?

The Convener has asked "How do you say, 'Great Spirit?'." The response is straightforward from CrProf. He deflects her by focusing on "kici-", or 'great,' in order to translate the words for "king" and "queen." But he stops her line of questioning with skawiy, which simply means "don't," a negative imperative. The request is in Cree, just to be in Cree; the negative command is a quick way of cutting off the discussion without giving English-speakers a chance to take up the topic themselves. (In fact, both CrProf and CrTchr-1 seemed to want to illustrate the use of aspiration and phonemic /h/ in Cree, and used the word glossed "great" in order to begin such a discussion.)

Register Shifting

There were several varieties of Cree and English in display at the meeting. Few participants were native speakers of only English, and geographic origins of the total of Cree and English speakers showed quasi-dialectal variation. That was no problem in the meeting; and while the possibility exists that varieties could have been managed to control by some of the group, they were not.

Control of topic by use of register was. The Elder's use of "High Cree" was a virtuoso display in

front of language teachers. It contained many messages, paramount of which was the implicit first principle, obliquely, "Do not think yourselves important because of your education, but serve our people humbly: there is a language system that appeals to our epistemological system, which you, as language teachers, do not know."

The most dramatic use of register shift on the part of the linguists came after a challenge to them (and then from them) concerning competence in the discipline, and the adequacy of both field-work-trained ears and linguistic-specific constructs. It came after CrTchr-1 introduced the importance of /h/. She added

(20)

1. CrTchr-1: It isn't a full, round 'h', but it's, you can..
2. CrProf: And that's a divider in the vowels, too.
3. CrTchr-1: mhm.
4. CrProf: There's two vowels run together--
5. CrTchr-1: mhm
6. CrProf: There's a /hə/ sound in between.
7. CrTchr-1: and if a word, uh, if a word ends with one of the vowels, there's an automatic 'h' sound between them....You notice that?
8. CrProf: Yes, that /hə/
9. CrTchr-1: /ci?#ci?#ci?/[3]
10. AlgLing: mhm
11. CrProf: It makes it long.
12. AlgLing: But don't you get a choice, either slurring or sticking a /h/ in, or sticking a 'y' in?
13. CrProf: /awatiskwaw/, [glossed 'There is a woman'].
14. CrTchr-1: If you take your time.
15. CrProf: And if you say it in a rapid way, it's /awiskwaw/, because, you know, the language is smooth.
16. CrTchr-1: And yet, you get /awiskwaw/and awa nanaw, [glossed 'There is a man'].
17. AlgLing: Nanaw starts with a vowel.
18. CrTchr-1: Yeah....It doesn't. It starts with a vowel: /awiskwaw/.
19. TESL: Between different morphemes.
20. AlgLing: It's word boundaries.

21. TESL: Yeah.
22. AlgLing: Like the beginning and end of words.

There is evidence of the attempt to introduce a number of considerations here, and in the process a few errors (i.e., that napew begins with a vowel). AlgLing wants to press to the statement that epinthetic /h/ is not common. He moved to the blackboard to write alternatives (a sequence which is described in the discussion of channel as a means of topic control). CrProf pressed him to use another example, the combination of the demonstrative oke with the word for woman iskwew to demonstrate the point which he wanted to make about the change in vowel length that occurs in fast speech. He further induced AlgLing to pluralize the stream to okiskwewak, realizing that AlgLing would miss the change in vowel length and produce a stream which glosses 'they are silly.' The Cree speakers, realizing the ploy, laughed a great deal; and all of them pronounced the two words

/ɔgiskwewak/ 'they are crazy'

/ok^{h}iskwewək/ 'these women'.

The difference is quite distinct on tape, but in rapid speech is difficult to hear. AlgLing returned to the blackboard to work out the problem, and CrProf said "Well, we're getting these linguists all mixed up."

When the Cree speakers maintained that they could

tell the difference between the two, AlgLing began a challenge:

(21)

1. AlgLing: We should, we should, we should have you speak them on a tape •
2. CrProf: You could do that •
3. AlgLing: two dozen times •
4. CrProf: Yeah.
5. AlgLing: and only you know which ones you meant and then we could play them back and have all these other Cree speakers judge •
6. Convener: She has a •
7. AlgLing: which ones they were.
8. Convener: She (looking at CrTchr-1) has a tape recorder here.
9. PartOb: •So do I.
10. CrProf: •So does (nods at PartOb)..
11. CrProf, Convener and TESL: (low laughter)
12. AlgLing: Well I don't know, that's a lot of trouble; but it would be interesting.
13. CrProf: Now there's where we need a standardized orthography. There's a very minute difference in the sound. For you, if Cree is new to you, it sounds the same to you.
14. AthLing: (more or less spluttering) But then there are also..really sound the same pair of words..and sometimes think that they are different which is not different....There are cases like that. Because meanings are different they think the sound should be different because • only native speakers think of a distinction.
15. Convener: /ogiskwewək+okʰ Iskwewək/
16. CrTchr-1: (to Convener) Yeah, that's it.
17. AlgLing: (to AthLing) 'These old ladies are crazy.'
18. AthLing: Ooooh.
19. CrTchr-1: (repeats distinction) It means they're playful--
20. CrProf: Fools, they're crazy.
21. AlgLing: (questioning) It's not as strong as /močewew/?
22. AthLing: By the way, this is, I'm curious, a purely linguistics matter, is that stopped 'k', is, intervocalically, is it optionally voiced?
23. AlgLing and
24. TESL (respectively): mhm, yeah
25. AthLing: I sometimes hear it voiced and sometimes unvoiced.
26. AlgLing and
27. TESL (respectively): mhm, yeah
28. AlgLing: And even word-initially and word finally.
29. AthLing: They're also optionally voiced?

30. AlgLing: Most of the time they're voiceless, but they're rarely aspirated, and sometimes I think they're lenis.
31. AthLing: mhm
32. AlgLing: But I, I never looked that carefully at this, I mean generally they're voiced and very lenis between vowels.
33. AthLing: mhm
34. AlgLing: and a lot less so.
35. AthLing: initially.
36. AlgLing: at word boundaries.
37. AthLing: Yeah.
38. AlgLing: You know, when they're preceded by voiceless fricatives like 's' and 'h'.
39. Convenor: mmm (falling intonation)
40. AlgLing: But this is a whole area that needs a lot of work on it and I've never spent any time with it.
41. CrProf: Try it with oke okamawak. [glossed 'These big shots'].

At the beginning of this example, with his "It makes it long;" CrProf has made it explicit that vowel length is a primary distinction between the two speech streams. The Cree speakers attempt to demonstrate by repetition; but the repetitions do not realize themselves in the group's focus as assertions and are not attended to by the linguists, who suffer a challenge to take up the suggestion of trial by tape-recorder. The linguists are plainly not in control at all at one point, and AthLing's attempt to argue that native speakers impose distinctions not heard by the trained ear fails.[4] AlgLing blurs the referential frame of his translation in the distinctions by saying "These old ladies are crazy." The ladies in the meeting were "old." The Cree term does not include any specifications as to age.

AthLing pre-empts the topic explicitly to ask a question about a "purely linguistic matter." However, a question as basic as voiced/voiceless distinctions (from a linguist who has had experience with Cree) allowed AlgLing to reestablish his credentials, particularly by use of the term "lenis" (which is not a term likely to be known by the Cree women there); and by allowing the true state of affairs to be so complex an issue that a great deal of work and analysis must be put into it before it can be explained.

If one examines the origins of the "mhm"'s and "yeah"'s during stretches of the conversation, AthLing, TESL and AlgLing form a trio: the latter respond to AthLing's question about Cree--there is in that context no Cree speaker speaking to that basic distinction of voicing. By the same token, CrProf, Convener and CrTchr-1 conspire to reinforce each other.

CrProf's suggestion in the last statement in the example seems to be tit-for-tat for the "old ladies" remark. Okemaw was translated for the linguists to mean "chief" but its most common translation, in my experience, is more general, and it is usually glossed as 'big shots.'[5]

B. REPAIR OF PROJECTION

This episode exemplifies another aspect of control. Jockeying for control of the topical projection, either ostensible or oblique, can end in an impasse. There must be a mechanism to create a new projection or to repair the projection, to make a group willing to participate in the establishment of a tension of attention which allows for the focus to be again manipulable.

The foregoing episode seems headed for impasse. CrTchr-1 effectively repaired it. (It is necessary to know that she had enrolled in a linguistics class, instructed by AthLing, the previous summer.) The convener began, "There are many--" but CrTchr-1 cut in,

(22)

1. CrTchr-1: In some lessons the 'yes' is written 'e', 'h', 'a', 'k' and they say /e:ha?/.
2. Convener: (to CrProf) Iansi kihtwan— (glossed 'how do you say')
3. CrProf: /e:hə/, there are so many ways.
4. CrTchr-1: Yes, and one of them asked me, 'How do you pronounce the 'k' and I said, "Well, if you want to you can pronounce it not in your mouth but down here. (gestures to throat) /?h/ /?h/
5. CrProf: • yeah
6. AlgLing: • right
7. CrTchr-1: Slavic, • like,
8. AthLing: /ehə?/•
9. CrTchr-1: /ehə?/, see there's a blockage here, /ehə?/ /eh ?/.
10. AthLing: Good--(leaning back and looking at CrTchr-1 and smiling)--you make a good teacher.
11. CrTchr-1: (pauses, smiles at him) We:ll, thanks to you.
12. AthLing: /əhə?/
13. and all the group laughs

I have maintained that CrTchr-1 is an expert in the

seduction to attend. She has used that expertise in this instance to recreate an agreeing unit of the meeting. All contending parties have a chance to agree here, and to enjoy.

C. CONTROL OF TOPIC BY WRITTEN CHANNEL

The written channel may control topic. The Convener had access to prepared written material as well as to a printed text book, and she took pains to make sure that every participant had the visual material in front of him or her. Because all had access to such material, any participant might have called attention to them. In fact, attention to the agenda was called rarely, and only meeting-initially, by the Convener. Appeal to the other prepared material was called only rarely. The Convener called attention to the text book once, and AthLing did once, whereupon AlgLing gave the group what amounted to a verbal errata-sheet for one page. During the last day of the meeting a written report, commissioned by the group, was presented by AlgLing; and he referred to it while he presented an oral report of its contents.

The blackboard was a bête noir. Except for a gratuitous example in Chinese, written by TESL, its use was restricted to AlgLing during the first two days; and by native participants only on the last day, when CrTchr-3 listed potential other committee members from other provinces.

There were oblique attempts made to curtail the use of the board. When AlgLing first took up the problem addressed in the previous section, attempting to address orthographic problems, he began

(23)

1. AlgLing: ...then what do you write? I mean, are you going to write, I mean, the slow form is /awaʔiskwew/--the normal form is /awiskwew/--are you going to write 'a', 'w', 'a', 'blank', 'long e' (he starts toward the blackboard) It's easier to do it on the board.
2. CrTchr-1: /awiskwew/
3. CrProf: I'm doing it here. You're going to have to have an apostrophe, 'cause you drop the...
4. (AlgLing writes: aw iskwew)
5. Convenor: /aw..'
6. CrProf: APOSTROPHE.

The CrProf's "I'm doing it here," is not simply a statement in which he assumes the group will be interested. Later in the discussion (when AlgLing asked CrProf if he would in fact write the words glossed "they are silly" and "these women" differently), AlgLing started toward the board again and CrTchr-1 said to him "You should sit at that end of the table so you could be closer to the board." Convener chose to misinterpret her--fearing, possibly, that AlgLing would follow that suggestion--and she announced very loudly, "No, we see it well."

The reason that any attempts were made to keep any participant from the blackboard is that a switch in channel must be dealt with, and is thus a powerful vehicle for control. It demands focus or overt denial of focus. Substantive, visually-presented information, produced on the

spot, has to be dealt with by the group if only to be dismissed.

D. EXTRA-LEXICAL CONTROL OF FOCUS

The dynamics of the manipulation of focus, as that concept has been employed herein in discussion of the speech act, is particularly important when addressing the hearer's role in topic management. The distinction between hearer and speaker in conversational strategies in fact becomes one suggested by the kind of evidence to which the analyst appeals: the data are, for the most part, verbal streams. Yet management of topic must appeal to that interactional plane where act and event include, but only occasionally are defined by, speech. Generally, in discourse or conversation, there is only one participant talking at a time, for a time. However, in group interaction the interactional plane includes behaviours exhibited by all participants all the time. The observation of course is self-evident. The descriptive problem is not to include catalogues of individual behaviour, but to account for acts, speech- or unqualified-, which regulate talk and communication.

The question as to whether or not such acts are consciously goal-oriented is a moot one, given simple appeal to evidence. For example, a speaker, perceiving a hearer's inattention, may modify conversational strategies, reacting to a perceived miscommunication. The inattention may be "conscious," i.e., feigned; ostentatiously feigned (e.g.,

perhaps meaning "I know you know I'm pretending not to listen, but I am pretending in order to achieve just that end.") misapprehended (e.g., a speaker may attribute inattention to a hearer who simply listens with eyes closed); or a drowsy hearer may, in fact, go to sleep. The salient aspect of description however, must be its appeal to observable activity and to informed interpretation of that activity. Successful dissimulation will fool the participant-observer as well as the less pretentious particpant.

A speaker in speaking generally makes a claim to define group focus. An incumbent act on a hearer's part is to establish an indication of attention or inattention--to note that a communicative channel is open, to signal its establishment. This is not a categorical response on the part of a hearer, but a variable kind of statement made kinesically or perhaps orally. The hearer may, of course, disallow a speaker's claim to definition of focus.

A problem here in maintaining a hearer/speaker distinction would be to imply that speaker causes such hearer action. If models of communicative interaction maintain the speaker/hearer distinction, along with the notion that speakers regularly claim the right to define focus and hearers must respond or not respond, there is a problem of causality logically inherent. One would have to document necessary and sufficient stimuli on the speaker's part. Hearing and action go on during speaking, however.

Cause and effect models of speech interaction artificially deny the contemporaneous nature of interaction, making temporal sequence an analytic constant.

It seems more nearly adequate to appeal to the notion of the contract to talk in order to capture the notion of complicity in talk: one "acts" to allow another to talk as completely as one acts to talk. As a metaphor for the establishment of that complicity, the concept of tension might be useful. A kind of tension might be said to support the focus of a group, form a base which the group may use collectively to define where focus is at any moment.

To this point the description of the meeting of interest has focused upon speech acts which regulate topic and topic change by means of talk. In order to account for control by other-than-locutionary or other-lexical, referential, acts, a description follows of topic-regulatory activities which non-speaking participants employ to the end of topic-management. The two primary means seem to be verbal, non-lexical acts; and kinesic symbols and signals.

Verbal, Non-lexical Acts

CrProf's announcement, just as the meeting got underway, that natives employ various non-lexical features, variants of /əhə/, to signal attention (Example [2]), belies a Cree-speaker's consciousness of the semantic load carried by the intonation contour. In fact, though CrProf claimed the property as "Indian," all participants except CurrSpec

were observed to react, both during and following another participant's speech stream, with a variety of vocalizations which approximate combinations of /m:/, /ə:/ and /ə̄:/; which are stopped or attenuated with /?/ and /h/. The locution, "yeah," occurs in structurally similar environments.

During initial categorization of speech acts, I applied to these information-laden bits the term "non-lexical reactive." Having seen such acts used to initiate conversation, however, it seems that they are more properly described as non-lexical speech acts. It is clear that they are not pause devices nor niches in the common use of those terms. They are calculated and cannot be accounted for except insofar as one grants attenders complicity in topic projection.

The most remarkable notice of them is taken when they do not occur. A relative absence during a turn at talk which lasts longer than a minute or so; when the floor has not been overtly given to a participant; and unless kinesic symbols, functionally the same as the non-lexcial speech act are displayed; means that a speaker usurps the floor.

A troublesome feature of this class of speech act is that phonetically identical speech streams may mean either accord or approval; or non-accord and negation. The intonation contours surrounding the minimal speech act and the number of syllables in the non-lexical act seem to describe such verbalizations in context semantically. Given that a contour may rise, fall or stay the same, a limited

number of options would indicate that, given the necessarily relatively short duration of those reactives, a fairly straightforward description would seem to suffice to explicate meaning.

In fact, in terms of descending frequency of occurence in the meeting of interest, (1) falling intonation and (2) rising intonation, not rising more than one tone, seem to be the most common contours. The next most common occurences are (3) rising-and-falling, nearly always stopped or constricted, either medially or initially; and (4) sustained intonation, which may be stopped intially. The least common occurence is a falling-and-rising contour. An intonation contour that begins in either the highest or lowest register is very rare in non-lexical speech acts.

Given optional distribution of consonantals and stress, this arrangement allows, mathematically, for an incredibly complex array of permutations in a system abstracted from context. Even in context, definitive statements are almost impossible to make without detailed comparisons of surrounding intonational environment. It is, however, equally impossible to ignore the importance of a vocalization which means so much; and which has the effect of topic-regulation in several instances.

It seems as though monosyllabic non-lexical speech acts may be generalized in the following ways.

Monotone Non-lexical Speech Acts

No, or minimal change in tone implies challenge or serious question, a statement of intention to expand reaction.

In the example that follows, three participants employ the monotone, monosyllable, to challenge or give notice of impending expansion, AlgLing at locution 24.4, AthLing at locution 24.7 (with the lexical item, "so"), and CrProf at locution 24.17.

(24)

1. CrProf: [2]We have to be formal in [3]any [2]written language[1].
2. CrTchr-1: [2]mhm[3]
3. AthLing: [2]So if we can agree on that, what consonants and vowel symbols we are going to join together, I think, this, most of the others will, most...in my view..isn't that one • of the major [2]issues[3]?
4. AlgLing: [2]mmmm[2]
5. AthLing: I think if you use 't' 's' or 'c' 'h' or long-vowel, short-vowel distinction, whatever, a dou•ble vowel
6. CrProf: That was the issue at (place name)#: Of course, we changed it.
7. AthLing: [2]sooo•[2]
8. AlgLing: But that's only part of the issue.
9. AthLing: Yeah, so, what, I, yeah, okay then, so that's what I want to be more concrete, you know#: problems--put down what are problems and tackle them one by one--I'd like to go that way, • that's
10. CrProf: The other issue is the /ə/ sound. They use 'u' as in 'but'.../məskəsIn/: 'm' 'u' 's' •
11. AthLing: That happens •
12. AlgLing and
13. CrTchr-1: (laugh)
14. AthLing: "In Athapaskan, vowels, every time; it's a real problem. You see, the writing system got introduced by amateurs who used the 'u' for /ə/ sound so it confuses school- ....and all kinds of problems.
15. AlgLing and
16. CrTchr-1: (laugh)
17. CrProf: [2]/hhhhə/[2] Well I'm bringing these up just because I think we ought to, uh,...they're going to be brought up.

18. Algling: So we'll be looking at two basic issues as
    far as
19. CrProf: ^{3}yeah^{2}
20. Algling: (carefully, slowly) One is what symbols do
    we pick in the first place, and then how do we tie
    these fair-ly abstract symbols into the real sound.
21. CrProf: ^{3}yeah^{2}

Modulated Non-lexical Speech Acts

Both rising and falling intonations imply referential recursions: generally rising intonations are questions, and rising intonations that begin relatively higher in register are explicit requests for repetition (e.g., /^{2}hmm^{3}/). Falling intonation of monosyllabic non-lexical speech acts implies conditional acceptance of a preceding stream (e.g., /^{3}hm^{2}/), though a condition may be simply a note that the matter is not settled.

Polysyllabic non-lexical speech acts are not so nearly referentially recursive. They are that; but except for the quasi-lexical /^{3}hm?m^{2}/, as negative statement, they signal as well the expectation of continuation.

I could find no evidence in the taped data that would allow me to claim the following properties, except arbitrarily. (The surrounding referents could indicate exactly opposite counter-claims.) Intuition, however, dictated pursuing the matter, and I questioned Cree-speakers and English-speakers about the "meaning" of polysyllabic non-lexical speech acts. Though the

answers were uniform, and the respondents (five each, native speakers of the respective languages) answered as I would have predicted, I will express the following in statements of tendency rather than categorically. Rising intonation is more often than not interpreted by non-natives as acceptance of the speaker's proposition as fact; falling intonation, even more so. Native Cree speakers (and two Amerindian native-speakers-of-English) more often than not accept both as a statement that "I have understood your claim," and not "I agree with your claim."

A counterpart to vocal acts are kinesic symbols. A quickly initiated and intensely sustained eye contact upon a speaker is intuitively the same as the challenging, uniform-toned monosyllabic speech act: both have the effect of cutting through a speaker's claim to definition of topic projection, or "trajectory," be it visual and kinesic or intonational.[6]

E. KINESIC CONTROL OF TOPIC

Eye Contact, Facial and Body Alignment

Two major interrelated kinesic systems may direct or coincide with topic and topic change. One includes a hearer's gross body alignment with speaker; and facial, particularly visual, accounting for speaker. (I use "body alignment" to indicate incidents when more than the head moves to account for either visual attention or direct address.)

The visually documented data referred to here are from two half-hour segments during the last day of the meeting. Only those participants shown in Figure 4 were in attendance during that time. All participants were tired.

In terms of amount talked, AlgLing was easily predominant. Two ostensible issues were addressed: a recapitulation of the meeting, with the presentation of a written report by AlgLing; and the discussion of the organization of the group into a permanent committee.

In introducing his address to the issues of the written report, AlgLing brought up two quite unresolved (and, there, unresolvable) questions: the relationship of a roman orthographic system to the syllabic system, and the optimum sequence of introduction of second-language instruction in grade school. He made

several trips to the blackboard and consistently directed his eyes to CrTchr-2, Convener and CrTchr-3.

In terms of visual response to his dominance of talk, there was something of a difference in subgroups. The Elder gave AlgLing sustained attentive eye contact initially, but eventually bowed his head to rest it on his raised and folded hands, elbows on the table. DINA-Loc and AthLing gave AlgLing intermittent visual attention, and followed, visually, any interjection by another particpant. CrCurrSpec, on the other hand, slightly bowed his head, seemd to be looking to a point just behind the spot where his hands were folded on the table, and both kinesically and verbally abdicated participation. CrTchr-3 returned AlgLing's visual claim, but not in any sense reciprocally. CrTchr-1 looked at him, spoke back to his issues briefly; and CrTchr-2 yawned, wrote notes and manifestly did not attend. AlgLing seemd to take silence in this surface action-defined topic projection to mean "go on" and he did go on to a point where he drew an elaborate geometric representation on the blackboard that illustrated a commonplace statement: Cree and English may be introduced sequentially at some point between Grades K and IV.

Most of the interjections referred to above came from AthLing and DINA-Loc; a minimum number from CrTchr-1, and finally, from CrTchr-2. At the point at

which AlgLing had drawn the scheme on the board, CrTchr-2 looked up, addressed him, and he proceeded back to his seat with her eyes following him and sometimes taking in the other participants. She discussed the need for concern for the well-being of school children as paramount, and referred to her own "problem" of not having realized, until she had taken her first linguistics course, as she made clear, that /š/ and /s/ were not in free variation in English.

All participants, including the non-native trio of primary interlocutors for that space, had seemed unwilling to continue a recapitulative discussion. Strategies had to be employed to let everyone save face, to get off a boring and repetitive topic, and to bring the meeting to a close. The strategies did not coalesce for a time: a significant portion of the native subgroup simply did not participate, but CrTchr-1, and marginally, CrTchr-3, attended politely. AthLing, DINA-Loc and AlgLing wandered, as if in search of a topic to bring the group into a manipulable unity. CrTchr-2 finally provided the opportunity. She had in effect controlled, by uncontrol, the directionless nature of the projection. Her initial obvious inattendance, signified by body alignment and facial-visual commitment, required of the group a kind of courting of her with statements in the ostensible topic projection to which she could respond. Her

response to AlgLing took the group out of a topical cul de sac.

Observation conditions are such respecting these data that only generalizations may be made: the entire visual field is not so easily recordable as the auditory field. Nonetheless, purposive--semantic, if you will--movement does regulate topic. Givens (1977) claims a universality for the interpretation of eye avoidance. It is said to reduce tension. That is an apt metaphor here. I have maintained that "focus" is defined along the lines of a kind of tension--the signal of establishment of a communicative mode. Consistently denying contact, <u>without other signals of attendance</u>, denies the existence of the tension that codifies the existence of a communicative channel.[7]

Gesture

Another level of the kinesic system is that of gesture. During the interlude described above, AlgLing gestured, as speaker, to demonstrate visual information on the blackboard. Any other gesture he made, other than a demonstrative, was most likely to be in a plane that extended sideways from his body. I have noted that he addressed his hearers, severally, visually, but was not accorded visual attention by all, and that seemed to diminish as he talked. His ostensible attenders, if they employed space communicatively, "fiddled" with pencils and papers (CrTchr-1, CrTchr-2, CrTchr-3), touched their

faces (Elder, Convener, PartOb, CrTchr-2) or allowed him intermittent visual attention as noted previously.

Comparatively, when the Elder spoke, he gestured in a stylized way and was accorded a great deal of visual attention.

Gesture-Stress Coincidence

The following example taken from the last half hour of the meeting, demonstrates a "repair" by the Elder. AlgLing was elaborating, with the ostensible topic, about which agencies on the Canadian Prairies should be notified of the results of the present meeting, and which invited to participate in the next. He seemd to be making a statment of the obvious. Then he brought up a point in the ostensible topic that Elder would reinforce: the "communities" which use the Cree language should be the most involved in the discussion. The example is remarkable in its culmination as well as in its demonstration of the coincidence of gesture with speech on the part of the Elder.

One inescapably obvious correlate respecting group kinesic behaviour and speech has to do with stress. (As nearly as I can determine, what I perceive to be stress has not so much to do with relative amplitude but with (a) length of syllabic nuclei; and (b) the harmonics and relative tenseness which this length allows.)[8] I have marked primary and secondary stress in the following example. The most remarkable aspect of AlgLing's stress is that when he

heavily stressed the word "real," everyone except the secretary looked at him and continued to do so until he had finished.

(25)

1. AlgLing: Uh, I think as an outsider uh.....I, undoubtedly this will be a political issue. I mean, there's just no way things like that can be strictly technical issues, and I think one will have to consider such questions as, uh, you know, what about the official bodies, like N. I. B., Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, uh, the University of Manitoba which now has a Department of Native Studies, the Department of Education, on the one hand--I mean these are the official bodies, let's say, and then on the other, the real people who are doing all the work--the people at Cross Lake, the people at Nelson House, who are doing it every day. So I think we should make sure that.....all these sites are included.

There was a period of silence and the Elder then addressed AlgLing visually, saying

2. Elder: [Excuse me--]: Nelson House--[]: Is that the one in Manitoba?
3. AlgLing: Yeah, its, its one, one reserve.

Elder then continued. He maintained regular and rhythmic stress. His talk was carefully articulated, and unstressed syllables were not as unstressed as most native speakers of English would have made them. Both hands emphasize the stress of syllables in an area centred in front of him at about chest level, and rarely extending out to the side. He leaned slightly forward, and described arcs and angles with his hands, coincident with stress. The furthest extension of gesture was to the far left side, where he demonstrated the approximate height of "little children."

(26)

Elder: I, I travelled through there last winter and I was very surprised and at the same time I was very pleased to hear[]: people speaking our language out there. They

are very eager to get after something like this. I spoke to the students: classrooms: the little children, they just gathered around me, talked Cree with me. I was surprised: that's more than I can get at (his hometown).

While he spoke, all eyes except those of CrTchr-2 were alternately upon him and on the space in front of him. He finished with a left hand gesture, flat-palmed, a quick angle upward toward his shoulder with palm at right angle to his face. The group all burst into laughter. During that laughter, the group was initially visually oriented to him, but then participants laughed as they quickly looked at each other. When the laughter subsided AthLing looked at Elder.

(27)

1. AthLing: Where is that?
2. Elder: Nelson House.
3. CrTchr-1: Nelson House.
4. Elder: And also I was stationed in South Indian Lake, and all those people came around every days: in the afternoon.
5. AthLing: mhm
6. Elder: and they'd go round in uh..... uh..... whatever vehicle they have...the skidoos..and gather all the people, even English people, and they'd start askings: They were also surprised, they were surprised I was able to talk Cree.

The group again laughed, and he with them. But he drew back his head some, a kind of signal that he was through. He directed his eyes at AthLing:

(28)

1. Elder: That's what got me very interested here, is that we once understood our Indian-- and then from there I was taken up to Cross Lake, Nelson House. All these people talked Cree....oh, there is a little bit of difference, this you can't help.

2. AthLing: ³yèah²
3. CrTchr-1: But wé can understànd the gréater majórity of them.
4. AthLing: ³yeah²

Then a remarkable thing happened: three simultaneous conversations were sustained by the group, seemingly attended by all the group. In one, Elder continued talking to AthLing about missionaries using Cree. In another, CrCurrSpec questioned AlgLing, who reciprocated and continued talking. In the third, CrTchr-3 directed her visual attention severally to AlgLing, Convener, Elder and DINA-Loc, to explain that the Elder's remarks exemplified what she had been trying to express earlier, the necessity for community involvement. The convener responded to her by asking someone to write the names of communities on the board, and AlgLing immediately accepted.

The final five minutes of the meeting suggest themselves as appropriate for a description of kinesic and oral group-creation of an event. A conspiracy, initiated by CrTchr-1 and joined by CrTchr-2, seems to serve two functions. It is, in poking fun at AlgLing, a statement of high regard for him. One who talks a lot publicly is liable to be talked back to in a leg-pulling way. It was also simply fun. It created a seemingly serendipitous and present event, and allowed everyone to take part in the end of it.

The question had been put by the convener--shall the group discuss the formation of a resource centre.

(29)

1. CrTchr-1: [looking up, looking in front of her] Maybe we'll know more about it having disgust... [shakes her head] disgust.....[an exaggerated explosive 'h' accompanied by quick head nod, like a sneeze]: /dískʰə-sed/ it with [eyes scan the laughing group] with somebody else--[eyes to Convener] with their own people--they'll know more about it [slow scan to CrTchr-2]--with your own group, like, by the next meeting, they'd be ready.

[The matter seems settled. There is no more comment.]

2. Convener: Have we any other things to say? Have we any other........ [A pause; CrTchr-1 looks up suddenly to AlgLing, but after saying the following quickly looks around the group to CrTchr-2, a hint of smile, always.]
3. CrTchr-1: What was your Indian name?
4. AlgLing: [Pause, looks at CrTchr-1] Cree name.
5. CrTchr-1: Cree name.
6. AlgLing: [looks to CrTchr-2 who has been laughing quietly but who has oriented her body to the space between CrTchr-1 and AlgLing]: Who was it who was talking last night? Was it you or was it (CrProf)--/m[unintelligible]/.

The entire group was laughing. CrTchr-2, particularly, was rocked with laughter, as was AthLing. The group began making little comments, hardly retreivable in the tape recorded noise, but CrTchr-1 says mahekanihkan and AlgLing repeats it, several times. The tape allows one to hear CrCurrSpec explaining quietly that it means "he walks like a wolf." All participants are actively moving eyes around, following speakers and also including all participants except for AthLing who at the following speech stream is apparently overcome by laughter and hides his face in his hands, weaves and heaves.)

7. CrTchr-2: [to the space between CrTchr-1 and AlgLing] Is that one that means he's walking like a gorilla?
8. [general laughter]

9. CrTchr-1: An imitation wolf.
10. [more laughter]
11. CrTchr-2: Oh. I see--mahekanihkan.

[There is more laughter and talk--one hears DinaLoc say "paper tiger," and then CrTchr-2, eyes to CrTchr-1 and quick glances to others, says, gesturing as did the Elder, earlier, with stress].

12. CrTchr-2: Somebody gave us the name of that gorilla there? somebody that walks with wide hips [hand gestures show 'wide'].
13. CrTchr-1: [to CrTchr-2] Don't look at me.

And the meeting is over.

Footnotes

[1]I was surprised not to see it used in this meeting: I have seen it muttered, almost as a matter of course, in meetings where far fewer Cree speakers were in attendance.

[2]The discussion he referred to had not been about long and short back vowels, but about how to deal with /ə/ in unstressed syllables.

[3]I see this as an attempt to introduce the distinction between aspiration and the glottal stop, which CrTchr-1 eventually did, after the jockeying for control had ended.

[4]Bear in mind that these native speakers of Cree are not in the linguists' sense naive, all having spent years in the study of their language.

[5]Two other native speakers of Cree have listened to the episode, and have so translated the term. They also agree that in this context it is not simply an example.

[6]This observation represents a debt to Mair (1977 and personal communication) who has demonstrated a synchrony of modalities that is most coherently demonstrable of, and indicative of "rapport." Unfortunately, the parameters of such description are unretrievable from the data of this study, except in impressionistic description. Nonetheless, his findings, in analysis of dyadic interactions with laboratory-elicited data, predict my own impressions from the data at hand.

[7]An aspect of this kind of kinesic display that seems to be nearly ethnic-group specific (or at least is documentary of the impression of only the native participants) is mentioned here, impressionistic and overgeneralized. In terms of eye movement and body alignment with speaker or addressee, those movements seem to be "overstated" by the non-natives. This contrasts with the perception of speech-accompanying gesture, which non-natives seem to employ much less during "important" speech. This is coincident with Philips' (1974c) observations in a meeting at Warm Springs Reservation.

[8]Many Cree speakers employ a stress pattern in speech which must refer to a pattern in Cree. There is a regular beat established, and seems sometimes to obviate the idea that any syllable is minimally stressed. The stress pattern overrides even syllables wherein the nucleus has fallen to /ə/, or where nasals have become vocalic (e.g., /yutn̥əman/). A Cree teacher sometimes explains words such as <u>maka</u>, <u>oma</u> and <u>ta</u> as "meaningless, but essential for euphony," in

unstressed positions. In English, Cree speakers may do the same thing with "there," particularly. One needs a word to take up the slack by being unstressed. The stress pattern dictates such streams as CrTchr-2's "Most of the children in Grade One. . ."

[9]This is not a demonstrative. It is included to complete a rhythmic pattern.

VIII. CHAPTER EIGHT: APPROXIMATION--BEYOND CONTRASTING CULTURAL SYSTEMS

A. SUMMARY

In discussing the control of topic it has been necessary to define two notions of the term. One is a kind of codification which the logico-mathematical and lexical referential properties of language describe. It is a sequence of utterances. The other idea of topic is that which is "really" intended or meant, and appeals to a plane of interaction, utterances as acts, in order to account for what goes on. The plane on which the lexes are accounted for, I have termed "ostensible" topic, and the other, "oblique." It has been necessary to maintain that both planes are accounted for by participants in an event, at the same time as those participants continuously distinguish between the two and reconcile the two in the creation of an event.

Further, individuals, sub-groups within a group and whole groups manipulate to direct other participants' attention to one of the other of those planes, or to both; to identify a focus that indicates where the import of an utterance-act should be determined. The change inherent in the property of amenability to manipulation indicates a temporal progression.

It is an imprecise process. It is however a process, and static description may never capture the dynamics of that process.

The specific mechanisms I have suggested as regulating topic change, and thus effecting definition of topic, are speech (and its counterpart, silence) as an intimate physical event; and meaningful other action, including kinesics. Control is effected, in part, by how well an individual participant performs. The attribution of power itself is a prior descriptive category. It is not impossible to describe that ability to perform as a kind of power, and to posit an economy of the distribution of such power in a group. Other control mechanisms have to do with amount talked, code and register shifting, and the regulation of the sequence of talk.

I have not followed Hymes' (1974) imperative, nor Labov's and Fanshel's (1977) example, in the stating of rules. I have used the term to denote only normative patterns, structural regularities, which I have maintained are manipulable by participants. I shall make no formal statement of rules. In the first place, this study has been addressed to the properties of descriptors, specifically the component, topic, as it has been contextualized in the ethnography of communication. Second, in order for a formal rule to be effective, a formal context for application of the rule must be specified. That is equivalent to a definition of the "structural description" of

transformational grammar, which specifies structural context for application of a specific rule. It seems not to be an appropriate analog. The observation that behaviour is not random does not immediately prescribe the definition of pattern as "rule." The specificity of description which a statement of a rule would require can be achieved for utterances, and those kinds of rules have produced analyses of what are known in the literature as "discourse rules." A more nearly cumbersome task (because acts are not as--chimerically--iconic as words) is the definition of rules for an interactional plane. That seems to have been the enterprise of "conversational analyses." To posit two complementary sets of rules--one regulative or predictive of speech-as-utterance; one regulative or predictive of speech-as-act-in-a-universe-of-possible-acts; would require explication of incidents where one set of those rules is violated at the expense of the other set. For example, the convener in the meeting of interest agreed to contradictory propositions within the same discussion. CrProf obviously gives assent to a proposition with which he, at the same time, manifestly disagrees. When do we, as analysts and participants, <u>know</u> which system of regularities we ought to appeal to more coherently than the other in order to interpret behaviour. Instead of addressing the coherence of sets of rules as the descriptive problem, it seems more nearly adequate to accept structural regularities in both planes as both <u>given</u> and <u>contextually manipulable</u>.

In a meeting, one rule defines the meeting: attend and participate. All other structural regularities may be expressed in terms of constraints upon that rule.[1]

B. CONTRAST AND BEYOND

It is obvious that there is an imperfect sharing of appreciation of those constraints. It is obvious from the data of the meeting that individuals join together in sub-groups to achieve mutual ends. Sometimes those sub-groups are along ethnic lines.

Socially-manipulable Ethnicity

Ethnicity is socially negotiable. In this meeting, CrProf speaks as both Cree and professor. Sometimes he includes other participants in the same class in his claims. Some statements are made to reinforce either aspect of identity. For example, queried about how many keys the new syllabics typewriter had, he said "How many, how many--You whites are always counting things." CrProf drew an ethnic line. His statement was made to make real the ethnic identification of participants at the meeting. The next day CrTchr-2 (who had been absent during the foregoing question) said "You know, we have developed a syllabics typewriter. It has 46 keys." Surely Amerindians are "always counting things" as well. Many old Cree men can tell exactly how many

moose one has shot during one's entire life. But in this context counting was disclaimed by CrProf as not being an "Indian" trait here. The statement was, in effect, "There is a different--and for this meeting, more important--class of expertise to be brought to bear upon the matter at hand; that expertise is that of an Indian; I am an Indian." He could, as well, make reference to linguistics-motivated decisions he had made in consulting, and reinforce his role as academic.[2]

Ethnicity is an important consideration in bilingual meetings. In part, it is definitive of them. The ethnic distinction is real, but it is only as important as the context dictates. In bilingual meetings, that difference is a negotiated one, and its importance for either participants or participant-observers is negotiated.

In my field experience I have observed that completely Amerindian meetings are structured generally quite differently from either non-native meetings or bilingual meetings. In order to explore the efficacy of the concept of ethnicity, some of those differences--described in terms of tendency, not in terms of normative statements--will be explored. They affect what goes on in bilingual meetings; they are not definitive of them. Human beings, contracting to talk in meetings, collectively adapt strategies for communication. I contend that they do so consistent with the principles of topic control summarized initially, that those principles are prior to, if not independent of any

subsequent identification along sub-group, socially manipulable axis. The differences explored below are flexibly, situationally, recognized by participants as differences; they are allowed for, predicted, and violated as norms in order to create an event.

Credentials and Status

In Amerindian formal meetings it is likely that the status ascribed to any participant has a great deal to do with personal characteristics of the participant, such as age, sex, the knowledge the participant has exhibited in the past; in short, to a kind of reputation. Status attaches to a definition of who a person is, not what that person is. The credentials a participant brings to a meeting are not defined by profession, level of education, or status perceived to be accorded by non-Indian or extra-community factors. The ability to speak well--in fact, to "get along" in a meeting--has a great deal to do with the level of participation the individual is allowed in a meeting.

In non-Indian meetings, credentials are more likely to be formal, and may derive from employment, profession or level of education. This difference may be a reflection of a factor that has little, in fact, to do with "status" and more to do with power relationships. Those individuals with "good reputations" are more likely to have positions of power in native communities: a person acknowledged to be a

leader, even holding no formal office, is likely to have a constituency in the community for whom he or she may speak. By the same token, those attributes which are attached to status for non-Indians are more than likely to predict relative power: a position in government, an academic appointment, the practice of a profession which is accorded status is likely to attend the holding of formal credentials. Those positions are positions of relative potential power, particularly in their manifestations in native communities.

This bilingual meeting, and others like it, allow for both systems of status ascription (and correlative allowance to talk). This may indicate a kind of logic of invitation to the meeting of interest. One would assume that a group of academicians planning a meeting in which the orthographic system of the Cree language would be discussed would surely include a majority of linguists who were at the least conversant with current discussions in Algonkian linguistics. As has been noted previously, there were several teachers of the Cree language readily available; but who might not have been so willing to allow the "linguists" of the meeting of interest to talk so much. Several academicians in the Prairie provinces have worked with Cree-language projects with a much greater degree of involvement than the persons invited and attending. The primary consideration for this meeting was whether or not the outsider, non-speaker of Cree, professional--the

agenda's "linguists," could get along with one another and with the other participants.

TESL, in an administrative role, had developed a test for competence in the Cree language, as well as tests for other Canadian Amerindian languages, and had called upon the organizers of the meeting for substantive help. CrTchr-1 had taken a linguistics course from AthLing, whose knowledge of Algonkian languages was something he professed not at all. CurrSpec worked for an agency of a provincial government which administered aspects of native-language curriculum in bilingual education programs, and professed no expertise in the Cree language or formal linguistics. CrProf was invited as both Cree teacher and professional. His pivotal role was described by the convener as "animator."

They were all allowed considerably more latitude in talk than would have been the case in an "Indian" meeting. No participant in an Indian meeting could have spoken as much as CrProf did. No participant in an Indian meeting could have petitioned the chair as often as AthLing did, to codify both plans and decisions. This does not reflect so much an "allowance" for another cultural system, i.e., non-native, as it reflects an acknowledgement that the meeting is peculiarly bilingual and bicultural. CrProf would have been considered to be "overbearing" in an Indian meeting.[3]

In the meeting of interest, the participant with the widest range of topic was the Elder. During his long

speeches in Cree, even non-Cree-speakers allowed him more-than-polite attention. In English, he could enter the ostensible or oblique topic projections and manipulate them in whatever way he chose.

Sequence

In most non-native meetings, if a written agenda were not directive and definitive of the meeting's purpose, more than likely a convener or chair would have stated the purpose initially. There would be, more than likely, some kind of codification of the topics to be addressed as well as the mechanisms that would be employed to address them. In an Indian meeting, there is rarely a statement of purpose at the beginning of the meeting: attendance at a meeting is documentary of the fact that the participants know its purpose. Participants wanting to enter items into the unwritten agenda--the collection of adumbrations of "other business"--would more than likely make sure that in the initial discussion those topics would be understood as part of the agenda.

Many of the examples used in the previous discussion show CrProf attempting to adumbrate issues that will be dealt with, and AthLing, particularly, anxious to forego such "digressions" and to codify explicit goals and methods. AthLing appeals to the chair to make such things explicit, and so misunderstands the role of the chair. In non-native

meetings, the chair has a much greater degree of control over the ostensible topic. The chair "recognizes" participants, makes the necessary codifications, and ensures that a structure for discussion and decision making is evident and operative. In Indian meetings, there is actually more than likely to be more than one "chair" in a meeting. At some meetings, particularly those involving as few participants as the meeting of interest, there is likely to be no formal chair at all. Turn at talk is then more likely to be negotiated. It is almost entirely a function of the oblique topic projection: challenges, for example, that require answer, are made obliquely.

In the meeting of interest, TESL understood CrTchr-2 to be concerned over the issue of the currency of the proposed orthography. As an item of "extreme importance" he called upon the chair to make explicit whether or not the proposed orthography would be "imposed" on people, whether the meeting would attempt to establish the "correct" way to write Cree; or whether the results of the meeting would be put to communities and Cree speakers as a suggestion of an efficient way to write Cree. The question of imposition was so foreign to the Cree speakers and natives present that they were embarrassed. More serious, the manner of questioning was challenging to even the party on whose behalf the question was presumably asked. The inference (the oblique statement) was that CrTchr-2 was unwilling to make her own challenge. The Convener was plainly unwilling to

embarrass anyone, and as chair had to resolve the issue. She did so by agreeing to both propositions: imposition and suggestion. The effect, of course, was to make TESL press harder for a categorical answer. The Convenor's response was to plead a misapprehension of the question, even though it was more painstakingly yet explained to her. It was resolved by her continued agreeing to contradiction, then professing not to understand. A bewildered TESL, with no ally forthcoming, finally seemed to signal a satisfaction--to have received an answer which was impossible to give--and desisted. A property of bilingual meetings seems to be that such ambiguities may be sustained much more comfortably than in either Indian or non-native meetings.

Misinterpretation of the protocols for turn taking made several participants in this meeting appear to interrupt each other. Cree-speakers often give explicit signals that an upcoming juncture is to be a functional pause, that the floor is not relinquished. The indications of that juncture, and the explicit ekosi, glossed 'enough', have been cited previously. The non-natives in this and other bilingual meetings appear to consider silence as a signal that anyone may speak. The native participants, then, in bilingual meetings, acknowledge that fact and tilt for the floor as effectively as their non-native counterparts. CrProf's insistence on being heard, his own "interruptions," do not typify his behaviour in Indian meetings.

The regularities that attend turn-taking and sequence

of topic dictate that the initial adumbrations--the unwritten agenda that the oblique topic describes in the initial stages of a meeting--be dealt with, that "loose ends" be tied up. This may have the effect of appearing to be almost random to a non-native.

Code Switching

In non-native meetings, participants might switch to a specific register, e.g., one based on expertise, according to the nature of the meeting. The example shown in Chapter VII of the linguists' register-shift indicates that in a bilingual meeting that kind of switching may be called to account.

Code-switching to Cree was permissible and func onal. In a non-native meeting it could not have been sustained: it would have been perceived as rude. In this bilingual meeting it could function as a means of information control, or control over the sequence of events. It was more often than not an expression of solidarity, a claim to the meeting and to control of the meeting by the Cree speakers.

There are switches in style of speaking that have the effect of statements of solidarity. During the formal opening of the meeting, the second day, participants introduced themselves. There is a native-specific ritual disclaimer that must be made in any such self-introduction. It may be paraphrased as having the effect of saying "I am

simply myself, I claim no special right to speak." The non-native participants began their own self-introductions with explanations about their own limitations, and this approximation to the native disclaimers was perceived as humorous by native, then all, participants.

Statement and Reiteration

The statement and reiteration of topic; decisions; and imperatives to action based on decisions in an Indian meeting are likely to be only for emphasis, and are more than likely to be paraphrased or made metaphorically by the chair or some other participant. It is the stronger for not having been made by the chair. In non-native meetings, such statement and reiteration may be paraphrased, but the statement takes on the nature of a performative: it codifies decisions. If the statement is not made by the chair, it may be deemed not to have been made.

In bilingual meetings natives are prepared to put up with statements of the obvious required by non-native participants. Non-native participants almost invariably become accustomed to the "ambiguity" of lack of codification. This seems to be an area where both kinds of participants are willing to approximate what they perceive to be the system of the others.

Agreement and Disagreement: Decision-Making

The major difference in the overall process of meeting-making seems to be in the mechanisms whereby agreement is reached and signalled. In native meetings, the overriding concern is to preserve the meeting group as an ostensibly agreeing unit. In non-native meetings, such concern is in most meetings ostensibly to preserve the group as a unit wherein the majority is seen to agree ostensibly, and where compromise is recognized. In the non-native meeting this process is carried out by a process of statement, challenge or argument, statement of agreement, and codification of resolution; all manifest in the ostensible topic projection.

Agreement and disagreement are no less real in Indian meetings. Both are more likely to be signalled kinesically in an Indian meeting. The signals range to assent with eyes, dissent by sustained eye contact--the cutting through of the trajectory--to the mouthing of terms of strong agreement. Failure to allow eye contact, when intonation and stress call for such contact, may signal disagreement. Verbal signals of agreement in Indian meetings may include calls of /tapwe/ glossed 'true,' or 'right.' Verbal signals of disagreement may include disclaimers of involvement: coming right after an assertion, such a disclaimer reflects strong disapproval. There is a concomitant acknowledgement that a participant has a right to state a case without fear of

contradiction in the ostensible topic projection; and a requirement that finally the group be seen to agree. The meeting seems to constitute a frame with fairly rigid boundaries. Disagreement may be dealt with privately, after the meeting, in order to maintain the ostensible agreement required during a meeting.

In bilingual meetings, the tendency to observe one or the other sets of protocols seems to be determined by whether the meeting is more or less "Indian" or "white."

Approximation

If a Cree-English bilingual meeting allows participants to act as either Indian or non-Indian in a kind of role management, it also allows them simply to act. Action may be interpreted by participants as being ethnically-marked, though that action may in fact be no strategic role management along ethnic lines.

There is a great deal of evidence that participants in bilingual meetings tend to approximate what they perceive to be the protocols of either ethnic party.[4] In the areas of ritual disclaimers to expertise, non-natives quickly adopted the structure of the genre. Non-natives were quick to allow the Elder his range of topic and choice of code. They appeared to adapt quite readily to a lack of codification of meeting business.

Native participants, faced with the requirement to do so, proved capable interrupters. The native convener used a

non-native written device--the agenda--to begin the meeting formally. Native participants could voice disapproval of propositions put forward by non-natives in terms they would not use in an Indian meeting.

The approximation is not always perfect. But the fact that it exists is documentary of the most salient feature of bilingual meetings. People seem to adopt strategies very quickly when they attempt to understand and to be understood.

The point is not whether or not participants act according to imperatives that derive from bodies of "cultural knowledge." The foregoing summary would indicate that one might account for particular kinds of observed events in the positing of such imperatives. It is clear that comparison is explanatory of such events only *post hoc*.

It seems clear as well that the imperative to acknowledge "cultural" systems--to violate them, to transcend them--appeals to a principle that is ascendant and prior. The principles of control of topic that hold ethnicity incidental, a factor in the accounting for events, seems to be more nearly adequate than the simple expedient of comparison on ethnic axes.

Footnotes

[1]This is a borrowing of a conceit of Chomsky's (1977) in which he specified one universal rule of grammar, the only one, which is "move alpha," where "alpha=anything."

[2]Other axes for sub-group identification in this meeting, not explored in the foregoing description, are sex, affinity, region of residence or origin, and simply personal inclination.

[3]In another meeting, almost entirely composed of Treaty Indians, a university official was allowed to present a proposal at much greater length than any Indian participant would have enjoyed. The official, a non-native, made political statements regarding the financing of educational endeavors which were perceived by all to be true (and obvious) but which, in an Indian meeting, could only have been stated by a political leader. Not ten minutes later a naive non-native who lived in the community in which the meeting took place, made a much less serious mistake, suggesting that the group should expedite its decisions. He was, after a tense period of silence, requested to apologize to the older participants and to leave the meeting immediately.

The kind of control a powerful figure may have may extend beyond the limits of the formal meeting. In one bilingual meeting, including a large group of native teachers and educational workers, and an equally large contingent of academics, one respected Elder called the convener (a Métis) and a group discussion leader (a treaty Indian) to the side and said that the academics were dealing with issues at "the kindergarten level." His status was such that the message was passed quickly to nearly all native participants, who simply quit discussing anything of substance.

[4]The notion of imperfect approximation to another system, in this case a code, has been used to describe second-language acquistion. It is claimed that such a model is more productive pedagogically and more accurately predictive of learning processes and errors, than simple contrastive analysis of phonology and syntax (see particularly Sampson and Richards [1973]). The similarity of that argument to my own is obvious.

IX. CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

The Social Context

The social context in which the meeting took place was an initial consideration in the presentation of this study. The statement was made that the meeting was a microcosm of that social context. That is a necessary sequitur, of course.

There is evidence in the description of the meeting that allocation of power in the meeting might in some respect reflect the colonial situation which was said to obtain. In order to demonstrate that, evidence would have had to have been marshalled to demonstrate the necessity of that model's application. That is not the concern of the thesis. The notion was introduced as explanatory of a particular set of social relationships which reflect the allocation of power in Canadian society generally, insofar as that power is distributed along ethnically-recognizable lines. In order to prove the meeting as microcosm of a colonial situation, the efficacy of the model would have had to have been tested. That is an enterprise which constitutes another line of inquiry.

Had that been the explicit concern of the study, another meeting or a range of meetings would have been more nearly appropriate. The selection of this meeting as data base obviates its use for such an argument. In the first place, I chose a meeting where the manifest purpose had little overt and immediate political implication. In the second place, the selection criteria for participation in the meeting was based on the Convener's personal knowledge of the participants, and upon her expectation of those participants' willingness to engage in discussion in which neither ethnic party could be said to be overbearing. She could expect the linguists she invited to defer to native judgements and to solicit those judgements. She could expect the Cree-speaking participants to evaluate the linguists' contribution to the meeting as being technical. She was assured of the linguists' acceptance of the role which that willingness implied.

Participant-selection does reflect a colonial situation in some sense, however. There were two representatives at the meeting who contributed little to discussion of substantive issues: the two representatives of the federal bureaucracy. Their presence bespeaks a colonial situation in self-evident terms.

As well, the fact that a language was being discussed, that the technical assistance of experts was solicited, and that those experts were not Cree-speakers is evidence of a situation which colonialism has produced. Cree speakers have

systematically been excluded from the mainstream of Canadian educational endeavors. The acquisition of competence in technical linguistics on the part of a native speaker of Cree, in Canada, during the first part of this century in any formal educational institution, would have been most unlikely. For example, it is common knowledge that the speaking of the Cree language has been prohibitied in educational institutions in Alberta until the mid-1960's; and that that prohibition is still in effect in some schools, despite the rhetoric that surrounds political discussions of bilingual education.

The discussion of the meeting had to do with orthography. It has been noted that the properties and characteristics of the Cree language generally were topic headings that occupied a substantial amount of discussion. By comparison with other meetings, I suspect that had no non-Cree linguists been present, that discussion would have been even more in evidence and that the nature of discourse would have been different. An organizational principle for the discussion would have been, more than likely, a system of four semantic mega-domains which represents the beginning point for discussions of language in many Cree-speakers' view.

It has been noted that AlgLing and CrProf were the interlocutors who spoke most. Though CrProf has an academic appointment, he described himself as a "free-lance consultant in Cree," eschewing a role as academic. Insofar

as the control of topic in the meeting was related to the political power which attends ascribed, negotiated status, CrProf chose to speak as "Indian" and not as academic. The range of topic which this self-profession allowed had to do with the recognition of a distribution of power. CrProf aligned himself with a group that called upon him as spokesman in this arena. Microanalytically, other attributions of power were more coherently evidenced in this meeting. The status as respected teacher of the Cree epistemological system, and status as expert speaker, allowed the Elder and CrTchr-1, respectively, a great latitude in topic-control. Their claims were allowed by all participants.

I have been concerned primarily with the nature of negotiation of the meeting's progress. The mechanisms for topic-control go far beyond the terms of the meeting, the terms of political relationships and the terms of the bilingual situation generally.

The Study

This study has constituted an attempt to test the descriptors suggested in the literature of the ethnography of communication. In one sense the population that is appealed to is a population of possible descriptors. The aim of the study has been to apply the components of the use of speech to one real event as representative of a class of events.

In the following discussion two major issues are addressed as retrospective and evaluative of the enterprise. The first is a discussion of specific qualfications of descriptive terms. These qualifications seem to be imposed by the data. The descriptve terms are in fact organizational principles. Insofar as such terms individually require qualification, it is the consistency between specific attributes of particular bits of data which dictates such qualification. If the descriptors were not so qualified, they could not constitute collectively a generalization which incorporates salient similarities or functions which seemed to me, as intuitively-and-externally-informed participant, coincident at some non-trivial level. The qualification is imposed as well by the purview of the terms as representative of Varela's imbricated levels.

The second major issue derives from the first and appeals as well to those issues introduced in Chapter I. It is evaluative of the enterprise as systematic anthropological inquiry. There are observations which suggest themselves compellingly as directions for further research.

B. THE DESCRIPTORS

English and Cree: Code and Etiquette

The naming of the speech event in this study as "bilingual" implies a resolved dichotomy, but a dichotomy nonetheless. Two languages were languages of the meeting. Insofar as the literature addresses code and etiquette there is generally implicit the assumption that etiquette normatively attend a particular code. That is a commonplace and useful observation. Equally useful, but not treated extensively in the literature, is the situation where speakers of different languages meet and interact successfully. That situation is predictably ambiguous if code and etiquette are coincident in a realm of cultural knowledge, access to which is definitive of a population boundary. It is equally as commonplace to observe that Cree speakers have a long history of interaction with non-Cree, Anglo- or Franco-Canadians and other speakers of other languages. A model that makes of the situation a "culture-contact" situation (which is the case at least implicitly if coincident systems of code and etiquette--or even systems of contrasting etiquette--are compared) is one in which differences will be systematically defined. A danger is that all miscommunication may be attributed to those differences.

In this study, the manifestly bilingual speech event,

where participants are marked as to membership in ethnic and language groups; where participants account for perceived differences, and either transcend or celebrate them; is not best described comparatively. That kind of situation must at least include a system of shared etiquette that addresses the "resolved dichotomy."

The preceding chapter includes a number of considerations which a simple comparison of realms of cultural knowledge would not have predicted, particularly in the area of approximation to the "other" perceived system. The salient fact about the bilingual speech event addressed in this study is that while ethnic differences define it as such, that ethnic boundary is socially negotiable: sometimes ethnicity does not matter, and participants to such an event address the ethnic marker ostensibly or obliquely to manipulate a situation. An observation that recapitulates that statement in common sense terms is that an Amerindian, a Cree, is that but is not simply that.

In Chapter I, I introduced this discussion by referring to Manuel's and Poslun's concept of the fourth world--indigenous peoples collectivized by ethnicity, ideology and exploitation. They are members of, not "hosted by" nation states. Incumbent upon them for survival as ethnic groups is a definition of particular status as members of nation states. As such members, fourth world peoples include in that realm of Garfinkle's "enforceable knowledge" those interactional requisites that might allow

them to negotiate the exploitative nature of the ethnic-group relationships. Included in that realm of knowledge is a composite of rules for "interpretation of a code." The "acculturation" models--which predict loss of ethnic identity and collectivity due to acquisition of the norms of a dominant group--is demonstrated in the microcosm of the meeting to be inadequate: considerable sharing of rules for the interpretation of events allowed a successful meeting; ethnic identification was not compromised.

The Concept of Focus in Speech Acts

In this study, the speech act was not defined as "utterance" nor as "act in the context of other acts." The attempt at explication did not address internal properties of utterances (syntax) nor simply temporally contiguous acts including speech. The tripartite notion of the nature of speech acts (locutionary, perlocutionary, illocutionary) is in some sense obviated by the levels of analysis that the components of the use of speech require. That tripartite notion provides for only static description of acts: the concept of the processual nature of human speech interaction is only implied therein. Thus the concept of a movable manipulable focus between "planes" of "utterance *qua* utterance" and "utterance *qua* act" has been suggested as a metaphor for the very nature of speech interaction. The concept suggests "communicative interaction" as a more nearly appropriate term to describe the level at which

speech interaction is explicable. This notion demands accountability for all parties to communication in the creation of an event. It allows as well for gradations of miscommunication and for a continuum of quality of performance.

Oblique and Ostensible Topic Projection

Related to the concept of focus is the requirement to explain what is "really" meant by a speech stream in context. Labov and Fanshel claim that this kind of attempt at explanation is almost non-existent in the literature. The distinction between oblique and ostensible topic projections purports to be such an attempt, and was an attempt to incorporate a temporal, processual context in description. The concept of focus is related to the concept of the foregoing distinction, because I have claimed that participants manipulate focus to signal implications and adumbrations and to specify unspoken contexts for interpretation. It is the appeal to process that demands the distinction. What is it that prompts CrProf to claim that "you whites" always "count things," and why is the information not gratuitous; what makes a group laugh simply at a description of a sound made upon waking; what allows a group to accept contradictory, logically incompatible statements from the same speaker within the space of a few minutes, without question; and what allows a group to know that decision has been made--a negation of a proposal, by

the manner in which it is assented to. It is not simply a context of utterances, a social context, but a property of the identity--not coincidence--of the two, which allows specific meanings to be both shared and implicit; sometimes absolutely appositive to the referential content of words; and this without sarcasm, irony or other transparent figure.

In another context, Mel'chuk (1977) claims that the relationship between words in the semantic domain has suffered the imposition of antynomy as a diagnostic; that homonymy is a better one. The analysis of discourse or conversation has a comparable history: in explicating the properties of speech acts as being both speech and act, the fact that speaking is an act has escaped us.

The Concept of Control

If a group creates an event, the direc ion the event takes must be due to the action of individual participants. Some participants control the creation to a greater degree than others.

The concept of control implies some expression of relative power. It may be assumed that, when coercion is not involved, some participants are attributed or allowed power, and some make claims to power. The attribution of power to control is demonstrated in a complex of attributions of other qualities besides the control of topic: the Elder in the meeting of interest was permitted the widest topic range and was attended most intently. That has to do with

qualities that define the position of Elder. The linguists spoke from positions of relative power, but their positions were circumscribed in the context of the bilingual meeting: they spoke as members of "knowledge oriented work communities" to a "public."

The allowance to power to control and the claim to power to control are exemplified in the discussion of the quality of talk as a control mechanism, in the discussion of interruption and in the discussion of non-lexical control. The context in which power to control is allowed is summarized in the notion that participants in an event, for the duration of the event, engage in a contract to talk and/or to attend.

Mechanisms for Control

In the negotiation for the power to control topic, it may be seen that control of topic with talk is only one aspect of control: formal acknowledgement of the speaker as speaker does not describe control adequately. Thus "amount talked" and negotiation for "turn at talk" allow for potential control. Code and register shifting constitutes absolute control if such switching is allowed. In this meeting, the use of Cree (code-switching) was allowed and encouraged; register-shifting on the part of the linguists was called to account. The allowance to control with talk is signalled by such other features as kinesics and non-lexical vocalizatons which maintain or deny an interlocutor's claim

to control.

Flexibly constituted subgroups, composed of individual participants who join together to achieve a communicative end, have been typified as "conspiracies" to control. It is evident that in a bilingual meeting such conspiracies are sometimes along ethnic and linguistic lines. It has been shown that often such conspiracies are not along those lines at all.

C. EVALUATION

The speech-use components enunciated by Hymes and Sherzer and Darnell have been qualified to describe an event in a class of events. For this specific event, I have argued that all other components are predicate to the descriptor, participant; and that the concepts of topic and topic-control are ascendant in a hierarchy of those other components (Chapter III.E). The components have proven useful in observation as imperatives to account for data, and prior to that in field observation. As descriptors of one event they may be said to approach a kind of descriptive adequacy. The question becomes then, to what end.

Insofar as the components are generalizable, they address one level, and that seems to be the level of static description of a speech-community, definitive of the communicative repertoire of a community.[1] Insofar as a linguistic <u>economy</u> of a speech community is concerned, that is, respecting any kind of communicative reciprocity and

exchange--the components fail to capture a communicative process without the imposition of analytic constraints which would force the explication of a hierarchy. Such a necessity is predicted by Varela's "imbricated" levels.

For definition of the components themselves, there has been a great deal of argument with evidence that at least suggests that the definition of many of the components must appeal to participants' intuitions, and that realm alone, for substance. That claim is anticipated in Chapter III.D, in the discussion of genre. Participants may be clear on what class of speech act or genre they have been party to: that definition may be the most salient descriptor for participants. But even post-hoc accounting for specific genre leads to infinite lists of attributes. Both surface structure and social context expand in definition, the latter it seems without bounds.

In no sense can the components be said to be real categories that reflect a cognitive ordering process. What is understood to be the neurophysiology of human awareness must be inferred from clinical evidence or from what one labels as evidence of the effect of that labelling process. If the components of the use of speech are evaluated as the latter, there is no suggestion of a tangent which captures any relationship between the descriptors and "cognitive" ordering: communicative competence then continues to be a common-sense term, at least in the ethnography of communication.

The most important implication of this study, outside a need to redefine components, is in its demonstration of a need to pose a hierarchy of descriptors; and the specification of the level of analysis to which those descriptors speak. The implication is thus not to the nature of communicative behaviour but to the analysis of it.

Further, one might have arrived at that statement without any reference to the components of the use of speech. In fact, it is precisely the beginning point of linguistic inquiry, because reduced to essential terms, there is a polarity and not a hierarchy. Those components which addresss "interpretation" are at one pole, and at the other are those which presuppose communication as describable in terms of physical event. The study reiterates a problem in anthropological inquiry: how does an ethnographer in fact arrive at the meaning of meaningful action. It seems clear that description must always distinguish between appeals to observable, physical properties; and what is claimed to be participant organization of action. The latter must appeal to the former for validation. The contextualization of inquiry requires specification of the nature of the dialectic between categories of evidence. The category that addresses participant meaning must imply a higher level of analysis.

Some descriptive terms of participant meaning systems are listed here, with corollary systems of observable phenomena in parentheses. This specification forces a

redefinition of the components of the use of speech as those components have been used in the ethnography of communication. The descriptive categories include participants' interpretation of setting (versus the analysts' description of physical setting); genre (versus appeal to evidence of rule-bounded categories of distinctly "marked" speech); oblique topic (versus the properties of speech acts); the ascription of status to participants (versus analytic categorization of attributes of speakers); ends (versus documentable conversational strategies); and interpretation of intent, aesthetic and affective appreciation (versus key, tone and physical properties of talk). The polarity is representative of the polarity of form and meaning.

Following Varela's heuristics, one then might pose form and meaning as components of the trinity of concepts which the meta-language invokes. Form may be a "process leading to meaning": the "open" system of the trinity is missing. The category must be something of the nature of that element which I have held subject to that complex predicate of components, and have expressed in terms of "participant intent."

One derivative imperative for further research then seems most immediately to be at a basic level: for descriptions of stress, intonation, prosodic features; along with qualitative judgements about the effect those features induce.

An open system--a natural system--such as human communication allows for positive feedback. If we make a mechanistic metaphor of the phenomena which attend it, we must allow the "machine" not to work perfectly. We must be able to allow our descriptive terms to acknowledge this bit of common knowledge: that we communicate imperfectly, if well; that we have a great capacity for misinterpretation and misunderstanding, and that words and glances as physical activities are as intimate physical activities as fighting or tactile expressions of affection.

D. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

1. The ethnography of communication has been explored as an imperative to description and a framework for description. In those aspects of speech usage for which the components of the use of speech demand accounting, the framework has proven invaluable: it demands a much wider address to speech use than any other formally enunciated framework reviewed herein. In requiring description of such scope, it is also demonstrably deficient; and the deficiencies are predicted by the framework itself and by those who first enunciated it.

2. I have claimed that it provides for only static description of normative behaviour (though no greater power for the framework has been explicitly claimed except in the speculation of Hymes' that it may come to constitute a theory of universal categories.) Such static descriptions

are predictably ambiguous; as ambiguous as the ethnomethodologists' agentless-passive-derivative term, "enforceable knowledge."

3. Again, predicted by Sherzer and Darnell (1972) and Hymes (1972), it has been demonstrated that the imposition of a hierarchy amongst the components, forced by definition of the levels of analysis which each component implies, increases the descriptive properties of the components. The formal statement of rules for speech use, the area in which that hierarchy might be said to have been predicted, was disregarded as requiring the retention of a static model.

4. Instead, the meta-language for observation of natural systems suggested by Varela has been used to establish a criterion for the definition of analytic levels. That criterion has to do with the nature of apposition between terms in a dialectical relationship. In such a scheme the act of description is objectified: the artifice of imposition of stasis in description is contextualized and acknowledged. Further, the concept of topic emerges as most nearly adequate for explanation in that it requires accounting for, and verification by, data; more nearly coherently than any other component.

5. The further imposition of the concept of control demands appeal to process, in a specification of the manner in which topic may be seen to change (a) by the analyst; and (b) by participants to an event.

6. This requires explanation of the "real" meaning of

utterances and silence in conversation. The terms "oblique" and "ostensible topic projection" have been suggested as definitive of the subsuming, in the latter term, of the collaborative, purposeful, shared and processual nature of natural conversation. The former term includes the concept of tacitness, or Goffman's "laconicity of talk."

7. Throughout the description, the variations in systems of code and etiquette have demonstrated that the two are productively maintained as analytically distinct in the definition of population boundaries.

8. Although the argument for the ascendancy of topic as a component and the necessary consideration of control of topic have been applied to this meeting alone, it seems clear that the mechanisms for control are not specific to this class of speech or communicative events. The notion of control of topic has demanded an accounting for a meaning system and a communicative system. The latter system, including but not restricted to speech, provides evidence for the properties of the former.

Footnotes

[1]The term itself poses problems. Butorac (1977) addresses some of the problems in such definition, and suggests that in Canada, particularly with respect to Amerindian languages, ideological considerations quite aside from code and rule are definitive of speech communities.

X. TABLE AND FIGURES

KEY TO TABLE OF PARTICIPANT ATTRIBUTES

Column: Participant

Column 1 Sex M=Male F=Female

Column 2 Age
- 1=child
- 2=young adult
- 3=adult, 30 to 50 years
- 4=adult, more than 50 years

Column 3 Socially marked ethnicity N=Native NN=non-native

Column 4 Competence in Cree
- A=Analytic knowledge
- 0=no significant knowledge or competence
- 1=marginal conversational knowledge
- 2=good conversational competence
- 3=good rhetorical competence, writes Cree
- 4=High Cree

Column 5 Competence in English
- 0=none
- 1=conversational adequacy, Cree-influenced
- 2=good conversational knowledge
- 3=good knowledge of "school" English
- 4=command of academic register in English

Column 6 Competence in linguistic concepts
- 0=none
- 1=minimal knowledge, basic to applied Cree
- 2=general understanding
- 3=some technical expertise
- 4=basic field of expertise

Column 7 Status, Native Community
- 1=not marked for status
- 2=status derives from non-traditional position
- 3=relatively higher status, appeals to traditional status correlates
- 4=traditional leader, well respected
- 5=unimpeachable status as Elder

Column 8 Status, Native Politics
- 1=no political identity
- 2=known, accounted for on provincial level
- 3=some power on provincial level
- 4=some power, federal or national level
- 5=power at all levels, derives from extra-political expertise

Column 9 Main field of work is in native-related affairs
- +=yes -=no

Column 10 Amoun talked in meeting of interest
- 0 no input to formal meeting
- 1=talked very little, only when addressed
- 2=little talk, but self-initiated
- 3=relatively more talk
- 4=talked an "average" amount
- 5=talked a great deal
- 6=talked a great deal more

Column 11 Topic range permitted
1=very narrow
2=narrow
3=wider
4=very wide
5=anything whatever

TABLE OF PARTICIPANT ATTRIBUTES[1]

Participant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Day 1											
Convener	F	4	N	A,3	3+	2	3+	2	-	5	4
CrTchr-1	F	4	N	3+	2+	1	4	2	+	4	4+
CrProf	M	3	N	A,3+	4	3+	4	4	+	5+	4+
CurrSpec	M	3	NN	0	3+	0	-	-	+	2	2
TESL	M	3	NN	A-	4	2	-	-	-	5	3
AthLing	M	3	NN	A-	4	4	-	-	-	5	3
AlgLing	M	3	NN	A+,1-	4	4	-	-	-	6	3
PartOb	M	3	N	A,1-	4	3+	2	1	-	1	3
Additional Participants, Days 2 & 3											
Elder	M	4	N	4+	2+,3	0	5	5	+	3[2]	5
CrCurrSpec	M	2	N	3	4-	3	2	1	+	4	4
CrTchr-2	F	4	N	3+	4-	2	4	4	+	4	4+
CrTchr-3	F	2	N	3	4-	2+	2	1	+	4	4
Secty	F	2	N	2	3	0	2	1	-	1	2
Observers, Day 2											
Chief-1	M	3	N	4	2+,3	0	4	3	+	1	4+
Chief-2	M	4	N	3+	1+	0	4	3	+	1	4+
DINA-Loc	M	4	NN	0	3+	0	-	-	+	2	2
DINA-Nat	F	3	N	0	4	2	2	4	+	3	3
OBS-1	M	3	NN	1-	3+	1	-	-	+	1	2
Observers, Day 3											
OBS-2	F	2	NN	0	4	2	-	-	-	0	0
OBS-3	M	2	NN	0	3+	0	-	-	-	0	0
TECH	M	2	NN	0	4	0	-	-	-	0	0

[1]The signs (+) and (-), when following a number, indicate gradations.
[2]Respecting the amount talked by the Elder, he talked a great deal when appropriate, i.e., when in formal address, and when addressed specifically.

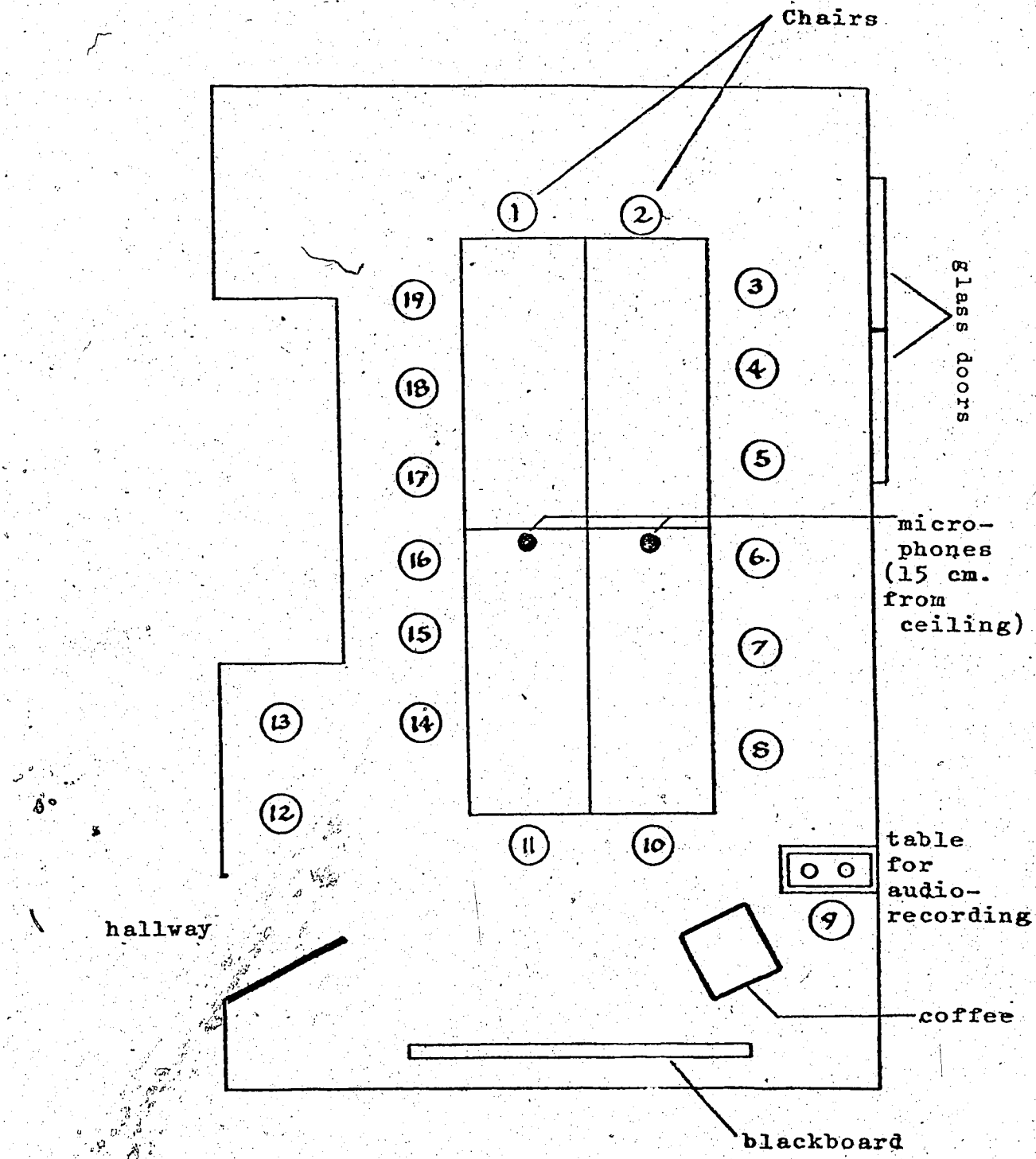


Figure 1.--Floor plan of meeting room.

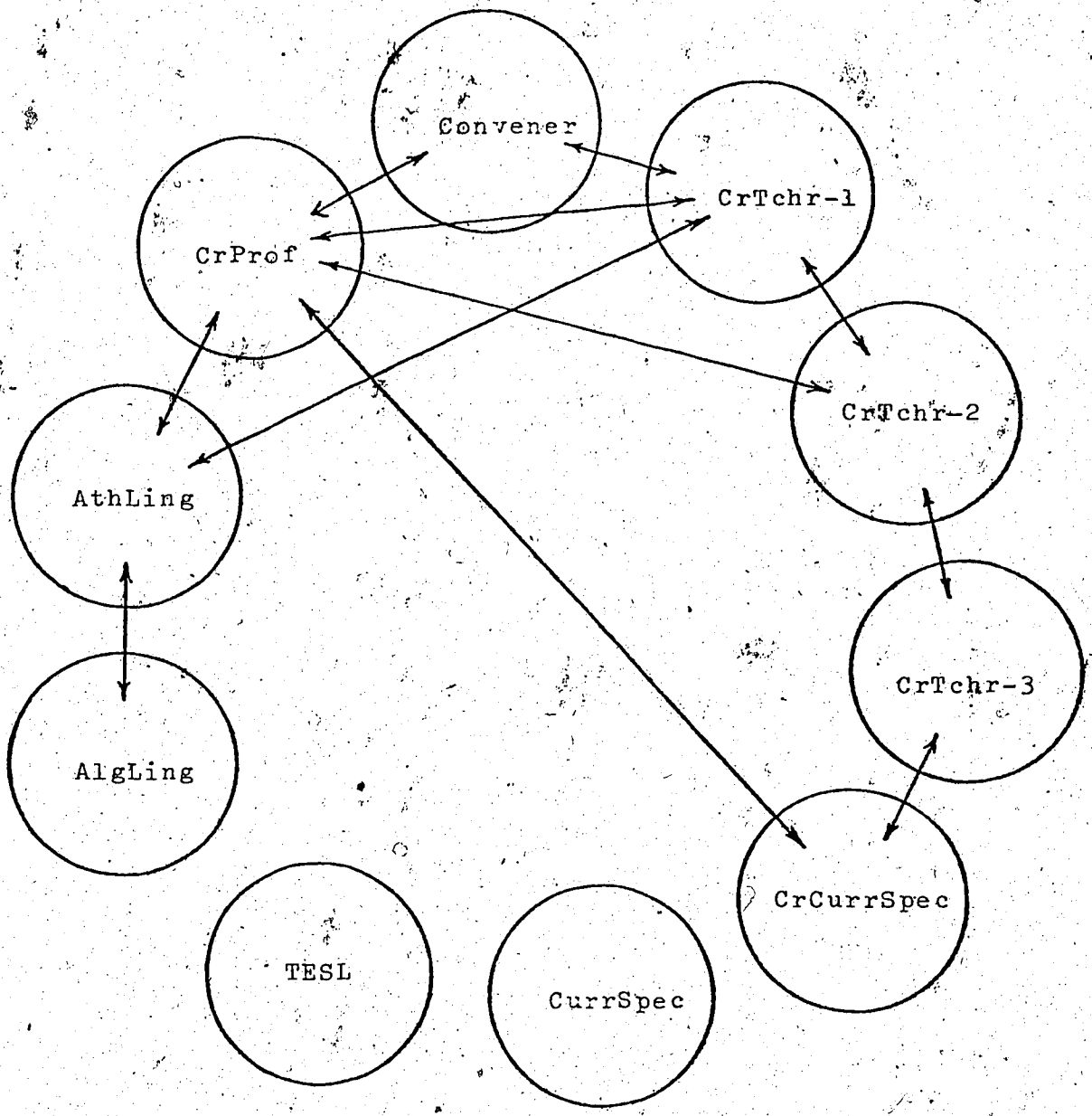


Figure 2.--Patterns of symmetrical question and response. The double-headed arrows indicate that responses were requested from the indicated participants in approximately reciprocal quantity.

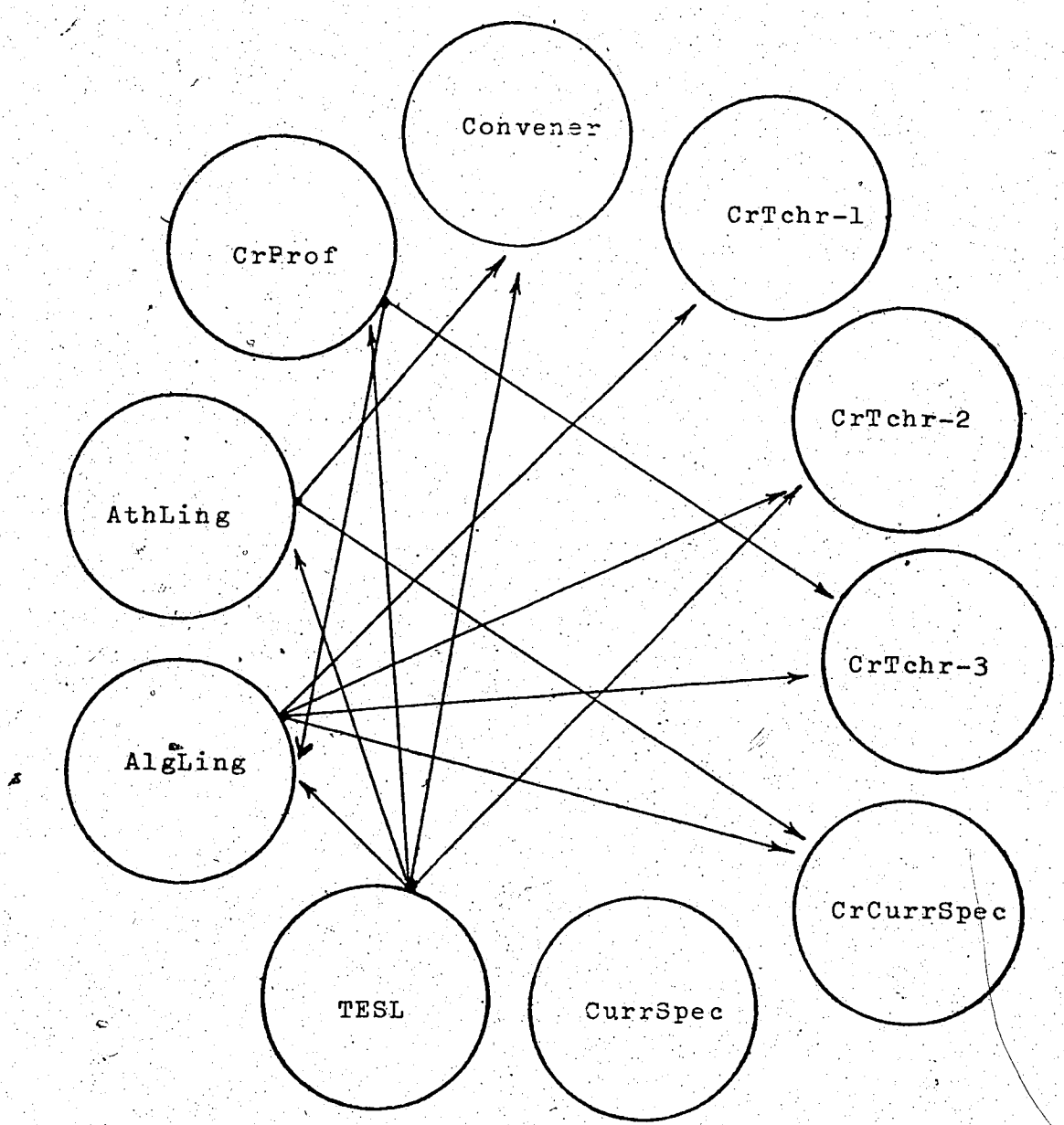


Figure 3.--Assymmetrical patterns of solicitation of verbal response. The arrows indicate the origin of request and address.

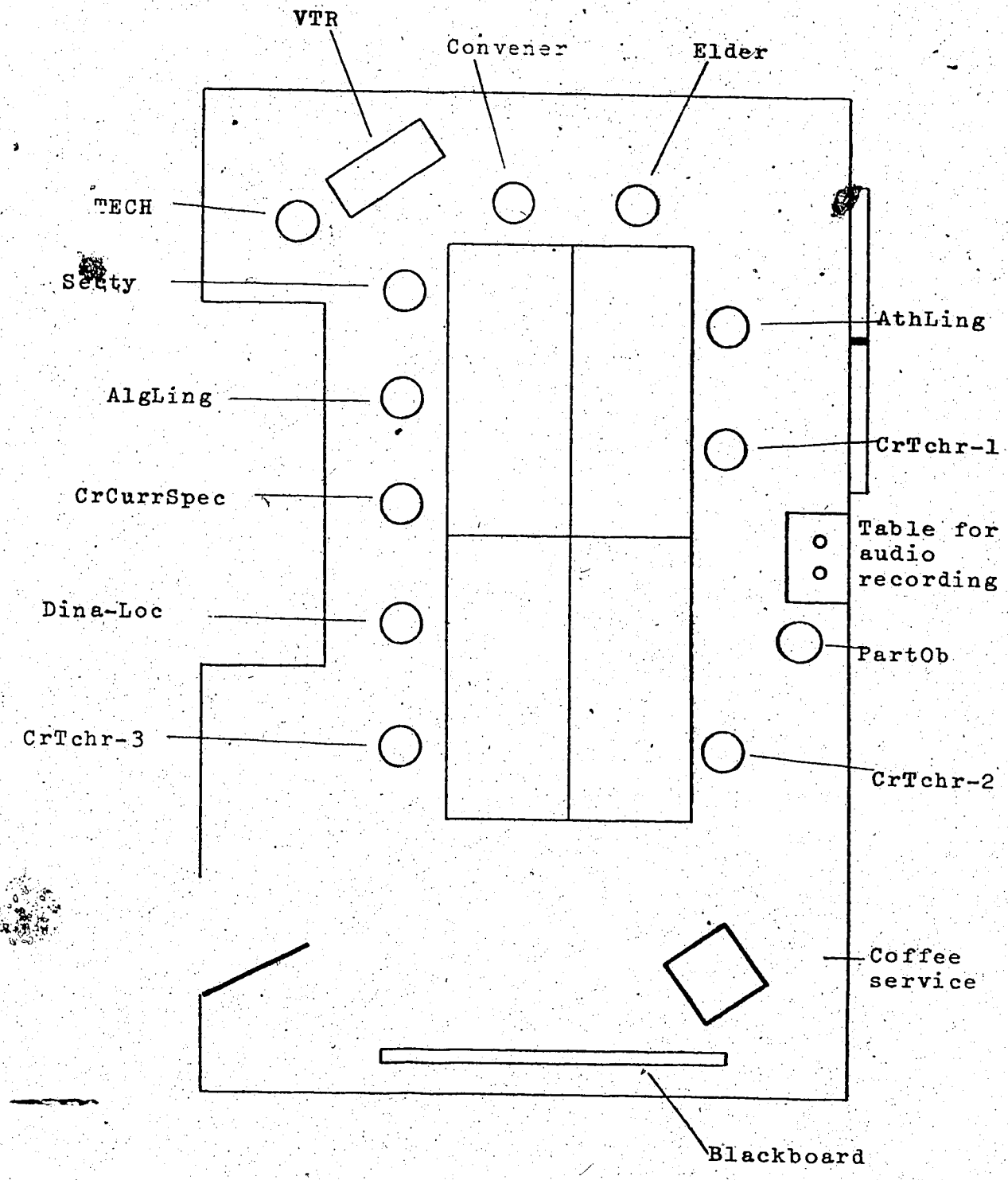


Figure 4.--Seating plan during VT-Recording session.

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APPENDIX A. ACTUAL AGENDA

Day 1

Organization and Planning (10:30 to 12:00)
Lunch (12:00)
Discussion on the Roman Orthography for Cree (1:30 to 4:30)
Supper (5:30)
Evening--Informal Get-together (7:30 to 9:30)

Day 2

Prayer by Elder (9:00 to 9:15)
Introduction and purpose of meeting
Report on Present Cree Language Programs and Materials by [Convener]
Lunch (12:00)
Discussion of the Development of the orthography by Committees
Appointment of Committees and their Assignments
Meeting will break up into Committees to 3:30
Committees report to main body, 3:30-4:30
Break for Supper (4:30)
Review of day's discussions and committee reports (7:30 to 9:30)

Day 3

Prayer by Elder (9:00 to 915)
Morning
- Organization of a Permanent Committee for the Cree Orthography
- Time and Place of next Meeting, Three times annually
- Appointment of Corresponding Secretary
- Development of a Resource Center for the Cree Language (in cooperation with the provincial universities)

Lunch(12:00)
Final Reports of the Linguists and the working Committee (1:30-4:00)

APPENDIX B. POST HOC AGENDA

1. Day 1
   a. Call to order (Convener)
   b. Prayer (Convener)
   c. Welcoming statements (Convener)
   d. Discussion: Organizational matters (all)
   e. Discussion: Identification of issues (all)
      1) nature of the Cree language (all)
      2) audience for decisions (all)
      3) problem of conflicting orthographic systems (all)
      4) justification for enterprise (all)
      5) diacritics (all)
      6) prosodic/rhetorical features (all)
   f. Lunch
   g. Continuation of morning topics (all)
   h. Cree vowels (all)
   i. Cree consonants (all)
   j. Naming of roman symbols in Cree (all)
   k. Medium for presentation on Day 2 (all)

2. Day 2
   a. Call to order (Convener)
   b. Prayer and short address (Elder, in Cree and English)
   c. Self introductions (in English, by participants, severally)
   d. Address by Convener (in Cree)
   e. Address by Elder (in Cree)
   f. Questioning of Elder (in Cree, by Cree-speaking participants)
   g. Identification of issues (all)
   h. Lunch
   i. Cree vowels (all)
   j. Cree consonants (all)

3. Day 3
   a. Call to order (Convener)
   b. Prayer (Elder)
   c. Naming of roman symbols in Cree (all)
   d. Dissemination and acceptance of results (all)
   e. Formation of permanent committee (all)
   f. Dismissal (Convener and CrTchr-1)